

IV. THE TERMS USED IN SHIH CHING

1. T'ien, Heaven

The positive activities of Heaven in Shih Ching are well expressed. Heaven is described as a creator in a way that apparently presupposes that it has created not only people but the natural world as well. People thus created have two characteristics, matter or bodies and moral rules.¹

1 Ode 270 says: "Heaven made the high hill, T'ai Wang found it grand." KARLGREN, Bernhard, *The Book of Odes*, Stockholm 1974, Ode 270, v. 1, pp. 242:241. From here on the references to Shih Ching are shortened in the following way: SHIH 270, v. 1, pp. 242:241. The names of the odes are omitted because the number and the numbers of the pages already provide a double identification. In many studies only the Mao's numbers are used.

Waley explains ode 270: "Mount Ch'i is about seventy miles west of Sianfu, the capital of Shensi, on the north side of the Wei River. The 'Great King' is Tan-fu, grandfather of Wen (the first Chou king)." WALEY 1969, p. 228.

Mao explains 天作 as 天生萬物於高山, Heaven created all things and the high mountain. YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 422. See also KARLGREN 1964 (1946) p. 147. Cf. MOTE 1971, pp. 17-20.

Ode 260 says: "Heaven gave birth to the multitude of people, they have (concrete objects=) bodies, they have (moral) rules; that the people hold on to the norms is because they love that beautiful virtue; Heaven looked down upon the domain of Chou, and brightly approached the world below; it protected this Son of Heaven, and gave birth to Chung Shan-fu."

天生蒸民有物有則民之秉彝好是懿德
天監有周昭假于下保茲天子生仲山

SHIH, 260, v. 1, pp. 229:228.
"To give birth is here 生. The man created has two main characteristics 物 which is "matter", 事, and 則, which is "rules" 法. CH'U Wan-li 1974, pp. 250, 251. 則 "has ting 'ritual cauldron' and 'knife'. The law was codified by inscriptions on ritual vessels. In the modern graph 'cauldron' has been corrupted into 'cowry'." KARLGREN 1957, pp. 240, 241. For other graphs for "rule", see GRINSTEAD 1975.

Needham explains 則 in this context by referring to the explanations of Chu Hsi and Legge. Chu Hsi, speaking of human desires says that likes and dislikes in themselves are "things", i.e. Legge's 'faculties and relationships', while to like that which is good and to dislike that which

Heaven maintains the world by sending suitable weather for the grain to grow. In supporting the people, Heaven uses its counterpart, the king, to provide them with food.²

The provider of Heavenly favour is Heaven, of course. However, when speaking of Heaven performing favourable actions, mention is made of similar actions performed by Shang-ti and by the ancestors and the spirits as well.³

Two basic reasons for positive action on the part of Heaven can be discerned, namely numinous reasons and ethical ones. The former refer to sacrifice to the God and to one's ancestors, the latter to Te 德, virtue.⁴ To

is evil are the 'rules of existence', (Legge's 'laws')". Needham continues: "There is no doubt that we are here once again in the no-man's-land between scientific law ('laws of Nature') and juridical law, indeed, natural law in the legal sense; or rather we are back again in those shadowy regions where the concepts are in a highly undifferentiated state." NEEDHAM 1956, p. 559; LEGGE, vol. 4, 1969, p. 541. See also CHU Hsi 1972, pp. 145, 146, and FUNG Yü-lan 1969, pp. 466, 501, 503.

Bruce explains Chu Hsi's conception of this passage: Li has also a meaning "principle" or "law". "In the first paragraph of Chu Hsi's work on 'Human Nature', in a statement submitted to and endorsed by the Philosopher, it is said, 'In the term Li the reference is to the fact that every event and thing has each its own rule of existence'." Bruce says that this statement is an allusion to this passage of the Book of Odes. Chu Hsi's "reference is to the fact that in every individual thing there is an ethical standard or rule of existence, and the assertion is that it is from this fact that *li* derives its name." See BRUCE 1923, pp. 3, 4, 109, 110. See also CHU Hsi 1922, p. 1. For the doctrines of Chu Hsi, see FORKE 1938, pp. 171-196 and BRUCE 1923, pp. 56-319.

According to Gabelentz, 則 as a noun means Muster, Vorschrift, Regel. Gabelentz 1953, p. 209. For the history of the concept, see NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 559, 560. According to Gabelentz, in Manchu translation 物 is "jaka", which means Ding, Sache, Materie, and 則 is "durun", which means Gestalt, Form; Art, Weise, Mode; Beispiel, Vorbild; Plan, Riss; Regel, Gesetz; Zirkel. Here it apparently means "Regel, Gesetz". GABELENTZ 1864, no. 1, p. 291, no. 2, pp. 49, 116. For the significance of the Manchu translations, see DURRANT 1977, p. 52.

2 SHIH, 210, v. 2, pp. 163:164; 275, pp. 243, 244.

3 The providers of the favour are the ancestors, 祖, SHIH, 210, vv. 5, 6, pp. 163:164. Chou Kung 周公 is mentioned separately as one of the ancestors performing favourable action, as are the ancestors Hou Chi 后稷 and Ti 帝. Shang-ti 上帝 is also mentioned as performing favourable action: "God on High made her (ample=) fruitful." SHIH, 300, vv. 1, 3, 5, 8, pp. 258-260. For the favourable disposition of spirits, see SHIH, 166, v. 5, p. 110.

4 SHIH, 302, pp. 261-263; 166, v. 4, p. 110; 300, v. 3, pp. 258:260.

cultivate the soil which is maintained by Heaven and to offer its fruits to the ancestors will also induce Heavenly favour.⁵ In this case the ethical and numinous reasons complement each other.

Heaven is favourable to the king 王 the lord 君子 and the prince 公 . Heaven is mentioned as being favourable to the Sung people, who regarded themselves as descendants of the Shang. Probably in this context Heavenly favour is conferred on the leaders of Sung who present the offerings: "From Heaven is sent down prosperity, rich years that are very abundant; we come forward, we come and present our offerings; they send down blessings without limit. They look favourably upon our winter and autumn sacrifices; the descendant of T'ang presents them."⁶

The quality of Heavenly favours is described in both general and more specific terms. The general favour is blessing 祿,⁷ blessing 福, which is the same as 福 happiness, blessing.⁸ In many passages these general terms refer to more specific kinds of Heavenly favour. 福 refers to longevity, to appointment and to descendants' children, sons and grandsons.⁹ When Heaven protects the king and safeguards his position "very

See also 210, vv. 5, 6, pp. 163, 165:164. Virtue: 249, vv. 1, 3, pp. 205, 206; 300, v. 1, pp. 256, 258:259.

5 SHIH, 210, pp. 163, 165:164.

6 SHIH, The king: 166, pp. 108-110; 210, pp. 163, 165:164. Here the descendant of Yu is apparently the king. 249, v. 2, pp. 206:205; 243, vv. 5, 6, pp. 198:197; 260, v. 1, pp. 229:228. The lord: 247, v. 1, p. 203; 215, v. 1, pp. 169:168; 249, v. 1, pp. 205, 206. The prince of Lu: 300, vv. 3, 5, 8, pp. 258-260. In Shih Ching and Shu Ching 君 is not used as the possessor of any corporate body of people. TAKASHIMA 1978, 1979, p. 25. The Sung leaders: SHIH, 302, pp. 261, 263:262. See also WALEY 1969, p. 217.

7 SHIH, 247, v. 7, pp. 205:204. Chu does not accept this verse as genuine. CHU T'ien-kuang-hung 1920, 1785; SHIH, 249, v. 1, p. 205.

8 福 appears in SHIH, 210, v. 4, pp. 163:164; 302, v. 1, pp. 261:262. 福 appears in SHIH, 210, v. 6, pp. 165:164; 302, v. 3, pp. 263:262; 249, v. 3, pp. 206:205; 300, v. 3, pp. 258:260. For 福 福也 in the above-mentioned passages, see CH'U Wan-li 1974, pp. 183, 289; CHU Hsi 1972, p. 105. For the translations of 福 "blessing", 福 "happiness, blessing", see KARLGREN 1957, pp. 33, 34, 245, 246. 福 "blessing", SHIH, 300, v. 8, pp. 259:260.

9 SHIH, 210, v. 6, pp. 165:164; 247, vv. 1, 7, pp. 203-205; 249, v. 2, pp. 206:205.

solidly", it provides prosperity, a good harvest and everything is increased.¹⁰ Here Heaven is favourable to the king by providing material growth. Blessing 祉 refers to good health, a good wife, and aged mother, capable dignitaries and officials. The grace 休 and favour 寵 of Heaven refer to the success of T'ang and to his regalia.¹¹

Such a correlation does not seem to exist whereby certain kinds of reasons would produce corresponding blessings or favourable actions from Heaven. Sacrifice and virtue produce different kinds of favourable actions without distinction between which actions are produced by virtue and which by sacrifice.

Many passages that include Heaven describe its unfavourable actions. In many such passages an epithet is applied to Heaven and unfavourable action is directed at the people en masse. The epithet often used is "great Heaven" 旻天. A further term is added to specify the unfavourable characteristics of Heaven. The unfavourable actions of Heaven are then listed and described in more concrete terms in many passages.

Great Heaven 旻天 is said to be terrific or to treat harshly. It does not concern itself with the guilty "they have already undergone their punishment". The innocent also have to suffer. The wide and great Heaven 浩浩昊天 does not prolong its time of grace 德. The more concrete unfavourable action is directed at the people collectively. This is death and famine "it (cuts down:) destroys and strikes the states 國 of the four quarters." Here the collective referent is the states.¹²

10 SHIH, 166, vv. 1-3, pp. 108-110. 天保定爾亦孔之固 "Heaven protects and secures you, doing it very solidly;" 亦孔之... "Wo die Anteposition von 之 chi durch das Steigerungsadverb 孔 k'ung, 'sehr', bewirkt zu sein scheint k'ung könnte man ja gleichfalls zu den 'grundsätzlichen', weil die Gültigkeit der Aussage anrührenden, Adverbien rechnen." UNGER 1961, pp. 208, 209. For a similar interpretation in Manchu, see GABELENTZ 1864, no. 1, p. 252, no. 2, pp. 6, 7, 151.

11 SHIH, 300, vv. 2, 8, pp. 259-260. See also FORKE 1927, p. 43; SHIH, 304, vv. 4, 5, pp. 264:265.

12 SHIH, 194, v. 1, pp. 139, 141:140; CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, pp. 158, 159.

Collective suffering becomes even clearer when it is stated that the innocent also have to suffer. Here the problem of evil is seen as a part of collective suffering. In Shih Ching reasons for this are not very clearly stated, but apparently this disfavour on the part of Heaven is caused by unreliable rulers who do not fear Heaven.¹³

"Great Heaven is terrific 昊天疾威 Heaven (massively=) heavily sends down death, and causes us to suffer by famine; the people all (flow away=) disperse and flee the country, our settlements and border lands are all laid waste. Heaven sends down crime and guilt, noxious insects cause disorder in the (interior=) government." The "noxious insects" refer to wicked officials.¹⁴ Here the general epithet of Heaven 昊天 is followed by a specifier indicating the unfavourable characteristics of Heaven. This is followed by a list of concrete unfavourable actions. The responsibility belongs to the officials, and the effect is collective. Here, too, the description of Heavenly disfavour begins with general characteristics after which the description proceeds to more specific items.

A similar pattern or disposition can also be seen in ode 191. Heaven is described as not just 不備, or not easy, or not friendly; not kind 不惠, merciless 不弔, iniquitous 不平. This kind of Heaven sends quarrels, provokes transgressions, causes the people to have no peace. The purpose of the ode is expressed at the end: to encourage the king to change his heart, "in order to cherish the myriad states". In this ode a Heaven that causes epidemics, death etc. is mentioned before the general epithets of Heaven in later verses. The importance of noble men is also attested: "If the noble men are moderate, the hearts of the people are set at rest; if the noble men are peaceful, hate and anger

13 SHIH, 1964, v. 3, pp. 141:140. For the suffering of the innocent, see 198, vv. 1, 2, pp. 146, 148:147. Here, too, the leadership is regarded as responsible: if the lord were to show anger against the bad ones, the disorder would probably be stopped. Here the specifier of Heaven is "very terrific" 已威. See also CH'U Wan-li 1974, p. 166.

14 SHIH, 265, vv. 1, 2, pp. 237:238. Heaven does not err in its disfavour. If the officials fail in virtue 德 they will cause the people to suffer. SHIH, 256, v. 11, pp. 219, 221. Karlgren's translation is slightly modified here. See also SHIH, 264, vv. 1, 6, pp. 236-238.

are removed."¹⁵

Drought is regarded as coming from Heaven. People wonder why death, disorder and famine continue despite all the sacrifices made to Heaven. No reason for this is sought, Heaven is merely prayed to, and Great Heaven is asked when it will grant peace.¹⁶ This shows that one has to submit to the will of Heaven, which does not imply fatalism, however, since after all Heaven is prayed to.

Certain reasons are also considered for Heavenly disfavour towards people collectively. This is caused by bad officials - "nocuous insects", which may have here the double meaning of bad officials and nocuous insects as such. Difficulties are caused by an evil aspirant for power. There is no hope, because the good man does not aspire to power. In this hopeless situation the poet regards himself as born at an unhappy time who has met "with the ample anger of Heaven."¹⁷ The situation is merely described as such - no solution is sought.

On the one hand, it is said that Heaven causes difficulties: "I look up to the great Heaven, but it is not kind to us; for very long we have had no peace, it has sent down these great evils; in the state nothing is settled, officials and people suffer; nocuous insects gnaw and injure, there is no peace, no (limit, restraint=) moderation; the guilty ones are not apprehended; there is no peace, no cure." "When Heaven sends down (confusion=) disorder, it is really (ample=) widespread; when people flee the country, it is a grief to the heart." On the other hand, the same ode says: "A clever man builds a city wall, a clever woman overthrows it; beautiful is the clever woman, but she is an owl, a hooting owl; a woman with a long tongue, she is a (steps=) promoter of evil; disorder is not

15 SHIH, 191, pp. 133, 134; CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 151.

16 SHIH, 258, pp. 224-226. Smith says that these passages about the unfavourable attitude of Heaven in Shih Ching "reveal the acute distress of mind caused when faith in the providence of a supreme deity is challenged by the problems of suffering and evil!" SMITH 1968, p. 20. See also DUBS 1960, pp. 166, 167.

17 SHIH, 257, vv. 1-5, 7, 10-16, pp. 220-223.

sent down from Heaven, it is produced by women; those who cannot be taught or instructed are women and eunuchs. When they (exhaust people=) pick people to pieces, their slander is first entirely (cold-shouldered=) disregarded." No remedy for this situation can be found, and the poet wonders why all this has to occur in his lifetime. His advice in this situation is on the individual level: "do not disgrace your ancestors, then you will save your person."¹⁸

The contrast between rich and poor can also be seen. Things go well for rich people, but the common people have to suffer. Here the poet says that Heaven shakes him but it does not crush him. He continues that the foolish leaders treat him badly but cannot make him act against his will.¹⁹ It seems here that Heaven acts even through bad officials. This shows the motive of the submissive attitude to bad officials, who are appointed by Heaven, and consequently exercise Heavenly authority, which must be submitted to.

In an ode in which an official remonstrates with his colleagues, he describes Heaven as causing calamities and being angry. Nevertheless, Heaven guides the people mildly. In this situation, the officials should fear the anger of Heaven and not waste their time playing and enjoying themselves; Heaven is said to observe the activities of the officials.²⁰

It is noteworthy that there is no emphasis on the unfavourable actions of Heaven being applicable to a whole dynasty. There is mention of Heaven rejecting the Yin dynasty, but the reference is made in such a way that one cannot really regard it as a punishment by Heaven for the wrongdoings of Yin.²¹

18 SHIH, 264, pp. 234-238. See also 192, v. 2, pp. 136:135.

19 SHIH, 192, vv. 4-8, 13, pp. 135-137.

20 SHIH, 254, pp. 211-214. See also 256, vv. 3, 11, pp. 217-219. According to v. 3. Heaven does not approve of those who reject virtue (德), are steeped in wine and pleasure and do not study the former kings in order to hold fast to "their bright laws".

21 SHIH, 235, v. 7, pp. 187:186. The ode says: "The appointment not being easy (to keep), may it not cease in your persons (but continue in your

There are also unfavourable actions by Heaven which concern an individual. Mention was made above of cases where an individual spoke of his attitude during Heavenly disfavour directed at the people *en masse*. The following cases are directed at the individual himself.

An official feels distressed, because he is burdened with the king's affairs. Nobody understands his difficulties. He says: "Heaven truly has done it; what is to be said about it?" He repeats this at the end of all three verses of the ode.²²

When Duke Mu of Ch'in died in 621 B.C., three noblemen were buried alive with him. The ode says of the men: "that blue Heaven, it destroys our good men."²³ The men buried alive are regarded as completely destroyed; it is not stated that they are living in some other sphere together with the lord they were buried with. The epithet here is blue 蒼者天,²⁴ and not merciless or severe. A sorrowing man says of Heaven that it is distant and blue 悠悠蒼天.²⁵ A similar epithet is used of Heaven, when the speaker is not allowed to rest, while the birds can rest. The speaker addresses the distant blue Heaven and asks when things will be put in their proper place.²⁶ The speaker poses a question, although

descendants); display and make bright your good fame; the lord of Yü and (the house of) Yin got their investiture from Heaven; but the actions of High Heaven have no sound, no smell (They are inscrutable, Heaven has rejected Yin); you should (now) make Wen Wang your pattern; all the states will then have confidence".

22 SHIH, 40, pp. 26, 27.

23. SHIH, 131, v. 1, pp. 85:84. 殲 means "to destroy" so that not even one remains. YÜ Kuan-ying 1973, pp. 116, 118. See also LEGGE vol. 5, 1969, p. 244.

24 Yü translates: "Blue Heaven, oh blue Heaven." YÜ Kuan-ying 1973, p. 116.

25 悠悠 here means 袁 "distant". WANG Li-ch'ing 1964, p. 155. See the text SHIH, 65, pp. 44:45. Traditionally, the grief is over the desolation of the old capital of Chou. LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 110. The texts says nothing of this capital.

26 SHIH, 121, pp. 77-79. According to Naughton, in this poem a citizen protests against taxes or corvee. Carrion birds settle on the trees. The poet introduces the birds with an image of their stange, slow wing-motion: "Flapping are the wings of the bustards" The sequence develops through the as follows: "They settle in the bushy oaks .../

no reply or solution to the problem is offered, as to how to put a stop to this injustice.²⁷

A lonely person does not have a proper home. He asks: "I alone am in misery; what guilt have I against Heaven, what is my offence?" He regarded the time Heaven created him as unlucky.²⁸ This attitude shows that it was believed that when there were difficulties, these were caused by a feeling of guilt towards Heaven. The ode shows that such a situation can arise in which guilt does not exist.

When a son deplures the fact that he is not able to render the last service to his deceased parents, he regards this as being caused by Heaven, which "goes to excess". This is explained by Huang: "The idea of gratitude involves reciprocity. The son should love, revere, and support his aged parents in compensation for their care and affection. This idea, which later became an important aspect of filial obligation, is well expressed in the *Odes*."²⁹

They settle on the jujube trees.../They settle on the mulberry tree..."
The human energy diminishes. The carrion birds grow bolder and move in.
MCNAUGHTON 1963, p. 93.

In Ode 207 an officer on an expedition longs for home and says: Bright is the high Heaven, it shines down on the earth below.... we fear this guilt, (blame) 畏此罪罟 ... I am alone, my duties are very many; oh the grief of the heart, it exhausts me and I have no leisure, ... do we not long to return home? But we fear this reproof and anger." SHIH, 207, pp. 159, 160. Karlgren accepts an explanation that 罟 "net" is a loan character for 辜 "crime, guilt". KARLGREN 1964 (1944), pp. 129, 130. Waley translates: "But I fear the meshes of crime" and explains this interpretation: "The idea that sin is a net in which Heaven catches those whom it would destroy was very widely spread in antiquity. Scheftelowitz has shown that it existed among the Sumerians, Babylonians, Indians (in the Vedas), and ancient Persians (in the Zend Avesta). It also occurs in the Bible." WALEY 1969, pp. 143, 331; WALEY 1939, p. 125. See also SCHEFTELOWITZ 1912, pp. 1-58.

27 Forke says: "Als Weltregierer bestimmt der Himmel das Schicksal der Menschen, aber sein Ratschluss, ist unergründlich." FORKE 1927, p. 42.

28 SHIH, 197, vv. 1, 3, pp. 144:145, 146.

29 SHIH, 202, pp. 151-154. With regard to filial piety in the *Odes*, Huang continues: "The actual word filial piety (hsiao) appears in the *Odes* in reference to reverence and sacrifice to the deceased father: 'Oh, we offer the large male animal, assist us in setting forth the sacrifice;

In the case of lovers, the calamitous course taken by Heaven refers to the man being fickle in his conduct, and being generally bad in his behaviour.³⁰

These few cases of Heaven's unfavourable action towards the individual show that individual people felt they were dependent on Heaven.

On the basis of the passage discussed, it is noteworthy that when speaking of Heaven's unfavourable actions, only Heaven is mentioned as instigating

great was my august father, he (tranquillizes=) comforts me, his pious (hsiao) son.' This reverence must be eternal: 'Oh august dead father, for (long=) endless generations you deserve to be piously (hsiao) revered.' The filial sacrifices occurred in ancestor shrines where sons 'are led to appear before the shrined dead father, to show their piety, to bring offerings, to increase their vigorous old age; long they will preserve it; fine are the many favours...!' Huang here quotes. SHIH, 282, pp. 245, 247:246. 283, pp. 246, 247. 286, p. 248. Huang says: "The idea of numerous descendants and continuation of the family line, later prominently featured by Mencius, appears poignantly in one of the Odes." See SHIH, 5, pp. 3, 5:4. Huang continues on the subject of filial piety during Western Chou by saying that perhaps the most important indication of the influence of filial piety during that period is that the concept became a part of the legal system. Huang quotes Wang Kuo-wei "Yin-chou chih-tu lun" in KUAN-T'ANG chilin, vol. 10, p. 452. "Shang people were only punished for crimes of violence whereas Chou society also punished people for unfilial or unfraternal behaviour.", and Creel: "Even at the beginning of the Chou period we find it said that filial piety is not merely a moral but even a legal obligation." CREEL 1975, pp. 18, 19. Huang says: "Thus the Western Chou added significantly to the development of the concept of filial piety. The word itself, *hsiao*, appeared in bronze inscriptions, in poetry, and as the name of a king. The concept entered the legal system. At the same time, the ancestor worship inherited from the Shang was continued. It appears that the concept had become important in Chou society, at least among the nobility." HUANG, Jacobs Fang-chih 1973, pp. 32, 33.

30 SHIH, 229, vv. 2, 7, pp. 181:182. See also SHIH, 45, pp. 28:29, 30; 199, pp. 148-150. In ode 155 Heaven not being cloudy apparently has an allusive meaning, since no difficulties existed yet. SHIH, 155, v. 2, p. 100.

Granet has shown that the ancient love songs do not contain any element of personal feeling, despite the existence of the individual character in Shih Ching. GRANET 1975, pp. 85, 86; GRANET 1919, pp. 90, 91.

In Chinese tradition the individual is not stressed. Fang says: "Throughout the history of Chinese philosophy. Yang Chu 楊朱 (521?-442? B.C.) was the only one who spoke audaciously for the actual individual. But all other thinkers have looked askance at him." FANG, Thomé, H. 1964, p. 104.

the action. When Heaven is spoken of in this context, ancestors or spirits are not brought in as co-workers of Heaven. Even God on High is absent. Chou thought with regard to punitive Heaven is clearly reflected in these odes.

No drastic solution is introduced to forestall the severity of Heaven, nothing like the creation of a new dynasty, which would solve the problems. In this respect the Odes do not follow the view of Shu Ching.

In some of the above odes, whose subject is Heavenly severity towards the people collectively, a pattern can be seen. This pattern begins with the general epithets of Heaven, and then moves to more specific characteristics, like "terrific" or "merciless" Heaven. Finally the unfavourable actions are described in more detailed and concrete terms. The pattern of thought progresses from the general to the specific. It would be as effective to describe first the terrible actions, like death and famine, and then to state that this kind of Heaven is merciless. The pattern from the general to the specific may denote that it was important to grasp the general characteristics before attempting to understand the specific ones. It is this kind of principle which seems to be at work behind the pattern.

With three exceptions, all occurrences of the unfavourable attitude of Heaven appear in the sections Hsiao ya, and Ta ya. These parts date from middle early Chou, 10-8 th centuries B.C. There is nothing about Heavenly severity in the Sung section, which is the oldest section of Shih Ching, namely, 11th-10th centuries B.C.³¹ It may be that at that time Heavenly severity was not stressed as strongly as was later the case. One also expects this oldest part to contain more of the Shang tradition than the rest of the Odes. This finding as regards Heaven's action would suggest this.

The Kuo feng part has only three references to Heavenly unfavourable actions, namely, in odes 40, 45 and 131. The Chou official propaganda may not be as

³¹ See pp. 19, 20.

well rooted in this section as it is in Hsiao Ya and Ta ya.

Roberts sees that the passages concerning the unfavourable attitude of Heaven have "themes of despair and skepticism." He regards these as "proto-atheism". These poems of tragic despair "shook violently and consciously the religio-ethical concepts established in the early Chou...".³²

As was mentioned above, the change of dynasty did not constitute a solution to problems which provoked the unfavourable attitude of Heaven. This raises the question of the actual significance of the changing of a dynasty and of the Heavenly mandate in Shih Ching.

The Heavenly mandate is mentioned in connection with two legendary kings, Wen Wang and Wu Wang, who had received the Heavenly command.³³ Ode 236 describes the change of dynasty and the Heavenly mandate in a more detailed way. It is said of the Yin mandate that Heaven is difficult to rely on, that the mandate is easily lost. "The lawful heir of the Yin on the throne of Heaven was (caused not to=) not permitted to (encompass=) embrace the (states of the) four quarters."³⁴

The mother of Wen Wang 文王 was Chung Jen 仲任 or T'ai Jen 大任, and was from Yin-shang. His father, Wang Chi 王季 was from Chou. Wen Wang "was careful and reverent; brightly he served God on High, and so he could aspire to much happiness; his virtue 德 did not deflect, and so he received the states of the (four) quarters. Heaven looked down upon the world below, and its appointment 命 lighted on (him)." When Wen Wang's son, Wu Wang 武王 was born, Heaven said: I

32 ROBERTS 1966, pp. 104, 105. From these poems "we may make the transition from the general background of *Ch'un Ch'iu* Confucianism to the immediate context. In the *Tso Chuan* we may observe the 'positive' counterpart to the philosophically 'negative' lamentation and cynicism of the Odes cited, namely, a reassertion of the ethical initiative of man in the context of a weakened but not yet discarded (that is to the work of Taoism and Hsun tzu) divine authority." ROBERTS 1966, p. 105.

33 SHIH, 271, pp. 242:241; 267, pp. 240:239; 294, pp. 252, 253.

34 SHIH, 236, pp. 187, 189:188.

shall protect and help you and appoint you, to march and attack the great Shang."³⁵ This ode contains nothing about Yin's faults.

According to ode 235, Heaven rejected Yin. Wen Wang shines high in Heaven. He ascends and descends to accept the sacrificial gifts. Though Chou is an old state, its mandate is new. God on High gave the mandate, and so the Shang's grandsons and sons became subject to Chou. Heaven's mandate does not last forever and it is not easy to retain.³⁶ In this ode there is no emphasis on the fact that the Shang people and kings were disobedient, given to drunkenness and bad, and that Heaven got angry and punished the Shang people and kings and for these reasons took the mandate and gave it to Chou.

Ode 241 states that the government of Hsia and Yin had failed and that God on High hated the extravagance of Hsia and Yin; "he looked about and turned his gaze to the West; and here he gave an abode," to the Chou. In ode 255 Wen Wang complains about Yin Shang for many reasons: the officials are oppressive; robbers and thieves are used in the government, although Heaven gave them a reckless disposition; Yin Shang does not make virtue 德 bright 明. Its virtue is not intelligent 明 and so it does "not distinguish the supporters, the (true) ministers." It is not Heaven that steeps Yin Shang in wine; it is not right that Yin Shang is insistent on drinking it. The people also follow the wrong course. Yin Shang does not heed the statues and laws, "the great appointment therefore is tumbling down," 大命以傾.³⁷ This ode is clearly a manifestation of

35 SHIH, 236, pp. 187, 189:188. The spouse of Wen Wang was a lady who "looked as if she were a younger sister of Heaven," Shih, 236, v. 5, pp. 187:188. King Wen first cultivated his virtue, and then, the influence of his virtuous conduct reaching to God, God conferred *ming* upon him." T'ANG Chün-i 1962, p. 201.

36 SHIH, 235, pp. 185-187. For the appointment to Chou, see 296, p. 253. "That 'the Heavenly *ming* is not unchangeable' indicates that Heaven never absolutely predetermined who will be king; it may give a new mandate to another man and command him to be king." T'ANG Chün-i 1962, p. 200.

37 SHIH, 241, v. 1, pp. 193:194; 255, pp. 214-216. See also 241, v. 2, pp. 193:194; 191, v. 3, p. 133. Concerning a warning against drunkenness and the Heavenly mandate, see 196, v. 2, p. 144.

Chou ideology, or official propaganda.

T'ien ming also means Heaven charging one to do something. In this case "Heaven charged the many princes to establish the capital in the tracks of Yü," and "Heaven charged (the king) to go down and inspect."³⁸

A person in great difficulties states: "Heaven's decrees are impenetrable." 天命不徹, This is said in connection with the eclipse, probably of August 29, 775 B.C., or September 30, 734 B.C. and other phenomena and catastrophes of nature. The eclipse of the sun is said to be ugly 醜 which here means "ominous". The eclipse of the moon is regarded as an ordinary or regular 常 matter. This has been interpreted as meaning that eclipses of the moon were under control before Confucius' time.³⁹ In the question of the development of thought, the concept of the impenetrable decrees of Heaven has been regarded as indicating an element of scepticism.⁴⁰

38 SHIH, 305, vv. 3, 4, pp. 265:266.

39 SHIH, 193, vv. 1, 2, 7, 8, pp. 137-140. Sivin says: "The pattern of recording solar but not lunar eclipses as omens was already set in the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, the earliest extant Chinese annals, which cover the period 722-481 B.C." SIVIN 1969, p. 49. For the dates of the early eclipses, see NEEDHAM 1959, pp. 409, 410, and IIZIMA 1964, p. 195.

Hartner concludes: "Die Sonnenfinsternis von -775 IX 6 (jul.Stil), die in China seit dem Ende der Hanzeit, in Europa seit rund 200 Jahren (Gaubil) als 'Shih-ching-Finsternis' betrachtet wird, kann nicht mit dieser identisch sein, da sie im Gebiet des alten China (Unterlauf des Gelben Flusses) nicht sichtbar gewesen ist.

Die Sonnenfinsternis von -734 XI 30 ist in der Zeit zwischen dem Beginn der Choudynastie (1122 v.Chr.) und dem Ende der Ch'un-ch'iu-Periode (470 v.Chr) die einzige, die mit den Angaben der Shih-ching-Ode 十月之交 (Chinese Classics IV, 320) übereinstimmt." HARTNER 1935, p. 233. Hartner refers to LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 320.

Waley says of Hartner's finding: "If we accept this, a large number of references in other poems closely related to 'Tenth Month' 十月 (verse 4) immediately became clear; while if we reject this date and place the group at an earlier period, a whole series of references remains completely unintelligible." WALEY 1936, p. 245. Waley also refers to a similar finding concerning the date of the eclipse by Hirajama Seiji, in *Sūgaku Butsuri Gakkwa Kiji*, 1914.

40 Dubs says that this sentence shows scepticism, although such scepticism was not widespread. "In China, once there arose the demand for individual justice, faith in Heaven decayed, for China lacked the religious

The above discussion and the references made to various odes also show that odes which clearly illustrate Chou thought on the Heavenly mandate and the changing of the dynasty are included in the Ya sections.

According to Shih Ching, the king has a special relationship with Heaven. Wen Wang is said to shine in Heaven and to come as a spirit to accept the sacrificial gifts. "He is on the left of God."⁴¹ In order to please Heaven, to get the mandate, Wu Wang was "bright in the sight of Heaven".⁴² The concept 天子 "son of Heaven" reflects the special royal relation with Heaven.⁴³

King is the counterpart of Heaven. In the case of the inventor of agriculture, Hou Chi, to be a counterpart of Heaven meant to give grain-food to

belief in a future life wherein earthly injustice can be remedied." The existence of such a scepticism indicates, according to Dubs, the keenness of Chinese thinking. It is possible that this scepticism helped to produce the degeneracy that plagued the Chou court in the fourth and third century B.C. when the Chou house disintegrated morally and politically. To interpret the above mentioned saying as scepticism seems to have some importance in Dubs' Confucius interpretation. Dubs also refers to odes 193, v. 8, 40, vv. 1-3; 45, vv. 1, 2; 131; 65, vv. 1-3; 257, v. 7; 264; 258. DUBS 1958, pp. 245-247.

41 SHIH, 235, v. 1, pp. 186:185. "Wen Wang ascends and descends, he is on the left and right of God." According to Mao, Wen Wang was still living and was a mediator between God and man. YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 317. Here Mao also has a reference to the Shu Ching. See SHU To shi, v. 5, pp. 54:55, where it is said: 則惟帝降格 "Then God descended and ascended (i.e. visited the temple to enjoy the sacrifices)". Mao also refers to Mo Tzu. See WATSON 1963, p. 102. Here Mo Tzu refers to ode 235 and says that Wen Wang was already dead. See also the text and commentary: CHANG Shun-i 1971, p. 290. Karlgren prefers the explanation that Wen Wang was already dead. See KARLGREN 1964 (1946), p. 1.

42 SHIH, 294, pp. 252, 253.

43 SHIH, 304, v. 7, pp. 264, 265:266; 263, v. 3, p. 235. At this point a closer independent study of the emperor is omitted, because it is not among the selected key terms. Only the relation between "Son of Heaven" and Heaven is studied. For the emperor touring around, see ode 273; his majesty, ode 263; war and the emperor, odes 177, 168; to serve the emperor, odes 180, 191; to offend him by not taking office ode 194; everything belongs to the emperor, ode 205; the emperor and the lords, ode 222; his age, ode 262; the emperor pacifies the state, ode 263.

the people. Here the king carries out the work requested of him by God.⁴⁴ "Three rulers are in heaven, the king is their counterpart in the capital." The king is a counterpart of Heaven and of the three kings. In other words, there is an identifying link between the three kings and Heaven, which is in keeping with Creel's theory.⁴⁵ Heaven helps the king by giving him an assistant. Heaven asks the king to do things for the good of the people, and to administer the country.⁴⁶ The rule of the king is a kind of Heavenly rule because he is the representative and counterpart of Heaven on earth. He is the link between immanence and transcendence.

The king is not only an administrator of the world on behalf of Heaven; he may also influence Heaven. It is said that the king appeases Heaven.⁴⁷

44 SHIH, 275, pp. 243, 244; WALEY 1969, p. 160.

45 SHIH, 243, vv. 1, 2, pp. 198:197. Waley thinks that the three kings might be Wen, Wu and Ch'eng. The present king would then be K'ang (1078-1053 B.C.). Waley says: "But I doubt if the song is as early as that", WALEY 1969, p. 265. Chu Hsi says: 三后大王王季文王也. CHU Hsi 1972, p. 105. Chu shares the same opinion. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1717. Ch'ü does not agree with this 三后謂太王文王武王也. The present king, their counterpart in the capital, is 成王. CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 219. No matter who the old kings in Heaven are, the basic fact is the same; the present ruler is a counterpart of the ancestor kings in Heaven.

Creel interprets the sentence: "The Chou King was believed to derive his power, in large measure, from Heaven and from his royal ancestors. The Chou, one poem tells us, are mighty because they have 'three rulers in the heavens, and the King is their counterpart in the capital'. The ancestors assisted their descendants if they were pleased, but could punish terribly if they were angered. It was not only necessary, therefore, to make the proper sacrifices to them, but also, by divination, to determine their wishes, and to comply with them." Creel also says that the living king was quasi-divine. CREEL 1970, pp. 82, 421. See also CREEL 1975, p. 12.

46 SHIH, 260, v. 1, pp. 229:228; 305, v. 4, pp. 265:266. "Great is the Heavenly Han river, (=the Milky Way), it forms a pattern on heaven; may the king of Chou have a high old age, is he not a man indeed." SHIH, 238, v. 4, pp. 190, 192:191.

Wen Wang learned the pattern of Heaven in order to administer the country and to find the right kind of people to help him. YAO Chi-heng 1963, p. 268.

47 SHIH, 282, pp. 245, 247:246.

The king is not only Heaven's representative among men, he is also the representative of men before Heaven.

The special relation between Heaven and the king also affects the royal virtue. The Heavenly mandate is not easy to keep; Heaven keeps its eye on the people on earth. The king learns from those "who are continuously bright in their (brightness=) enlightenment; great is the burden on my shoulders; but it (Heaven) shows me the bright path of virtue 德 ." At the sacrifice the official who "respond to and (proclaim=) extol those in Heaven."⁴⁸ Here one can see that virtue is the ability of the king, conferred by Heaven to be Heaven's counterpart.

From the references, one can see that the king's relation to Heaven is also mentioned in the Chou Sung part of Shih Ching, the part which is the oldest stratum of Shih Ching.⁴⁹

Concerning the relation between officials and Heaven, the official feels he is in lonely and difficult situations. Although Heaven is bright, the official does not see any solution for the problems. In difficulties the officials sigh toward Heaven.⁵⁰

A clearer communication between man and Heaven exists in the form of prayer and sacrifice. Men wonder in the middle of drought and other hardships why despite prayers and sacrifice Heaven does not change the course of things. The ancestors and Heaven are invoked and sacrifice is offered to the Soil and to the four Quarters, but the hardships persist.⁵¹ In this

48 SHIH, 288, pp. 248:249; 266, pp. 240:239.

49 The references are to odes 266, 275, 282, 288 and 294. One can say that the relationship between Heaven and the king is well represented by occurrences in the Chou Sung section.

50 SHIH, 207, vv. 1, 2, p. 159. It is stated here: "Bright is the high Heaven, it shines down on the earth below." This expresses a kind of contrast: Bright is the high Heaven, but I am alone and have no leisure, v. 2, p. 159.

SHIH, 121, pp. 77-79; 65, pp. 44:45. The useless officials are likened to those Heavenly bodies which are regarded as serving no useful purpose. 203, vv. 5-7, pp. 156:155.

51 SHIH, 258, pp. 223-226. See also SHIH, 200, v. 5, pp. 151, 152. "The

case the communication is only one way, from man to Heaven, who does not answer man's prayers.

Animal offerings are made to Heaven, which, it is hoped, will esteem them. The offerings are enjoyed by Wen Wang. Those who have brought the offerings should always fear the majesty of Heaven. No statement is made with regard to the effect of the offerings, but judging from the above, the effect is preventative. Apparently, it is hoped that such offerings will ward off disaster.⁵²

Two occurrences reflect Heaven's attitude towards women. The wife of a lord is described as being of good appearance and is compared to Heaven and God: "How is she like Heaven, How is she like God?" The three girls who are married to a nobleman are said to be three stars in the heavens.⁵³ This demonstrates the appreciation for fine girls and married life.

Eight passages in Shih Ching contain a metaphor of a bird flying to or reaching Heaven or the sky. The hawk flies and reaches Heaven; the voice of a crane carries up to Heaven; the small bird reaches Heaven by flying. Heaven orders the black bird to descend and to give birth to Shang. In many instances these convey allegorical meanings which sometimes have very little to do with Heaven or birds. There are references to an army,

arrogant men are pleased, the toiling men are anxious; blue Heaven, blue Heaven, look at those arrogant men, pity these toiling men." This is a short prayer, but no answer to it is mentioned.

52 SHIH, 272, pp. 242:241. See also SHIH, 273, p. 242. See Granet's explanation of the rites of the ruler on the mountains and by the rivers. GRANET 1975, pp. 124-127, 180-183; GRANET 1919, pp. 130-133, 191-195.

"Basically, sacrifice is a form of man's ritualistic behaviour toward the gods and spirits for the purpose of inducing their protection and blessing. Such is plainly the meaning of sacrifice in early pre-Confucius sources like the *Shu-ching* and *Shih-ching*." YANG C.K. 1973, p. 276.

53 SHIH, 47, pp. 30:31; 118, pp. 75, 77:76. See triads of constellations, SHIH, 21, pp. 12, 13; HIGHTOWER 1959, p. 83.

The status of aristocratic women during the Yin dynasty was comparatively high. CHOU Hung-hsiang 1979, p. 149. This suggests that in its appreciation of women the Shih Ching tradition resembled the Yin tradition. See also LIN, Yutang 1935, pp. 135, 136.

to enjoyment, to officials describing their hardships, to useless officials, and to a myth of the birth of Shang.⁵⁴

54 SHIH, 178, v. 3, pp. 122:123. "Swift is that flying hawk, it flies and reaches heaven; but again it settles and then stops; Fang-shu arrived; his chariots were three thousand." The hawk refers to Fang-shu's army. LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 287.

"The crane cries in the nine marshes, its voice (is heard in:) carries into the wilds; ... The crane cries in the nine marshes, its voice (is heard in:) carries up to heaven." SHIH, 184, pp. 126:127. The ode seems to express a delight in living in retirement, enjoying the pleasure of nature. SHIH, 184, pp. 126:127.

"Small is that crying kiu bird, it flies up and reaches heaven; my heart is grieved and pained..." SHIH, 196, v. 1, pp. 143:144. "That such lofty flight should be accomplished by so small a creature seems to be the consideration which led to the mention of it, as an instance of what may be attained by effort." LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 334.

"I am not an eagle, I am not a hawk, who fly up and reach heaven; I am not a shan sturgeon, I am not a wei sturgeon, who plunge and escape into the deep." SHIH, 204, v. 7, pp. 156, 157. In this ode an official deplores the oppression and misery of the times. In v. 7 he sets forth the hardship of his lot, unable in any way to escape from his own and the general misery. LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, pp. 358, 359.

"There is a bird flying high, it even (touches=) reaches heaven; the (hearts=) minds of those men, what can they attain to?" SHIH, 224, v. 3, p. 178. In this verse an official probably deplores and asks what there is in the mind of his bad colleagues, not knowing what they may do or attain. However, the official dare not shirk his duty. The bird reaches Heaven, which knows what his colleagues may be doing.

"The phoenixes go flying, *xiáad-xiáad* (sound) their wings; they even (touch=) reach heaven; a great crowd are the king's many fine officers, the lord appoints them, they have love for the common people." SHIH, 252, v. 8, pp. 209:210. These imaginary phoenix birds are allusive, serving to introduce the officers. LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 494.

"Long and curved is the Heavenly Fork, but it is just placed there in its row". Karlgren explains: "And is quite useless for practical purposes". This refers to the useless officials. SHIH, 203, v. 6, pp. 156:155. Yao Chi-heng explains that at midnight the poet looked at Heaven saw first the constellation and then single stars. The sentence is concerned with feelings, without necessarily having any other meaning. YAO Chi-heng 1963, p. 223. Karlgren's explanation is better suited to the whole context of the poem.

"The hawk flies and reaches heaven; the fish leaps in the deep; joyous and pleased is the lord, is he not a man indeed!" SHIH, 239, v. 3, pp. 192:191. It is natural for the hawk and fish to do so. This describes the influence of King Wen. King Wen himself was unaware of his influence. LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 445.

"Heaven ordered the black bird to descend and to give birth to Shang

These symbols, where several kinds of birds reach Heaven, are presumably intended to convey the old Chinese conception of the world or the universe, which is divided into upper and lower worlds, or Heaven and lower worlds. These two are mutually polaric, presupposing each other. The bird may be a bird of light, belonging to the upper world of Heaven, which it reaches.⁵⁵ The fish in ode 239 may belong to the lower world, representing a natural polarity to the hawk which flies and reaches Heaven, belonging as it does to the upper world.⁵⁶ This theory is, of course only one possibility.

This theory bears some resemblance to the Yin Yang theory, which is, however, of later origin. On the other hand, it is possible that the Yin Yang theory developed slowly and that ideas existed which matured later into a theory of Yin Yang.⁵⁷

天命玄鳥降而生商 ; he dwelt in the land of Yin that was very vast; of old God gave the appointment to the martial T'ang; he regulated and set boundaries for those (states of the) four quarters." SHIH, 303, v. 1, p. 263. Yao Chi-heng explains the myth more closely: The daughter of 有娥氏 had a daughter 簡狄 who got married to 高辛氏. They married at the vernal equinox. They were praying in the desert and gave birth to 契 who is the ancestor of T'ang 湯. At the time of his birth the black bird came. YAO Chi-heng 1963, pp. 363, 364. See also CHU Hsi 1972, p. 167 and LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 167.

55 HENTZE 1961, pp. 50, 51; HENTZE 1955, pp. 98, 99. Hentze draws his conclusions from ornaments on bronzes, from urns and graves and from archaic script. On graves, see HENTZE 1955, p. 156; HENTZE 1941, pp. 127, 146, 147, 151. For light and darkness as expressed by the royal tombs, see HENTZE 1967, pp. 80, 81, 85, 86; life and death in the old script, HENTZE 1955, pp. 33, 34; light and darkness, HENTZE 1955, pp. 67-71. To this old conception of the world belongs the idea mentioned above of upper and lower worlds, which are polaric, as do the antitheses of light and darkness, life and death. Hentze characterized these relations with the term "coincidentia oppositorum", which is the basic principle everywhere. HENTZE 1955, p. 133, 137. Hentze's theories have encountered some criticism. See FRANKE 1953, p. 93. The application of these theories in the interpretation of Shih Ching may be seen as one possibility, although it is one on which too much should not be built.

56 SHIH, 239, v. 3, pp. 192:191.

57 Granet sees some resemblance with the Yin Yang theory in the festivals and marriage ceremonies. He says: "the girls (who are *yin*), stirred by the spring (which is *yang*), think of boys (also *yang*). Inversely, in autumn (*yin*) boys (*yang*) are influenced by the appeal of girls (*yin*)." "By the commentators the agony of love is expressed in terms of philosophy. In spring, they say, when the power of the *yang* is on the increase,

The theory itself is apparently a philosophical sophistication of commonly accepted ideas.

girls feel its influence, which is opposed to their real nature, while in autumn boys are affected by the opposing *yin* influence ... during the intervals between these seasons, the *Yang* and the *Yin* combine in the world, the boys and girls, by uniting, reach the full development of their natures." These rural gatherings constituted the occasions for the improvisation of the love songs in Shih Ching. GRANET 1975, pp. 127, 131, 132. Description of the rural gatherings, pp. 89, 124-133. Granet refers to odes 14, 23, 218. See SHIH, pp. 8, 9, 12-14, 170-172.

For a general exposition of the Yin Yang theory, see FUNG, Yu-lan 1969, pp. 7-11, 96-102, 131, 132; FUNG Yu-lan 1962, pp. 91-98, 118-125; FUNG, Yu-lan 1966, pp. 144, 221, 269, 270, 273-275, 279, 399; CREEL 1975, pp. 172-177, 205; CHAN, Wing-tsit 1970, pp. 14, 263, 266-269, 274, 276, 279, 281, 283, 291, 292, 306, 403, 464, 471, 484, 503, 506, 534, 553, 557, 558, 718. Yin Yang School, pp. 244-247, 271; FORKE 1925, pp. 163-223; KÖSTER 1958, pp. 24, 28-32, 40, 57-63, 68, 87, 93; MASPERO 1978, pp. 174-166; NEEDHAM 1956, pp. 273-275. See also GRANET 1919, pp. 93, 94, 130-141; GRANET 1951, pp. 16-19, 29, 43-47, 63; GRANET 1950, pp. 300-307, 370-390.

Lao Tzu mentions the concepts LAU, D.C. 1974, p. 103; KARLGREN 1975, p. 8; WANG Pi 1975, p. 89. Yin and Yang terms in Shih Ching: SHIH, 167, v. 3, pp. 110-111; 169, v. 1, pp. 113, 114. In these only Yin appears. Yin and Yang appear in SHIH, 250, v. 5, pp. 207:208. Yang appears in SHIH, 19, v. 1, p. 11. See also WANG Li-Ch'ing 1975, p. 157. For the Yin Yang theory in Shih Ching, see also GRANET 1950, pp. 117, 118; GRANET 1975, pp. 227-230.

Forke says: "Already in the twelfth and the eleventh centuries B.C., not only the words Yin and Yang, but also the entire theory built thereon, was known in all its details." FORKE 1925a, p. 170. This cannot be accepted according to NEEDHAM 1956, p. 274.

According to Bykov, the terms Yin and Yang do not have a philosophical meaning in Shih Ching, Shu Ching and I Ching. In the works Kuo yü and Tso Chuan the association of the Five Elements 五行 (or five phases) with Yin and Yang begins. As philosophical notions, Yin and Yang described the two opposite phases of reality. BYKOV 1962, pp. 25-39. Major suggests "five phases" for the translation of Wu Hsing 五行. MAJOR 1976, p. 1. For a further discussion of the concept, see also KUNST 1977, pp. 67-69. Kunst lists several translations used of the concept: "the five forces", "the five agents", "the five functions", "the five activities", "the five stages of change". KUNST 1977, p. 68. See also further discussion on the concepts by Major and Cikoski, MAJOR 1977, pp. 69, 70; CIKOSKI 1977, pp. 71-73. The Yin-yang theory is often dated from the fourth or third century B.C. "but it seems quite likely that there was an earlier concept around which later were formulated both native and imported ideas." SWANN 1950, p. 128. See also MASPERO 1927, pp. 613, 614.

The Milky Way has been mentioned twice, and it, too, can have an allegorical meaning. Heaven also refers to a locality.⁵⁸

There is also an identification between Heaven and God. It is said of the wife of the lord: "How is she so like Heaven, how is she so like God?" Another identifications occurs in "Look at that centre of the forest, it is (merely) firewood and brushwood; the people are now in peril, they look on Heaven as undiscerning; but when can there be a settlement (of the disorder), there is no man whom it (Heaven) does not overcome; the august God in High 上帝, whom does he hate?" There is identification when speaking of Wen Wang: "August was Wen Wang, continuously bright and reverent; great, indeed, was the appointment of Heaven; there were Shang's grandsons and sons; Shang's grandsons and sons, their number, was it not a hundred thousand! But God on High 上帝 gave his appointment, and so they became subject to Chou."⁵⁹ This identification implies that Shang Ti and T'ien were one and the same supreme deity, which does not, however, imply that terminologically both have the same characteristics. It is possible that T'ien and Ti were originally two different deities.⁶⁰

According to Shih Ching, T'ien created both the natural world and the people in it with their bodies and moral regulations. T'ien maintains the world and its people and uses its counterpart, the king, to feed the people. When people cultivate virtue and make sacrifice to God and their ancestors, Heaven, God and the spirits act favourably. "Great Heaven" is also unfavourable, terrifying, treating with harshness the people and the whole country collectively, including the innocent. In ancient times

58 SHIH, 203, v. 5, pp. 156:155; 238, v. 4, pp. 192:191. Heaven as a locality: SHIH, 205, v. 2, p. 157, 259, v. 1, pp. 225:226; 296, p. 253.

59 SHIH, 47, v. 2, pp. 30:31; 192, v. 4, pp. 135, 136; 235, vv. 4, 5, p. 196. For the identification of Heaven and God on High, see also DUBS 1958, p. 231. Dubs says here that there was only one supreme God. Of the identification of Shang Ti and Heaven, Creel says: "It is almost as puzzling as is the Christian Trinity, yet the Chinese of the ancient period seldom if ever felt the need of rationalizing the confusion. They had not the Jewish taunt of polytheism which spurred the Church Fathers." CREEL 1929, p. 60.

60 SMITH 1968, p. 18.

Te helped one to obtain the mandate from Heaven. Heaven rejected Yin because of its failings in virtue, its drunkenness, and the Yin people became subject to Chou. The Heavenly appointment is not easy to retain. T'ien Ming also refers to Heaven causing catastrophes in nature.

The king has a special relationship with Heaven. As its counterpart, he is the Heavenly ruler on earth. He is the connecting agent between transcendence and immanence. He may also influence Heaven by appeasement. The king and the officials should have virtue, Te, which is originally from Heaven.

The attitude of officials towards Heaven is submissive in the midst of hardship.

According to Shih Ching, sometimes offerings and prayers are ineffective. In principle they are aimed at warding off the severity of Heaven.

Women are compared with Heaven. This shows the high esteem in which fine girls and married life are held.

The birds flying in the heavens or sky are metaphors for officials. A cosmological overtone may also be seen in these passages, a polarity between the upper and lower worlds.

Heaven and God are identified.

2. Te, Virtue

In Shih Ching, Te 德 occurs 71 times.¹ These occurrences fall into several smaller categories, of which Te referring to king, princes and officials is the largest.

¹ HU Chih-kuei 1965, p. 5.

The Te of a king has a well-formulated relationship with Heaven. The Te of Wen Wang was appreciated by God 帝, because it did not change despite his greatness and probably also because he obeyed the laws of God naturally and without effort. It was because of his Te that he could be king.² There was not only a parallelism³ between the Heavenly mandate and Te, but a conditional relation so that Te was a condition for obtaining the mandate. In this context Te is of a special kind, it is 純 pure, good.⁴

There is an illustration of Wen Wang's virtue: His wife carried on the "fine fame" of his grandmother and mother. Wen Wang himself obeyed his ancestors and the spirits were satisfied with him. "He was a model to his consort, it extended to his brothers, and so he governed his family and state." He took care of people, was energetic, and eager to acquire good ideas from others. When young he was trained and "as a grown up he had virtue."⁵ The later kings should follow the virtue of their ancestors and take Wen Wang as their model.⁶ The present king is the counterpart in the capital of the three rulers in Heaven. He seeks the hereditary virtue.⁷

2 SHIH, 241, vv. 7, 4, pp. 194-196.

3 ROBERTS 1966, pp. 101, 102.

4 Without this purity of Te, Wen Wang could not have received the Heavenly mandate. T'ANG Tuan-cheng 1959, p. 177. Jao says of the concept: "Again we may note the combination 純 (= 屯) 德 t'un (=ch'un)-te 'pure virtue' in the Ch'un-ch'iu period Ssu Tzu Hu 嗣子壺 inscription and its counterpart in the sentence 前文 人秉德共屯 (恭純) ch'ien wen-jen ping te 'the former accomplished men adhered to the virtue respectfully and sincerely' in the earlier Western Chou inscription 伯貳設 Po Tung Kuei; the phrase 屯德 should be read as 純德 in these documents, thus paralleling the *Shih-ching* sentence 文王之德之純 wen-wang chih te thih ch'un 'the singleness of the virtue of King Wen'." JAO Tsung-yi 1976, pp. 151, 152; CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, pp. 2044, 2045.

5 SHIH, 240, pp. 192, 193; 236, v. 3, pp. 187:188; 267, pp. 240:239. For the "model emulation" characteristics of Te, see MUNRO 1969, pp. 102, 103.

Virtue of Chiang Yüan, the ancestor of Chou, SHIH, 300, v. 1, pp. 256:259. See also CHOW 1978, pp. 60-66.

6 SHIH, 235, vv. 6, 7, pp. 187:186.

7 SHIH, 243, vv. 1, 2, pp. 198:197. This notion can also be found in SHIH, 256, v. 3, pp. 217:218. Complaints are made against the present rulers who discard their virtue, ignore their heritage and do not widely study the former kings, "so as to be able to hold fast their bright laws." See also SHIH, 269, v. 3, pp. 240:241.

This shows that Te has its roots in history, that no-one can acquire Te independently and as a solitary phenomenon; it must derive from his ancestors in history. Te has a kind of depth in the dimension of time. This foundation probably corroborates the strength and influence of Te and of the person who possesses Te.

This virtue was needed not only by Wen Wang in order to acquire the Heavenly mandate, but by other kings as well. The "bright virtue" 明 德 was transferred by God from Yin to Chou.⁸

The reasons for changing the dynasty are as follows: Yin had practised a kind of anti-virtue. Oppressors were employed; "robbers and thieves" were used in the government. This inability to use proper officials meant that the virtue of Yin was not bright 不明. The use of wine is also mentioned in this context. All this led to the loss of the mandate.⁹

Shih contains quite a clear illustration of what the royal Te means in practice. Apart from the above-mentioned respect for one's ancestors, the quality of filiality 孝 also belongs to Te.¹⁰ This term also refers to the eminent dead,¹¹ and to reverence for and sacrifice to deceased parents and ancestors.¹²

8 SHIH, 241, v. 2, pp. 193:194; 243, v. 4, pp. 198:197; 256, v. 2, p. 217. For the importance of Te in starting the new Western Chou dynasty, see WANG Hung-t'u 1973, p. 23.

9 SHIH, 255, pp. 214-216. See also SHIH, 256, v. 3, pp. 217:218; CHU, T'ien kuan-hung 1920, p. 1865.

10 SHIH, 243, v. 4, pp. 198:197. The relation to filiality is collocative: "Lovable is the (One man=) sovereign, responsive is his compliant virtue; forever he is filial and thoughtful (of the ancestors), brightly he continues their task." For filial piety together with Te, see SHIH, 252, v. 5, pp. 209:210.

11 SHIH, 286, v. 1, p. 248. "Oh, august dead father, for (long=) endless generations you deserve to be piously revered 孝." Roberts quotes Hou Wai-lu, saying: "that virtue and filial piety were the twin pillars of Chou ethics." ROBERTS 1966, p. 103.

12 A reference to the deceased father: SHIH, 282, v. 2, pp. 247:246. This reverence should be eternal: SHIH, 286, v. 1, p. 248. Filial sacrifices were performed in ancestor shrines where the sons "are led to appear before the shrined dead father, to show their piety, to bring offerings,

The lord who is fit to be a king is dignified in his bearing, "his virtue is pure 德音秩秩, he has no resentment, no hatred, he follows the path of all his peers." The virtuous king should reward good with good. "There is no kindness that is not requited." 無德不報. This shows that the traditional principle of Pao 報 belongs to the virtue of a king.¹³

Te of the king also included an emphasis on outward behaviour. The king should be careful in his demeanour and should not fail in his deportment. "The mild and courteous men are the fundament of virtue." This phenomenon demonstrated the traditional Chinese idea of "inner" and "outer" realms of virtue.¹⁴

The virtuous ruler is a pattern and model for the people. The states obey him and all serve him. The king spreads his fine virtue and unites these (states of the) four quarters. Royal virtue also brings peace. This dimension of Te is close to the notion of model emulation.¹⁵

to increase their vigorous old age ..." SHIH, 283, v. 2, pp. 246, 247. These passages are referred to in HUANG, Jacobs Fang-chih 1973, p. 32.

- 13 SHIH, 249, v. 3, pp. 206:205; 256, vv. 8, 6, pp. 219, 218. "There is no kindness that is not requited," refers specifically to words, but is also a general principle of Te. Pao 報 means "to report", "to respond", "to repay", "to retaliate" and "to retribute". "The center of this area of meanings is 'response' or 'return', which has served as one basis for social relations in China." The Book of Rites says: "In the highest antiquity they prized (simply conferring) good; in the time next to this, giving and repaying was the thing attended to. And what the rules of propriety value is that reciprocity. If I give a gift and nothing comes in return, that is contrary to propriety; if the things comes to me, and I give nothing in return, that also is contrary to propriety." YANG, Lien-sheng 1973, p. 291.
- 14 SHIH, 256, vv. 8, 9, pp. 219:218. The idea of "inner" and "outer" was developed later by Mencius, Confucius and others. See SCHWARTZ 1966, pp. 54, 55; 1975, pp. 7, 8.
- 15 SHIH, 256, vv. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, pp. 217-219; 273, v. 3, p. 242; 269, v. 3, pp. 240, 241. Here it is said: "The (states of) four quarters all obey him; greatly illustrious is his virtue 不顯維德 (the hundred rulers=) all the rulers make him their model; oh, the former kings are never forgotten!" Karlgren apparently interprets 不 as 丕 "greatly". Chu takes it as it is written in the text: virtue is not illustrious in the sense that light is not bright outside, but is bright inside. This refers to the inner fullness conferred by Te. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung

This king needs Te to receive Heavenly blessings or favour. This is mentioned in connection with kingly authority: "Greatly happy be the lord; illustrious is his good virtue 令 德; he orders well the people, he orders well the men; he receives blessings from Heaven; it protects and helps and appoints him; from Heaven (comes the favour) that keeps him in power."¹⁶ This text shows that Te is used to promote kingly authority over the people, whereupon the king receives Heavenly favour.

Virtue is an important characteristic of the lord 君子. He is praised for having an undeflected 不回 and unrivalled 不猶 virtue. "The virtue of the prince of Shen is mild and kind and straight, he tranquilizes these myriad states."¹⁷ Here Te also refers to the ability to rule.

Outer deportment and appearance is also important for the virtuous lord, as is his regard for the ancient precepts as the norm. The Te of the lord also refers to military skill. Great age, not to be forgotten and joy are wished for the lord with faultless virtue. Te also means the introduction

1920, p. 2051. This explanation seems artificial. See also SHIH, 249, v. 3, pp. 206:205. On spreading virtue: SHIH, 262, v. 6, pp. 233:234; 166, v. 5, p. 110; giving the peace: 254, v. 7, pp. 213:214.

Munro says of the model to be emulated: "From the West Chou on, ideal *te* was one of the major attributes of a model to be emulated. However, Western scholars have failed to understand *te* in terms of model emulation in part because several distinguished commentators, intoxicated with anthropology, have explained *te* as a man-like inner power that any object can possess." MUNRO 1969, p. 102.

16 SHIH, 249, pp. 204-206; 256, v. 11, p. 219; 249, v. 1, pp. 205, 206. 令 德 "good virtue" KAO Shu-fan 1974, p. 55. This might even denote the virtue of issuing orders or commands 命 命 .

17 SHIH, 208, vv. 2, 3, pp. 161:160; SHIH, 259, v. 8, pp. 227, 229:228. See also 260, v. 2, pp. 229:228. "The virtue of Chung Shan-fu is mild and kind and just."

Chün tzu 君子, the lord, appears in Shih Ching 67 times. Morton divides the occurrences into two categories - the aristocratic and the ethical. Some of the occurrences come under two headings, so that we have an effective list of ninety, of which 74 are aristocratic and 16 ethical. MORTON 1971, p. 70.

of reforms in law enforcement and the prohibition of crime.¹⁸

Lords show fine virtue at the sacrifice. It is hoped that their virtuous reputation will never end. The lord is obedient to the Son of Heaven.¹⁹

By his deportment the lord is a pattern for the people, and for other noblemen, who also imitate him when he is a guest. Te also apperas elsewhere in connection with banqueting, belonging to everything which has to do with eating at the banquet. Virtue is destroyed if, when drinking and getting drunk, one does not go out for a while to retire form drinking. "To drink wine is very fine, but only with a good deportment."²⁰

18 SHIH, 260, v. 2, pp. 229:228; 299, v. 4, p. 256. On military skill: 299, vv. 5, 6, pp. 256, 257, great age etc.: 173, vv. 2, 3, p. 117; 173, v. 2 says: "I have seen my lord, he is full of grace and brightness; his virtue is (not aberrant=) without fault; 其德不爽 may he have high old age and not be forgotten."

SHIH, 253, v. 3, p. 211 says: "Be careful about your demeanour and so keep near to those who have virtue." 以近有德
According to Chu, 有 is often an empty word in Shih Ching, so here, too. In this case the translation would be: "Be careful about your demeanour, and you are going to the virtue." CHU T'ien kuan-hung 1920, p. 1840.

19 Virtue at the sacrifice: "They possess a fine virtue." 秉文之德
SHIH, 266, pp. 240:239.

Virtuous reputation: SHIH, 160, p. 104; 172, vv. 3, 4, pp. 117:116.
德音 is translated by Chu "sound of virtue". He refers to Tso Chuan: 大國不加德音 "A Powerful country need not add sound of virtue." In ode 160 the sound of Te is = Te. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, pp. 943, 1050. "Sound of virtue" is quite a common combination in Shih Ching; it is better if the 德音 also appears in the translation. 德音 occurs in odes 29, v. 3; 35, 1; 83, 2; 128, 3; 160, 2; 161, 2; 172, 3; 218, 1; 228, 3; 241, 4; 249, 3. Obedience: SHIH, 260, v. 2, pp. 229:228.

20 Pattern for the people: SHIH, 299, v. 4, p. 256, for noblemen: 161, v. 2, pp. 105:104.

Banqueting: CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1777; SHIH, 247, v. 1, p. 203. This may also refer to being filled with virtue. YAO Chi-heng 1963, p. 284; SHIH, 220, v. 4, pp. 173, 175:174. Of ode 220 Kennedy says: "The 220th of the Odes is quite clearly a composite of two separate poems. Of the five stanzas, the first two describe the gaiety accompanying a shooting contest, where 'wine is very plentiful', and all ends on a note of utmost happiness. The remaining three stanzas, which resemble nothing more closely than a brochure from the Christian Temperance Union,

A proper virtue is really difficult to attain. Only Chung Shan-fu
仲山甫 can help the king, the Son of Heaven, to be virtuous.²¹

A bad and oppressive official is not willing to heed the people, to be
good 德 to them, to reward them.²²

Te occurs once to denote the duty of those responsible for furnishing
provisions for the banquet.²³

Te appears several times denoting the relationships between woman and
man. In the woman's opinion, the lord, if he is virtuous, should not go
too far away. A man who first loves the lady, and is then unkind and then
rejects her is said to have been variable in his Te 二三其德
or "two three in his virtue". Here Te refers to "conduct" rather than
to virtue. Te also apparently refers to sexual intercourse between Weng
Wang's parents, Wang Chi and Chung Jen.²⁴

Te appears several times in the combination 德音 when referring to
the relation between man and woman. A repudiated wife thrown out of her
husband's house says: "My reputation has nothing contrary to what it

describe a brawl under unidentified conditions, where the results are
deplorable. The rhyme pattern of the first two stanzas differs from
that of the last three. What brings the two odes together is the fact
that they start with the same line, 'When the guests first assemble'.
This line now appears as the first line of stanza 1. and again of
stanza 3." The second poem has a moral standpoint. "Its hapless wretches,
in contrast to those in the joyous first group become besotted 'with
three cups'". KENNEDY 1959, p. 191. See also SHIH 174, vv. 1, 3, p. 118:
"Soaking is the dew, without the sun it will not dry; peacefully we
drink in the night, without becoming drunk we do not go home. - 3.
Soaking is the dew, it lies on those k'i willows and jujube trees:
illustrious and faithful are the lords, there is none who has not a
good virtue."

21 SHIH, 260, v. 6, p. 229.

22 SHIH, 113, pp. 72-75; LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 172. Wang Li explains that
Te is here used as a verb and means to add kindness or favour. WANG Li
1962, p. 453. See also SHIH, 256, v. 11, p. 219.

23 SHIH, 165, v. 3, pp. 108:109.

24 SHIH, 33, pp. 19:20; 58, v. 4, pp. 40:41; 229, v. 7, pp. 181:182; 236,
v. 2, pp. 187:188.

should be, I should die with you." Apparently virtue here refers to the qualities of a wife, here on a deeper level than mere outer appearance, including spotless faithfulness to the husband. The husband has rejected her virtue, and no-one will buy an old used wife.²⁵

When a wife says that her husband does not love her and does not treat her in the old way any more, she says of her husband that his reputation is not good. 德音 refers to the fact that the husband does not have the virtue of a husband any longer, but rejects his wife.²⁶

"A lady longs for her absent husband who is away on a war expedition." She describes the outer appearance of the man, the chariot and the horses. The ode ends: "pure is his fame", or "pure is his virtue". "Sound of virtue" here probably also refers to the outer appearance of the husband on a military expedition.²⁷

25 SHIH, 35, vv. 1,5, pp. 21, 23:22. Ch'ü Wan-li interprets 德音 as referring to words. CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 26. Chu suggests here the "sound of virtue". CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 210. Here virtue besides denoting sound, or virtuous speech and virtuous reputation, also denotes the virtue and faithfulness the wife, because she continues the sentence: "I should die with you." 既阻我德 Ch'ü interprets: "You have rejected my virtue", 阻 means "to reject". CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 26. Waley translates: "You have spoilt my value. What is used, no merchant will buy." 既阻我德賈用不售, WALEY 1969, p. 101. Legge translates: "You disdain my virtues, - A pedlar's wares which do not sell." LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, pp. 57, 58. Karlgren: "You have found fault with my virtue, no merchant therefore can sell me." KARLGREN 1974, p. 22. If there had been a flaw in the wife's virtue, she would not have had many grounds for complaint against her husband for being repudiated by him. Ch'ü's interpretation fits the context better.

This ode also shows the subordinate status of a wife or a woman compared to her husband. The husband can reject his wife without sufficient cause, simply because he finds a new one. This ode, however, is against such a practice. See WANG Hung-t'u 1973, p. 52.

26 SHIH, 29, pp. 17:18. Yao Chi-heng interprets this to mean that the virtue of the husband is not good, attaching no importance to 音 which is added for the sake of the rhyme. YAO Chi-heng 1963, p. 53. Ch'ü Wan-li interprets "words". CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 21. According to Chu, the "sound of virtue", CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 210.

27 SHIH, 128, pp. 82, 83. Chu interprets the "sound of virtue" here to mean "virtue", and rejects the interpretation "fame". CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1974, p. 742. Virtuous fame or virtue may here refer to the external qualities of the husband.

"Sound of virtue" is also a woman's virtue. This refers to a "truly beautiful and refined" girl accompanying a lord in his carriage.²⁸ The "sound of virtue" of a woman is a binding force which binds her to her husband. The "sound of virtue" is said to bind the young couple together. In the same context 令德, the good virtue of the lady is said to instruct or guide the lord who will rejoice with the lady and love her without becoming weary of her.²⁹

A son wishes to be filial and perform the last services to his deceased parents, but he is prevented from doing so. He says: "I wished to requite you by goodness 德, but great Heaven (has no limit:) goes to excess." Te represents the idea of repaying with filial devotion.³⁰ Between friends this virtue also bears a similar connotation: "You forget my great (virtue:) goodness 大德 to you, you think of the small grievances against me."³¹

In creation man is defined by 物 body, and 則 precept. It is said: "and that the people hold on to the norms is because they love that beautiful virtue 懿德".³²

Te is used once in connection with Heaven in the sense of Heavenly favour or grace.³³

28 SHIH, 83, pp. 55, 56. 德音 here means 德. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, pp. 524, 525. It seems that this should be interpreted that the manifestation of the virtue of the lady becomes apparent, since the lady is in the chariot of the lord and thus can be publicly seen. The motive of the lord may even be to show off his beautiful lady to the people. Granet says of this ode: "On the departure of the bride from the home of her parents, it was customary for the bridegroom to remain for a moment in the chariot of the bride. This is the scene portrayed, no doubt, with the intention of advising a prince on no account to fail to contract a prudent marriage which had been suggested to him." GRANET 1975, p. 80; GRANET 1919, p. 83.

29 SHIH, 218, vv. 1, 2, 3, pp. 170, 171:172. 德音 unites the couple, 228, v. 3, p. 181.

30 SHIH, 202, v. 4, pp. 154:153.

31 SHIH, 201, v. 3, pp. 151:152.

32 SHIH, 260, v. 1, pp. 229:228. See also the present work, pp. 153, 154. See, too, T'ANG Tuan Cheng 1959, p. 173.

33 See p. 156, 157.

According to Shih Ching Wen Wang obtained the mandate of a king because he had pure virtue. His virtue was rooted in history; later kings should follow his virtue. Yin practised vice, and God transferred Te from Yin to Chou. Royal virtue also involves filiality and sacrifice to one's ancestors. The virtuous king should be impartial, requite good for good and demonstrate refinement of demeanour. The virtuous king is a pattern for the people, spreads his virtue, unites the states and promotes peace. The king uses virtue in his authority over the people and receives Heavenly favour.

Furthermore, the lord needs Te to be able to rule. He follows the ancients, is careful in his deportment and is skilful in military matters. He earns longevity and is remembered over a long period of time. The lord obeys the king and is virtuous at the sacrifice; his deportment is a pattern to the people; other lords imitate him at the banquet; the virtuous lord drinks in such a way that he does not get drunk; he helps the king; and his virtue is difficult to attain.

A bad official is not virtuous in his conduct to the people; he does not reward them.

A virtuous husband should be close to his wife and faithful to her; a virtuous wife is also faithful, a lifelong fidelity.

A manifested virtue, "sound of virtue" denotes the spotless faithfulness of a wife towards her husband. This virtue binds a married couple together. "Sound of virtue" may also refer to external appearance.

A virtuous son is filial in his conduct to his parents and desires to reward them by being virtuous. Friends should also requite virtue with virtue.

By desiring virtue, people can retain their innate norms.

3. Tao, Way

There are 32 occurrences of Tao in Shih Ching.¹ In some cases it simply means an ordinary road with no specific attribute or other meaning attached to it.² In addition there are many cases, in which it can be translated as "road" or "way", although it also has a figurative sense illustrating some other idea, such as a method of governing.³ In some cases, the road is said to be especially easy,⁴ sometimes it is said to be

1 HU Chih-kuei 1965, p. 5.

2 SHIH, 97, v. 2, pp. 62:63. "You met me on the road of the Nao." SHIH, 136, v. 3, pp. 88:87. "K'em you beat your earthen jar, on the Y'un-k'iu road." Yüan-ch'iu is one of the five famous valleys somewhere in Honan. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 784. SHIH, 200, v. 7, pp. 151:152. "The road of the Willow garden (leans on=) is close to the aced hill"

3 SHIH, 195, vv. 3, 4, pp. 143:142. "Our tortoises are (satiated=) weary, they do not tell us the (proper) plans; the counsellors are very many, therefore there is nothing achieved; the proffered speeches fill the court, but who dares to take the (blame:) responsibility? They are like those wayfarers who consult (people), and therefore make no progress in the road (Tao)... they are like those house-builders who consult (people) on the road (Tao)." Here the responsible people are confused, they do not know what the right method is. CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 161; CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1269.

4 SHIH, 261, v. 1, pp. 231:230. "Great is the Liang-shan (a mountain tract) it was Yü who put it in order (for cultivation); grand are its roads." Legge explains that the prince of Han, after the death of his father, came to the capital, by the regular route which was in good condition, to receive the king's confirmation of his succession. LEGGE vol. 4, 1969, p. 546. According to Chu, Tao here refers to the method of governing. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung, 1920, pp. 1971, 1972.

SHIH, 101, vv. 1, 2, pp. 64:65. "The southern mountain is scraggily high; the male fox has walked slowly (slyly); the road 道 to Lu is smooth and easy, the young lady of Ts'i went by it to her new home; since she has now gone to her new home, why do you still yearn for her?" The background of this ode is: A lady of Ts'i has gone to Lu and been married. A lover who has lost her is grieved, but is admonished: he should not be desperate and continue to think of her or try to follow her. All the proper rites required have been duly carried out, and the fact is irrevocable. The "male fox", i.e. the successful husband has stepped slowly (cautiously and slyly). He has committed no breach of the rules which could invalidate the marriage." KARLGREN, 1974, p. 65. The road to Lu is such that a chariot can be driven fast along it. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 590.

SHIH, 105, pp. 67, 68. "The road to Lu is smooth and easy." 魯道有蕩. This is repeated four times.

long.⁵

The road is also described as difficult: one can only walk slowly along it for psychological reasons or because the road or its walkers are in a poor condition. Walking is continued, however, despite the hardships involved.⁶

A girl is out in the open, hoping for a love-meeting with her beloved whom she dare not even mention by name; but he eludes her. "The reeds and rushes are very green, the white dew becomes hoar-frost; oh whom I call 'that man' is somewhere near the stream; I go up the stream after him, the road is difficult and long 道阻且長. I go down the stream after him, but he eludes me (by going) into the midst of the stream." The other two verses are roughly similar with the parallel sentences:

5 SHIH, 33, v. 3, pp. 19:20, "I look at that sun and that moon; long-brooding is my thinking of (you); the road being so long, when can you come? Oh, all you noblemen, you know nothing of good conduct; I am not wicked, not greedy; why are you not good?" The background of this ode is that the king does not take proper care of the state. He merely wages wars, a practice which is not favoured by the people. Married couples are separated and the road is long which reunites the couples. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 231.

SHIH, 230, v. 1, pp. 181:182. "Delicate are the yellow birds, they settle on the slope of the hill; the way being so long, how tired we are! You should give us drink, give us food, teach us, instruct us, give orders to those (after carriages) baggage carriages and tell them to carry us." This ode describes the difficulties of minor officials. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1571.

SHIH, 299, v. 3, p. 256. "Oh, pleasant is the semi-circular water, we gather its Brassenia; the prince of Lu has come, by the semi-circular water he is drinking wine; he has drunk the good wine; for long there will be given him a rare old age; he has followed that long road, and subdued all this multitude." See also KARLGREN 1964 (1946), p. 175. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 2206.

6 SHIH, 35, v. 2, pp. 21:22. The song is sung by a rejected wife, thrown out of her husband's house. It says: "I travel the road lingeringly, in the core of my heart I am unwilling." 行道遲遲. "Walk the road slowly." YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 53; CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 245. This same phrase can also be found in SHIH, 167, v. 6, pp. 111:112. "We travel the road slowly, we are hungry, we are thirsty; our hearts are pained, nobody (knows:) understands our woe." According to Chu, this refers to a long distance. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1011.

"The road is difficult and steep. The road is difficult and turns to the right." 道阻且躋道阻且右.⁷

A special combination of Tao in Shih Ching is the road of Chou. An officer wished to support his mother and needs a furlough for this, but still feels that he should not neglect his service to the king. The ode says: "The four stallions run unceasingly; the road of Chou is winding and (slow:) long; do I not (think of:) long to go home? But the service to the king must not be defective; my heart is pained and grieved."⁸

At the beginning and when the house of Chou was growing and facilities were being created, it is said of the roads: "The roads were cleared" 行道兌矣 This was the last facility to be mentioned in the ode as being under construction.⁹

In describing the prosperity of the west, it is said: "That road of Chou is (smooth) like a whetstone, 周道如砥 it is straight like an arrow, 其直如矢. That is where the noblemen 君子 tread, where the (small men:) 小人 commoners look on; with longing regards I look towards it, flowingly I shed tears." This prosperity is contrasted with

7 SHIH, 129, pp. 83, 84. The road also appears in another love song, where a girl ponders on how she shall receive her lover. "There is a solitary Pyrus tree, it grows to the left of the road; 生于道左 that nobleman, it has come so far that he is willing to come to me; in the core of my heart I love him; what shall I give him for drink and food? There is a solitary Pyrus tree, it grows at the curve of the road 生于道周 that nobleman, it has come so far that he is willing to come and play (with me); in the core (etc. as in st. 1). 周 here means "curve", "bend". SHIH, 123, pp. 78:79. CHAO Pi-kuang 1977, p. 115. "Left of the road" and "curve of the road" reflect the idea of "solitary" in the poem. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung, 1920, p. 702. Wang Li says that 躋 here means 升高 to rise high. WANG Li 1962, p. 455.

8 SHIH, 162, v. 1, pp. 106:105. There are several interpretations for 周道倭遲. Mao interprets: The road of Chou is winding and (slow:) long. YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 199. Karlgren agrees with this, as does CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, pp. 956, 957. Other interpretations are: "The road of Chou is winding." "The road of Chou is precipitous." According to Karlgren, it is impossible to decide which of these best represents the original Shih Ching. KARLGREN 1964 (1944), p. 26.

9 SHIH, 237, v. 8, p. 190.

the east which lacks even the basic services.¹⁰

In ode 149 a traveller wishes to be allowed to return home to Chou: "It is not that the wind is whirling up, it is not that the carriage is going

10 SHIH, 203, pp. 153-155. The ode continues in verse 2: "In the smaller East and in the Greater East, the shuttles and warp-cylinders are empty; but twisted are (the strands of) the dolichos shoes, with them one can walk on hoar-frost - the going and coming gentlemen, walking in the road of Chou, they have been going and coming, they cause my heart to ache." The smoothness of the road of Chou is explained by Chu to mean that taxes were collected justly in the west. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, pp. 1339, 1340.

Stressing the distinction between noblemen and commoners Erkes explains the poem: "Hier sind beide Ausdrücke in rein klassenmässigem Sinne gebraucht: Die chün-tse sind die türkischen Chou-Aristokraten, die auf der ihnen nun offen stehenden Strasse in die reichen Gebiete der Shang-Kultur kommen und sie ausplündern, wie es die folgenden Strophen beschreiben. Die hsiao-jen sind die unterdrückte chinesische Bevölkerung, die diesem Treiben machtlos zuschauen muss. Der Klassengegensatz wird, wie häufig, durch den ethnischen noch gesteigert. Das mit dem Ausdruck chün-tse in keiner Weise ein moralischer Vorzug verbunden wird, zieht die zweite Strophe." ERKES 1956, pp. 16, 17. See also WALEY 1969, pp. 317, 318. Erkes may not always be considered a very reliable judge. See also p. 47.

Needham also devotes special attention to this ode and describes its background. "In China (wrote Adam Smith), and in several other governments of Asia, the executive power charges itself both with the reparation of the high-roads and with the maintenance of the navigable canals. In the instructions which are given to the governor of each province, these objects, it is said, are constantly recommended to him, and the judgment which the court forms of his conduct is very much regulated by the attention which he appears to have paid to this part of his instructions. This branch of public policy, accordingly, is said to be very much attended to in all those countries, but particularly in China, where the high-roads, and still more the navigable canals, it is pretended, exceed very much everything of the same kind which is known in Europe.

These features may be illustrated by some of the oldest records of road-building in the Chinese culture-area which have come down to us." In this context Needham quotes the ode and continues: "As this folk-song is considered rather ancient, perhaps of the 9th century, in the Western Chou period, it may refer either to the Wei Valley, Kuan-chung 關中 ('within the passes') as it was later called, or to the eastern capital and domains of the High King near the later site of Lo-yang. The route between Chhang-an and Lo-yang must certainly be one of the most ancient tracks in all China." NEEDHAM 1971, pp. 3, 4. See also on roads of Chou: HSÜ Cho-yün, pp. 520-525.

away (that makes me so depressed). When I turn my head back and look at that road of Chou, in the core of my heart I am sad."¹¹

A rejected son says: "Even is the road of Chou, but it is (entirely rank grass:) all overgrown with rank grass; my heart is grievously pained." This means that his road back to the royal family is full of rank grass, i.e., his return home is not accepted. The actual bad condition of the road of Chou is described: "There are the lath-box carriages, they march on that road of Chou." Previously the road was so good that the king used it - now the road is bad; suitable for conveying animals in lath-box carriages.¹²

Tao also appears in the sense of "method" in an agricultural connection,¹³ and in the sense of "to tell".¹⁴

Tao in Shih Ching means an ordinary road, sometimes bearing another connotation, such as "method of governing". The road may be easy, long or difficult. It represents an obstacle to a son who wishes to take care of his mother, but who also has duties to the Chou. When Chou was firmly established, roads were constructed. Smooth straight roads show that Chou is prosperous, but the road of Chou overgrown with rank grass symbolises the difficulties a repudiated son experiences in attempting to return to his royal family. Tao also appears in the sense of "method" and once as "to tell". Tao does not seem to bear any special rationalistic or ideological connotation in Shih Ching.¹⁵

11 SHIH, 149, pp. 93, 94.

12 SHIH, 197, v. 2, pp. 144:145; CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1287; SHIH, 234, v. 4, p. 185; CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1590; YANG Chia-lo 1973, p. 316.

13 SHIH, 245, v. 5, pp. 200:201. "Hou Tsi's husbandry had the method of helping 有相之道 (the growth); he cleared away the rank grass;" etc. For Tao, "method", see CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1751. Cf. BEKY 1972, p. 46, where Tao is interpreted as "Natur" or "kurs der Dinge" in this context.

14 SHIH, 46, vv. 2, 3, p. 30; WANG li-ch'ing 1966, p. 154.

15 Tong says: "The word *Tao* seems to have acquired three different meanings in Chinese antiquity. First, in its literary meaning it signifies road, or way or method or approach. Second, in its analogous meaning it denotes the moral way or road for man's fulfillment of life. Third,

4. Li, Rites

In Shih Ching, Li appears ten times in different contexts.

Li is considered as of utmost importance to a man 人 generally. Man here refers to an ordinary man.¹

Referring to the eclipse of Aug. 29, 775 B.C. or Sept. 30, 734 B.C., it is said that the sun and moon prelude calamity, when they do not follow their paths or orbits; the states of the four quarters are misgoverned, and their good men are not employed. Huang-fu 皇父, the prime minister, is criticized for tearing down people's houses, and because the fields are covered in weeds. Huang-fu says: "I do not maltreat you, according to law 禮 it is like that." Huang-fu's ministers are also accused of being avaricious. Apparently Huang-fu attempted to use the statement quoted above to defend himself. However, according to the people, his concept of Li seems to be erroneous, since he had violated the rites of the lord. This occurrence of Li refers to "the unwritten law of what is fair or just, a consensus of ruler and ruled on what can and cannot be done."² Here Li may have cosmological dimensions so that wrong Li in government occurs together with catastrophes in the universe and in the world.

in its ontological meaning it points to the dynamic mode of the Total Reality." TONG 1969, p. 522. Tao in Shih Ching belongs to the first kind.

1 SHIH, 52, pp. 33, 34. "Look at the rat, it has its limbs; a man without decorum, (Li 禮) - a man without decorum, (Li 禮), why does he not quickly die?" Creel explains: "Here *Li* is said to be as essential to a man - not to an aristocrat, but merely a man, *jen* 人 - as its limbs are to a rat... It is hardly possible to understand it as referring to a special code of conduct peculiar to aristocrats." CREEL 1970, p. 337. However, it has been said that Li was originally a notion related to government and not to the individual. LO Ken-tse 1963, p. 664. According to Fehl, this occurrence of Li is understood in connection with other occurrences relating to the ceremonials of the high moments, to drinking wine and the ancestor cultus. FEHL 1971, pp. 84, 85.

2 SHIH, 193, pp. 138, 139; FEHL 1971, p. 86. Li here refers to law. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1243. Creel says that it is doubtful whether Li here stands for a code of aristocratic conduct. CREEL 1970, p. 337.

Correct Li in connection with the sacrificial and festal services in the ancestral temple have been described or mentioned in the following statements: "The rites and ceremonies are entirely according to rule; the laughter and talk are entirely to the point;"

"We are very respectful, our rules and rites have no error;" 式禮
莫愆。

"The ceremonies are now completed," 禮儀既備。³

In these Li is a form of sacrifice offered in the temple,⁴ also referring to other forms of ritual performed there.

Related to this, Li is connected with the ceremonies performed at the royal court, where the temperate use of spirits is stressed and Li is also connected with the offering of wine to ancestors and ancestresses when the harvest is good and the blessings from Heaven are perfect. In this connection of offering wine to the ancestors, it is also said that "we consummate the (hundred=) many rites."⁵

3 SHIH, 209, vv. 3-5, pp. 162-163.

4 KARLGREN 1974 (1944), p. 135. Before Confucius, Li is generally regarded to have been "cultic" or "magical". ROUSELLE 1954, p. 6. The meaning of Li before Confucius was "holy rite", "sacred ceremony". FINGARETTE 1972, p. 7. Before Confucius Li was regarded as a cultic religious concept. YANG I-feng 1967, p. 27.

5 SHIH, 220, v. 2, pp. 173:174; 279, p. 245; 290, v. 6, p. 251; 209, pp. 162, 163.

The seven occurrences of Li in these odes is related to drinking of wine. FehI says of this: "Throughout the odes there is expressed an explicit belief that unless the sacrificial rites with their generous offering of spirits distilled from the grains were meticulously and properly performed, there would be no germination of the seed in spring time and no autumn harvest." Of the drinking of wine, he says, "We get the picture of a sacrament in which the 'real presence' is associated with intoxication. The Spirits drink to satiation. Toward the close of the possession part of the rite, it is said, 'the spirits are all drunk'. It is then the 'august Dead One', through the agency of the impersonator, arises and all Spirits and ancestors return. During the solemn *anaphora* of the rite three ritual cups are drunk by all participants who thus join with all the Spirits in a sacramental communion. But these cups must be drained with decorum. If someone does not 'hold his liquor'

In Shih ching Li means primarily sacrifices and ceremonies performed to one's ancestors. Secondly, Li is a form of Behaviour adopted by the duke and government towards the people.⁶ Li does not directly refer to virtue or to other important ethical concepts in Shih Ching.⁷

there is a great threat to the beneficent efficacy of the whole sacrament; for the earnest of the blessings so seriously sought is the manner of the Spirits' departure. When they return tranquilly to their place it is a sign that all will be well. A clan feast may revive and rejoice the Spirits of the 'guests'. It may bind the hearts of the living together, warmly affectioned one to another. But it may also degenerate into a drunken brawl. Temperes may rise, the Spirits too may enter into an ugly mood, dissatisfied, contentious, disenchanted by the hospitality or the manners of their hosts and descendants. Hence the drinking of wine which is an essential part of the sacrifice and sacrament must be carefully circumscribed by rules and ceremonies, and these, it would appear, constitute the earliest meaning of the *li*." FEHL then refers to SHIH 209, v. 3, p. 162. "The rites and ceremonies are entirely according to rule; the laughter and talk are entirely to the point." v. 4, pp. 162, 163: "We are very respectful, our rules and rites have no error, the officiating invoker makes the announcement, he goes and presents it to the pious descendant; fragrant is the pious sacrifice, the spirits enjoy the wine and food." FEHL 1971, pp. 82, 84. FEHL refers to WALEY 1969, p. 210.

In SHIH, 209, v. 4, pp. 162, 163, the spirits enjoying wine and food is a part of Li among other things. In SHIH, 220, v. 2, pp. 173:174, offering wine to the ancestors is to consummate the many Li. The case is similar in two songs describing wine making, SHIH, 279, 290, pp. 245, 250, 251. Drinking wine according to Shih Ching is part of many rites. However, the concept which is used when speaking of getting drunk and going outside to rest and to clear one's head, is Te. This concept is more explicit in regulating one's drunkenness when drinking during the rites than Li. See the present study, p. 180. Cf. FEHL above.

6 In seven instances, Li in Shih Ching refers to religious ritual. CREEL 1970, p. 336. This emphasis of balance can also be seen in the above discussion.

7 For this later development, see, for example, CUA 1972, p. 43; TU, Wei-ming 1968, p. 34.

In odes 99 and 304 Mao has interpreted 履 as 禮. See YANG Chia-lo 1973, pp. 120, 473, and CHAO Pi-kuang 1977, p. 182. Karlgren has shown that the text of the odes 99 and 304 is clear without replacing 履 (*liər*, according to early Chou reading) with 禮 (*liər*, according to early Chou reading). KARLGREN 1964 (1942), p. 188. See the text: SHIH, 99, p. 64; 304, v. 2, pp. 264:265.

5. Yi, Righteousness

Yi, righteousness appears three times in Shih Ching. Each occurrence will be studied separately below.

The first occurrence can be found in ode 235, the function of which is to celebrate King Wen as a founder of the Chou dynasty, and to show how his virtue attracted the favouring regard of Heaven and made him a model for his descendants and their ministers; it is said to the Duke of Chou for the benefit of the young king: "The appointment not being easy (to keep) may it not cease in your persons (but continue in your descendants); display and make bright your good fame; the lord of Yü (the dynasty before Hsia) and (the house of) Yin got their investiture from Heaven." Most probably Yi here means "good".¹ Good fame here refers to that fame which works for the good of the country, since it is the actions of the ruler that are being considered.

The other two occurrences of Yi can be found in ode 255. "Wen Wang said: Alas! Alas, you Yin-Shang! You should hold the righteous ones (in office) 而秉義類; the refractory have much ill-will, with false words they answer you; robbers and thieves are used in the (interior=) government, they stand up and (imprecate=) call down evil, without limit, without end." "Wen Wang said: Alas! Alas, you Yin-Shang! It is not Heaven that steeps you in wine; it is not right that you (pursue=) are bent on it and use it; 不義從式, you have erred in your demeanour; you (have no light, you have no darkness=) make no distinction between light and darkness, you shout and clamour, you turn day into night." The first case may refer to the employment in office of good men to work for the good of the country. In the second case "not righteous" seems to refer to destructive behaviour against the country's interests.²

1 SHIH, 235, v. 7, pp. 187:186. Chu quotes 鄭箋, the oldest Han commentary, saying that 義問 refers to asking about 禮義 the mature men. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1610. Chu Hsi interprets 義 "Righteous" to mean 善 "good" and 問 here to mean 聞 "fame". The sentence would run: "Announce his good fame to the world." CHU Hsi 1972, p. 120. According to Ch'en, Yi here means "good", CH'EN Huan 1975, p. 647.

2 SHIH, 255, vv. 3, 5, p. 215. Chu explains 秉 here to mean "to execute",

The appearances of "righteousness" in Shih Ching are few and incidental, so that it cannot be said to constitute a key term in Shih Ching. These few occurrences show that "righteousness" implies behaviour which is beneficial to the country, and "not righteousness" refers to actions which are disastrous to the country.³

and 義類 is "all things should fit to the reason." CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1866. Chu Hsi says that 義 means 善 "good", which implies that the phrase would mean "You should use good things" CHU Hsi 1972, p. 138. Ch'en also explains Yi as "good". However, the explanation is different from that given above: Yin-Shang people use good 善 to defend (themselves). CH'EN Huan 1975, p. 748. Ch'ü explains 秉 as 用 "to use". 義類 refers to many good things collectively. The sentence would then mean: "You should employ such as are good.", or "You should employ good men." CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, p. 237. There is no need to change the basic meaning of 秉 "to hold". "You should hold the righteous ones (in office)." This interpretation fits the context best, because mention is made later of thieves and robbers being employed in the government, and consequently there are sufficient grounds to ask for the employment of righteous or good men in government. Men who work for the good of the country are 義. Cf. Karlgren's translation: "You should hold on to what is right and good." SHIH, 255, v. 3, p. 215. In the second case, v. 5, Ch'ü explains that I here means 宜 "suitable". The phrase would then mean: "It is unsuitable to be bent on the use of wine." CH'Ü Wan-li 1974, pp. 237, 238. See also CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 1869, and CH'EN Huan 1975, p. 750.

- 3 It seems that Yi contains an overtone of beneficiality to the state or country. If the early Chinese also had this in mind when they spoke of Yi, it would seem logical that the graph was designed as 義 consisting of the graph 羊, which depicts a big fat goat or lamb to suggest prosperity, and 我 which depicts a flag and a weapon to suggest the emblems of the country. 我 has the form 𠄎 in the bones and the form 𠄎 in the bronzes, where 𠄎 depicts a signal flag, and 𠄎 depicts a weapon. See KAO Shu-fan 1974, pp. 535, 1376. This interpretation was suggested by CHENG Chung-kai in 1978, Hong Kong. Cf. p. 144.

Needham quotes Ta Hsüeh, Great Learning, among others, to suggest the original meaning of Yi. 此謂不以利爲利以義爲利 "In a State, financial gain is not (real) gain - justice (=Yi) is gain." Another quotation comes from Hsün Tzu chapter 16: 法生于義 義生于衆 適合乎人心 "Laws (should) arise out of justice, and justice arises out of the common people and must correspond with what they have at heart." Needham regards these passages as examples showing that the Yi originally meant "that which seemed just to the natural man." NEEDHAM 1956, p. 545. The first quotation in particular shows that "beneficial to the country" may have been an important factor in the meaning of Yi. See also LEGGE, vol. 1. 1969, p. 380.

6. Jen, Goodness

In Shih Ching Jen occurs twice. In one encomiastic ode the ends of the verses consist of parallel statements:

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| He is truly handsome and kind | 洵 | 美 | 且 | 仁 |
| he is truly handsome and good | 洵 | 美 | 且 | 好 |
| he is truly handsome and martial | 洵 | 美 | 且 | 武 |

Historically, Shu was not a good man, but he commanded the respect of the people who sang this song.² 洵 is explained as 佳 and 美 as 好³, thus denoting the more inner qualities of the lord. Also the Manchu translation uses terms which rather denote his inner qualities.⁴ It is also suggested that all the qualities of the lord referred to in this ode are his outer qualities; this would imply Jen as well.⁵

The second occurrence of Jen can also be found in an encomiastic ode.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----|
| 1. The hounds have double bells; | 盧 | 令 | 令 | |
| that man is beautiful and kind. | 其 | 人 | 美 | 且 仁 |
| 2. The hounds have double rings; | 盧 | 重 | 環 | |
| that man is beautiful and handsome. | 其 | 人 | 美 | 且 鬢 |

1 SHIH, 77, p. 52.

2 CHU Hsi 1972, p. 33; CH'Ū Wan-li 1974, p. 57; YAO Chi-heng 1963, pp. 101, 102. According to Chu, the song is addressed to a person who had been good, but was no longer so. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 490. Legge says: "His (Shu) character was the reverse of being worthy of admiration; and we must suppose that this ode and the next express merely the sentiments of his parasites and special followers." LEGGE, vol. 4, p. 128.

3 CHU Hsi 1972, p. 33.

4 Gosingga, menschenfreundlich, gütig, wohlwollend; Menschenliebe. Buyecuke, wünschenswehrt, liebenswürdig, reizend, geliebt. Eldengge, glänzend, ausgezeichnet. GABELENTZ 1864, vol. 1, p. 235, vol. 2, pp. 28, 53, 84.

5 Takeuchi says that Jen here means external beauty, in that 美 beauty is used, this being emphasized by introducing modifiers by means of the conjunction 且. Takeuchi holds that 好 means "nice looking", or "beautiful", an admirable countenance or figure. 武 means "brave", "heroic". TAKEUCHI 1965, pp. 61, 62, 65, 66.

3. The hounds have double compound rings; 盧重鑄
that man is beautiful and strong. 其人美且佷.

The introduction of the ode states that the lord was fond of military pursuits and hunting and did not attend to his duty. The people do not approve of this; they suffer because of it; so they sing of the good hunting of ancient times in order to criticize and satirize the lord.⁷

令 令 is interpreted by several scholars as a form of onomatopoeia reproducing the sound of the bells which the hounds carried at their necks.⁸

The hounds have a ling, ling sound; the lord is praised; he is good and has grace, Jen.⁹ This explanation again refers to the inner qualities, the qualities of the lord's behaviour. Takeuchi regards Jen here as referring to the outer appearance of the lord.¹⁰

6 SHIH, 103, pp. 66:67.

7 YAO Chi-heng 1962, p. 102. Legge says of the introduction: "This, however, is much too far-fetched." LEGGE, vol. 4, p. 158. For the hunting interests of the lord, see Cho Ch'uan, LEGGE, vol. 5, 1969, p. 82.

8 Chou Fa-kao does not accept the translation of as "double bells". Ling ling here refers to the hounds' manner of running. CHOU, Fa-kao 1964, p. 666. 令 令 means a sound: CHU Hsi 1972, p. 41; YAO Chi-heng 1963, p. 121; CH'U Wan-li 1974, p. 74; LEGGE, vol. 4, 1969, p. 158. This interpretation is also confirmed by the general characteristics of the poems when onomatopoeic sounds were used in dancing and singing. See CHEN, Shih-hsiang 1968, pp. 387-390, 398.

9 MAO Shih Cheng I 1909, pp. 198, 199. Chu refers to "beautiful virtue" 美德 and "love" 仁. CHU T'ien-kuan-hung 1920, p. 599. See also a similar interpretation in CH'EN Huan 1975, p. 254.

10 Takeuchi explains: In the poem Lu ling the character 鬢 according to different sources means: nice-looking, brave, nice-looking of hairdress. The character 佷 is interpreted as "gifted with remarkable talent", "beard thick and beautiful", "strong". Takeuchi remarks that opinions are so diverse concerning the characters mentioned that it is not possible to choose between them. However, looking at the poem as a whole it can be seen that there is admiration for the handsome and brave appearance of the hunter. Takeuchi believes that to interpret the poem to include his fine traits of character would be to go too far. Takeuchi also bases his views on the fact that in Shih Ching synonymous phrases are used repeatedly. Because the other characters seem to refer to external attributes, then Jen also refers to external attributes, as would appear in phrases which Takeuchi regards as synonymous. Takeuchi

Both of the poems show that Jen is an attribute of the ideal man.¹¹ It seems safest to suppose that in Shih Ching it refers to the ethical qualities of a man rather than his outer appearance merely, although presumably it can also convey overtones relating to outer appearance as well. The meaning may well have been quite wide without any need for a strict definition one way or the other.¹²

adds that Chu-tzu 朱子 substituted 猷 for 思 to indicate that 猷 means whiskers and beard, suggesting that the poem expresses the hunter's manly style. In this context Jen should be taken as an adjective modifying such external beauty as "elegant, nice looking" or "handsome, brave" instead of expressing a concept relating to "humanness" or "affection", although it has generally been interpreted in that way. This would be to distort the original conception of the poems. TAKEUCHI 1965, pp. 60-67.

Some objections may be raised: The sentences in the poem are not necessarily totally synonymous. They express features which are compatible with one and the same person and which are, therefore, not contradictory. It is quite possible that the inner or ethical qualities may also have been used alongside the outer qualities in praising the person in question.

11 TAKEUCHI 1965, pp. 71, 72.

12 The discussion of early Jen, sometimes contains very little with regard to its significance in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. See, for example, YANG Hui-chieh 1975, pp. 1-22. Chan, Wing-tsit says that in early times Jen connoted "a particular virtue, namely, kindness of a ruler to his people". CHAN, Wing-tsit 1955, p. 296. See also GRAF 1970, pp. 65, 66. Based on Shih Ching, this definition is possible, but the material discussed above does not indicate such a strict definition. Chan refers to ode 204, v. 1: 先祖匪人 interpreting 人 as 仁. This is rejected by Karlgren, who translates this as a rhetorical question: "Were the ancestors not men?" SHIH, 204, v. 1, pp. 156:155. KARLGREN 1964 (1944), p. 125. Karlgren here follows MAO Shih Cheng I 1909, p. 442. 人 refers to a man, CH'U Wan-li 1974, p. 175; YAO Chi-heng 1963, pp. 224, 225. This passage cannot be accepted as a source for Jen in the present work.