

V. CONCLUSION

1. Comparative Review

From the historical point of view, it seems that during Yin and Western Chou, society and civilisation in general underwent a comparatively steady process of development. More changes occurred during the changeover from one dynasty to another, however, than in ordinary times. The Chou dynasty made its own contribution to the general development. In this, the ideology of Chou is important for the present study, since this tradition is well reflected in Shu Ching and Shih Ching.

During the Ch'un Ch'iu period, progress became more rapid. Civilisation had developed to a stage where this was possible; communications had improved; and material life had become more sophisticated. During this period of rapid change, there arose a new kind of thinking, which has been generally regarded as philosophy. The first known embodiment of this kind of thinking was Confucius. It is only to be expected that this new way of thinking differs from traditional modes of thought, but before we examine Confucius' philosophy we should discuss the older traditions using the most important terms of Confucian thinking as guidelines.

The society during Chou recognized two basic social classes, the nobility and the others, or the people. Between these two main groups there developed a third group, that of the scholars. This group had contacts both with the people and the nobility, and Confucius was a representative of this group. Shu Ching emphasizes the traditional doctrines of the nobility and government, but the Shih Ching tradition also includes references to the ruled, the people.

The first term discussed in the sources is T'ien, Heaven. The kings before

Yin had virtuous ministers; moreover, they used their virtue and became the recipients of the Heavenly favour. The kings were accepted by the people and obtained their mandate to rule from Heaven. The kings Wen and Wu were fine examples to the present king. The virtue of the former kings enjoyed continuity in the person of the present king, who, through the exercise of virtue as manifest in the fine example of the former kings, harmonizes and takes care of the people. The former kings, now living in a state of transcendence, are gladdened by this.

The earliest legendary kings were all virtuous and the response from Heaven was invariably rewarding and beneficial.

Shu Ching maintains that the lord of Hsia neglected the government and the people and did not respect the sacrifices, but lived a life of pleasure. Now Heaven gave the mandate to T'ang who carried out the Heavenly punishment on Hsia, without delay.

The first Yin rulers were virtuous; they cared for their officials, and thus stimulated everybody to work eagerly. In this way virtue spread, and the king gained the confidence of his inferiors. Ministers were also virtuous and acquired "longevity". The mandate of the rulers was supported by Heaven; after death, they held equal status with the divine.

The last Yin rulers were drunkards, the people imitated them in this respect. The ruler revelled in pleasure; he was inferior in his personal moral behaviour, and this immorality spread among his subjects. The king permitted crime, neglected observance of the sacrifices and was unwilling to change his way of life. He imposed heavy taxation and was served by criminal officials, whom he did not punish for their crimes.

Heaven destroyed Yin, removed its mandate and gave it to Chou. The Chou king was the instrument of Heavenly punishment; he exacted obedience from the people when resettling them in a new place.

The punishments meted out to Yin and preceding dynasties were uncompromising and final; the mandate was removed, never to be restored.

The underlying form of Chou thought was that of an oscillating pattern. The positive starting point was an ideal state of virtue, a favourable Heaven and harmony under Heaven. From this the trend continued away in a negative direction, towards a state of corrupt government, disharmony and suffering on the part of the people. Heaven corrected this situation by suddenly bestowing the mandate on new rulers, who established a new dynasty. The swing from negative back to positive was instigated by Heaven and that from positive to negative was caused by man. In this kind of oscillation, man in league with Heaven was good, and man without Heaven was evil. The positive ideas were regarded as worth preserving, as worth continuing.

Heaven gave its mandate to rule to Chou. The kings consulted oracles and received directions from their ancestors who had been favoured by Heaven. In order to be able to bestow grace, Heaven required the Chou king to obey the late old kings. Moreover, the officials of the king should do their utmost to keep the people in order.

Because Heaven makes things difficult for Chou, it is understood that Chou is at fault. This means that because the people are not at peace, Heaven chastises both them and the ruler in order to accomplish what has to be done. In order to preserve his mandate, the king should make the people loyal to him. Heaven chastises the king and people in order to teach the king how to rule better and to teach the people how to be more obedient subjects of the king. The king has a responsibility to implement the work planned by a former king.

The number of crimes is not counted, since qualitatively all crimes are the same; they are manifest and heard by Heaven; it is this which makes them serious. Heaven punishes Chou for its faults; Chou administrators should also punish the crimes of the people, especially crimes concerned with filiality and fraternity. Heavenly providence functions in such a way that both people and the king are encouraged to improve themselves in their duties by direct punitive attention from Heaven and secondly so that Heaven uses the king and the king used his officials to punish and to prevent crime, especially the kind of crime which is regarded as serious

in disturbing basic social relations, the relations between family members. In this positive form of providence, Heaven maintains the people and harmonizes their living conditions. Heaven wishes the universe to function in a state of harmonious and peaceful coexistence. Harmonious family relations are of the utmost importance in this coexistence. The educative punitive actions of Heaven aimed at Chou are not sudden, final or uncompromising, like the change of dynasty; they are merely a form of guidance over a period of time. They can be avoided by applying the necessary corrective. However, if the corrective is not applied, there is a danger that the mandate will be lost.

The main problem of Chou government was how to stop the trend towards the negative, and when such a trend existed how to reverse it toward the positive without losing the Heavenly mandate to rule. The educative attitude of Heaven also shows that it was Heaven's intention to preserve the situation when this was positive, and not to give the mandate to another ruler, despite certain defects which were correctible.

According to Shu Ching, the king has a deep feeling of dependence on Heaven. Heaven can be influenced by prayer, and Heaven's message can be read, not only in the oracle, but also in natural phenomena.

There is a related chain of obedience by which the king should obey Heaven and the old deceased kings, the people should obey the king and his officials, sons should obey their father, and brothers should be brotherly. It is clear that one way to avoid Heavenly punishments is to observe this chain of obedience. However, in speaking of Heavenly punishments the main emphasis is not on the punishments themselves, but on the fact that Heaven is concerned with the people. The punishments are only a Heavenly method of demonstrating this concern, so that the positive trend can be preserved.

In this concern, Heaven is the people's guide. It wishes to provide the people with a king who will take proper care of them and of governmental affairs and will not seek his own comfort or glory. In this respect the bestowing of the Heavenly mandate is essential.

In order to obtain the mandate, the person to become a king should prove he has the qualifications, the virtue Te; he should pray with virtue and do his utmost to benefit the country. If one has all the qualifications, but feels that one could better benefit the country in some way other than being king, one would, as a virtuous person, voluntarily exclude oneself from kingship. A man has a free choice in this respect.

The Heavenly mandate was bestowed before the individual became king, and the mandate imposed on him the duty, and gave him the authority and the courage to destroy the evil ruler.

The king would keep the mandate by having virtuous assistants and by acting through them and earning the obedient respect of people. The legendary old kings had good ministers, served the people and obtained the mandate.

Heaven did not support any particular person. To get and to keep the mandate depended only on the king's personal ability to practise Te, to obey Heaven and to listen to the sages.

On obtaining the mandate, a person should be good to the people and should be liked by them. A good king is a favour bestowed by Heaven on the people. Moreover, the people are given to the king by Heaven. On receiving the mandate, the instructions of the oracles should be followed. There is a unification of virtue, religion and politics, all of which are inseparable.

Most of the Heavenly actions directed at the people are implemented by the king. Heaven supervises and regulates the king's actions through the people. The people have a power which originates in Heaven. This authority gives the people power over the king. Together with the Heavenly king and the Heavenly mandate, this Heavenly democracy is a vital part of Chou thought. The king and the people are responsible to Heaven; Heaven is responsible to no-one - it is the ultimate authority, a supremely functioning entity. The hierarchy is that of Heaven, king, ministers and officials, people. Heaven uses this hierarchy to administer the world. If this hierarchy fails, namely, if the king and his officials fail,

then Heaven uses the lower end of the hierarchy, the people, directly, to restore order, to switch the trend towards the positive.

This emphasis on Heavenly democracy may be understood historically in that without it Chou doctrine would have been too abstract, lacking a point of contact with the people that the Chou house ruled over. The Chous had to create a kind of doctrine which the people felt was in their interests. The people should be convinced that they had a safeguard against the possible wrongdoings of the ruling house, that they participated in the process of ruling and that they were not merely the material objects of power.

Heaven used the king for other activities as well, in, for instance, the basic initiative function which resembles creation. The officials are used both by the king and by Heaven. Despite the hierarchical order, Heaven had a direct relation with all degrees within the hierarchy.

Shu Ching also mentions the communication between Heaven and man. This occurs in prayer and in oracles. Two kinds of prayer are mentioned: emergency prayer and ethical prayer. The first kind was resorted to by wise men under the tyrannical rule of Yin; the second kind is a prayer with virtue, whose object is to obtain the mandate. Prayer and oracle formed a two way communication between the human being and Heaven.

According to Shu Ching, Heaven in Chou thought cannot be defined strictly; it is an autonomous, independent, supremely functioning entity, the ultimate initiator of things and principles, desiring a harmonious and happy coexistence for the people in all their social relations and for the entire universe as well.

In the pattern of oscillation, the positive ideal was regarded as being worth preserving, worth continuing. The Chous themselves applied this pattern in part even to their own dynasty. They were sensitive to the symptoms that indicated the negative trend, and were aware of the danger of losing their mandate. Even so, they developed this pattern of thought with regard to their own dynasty. They worked out a method of anticipating

and forestalling the negative trend. With this method they understood Heavenly punishments as educative, as a process whereby Heaven taught the government to improve its administration. Secondly, they conceived of the idea of a Heavenly democracy in which the opinion of the people is consistent with the opinion of Heaven, the process of correction being implemented in accordance with this opinion. Thirdly, the continuing communication with Heaven through prayer and oracles, the maintenance of unity between immanence and transcendence also seemed to contribute to the positive trend. Educative punishment and Heavenly democracy were ideas which were peculiar to their own dynasty, and were not particularly common in the earlier dynasties, or so the Chou believed.

With this doctrine of oscillating phenomena connected with changing dynasties the Chous legitimized their own rule, and the ultimate basis for this legitimization was Heaven and the mandate from Heaven. By using the guidance of Heavenly educative punishment and the Heavenly democracy combined with the continuing process of communication with Heaven, the Chous attempted to put a stop to the trend towards the negative.

This pattern had applied to the earlier dynasties, and although it was a result of the legitimization of the rule of the Chous, it could also act as a basis for the destruction by the Chou dynasty of any new house. The Chous needed the above-mentioned guides to arrest the trend towards the negative. This was their main concern. And the will of Heaven was also consistent with this concern.

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. Heaven favours the king, lord and prince, by blessing, giving happiness, long life, an appointment to rule, descendants, wealth, material growth and success.

"Great Heaven" is also unfavourable, terrifying, treating with harshness the people and the whole country collectively, including the innocent.

Heaven brings death, famine, causes the people to flee the country and induces bad officials to create disorder.

Sometimes it is not known why Heaven inflicts hardship; one simply has to submit to the will of Heaven. The individual has to honour his ancestors even when in difficulties, in order to save himself. One has to submit to the bad officials through whom Heaven acts. The officials should also fear the anger of Heaven; for Heaven observes their actions.

Even when Heaven is unfavourable towards individuals, the terms "merciless" or "severe" are not used as Heavenly epithets. An individual could encounter Heavenly disfavour without any particular feeling of guilt. Individuals have a feeling of dependability on Heaven. There is no easy way of solving problems.

Some of the manifestations of unfavourable Heaven follow a pattern from the general to the specific characteristics of Heavenly disfavour.

In ancient times 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.

There are several issues concerning Heaven in Shu Ching, which are non-existent or very little emphasized in Shih Ching. In Shu Ching there is stronger emphasis on the ancient kings. Their Te and the Te of their assistants produced a positive reaction from Heaven; virtuous assistants induce in the people loyalty to the king; the old kings are fine examples to the present ruler; Heaven favours the Yin; Heaven had pity on the Yin people; Heavenly disfavour to Yin was a punishment. This is also understood elsewhere when speaking of the Heavenly punishments inflicted on Yin.

In this retrospective process of thought, there are some issues which are more or less shared by the Shih Ching and Shu Ching: The former kings received the mandate; Shu Ching places greater emphasis on the virtue of the king in this contexts. The Heavenly mandate was removed from the dynasties that preceded Yin; Yin had faults; Heaven was unfavourable to Yin. However, Heavenly disfavour to Yin is emphasized more fully in Shu Ching than in Shih Ching. This attitude towards Yin is explained as a punishment in Shu Ching, but Shih Ching does not stress the point so much. Both share the view that there was a beginning to everything, a kind of starting point and that a kind of creation had taken place. In Shu Ching, the king was the author of this creative activity, whereas according to Shih Ching Heaven was the author of creation.

The above comparison shows that there are hardly any major issues regarding the retrospective part played by Heaven or Heaven's activities in Shih Ching which cannot also be found in Shu Ching. However, there are clearly important issues in Shu Ching which cannot be found in Shih Ching. These stress the importance of the king in ancient times and sets him up as a fine example to the present kings. Also, the Heavenly attitude towards different dynasties prior to Chou are described more clearly and in

a more detailed fashion than in Shih Ching. This shows that Shu Ching is more retrospectively orientated than Shih Ching. It seems that Chou ideology needed a solid historical foundation to legitimize ideals relating to its own time.

With regard to the time of Chou, the following issues are particularly stressed in Shu Ching as compared with Shih Ching: Heaven favours Chou; Heavenly disfavour urges Chou to reform; punishments in numbered categories; applying the corrective to avoid the punishments. It is natural that Shih Ching does not stress these points, since it holds that the collective suffering inflicted by Heaven cause even the innocent to suffer, and this suffering is more or less unexplainable. In the context of suffering Shih Ching alone describes the variety of collective suffering, the sufferings of the innocent and the gulf that exists between the rich and the poor. Heaven inflicts suffering on individuals, and no sudden solution can be found in Shih Ching to ward off Heavenly disfavour. In Shu Ching the solution is to change the dynasty or to introduce other reforms.

In the context of Heavenly disfavour, what is shared by both Shih Ching and Shu Ching is Heavenly disfavour towards Chou.

With regard to the Heavenly mandate, the issues that are exclusive to Shu Ching are: Good assistants help the king to consolidate or to renew the mandate; one must be liked by the people in order to acquire Ming; the mandate of a king is changed to that of a lower rank; correlation between Heaven, people and the mandate. In Shih Ching, Ming also means Heaven charging one to do something. Other points occurring in Shu Ching can be found in Shih Ching as well. With regard to Ming, the following points are shared by Shu Ching and Shih Ching: The king uses virtue and prayer to acquire Ming. Shih Ching emphasizes not only prayer but sacrifice as well. Servants help the king to pray for the mandate; the mandate may change; it is supported by the personal virtue of the king. The doctrine of the Heavenly mandate is more fully developed in Shu Ching than in Shih Ching, as are the ideas on communication between Heaven and man. Both in Shih Ching and Shu Ching, Heaven has a close relationship

with the king.¹

Common points regarding other forms of Heavenly favour in Shu Ching and Shih Ching are: Heavenly providence; the king works for the good of the people; Shih Ching has an additional point in that Heaven bestows on the king a wide selection of favours, such as health, wealth, blessings etc. The most important Heavenly favour in Shu Ching is the bestowal of the Heavenly mandate of the king. The balance is different in Shih Ching in that its emphasis is on other favours.

The attitude of Shu Ching is rather positive towards royal assistants and officials. In Shih Ching the officials are sometimes described as "noxious insects" causing suffering. Heaven observes the officials; they should not indulge in pleasure. The difference can be understood in that Shu Ching reflects the official thoughts or ideology of the governing house, whereas Shih Ching reflects rather the ideas and sentiments of the governed, and is not arranged according to the strict system of thought which can be seen in Shu Ching.

The whole issue of Heavenly democracy can be found only in Shu. Both sources share the idea that the king acts for the good of the people. Other notions with regard to this democracy, notions like the doctrine of the peoples' Heavenly authority over the king, are exclusive to Shu Ching. This doctrine in Shu Ching is apparently intended to make Chou thought acceptable to the people. Shih Ching contains more of the idea of the people, and consequently does not need to express the idea of any special doctrine designed to win the acceptance of the people. Shih Ching seems to criticize the Chou administration in its complaints against the wickedness of officials, and in its voicing the opinions of lower officials who are dissatisfied with their superiors. When in difficulties, the officials sigh to Heaven. This criticism can also be seen in the people's

¹ Hsü says that early Chou culture was close to Yin culture. He wishes to stress that the concepts of Heaven and the Heavenly mandate did not come automatically, but had their roots in Yin culture. HSÜ Fu-kuan 1975a, pp. 16, 17. In Creel's opinion, the difference was clearer. CREEL 1970, pp. 86, 87, 493-506.

fleeing the country, an issue found only in Shih Ching in the context of Heaven.

Other issues with regard to Heaven shared by Shih Ching and Shu Ching are: Identification of Heaven with Shang Ti and the polarity between Heaven and earth. Shih Ching may reflect this cosmological idea more clearly. The communication with Heaven is two way in Shu Ching, and less developed in Shih Ching. This shows that official Chou thought was at least as much concerned with Heaven and numinous matters as with the people.

One additional issue not shared by Shu Ching was that the ideal woman is likened to Heaven.

Heaven in Shu Ching is an autonomous, independent, supremely functioning entity, initiator of things and principles, directing history by using the mandate given to the virtuous person to be king and general secretary of the world on behalf of Heaven. Heaven supervises the actions of the virtuous Heavenly king by using the people and thus realizing the Heavenly democracy. Despite Heavenly supervision, the changes of dynasties follow an oscillative pattern, where the rulers tend to move towards an unethical inferior administration. Heaven directs this trend of development towards the positive by employing a new ruler, or in the case of Chou, directs the historical development towards the positive goal of a harmonious peaceful coexistence of all people in a hierarchical obedience by means of educative punishment and severity.

Heaven in Shih Ching is an autonomous, independent, supreme, arbitrary, unexplainable and tremendous majesty, initiator of the natural world, the people and the ethical values, using the Heavenly king who has virtue from Heaven, together with his officials to administer the world. In its arbitrariness, an angry Heaven causes individuals and the people collectively to suffer for no reason. In this situation individual people and officials may attempt to calm Heaven through offerings and prayer, often, however, fruitlessly.

According to Shu Ching, three main characteristics in Te may be discerned:

The Te connected with Heaven, the Te of the ancients and the Te of the present time. With the first, one earns the mandate from Heaven to govern the empire. After obtaining the mandate, one is responsible for taking care of the people and for performing the sacrifices to the Spirits and to Heaven. Te is regarded as a condition of eligibility for performing such sacrifices. Failing in Te is a consequence of failure in sacrifices, as well. Drunkenness, which hinders one from performing virtuous offerings to Heaven, is followed by loss of the mandate. This Te, as a notion related to Heaven, is based on the idea of polarity between immanence and transcendence. It is the practical point of contact between these dimensions.

The Te of antiquity has five main characteristics: The Te of the old mythical kings as an example to the present rulers; the king ought to possess Te. First of all, the person who is to become king must have shown exceptionally faithful filiality. The Te of creation was used when creation took place. In this respect Te was a harmonising element of the universe. It worked as a harmonising force in small spheres, such as the family in the form of filiality, and in large spheres, such as the whole universe in creation. As such, the Te of antiquity is an all-embracing principle, and necessary for the universe to function without friction. A third characteristic of the Te of antiquity is that of a harmonising force in the government of the empire. The king should use Te to harmonise the empire, and this should be manifest in offerings. Te was the link that connected the people, the present and the earlier rulers. As a harmonizing element, Te was especially suited to constitute a principle of governing. All officials should possess Te and should be virtuous in their dealings with their subordinates, and in this way both spread Te and gain the confidence of the king. On the other hand, the good officials also helped the king to pursue Te, to obtain a hearing in Heaven and to obtain the mandate. In this way there was a mutual correspondence, as regards Te, between the officials and the king. The fourth characteristic of the Te of antiquity is related to the idea of punishment. This Te implied that when punishing, the ruler should not illtreat the weak and should be aware of the background of the crime before deciding on the punishment. The fifth characteristic of Te was that the ruler may fail in virtue and

be subject to criticism, which acts as a corrective.

The present king should follow the Te of the old kings. In this way he will gain Heavenly protection and an accumulation of Te.

The Te of Yin was ruined by excessive drunkenness, and the mandate was lost as a result.

The Te of the "present" rulers had to be applied to punishments as well. If the officials or rulers failed in Te, they were punished by the kings in Heaven. Moreover, the people who failed in Te were also punished by them. The Te of the people here consisted of obedience to the ruler. Officials who committed crimes would be punished by the ruler. It is more or less clear that the king carries out the punishment as regards the people, too. The unfilial and unbrotherly in particular would be punished. All crimes are noticed and attended to by Heaven. It seems that Te as a principle in the process of punishment works as a corrective, when disharmony exists in the form of any kind of crime. This corrective is applied by Heaven, which, however, uses the king to implement it on earth in cases where the people and officials are concerned.

Te is used by the ruler to deal with his officials, who should also possess Te, and is a necessary quality in a successful king.

The Te of the governmental administrator implies that he should develop and rationalize agriculture and commerce as well as administer the country, and also bring the food offerings to the Spirits, so that Heaven will approve of his Te.

The Te of governing bears a special relation to the governed, the people. The ruler should first be able to look after his personal family relations in order to be able to govern his more distant ones. He should know the people in order to be able to appoint suitable officials. The king should not set an example of laziness or lust to his subjects. The Te of the king applied in this practical way is controlled by Heaven through the people. Here the mutual correspondence as regards Te interacts between

all spheres of the empire from the common people to Heaven. This is an important characteristic of the all-embracing harmonising element of Te in Chou ideology.

This correspondence is stressed by the fact that the Duke of Chou urges the king to extol the Te of antiquity in order to unite all the people according to the will of Heaven. This is symbolized by the rites performed in the ancestral temple. The Te of Chou Kung spread throughout the empire and the king imitates the virtue achieved by Chou Kung. The king himself also puts Te into practice by taking care of the sacrifices and thus influencing the people and obtaining the mandate. The people, replete with the virtue of the king, thus practise Te throughout the empire, and the king obtains his mandate.

The proof of possessing Te to an abundant degree lies in one's ability to spread it.

The people possess a certain kind of Te, which consists in earning one's livelihood, and not amassing riches, and as such setting a good example to the administrator. There should also be a feeling of goodwill between the ruler and the people, and the people should be obedient to the ruler. They, too, can easily fail in their virtue.

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

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

Te is apt to be applied in the fields of agriculture and commerce as well

as in social relations. This notion shows that the Chous understood that material matters were also important for the harmonious functioning of the empire.

The all-embracing Te implied a mutual correspondence between all sections of society. The king was the giving and the receiving party as regards Te, although the people, too, could act as the giving and receiving party, as could the officials and advisors of the king. The ultimate source of Te was Heaven, but the channels through which it was put into practice on earth were represented by all men from the king down to the ordinary people. In accordance with the "Heavenly democracy", the people acted as a body that controlled the royal Te. This function of Te is circular rather than linear.

There were problems connected with Te. It was extremely difficult to put it into practice. Only the legendary kings had been able to do it and the Duke fo Chou, "present" hero of Chou could also do it.

Despite its theoretical aspects, Te also has its practical features as well. By applying the idea of filiality and the practice of common sense in trade, by being lenient in applying the law, etc. and by performing the necessary sacrifices, Te can be put into practice. However, this practical side is one that was not particularly well developed.

Through Te the principles of the ancients are projected on to the present time. Because the ancient legendary kings are included in Heaven, the Te of the ancients are part of the Te of transcendence.

Te is also the preserver of the continuity of the positive in the dynastic oscillation. Failure in Te is both the negative and the implementation of the implications of the negative by Heaven. Here the process of continuity of the positive trend and Heavenly virtue are interconnected.

Heaven is the ultimate supreme. Continuity is the positive function through history which binds past and present together in one. The positive is the ideal state of things in immanence and transcendence and between

all spheres in immanence. Virtue is the practical dimension of this harmony when the positive prevails. It is the ideal rightness, to which the administration on earth should return whenever the negative tends to prevail.

Based on the above, the following short definition of Te in Shu Ching is suggested: *Te is an all-embracing harmonising ideal principle of the universe in all its aspects, having been applied by the old legendary kings, followed by the Chou king with his officials and sustained and controlled by Heaven, maintaining the mutual correspondence between the various branches of society and between the world and Heaven, implying practical action in social and commercial life as well as working as a corrective principle towards the positive in the oscillation of the positive and negative, whenever problems occur in the harmonious functioning of the empire problems which tend towards the negative.*

We can summarize the findings with regard to Te in Shih Ching as follows: 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 state and promotes peace. The king uses virtue in his authority over the people and receives Heavenly favour.

Furhermore, 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.

A concise definition of Te in Shih Ching would summarise the above points: *The virtue of a king started with Wen Wang who because of it received the mandate from Heaven. The virtuous king, who is filial, impartial, requites good with good and takes care of the sacrifice is a pattern to the people, spreads Te, unites the empire by using Te in his authority over the people and receives Heavenly favour. The virtuous lord follows the ancients, obeys the king and is virtuous at the sacrifice. His deportment is a good example for others to follow. In family relations virtue means fidelity in marriage, and filiality on the part of sons.*

The points relating to Te that are peculiar to Shu Ching as compared with Shih Ching are as follows: Generally speaking, about half of the occurrences of Te in Shu Ching are connected with the retrospective characteristics of Chou thought. In ancient times drunkenness was a violation of Te. This is fully emphasized in Shu Ching, as the several references show. Te meant care for the people and attending to the sacrifice; it enables one to bring offerings - a virtuous official will not be forgotten in the royal house; Te was a principle of order in creation; the Te of the ancients was manifested in the offerings; in governing the people Te is also practised by the present king; the ministers of the

ancient kings were virtuous; the virtuous assistants were advisors of the king; Te in legal matters means to be careful as regards punishment; a fault can be corrected with Te.

The Te of the "present time" includes the following - not particularly stressed in Shih Ching: The Te of punishing especially the unfilial; the King rules or treats his officials with Te; minor and major virtues; Te in the practical governing of the people; the people spread the virtue of the king; people complement the virtue of the faultless king and peace will prevail; Te in the sense of "correctness".

The following points are shared by Shu Ching and Shih Ching: Like Shu Ching, Shih Ching also has some retrospective emphasis; the mandate in ancient times was given to the virtuous one, to Wen Wang; filiality and respect for one's ancestors is important; here Shih Ching does not stress the virtue of the ancients, but Shu Ching does; the same can be said of Te as a condition for obtaining Heavenly favour; Yin lost its Heavenly mandate due to its lack of Te; the old kings' virtue should be followed.

Shih Ching and Shu Ching possess the following points, and both regard them as phenomena of present virtue: Te implies obedience to one's superiors; officials should be virtuous; the spreading of Te and emulation of the model; the virtue of the people.

The points peculiar to Shih Ching are as follows: The king's Te in practice - the more inner qualities and the outer appearance of the king; the Te of drinking at banquets. This does not adopt the approach of warning against drinking that we find in Shu Ching; correct drinking habits are emphasized here. Another person helps the king to acquire Te; Te in the relations between man and woman and the issue of "sound of virtue"; Te as a basic human characteristic in creation; Te meaning Heavenly favour or grace.

Generally speaking, Te appears more strictly in Shu Ching within a governmental framework. The emphasis is on the principles of ruling. Shu Ching places greater emphasis on the historical aspect of Te. Some of the

characteristics of Te are regarded as already belonging to the Te of the ancient kings. Shih Ching speaks much more of the present time. Shu Ching does not attach importance to outer appearance but Shih Ching does. The meaning of Te is wider in Shih Ching; it is applied to the relationship between man and woman and married couples and is related to family ethics. The features of Te that are peculiar to Shu Ching compared with Shih Ching do not greatly extend the scope of Te, because these features are mostly related to ruling, and this is an area that is well covered in Shih Ching as well. Shu Ching is more specialized in Te as a principle of government, whereas Shih Ching extends the usage to the everyday life of the people and the practical behaviour of officials to a greater extent than is the case in Shu Ching.

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

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

In the Shih Ching Tao means an ordinary road, sometimes bearing another connotation such as "method of governing". The road may be easy, long or difficult. The road represents an obstacle to a girl in meeting her beloved. The road of Chou is an obstacle to a son in taking care of his mother, since the son also has duties to the Chou. When Chou was established, the roads were built. Even and straight roads demonstrate that Chou is prosperous, whereas the road of Chou overgrown with rank grass represents the difficulties experienced by a repudiated son in attempting to return to his royal family. Tao also appears in the sense of "method" and, on one occasion, "to tell".

Tao does not seem to have any special rationalistic or ideological importance in the Shih Ching. The important occurrence in Shu Ching, Tao as a king's way, appears in a song. The important appearance of Tao in Shih Ching, the

Road of Chou, appears in songs which reflect the opinions of lower officials and the common people.

The fact that the king's Tao in Shu Ching is from an early date and that there are more occurrences of Tao in Shih Ching, seems to indicate that in the minds of the people Tao is a rather old concept, in common use before the time of Shu. The problem remains as to why there is an absence of more definite usage in Shu Ching, why, for example, the Tao of Chou appears quite emphatically in Shih Ching, but not in Shu Ching.

Tao can be said to be a concept of the Shih Ching tradition, closer to the tradition of Yin and the common people, than that of the Chou ruling house.²

According to Shu Ching, Li was an important factor even during the old dynasties. Shun attended the five kinds of enfeoffing rites. He performed rites in various areas on the mountains and by the rivers. Rites performed in these holy places may also have a cosmological significance. There was also a minister responsible for conducting the rites concerned with Heaven, earth and man. The rites are regulated by Heaven. When the ruler went to meet the Duke of Chou, the rites of the royal house justified this. The king was able to act when Heaven, virtue and the rites were all in harmony.

² Chan says: "'Taoist school' was not mentioned until the first century B.C., the movement must have been going on for centuries. Tradition says that ancient philosophical schools emerged from governmental offices, and Taoism in particular from that of the historian... Taoism grew as a result of the deplorable conditions of the time. Thus Taoism arose in opposition to existing practices and systems, on the one hand, and on the other, offered a new way of life that is as challenging as it is profound." CHAN Wing-tsit 1963, p. 4.

In Shih Ching most of the instances of the road of Chou, Chou Tao, speak of the conditions of Chou in a negative sense. Tao can demonstrate a negative form of criticism against the Chou government. During that time, Taoist ideas were apparently taking shape and the word Tao was being employed as a central concept of a system of thought that expressed opposition to existing conditions. Tao may also have sounded a somewhat unclear or difficult concept in the ideological context of Chou thought. For the unclearness or difficulty of Tao; See LAU D.C. 1974, p. 16; KALTENMARK 1975, p. 28; For Tao as an important concept of Taoism, see WATTS 1975, pp. 37-55; WALEY 1958, pp. 50-57; FINAZZO 1968, pp. 15-39.

It is possible that the Chous still used the Yin rites. The confusion of Li reflected the confusion that existed in politics. The good order of Li contributed to the resolving of political conflicts when one dynasty gave way to the next. Li was the carrier of positive continuity in history.

Rites are an integral part of Chou thought, although the term is not a key one in Shu Ching. Rites are regarded as important in the affairs of government. Li belongs as a guideline to the totality of Chou thought together with Te when political action is taken. It is the harmonising factor in political conflict and change. If Li is unsettled, this reflects a state of political confusion. Li reflects the unity between Heaven, the king and the dignitaries subordinate to him and through them Li reflects the unity of the whole state. Li also reflects the unity of the whole universe and shows that man is an integral part of the universe, as a performer of Li. Li is also the agent of positive continuity in history by exercising the function of harmonising factor in retarding or arresting the trend towards the negative in the oscillation between positive and negative under Chou.

According to Shih Ching, the wrong kind of Li in government occurs together with catastrophes in the universe and in the world. Li is a form of sacrifice offered in the temple and assumes the form of rituals performed there. It is also connected with the ceremonies performed at the royal court, where the temperate use of spirits is stressed, and wine is offered to one's ancestors and ancestresses. Secondly, Li is a form of behaviour adopted by the duke and government towards the people. Li is not related to virtue in Shih Ching.

The points relative to Li that are peculiar to Shu are Li in the numbered categories, which also have a cosmological overtone. The second main point compared with Shih Ching is that Li is well integrated with other important concepts, Heaven, social co-ordination, virtue and music. In these relations the main function of Li is a binding and harmonizing element in society and in the whole universe and between conflicting dynasties.

Shih Ching does not contain many differences as regards Li compared with Shu Ching. In Shih, Li results in catastrophes in nature, but nevertheless, its cosmological harmonizing function is less developed and is not well related to other concepts as it is in Shu Ching.

Yi, righteousness, in Shu Ching was an attribute of the king even in the past. The prince should follow the Yi of the king. In ancient times, Wu Wang did not discard Wen Wang's "righteous virtue", which refers to his genius as governor. The advisors of the king possess Yi as well, to encourage the king to perform Heaven's service in order to implement the work planned by his late father.

The dynasty was changed from Hsia to Yin, because, although there were righteous people in Hsia, its rulers were inferior. Heaven determines the length of the people's lives in accordance with their Yi, apparently using the king to shorten the lives of the unrighteous.

As a legal term, Yi refers to the "norms of Yin", to just punishments and killings. It is right to kill officials who introduce penal innovations without proper authority.

It was not Yi, righteous, to disregard the order of succession and become king by violating the order of succession.

Yi, referring to the skill of the governor, or to the encouraging officials of the king, or to good subjects or the destruction of disobedient officials seems to denote actions which are generally thought of as being beneficial to the country as a whole. As a policy for the good of the country, Yi also contributes to the continuity of the positive in history.

The occurrences of Yi, righteousness, in Shih Ching are few and incidental. Neither is it a key term in Shu Ching. *It is an attribute of the good king and his good officials to benefit the country. The Yin way of using wine was unrighteous, in that excessive drinking was apparently thought to be disastrous for the country.*

An aspect which is common to Shu Ching and Shih Ching lies in Yi as an attribute of rulers. Peculiar to Shu Ching is Yi as a legal term and in Shih Ching in connection with the use of wine.

Jen, goodness, in Shu Ching refers to that characteristic of a king which he needed when performing his task in Heaven after his life on earth.

In Shih Ching, Jen is the attribute of an ideal man as regards mainly his ethical qualities, although it can also convey overtones relating to outer appearance as well. Jen is not well integrated in Chou thought, and is not a key term either in Shu Ching or Shih Ching, its clearer definitions dating from a later time.

2. The Distribution of the Characteristics of the Terms in Different Parts of Shu Ching

Reliable Western Chou documents

Name of the document	Number	Name of the document	Number
K'ang Kao	1	To Shih	6
Tzu Tz'ai	2	Chao Kao	7
Chiu Kao	3	Chün Shih	8
Ta Kao	4	To Fang	9
Lo Kao	5	Ku Ming	10

Other documents of later origin and with an increasing degree of later additions or changes.

Pi Shih	11	Yao Tien	21
P'an Keng	12	Kao Yao Mo	22
Wen Hou Chih Ming	13	Yü Kung	23
Chin T'eng	14	Li Cheng	24
Wu I	15	Ch'in Shih	25
Kan Shih	16	Hung Fan	26
T'ang Shih	17	Mu Shih	27
Kao Tsung T'ung Yüeh	18	Lü Hsing	28. ¹
Hsi Pe K'an Li	19		
Wei Tzu	20		

¹ See the introduction for the dating of different documents. The numbers used are relevant to the following table only.

T' IEN

Characteristic	Reliable Western Chou documents	Other documents of later origin and with an increasing degree of later additions or changes	
	1-10	11-23	24-28
<i>Early dynasties and T'ien</i>			
Virtue and favouring the ancient kings	2	12, 22	
Ancient kings as a fine example	8, 10		
Cut off the mandate of Yü		16	
Faults of Hsia	4	17	
Punishment of Hsia	9	17	
T'ien positive towards Yin	6, 8		
The Heavenly mandate to Yin		12	
Heaven pities the Yin people	7		
The faults of Yin	3, 9, 6	19, 20	27
Negative reaction from Heaven towards Yin	6, 9	20	
Problem of the Chou king punishing Yin	6, 1, 8, 9		27
<i>Chou dynasty and T'ien</i>			
Mandate to Chou	1, 9, 10		
Heaven favouring Chou	4, 5		
Following the old kings a condition for Heavenly favour	1, 7		
Heaven's majesty and virtue	8		
Reasons for Heaven punishing Chou	4		
Punishments of Chou	4		
Heaven's punishments as a form of education	4, 1		
Heavenly providence		22	26
King's personal relation to Heaven	10	13, 14	

Characteristic	Reliable Western Chou documents	Other documents of later origin and with an increasing degree of later additions or changes	
	1-10	11-23	24-28
General principles of Heavenly punishments		22	28
Avoiding punishment	4	14	

Mandate

To obtain the mandate Te, prayer	7		
Prolonging the mandate		12	
The old kings as an example of obtaining the mandate	10		
The mandate is not easy to keep	1, 4, 8		
Obedience supports the mandate, example of the old kings	1, 3, 4, 7, 8	12, 15	
Being liked by the people as a condition for obtaining the mandate	1		

Heavenly democracy

King and people	4, 8		
Heaven acts through the king	5, 8	15	28
Ruler not respecting Heaven and the people	6, 8	15	26
Guilty people	3		
King helping the people (King Wen)	1		
Filiality and Heaven	1		

Heaven using man

The king is used in creation		21	26
Other respects	5, 7	12	
Officials are used by the king and Heaven	1	21, 22	28

Characteristic	Reliable Western Chou documents	Other documents of later origin and with an increasing degree of later additions or changes	
	1-10	11-23	24-28
<i>Communication between Heaven and man</i>			
Prayer	7		
Oracle	4	14	
<i>T'ien = Shang Ti Other meanings</i>	6, 7, 8	17, 22	
Heaven as a locality		21, 22	28
World	10	22	24
Son of Heaven		19	24, 26
TE			
Heaven and Te	3, 6, 7, 8, 9	22, 14	26
<i>Te and antiquity</i>			
Te of the old kings	1	21	24
Te in creation		21	
The harmonising Te of the old kings	2		
Te in ruling by the old kings	1	12	
Virtuous ministers	8	22	24
Setting forth Te	8, 3		
Careful in punishments not to illtreat the people	1, 3, 9		
Criticism welcomed		15	
The present king should follow the Te of the old kings	1, 5, 7, 8, 10		
A king not observing Te loses the mandate	7	17	24
Te of Yin destroyed by drunkenness	3	15, 20	

Characteristic	Reliable	Other documents of later	
	Western Chou documents	origin and with an increasing degree of later additions or changes	
	1-10	11-23	24-28
<i>Te under Chou</i>			
Failing in Te causes punishment, legal Te	1, 9	12	24, 28
<i>Te in ruling</i>			
Te as the relation of ruler to his officials	1, 6	12	
Te of the king's helpers	6		24
Great and small Te of a prince	3	22	24
Te as a method of governing the people			24
Te is necessary for the king		22	
Prince implements Te	5	21	
King implements Te	9	13	
King, Te and people	1, 5, 7		28
Te = to spread Te		12	
People's Te	8	12, 18	
Te in logical relations			26
TAO			
Tao = to lead through King's way, royal perfection		23	26
Principle of judging some one's guilt	1		
Conduct of the Duke of Chou	8		
Tao = "to lead"	10		
Way of Heaven	10		
LI			
Enfeoffing rites		21	
Cosmological rites		21	

Characteristic	Reliable Western Chou documents	Other documents of later origin and with an increasing degree of later additions or changes	
	1-10	11-23	23-28
Heaven earth man rites		21	
Rites of the king and the dignitaries subordinate to him		22	
Harmony between T'ien, Te and Li prior to royal action		14	
Chous using Yin rites	5, 8		
Li performed correctly		18	
YI			
Yi of ancient kings		22	
Prince follows the Yi of the king			26
Yi of Wen wang followed by the king			24
Advisors of the king are Yi	4		24
Yin people as Yi	9		
Yi of the people as a criterion for Heaven		18	
Legal Yi	1		
A person's right to assume kingship		15	
Other meanings		13	28
JEN		14	

The table shows that T'ien and Te are key terms in Shu Ching. The distribution of T'ien is more on the side of the early Chou documents. Every document representing presumably the older strata of Shu Ching contains something about Heaven; of the eighteen other documents, fourteen speak of Heaven.

Since T'ien is quite central in Chou governmental ideology, it may reflect something of the development of that ideology. It seems that the ideology is fully developed in the early Chou documents and less sophisticated in later ones. There seems to be a slight degree of tension between the different characteristics of Heaven and its functions so that Heaven's general attributes and functions, such as Heaven and antiquity, providence, the king's relation to Heaven, the principles of Heavenly punishments, Heaven's use of man and the communication between Heaven and man, are comparatively widely distributed throughout Shu Ching. In opposition to this, the Heavenly characteristics and functions which concern Chou in particular, its specific administration and its specific legitimization, such as Heaven's punitive actions against Chou, the doctrines regarding mandate legitimizing Chou government and Heavenly democracy, are not distributed equally throughout Shu Ching, but are more clearly recorded in the early strata.² These characteristics may be the clearest innovation in Chou ideology as compared with the earlier tradition. They gradually disappeared later and the historically stronger more general features were left. This is just one theory, which may be confirmed or disproved by facts brought to light by further research on Chou thought.

² Fehl says: "My own conjecture would be that we owe the final form of the doctrine (of Heaven's Mandate) as embodied in the 'history' of the *Shu Ching* to Mencius." FEHL 1971, p. 107. If later additions had increased the level of the doctrine's sophistication significantly, this sophistication ought to be found in the less reliable documents which contain more later additions than the more genuine more reliable documents. If the later documents were more sophisticated as regards doctrine, the Mencian contribution would be more significant, but this is not the case, and this weakens Fehl's proposition.

Te is distributed rather evenly throughout Shu Ching, and the differences between the older and newer strata are not particularly significant.

The occurrences of other terms are so sparse that few conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the table. Tao is represented mainly by the old strata and Li by the newer.

In the view of the present author, the distribution of the characteristics of the doctrine concerning Heaven through the different strata of Shu Ching seems to strengthen the quite generally believed conception of these strata, discussed in the introduction of the present study. An even distribution of the characteristics would not have strengthened the conception of the strata; when certain characteristics are to be found mainly in certain strata, this strengthens the supposition that the strata exist.

3. The Distribution of the Characteristics of the Terms in Different
Parts of Shih Ching

Characteristic	Sung	Ta Ya	Hsiao Ya	Kuo Feng
T'IEN				
<i>Favourable T'ien</i>				
T'ien and creation	270	260		
Heaven maintains the world	275		210	
Reasons for Heavenly favour	300, 302	249	210	
Heaven favours the king or the lord	300, 302	243, 247, 249, 260	166, 210, 215	
General Heavenly favour, blessing	300, 302	247, 249	210	
Special favours, longevity, children etc.	300, 304	247, 249	166, 210	
<i>Unfavourable T'ien</i>				
Disfavour		256, 264, 265	194, 198	
Epithets for unfavourable Heaven			191	
Unfavourable Heaven is prayed to		258		
Reasons for Heavenly disfavour		257		
Consequence of disfavour		264	192	
Rich and poor people			192	
Guarding Heaven		254, 256		
Heaven rejected Yin		235		
Heavenly disfavour concerning an individual			197, 199, 202, 229	40, 45, 131
<i>Heavenly mandate</i>				
Old kings and Ming	271			
Mandate from Yin to Chou		235, 236		

Characteristic	Sung	Ta Ya	Hsiao Ya	Kuo Feng
Not easy to keep		235		
Mandate from bad Yin to Chou		241, 235	191, 196	
Decrees are inscrutable			193	
To charge to do something	305			
To obtain Ming	294			
King's relation to Heaven	266, 275, 282, 288	235, 238 243, 260		
Official's relation to Heaven			203, 207	65, 121
Prayer and sacrifice	272, 273	258	200	
A girl compared with Heaven				47, 118
Bird flying to Heaven		239	178, 184, 196, 204, 224, 252	
Heaven as a locality	296		205, 259	
T'ien=Shang Ti		235	192	47
TE				
Te of the old kings	300	236, 240 241, 267		
Te of old kings should be followed		235		
Old and present king's Te	269	243, 256		
Te from Yin to Chou		241, 243, 256		
Bad Te of Yin		255, 256		
Royal Te in practice, filiality etc.		243, 252		
The spread and effects of royal Te		249, 256		
Te of the lord	299	253, 259, 260	173, 208	
Te of the lord at the sacrifice and other features	266	260	172	160

Characteristic	Sung	Ta Ya	Hsiao Ya	Kuo Feng
Te of a lord, a pattern to the people and to other lords	299		161	
Banqueting and Te	284	247	174, 220	
Te is difficult to acquire		260		
Te, reward for the people				113
Te of the people			165	
Te of man and woman		229, 236		33, 58
Te as fame, man and woman			218, 228	29, 35, 83, 128
Filiality and Te			201, 202	
Creation, man, Te		260		
Te="grace" of Heaven			194	
Te and T'ien	288			
TAO				
Ordinary road			200	97, 136
Figurative sense			195	
Easy road		261		101, 105
Long road			230	33
Difficult road to walk			167, 219	35, 123
Road of Chou		237	162, 197, 203, 234	149
Method in agriculture		245		
"To tell"				46
LI				
Li is important for man				52
Li=law			193	
Li and sacrifice			209	
Li, court spirits and ancestors	279, 290		200	

Characteristic	Sung	Ta Ya	Hsiao Ya	Kuo Feng
YI				
"Good" for the country		235, 255		
JEN				
"Kind"				77, 103

The above tabulation shows that of the selected Confucian key terms in Shih Ching T'ien and Te are best defined. Apart from this, the characteristics of T'ien and Te are not distributed evenly through the different sections of Shih Ching. The Kuo Feng section contains little on T'ien and Te. Another noteworthy feature is that the Sung section does not speak of unfavourable T'ien. This cannot be explained by its general contents, since it contains at least some other characteristics of official Chou ideology. Other characteristics of T'ien appear in twelve different odes in this section.

As regards Te, the virtue of old kings is mainly referred to in the Ta Ya section. The Sung section is not particularly concerned with Te. Of the other concepts, only Li is mentioned in this section. Yi is mentioned only in Ta Ya, and Jen only in the Kuo Feng sections.

There is a comparatively close concentration of all the selected Confucian key terms in Shih Ching. If odes 33, 35, 47, 166, 191-194, 196, 197, 200-203, 210, 220, 235, 236, 241, 243, 247, 249, 252, 255, 256, 258, 260, 266, 275, 299, 300, 302 were removed, there would be very little to say about these terms in Shih Ching.

The tabulation also shows that the Ta Ya section reflects best the terms T'ien and Te as it does the characteristics of official Chou ideology.

Tao, which, unlike T'ien and Te, is not an ideological key term in Chou thought, is distributed widely in the Kuo Feng and Hsiao Ya sections, and to some extent in Ta Ya, but not in Sung.

A consideration of the dating of the different sections of Shih Ching: Sung 11th-10th, Ta Ya 10th-9th, Hsiao Ya 9th-8th and Kuo Feng 8th-7th centuries B.C. may well be of assistance in one's attempts to discover some kind of explanation for some of the phenomena shown in the table.

The oldest section, Sung, does not reveal Chou ideology in its fully developed form; it still lacks the description of the severity of Heaven, and some of the important characteristics of Te. These later doctrines may reflect a greater degree of innovation than those which were accepted immediately. Also, the strength of governmental propaganda in its emphasis on some characteristics at the expense of other may well have played an important part. This theory is based on the supposition that Shih Ching represented popular opinions to a greater degree than Shu Ching and thus reflected ideas which were more widely accepted.

The Ya sections reflect Chou ideology in a more developed form; almost all of the characteristics of T'ien and Te mentioned in the Sung and Kuo Feng sections are mentioned in the Ya sections as well, except for the old kings, Ming (Sung), - to charge to do something, and to acquire Ming (Sung). There are some important additional elements of Chou ideology relating to T'ien and Te mentioned in the Ya sections which are not emphasized in the Sung and Kuo Feng sections: the doctrine of unfavourable Heaven almost entirely; Heavenly disfavour directed at the individual can also be found in Kuo Feng; the change of the mandate from Yin to Chou; the mandate is not easy to keep; a greater emphasis on the Te of the old kings; Te from Yin to Chou; the bad Te of Yin; filiality and Te. This shows some development of ideas from earlier strata to later strata, or from the Sung section to the Ya sections, and some simplification of ideas again when moving from the Ya sections to the latest section, Kuo Feng, which does not include odes illustrating the clear and detailed Chou official ideology concerning the king, Heaven and the Heavenly mandate and virtue. In this section, odes 40, 45 and 131 speak of Heavenly disfavour, but otherwise the ideology it is concerned with does not bear any marked resemblance to that of Shu Ching.

In brief, the tabulation shows that the pattern in Shih Ching concerning

the form of thought is not similar to that for grammatical terms or borrowed lines,¹ if one restricts oneself to the terms examined in this study. The concepts T'ien and Te are more sophisticated or refined in the Ya sections than in the oldest Sung section, but this sophistication does not continue into the Kuo Feng section; on the contrary, a simplification is found there.

It is possible that some themes of the Kuo Feng section are very old² representing a tradition pre-dating official Chou propaganda. Secondly, it may be that when recording the odes Chou ideology or propaganda was no longer of such great importance and that it was no longer necessary to emphasize it, since Chou imperial power was already firmly established. Even in the later strata of Shu Ching, the ideology is less sophisticated than in the older strata. This can be seen mainly in the concept of T'ien. In earlier times, when the Ya sections were recorded, the Chou government was still in the process of establishing its sphere of influence and still engaged in its struggles against Yin. Consequently, propaganda was necessary in order to convince the people that Chou was the right government, and one that could be relied on.

It may well be that the first and primary source of Chou ideology is Shu Ching, and that the doctrine arose in early Western Chou. At this time it was recorded mainly in the Shu documents of the period, but also to some extent in the Sung Odes. Later, when Chou was well established over Yin, these doctrines were no longer so greatly emphasized as we can see from the Kuo Feng section.

The above explanation, that Chou ideology was for the most part disseminated over a certain period, being toned down during the 8th-7th centuries B.C. may partly explain why the distribution of Te and T'ien in Shih Ching is uneven. During the height of the Chou propaganda when the Ya sections were recorded, some odes were written that reflected that ideology and were included in the Ya section.

1 See the present work, p. 20, and DOBSON 1968, p. 263.

2 DOBSON 1964, p. 333.

The decay of Chou thought concerning Heaven, king, mandate and virtue with the advent of Shih raised the question of to what extent Confucius, even later, emphasized this ideology. The question becomes even more important, since T'ien and Te are rather central both to Chou ideology and to the Analects. Were these terms an inheritance of the Chou tradition in Confucius' system, or were they merely parts of an entirely different world of ideas, which only happened to coincide with the concepts of Chou ideology, but with an entirely new content?

The tabulation shows one difference between early Confucianism and the inherited thought of Shu Ching and Shih Ching, without much reference to Confucianism itself, namely, that the Confucian key terms Li, Yi and Jen are not well represented in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. This applies particularly to the term Jen. This leads one to suppose that the content³ of Confucian thought may have been different from earlier inherited thought and that some differences lay in the areas of these terms. Apparently development was taking place in the philosophical importance of these less defined concepts and the special characteristics of the different schools were quite naturally included in these concepts. Consequently, one may suppose that the special Confucian characteristics were to be found in these terms as compared with the other schools, of Moism and Lao Tzu.

Furthermore, the tabulation and the text reveal a clear difference in the content of Tao in Shu Ching and Shih Ching. This leads one to suppose that this term was also developing in different schools. This by no means implies that T'ien and Te in Confucianism were similar to these terms in the earlier traditions.

The comparison of the terms in Shu Ching and Shih Ching above reveals such great discrepancies that it is far preferable to study the terms separately in Shu Ching and in Shih Ching than to combine them and therefore omit discussion of these discrepancies.

³ Cf. GURDAK 1976, p. 178.