

# The Five "Confucian" Classics, by Michael Nylan

## Endnotes

- Page ¶ **Chapter 3 — The Documents**
- 121 1 "...a son"—The epigraph comes from W.M. Lee (1987). A long, voluminous literature debates whether the oracle bone inscriptions, often phrased in positive and negative pairs, represent "a wish, a forecast, or a statement of intent" put to the ancestors or alternative charges. David Keightley, David Nivison, and Ken Takashima all agree that the paired inscriptions represent alternative charges to the ancestors; Qiu Xigui has come to believe that they are probably right. Readers interested in this rather technical question may consult *Early China* 14, pp. 113-14, 154-55, where Qiu Xigui and David Nivison lay out their positions.
- 121 2 "...of interpretive puzzles"—See Edward Shaughnessy (1991), chap. 3, for a useful section showing how close some of the early Shang shu chapters are to bronze inscriptions in both language and content. Shaughnessy (1997), esp. chaps. 4 and 5, presumes this close relation. But for intriguing disparities between the Documents texts and inscriptional material from the Western Zhou bronzes, see Jessica Rawson (1989); David Keightley (1971).
- 121 2 "...in its fifty chapters"—To take just one example, most commentators have assumed that the "Lüxing" chapter dates to the court of Duke Mu of Qinn (ca. 661 BC), but Shirakawa Shizuka (1980) sharply disagrees, thinking that it refers to mythic events supposedly dating to the time of the Yellow Emperor as a "cover" for its description of the collapse of the state of Lu in 550 BC.
- 122 1 "...the nation celebrated"—Haun Saussy (1993), p. 5.
- 122 2 "...kings and officials"—Hall and Ames (1995), p. 194, argues that Chinese thinkers have searched less often for a first cause than for a model of human beings and of society that is "persuasive and evokes emulation."
- 122 2 "...continuous and fast"—Marion Levy (1982), chap. 1. Gu Jiegang put it a bit differently, arguing that the men of antiquity looked at historical materials as if they were "all on the same plane," i.e., contemporaneous or analogous in time. They made no attempt to differentiate episodes of different periods" (Hummel, p. 81).
- 122 2 "...prior to unification"—Gu Jiegang (1982), Jessica Rawson (1996), and Michael Nylan (1999) are but three of the many sources to emphasize the discontinuities, rather than the continuities, of history within the geographic area that corresponds to present-day China.
- 123 2 "...of the Five Classics"—As Jon Saari (1990), p. 113, explains, "A growing child was made to embrace figures — ancestors, gods, and spirits — whose presence was largely fictional, known and made real only through the words and interpretations of others. This dialogue with the dead, as constructed by the living, was one source of leverage for placing the child under judgment and making it self-conscious in relation to a record of the past. The ancestors embodied a past glory that family members should live up to, whose accumulated face or merits they must preserve and extend by commensurate achievement and proper behavior."
- 123 3 "...legitimate its rule"—Shirakawa Shizuka (1981), p. 2. Note that in early China the archivist (*shi*, now translated as "historian") combined the functions of shaman-priest, record keeper, and astrologer quite appropriately, since the significant acts of human history were constructed from acts of human will, encounters with the gods, and the influences of the starry heavens.

- 123 3 "...their political authority"—See Léon Vandermeersch (1977-80), which describes this process in compelling detail, summarizing Japanese studies.
- 124 1 "...to their histories"—Hence, the reference in Zuo zhuan and Mencius to the "Documents of Zheng." See CQYD 332/Xiang 30/fu 6.
- 124 3 "...and famous officials"—It is unlikely that separate versions of the Documents were compiled and privately collected before Confucius in the early fifth century BC because such private collections would not have been needed until there were significant numbers of (a) disciples learning from a master, and (b) rhetoricians wandering from state to state.
- 124 3 "...to be quite late"—Of such chapters on deeds, the best known is the Tribute of Yu (Yugong), which shows the ancient flood-queller Yu laying out nine administrative districts, bringing them under central government control, and ultimately civilizing them. Another chapter devoted to deeds, the Testamentary Charge (Guming), recounts the elaborate state funeral of the deceased second ruler of Zhou, reiterating the idealized outline for unified empire found in the Tribute of Yu.
- 124 3 "...a mere 100 characters"—The Sacrificial Day of the Noble Ancestor (Gaozong rongri) chapter is a mere 86 characters long; and the Western Protector Attacks Li (Xibo kanli), 127 characters.
- 125 1 "...under its control"—For example, each of the Five Proclamations (*gao*) chapters in the Documents seems to record a speech made by the Duke of Zhou, who became regent for the second Zhou ruler a few years after the conquest of Shang. Each proclamation admits to a host of problems besetting the duke's attempts to dominate the states owing nominal allegiance to the Zhou king. This alone suggests that the Five Proclamations should not be dismissed as a late invention rationalizing or romanticizing the Duke's regency. Still, their very favorable portrayal of the Duke of Zhou probably reflects to some degree traditions preserved in the state of Lu, whose rulers claimed him as founding ancestor.
- 125 1 "...the known world"—Bruce Brooks' concept of "point states" in WSWG contrasts with the older view, represented by Herrlee Creel (1970), of Shang and Western Zhou as fully developed patrimonial dynasties. David Keightley (1983), pp. 556-58; and Nancy Price (1995), esp. p. 98, emphasize the kin-centered nature of the Shang state (and by probable extension, of early Western Zhou), where power was shared between members of the ruling families.
- 125 2 "...proclamations, and decrees"—By convention, there are two canons, two counsels, five oaths, five proclamations, one injunction, and six decrees. Note that the term *gao* can designate a "harangue delivered before a crowd by a single speaker; ... the commands of the king to a regional ruler; or ... the regent duke's commands to the king." See David Schaberg (1996), p. 102.
- 125 2 "...Xia, Shang, and Zhou"—Before the Mozi and the Mencius, there are no references to the Documents being divided into dynastic sections (pre-Xia, Xia, Shang, or Zhou). The Mozi mentions divisions of "The Text" (a text?) by dynasty, but we don't know whether (a) all these sections were by then part of one or more authoritative Documents collections; or (b) any or all of these sections corresponded to our own received text of the Documents. In the pre-Qin era certain chapters now thought to belong to one or more Documents collections seem to have circulated separately, as they were always cited by chapter title. See Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), p. 344.
- 125 2 "...dates of composition"—Derk Bodde (1961); William Boltz (1981).

- 125 2 "...the invention of writing"—We know from the Confucian Analects that in the Zhan'guo era the basic outline of Xia and Shang history was known only (1) by extrapolating from Zhou custom, or (2) by extrapolating from the Zhou vassal states' ritual and customs. This suggests that there were no extant historical documents dating from Xia and Shang known to the circle of Confucius (fifth century BC), though the text of brief inscriptions may have been preserved in oral traditions or on bronzes. The insertion of invented pasts encapsulated in new material was far less noticeable, of course, when new chapters were appended to the beginning or end of the collection.
- 125 2 "...into the debate"—HNZ 19:242.
- 125 3 "...speeches and events"—For an overview of critical scholarship on the Shangshu, see Liu Qiyu (1987).
- 126 1 "...document"—Commentary to the SW 3B/65b defines *shu* as *zhu*, or "what is written on bamboo and silk."
- 126 2 "...[section in the] documents)"—The Mozi apparently refers to the "Shang shu," where the adjective is applied to the "Xia dynasty" parts of an anthology of documents or to one version of the Documents only. See MZYD 52/31/73, as discussed in Zhu Tingxian (1988), p. 1. Possibly the Documents collection known to the writer(s) of the Mozi did not include any materials purporting to date from the pre-Xia period. Wang Niansun in his Dushu zazhi already showed that the reference to a Shang shu in the Mozi is suspect, however, while Gu Yanwu in his Rizhilu showed that the supposed reference to the "Yu shu" section of the Documents in Zuozhuan, Duke Wen 18, is equally suspect.
- 126 2 "...elite of antiquity"—See CQJZ, p. 366, for details. According to the SJ, the name "Shang shu" was applied to the entire book by Fu Sheng, who wanted to confer a measure of respect upon the whole book for its antiquity. Liu Xiang's "Qilüe" essay, however, offers a slightly different account. After defining "Shang shu" as *zhiyan* (the most excellent talk), the essay argues that the term was first used by Master Ouyang, a disciple of Fu Sheng's, or possibly by Fu Sheng himself.
- 126 2 "...also means 'high'"—CIS, II, 61.
- 126 3 "...the tenth century AD"—The first extant text to use this title was Liu Qin's "Shujing yanyi" (Song dynasty). Wang Mingsheng (1722-98) noted merely that it was the "men of Song" who tended to drop the title of Shang shu in favor of Shu. See OSB 1:9; ZEQ 2:48.
- 126 3 "...against parts of it"—See Zhu Tingxian (1988), p. 5. (Note that *ibid.*, p. 77, seems to assume that the phrase *shujing*, recorded in HHS 79A:2547, was an Eastern Han use of the title Documents Classic, but the binome probably referred at that time simply to generic books and canons in the Lantai imperial library.) On the salvos: Ding Yan (1794-1875) in a famous essay wrote that the Tang compilers of the Suishu may have recognized the Archaic Script chapters as an Eastern Jin work. Certainly several famous Song scholars, including Wu Yu (d. 1154) and Zhu Xi (1130-1200), registered doubts about the Archaic Script chapters, though no Song objections were nearly as comprehensive as those of Yan Ruojun centuries later.
- 126 3 "...their debating positions"—Beginning in the Qingli period of Northern Song (1041-48), debates over the Five Classics escalated, focusing particularly on several chapters in the Documents, including the Yinzheng and Guming chapters. Those engaged in disputes over both the authenticity and veracity of the Classics included many famous scholars and politicians See Michael Nylan (1992), chap. 3; and Liu Qiyu (1987), p. 62, for Documents controversies generated by the anti-Wang forces.

- 126 3 "...in their Dao Learning"—See Liu Qiyu (1987), pp. 62-66, for that four-sentence passage drawn from the pseudo-Kong Da Yu mo chapter and its use by the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi as the distilled essence of Dao Learning. Continuing attempts to add forged material to the Documents as late as the Ming dynasty are a measure of the text's philosophical and political importance. See Xia Fucui (1993), pp. 191-93.
- 126 3 "...of their chosen Text"—See Yoshida Jun (1988).
- 126 3 "...than tradition supposed"—Gu Jiegang spoke of the four delusions: (1) that the Chinese people originated in one place; (2) that they are descended from a common ancestor; (3) that they were civilized from the beginning; (4) that the time of their inception was the Golden Age of Chinese civilization. See GSB, I, 99-101.
- 127 1 "...and unquestioned superiority"—Lothar von Falkenhausen (1993b); George Wehrfritz (1997). Wehrfritz cites one "promising young archaeologist," who reports ((anonymously), "The old guys in Beijing are always trying to make Chinese history longer" (p. 45). Their purpose is to discredit the antiquity-doubters like Gu Jiegang, who said, "The commonly accepted chronology for Chinese history covers a period of five thousand years... But if we eliminate the evidence drawn from spurious history .... this chronology must be contracted to something like two thousand years" (Hummel, p. 77).
- 127 3 "...history of the Documents"—Though the idea that "Chinese thought has a conceptual content drastically different from that of Western thought" cannot be sustained, Chad Hansen (1992), p. 26, has certainly drawn our attention to the question of mass nouns. One can never be sure whether a reference or citation to a *shi* or a *shu* refers to an ode or an Ode, a document or a Document. This ambiguity is particularly troubling in the case of the Documents because (a) it is so much less often cited in other pre-Han works than the Odes; and (b) it does not have the stabilizing effects of rhyme and meter. Analects 14/43 appears to cite the Wuyi chapter (par. 20) inexactly.
- 127 3 "...or more traditions"—Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), pp. 477ff., discusses a Mohist version of the Documents, for example. Also, on the basis of differential patterns of citations, Matsumoto argues that by the late fourth century BC, at least two and probably three distinct Documents recensions circulated: the Mencius version, the Mohist version, and the so-called historian's version, known from the Guoyu and Zuo zhuan.
- 127 3 "...followers of Confucius"—Chang Xitang (1958), p. 205.
- 127 3 "...had been compiled"—Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), p. 210, cites an example from the Zuo zhuan, in which the Hongfan chapter is attributed to a Shang section, rather than to the Zhou section, as in the received text. See also David Schaberg (1996), esp. chap. 2, for the idea that all these versions of the Documents were transcribed at a very late date from sets of oral transmissions that were related but by no means identical. Edward Shaughnessy (1997), pp. 2-3, seeks to dispute that "Sinological bias," but I remain unconvinced by his arguments there.
- 127 4 "...these variant Documents traditions"—Historical texts were regularly consulted in very early times by many groups, including the followers of Confucius (551-479 BC), Mozi (d. 390 BC), and the members of the group often called Legalists. Each group was preoccupied with the lessons, moral or practical, to be extracted from early history. But even some classicists questioned parts of the documentary records that had come down to them. See below.

- 128 1 "...of the War ('Wu Cheng') chapter"—Mencius 7B/3. Haun Saussy has reminded me (private communication) that Mencius may well have doubted the Wucheng chapter on philological or moral grounds. In the minds of early classicists, such considerations may well have been conflated. Saussy makes another very important point: When Mencius disputes an Odes tradition, he questions the interpretation, not the text. His readiness to attack part of the Documents text suggests strongly that the Documents editions were much less fixed than the Odes in Mencius's time and much less easily reinterpreted.
- 128 1 "...dealing with ancient matters"—XZYD 65/18/9; 3/1/36.
- 128 1 "...as author or editor"—After all, Mencius registered no skepticism with respect to the Chunqiu, a work he believed to have been written by Confucius (though the argumentum ex silencio is one of the weakest, admittedly).
- 128 2 "...in the curriculum"—Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), p. 535.
- 128 2 "...the first century BC"—Note that the "Zhongyong," a mid-Han work, states that the Documents relates events from the time of Yao and Shun on down to Zhou — a perfect, if vague, description of the received text of the Documents. For an interesting theory on the relation between the Documents and a late Liji chapter attributed to Zisi, see Saiki Tetsurô (1986).
- 128 3 "...dating to Western Zhou"—Regarding the supposition of 100 pian, see Chen Mengjia (1985), p. 288. If Chen's theory is correct, an extra 18 chapters (rounded off to 20), according to Zheng Xuan's commentary, would represent apocryphal prognosticatory ("zhonghou") chapters. So far as I know, the first extant record alleging the former existence of a 100 — or 120 — pian version of Documents dates from the reign of Emperor Cheng (r. 32-7 BC).
- 130 3 "...lost Taishi chapter"—The extant Han accounts are by no means in agreement, but most say that the "woman from Henan" submitted a new (forged?) Taishi during the reign of Emperor Xuan of Han (r. 73-49 BC). Matsumoto Masaaki (1966) devotes a chapter to sorting out the various versions of the Taishi chapter, which is one of the works associated with the Documents that is most frequently cited in the pre-Qin period. Matsumoto, following the lead of Chen Mengjia, concludes that there existed in the pre-Qin period an authentic "Taishi tradition," which may not have been included by Fu Sheng in his recension, if it was considered a tradition rather than a canonical chapter in Lu during the pre-Han period. Fragments of this authentic Ru Taishi have been preserved in the Zuo zhuan and Mencius. Most scholars who have looked into the problem agree that at least three versions of the Taishi must have existed: (1) at least one pre-Qin version; (2) the version submitted by the woman of Henan; and (3) the version found in the received text of the pseudo-Kong Archaic Script Documents. As far as we know, the scholar Ma Rong (79-166) was the first to notice that the Taishi mentioned in pre-Qin sources did not match the Taishi known to him in Eastern Han. Then, in N. Song, Hong Mai (1124-1203) was one of the first to note that the received pseudo-Kong version of the Taishi did not match the late Han Shuoyuan citations to the chapter by the same name. Chen Mengjia believed that as many as six different versions of the Taishi chapter were circulating in the late Warring States and early Western Han periods, including a separate version associated with the Mohists, and that the guwen Taishi submitted by this woman from Henan may have been based on one of these alternate traditions, or it may have been an outright forgery.
- 130 3 "...ten-odd additional pian"—The first account talks of ten-odd or sixteen additional chapters, but these figures were later amended to twenty-five in the Eastern Han period (if those numbers do not represent later interpolations). For doubts about the veracity of this legend, see Paul Pelliot (1916); Michael Nylan (1994) and (1995).

- 130 3 "...the legend goes"—That purveying Confucian learning had become the business of the Kong family is implied in a number of Han texts, for example, SJ 121:3125. Such was the origin, or so tradition claimed, of the Archaic Script chapters supposedly available in Han times.
- 131 1 "...of the Eastern Jin"—See Liu Shipai (1976), pp. 1-29, which argues that a "Kong [An'guo]" Archaic Script version of the Documents seen by Wang Su (195-256) differed from the version submitted by Mei Ze to the throne. Dai Junren, in Liu Dehan (1981), esp. p. 31ff., discusses the implications of Liu's theory, which Liu Qiyu (1987), pp. 50-51, disputes. It is now generally agreed that these chapters were compiled after Han, as Chen Mengjia (1985), pp. 127-33, argues, though the standard dating is cautiously questioned by Ikeda Suetoshi (1976), pp. 38-42.
- 131 1 "...the fifth century AD"—The pseudo-Kong Documents became popular immediately in the south, but it took several centuries more before scholars in the north of China preferred it over Zheng Xuan's edition of the Documents.
- 131 2 "...project in AD 653"—Between 630 and 633, Yan Shigu by order of Tang Taizong worked to establish an authoritative version of the Five Classics. In AD 638, Taizong ordered a committee of scholars to prepare an authoritative commentary on the Five Classics, which was finished probably in 641. A lineal descendant of Confucius and head of the committee of scholars working on the Wujing zhengyi, Kong Yingda (574-648) is said to have made the decision to incorporate the pseudo-Kong chapters, with its additional 25 pian, in the "canonical" recension with the twenty-nine Modern Script chapters associated with Fu Sheng, though he died some five years before the Wujing zhengyi was promulgated officially in 653. For additional information on the Zhengyi project, see David McMullen (1988), pp. 73-84.
- 132 1 "...three pian supposedly restores"—To preserve the original count of twenty-nine chapters for the Modern Script version after the submission of the Taishi chapter sometime between 73 and 29 BC, classicists combined the Kangwang zhi gao and Guming chapters.
- 132 1 "...to fill in a lacuna"—That is one reason the total number of chapters was fifty, rather than fifty-one, though other manipulations of chapter contents and titles occurred. See notes 51 and 67, and remember that the Yao dian chapter was divided into two in the pseudo-Kong version, the Yao dian and the Shun dian.
- 132 2 "...must be inauthentic"—Yan asserted that the pseudo-Kong chapters were the invention of Mei Ze, the official who had submitted them to the Eastern Jin court in the early fourth century. The majority of Documents scholars, including Hui Tong, Tai Zhen, and Jiang Sheng, have argued that they must be the work of Wang Su (195-256). Several scholars have ascribed them to Huangfu Mi (215-282), who certainly had the requisite historical knowledge. Because their preface claims as author Kong Anguo of the Han period, other scholars have called these chapters a forgery by his namesake-descendant of the Jin period. They have also been attributed to Zheng Zhong (d. AD 83). Liu Qiyu (1987), pp. 98-99, argues that the forger, whose identity is unknowable, invented the Documents chapters to further his political agenda or career ambitions.

- 132 3 "...to form coherent narratives"—Édouard Chavannes (1895), introduction, p. 136, does not speak of forgery, but he writes, "Though they were not pure inventions of forgeries, the spurious chapters were established by means of fragments put together with skill by later erudites." Karlgren at first agreed with this judgment, but in a 1933 article on the pronoun *jue*, he showed a more intransigent attitude toward the forgeries, from which he did not deviate in later life. To this article, Karlgren (1933), Paul Serruys (n.d.) responded by offering a far more complex view of the Modern Script vs. Archaic Script grammar, showing that significant patterns of grammatical differences distinguish the two blocks of texts, but also suggesting that grammatical innovations and newer vocabulary are to be found often in the Archaic Script chapters at precisely the points where phrases culled from genuinely early sources would have been joined to make a coherent argument of some length. Unofficial reports of a recent find of "sweated bamboo slips" (now housed in the Shanghai Museum and soon to be published), like the Guodian manuscripts, suggest that passages either similar to or identical with those in the received Archaic Script texts were available in the Warring States period, but those finds have yet to be studied in sufficient detail for their true significance to be assessed. There is also the possibility that the "sweated bamboo passages" cite not an original *guwen* text, but a third source (a *shu*, document) as yet unknown to modern scholars.
- 132 3 "...to the classical Way"—Among the scholars who doubted the textual authenticity of at least some part of the pseudo-Kong *guwen* chapters, yet urged the authenticity of their spirit, are Zhu Xi (1120-1200), Chen Di (1541-1617), Huang Zongxi (1610-95), and Lü Simian (1884-1957). See Chen, *zhuan* 1; SSKUSHU, *zhuan* 8; Lü Simian (1982), I, 726; Liu Qiyu (1987), pp. 99-101.
- 132 4 "...reformulated over centuries"—Stephen Owen (1992), pp. 37-38; and David Schaberg (1996) have helped me clarify this issue of transmission in my own mind.<
- 133 1 "...and Shang astronomical observations"—See work of the modern archaeologist Hu Houxuan (1946) for the correlation of oracle bone materials with the Canon of Yao. See Sun and Kistemaker (1997), pp. 2, 14-17; David Pankenier (1981) for arguments that the Canon of Yao preserves astronomical information from the Shang or earlier. At the same time, Chen Mengjia (1985), p. 112; Qu Wanli (1969), pp. 2-3; Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), pp. 240-46; and Gu Jiegang (1985), hold the Yao *dian* to be a Qin or Han fabrication. A number of recent scholarly studies comparing the Shang section Documents material with inscriptions on archaeologically excavated Shang oracle bones, conclude that the chapters supposedly devoted to the Shang reigns must have been written long after the fact, since the author(s) of those chapters garbled much basic information about key political events in Shang history. Certain passages in the received Documents closely parallel the descriptions of investiture ceremonies and the quotation of *ming* (mandates from a superior) found in the bronze inscriptions. See Shaughnessy (1994), p. 74. But in no case do the texts reproduce the most characteristic formulas of the bronze inscriptions, the formulas that first recount the casting of the vessel and then entrust it to the descendents. See Schaberg (2000).
- 133 2 "...and stock formulae"—see Nakae Ushikichi (1975) for an alternate arrangement that divides the Documents into five different systems of political thought.

- 133 3 "...Zhou bronze inscriptions"—Naito Kōnan (1970) argued that the Five Proclamations represent a single cohesive group; cf. Hihara Toshikuni (1976), p. 3. David Schaberg (1996), p. 99, reminds us that the Five Proclamations texts do not contain extended dialogues; hence the dialogue found, for example, in the Luogao chapter represents the adaptation "of the inscriptions' formal habits to new forms of continuity." Other indicators of an early date for the Five Proclamations include the fact that four of the five (with the Luogao being the exception) either include no narration beyond, "The king spoke [thus]..." or include only a brief narrative section at the beginning. On that basis, other relatively early chapters are likely to be Zicai, Wuyi, Junshi, Duoshi, and Duofang. But Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), introduction, argues that the Junshi chapter is not early, judging from its grammar and arguments; Shaughnessy (1997), chap. 4, disagrees. Note that a cache of 103 bronzes excavated at Zhuangbai (near Fufeng, Shaanxi) shows a high degree of intertextuality (as one 106-character inscription matches those that appear on two other bronzes). See Edward Shaughnessy (1991), pp. 74-75.
- 133 3 "...capital under Zhou"—The Modern Script chapters usually call the "new city" Luo City, but the (later) preface to the Documents and one Archaic Script chapter call it Chengzhou. Li Min (1983), chap. 9, based on the Lingyi bronze, argues that Chengzhou simply replaced the name Luo city after King Cheng began to govern for himself.
- 133 3 "...the predynastic founder"—With one exception all the Documents citations in the Xunzi are drawn from chapters that purport to date from Zhou. The Duke of Zhou is certainly at the center of many Documents traditions. However, surprisingly few bronze inscriptions or lines in the Odes mention the Duke of Zhou. See Herrlee Creel (1970), p. 73; cf. Edward Shaughnessy (1991), p. 48. Ode 157/1-3 talks of the Duke's punitive expeditions east; Ode 300/3-4 makes three mentions of his greatness. By contrast, the Duke of Zhou is mentioned some twenty-seven times in the Zuozhuan, which suggests that his "cult" gathered strength in the Warring States era.
- 133 3 "...chapters extremely difficult"—Zhang Zai (1020-77) remarked, "The Documents is the most difficult [of the Five Classics] because it requires a mind that is sufficiently capacious [to take in the events and relations of the far distant past]. It is not so difficult, though, if you only want to understand the literal meaning of the text" (cited in Honda Shigeyuki [1927], p. 293). Even in Western Han times, the Documents was considered extremely difficult to read.
- 133 3 "...Zhou dedicatory vessels"—Li Min (1983), chap. 12, compares the formulaic language and content of the twelve line inscription on the early Western Zhou Hezun bronze, excavated in 1963 in Shaanxi, with the Luogao chapter of the Documents. See note 2.
- 133 4 "...and Many Regions (Duo fang)"—Edward Shaughnessy, writing in CHOC, vol. 0, p. 294, believes that the Junshi and Guming chapters are as early as the Five Proclamations, though both their grammar and content place them later. Ibid., p. 295, agrees that the Duo shih and Duo fang chapters are likely to be later than the Five Proclamations. A far better candidate for a genuinely early date is chap. 18 of the received Documents, Gaozong rongri, the subject of Riegel and Nivison (1984). The text certainly contains authentic Shang language, but it may represent a late compilation of early inscripational materials, some possibly edited. Interestingly, it seems to advocate equality in sacrifices offered to all Shang kings ("Do not be lavish toward those close to you [i.e., one's deceased father]"), which supports arguments made here about shared rule in Shang. But an argument against a Shang date for the entire text is the use (four times in the short text) of the term "Tian," meaning "Heaven," which occurs only rarely in this sense in oracle inscriptions (as in Shima Kunio, Inkyo bokuji sorui 42.4; Li Xiaoding #13).

- 133 4 "...Eastern Zhou periods"—Ten Modern Script chapters (Taishi, Hongfan, Jinteng, Zicai, Duoshi, Wuyi, Junshi, Duofang, Li zheng, and Guming) of the eighteen in this group claim to date from the years immediately following the conquest of Shang. The received text of the Taishi is known to be a late forgery. See note 45 above. The Li zheng chapter is traditionally dated to the regency of the Duke of Zhou, but some of its arguments seem plausibly of the fourth or third century BC. And chapters that intersperse brief narrations of events with the "recorded" speeches (e.g., the Li zheng and Guming) are likely to be later, rather than earlier, in composition.
- 134 1 "...not to commoners"—Li Min (1983), pp. 128-33, dates it to early Western Zhou, thinking its content equivalent to that of the Dagao and Kanggao chapters. But the mixed format of the chapter argues for a later date, and Li's construction of the past is constrained by the Marxist theory of historical stages. Zhang Xitang argues for a date in early Western Zhou; Gu Jiegang, for a date of eighth century BC.
- 134 2 "...Canon of Yao"—In the received pseudo-Kong version, the Canon of Yao and the Canon of Shun chapters are two independent chapters. In all Haan editions, however, material that corresponds to the received Canon of Shun constitutes the second half of the Canon of Yao chapter, despite grammatical differences between the two chapters. Thus in the discussion below I treat these two accounts as one continuous narrative. Two other Modern Script chapters were each divided into two to make up the correct number of fifty-eight pian required by tradition for an Archaic Script version. The second half of Fu Sheng's Gao Yao mo became the Yiji chapter in the pseudo-Kong version, just as the second half of Fu Sheng's Guming chapter became the Kangwang zhi gao in the pseudo-Kong version.
- 134 2 "...in imperial China"—In the pre-Han period, by far the most citations came from the Gao Yao mo chapter in Group C and the genuine pre-Qin Grand Oath (Taishi) chapter (now lost). According to Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), other chapters quoted more than ten times in early texts (variously defined by various scholars) are: the Kanggao; the Hongfan, the Lüxing, and the Yaodian. During the Han, citing the rhymed verses included in the Great Plan was extremely popular, as were citations from the Canon of Yao. In later imperial China, there is no doubt that the famous sixteen-character formula from the Counsels of Great Yu (Da Yu mo) garnered the most attention, especially after the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi singled it out as the distillation of True Way Learning. On dating: The Yugong chapter is often dated to the postunification period, but it more probably dates from the mid-third century BC, while containing later interpolations. And, as Eric Henry (forthcoming), chap. 1, reminds us, it is only in the Gao Yao mo, Yao dian, and Shun dian chapters that one finds the tropes popular in late Warring States and early Western Han that associates knowing men with the vocation of rulership.
- 137 1 "...and collegial rule"—For example, in the Luogao chapter, the Duke of Zhou (as regent) and young King Cheng converse as equals — something not expected by late commentators but perfectly in line with early Chinese custom.
- 137 1 "...of worthy officials"—In the Luogao chapter, the Duke of Zhou appears as a potential contender for the throne. His support for his brother's heir demonstrates the duke's selflessness and virtue.

- 137 3 "...probability quite late"—The debates over the dating of the Pan Geng chapter are reviewed by Matsumoto Masaaki (1966), p. 294. Matsumoto notes that the chapter is cited in slightly abbreviated form in the Zuozhuan, which means that it cannot be later than the fourth century BC. Matsumoto further notes that talk of "fixing the ultimate" cannot date to an early period. On the dating of the Metal Coffers chapter, Edward Shaughnessy (1997), p. 119, argues that the first section in the chapter is written in language that is "clearly more archaic than that of the second section," which he presumes to be the late work of hagiographers elaborating traditions about the Duke of Zhou. No other chapter within the Zhou section examines the Duke of Zhou's relationship with so many individuals, from which several eminent scholars have concluded that the Duke of Zhou ruled, rather than served as regent. However, the Metal Coffers chapter seems to strongly favor primogeniture for the ruling family. That in itself may argue for a relatively late date for the chapter, since the Zhou maintained, at least initially, the Shang policy of succession from elder to younger brother.
- 137 4 "...as simultaneously available"—According to Michael Loewe's observations (in conversation), an emphasis on Heaven's Mandate first entered the established Han rhetoric in the matter of dynastic legitimacy only around 33 BC, though earlier references to other notions of legitimacy abound, most specifically in the Great Plan and the Canon of Yao chapters. Readers should look for Loewe's forthcoming article on the belated role of Tianming in Han politics.
- 138 1 "...or early twenties"—Popular legend often depicts King Cheng as a very young child, even a baby, possibly because of a polite verbal formula in the Documents chapters whereby the king refers to himself as "small son" or "young child." Two main traditions give the date of King Cheng's age at his accession either as six sui (five years old by Western count) or as thirteen sui after the conventional three years (more like twenty-seven months) of mourning. See XinS 9/12a; Zheng Xuan's Shangshu zhu 7/5a; and Xu Shen's WJYY 2/3b-4a. Wang Hui (1993) argues, however, that King Cheng may have been as much as twenty-three sui at the time of his father's death. Cf. Edward Shaughnessy (1997), p. 127; Matsumoto Masaaki (1968); Huang Peirong (1976). For the date of King Wu's death, see Edward Shaughnessy (1997), pp. 73-93. All pre-Qin and early Western Han sources imply that King Wu reigned for only two years before his death, but late Western Han and Eastern Han sources date King Wu's death six or seven years after the conquest, as do many subsequent studies. (Strictly speaking, we may not speak of King Wu or of King Cheng when we refer to their reigns, for Wu and Cheng are posthumous temple names. Not to follow convention here, however, would prove too confusing.)
- 138 1 "...of Zhou and Shou"—The Duke of Shao was an elder half-brother to the Duke of Zhou. The two rebel brothers were Guanshu Xian and Caishu Du, the fifth and ninth of the ten sons of King Wen. The Duke of Zhou was supposedly the fourth of these ten sons. See SJ 35:1570.
- 138 1 "...small, blaze up"—Luogao, par. 9. Karlgren (1948), p. 52, understands this passage quite differently, taking it as warning to King Cheng not to be too fervent in his friendships, "like a fire, which first flames up... and cannot be extinguished." Karlgren's interpretation ignores not only the immediate context for the Five Proclamations (the rebellion) but also the strong metaphorical associations between fire and war.
- 138 1 "...last king of Shang"—Cf. evidence from early Western Zhou bronze inscriptions, e.g., the Da Yu ding, in which the Zhou celebrate their success in "punishing the evil men." Numerous bronze inscriptions refer to the glorious example of King Wen, including the zun bronze cited in Wen Fong (1980).

- 138 3 "...my Zhou ancestors]"—Dagao, par. 11, 14 (Karlgren, 37-39). Throughout the chapter, references to Karlgren (1948) are given for the convenience off the reader, though the translations are by Nylan.
- 139 1 "...their virtuous words"—Kanggao, par. 24 (Karlgren, 43).
- 139 1 "...of his ancestors' charisma"—Not all pre-Han and Han political thought insists on the need to carry on the ancestors' work; late examples can be found, hhowever: Jia Yi, in urging Han Wendi (r. 180-157 BC) to become sage-ruler, cites three reasons: (1) sagehood will surely confer personal longevity; (2) Wendi owes it to his ancestors to carry on their enterprise; and (3) Wendi needs to protect his descendants' interests. See XinS 1/8a. The first reason would not be found in early Zhou discourse. Therefore, Zhu Ziqing (1963), p. 22, describes the earlier Documents chapters as detailing the "rule by ghosts," in contrast to the later Documents chapters, with their emphasis on "rule by virtue."
- 139 1 "...to deviate from it"—Kanggao, "par. 5 (Karlgren, 40).
- 139 2 "...acts of divination"—Kanggao, par. 16. Cf. Mushi, par. 6, which identifies the worst sin of the evil last king of Shang as failing "to rule in coconcert with his brothers." Instead, the Shang tyrant listened to his wife, Daji (see below). As the Five Proclamations tell us, any disrespect shown to members of the family unit signifies a lack of social virtue because the family unit is the foundation of society and state. Reverence or respect for one's parents, uncles, ancestors, and siblings serves as the social glue that binds the entire community of kin, living and dead.
- 139 2 "...made absolutely plain"—Kanggao, par. 6 (Karglren, 38).
- 140 1 "...loyalty to community?"—A similar dilemma appears in a second story tied to the Great Plan by its preface: Yu, the flood-queller, was appointed to ssucceed his father, who had been executed for his failure.
- 140 1 "...of human affairs?"—On the subject of the Lord on High, see Robert Eno (1990a); and Julia Ching (1997), p. 25, summarizing Léon Vandermeersch.
- 140 3 "...power and authority"—Hongfan, par. 9 (Karlgren, 30).
- 141 1 "...of public-spiritedness"—Ibid., par. 12-13 (Karlgren, 32).
- 141 2 "...smooth and even"—Ibid., par. 14 (Karlgren, 32).
- 141 3 "...to all his subjects"—Ibid., par. 16 (Karlgren, 32).
- 142 1 "...of his royal house"—For Zhou Dunyi (1017-73), however, the Great Plan offers a blueprint for the sage, as Human Ultimate, to foster the entire ccosmic process whereby yin/yang and the Five Phases shape the production and transformation of the myriad things spawned by the Great Ultimate, the cosmic Dao. Zhou Dunyi's understanding entailed correlating passages found in the Great Plan chapter of the Documents with the Great Commentary to the Changes and the Doctrine of the Mean chapter of the Record of Rites (Liji). ? See Julia Ching (1997), pp. 109-116.
- 142 2 "...conformed with antiquity"—Yaodian, par. 1 (Karlgren, 1, however, mistakes the first part of the opening phrase for a particle without meaning).>

- 142 2 "...in the Great Plan"—Liu Zongyuan (773-819) asserted that Yao and Shun, in passing the throne to men other than their sons, had exemplified the idea of *dagong* (great public-spiritedness). See LiuZY, 1:19, "True Tallies"; 3:48, "Essay on Enfeoffment"; 3:60-61, "Discussion on the Six Violations."
- 143 1 "...the death of emperors"—The mention of the solemn public mourning conducted by both officers and commoners at the death of beloved emperors Yao and Shun would seem to confirm the late date of its composition. On changing conceptions of xiao (filial piety), see Harry Hsiao (1978); and Michael Nylan (1982), chap. 4.
- 143 2 "...the myriad vassel states"—Yaodian, par. 2 (Karlgren, 1). The logic here, of course, parallels the family-state-known world logic of the Great Learning (Daxue) chapter of the Liji, a point Zhu Xi makes explicit in his *Shujing jizhuan*. The Daxue, of course, has been seen by many True Way Learning advocates and New Confucian Revivalists as the quintessence of cultural Chineseness, since it supposedly balances "inner sageliness" (*neisheng*) with "outer kingliness" (*waiwang*).
- 143 3 "...regard to them"—Yaodian, par. 12 (Karlgren, 4).
- 144 1 "...the affairs of state"—Gao Yao mo, par. 4 (Karlgren, 8). Note Karlgren's inattention to parallelism.
- 144 2 "...and on earth"—Unlike the Great Plan, the Canon of Yao slights the benefits of communication between the sage-ruler and his subjects, though due weight is given to the ruler's transforming influence upon his subjects, exercised through his appointments and wuwei (non-purposive action). The Kingly Regulations (Wangzhi) chapter of the Liji expands upon the Canon of Yao to supply this deficiency. In the Liji transcribed in Western Han, the success of the sage-ruler's government depends upon his ability to elicit information from the people, who both collectively and individually serve as repository for different kinds of moral wisdom.
- 144 3 "...follow in dance"—Yaodian, par. 35 (Karlgren, 7).
- 144 3 "...into his domain"—See Clifford Geertz (1983), chap. 6, on the function of royal progresses.
- 144 4 "...the possession of all"—See SSDZ, p. 8; cf. LSCQ, ch. 1-2, which argues that "the empire of the world does not belong to one man or one family, but to all its people." This theme obtains throughout the Mencian account of Yao and Shun, e.g., in Mencius 3A/4; 5A/5.
- 144 4 "...kindness to colleagues"—Yaodian, par. 28 (Karlgren, 5).
- 145 1 "...is well ruled"—This reflects an argument within classicism about the role of the ruler. For example, in his commentary to "Jiugong," Fu Sheeng has Confucius say, "You believe that the enlightened ruler must work hard? Long ago, Shun put Yu to his left and Gao Yao to his right. Without once moving from his seat, the empire was well ruled" (SSDZ, p. 6, line 20). Therefore, most commentators presumed that the Tribute of Yu chapter described Yu's labors as an official, not as emperor. The preface also speaks of Yu working under Shun's direction. See Legge, p. 3.

- 145 1 "...not describe it"—Analects 8/19 (Waley, 137; modified). Yao and Shun probably originated in ancient China as the ancestral gods of tribes living on the northwestern and northeastern borders areas, respectively. As such, their associations with the shaman-king tradition of rulership may have been particularly strong. Similarly, in certain late traditions (possibly with early origins?) the Duke of Zhou is described as a dwarf and a hunchback possessed of shamanic powers. Nonetheless, the Documents does not explicitly ascribe shamanic powers to any of the sage-rulers it describes. See GSB, VII, 148-53, for Yao and Shun; and Katô Jôken (1980), pp. 366-67, for the Duke of Zhou.
- 146 3 "...of his ordinary subjects"—Wuyi, par. 1-2 (Karlgren, 56). One major accusation against the evil last king of Shang was that he "increased his pleasurable ease." See Duofang, par. 4 (Karlgren, 62). In the genuinely early Documents texts, note that the term "his people" refers to members of the ruler's inner circle of clansmen, rather than to commoners.
- 147 1 "...it issues orders"—Heaven was anthropomorphic, the first ancestor, "sending down guilt," and destroying its foes "like a farmer weeding."
- 147 1 "...outside the family circle"—Both the Great Plan and the Canon of Yao specifically mention the government's need for calendrical experts, presumably to time the phases of agriculture.
- 147 1 "...and mathematical realms"—It is likely that the Five Proclamations were written at a time when the throne was thought to exert little influence over the course of the harvests, except insofar as devout prayers to the ancestors might secure Heaven's blessings in the form of good weather. By the late Warring States, however, those living around the Yellow River had made considerable strides in controlling aspects of their natural environment. Swamps had been drained, canals dug, and agricultural tools and methods improved.
- 148 2 "...weightiness of any crime"—This idea persists in later chapters, such as the Canon of Yao, which says, "Offenses by mishap are to be pardoned, but those who stubbornly persist [in evildoing] are to be severely punished."
- 148 2 "...Shuihudi and Zhangjiashan"—Of particular interest on this point of intentionality is the work of Lau (2000).
- 149 2 "...the Punishment of Lü"—I accept the redating proposed in Shirakawa Shizuka (1980). Tradition, however, attributes the piece to the mid-seventh century BC court of Duke Mu of Qin (660-621 BC).
- 149 2 "...compassion and reverence"—See Analects 4/15 (Waley, 105), on the fundamental virtues of *zhong* and *shu* (empathy based on "likening to oneself").
- 150 1 "...considered fortunate indeed"—Gao Yao mo, par. 3 (Karlgren, 8).
- 150 1 "...for one another"—Following Ma Rong, cited in Karlgren (1948), #110. But Serruys prefers to translate the phrase as "make true leaders of the leaders."

- 150 2 "...their forensic skills"—By contrast, in early Greece fine speech is itself noble, conferring immortality on great men. See, e.g., the Menexenus 236EE: "For it is by means of speech finely spoken that deeds nobly done gain for their doers from the hearers the mead of memory and renown." Many excellent scholars of early China (e.g., Christoph Harbsmeier) have argued that China had no developed sense of rhetoric, no forensic tradition comparable to that of the early Greeks in their public forums. Cf. Hans Stange (1950); G. Lloyd (1996). My own work on Eastern Han leads me to conclude that a developed rhetorical tradition existed in early China, but that rhetoric was regarded as a basic tool of learning, not its crowning glory. Hence my argument here.
- 150 2 "...the authority of the gods"—This is not, however, the only chapter in which a sage's rhetorical skills win the day. The Duke of Zhou, chief protagonist of the Luogao, by rhetorical power apparently effects the building of a new capital, thereby establishing himself, no less than the capital, "as a center around which power is gathered, preserved, and transferred." See David Schaberg (1996), p. 103.
- 150 1 "...plan to move]"—Pan Geng, par. 1 (Karlgren, 20).
- 152 1 "...new capital city"—Ibid., par. 2 (Karlgren, 20).
- 152 2 "...comfortable for you"—Ibid., par. 8 (Karlgren, 21).
- 152 2 "...I intend to sustain"—Ibid., par. 30 (Karlgren, 24).
- 152 3 "...all of you"—Ibid., par. 37 (Karlgren, 24). This willingness to absolve them suggests that the Pan Geng chapter may be quite late.
- 152 3 "...their frank counsels"—Ibid., par. 40 (Karlgren, 26).
- 152 3 "...one heart and mind"—Ibid., par. 47 (Karlgren, 26).
- 154 2 "...all public approbation"—Along the same lines is the legend of Danfu, often identified as the ultimate predynastic founder of Zhou, a minor lord who willingly ceded his small fief to invading barbarians, even though it meant abandoning the traditional altars of the gods of soil and grain, to save his people from war. Danfu was rewarded for this concession by the increased loyalty of his people. See SJ 4:113-14; SSDZ p. 27; Odes 237, 241, and 270.
- 154 2 "...Central States civilization"—HS 30:1706.
- 154 3 "...another ruling house"—Heaven's potential withdrawal of support is perceived as capricious in some early Documents chapters and some Odes. See Waiyee Li (1993), p. 8; Mori Mikisaburô (1971). But over time, a consensus arose that Heaven was by definition moral.

- 155 1 "...the ancestors in heaven"—Not surprisingly, the Five Proclamations say nothing about bureaucratic selection, since they assume that the king's relatives will fill all government posts and act as his sole advisers. Instead, the Proclamations stress the importance of the king's charisma in maintaining the strong sense of connection between the royal court and its closest vassals (related by blood). Even the later Pan Geng chapter shows the king meeting in his palace with a series of groups, including his "multitudes" and "his people," both groups clearly defined within the chapter as "leaders of states" and "managers of affairs." Liu Qiyu (1987) suggests that they are the heads of various clans and overseers of the palace artisans. In general, the late jinwen chapters in Group C reveal a decidedly more ambivalent attitude toward the royal relatives, advising the king not to pander to them unduly, lest he jeopardize the throne and lose the trust of his common people. As one chapter instructs, "Do not offend the Way in order to elicit the praise of the Hundred Clans [i.e., prominent clans]." For further discussion, see David Keightley (1983); Magoshi Yasushi (1996). The character *min* appears on several bronzes, though it has not yet been found on any oracle bones. Guo Moruo (1954) tries to prove that the character *min* represents a person blinded in one eye (hence, a slave); the character *ren* refers to the slave owners, he says. I can find no evidence to support Guo's assertions, which responded to the necessities of Marxist historiography. Cf. Jiagu1 and Jiagu2, p. 949; Li Min (1983), p. 123.
- 155 1 "...treatment of them"—This early interpretation of the Mandate of Heaven theory does not presume that the Zhou invented the theory to legitimate their military conquest nor does it extend Heaven's care to the lowlier subjects.
- 155 2 "...of impartial heaven, hearkened"—The slogan was originally Mohist. See Michael Nylan (1994). For the fuel and fodder gatherers, see Ode 254/3.
- 155 2 "...see and hear"—Gao Yao mo, par. 7 (Karlgrén, 9).
- 155 3 "...of the people's will"—Alexander Woodside (1971), foreword. Perhaps the writings of Max Weber, which have informed but also limited the discussions of generations of modern scholars, have also encouraged them to focus on typologies of authority, not of representation, in their analysis of political institutions.
- 156 2 "...led to virtue"—In concert with his officials the good ruler ensures favorable economic conditions; then he provides the ceremonies and rituals that foster social comity. See, e.g., the Lüxing chapter.
- 156 2 "...and to fate"—The classic article on the relation of classicism to Maoism is David Nivison (1972).
- 157 1 "...destroyed their own"—See, for example, Jessica Rawson (1989), p. 73, citing the Da Yu ding.
- 157 1 "...to the commoner"—See, e.g., XZYD 46/12/51. For the right to rebellion, see Mencius, *passim*.
- 157 1 "...by heaven itself"—Relevant here is the famous story about the Ming dynastic founder, Taizu (r. 1368-1399), who proposed to ensure preservation of his dynasty's aura of legitimate authority by expurgating all explicit mentions of the commoners' right to rebellion from the Mencius. So many officials risked their lives to protest the royal decision that Taizu thought it best to drop the idea. See the Mingshi 139/335c-d.
- 157 2 "...and culturally progressive"—"Progressive," even though the Golden Age was often projected onto the distant past (especially onto the pre-Xia and Xia periods or onto early Western Zhou). "Progressive" here refers to the belief in a cumulative revelation of Heaven's meaning, which inspired successive sages to invent the tools and social institutions needed for a high civilization.

- 158 2 "...suitably vast territories"—For the same reasons, the First Emperor of Qin repeatedly alluded to the vast rule of Yu the Great in his stele inscriptions.
- 158 2 "...dynasty to dynasty"—Some would date the current preface to a time before Sima Qian, but two facts bar such a dating: (1) major discrepancies exist between the current preface and Sima Qian's historical accounts (ca. 100 BC), esp. with respect to the Pan Geng and Jinteng chapters; (2) the current preface accounts for all chapters in the pseudo-Kong edition, which means that it probably dates to the fourth or early fifth centuries AD. The current preface may, of course, represent a reworking of earlier prefaces. See Chen Mengjia (1985), pp. 101ff.; Zhao Zhenxin (1935).
- 158 2 "...course of history"—Numerous essays in GSB discuss this process, as do those in Wen Yiduo (1923), 3-138 (jia).
- 160 1 "...of more recent times"—For one typically anachronistic account of remarkable bureaucratic sophistication at an impossibly early date, see SSDZ, p. 7.
- 160 2 "...inevitable and proper"—Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi had all admitted the necessity of changing institutions. Assuming that this antipathy to change does not reflect later interpolation, it marks the author of the Great Commentary as sympathetic to some aspects of the Legalist tradition. Cf. one Legalist minister of ca. 350 BC: "If the benefit [to be gained from change] will not be a hundredfold, then one does not change one's models and laws; and if the efficiency will not be tenfold [after change], then one does not change one's tools." See SJ 68:2229.
- 160 2 "...black, or white"—The Three Cycles of red, black, and white makes their first appearance in Fu Sheng's Great Commentary. See SSDZ p. 10, lines 15-22, where the Xia, Yin, and Zhou paradigmatic systems each have their own distinctive colors, calendars, and methods of rule. In SSDZ, this cycle is also combined with a dyadic cycle, in which "refinement" and "basic substance" alternate. Cf. Dong Zhongshu's theory, as summarized in Sarah Queen (1996), pp. 143, 184-87.
- 160 3 "...greatness of the empire"—FSTY 5:39. This preoccupation with the conjoined influences of geography, genealogy, and chronology appears in many Han texts, e.g., the Hanshu "Treatise on the Patterns of Earth" (Dili zhi) and Zheng Xuan's *Shipu*, as explicated in Jiang Qianyi (1984), esp. pp. 38-40.
- 161 1 "...to be that people"—Geertz, cited in Nicole Constable (1994), p. 29. Note that many famous classicists down through the ages (e.g., Sima Qian, Yang Xiong, Han Yu, the Cheng brothers, and Zhu Xi) thought of themselves as latter-day Dukes of Zhou.
- 161 2 "...again to remythologizing"—Compilers of the individual chapters in the Documents undoubtedly had before them demythologized accounts from which to construct their own versions of events in the Shang-Zhou transition. At the same time, one should not forget that in early Western Zhou, as in the Shang dynasty, the boundary between gods and humans was somewhat permeable, for the "people in Heaven" charged with guiding the state through the oracles were the deceased members of the ruling clan.
- 161 2 "...of archaic models"—To cite a more recent example: Chiang Kai-shek, when he left his native village, reportedly was admonished by his mother to "maintain the reputation of the ancestors." His mother was referring not only to the farmers and salt merchants who were his immediate paternal ancestors, but to the Duke of Zhou, whom family tradition linked to the Chiangs. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek's "dreams and ambitions were linked with the ghostly presence of this ancient giant, whose virtue and energy he felt to be his inheritance." See Jon Saari (1990), p. 113, which is based on Robert Payne (1969), pp. 47-49.

- 162 1 "...teachers and students alike"—This story has been quoted in numerous Han texts, including Fu Sheng's SSDZ and Liu Xiang's Shuoyuan.
- 162 2 "...its sacred geography"—See CIS, II, 54, 59, 64, 79, etc.
- 162 3 "...ever told in China"—Some scholars would define this story as an epic in that (a) it is the "story of the founder," and (b) it assumes a grand narrative structure. The term "epic" is also applicable to the stories of the Shang-Zhou transition because the Documents traditions, like the Homeric Cycle, extend the basic story backward and forward in time to frame the episodes as divine struggles for dominance. But, in contrast to the Greek epics, the narratives in early China typically place little emphasis on bloody battles; heroism is defined as the successful imposition of Central States culture on a previous state of disorder. See David Keightley (1993). David Johnson (1981), p. 268, argues for the existence of "large narrative structures" or epics about the fourth century BC. I suspect he may be right, though there is little direct evidence of their existence at this point.
- 164 1 "...as Western Protector"—The Documents emphasizes the profoundly civil character of ideal rule (hence, King Wen's posthumous title of Civil King). However, Wm. Theodore De Bary (1991), p. 2, goes too far when he argues that no Chinese stories deal with conquest, struggle, or competition.
- 164 1 "...his perverse wife Daji"—In the Documents, a host of colorful crimes are attributed to the bad last king of Shang, including his infatuation with his beautiful consort Daji. See Mushi, par. 6 (Karlgren, 29), for the emperor's inexplicable obsession with Daji and his consequent neglect of imperial duties: "Now the Shang king listens only to his wife...he neglects his royal clansmen."
- 164 1 "...worthy of respect"—Kanggao, par. 4 (Karlgren, 39).
- 164 2 "...for a glorious antiquity"—The Documents, apart from the dates of a few key encounters, gives few details about the battles. Instead, the text describes at some length the king's courage on the eve of battle and his reverent sacrifices to the ancestors in Heaven. Since it was officials who compiled and edited most, if not all, of the Documents chapters, the chapters tend to show the culture heroes of the Chinese past operating within the political, not the military, arena. Bureaucrats, as much as kings and soldiers, prefer to see their lives in heroic terms.
- 164 2 "...loyal senior adviser"—Unspeakable acts of cruelty are committed: ripping open the bellies of pregnant women, slicing off the limbs of innocent men, and chaining loyal ministers to red-hot iron pillars. Despite the royal exorcists' efforts to eliminate the "specter in the palace," Queen Daji retains her ascendancy for several more years, by which time oppression in the realm is so terrible that the hitherto loyal King Wen and his son King Wu reluctantly raise troops against the court.
- 164 2 "...upon Heaven for help"—According to Shaogao, par. 10, the king lost his mandate because "at the end, he kept the wise in obscurity and put the vicious in office, [so that] those poor people, carrying their children and leading their wives [in flight], were made to call piteously upon Heaven [in complaint]."
- 164 2 "...Hong Kong gongfu movies"—For the perennial association between military strategy and magic, see HHS 82A:2705. To heighten the drama, the novel opens with the last Shang ruler "governing his country in peace, respected by neighboring states. His people are working happily in their respective occupations; his peasants are especially blessed." But before long, there are spectacular interventions by the gods in human affairs, with the dilemmas of ordinary humans set aside, along with the Mandate of Heaven theory.
- 165 2 "...written, and recorded"—Zhou Yandong's autobiography, as recorded in Han Su-yin; the translation has been modified from Jon Saari (1990), p. 197.

- 165 3 "...but 'present' learning"—Anne Birdwhistell (1996), pp. 20, 40-41, writing of the Song. In borrowing her words to describe the present, I have had to change the tenses of some of her verbs.
- 166 1 "...discontinuity, interplay, and change"—There was nonetheless a definite sense of historical progress embedded in certain passages in the Classics, for example, in the Changes ("Xici" 2A/2), where men are said to slowly acquire the accoutrements of civilization. Still, even the Changes suggests that once the Central States civilization received the benefits of the early sages' patternizing efforts, it needed little further change, for significant change would simply represent a falling away from virtue.
- 166 1 "...Europe, America, and Japan"—A voluminous literature exists on this subject, including Joseph Levenson (1965); Chang Hao (1987); and Charlotte Furth (19776). I return to this subject in chapter 7.
- 166 1 "...of its long history"—Cf. D. Howland (1996), introduction, which speaks of modern dancers on the Taipei stage writhing in smothering sheets that symbolize the entanglements of China's uniquely long history.
- 166 2 "...will not reject China"—Ian Buruma (1996), p. 143, citing an unnamed source. Cf. Lucien Pye (1968), pp. 54-56, which argues that Chinese identity was invested in "the significance of their beings as part of immortal history," through ancestor worship and an unbroken genealogical connection.
- 167 1 "...less tidy past"—Rénan said that nationalism requires forgetting.
- 167 1 "...and formative force"—Jan Assmann (1988), 52.
- 167 2 "...had supported it"—See Yoshida Jun (1988); Liu Qiyu (1987), chap. 7 (esp. part 2, on Yao Jiheng's *Jiuzheng tonglun*).
- 167 3 "...[who threaten to kill me]?"—Analects 9/5.
- 167 3 "...the sage-kings of yore"—This last comment draws upon Jon Saari (1990), p. 113.