

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FILIALITY  
IN  
ANCIENT CHINA

Ideological Development of Ancestor Worship  
in the Zhanguo Period

by  
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## ABSTRACT

Filiality (xiao) has been a significant concept in Chinese culture. Its significance is shown by the fact that its idea was elevated to a system of philosophy by Confucians in the Zhanguo period (475-221 B.C.E.). The purpose of this study is to clarify why filiality was important and what the philosophy of filiality essentially meant.

Filiality was not merely a familial ethic. In the Western Zhou period (the 11th c. to 770 B.C.E.), it meant sacrifices to ancestors. Filiality toward fatherhood was essentially obedience to headship of lineage groups, and it was expressed in ancestor worship. When lineage gradually collapsed in the Chunqiu period (770-475 B.C.E.), its significance must have been restricted. In fact, however, filiality was given a new meaning by Zhanguo Confucians. First, Confucius emphasized the mental aspect of filiality, and then Mencius thought of filiality as the basis from which general ethics were generated. The various ideas of filiality were collected in a book: the Book of Filiality. This book, presenting the dichotomy between love and reverence, argued that a father-son relationship had an element shared by a monarch-retainer relationship and that filiality should be shifted into loyalty.

The essential achievement of this philosophy was the recognition of the dualistic nature of human beings; any human relationship was a social relation between two social roles as well as an emotional connection between two characters. The former was the basis for culture and society. It was the aspect of culture inherent in human nature that should be developed to bring about social justice. This dualism was derived from the ambiguity of fatherhood in ancestor worship. As ancestor symbolized the social role of lineage headship, the philosophy of filiality symbolically connected fatherhood to the social role of authority in general. Filiality was identified with devotion to the

absolute basis for humans and society that was symbolized by fatherhood.

This thesis, analyzing ancient Chinese philosophy of filiality, presents a hypothesis concerning the essential structure of ancestor worship, which can be summarized as the symbolism representing higher levels of authority on the basis of parental authority.



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## INTRODUCTION

In the history of Chinese philosophy, the Zhanguo 戰國 period (475–221 B.C.) is one of the most important and interesting eras. Many thinkers discussed many subjects and presented various ideas about them, ideas that have been important throughout the Chinese history. Xiao 孝 or filiality was one of such subjects.

Xiao, which is usually translated as filial piety, is recognized to be a moral code between parents and children, or especially children's duty toward their parents. But there seems to be room for reconsidering this recognition. If xiao simply indicated affection and respect between parents and children, that is, if it belonged to natural human feelings, the concept of xiao could not be so important a philosophical subject, for if so anybody can easily be filial. Important philosophical subjects are expected to be related to the crucial conception of culture and society, which defines the significance of human beings and establishes motivations for their cultural/social activity. Filiality was an extraordinarily important subject in the Chinese philosophy. This can be proved by the fact that the Confucian orthodox canons included the Book of Filiality (Xiaojing 孝經), for which many volumes of commentaries were written. In fact, the emphasis on filiality was a distinctive feature of Chinese culture. Therefore, the principal purpose of this dissertation is to clarify why filiality was so important in the Chinese philosophy, what was asserted by discussing filiality and what features of Chinese culture were reflected in discussions of filiality.

If filiality was not only familial ethics, what did it really represent? There have been many earlier discussions of filiality, because of its importance, and some scholars have paid attention to its religious quality. For instance, Nobuyuki Kaji states that filiality was based on Chinese view of life; religious ideas about life and death in



ancient China, which were principally expressed in ancestor worship, were systematized into filiality by the Confucian school, and the whole of Confucian thought was developed on this basis (Kaji 1990). Jitsuzô Kuwabara says that “filiality and ancestral rites share the same spirit” in his work about Chinese filiality (Kuwabara, p.13). Their discussions are acceptable, because continuity between filiality and ancestor worship is clearly expressed in the Confucian canons. For example, the “Jiyi 祭義 (the Meaning of Rites)” chapter of the Book of Rites says;

A superior man, while (his parents) are alive, reverently serves them; and, when they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them; --- his (chief) thought is how for his whole life not to disgrace them. (Legge 1885, vol.2, p.211)

君子、生則敬養、死則敬享、思終身弗辱也。(LJZS vol.47, p.364)

The “Jitong 祭統 (the Basis of Rites)” chapter of the same book says;

Therefore, in three ways is a filial son's service of his parents shown: --- when they are alive, by nourishing them. When they are dead, by all the rites of mourning; and when the mourning is over by sacrificing to them. In his nourishing them we see his obedience; in his funeral rites we see his sorrow; in his sacrifices we see his reverence and observance of the (proper) seasons. In these three ways we see the practice of a filial son (Legge vol.2, p.237).

是故孝子之事親也、有三道焉。生則養、沒則喪、喪畢則祭。養則觀其順也、喪則觀其哀也、祭則觀其敬而時也。此三道者、孝子之行也。(LJZS vol.49, p.375)

In these examples is shown that filial duty includes both a child's filial piety toward his living parents and ancestor worship to his ancestor. These ideas can be found in various Confucian books of the Zhanguo to Han periods<sup>[1]</sup>. As will be discussed in the next chapter, xiao meant ancestral rites in the Western Zhou period. Since the idea of

filiality developed on the basis of ancestor worship, it is reasonable to assume that the philosophy of filiality reflected the ideology expressed in this religious phenomenon.

This feature of filiality is related to the second purpose of this dissertation. Ancestor worship is found in various cultures in the world, though it is not universal, and it is particularly important in East Asia. Various interpretations of it have been presented, but we do not necessarily have a completely satisfactory theory for it. For example, it has not been explained well enough why ancestor worship functions in societies whose social structures differ. In China, ancestor worship has existed since ancient times, and has survived social changes. If the idea of filiality was the philosophical development of ancestor worship, it is possible to think that filiality was related in some way to the functioning of ancestor worship in different types of social structures. The study of filiality can thus provide suggestions about the essential mechanism of ancestor worship.

Because of the relation between filiality and ancestor worship, it is necessary at first to consider how the latter has been understood, so earlier interpretations are here discussed.

#### **The anthropological theories of ancestor worship**

The term "ancestor worship" is adopted in this dissertation, but there can be doubts about this terminology, because it may suggest that the system of beliefs concerning "ancestors" does not deserve the name of "religion". Thus, Hammond-Tooke has proposed that the term "ancestor religion" should be used (1981 p.22). Though his discussion is acceptable, it is not advantageous to spend many pages on the discussion of terminology. My adoption of this traditional term is not based on any preconceptions. Ancestor worship can be defined, in brief, as the belief in deceased kinsmen's (principally ascendants') power over their

descendants and the system of ideas and rites based on this belief.

Studies of ancestor worship, most of which have been made by anthropologists, are well summarized by Jack Goody (1962, p.14-25) and by Helen Hardacre (ER. p.263-8). What should be discussed here is some theories presented by anthropologists who studied African tribes based on the principle of unilineal descent. In these tribes, membership in a kinship group is determined by one's unilineal (i.e. patrilineal or matrilineal) relation to his ancestors. That is, a patrilineal (or matrilineal) descent group exclusively consists of agnatic (or uterine) descendants of its founding ancestor. This kind of descent group, which is called "lineage", is usually segmented into smaller descent groups which are in turn segmented. The system of segmentation is the inevitable result of the principle of unilineal descent. For example, suppose that there is a localized patri-lineage group. All of its members are the agnatic descendants of the founding ancestor. When the number of the members increases, it becomes difficult for it to remain a single group, and descendants of sons (or grandsons) of the founding ancestor respectively form different groups, though they maintain a loose bond. A few generations later, each group splits again, with unity as a whole maintained. Thus, on any level, a descent group is defined by reference to an ancestor, and a whole picture of society looks like a pyramid organization of descent groups. Another feature of the unilineal descent group lies in that it is necessarily a corporate group; though it splits, it never ceases to exist when its head dies (if its members do not die out). Different from kindred, a descent group and its headship are jurally sanctioned by society.

The Tallensi in Ghana, a typical example of such patrilineal descent society, are studied by Meyer Fortes (1969). Fortes understands ancestor worship among the Tallensi on the basis of lineage structure. According to him, the nuclear element of patrilineal descent lies in a

father-son relationship. Among the Tallensi, he says, "a father of a family has two distinct elements of status" (1961 p.174); on the one hand, he is a father because of the biological fact that he has begotten his son. On the other hand, fatherhood means "head of the lineage segment" (p.175), to which jural autonomy and authority are attached. Thus, fatherhood is nothing but lineage headship, which is not only the heart of the lineage system but also the very heart of society, because the whole Tale society is based on the lineage system. Next, Fortes discusses that from this feature of fatherhood arises "the tension in the relationship between father and son" (p.170). They are affectionate to each other in everyday life, but a son cannot have autonomy until his father's death. Therefore, as Fortes puts it, "there is an antithesis between the inescapable bonds of dependence, for sustenance, for protection from danger and death, in status and personal development, of sons upon their fathers, on the one hand, and the inherent oppositions of successive generations, on the other hand" (p.197). The underlying competition between fathers and sons ends in the father's death, so it seems to be sons' victory. However, the Tallensi cannot accept this fact, because fatherhood which is the heart of the social structure should not be defeated by sonship. Furthermore, because fatherhood symbolizes the status of a corporate group, it should not die. Here the ancestor appears. A father as an individual dies, but his status is re-established as an ancestor after funeral rites. In this sense, "ancestorhood is fatherhood made immortal" (p.189); ancestor is the image of fatherhood projected into the spiritual domain.

This basic structure characterizes the function of ancestor worship. Though ancestors are generally recognized to be benevolent, they afflict descendants with misfortune or disease to ask for offerings. The hostility of ancestors is caused by the fact that they symbolize authority of lineage headship. Just as a lineage head enforces

discipline in the lineage and as he can punish those who violate order, ancestors require descendants to preserve the order of the lineage. Furthermore, since lineage headship is the heart of the whole society, ancestors symbolize the authority of the whole society, and submission to them is nothing but loyalty to the society and its value system.

Fortes also discusses the psychological function of ancestor worship in Tale society. The Tale people think as much of "pietas" (i.e. filial piety) as the Chinese do. Fortes defines it as "complex of reverent regard, moral norms, ritual observance and material duty in the relationship between parent and child, more particularly of son to father, both during the lifetime and after the death of the parents" (p.182). Because ancestors are the projected image of fatherhood, the essence of ancestor worship is "pietas" toward ancestors, and a son cannot escape the duty of "pietas" even after the death of his parents. When he acquires the status of a lineage head at his father's death, "pietas" helps him not to feel that he owes his achievement to the death, because the death is believed to be caused by ancestors, who are "the fountainhead of authority and the final sanction of pietas" (p.193). In addition, the cause of personal misfortune or disability is attributed to ancestors; "the Tallensi can accept responsibility on the personal level for the good and ill in their lives without feeling morbidly guilty or having guilt fixed on them by jural and religious sanctions" (1959 p.30); they content themselves with performing their duty of "pietas".

While Fortes' theory puts stress on succession, Jack Goody pays attention to inheritance, in his studies of ancestor worship in the Lo Daga. This tribe is divided into the Lo Wiili and the Lo Dagaba. In the former all property is inherited in the agnatic line, and a patrilineal descent group seems to be crucial. The latter transmit immovable property in this way, but movable wealth is inherited in the uterine line.

This suggests that the Lo Dagaba have double unilineal descent system (1962 p.8). Goody admits that there is tension between a father and his son in the Lo Wiili, as in the Tallensi; a father "has the power of life and death over his agnatic descendants ----- while he is still alive", and after his death this power "is buttressed by his position as custodian of the ancestral shrine." Therefore, "the ancestors are themselves standardized projections of the father's role" (p.408). The situation is different in the Lo Dagaba; authority is vested in two different roles, and tensions exist between a holder of movable property (i.e. mother's brother) and his heir (sister's son). Thus, "the power of the mother's ancestors arises from the authority held by the mother's brother during his lifetime" (p.409). From these facts, Goody concludes: "The heirs gain control of these goods (i.e. money and livestock) only at the death of the holder, an event that is therefore hoped for as well as feared; when it comes, the death arouses joy as well as sadness, the inheritance brings guilts as well as pleasure. ----- In the main, it is those from whose death one benefits that one fears as ancestors" (p.410). Though Goody's theory is different from Fortes' in the point of his emphasis on guilt, both theories share the idea that ancestor is the projection of fatherhood that symbolizes authority of lineage headship.

John Middleton discusses ancestor worship as a kind of political system for a lineage head's exerting his power over its members. In the Lugbara of the Congo, senior members of a lineage have the right to supervise "ghost invocation" when a descendant suffers from sickness. (A senior can invoke ancestors to punish his disobedient son.) A supervisor of this ritual tries to identify which ancestor afflicts the sufferer, and interprets, for instance, that the sufferer's disobedience toward his seniors causes an anger of an ancestor. Through this ritual, seniors express their authority as heads of lineages or segments. Middleton's detailed description reveals a process of struggle between a lineage

head, who tries to maintain his lineage, and a collateral segment head, who wants independence for his segment (1960).

These theories help us understand the general features of ancestor worship, but they lead to other problems. These theories recognize ancestor worship on the basis of lineage structure, but ancestor worship exists in societies which are not based on lineage structure. In this case, where can we seek for the essence of ancestor worship? In China, for example, lineage groups have not had crucial importance in society since the Han period, even though they existed (and exist) in some areas. But ancestor worship has been an important religious phenomenon throughout the Chinese history. How could ancestor worship survive after the decline of lineage groups in the Zhanguo period? Is it consistent to say that ancestor worship stands on lineage structure and yet it can work where a whole society is not based on unilineal descent?

Scholars who have studied ancestor worship in modern China, therefore, seem to be skeptical about the theories presented by Africanists. Maurice Freedman discusses that there are two types (or elements) of ancestor worship. One is ancestor worship in ancestor halls; this aspect is related to a whole lineage or its segments. Male agnates of a lineage collectively offer sacrifices to their ancestors in ancestral halls to dramatize their prestige and solidarity. The other type is "domestic" ancestor worship which is centered on a household shrine. In this type, offerings are made principally by female members of a few related households, and the main purpose is to commemorate ancestors. Freedman calls the latter aspect "memorialism", and thinks that this aspect is universal and obligatory, while ancestor worship in ancestral halls, which only the rich people can afford, is voluntary. He also attributes benevolence of Chinese ancestors to the commemorative feature of "memorialism" (1958, 1967 and 1979). Michio Suenari's monograph shows that ancestor worship in ancestor halls is a kind of economic activity;

members of a lineage save up money for ancestral rites, and the gathered money is invested to various activities (1977, 78). Emily Ahern presents a socialization hypothesis to explain the relative malevolence of ancestors in the Ch'i-nan village of Northern Taiwan; she accepts Goody's inheritance hypothesis, because it explains why ancestor worship exists in China, but she thinks that this hypothesis breaks down in one important respect. That is, making an analysis of a folktale, she finds that the villagers feel no guilt over what they receive from the dead. Thus, she suggests, the image of ancestors reflects the attitude of parents toward children, and stern treatment of children is related to aggressiveness of ancestors (1973 p.191-219). In their discussion of Korean ancestor worship, Roger Janelli and Dawnhee Janelli contradict the theories of Fortes and Goody; because a father's wealth is distributed among his sons while he is still alive in Korea, sons do not have to feel guilt at a father's death. The Janellis also adopt the socialization hypothesis to explain the benevolent image of ancestors in East Asia (1982 p.167-76 and p.188-95).

These discussions can be accepted; in fact, the discussion that the image of ancestors reproduces children's perceptions of parents (Janelli p.173) accords with Fortes' idea that ancestors are the projection of fatherhood. Ancestors symbolize authority of lineage headship in the patrilineal descent system, as Fortes clarifies, and it may be possible to say that East Asian ancestors symbolize the authority of parenthood which is experienced in infancy. But, if this view is accepted, we have another problem. The authority of parenthood is universal; in any society, parents must have, more or less, authority over their children; otherwise, child-nurturing would be impossible. On the other hand, ancestor worship is not a universal phenomenon; it is prominent in some societies, but not in other societies. Why is the authority of parenthood deified as ancestors in particular societies? What causes ancestor



worship to function, if the theories of Fortes and Goody are not acceptable?

To solve the problem discussed above, ancestor worship in ancient China is an interesting subject of research, because ancestor worship, which functioned in the lineage society of the Western Zhou period, continued to exist after the decline of lineage groups in the Chunqiu and Zhanguo periods. This point is probably a striking contrast to the situation of ancient Europe. In the republican era of ancient Rome (c. 509–27 B.C.E.), for instance, the noble class was based on a property-holding unit, the “family (familia)”, which originated from the archaic “clan (gens)” system (Heitland 1909, p.35). A family head (pater-familias) had absolute power over the rest of his family, as far as formal descriptions are concerned (Rawson 1986, p.16), and the duty of obedience to his authority (patria potestas), that is pietas, was not only emphasized symbolically in domestic cults (Dixon 1992, p.136), but also promoted by government as loyalty to deities and the Roman state<sup>[2]</sup>. The situation of ancient Rome seems to have been quite similar to that of ancient China, especially in the point that paternal authority also represented governmental authority, but in Europe patriarch and ancestor lost their universal validity when the concept of supreme God was introduced, as Robert Bellah has discussed (1970).

Bellah has pointed out that fatherhood continued to be supreme in China, while paternal authority was sanctioned only under the name of God in Europe, but he does not clarify why parental authority and ancestor worship could survive in China. By finding out the reasons for their survival, we can probably understand the basic structure of ancestor worship that can function in different social structures. There must have been many reasons for this survival; for example, though lineage groups became less important in the Zhanguo period, compared

with earlier periods, but it is certain that lineage continued to exist, more or less, in imperial periods<sup>[3]</sup>. This can partially explain the continuous existence of ancestor worship in China. But, as Tu Wei-ming (1985) has argued about the Confucian ideas of selfhood which placed crucial importance on a father-son relationship, it is possible to assume that philosophy played some role for the survival of paternal authority. What will be discussed in this dissertation is the philosophical aspect which may have been related to the survival of ancestor worship. This is also the reason why the philosophy of filiality in the Zhanguo period, not in other periods, is dealt with here; one of our purposes is to clarify, from the philosophical point of view, the adaptation of ancestor worship to a non-lineage society.

When we think about filial piety in ancient China, there is one book we cannot ignore, the Xiaojing or the Book of Filiality. This book, bringing together the earlier ideas of filiality, became a basic scripture of Confucian tradition, and had a powerful influence on Chinese culture. It not only reflects the social context in which it was produced but also suggests much about the essence of filiality. For this reason, the history of the philosophy of filiality will be described in this dissertation as the process perfected by the composition of this book. Though this may not be the most desirable way of carrying out our discussion, it is perhaps the best method we can use in the present situation. Thus, we will examine in Chapter One the emergence of the word “xiao 孝” in the patrilineal descent society of the Western Zhou and Chunqiu periods. Then, several Zhanguo attempts to re-define the concept will be discussed in Chapter Two. Because the ideas of filiality were most developed in the Book of Filiality, the book will be dealt with in Chapter Three to understand what was essentially achieved in the philosophy of filiality. In Chapter Four we will study some related documents, which are supposed to have been written by Confucians,

contributing most to the development of this philosophy. Because it is not known when these documents were written, we need to re-construct the processes of their composition by comparing their ideas to each other. Finally, backgrounds of this philosophy will be discussed.

CHAPTER ONE  
FILIALITY AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP IN THE WESTERN ZHOU  
AND CHUNQIU PERIODS

In this chapter, we will discuss filiality (xiao 孝) in the Western Zhou (the late 11th century to 770 B.C.E.) and Chunqiu (770–476 B.C.E.) periods. Western Zhou society was based on a unilineal principle, as far as the ruling class was concerned, and its structure is supposed to have been similar to the African societies we referred to above. Anthropological theories about filiality and ancestor worship are applicable to this situation; ancestor worship was the religious phenomenon in which the headship of patrilineal descent groups (zongzu 宗族) was deified as ancestor, and filiality was the ethical expression of ancestor worship. Filiality in the Western Zhou period was the basis on which the philosophy of filiality was developed.

(1) Filiality in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions

The graph xiao 孝 consists two elements: the element of “an old man” (𠂔) and that of “a child” (子). In some bronze inscriptions, this graph takes the form of an old man leaning on a child (See Figure I). The Shuowen Jiezi 說文解字 explains the word xiao as “those who serve their parents well. It follows an abbreviated lao 老 and a zi 子. A child serves the old. 善事父母者、从老省、从子、子承老也。” (Shuowen vol.8a, p.402). There are the graph kao 考 and that of lao 老 which include the same element “an old man”. Judged from its form, the graph lao 老 is a variation of its bone graph form “𠂔” (an old man leaning on a stick), and the word lao means “senior”. The graph kao 考 consists of the “old man” element and the phonetic element “𠂔”. The word kao 考 means “father” and father had the connotation of “the senior” in ancient



FIGURE ONE: The Graph Xiao in the Bronze Inscription

(Jinwenbian 金文編, vol.8, p.600)

China, as will be discussed later. This suggests that filiality was a concept concerned with a relationship between fatherhood/seniority and sonship.

	The shape of graphs	Meaning
老 <u>lao</u> (*lôg)	An old man leaning on a stick.	The senior.
考 <u>kao</u> (*k'ôg)	An “old man” element and an phonetic element.	Father.
孝 <u>xiao</u> (*xog)	An “old man” element and a “child” element.	Filiality.

We will proceed with our discussion by following dictionary definitions of the word lao 老 as an old man, the word Kao 考 as father and the word xiao 孝 as the behavior toward them.

In oracle bone inscriptions, no example of the word xiao 孝 can be found. There is one example of this graph, according to the Jiagu Wenbian 甲骨文編 (p.357), but the graph it cites (𠂔) cannot be transcribed as “xiao”<sup>[1]</sup>. This fact, however, does not necessarily mean that the word “xiao” did not exist in the Shang period (the 14th? to 11th centuries B.C.), because we find this graph in the “Xiao-you 孝卣” belonging to the period of the Later Shang or Early Zhou (Sandai vol.13, p.34) as the name of a person<sup>[2]</sup>. In addition, ancestor worship was an important religious activity in the Shang dynasty, and many scholars agree that the social structure of Shang was based on lineage, though there are various opinions about the actual formation of lineage groups and their relation to the dynasty (Matsumaru 1970, 1985; Itô 1975; Lin Yun 1979; Wang Guimin 1989; Zhu Fenghan 1990). Since filiality in the Western Zhou period was related to lineage and was expressed in ancestor worship, as we will discuss in this chapter, the concept of filiality, or a concept similar to filiality, may have existed in the Shang period, though the word “xiao” was not used in bone inscriptions.

It is in the middle period of Western Zhou that this word was used

in bronze inscriptions to convey the concept of filiality. This has been well studied by Li Yumin (1974) and Wang Shenxing (1992), and there is not much to add to their discussions here. What is problematic, however, is Li's emphasis on the sudden decline of the ideology of filiality in the Chunqiu period. This is because Li attributes to the Western Zhou period many bronze inscriptions that really belonged to the Chunqiu period. Indeed, many of the existing examples of the word xiao 孝 date back to the late period of Western Zhou, but this is because the usage of the word "xiao" is inevitably connected with the portion of the bronze inscription which Shaughnessy calls "the dedication" (1991 p.83)<sup>[3]</sup>. This is a concluding portion of an inscription that notes the intentions of those who produced vessels, especially concerning the usage of the vessels, the sacrifices to ancestors or the hope for longevity. In the bronze inscriptions of the early Western Zhou period, this portion is not so long. It is longer and more formulaic in inscriptions of the middle Western Zhou period, and is still more in the late period, as Minao Hayashi has discussed (1983 p.21-29). "The dedication" in the early Chunqiu inscriptions is also long and formulaic.

Typically, the sentences including the word xiao in the bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou period describe: first, the production of a vessel, then the usage of the vessel (mainly ancestral rites), next the wishes of the producer (= the person who was described to have the verse cast) such as longevity or happiness, and finally the hope that the vessel will be used by his descendants. In the case of the "Wei Luan-ding 微緜鼎", for instance, we read as follows;

In the ninth month of the twenty-third year of the king when the king was in Zongzhou, the king ordered Wei Luan to superintend<sup>[4]</sup> and administer Nine Banks. (Therefore<sup>[5]</sup>,) Luan (= I) produce a precious ritual boiling-ding-vessel of<sup>[6]</sup> my august father. By using it, Luan will make offerings and offer filiality to my father, so

that he may give me prosperous happiness<sup>[7]</sup>, generous beneficence, genuine aid, longevity, an eternal mandate and an auspicious ending. May (I have) ten thousand years and no limit! The sons and descendants of Luan shall use this as a treasure to make offerings. (Ref.I-17)

隹王廿又三年九月、王才宗周、王令微繇繇非非嗣陂、繇乍朕皇考將尊繇鼎、繇用享孝于朕皇考、用易康勗魯休、屯右眉壽、永令靈終、其萬年無彊、繇子”  
孫永寶用享。 (Jianmu 1176)

This example shows that the word xiao 孝 is typically mentioned in a bronze inscription when it describes the usage of the bronze vessel. Because bronze vessels in the Western Zhou were mainly used for ancestral rites, this word is thought to have been related to ancestral rites, or to have represented the sacrifices to ancestor, as will be discussed later.

The bronze inscriptions of the early and middle Zhou periods tend to have fewer such statements because the dedicatory portion is not yet developed fully. The usage of xiao 孝 or filiality in the bronze inscriptions is shown in Reference I of Appendix One. In the eight examples involving the word “xiao” which belong to the middle Western Zhou period, two of them do not note the intentions of those who produced them (Example 3 and 8 in Reference I. The number of an example will be abbreviated to, for example, I-3. In the case of Example 1 in Reference II, it will be abbreviated to II-1). In two of them (I-1 and I-2), the meaning of the word xiao is not related to the usage of the bronze vessels. The word xiao is used in more than forty inscriptions belonging to the late Western Zhou period. Most of the inscriptions not only follow the pattern of the typical statement discussed above, but also describe at full length the wishes of those who had them inscribed. We can see in Reference I the process in which, the more fully the “dedication” developed, the more often the word xiao became used<sup>[8]</sup>.



This word is used as a noun in the “Da Ke-ding” (I-9), and we can suppose that the phrase “manifest filiality” indicates a kind of ritual behavior. The word is used as an adjective in the “Qiang-pan” (I-1), and here it bears an ethical meaning because it is used to praise the virtue of Shi Qiang. It is also shown by other examples that xiao was an important moral code; the inscription of the “Ying-gui” (I-2) suggests that offering filiality was required so as for one not to “lose (the Mandate)”. In the “Li-ding” (I-10), filiality and friendliness are described as the pattern to be followed. In the Kanggao 康誥 chapter of the Book of Documents is stated “the unfilial and the unbrotherly” are “the primary evil doers” (Karlgren 1950, p.42) <sup>[9]</sup>.

In most of the examples, however, the word is used as an intransitive verb, and it means, not an abstract virtue, but concrete ancestral rites, as Li Yumin has clearly shown (1974 p.20). The word is typically used in such phrases as “make offerings and offer filiality (to ancestors) 用享用孝 or 享孝”, “filially worship and filially sacrifice 孝祀孝祭”, “mindful of the past, offer filiality 追孝” and “have a feast and offer filiality 饗孝”. A variant of the graph xiao (𦉑) will best show that the concept of filiality is related to giving feasts to ancestors <sup>[10]</sup>. What we mean by ancestral rites here is a sequence of ritual behavior, including purification (qi 齊), addressing and invocations (zhu 祝) to ancestors, offering wine and food (xian 獻), blessings (“felicity” or gu 嘏) of ancestors which are symbolized by those of an impersonator, and banquets for attendants. We can learn this ritual process from the Tesheng Kuishi 特牲饋食 chapter and the Shaolao Kuishi 少牢饋食 chapter of the Yili 儀禮 (YLZS vol.44-50, Steele 1917), and it is clear that wine and food have the principal importance in the rites; for instance, the blessings of ancestors are not only verbally expressed, but symbolized by an impersonator’s presenting a wine-cup in response to wine offered by a host of rites. The concept of filiality

was so closely related to the concept of offering that the former indicated to make offerings for ancestors in ritual contexts.

But this does not necessarily mean that filiality equals rites or offerings. Because the word xiao 孝 functions as an adverb in the phrase “filially sacrifice 孝祭”, we can assume that it represents some highly valued normative behavior or mentality in ancestral rites. Another common phrase, “mindful of the past, offer filiality 追孝” suggests that filiality was principally for the living, and was something to be extended to the dead; the concept of zhui 追 was related to dead predecessors, and the word zhui was coupled with the word xiao when it was necessary to clarify that filiality was offered to ancestors.

Filiality or “xiao” in this period had a wider connotation than it had in later periods. The object of filiality was not only parents and ancestors but also “brothers 兄弟” (I-52), “friends 朋友” (I-15, I-22 and I-27), “matrimonial relatives 婚媾” (I-15 and I-52) and “the senior of a lineage 宗老” (I-52 and I-45). Besides, there are many examples which state “to offer filiality” in “the ancestral room (or, the room of a lineage) 宗室” (I-26, I-37, I-38, I-40, I-47 and I-57), “the big ancestral shrine (or, the main lineage) 大宗” (I-48), “the big room 大室” (I-39) and “an ancestral shrine 宗廟” (I-15). The meanings of these words will be discussed later, but at least we can say that filiality was not only an ethic for the parent-child relationship. As Li Yumin and Wang Shenxing have pointed out (Li p.23 and Wang p.273), filiality was an ideology that supported lineage; it was a doctrine requiring people to obey the authority of the lineage, which was represented by the authority of parents. Thus, the objects of filiality were extended to include the whole lineage structure, and its ethical requirements included respect towards elders with their degree of seniority, friendship among kinsfolk, and harmony between in-laws.

Nevertheless, Li goes too far when he says that filiality included



loyalty to the Zhou kings (p.20). It is true that filiality and loyalty had a close relationship to each other in the Western Zhou society, but Li's explanations do not prove that the dynastic government was the object of filiality. He cites two examples to support his argument; One is the "Ying-gui 纘段", which he apparently reads, "The Supreme Emperor did not finish the Mandate. (Ying will,) mindful of the past, offer filiality to Great Zhou. 上帝無終令、于有周追孝。" But, compared with a phrase in the "Xiao Ke-ding (Small Ke-ding) 小克鼎", "the king ordered Shanfu Ke to promulgate the mandate in Chengzhou 王命善(= 膳)夫克舍令于成周", one would have to read the "Ying-gui" as, "The Supreme Emperor did not finish the Mandate in Great Zhou. (Ying will,) mindful of the past, offer filiality (to his ancestor). 上帝無終令于有周、追孝 -----。" (See Ref.I-2). The other example that he cites is from the "Mai-zun 麥尊". He reads the passage as "(Mai) manifests his filiality toward (Marquis) Xing 鬲 (=顯)考(=孝)于井(=邢)." Because Mai was a retainer of Marquis Xing, this passage would show that Mai was "filial" to his lord if Li's reading were right. But this inscription has the word kao 考 ("father"), not xiao 孝. The word Kao 考 sometimes represents filiality (xiao 孝) in the bronze inscriptions, as an example in the "Xing Ren-ning-zhong" (I-19) shows, but the context of this inscription shows that the subject of this passage is not Mai but Marquis Xing, as Michio Matsumaru has discussed (1980 p.164) <sup>[11]</sup>. This passage should be read as "(Marquis) respectfully and properly settled Marquis' bright father's spirit) in Xing. 用 龢(=恭)義寧侯 鬲(=顯)考于井(=邢)". Because neither example supports Li's theory, the object of filiality in the Western Zhou period is not thought to have included the monarch-retainer relation.

If the word xiao in the Western Zhou bronze inscriptions represented concretely ancestral rites, and its scope was wider than in later periods, how should we position the idea of filiality within

Western Zhou social structure and governmental organization? In order to solve this problem, we have to take a general view of Western Zhou society, which, especially for the noble class, consisted of groups called "zongzu 宗族". These groups were patrilineal kinship groups, whose membership was defined by patri-filiation. Residence was viri-local. The inheritance of property was from father to sons, with unigenitary (almost primogenitary) succession to office. These groups were also corporate entities, the existence of which was symbolized by the ancestral shrines. In fact, these groups were quite similar to the African type of patrilineal descent groups, that is lineage, which was discussed in the introduction of this dissertation. The similarity between the zongzu group and the lineage group can be also found in their way of segmentation; in the unilineal descent system, all lineages are hierarchically organized between the minimal level and the maximum level of lineages. The smallest lineages are segments of a more inclusive lineage defined by reference to a common ancestor, and this, in turn, is a segment of a still wider lineage defined by reference to a common ancestor (Fortes 1969, p.31). Likewise, when a zongzu group split into minor segments, minor segments sharing common ancestors continued to compose a corporate group. For instance, the Shuzhong 叔仲 family of the Lu state in the Chunqiu period was a segment of a more inclusive group, the Shusun 叔孫 family, and the Shusun family was a segment of a still more inclusive group, San Huan 三桓 group (three families descended from Duke Huan). This group was also a segment of still a more inclusive group, that of Duke of Lu; and so on, until the limit was reached — the exogamous maximal lineage whose members shared the same surname. There is no problem in calling the zongzu group as "lineage".

The similarity of social structure between Ancient China and Africa enables us to adopt the theory that anthropologists use to explain the African type of ancestor worship. The essential human relationship of

patrilineal descent groups lay in patri-filiation, that was a father-son relationship, and fatherhood was nothing else but the authority of the group. Obedience to fatherhood was not only obedience to the authority of the group but also obedience to the social order, because the whole society was based on the principle of patrilineal descent. Filiality, as the ethic for the father-son relationship, was easily extended beyond a domestic group.

One piece of supporting evidence is found in the way the word “fu 父 (father)” was used. The explanation of the graph fu 父 found in the Shuowen Jiezi 說文解字, that is the figure of a father brandishing a stick to beat his children (p.116), seems to be derived from only the shape of the graph “”, but might be partially accurate. Guo Moruo 郭沫若 thinks that fu 斧 or an ax is the original meaning of the word fu, that is, he thinks the graph fu 父 represents an ax held by a hand (Jinwen Changyong Zidian p.316). Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 asserts that what the hand holds in the graph fu 父 is fire (1914 vol.2, p.22). Gao Hongjin 高鴻緝 says that the line held in the “hand” is nothing but an abstract object, and the word originally means “to hold” or ba 把. It would be quite interesting to know whether what is abstractly symbolized by the line is power or authority, because Gao thinks that vertical line in the graph yin 尹 (), which he thinks has the same pattern as the graph fu 父, symbolizes assignment (shi 事). (Gao Hongjin vol.3, p.13)

However, a clearer picture of the original meaning of the word fu is unnecessary here. What we should make sure of is the following; the word fu 父 not only meant “father” (including uncles in the sense of classificatory kinship terminology) but also became the honorific title by which the king referred to lords of the same clan, and the honorific title of every nobleman. The latter fact can be seen from how noblemen are referred to “(so and so) fu”. As proof for the former fact, one can cite the passages, “Oh, Father and Peacemaker 父義和”, in the “Wenhou

Zhi Ming 文侯之命” chapter of the Book of Documents (an address of Zhou King to Marquis Wen of Jin. SSTJ p.24, SSZS vol.20, p.141, Karlgren p.78) and “Since I have a fat lamb, I will urgently invite many fathers of mine 既有肥羜、以速諸父” in the ode “Famu 伐木” (No.165) of the Book of Odes (MS-HY p.35, Karlgren p.223). Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200 C.E.) adds to the latter a comment which says, “When the Son of Heaven addresses lords of the same surname and when a lord addresses nobles of the same surname, (the addressers) call (the addressees) ‘fathers’. 天子謂同姓諸侯、諸侯謂同姓大夫、皆曰父” (MSZS vol.9-3, p.143). On the other hand, the fact that the word fu sometimes means “the old” (the passage “father wearing coarse clothes 褐之父” in the section on the thirteen year of Duke Ai in the Zuozhuan: CQ-HY p.486, and such compound words as fuxiong 父兄 and fulao 父老) suggests that fatherhood and seniority were synonymous in the lineage structure of the Zhou period<sup>[12]</sup>. From the facts that “father” represented both high status and seniority, we can conclude that the “father” represented the leadership of a lineage and symbolizes the authority of the group. Xiao 孝 or filiality expressed submission to this authority, and its contents included submission to social structures constructed on patrilineal descent. The ancestor was nothing but the projection of fatherhood or authority, and ancestral rites were the best opportunity for loyalty to authority to be dramatized. This is the reason that xiao 孝 or filiality most often appears in the bronze inscriptions with the meaning of “ancestral rites”.

Though filiality did not include loyalty in the Western Zhou period, there was a close relationship between them. In fact, the promotion of ancestor worship had the function of strengthening governmental power through the king’s interference in his retainers’ ancestral rites. The king could appeal to his retainers’ loyalty by stressing their ancestors’ loyal devotion and the ethic of filiality, which would

thus call on them to follow their ancestors' examples. Bronze inscriptions in the Western Zhou period were political documents, which recorded the "favor" of a monarch and the loyalty of his retainer. For example, the "Ke-zun 克尊" says;

----- The King said to the small child (= Ke) of the lineage in the Great Room, "In former times, in the days of [Ke?, your] father, (he) could follow King Wen well, and therefore King Wen was given the Great Mandate (of Heaven). ----- Oh! Though you were too young (at that time) to know (your father's merits), you should follow your father, perform [merits?] (recognized by) Heaven <sup>[13]</sup>, and carry out the mandates (of the King) respectfully." ----- Ke was awarded thirty sets of shells, and therefore makes a precious vessel of [?]gong (= Ke's father).

……王 享 宗小子于京室曰、昔、才爾无公氏、克迷 玟王、紂 玟王受兹(大令)。烏 虘、爾有唯小子亡 音戠、覘于公氏又爵于天、紂 (= 徹) 令敬享哉、……克 易貝卅朋、用口公寶尊彝。(Jianmu 4461)

The Son of Heaven mentioned Ke's father, who had been a loyal retainer, and wanted Ke to be also a loyal retainer, when the Son of Heaven awarded Ke the gifts. Responding to the favor of the Son of Heaven, Ke made the vessel of his father and left the statement of the Son of Heaven on record. In this context, Ke's filiality to his father was inevitably shifted to his loyalty to the King. This inscription pretends to have been written by Ke, but this kind of inscription was actually written by the royal government, as Michio Matsumaru has discussed. By writing the sentences recorded in the bronze vessel of his retainer, the Son of Heaven asserted his superiority, and forced the retainer to use the vessel in the retainer's ancestral rites, to demonstrate the monarch-retainer relation in the ancestral rites (Matsumaru 1980, p.122-126). The Zhou dynasty tried to enhance the ethic of filiality, because filiality promoted obedience to governmental power, as shown by the

“Jiugao 酒誥” chapter of the Book of Documents, which says,

They (= the subjects of Duke Jin) should make whole-hearted their cultivation of the millet and hasten to serve their seniors and superiors. They should diligently lead their carts and oxen and far away manage the trading of commodities, and (thus) filially nourish their parents. Their parents will be happy (Karlgren 1950, p.43)

妹土嗣爾股肱純其藝黍稷、奔走事厥考厥長、肇牽車牛、遠服賈、用孝養厥父母。厥父母慶。(SSZS vol.14, p.94)

It is asserted here that submission to governmental authority brings security, which brings pleasure to parents. Since the spirit of filiality is submission to authority, it guarantees loyalty to King as long as government is based on and in accordance with lineage structure. Here political loyalty accords with filiality; so Li Yumin is right in this sense when he says that filiality involves loyalty.

## (2) Filiality in the Chunqiu period

It is thought that the lineage structure discussed above gradually weakened in the Chunqiu period. Because bronze inscriptions lost the function of supporting the loyal government, the necessity to emphasize filiality for political purposes was reduced. Instead, the self-admiration of those who produced vessels (such as their pride in genealogy) became more prominent elements within Chunqiu inscriptions.

However, the usage of the word xiao in Chunqiu inscriptions is not different from that in Western Zhou inscriptions. The word is used in all the examples in Reference I (61–88) as an intransitive verb, which means to “offer filiality”. This suggests that filiality indicated ancestral rites in the Chunqiu period, just as in the Western Zhou period. Li Yumin has pointed out that the usage of the word drastically decreased in the Chunqiu period, and he attributes this to the social changes



(p.25). Indeed the frequency in use of the word decreased, as the number of the examples in Reference I shows, but the change seems not to have been as drastic as Li describes.

Certainly, there were some changes in the situation in which the word xiao was used. For instance, we can point out that inscriptions involving the word became more stereotyped. In fact, the word is used in three formulae which are best exemplified respectively by the following three examples;

Shao ShuShanfu (= I), Great Minister of Manufacture of Count Zheng, produce (this) set fu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity. May my sons and grandsons eternally make it as a treasure. (Shao Shushanfu-fu, See Ref.I-68)

鄭伯大綱工召叔山父作旅簋、用享用孝、用 勺 眉壽、子々孫々、用為永寶。

Wuren (= I), Duke of Shang Ruo, produce (this) ritual gui-vessel. Using it, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and my august father, so as (for them) to give (me) longevity amounting ten thousand years and no limit (i.e. a limitless life of a myriad years). (Ruogong Wuren-gui, Ref.I-63)

上 都 公 敎 人 作 障 段、用 享 孝 于 厥 皇 祖 于 皇 考、用 易 眉 壽 萬 年 無 彊。

Jian (= I), Duke of Ruo, produce the set fu-vessel. Using it, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to (my) august grandfather and august father, so as (for them) to give longevity. May my sons and grandsons eternally use this vessel as a treasure. (Ruogong Jian-fu, Ref.I-65)

都 公 誠 作 旅 簋、用 追 孝 于 皇 祖 皇 考、用 易 眉 壽、子々孫々、用 永 寶。

As far as bronze inscriptions are concerned, it is possible to think that the concept of filiality was too closely connected with ancestral rites to be used in a wider context.

It is not necessarily certain that the word xiao was used always in

the way described above, because among the texts written in the Chunqiu period we find a few examples in which the word bears an ethical meaning, as follows;

“Who is there present? Zhangzhong, the filial and friendly 侯誰在矣、張仲孝友”, (The ode Liuyue 六月, No.177; Karlgren 1944 p.228, MS-HY p.39)

“You have something to depend on, something to help you; you have filial piety, you have virtue, to lead you on and help you. 有馮有翼、有孝有德、有引有翼” (The ode Quan’a 卷阿, No.252, Karlgren 1945 p.75, MS-HY p.65)

“Forever he is filial and thoughtful; filial and thoughtful he is a norm (to others). Lovable is this (= One man) sovereign, responsive is his compliant virtue; forever he is filial and thoughtful (of the ancestor), brightly he continues their task. 永言孝思、孝思維則、媚茲一人、庇侯順德、永言孝思、昭哉嗣服” (The ode Xiawu 下武, No.243, Karlgren 1945 p.70, MS-HY p.62) <sup>[14]</sup>.

Though the word principally indicates ancestral rites among the Chunqiu texts <sup>[15]</sup>, as in bronze inscriptions, it would be incorrect to think that the concept of filiality became related merely to ritual behavior. The essential feature of filiality, that is obedience to authority of lineage, did not change.

Another point that Li Yumin notes in his discussion of Chunqiu filiality is that the objects of filiality became narrower than in the Western Zhou (p.25). In this point he is correct. Eight inscriptions refer to “making offerings and offering filiality 孝享” to “august grandfather and refined father 皇祖文考” or “august grandfather and august father 皇祖皇考” (I-62, 63, 64, 65, 71, 77, 83 and 88), two to “august father 皇考” (I-86 and 61), two to “ancestors 先祖” (I-76 and 80) and one to “father and mother 父母” (I-67). Two other examples refer to ancestors’ posthumous names. One of them includes great-grandparents,

grandparents and parents (I-84), while the other has only a grandfather and a father (I-64). Dazong 大宗 is referred to in only one case (I-81). Neither “friends 朋友” nor “brothers 兄弟” appear. Li Yumin’s interpretation of this tendency is that the declining power of the Zhou Kings weakened the bond between lineage groups, and that filiality could not work in the wider context beyond a lineal relation such as parents and sons or progenitors and descendants (p.25). That is to say, the Chunqiu period faced the collapse of lineage groups and the growth of families as fundamental socio-economic units; filiality as the ethic of lineages lost its validity within larger society and, being limited to families, came to mean exclusively affection and obedience to parents and ancestors. This interpretation is probably an over-simplification of the situation, because there are some examples which indicate that guests were invited to ancestral rites;

“Using the bell, (I) will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to ancestors, and entertain fathers and brothers (=seniors), giving them for drink and food, and playing music and dancing.” (I-80)  
以追孝先祖、樂我父兄、飲食歌舞。

“(Using the bell, a grandson of the Taoshi family) will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and refined father. (Using it, I) will hold banquets and serve dishes to delight fine guests and our friends.” (I-78)

用享以孝于予皇祖文考、用宴用饔、用樂嘉賓及我□友。

“I will make offerings and offer filiality to august grandfather Shengshu, august grandmother Shengjiang, august grandfather Youcheng Huishu, august grandmother Youcheng Huijiang, august father Jizhong august mother, to pray for longevity, no death and to protect my brothers.” (I-84)

用享用孝于予皇祖聖叔、皇妣聖姜于皇祖又成惠叔、皇妣又成惠姜、皇考、齊仲、皇母、用祈壽老母死、保我兄弟。

In these passages “fathers and brothers”, “guests and friends” and “brothers” are not the direct objects to which filiality is offered, but appear in contexts related to rituals. Therefore, there is a possibility that the stereotyped phrases prevented them from being the direct objects of filiality and that people actually attended ancestral rites carried out by a related lineage group. Li seems to be basically right, but a more detailed study of such words as “brothers” or “friends” will be necessary for deciding what is meant by the fact that the direct objects of xiao became more limited, that is, whether that fact reflects some changes in the concept of filiality and in the content of ancestral rites.

(3) The functions of ancestral rites recognized  
by the people of the Western Zhou

Though the data on the actual procedures of Zhou ancestral rites are too scarce for us to reconstruct them, some information is available about the ideas Zhou people had concerning the function that their ancestral rites served. The “dedication” of bronze inscriptions usually states the purposes of bronze vessels, and though most of them describe that the vessels are used in sacrifices for ancestors, there are exceptional examples which refer to other purposes. These exceptional examples, which are cited in Reference II of Appendix One, show that some vessels were used for serving living people.

II-1 to II-11, II-22, II-23 and II-25 are the examples in which we know that the vessels’ purposes included ancestral rites, while this point is not certain in II-12 to II-21 and II-24. Some examples have been already cited because they include the word xiao 孝. II-1, II-3, II-4, II-5, II-7, II-9 and II-11 state that each vessel is that “of” an ancestor. According to Minao Hayashi (1968), in the Shang period this

expression meant that the vessel belonged to each ancestor, that is, it was used by him for his own eating or offerings to his ancestors, not that it is the vessel “for” him. In the same paper Hayashi asserts that the meaning changed to be the vessel “for” him in the Western Zhou period, but, as he clearly proved in another book, the expression of the vessel “of” an ancestor continued to mean that it was used by him (1984, p.148-50). Thus, we can assume that “the vessel of somebody” meant the vessel used by him and, if he is deceased, the vessel used by him as an ancestral spirit to eat and drink in the ancestral rites for himself. Therefore, the fact that “the vessel of an ancestor” was used to “make our sons of lineages and hundreds of descendants come” (II-1), and to “entertain the envoys” of King (II-5) and so on, shows certainly that ancestral rites included those functions. If so, in the cases in which ancestral rites are not mentioned, the vessels were perhaps assigned to certain ancestors. Indeed it is possible to think that to “offer dishes to officers, friends and in-laws” is one purpose of the vessel, and to “make offerings to august grandfather and father” is another (II-6), but they should be included in the purposes of ancestral rites. In the chapter on “Shaolao Kuishi 少牢饋食 (offering food with sheep and pig)” of the Yili 儀禮, which hands down to us the program of ancestral rites among the nobles, sacrifices to ancestors are always accompanied by a banquet for relatives and guests. There is no doubt that Western Zhou people regarded ancestral rites as the opportunity to promote intimacy in and among lineage groups.

Next, the meanings of words such as “brothers” or “guests” should be examined to make clear the extent of ancestral rites’ function. “The son(s) of the lineage” (zongzi 宗子) is a term usually understood as meaning the head of a lineage group or his heir. In discussing the “Shan-ding” (II-1), Yang Shuda 楊樹達 says;

Zongzi 宗子 has three possible meanings, when it appears in

classical books. First, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 says that zongzi refers to sons of the King's principal wife, in his commentary to the passage, "Zongzi is a fortified wall 宗子維城" found in the Ode Ban 板 (No.254) in the Book of Odes. Secondly, Zheng says that zongzi 宗子 refers to an heir, as can be seen from the passage, "when zongzi does not have his (living) father, his mother orders him 宗子無父、母命之" in the Shihun 士昏 chapter in the Yili 儀禮. Thirdly, Zheng says that zong 宗 means dazong 大宗 (=major lineage or main family), citing, "Sons of a principal wife and of other wives serve zongzi and zongfu (= zongzi's principal wife). Though high-ranking or rich, they should not dare to enter the house of zongzi because of their high rank or wealth 適子庶子祇事宗子宗婦、雖貴富、不敢以貴富入宗子之家" in the Neize 內則 chapter of the Book of Rites. In this inscription (=the "Shan-ding"), it is reasonable to interpret the term according to the second or the third meaning (Yang 1952, p.215).

If the second theory is the case, those whom Shan wants to invite are his own heir and other members of his lineage. (Baisheng 百生 will be discussed later). In the case of the third theory, Shan is not a head of a dazong 大宗 lineage group but that of a collateral segment, and he wants to make the former come to attend his ancestral rites. This is not an impossible interpretation, but it sounds a little strange because it means that a dazong 大宗 lineage head who should supervise other heads of xiaozong 小宗 collateral segments instead served them. Shan is ordered to succeed the assignment of his father and given the banner of his grandfather (or ancestor) in this inscription, so he must have been in a main family-line for some generations. Guo Moruo thinks that this zongzi 宗子 indicated the sons of a main family; probably he identifies baisheng 百生 as the members of collateral segments, and zongzi 宗子 as those in a direct line (Guo 1935, p.65). His opinion is closer to the

first definition of Zheng Xuan, cited by Yang. It seems that Yang's conclusion is more widely accepted than Guo's, but the situation is not so simple. The earliest usage of zongzi 宗子 in classical texts is that of the Ode Ban, which says;

The great men are a fence; the great multitude (i.e. army) is a wall; the great (feudal) states are a screen; the great (royal) clan is a support; their cherishing the virtue (is =) gives peace; the men of the (royal) clan are a fortified wall; do not let that wall be ruined; may he (= the king) not fear (solitariness =) to be left alone. (No.254, Karlgren 1945, p.77)

仞人維藩、大師維垣、大邦維屏、大宗維翰、懷德維寧、宗子維城、無俾城壞、無獨斯畏。(MS-HY p.66)

This ode is cited twice in the Zuozhuan. Zongzi 宗子 refers to the princes of the Duke of Jin in “the fifth year of Duke Xi”. And it refers to the main family of Hua Hai 華亥 in the Song state in “the sixth year of Duke Zhao” (CQ-HY P.94 and 361); that is, the former uses the term in accordance with the first definition of Zheng Xuan, and the latter the third definition<sup>[16]</sup>.

The contents of the ode also seem to suggest that zongzi 宗子 refers not to a particular person such as a head of a main line or his heir but to people of a somewhat wider range, because the analogy of “a fortified wall (cheng 城 or a city)”, as well as those of “a fence 藩”, “a wall 垣” and “a screen 屏”, has the connotation of a barrier for protecting a head. As is well known, ancient Chinese cities (cheng 城) were always surrounded by a rampart. Therefore, we can assume zongzi 宗子 is a kind of group whose character is somewhat similar to “the great states 大國” and “the great clan 大宗”, which can be understood as meaning the maximal lineage of the King, that is, the nobles sharing the same descent and surname with the King. Actually, there are those who think that zongzi refers to “the members of a lineage” wider than

“the sons of a direct line”. This idea was presented first by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (Shijing Jizhuan 詩經集傳 vol.6, p.137), who says that zongzi 宗子 is the people of the same surname, and supported by Chen Huan 陳奐 and Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (Yang 1981 p.305).

It is not appropriate in the case of the “Shan-ding” to understand zongzi 宗子 as meaning the general members of a dazong 大宗, maximal lineage, however, because the term “baisheng 百生” means the general members of the lineage; the status of zongzi is clearly above that of the latter. We can assume that a zongzi 宗子 represents a more restricted range of people than the dazong 大宗 major lineage. Precisely speaking, it corresponds to heads of xiaozong 小宗 lineage segments, who have relatively close kin-relations (like brothers or cousins) with the head of a dazong 大宗 lineage. In the inscription of the “Shan-ding”, Shan as head of a major lineage hopes to gather together its segments’ heads and other general lineage members called “hundreds of descendants”, which will be discussed below.

Baisheng 百生 is usually understood as baixing 百姓 (“hundred surnames”), but, as this inscription suggests, it has a more limited meaning. Qiu Xigui, in discussing this issue, says that there were mainly two different interpretations of baixing to be found in the texts. One is that of Mao’s Commentary (the early 2nd c. B.C.E.) on the Book of Odes (no.166; MSZS vol.9-3, p.412), Kong’s commentary (the early 4th c. C.E.) to the Book of Documents (Yaodian 堯典; SSZS vol.2, p.7) and the Chuyu 楚語 B chapter, (Sec.2, p.571) of the Guoyu 國語<sup>[17]</sup>, which understand it as meaning “officialdom”. The other is Zheng Xuan’s opinion that baixing 百姓 means “relatives”; in this he is supported by Guo Moruo. Qiu admits that the original meaning of baisheng 百生 (or baixing 百姓) was the members of the same lineage, and supposes that the term came to be used to refer to nobility in general, because the latter was organized on the basis of lineage structure (Qiu 1983, P.10-13). We



can agree with his theory because the word sheng 生, whose graph is also an element of the graph xing 姓, meant originally “birth” and then “children through birth” or “descendants”, as Jôken Katô has discussed by citing Wang Yinzhi (Katô 1940, p.9-12). Shizuka Shirakawa also concludes that sheng 生 means the descendants of the same clan (Shirakawa 1969, p.99).

But Qiu's idea is not so useful for determining what the term bai-sheng means in each case, because according to him the meaning of the term in Western Zhou texts can be either “descendants” or “nobility”. In fact, the meaning of the term differs according to the contexts, as in the examples below;

“The (King) ordered Shi Song to inspect (the land of) Su. The [official?] colleagues, the heads of villages and baisheng (=nobility) (in Su), leading their mates (=kin?), came<sup>[18]</sup> to Chengzhou.” (the “Shisong-gui”)

令史頌省樞(=蘇)、鴻(=法)友・里君・百生帥翬(=偶)、整于成周。(史頌段)

“The possessions of my (subordinate) lords and baisheng (=nobles) absolutely must go (=be sent) to the market places (for taxation).” (the “xijia-pan”)

其隹我諸侯百生厥貯、毋不即𡵓(市)。(兮甲盤)

“The King ordered the upper officers and Shi Yin to (administer) a great convention in Chengzhou and to treat baisheng (=nobles) to a feast of pig.” (the “Chenchen-you”)

王令士上𡵓史寅𡵓于成周、替百生豚。(臣辰卣)

Shirakawa understands all of these usages as meaning “lineage (or clan?) members”; according to him, baisheng 百生 in the last example is the relatives of the person who produced the vessel (1964, p.345), and that in the first is the members of a clan that inhabited each village, led by each head of the village (1969, p.180). Michiharu Itô also thinks

that xing 姓 (=sheng 生) in the first example is a “kin group” (though we do not know what he exactly means by “kin group”), but his opinion is different from Shirakawa’s, because he assumes that each village was composed of plural “kin groups”. It is possible in this first example to understand baisheng 百生 as referring to the members of a lineage or lineages that were also the members of a village. It is hardly believable, however, that every townsman could be taken to Chengzhou 成周. (The land of Su 蘇 was about fifty kilometers north-east of Chengzhou, because the former is identified with Wenxian 溫縣 of Henan. Guo 1935, p.72.) We can more reasonably assume that this baisheng 百生 refers to lineage members who were the nucleus of each community, that is, nobility. Baisheng in the second example probably means “nobles” because it is put after “lords 諸侯”, although it could mean the people having kinship relations with the Kings. Chen Mengjia’s theory about the final case is quite suggestive; he says that the great harmonious convention in Zongzhou 宗周 was for the lords who were relatives of the Kings, while that in Chengzhou 成周 was for other lords (1955 p.92). His idea is supported by the fact that Chengzhou as strategic position for governing “Eastern Country 東國” was constructed to accommodate many Shang people. If so, baisheng 百生 in this example is the people having no blood relation with the Zhou King. Qiu Xigui cites other examples in which Shang nobles are called baisheng by the Zhou King, and he attributes the reason to the lineage structure of Shang society (1983. p.12).

Returning to the case of the “Shan-ding”, we can admit that this baisheng 百生 should be understood as lineage members, because it would not make sense for Shan to say “to make the nobility come”, and because the term points to a more limited range of people than “friends”, who are thought to have included the people having kin-relations (this will be discussed later), as its position before the term “friends” in II-12

shows. In addition, the inscription of the “Shisong-ding” cited above shows that the people called baisheng in the restricted area are the nobles under the control of a lord, while the term in a general sense means the nobility from the view of the King, in the inscriptions of the “Xijia-ban” and the “Chenchen-you”. Here Shan is a lord, so this bai-sheng includes also the nobles under the control of Shan. In other words, we can assume that this baisheng means the members of the lineage whose lineage head is Shan and who belong to some different segments. But this assumption does not necessarily eliminate the possibility that it includes subordinates who do not have any definite blood relationship with Shan.

In the inscription of II-12, “friends (pengyou 朋友)” is placed below baisheng, the meaning of which is assumed to be the same as in the “Shan-ding”. The term pengyou is usually understood in the sense in which we are using it, but Qian Zongfan 錢宗范 (1978, p.272+282) and Zhu Fenghan 朱鳳瀚 (1990, p.306-311) define the term as “lineage members” just like baisheng. The evidence they adduce is worth paying attention to on two points. The first is the sentences in the Zengzi Zhiyan 曾子制言 chapter of the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記 they cite, which refer to the enemies of parents, brothers, “friends” and relatives; there the “friends” placed between brothers and relatives are reasonably thought to mean people having kinship relations.

One should not live a life in the same (world) that an enemy of his parents lives in. One should not live in a state where an enemy of his brother lives. One should not live in a town where there is an enemy of his friend. One should not live in a neighborhood where there is an enemy of his kinsmen.

父母之讐、不與同生。兄弟之讐、不與聚國。朋友之讐、不與聚鄉。族人之讐、不與聚隣。(Dadai Liji vol.5, p.58)

Secondly, the usage of the term in a passage in the “the fourteenth year

of Duke Xiang” of the Zuozhuan is replaced by the term “subordinate brothers 隸子弟” in “the second year of Duke Huan”. So, this suggests “friends” can be equated with lineage members.

Therefore, the Son of Heaven has his dukes; princes of States have their high ministers; ministers have [the Heads of] their collateral families; dignitaries have the members of the secondary branches of their families; inferior officers have their friends. (“The Fourteenth Year of Duke Xiang”, Legge 1972, p.466)

是故、天子有公、諸侯有卿、卿置側室、大夫有貳宗、士有朋友。(CQ-HY p.281)

Therefore, the Son of Heaven establishes States; princes of States establish (collateral) clans. Ministers establishes their collateral families; dignitaries have their secondary branches; officers have their sons and brothers as their servants. (“the second year of Duke Huan”, Legge 1972, p.41) <sup>[19]</sup>

故天子建国、諸侯立家、卿置側室、大夫有貳宗、士有隸子弟。(CQ-HY p.27)

The first example may be understood as showing that “friends” means relatives or in-laws who are more distantly related than “brothers”.

Because “friends” are clearly distinguished from in-laws in the inscriptions of Western Zhou (II-6 and II-11), we can assume that “friends” includes distant relatives. The reason that “friends” is placed after “hundreds of descendants” in II-12 is that the concept of the former is more inclusive than that of the latter.

The word hungou 昏媾 is put after “friends” in II-6 and II-11 and refers to lineages related by marriage for generations, as Takayuki Tanida has discussed (1975 p.7). It can be assumed that it is positioned after “friends” because it does not involve the members of the same lineage. In II-24 the term is placed between “brothers 兄弟” and “seniors 諸老”, and the former doubtlessly refers to lineage members as well as real brothers, because it is used as a classificatory term. This

point is also proved by II-2 where the phrase “many brothers and sons (duodizi 多弟子)” is placed before “my grandsons (wo sun 我孫)”, so we can assume that dizi 弟子 is to “grandsons 孫” in II-2 what zongzi 宗子 is to baisheng 百生 in II-1.

But there is a problem with “seniors” in II-24; though it seems to mean the senior members of Jinglinangfu’s lineage, two examples of zong-lao 宗老 or “seniors of a lineage” in the Guoyu 國語 suggest that this term represents “retainer” or “steward”. One is in the last part of the Luyu 魯語 chapter B (Sec.15, p.210), which tells us that the “senior of the lineage” was invited to a banquet by the mother of Gongfu Wenbo 公父文伯 when she wanted her son to marry, and the term “seniors of a lineage” is replaced by “retainers of a lineage” (zongchen 宗臣) later <sup>[20]</sup>. Another example is Sec.3 of the Chuyu 楚語 chapter A (p.532), where a “senior of the lineage” is invited to listen to the last words of Qu Dao 屈到, noble of the state of Chu. The relationship between the “senior” and Qu Jian 屈建, son of Qu Dao, is described as the relationship between a retainer and a prince <sup>[21]</sup>. Thus, “seniors” in this sense are identified with “stewards” (zai 宰) or “seniors of a room 室老” in the Zuozhuan (“the twenty-second year of Duke Xiang”, Legge 1972, p.495, CQ-HY p.296, and “the seventeenth year of Duke Cheng”, Legge 1972, p.404, CQ-HY p.247). However, the usage of the term zonglao does not always indicate “steward” because it is the only object of “offering filiality” in the inscription of the “Xinzhongji-ding” (I-45), which was discussed above, and it is not reasonable that only stewards, instead of lineage members, attended ancestral rites. But as far as the case of II-23 is concerned, we can understand it as showing that the functions of ancestral rites extended from relatives to retainers. In addition, we have to take into consideration the possibility that a kinsman of a lineage head was appointed as a steward. In “the fourth year of Duke Zhao” of the Zuozhuan, the steward of the Shusun 叔孫

family, whose name is Niu 牛, is a son of the family head (Legge 1972, p.599, CQ-HY p.355).

While what has been discussed above is more or less concerned with lineage structures and kin relations, another category of human relations in which ancestral rites function is lord-retainer relations. "The King" is referred to in II-3 and II-4, "the Marquis" in II-13, and "the envoys (shiren 使人)" in II-5, II-18 and II-20. These examples show that bronze vessels for ancestral rites were used to entertain the King's envoys, and the inscription of the "Ke-xu" (II-6) includes the "officers (shiyin 師尹)", which are thought to indicate Ke's supervisors. This cannot but be recognized as meaning that the King's envoys or supervisors attended the ancestral rites of their inferiors in some way. We cannot describe how they took part in the inferiors' rites, because of the lack of records, but it can be imagined that the King sent an envoy to commemorate his retainer's rites, or that a supervisor attended his inferior's rites as a guest. Inscriptions II-13, II-14, II-19 and II-20, which are a part of the so-called Mai 麥 group inscriptions and are the products of the same person, state that the King came to Mai's house to "glorify" Mai, though this does not seem to be related to any ancestral rites<sup>[22]</sup>.

By observing how the terms discussed here are arranged in bronze inscriptions, we can discern a rule or pattern. That is, a term referring to a higher status is positioned before a term representing a lower status, and a term referring to a closer relationship with a vessel's producer is before a term referring to a distant relationship. Thus, if an inscription includes the term "King" and the term "brothers", the former is positioned before the latter. In the case of "zongzi 宗子" and "baisheng 百生", zongzi is before baisheng because baisheng is a term representing a more distant and inclusive range of people. This can be summarized as follows:



In Chunqiu bronze inscriptions, as well as in Western Zhou inscriptions, there are examples which describe the vessels' purposes (See Reference II-26 to 44). These examples, basically sharing the features of the Western Zhou examples, state that the vessels are used for both ancestral rites and other related purposes.

The first impression that these examples give is that the functions of ancestral rites are not necessarily reduced in the Chunqiu period. The number of the cited inscriptions is not significantly less than that of Western Zhou. Also we can find such familiar terms as "hundred descendants" and "friends". This may be the proof that ancestor worship continued to function well in spite of the gradually increasing disorganization of lineage groups, which will be discussed later.

But this does not mean that there was no difference between the two periods. A closer examination is required. The first point that becomes noticeable when comparing them is the lack of the mention of "matrimonial relatives" in the Chunqiu examples. In fact, this phrase seems not to appear in the Chunqiu bronze inscriptions at all, which might reflect a change in ancestral rites and their diminishing effectiveness for strengthening solidarity among lineages. Secondly, the terms referring to lineage members in general like "brothers 兄弟" and "hundreds of descendants 百生" are less used than in Western Zhou examples; "brothers (xiongdi 兄弟)" appear once in II-26 and "hundreds of descendants" once in II-40. There is no example of "sons of a lineage (zongzi 宗子)", though zongfu 宗婦 or "the lady of a lineage" is mentioned in two inscriptions<sup>[24]</sup>. The term xiaozi 小子 or "small son" whose connotation as a segment head has been studied by Hidemi Kimura (1981)<sup>[25]</sup> is still used, but it is usually used when one calls himself "young man"; there is no case in which the term suggests the relation between a lineage head and a segment head under his control, except for one (the inscriptions of the "Chenni-fu", I-81). As far as one can judge from



bronze inscriptions, one cannot but conclude that the role of ancestral rites in symbolizing the loyalty of lineage members to their lineage and the bond between lineages was diminishing in its significance.

It would be misleading, however, if we put too much stress on this aspect. This is because another word seems to have been used to refer to the close relatives who are invited to ancestral rites by a lord, “family (jia 家)”, in II-29 and II-34. The word jia, tentatively translated into “family” here, means “house” or “household” and corresponds with the range of shi 室 or “room”, as has been discussed by Seiichi Onozawa (1959). In fact, both words are combined into a compound word shijia 室家 in II-30. According to Onozawa, the group of shi was a residential and economic unit, including agnates and their wives of three generations, and corresponded with a minimal segment of a lineage, the so-called xiaozong 小宗 group. His study also shows that this group tended to split into smaller groups in the Chunqiu period, because property became distributed among brothers (p.46, 49). The Chunqiu usage of the word jia in the context of attendants at ancestral rites probably suggests that ancestral rites were significant for the smaller range of kinship relations than in the Western Zhou period.

The inscription of the “Chenni-fu 陳逆簋, referred to above, is an exceptional example, which talks about the relationship between a lineage head and a member:

Chen Ni, a young son, said, “I am a distant grandson of Chen Huan. I prudently served the Marquis of Ji and worried about my main family. I select auspicious bronze to make an auspicious vessel for my principal wife Jijiang and casts this precious fu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my main lineage’s august grandfather, august grandmother, august father and august mother, so as to ask for immortality, longevity and myriad years. May the sons and grandsons (of Chen Ni) eternally keep (this

vessel) and use it!" (I-81)

小子陳逆曰、余陳起(=恒)子(?)之裔孫、余寅事齊侯、舊(= 懼)血(= 鉀)宗家、擇厥吉金、以乍(=作)厥元配季姜之羊(= 祥)器、鑄茲 寶(=寶)笑(=簠)、以享以養(=孝)于大宗 甞(=皇)稷(=祖) 甞(=皇)妣 甞(=皇) 丕(=考) 甞(=皇)母、乍求永命眉壽萬年、子 孫 永(=永)保用。

There is another bronze vessel made by Chen Ni, which says;

"Ni (= I), a distant grandson of the Chen family, produce (this) gui-vessel of august grandfather of the main lineage so as to ask for an eternal mandate and longevity. May the sons and grandsons (of Chen Ni) keep (and use the vessel!)" (the "Chenni-gui")

余陳氏子裔孫逆乍(=作)為 甞 稷(=皇祖)大宗段、以 寶(=匱) 永(=永)令 須(=眉)壽、子孫是保。(陳逆段)

Chen Ni 陳逆 appears in the "fifteenth year of Duke Ai" in the Zuozhuan, and there he is described as a relative of Chen Heng 陳恒 (the early fifth century B.C.), head of Chen lineage. Because Chen Heng is a grandson of Chen Huan 陳桓 and Chen Ni talks of himself as "a distant grandson" of Chen Huan, Chen Ni is probably a cousin or a son of a cousin from the viewpoint of the lineage head of that time. "August grandfather" in the inscriptions may be Chen Huan, and he is called dazong 大宗 or "main lineage" because he is in the direct line of the lineage head, Chen Heng. In other words, Chen Ni is worshipping an apical ancestor who connects him with the main family. It will be recalled that this is a common phenomenon in the Western Zhou period. The strong solidarity of Chen lineage members is a exceptional case in the Chunqiu period, as Yukio Ôta states (1969, p.197), but the existence of it cannot be ignored.

One may point out that the term fuxiong 父兄 ("fathers and brothers") represents kinship relations. Indeed, it resembles the Western Zhou term xiongdì 兄弟 or "brothers", and appears frequently in Chunqiu inscriptions (II-31, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 44). However, it is

unlikely that this term literally means “fathers and brothers”. The first reason lies in its position in phrases; it is placed between “fine guests” and “gentlemen” in II-38 and II-40, and between “fine guests” and “friends” in II-41. The term is either below “fine guests” or above “gentlemen”. In II-37, between “fine guests” and “friends” is placed “dignitaries”. “Ministers” is positioned below “fine guests” in II-36, and “dignitaries” above “gentlemen” in II-43. In short, “fathers and brothers” and “ministers” or “dignitaries” are similarly positioned, as shown in the figure below:

II-34).	family ----- guests
II-35).	his own body ----- dignitaries ----- gentlemen (= himself)
II-36).	guests -- dignitaries
II-37).	guests -- dignitaries ----- friends
II-38).	guests -- fathers & brothers -- gentlemen <sup>[2 6]</sup> ((?)(?))
II-39).	guests -- fathers & brothers
II-40).	guests -- fathers & brothers -- gentlemen
II-41).	guests -- fathers & brothers ----- friends
II-42).	guests ----- friends
II-43).	dignitaries ----- gentlemen
II-44).	fathers & brothers -- gentlemen

CHART TWO: Attendants at ancestral rites in the Chunqiu period

Secondly, it can be proved by examining classical texts that the term fuxiong 父兄 does not simply indicate lineage members. When Duke of Wei was attacked by enemy troops, he said that he would abdicate the throne in favor of anyone that could save the state. As we read in the Zuo-zhuan, in “the eighteenth year of Duke Xi”:

The Marquis of Wei offered to resign in favour of any one of his fathers, elder brothers, sons, younger brothers and the people of the Court. (Assembling them in the Court, he said,) "If anyone is able to deal with the enemy, I will gladly follow him." (Legge 1972, p.172) <sup>[27]</sup>

衛侯以國讓父兄子弟及朝衆、曰、苟能治之、煥請從焉。(CQ-HY P.114)

"People of the court" are equivalent to guoren 國人 or "citizen" which corresponds to shi 士 or "gentlemen". The phrase "fathers and elder brothers, sons and younger brothers 父兄子弟" refers to ministers and dignitaries. In "the twenty-second year of Duke Zhao" in the same book, when the Hua 華 family of the Song state rose in revolt, the Duke of Song said to the King of Chu;

For my want of ability, I was not able to love my fathers and brothers, thereby occasioning sorrow to your ruler. (Legge 1972, p.692) <sup>[28]</sup>

孤不佞、不能媚於父兄、以為君憂。(CQ-HY P.407)

Because the phrase "fathers and brothers" refers to the Hua family, whose founder is a son of Duke Dai 戴公 of Song (Gu Liangao, p.413. According to the Shiben 世本 cited in the Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi 春秋左傳正義 vol.50, p.397), the Hua family had a blood relationship with the Duke of Song, but the relationship was quite distant. The Jinyu 晉語 E (no.7) in the Guoyu 國語 says;

Fan Wenzhi came back from the Court late in the evening. Wuzi (= Wenzhi's father) said, "Why are you so late?" (Wenzhi) replied, "There was a guest from the Qin state, who asked (us) riddles (to guess) in the Court. There was no dignitary who could answer. I knew three things about what the guest asked, (so I told him them)." Wuzi got angry and said, "It is not that the dignitaries were unable to answer. They gave way to their fathers and brothers."

范文子暮退於朝。武子曰、何暮也。對曰、有秦客度辭於朝、大夫莫之能對

也、吾知三焉。武子怒曰、大夫非不能也、讓父兄也。(P. 401)

It is clear that Wuzi meant “seniors” here. Naturally this kind of “father and brothers” could include real relatives; when Duke Wen of Teng tried to practice the three year mourning that Mencius recommended him to observe, the Duke’s “fathers, brothers and all the officials 父兄百官” did not want to (Lau 1984, p.95). Zhao Qi 趙岐 (108?-201) says in his commentary on this, “(The phrase) ‘fathers, brothers and all the officials’ refers to many retainers both of the same clan as (Duke) Wen of Teng and of other clans. 父兄百官、滕文同姓異姓諸臣也。” Thus, Zhao recognizes that “fathers and brothers” are the people who had some kinship relations with Duke Wen (MZZS vol.5a, p.37). Du Yu 杜預 (222-284) says that the phrase “fathers and brothers” refers to many retainers of the same clan (as Duke Wu of Zheng) 父兄、同姓群臣” in his commentary on a sentence in “the eleventh year of Duke Yin” in the Zuozhuan, which reads, “I (=Duke Wu of Zheng) have not been able to secure the repose of only a few fathers and brothers. 寡人唯是一二父兄、不能共億” (Legge 1972, p.33, CQ-HY p.21). The phrase is used literally in the Zihan 子罕 chapter (sec.16) of the Analects, where it reads “to serve fathers and brothers when at home 入則事父兄” (LY-HY p.16, Lau 1983, p.81), because the word ru 入 (“at home”) refers to kinship relations in the Analects, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The post of dignitary was most often filled by the close relatives of dukes in this period, so dignitaries were referred to by kinship terms. Thus, it is not difficult to understand that “fathers and brothers” came to refer to high ranked retainers. We can conclude that this phrase dealt with a lord-retainer relation rather than kinship.

Connected with the above, it can be pointed out that the Chunqiu bronze inscriptions use such words concerned with lord-retainer relations as “dignitaries (dafu 大夫)” and “gentlemen (shi 士)”, which do not appear in Western Zhou inscriptions. The reason for this is the

change in the motives of making inscriptions. In the Western Zhou period a bronze inscription was basically made to commemorate the grace of a king to a retainer, and was inclined to emphasize the loyalty of the retainer (that is, the person who had a vessel cast) to the king. On the otherhand, Chunqiu bronze vessels were made to display the status of those who had vessels cast, and tended to emphasize the loyalty of their retainers to them. In other words, Chunqiu inscriptions tell us more about the function of ancestral rites to control retainers, while Western Zhou bronzes talk more about the interference of King/lords in his/their retainers' ancestor worship. It is not certain how this change reflects actual changes in ancestor worship, because the function of ancestral rites for controlling retainers could have existed in the Western Zhou period, though this is not specifically stated in any existing sources. But one thing can certainly be assumed; that is, because of the loss of the power of Zhou Kings, one of the political functions of ancestral rites diminished in its significance, and another came to the forefront. In the later period, the ancestral rites of lords symbolized the solidarity and loyalty of the people to their states.

Next, we can point out that "guests 賓客" are much more stressed than in Western Zhou inscriptions. In the Chunqiu inscriptions, "guests" are placed below "family" and above "ministers", "dignitaries", or "fathers and brothers". That is, they are between the family of a lord and retainers, so it is reasonable to assume that they are the guests from other states. Because the power of Zhou King decreased, the relations between states may have become more important.

Finally, it seems that the connotation of the word "friends 朋友" changed in the Chunqiu period. While in the Western Zhou bronzes it refers to the nobles including remote relatives, in the Chunqiu examples this word is positioned under "dignitaries" (II-37), "fathers and brothers" (II-41) or "fine guests" (II-42). This position is similar to

that of shi 士 or “gentlemen”.

When we compare the functions of ancestral rites in the Chunqiu period with those of the Western Zhou, we can recognize certain changes. First, while Western Zhou bronzes stress the function of integrating the lineage and lineages, that is, the control of a lineage head over segment heads and other members and the bonds with other lineages, in Chunqiu inscriptions there is a general tendency for this function to become less important. Secondly, there is a possibility that the range of kinship relations in which ancestral rites functioned became narrower in the Chunqiu period, as the word “family 家” suggests. In other words, the group on which the rites were based came to correspond with a minimal segment, while that in the Western Zhou period corresponded to a whole lineage. Thirdly, the stress which was put on the interference of a king or a lord in his retainer’s ancestral rites in the Western Zhou period, by the Chunqiu was transferred to the attendance of retainers at their master’s rites. That is, in the former a retainer’s rites expressed his bond with the King, but in the latter a lord’s rites exhibited his control over retainers. Changes in the bronze inscriptions indicate that the control of lords over retainers was prominent in the Chunqiu period, in contrast with that of lineage heads over lineage members in the Western Zhou. Fourth, the Chunqiu inscriptions mention relations between states, which do not often appear in the Western Zhou bronzes. Finally, we have to take into account the basic continuity between these two periods in spite of their differences. The function of strengthening the solidarity in a lineage continued to exist in the Chunqiu period, and the emphasis on the attendance of retainers at their lord’s ancestral rites can be assumed to have already existed during the Western Zhou.

## (5) Conclusion

We have studied the idea of filiality and the changes of its usage in the first two sections, and ideas about the functions of ancestral rites in the last two sections. What is known about filiality in the Western Zhou period is that it was an ideology supporting the authority of a lineage group, and that it was mainly expressed in ancestral rites. This was the reason why the objects of filiality included not only parents and ancestors but also seniors and matrimonial relatives; it was the social structure woven by patrilineal descent principles that was sacred.

In the Chunqiu period, the object of filiality became narrower, and this was the result of changes in ancestor worship, though one can not put too much stress on this point. Western Zhou people thought of the main function of ancestral rites as lying in the sphere of kinship relations, both in a lineage and among lineages, and it is clear that this sphere corresponded with the objects of their filiality. In the Chunqiu period, this function seems to have been de-emphasized, and the basic group for the rites shifted from a whole lineage to a segment. This does not mean that ancestral rites became unrelated to the whole lineage, but that collateral segments came to be understood as retainers rather than as relatives, though they continued to attend as before. This shift is reasonably assumed to have been accompanied by the change in the usage of the word xiao expressed in the bronze inscriptions. Thus, the object of filiality came to be restricted to parents and ancestors.

Considered from the social point of view, this situation can be interpreted in two ways. One is to assume that the power of lineage heads became strong enough to regard other lineage members as his retainers. There is evidence to support this hypothesis. For example, as Takayuki Tanida has discussed (1968, 71), the gradual establishment of



direct lineal succession reflected the reinforcement of patriarchy. The case of the Zhao family of the Jin state is an example of the change from lineage headship into monarchy, as Takao Hirase has noted (Hirase 1985). The case of the Tian family seems to be another example of this kind, though it succeeded in establishing its hegemony by dealing with its retainers as pseudo-relatives (Ôta 1976, p.279).

Another possible interpretation is to assume that there existed a general tendency for each segment of a lineage to become more independent of other segments. This process accompanied the disorganization of lineages. This theory has already been discussed by many scholars (Jôken Katô 1940, p.572-576, Mitsuo Matsumoto 1956, Tatsuo Masubuchi 1961, Sadao Nishijima 1981, p.12-14, Hu Fangshu 1983). Disorganization included such phenomena as follows; the cycle of segmentation was accelerated, and each segment was forced to become independent before attaining maturity. Each lineage, along with the range of the control of its head was more restricted, and diverging lineages from an apical ancestor shared only a loose sense of relationship. Unstable political conditions made it difficult to maintain a large inclusive lineage, and thus each member tended to follow his own interests. In cases where lineage heads succeeded in monopolizing honors for generations, such as in the cases of the Tian family and of the Zhao family, the tendency of each segment's increased degree of independence caused the main family to oversee its lineage members not in terms of lineage relations but in terms of lord-vassal relations.

We know that the functions of ancestral rites were related with two kinds of human relationships: kinship relations and monarch-retainer relations. The latter relation was more prominent in the Chunqiu inscriptions than in those of the Western Zhou. When the significance of patrilineal descent system diminished in the Chunqiu period, the monarch-retainer relation became more prominent in ancestral rites than

the kinship relation, and more stress was put on the family-line of a vessel's producer. Thus, ancestral rites were recognized as an occasion in which the authority of a monarch was displayed to his retainers.

In other words, the essential ideology expressed in ancestral rites, which was none other than filiality, gradually lost its effectiveness. Although filiality could express the authority of society itself in the Western Zhou period when the whole society was based on lineage structure, the authority implied by filiality no longer corresponded to that of the whole society in the Chunqiu period, when lineages began to be smaller. There filiality could work only in a fragmentary lineage, that is, in a single line of ancestry.

Perhaps too much emphasis has been put on the changes in this section. As has been repeatedly pointed out, there was a basic continuity between the Western Zhou and Chunqiu, both in social structure and ancestor worship. The changes were gradual. But it is also certain and important that some changes did happen, important because the concept of filiality in the Chunqiu period was the source from which some Zhanguo thinkers developed the philosophy of filiality.

#### (5) A supplement: filiality in the Zuozhuan

The change in the meaning of filiality is reflected in its usage in the Zuozhuan. Since this book was compiled in the Zhanguo period, it can be dealt with as a source reflecting a transitional situation between the Chunqiu and Zhanguo periods. Most references to filiality appear in moralistic statements thought to be the latest parts of the book (Ogura 1970, p.32-35).

There are only two examples which show the relationship between filiality and ancestral rites:

When a prince ascends to the throne, he shows his affection for the

states whose princes are related to him by affinity, cultivates all relationships by marriage, and takes a principal wife, to offer grain-vessels (to ancestor). This is filial piety, and filial piety is the beginning of propriety. (Legge 1972, p.235) <sup>[29]</sup>

凡君即位、好舅甥、脩婚姻、娶元妃、以奉粢盛、孝也、孝、禮之始也。

(“the second year of Duke Wen”, CQ-HY p.149)

Here filiality is something to be offered to ancestors, but it includes harmonious relationship with in-laws.

To avoid the powerful and insult the weak is contrary to valour. To take advantage of another's straits is contrary to benevolence. To cause the destruction of your ancestral temple and the discontinuance of its sacrifices is contrary to filial piety. To take action which does not (lead to) a good reputation is contrary to wisdom. (Legge 1972, p.757)

違彊陵弱、非勇也。乘人之約、非仁也。滅宗廢祀、非孝也。動無令名、非知也。 (“the fourth year of Duke Ding”, CQ-HY P.445)

The phrase “to cause the destruction of an ancestral temple” is a metaphor for discontinuing one's own family-line. In these examples, the concept of filiality includes ancestral rites, but the term xiao is not used as a verb, as in bronze inscriptions.

The word bears an ethical meaning in most of examples. A prominent feature of its usage in the Zuozhuan is that “filiality” is ranked among other virtues. For instance, “the twentieth year of Duke Zhao” reads;

To hurry to death for the liberation of our father is filial duty; to act on a calculation of what can be accomplished is virtue; to select one's duty to be performed and go to it is wisdom; to know death is before him and not try to avoid it is valour. (Legge 1972, p.681)

奔死免父、孝也。度功而行、仁也。擇任而往、知也。知死不辟、勇也。(CQ-HY p.399)

The Zuozhuan also tells us that Duke Dao of Jin had the sons of ministers taught respectfulness, frugality, filiality and deference in the “eighteenth year of Duke Cheng” (CQ-HY, p.250)<sup>[30]</sup>. Other noteworthy passages in the Zuozhuan as follows:

The ruler righteous and the minister acting (accordingly); the father kind and the son filial<sup>[31]</sup>; the elder brother loving and the younger respectful. (Legge 1972, p.14)

君義、臣行、父慈、子孝、兄愛、弟敬。 (“the third year of Duke Yin, CQ-HY P.9)

Filiality, reverence, loyalty and faith are auspicious virtues.<sup>[32]</sup>

孝、敬、忠、信、為吉德。 (“the eighteenth year of Duke Wen” CQ-HY, p.176)

That the ruler order and the subject obey, the father be kind and the son filial, the elder brother loving and the younger respectful, the husband be harmonious and the wife gentle, the mother-in-law be kind and the daughter-in-law obedient; these are things in propriety. (Legge 1972, p.718)

君令、臣共、父慈、子孝、兄愛、弟敬、夫和、妻柔、姑慈、婦聽。 (“the Twenty-sixth year of Duke Zhao” CQ-HY, P423)

These examples can be interpreted as showing that filiality was one of many virtues, not an ethic of obedience to the general authority of society, and that its definition was more limited to affection and submission to one's parents. This is also supported by the passages in “the first year of Duke Yin”.

Yinkaoshu was purely filial; he loved his mother and his influence reached Duke Zhuang. (See Legge 1972, p.6)

穎考叔純孝也。愛其母、施及莊公。 (CQ-HY P.3)

Filiality is equal to the love to mother. In “the twenty-third year of Duke Xiang”, the book says;

“Those who are sons of fathers should be distressed lest they should

not be filial, not about having no place (= rank). Reverence and honor your father's command; what invariableness attaches (to the order of succession)? If you (=Gongchu) can be filial and respectful, it is possible for you to be twice as rich as (the Head of) the Ji family (whose heir Gongchu failed to become). If you are wicked and do not follow the regulations, your misery may be double that of one of the lowest of the people." (Legge 1972, p.502) <sup>[33]</sup>

為人子者、患不孝、不患無所。敬共父命、何常之有。若能孝敬、富倍季氏可也。姦回不純、禍倍下民可也。(CQ-HY p.300)

What the speaker means is that Gongchu's father, who is also the head of the Jisun main family, will be pleased with him if he is filial, which will increase his portion of the inheritance. Here, filiality equals submission to father.

The story about Shensheng 申生, prince of the Jin state, in "the Second year of Duke Min" is quite interesting, because it deals with the conflict between filiality and rightness, that is, the motif of a virtuous son whose parents' commands are unjust. Another story with the same motif is found in the Mencius, as will be discussed later, but the conclusion forms a striking contrast to that of the Zuozhuan. The story goes like this; Shensheng was a son and an heir of Duke Xian of Jin, an energetic lord who succeeded in conquering some small states around Jin. But after his conquest of Li he took a daughter of the Duke of Li as his wife. She later bore a child. She wanted her child to become the heir and advised Duke Xian to appoint Shensheng as a general, wanting to drive him out of the capital city. The old lord was easily cajoled into consenting. Then, Li Ke 里克, a minister, remonstrated with the Duke;

"It is the business of the eldest son to bear the vessels of millet for the great sacrifices, and for those at altars of the land and the grain, and also to inspect the provisions cooked for the ruler every morning and evening. ---- To lead the army and determine its

movements and plans, issuing all commands to the troops; this is what the ruler and his chief minister have to provide for; it is not the business of the eldest son. The conduct of an army all depends on the definite commands that are given. If the son (=Shensheng) receives the commands of another, it is injurious to his majesty. If he himself determines the command, he is unfilial." (Legge 1972, p.130)

大子奉冢祀社稷之粢盛、以朝夕視君膳者也、——夫帥師、專行謀、誓軍旅、君與國政之所圖也。非大子之事也。師在制命而已、稟命則不威、專命則不孝。(CQ-HY P.84)

This seems to mean that a prince should follow his father's instructions in his public duties because he is not a full man before he succeeds his father's status. The remonstrance of Li Ke was not heeded. He then advised the prince, Shensheng, as follows;

"As a son, moreover, You have to fear lest you should not be filial; you have not to be fear lest you should not be appointed to the succession. Cultivate yourself, and do not be finding fault with others; so shall you escape calamity." (Legge p.130)

且子懼不孝、無懼弗得立。脩己而不責人、則免於難。(CQ-HY p.84)

But a coachman named Liangyu Ziyang 梁餘子養 said to him;

"It is not filiality if you die; you had better run away<sup>[34]</sup>."

死而不孝、不如逃之。(CQ-HY p.84)

The administrator of Yangshe 羊舌, refuting it, said;

"If you disobey your father's command, you will be unfilial. If you abandon the business (entrusted to you), you will be unfaithful. Although you know the harshness (of your duties), you must not choose (to do) evil. You should be willing to die (in obedience to your father." (Legge 1972, p.130)

違命不孝、棄事不忠、雖知其寒、惡不可取。子其死之。(CQ-HY p.84)

When Shensheng was about to go on an military expedition, following his

father's command, Hu Tu 狐突 remonstrated with the prince, as below;

“Do not do so. ----- The root of disorder is already formed in Jin. Can your succession to the state be made sure? Be filial, and seek the repose of the people. Lay your plan for this. It will be better than endangering yourself and accelerating (the imputation to you of) guilt.” (Legge 1972, p.131)

不可、……今亂本成矣、立可必乎、孝而安民、子其圖之、與其危身以速罪也。(CQ-HY p.85)

The last remonstrance is a little difficult to understand, but the phrase “endangering yourself and accelerating guilt” means following father's order and going on a foreign expedition, so Hu Tu perhaps is recommending that he runs away. It is interesting to see here that the filiality conceived of by the four men is divided into two perfectly opposite positions; one is that filiality is to obey one's father even though he is wrong or even when obeying him would bring danger. This rigorous view would be accepted by some Zhanguo philosophers. The other position is to think that filiality does not require one to follow one's father in cases such as that of Shensheng. Its logic is perhaps that one should not follow his father's orders when one knows that it brings danger to his father. But what this position recommends in this case is nothing more than running away, and it seems not to come upon their minds to remonstrate with the father to turn him back to the right way. What should not be overlooked is that the people who appear in the Zuo-zhuan do not always have a consensus about what filiality means in each case, and that there is, at least partially, a tendency for submission to the authority of father to be neglected in favor of one's own safety.

Summing up, the usage of filiality in the Zuozhuan is characterized by its more limited objects and a marked decline in its importance. Though it is a new tendency to rarely use the word in ritual contexts, these characteristics are basically the same as the changes we have

found in Chunqiu bronze inscriptions. Because the book was compiled in a period of rapid social change, changes in its usage of the term seem more clear.



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE PHILOSOPHY OF FILIALITY OF ZHANGUO THINKERS

In the last chapter we have seen the classical connotations of filiality and its gradual reduction in scope. We will see in this chapter how it revived in a new period when society was organized differently from the lineage system in the Western Zhou period.

It is the Confucian school that highlighted this old idea and made it a golden rule in Chinese culture. The other schools sometimes referred to the concept of filiality, but, generally speaking, they did not think it so valuable. This does not mean that Zhanquo thinkers other than Confucians denied or were opposed to filiality or familial ethics; for them, mutual affection and respect between parents and children were preferable but something so “natural.” Filiality was not enough to bring about peace and order to the “Warring-states (Zhanquo 戰國)” situation. For instance, Mo Di 墨翟 (Mozi, 5 c. B.C.E.) thought that philanthropy (jian ai 兼愛) was the basis of universal ethics; one who loved everyone else necessarily loved his parents, but one who loved only his family might steal from other families to profit his own (Mozi Jiangu, p.92-3). According to Kang Xuewei, the Daoists (Daojia 道家) did not deny filial affection at all, but they rejected the Confucian concept of filiality, because they thought that this concept distorted, or could even damage, natural affection (Kang 1992, p.215-224). Such a Legalist thinker as Hanfei 韓非, who thought law and monarchial authority supreme, was skeptical about the social function of morals, including filiality. Though the book of his name, Hanfeizi, includes the chapter on “Loyalty and Filiality (Zhongxiao 忠孝)”, its principal issue is the inviolability of governmental authority and political order, and filiality seems to be mentioned merely to deduce loyalty from it.

These thinkers’ ideas of filiality were in accordance with the

social situation of filiality in the Zhanguo period, because filiality was reduced from an ethic of obedience to the authority of society into a familial ethic. It was reasonable for them not to take as a central issue a father-son relationship, which was not the principal human relation any more. The problem is why some Confucians discussed filiality seriously. It can be expected that discussing filiality, for Confucians, was not preaching to people about submission to parents. If it had been, it would not have needed much energy because affection for parents, involving submission to them, belonged to natural feelings. Filiality was a metaphor for something different. We will see in the next chapter that filiality in the Book of Filiality symbolized submission to social norms and political authority. The problem that the Confucians faced when they developed the philosophy of filiality lay in conflicts between familial affection (= symbol) and political or social authority (=what was symbolized); the former was not in contradiction with the latter when the whole society was based on the lineage principles, but these principles had not entirely corresponded since the collapse of lineages. In addition, absolute monarchy, which was growing during the Zhanguo era, wanted to govern each person directly, breaking up the barriers of clans, lineages or even families. Thus, what we should direct our attention to is how the Confucians succeeded in overcoming the contradiction between familial affection and government or society.

#### (1) Filiality in The Analects

It is well known that Confucius (552-479 B.C.E.) was the founding thinker of the Confucian tradition and that his ideas and those of his disciples can be seen in the Analects. The Analects is the most reliable source of the early Confucian school, so this book should be the first

subject of our argument about the philosophy of filiality in the Zhanguo period. Before studying its contents, however, there are a couple of points to be clarified from a methodological point of view.

First, as this chapter will make clear, it is not Confucius but Mencius (372-289 B.C.E.) that put new wine in the old bottle called filiality. References to filiality are not rare in the Analects but that ethic cannot be said to be prominent, compared with humanity (ren 仁), for example. What is interesting, however, is that we can see in this book almost all the key elements that constituted later discussions of filiality. For instance, references in the Analects to filiality include such ideas as follows: the idea that filiality is the basis for other more general ethics, the assertion that the mental aspect of filiality should be stressed, the idea that filiality is to deny one's free will, an emphasis on following socially regulated forms, the conception of remonstrance and so on. All these ideas can be seen in later documents that discuss filiality, such as the Mengzi 孟子 (= the Book of Mencius), the Xunzi 荀子 (= the Book of Xun Qing), the "Meanings of Rites" (jiyi 祭義) chapter of the Book of Rites, four related chapters in the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記, the chapter on "Filial Behavior" (xiaoxing 孝行) of the Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋 and the Book of Filiality (xiaojing 孝經). What we should do in studying the philosophy of filiality in the Analects is, therefore, to clarify what kinds of elements (or features) this philosophy consists of and, then, to compare these elements with those constituting the philosophy of filiality in the other documents; as shown in the following chapters more clearly and in detail, a particular philosophical theme (or motif) is shared by many of these books, but its contextual meaning differs.

The next problem is the chronology of the Analects. Though Confucius is a figure belonging to the late Chunqiu period because he lived from 552 to 479 B.C.E., he did not write the Analects. As many scholars

have discussed, it was edited by his disciples' disciples, or even Confucians after that, because it includes the sayings of his disciples<sup>[1]</sup>. This means that we cannot consider the philosophy of the book as the product of a particular individual. Confucius and his disciples must have, more or less, different opinions. It is desirable, therefore, to study each philosopher's view of filiality and to compare them with each other. However, this is a difficult task because the Analects does not present a systematic theory of filiality. It is risky to construct a philosopher's idea of filiality from his fragmentary statements. Here we try to understand the general feature of the ideas of filiality which are presented in the Analects; we can assume that the book represents the ideas of filiality that were shared, more or less, by thinkers belonging to a philosophical group. Though this is not the most desirable method, it will be helpful for us to have a general view of common ideas about filiality in the early to middle stages of the pre-Han Confucian school.

Of around five hundred episodes in the Analects, about thirty are concerned with filiality. The most basic idea of filiality in them is that filiality is an important and elementary ethic or, in other words, it is the basis of more general ethics, as is shown in a couple of general references to it;

1). The master said, "a young man's duty is to be filial to his parents at home and show deference to his elders out of his home, to be cautious in giving promises and punctual in keeping them, to have kind feeling towards everyone, and to draw near to the good. If, when all that is done, he has any energy to spare, then let him study the polite arts." (I-6, Waley p.84)

子曰、弟子入則孝、出則悌。謹而信、汎愛衆、而親仁。行有餘力、則以學文。(LY-HY p.1, LYZS vol.1, p.9)

2). Zixia said, "A man who treats betters as betters, wears an air

of respect, who in serving his father and mother knows how to exert his whole strength, who in the service of his prince will lay down his life, who in intercourse with friends is true to his words ----. Others may say of him that he still lacks education, but I for my part should certainly call him an educated man. (I-7, Waley p.84)  
子夏曰、賢賢易色、事父母、能竭其力、事君、能致其身。與朋友交、言而有信。雖曰未學、吾必謂之學矣。(LY-HY p.1, LYZS vol.1, p.2)

In the latter example, what to “exert his whole strength” exactly means is not clear <sup>[2]</sup>. Whether or not it refers only to physical aspects, it is certain that “serving father and mother” is a mere part of a whole ethics, which is called ren 仁 or humanity. As Xu Fuguan has pointed out, “filiality is a rudimentary step toward humanity”. Confucius admits that filiality exists a priori, and talking about filiality is to bring one’s own humanity involved in filial piety into consciousness, in order to enable humanity to expand beyond one’s own family (Xu 1975, p.159). This is proved by the logical structure in Example 1) in which the objects expand from the more familiar to the more general, like “at home” → “out of home” → “everyone”. The stress definitely lies in the wider domain. In other words, filiality is not so important as humanity here; the former is important because it can lead one to the latter. The statement of Master You, which will be discussed later, supports this, when it says, “Filiality to parents and the fraternity to brothers are supposed to be the basis for humanity. 孝悌也者、其為仁之本與。” (I-2, Waley p.83, LY-HY p.1)

There is room for discussion about “at home 入” and “out of home 出” above. The range of “at home” corresponds to the object of filiality, according to the expression “to be filial to his parents at home”. The answer is shown in the next example;

3). Zigong asked, “What must a man be like in order that he may be called a true knight (of the Way)?” The Master said, “He who, in the

furtherance of his own interests, is held back by scruples, who as an envoy to far lands does not disgrace his prince's commission, may be called a true knight." Zigong said, "May I venture to ask who would be next?" The Master said, "He whom his relatives (= zongzu) commend for filial piety, his fellow-villagers, for deference to his elders." (XIII-20, Waley p.176)

子貢問曰、何如斯可謂士矣。子曰、行己有恥、使於四方、不辱君命、可謂士矣。曰、敢問其次。曰、宗族稱孝、鄉黨稱悌焉。(LY-HY p.26; LYZS vol.13, p.51)

Indeed, this can be interpreted as that relatives commend him because of his filiality to his parents. But it is certain that filiality is thought to something belonging to zongzu 宗族 or a lineage beyond the extent of a household, because it is made a pair of "fellow-villagers" (xiangdang 鄉黨). We can see that the early Confucian school thought about filiality in a context similar to that of the Western Zhou.

Naturally, this does not mean that filiality in the Analects is the same as that in bronze inscriptions. Inspecting the concrete contents of filiality, we find more stress put on mental aspects than on behavior.

4). Zixia asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, "It is the demeanour that is difficult. Filial piety does not consist merely in young people undertaking the hard work, when anything has to be done, or serving their elders<sup>[3]</sup> first with wine and food. It is something much more than that." (II-8, Waley p.89)

子夏問孝。子曰、色難。有事弟子服勞、有酒食、先生饌。曾是以為孝乎。(LY-HY p.3; LYZS vol.2, p.6)

Though the word se 色 or "demeanour" is difficult to interpret<sup>[4]</sup>, this passage clearly shows that Confucius emphasized affection between parents and children, which was showed in their demeanour, more than giving parents enough food. What he emphasized was not only affection;

5). Ziyou asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said,

“Filial sons nowadays are people who see to it that their parents get enough to eat. But even dogs and horses are cared for to that extent<sup>[5]</sup>. If there is no feeling of respect, wherein lies the difference?” (II-7, Waley p.89).

子游問孝。子曰、今之孝者、是謂能養、至於犬馬、皆能有養。不敬、何以別乎。(LY-HY p.2; LYZS vol.2, p.6)

This passage shows that the mental aspect of filiality (such as jing 敬 or respect) was distinguished from the physical aspect (yang 養 or nurture/support). Comparing this with the main connotation of filiality in the Western Zhou and Chunqiu bronze inscriptions (in which filiality means ritual expression to ancestors and elders), we can clearly see the innovative aspect of the Analects. That is, filiality in the Analects is something more mental or internalized than that in the bronze inscriptions. The idea of the distinction between the mental aspect and the physical one has the principal importance in the other documents related with the philosophy of filiality. Especially, it is noteworthy that the mental aspect of filiality is called jing 敬 or “respect” here, because the idea of “love (ai 愛) and reverence (jing 敬)”, which is presented in the Book of Filiality, plays a crucial role in overcoming the contradiction between familial affection and political authority, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Indeed this concept seems to be not so sophisticated as in the Book of Filiality<sup>[6]</sup>, but we can learn that Confucius recognized filiality in essence as obedience to the authority of the father rather than mere affection to parents, as later thinkers who contributed to the philosophy of filiality did.

This tendency is developed in the examples below;

6). Meng Wubo asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, “Behave in such a way that your father and mother have no anxiety about you, except concerning your health”. (II-6, Waley p.89)

孟武伯問孝。子曰、父母唯其疾之憂。(LY-HY p.2; LYZS vol.2, p.6)

7). The Master said, "It is always better for a man to know the age of his parents. In one case such knowledge will be a comfort to him; in the other, it will fill with a salutary dread". (IV-21, Waley p.106)

子曰、父母之年、不可不知也。一則以喜、一則以懼。(LY-HY p.7; LYZS vol.4, p.16)

There are different opinions about how to read Example 6)<sup>[7]</sup>, but we can interpret the import of the saying like this: Parents will be always anxious about their children, so the children should behave to reassure their parents and also should always be anxious, as is asserted in Example 7). In other words, a son must guess his parents' feeling spontaneously and, aiming at their complete contentment, control his own conduct. Though there is no help for destiny beyond his will and control, all his conduct should be regulated by affection toward his parents. This self-regulation is limitless because feeling is invisible at the first place; a son cannot do as he likes even if he knows that his parents do not worry. His affection to parents creates in his mind a fear that his trivial conduct possibly makes them worry, which chains him to good behavior. Thus, filiality is a spirit anxious for the contentment of parents. We would like to give the name of "affectionism" to this spirit in which affection to parents is the basis for all conduct.

Example 6) has already suggested that a son's free will is not evaluated, and this tendency is fully developed in the following famous episode:

8). When Master Zeng was ill he summoned his disciples and said,  
"Free my feet, free my hands. The Songs says;

In fear and trembling, With caution and care,

As though on the brink of a chasm, As though treading thin ice.

But I know that I am exonerated (from fear) after now, my little



ones". (VIII-3, Waley p.132)

曾子有疾。召門弟子、曰、啓予足、啓予手。詩云、戰戰兢兢、如臨深淵、如履薄冰、而今而後、吾知免夫小子。(LY-HY p.14; LYZS vol.8, p.30)

This is usually said to be an episode at the death of Zeng Can<sup>[8]</sup> though Masao Munajiri has expressed doubts about this<sup>[9]</sup>. No matter whether this is a real story or not, at least it seems written about his death. Now, why did Zeng Can order them to free his feet and hands? According to commentaries, it is to show his disciples that his feet and hands were not injured at all, because it is filial piety not to hurt one-self<sup>[10]</sup>. But this episode does not refer to the word xiao 孝, so it is difficult to decide that the reference to his feet and hands is related to filiality. What we can say is, at least, that Zeng Can tries to confirm, in front of his disciples, that he has never been self-destructive. The reason that he cites the ode is to show his carefulness so as not to hurt himself during his lifetime; he has lived his life "in fear and trembling, with caution and care, as though on the brink of a chasm, as though treading thin ice," because he valued preserving one's body in a good condition.

We consider next the reason why it is important to preserve one's body in a good condition. The concept that one's body should not be hurt in any way is most typically seen an episode in the "Meaning of Rites (Jiyi 祭義)" chapter of the Book of Rites;

The disciple Lezheng Zichun injured his foot in descending from his hall, and for some months was not able to go out. Even after this he still wore a look of sorrow, and (one of the) disciples of the school said to him, "Your foot, master, is better; and though for some months you could not go out, why should you still wear a look of sorrow?" Lezheng Zichun replied, "It is a good question which you ask! It is a good question you ask! I heard from Zengzi what he heard the Master say, that of all that Heaven produces and Earth

nourishes, there is none (so) great (as) man<sup>[11]</sup>. His parents give birth to his person all complete, and to return it to them all complete may be called filial duty. When no member has been mutilated and no disgrace done to any part of the person, it may be called complete; and hence a superior does not dare to take the slightest step in forgetfulness of his filial duty. But now I had forgotten the way of that, and therefore I wear a look of sorrow. (Legge 1885, vol.2, p.228)

樂正子春下堂而傷其足、數月不出、猶有憂色、門弟子曰、夫子之足瘳矣。數月不出、猶有憂色、何也。樂正子春曰、善如爾之問也。善如爾之問也。吾聞諸曾子、曾子聞諸夫子、曰、天之所生、地之所養、無人為大。父母全而生之、子全而歸之、可謂孝矣。不虧其體、不辱其身、可謂全矣。故君子頃步而弗敢忘孝也。今予忘孝之道矣、予是以有憂色也。(LJZS vol.48, p.371)

This episode, which will be discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation, presents an idea similar to that of Example 8). According to this, filiality requires one to preserve his body in a good condition, because he owes his body to his parents, that is because "one's body is his parents' body transmitted to him 身者親之遺體也" (The chapter on the "Great Filiality" in the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記, vol.4, p.9). The same idea can be found in the Book of Filiality, where it says, "Seeing that our body, with hair and skin, is derived from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way. This is the beginning of filiality 身體髮膚、受之父母、不敢毀傷、孝之始也" (Makra p.3).

As Du Weiming has suggested, this idea "must not be taken as literally to mean the continuity of a biological line" (1985, p.119). What this idea expresses is that parents can survive after death not only in their child's memory but also in his physical body, because one owes his whole existence to his parents. As Feng Youlan puts it, preserving one's own self is "to perpetuate his parents' lives" (Feng 1934, p.433). Since a son owes even his body to them, he has no private

possessions to be at his disposal, and he is not allowed to be so self-indulgent as to be destructive to both his body and his moral character. He cannot escape from his parents or their authority, because their image is internalized; even his body symbolizes their authority. There is no more effective doctrine than this to remind him of the impossibility of escaping from their authority. Only when one completes his filial duty at death, he is liberated from it. This statement of Zengzi shows his satisfaction, self-confidence and relief. We can think that parents are recognized here to symbolize the source of existence, and, in spite of an individual's death, one can acquire eternity by being filial, that is, by preserving the source of existence, as Nobuyuki Kaji suggests (1962-2, p.65). In short, the Analects succeeds in grasping the essence of filiality, which is obedience to parental authority, and admits that human beings are submissive to the Absolute symbolized by parents.

The same idea can be seen in the next examples of the Analects:

9). The Master said, "While father and mother are alive, a good son does not wander afield; or if he does so, goes only where he has said he was going". (IV-19, Waley p.105)

子曰、父母在、不遠遊、遊必有方。(LY-HY p.7; LYZS vol.4, p.15)

10). Zilu asked, "When one hears a maxim, should one at once seek occasion to put it into practice?" The Master said, "Your father and elder brother are alive. How can you whenever you hear a maxim at once put it into practice?" (XI-21, Waley p.157)

子路問、聞斯行諸。子曰、有父兄在、如之何、其聞斯行之。(LY-HY p.21; LYZS vol.11, p.44)

11). The Master said, "Min Ziqian is indeed a very good son. No one speaks ill of his parents and brothers." (XI-5, Waley p.153)

子曰、孝哉、閔子騫。人不<sup>[12]</sup>間於其父母昆弟之言。(LY-HY p.20; LYZS vol.11, p.42)

12). ----- (Fan Chi) said, “May I venture to ask about -----  
‘deciding when in two minds?’ ” The Master said, “An excellent  
question. ----- Because of a morning’s blind rage, to forget one’s  
own safety and even endanger one’s kith and kin’ is not a case of  
divided mind?” (XII-21, Waley p.168)

(樊遲)曰、敢問 ---- 辯惑。子曰、善哉、問。----- 一朝之忿、忘其身、以  
及其親、非惑與。(LY-HY p.24; LYZS vol.12, p.48)

Huang Kan 皇侃 (487-545) explains that in Example 9) a filial son does  
so lest he should make his parents worry (Lunyu Yishu vol.2 p.31).  
According to He Yan’s 何晏 Collective Glosses (ed. in the early third  
century) and the Lunyu Zhushu 論語注疏 (ed. in 999) on Example 11),  
there is no one speaking ill of his parents when he is filial (LYZS  
vol.11 p.42)<sup>[13]</sup>, but this does not make clear the reason why one can be  
called a filial son when his parents are not spoken ill of. Liu Baonan  
(1791-1855) interprets this as that a filial son remonstrates with his  
parents on their wrong behavior so as not to have them censured (LYZY  
vol.14, p.239)<sup>[14]</sup>. His reading is possible because the idea of remon-  
strance is seen in the Analects, but we can understand this sentence  
better as meaning that the son behaves so as not to have parents blamed;  
if a son acts against social or political regulations, it would not only  
put him in a dangerous situation but also cause a trouble for his  
parents. His personal excessive feelings or behavior are prohibited  
because they may be injurious to his parents as well as himself, as  
shown in Example 12). If he lives up to the ethics of filiality at all  
he should follow regulations and ethics carefully; if he is affectionate  
toward his parents at all he should behave in moderation. Thus, familial  
affection is shifted to obedience to social norms, and arbitrariness is  
disapproved. A son should not do anything self-willedly, even though the  
result of his decision might be good; he has to take his parents’  
opinion into consideration before he decides, as is shown in Example

10). Filiality requires making it a criterion of behavior to do parents good; Min Ziqian is filial because he succeeds in this.

We do not have to think that this idea of obedience to parental authority was invented by the Confucian school. The essence of filiality is always the recognition of one's owing his whole existence to one's parents. As has been discussed, filiality in the Western Zhou period was obedience to authority as the heart of a patrilineal descent group, or society itself, which was symbolized by fatherhood. In this sense, filiality since the beginning was always the negation of personal autonomy. Changes after the Chunqiu period should be sought for not in any essential change of its meaning but in what symbolized "authority". That is, we have seen that there was a general tendency to limit the scope of filiality in Chunqiu bronze inscriptions and the Zuozhuan. The Analects seems to assume filiality based on lineage structure, but makes the authority that filiality symbolizes something more general and abstract, or an internalized image of parents, something like conscience. In other words, this book succeeded in changing filiality, which used to work only in lineage structures, into an ethic adaptable to all people in a society not based on lineage structure. Therefore, it is quite understandable that this idea was adopted by later thinkers such as Mencius, and developed in such books as the Book of Rites, the Dadai Liji and the Book of Filiality.

It is reasonable to expect that this attribute of filiality would produce a conservative and obedient mentality, lacking the adventurous spirit and confined to one's own family. At the same time, it sanctions the autonomy and exclusiveness of a family. Did this kind of idea look attractive to people living in transitional periods? Since the lineage system had abdicated its central position in society, it is hardly believable that filiality became adaptable to the whole society merely by being generalized. Furthermore, its obedient mentality would have

been favorable to monarchy, but the autonomy of the family was not. These are the problems about the relation between filiality and society or government; did Confucius admit that filial affection contradicted social and governmental authority, or, if not, how did he think filiality was extended into more general ethics? Indeed, society and government were not separate issues in ancient Chinese philosophy, but so far studies about filiality have tended to concentrate on its political aspects (for example, Itano 1955). These two should be dealt with as two main motifs in the discussion of filiality, because the concept of society was related to social norms belonging to the category of li 禮 or rites in a wide sense, which was also an extremely important theme in ancient Chinese philosophy.

Considering the social aspect, we cannot but admit that the Analects rarely discusses conflicts between filial feelings and social norms. The Analects does not discuss what one should do when he is caught between filial affection and governmental loyalty, which is an important topic in the Mencius. The only exception is an episode found in Chapter Thirteen, which will be discussed later (Example 28, See p.81). In this episode the Duke of She praises a person witnessing against his father who steals a sheep. Concluding this person not to be “straight”, Confucius shows that any behavior against familial affection is anti-social. Thus, the Analects tends to conclude that the direct expression of familial affection equals social justice.

Naturally, the Analects discusses the relation between filial feeling and social justice. But when it does, the discussion always concentrates on the Rites. That is, discussion about the relation between filial feeling and social justice tends to be the discussion about how the feeling should be expressed in regulated behavior based on the rites. For example, the sentences below show that what is expressed (= filial affection) coincides, or should coincide, with the socially

recognized mode of expressing affection (= the rites).

13). Meng Yizi asked about the treatment of parents. The Master said, "Never disobey". ---- (Fan) Chi said, "In what sense did you mean it?" The Master said, "While they (= parents) are alive, serve them according to rites. When they die, bury them according to rites and sacrifice to them according to rites." (II-5, Waley p.88)

孟懿子問孝。子曰、無違。----- 遲曰、何謂也。子曰、生事之以禮、死葬之以禮、祭之以禮。(LY-HY p.2; LYZS vol.2, p.6)

This passage suggests that filiality should be expressed principally in ritual activities. This idea resembles the idea of the Western Zhou period, because we have found in the bronze inscriptions that filiality means ancestral sacrifices. Filiality in the bronze inscriptions is to express obedience to lineage headship in regulated forms of ritual, which are nothing but the rites. Furthermore, as we have discussed, filiality in the bronze inscriptions is the ethics of the living toward both their parents and ancestors, which are the symbol of headship, and this is exactly what Example 13) tries to assert. Indeed it is certain that the early Confucianists tried to make filiality more internalized by emphasizing its mental aspect, but it seems that they did not succeed in ethicizing filiality enough to realize the conflicts between its mental aspect (filial affection) and its formal aspect (the rites as the expression of affection)<sup>[15]</sup>. In the Mencius, the idea of equating filiality with the rites is not prominent; Mencius, who developed the early Confucian ideas of filiality, emphasized one's internal affection for his parents more than observing the prescriptions of the rites. Though he did not ignore the importance of the rites, priority was given to expressing filial affection to a maximum.

Occasionally, the Analects seems to admit the opposition of filial affection against behavioral norms, as the following example shows:

14). Lin Fang asked about the basis of the rites. The Master said,

“A noble question indeed! With the rites, it is better (to err) on the side of frugality than on the side of extravagance; in mourning, it is better (to err) on the side of grief than on the side of formality<sup>[16]</sup>.” (III-4, Lau 1983, p.19)

林放問禮之本。子曰、大哉問。禮、與其奢也、寧儉。喪、與其易也、寧戚。  
(LY-HY p.4; LYZS vol.3, p.10)

Indeed, this looks similar to some ideas found in the Mencius concerning the superiority of internal feelings to external formality. But, as the Lunyu Zhushu 論語注疏 clearly explains<sup>[17]</sup>, this statement by Confucius does not assert that one can think light of formality if he only grieves in mourning rites; both “formality” (yǐ 易) and “excessive grief” (qī 戚) are undesirable. However, if one is in a situation in which he has to choose one of them, “excessive grief” is a little better than “formality”. Therefore, the appropriate attitude in a mourning rite, which is an expression of one’s filiality, is the well balanced co-existence of filial feelings and formality of the Rites. This is clearly different from Mencius, who tends to think of the formality of rites as something like natural obstacles.

The superiority of formality to feelings is shown as well in the next example, though here it is not related to filiality;

15). When Yan Hui died, his father Yan Lu begged for the Master’s carriage, that he might use it to make the enclosure for the coffin. The Master said, “Gifted or not gifted, you have spoken of your son and I will now speak of mine. When my son, Li, died, he had a coffin, but no enclosure. ----- (XI-8, Waley p.154)

顏淵死。顏路請子之車、以為之椁。子曰、才不才、亦言其子也。鯉也死、有棺而無椁。(LY-HY p.20; LYZS vol.11, p.42)

Yan Hui, who died young, was Confucius’ favorite disciple. Confucius admits the affection of his father to be understandable but denies an enclosure for Yan Hui, because according to proper rites one who cannot



afford an enclosure should not have one (Lunyu Yishu vol.6 p.4) <sup>[18]</sup>.

This episode is rather similar to the thought of Xun Qing because it shows that the formality of rites should be kept regardless of the grade of affection.

Thinkers who admitted the conflict between filial affection and social justice, such as Mencius or Xun Qing, emphasized the concept of remonstrance by a son with his parents. The Analects notes this as well;

16). The Master said, "In serving his father and mother a man may gently remonstrate with them. But if he sees that he has failed to change their opinion, he should resume an attitude of deference and not thwart them; he may feel discouraged, but not resentful." (IV-18, Waley p.105)

子曰、事父母幾諫、見志不從、又敬不違、勞而不怨。(LY-HY p.7; LYZS vol.4, p.15)

But this sounds faint, compared to Mencius, who says that a son should run away carrying his parents on his back if they are criminal in spite of his remonstrance <sup>[19]</sup>, and Xun Qing, who affirms that following not father but the Way is great conduct, while being filial is small conduct <sup>[20]</sup>. (To be discussed later.) The Analects emphasizes not the superiority of social norms but the autonomy and exclusiveness of a family.

If the Analects does not admit conflict between filiality and social justice or the formality of the rites, what does the relation between them mean in this book ? As we will see later, Mencius thinks that the rites share their roots with filial affection but the former are in a inferior position because the latter is nearer to the root: human goodness. For Xun Qing, the rites are what controls internal feelings so as not to permit them to be destructive. In the Analects, the ideal is harmony between filial affection and formality. The meaning of the rites based on filiality is demonstrated in the following examples, related to

the “three years’ mourning”:

17). Zai Wo asked about the three years’ mourning period, saying “Even a year is too long. If the gentleman gives up the practice of the rites for three years, the rites are sure to be in ruins; if he gives up the practice of music for three years, music is sure to collapse. (In the course of a year,) the old grain having been used up, the new grain ripens, and fire is renewed by fresh drilling. A full year’s (mourning) is quite enough<sup>[21]</sup>.” The Master said, “Would you, then, (after a year) feel at ease in eating your rice and wearing your finery?” (Zai Wo said,) “Quite at ease<sup>[22]</sup>.” “If you would really feel at ease, then do so. The gentleman in mourning finds no relish in good food, no pleasure in music, and no comforts in his own home. That is why he does not eat his rice and wear his finery. Since you feel at ease, then do so.” After Zai Wo had left, the Master said, “How inhuman Yu (= addressing name of Zai Wo) is! A child ceases to be nursed by its parents only when it is three years old. Three years’ mourning is observed everywhere under Heaven. Was Yu not given three years’ love by his parents?” (XVII-21, Lau 1983, p.179, Waley p.214)

宰我問三年之喪、期已久矣。君子三年不為禮、禮必壞、三年不為樂、樂必崩。舊穀既沒、新穀既升、鑽燧改火、期可已矣。子曰、食夫稻、衣夫錦、於女安乎。曰、安。女安則為之。夫君子之居喪、食旨不甘、聞樂不樂、居處不安、故不為也。今女安則為之。宰我出。子曰、予之不仁也。子生三年、然後免於父母之懷。夫三年之喪、天下之通喪也。予也、有三年之愛於其父母乎。(LY-HY p.36; LYZS vol.17, p.70)

18). Zizhang said, “When a knight is confronted with danger, he is ready to lay down his life. When he has the chance of gain, he thinks first of right. In sacrifices to ancestor he thinks of reverence and in mourning of grief. Only such a one can be (a knight).” (XIX-1, Waley p.224)

子張曰、士見危致命、見得思義、祭思敬、喪思哀、其可已矣。(LY-HY p.39; LYZS vol.19, p.75) <sup>[23]</sup>

19). Ziyou said, "The ceremonies of mourning should be carried to the extreme that grief dictates, and no further." (XIX-14, Waley p.227)

子游曰、喪致乎哀而止。(LY-HY p.40; LYZS vol.19, p.76)

20). Master Zeng said, "I once heard the Master say, 'Though a man may never before have shown all that is in him, he is certain to do so when mourning for a father or mother.'" (XIX-17, Waley p.227)

曾子曰、吾聞諸夫子、人未有自致者也、必也親喪乎。(LY-HY p.40; LYZS vol.19, p.76)

It is a matter of course for grief to be felt in mourning for parents. But why is it only in mourning that one "shows all that is in him" ---- the extreme point of human feelings? According to the last sentence of Example 17, the three years' mourning is carried out because one is deeply affected by his parents; in other words, it is a symbolic expression of his owing his whole existence to his parents. It is the only time in which he, deprived of all his social attributes, meets his raw feelings and the absolute root of his existence. Otherwise, we would not be able to understand the reason Confucius said "if you would really feel at ease then do so" in Example 17 and the reason Ziyou said "no further" in Example 19. The three year's mourning was significant for Confucius, because of its psychological function rather than the social functions related to lineage solidarity or matrimonial bonds.

Because mourning is the symbol of representing one's dependence on the authority of his parents, his personality can be judged by his observance of the three years' mourning;

21). The Master said, "Observe what a man has in mind to do when his father is living, and then observe what he does when his father is dead. If, for three years, he makes no changes to his father's ways,

he can be said to be a filial son.” (I-11, Lau 1983, p.5)

子曰、父在觀其志、父沒觀其行。三年無改於父之道、可謂孝矣。(LY-HY p.1; LYZS vol.1, p.2)

22). Master Zeng said, “I have heard the Master say that other men could emulate everything Meng Zhuangzi did as a good son with the exception of one thing; he left unchanged both in his father’s officials and his father’s policies, and this was what was difficult to emulate.” (XIX-18, Lau,1979, p.195)

曾子曰、吾聞諸夫子。孟莊子之孝也、其他可能也、其不改父之臣與父之政、是難能也。(LY-HY p.40; LYZS vol.19, p.76)

The meaning of “see his intention” is to judge someone’s personality by his action. At his parents’ death, mourning represents his personality. By that ritual behavior he expresses that he is not autonomous but obedient to his parents.

Ancestral sacrifices are defined as the expression of reverence, in the same way that mourning is defined as an expression of grief. They are important not for the spirits of the dead but for representing internal filial feeling.

23). Of the saying, “The word ‘sacrifice’ is like the word ‘presence’; one should sacrifice to a spirit as though that spirit were present”. The Master said, “If I am not present at the sacrifice, it is as though there were no sacrifice.” (III-12, Waley p.97)

祭如在、祭神如神在。子曰、吾不與祭、如不祭。(LY-HY p.4; LYZS vol.3, p.11)

The essence of ancestral rites is to respectfully serve forebears as one has done when his parents are alive. This leads to the conclusion that he is not contented when he cannot attend, though the use of a substitute is permitted by the Rites.

From the above discussion, we can realize that the early Confucian

school idealized the Rites, which corresponds to the generalization of filiality in this school; rituals are made meaningful and valuable as symbolic expression of filial affection. This explanation was also followed by Mencius, but in the Analects there is no contradiction between feeling (the symbolized) and the rites (symbol), contrary to Mencius, who put much stress on the symbolized. This stress perhaps reflects social changes in the late Chunqiu to early Zhanguo periods. When lineage system gradually lost its central position in society, the early Confucian school succeeded in re-interpreting filiality as obedience to the more generalized and internalized image of parents. Likewise, the rites related to filiality were re-interpreted from being a symbol of lineage authority to one of obedience and affection to parents. The Confucian school developed a new ritual to represent the latter: the three years' mourning. As Takayuki Tanida has already discussed, the three years' mourning was not a classical method originating in the mourning ritual of the Western Zhou period, but was first advocated by the Confucian school (Tanida 1966, p.38) <sup>[24]</sup>.

Finally, we have to discuss the relation between filiality and government. The spirit of filiality is asserted to be a basic principle for government in these examples;

24). Master You said, "It is rare for a man whose character is such that he is filial (as a son) and obedient (as a younger brother) to have the inclination to transgress against his superiors; it is unheard of for one who has no inclination to transgress against his superiors to start a rebellion. The gentleman devotes his efforts to the roots, for once the roots are established, the Way will grow therefrom. Being filial as a son and obedient as a younger brother is, perhaps, the root of humanity. (I-2, Lau 1983, p.3)

有子曰、其為人也孝弟、而好犯上者鮮矣、不好犯上、而好作亂者、未之有也。君子務本。本立而道生。孝弟也者、其為仁之本與。(LY-HY p.1; LYZS

vol.1, p.1)

25). Someone, when talking to Master Kong, said, "Why do you not take part in government?" The Master says, "The Book says, 'Be filial, only be filial and friendly towards your brothers, and you will be contributing to government.' In so doing, a man is, in fact, taking part in government. Why does he have (actively) to take part in government." (II-21, Waley p.92, Lau 1983, p.17) <sup>[25]</sup>

或謂孔子曰、子奚不為政。子曰、書云、孝乎惟孝、友于兄弟、施於有政、是亦為政。奚其為為政。(LY-HY p.3, LYZS vol.2, p.7)

Example 24 seems to equate filiality with humanity, which is a characteristic idea of Mencius. Indeed, Example 24 is similar to the idea of "government by filiality" which is also prominent in the Mencius and the Book of Filiality, the idea that the Son of Heaven should govern the world based on the spirit of filiality that is nothing but respectfulness to human beings. But, on more careful observation, we find a different tone. The logic of Master You can be viewed as; first, it is difficult to conceive of a filial son who resists the authority of his superiors because filiality is obedience to the authority of parents. (But that is not impossible, and a filial son might resist his superiors, following his parents. This is proved by the fact that Master You says not "never" but "rare".) Second, it is impossible for one who does not resist his superiors to rebel. Third, on the other hand, when "the roots" are established, "the Way" grows. Finally, it is concluded that filiality and deference are the root of humanity. "The root" indicates filiality and deference, and "the Way" indicates humanity. But it is still unclear how "the Way (of humanity) grows". According to the Lunyu Zhengyi 論語正義 (published in 1866), "the Way" means the categories (or relationships) on which government is based, as monarch-retainer, father-son, husband-wife or friends (LYZY vol.1, p.4) <sup>[26]</sup>. If so, the meaning of "the Way" corresponds with the concept of order, that is,

political and social order. The meaning of this sentence will be quite clear if it is read as “when the root (=filiality) is laid down, the order of society is established”. This interpretation shows that this passage states the mere first step to government; a filial son, who may make a rebellion, can be led to humanity, but a unfilial son is hopeless. After all, as shown in Example 25, anybody can contribute to government by being filial.

There are some examples suggesting “government by filiality” though their actual connotations are not clear;

26). Master Zeng said, “Conduct the funeral of your parents with meticulous care and let not sacrifices to your remote ancestors be forgotten, and the virtue of the common people will incline towards fullness.” (I-9, Lau 1979, p.5)

曾子曰、慎終追遠、民德歸厚矣。(LY-HY p.1, LYZS vol.1, p.2)

27). Ji Kangzi asked whether there were any form of encouragement by which he could induce the common people to be respectful and loyal. The Master said, “Approach them with dignity and they will respect you. Show piety toward your parents and kindness to your children and they will be loyal to you. Promote those who are worthy, train those who are incompetent; that is the best form of encouragement.” (II-20, Waley p.92)

季康子問、使民敬忠以勸、如之何。子曰、臨之以莊則敬、孝慈則忠、舉善而教不能則勸。(LY-HY p.3, LYZS vol.2, p.7)

According to these examples, if a monarch himself is an ideal son and an ideal father, his influence can mold an obedient mentality in the people. Though the mechanism of influence is not explicitly discussed, it may be through ritual expression, because Example 26 refers to funeral and ancestral rites<sup>[27]</sup>. The political function of filiality is faint, compared with the Mencius which asserts that a monarch should govern by the spirit of filiality.

However, what is the most important about the relation between filiality and government in the Analects is an episode showing a contradiction between them.

28). The Governor of She said to Confucius, "In our village we have (an example of) a straight person. When the father stole a sheep, the son gave evidence against him." Confucius answered, "In our village those who are straight are quite different. Fathers cover up for their sons, and sons cover up for their fathers. In such behavior is straightness to be found as a matter of course." (XIII-18, Lau 1983, p.127)

葉公語孔子、曰、吾黨有直躬者、其父懷羊、而子證之。孔子曰、吾黨之直者、異於是、父為子隱、子為父隱、直在其中矣。(LY-HY p.26, LYZS vol.13, p.51)

This idea is not found in elsewhere of the Analects, but is quite important because this episode appears in many other books, such as the Hanfeizi (the later third century B.C.E.), the Lüshi Chunqiu (ed. in 241 B.C.E.), the Zhuangzi (the later fourth to third century B.C.E.?) and the Huainanzi (presented to the Throne in 139 B.C.E.), with considerable variation in detail, which Shigehiko Uno has discussed (Uno 1980). In addition, this is the first discussion of friction between the exclusiveness of a family and the authority of monarchical government, as Chôhachi Itano has discussed (Itano 1955, p.12). In the Western Zhou period when lineage principles corresponded with governmental principles, the authority of lineage was that of society and the power of dynastic government was based on it. The gradual collapse of lineage system in the Chunqiu to Zhanguo periods was accompanied by the rise of another type of authority: the authority of absolute and monistic despotism, while the old authority became restricted inside a family. In this context discussions arose about whether government transcended the authority of parents enough to deny the autonomy of a family, or whether



parental authority had priority over that of government. Viewed in this context, the Analects clearly is on the side of the latter. Though it is right from the viewpoint of a ruler to accuse a criminal, it will be judged to be wrong if it contradicts familial feeling.

In brief, it can be concluded that, while the discussion of filiality in the Analects had some innovative aspects, it also continued older ideas. The essence of filiality portrayed in this book depended on that of lineage society. The contradiction between filiality and social justice was not recognized explicitly. Concerning the friction between filiality and government, the recognition of which is indeed a contribution of this book, it supports the autonomy of the family. At the same time, the book opened the way to Mencius by internalizing the authority of parents and making filial affection superior to external behavior.

## (2) The ideas of filiality in the writings of Mencius

Mencius (372–289 B.C.E.) was a philosopher who lived during the middle Zhanguo period. He is a very, probably the most, important figure in the history of the philosophy of filiality. He succeeded in shifting filiality to the basis of more general ethics. His ideas of filiality were accepted by the anonymous Confucians who wrote the Book of Filiality and related documents. (Chronological relationships between the Mencius and other documents will be discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.) This does not mean, however, that Mencius completed the philosophy of filiality. Precisely speaking, his ideas of filiality were biased by his own world-view and his historical background, and this bias did not necessarily fit the historical trends of his times. Writers who discussed filiality after his death had to exert a fair amount of effort to adapt the philosophy of filiality to their

historical conditions.

What we will do in this section, therefore, is to grasp the features of Mencius' ideas of filiality in comparison with those of the preceding books (such as the Analects) and the later ones (such as the Book of Filiality). For this purpose it may be helpful to introduce Mencius' philosophical background. According to the Shiji 史記, Mencius was trained by a disciple of Zisi 子思, that is Kong Ji 孔汲 (483-402 B.C.E.), a grandson of Confucius (vol.74, p.2343). Kong Ji was influenced by Zeng Can 曾參 (c. 505-435 B.C.E.), as Naoki Kano has discussed (1953 p.137). According to Yoshio Takeuchi, the Confucian school after the death of Confucius was divided into two schools: the school of Zeng Can and the school of Ziyou 子游 (Yan Yan 言偃, c. 506-? B.C.E.). The ideas of the former were characterized by a stress on the mental aspect of morality, especially humanity, sincerity and filiality, while the latter stressed behavioral criteria for justice such as the rites (1978 vol.8, p.26-33). Because Mencius belonged to the philosophical tradition derived from Zeng Can, we might expect that his teaching about filiality put more stress on the affection of father-child relations.

Next, as is well known, Mencius' thought is characterized by his emphasis on the innate goodness of human nature (xing 性). He does not mean that human inclinations do not include such desires as to lead us to vice, but morality, which is more basic in human nature, spontaneously grows as far as it is properly nourished (Graham 1990, p.27-40). What is important for our present discussion is that Mencius discusses filiality from this point of view; filiality or the ethics of parent-child relations is based on this goodness. As Ames asserts, in Mencius' theory, human nature is the dynamic process in which one gradually develops his inclinations in his relationships to others (Ames 1991, p.155), and filial affection is one of the most basic inclinations represented in a familial context, as his following statement shows:

What a man is able to do without having to learn it is what he can truly do; what he knows without having to reflect on it is what he truly knows. There are no young children who do not know loving their parents, and none of them when they grow up will not know respecting their brothers. Loving one's parents is benevolence (= humanity); respecting one's elders is rightness. (VIIa-15, Lau 1984, p.269)

人之所不學而能者、其良能也。人之所不慮而知者、其良知也。孩提之童無不知愛其親者、及其長也、無不知敬其兄也。親親、仁也。敬長、義也。(MZ-HY p.51, MZZS vol.13a, p.101)

Filiality can be developed into humanity spontaneously in the normal process of socialization. In one of the most famous and basic chapters of the book in his name, he also says;

No man is devoid of a heart sensitive to the suffering of others.

----- My reason for saying that no man is devoid of a heart sensitive to the others is this. Suppose a man were, all of a sudden, to see a young child on the verge of falling into a well. He would certainly be moved to compassion, not because he wanted to get in the good grace of the parents, nor because he wished to win the praise of his fellow villagers or friends, nor yet because he disliked the cry of the child. From this it can be seen that whoever is devoid of the heart of compassion is not human, whoever is devoid of the heart of shame is not human, whoever is devoid of courtesy and modesty is not human, and whoever is devoid of the heart of right and wrong is not human. The heart of compassion is the beginning point of benevolence; the heart of shame, of dutifulness; the heart of courtesy and modesty, of observance of the rites; the heart of right and wrong, of wisdom. Man has these four beginning points just as he has four limbs. ----- If a man possessing these four beginning points is able to develop all of them, it will be like a fire

starting up or spring coming through. When these are fully developed, he can tend the whole realm within the Four Seas, but if fails to develop them, he will not be able even to serve his parents. (IIa-6, Lau 1984, p.67)

人皆有不忍之心。----- 所以謂人皆有不忍之心者、今人乍見孺子將入於井、皆有怵惕惻隱之心。非所以內於孺子之父母也、非所以要譽於鄉黨朋友也、非惡其聲而然也。由是觀之、無惻隱之心、非人也。無羞惡之心、非人也。無辭讓之心、非人也。無是非之心、非人也。惻隱之心、仁之端也。羞惡之心、義之端也。辭讓之心、禮之端也。是非之心、智之端也。人之有是四端也、猶其有四體也。----- 凡有四端於我者、知皆擴而充之矣、若火之始然、泉之始達。苟能充之、足以保四海、苟不充、不足以事父母。(MZ-HY p.12, MZZS vol.3-2, p.26)

Those who do not develop their “four starting points” derived from “a heart sensitive to the suffering of others” cannot serve their parents but those who do can “tend the whole realm within the Four Seas”. That is, both filial piety and government should be based on one thing: the goodness of the human mind by nature. He also says in other chapters;

The substance of humanity is the serving of one's parents; the substance of rightness is obedience to one's elder brothers. (IVa-27, Lau 1984, p.157)

仁之實、事親是也。義之實、從兄是也。(MZ-HY p.29, MZZS vol.7-b, p.59)

A gentleman is sparing with living creatures but shows no benevolence towards them; he shows benevolence towards the people but is not attached to them. He is attached to his parents but is merely benevolent towards the people; he is benevolent towards the people but is merely sparing with living creatures. (VIIa-45, Lau 1984, p.285)

君子之於物也、愛之而弗仁。於民也、仁之而弗親。親親而仁民、仁民而愛物。(MZ-HY p.54, MZZS vol.13-b, p.107)

Concerning the latter example, which is also very famous, the commentary

of Zhao Qi 趙岐 (c. 110–201 C.E.) says, “To be affectionate to his relatives first, then to be lovingly disposed towards people and then to be kind to creatures; this is the order of benevolence. 先親其親戚、然後仁民、然後愛物、用恩之次也。” (MZZS vol.13-b, p.107), that is, he thinks that this chapter shows the priority of kin to other people and of human beings to other creatures. Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) thinks that “sparing (ai 愛)”, “benevolence (ren 仁)” and “being attached (qin 親)” are the basically the same mentality, but its forms are different according to different objects (Mengzi Jizhu 孟子集注 vol.13, p.363) <sup>[28]</sup>. Both commentaries are instructive, and this passage should be interpreted as meaning that the basis is affection to parents, which becomes philanthropic love when it is developed to the level of people in general. When it is developed to everything beyond the human sphere it becomes kindness. Therefore, Mencius, contrary to Mozi, thinks it natural for one to have the most close feelings for his family, and that humanity is defined or identified with filiality, and thus it becomes the absolute source of moral force. One can be a sage like such a legendary sovereign as Yao or Shun, only if he is filial and fraternal (VIb-2, Lau 1984, p.244) <sup>[29]</sup>.

Thus, Mencius identifies filiality with the goodness of human nature. Then what does this goodness aim at concretely? In a word, it is the limitless pursuit of affection. He explains this by an example in which a really filial son is not loved by his parents. The ideal of filiality is “to yearn for his parents all his life 終身慕父母” (Va-1, Lau p.179) <sup>[30]</sup>. To “yearn for” can be understood to mean “to love”. This love to parents transcends everything; filiality does not depend on the sense of duties. It does not matter whether a son has discharged his moral or social duties beyond his family. The highest stage of filiality is to “please one’s parents” and to get into entire accord with them; this affectionate harmony is superior even to “the Empire” (IVa-28, Lau

p.157)<sup>[31]</sup>. Therefore, for being filial there is not an objective standard, but the limitless pursuit of invisible affection. If a filial son is not loved by his parents even though he has done everything he can, the only thing he can do is “complain and yearn at the same time 怨慕也”, or in other words, deeply grieve over his destiny (Va-1, Lau p.178).

Filiality in the Mencius can be characterized as “excessive affectionism”, which is applied to not only parents but to other family members such as brothers. It is beyond our logical understanding that Shun was glad to welcome his younger brother Xiang, who earlier had tried to kill him; he even appointed the latter to the post of a lord (Va-2, Lau p.181 and Va-3, Lau p.183)<sup>[32]</sup>. It is not natural at all that Shun was deceived by his brother, who pretended to be pleased when he saw Shun alive. The only way to understand him is to think that though Shun knew Xiang hated him, he loved his brother, so when Xiang came to say that he had been anxious about Shun, he was glad (in spite of what his brother had done to him), as Zhao Qi says, “Why did not Shun know that Xiang hated him? A humane person (= Shun) loved his brother and (wanted) to accord with him concerning both anxiety and pleasure. Since Xiang said that he was anxious about his superior (= Shun), he replied in an amicable way 舜何為不知象惡己也、仁人愛其弟、憂喜隨之、象方言思君、故以順辭答之” (MZZS vol.9a, p.70). The concept of familial ties in the Mencius can be defined as something like “the trans-logical and trans-ethical affectionate bond”. It seems that Mencius saw only the affectionate aspect of filial and fraternal relations and disregarded their functional and social aspects. At least, attention is not paid to the fact that a parent-child relationship involves not only affection but is also a relation of a subordinate to authority. Filial piety for Mencius is a spirit aiming toward an ideal condition of affectionate harmony. A son disturbing this harmony is unfilial in a rigid sense,

even though his conduct is right, as Mencius shows to Kuang Zhang (IIIb-10, Lau p.133) <sup>[33]</sup>.

This point may reflect that the object of filiality is not lineage but families. It is not clear what kind of social group Mencius has in mind when he talks about filiality, but zongzu 宗族 or lineage is not referred to. One chapter often cited in discussions of family structure in the Zhanguo period states that a large family includes nine persons and a smaller one five (Vb-2, Lau p.207) <sup>[34]</sup>. A family of five members seems similar to a nuclear family. When he says that “a man and woman living together is the most important of human relationships 男女居室、人之大倫也” (Va-2, Lau p.181), he shows his emphasis on the nuclear family. On the other hand, he also says that the neglect of one’s parents through “partiality” toward one’s wife is against filiality (IVb-30, Lau p.173) <sup>[35]</sup>, and the word translated into “partiality” by Lau is si 私 or “private”. It can be assumed that a husband and a wife (= a nuclear family) form a more “private” group, while a father and his children compose a more “public” family. If this assumption is right, it is quite probable that the “family” Mencius is thinking about is a household including old parents and their son/sons who has his/their own wife and children, that is, something like the “three generation system” (Katô, Jôken 1940 p.572). This aspect of the Mencius is probably influenced by the progressive disruption of the lineage system far beyond the situation of the Analects.

In spite of this different social focus, Mencius inherited a lot from the Analects, including the distinction between internal feeling and external formality, as well as “affectionism”. For example, in comparing the filial piety of Zeng Can 曾參 with that of his son Yuan 元, Mencius said that the former was solicitous of the wishes of his parents while the latter looked after their mouths and bellies (IVa-19, Lau p.153) <sup>[36]</sup>. The episode of Kuang Zhang 匡章, referred to before, is

also an interesting example because from it we learn that filiality has several steps. Kuang Zhang is mentioned in two places in this book; in one of them he is blamed for his unfiliality by a disciple of Mencius. According to the context, it is probable that he was hated and disowned by his father because of his remonstrance, but Mencius thought that he was filial because his affection to his father could be found out by his refusal to receive the service of his wife and sons (IVb-30, Lau p.173)<sup>[37]</sup>. In another place, however, Mencius blames Kuang Zhang for his misleading idea of rightness (IIIb-10, Lau p.133)<sup>[38]</sup>. From the viewpoint of ideal filial piety he is unfilial because he has disturbed affectionate harmony by his remonstrance. The form of unfiliality is less important for Mencius than its intention. We can see, therefore, that his concept of filiality had a three-fold structure; the highest was harmony, the middle level was affection and the lowest was to give support. This structure was obviously an elaborate version of the dichotomy in the Analects between mental filial piety and material service, and was influential in later discussions of this issue.

Mencius also inherits from the Analects the idea that filiality is essentially to maintain oneself. He attributes the basis of all ethics to “the fulfillment of one’s duty towards one’s parents (shi qin 事親)” and “watching over one’s character (shou shen 守身)”, which are mutually related; one who cannot maintain himself is not filial and a filial son is somebody who controls himself (IVa-19, Lau p.153)<sup>[39]</sup>. Therefore, one should regulate his conduct according to his filial feeling for his parents. Because filiality means for a son to love his parents “to the end of his life” (終身慕親 Lau p.179), this internalized image of his parents will control him after the death of his parents. Mencius also shows that the internalized image of parents governs one forever in another passage (VIIb-36, Lau p.301)<sup>[40]</sup>, which says that Zeng Can could not eat jujubes, which was a favorite food of Zeng Can’s father.



Explaining the reason why Zeng Can did not eat jujubes, Mencius says that it was because jujubes were “not shared by others 所獨”. Lau’s translation of this passage does not clarify its connotation, but according to Zhao Qi, Zeng Can is too filial to eat his father’s favorite food, because it reminds him of his deceased father. His commentary says;

The Rites do not prohibit (one from eating his parents’ favorite foods, but) Zeng Can was a most filial son and he had special feeling in thinking about his parents; (because of) profound emotion caused by jujubes, he did not even taste them during his life time. Mencius praised him for this.

禮則不禁、曾參至孝、思親異心、羊棗之感、終身不嘗、孟子嘉焉。(Mengzi vol.14, p.16)

This will indicate that the excessive affectionism of Mencius tends to go beyond social norms in order to satisfy affection toward parents.

It is convenient to begin with Mencius’ political ideas about filiality in order to show that his affectionate filiality goes beyond social norms, because his teachings are so inclined to politics that the political attitudes and the social duty of an ordinary person are not distinguished. In the Mencius, filiality is political in two senses; on the one hand, every social ethic or political idea is based on the development of filiality and, on the other hand, filiality can reach its ideal level under good government. For example:

Shun did everything that was possible to serve his parents, and succeeded, in the end, in pleasing the Blind Man (=Shun’s father).

Once the Blind Man was pleased, the Empire was transformed ----- the pattern for the relationship between father and son in the Empire was set up. This is the supreme achievement of a dutiful son. (IVa-28, Lau p.157)

舜盡事親之道而瞽瞍底豫、瞽瞍底豫而天下化、瞽瞍底豫而天下之為父子者

定、此之謂大孝。(MZ-HY p.30, MZZS vol.7b, p.59)

The Empire has its basis in the state, the state in the family, and the family in one's own self. (IVa-5, Lau p.141)

天下之本在國、國之本在家、家之本在身。(MZ-HY p.27, MZZS vol.7a, p.54)

The Way (of harmonizing the Empire) lies at hand yet it is sought afar; the duty (of harmonizing the Empire) lies in the easy yet it is sought in the difficult<sup>[41]</sup>. If only everyone loved his parents and treated his elders with deference, the Empire would be at ease. (IVa-11, Lau p.147)

道在邇而求諸遠。事在易而求諸難。人人親其親、長其長、而天下平。(MZ-HY p.28, MZZS vol. 7b, p.57)

Loving one's parents is benevolence (= humanity); respecting one's elders is rightness. What is left to be done is simply the extension of these to the whole Empire, (VIIa-15, Lau p.269)

親親、仁也。敬長、義也。無他、達之天下也。(MZ-HY p.51, MZZS vol.13a, p.101)

All of these passages convey the same idea: filiality as familial ethics should be extended beyond the family and should be adopted as the basic principle for ideal government.

Not only should administrators develop their spirit of filiality to “win the confidence of his superiors 獲於上” (IVa-12, Lau p.149), but a monarch should also govern the people through his spirit of filiality. A monarch such as King Hui of Liang, who “herded the young men he loved to their death 驅其所愛子弟以殉之” to win a battle caused by his desire for more territory, was “ruthless 不仁” in his administration, because he “extended his ruthlessness from those he did not love to those he loved. 以其所不愛及其所愛也。” (VIIb-1, Lau p.287)<sup>[42]</sup>. In addition, ideal government is not only attained through filial piety but also is able to make the people filial. Good government should include teaching people

filial piety, fraternity, sincerity and truthfulness; contrary to that, bad government deprives them of the economic basis for filiality (Ia-5, Lau p.5) <sup>[43]</sup>. We can see that two kinds of filiality are distinguished here: a low level of filiality existing naturally in the people and a higher level of filiality which should be promoted by government, probably for its stabilization. In other words, Mencius realizes that the spirit of filiality is effective both for monarchical power and the harmony of society.

The basic difference between Mencius' political interpretation of filiality and that of the Analects lies in the idea of government by filiality. In the Analects, filiality is the starting point of other ethics, and the mentality of filiality is useful for government. Mencius expands on this. But because of his excessive affectionism and the identification of filiality with humanity, he thinks filiality is everything. It is not only a starting point but also a goal. Thus, he overcomes in his way the contradiction between filiality and government.

As a result, Mencius makes filiality superior to government, and the family superior to the monarch. This means that the autonomy and exclusiveness of family bonds transcend monarchical government. When he was asked what Shun, the model of a perfectly filial son, should have done when his father was a criminal, he answered that Shun should have run away with his father on his back to live together harmoniously with him (VIIa-35, Lau p.279) <sup>[44]</sup>. This episode tells us that filial affection does not deny law, but transcends it. Mencius does not mean that the former can disturb the social order, but admits familial bonds are too close for public power to interfere. In another place he asserts that kinship relations are so superior to the power of a monarch that his relatives are qualified to dethrone him (Vb-9, Lau p.219) <sup>[45]</sup>. This is related to Mencius' theory of the right to dispose unfit rulers (Ib-8 Lau p.38) <sup>[46]</sup>, but it is difficult to deny his view of the throne as

shared by relatives was out of fashion in the time when absolute centralized government began to appear. We can see the same tendency in another chapter, which advocates the importance of “ministers whose families have served it (=the government) for generations 世臣” (Ib-7, Lau p.37)<sup>[47]</sup>. This problem — the conflict between “loving one’s relatives 親親” and “advancing the wise 進賢” — was a big issue in political thought during the Zhanguo period (Itano 1955, p.10). Since Mencius emphasizes the superiority of family bonds, he is inclined to the former, though he speaks of the importance of the latter in other places (Lau p.63-67, Iia-4 and 5)<sup>[48]</sup>. Needless to say, the trend of history was moving away from his ideals; when centralized government and bureaucracy developed, kinship became less significant.

Can we say that all of Mencius’ theories about filiality were conservative or reactionary from the viewpoint of the historical trends of his time? The exclusiveness of the family which he advocated was not supported by such a later scholars as Xun Qing or Hanfeizi<sup>[49]</sup>, for whom the contradiction between filiality and government was to be overcome not by the absolute superiority of the former but by accord between these two. But what should not be forgotten is that many of Mencius’ ideas are found in other books including the Book of Filiality. It is possible to think that Mencius prepared some of the theoretical basis for the philosophy of filiality.

First, the idea of filiality as the most basic and highest principle for government, the idea Mencius strongly advocated, is also the principal issue in the Book of Filiality. Not only in the Book of Filiality, but during the whole remaining history of China filiality has been the highest principle or, at least, one of the highest principles. It can be said that this is the result of the important contribution of Mencius.

Secondly, the affectionism of filiality sanctions the concept of

remonstrance. Mencius does not condone “taxing father and son over a moral issue 父子責善” because familial affection is superior to social rightness (IVb-30, Lau p.173; IIIb-10, Lau p.133)<sup>[50]</sup>. But at the same time a filial son who really loves his parents will remonstrate with them when he thinks that their conduct will bring fatal results; if he does otherwise, he is thought to be indifferent to them (VIb-3, Lau p.245)<sup>[51]</sup>. The concept of remonstrance is important in the philosophy of filiality, because it is able to reconcile filial affection and social justice. This concept exists in the Analects, but it is not so actively expressed, as we have discussed. In the Mencius this concept is a serious issue, which makes it more influential. But Mencius’ concept of it is still different from that in the Xunzi or the Book of Filiality. Though for Mencius filiality is completely based on affection, the Xunzi puts more stress on social justice as the basis of remonstrance.

Third, Mencius’ excessive affectionism sanctions the utilitarianism found in the Book of Filiality. This is very ironic, because affectionism is radically opposed to utilitarianism, as Mencius himself said (VIb-4, Lau p.247)<sup>[52]</sup>. But if nepotism is permitted under the name of filial piety, filiality will be more valued for its benefits. For example, in his interpretation of a myth of Shun, which has been also mentioned before, Mencius affirms the nepotism of Shun who enfeoffed his wicked brother (Va-3, Lau p.183)<sup>[53]</sup>. And if one can win the confidence of his superiors and get a high rank because of his filial piety (IVa-12, Lau p.147)<sup>[54]</sup>, to be filial will be advantageous in society. Thus, filiality is supported by its social advantage. In other words, Mencius sets up filiality as the highest value for society and government, and this cannot but open the way to its utilitarianism.

Finally, related with the above, it can be pointed out that Mencius’ theory of filiality has a tendency to promote egalitarianism. Because the higher status and wealth of a son would provide better wel-

fare for his parents, the ethics of filiality place high value on advancement in life, such as rising to higher administrative positions, attaining eminence and accumulating a fortune. In a chapter which is also related to the myth of Shun, a disciple of Mencius asks his mentor whether Shun treated his father as a subject. This shows that in the time of Mencius there existed a doubt about the political contradiction between the concept of “the Son of Heaven” and filiality as familial ethics; a doubt as to whether the Son of Heaven should be followed by his parents, since “of all the subjects on the earth, there are none who are not the servants of the king. 率土之濱、莫非王臣” (no.205 in the Book of Odes. Karlgren 1944 p.244, MS-HY p.49). Mencius succeeds in overcoming this contradiction and supporting filiality more strongly by defining filiality of the Son of Heaven as the highest stage of filiality, as is shown by the citation below:

The greatest thing a dutiful son can do is to honour his parents; the greatest thing he can do to honour his parents is to nourish them with the World. To be the father of the Emperor is the highest possible honour. To nourish them with the World is the greatest nourishment. (Va-4, Lau p.187)

孝子之至、莫大乎尊親、尊親之至、莫大乎以天下養。為天子父、尊之至也。

以天下養、養之至也。 (MZ-HY p.36, MZZS vol.9a, p.71) <sup>[55]</sup>

If “the greatest thing a dutiful son can do” is “to nourish them with the World”, everyone wants to and should be the Son of Heaven, because filiality aims limitlessly at the satisfaction of affection for parents.

At least, filiality requires a son to get a higher status or more wealth because his better status honours his parents more and because his more wealth provides better service for them. So, advancement in life is sanctioned and promoted by filial piety. Mencius’ idea of this shows his tendency toward egalitarianism because, according to it, anybody can try to be the Emperor. This egalitarian tendency is also a characteristic we

can find in the Book of Filiality. For instance, when the Book of Filiality says, “We develop our own personality and practice the Way so as to perpetuate our name for future generation, and to give glory to our parents. This is the end of filiality 立身行道、揚名於後世、以顯父母、孝之終也” (Makra p.3), it connotes that to be a filial son is to attain eminence. The book also says, “In the practice of filiality, nothing is greater than to reverence one’s father. In reverencing one’s father, nothing is greater than making him a companion of Heaven. 孝莫大於嚴父、嚴父莫於配天” (Makra p.19); if the greatest filiality is to make a sacrifice to one’s parents in combination with Heaven, which only the Son of Heaven can make, everyone should be the Son of Heaven so as to make the sacrifice.

Thus, the filiality of Mencius has the potential to be troublesome for monarchical government because Mencius’ affectionism brings about utilitarianism, and the obedience to authority he asserts produces egalitarianism. Naturally, Mencius does not ignore that filiality produces a conservative and obedient mentality, because the essence of filiality requires “watching over one’s own character” (IVa-19, Lau p.153) <sup>[56]</sup>. Mencius also asserts that obedience to parents is obedience to social norms, because if one commits a crime it can bring danger to his parents as well as himself (VIIb-7, Lau p.289). But his “excessive affectionism” tends to permit affection to transcend social norms. This tendency is found also in his discussion about righteousness and the rites.

Mencius’ idea of filiality includes the relation between filiality and social justice. For example, he says in the example which has been mentioned above;

Only now do I realize how serious it is to kill a member of the family of another man. If you killed his father, he would kill your father; if you killed his elder brother, he would kill your elder

brother. This being the case, though you may not have killed your father and brother with your own hand, it is but one step removed. (VIIb-7, Lau p.289)

吾今而後知殺人親之重也。殺人之親、人亦殺其父、殺人之兄、人亦殺其兄。然則非自殺之也、一間耳。(MZ-HY p.55; MZZS vol.14a, p.110)

He is obviously asserting here that the internal feeling of filiality should accord with the external ethics, because keeping social norms means bringing about no trouble to one's parents. Mencius, however, would enter a protest against this expression, because he does not admit that rightness (social justice) is external, as can be seen in his dispute with Meng Jizi 孟季子 (VIa-5, Lau p.225)<sup>[57]</sup>, which will be discussed below.

This episode is confused enough to need careful examination. The dispute began when Meng Jizi, whose career is not known, examined closely why Gongduzi 公都子, a disciple of Mencius, said that rightness (yi 義) was internal (nei 內). Gongduzi replied that it was because "the respect in me (wu jing 吾敬)" is being put into effect, but Meng Jizi proved that respect (jing 敬) was external (wai 外), by showing that the object of respect changes according to situations. For example, if a man from the village where one lives was a year older than one's eldest brother, one would respect the latter more. But in a public banquet in which age-group structure was important, one would have to show more respect to the former. Meng Jizi's idea is that cultural codes, such as social regulations, customs or laws, decide the object of respect (who should respect whom). Because respect is controlled by cultural codes, which are outside human mind, respect is external. Gongduzi could not refute this, and asked his mentor for help. Mencius advised him to distinguish normal respect from temporary respect; for example, one had to show his respect even to his younger brother when the latter was impersonating an ancestor at a sacrifice. Listening to this, however,



Meng Jizi asserted that the Mencius' indication supported the externality of respect. The final objection Gongduzi made was that a different object of respect in a different situation does not support the externality of respect, just as appetite for drinking cannot be said to be external even though one wants to drink hot water in winter, and cold water in summer.

The first point we can learn from this chapter is that both sides agree to identify rightness with respect. We assume that humanity or ren 仁 is a coordinate concept with rightness, in spite of the absence of specific references, because humanity and rightness usually make a pair in Mencius. It was evidently common in this period to think humanity as internal and rightness as external, as is shown in another chapter (Vla-4, Lau p.141)<sup>[58]</sup>. Next, Meng Jizi and Gongduzi seem to talk at cross-purposes; the former is discussing the objective criteria for "respect". Because it is "rightness" to express "respect" to a proper person in a proper context, "rightness" is obeying the external social codes. On the contrary, Gongduzi thinks that "rightness" is the feeling of "respect" to the object which should be respected. Because this feeling does not change though the object is changed, it exists within the mind. Meng Jizi's point is that external rightness controls the internal nature or feeling. Therefore, his views are quite similar to Xun Qing's interpretation of the rites or li 禮, which will be discussed later. Gongduzi, ignoring the objective criteria for rightness, attributes justice to the sphere of feeling. (See Graham 1990, p.47).

As this chapter suggests, Mencius does not see familial affection and social justice as opposed to each other, for social justice (= rightness) is identified with respect to senior members of a family; it is "internal", that is, based on familial affection. Naturally one does not know social norms by nature, but Mencius seems to think they are learned naturally in the process of socialization, as when he says that

no young children “when they grow up will not know respecting one’s elder brothers” (VIIa-15, Lau p.269)<sup>[59]</sup>. According to Mencius, the unified personality of an ideal mature person is a well balanced synthesis of natural feeling and acquired ethics.

The negation of a serious contradiction between internal feeling and external justice is the basic premise of Mencius’ discussion of the relationship between filiality and the Rites (li 禮). As in the Analects, Mencius also lays stress on mourning, especially the three years’ mourning, based on his emphasis on interior attitudes.

Caring for one’s parents when they are alive is not worth being described as of major importance; it is treating them decently when they die that is worth such a description. (IVb-13, Lau p.163)

養生者不足以當大事、惟送死可以當大事。(MZZS vol.8a, p.62)

In addition, Mencius, citing a statement of Zeng Can, says that “the funeral of a parent is an occasion for giving of one’s utmost 親喪、固所自盡也” (IIIa-2, Lau p.93)<sup>[60]</sup>. This idea is quite similar to that in the Analects, which says, “Though a man may never before have shown all that is in him, he is certain to do so when mourning for a father or mother 人未有自致者也、必也親喪乎。” (XIX-17, See p.76 of this chapter).

But though both value feeling more than form, the atmosphere of Mencius is different from that of the Analects. Here we will take an example which concerns Mencius’ own mother. Her funeral seems to have been so splendid, compared with the funeral of his father who died when Mencius was young, that it could be basis for criticism of him (Ib-16, Lau p.47)<sup>[61]</sup>. A disciple of his, Chong Yu 充虞, also wondered and asked him about it. Answering him, Mencius asserted that the mourning rites are the way to “express fully one’s filial love 盡於人心” and to have the satisfaction of doing his best for his parents. It gives the living some solace “to prevent the earth from coming into contact with the dead”, and those who can afford to use the inner and outer coffins can

have “the satisfaction 悅” (IIb-7, Lau p.81)<sup>[62]</sup>. The same theme is discussed in the debate with a Mohist, in which Mencius supposes that funeral rites did not exist in ancient times, but originated in the revulsion that one had in seeing his parents’ bodies “eaten by foxes and sucked by flies” (IIIa-5, Lau p.111)<sup>[63]</sup>. This suggests that if a son does not use lavish funeral materials when he can afford them, he will necessarily repent not having done his best for his parents. Thus, Mencius thinks, or tends to think, that one should perform funeral rites that are as luxurious as possible. As far as the ideas of mourning are concerned, the basic difference between Mencius and the Analects can be summarized as that in the latter the purpose of mourning rites is only the expression of inner feelings (that is, grief) and there is no doubt as to following the social codes prescribing how to perform mourning. In the Mencius, ritual activities aim at satisfying oneself by expressing inner feelings as honorably as possible.

This theory of Mencius has the same logic as his excessive affectionism. In his basic idea of filiality, the ideal is the harmony of a family, which one should pursue limitlessly. In the same way, one should pursue the perfect expression of his affection in ritual until he is satisfied that he has done everything he can. Therefore, what a filial son pursues is limitless — the ultimate goal is being the Son of Heaven — and external restrictions, including the regulations of li 禮, are a type of obstacle, within the limit of which one should try to satisfy his affection. For example, when asked whether it is better to observe a year’s mourning than not to observe any mourning at all, Mencius said no. But when a son of King Xuan of Qi requested a few months’ mourning for his mother, Mencius permitted this because she was not the principal wife of the king, and it is a code of rites for a son of a secondary wife not to observe a three years’ mourning (VIIa-39, Lau p.281. In this case, his mourning was for nine months’ dagong 大功. YLZS

vol.32, p.170). Indeed Mencius defines the rites or li 禮 as “the regulation and adornment 節文” of humanity or ren 仁, which is identified with filiality, and rightness or yi 義, which is identified with dutifulness to elder brothers, and admits that the rites have the function to control feelings (IVa-27, Lau p.157)<sup>[64]</sup>. But it is evident that his understanding of filiality has a tendency to conflict with norms or with society, as when he says, “a gentleman would not for all the world skimp on expenditure where his parents are concerned. 君子不以天下儉其親。” (IIb-7, Lau p.83)<sup>[65]</sup>.

What should not be forgotten, however, is that Mencius does not ignore the importance of the Rites or li 禮, as is demonstrated by an episode related with Duke Wen of Teng (IIIa-2, Lau p.93)<sup>[66]</sup>. This chapter is a little difficult to understand because there is no reference to grief in this mourning; when his father died, Duke Wen, who adored Mencius, asked what to do. Mencius, praising the new duke, advised him to do a three years' mourning. When Duke Wen, overcoming various objections, kept Mencius' advice, “the mourners were greatly delighted”. The word Lau translates into “delighted” (yue 悦) can be understood as “satisfied”, so we do not have to think that the mourners had a good time. But at least here there is a stress on the social function of mourning rather than the mere expression of internal grief. It is possible to think that Mencius tends to admire those who carried out lavish mourning disregarding their internal grief. Because no internal feeling is visible, it cannot but be judged by the mourning rites actually carried out; the more lavish the mourning rites are, the more admired a son is. If so, Mencius' idea of mourning tends to merely justify ostentatious funeral rites. But it is dangerous to conclude this from just one example, so we should be satisfied with the conclusion that the rites were admitted by Mencius to have the social function of conveying the spirit of filiality to people.

Mencius' concept of filiality has a unique and important position in Zhanguo discussions of filiality. First, he founded filiality on smaller families after the collapse of patrilineal descent groups. Second, he advocated that filiality should be the basic and highest principle of both government and social justice. It is this concept that makes the discussion about filiality so important in the Chinese philosophical tradition. Third, paradoxically, the superiority of filiality to anything else, which he maintains, reveals the contradiction not only between filiality and government, but between filial affection and social norms, though he himself regards them monistically. His affectionism easily overcomes laws or social regulations important in the Confucian tradition. In other words, his way to overcome the contradiction was difficult for that period to adopt. Later philosophers had to search for another way to unify familial feeling and social justice. We will see one attempt, that of Xun Qing, in the next section.

### (3) The idea of filiality in the writings of Xun Qing 荀卿

Xun Qing (Xunzi 荀子, c. 313–215 B.C.E.?) was a philosopher in the late Zhanguo period, who belonged to the line of Zixia 子夏 (c. 507–420 B.C.E.) or Ziyou 子游 in the Confucian tradition which was opposed to the school Mencius belonged to (Kano 1953 p.166, Takeuchi 1978 vol.8, p.80, Gao Zhuancheng p.289)<sup>[67]</sup>. Xun Qing did not discuss his theory of filiality in detail; he is better known for his theory of the Rites, that is, his emphasis on regulatory patterns for human nature. Under his tuition appeared such a Legalist thinker as Hanfeizi 韓非子, who thought laws supreme. But the “Discussions of Rites (lirun 禮論)” chapter in his book, the Xunzi, which concerns mourning and ancestral rites, is interesting because it shows his ideas about the relation between filiality and rites. This theory of his was important in the Confucian

tradition, and his disciples developed his ideas into an imposing system, which can be seen in the Book of Rites. This is the reason why we deal with him here.

However, there are some chronological problems in the above brief description. First, Xun Qing is thought to have lived to a great age; his activity is said to have been at the peak during the reign of King Xiang of Qi (r. 283-265 B.C.E.), when he was a head of scholars at the Jixia 稷下 academy, but he continued to work after the coronation of King Kaolie of Chu (238 B.C.) in the city of Lanling (Shiji vol.74, p.2348). According to another source, he was still alive after the unification of China by First Emperor (221 B.C. You Guoen p.103; Liang Qichao p.109; Luo Genze p.138; Knoblock 1988, p.35). Naturally, there must have been some changes in his thought, but it is difficult to know them exactly from his book. Knoblock tries this task, and attributes the Lilun chapter to the period when Xun Qing stayed in Chu (c. 283-275 B.C.E., Knoblock 1983 and 1988 vol.1, p.8-11). Secondly, the whole book was not written by him; some chapters, including the Zidao 子道 chapter which will be dealt with later, are supposed to have been added by his disciples after his death (Qu Wanli 1983, p.410). However, these chapters are a collection of "records, traditions and various matters that Xun Qing and his disciples cited 荀卿及弟子所引記傳雜事" (Wang Xianqian p.520). We can assume at least that the Xunzi reflects the philosophical achievements of the last stage of the Zhanguo period.

As well known, Xun Qing thinks that human nature is evil, and li 禮 or rites are the device for rectifying it. Rites include both "emotion" and "form";

When rites are performed in the highest manner, then both emotions and the forms embodying them are fully realized; in the next best manner, the emotional content and the forms prevail by turns; in the poorest manner, everything reverts to emotion and finds unity in

that alone. (Watson p.94)

故至備情文俱盡、其次情文代勝、其下復情以歸大一也。(XZ-HY p.71)

When form and meaning, and emotion and practical use, are treated as the inside and outside or the front and back of a single reality and are both looked after, then rites have reached the middle state.

(Watson p.96)

文理情用、相為內外表裏、並行而雜、是禮之中流也。(XZ-HY p.72)

What Xun Qing calls “emotion” includes filial affection, and so-called “form” the regulations or conventions of ritual. The concept of “form” represents the elements we sometimes call symbolical. Xun Qing does not deny that rituals are the way to express feeling, but thinks it ideal to express both emotion and form perfectly. This is well shown in the paragraph below:

Therefore, it is said that human nature is the basis and raw material, and conscious activity (= artificial means) is responsible for what is adorned, ordered and flourishing. If there were no human nature, there would be nothing for conscious activity to work upon, and if there were no conscious activity, then human nature would have no way to beautify itself. Only when nature and conscious activity combine does a true sage emerge and perform the task of unifying the world. (Watson p.102)

故曰、性者、本始材朴也。偽者、文理隆盛也。無性則偽之無所加、無偽則性不能自美、性偽合、然後聖人之名、一天下之功於是就也。(XZ-HY p.73)

His concept of rites is a synthesis, in a dialectical sense, of internal feelings and external regulations, or a synthesis of nature and culture.

Therefore, he is not satisfied with either internal feeling only nor external regulation only. If the former is left as it is, it will result in Hobbsean war (Watson p.89)<sup>[68]</sup>. That is the case in filial feeling; if one's grief expressed in his mourning for his parents is extreme, it may be harmful to himself. He must regulate himself by

following the regulations of rites so as not to fall into such a condition (Watson p.100)<sup>[69]</sup>. On the other hand, Xun Qing asserts from the viewpoint of affection to parents that one should not prepare funeral materials beforehand to pursue only the perfection of formality (Watson p.98)<sup>[70]</sup>. And “for the mourner to measure the quality of his food before eating, to measure the size of his waist before tying his sash, and to strive deliberately for a distraught and emaciated appearance is the way of evil men. It does not represent the proper form of ritual principle nor the proper emotions of a filial son. 量食而食之、量要而帶之、相高以毀瘠、是姦人之道、非禮義之文也、非孝子之情。” (Watson p.101, XZ-HY p.73). Mere formality without affection should be rejected.

Thus, what is desired is to satisfy the feelings through the regulated forms; this is nothing but the essential function of rites.

Rites trim what is too long and stretch out what is too short, eliminate surplus and repair deficiency, extend the forms of love and reverence, and step by step bring to fulfillment the beauties of proper conduct. (Watson p.100)

禮者、斷長續短、損有餘、益不足、達愛敬之文、而滋成行義之美也。(XZ-HY p.73)

Xun Qing also says in another place that, if one can trim or stretch his emotions, broaden or narrow them and express them properly, he can achieve true rites (Watson p.102)<sup>[71]</sup>.

As we have seen in the previous sections, mourning was the most prominent ritual of filiality. Because Xun Qing also put much stress on mourning, his idea of filiality are found in his teaching about mourning. Compared with the Analects and Mencius, the basic features of his teaching about filiality are as follows. First, he admits mourning as the expression of the internal affection to parents, just as the Analects and Mencius did. If in burying parents “he failed to show



either grief or reverence, then he is not better than a beast 不哀不敬、則嫌於禽獸矣” (Watson p.100, XZ-HY p.73). Mourning rites are not for the parents’ sake but to express one’s affection to parents, that is, the internalized image of parents. If one is “generous in the treatment of his living parents but skimpy in the treatment of the dead 夫厚其生而薄其死”, that means he pretends to be respectful though he is not, so he is “an evil man 姦人” (Watson p.97, XZ-HY p.72). Mourning is carried out because one’s affection does not change whether the parents are alive or dead, though the forms of its expression change. So, “one adorns the dead (parents) as though they were still living, and sends them to the grave with forms symbolic of life. They are treated as though dead, and yet as though still alive, as though gone, and yet as though still present 以生者飾死者、大象其生以送其死也。故如死如生、如亡如存” (Watson p.103, XZ-HY p.73-4). If we compare this idea with a chapter of the Analects, “one should sacrifice to a spirit as though that spirits was present 祭神如神在” (Waley p.97), we can see clearly the influence of the latter upon the former.

Next, however, we see that the difference between the Analects or Mencius and Xun Qing lies in the fact that Xun Qing recognizes that filial affection can be harmful to itself if it is not restrained. He admits that one of the functions of mourning rites is “changing and adorning the appearance of the dead person, to keep moving him farther and farther away 變而飾、動而遠”, because if the living are too close to the dead the latter will loathe the former (because of the ugliness) and lose the feeling of respect (Watson p.99, XZ-HY p.73). In addition, the extreme of grief can be dangerous to mourners. Mourning should be the way for them to return gradually to their regular way of life, and “to kill the living and force them to accompany the dead is confused 刻生而附死、謂之惑” (Watson p.105, XZ-HY p.74)<sup>[7 2]</sup>. These explanations convey a kind of rationalism, which can be seen as a characteristic of Xun

Qing's thought. Because his intention lies in the maintenance of the social order, he is a moderate and practical thinker who thinks from the viewpoint of society. His rationalism is contrary to the transcendental tendency (= excessive affectionism) of Mencius.

The third feature of Xun Qing's ideas about filiality, compared with those of Mencius, is more emphasis on following the regulations of rites. Xun Qing emphasizes rites, and in his ideas concerned with filiality rites are important because various codes of rites function to regulate feelings so that they will not be destructive to both society and individuals, and so that people may be satisfied with the expression of their own feelings. For instance, it is stated in the passage below that the grief expressed in funeral rites should not be "frantic or injurious";

Beauty, music and joy serve to induce an attitude of tranquillity and are employed on auspicious occasions. Ugliness, weeping and sorrow induce an attitude of inquietude and are employed on inauspicious occasions. But though beauty is utilized, it should never reach the point of sensuousness or seductiveness, and though ugliness is utilized, it should never go as far as starvation or self-injury. Though music and joy are utilized, they should never become lascivious and abandoned, and though weeping and sorrow are utilized, they should never become frantic or injurious to health. If this is done then rites have achieved the middle state. (Watson p.100)

故文飾・聲樂・恬愉、所以持平奉吉也。度衰・哭泣・憂戚、所以持陰奉凶也。故其立文飾也、不至於窕冶。其立度衰也、不至於瘠弃。其立聲樂恬愉也、不至於流淫惰慢。其立哭泣哀戚也、不至於隘懾傷生。是禮之中流也。  
(XZ-HY p.73)

It is misleading for Watson to translate the term chi 持 as "induce"; it should be understood as "keep" or "control". The passage means that the

use of coarse materials and weeping is to ensure that the condition of inquietude does not fall into imbalance. In another place, Xun Qing expresses this concept as “ornament” (shi 飾);

It is true of all rites that, when they deal with the living, their purpose is to ornament joy, when they deal with the dead, to ornament grief, when they pertain to sacrifice, to ornament reverence.  
(Watson p.104)

凡禮、事生飾歡也。送死飾哀也。祭祀飾敬也。(XZ-HY p.74)

The function of rites is not only to express feelings but also to modify or mold feelings into patterns. In a sense, this concept of his might be said to be similar to the psychological functionalism of Malinowski; as the latter admits the stabilizing and expressive function of the rites of passage, Xun Qing attaches importance to rites because of their social function.

Furthermore, Xun Qing sometimes identifies filiality with following the regulations of rites, as is indicated by the following passage;

The funeral rites have no other purpose than this: to make clear the principle of life and death, to send the dead man away with grief and reverence, and to lay him at last in the ground. At the interment one reverently lays his form away; at the sacrifices one reverently serves his spirit; and by means of inscriptions, eulogies, and genealogical records one reverently hands down his name to posterity. In serving the living, one ornaments the beginning; in sending off the dead, one ornaments the end. When beginning and end are fully attended to, then the duties of a filial son are complete and the way of sage has reached its fulfillment.  
(Watson p.105)

故喪禮者、無他焉。明死生之義、送以哀敬、而終周藏也。故葬埋、敬藏其形也、祭祀、敬事其神也、其銘誄繫世、敬傳其名也。事生飾始也、送死飾終也。終始具、而孝子之事畢、聖人之道備也。(XZ-HY p.74)

It is worthy of attention that he says here “the duties of a filial son are complete”; the duties of a filial son are nothing else but carrying out funeral or ancestral rites for parents according to the codes of rites and “handing down (parents’) name to posterity 傳其名也.” This expression reminds us of a sentence in the Book of Filiality; “We develop our own personality and practice the Way so as to perpetuate our name for future generation and to give glory to our parents. 立身行道、揚名於後世、以顯父母” (Makra p.3). Here, the fundamental contradiction between internal filial affection and external social norms is overcome by Xun Qing by identifying filiality with rites, which are the synthesis of the external and the internal. A filial son in the Mencius pursues limitlessly the satisfaction of his affection toward his parents; a filial son in the Xunzi obeys social norms if he has any affection for his parents at all.

Xun Qing’s identification of filiality with rites is also important in the history of the philosophy of filiality. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the Book of Filiality explains that filiality consist of two aspects: love and reverence. The dichotomy between love and reverence is crucial in the philosophy of filiality, because the dichotomy enables filiality to be extended to loyalty to monarchal authority; since filiality and loyalty share the element of reverence, according to the Book of Filiality, to be filial means to revere the authority of society as well as the authority of parents. In this book, reverence is asserted to be expressed ritually, based on the prescriptions of rites, and the contents of filiality are described as following rites. Furthermore, the latter half of the Book of Filiality equates filiality with rites more overtly. The ideas in the book bear a resemblance to those of Xun Qing, and there is a possibility that his concept of rites had some influence on the writer or the writers of the Book of Filiality (or the other way around). At least, it would be

certain that Xun Qing's concept helped develop the philosophy of filiality.

Finally, Xun Qing developed the concept of remonstrance, which was also an important contribution to the philosophy of filiality. This concept is found in both the Analects and the Mencius, but the Xunzi gives the more overt expression to it, particularly in the "Zidao 子道 (the way of son)" chapter. As mentioned before, the Zidao chapter is understood to have been written after the death of Xun Qing, but it includes traditions that his school handed down, so it is still possible to think of the chapter as reflecting his thought. The concept of remonstrance is the natural result of his ideas discussed above. Because a filial son is defined as a son who is responsible to social codes expressed in rites, he should, from the viewpoint of social ethics, want his parents to follow social norms.

Being filial inside and reverent outside is men's small conduct. Obedience to authority and sincerity to subordinates are men's middle conduct. Following the Way, not the Sovereign, and following rightness, not one's father, are men's great conduct. If one's will is satisfied with the rites and his speech follows the categories (of rites), the Confucian way is perfect in him. Even Yao or Shun can add nothing to him.

There are three cases in which a filial son does not obey (his father's) command. (First), the case in which his parents will be in danger if he obeys it but safe if he does not; it is a matter of sincerity not to obey it. (Second,) the case in which his parents will disgrace themselves if he obeys it but prosper if he does not; it is a matter of rightness not to obey it. (Third,) the case in which his parents will be only worthy of being beasts if he obeys it but will be adorned and cultured if he does not; it is (in accord

with) respect not to obey it. Therefore, if he does not obey his parents' command when he should do so, he is not (worthy of) being a son; if he obeys their command when he should not, he is not sincere. Being aware of the appropriate times for obedience and disobedience, being able to fulfill (the virtues) such as reverence, loyalty and sincerity, and carrying them out with care; these can be called great filial piety. The saying "following the Way, not the sovereign; following rightness, not father", has this meaning. Therefore, able not to lose his respect in spite of hard labor and weariness, able not to lose his righteousness in spite of misfortune and hardship, and able not to lose his affection in spite of unfortunately being hated (by parents) as an unfilial son; these cannot be done except by a Humane Man. An ode says "a filial son will never be lacking", which has this meaning.

入孝出弟、人之小行也。上順下篤、人之中行也。從道不從君、從義不從父、人之大行也。若夫志以禮安、言以類使、則儒道畢矣。雖堯瞬不能加毫末於是矣。

孝子之不從命有三。從命則親危、不從命則親安、孝子不從命乃衷。從命則親辱、不從命則親榮、孝子不從命乃義。從命則禽獸、不從命則脩飾、孝子不從命乃敬。故可以從命而不從、是不子也。未可以從而從、是不衷也。明於從不從之義、而能致恭敬・忠信・端慤、以慎行之、則可謂大孝矣。傳曰、從道不從君、從義不從父、此之謂也。

故勞苦彫萃、而無失其敬、災禍患難、而能無失其義、則不幸不順見惡、而能無失其愛、非仁人、莫能行。詩曰、孝子不匱、此之謂也。(XZ-HY p.104)

Duke Ai of Lu asked Confucius, "Is it filial piety for a son to obey his father's command? Is it righteous for a retainer to obey his sovereign's command?" He asked this question three times but Confucius did not reply.

Confucius ran with short steps to leave (the duke's palace), and said to Zigong, "A little while ago, the Prince asked Qiu (= me)

whether it is filial piety for a son to obey his father's command and whether it is righteous for a retainer to obey his sovereign's command. He asked this question three times, but Qiu (= I) did not reply. Ci (= Zigong), what do you think?"

Zigong said, "It is filial piety for a son to obey his father's command. It is righteous for a retainer to obey his sovereign's command. Why did not you reply?"

Confucius said, "A small man you are. Ci, you do not understand. In the past, when a state of ten thousand chariots had four remonstrating retainers, its territory was not taken away. When a state of a thousand chariots had three remonstrating retainers, its She and Ji altars were not violated. If a family having a hundred chariots had two remonstrating retainers, its ancestral shrine was not destroyed. If a father had a remonstrating son, he did not behave against the rites. If a gentleman had a remonstrating friend, he did not act unjustly. Therefore, why is it filial piety for a son to obey his father? Why is it righteous for a retainer to obey his sovereign? It is called filial piety or righteous to observe and reveal (the nature of) what they should obey (or disobey)."

魯哀公問於孔子曰、子從父命、孝乎。臣從君命、貞乎。三問、孔子不對。孔子趨出、以語子貢曰、鄉者、君問丘也、曰、子從父命、孝乎。臣從君命、貞乎。三問而丘不對。賜以為何如。

子貢曰、子從父命、孝乎。臣從君命、貞乎。夫子有奚對焉。

孔子曰、小人哉、賜不識也。昔萬乘之國、有爭臣四人、則封疆不削。千乘之國、有爭臣三人、則社稷不危。百乘之家、有爭臣二人、則宗廟不毀。父有爭子、不行無禮、士有爭友、不為不義。故子從父、奚子孝。臣從君、奚臣貞。審其所以從之、之謂孝、之謂貞。(XZ-HY p.104)

The filiality Xun Qing advocates requires a son to be in accordance with social ethics, so a son must remonstrate with his parents if he loves

his parents at all. Through him social norms are brought into a family, and the absoluteness of affective harmony in the father-son relation, which is Mencius' basic theory, is denied. This concept is also important in overcoming the contradiction between filiality and government, because a filial son will reason his parents into the loyalty to government if they are against the latter. Thus, Xun Qing's filiality can work more effectively for the maintenance of social order. In addition, in the Xunzi a monarch has the same prestige as parents or ancestors (Watson p.91)<sup>[73]</sup>. Even though he does not mention the interference of laws in a family which Hanfeizi asserts (Itano 1970, p.338), he certainly makes filiality lose its superiority to monarchical government.

In brief, from his socio-centric point of view, Xun Qing unified both the division between filiality and government which the Analects had presented, and the division between filiality and society which Mencius had suggested. More precisely speaking, while Mencius overcame these contradictions by making filiality supreme, Xun Qing harmonized filial affection with social norms by using the concept of rites as a synthesis. Here we should ask if his synthesis does not damage an essential feature of filiality, that is, the affectionate relation between parents and children. Indeed Xun Qing succeeded in bringing social norms into the family. But if a son were always ready to remonstrate with his parents, following not his parents but rightness, the relation between him and his parents would be stiff and formal. Above all, is it possible to imagine an ordinary person who is consciously obedient to rightness rather than his parents in his daily life? Xun Qing did not present any clear answer to these questions, mainly because he did not concentrate on the issue of filiality, and the fact that he did not concentrate on filiality indicates that it was not important for him to discuss how the parent-child relation should be. In other words, though

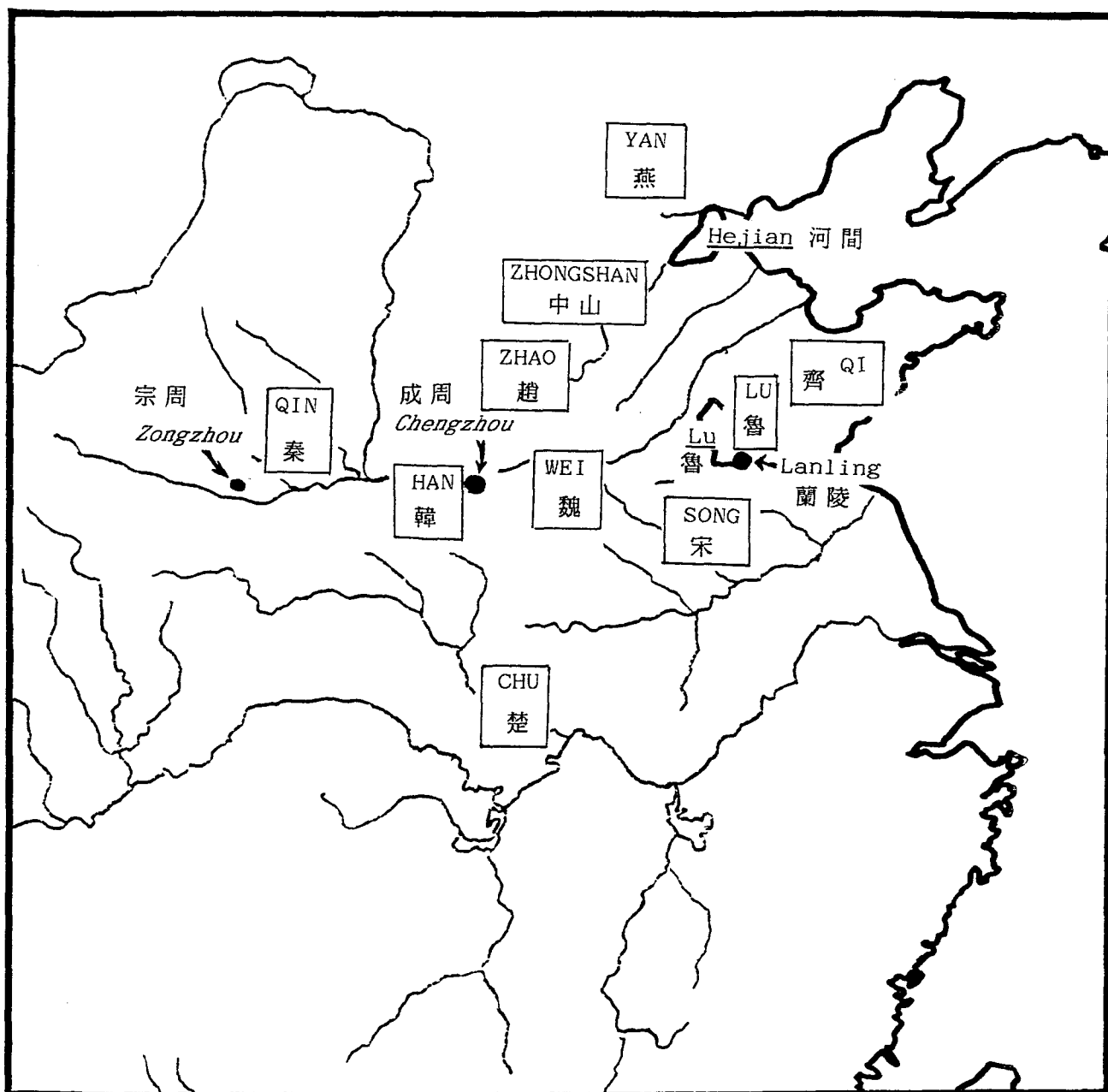


Xun Qing synthesized affection and social norms, his analysis was not fully developed concerning the essential feature of the parent-child relation. It is in the Book of Filiality and related documents that this essential feature was presented.

What we have seen in this chapter is the process in which the meaning of filiality adapted to social change. Filiality was originally obedience to the authority of lineage and a society based on lineage structure. When that structure weakened, the importance of filiality also decreased for a time, and then increased again by being given a new dimension. At first, the early stage of the Confucian school internalized and generalized filiality and emphasized its affective aspect. Though that was an important step in the process, filiality was still thought of in the context of lineage or kinship relations. It was Mencius who succeeded in giving the old concept a new meaning; he identified filiality with the goodness of human nature, and thus the discussion of filiality became a discussion, not of the father-son relationship, but of the ideal ethical way of human beings. However, Mencius went in a direction which was not in tune with the social changes in that period, because he made filiality transcendent to both society and government. This tendency was modified by Xun Qing, who identified filiality with the harmony of affection and social norms, that is rites. At this point, filiality became adapted to the new social structure, or precisely speaking, there was the possibility that filiality, which was originally a familial ethic, could be transformed to a social ethic.

Therefore, it can be said that the endeavour of these thinkers made filiality a metaphor which could convey connotations beyond its original range. Various theoretical devices for the metaphorical usage of

filiality were prepared by these thinkers, such as affectionism, the idea that "one's body is his parents' body transmitted to him", the idea of rituals as the expression of affection and the concept of remonstrance. These ideas were developed further in the philosophy of filiality.



*Zongzhou* --- Cities in the Western Zhou period

ZHONGSHAN  
中山 --- States in the Zhanguo period

Lanling --- Cities in the Zhanguo period

Hejian --- States in the Han period

FIGURE TWO: MAP

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF FILIALITY AND ITS IDEAS

We have discussed in the preceding chapter that filiality was given social and political meanings beyond the sphere of kinship relations by some Zhanguo thinkers. In this chapter we will study the Book of Filiality 孝經, in which ideas of filiality are combined and developed into a system of philosophy.

As mentioned before, the appearance of the Book of Filiality was an important turning-point in the trends of the philosophy on filiality. The book not only analyzed many elements of filiality but also constrained subsequent discussions of filiality. In other words, the Book of Filiality is worth studying for two reasons; one is that this book appeared in the last stage of philosophical endeavors trying to shift kinship ethics in a patrilineal society into general ethics in a society without lineages. That is, in Western Zhou and Chunqiu society filiality was both an ethic supporting the lineage headship which was at the heart of society, and the ethical expression of ancestor worship as a religious device supporting the lineal descent system. While the lineage system gradually collapsed in the Chunqiu and Zhanguo eras filiality lost its effectiveness, but the philosophy of filiality made this old ethic survive in a new social order by changing what filiality expressed. To study this philosophy gives us reason to study Chinese ancestor worship after the collapse of lineages, because the philosophy of filiality was the theoretical (and “theological”) basis for ancestor worship, and because it would not be too much to say this philosophy enabled ancestor worship, which was a religious phenomenon linked with the lineage system, to survive the disappearance of lineages. The Book of Filiality is the most perfect expressions of this philosophy, so it is necessary to re-construct the achievement of the book as accurately

order to know the mechanism by which ancestor worship survived. For this purpose we have to find out when, why and who wrote the book. If we can recognize the process in which the ideas of filiality were developed, moreover, it will be possible to grasp more clearly the historical conditions of the book.

Another reason to study this book is that after the book was once established the philosophy of filiality was expressed according to its interpretations, while we can find changing ideas on filiality and ancestor worship in many different commentaries on it. Generally speaking, it can be pointed out that the Chinese classics in the Confucian tradition have had the function of “catalysts” to inspire Confucian philosophers with their own thoughts. This is also the case with the Book of Filiality. The commentators comprehended the philosophy of the book in relationship to their own views of kinship and ancestor worship, and expressed their views in commentaries. Hence comes the necessity to grasp the original ideas of the book in order to consider the philosophy of the later commentaries.

As will be discussed in this chapter, the Book of Filiality is not a well-organized book; the book simply connected preceding ideas about filiality with each other rather than unified them. It is difficult, therefore, to re-construct the unitary philosophy of the book. It will be rather easy to find in the book a central logic which integrates many motifs of thought and to compare these motifs with each other. Furthermore, there are some documents whose contents seem closely related to the Book of Filiality. These documents sometimes include the same or very similar ideas, logic or episodes as those found in the book; for example, the chapter of “the Basic Filiality of Zengzi 曾子本孝” (in the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記) has the idea that filiality is not to hurt oneself, which is also found in the Book of Filiality. But, though this idea is related to passive self-protection in the “the Basic Filiality of

Zengzi”, the same idea is related to positive self-promotion in the Book of Filiality. We will call this kind of logical unit a “motif”; a document consists of many “motifs”, and the main logic of the document integrates the motifs to give the document some consistency of thought. This means that by finding the same motif in different documents and comparing how it is arranged in them we can see what kind of context a thesis was produced in, how it was inherited and developed by other documents and how it is changed into a different thesis in a different context. Thus, seeing the philosophy of filiality or the documents about it not as what a person produced at a particular time but as the accumulation of philosophical strata, we can recognize each stratum and the process of philosophical development.

Here (in this chapter and the next chapter) will be studied the Book of Filiality and six documents closely related to the Book of Filiality, as follows;

- a) The chapter on “Filial Behavior 孝行覽” in the Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋.
- b) The chapter on the “Basic Filiality of Zengzi 曾子本孝” in the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記.
- c) The chapter on the “Establishing Filiality of Zengzi 曾子立孝” in the Dadai Liji.
- d) The chapter on the “Great Filiality of Zengzi 曾子大孝” in the Dadai Liji.
- e) The chapter on “Zengzi’s Serving Parents 曾子事父母” in the Dadai Liji.
- f) A part of the chapter on the “Meaning of Rites 祭義” in the Book of Rites 禮記 (Liji)

Of these, d) and f) have the almost same contents. The second half of a) is also quite similar with d) and f). On the other hand, the first half of a) has the sentences very similar to those in the Book of Filiality.

As will be discussed later, these mean that a) can be divided into two parts, each of which has different origin. The fact that "Zengzi" is included in the titles of b), c), d) and e) seems to indicate their close relationships. In the chronological sense, except for a) which is known to have been edited in 241 B.C.E. (Lüshi Chunqiu Xiaoshi p.1886), we can only say here that the others were written between the Zhanguo period and the first half of the Western Han period (206 B.C.E.-9 C.E.), because, as Karlgren puts it, the Liji and the Dadai Liji "were pieced together in the middle of the 1st. c. B.C. from various documents current among the scholars of Western Han times; these documents were mostly pre-Han works, and their existence at any rate in the 2nd c. B.C. can easily be proved" (Karlgren 1931, p.56).

The Book of Filiality was a very popular book because it was a basic scripture in the Confucian tradition and because it was easy to read through; a tremendous number of commentaries were produced not only in traditional China but also in modern China and Japan. In other words, this book has already been studied well; in particular, Chôhachi Itano and Shin'ichirô Watanabe have studied it from the historical and philosophical point of view, and concluded that the book tried to overcome the contradiction between absolute imperial government and the autonomy of families. We can agree with their positions, but there remains room for more discussion. First, so far the six documents mentioned above have been used little to study the Book of Filiality. That is, preceding studies of the book can clarify why the philosophy of filiality, of which the Book of Filiality is the best example, was produced in the late Zhanguo to early Western Han periods, but cannot ask how ideas on filiality contributed to the book.

Secondly, though the Book of Filiality discusses political and philosophical themes, we would lose its most important attainment if we only considered its political background. The appearance of the book was

certainly related to the establishment of the Qin-Han imperial system. But we should not ignore that filiality originally meant obedience to authority of fatherhood as the core of a society based on patrilineal descent principles; filiality should have lost its effectiveness when patrilineal lineages collapsed. If filiality was to survive this social change, some theoretical devices had to be produced to identify fatherhood with society itself or with the absolute root of existence. In other words, it was necessary to shift the private feeling between parents and children into a public universal norm by using some logic, and this is what the Book of Filiality attained. In short, our main motive for studying this book is to disclose the mechanism by which the ethics of a primitive society (that is, filiality in the patrilineal descent society) were recast into that of a post-primitive society which had class differentiation and a central government. The political theory of the book will be more meaningful when we know more about this point.

Properly speaking, it would be better to deal with the documents in chronological order, but we do not know the chronological facts about most of them. So, first we will deal with bibliographical problems, especially that of the Book of Filiality, which has more sophisticated contents than other documents, then analyze the book from the philosophical point of view, and finally compare it with the other documents.

#### (1) The Appearance and Circulation of the Book of Filiality

In studying the Book of Filiality, it is important to know by whom, when and under what kind of circumstances it was written. Indeed, there have been a number of discussions about this problem.

#### The New Text and the Old Text of the Book of Filiality

As other Confucian books do, the Book of Filiality has two kinds of



texts: the Old Text (guwen 古文) and the New Text (jinwen 今文). But as far as the Book of Filiality is concerned, there is no major difference between the texts except for two points; the Old Text has an extra chapter not found in the New Text, and there is a difference of the order of one chapter, as is noted below.

The Old Text	The New Text
(1) The starting point and basic principles 開宗明義	(a) the same as (1)
(2) The Son of Heaven 天子	(b) the same as (2)
(3) The Lords 諸侯	(c) the same as (3)
(4) The Ministers 卿大夫	(d) the same as (4)
(5) The officials 士	(e) the same as (5)
(6) The common people 庶人	(f) the Common People (6)+(7)
(7) The universality of filiality 孝平	
(8) The three powers 三才	(g) the same as (8)
(9) The filial government 孝治	(h) the same as (9)
(10)The government of the sage 聖治	
(11)The grace of parents' begetting 父母生績	(i) the Government of the Sage (10)+(11)+(12)
(12)The superior and inferior forms of filiality 孝優劣	
(13)The practice of filiality 紀孝行	(j) the same as (13)
(14)The five punishments 五刑	(k) the same as (14)
(15)"The right way", further explained 廣要道	(l) the same as (15)
(16)"The Highest virtue", further explained 廣至德	(m) the same as (16)
(17)Evocation and response 應感	

(18)"Perpetuating the name", further explained 廣揚名	(n) the same as (18)
(19)The household 閨門	[NOTHING]
(20)The duty of remonstrance 諫爭	(o) the same as (20)
	(p) the same as (17)
(21)Serving the ruler 事君	(q) the same as (21)
(22)Mourning for parents 喪親	(r) the same as (22)

CHART THREE: The relationship between the Old Text and the New Text  
of the Book of Filiality

The New Text was circulated with the Commentary of Zheng 鄭注<sup>[1]</sup> and the Old Text with the Commentary of Kong Anguo 孔安國傳. During the Six Dynasties period discussions were going on about which was the "orthodox" commentary. What made the situation complicated was the disorder in the Liang 梁 dynasty (503-557 C.E.), which caused the Commentary of Kong Anguo to vanish. This commentary (and the Old Text) was re-discovered by Liu Xuan 劉炫 (d. 617) in the period of the Sui dynasty (581-618. "The Records of Books 經籍志" of the Suishu, vol.32, p.935). Those who thought the Old Text to be a fake accused Liu Xuan of forging the Old Text. Though this accusation is thought to be wrong, as Liu's own commentary (Xiaojing Shuyi 孝經述議) shows<sup>[2]</sup>, it is quite possible that the Commentary of Kong Anguo that Liu Xuan re-discovered was not the same as that of the Han period. This problem was finally resolved by Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-755) of the Tang Empire (618-907), who decided to make his own text and commentary (first in 722 and second in 743) by synthesizing both versions<sup>[3]</sup>. When his new text and commentary gained authority and popularity, the two old commentaries were neglected. However, they were preserved in Japan and were brought back to China in the eighteenth century. (See Hayasi, Shûichi 1976, p.16-18 and p.288-9). Beside, the Commentary of Zheng was preserved in Dunhuang 敦

煌. So we can re-construct the old texts and commentaries, even though they may not be exactly what they were in the Han period.

The problem is, when did the Old Text and the New Text appear? The oldest record about the Book of Filiality is found in “the Records of Arts 藝文志” of Hanshu 漢書 (ed. in c. 82 C.E.), which says;

The Book of Filiality is the words of Confucius who spoke of filiality for Zengzi. Filiality is the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth and the norm of conduct for the people. The book discusses the important points (of filiality); this is the reason the book is called the Book of Filiality. After the Han Empire was established, the Changsun family, professor Jiang Weng (the mid-1st c. B.C.E.), Minister of Privy Treasury Hou Cang (the first half of the 1st c. B.C.E.), Admonishing Officer Yi Feng (the mid-1st c. B.C.E.) and Duke of Anchang, Zhang Yu, (d. 5 B.C.E.) handed down the book and they named their commentaries after their own family names. The texts they used were the same, but only the Old Text from the wall of Kong family is different from the others. What commentators explained is not satisfactory concerning the phrases “Parents bore a child; no grace could be bigger” and “So affection is established below the knees.” In the Old Text the text and reading (of the points) are also different.

孝經者、孔子為曾子陳孝道也。夫孝、天之經、地之義、民之行也。舉大者言、故曰孝經。漢興、長孫氏、博士江翁、少府后倉、諫大夫翼奉、安昌公張禹傳之、各自名家、經文皆同。唯孔氏壁中古文為異。「父母生之、續莫大焉」「故親生之膝下」諸家說不安處。古文字讀皆異。(Hanshu vol.30, p.1719)

Though this does not tell when the texts appeared, we can learn four things from it; first, in the Western Han period there were five commentators who had the same New Text. Second, only the Old Text was different from the others. Third, the Old Text was thought to be from

“the Wall of the Kong family”. Fourth, the commentaries for the New Text had different explanations about the meaning of the book. This record seems to suggest, or tries to suggest, the superiority of the Old Text, which is not surprising because the main source of “the Records of Arts” was the Qilüe 七略 written by Liu Xin 劉歆 (53 B.C.E.–23 C.E.) who strongly supported the Old Texts. Liu Xin mentions so-called “the Old Texts from the wall of the Kong family” in “the Letter sent to the professors of Taichang 移太常博士書” as follows:

In the reign of King Gong of Lu (r. 154–129 B.C.E.), the king, by destroying the mansion of Confucius, wanted to construct his own palace, and found the Old Texts, 39 volumes of dispersed documents about the Rites and 16 volumes of the Book of Documents, in the destroyed wall (of the house). After the Tianhan era (100–97 B.C.E.), Kong Anguo (the late 2nd c. to early 1st c. B.C.E.?) presented them to the throne but the emperor did not make it public yet because of the criminal case of cursing magic (= the death of the Crown Prince who was suspected of performing cursing magic against his father, Emperor Wu. 91 B.C.E.).

及魯恭王、壞孔子宅、欲以為宮、而得古文於壞壁之中、逸禮三十九、書十六篇。天漢之後、孔安國獻之、遭巫蠱倉卒之難、未及施行。 (“The Records of King Yuan of the Chu state 楚元王列傳” of the Hanshu vol.36, p.1968).

This situation is described in “the Record of King Gong, the Lu state 魯恭王列傳” as follows:

At first King Gong liked to construct his palaces and tried to destroy the old house of Confucius to enlarge his own. (But in the process of destruction) the sounds of bells and harps were heard, so he did not dare to destroy the old house. At that time the Old Texts of books and commentaries were found in the wall.

恭王初好治宮室、壞孔子舊宅以廣其宮、聞鐘磬琴瑟之聲、遂不敢復壞、於其

壁中得古文經傳。(Hanshu p.2413)

Obviously in those days there was a popular tradition that the Old Texts were found in the wall of the old house which used to be inhabited by Confucius but these two records do not mention the Book of Filiality. On the other hand, “the Records of Arts” of the Hanshu says about the Shangshu 尚書;

At the end of the Emperor Wu era (140–87 B.C.E.), King Gong of the Lu state tried to destroy the house of Confucius to enlarge his palace and found several tens of volumes, all of which were written in old characters, including the Old Text of the Book of Documents, the Analects and the Book of Filiality. Because Kong Anguo was a descendant (of Confucius) he gained all of these --- and presented them to the Throne. But they were not included in (the texts of) the office of studies because of the criminal case of cursing magic.

武帝末、魯恭王壞孔子宅、欲以廣其宮、而得古文尚書及禮記、論語、孝經凡數十篇、皆古字也。孔安國者孔子後也、--- 悉得其書、--- 安國獻之、遭巫蠱事、未列學官。(Hanshu p.1706)

The statement of Liu Xiang 劉向 (c. 77–6 B.C.E.) referred to by the Qianhanji 前漢紀 also says;

When King Gong of the Lu state tried to destroy the house of Confucius to enlarge his palace, he found the Old Text of the Book of Documents which had 16 volumes more (than the New Text), the Analects and the Book of filiality. In the reign of Emperor Wu, Kong Anguo presented them to the Throne but they were not established in the office of studies because of the criminal case of cursing magic.

魯恭王壞孔子宅、以廣其宮、得古文尚書、多十六篇、及論語、孝經。武帝時、孔安國家獻之。會巫蠱事、未列於學官。(vol.25, p.2)

Depending on these documents, the Old Texts found in the wall of the old Confucius' house in the Emperor Wu period were thought to include the Book of Documents, the Analects and the Book of Filiality. According to

Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, this discovery was between 140 and 129 B.C.E. because King Gong was on the throne from 154 to 129 B.C.E. and Emperor Wu came to the throne in 140 B.C.E. (1985 p.38). This view was widely accepted in the documents of later periods, such as the Jingdian Shiwen 經典釋文 (ed. in c. 583) and “the Records of Books 經籍志” of the Suishu 隋書 (ed. in 636). For example, “Introductory Record 序錄” of the Jingdian Shiwen says;

There is the Old Text of the Book of Filiality which came from the wall of Confucius’ house. This has an additional chapter on “household”, and except for this chapter the text is divided into eighteen chapters, so the whole text has twenty-two chapters. Kong Anguo made a commentary for it. When Liu Xiang proofread and edited books, he fixed it at eighteen chapters. Ma Rong made a commentary for it in the Eastern Han period but this was not handed down.<sup>[4]</sup>

又有古文孝經、出於孔氏壁中、別有閨門一章、自餘分析十八章、總為二十二章、孔安國作傳、劉向校書、定為十八。後漢馬融又作古文孝經傳、而世不傳。(Jingdian Shiwen Xulu Shuzheng 經典釋文序錄疏証 p.133)

The contents of the Suishu is almost identical<sup>[5]</sup>.

But even if we believe that some documents belonging to the Old Text tradition were discovered in Confucius’ house, it is doubtful whether the Old Text of the Book of Filiality was included among them. The reasons for this doubt is that the actual contents of “the Old Texts from the wall of Confucius’ house 孔氏壁中古文” differ according to the sources. Generally speaking, in the later sources “the Old Texts from the wall of Confucius’ house” include more documents than in earlier sources, as Chen Mengjia has pointed out (1985 p.38-41). Possibly, the Old Texts which were found at many places in different times were included among those found in “the wall of the Confucius house” to authorize them. Another description found in “a Memorial to Present the Shuowen to the Throne 上說文表”, written by Xu Chong 許冲 in 121 C.E.,

mentions a different origin for the Old Text of the Book of Filiality;

The Old Text of the Book of Filiality was presented to the Throne by the community officers of the Lu state in the reign of Emperor Zhao (86–74 B.C.E) and proofread and edited by Wei Hong (the first half of the 1st c. C.E.), Councilor of the Interior Service office, in the era of Jianwu (25–56 C.E.). Because it used to be orally handed down, there was no commentary for it in the government. Therefore, I wrote a volume of commentary and now present them to the Throne together.<sup>[6]</sup>

古文孝經者、孝昭帝時、魯國三老所獻、建武時給事中議郎衛宏所校、皆口傳、官無其說、謹撰具一篇並上。(Shuowen Jiezi Zhu vol.15–2, p.12)

According to this report, the Old Text of the Book of Filiality appeared in the Lu state in the era of Emperor Zhao, and was revised in the early Eastern Han period, but there was no commentary. Duan Yucai 段玉裁 thinks that the Old Text of the Book of Filiality was found in “the wall of Confucius’ house”, owned by Kong Anguo and then presented to the Throne by a community officer<sup>[7]</sup> (Shuowen Jiezi Zhu vol.15–2, p.12). His understanding reconciles the conflict between this information and that of “the Record of Arts”. But supposing that the Old Text had been once owned by Kong Anguo, it would have been more reasonable to assume that Kong himself presented it to the Throne. These two pieces of information point to different traditions based on different origins. We do not know what kind of source Xu Chong used, but it is possible that Xu Shen 許慎 (c. 58–147 C.E.), Xu Chong’s father, got this information when he learned of the Old Text.

Thus, there are two theories concerning the appearance of the Old Text of the Book of Filiality, and both theories have weak points. Which is nearer to the facts? For this, suggestive information can be found in “Introduction” of the Commentary of Kong Anguo;

Later, King Gong of Lu made the people destroy the Master’s lecture

hall and found the Old Text of the Book of Filiality in twenty-two chapters, in a stone box which was in the wall. The characters were written on bamboo tablets, which were a foot and two inches long, and the style of the characters was a tadpole style. Kong Zihui, a community officer of the Lu state, brought it to the imperial capital and presented it to the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven made many Confucians, Bachelors Waiting for Edicts at Golden Horse Gate, and professors copy it in Li style-characters and, returning a copy to Zihui, gave a copy to Huo Guang (d. 68 B.C.E.), his favorite. Guang liked it very much and brought it into conversation. In those days all the kings, dukes and nobles thought it as mysterious as imperial secret collections. So, everybody under the Heaven earnestly desired to study it but none succeeded. Whenever messengers were sent to the Lu state, they tried to get (some Old Texts) by using social connections. The people who liked the curious tried to gather them with money and silk and asked each other about what was left. The officers of the Lu state, whenever they went to the imperial capital, always brought them to meet their travel expenses.

後魯恭王使人壞夫子講堂、於壁中石函、得古文孝經二十二章、載在竹牒、其長尺有二寸、字科斗形。魯三老孔子惠抱詣京師、獻之天子、天子使金馬門待詔學士與博士群儒、從隸字寫之、還子惠一通、以一通賜所幸侍中霍光、光甚好之、言為口實、時王公貴人咸神秘焉、比於禁方、天下競欲求學、莫能得者、每使者至魯、輒以人事請索、或好事者募以錢帛、用相問遺、魯吏有帝都者、無不齎持以行路之資。(Wakokubon Keisho Shûsei vol.6, p.516)

There are many discussions of the reliability of the Commentary of Kong Anguo, and most of them agree that the commentary was not written by Kong Anguo in the Western Han period, but “somebody in the Six Dynasties period wrote it on the pretext that it was written by Kong Anguo” (Hayashi, Shûichi 1976 p.247)<sup>[8]</sup>. It is certain this commentary is fake in a sense, but we can still use it as a document of the Six Dynasties



period. We do not know what kind of source this commentary was based on, and it is difficult to evaluate its reliability. However, what is worth attention is that this commentary accords with “a Memorial to Present the Shuowen to the Throne” about the period when the Old Text of the Book of Filiality appeared, because Huo Guang was a secretary (shizhong 侍中) in the later half of Emperor Wu period and became premier in the Emperor Zhao period. Besides, this document suggests that not only one but many Old Texts appeared. This accords with the conclusion that Chen Mengjia drew about “the Old Texts from the Wall of Confucius’ House” (1985 p.41). It is more reasonable to assume that some Old Texts were often “discovered” in various places than to think all the Old Texts were found in just one destruction of “the Wall of Confucius’ House”.

The appearance of the New Text is not necessarily clear, either. There is no doubt on that it appeared earlier than the Old Text, but “the Records of Arts” of the Hanshu never mentions how the New Text appeared. However, much later documents provide more detailed information. For example, “Introductory Records” of the Jingdian Shiwen 經典釋文 says,

Seeing the burning (of Confucian books that was made by First Emperor of the Qin empire,) Yan Zhi of Hejian hid it (= the New Text of the Book of Filiality) because of the prohibition of Qin from owning books. The Han family respected studies, and Zhen, a son of Zhi, made it public. This is the New Text.

亦遭焚燼、河間人顏芝為禁、藏之。漢氏尊學、芝子貞出之、是為今文。

(Jingdian Shiwen Xulu Shusheng p.133)

“The Records of Books 經籍志” of the Suishu 隋書 provides almost the same information (p.935). Though we cannot know what kind of source the Jingdian Shiwen depended on, the Book of Filiality is assumed to have been made public by Yan Zhen in the early Western Han period because Yan Zhi, Yan Zhen’s father, is said to have lived in the Qin period (221–206

B.C.E.).

The “introduction” of the Commentary of Kong Anguo says;  
Because First Emperor of the Qin empire burned books and buried Confucians alive, the Book of Filiality was not handed down. After the Han empire emerged, at the beginning of the Jianyuan era (140–135 B.C.E.), the king of the Hejian state acquired this text and presented it to the Throne. It had eighteen chapters and there were many mistakes in the characters. Professors extensively used it in their lectures.

及秦始皇焚書坑儒、孝經由是絕而不傳、至漢興、建元之初、河間王得而獻之、凡十八章、文字多誤、博士頗以教授。(Wakokubon vol.6, p.516)

According to this, the New Text of the Book of Filiality appeared through Liu De 劉德, King Xian 獻王 of the Hejian 河間 state (r. 155–130 B.C.E.). Though the Commentary of Kong Anguo is not necessarily reliable, it is logically possible that King Xian acquired the New Text of the Book of Filiality. For King Xian seems to have gathered quite many Confucian books and scholars, as “the Records of Thirteen Kings of Emperor Jing 景十三王傳” of the Hanshu 漢書 and “the Hereditary Families of Five Stems 五宗世家” of the Shiji 史記 (ed. in 91 B.C.E.) say<sup>[9]</sup>. If these documents are reliable at all, it would be reasonable to assume a relationship between Yan Zhi who lived in the Hejian state and King Xian of the Hejian state. Thus, Tang scholars seem to have admitted that the New Text of the Book of Filiality that Yan Zhi first acquired was handed down to King Xian, who presented it to the Throne. For example, the Xiaojing Shuyi 孝經述議 of Liu Xuan 劉炫 says;

After the Burning Books (of First Emperor), Yan Zhi in the Hejian district acquired and hid it (= the New Text of the Book of Filiality). The family of Han received the Mandate of Heaven and respected the sacred way. Therefore, Yuan<sup>[10]</sup>, son of Zhi, published it unofficially. At the beginning of the Jianyuan era, the king of the

Hejian state acquired it and presented it to the Throne. Based on these facts, what the king of the Hejian state acquired is the New Text that Yan Zhi hid.

焚書之後、河間之人顏芝受而藏之、漢氏受命、尊尚聖道、芝子員出之民間。  
建元初、河間王得而獻之、然則、河間所得、顏芝所藏者也。(p.83)

Beside, Xing Bing's 邢昺 (932-1010) Xiaojing Zhengyi 孝經正義 says,

Sima Zhen, Jijiu of Guozi(jian, in the Tang period,) discussed and said that the New Text of the Book of Filiality is the text of Yan Zhi that was owned by the king of the Hejian state in the Han period.

國子祭酒司馬貞議曰、今文孝經是漢河間王所得顏芝本。(XJZS, xu 序, p.1)

We cannot decide that these pieces of information are completely reliable, but it seems highly possible that the Confucians in the Hejian district played a role in the edition and circulation of the Book of Filiality, as Shin'ichirô Watanabe has discussed (1986 p.65). The book probably began to be widely known in the era of King Xian.

To sum up, it is reasonable to assume that the New Text of the Book of Filiality received publicity in the mid-second century B.C. and the Old Text in the late second century B.C.

#### Documents that cite the Book of Filiality

What is discussed above concerns the process in which the Book of Filiality became well-known. Naturally, this process should be distinguished from the time when the book was written. To what extent we can trace back the composition of the book? The direct and most satisfactory solution would be to identify its author, but this is very difficult to do. There have been many discussions of this issue and here we summarize them, following He Zihuang (1986 p.41-53). He classifies the discussions into ten categories: (1) The hypothesis of the book's being written by Confucius, (2) by Zeng Can 曾參, (3) a disciple of Zeng

Can, (4) by Zisi 子思, (5) by some of "Seventy disciples of Confucius 七十子之徒", (6) by Mencius, (7) by a disciple of Mencius, (8) first written by a disciple of Confucius' disciples and then revised by a Confucianist in a later period, (9) by a Confucianist in the Han period, (10) by a Confucianist in the Zhanguo period. We can add to them Shin-ichirô Watanabe's theory that will be discussed later: (11) by a Confucianist belonging to the Hanshi 韓詩 school. Of these theories, (1) and (2) are impossible, because Chapter One says, "Zhongni was at leisure and Zengzi (i.e. Master Zeng) attended him. The Master said --- 仲尼居、曾子侍。子曰 ---" (Makra p.3); it is difficult to assume that the author of the book calls himself "master". (4) has too little evidence. (6) can be supported by the philosophical resemblance between the Book of Filiality and Mencius, because Mencius emphasized filiality, as was discussed in the last chapter. Another piece of supporting evidence is Zhao Qi's 趙岐 "the Interpretation of the Title (of Mencius) 題辭解", which says, "What was written by Mencius --- Besides, there are four volumes of the External Books: the Discussion of the Human Nature as Goodness, the Discussion of Literature, the Book of Filiality and Doing Justice. 孟子之著書 ---又有外書四篇。性善辯、文說、孝經、為正。" But this is not enough to assert that the Book of Filiality was written by Mencius, as Zhao goes on to say, "Their sentences cannot be made broad or deep, nor are they consistent with the Internal Volumes. They are not genuine books written by Mencius. 其文不能弘深、與內篇不相似。非孟子之本真。" (MZZS p.3). (3), (5), (7) and (8) can stand in a broad sense, but they can suggest only that the book was written in the Zhanguo period. After all, discussions about the time when the Book of Filiality was written are divided as well; that is, was it written in the Zhanguo period, or in the Han period?

A way to solve this problem is to trace the documents which cite the Book of Filiality; if documents written in the Zhanguo period or the

early Han period cite the book, it must have been produced before then. We can find seven examples in which the Book of Filiality is cited, as follows:

(1) Liu Zhao's 劉昭 (the early 6th c.) commentary for "The Records of Rituals 2 祭祀志中" of the Houhanshu 後漢書 cites "the Commentary for the Book of Filiality 孝經傳" written by Duke Wen of Wei 魏文侯 (r. 445–396 B.C.E., p.3179)<sup>[11]</sup>. If this is reliable at all, it means that the Book of Filiality was already written in the early Zhanguo period. But this document is not mentioned in any sources of the Han era, though it is cited in a few later books (Ma Guohan p.1598). It is quite possible that it was written in (or after) the Han period, but attributed to Duke Wen.

(2) The Zuozhuan says in "the Twenty-fifth year of the Duke Zhao", "Zi-taishu ----- replied and said ----- that the Rites are the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth and the (norm of) conduct for the people. 子太叔 ---對曰、--- 夫禮、天之經也、地之義也、民之行也" (CQ-HY p.414). This sentence is very similar to that in Chapter Eight of the Book of Filiality, "The Master replied, 'Filiality is the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth and the norm of conduct for the people.' 子曰、夫孝、天之經也、地之義也、民之行也" (Makra p.15). Some relationship between these passages can be assumed; if the Book of Filiality influenced the Zuozhuan, it would mean that the book existed when the Zuozhuan was established, that is, around the middle or late Zhanguo period. But, as Yoshio Takeuchi has pointed out, it is also possible to assume that the Zuozhuan influenced the Book of Filiality (vol.2, p.89). In addition, in the Book of Rites there are sometimes sentences similar to the Book of Filiality, but it is difficult to decide the relationship in most cases<sup>[12]</sup>.

(3) The Chawei 察微 chapter of the Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋 cites a sentence in Chapter Three of the Book of Filiality: "The Book of Filial-

ity says, 'He will not incur peril in spite of his high position; this is the way to preserve his rank forever. (By such moderation his cup of wealth) is full without wasteful overflow; this is the way to preserve his wealth forever. His wealth and high position do not leave him, and thus he will be able to retain possession of his state and keep his subjects in peace.' 孝經曰、高而不危、所以長守貴也。滿而不溢、所以長守富也。富貴不離其身、然後能保其社稷、而和其民人。” (Lüshi Chunqiu Xiaoshi p.1003). In addition, the chapter on “Filial Behavior 孝行覽” in this same book has sentences similar to those in Chapter Two of the Book of Filiality;

Therefore, he (= an early king) loves his parents does not dare to hate others. He reverences his parents does not dare to act contemptuously toward others. By love and reverence being perfectly fulfilled in the service of his parents, his brilliant (virtue) is applied to the people and spreads over (the world surrounded by) the four seas. This is the filiality of the Son of Heaven.

故愛其親、不敢惡人。敬其親、不敢慢人。愛敬盡於事親、光耀加於百姓、究於四海、此天子之孝也。(Lüshi Chunqiu Xiaoshi p.731)

The Master said: “He who loves his parents does not dare to be hostile to others. He who reverences his parents does not dare to be contemptuous toward others. By love and reverence being perfectly fulfilled in the service of his parents, his moral influence is applied to the people and becomes a pattern for (all the world surrounded by) the four seas. This in general is the filiality of the Son of Heaven. (The Book of Filiality, Makra p.5)

子曰、愛親者、不敢惡於人。敬親者、不敢慢於人。愛敬盡於事親、而德教加於百姓、刑乎四海、蓋天子之孝也。

This cannot be a coincidence. We will have a chance to discuss this later, especially in the next chapter.

(4) Zhao Qi's 趙岐 “the Interpretation of the Title (of Mencius) 題辭解”

says, “Emperor Xiao-wen --- appointed professors for the Analects, the Book of Filiality, the Mencius and the Erya. 孝文皇帝 ---論語・孝經・孟子・爾雅、皆置博士” (MZZS p.3). If this is correct, it means that the Book of Filiality had already existed in the reign of Emperor Wen (179-157 B.C.E.). It is not clear, however, what source Zhao Qi depended on, and, generally speaking, it is difficult to assume that the book was officially recognized by the emperor, because other sources show that the book became widely known in or after the period of Emperor Jing, as we have discussed, though it is true that Emperor Wen appointed “the Professors for each scripture 一經博士” (“the Autobiography of Di Pu 翟酉甫” of the Houhanshu)<sup>[13]</sup>, and that there were about seventy professors in his reign<sup>[14]</sup>. Zhao Qi’s statement may be based on guesswork. (See Togawa 1987, p.43).

(5) In Lu Jia’s 陸賈 (c. 240-170 B.C.E.) Xinyu 新語 there are four sentences similar to those in the Book of Filiality<sup>[15]</sup>. These are definitely the citations of some earlier documents, because two of them say “the Master said 子曰 ---”, and one of them says “therefore, it is said that 故曰 ---”. In addition, one sentence, “Confucius says, ‘Early kings possessed the highest virtue and the vital way of keeping the world ordered.’ 孔子曰、先王有至德要道、以順天下”, is unique to Chapter One of the Book of Filiality. It can be assumed from these passages that the Book of Filiality, at least the cited parts, had been established by the time when the Xinyu was written, that is, the early Western Han period<sup>[16]</sup>. It is worthy of attention that the Xinyu never mention the title of the Book of Filiality, “Xiaojing 孝經”.

(6) The chapter on “Wuxing Dui 五行對” in Dong Zhongshu’s 董仲舒 (c. 179-104 B.C.E.) Chunqiu Fanlu 春秋繁露 says, “King Xian of the Hejian state asked Mr. Dong of Wencheng, ‘The Book of Filiality says that filiality is the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth; what does it mean?’ 河間獻王問溫城董君曰、孝經曰、夫孝、天之經、地之義、何謂也。”

This sentence is found in Chapter Eight of the Book of Filiality.

Besides, Dong Zhongshu's report to the Throne, which is recorded in "the Autobiography of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒" of the Hanshu, cites a sentence from Chapter Ten: "Confucius says, 'Of the natures (of all beings) in the world, human beings are the most honored.' 孔子曰、天地之性、人為貴" (the Hanshu p.2518).

(7) The Shiji 史記 mentions the title of the Book of Filiality once, and it has four sentences similar to those of the book. It is especially important for Sima Qian 司馬遷 (d. 86? B.C.E.) to write in his "Autobiographic postface 自序", "In addition, begun in the service of our parents, continued in the service of the superior, filiality is completed in establishing one's own (moral) character. To perpetuate our name for future generations and to give glory to our parents; this is the greatness of filiality. 且夫孝始於事親、中於事君、終於立身。揚名於後世、以顯父母、此孝之大者。" (p.3295); these sentences are almost the same as those in Chapter One of the Book of filiality. This shows that the philosophy of the book was something that Sima Qian followed in life; that is, that the book was deeply accepted by intellectuals of that period <sup>[17]</sup>.

It is unnecessary to deal with the documents after the Shiji because the Book of Filiality became very popular rapidly after the middle of the Western Han period. Summing up the situation presented above, we can see that the title of the book is first mentioned in the Lüshi Chunqiu of the late Zhanguo period and then in such mid-Western Han documents as the Chunqiu Fanlu or the Shiji. However, the Xinyu of the early Western Han period cites the book but does not mention its title. Therefore, a key to solving the chronological problem lies in how to deal with the Lüshi Chunqiu. Scholars who think that the Book of Filiality was written in the Western Han period assert that the part of "the Book of Filiality says" in the "Chawei 察微" chapter was an inter-



linear gloss incorporated by mistake into the text (Xu Fuguan 1975, p.180, Watanabe 1986 p.58). On the contrary, those who think the book was produced before the Qin Empire never forget to mention this as a proof.

To inquire whether the Lüshi Chunqiu really cited the Book of Filiality, we have to consider the contents of the “Chawei” chapter. The portion in question of the “Chawei” chapter reads like this:

If the differences between order and disorder or between life and death were as clear as the difference between high mountains and deep valleys or between white mortar and black lacquer, there would be no room for insight; a fool could deal with it. This difference is not so. It seems knowable and seems unknowable. It seems visible and seems invisible. This is the reason that the clever and the wise carefully consider to recognize the difference. ----

Generally speaking, the best way to maintain a state is to know the beginning, the next one is to know the end and the third one is to know the middle. If a ruler is incapable of these three, he will necessarily put his state in danger and himself in distress. The Book of Filiality says, “He will not incur peril in spite of his high position; this is the way to preserve his rank forever. (By such moderation his cup of wealth) is full without wasteful overflow; this is the way to preserve his wealth forever. His wealth and high position do not leave him, and thus he will be able to retain possession of his state and keep his subjects in peace.” (The kings of) the Chu state was not capable of this.

使治亂存亡若高山之與深溪、若白晝之與黑漆、則無所用智、雖愚猶可矣、且治亂存亡則不然、如可知、如不可知、如可見、如不可見、故智士賢者相與積心愁慮、以求之。---

凡持國、太上知始、其次知終、其次知中。三者不能、國必危、身必窮。孝經曰、高而不危、所以長守貴也。滿而不溢、所以長守富也。富貴不離其身、然

後能保其社稷、而和其民人。楚不能之也。(Lüshi Chunqiu Xiaoshi p.1003)

First, these passages have no relation to filiality. Second, the cited sentences, which assert that moderation enables peaceful government, do not have an essential relationship with the main theme of the “Chawei” chapter, which is the importance of penetrative ability. We cannot but say that the title of our book is mentioned abruptly. Third, the “Filial Behavior” chapter of the Lüshi Chunqiu discusses filiality as its main topic and definitely has a close relationship to the Book of Filiality, but never mentions the title of the book. If we suppose that the title of the Book of Filiality existed when the Lüshi Chunqiu was written, these situations are quite unnatural. Furthermore, if the title of the Book of Filiality was established at the time of the Lüshi Chunqiu, it would be difficult to explain why the title was not mentioned for the following hundred years, though it is clear that sentences from the book were cited by Lu Jia. Every evidence suggests that the sentences referred to by the “Chawei” chapter of the Lüshi Chunqiu are doubtful. At least, the phrase of “the Book of Filiality says (Xiaojing yue 孝經曰)” in the “Chawei” chapter must have been added by mistake in a later period.

Based on the above discussion, we can conclude that the fact that the “Chawei” chapter has some sentences the same as those in the Book of Filiality does not necessarily support the case that the Book of Filiality was written before the Qin period. It is possible that the cited sentences are the result of confusion or, that only the phrase of “the Book of Filiality says” is a mistaken addition. Even if the latter is case, it does not prove the existence of the book when the Lüshi Chunqiu was edited, because there is a possibility that the Book of Filiality refers to the Lüshi Chunqiu. (The relationship between the “Filial Behavior” chapter of the Lüshi Chunqiu and the Book of Filiality is more important to consider the chronological problem, and it will be dis-

cussed in the next chapter when we analyze the content of “Filial Behavior”.) So far, the earliest undoubted citation of the book is found in documents of the early Western Han period, and the title of the book is mentioned first in documents of the middle Western Han period. We can assume that the Book of Filiality already existed when Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (Liu Bang 劉邦) of the Han Empire ascended the throne in 221 B.C., though the book might have been different from what it is now.

This assumption, however, should be considered with certain qualifications. The fact that the title of the Book of Filiality did not appear until the middle Western Han period suggests the possibility that the book was not recognized for a certain period as it is recognized by us. In other words, the fact that the Xinyu 新語 cited the book does not prove that the whole book existed at that time but shows only that the cited sentences existed. So far, we have considered the problem from the viewpoint that the Book of Filiality was written by one person at a certain time. But it is really worth considering the hypothesis that the book was the result of the accumulation of documents that were written by different people at different times. This kind of hypothesis is found in some commentaries, and its best example is Zhu Xi's; he thinks that Chapters One (“the starting point and basic principles”) to Seven (“the universality of filiality”) are “the statements of questions and answers between the Master and Zengzi, and they are what disciples of Zengzi recorded. 夫子曾子問答之言而曾子門人之所記也.” He also says, “I wonder whether(, in) the so-called Book of Filiality, its principal text is merely like this (= Chapters One to Seven). The following passages may be various citations from traditions and records, which interpret the text, that is, the tradition (i.e. commentary) on the Book of Filiality. 疑所謂孝經者、其本文止如此、其下則或者雜引傳記以釋經、乃孝經之傳也。” (Xiaojing Kanwu vol.1, p.2). To think about this problem, we have to study the philosophical contents of the book and decide whether it can

be divided into different philosophical strata. If it can be, the process in which the strata were developed should be made clear by comparing them with the other documents mentioned earlier. But before going to this issue, let us here briefly discuss the philosophical tradition or schools to which the Book of Filiality was related.

#### Watanabe's theory

Shin'ichirô Watanabe (1986) proves that the Book of Filiality was edited by some Confucian belonging to the Hanshi 韓詩 tradition in the early Western Han period (the middle of the second c. B.C.E.). The evidence he presents is the verse of shi quoted in Chapter Seventeen of the Old Text and the Dunhuang texts. This verse, "From the east to the west, From the south to the north, No one thought of disobeying 自東自西、自南自北、無思不服" (Makra, p.35) is originally a part of the ode "Wenwang Yousheng 文王有聲 (Ode No.244)", but in the present text of the Book of Odes, which belongs to the tradition of Maoshi 毛詩, this verse is "from the west to the east 自西自東 ---" (MSZS vol.16-5, p.259). The text of the Hanshi, which is included in the Hanshi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳, corresponds with the Book of Filiality (See Karlgren 1931, p.27). Therefore, the writer of the book consulted the text of the Hanshi tradition and he probably belonged to that tradition (Watanabe 1986, p.66-67). According to He Zihuang, the Book of Filiality tends to conclude its discussions by citing phrases from the Book of Odes, and the Hanshi Waizhuan also has this tendency (p.33). Besides, as Chôhachi Itano has pointed out (1955), it is worthy of attention that the Hanshi Waizhuan shows deep concern for filiality; an episode in vol.2 deals with the contradiction between filiality and loyalty. Another episode, in vol.10, has a style quite similar to that of sentences in Chapter Twenty in the Book of Filiality <sup>[18]</sup>. Though we cannot assert that the Hanshi school composed the Book of Filiality, it is highly possible that some Con-

fucians belonging to that school were related to the edition of the book.

On the other hand, there is some counter-evidence against Watanabe's theory. First, it is assumed that Confucians in the Hejian district played an important role in the edition of the Book of Filiality, as is discussed above. Watanabe also admits this possibility, but says that the Confucian school in the Hejian district was influenced positively by the Maoshi tradition, because Maogong 毛公 (Mao Chang 毛萇, the mid-second c. B.C.E.), one of the founders of the Maoshi school, was appointed professor by King Xian of Hejian (Hanshu vol.88, p.3614. See Karlgren 1931, p.13-15). So, if Watanabe is right when he says, "The collection and compilation of Confucian documents were very popular around the Hejian state and --- the Book of Filiality was included among them" (1986 p.65), it would have been more reasonable for it to follow the Maoshi text. The second problem is that there may have existed many texts of the Book of Filiality, not just one; that is, though some texts had the quoted verse as "from the east to the west", the other texts may have reversed the order to "from the west to the east". For example, Cai Yong's 蔡邕 (132-192 C.E.) Mingtang Lun 明堂論, which is quoted in the commentary on "the Record of Rituals" of the Houhanshu, refers to the part in question as "from the west to the east"<sup>[19]</sup>. If we suppose that there was no correction when Cai Yong quoted it, it means that in the Eastern Han period there was a different text of the Book of Filiality, which quoted the ode as "from the west to the east". All Dunhuang texts (that is, the texts of Zheng's commentary) of the Book of Filiality follow the Hanshi text of the Book of Odes, as Watanabe asserts, so it is certain that the text of Zheng's commentary put the part in question as "from the east to the west". But this fact cannot determine that the original text of Kong Anguo's commentary put it the same, because the present text of the Old Text could have been influenced by the New Text

(= the text of Zheng's commentary) when the Old Text re-appeared in the Sui dynasty. Furthermore, as Zhu Xi discussed, it is highly possible that the quoted odes in the Book of Filiality were added to the text later (Xiaojing Kanwu p.11). This does not necessarily mean that the quoted odes are "fake" but that the quoted odes belongs to the newest stratum in the process by which various ideas were accumulated into the Book of Filiality. In brief, indeed the Hanshi school played a role in composing the Book of Filiality, but we do not have to think that only that school wrote the book.

Watanabe also summarizes the characteristic feature of the Hanshi School as the synthesis of Mencius' thought with Xunzi's, and asserts that the main theme of the Book of Filiality is also a synthesis of Mencius and Xunzi. He is right, but the synthesis of Mencius and Xunzi was not only a concern of the Hanshi School. It was more or less shared by every Confucian philosopher during the late Zhanguo to Han periods. A typical example is the school which produced and handed down many documents of the Book of Rites. According to "the Biographies of Confucians 儒林傳" of the Hanshu, the scholastic tradition of this school was as follows (Hanshu vol.88, p.3615):

Xiao Fen 蕭奮	—	Meng Qing 孟卿	—	Hou Cang 后倉	└	Dai De 戴德
					└	Dai Sheng 戴聖

Xiao Fen (the mid-2nd c. B.C.E.?) seems to have been a disciple of Xu Sheng 徐生 (the first half of the 2nd c. B.C.E.?) and, Xu Sheng is the same person as Xugong 徐公, who is said to have studied the Book of Odes under Shengong 申公 (c. 220-135 B.C.E., Hanshu vol.88, p.3608), a disciple's disciple of Xun Qing, according to Yoshio Takeuchi (vol.8, p.388). On the other hand, Meng Qing (the latter half of the 2nd to early 1st c. B.C.E.?), who studied the rites under Xiao Fen and lived in Lanling 蘭陵, also studied in the Gongyang 公羊 school (Hanshu vol.88, p.3616) which was much influenced by Mencius. He made Meng Xi 孟喜 (the

first half of the 1st c. B.C.E.), his son, study the Book of Changes (Hanshu vol.88, p.3599), which belonged to the tradition of Qi 齊 school and was influenced by Mencius. Hou Cang (the first half of the 1st c. B.C.E.) also studied the Book of Odes of the Qi School (Hanshu vol.88, p.3613) which also belonged to the tradition of Mencius (See Takeuchi vol.8, p.96–106 and p.387–390). Thus, this school shows a strong inclination to synthesize the philosophies of Mencius and Xun Qing.

Quite interestingly, the name of Hou Cang is included among the five commentators of the Book of Filiality who are quoted by “the Record of Arts” of the Hanshu. If this is not a coincidence, it is very possible that this school (=the school that handed down the documents of the Book of Rites) had some connection with the handing down of the Book of Filiality. This is a mere possibility because there is no direct proof. But Hou Cang was a person from the Donghai 東海 district (The Donghai district is near the Lu district; Hanshu vol.88, p.3613) and is thought to have lived in the Emperor Wu to Emperor Zhao eras; on the other hand, the Old Text of the Book of Filiality appeared in the Lu district in that very time. So this possibility can not be ignored.

#### Commentators on the Book of Filiality in the Western Han period

Five commentators on the book are cited in “the Record of Arts” in the Hanshu (vol.30, p.1718):

The family of Zhangsun 長孫氏

Jiang Weng 江翁

Hou Cang 后倉

Yi Feng 翼奉

Zhang Yu 張禹

There is no information about Zhangsun except for “the Record of Books” of the Suishu, which says, “(The text of) Zhangsun has a chapter on ‘the Household’ 長孫有閨門一章” (Suishu, vol.32, p.935). If this information

is reliable, the text that the Zhangsun family handed down might have been similar to that of the Old Text. Jiang Weng was a grandson of Jianggong 江公 (the latter half of the 2nd c. B.C.E.) who studied the Book of Odes under Shengong 申公 of the Lu district, and was appointed to be professor in the Emperor Xuan era (73–49 B.C.E.; Hanshu vol.88, p.3617). Zhang Wu was active during the Emperor Xuan to Emperor Cheng (r. 32–7 B.C.E.) periods (Hanshu vol.81, p.3347). Hou Cang was a leading figure in the tradition of the philosophy of the rites, and Yi Feng was his disciple. Because Yi Feng attended the Meeting in Shiquge 石渠閣 which was held in the end of the Emperor Xuan era (51 B.C.E.), Hou Cang must have lived a little earlier than that.

It is also interesting that the description in the Hanshu of these commentators is different from that about the commentators on other Confucian documents; generally speaking, Confucian documents were handed down from masters to disciples, and their succession formed long genealogical charts. But this kind of succession was not known for the Book of Filiality except that between Hou Cang and Yi Feng. Some reasons can be given for this situation; because of its shortness and easiness to read, the Book of Filiality became rapidly popular after its appearance and there was no time for the book to have been monopolized by a particular school. Wang Guowei 王國維, in his “Concerning the professors in the Han and Wei periods (Han Wei Boshi Kao 漢魏博士考), says that the Book of Filiality was an introductory text for novices to Confucianism (vol.4, p.6–7). Wang is basically right, but what he says is the case after the mid-Western Han period, because the title of the book cannot be found in documents written in the early Western Han period.

Summing up, the Book of Filiality was probably known to the public in the middle of the second century B.C.E., that is around the time of Emperor Wu, or perhaps that of Emperor Jing, a little earlier. This was



the time when what we call the Book of Filiality today was formed, but it is still possible to assume that the book was the result of gradual accumulation. The book existed in the third century B.C.E., though we do not know what kind of text it was. Some possible groups that handed down the book and gave it to the public were the Confucian group in the Hejian school, the Hanshi school and the school of rites in the Lu district. Probably, before the book was widely known, it was gradually circulated in some Confucian schools and this situation enabled different texts to emerge; the text circulated in the Hejian district was the New Text, and that in the Lu district was the Old Text. Once it appeared, the book became popular rapidly, and was included among the most basic Confucian documents.

## (2) The Philosophy of the Book of Filiality

There are three purposes for studying the book philosophically. The first purpose is to prove (or disprove) the possibility that the book was the result of stratified accumulation of the ideas about filiality. Secondly, if this possibility is accepted, it will be necessary to find the strata in the book and to trace the development of the ideas among those strata. Third, to compare it with the other documents referred to before, we have to grasp the essential achievement of the book. That is, it is necessary to make clear the destination of the philosophy of filiality in order to trace the development of that philosophy.

Methodologically, we will try to summarize each chapter of the book first to look for the consistent themes. Next we will note the philosophical elements constituting the whole philosophy of the book, so as to see if elements appeared repeatedly in different documents, but with different connotations. This means that each element was taken over from an earlier document, but that the different writers accepted it dif-

ferently. Thus, we will be able to see the relationships among the documents.

The arrangement of chapters is different between the Old Text and the New Text, as we have mentioned. In this section, the arrangement in the Old Text is used. This is because there is no reason to exclude the chapter on "Household", which the New Text does not have, as will be discussed later.

#### (A) The contents of each chapter

##### (1) The chapter on "the Starting Point and Basic Principles"

At first the basic theme of the book is shown in Confucius' speech to Zengzi 曾子, his disciple. Confucius says, "The Early kings possessed the highest virtue and vital way of keeping the world ordered 先王有至德要道以訓天下"<sup>[20]</sup> (Makra p.3). Here "the highest virtue and vital way" doubtlessly means filiality. This is very important because it shows that the purpose of the book is to assert that the government of the Son of Heaven should accord with the spirit of filiality, that is, the book aims at filial government (xiao zhi 孝治).

The book continues by placing filiality as "the foundation of virtue and the source of teaching 德之本也、教之所由生也" (p.3)<sup>[21]</sup>. This had been the most basic principle of Confucian ideas of filiality since the period of the Analects, as has been discussed in the last chapter. Then, the essence of filiality is shown in two ways, positive and passive. The passive meaning of filiality is, "Seeing that our body, with hair and skin, is derived from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way 身體髮膚、受之父母、不敢毀傷" (p.3). In other words, filiality is to recognize that even one's body is not his possession; because the body is given by parents, one must preserve himself undamaged. This is the same as the idea that "one's body is his

parents' body transmitted to him", which we have referred to in the preceding chapter. Positively, filiality is "to perpetuate our name for future generations and to give glory to our parents 揚名於後世、以顯父母" (p.3). This is the idea of "the utilitarianism of filiality" which is prominent in the Mencius. Depending on these two aspects of filiality, the book asserts that the actual behavior of filiality leads to shi jun 事君 or "to serve the ruler", and that filial piety to parents should be extended to loyalty to the monarch, though the mechanism of this shift is not shown clearly.

What we have to pay attention to is, however, that the last sentence of this chapter does not necessarily fit the first. The first sentence presents "the highest virtue and vital way" as the ideal government of the Son of Heaven, and the last sentence discusses the filiality of a retainer. The chapter gives no explanation about what is "the highest virtue and vital way". One assumes that only the general principle of filiality is dealt with here, and that "the highest virtue and vital way" will be discussed in following chapters. In other words, Chapter One is just an introduction.

- (2) The chapter on "the Son of Heaven"
- (3) The chapter on "the Lords"
- (4) The chapter on "the Ministers"
- (5) The chapter on "the Officials"
- (6) The chapter on "the Common People"
- (7) The chapter on "the Universality of Filiality"

Chapters Two to Seven obviously form a connected section, the main theme of which is the universality of filiality. The New Text combines the sixth and seventh chapters into one, but this does not affect the contents.

Chapter Two divides filiality into two: ai 愛 or love and jing 敬

or reverence. The spirit of filiality is, if extended, nothing but love and reverence to others, and the filiality of the Son of Heaven is to extend this spirit all around the world<sup>[22]</sup>. This is the idea that filiality to parents can be extended into philanthropy toward humankind. We have seen that this idea is found in the Mencius; it can be called the motif of extension.

Chapter Three has the same contents as that of Chapter Four; that is, filiality is defined as keeping one's own position by following regulations and by behaving carefully, so as not to be resented by others. The same idea is found in the other documents, as will be discussed in the next chapter, and is related to the idea that "seeing our body, with hair and skin, is derived from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way" in Chapter One. Since one cannot see his body as his own property, he is not allowed to damage it in any way; since he cannot hurt anything he has, he is not allowed to behave against regulations, because behaving against regulations may possibly lead to some damage to him. This idea can be called "the motif of following regulations".

In Chapter Five, filiality is divided into love and reverence, just as in Chapter Two. But here love is identified as love to parents, and reverence is identified as reverence to father and monarch. This can be interpreted as the basis for the shift of filiality to loyalty to the monarch, which is found in Chapter One. By reducing filiality to love and reverence, the book finds that filiality includes an element in common with loyalty. This discovery is a great achievement in the philosophy of filiality, which we will discuss later.

Chapter Six identifies filiality as hard work to serve parents. Chapter Seven concludes this section by presenting the universality of filiality.

This section is interesting in several ways. The first point is the

division of filiality into love and reverence, which will be discussed later. Second, the contents of filiality are defined differently according to different social statuses. This kind of idea was quite popular in philosophical trends of the late Zhanguo and the Han periods. Furthermore, the book refers to five statuses, such as the Son of Heaven, lords, ministers, officers and the common people. The recognition of these five classes is assumed to be very old<sup>[23]</sup>, but it had been out of fashion since the late Zhanguo period, in favor of classification into the three statuses of monarch, ministers (or officers) and the common people. This means that the classification of five statuses in the Book of Filiality was an ideologically re-constructed one, as Shin'ichirô Watanabe has discussed (1987 p.405-407). Actually it is possible to prove that the three social statuses (the Son of Heaven, officers and the common people) were the classification belonging to the more original part of the book and that the others (lords and ministers) were additional, because the two chapters (Chapter Three and Chapter Four) were probably written later than the three chapters (Chapter Two, Chapter Six and Chapter Seven). In Chapter Two ("the Son of Heaven") and Chapter Six ("the Officers"), the government of the Son of Heaven and the loyalty to a monarch are logically deduced from the essential features of filiality, which are love and reverence. On the other hand, Chapter Three ("the Lords") and Chapter Four ("the Ministers") fail to show the enough basis for explaining why filiality can be identified as following regulations. The logic of these chapters is different from that of Chapters Two and Five, because they present behavioral standards first, and then indicate them as "the filiality of ---". The behavioral standards that these chapters assert are to maintain one's own status and family line, for which logical basis can be found in Chapter One. If there were no Chapter One, it would be difficult to understand why these two chapters are included in the Book of Filiality. In addition, these

two chapters share the same philosophical contents, and they fail to show what is different between the filiality of lords and that of ministers. Therefore, it can be assumed that these chapters were written based on Chapter One, to satisfy the classification into the five social statuses.

Then, how about Chapter Six? Indeed, Chapter Six seems not to show any basis for the identification of filiality with hard work, but it had been a popular idea since the Analects to classify filiality into mental filial piety and physical service (yang 養). It is doubtless that Chapter Six is based on this dichotomy. So, yang or “nurture/support” is a basic feature of filiality, and it is quite logical to deduce hard work from it. In other words, filiality for the common people, which is concerned with only the physical aspect, is qualitatively different from the filiality of others, and the logical structure of Chapter Six, which is different from that of the other chapters, reflects this kind of qualitative difference, as Seikichi Utsunomiya has pointed out (1977, p.236-237).

Depending on this observation, we are led to a conclusion about the classification of filiality according to difference of social statuses in the Book of Filiality. The most basic and original classification lay between physical service (yang) and the mental filial piety (xiao). This classification of filiality was developed before the appearance of the Book of Filiality. Physical service is the role of the common people, while the mental filiality belongs to the intellectual classes. Mental filiality was classified further into filial government, which was for the Son of Heaven (or a monarch), and loyalty to governmental authority that was the filiality of officers (or retainers). The original part of the Book of Filiality developed this level of classification, which resulted in a distinction between three kinds of filiality (filial government, loyalty to government and physical service for parents).

These three kinds of filiality coincided with the concept of the three classes. It is probable that this level of classification was a popular idea when the the book was written, because this classification is found in such documents as “the Great Filiality of Zengzi” and “the Basic Filiality of Zengzi”, as we will discuss in the next chapter. Then, the author (or authors) of the book inserted Chapters Three and Four in order to satisfy the theory of the five classes that were re-constructed as an ideal by Confucians. Summing up, in the Book of Filiality is a vestige of the process by which the classification of filiality was successively developed from two to three, and three to five.

Finally, it can be pointed out that this section as a whole discusses the universality of filiality, though it includes such an important element as following regulations, or the shift from filial piety to loyalty, and does not directly deal with the problem of the government according to the spirit of filiality, which is presented in Chapter One. That is, this section is still introductory. This is the reason we cannot agree with Zhu Xi, Yoshio Takeuchi and Shin'ichirô Watanabe when they assert that the original part of the book is the first chapter to the seventh chapter (Xiaojing Kanwu, p.2; Takeuchi, vol.2, p.87-88; Watanabe, 1986, p.59). Indeed, the section from the Chapters One to Seven is thought to be oldest, as is discussed later, but the essential ideas of filial government is not included here.

#### (8) The chapter on “the Three Powers”

This chapter includes Zengzi's question to Confucius in the first sentence, which means that it and the following chapters deal with a new topic. Confucius defines filiality as “the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth and the norm for people 天之經也、地之義也、民之行也” (Makra p.15). This means that the book equates filiality with the Way (dao 道) or the law of nature. Therefore, the argument of this chapter

is different from that of Chapter One. In Chapter One filiality does not equal virtue, because filiality, described as “the foundation of virtue” there, is just a starting point for higher virtues. In Chapter Eight filiality involves every virtue because filiality equals the Way.

On this basis, this chapter asserts that teaching and government according to filiality are successful “without being stringent 不肅” and “without being severe 不嚴” (Makra p.15). The former kings, by extending the spirit of filiality, established bo ai 博愛 or philanthropy, de yi 德義 or virtue and rightness, jing rang 敬讓 or respect and modesty, li le 禮樂 or Rites and Music and hao wu 好惡 or good and evil; people were civilized by these virtues and teachings. This chapter is concerned with the government of the Son of Heaven according to the spirit of filiality and begins to discuss directly the problem presented in Chapter One.

#### (9) The chapter on “Filial Government”

This chapter, continued from Chapter Eight, discusses the topic presented in its title, but the discussion of Chapter Nine is more concrete. According to Chapter Nine, the essence of filiality lies in respect to human beings. Filial government, based on respect to people, is preferred by people and easily attained. Government according to this spirit can be done not only by the Son of Heaven but also by zhi guo zhe 治國者 or those who govern states<sup>[24]</sup> and zhi jia zhe 治家者 or those who manage households. This chapter asserts that the government at any level should be carried out in the same spirit, that is filiality. What is worth attention here is that filial government is asserted to be omnipresent at three levels of government — the Son of Heaven, lords and family heads. These three levels coincide with the three kinds of classes.

Another feature of this chapter is that it discusses filiality from the viewpoint of ancestor worship. The more stabilized situation of



states which is brought by filial government enables a monarch (including the Son of Heaven, lords and family heads) to serve better his own parents and ancestors. Because ancestors are the extension of parents, as the chapter clearly shows, the government of a monarch according to filiality makes him more virtuous in filial piety. This mentality and ideal human relations can lead to the society which can be described as “the world was kept in peace and harmony; calamity did not arise, nor disorders occur 是以天下和平、災害不生、禍亂不作” (Makra p.17). This is obviously “the idea of the Interrelation between Heaven and People 天人相關說”. The same idea can be found in Chapter Seventeen (“Evocation and Response”) in more detail <sup>[25]</sup>.

These two chapters (Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine) belong to the main part of the Book of Filiality, in which the central theme is “filial government” presented first in Chapter One, but these chapters deal with only the logical basis for filial government (filiality = the Way) and the essence of its spirit (that is, respect for human beings); they do not refer to how to govern states.

#### (10) The chapter on “the Government of the Sage”

In the New Text Chapters Ten to Twelve are integrated into a single chapter “the Government of the Sage” (Chapter Nine in the New Text). Though “Zengzi said” at the beginning of Chapter Ten shows that the following chapters deal with a new topic, it is still doubtful whether Chapters Ten to Twelve constitute a continuous section. Because this difference between the texts is related with the interpretation of the book, we have to decide which is the better text by examining their philosophical contents. It can be said that the Old Text is better at least at this point, because Chapters Ten and Eleven are continuous, while the theme of Chapter Twelve is shared by Chapter Thirteen, as the following discussion shows.

Chapter Ten, after defining filiality as the highest virtue, presents the concepts of yan fu 嚴父 or “to venerate one’s father” and of pei tian 配天 or “to make a combined sacrifice to Heaven<sup>[26]</sup>”.

Defining filiality as the highest virtue is similar to the idea that filiality is the Way, which is found in Chapter Eight. The evidence for this is “How can there be anything in the virtue of the sage that passes beyond filiality? 夫聖人之德、又何以加於孝乎” (Makra P.19), in which filiality is equivalent to the virtue of the sage. The problem is, why the ritual called pei tian 配天 is presented as the highest level of filiality here? This can be comprehended in different ways; first, this idea can be understood to express metaphorically that the majesty of the father is identified with that of Heaven. We will discuss this interpretation later. Secondly, it can be a development of Chapter Nine which mentions ancestor worship. That is, based on the discussion in Chapter Nine that an expression of filiality is ancestor worship, Chapter Ten develops it into the concept of the combined sacrifice to Heaven as the highest level of filiality. Since ancestor worship is identified as filiality, it is reasonable that the Son of Heaven, who is responsible for the highest level of filiality, should carry out the highest level of ancestor worship. In other words, we can think that the combined ritual to Heaven is presented by the book to express the supremacy of the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven enjoys the monopoly of supremacy in filiality, and this means that the ethics of filiality guarantee his political and social supremacy. This idea is similar to that in the Mencius, which asserts that the highest level of filiality is to let one’s parents enjoy the world (Va-4, Lau 1984, p.187). At the same time, by positioning the Son of Heaven at the top level of filiality, the Book of Filiality succeeds in justifying filiality under the authority of the Son of Heaven.

In the latter half of Chapter Ten, there are some differences be-

tween the New Text and the Old Text version<sup>[27]</sup>, but the theme as a whole is, clearly, the shift of filial piety to loyalty. The concept of yan 嚴 is obviously the same as that concept presented in the first half of the chapter: yan fu 嚴父. “Parents bear and foster their child; when he nurtures them he venerates them more day by day. 親生毓之、以養父母、日嚴。” This means that parents are qin 親 or affectionate when a child is in his infancy, and as he grows up he gradually feels the aspect of yan 嚴, that is authority. Affection is the basis for love, and authority is the basis for reverence. By extending these two aspects the Son of Heaven can attain his government “without being severe” and “without being strict”. So we can understand not only that the idea of yan is consistent in the whole chapter, but also that the combined ritual to Heaven (pei tian 配天) to “venerate father (yan fu 嚴父)” works for the Son of Heaven to “teach reverence according to (the feeling of) veneration 因嚴以教敬”. In brief, this chapter presents the concept of the combined sacrifices to Heaven as the filiality of the Son of Heaven first, then justifies his majesty under the name of filiality, and finally asserts the reverence to the authority of father which is symbolized in its combination with that to Heaven.

#### (11) The chapter on “the Grace of Parents’ Begetting”

Chapter Ten combines two motifs: the concept of love and reverence, which is presented first in Chapter Two, and the motif of “filial government”, which is the main theme of Chapters Eight and Nine. But it has not yet been explained why the extension of veneration to the father leads to government being “without being severe” and “without being strict”. To explain this point, it is necessary either to identify reverence to the father as that to human beings in general, as the Chapter Two does, or to identify reverence to the father with that to a monarch, as Chapter Five does. Chapter Eleven explains this problem, so

it can be said to be the concluding part of Chapter Ten <sup>[28]</sup>.

If these chapters are continuous, we can read them as follows; the highest level of filiality is that of the Son of Heaven, the contents of which are to make sacrifices to father and ancestors in combination with Heaven. The spirit of this ritual is to express veneration to the supreme authority symbolized as father. The government of the Son of Heaven is, according to the spirit of filiality, to enhance the veneration to the supreme authority of Heaven. This government is easily attained because the spirit of this government (= filiality) is rooted in "the heavenly nature 天性" (Makra, p.21) and equivalent to the "proper relations between monarch and retainers 君臣之義". The greatest grace of parents to their child is the very fact that they have borne him, and his love to them grows on this basis. The greatest love that parents give their child lies in the very fact that they "watch over (lin 臨)" him, and his reverence to them grows on the basis of this fact <sup>[29]</sup>. A monarch is the same as parents in his "watching over". This is the reason "the Way between father and son" can be identified with "the proper relations between a monarch and retainers". The idea that "the relations between father and son are rooted in heavenly nature <sup>[30]</sup>" (Makra, p.21) is the same as the idea that "filiality is the principle of Heaven" in Chapter Eight, and this is presented as the logical basis for the assertion that filial government is easily attained. By regarding "the Way between father and son" in the same light with "the proper relations between monarch and retainers", reverence to the authority of father is directly shown to be nothing but reverence to monarchical authority. Therefore, this part combines and develops the concept of love and reverence and the idea that filiality is human nature, which is presented in Chapter Eight, and uses these combined concepts to give a logical basis to filial government.

The argument of these chapters is clearly concerned with the

concept of love and reverence, as that of Chapter Five is. But there are three differences between them; first, these chapters introduce the perspective of growing-up, which cannot be found in Chapter Five. The idea of these chapters seems to be similar to that of the Mencius, which says, “There are no young children who do not know loving their parents, and none of them when they grow up will not know respecting their brothers. 孩提之童無不知愛其親、及其長也、無不知敬其兄。” (VIIa-15, Lau 1984, p.269). Secondly, these chapters make the relation between father and son equal the relation between a monarch and retainers, so its impact on the readers is stronger than that of Chapter Five. Thirdly, these chapters introduce the concept of yan or veneration, which is further discussed below.

The main character of these two chapters is the concepts of yan and the highest filiality of the Son of Heaven. The problem is what is yan. This word originally means dignity, authority (wei yan 威嚴) or majesty (zun yan 尊嚴); in this meaning the word appears in “the Son of Heaven who has dignity 有嚴天子” (the Ode Changwu 常武 in Daya 大雅, Ode No.263, MS-HY p.72) and “having dignity; having respectfulness 有嚴有翼” (the Ode Liuyue 六月 in Xiaoya 小雅, Ode No.177, MS-HY p.38). However, feeling toward something having dignity is also called yan, and in this case the word can be translated into “reverence”, “respect” or “veneration”, as in “the mandate of Heaven comes down to watch over; the people below have reverence 天命降監、下民有嚴” (the Ode Yinwu 殷武 in Shangsong 商頌, No.305, MS-HY p.82)<sup>[31]</sup>. The concept of yan 嚴 in yan fu 嚴父, therefore, is very near to that of jing 敬 or “respect” but, contrary to the concept of jing which is nothing but a kind of feeling, the connotation of yan fu seems to be more behavioral, such as “to recognize the dignity of father” or “to make the father majestic”. The way to “recognize the dignity of father” or “make father majestic” employs symbolic ritual behavior, even if it is not necessarily ances-

tral sacrifices. In other words, yan fu means to express one's own recognition of the authority the father has and his loyalty to it, in a socially acknowledged manner or, to put it more strongly, to deify the status of the father. In this sense it is quite reasonable for the book to say that the highest level of yan fu is sacrifices to father in combination with Heaven, because the equality of Heaven and father is sometimes asserted in other documents, as Sôkichi Tsuda discusses (Vol.18, p.39-40).

What we should pay attention to here is that the book identifies yan fu (or making father majestic) with the sacrifice to father in combination with Heaven, because, first of all, the idea about the combined ritual to Heaven does not have any essential and original relation with the philosophy of filiality; the combined ritual to Heaven has its own history of development, which Suetoshi Ikeda has already argued in detail (1981, p.585). The Book of Filiality only uses the idea of the combined ritual to Heaven, which had been already established when the philosophy of filiality appeared, from the perspective of filiality. When the book was written, the combined ritual to Heaven was exclusively attributed to the Son of Heaven. The writer of the book thought that the expression of filiality (strictly speaking, the expression of yan fu) should differ depending on the difference of classes, and that the Son of Heaven as the highest man should express the highest filiality. This is the reason that the book adopted the idea of the combined sacrifice to Heaven. That is, on the premise of the difference of classes and the rites regulated according to the classes, the book states that a man belonging to each class should pursue the expression of yan fu at the maximum within the range permitted to him by the rites. In this sense the Son of Heaven is permitted to make the combined sacrifice to Heaven because of his rank, and this means that filiality for the Son of Heaven is to support his position. Thus, the

position of the Son of Heaven is justified by filiality and, at the same time, filiality is supported by the authority of the Son of Heaven. This idea justifies the existing social order on the one hand, but on the other hand could accelerate social mobility, by justifying the intention of each person to pursue advancement in society. This is because each person wants to express the authority of his father as far as possible, since father is yan or authority, that is the highest being he should follow. So long as the highest filiality is that of the Son of Heaven, everybody can and should want to be the Son of Heaven from the viewpoint of filiality, as Zhu Xi pointed out (Zhuzi Yulei 朱子語類 vol.82, p.2141-2, Xiaojing Kanwu p.6).

(12) The chapter on “the Superior and the Inferior of Filiality”

After Chapters Ten and Eleven, which discuss the filiality of the Son of Heaven and its enlightening function, Chapter Twelve presents the method of government. The sentences, “Therefore, to love others without first loving one’s parents; it is called to act against virtue. To venerate others without first revering one’s parents; it is called to act against propriety 不愛其親、而愛他人者、謂之悖德。不敬其親、而敬他人者、謂之悖禮”<sup>[32]</sup> (Makra, p.21), are still based on the dichotomy of love and reverence which is the main theme in the preceding chapters. But the logic here is a little more concrete because this chapter asserts that familial ethics (that is, love and reverence) should be extended not indiscriminately but according to the existing order of human relations. To “teach (philanthropic) love according to affection (between parents and children) 因親以教愛” in Chapter Eleven is the basic principle and, naturally, this principle does not allow people to neglect their kinship relations.

A main feature of this chapter is its reference to li 禮 or the rites and the relationship of the rites with jing 敬 or reverence. This

chapter describes ideal behavior as being in accordance with virtue and the rites, which are prescriptions for ideal behavior. The ideal behavior is described here as “his speech is praiseworthy; his actions are enjoyable; his righteousness is respected; his management of affairs can be taken as a model; his deportment is observable; his gait is measured 言思可道、行思可樂、德義可尊、作事可法、容止可觀、進退可度” (Makra p.21). These forms of behavior are not those of ordinary people but of the Son of Heaven, because the chapter continuously says, “He descends to his people 以臨其民 ---. Thus he realizes his virtuous teaching and puts into effect his own directives 故能成其德教、而行其政令”. Next, when the chapter says “therefore, they look on him with awe and love; they imitate and seek to resemble him 是以其民畏而愛之、則而象之”, it means that the Son of Heaven should be the pattern for the people. And the behavior that can be the pattern for the people is nothing but following the ideal pattern already expected by people. For example, the phrase that Makra translates as “his speech is praiseworthy 言思可道” literally means “concerning his speech, he thinks what can be spoken”, that is, when the Son of Heaven speaks he thinks out the proper words worthy of being imitated by the people. Thus, filial government expects the Son of Heaven to follow the regulated patterns or norms, which are easily assumed to be the norms expressed under the name of the Rites. Therefore, the meaning of the whole chapter is that the spirit of filiality (love and reverence) is rooted in a parent-child relationship as the heart of the existing social order; this spirit should be extended from the intimate to the distant. On the basis of this extension are established de 德 or Virtue and li 禮 or the rites. If the Son of Heaven governs according to Virtue and the rites, that is, if he follows the patterns and norms regulated by the rites, the people will be enlightened to love and revere him and his government, which will be easily attained. In brief, this chapter asserts that filial government



is to follow the regulations of the rites and, from another viewpoint, the rites are justified by filiality.

(13) The chapter on “the Practice of Filiality”

(14) The chapter on “the Five Punishments”

At first sight, Chapter Thirteen seems to have little relation with filial government. Its main theme is “following the regulations” and on this point Chapter Thirteen is continuous with Chapter Twelve. The first sentence of the chapter discusses the behavior of a filial son when he is “at home 居”, “nurtures (parents) 養”, “in (parents’) sickness 病”, “at their death 喪” and “sacrifices 祭” (Makra p.23). This is the idea that filiality is the ethics one should follow during his life time. This idea is the same as that in the “Liyi 祭義” chapter in the Book of Rites, which says, “A gentleman serves his parents respectfully when they are alive and makes sacrifices respectfully when they have died. He always thinks not to disgrace (his parents) during his life time 君子生則敬養、死則敬享、思終身弗辱也” (LJZS p.364). Filiality is naturally not only to living parents; it is more internalized and more mental, as is shown by the last sentence of Chapter Thirteen, which says, “As long as these three evils (i.e. to be proud in high position, to be insubordinate in an inferior position and to be contentious among one’s equals) are not uprooted, a son cannot be called filial even though he feasts his parents daily on the three kinds of choice meat 三者不除、雖日用三牲之養、猶為不孝也” (Makra p.23). The sentence, “He who really serves his parents will not be proud in high position; he will not be insubordinate in an inferior position; among his equals he will not be contentious 事親者、居上不驕、為下不亂、在醜不爭,” says that one who comprehends the spirit of filiality never violates regulations or acts against the order of class whatever circumstance he may be in<sup>[33]</sup>. Here filiality is nothing but loyalty to regulations and order, and those who act against

this spirit will be ruined or be punished by criminal laws or wars.

The main theme of Chapter Fourteen is clearly punishment; being unfilial (buxiao 不孝), the contents of which are defined in Chapter Thirteen, is identified in Chapter Fourteen as the biggest crime to be punished by the government because unfiliality is essentially the insubordination against the authority which is expressed as shang 上 or fa 法. Unfiliality should be punished by the government, not only because it is against the authority of parents but also because it is the root of disorder, as the sentence “to intimidate a monarch is to defy authority; to denounce the sage is lawlessness; to decry filiality is to set parents at naught 要君者無上、非聖人者無法、非孝者無親” (Makra p.25) shows. The concept of punishment is presented first in the phrase “to be insubordinate in an inferior position is to incur punishment 為下而亂則刑” (Makra p.23) in Chapter Thirteen, and we can think that Chapter Fourteen tries to explain punishment further.

The relationship between Chapter Twelve and these two chapters is not clear, because the main theme of the former is filial government and that of the latter is not. However, since these two chapters argue about loyalty to regulations and punishment on the insubordinate, they presents the actual policy for filial government. Chapter Twelve discusses that the Son of Heaven should follow the rites, but good government cannot be brought about by mere following the rites. Rulers need not only to encourage everybody obedient to social order, but also to threaten the disobedient with punishment. The reason why unfiliality is the worst offense to be punished is that unfiliality symbolizes disobedience against authority. Thus, we can think that Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen form a continuous section that discusses punishment as concrete method of “filial government”.

(15) The Chapter on “the Right Way, Further Explained”

As mentioned above, Chapter Twelve presented the concept of the Rites as the objective criteria of filiality. The Rites are more emphasized in Chapter Fifteen, and, though the dichotomy of love and reverence is maintained, more weight is given to reverence because the Rites are a structure of behavior to express reverence.

The other feature of this chapter is that it disguises itself as the explanation of the phrase yao dao 要道 or “the right way” which is found in Chapter One. As far as the titles of the chapters are concerned, Chapter Sixteen and Chapter Eighteen share the same feature. But this feature does not necessarily mean that they have similar contents, for we have no information about who divided the Book of Filiality into chapters and provided titles for them. Therefore, the reason we can see Chapter Fifteen as the interpretation of Chapter One is, not the title, but the last sentence of the chapter, “This is what is meant by the Right Way 此之謂要道” (Makra p.27). This mode of expression clearly shows that the chapter was a kind of note to Chapter One. This may also be the case in Chapter Eighteen<sup>[34]</sup>. If the Book of Filiality can be divided into jing 經 (the original part) and zhuan 傳 (the appended part), as Zhu Xi did (Xiaojing Kanwu p.2), then the part after Chapter Fifteen would be the latter<sup>[35]</sup>.

The logical framework of Chapter Fifteen is basically the same as that of other chapters. The first half of this chapter emphasizes teaching qin ai 親愛 or “love for one another” (Makra p.27) by using filiality, and teaching them li shun 禮順 or “propriety and obedience” by using ti 悌 or fraternity. The best way to enlighten them is by music and, to keep social order is by using the rites, which are nothing but reverence. Here the dichotomy of love and reverence is replaced by that of qin ai and li shun, or of music and the rites. Li shun is obviously related to the rites, because li in li shun is the character for the rites, and both terms are supposed to indicate behavioral righteousness.

Qin ai is a term concerned with feelings, and music is also a concept related to human emotion<sup>[36]</sup>. Therefore, this chapter presents the dichotomy between internal affection and external behavior, which is the same as the dichotomy between love and reverence in Chapters Five and Ten. The difference of this chapter from other chapters lies in the point that it puts more importance to reverence than love, as the concluding sentence of its first half “the rites are essentially reverence 禮者敬而已矣” (Makra p.27)<sup>[37]</sup> suggests, and as the fact that the second half of this chapter refers to only reverence, not love, shows. From this situation, we can think that the first half of this chapter is preparatory comments to emphasize the importance of reverence, and the heart of the chapter is found in its latter half.

The latter half, especially “all the people are happy when the One Man is revered 敬一人而千萬人悅” (Makra p. 27), is also difficult to understand. This part (from “the son is happy when his father is revered 故敬其父、則子悅” to “this is said to be the Right Way 此之謂要道”, Makra p. 27) can be understood in two ways; first, it may mean that if the Son of Heaven is respectful to the fathers, brothers or superiors of others, they will be satisfied with his attitude. Their satisfaction with him brings about his popularity and successful government. This understanding is adopted by the commentaries of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 and Xing Bing 邢昺<sup>[38]</sup>. On the contrary, Ren Wentian 任文田 (Ren Zhaolin 任兆麟, the latter half of the 18th c.) interprets in his Xiaojing Jizhu 孝經集注 (1780) this part as meaning that the Son of Heaven (or a monarch) reveres his father, brother and superior to enlighten the people in the world<sup>[39]</sup>. But we cannot agree with Ren’s understanding because this chapter basically discusses the government of the Son of Heaven. In addition, it is difficult to imagine a superior for the Son of Heaven, who is the supreme human being in Confucian political thought. Thus, the former reading is preferable, but it is far from satisfactory; if yiren

一人 is understood “to mean each father, brother or monarch (of people) 一人謂父兄君” as Xing Bing’s commentary says (XJZS vol.6, p.18), this yiren means not “the One Man”, but many people. Though it is possible to assume that each person has just one father, one brother or one superior, it will be necessary to respect a number of fathers, brothers or monarchs of the people so that “all the people are happy”. Taking the other examples of “the One Man” into consideration<sup>[40]</sup>, we find it more possible to interpret “the One Man” as the Son of Heaven<sup>[41]</sup>.

If so, why are “all the people happy when the One Man is revered”? It is not clear at all how and what the Son of Heaven should do for government to respect fathers, brothers or monarchs. To solve this problem, it is necessary to consider Chapter Sixteen, because it continues Chapter Fifteen.

#### (16) The Chapter on “the Highest Virtue, Further Explained”

The reason why it can be said that these two chapters form one continuous section is that their logical framework is identical; Chapter Fifteen discusses three kinds of human relations, that is those between father-son, senior-younger and monarch-retainer. Chapter Sixteen discusses three kinds of ethics, that is filiality, fraternity and loyalty<sup>[42]</sup>. The correspondence between two chapters is clear.

The first sentence of Chapter Sixteen says, “A gentleman in teaching the duties of filiality does not need to go daily to visit the families. 君子之教以孝也、非家至而日見之也。” (Makra p.29). This means that the main theme of the chapter is still filial government, and that “teaching filiality” is not to act on each person but to employ some policy for showing the respect to fathers, brothers and monarchs. This suggests that “reverencing his father”, “reverencing his brother” and “reverencing his monarch” in Chapter Fifteen should be understood in the same way. The evidence for this is the sentences beginning with “teach-

ing filiality is to secure filiality for those who are fathers of people in the world 教以孝、所以孝天下之為人父者也” (Makra p.29) <sup>[43]</sup>. Why is such a periphrastic expression as “those who are fathers of people in the world 天下之為人父者”, not simply “father 父”, used here? There are no earlier commentaries on this point. The phrase “in the world 天下” seems to mean all fathers, not the father of a particular person. The phrase “those who are fathers of people 為人父者” probably means persons who are in the position of father in their relationships with others. Usually, a man has more than one social role. He can be a father, a son, a leader and a follower at the same time. The respect required by filiality is that to the social role of father rather than to an individual who happens to be one’s father. This chapter asserts that, whatever may be his temperament, the social role of father (= fatherhood), brother or monarch should be revered by promoting the ethics of filiality, fraternity or loyalty.

If this chapter reads as above, its logic is consistent with that of Chapter Fifteen. Reverence to the social roles of father, brother and monarch is deference to the orderly human relations that compose society, for which the rites are the behavioral prescriptions. Filial government is to enlighten people about orderly human relations by the ethics of kinship relations (“There is nothing better than filiality for teaching men love for one another. There is nothing better than fraternal love for teaching men propriety. 教民親愛、莫善於孝、教民禮順、莫善於悌。” Makra p.27) and, more concretely, to dignify the position of father, brother and monarch according to the rites which prescribe the ideal human relations. (“There is nothing better than propriety for giving security to the rulers and keeping the people well governed. Propriety is essentially reverence. 安上治民、莫善於禮。禮者、敬而矣。” Makra p.27). Because a son, a younger brother or a retainer are usually satisfied when their parents, elder brothers or monarch are respected,

they will be satisfied with the policy of respecting the position of father, brother or monarch. Likewise, if the position of “the One Man” (=the Son of Heaven) is dignified, all the people will be satisfied. To satisfy inferiors and to strengthen orderly social structure by means of the policy of dignifying the positions of the superiors; this is yaodao 要道 or “the Right Way” (Makra p.27).

To sum up these two Chapters, they assert that the Son of Heaven should ritually express the authority of superiors to dignify imperial authority. But they seem to be less persuasive in some points, compared with the first half of the Book of Filiality. First, it is not made clear what kind of ritual should be carried out to dignify the position of father, nor how the ritual conducted by the Son of Heaven can bring about the common people’s deference to their superiors. Compared with Chapter Ten that presents the combined sacrifice to Heaven as the filiality of the Son of Heaven, and Chapter Eleven that asserts the duty of the Son of Heaven to follow the regulations of the rites, it can be said that the contents of these two chapters are obscure.

Secondly, the discussion in these two chapters put too much stress on reverence and the rites, and, as a result, tends to confuse kinship relations with the relationship between monarch and retainer. Indeed, the philosophy of filiality tries to shift filiality into loyalty, but this shift becomes persuasive only when it is given a logical basis. These two chapters cannot explain why kinship relations equal the relationship between monarch and retainer. In particular, there is no reason to conclude that the common people are satisfied when the Son of Heaven is dignified, even though it is empirically sound that a son is satisfied with his father’s being respected.

Finally, the discussion in these chapters is premised on the existence of exclusive and autonomous kinship groups, for when they say that a son is satisfied with his father’s being respected, they assume

that the members of a kinship group feel the honor of their head as that of the whole group. Likewise, when they say that the inferiors are satisfied with their superior officer's being respected, it means that their office is recognized as an independent and exclusive group. In other words, these chapters recognize officialdom not to be under the direct control of the emperor but to consist of half-independent governments, each of which is commanded by an administrator. Originally, the historical motive that produced the philosophy of filiality lay in overcoming the potential contradiction between growing absolute monarchy and autonomous kinship groups in the Zhanguo period, as has been discussed in the last chapter and by Chôhachi Itano (1955, p.9-12). The basic tendency of the discussions about filiality was an attempt to overcome this contradiction by means of removing the exclusiveness of kinship groups. These later chapters look like a concession to the reality of the Qin-Han period. The strong survival of exclusive kinship groups has been pointed out by many authors (Masubuchi, 1960 p.447), and the local governments of the Han empire were heavily dependent on the private relationships between administrators and "public servants" (xiaoli 小吏), as Shin'ichirô Watanabe has discussed (1987 p.423).

(17) The chapter on "Evocation and Response"

Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen are similar in content to Chapter Eighteen. In fact, Chapter Eighteen is placed after Chapter Sixteen, and Chapter Seventeen is after Chapter Twenty in the New Text version. This is one of the biggest differences between the New Text and the Old Text, and naturally it is important to decide which is the better. But this is not so easy. Because Chapter Eighteen looks like a explanation of the phrase "to perpetuate our name 揚名" in Chapter One, the arrangement of the New Text is more reasonable at this point; as is mentioned above, Chapters Fifteen, Sixteen and Eighteen share the feature of being an



explanation of Chapter One. On the other hand, Chapters Twenty and Twenty-one are continuous, as is discussed later, so it is not appropriate for the New Text to have Chapter Seventeen between them. Therefore, both the New Text and the Old Text have good and bad points, and it is difficult to say which is better. In a sense, Chapter Seventeen does not fit wherever it may be put because this chapter is independent of others in the latter half of the book.

This chapter seems to be an expatiation of Chapter Nine, because the two chapters share the idea that filiality brings natural fortune, and the idea that filial behavior includes ancestral sacrifices. However, there are differences between these chapters as well. The main point of Chapter Nine is that the Son of Heaven can be a filial son (and a filial descendant) by means of filial government, but Chapter Seventeen asserts that the filiality of the Son of Heaven should directly bring about divine aid and universal peace.

Then, what is essentially the thought of Chapter Seventeen? This chapter can be divided into two; the first half discusses that the filiality of "the illustrious kings" was veneration of Heaven and Earth, and that these kings could be aware of the universal law. This universal law means in the sphere of human affairs "(the division of) the older and the younger is in good order 長幼順<sup>[44]</sup>", and this order of age brings about general political order; good political order moves deities to divine aid<sup>[45]</sup>. The similarity between parents and Heaven is also suggested, so in this sense this chapter resembles Chapter Ten, in which the veneration to father is equated with the sacrifice to Heaven. What is important is that so-called Heaven or deities symbolize the Absolute Being which is the core of the universe. Filiality can be shifted into obedience to the universal authority on which the existence of society and human beings is dependent.

The latter half of the chapter is almost a repetition of the first

half with more concrete details. Though he is the noblest being, the Son of Heaven has someone that he has “to pay reverence to” and “defer to”, which includes his ancestors. The sacrifices to ancestors are justified as follows; “He paid reverence at the ancestral altars in order to keep his parents in remembrance. 宗廟致敬、不忘親也” (Makra p.35). The filiality of the Son of Heaven is careful behavior not to disgrace his ancestors, and the acquisition of ancestral aid through sacrifices. His filiality, which is the same as the veneration to Heaven, can “illuminate (the world inside) the four seas 光於四海” (Makra p.35).

(18) The chapter on “Perpetuating the Name, Further Explained”

(19) The chapter on “Household”

These chapters form a continuous section, as Zhu Xi noted (Xiaojing Kanwu, p.10) <sup>[46]</sup>. Chapter Nineteen is one of the biggest problems concerning the difference between the New and Old Texts, because the New Text does not include this chapter. It is quite natural that many discussions in the studies of the Book of Filiality have concentrated on this chapter, so we have to decide whether it is genuine or was attached to the original text. The typical argument that the chapter is forgery can be found in Sima Zhen’s 司馬貞 (c. 684–741); “To set a high value on the old studies, some recent Confucians recklessly wrote this commentary (= the Commentary of Kong Anguo), and falsely called it (a commentary written by) Kong (Anguo). ----- In addition, they falsely wrote the chapter on ‘the Household’. Liu Xuan followed the fake and recklessly praised its value. The word of ‘Household’ is a recent and vulgar one; it is not a true statement of Xuanni (= Confucius’ posthumous title). Considering the sentences of the chapter which says, ‘The inside of a household should be equipped with the rites; one should venerate parents and should venerate brothers. (He should deal with) his wife, children and servants just like those who are drafted from the people’, it

equates wife and children with draftees. These sentences are mediocre, and do not fit the scriptures. 近儒欲崇古學、妄作此傳、假稱孔氏、---- 又偽作閨門一章、劉炫詭隨、妄稱其善、且閨門之義、近俗之語、非宣尼之正說、案其文云、閨門之內、具禮矣乎、嚴父嚴兄、妻子臣妾、繇百姓徒役也、是比妻子於徒役。文句凡鄙、不合經典。” (Tang Huiyao 唐會要 vol.77, p.1409).

According to this, those who were against this chapter thought that it was written later and attached to the original version after the Old Text disappeared in the late Liang 梁 dynasty (the mid-sixth century), before it was re-discovered in the Sui dynasty (581-618). Proof for this was sought for in the vulgarity of its sentences, especially the assertion of the equality between family and draftees. The weakness of this discussion is that it does not demonstrate the objective criteria for “vulgarity”; in fact, in many documents of the late Zhanguo to Han periods can be found terms and logics similar to those in this chapter, as Shin'ichirô Watanabe and Keisuke Kurihara have pointed out (Watanabe 1986, p.54, 1987, p.408; Kurihara 1986, p.307-309)<sup>[47]</sup>. Additional supporting evidence is a sentence of Huan Tan's 桓譚 (c. 24 B.C.E.- 56 C.E.) Xinlun 新論, which is cited in Yan Shigu's 顏師古 (581-645) commentary for “the Records of Arts” of the Hanshu; “the Old Text of the Book of Filiality has 1871 characters. The difference (from the New Text) is around four hundred characters and a little more. 古孝經千八百七十字、今異者四百餘字也” (Hanshu vol.30, p.1719). This number of characters is very near to that of the Ashikaga 足利 Text (1863 characters) and that of the Fukuhara 伏原 Text (1853 characters)<sup>[48]</sup>. Compared with the Stone Text of Kaicheng 開成石經 (the New Text; inscribed in 837) which has 1799 characters, it is highly possible that this chapter existed in the Old Text of the Han period. Thus, we can say that the difference over Chapter Nineteen between the Old and New Texts already existed in the Han period, that is, in the very time the Book of Filiality appeared. So, we cannot agree with the discussion that this chapter

was faked in the Six Dynasties period.

Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen deal with three kinds of human relations, as do Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen. The first is the parent-child relation ("The gentleman's service of his parents is filial 君子之事親孝", Makra p.31), the second is the fraternal relation ("His service of his elder brother is deferential 事兄悌" Makra p.31) and the third is the patriarch-kin relation ("Well managing at home 居家治", Makra p.31)<sup>[49]</sup>. But these three kinds of human relations are not identical with those in Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen, because the third relation (the patriarch-kin relation) is not the monarch-retainer relation as in Chapter Fifteen; concerning the first relation and second relation (the parent-child relation and the fraternal relation) filiality and fraternity are asserted to be extended to loyalty to a monarch and superiors; this is the same idea as that in Chapter Fifteen. In Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen, the patriarch-kin relation is mentioned to prove that the ability to manage family affairs can be transferred to the ability to administer the people. Behind this argument there is the premise that if a family head managing his family well should be appointed to be administrator he will govern well. Therefore, if "his conduct is perfect in private life (=in managing family affairs) 行成於內", "he can perpetuate his name for future generations (because of his administration) 名立於後世" (Makra p.31). The filiality of administrators is the main theme of this chapter.

To discuss the filiality of administrators, the patriarchal management of family affairs needs to be equated with the bureaucratic government of people. The essential principle for Chapter Nineteen is the rites which should be followed when a family head manages his family, just as when the Son of Heaven governs the world. This idea is basically the same as that of Chapter Fifteen which emphasizes the rites and reverence more than love. From the viewpoint of the rites or reverence,

family members are to a family head what draftees are to an administrator. Family members should revere parents and elder brothers just as governed people should revere administrators. On the other hand, an administrator should take pity on the people just as a family head should care for the members of his family. Thus, we can comprehend Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen as a continuous section. There is no reason to exclude Chapter Nineteen from the other chapters.

It can be said from what was discussed above that these two chapters have some unique features. First, they assert neither the government of the Son of Heaven according to the spirit of filiality, which is the main theme of the book, nor the loyalty of people to a monarch which is deduced from filiality. Their target is the middle class or, more strictly speaking, the well-to-do people who had more chances to be elevated to officialdom. These chapters try to persuade such people to be loyal to the imperial authority and to administer their inferiors in the spirit of patriarchy. The family in which members are comparable to draftees is the rich family that consists of several households; as Shin'ichirô Watanabe has pointed out, there was a tendency for a poor family to consist of only a single household (Watanabe 1987, p.420). Secondly, the object of the discussion in these chapters is not children but parents. Since filiality means the ethics of children to parents, or of inferiors to superiors, however extendible its actual meaning may be, the chapters that discuss the behavior of parents can be judged to break away from the philosophy of filiality in the Zhanguo period. The third feature here is the idea of direct equality between government and family affairs. Indeed the first half of the Book of Filiality asserts filial government, but its idea is to govern the state according to the spirit of filiality (love and reverence), and it never confuses the management of family affairs with government. These later chapters, on the contrary, directly understand

the kinship relation as the monarch-retainer relation. This idea can be called "the view of family-state". Behind this idea there were rich families that possessed domestic retainers in their households, and the private adherence between administrators and local officials that Shin'ichirô Watanabe has discussed in detail (1987 p.418, 426). In rich families, domestic retainers were quasi-kinsfolk and, thus, there was a real basis for equating family members with retainers. The book also tried to promote the spirit of patriarchy by administrators to local officials.

(20) The chapter on "the Duty of Remonstrance"

In the Book of Filiality, the motif of remonstrance appears first in this chapter but this notion is often mentioned in earlier discussion of filiality, such as those in the Analects, the Mencius and the Xunzi. As has been discussed in the last chapter, this motif had the function of introducing social justice into kinship relationships to overcome the potential contradiction between familial affection and society, by defining filiality as following regulations rather than one's parents.

What is especially important is the relationship with the Xunzi because Chapter Twenty is almost a copy of the "Zidao" chapter in the Xunzi. Comparing both documents concerning how many remonstrators are prescribed for people of the different statuses;

The Xunzi

The state of ten thousand chariots ---	4 remonstrators
The state of one thousand chariots ---	3 remonstrators
The state of one hundred chariots ---	2 remonstrators
Officials -----	1 remonstrator
Father -----	1 remonstrator

The Book of Filiality

The Son of Heaven -----	7 remonstrators
Lords -----	5 remonstrators
Ministers -----	3 remonstrators
Officials -----	1 remonstrator
Father -----	1 remonstrator

We can find that they share the same framework<sup>[50]</sup> except for the numbers. The numbers in the Book of Filiality are bigger and more refined (all odd numbers) than those in the Xunzi. The expression of the former is more sophisticated than that of the latter. So, as far as their expressions are concerned, it is more possible that the writer of Chapter Twenty took over the idea presented in the “Zidao” chapter. However, this does not necessarily show that Chapter Twenty was written after the “Zidao” chapter; as has been referred to in the last chapter, the “Zidao” chapter includes traditions cited by Xun Qing and his disciples, and there is a possibility that the writer of Chapter Twenty knew about these traditions.

We have to take into consideration another possibility concerning the relation of the Book of Filiality and the Xunzi; in the Hanshi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳 there is a paragraph (vol.10, p.10, Sec.14) very similar to this chapter; “The Son of Heaven has seven remonstrating retainers --- 天子有爭臣七人”, “A lord has five remonstrating retainers --- 諸侯有爭臣五人”, “A minister has three remonstrating retainers --- 大夫有爭臣三人”. Though this paragraph does not have any relation with filiality, the numbers of remonstrators (for the Son of Heaven, lords and ministers) correspond to those in the Book of Filiality. There is also a possibility that the Hanshi Waizhuan influenced Chapter Twenty of the book (or the other way around). This reminds us of Watanabe’s argument, which has been mentioned in the last section, that the editor of the Book of Filiality belonged to the Hanshi school. If Watanabe is correct,

it would be reasonable to assume that the Hanshi school succeeded and developed Xun Qing's idea of remonstrance, and that the sentences in the Hanshi Waizhuan and Chapter Twenty of the book are different expressions written by those who belonged to the same school. Though we cannot neglect the possibility that the Book of Filiality influenced Hanshi Waizhuan, it is difficult to think that Chapter Twenty had no relationship with the Hanshi school and that it was written much earlier than Hanshi Waizhuan.

(21) The chapter on "Serving the ruler"

Chapter Twenty-one discusses that one should serve his monarch sincerely. But it seems to have no contextual relation with the other chapters or the philosophy of filiality. Furthermore, this chapter does not mention the word "xiao 孝". Considering the contents, then, we can find that the sentence "he tries to follow the good behavior of his superior and to correct his bad behavior 将顺其美、匡救其恶" means to remonstrate with one's monarch<sup>[51]</sup>. After Chapter Twenty, which discusses remonstrance with one's parents, Chapter Twenty-one asserts that one should remonstrate with his monarch sincerely. So we can think that Chapters Twenty and Twenty-one form a continuous section.

(22) The chapter on "Mourning for Parents"

This chapter also discusses the filiality of the common people and has no relation with filial government. Originally mourning rites were important in the philosophy of filiality, as the writings of Mencius or Xun Qing show, but the Book of Filiality does not discuss mourning because of its emphasis on filial government. This chapter can be judged as a supplement for this point.

From the viewpoint of its philosophical content, this chapter defines mourning rites as the expression of affection (or grief), and



asserts that the grief for parents' death should be controlled by external regulations. Not only are these ideas very similar to those of Xun Qing found in the "Lilun 禮論" chapter<sup>[52]</sup>, but they also share similar terminology<sup>[53]</sup>. It is possible to think that this chapter was written under Xun Qing's influence.

Summing what is discussed above up, the contents of the Book of Filiality can be arranged as follows:

#### The First Half

I Introduction (Chapter One): The main themes of the book are presented; filial government and the essential description of filiality as loyalty.

II The universality of filiality (Chapter Two to Chapter Seven): This is the premise for filial government. This part is not consistent, however, and Chapter Three and Chapter Four are attached to it.

III The essence of filial government and its logical basis (Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine): The Son of Heaven should govern the state according to the spirit of filiality, and filial government will be easily successful because filiality is the Way of Heaven.

IV Sacrifice to father combined with Heaven as filial government (Chapter Ten and Chapter Eleven): The authority of father can be identified with authority itself, that is, the authority of a monarch, the authority of society and the authority of the superior being. Filial government is to express and dignify this authority in rites.

V Following the regulations of the Rites as the way for filial government (Chapter Twelve): The Son of Heaven himself should follow the regulations to govern the state according to the spirit of filiality.

VI Punishment by filial government (Chapter Thirteen and Chapter Fourteen): Those who are against the authority should be punished because

the spirit of filiality is obedience to order.

The latter half

VII The importance of reverence and the Rites for filial government (Chapter Fifteen and Chapter Sixteen): The essential spirit of filiality is defined as reverence and the Rites, that is, dignifying governmental authority to maintain social order.

VIII The correlation between Heaven and human beings (Chapter Seventeen): Filial government can bring about divine aid.

IX Administration according to the spirit of filiality (Chapter Eighteen and Chapter Nineteen): The management of a family is identified with the local administration in bureaucracy.

X Remonstrance (Chapter Twenty and Chapter Twenty-one): Filiality requires a son to follow social justice rather than his parents, and this spirit justifies remonstrance of a retainer with his monarch.

XI Mourning (Chapter Twenty-two): The mourning rites are interpreted, based on filiality.

The main theme of the book is filial government, but the whole book is not consistent on this theme. Generally speaking, the first half of the book is more consistent logically. The latter half includes various themes, though it also discusses filial government. A division between the first half and the latter half is not necessarily definitive; Chapters Thirteen and Fourteen may belong to the latter half, and Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen have a sort of continuity with the first half as long as their theme is concerned. Indeed the whole first half is not necessarily "genuine"; there is no evidence to show that Chapter Two and Chapter Ten were written by the same person at the same time. But, on the whole, the above discussion indicates that the first half was written earlier than the latter half, which was attached later to complement the first half. Though the first half may be the accumulation of the passages written by several authors in different times, its

logical consistency shows that it was completed by those who worked in the same philosophical atmosphere both chronologically and regionally.

We can conclude that the book was the accumulation of various strata, and its main part was the first half. This is the reason why we cannot accept Shin'ichirô Watanabe's opinion, when he thinks that the whole book, composed by the Hanshi school, reflected the philosophical and historical situation of the Western Han period (1986 and 1987). Indeed, it is probable that the verse cited in Chapter Seventeen was from the Hanshi version of the Book of Odes. Also, there is a possibility that Chapter Twenty was influenced by the Hanshi school. But, even if Watanabe is correct, his argument does not prove that the main part of the Book of Filiality was composed in the Western Han period; it must have been written earlier than Chapters Seventeen and Twenty. As has been already mentioned in brief, and as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the "Filial Behavior" chapter in the Lüshi Chunqiu (c. 241 B.C.E.) has sentences similar to those in Chapter Two of the Book of Filiality, and those sentences in the Lüshi Chunqiu are supposed to reflect the original stage in which the first half of the Book of Filiality was written. It is reasonable to assume that the main part of the book was composed in the mid-third century B.C.E., and that its latter half was written in the following decades. Probably the final edition of the Book of Filiality was done in the reign of King Xian 獻王 (155-130 B.C.E.) in the Hejian 河間 state. But, taking into consideration the difference between the New Text and the Old Text versions, it is more likely that the completion of the latter half was before King Xian and the original text was circulated in various places until it differentiated into the version in the Hejian state (=the New Text) and that of the Lu district (=the Old Text).

Based on this understanding of each chapter, we must summarize the thought of the book.

## (B) The Philosophical Motifs of the Book of Filiality

### (1) Filial government

The most prominent feature of the Book of Filiality is that the purpose of the book is to convert the Son of Heaven to filial government. This means two things; first, the target of the book is the Son of Heaven, and, secondly, the book discusses government (government according to the spirit of filiality) rather than filiality itself, in spite of its title. The first point shows that the book (strictly speaking, the main part of the book) was written when the unification of China was only a question of time. Naturally, this tendency is not maintained in all chapters of the book; Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen are evidently intended for administrators, and Chapters Twenty to Twenty-two discuss the filiality of the common people. Generally speaking, the first half of the book speaks of the government of the Son of Heaven more than the latter half <sup>[54]</sup>.

### (2) The extension of filiality to a general ethical principle (What is filial government?)

The second point mentioned above (that is, the main theme of the book is government rather than filiality) shows that the main purpose of the book is to discuss retainer-monarch relationships rather than parent-child relationships. In other words, the writer of the book tried to shift filial piety (the ethics of kinship relations) into ethics for the whole society. Originally, the philosopher that developed this shift was Mencius, who asserted that government should be carried out as the extension of filial piety <sup>[55]</sup>. But what we should take into consideration is that the actual contents of this extension can be differently understood and used by different philosophers. We can find five kinds of ideas that express the extension of filial piety;

- a) The shift of a son's filial piety to a retainer's loyalty. This is the idea that filiality is essentially obedience to monarchical authority; filial government is to maintain the dignity of authority by promoting that of parenthood. The basis of this shift is principally the dichotomy between love and reverence, which will be discussed later. In the Book of Filiality this idea can be seen in the later half of Chapter One, Chapter Five, the later half of Chapter Ten, Chapter Eleven, Chapter Fourteen and Chapter Sixteen. Obviously, this is a very important idea in this book and in related documents, as will be discussed in the next chapter, but it is not so clear in the Mencius <sup>[5 6]</sup>. In the Analects, a statement of Youzi 有子 (Master You) says, "Those who in private life behave well towards their parents and older brothers, in public life seldom show a disposition to resist the authority of their superiors 其為人也、孝弟好犯上者、鮮矣" (I-2, Waley p.83).
- b) The extension of filial piety into humanity. This is the idea that filial piety can be extended into general ethics applicable to all human relations. This is the main theme in Mencius' philosophy of filiality. But this tendency is not stressed in the Book of Filiality, except for some comments such as "filiality is the foundation of virtue" in Chapter One (Makra, p.3) and "filiality is the principle of Heaven" (p.15) in Chapter Eight.
- c) The idea that the Son of Heaven should govern based on the spirit of filiality, that is, respectfulness to others. This can be seen in Chapters Two, Eight, Nine and Thirteen. This idea expresses that both aspects of filiality, which are love and reverence, should be equally extended to people, and it differs from the first idea (the idea that filiality equals loyalty), because in the first idea the element of reverence which is shared by filiality and loyalty should be extended.
- d) The enlightening function of a monarch's filial piety, that is, the idea that the filial behavior of the Son of Heaven to his parents can

inspire the people to filial piety. A monarch's own filial piety is mentioned in the first half of Chapter Ten and in Chapter Seventeen, but this theme is not strongly maintained through the whole book. Mencius emphasized this aspect, as when he asserts, "Shun did everything that was possible to serve his parents, and succeeded, in the end, in pleasing the Blind Man. Once the Blind Man was pleased, the Empire was transformed. 舜盡事親之道、而瞽瞍底豫、瞽瞍底豫而天下化。" (IVa-28, Lau 1984, p.157).

e) The equality between the management of a family and official administration. This is the idea that an administrator should practice patriarchal government<sup>[57]</sup>, and is found only in Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen. This idea is faint in the Mencius and the Analects<sup>[58]</sup>.

Two points can be learned from this list; first, extension to an ethics of kinship relations has always been the heart of the philosophy of filiality since Mencius, but there is a difference of logical structure between the Mencius and the Book of Filiality. In Mencius, the ethics of the parent-child relationship can be extended into a more general ethics applicable to every human relationship, and filial government is asserted on this basis. In the Book of Filiality the logical basis is not the shift of filial piety to humanity but the shift of filial piety to loyalty. In other words, filial government is justified in the book because filiality can promote an obedient mentality in the common people. Compared with Mencius, this is more monarch-centered, and we will see in the next chapter this perspective was developed in the documents that were produced after Mencius but before the Book of Filiality.

Secondly, though the main theme of the book is the government of the Son of Heaven based on the extension of filial piety, the other element (the idea that an administrator should practice patriarchal government) can be also found in the book, especially in its latter

half. As mentioned in the last section, the latter half of the book was written later than the former half, so the element of the patriarchal administration belongs to the newer strata in the book. We can assume from this that the latter half of the book was intended for neither the Son of Heaven nor the common people but for the government bureaucracy or, in other words, for the middle class from which government officials came. Shin'ichirô Watanabe says, "The people that the Book of Filiality tried to persuade in filiality included both the Son of Heaven and officers, but the latter were especially important. The officers --- were the people who became the administrators supervising their inferiors and governing the common people" (1987, p.421). He thinks that the main purpose of the book was to make them good administrators of the people and loyal retainers for the Son of Heaven. What Watanabe discusses concerning the situation of the Han empire is not wrong at all, but his assertion that the purpose of the whole book was to persuade administrators is difficult to accept, because this is the case only in the latter half of the Book of Filiality and it is not the main purpose of its original part.

### (3) How to describe the essential quality of filiality

As has been discussed above, the philosophy of filiality is always characterized by its extension of the ethics of kinship relations. This would be a matter of course because the father-son relation was not so important in the time the book was produced as in the Western Zhou period, and discussing filiality had to have meaning beyond that relationship. But it was necessary to show the reason why filiality was extensible. In the Book of Filiality, two kinds of reasons are presented as the description of the essential quality of the ethics of father-son relations.

First, filiality is prescribed as "the foundation of virtue" in

Chapter One (Makra p.3). This idea, already found in the Analects and stressed very much by Mencius, shows that the ethics of the father-son relations are important as the starting point, and that it is desirable to ascend to higher virtue such as humanity. On the contrary, when the book says, “Filiality is the principle of Heaven 孝、天之經也” (Makra p.15) and “The relation between father and son is rooted in heavenly nature 父子之道、天性也”, the ethics of father-son relations are described as human nature that includes every virtue<sup>[59]</sup>. According to this idea, filiality is the only and highest virtue, which is not found in the Mencius. But it was very popular in the Zhanguo to Han periods to seek for the root of human ethics in Heaven and Earth, as Sôkichi Tsuda has pointed out (vol.18, p.36-40). For example, this idea can be typically found in the chapter of “Xici 繫辭” in the Book of Changes<sup>[60]</sup> and in the “Liyun 禮運” chapter of the Book of Rites<sup>[61]</sup>. There is a statement attributed to Zichan 子產 in “the twentieth year of Duke Zhao” in the Zuozhuan, which says, “The Rites are the principle of Heaven and the standard of Earth 夫禮、天之經也、地之義也<sup>[62]</sup>” (CQ-HY p.414), and Xun Qing also says that Heaven is the root of the rites<sup>[63]</sup>. It can be assumed that the Book of Filiality used this kind of idea to justify the universality of filiality.

What is worth noting is that the latter motif (the idea that filiality is human nature including the ethics of every human relationship) is combined with the motif of “government is effective without being severe” (Makra p.15)<sup>[64]</sup> to support the motif of “filial government” in the Book of Filiality. Since filiality is based on human nature, government based on filiality will be accepted by people without any resistance, and there will be no need to force people to follow the government. This idea is similar to the thought of the Daoist philosophers such as in the Daodejing, as Chôhachi Itano has pointed out (1955, p.24). Because Daoist philosophy was popular in the beginning of the



Western Han period, the Book of Filiality was probably influenced by it as well.

#### (4) The contents of filial piety

Indeed the main theme of the Book of Filiality is to extend the ethics of parent-child relations, as mentioned above, but it is still necessary to identify the actual contents of filiality (what a filial son should do) in order to make the logic of the extension more persuasive. Concerning the actual contents of the ethics for parent-child relations, two kinds of motif are presented in Chapter One; one is passive and the other is positive. The passive one is the motif of “Seeing that our body, with hair and skin, is delivered from our parents, we should not allow it to be injured in any way 身體髮膚、受之父母、不敢毀傷” (Makra p.3). We noted in the last chapter that it was one of the most important ideas that constituted the philosophy of filiality in the Analects and the Mencius. In the Book of Filiality, this motif is developed into the motif of self-preservation, and then combined with the motif of following the regulations, which is typically found in Chapters Three, Four and Thirteen. This motif (or, combination of motifs) was developed in documents after Mencius and functioned to logically guarantee the usefulness of filiality for monarchical government, because filiality promotes a passive and obedient mentality.

The positive motif is “to perpetuate our name for future generations 揚名於後世” (Makra p.3), and this idea is rooted in the motif of “the utilitarianism of filiality” found in the Mencius. This is also important in the motif of filial government, because success in imperial bureaucracy is premised on loyalty to monarchical authority.

#### (5) The dichotomy between love and reverence or veneration

As sometimes mentioned in the last section, this is an important

concept in the book, because it logically enables filiality to be extended into the loyalty to a monarch, as Chapters Two, Five and Ten suggest; by dividing filiality into love and reverence and identifying the latter as loyalty, that is, by identifying a part of filiality as loyalty to a monarch, the Book of Filiality succeeded in overcoming the contradiction between familial ethics and political ethics. Shinichirô Watanabe attributes both love and reverence to human emotion (1986, p.71-74), but his interpretation is misleading. Nobuyuki Kaji's understanding is more acceptable, when he suggests that reverence belongs to "the rational aspect", while love belongs to "the emotional aspect" (1964-2, p.67). These two concepts should be understood as two different elements that consist of a father-son relationship; reverence indicates authority inherent in fatherhood, while love means the affectionate bond among kin.

This dichotomy is important not only because it is the logical basis for filial government. What should be more stressed is that the concepts of love and reverence reveal the essence of filiality or, strictly speaking, the essence of ancestor worship. As we have discussed in the introductory part of this dissertation, a father-son relationship that is the basis for ancestor worship has a binary quality; first, this relationship is the affectionate one rooted in the biological fact that father (or parents) begets and fosters a son, and secondly it is the social relation between the head of such a group as lineage or family and its following members. This relation is found everywhere, but the distinctive feature of the father-son relation is that these two aspects form an indivisible whole in filiality. Filiality is the ethics of a son's obedience to a father, and ancestor worship is the religious expression of this ethics, but a son does not realize his obedience to father as the relation of a follower to his leader because, according to filiality, a son's love to his father makes him obedient to his father.

Ancestor worship should be also understood as the religious expression of loyalty to ancestors, that is a symbol of the headship of a kinship group, in combination with love to forebears; from the functionalist point of view, ancestor worship is a social device to maintain the social structure, but it is a clever way to transmute the affection of the living for the dead into obedience to the authority of ancestors and, moreover, to make the living unaware of this mechanism. For the living descendants affection to an ancestor is the main point of ancestor worship, but their affection brings them to subordination. Thus, filiality, or the ethical expression of ancestor worship, can be said to be the philosophy of promoting spontaneous subordination.

That the Book of Filiality presents the dichotomy between love and reverence means that the writer of the book realized this basic mechanism of filiality or ancestor worship and discovered the binary quality of the father-son relation. Thus, this book enabled the philosophy concealed in ancestor worship to acquire universal validity and to survive the social changes in which lineages collapsed. Though the binary feature is the innate and essential quality of fatherhood itself, the quality which can be found in the fatherhood in any culture and any period, this feature is especially prominent in lineage societies such as society in the Western Zhou period, because in such a society fatherhood symbolizing the authority of a descent group is nothing but the authority of the whole society. This cannot apply to the post-lineage situation, in which fatherhood is merely one of the authorities in a society that is not based on the descent principle; other authority, such as that of government, is more influential than that of fatherhood. By stipulating the binary feature, it becomes possible to deal with fatherhood as the symbol of any kind of authority in philosophical discussions. Indeed this kind of discussion does not have reality, because fatherhood in reality does not equal authority in general. But the

dichotomy of love and reverence enables fatherhood to be substituted for, or to symbolize, authority of any kind, the authority of a monarch, government, society and universal order. Discussing filiality in philosophy, thus, becomes discussing the proper attitude to governmental authority, justice in the social order and ethics based on the universal authority. For example, Chapter Five succeeds in identifying obedience to father's authority with that to the authority of monarchs; Chapter Two replaces obedience to father's authority with respect for the dignity of human beings. Chapter Ten successfully develops obedience to the authority of the father into veneration to Heaven (or God), by taking the process of socialization into consideration.

Next, we have to point out that, though this dichotomy is a great achievement of the Book of Filiality, it originated in a conceptual framework in Zhanguo philosophy. For example, the Analects says;

The Master said, "In guiding a state of a thousand chariots, approach your duties with reverence and be trustworthy in what you say; avoid excesses in expenditure and love your fellow men; employ the labor of the common people only in the right seasons. (I-5, Lau 1983, p.3)

子曰、「道千乘之國、敬事而信、節用而愛人、使民以時。」

The Master said, "Rule over them (=people) with dignity and they will be reverent; treat them with kindness and they will be hearty. (II-2, Lau 1983, p.15)

子曰、「臨之以莊、則敬。孝慈、則忠。」

The Master said, "While at home hold yourself in a respectful attitude; when serving in an official capacity be reverent; when dealing with others be hearty. --- " (XIII-19, Lau 1983, p.127)

子曰、「居處恭、執事敬、與人忠 ---」

In these examples, the philanthropic aspect which is called ai 愛 or zhong 忠<sup>[65]</sup> stands side by side with respectfulness to stern status

order. It will be easy to find that this confrontation of two concepts is essentially the same as the dichotomy between love and reverence. This pair of concepts is even more important in Mencius' thought. In his disputes with Gaozi and Meng Jizi, which have already been cited and discussed in the last chapter of this dissertation (VIa-4 and 5, Lau 1984, p.224-7), he attributes humanity (ren 仁) and righteousness (yi 義) to nei 內 or "the inside" of a man, that is to the feelings. Gaozi 告子 objected to this by asserting that humanity (or affection) belongs to "the inside", and righteousness (or social justice) to "the outside". This situation suggests that ideas of human nature in the Zhanguo period included the viewpoint that human beings were composed of both instinctive feeling and the objective behavioral standards, as Tetsuo Shimamori has discussed (1983, p.25-34). This view of human nature was the basis for the dichotomy between love and reverence. In fact, the dichotomy between love and reverence was presented in the Mencius as a supplement to the dichotomy of humanity and righteousness. For example;

Mencius said, "A gentleman differs from other men in that he retains his heart. A gentleman retains his heart by means of benevolence and the rites. The benevolent man loves others, and the courteous man respects others. ---" (IVb-28, Lau 1984, p.169)

孟子曰、「君子所以異於人者、以其存心也。君子以仁存心、以禮存心。仁者愛人、有禮者敬人。---」

There are no young children who do not know loving their parents, and none of them when they grow up will not know respecting their elder brothers. Loving one's parents is benevolence; respecting one's elders is rightness. (VIIa-15, Lau 1984, p.269)

孩提之童、無不知愛其親者、及其長也、無不知敬其兄者。親親、仁也。敬長、義也。

In these examples, love is identified as the concrete content of humanity and reverence that of righteousness. Therefore, it is reasonable to

assume that the dichotomy between love and reverence originated in Mencius' ideas of humanity and righteousness.

Naturally enough, this fact does not mean that the dichotomy and Mencius' ideas had the same content. Because Mencius attributed both humanity and righteousness to "the inside" (=human feelings), these two principles were characterized as two aspects of a unity by him<sup>[66]</sup>, and were not sanctioned as essentially different ethics independent of each other. His interests lay in maintaining as a unified whole of the moral value in kinship relations as well as in human nature and, in this sense, we can say that he could not recognize the binary quality of the father-son relationship. This is the reason his teachings had a tendency to tolerate the unlimited extension of familial affection, while sometimes putting more stress on love, and contained a potential danger to social order. In the Book of Filiality, the concepts of love and reverence are described as two components of filiality, and reverence is more emphasized than in the Mencius, because the ethics in kinship relations can be transmuted into universal ethics through reverence. Though the book uses the same dichotomy as does the Mencius, it succeeds in reducing the anti-social and anti-order potential of his ideas.

The dichotomy between love and reverence is sometimes mentioned by Xun Qing, too. But it does not seem that the concepts are given importance by him, compared with Mencius. When Xun Qing uses the dichotomy between love and reverence, he seems to mean both emotional familiarity and behavioral rightness. For example, Chapter Six ("Fei Shierzi 非十二子") of the Xunzi says;

When such a man (= one to whom the whole world would willingly submit) unexpectedly encounters his lord, he devotes himself to observing the protocol appropriate to a minister and subject. When he meets a fellow villager, he makes it his object to employ all the courtesy due age and accomplishment. When he encounters an older

person, he devotes himself to observing the demeanor of a son or younger brother. When he meets a friend, he devotes himself to showing the appropriate courtesies and rules, polite refusals and yielding precedence. When he encounters someone of lower station or younger than himself, he devotes himself to the manner appropriate to guidance, instruction, magnanimity, and tolerance. There are none he does not love, none does not he respect. (Knoblock 1988, p.227).

遇君則修臣下之義、遇鄉則修長幼之義、遇長則修子弟之義、遇友則修禮節辭讓之義、遇賤而少者則修告導寬容之義、無不愛也、無不敬也。(XZ-HY p.16)

Chapter Seven (“Zhongni 仲尼”) says;

The Method of Governing the Empire: By serving your prince, you will certainly succeed; by looking after others you will assuredly become wise; establish the great mean and be not double-minded. Then, be respectful in putting this method first; be loyal and faithful in being controlled by it ----- . Seek for little, but merit much. Not be fatigued in love and respectfulness. (Dubs 1928, p.88)

天下之行術、以事君則必通、以為仁則必聖、立隆而勿貳也。然後恭敬以先之、忠信以統之、----- 省求多功、愛敬不倦。(XZ-HY p.18)

In all these examples, the dichotomy between love and reverence does not seem to play an important role. But this does not necessarily mean that this kind of dichotomy is not used by Xun Qing. As was already discussed in the last chapter, the dichotomy between human nature and social justice is found in his philosophy, and plays a crucial role when he discusses the Rites.

What is the origin of ritual? I reply: man is born with desires. If his desires are not satisfied for him, he cannot but seek some means to satisfy them himself. If there are no limits and degrees to his seeking, then he will inevitably fall to wrangling with other men. From wrangling comes disorder and from disorder comes exhaustion. The ancient kings hated such disorder, and therefore they estab-

lished ritual principles ----- (Watson 1963, p.89)

禮起於何也。人生而有欲、欲而不得、則不能無求、求而無度量分界、則不能  
不爭、爭則亂、亂則窮、先王惡其亂也、故制禮義以分之。(XZ-HY p.70)

Here human feelings are considered to be the root of evil, which should be rectified by the Rites. If we can say that human feelings belong to “the inside”, following Gaozi’s manner, the Rites will belong to “the outside”. Strictly speaking, Xun Qing’s concept of the Rites is a synthesis between “the inside” and “the outside”, as can be seen from the following;

Therefore, it is said that human nature is the basis and raw material, and conscious activity is responsible for what is adorned, ordered and flourishing. If there were no human nature, there would be nothing for conscious activity to work upon, and if there were no conscious activity, then human nature would have no way to beautify itself. Only when nature and conscious activity combine does a true sage emerge (Watson p.102)

故曰、性者、本始材朴也。偽者、文理隆盛也。無性則偽之無所加、無偽則性不能自美。性偽合、然後聖人之名。(XZ-HY p.73)

When (rites) are performed in the highest manner, then both the emotions and the forms embodying them are fully realized; in the next best manner, the emotional content and the forms prevail by turns; in the poorest manner, everything reverts to emotion and finds unity in that alone. (Watson p.94)

故至備情文俱盡、其次情文代勝、其下復情以歸大一也。(XZ-HY p.71)

According to these passages, the counterpart of human nature (qing 情 or xing 性) is cultural embellishment, which is called wei 偽 or wen 文.

The Rites are prescriptions to keep the balance between them. Therefore, a dichotomy between “the inside” (human nature) and “the outside” (culture or society) underlies the thought of Xun Qing.

In brief, the background of the dichotomy of love and reverence in



the Book of Filiality can be sought for in the dichotomy between human emotion and social justice, which was important in discussions of human nature in the Zhanguo period. Considering the problem from this viewpoint, we can say that the dichotomy between love and reverence was important not only in the philosophy of filiality but also in discussions of human nature, because discussions about human nature were essentially a way for the philosophers to inquire about the relationship between social justice and human feelings. The dichotomy between love and reverence in the Book of Filiality was an answer to this inquiry.

#### (6) Fatherhood as the symbolic expression of supreme being

As has been repeatedly pointed out in this dissertation, the Book of Filiality is a document whose main purpose is to convert the Son of Heaven to filial government. Because of this, importance is not given to how a son should actually behave toward his parents, and the “father and mother” the book refers to seem to mean something slightly different from real parents. So, the problem is what is really meant when the book mentions “father and mother”; this problem is closely related to the dichotomy discussed above.

There are several ways in which the term “father and mother” are used in the book. For example, it is sometimes used to express the internalized image of parents rather than living parents<sup>[67]</sup>. In Chapter One parents are identified as the source of one’s existence. (This idea plays an important role in such a related document as “the Great Filiality of Zengzi”, so it will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.) But the most interesting ideas are found in Chapters Ten, Fourteen and Seventeen. Chapter Ten expresses authority of fatherhood in combination with that of Heaven. In other words, parents are identified with the highest authority, symbolized by Heaven. Chapter Fourteen contains the same idea as this, because there parents are put in the same category as

“superiors (shang 上)” and “doctrines (fa 法)”. These chapters show that “father and mother” are recognized in the philosophy of filiality as the symbol of the authority itself, authority as the heart of society on which social order is based. At this point authority means not only the political authority of monarchy but also that of the Way in Universe, because “doctrines” are distinguished from “a monarch” and combined with “the Sage” in Chapter Fourteen, that is, “doctrines (fa)” are thought to be coincident with the Way rather than laws.

As we have discussed, the dichotomy between love and reverence made this symbolism possible, or, precisely speaking, made it possible for this symbolism to survive social changes in the post-lineage situation, because this symbolism was the essential feature of ancestor worship in Western Zhou society. However, since the image of the father did not bear such universal authority in the period when the Book of Filiality was written, the philosophy of filiality subtly replaced fatherhood with universal authority. The term “father and mother” was metaphorically used in the philosophy of filiality. In other words, fatherhood became a metaphor to express the supreme being. Filial government that the Book of Filiality asserts is, therefore, to authorize the supreme being that the order of society is based on as well as to dignify the authority of the Son of Heaven. This is what is meant by “venerating the father (yan fu 嚴父)” in Chapter Ten. Inevitably, symbolic expressions of the Rites have to be adopted “to venerate father”; ancestral rites and the sacrifices to ancestors combined with Heaven (pei tian 配天) are symbolic rituals to dignify universal authority under the guise of fatherhood.

#### (7) The motif of the response between Heaven and people

This idea, mainly found in Chapter Nine and Chapter Seventeen, is also related to the Rites. Because the term “father and mother” is used

as a symbol of absolute authority, filial behavior to parents is held to satisfy deities and Heaven.

(8) The motif of remonstrance

Already discussed above.

(8) The three classes of society

As Shin'ichirô Watanabe has pointed out, the Book of Filiality basically recognizes a state to be constituted by three kinds of people: a monarch, officers and common people (Watanabe 1987, p.406; also see p.150 of this dissertation). This idea, not only underlies the discussion of Chapters Two to Six, but also is found in Chapters Nine and Thirteen <sup>[68]</sup>.

In brief, we can see in the Book of Filiality a kind of political philosophy, the main assertion of which is to dignify authority in society, introducing the symbolism in which the authority of Absolute Being is expressed by fatherhood. This symbolism was the basic feature of ancestor worship in the Western Zhou period, and the book grasped and activated it, so as to enable the symbolism survive the collapse of lineage. This does not mean that the book made ancestor worship survive during the whole history of China, because functions of ancestor worship in each period should be sought for in its social structure. What the book gave ancestor worship was an ideology for it, or something like a basic framework in which ancestor worship could work. Figuratively speaking, the Book of Filiality was like a charter in Imperial China, and how to activate the charter depended on the situation of each time.

The historical background in which the book was composed has to be discussed more in the next chapter. What we can say about it here is the first half of the book was written to persuade the Son of Heaven when

China was about to be unified, and that the latter half was intended for officers because by the time it was composed the imperial system had been established.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE BOOK OF FILIALITY

We will discuss in this chapter how the philosophy of filiality was developed in the late Zhanguo period before the philosophy was established in the Book of Filiality. The history of this development is reflected in the six documents which are referred to in the last chapter. These documents clearly have a close relationship with the Book of Filiality, not only because they discuss filiality as their main theme but also because they share many ideas about filiality. In addition, our discussion in this chapter will show that the ideas of these documents are less “mature” or less comprehensive than that of the Book of Filiality, and that they reflect the philosophical attempt to adapt Mencius’ idea of filiality to the historical condition of the late Zhanguo period.

Thus, these documents can be summarized as the transitional stage between Mencius and the Book of Filiality, but we cannot ignore that they include some unique ideas that are not emphasized in the Book of Filiality. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify their philosophical achievement as well as the historical development of the philosophy.

Of these six documents, a close relation can be seen between three: “the Great Filiality of Zengzi 曾子大孝篇” (abbreviated as “the Great Filiality”) in the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記, “the Meaning of Rites 祭義” in the Book of Rites 禮記 and “the Filial Behavior chapter 孝行覽” (abbreviated as “the Filial Behavior”) in the Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋. Because this relation looks so confused, we will deal with these three first, and then discuss respectively the other three documents: “the Basic Filiality of Zengzi 曾子本孝篇” (abbreviated as “the Basic Filiality”), “the Establishing Filiality of Zengzi 曾子立孝篇” (abbreviated as “the Establishing Filiality”) and “Zengzi’s Serving Parents 曾子事父母篇”

(abbreviated as “the Serving Parents”) in the Dadai Liji.

Almost no bibliographical information is known about these documents, except for “the Filial Behavior” in the Lüshi Chunqiu, which was edited by Lü Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 B.C.E.). The writer of “the Filial Behavior” is not known, however, and we can only assume that he was one of Confucianists patronized by Lü Buwei in the Qin state. All the titles of the four documents in the Dadai Liji includes the name of Zengzi (Zeng Can 曾參, 505–435 B.C), and they are generally attributed to what is called “the school of Zengzi 曾子學派”, which we will discuss later.

(1) “The Great Filiality 大孝篇” in the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記,  
a part of “the Meaning of Rites 祭義篇” in the Book of Rites 禮記,  
and “the Filial Behavior chapter 孝行覽” in the Lüshi Chunqiu 呂氏春秋

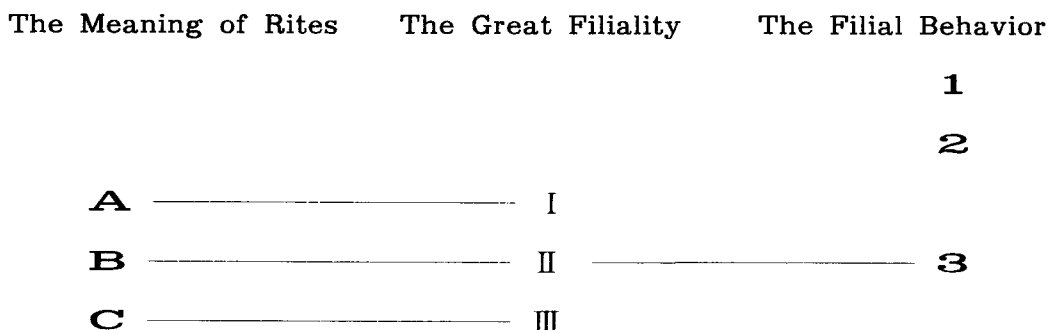
What we call a part of “the Meaning of Rites” here is the twenty-ninth to the thirty-fourth sections of “the Meaning of Rites” chapter, according to Kong Yingda’s 孔穎達 (574–648) classification. (LJZS vol. 47–48, Legge 1885 vol.2, p.226–9; “There are three kinds of filiality. The greatest degree of filiality is to honor one’s parents. 孝有三。大孝尊親” to “Not to disgrace one’s parents and not to cause shame to one’s parents; these can be called being filial. 不辱其親、不羞其親、可謂孝矣”). The chapter on “the Meaning of Rites” is an incoherent document which consists of many essays. When this chapter was edited, the editor compiled the earlier documents, and the part discussed here was one of them. This part will be referred to only as “the Meaning of Rites” in the following discussion.

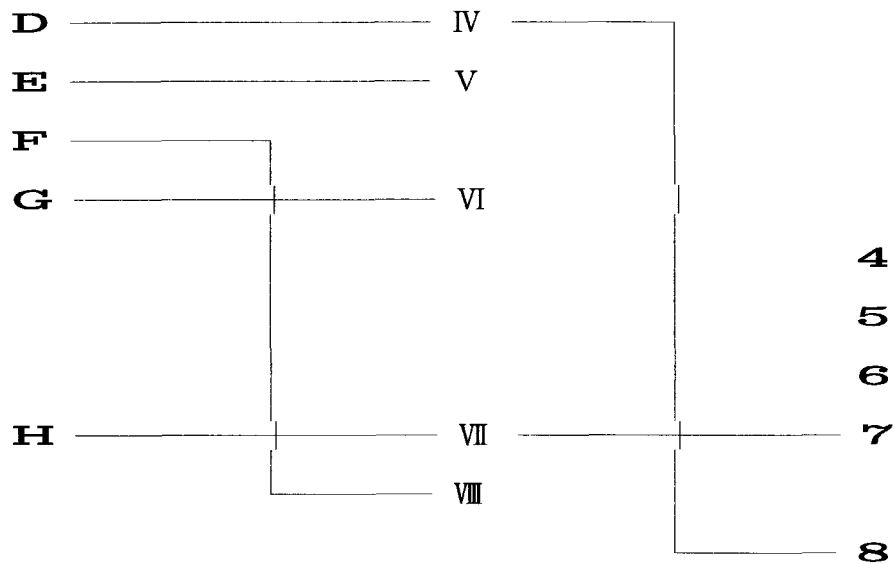
The relation between these three documents is as follows ; at first, “the Great Filiality” is almost identical with “the Meaning of Rites” in spite of the difference of some paragraphs. The biggest differences among these documents are (1) that the last passage of “the

Great Filiality” (“Trees should be felled at the (proper) time and animals should be killed at the (proper) time. The Master said, ‘To fell a single tree or to kill a single animal, if not at the (proper) time, is contrary to filiality.’ 草木以時伐焉、禽獸以時殺焉。夫子曰、伐一木、殺一獸、不以其時、非孝也。” See Legge 1885, vol.2, p.227) is placed before the sentence “there are three kinds of filiality 孝有三” in “the Meaning of Rites” and (2) that “the Meaning of Rites” repeats the phrase “Zengzi said 曾子曰” three times, while “the Great Filiality” refers to this phrase once. It can be assumed that these two documents share the same origin.

Secondly, the relation of “the Filial Behavior chapter” with these two documents looks more complicated. “The Filial Behavior” can be divided into eight paragraphs, while “the Great Filiality” and “the Meaning of Rites” can be divided into eight paragraphs respectively. The first two paragraphs of “the Filial Behavior” seem to compose a continuous section, as we will discuss later. Of the latter six paragraphs, the third, seventh and eighth paragraphs are quite similar respectively to the second, seventh and fourth paragraphs in “the Great Filiality” and “the Meaning of Rites”. Besides, we can find out the sentences similar to the fourth paragraph in the thirteenth section of “the Meaning of Rites” chapter in the Book of Rites (Legge 1885, vol.2, p.216, LJZS vol.47, p.366) <sup>[1]</sup>. This relation is summarized on the following charts:

CHART FOUR: The relationship among the three documents





Finally, as was mentioned in the last chapter, the second paragraph of “the Filial Behavior” includes the sentences similar to those in Chapter Two (“the Son of Heaven”) of the Book of Filiality. Before considering the relationships among the documents, we will summarize the contents of “the Filial Behavior”.

#### “The Filial Behavior”

[Par. 1] The most important principle in governing the world is “the basis”. To “exert oneself in the basis (wu ben 務本)”, filiality is most important. When the Son of Heaven is filial, it brings about his good reputation and successful government. When a retainer is filial, he is necessarily loyal to his monarch. When people are filial, it brings about good harvest and strong military forces.

[Par. 2] Filiality is “the one way (yi shu 一術)”, with which the Son of Heaven can govern the world. The spirit of filiality is to think much of those with whom one is familiar, and to extend this attitude to those with whom one is not familiar; that is, to love and respect every human being. The filiality of the Son of Heaven is to extend children’s love and reverence to their parents beyond a parent-child relationship.





[Par. 3] Zeng Can's speech. Our bodies are not owned by us, but are "our parents' bodies transmitted to us 親之遺體". To be filial, we should recognize this fact, follow every regulation so as not to hurt ourselves, attend diligently to our duties and take part in military operations. Otherwise, we will be punished and the disgrace will reach our parents.

[par. 4] Zeng Can's speech. There are five ways to govern the world: to honor the virtuous, to honor the noble, to honor the old, to respect seniors and to love the young. In other words, they are to follow ethical norms and social order and to promote the affection for kin.

[Par. 5] Zeng Can's speech. Our bodies should not be hurt because they are not our property. We have to behave carefully so as not to hurt ourselves in any way.

[Par. 6] There are five ways for serving the superior: taking care of bodies, eyes, ears, mouths and hearts. This paragraph does not clarify who receives the service.

[par. 7] An episode about Lezheng Zichun 樂正子春. When Lezheng Zichun, a disciple of Zeng Can, hurt his leg, he confessed that he was not filial because he failed in the most important duty of filiality, which was to conserve one's own body that was transmitted by parents.

[Par. 8] The most basic principle for human beings is filiality, and the behavioral aspect of filiality is called nurturing (yang 養). But the mental aspect of filiality, which is called reverence (jing 敬) or reassurance (an 安), is superior to the mere service. But the highest level of filiality is to complete (zu 卒) filiality, that is, to continue to be filial to the internalized image of one's parents after their death and to live a virtuous life so as not to give bad reputation to the parents. Based on this spirit, every ethical code is established.

Obviously, this document is not logically consistent, and it can be

assumed to be a compilation of preceding discussions about filiality. For instance, the first and second paragraphs discuss “filial government”, which is a main theme of the Book of Filiality. The fourth paragraph also discusses government based on the ethics of kinship, but it does not refer to “filiality (xiao 孝)”. Though the sixth paragraph discusses “nurturing/service (yang 養)”, which is an important concept in the discussion of filiality as the eighth paragraph shows, it can be understood to discuss “service” in general, not necessarily serving parents. The third, fifth and seventh paragraphs argue that one should follow regulations so as not to hurt oneself in any way. The eighth paragraph asserts that filiality is the basis for other ethics. Taking into consideration the fact that the third, seventh and eighth paragraphs are similar to the sentences of “the Great Filiality”, we can think that this document is divided into two parts (the first two paragraphs and the other six paragraphs).

The ideas presented in the first half of this document are quite similar to those in the Book of Filiality. The idea of filiality as “the basis (ben 本)” or “the one way (yi shu 一術)” for government is the same as the idea that “filiality is the foundation of virtue 孝、德之本也” or the idea of filiality as “the highest virtue and the vital way of keeping the world obedient 至德要道以訓天下” (Makra p.3) in Chapter One of the Book of Filiality. When “the Filial Behavior” says “when a retainer is filial, he will be loyal in serving his monarch 人臣孝、則事君忠”, it asserts the extension of filiality into loyalty. This idea is prominent in the Book of Filiality, which says “to serve the monarch with filiality is to serve him with loyalty 以孝事君則忠” (Makra p.11). The idea that “when a monarch is filial, his name will be glorified and honored 人主孝、則名章榮” is similar to the idea that “to perpetuate our name for future generations and to give glory to our parents; this is the end of filiality 揚名於後世、以顯父母、孝之終也” (Makra p.3) in the

Book of Filiality. Finally, the most striking evidence of the similarity between the first half of “the Filial Behavior” and the Book of Filiality is the passages in the second paragraph below;

Therefore, he (= an early king) loves his parents and does not dare to hate others. He reverences his parents and does not dare to act contemptuously toward other. By love and reverence being perfectly fulfilled in the service of his parents, his brilliant virtue is applied to the people and spreads over the world surrounded by the four seas. This is the filiality of the Son of Heaven.

故愛其親、不敢惡人、敬其親、不敢慢人。愛敬盡於事親、光耀加於百姓、究於四海、此天子之孝也。

The Chapter Two of the Book of Filiality says;

He who loves his parents does not dare to be hostile to others. He who reverences his parents does not dare to be contemptuous toward others. By love and reverence being perfectly fulfilled in the service of his parents, his moral influence is applied to the people and become the pattern for all the world surrounded by the four seas. This in general is the filiality of the Son of Heaven.

愛親者、不敢惡於人、敬親者、不敢慢於人。愛敬盡於事親、而德教加於百姓、刑於四海、蓋天子之孝也。

It is obvious that this is not a coincidence. As was referred to in the last chapter, this is the key point in deciding whether the Book of Filiality had influence on “the Filial Behavior”, or the former cited the sentences of the latter. Let us examine this problem below.

First, it is quite difficult to assume that the Book of Filiality cited the sentences of the “the Filial Behavior”. For example, guangyao 光耀 in the “Filial Behavior” is a typical Qin-Han term, while dejiao 德教 is a general one. It is more acceptable to assume that the editor of the “Filial Behavior” replaced dejiao with guangyao because the latter sounded new-fashioned. (Based on Professor Ken'ichi Takashima's

suggestion.)

Next, however, it is difficult, though not impossible, to think that “the Filial Behavior” just cited the sentences of the Book of Filiality, or that the sentences of the former were interposed later by mistake, because this part is not a supplement but the conclusion of the first half of “the Filial Behavior”. The first paragraph presents the idea of filiality as the principle for government. Successively, the second paragraph presents the concept of “the one way (yi shu 一術)”: “By adopting the one way, a hundred (pieces of) fortune arrive, a hundred (pieces of) misfortune go away and the world follows him; this (= the one way that makes these possible) is only filiality. 夫執一術、而百善至、百邪去、天下從者、其惟孝也。” But the following sentences discuss not the political aspect of filiality but the general feature of filiality: “If here is a man who (is filial to) those who are familiar and important to him, and if he is not loose and contemptuous toward those who are distant and not important to him, he is sincere and reverent to the way of filiality. 今有人於此、行於親重、而不簡慢於輕疏、則是篤謹孝道。” According to this, the essence of filiality is not only the love to the familiar but the respect for every human being, and this spirit is also “how early kings governed the world 先王之所以治天下也”. At this point, the reason is not clarified why the respect for every human being can be “how early kings governed the world”. Therefore, if the document did not discuss that the Son of Heaven should cultivate people in humanity by showing his respect to humanity, it would be logically incomplete. This situation suggests that these sentences are neither a mere borrowed supplement nor a later addition but a concluding part of the first half of “the Filial Behavior”.

Even if so, however, it is still possible to think that the writer of “the Filial Behavior” consulted the Book of Filiality in some way and made use of its sentences to conclude his article. The important point

in solving the problem lies in the difference of the logical structure between two documents. It is asserted in the first paragraph of “the Filial Behavior” that filiality is the basis for government because filiality can be shifted into loyalty. But the reason why filiality can be shifted into loyalty is shown not in the first and second paragraphs but in the third paragraph<sup>[2]</sup>, which we will argue is a citation from another document. In the Book of Filiality, the logic to enable this shift is the dichotomy between love and reverence, as has been discussed in the last chapter, and hence the importance of this dichotomy. “The Filial Behavior” refers to the dichotomy between love and reverence, but seems not to put stress on it. It can be understood that the document does not make efficient use of the dichotomy, though presenting it, and that the Book of Filiality further develops this idea.

In other words, the discussion of filial government in “the Filial Behavior” (as well as Chapter Two of the Book of Filiality) is not really a dualistic theory, in spite of the dichotomy it presents; both filial love and reverence should be equally extended into the respect for humanity, and there seems to be recognized no tension between these two elements. The Book of Filiality, on the other hand, places more emphasis on the ambiguity of a father-son relationship and the element of reverence. In Chapter Ten, for example, filial government is defined as dignifying authority symbolized by fatherhood through its ritual expression, and this idea is more realistic than the idea that filial government is merely the respect for humanity. Furthermore, when Chapter Nine of the book says, “When formerly the illustrious kings governed the world by filiality, they did not dare to neglect the ministers of small countries. ----- Thus, they gained the readiness of all countries to serve their former kings. 昔者、明王之以孝治天下也、不敢遺小國之臣 ----- 故得萬國之懽心、以事其先王” (Makra p.17), respect for humanity is presented not only as the way for filial government but also as the

reason that filial government is successful, and this makes the discussion more persuasive. Thus, the logic of the Book of Filiality seems to be mature, compared with that of "the Filial Behavior".

Indeed, it is logically possible that a maturer idea precedes a less mature idea. But, if the writer of "the Filial Behavior" could consult the complete text of the Book of Filiality, that is, if the ideas presented in the book were established enough and well-known, it is difficult to answer the question of why "the Filial Behavior" does not present a more elaborate theory of filial government. We have discussed in the preceding chapter that the Book of Filiality was the result of the accumulation of various strata, and that the first half of the book was composed earlier than the second half. Even the first half consists of various strata of ideas. The above discussion shows, therefore, that the idea presented in Chapter Two and "the Filial Behavior" (the idea that filial government is the respect for humanity) belongs to the earliest stratum in the Book of Filiality. Though it is still difficult to judge whether the writer of "the Filial Behavior" consulted the original version of the Book of Filiality, it is probable that he knew only the earliest ideas in the book even though the book already existed. In other words, the ideas in the Book of Filiality were not known enough, and its first half is assumed to have been composed not long before the edition of the Lüshi Chunqiu.

The latter half of "the Filial Behavior" (the third paragraph to the eighth paragraph) is probably the passages quoted from earlier documents including "the Great Filiality", as mentioned before. Because there is a doubt as to the logical consistency of "the Great Filiality", which will be discussed later, we cannot necessarily decide that the writer of "the Filial Behavior" cited the sentences of "the Great Filiality"; he might have consulted the other documents which had the same sentences as those of "the Great Filiality". But there is no doubt

that he consulted some document when he wrote the latter half. For example, the seventh paragraph says, "Therefore, it is said that one's body is not his private possession but the body of his (dead) venerable parents transmitted to him. 故曰、身者非其私有也、嚴親之遺躬也。" The phrase "therefore, it is said --- 故曰" suggests that this passage is cited from another source. It may be possible to think that the source is a sentence in "the Great Filiality": "One's body is the body of his parents transmitted to him. 身者、親之遺體也。"

We have to consider why the writer quoted passages from earlier documents. The above discussion shows that he wrote only two paragraphs. Why did he do so, instead of writing the whole? It is reasonably expected that the quoted passages were from the documents discussing filiality with which the writer was familiar. He, probably trained in the Confucian tradition of northeast China (around the Lu 魯 or Qi 齊 state)<sup>[3]</sup>, came to the Qin state and was sponsored by Lü Buwei. It is also assumed that, when the Lüshi Chunqiu was edited, he was required to present the theory about filiality that was appropriate to the contemporary situation of the Qin state, which was about to swallow up all other states and bring China under a single authority. As the discussion in the following sections will show, the biggest difference between the first half of "the Filial Behavior" and such an earlier document as "the Great Filiality" is that the main theme of the former is filial government, while the latter mainly discusses the shift of filiality into loyalty. The writer, taking into account the fact that the unification of China was only a matter of time, probably tried to present to the coming Son of Heaven the idea of filiality as a governmental principle, by making use of the sentences of the Book of Filiality. Thus, it can be imagined that, when he wrote the first half of "the Filial Behavior", he quoted the passages from the documents he was familiar with in order to support or authorize his assertion. The passages he quoted are, there-



fore, only the parts favorable to his discussion. For instance, the third paragraph is placed at the beginning of the second half, because it shows effectively that filiality brings about wealth and military strength of a state. The fourth paragraph is adopted though it does not directly related to filiality, because its theme is “the ways the early kings governed the world 先王之所以治天下”. Though the reason the sixth paragraph is included here is not clear, the fifth and seventh paragraph support the idea that “one’s body is his parents’ body transmitted to him 身者父母之遺體” in the third paragraph. The eighth paragraph, prescribing filiality as the basic teaching for people, asserts that filiality is the basis for ethics and government.

Summing up the logic consistent in “the Filial Behavior”, it presents at first the main theme as filial government, then attracts a reader (= the Son of Heaven) by showing that filiality necessarily brings about loyalty, and finally concludes that filiality is the basis for human ethics and government.

#### “The Great Filiality” and “The Meaning of Rites”

There is a difference between the texts of “the Great Filiality” and “the Meaning of Rites”, which should be accounted for. Here we first summarize their contents, depending on the text of “the Great Filiality”.

[Par. 1] Three kinds of filiality: nourishing parents (yang 養), not disgracing parents (bu ru 不辱) and honoring parents (zun qin 尊親). Mere physical service (“nourishing parents”) is distinguished from the more mental aspect of filiality, which is divided into a passive aspect, “not disgracing parents”, and the positive aspect, “honoring parents”. The positive aspect is prescribed as the highest level of filiality, and its spirit is “to carry out (our parents’) wishes before their intention

(is expressed) and to instruct our parents in the Way 先意承志、諭父母以道”。The mental filiality depending on this spirit is real filiality (“what superior men call filiality 君子之所謂孝”), but Zeng Can confesses that he does not reach this level.

[Par. 2] This is almost identical to the third paragraph of “the Filial Behavior”. Based on the fact that one’s body is his parents’ body transmitted to him, this paragraph deduces self-preservation and obedience to regulations. This can be understood to expound the mental aspect of filiality.

[Par. 3] More explanation of the difference between physical service and mental filiality. Mental filiality is to enhance the prestige of one’s parents for them to be praised and envied by all the people. This is an explanation of “honoring parents 尊親” in the first paragraph.

[Par. 4] This is almost identical to the eighth paragraph in “the Filial Behavior”. The distinction between service and filiality is developed here into five levels: service, reverence, reassurance, “long (maintenance of filiality) 久” and completion (zu 卒). In brief, here the mental aspect of filiality is divided into two: the one is filial feelings, such as reverence and reassurance towards the living parents, and the other is obedience to the more abstract image of the parents, especially after their death. While obedience to authority is justified in the second paragraph because disobedience can bring danger to one’s living parents, this paragraph emphasizes morality because one’s disobedience toward social morals can disgrace the name of the dead parents. Thus, filiality is prescribed as the basis on which all social norms and governmental principles are established.

[Par. 5] Because filiality is the basis of human life, it is concluded to be the law of the universe.

[Par. 6] The three kinds of filiality: the employment of one’s strength (yong li 用力), the endurance of toil (yong lao 用勞) and never failing

(bu kui 不匱). These three kinds of filiality are different from the three levels presented in the first paragraph. Here, the greatest filiality (“never failing”) is defined as “the wide dispensation (of benefits) and the providing of all things 博施備物”, the middle level as the deference to morals and the lowest as the affection to parents and labor for them. If one does not do wrong in his affection to his parents, deference to morals and sacrifices for his ancestor, his filiality reaches perfection: “the completion of the rites 禮終”.

[Par. 7] This is similar to the seventh paragraph of “the Filial Behavior”. The theme of this paragraph is the negation of one’s free will and self-preservation, as the theme of the second paragraph is.

[Par. 8] This paragraph discusses that it is against filiality to violate regulated codes, even concerning cutting a tree or killing an animal.

Clearly, this document is confused in several points. The first problem is the major difference of the texts between “the Great Filiality” and “the Meaning of the Rites”. As has been mentioned before, the last paragraph of “the Great Filiality” is positioned after the fifth paragraph in “the Meaning of the Rites”. Because the theme of the eighth paragraph is obedience to the norms socially regulated, it is more probable that the seventh and the eighth paragraph constitute a consecutive section than the fifth and the eighth do. The fifth paragraph discusses filiality as a universal law, after the discussion of the second, third and fourth paragraphs which have already deduced obedience to social norms from filiality. If the eighth paragraph is positioned after the fifth paragraph, it would mean that the same theme is repeated. On the other hand, the theme of the seventh paragraph is self-preservation, and it is more persuasive for obedience to social norms to be discussed after that. The text of “the Great Filiality” is better

than that of “the Meaning of the Rites”, at least in this point.

This difference of the texts, however, reflects another confusion in these documents. It seems that the first to the fifth paragraphs constitute a consecutive, logically consistent section on the one hand, while the seventh and eighth paragraph form another part. This confusion, or the inconsistency, is suggested by the three kinds of filiality that the document refers to twice. The three kinds in the first paragraph are concerned with qualitative difference, while the three kinds in the sixth paragraph, casting light on the three aspects of filial behavior such as affection, morality and ritual obligation, seem to be related with the difference of classes. As Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍 has pointed out, “the wide dispensation and the providing of all things 博施備物” can be identified with the filiality of a ruler (vol.4, p.84)<sup>[4]</sup>.

These can be understood to show that the document is not a production of a single author but a combination of sources. The first to fifth paragraphs are the main part of the document; its logic can be summarized as follows. That is, at first, filiality is divided into a physical aspect and a mental aspect, which is superior to the physical one. Next, the mental aspect of filiality is defined as recognizing that one owes his existence to his parents and that one should be discreet in his own existence and obedient to social order and authority. Thus, the essence of filiality is obedience to the internalized image of parents rather than to living parents, so it is asserted that filiality is the standard by which one should control his behavior during his lifetime so as not to damage himself. Because, on the basis of this spirit, all social norms and governmental principles are established, finally, filiality is prescribed as the universal law.

The other paragraphs are assumed to be originally different compositions. The sixth paragraph is not clear. The logic of the seventh paragraph is complete in itself; by presenting an episode about Lezheng

Zichun who looked sorrowful even after his recovery from injury, it attracts readers at first, then deduces the negation of arbitrariness from one's owing his existence to his parents, and concludes with self-preservation and prudence. It is not impossible to think that the original writer of the seventh paragraph wrote the eighth paragraph by himself, but it seems more probable that a popular saying handed down as Confucius' words was attached because the saying was concerned with the same theme that this document discussed. Seeing "the Great Filiality" in this manner, we can assume the process in which the document was produced as below: the original part of this document was the first to fifth paragraphs, and the rest was cited or attached to support this discussion. To verify whether this assumption is right, it is necessary to compare the ideas in the document with those of other documents such as "the Filial Behavior" and the Book of Filiality.

The first feature of "the Great Filiality" is that the document does not discuss filial government, which is the main theme in both "the Filial Behavior" and the Book of Filiality. The main purpose of the latter two documents is to persuade the Son of Heaven to govern based on the spirit of filiality; "the Great Filiality" principally asserts the usefulness of filiality as a governmental principle, by showing that filiality brings about obedience of people to authority. Thus, "the Great Filiality" concentrates upon filiality of the ordinary people, while the Book of Filiality and "the Filial Behavior" are centered on filiality of the Son of Heaven.

This does not mean that the Book of Filiality and "the Filial Behavior" do not discuss the shift from filiality to loyalty. On the contrary, loyalty is an important topic in the Book of Filiality, as we have seen in the last chapter. The difference between the documents means that "the Great Filiality" puts more stress on such a passive aspect as self-preservation, while the Book of Filiality emphasizes the

necessity to extend the spirit of filiality beyond kinship relations. The main part of “the Great Filiality” has a quite consistent and highly complete logical plot about self-preservation and people’s obedience to social norms, as we have just discussed. Similar ideas can be seen in the Book of Filiality, for example in Chapters One, Three, Four and Thirteen, but none of these chapters present as well-rounded a logical plot as “the Great Filiality”<sup>[5]</sup>. Instead of this, the Book of Filiality presents the dichotomy between love and reverence to deduce loyalty from filiality. Though “the Filial Behavior” says that “when a retainer is filial, he is loyal in serving his monarch 人臣孝、則事君忠”, it does not show why the shift from filiality to loyalty is possible. As we will see in the next section, “the Basic Filiality” also deals with self-preservation, but its logic is less complete than the main part of “the Great Filiality”. This document represents the stage of the most completed ideas of self-preservation, and “the Filial Behavior” and the Book of Filiality appear to reflect a later stage, in which self-preservation became less important.

The second feature of “the Great Filiality” lies in the three levels of filiality it refers to. The distinction between physical service and mental filiality, which underlies the concept of the three levels in the first paragraph, is the idea that is important in the Analects and the Mencius, as we have discussed in Chapter Two. This idea is important because it is the starting point in extending filiality beyond kinship relations. The fact that “the Great Filiality” includes this idea shows not only that it inherits the idea from the Analects or the Mencius but also that it develops the idea of duality (that is, service and filiality) into trinity (that is, service, no disgrace and honoring). The distinction between service and filiality is not stressed on in the Book of Filiality, though it underlies Chapter Six.

The third feature is related with another set of three levels,

which is presented in the sixth paragraph of this document. This set of three levels is based on three levels of status, such as rulers, retainers and ordinary people, and corresponds with the levels presented in “the Filial Behavior”, which refers to “a monarch 人君”, “a retainer 人臣” and “officials and people 士民”. As we have discussed in the last chapter, Shin’ichirô Watanabe suggests that these three levels of status underlie the concept of such five classes as the Son of Heaven, lords, ministers, officials and common people. It is possible to think that “the Great Filiality” exerted some influence on “the Filial Behavior” and the Book of Filiality, though these three levels of status can be found in such other documents as “the Basic Filiality” and “the Establishing Filiality”.

Next, when “the Great Filiality” says, “When set up, filiality fills the space between Earth and Heaven; when spread out, it extends over all the ground to the Four Seas 夫孝、置之而塞於天地、衡之而衡於四海”, its notion is similar to the idea presented in Chapter Eight of the Book of Filiality, which says, “Filiality is the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth, and the norm of conduct for people 夫孝、天之經也、地之義也、民之行也” (Makra p.15). This is the idea that filiality is, rather than a mere cultural code, a natural law, or something like the Way that controls celestial operation. These documents adopt the same idea, but the meanings of the idea in the two contexts are different. This idea is the conclusion in the main part of “the Great Filiality”, while the same idea is used in the Book of Filiality as a premise from which the book draws the conclusion that “the teaching (of the Son of Heaven), without being stringent, succeeds 其教不肅而成”. This difference can be understood to reflect the stress put on government by filiality in the book.

Fifth, in spite of its overwhelming tone of passiveness, “the Great Filiality” seems to refer to the positive aspect of filiality when it

says in the third paragraph, "What the superior men call filiality is as follows: all the people of the state praise him, saying with admiration, 'Happy are the parents who have such a son as this!' That indeed is what can be called being filial. 君子之所謂孝者、國人皆稱願焉、曰、幸哉、有子如此、所謂孝也。" Here filiality is assumed to be for raising the prestige of one's parents, such as advancement in life or accumulation of a fortune. The reason the people say that "happy are the parents who have such a son as this" can be understood, because advancement in life gives honor not only to the son himself but also to his parents. The idea is quite similar to what we have called "the utilitarianism of filiality" in the Mencius and the Book of Filiality.

The motif of remonstrance is also found in "the Great Filiality"; "instructing them in the Way 論父母以道" in the first paragraph and "when they have faults, to remonstrate with them and yet not oppose them 父母有過、諫而不逆" in the sixth paragraph. But compared with the ideas of remonstrance in the Book of Filiality or the "Zidao" chapter of the Xunzi, "the Great Filiality" does not put much stress on remonstrance. When it says "not oppose them", it thinks more of obedience to living parents than of following social justice.

Finally, it can be pointed out that the "Great Filiality" does not include either the dichotomy between love and reverence or the idea of identifying fatherhood as the supreme being, both of which are important in the Book of Filiality. The object of filiality in this document is the internalized image of parents rather than living parents, but fatherhood does not become so abstract to be identified with authority in general.

The points discussed above can be summarized as below. Though "the Great Filiality" shares some ideas with the Book of Filiality and "the Filial Behavior", differences can be recognized in some crucial points. Generally speaking, the viewpoint from which "the Great Filiality" dis-



cusses filiality is more similar to that of the Analects, the Mencius and the other documents that will be studied in the following sections. On the other hand, the idea of obedience to authority that is important in this document presents a contrast to Mencius' idea of superiority of kinship. Based on this situation, we can suppose that "the Great Filiality" was written after Mencius by a thinker, or thinkers, who advocated usefulness of filiality for monarchical government and social justice so as to adapt Mencius' ideas of filiality to the historical circumstance. In that period, presumably the late Zhanguo era, there was a contradiction between kinship bonds and developing monarchical government, and the philosophy of filiality intended to overcome the contradiction, as we have seen in discussing the Analects, Mencius and Xun Qing. The writer of "the Great Filiality", taking over the ideas presented in the Analects and the Mencius, produced the well-rounded discussion to deduce from filiality self-preservation and obedience to social justice.

After "the Great Filiality" was produced, when it was clear to everybody who would be the Son of Heaven of the coming unified empire, we can assume that the idea of mere self-preservation looked less attractive to the thinkers who were interested in the philosophy of filiality. Thus, a thinker, or thinkers, evolved the idea of governing based on the spirit of filiality, which was expressed in the Book of Filiality and "the Filial Behavior". Thus, "the Great Filiality" can be summed up as a linkage between Mencius and the Book of Filiality.

Though "the Great Filiality" succeeded in showing the harmony between the spirit of filiality and government, this idea was not what only the writer of the document created but what was prepared by other thinkers in the documents discussed below.

## (2) "The Basic Filiality of Zengzi 曾子本孝篇"

of the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記

The contents of “the Basic Filiality”, which is written under the pretext of Zeng Can’s statement, can be summarized as below.

#### “The Basic Filiality”

[Par. 1] The basis of filiality is defined as heartiness (zhong 忠)<sup>[6]</sup>.

Because a filial son is hearty toward his parents, he never behaves to expose himself to danger and never speaks against others to incur their grudge. Here is typically expressed the idea of self-preservation and obedience to social norms, but the document does not clarify why heartiness to the parents brings about self-preservation. The idea that one’s body is the parents’ body transmitted to him is faint, though underlying.

[Par. 2] From the essential feature of filiality is deduced a passive mentality, such as “when a filial son serves his parents, he is at ease and waiting for the mandate of Heaven 孝子之事親也、居易以俟命”. Arbitrariness and free will are negated by filiality, not only when parents are alive but also after their death.

[Par. 3] Three kinds (or four kinds) of filiality. “The filiality of a superior man is to depend on justice and make remonstrance (with his parents). The filiality of officials is to depend on virtues and to follow the orders (of the parents). The filiality of ordinary people is to work hard (so as to serve dishes for the parents, while they are content with) eating coarse food. 君子之孝也、以正致諫。士之孝也、以德從命。庶人之孝也、以力惡食.” There might be a confusion in the text here<sup>[7]</sup>, but the meaning is clear. The underlying idea is the distinction between the physical aspect and the mental aspect of filiality, and the latter is defined as following justice (zheng 正) and virtue (de 德).

[Par. 4] Filial behavior is summed up by “rightness (yi 義)” in serving

the living parents, "sorrow (ai 哀)" in their death and "reverence (jing 敬)" in ancestral rites. Thus, filiality is an issue during one's whole lifetime.

It is clear that the main theme of "the Basic Filiality" is self-preservation and obedience to social norms. If it is compared with the same ideas presented in "the Great Filiality", however, several differences can be pointed out. First, as has been mentioned above, this document does not specifically refer to the idea that one's body is his parents' body transmitted to him. This idea, which we have seen quite important in "the Great Filiality", may be assumed here, as the document says, "(Walking) along a dangerous road or a narrow street, he (= a filial son) does not want to be at the head; this is because he holds his own body dear and never dares to forget his parents. 險塗隘巷、不求先焉。以愛其身、以不敢忘其親也。" But it also says, "When he goes out through the gate (of his home) to run an errand, he does not behave to cause his parents' anxiety. 出門而使、不以或為父母憂也", and this suggests that self-preservation is required of a son, so that he may not cause anxiety to his parents. In addition, while filiality is identified with loyalty in "the Great Filiality", the political aspect of filiality scarcely becomes an issue in "the Basic Filiality", except for the three kinds of filiality that are related to three social statuses.

Next, compared with the idea of self-preservation in "the Great Filiality", the ideas in "the Basic Filiality" are too passive. When the document says that "a filial son shall not climb up a high place nor step into a dangerous place 孝子不登高、不履危" or "(walking) along a dangerous road or a narrow street, he (= a filial son) does not want to be at the head 險塗隘巷、不求先焉", it sounds excessively passive and self-centered. Cynically speaking, self-preservation in "the Basic Filiality" is, far from the expression of obedience to parental author-

ity, the art of living so as not to bring danger on oneself. This tendency was presumably less preferable to monarchical government than the idea that “it is not filial not to be brave in a battle-field 戰陳無勇、非孝也” in “the Great Filiality”.

Finally, though these points suggest that the ideas of this document are less complete and less adaptable to their historical situation, we can point out that the spirit of filiality expressed in this document is not only toward living parents, but can go beyond kinship, as it says, “During three years after his father’s death, he (= a filial son) does not dare to change the way his father used to behave; he can serve his father’s friends and can lead his own friends to promote (his and his friends’) reverence (to seniors). 父死三年、不敢改父之道、又能事父之朋友、又能率朋友以助敬也。” In other words, though “the Basic Filiality” does not identify filiality with universal ethics, as “the Great Filiality” does, filiality is not a mere familial morality but something more internalized and general.

The above discussion can be summarized as below; “the Basic filiality” represents an immature stage of the philosophy of filiality, compared with “the Great Filiality”. “The Basic Filiality” deduces self-preservation and obedient behavior from the essential feature of filiality, that is heartiness. “The Great Filiality” justifies more logically the ideas of self-preservation and obedience by adducing the idea that one’s body is his parents’ body transmitted to him, and concludes loyalty and universal ethics, by developing the ideas in “the Basic Filiality”. It is reasonable to think that “the Basic Filiality” chronologically precedes “the Great Filiality”.

What should be pointed out, however, is that the idea of self-preservation does not appear first in this document. The passages in the document are quite possibly related to those in the “Quli 曲禮” chapter of the Book of Rites, because the similarity between them is clearly

shown in the passages below;

He who is a son of a person ----- should not ascend a height, nor approach the verge of a depth; he should not indulge in reckless reviling or derisive laughing. A filial son will not do things in the dark, nor attempt hazardous undertakings, fearing lest he disgrace his parents. (the “Quli” chapter, Legge 1885, p.69)

為人子者 ----- 不登高、不臨深、不苟 訾、不苟笑、孝子不服闇、不登危、懼辱親也。(LJZS vol.1, p.6)

When, following an elder, they ascend a level height, they must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking. When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point, nor call out. (the “Quli” chapter, Legge 1885, p.70)

從長者而上丘陵、則鄉長者所視。登城不指、城上不呼。(LJZS vol.1, p.6)

A filial son does not ascend a height, nor step into a dangerous place, nor lean over (= stand at) the verge of an abyss. He does not indulge in (derisive) laughing or (reckless) reviling. He does not give a command in secret, nor point from the verge (of a precipice). (“the Basic Filiality”)

孝子不登高、不履危、庠亦弗憑、不苟笑、不苟 訾、隱不命、臨不指。

One problem is the relationship between these passages of the “Quli” chapter and “the Basic Filiality”. Did the “Quli” chapter influence “the Basic Filiality”, or was “the Basic Filiality” written under the influence of the “Quli” chapter? A key to solve this problem lies in the phrase “from the verge (of a precipice) he does not point 臨不指” in “the Basic Filiality”. This phrase is clearly similar to “When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point 登城不指” in the “Quli” chapter. Concerning the phrase of “the Basic Filiality”, it is not easy to understand why one should not point at a high point, because the word “in the verge (lin 臨)” only suggests that a person stands at a high place<sup>[8]</sup>. The meaning of the phrase in the “Quli” chapter is more under-

standable, because it specifies the place. Such confusing behavior as pointing or shouting at the top of ramparts is reasonably assumed to have been prohibited by a community in the period of city-states, because such a behavior can cause unrest among the inhabitants of a city<sup>[9]</sup>. Therefore, it is more reasonable to think that the “Quli” chapter preceded “the Basic Filiality” and that the latter made use of the phrases of the former. The above discussion also suggests that the phrases of the “Quli” chapter reflect the old ideas of the city-state period, that is the Western Zhou and Chunqiu periods.

Here should be discussed the feature of the “Quli” chapter in order to understand more clearly “the Basic Filiality”. It is well known that both of the two “Quli” chapters are a confused document including various contents. According to Yoshio Takeuchi, this document is a collection of the arguments about rites that were made by the early Confucian school. He also discusses that most passages of the “Quli” chapter are genuine although some of them are sentences attached later (1979 vol.3, p.479-483). We can agree with him that a part of the “Quli” chapter was produced by the early Confucian school, because the sentence structure of some passages is so simple. But this document not only discusses various topics but also includes the various types of expression, and the process of its production seems more complicated than Takeuchi discusses. Wang Meng’ou 王夢鷗 thinks that most of this document is the glosses on what he calls “the Old Quli 古曲禮”, the original sentences of which are found in three- or four-character phrases which are scattered in the documents. “The Old Quli”, according to Wang, was an educational book for children, which was written at or before the time Mencius was alive, and the present “Quli” chapter was composed around the middle Western Han era (1976, p.1-13).

Generally speaking, Wang’s discussion is acceptable, but it should be pointed out that only a part of, not all sentences, the “Quli”

chapter has the educational feature. The sentences that we have cited clearly belong to what Wang calls “an educational book for children”, because they begin with the phrase “he who is a son of a person 為人子者”. They are also supposed to belong to what Wang calls “the Old Quli”, because they are three- or four-character phrases<sup>[10]</sup>. These sentences are supposed, therefore, to have been the production of the early Confucian school, and the source that the writer of “the Basic Filiality” consulted was not the present text of the “Quli” chapter but the text of “the Old Quli”. Since these sentences were a part of “an educational book for children”, their contextual meaning was completely different from that of “the Basic Filiality”. We have already considered that the filial behavior asserted in “the Basic Filiality” was too passive for an ordinary people to perform in daily life; such standards as “not ascending a height 不登高” and “not wanting to be at the top 不求先焉” sound unnatural as teachings for adults. But they are not so unnatural as teachings for children. The contents of filiality in the “Quli” chapter were the instructions for children neither to behave as adults do nor to perform dangerous behavior so as not to cause parents’ misgivings (“fearing lest he disgrace his parents 懼辱親也”). In other words, filiality in the “Quli” chapter was restricted to parent-child relationships, and the author of “the Basic Filiality” made use of the teachings for children, when constructing his discussion of filiality that was applicable to more general relationships than kinship, but its result was to give filiality too passive a tone. Because this tendency was not appropriate for its contemporary situation, “the Great Filiality” was written to emphasize the positive aspect of filiality.

The relation between “the Basic Filiality” and “the Great Filiality” needs to be considered more closely, especially concerning the seventh paragraph (an episode about Lezheng Zichun) of the latter document. As we have seen, the seventh paragraph is rather independent of

the other paragraphs in “the Great Filiality”. We can also recognize the similarity of both the contents and the expression between this paragraph and “the Basic Filiality”. Concerning the contents, both discuss self-preservation and obedient behavior. A passive tone is also shared by them; when this paragraph of “the Great Filiality” says “walking in a street, he should not take a by-path; in a boat, he should not play pranks 道而不徑、舟而不游”, the idea is similar to “(walking) along a dangerous road or a narrow street, he does not want to be at the head 險塗隘巷、不求先焉” in “the Basic Filiality”. The similarity of expression can be found out in the following examples; “the Great Filiality” says “therefore, an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an angry word will not come back to himself 惡言不出於口、忿言不及於身”, while “the Basic Filiality” says “therefore, an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an annoying word will not come back to himself 惡言不出於口、煩言不及於身”. The former says “in a single lifting up of his feet, he should not forget his parents 一舉足、不敢忘其父母”, while the latter says “he holds his own body dear and never dares to forget his parents 以愛其身、以不敢忘其親也”. The difference between the two documents lies in the idea that one’s body is parents’ body transmitted to him; the whole discussion in the seventh paragraph of “the Great Filiality” is based on this idea, while we cannot find out this idea in “the Basic Filiality”. A possible interpretation of this situation is that the seventh paragraph of “the Great Filiality” was written after and under the influence of “the Basic Filiality” by somebody that tried to rectify the excessive passiveness of “the Basic Filiality”. Thus, the episode about Lezheng Zichun is thought to have been between “the Basic Filiality” and the main part of “the Great Filiality”.

(3) “The Establishing Filiality of Zengzi 曾子立孝篇” and “Zengzi’s Serving Parents 曾子事父母篇” of the Dadai Liji 大戴禮記



These two documents are similar to each other in the point that they principally discuss the idea of remonstrance. At first, the plot of “the Establishing Filiality” can be summarized as follows.

#### “The Establishing Filiality”

[Par. 1] The whole chapter is Zeng Can’s statement. Filiality consists of two elements, such as heartiness (zhong 忠) and rites (li 禮). A son who cannot serve his father is not qualified to criticize a father who cannot nurture his children well. A younger brother who cannot obey his elder brother is not qualified to criticize an elder brother who cannot be followed by his younger brother. A retainer who cannot serve his monarch well is not qualified to criticize a monarch who cannot manage his retainers well. When one talks to others, he should persuade them into filiality, benevolence, fraternity and loyalty.

It is difficult to understand the consistent logic of this section, but it can be assumed that this part asserts the universal validity of heartiness and rites. Any human relationship, whether it may be a relationship of a son to his father, of a father to his children, of a retainer to his monarch or of a monarch to his retainers, should be based on heartiness and rites. If one fails in one of these relationships, it means that he has a problem in his heartiness or rites. He who has a problem in his heartiness or rites is not qualified to make a comment on any of the relationships. Thus, since heartiness and rites are the basis of any human relationship, remonstrance is possible, based on this spirit.

[Par. 2] The filiality of a superior man is to be perfect in both hearty affection (zhong ai 忠愛) and reverence (jing 敬). A filial son devotes his energies for his parents “with propriety (you li 有禮)” and “makes them at ease (an zhi 安之)”. If lacking one of these two, his remon-

strance will not be accepted by his parents.

[Par. 3] This paragraph begins with the phrase “the Master said 子曰”, which suggests that the following sentence is Confucius’ statement or at least under the pretense of being Confucius’ statement. If one’s remonstrance can be accepted, he should blame his parents’ fault upon himself. If not, he should defend them. The filiality of a superior man is not to disgrace parents at all.

[Par. 4] Because filiality, fraternity and loyalty share the same spirit, a filial son is necessarily loyal, a fraternal brother is necessarily obedient and a good family-head is necessarily a good administrator.

It is difficult to find the consistent logical plot of this document. This is mainly because it is not clear how the third paragraph is related to the others. In this document three main themes are discussed: the dichotomy of heartiness and rites, the idea of remonstrance, and the equality between filiality and loyalty. At first, heartiness (or love) and rites (or reverence) are prescribed as two elements of filiality. Then, it discusses the spirit of filiality as the ethical basis of any human relationship. Next, remonstrance is asserted on the basis of these two elements. That is, a son’s remonstrance with his parents is successful only when he is able to show both his heartiness and reverence correctly. Finally, filiality is identified with loyalty, on the basis of the universality of heartiness and rites.

The dichotomy between heartiness and rites in “the Establishing Filiality” is worth attention because it is definitely related to the dichotomy between love and reverence in the Book of Filiality. Both dichotomies are assumed to refer to two aspects of a father-son relationship, that is, the aspect of affectionate bond and that of authority. On the other hand, however, we should not think little of the

difference between these two sets of dichotomies. In the Book of Filiality, especially in Chapter Five, it is reverence through which filiality can be shifted into loyalty; filiality and loyalty are put in the same category because both share an element of reverence. In “the Establishing Filiality”, the same stress is put on heartiness and rites, and the dichotomy between heartiness and rites seems to refer only to internal affection and external respectful behavior, both of which should be expressed by a son to remonstrate with his parents. In other words, the viewpoint of “the Establishing Filiality” is not really dualistic, though it presents this dichotomy, and this suggests that the discussion of the document is less well-rounded than that of Chapter Five in the Book of Filiality. The ideas of heartiness and rites in “the Establishing Filiality” are rather similar to the ideas of love and reverence in Chapter Two of the book and “the Filial Behavior”, which argue that both love and reverence should be equally extended beyond kinship. It is possible to think that the ideas of “the Establishing Filiality” are near to the earliest stratum of the Book of Filiality.

The second feature of this document is the way it discusses remonstrance. As the above discussion shows, this document discusses how to remonstrate with one's parents rather than what one should persuade them to do. Therefore, it does not assert “following rightness, not one's father 從義不從父” (the Zidao chapter of the Xunzi, See p.110), nor put stress on justice as the objective criteria for behavior, as the Book of Filiality does<sup>[11]</sup>. It seems that the idea and the expression of remonstrance in “the Establish Filiality” are near to the idea in the Analects: “In serving his father and mother a man may gently remonstrate with them. But if he sees that he has failed to change their opinion, he should resume an attitude of deference and not thwart them; he should labor for them, and not resentful. 事父母幾諫、見志不從、又敬不違、勞而不怨” (IV-18, Waley p.105).

Thirdly, it can be pointed out that the idea of the equality between filiality and loyalty in “the Establishing Filiality” has some relation to the Book of Filiality, especially its second half. Indeed, this idea is found in almost every document about filiality. For instance, when “the Great Filiality” says that “it is not filial not to be loyal, in serving a monarch; ----- because, if he cannot be perfect in these five conducts, disaster will reach him 事君不忠、非孝也 ----- 五者不遂、災及乎身”, it deduces loyalty from filiality, because disloyalty can cause punishment. “The Establishing Filiality”, by contrast, does not present the reason that loyalty is deduced from filiality, and there seems to be no influential relation between these documents in this point. The idea in “the Establishing Filiality” is distinctive in three sets of equation: the equation of filiality with loyalty, of fraternity with subordination to the superior and of family management with administration. This equation is also a distinctive idea found in Chapters Eighteen and Nineteen of the Book of Filiality<sup>[12]</sup>. Because these chapters of the Book of Filiality are supposed to have been produced later than the first half of the book, as we have discussed in the last chapter, it is probable that “the Establishing Filiality” had some influence on the editor of the book.

Finally, concerning the relation of “the Establishing Filiality” with “the Basic Filiality,” one can point out the following feature. “The Basic Filiality” monistically prescribes filiality as heartiness (zhong 忠), while “the Establishing Filiality” dualistically prescribes it as heartiness (zhong 忠) and rites (li 禮). Both documents present “heartiness” as an essential element of filiality. Because the dualism of “the Establishing Filiality” is related to the dichotomy between love and reverence in the Book of Filiality and “the Filial Behavior”, as we have seen, the similarity between “the Basic Filiality” and “the Establishing Filiality” suggests that the latter document accepted the

concept of “heartiness” and developed it into the dichotomy of heartiness and rites.

To sum up, “the Establishing Filiality” expresses a discussion of filiality different from that of “the Basic Filiality” and “the Great Filiality”. Its main theme is, not self-preservation, remonstrance and the equality of kinship relation with government. But, developing the ideas in “the Basic Filiality”, it presents the dualistic point of view, that is the dichotomy of heartiness and rites, which is developed by the Book of Filiality into the most important idea in the philosophy of filiality. In addition, the idea in this document that family management is identified with administration is found in the latter half of the book. Thus, the composition of this document can be assumed to have been after “the Basic Filiality” but before the Book of Filiality. Its relation with “the Great Filiality” is not clear. The biggest difference of this document with the Book of Filiality lies in its emphasis on the internal aspect of filiality; while the Book of Filiality puts stress on reverence in the dichotomy between love and reverence, “the Establishing Filiality” gives the same importance to heartiness and rites.

#### “The Serving Parents”

[Par. 1] The dialogue between Zengzi and Danjuli 單居離, a disciple of Zengzi. Danjuli asks whether there is the Way (dao 道) in serving one’s parents. After replying that the way in serving one’s parents is “love and reverence 愛而敬”, Zengzi asserts that a son should not tax his parents in his remonstrance, because “dispute is the source from which disorder occurs 爭辯者作亂之所由興也”. The reason why a filial son’s remonstrance is accepted is that he can, without his own “private pleasure (si le 私樂)”, “adroitly change (qiao bian 巧變)”; he is in accord with any desire of his parents, who are satisfied with him and his remonstrance. In other word, this document bases remonstrance on

one's devoted attachment to his parents, and, therefore, it negatively judges formal politeness as "the good (behavior) of an adult 成人之善", not as "the way of a person's son 人子之道".

[Par. 2] This paragraph is concerned with one's remonstrance with his elder brother. When an elder brother misconducts himself, his younger brother should "look after (yang 養<sup>[13]</sup>)" him about both "the internal (nei 内; that is his intention)" and "the external (wai 外; that is his behavior)"; if a younger brother only blames his elder brother as to his intention, but does not try to improve his behavior, the former just shows the superiority over the latter. If a younger brother does not care what kind of person his elder brother is, on the other hand, it means that the former is cold and distant from the latter.

[Par. 3] The way of managing one's younger brother. After stating an elder brother's responsibility on his younger brother's wedding, Zeng Can asserts that an elder brother should give commands to his younger brother, based on justice (zheng 正). If a younger brother misconducts himself, his elder brother should "serve him (= the younger brother) (as if a younger brother served) an elder brother 兄事之" to remonstrate with him.

[Par. 4] A complementary explanation for the way of serving an elder brother. The rites are essentially behavioral standards for adults, not for children. The obligation of younger brothers is restricted to labor under the commands of their seniors and moderate deportment in feasts. It is not clear how this paragraph is related to the preceding passages.

The biggest problem in understanding this document lies in how the dichotomy between love and reverence, which is presented at the beginning of the document, is related to the idea of remonstrance. At a glance, this relation does not seem to be clear, but, in closely considering its contents, we find that this document tries to reconcile

two contrary aspects in remonstrance with the parents. For instance, the first paragraph asserts that, though one should remonstrate with his parents, his remonstrance cannot reach dispute. When the second paragraph says, "To look after him about the internal (= his intention), but not about the external (= his behavior); this is just showing one's superiority over him. To look after him about the external, but not about the internal; this is just one's being cold and distant from him 養之內、不養於外、則是越之也、養之外、不養於內、則是疏之也", it seems to discuss that one should reconcile both his affectionate familiarity and formal attitude toward his brother. It can be assumed from these that "the Serving Parents" refers to the dichotomy between love and reverence in order to harmonize a son's obedience to his parents with his obligation of remonstrance, that is the obligation of following social justice.

What should be pointed out at first here is that this document emphasizes the manner of remonstrance more than obedience to social norms. Though the same tendency can be found in "the Establishing Filiality", it is more prominent in this document. A skillful technique of remonstrance is needed to persuade the parents, keeping reverent toward them. The next feature of this document is that its theme is restricted to kinship relations. Though its idea of remonstrance suggests that morals for kinship relations should be based on such an objective norm as the Way, it does not show the extension of this spirit beyond kinship. This document discusses a more limited issue than the documents we have discussed above.

The above two points show that the feature of "the Serving Parents" is quite different from that of the other documents concerned with filiality. When we compare this document with the others, we will have to take this into consideration.

Next, there are some passages in "the Serving Parents" that are

similar to the sentences in the “Quli” chapter of the Book of Rites.

If a man be sitting, let him do so as a personator of the deceased;  
if he be standing, let him do so (reverently), as in purification  
rites before sacrificing. If not asked, he cannot say a single word;  
in saying words, he should always have a countenance of abstinence.  
These are the good (attitudes) of an adult; they cannot be the way  
of a son yet. (“The Serving Parents”)

若夫、坐如尸、立如齊、弗訊不言、言必齊色。此成人之善者也、未得為子之道也。

If a man be sitting, let him do so as a personator of the deceased;  
if he be standing, let him do so (reverently), as in purification  
rites before sacrifices <sup>[14]</sup>. In (observing) the rules of propriety,  
what is right (for the time and in the circumstances) should be  
followed. In discharging a mission (to another state), its customs  
are to be observed. (The “Quli” chapter; Legge vol.1, p.62)

若夫、坐如尸、立如齊、禮從宜、使從俗。(LJZS vol.1, p.2)

A younger brother should not have their elbows extended crosswise,  
nor step over (the others) at all. (“The Serving Parents”)

夫弟者、不衡坐、不苟越。

When two persons are sitting side by side, they do not have their  
elbows extended crosswise. One should not kneel in handing anything  
to a (superior) standing, nor stand in handing it to him sitting.

(The “Quli” chapter; Legge p.72)

竝坐不橫肱、授立不跪、授坐不立。(LJZS vol.2, p.11)

If any writing or tablets of his master, or his lute or cittern be  
in the way, he should kneel down and remove them, taking care not to  
step over them. (The “Quli” chapter; Legge p.74)

先生書策琴瑟在前、坐而遷之、戒勿越。(LJZS vol.2, p.11)

In the first example, the two phrases shared by “the Serving Parents”  
and the “Quli” chapter have the three-character structure, which we have



discussed that a characteristic feature of the “Old Quli” text, according to Wang Meng’ou. It is possible to think that these phrases were cited by the author of “the Serving Parents”<sup>[15]</sup>. It is very interesting to see the negative tone that “the Serving Parents” gives the phrases cited from the “Quli” chapter; strict and reverent attitudes toward parents expressed in the phrases are criticized for being inadequate from the viewpoint of filiality. The attitudes required by filiality, according to “the Serving Filiality”, should be those of not only reverence but also attachment, something like “worrying about what his parents worry about; being pleased with what his parents are pleased with 父母所憂、憂之、父母所樂、樂之”. As we have discussed before, “the Basic Filiality” is also influenced by the “Quli” chapter, and, compared with “the Serving Parents”, it gives an unconditional consent to the statements cited from the “Quli” chapter. “The Serving Parents” is more critical to the “Quli” chapter, and this may be because “the Serving Parents” was produced in the period when thinkers could afford the calmer judgment on the ideas expressed in the “Quli” chapter. Therefore, it is possible to think that “the Basic Filiality” preceded “the Serving Parents”.

Related with the above, two points can be discussed. First, indeed this document reconciles affectionate bonds with reverent attitudes toward parents, but more stress seems to be put on the former. Compared with the Book of Filiality, which tends to put more stress on reverence, “the Serving Parents” is more similar to the ideas of Mencius, who emphasizes one’s attachment to his parents. The similarity to the Mencius can be seen not only in this idea; “the Serving Parents” has the expression quite similar to some sentences in the Mencius.

If the behavior of one’s elder brother is not adjusted to the Way, one should look after him. (“The Serving Parents”)  
兄之行、若不中道、則養。

Those who are morally well-adjusted look after those who are not;  
those who are talented look after those who are not.(IVb-7 in the  
Mencius; Lau 1984 p.161)

中也養不中、才也養不才。(MZZS vol.8a, p.62)

The concept of “look after (yang 養)” is probably borrowed from the Mencius, because the word yang is used to express the meaning of “remonstrance” in “the Serving Parents”, but its usage of this sense is rarely found in other documents. In addition, Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍 and Ruan Yuan 阮元 have pointed out that, when “the Serving Parents” says that “a filial son can adroitly change; therefore, his parents feel at ease about him 孝子唯巧變、故父母安之”, it is based on Mencius’ ideas<sup>[16]</sup>. We can think that “the Serving Parents” took over Mencius’ ideas of filiality to develop its theory about remonstrance.

Secondly, it can be pointed out that the Jiyi 祭義 (“Meaning of Rites”) chapter of the Book of Rites presents in the twelfth section the idea very similar to that in “the Serving Parents”, that is, the idea that solemn reverence is not adequate as filial behavior.

A filial son, cherishing a deep love (for his parents), is sure to have a bland air; having a bland air, he will have a look of pleasure; having a look of pleasure, his demeanour will be mild and compliant. A filial son will move as if he were carrying a jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel. Still and grave, absorbed in what he is doing, he will seem as if he were unable to sustain the burden, and in danger of letting it fall. A severe gravity and austere manner are not proper to the service of parents; such is the manner of a full-grown man. (Legge 1885, p.215)

孝子之有深愛者、必有和氣、有和氣者、必有愉色、有愉色者、必有婉容、孝子如執玉、如奉盈、洞洞屬屬然、如弗勝、如將失之、嚴威儼格、非所以事親、成人之道也。(LJZS vol.47, p.366)

Though we have discussed that the ideas of “the Serving Parents” are

different from those in the other documents concerned with filiality, this passage of "the Meaning of Rites" chapter suggests that "the Serving Parents" was not an isolated exception in the late Zhanguo period.

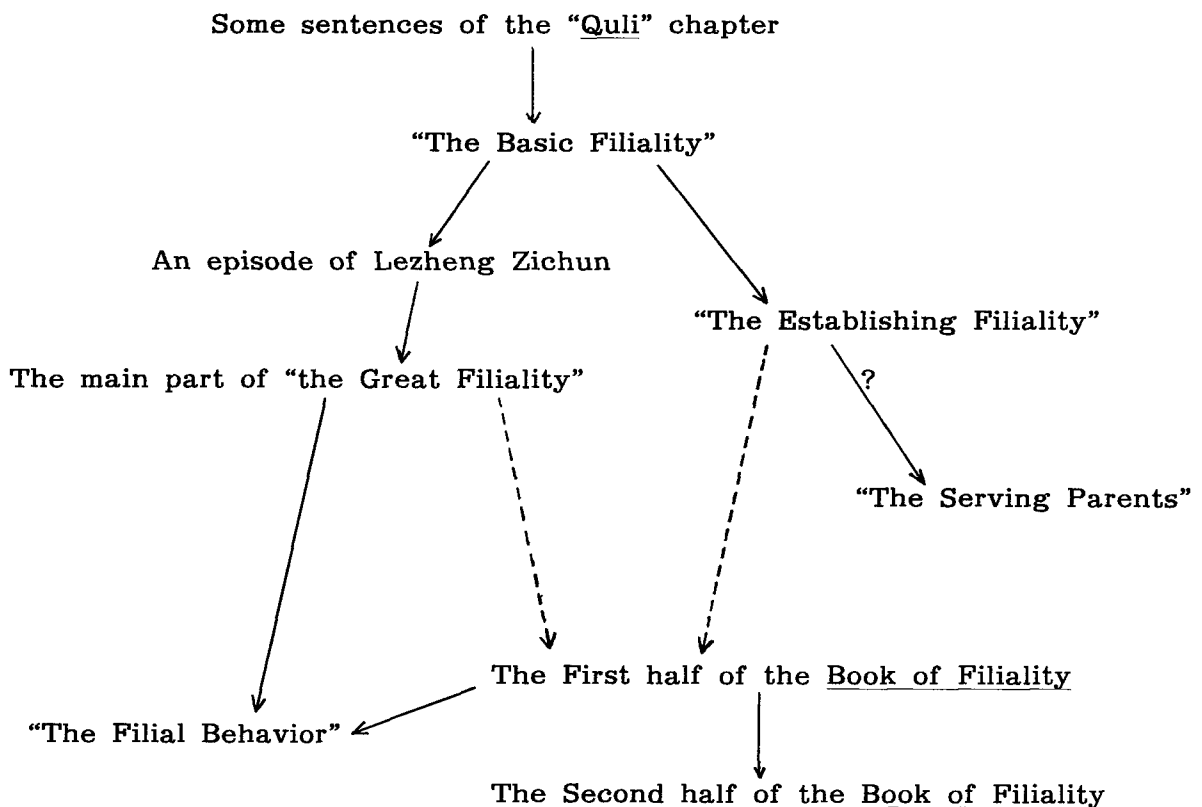
In brief, it is difficult to clarify the relationship of "the Serving Parents" with other documents, such as "the Basic Filiality", "the Establishing Filiality", "the Great Filiality", "the Filial Behavior" and the Book of Filiality, but, based on its relation with the "Quli" chapter and the Mencius, we can conclude that it was written after "the Basic Filiality" before the Book of Filiality. "The Serving Parents" maintains the supremacy of the affectionate aspect over reverence in a father-son relationship, and it expresses the ideas contrary to that of the Book of Filiality, which puts more emphasis on reverence. Since the philosophy of filiality, which was completed in the Book of Filiality, ultimately tried to make familial ethics adaptable beyond kinship relation, and to harmonize familial ethics with governmental ethics, there was a tendency for the aspect of authority and obedience in a father-son relationship to be more emphasized, and this tendency caused the documents concerned with filiality to describe the father-son relationship as an authority-subordinate relationship. In other words, these documents succeeded in shifting filiality into universal ethics by finding out the universally valuable element of authority in fatherhood, but they tended to underestimate the affectionate bond of a father-son relationship. "The Serving Parents" was an example of the objection to this tendency in the philosophy of filiality.

#### (4) The history of the documents related with filiality

The subject of this section is to summarize what has been discussed in the preceding chapters and this chapter so as to reconstruct the

history of the philosophy of filiality in the Zhanguo period. We have repeatedly emphasized that the purpose of the philosophy lay in shifting the ethics of kinship groups into universal ethics. Looking over the development of the philosophy, we can see that the philosophers presented various theses at its each stage so as to make this difficult shift possible, and that the various theses were taken over successively.

So far, we dealt with seven documents (actually six, because two of them are almost identical with each other). The relation among these documents and their developmental process can be summarized, as below;



These documents can be divided into three groups; one is the documents which discuss that the spirit of filiality, essentially self-preservation, should be the basis for more universal ethics. This idea originates in "the Basic Filiality" and is completed in "the Great

Filiality". The second group is "the Establishing Filiality" and "the Serving Parents", both of which discuss the idea of remonstrance. The third one is "the Filial Behavior" and the Book of Filiality, which deal with the governmental aspect of filiality. This suggests that there was a change of the point at issue between "the Great Filiality" and "the Filial Behavior", and it is not necessary to think that "the Filial Behavior" and the Book of Filiality were written by scholars that belonged to the school composing "the Great Filiality" and the others, the school we will refer to as "the Zengzi school" later. The influence of "the Great Filiality" over the Book of Filiality, if any, may not have been direct. As has been argued, "the Great Filiality" was a unique achievement by the philosophy of filiality, and analyzed an aspect of filiality which the Book of Filiality did not emphasized.

There is still another problem to be solved when we think about the history of the philosophy of filiality. That is the problem about the relation between these documents and the other Zhanguo thinker's ideas of filiality, especially Mencius' ideas of filiality. Concerning this problem, we have sometimes pointed out that four documents in the Dadai Liji includes ideas similar to those of Mencius rather than those in the Book of Filiality. In these four texts, however, are seldom found out expressions similar to those in the Mencius, except for a few cases<sup>[17]</sup>, and direct influence of the Mencius on these texts (or of these texts on the Mencius) cannot be assumed.

What should be asked is, therefore, the problem of the chronological relation between Mencius and these documents. Because, of these documents, "the Basic Filiality" is earliest, the problem is essentially how to think about the relation between Mencius and "the Basic Filiality". "The Basic Filiality" refers to some sentences in the "Quli" chapter ("the Old Quli"), as we have discussed, and the "Quli" chapter, at least a part of it, is supposed to have already existed when Mencius

was alive, because a couple of sentences are found cited in the Mencius <sup>[18]</sup>. But there seems to be no evidence that the “Quli” chapter had much influence to Mencius’ ideas of filiality, and the reference to the “Quli” chapter does not help us find any relation between the Mencius and “the Basic Filiality”. Comparing the ideas of filiality in these two documents, we can point out a sort of similarity between them, though their themes are different. “The Basic Filiality” unitarily recognizes the intrinsic quality of filiality as heartiness, which can be identified with affection towards parents. Likewise, the Mencius identifies filiality with affection, and does not agree with the dualistic viewpoint which distinguishes internal feelings (= affection) from behavioral expression such as respect. This suggests that “the Basic Filiality” has closer relation to Mencius’ ideas of filiality than “the Establishing Filiality”, “the Filial Behavior” and the Book of Filiality do, because the latter three documents recognize filiality from the dualistic point of view. On the other hand, “the Basic Filiality” and the Mencius differ in their ways of thinking about the relation between filial affection and social norms. “The Basic Filiality” thinks that affection toward parents should necessarily result in observance of norms. Indeed the Mencius does not deny such an idea, but it thinks that affection should be superior to social norms in the case where the internal feelings are contradictory to the external norms, when it says, for instance, “I have heard it said that a gentleman would not for all the world skimp on expenditure where his parents are concerned 吾聞之、君子不以天下儉其親” (IIb-7), or says that a filial son should escape carrying his father on his back if his father is accused of murder (VIIa-35). In other words, both Mencius and the writer of “the Basic Filiality” understood the intrinsic quality of filiality as filial affection, on which obedience to social authority was based, but the latter admitted that affection and social justice are necessarily

compatible, while Mencius gave priority to affection.

Based on this situation, we can present a hypothesis about the relation between Mencius and “the Basic Filiality”; Mencius succeeded in defining familial ethics as the basis of humanity, by identifying filiality with affection toward parents, but his tendency of “excessive affectionism” caused his ideas of filiality to be potentially anti-social and anti-monarchical. To modify this tendency more adaptable to the historical trend in those days, the writer of “the Basic Filiality” proved that filiality brought about obedience to society and monarchy. But, because he made use of the sentences in the “Quli” chapter in this process, the ideas of filiality in “the Basic Filiality” became excessively passive, and this is probably the reason that the following documents were written to emphasize the more positive aspect of filiality. Taking into consideration the possibility that Mencius’ influence on “the Basic Filiality” was not direct, it is probable that “the Basic Filiality” was written a few decades after Mencius’ death in 289 B.C.E. On the other hand, when the Lüshi Chunqiu was edited in 241 B.C.E., “the Great Filiality” must have been popular in some Confucian schools, because the writer of “the Filial Behavior” cited its passages, so we can suppose that “the Great Filiality” was composed a few decades before the edition of the Lüshi Chunqiu. Therefore, the documents discussed here were probably written in the first half of the third century B.C.E.

This hypothesis, even if acceptable, raises another question. Mencius’ idea of filiality is essentially that the spirit of filiality should be extended beyond kinship relations and that government should also be based on this spirit. The main theme of “the Filial Behavior” and the Book of Filiality is government based on the spirit of filiality. But the concept of filial government is presented neither in “the Basic Filiality” nor in the episode about Lezheng Zichun. The main part of “the Great Filiality” discusses the idea of “extending filiality”,

but government is only vaguely dealt with in it. Why were the authors of “the Basic Filiality” and “the Great Filiality” unable to directly take over Mencius’ idea of filial government?

The primary reason lay in the basic structure of Mencius’ ideas concerned with filiality. Indeed Mencius asserted that the spirit of filiality should be a principle for government, but he did not, or could not, show why filiality brought about good government or how a ruler should govern a state when he carried out filial government, and this made Mencius’ ideas of filiality abstract. His idea that filiality should be a principle for government, though being an excellent intuition, must not have been persuasive enough. Others believed that universal ethics could not be equated with familial ethics, because they were potentially contradictory to monarchical government. What the Confucianists who tried to construct the philosophy of filiality had to do was to build step by step the logic for proving that filiality could be a principle for government. The documents we have dealt with show us the process of the Confucianists’ activity for this purpose.

The next problem concerned with the relation between these documents and Mencius is which school composed these documents and how the school was connected with earlier thinkers including Mencius. Because filiality was a very important concept in Mencius’ thought, it would be difficult to understand why these documents do not include the expressions similar to those in the Mencius, if the documents had been composed by his disciples. The titles of these documents are crowned with the name of Zengzi (Zeng Can 曾參), and most of sentences are described as Zeng Can’s statements. The close relation can be reasonably assumed between the writers of these documents and Zeng Can. The Dadai Liji has ten documents whose titles include the name of Zengzi, and these documents are usually thought to be a part of the books produced by the so-called school of Zengzi (曾子學派)<sup>[19]</sup>. “The Record of Arts 藝



文志” of the Hanshu leaves on record the eighteen volumes of the Zengzi (vol.30, p.1724), and, according to “the Record of Books” of the Suishu, the same book existed at least until the Tang period<sup>[20]</sup>. It is possible to think that the articles written by the Confucianists belonging to the school of Zengzi were compiled into the book called the Zengzi, a part of which was incorporated into the Dadai Liji later. It is well known that Mencius was influenced by Zeng Can, and the writers of the documents we have dealt with belonged to the same academic tradition that Mencius did. Thus, we can understand the similarity between these documents and the Mencius in their emphasis on the importance of filiality.

These documents do not seem to have been composed by Mencius’ disciples, but, on the contrary, some expressions in “the Basic Filiality” are similar to those in the Analects<sup>[21]</sup>. These documents were probably composed by a Confucian school that held to Zeng Can’s teachings more than the school of Mencius. What is worthy of attention is the episode about Lezheng Zichun in “the Great Filiality.” Lezheng Zichun 樂正子春 (the late 5th century B.C.E.?) was an influential disciple of Zeng Can, because Hanfeizi referred to “the Confucian school of Lezheng (Lezheng zhi Ru 樂正之儒)” as one of eight Confucian schools (The “Xianxue 顯學” chapter of the Hanfeizi 韓非子, Chapter 50, p.1080). Hanfeizi also described the same person as being famous for his uprightness (The “Shuolin xia 說林下” chapter, Chapter 23, p.474)<sup>[22]</sup>. It is highly possible, therefore, that these documents were written by the Confucians belonging to the school of Lezheng Zichun. This group contributed most to developing the philosophy of filiality.

The history of the philosophy about filiality, from Mencius until “the Great Filiality”, can be reconstructed as above, but there is some room for discussion about the relation between “the Great Filiality” and “the Filial Behavior”, for “the Filial Behavior” was written in the Qin

state, in contrast to “the Great Filiality” that can be assumed to have written by a Confucianist (or Confucianists) in the Lu state<sup>[23]</sup>. The writer of “the Filial Behavior” was probably an Confucianist sponsored by Lü Buwei, the editor of the Lüshi Chunqiu. “The Autobiography of Lü Buwei 呂不韋列傳” of the Shiji 史記 says, “When Crown Prince Zheng ascended to the throne, he respected and appointed Lü Buwei prime minister. ----- (Lü Buwei) also invited gentlemen to come (to the Qin state) and welcomed them. There came around three thousand sponsored guests. In those days, lords sponsored many orators, like such a person as Xun Qing whose works were distributed in the world. Lü Buwei made each of his guests write down what he had learned, and edited the written articles into eight Views, six Discussions and twelve Doctrines, which consisted of more than two hundred thousand characters in all. He, thinking that this book recorded everything of the Universe through all ages, entitled it the Lüshi Chunqiu. 太子政為王、尊呂不韋為相國、-----亦招致士、厚遇之、至食客三千人。是時諸侯多辯士、如荀卿之徒、著書布天下、呂不韋乃使其客人人著所聞、集論以為八覽、六論、一二紀、二十余萬言。以為備天地萬物古今之事、號曰呂氏春秋。” (vol.85, p.2510). As this suggests by referring to Xun Qing, most of the Confucianists sponsored by Lü Buwei are thought to have been influenced by Xun Qing. Xun Qing himself visited the Qin state once, and Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 B.C.E.), who became a prime minister later, was a disciple of Xun Qing. Therefore, there is a possibility that the writer of “the Filial Behavior” belonged to the school of Xun Qing, but “the Filial Behavior” does not seem to be much influenced by the ideas of Xun Qing. Lü Buwei must have sponsored Confucianists of the schools other than Xun Qing’s, and there is no more information about the writer of “the Filial Behavior”. Probably he was trained in the eastern part of China, and there he had a chance to read the documents composed by the school of Zeng Can.

As we have discussed, “the Filial Behavior” had close relation to

the first half of the Book of Filiality, and the former reflected the earliest stage of ideas in the latter. This suggests that the Book of Filiality was written not so long before the edition of the Lüshi Chunqiu. The group concerned with the composition of the Book of Filiality were some Confucianists of the Lu or Qi state, because the book was circulated first in the eastern part of China, according to the information we have. They were influenced by the School of Zeng Can, and developed the ideas presented by this school. A Confucianist who took part in the composition of the Lüshi Chunqiu under the patronage of Lü Buwei may have belonged to this group, or he probably knew well about the philosophy of filiality of this group. It is possible to assume that this group laid their hopes on First Emperor at first, but they were probably disappointed at the anti-Confucian policy of First Emperor. They further developed their ideas of filiality and composed the latter half of the Book of Filiality to express their opinion against the Legalist policy of the Qin Empire and their hopes for a future dynasty.

In brief, the history of the philosophy about filiality can be summarized as follows. Some of the important ideas of filiality were already presented by the early Confucian group (the 5th century B.C.E.), and then some Confucian factional groups, especially the school of Zeng Can, took over the ideas of filiality. Mencius, as a Confucian educated in the philosophical tradition of Zeng Can, placed filiality in the center of his thought in the fourth century B.C.E. In the first half of the third century B.C.E., after the death of Mencius, not his disciples but the other Confucians belonging to the school of Zeng Can, especially Confucians of Lezheng Zichun's school, contributed to developing the philosophy of filiality. Around the middle of the third century B.C.E. some Confucians who were influenced by this philosophy of filiality developed the idea of filial government, and the result was the first half of the Book of Filiality. This group continued to develop the

philosophy of filiality further, and compiled the various ideas of filiality into a comprehensive book. At this stage, it seems that the writers were more influenced by the ideas of Xun Qing. The book was edited in the early Western Han period (the early 2nd c. B.C.E.?); it is possible to think that the Hanshi school took part in this edition. The book was gradually circulated and became well-known around the mid-second century B.C.E.

#### (5) The philosophical background of the philosophy of filiality

As the above summary shows, the philosophy of filiality in Ancient China had a history of over one hundred years from the later Zhanguo period to the early Han period, if its process can be seen to be completed when the Book of Filiality was written and established as a Confucian canon. There must have been reasons, both philosophical and historical (social or political), that this philosophy was produced. We will discuss the philosophical reasons, backgrounds and conditions in this section, and the historical, political and social reasons in the next section.

In the Western Zhou period, filiality meant obedience to authority that a head of a descent group had, and to advocate filiality in this situation was to support the social structure of descent groups, as we have discussed in Chapter One. The situation was different in the period when the philosophy of filiality was produced. Descent groups had collapsed and a smaller scale of domestic group became the basic kinship unit. Because filiality was restricted to the ethic of a parent-child relationship in this situation, it must have become less meaningful to discuss filiality. What the philosophy of filiality tried to assert was clearly not only to preach familial ethics but to discuss something else under the pretense of a parent-child relationship. It would be reason-

able to think that the problem discussed in the philosophy of filiality was not independent of other philosophical themes in the Zhanguo period.

As we have mentioned in the introductory part of this dissertation, Nobuyuki Kaji thinks that the concept of filiality reflected Chinese view on life; as the idea that “one’s body is his parents’ body transmitted to him” suggests, one’s life is the lives of his ancestors, and his life is everlasting if it is transmitted to his descendants. When one is offered sacrifice to by his descendants, he continues to exist, in spite of his physical death. By completing filial obligation, that is, by preserving one’s own self and carrying out ancestral rites properly, both his ancestors and he can live eternal lives. On this basic feature of filiality are established other ethics and the concept of rites (1964-1, p.30, 1990, p.20 and p.67-74). Kaji’s argument is basically acceptable, but he supposes that the philosophy of filiality (especially the thoughts of the Book of Filiality) “broke down”, because the philosophy disturbed the harmonious combination of love and reverence, by emphasizing the latter (1964-2, p.67). Though it is correct for him to say that the philosophy “intended to shift filiality into a social relationship” by means of its emphasis of reverence (ibid.), love and reverence do not seem to be as sharply separated as he describes; they are two elements inherent in a father-son relationship, as we have noted. It is necessary to consider more closely which aspects of human beings these two concepts were related to.

The philosophy of filiality was developed and of great importance in the philosophical history of Ancient China, because its theme was related with the discussion of human nature (renxing lun 人性論), which was one of the most important topics for the Zhanguo thinkers. The discussion of human nature is usually thought to have been the discussion about whether the intrinsic human nature was good or evil, or, in other words, what was the root of evil. This view is perfectly correct, but

the reason that the ideas of human nature was important for the Zhanguo philosophers can be sought for in the other meanings that this discussion had. The discussion was essentially concerned with the relation between nature and culture, that is, how the instinctive aspects of human beings such as feelings, senses and desires were related to cultural constructs or social justice. The philosophy of filiality was important because it presented a solution to this problem.

As is well known, and as we have also discussed in the preceding chapters, there were two opposing ideas about the relation between human and nature. One was the idea of Mencius, who thought that any cultural institution, value or social norm was constructed on the basis of the inherent inclinations of human beings. For Mencius, nature was the basis, and culture was the extension of nature. Because of this, he thought that the extension of affection between kin could bring universal harmony and that social justice (yi 義) belonged not to “the external (wai 外)” but to “the internal (nei 内)” (Shimamori 1983). Mencius’ idea of “the external” and “the internal” was, however, not necessarily popular in those days. Most of the Zhanguo philosophers do not seem to have thought of cultural constructs as the mere extension of human emotions. Contrary to Mencius, Xun Qing thought that cultural constructs and social institutions were external prescriptions controlling the emotional aspect of human beings, which was potentially destructive to human beings. Universal harmony and social justice could be brought about by following external prescriptions, which he called the rites. The rites were not based on human nature but the transcendental behavioral standards, as was shown by Xun Qing’s description of the rites as being established by “the Ancient Kings (xian wang 先王)”, and in this sense the rites belonged to “the external”.

The viewpoint that the philosophy of filiality presented concerning the relation between nature and culture can be summarized as a compro-

mise between these two views, that is, the view that both nature and culture were included in the essential structure of human beings. The documents concerned with the philosophy of filiality share the idea that social justice and cultural order are established on the basis of familial feelings, though each document has a different logic. This idea seems to be near to Mencius' idea rather than Xun Qing's, because in this idea objective behavioral standards are rooted in "the internal". However, justice is not thought in the philosophy of filiality to be the mere extension of emotion; the essential nature of human beings includes elements that generate culture and society. For instance, when the author of the Book of Filiality presented the dichotomy of love and reverence, he realized the two-sidedness that human nature had intrinsically. This is the difference between Mencius and the philosophy of filiality, because Mencius thought of human nature monistically (Ames 1991, p.155). Any human relation between a person and another person is direct communication between two individuals on the one hand, and it is also a relationship between two social roles on the other hand. Even a father-son relationship takes on twofold qualities, as a bond of affection between two characters on the one hand and as a social relation between fatherhood and sonship. In other words, a human being consists of both nature and culture. The author of the Book of Filiality called the aspect of nature in human relations "affection (ai 愛)" and the aspect of culture "reverence (jing 敬)". Thus, grasping human beings dualistically, he maintained that the innate aspect of culture was the basis of cultural constructs and social institutions.

To put it concretely, the social aspect of a parent-child relationship is the playing of each role; a parent plays his role of a parent with benevolence, authority and leadership, and a child plays its role of a child with respect and obedience. There are the socially expected behavioral models for not only these two roles but also every social

role, and the behavioral models are clarified and systematized as “the rites” by Confucian philosophers. Social justice can be brought to fruition through every person’s following the behavioral models for his social role. The reason that a parent–child relationship is asserted to be the basis of other ethics in the philosophy of filiality can be sought for in the social aspect which this relationship has; as any other human relation does, this relationship, which is the most fundamental human relation anyone has to experience, includes the playing of social roles according to socially prescribed codes. The spirit that a person learns in this relationship is applicable to any relation. (See Hamilton 1991 <sup>[24]</sup>.)

The writer of “the Great Filiality” had a slightly different viewpoint about human nature. He thought that the raison d’être of human beings was the basis on which social justice was established. A person is begotten by his parents, and this fact means that he is a created being who is not permitted to have and follow his free will, because even his own existence is not in his possession and because he does not have any right to disturb any being including his own existence. What he is expected to do is to tread the path of righteousness not to disgrace his parents and himself. Naturally indeed he has his own emotions, some of which, for example his affection toward his parents, are ethically important. But the rest of the emotions are given a low value. Contrary to Mencius, the writer of “the Great Filiality” thinks, not that human beings are innately equipped with morality which spontaneously develops into social justice, but that the more basic structure of human beings imposes upon them the duty to follow the socially regulated norms. In “the Great Filiality”, though a human being belongs to nature, his raison d’être obliges him to follow culture.

As the above discussion shows, the philosophy of filiality did not aim to promote familial ethics. What it tried to do was to discuss more



universal ethics, that is, the legitimacy of social order and institutions that brought about social justice, and to show that the established social structure was the result of human nature. This does not merely mean that the philosophy of filiality maintains loyalty of subordinates toward superiors; as “the Basic Filiality” and “the Great Filiality” assert observance of social norms, or as “the Establishing Filiality” advocates the duty of remonstrance; what this philosophy requires one to follow is the authority that society has of itself and on which the order of society is based, rather than only governmental authority. To put it more clearly, the absolute theme in this philosophy is the dignity of universal law that establishes every existence including human beings, based on which society functions and, therefore, which human beings should follow. This idea is prominent in the documents we have dealt with, in spite of their different expressions. The Book of Filiality describes fatherhood as the symbolic expression of the absolute being, such as Heaven or law (fa 法), when its Chapter Ten says that the greatest filiality is “making him (= a father) a companion of Heaven (pei tian 配天)”, Chapter Eleven equates the way between father and son with the nature of Heaven and Chapter Fourteen juxtaposes law with parents. A similar expression can be found in “the Great Filiality”, which says, “Filiality, if placed, fills Heaven and Earth.” In the idea that one’s own body is his parents’ body transmitted to him, which is shared by the Book of Filiality and “the Great Filiality”, parenthood is thought of as the basis of existence, just in the same sense that God is the creator of human beings. In brief, parenthood in the philosophy of filiality is made use of as a metaphor symbolizing the absolute being.

What should be paid attention to here is the point that this symbolism of parenthood is not a novel Confucian invention. This symbolism itself existed in ancestor worship during the Western Zhou period,

because the essential structure of ancestor worship in lineage-centered societies is the symbolism in which fatherhood (in the case of patrilineal descent groups) expresses the authority of group leadership, lineage and the whole society, the heart of which is fatherhood. The important difference lies in the fact that this symbolism had no social inevitability nor reliability in the period when the philosophy of filiality was produced, while there was certainly the social inevitability for this symbolism in a lineage-centered society of the Western Zhou period; in the latter period, because fatherhood equaled lineage leadership, obedience to fatherhood meant loyalty to social authority, but in the late Zhanguo to Western Han periods when the importance of patrilineal descent groups had already faded away, parental authority could not stand for more important authorities in society, and this symbolism must not have been persuasive enough. In this situation, the philosophy of filiality brought in various logical motifs so as to re-activate this symbolism, or to disguise parenthood as representing the authority of the absolute being. The symbolism of parenthood as universal authority was not based on reality but merely on logic in the philosophy of filiality, and in this sense the symbolism was a fiction, or, cynically speaking, a sort of trick. Since there was no inevitable relation between the symbol (=parenthood) and what is symbolized (= universal authority), we can say that the philosophy of filiality made use of parenthood as a metaphor. The philosophical achievement of the documents we had dealt with was to discover and clarify the basic mechanism of ancestor worship, and to make it adaptable to different social situations, through molding it into a systematic theory which prescribes the relation between culture and nature. It is probable that the philosophy of filiality has been a theoretical support for the survival of ancestor worship in the Chinese history, even though we cannot say that this philosophy made ancestor worship survive social changes.

#### (6) The historical background for the philosophy of filiality

The discussions in the preceding chapters and this chapter clearly show that the philosophy of filiality had the character of a political philosophy related to the political and governmental situation in the late Zhanguo to early Han periods.

This problem has already been discussed by some scholars, such as Chôhachi Itano and Shigehiko Uno, who have pointed out that there was the potential or actual contradiction between kinship bonds and absolute government. Centralized despotism, which developed in the states of the Zhanguo period, tried to govern the people directly and individually, regardless of their relationships or bonds with each other. On the other hand, a kin group, including a patrilineal descent group which was common in the Western Zhou period, tended to be autonomous and closed, and disliked interference from the outside. As has been often referred to in this dissertation, patrilineal descent groups had already collapsed in the Zhanguo period, but this does not necessarily mean that there were no other types of kin group in that period. Scholars have discussed that the less solid kin groups that appeared upon the dissolution of descent groups played influential social roles in some areas. Some of them developed into powerful families in the Han period (Nishijima 1981, p.75, Masubuchi 1970, p.182, Ochi 1988, p.334, Watanabe 1978, p.58, Satake 1980-2, p.29, Inaba 1985, p.101). What the growing despotic government had to do in this situation was to make its control over each person possible, by overriding the exclusiveness of kin groups. The contradiction between government and familial ethics was a political problem that the government had to solve. The philosophy of filiality was, according to Itano, a solution to this problem; it tried to show not only the compatibility of familial ethics with despotism but also the possibility that filiality was the basis for successful govern-

ment (Itano, 1955). Itano's view is basically right, especially concerning the underlying contradiction between despotic government and kin groups, but if the philosophy of filiality was presented as a passive or defensive reaction that tried to defend both government and familial ethics from the contemporary situation, it would be difficult to explain why it was popularly accepted.

Shin'ichirô Watanabe observes the problem from a more positive point of view, when he discusses that the philosophy of filiality presented "a new vision of the state" which was a Confucian counter-argument against the Legalist view of the state. Legalists, especially Hanfei, thought that a state should be managed by laws, which were the objective and absolute standard independent of any ethics, and a superior-subordinate relationship, which is described as a sort of business connection in the Hanfeizi. According to Hanfei's theory summarized by Watanabe, a state was a field of business transactions between a monarch and retainers, based on contracts called laws. This theory gave despotic government and bureaucracy a framework in which to function, but it also deprived government of its ethical character. Discovering that such emotional aspects as love and reverence were shared by both familial relations and superior-subordinate relationships, the philosophy of filiality united these two kinds of relation and re-introduced ethics into government (1986, p.79-83). The philosophy of filiality is summed up by Watanabe as a patriarchal vision of government, in sharp opposition to the Legalist theory of social contract. He also discusses that the philosophy was an ideology for common bureaucrats, most of whom came from the upper or middle levels of peasant stock. This political thought was appropriate to the situation in which the omnipresent well-off families playing crucial roles in rural communities were enrolled into the Qin-Han imperial bureaucracy as "petty officials (xiao li 小吏)", and this is the reason that the Book

of Filiality was so popularly and quickly accepted (1987). Watanabe's view is basically acceptable, but his discussion tends to put more stress on the latter half of the Book of Filiality and the process in which the philosophy of filiality was accepted. The process of its production seems to require closer analysis.

As we have concluded, the philosophy of filiality was principally produced in the eastern part of China, the home ground of the Confucian school, but "the Filial Behavior" was written in the Qin state, so the philosophy was significant in the western part of China. It is well known that dealing with familial bonds was a serious problem for the Zhanguo states and that the solutions were often presented as "reform (bian fa 變法)", a typical example of which was Shang Yang's 商鞅 reform in Qin (356 and 350 B.C.E). We would like to consider below the possibility that the Zhanguo states were required to promote familial ethics rather than to confront them, for the very reasons that the reform caused domestic kin groups to be established, so as to make them the basic unit for imperial government, and that the states needed a theoretical basis for both domestic groups and governing the groups. The Qin state, where the reform was most successful, needed most to establish new familial ethics. Filiality, which had been the moral value for descent groups, had to be re-organized into the new philosophy of filiality.

The hypothesis that the Qin state promoted filiality is contrary to the traditional image of the Qin state which maintains that it was ignorant of familial ethics. This image has been referred to repeatedly in Chinese history, with a typical statemant being that of Jia Yi 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.E.), who wrote;

Lord Shang (= Shang Ying) neglected rites and moral principles, abandoned humanity and gratefulness, and turned (people's) minds toward enterprise. After he carried out his government for two

years, the custom of the Qin state was destroyed day by day. Therefore, (it was common) among the people of Qin that an adult man in a well-off family set out a new household, while an adult in a poor family married into the family of his wife. When a son lent his father a plow, he expressed a patronizing air. If a mother used her son's broom, he confronted and shouted at her. Suckling her baby, a young mother sat beside her husband's father. A daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law, displeased with each other <sup>[25]</sup>, quarreled and deceived one another. Those who were affectionate toward their children made excessive profits, and were little different from animals. But they cooperated to face the current situation, and said that the Qin state would defeat other six states and annex the world. When they performed a meritorious deed, they asked for rewards, and never realized they were contrary to both the norms of integrity and shame and the importance of humanity and righteousness. They believed in the way of annexation and completed the task of advancing to seize (other state). (The rest of) the world was completely defeated (by the Qin state). Thus, when (it became common) that the majority suppressed the minority, the clever deceived the foolish, the brave threatened the fearful and the powerful violated the powerless, disorder reached a peak. At that time, the Great Worthy (= Liu Bang) rose up; his awe-inspiring majesty shook all within the four seas, and his virtue subdued the world. What used to be the Qin state is now the Han empire, but its remaining customs have not yet been changed <sup>[26]</sup>.

商君遺禮義、棄仁恩、并心於進取。行之二歲、秦俗日敗。故秦人家富子壯則出分、家貧子壯則出贅。借父耰鉏、慮有德色、母取箕箒、立而誶語。抱哺其子、與公併倨、婦姑不相說、則反臂而相稽。其慈子耆利、不同禽獸者亡幾耳。然并心而赴時、猶曰蹙六國、兼天下。功成求得矣、終不知反

廉愧之節、仁義之厚。信并兼之法、遂進取之業。天下大敗、衆掩寡、智欺愚、勇威怯、壯陵衰、其亂至矣。是以大賢起之、威震海內、德從天下。曩之為秦者、今轉而為漢矣、然其遺風餘俗、猶尚未改。(The Hanshu vol.48, p.2244)

In his anti-Qin propaganda, Jia Yi attributed the immorality of kinship in the Qin people to Shang Yang's policy.

Then, how did Shang Yang think of his policy about kinship relations? According to the Shiji, Shang Yang was proud of his policy as establishing the familial ethics which had not existed before his government;

Originally the Qin state followed the teaching (= way of life) of the northern and western barbarians. There was no separation between a father and his sons; they stayed in the same room. I first established the teachings to distinguish male from female. I also constructed the great gate (in which laws were promulgated), which was equal to those in the Lu or Wei state.

始秦戎翟之教、父子無別、同室而居、今我更制其教、而為其男女之別、大築冀闕、營如魯衛矣。(The Shiji vol.68, p.2234)

Though here is no direct reference to filiality, “the separation between a father and his sons” is held to be in accord with familial ethics. A similar idea is found in the statement of Jia Yi that it was against the rites that “suckling her baby, a young mother sat beside her husband's father”. In spite of Jia Yi's criticism, therefore, Shang Yang intended his policy to establish familial ethics. Shang Yang's policy for “the separation between a father and his sons” was concretely expressed as the Edict of Partition (fen yi 分異), which we will discuss later.

It should be pointed out that First Emperor also recognized establishing familial ethics as his administrative policy. For instance, his views are expressed in seven Stone Inscriptions, the earliest of which, that at Mount Yishan 嶧山石刻 (219 B.C.E.), says;

In the twenty-sixth year (of First Emperor, the Emperor) offered the august titles (to his ancestors) so as to illuminate and exalt the way of filiality. He reported his great achievement (to his ancestors), and to bestow his extensive favor (on all the people) he made his own tour of distant districts.

廿有六年、上荐高號、孝道顯明、既獻泰成、乃降溥惠、親巡遠方。(Qin Shihuang Qinshi Keci Zhu p.18)

In this inscription the unification of China is described as First Emperor's filial piety toward his ancestor. The Stone Inscription of Langyatai 琅玕臺石刻, which was inscribed in the same year (219 B.C.E.), says;

In the twenty-sixth year, (the title of) Emperor was established at the first time. The Emperor standardized laws to be norms for everything, so as to clarify (how) human relations (should be) and to harmonize relationships between fathers and sons. He sagaciously understood humanity and righteousness, and manifested the true way.

維廿六年、皇帝作始、端平法度、萬物之紀、以明人事、合同父子、聖智仁義、顯白道理。(ibid. p.25)

The more detailed reference to kinship relations can be found in the Stone Inscription of the Huiji mountain 会稽山石刻 (210 B.C.E.);

(The Emperor) has reformed bad behavior, and promoted justice; (thus, he has prescribed that) it should be unchaste for a (bereaved) woman having children to marry again, because this is a betrayal of her dead husband. He has (ordered the) separation of the internal (= women's area) from the outside (= men's area) and prohibited indecency; thus, the male and female have become pure and sincere. (He has prescribed that,) when a husband has a unfaithful relation (with another woman), one who kills him should be not guilty; thus, men follow righteous norms. (He has pre-



scribed that,) when a wife divorces her husband to marry another man, her children cannot deal with her as a mother; thus, women become incorruptible.

飾省宣義、有子而嫁、倍死不貞。防隔內外、禁止淫泆、男女絮誠。夫為寄殺、殺之無罪、男秉義程。妻為逃嫁、子不得母、鵠化廉清。(ibid.

p.40)

Because these inscriptions are a sort of official charter, rather than statements of policy, we cannot decide whether the Qin empire really intended the establishment of familial ethics, or if it made use of familial ethics for other purposes. But at least officially First Emperor declared that the basis of the empire should be these familial ethics, including harmony between fathers and sons and marital chastity, which should be sanctioned by law. What was the purpose of these ethics?

One key to solve this problem lies in the legal attitude of the Qin state toward domestic groups and kinship relations. A part of the Qin statutes has been found in the bamboo-strip documents excavated at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in the Yunmeng 雲夢 county. These documents were excavated in the tomb of a Qin administrator who spent most of his life in local legal administration; they provide information not only about the Qin legal system but also about Qin bureaucratic mentality.

The Qin statutes excavated in Shuihudi naturally do not refer to the word “filiality” because the concept of filiality is related to philosophy, not the law. But the importance of filiality is prominent in a Yunmeng document called “How to be a good official (weili zhi dao 為吏之道)”, which says;

Be discreet, be discreet in (managing national property); the (consumed) property cannot be restored to the original state. Be prudent, be prudent (in forming a plan); forming a plan, one should not leave room (for changes). Be cautious, be cautious in (one's own statements); uttered statements cannot be revised. Be

discreet, be discreet (in giving a position to a clerk); given allowances cannot be paid back (even if he has to make reparation for his mistake). One should never fail to promote his own feeling of awed respect. One who is a ruler with it (= the feeling of awed respect) is tender-hearted. One who is a retainer (with it) is loyal. One who is a father (with it) is benevolent. One who is a son (with it) is filial. If one can carry out these intentions clearly, his administration will be necessarily well managed, and his aims will be necessarily attained; when in a superior position, he will be wise, and when in an inferior position, he will be obedient (to orders). The tenderness of a ruler, the loyalty of a retainer, the benevolence of a father and the filiality of a son; these are the basis of government. The attainment of aims, the good management of administration, the wisdom of superiors and the obedience of inferiors; these are norms of government.

戒之戒之、材(= 財)不可歸、謹之謹之、謀不可遺、慎之慎之、言不可追、暴(= 戒)之暴之、食不可賞(= 償)。術(= 術)慤(= 慤)之心、不可(不)長、以此為人君則鬼(= 懷 = 柔和)、為人臣則忠、為人父則茲(= 慈)、為人子則孝。能審行此、無官不治、無志不徹、為人上則明、為人下則聖(= 聰)。君鬼(= 懷)、臣忠、父茲(= 慈)、子孝、政之本也。志徹、官治、上明、下聖(= 聰)、政之紀也。 (Shuihudi Qinmu Zhujian p.284-285)

This document expresses the morality expected of Qin bureaucrats. It asserts that government should be based on a father-son relationship as well as a monarch-retainer relationship, and that filiality can be one of the most basic principles for government. Filiality, as well as tenderness, loyalty and benevolence, should be based on a shared spirit, that is “the feeling of awed respect”. This idea has some similarities to the philosophy of filiality; first, the idea that familial ethics should be a governmental principle. Secondly, it juxtaposes a father-son

relationship with a monarch-retainer relationship, and it shows that these two relationships should be based on the same spirit. Furthermore, when this document points out that “the feeling of awed respect” is shared by four kinds of human relation (that is, a monarch’s relation to his retainer, a retainer’s relation to his monarch, a father’s relation to his son and a son’s relation to his father), “the feeling of awed respect” seems to mean one’s modesty and respect toward any human being. In this sense, this idea is quite similar to the concept of “reverence” in the philosophy of filiality. We cannot say that this document was written under the influence of philosophy of filiality, but it includes the ideas similar to those in the documents we have dealt with.

The legal attitude of the Qin state toward domestic groups and kinship relations has been discussed by some scholars, and their discussions can be summarized into three points here. First, the Qin empire employed a policy of noninvolvement in domestic affairs, and showed deference toward the autonomy of domestic groups. The “Answers to Questions concerning Qin Statutes (qinlü dawen 秦律答問)” says;

A father stealing from his children is not a case of theft.

(Hulsewé D17, p.125)

父盜子、不為盜。(Shuihudi p.159)

{What} is “official denunciation”? What is “unofficial denunciation”? To kill or wound with murderous intent (or) to rob other people are {cases of} official {denunciation}. When a child robs his father or mother, or when a father or mother unauthorizedly kill, mutilate or shave their children as well as their male or female slaves, these are not cases of official denunciation.

(Hulsewé D86, p.148)

公室告、{何}也。非公室告、何也。賊殺傷、盜它人、為公室{告}。子盜父母、父母擅殺、刑、髡子及奴妾、不為公室告。(Shuihudi D86, p.148)

“Children denouncing their father or mother (and) male and female

slaves denouncing their master are unofficial denunciations; they are not to be accepted.”

子告父母、臣妾告主、非公室告、毋聽。

What is the meaning of “unofficial denunciation”? When a master unauthorizedly kills, mutilates or shaves his children or his male or female slaves, this is “unofficial denunciation”. When (although) it is not accepted, one (still) lodges a denunciation, the denouncer is punished. When the punishment has already been carried out and another person in succession denounces it, this likewise should not be accepted. (Hulsewé D87, p.148)

●何謂非公室告。●主擅殺、刑、髡子及臣妾、是謂非公室告、毋聽。而行告、告者罪。告者已行、它人有襲其告之、亦不當聽。(Shuihudi p.196)

“As regards sentencing members of the household, this concerns ‘household crimes’ (committed) at the time of the father’s life; if these are only denounced when the father has died, this is not to be accepted.”

家人之論、父時家罪也、父死而誦告之、勿聽。

What is the meaning of “household crimes”? “Household crimes” are the father killing persons as well as slaves and denouncing this when the father has died; this is not to be tried. (Hulsewé D88, p.149)

何謂家罪。家罪者父殺傷人及奴妾、父死而告之、勿治。(Shuihudi p.197)

What is meant by “household crime”? When father and son live together and (the son) kills or wounds his father’s slaves or cattle, or he steals them, and someone denounces this when the father has already died, this is not to be accepted; this is called “household crime”. (Hulsewé D89, p.149)

何謂家罪。父子同居、殺傷父臣妾、畜產及盜之、父已死、或告、勿聽。是謂家罪。(Shuihudi p.197)

According to these, the crimes in a certain range of kinship, which are

called “household crime” or “unofficial denunciation” in the above laws, could not be accepted as criminal cases. The Qin legal system recognized a certain kind of kin group as a legally autonomous unit, as Yukio Ôta (1980 p.19), Yasuhiko Satake (1980-1 p.11) and Takashi Yoshinami (1981 p.55) have discussed. Though the contradiction between kinship relations and monarchal government was a philosophical problem for the Zhanguo thinkers, as Chôhachi Itano has clarified, the Qin state did not try to include kinship relations in its legal system.

Naturally, this does not mean that the Qin empire approved of the infringement of kinship bonds upon its legal order. Even though the “Answers to Questions concerning Qin Statutes” prescribes that “when a master unauthorizedly kills, mutilates or shaves his children or his male or female slaves, this is ‘unofficial denunciation’, and it is not accepted 主擅殺、刑、髡子及臣妾、是謂非公室告、毋聽” (Hulsewé D87, p.148), this does not sanction household heads’ right of private punishment, but prohibits other family members from accusing the heads. This point is typically shown in another provision of the “Answers to Questions concerning the Statutes”, which says;

Unauthorizedly to kill a child (is punished by) tattooing and being made a chengdan or a grain-pounder. (Hulsewé D56, p.139)  
擅殺子、黥為城旦舂。(Shuihudi p.181)

As Tsuneko Matsuzaki has discussed, the Qin statutes provide for punishment and legal procedures in the case of kinship crime (1982 p.236-238). The Qin legal system, not premised on such large and closed kin groups as the lineages in the Western Zhou period, qualified a restricted range of autonomy for a restricted range of kin groups. Many scholars agree that this type of kin group was called “household (shi 室)” in the Qin statutes, the actual content of which was quite near to the so-called extended family or a nuclear family, that was a domestic group which consisted of a couple and their infant children, plus occasionally their

aged parents. It was not common for mature brothers to live in a household (Satake 1980-2, p.12, Inaba 1985, p.205, Matsuzaki 1982, p.270-278). When the Qin statutes say, "When a person's slave or slave-woman rob their master's father or mother, ----- if they (= the parents) are not household members, it is not 'robbing one's master' 人奴妾盜其主之父母、……不同居、不為盜主" (Hulsewé D18, p.125), they are premised on separate residences of a father and some of his mature sons. In addition, when the Qin statutes also say, "'Household crimes' are the father killing persons as well as slaves and denouncing this when the father has died; this is not be tried 家罪者、父殺傷人及奴妾、父死而告之、勿治" (Hulsewé D88, p.149), they exclude from criminal suits accusations among closest kin, such as parents and siblings, who used to belong to a household lead by a father. We can conclude from these facts that the Qin empire recognized this range of kinship as a legally autonomous unit.

The second feature of the Qin policy on kinship was its promotion of parental authority. This feature was related to the first feature we have just discussed. The legal system of the Qin state was based on small household groups and, because of this, the government needed the stability of these groups. The heart of these groups lay in a parent-child relationship, and the authority of fatherhood was nothing but the headship of the group. Therefore, parental authority had to be protected. For example, in the statutes cited above, family members are not allowed to denounce the household head for what he has done in the household. On the other hand, a household head's accusation against the other members' unfilial behavior is accepted immediately;

(A man) relieved (from statutory duties because of) age denounces another person because of unfilial behavior and requests that he be killed. Is he warranted to be (examined) repeatedly three times, or not? He is not warranted to be (examined) repeatedly

three times. He is to be quickly seized and not be lost <sup>[27]</sup>.

(Hulsewé D85, p.147)

免老告人以為不孝、謁殺、當三環之、不。不當環、亟執勿失。(Shuihudi p.195)

In the “Models for Sealing and Investigating (fengzhen shi 封診式)” there is an example in which a father asks for the execution of his son because of his unfiliality <sup>[28]</sup>.

Thus, the Qin empire tried to promote filiality so as to support the authority of parenthood. What the empire really protected by supporting parental authority was the headship of a small household group and dignity of the group; this is shown by the third feature of Qin policy on kinship, which is concerned with the “successor (hou 後)” system. The “Answers to Questions concerning Qin Statutes” says;

The commoner A has no sons; he makes his younger brother's son his successor. Living together with him, he unauthorizedly kills him. This warrants beheading. (Hulsewé D57, p.139)

士伍甲母子、其弟子以為後。與同居、而擅殺之、當棄市。(Shuihudi p.182)

“When somebody unauthorizedly kills or mutilates or shaves his successor son, this is reported (to a higher authority so as to sentence him).” What is the meaning of “successor-son”? (When somebody) officially registered the name of his son, making him successor to the aristocratic rank, the son, as well as the heirs-apparent established as successors by the prince or chiefs of states that are subject (of Qin), is successor-son. (Hulsewé D58, p.139)

父母擅殺、刑、髡其後子、獄之。●何謂後子。●官其男、為爵後、及臣邦君長所置為後太子、皆為後子。(Shuihudi p.182)

According to these, each household had a “successor-son” officially approved, and the right of the successor-son was protected by laws, as

the right of a household head was. Generally speaking, scholars think that this system was simply concerned with the succession of aristocratic ranks (Satake 1980-1, p.16, Inaba 1985, p.204, Koga 1980, p.372), except for Zhang Jinguang<sup>[29]</sup>, but this system worth paying more attention to, because it suggests that the Qin legal system did not set value on mere parenthood; otherwise, there would have been no reason to distinguish a successor-son from other sons in criminal cases. What the legal system really deferred to was the headship of a household and the authority of the household group symbolized by the headship, and the status of a successor-son partially represented the headship; therefore, the successor-son was distinguished from other sons. From a different point of view, the system of successor-sons shows that the Qin empire tried to view each household as a corporate group, even though a domestic group was necessarily a corporation. The Qin empire tried, by controlling households as permanent corporations, to stabilize tax revenues and conscription.

Here we can see quite clearly the historical background of the philosophy of filiality. First of all, the basic background was the Qin policy on kinship groups, which was first employed by Shang Yang. The reformation of Shang Yang has been long discussed by many scholars, most of whom agree that its main purpose, especially that of the Edict of Partition (fēn yì 分異), lay in the dissolution of large descent groups and the generation of small domestic groups as the legal basic units for taxation and conscription (Nishijima 1981, p.58-63, Makino 1974, Moriya 1968, p.299, Inaba 1985, Satake 1980-1). Since this domestic group had essential importance for government, the Qin empire tried to authorize and support it. Because the authority of the group was represented by its headship, the Qin statutes prescribed that the headship should not be violated by the other members of a household, and the rulers tried to establish a new familial ethics adaptable to the new situation, on the



basis of the authority of headship. Since the authority of headship was expressed as parenthood, obedience to parenthood, that is filiality, had to be advocated by the government. In other words, filiality had to be adopted as a basic principle of government. But filiality in this situation could not be the same as that in the Western Zhou period. The government could not accept the autonomy and exclusiveness of large descent groups, the ideology of which had been the old type of filiality. The old ideas of filiality had to be modified, and a new theory was needed to prove that the authority of parenthood and obedience to it were not contradictory with monarchical government. In this situation, the philosophy of filiality was developed. What was required of the philosophy of filiality, therefore, was to establish a familial ethic that was suitable to domestic groups but which were political ethics at the same time.

The above discussion is based on the situation in the Qin state, but it can be imagined that similar situations existed in the other Zhanguo states and the Han empire. This is the reason why the philosophy of filiality was produced in the eastern part of China first and that the Book of Filiality gained popularity rapidly in the Western Han period.

To sum up, the philosophy of filiality was produced to solve the political problem discussed above, to establish the authority of parenthood as the basic principle for government and to advocate that deference toward parental authority inevitably resulting in obedience to social order. But the solution of this problem had a couple of difficulties. Filiality, which the philosophy was required to authorize, had already lost the universal validity that it had in the Western Zhou

to Chunqiu periods. In the lineage-centered society of the Western Zhou period, fatherhood was the authority on which the whole society was based, but in the late Zhanguo to Han periods fatherhood was only one source of social authority, and, compared with such other kinds of authority as government, bureaucracy and local community order, its importance was relatively low. It would have been fictional to present parenthood as the supreme authority. In addition, because a household in this period was not a corporation, as mentioned above, it is doubtful whether fatherhood in a household always meant leadership in actual contexts. How much a father took leadership must have depended on his character. Even though the Qin statutes prescribed fatherhood as the headship of a quasi-corporate group, they did not necessarily reflect reality. In order to solve this problem, the philosophy of filiality developed the discussion of human nature, and asserted that parental authority could metaphorically represent authority of government, society or the absolute being, by pointing out the dualistic structure of human nature, that is, by distinguishing the social role of a person from his character.

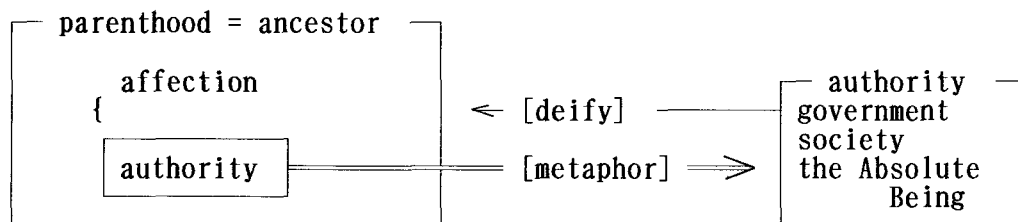
## CONCLUSION

We have studied the philosophy of filiality from the viewpoint of its relation to ancestor worship. We do not have to repeat the whole history of this philosophy any more. The above discussion can be summarized by four points.

First, filiality in the Western Zhou period indicated the ethics of patrilineal descent groups (zongzu), which were principally expressed in ancestor worship. Since the philosophy of filiality was developed on this basis, it reflected the essential ideas inherent in ancestor worship. Secondly, this philosophy was developed in the Zhanguo period when descent groups were collapsing. In this period, people recognized that there was a contradiction between the exclusiveness of zongzu groups and monarchial government, and Confucians who contributed to the philosophy tried to reconcile these two. On the other hand, the Zhanguo period was the process in which small domestic groups replaced descent groups, and monarchial government required new ethics for the new type of kinship group. The cause for which the philosophy was produced can be sought for in the structural changes of kinship groups in the Zhanguo period. Third, filiality was, essentially, a symbolism expressing the authority of government, society or the absolute being, by making use of parenthood as a metaphor. Because this symbolism was rather fictional in the Zhanguo period, the philosophy introduced various ideas to make it persuasive. Finally, one of the most important ideas in the philosophy, that is the dichotomy between love and reverence, was related to the discussion of human nature. This idea was presented as a solution to the problem of how to understand the relation between nature and culture. In other words, the philosophy of filiality recognized the nature of human beings dualistically; people were emotional and instinctive beings on the one hand, but they also bore and played social roles. By emphasis on

the latter aspect, harmony was to be created.

From the above summary, we can present a hypothesis concerning the basic structure of ancestor worship, as follows. The ultimate basis of ancestor worship lies in the duality of human relations. Any relationship between two persons is not only an emotional connection but also a social relation between two roles. This is valid in kinship. A relationship between parents and children is a social one between authority and subordinates as well as an affectionate one. At this point, a parent-child relationship has a similarity to other authority-subordinate relationships, and it is logically possible for parenthood to symbolize any level of authority. In ancestor worship, the authority of parenthood is metaphorically related to that of the absolute being, and the former is deified as an ancestor. In brief, ancestor worship is the symbolism of representing higher levels of authority by means of domestic authority.



**The mechanism of deification**

Therefore, this symbolism is based on authority of parents, but what is deified as ancestors is the whole image (that is, both elements of affection and of authority) of parents. Hence comes ambiguity of ancestors; they are recognized to be affectionate by their descendants on the one hand, but in actual contexts they are sometimes malevolent

beings that force discipline and order upon them, by means of sickness or misfortune.

Because the connection between parental authority and higher levels of authority is metaphorical, this symbolism can function in any society; in lineage societies, since parenthood is nothing but headship which is the heart of society, the symbolism is persuasive enough. In other societies, though it may be more fictional, there is still a possibility for it to work, especially when the mechanism of deifying parenthood as ancestors is activated for various reasons. If so, it should be asked what kind of factor activates this mechanism. A brief discussion of this point is necessary to conclude our study.

Since ancestor worship is based on parenthood as a social role, a key to solving the problem can be sought in social importance of parenthood, which is, in other words, the validity of filiation as a principle for social activities. Filiation, which is defined as the relationship between a person and his parents which stipulates his rights in society, is the basis of descent, though this does not mean that the former necessarily results in unilineal descent; as Roger Keesing says, "a descent continuum is the cumulative result of filial links of specified type, but definition is in terms of the continuum" (1970 p.768). Next, descent is a set of principles that define social institutions, but this set of principles should not be confused with such an institution as a descent group; as Keesing puts it, "Cultural principles (sets of idea) must be distinguished from their expression in social events and interactions" (ibid.). Geertz also points out that an analytic separation should be made between "kinship symbols" and kinship institutions; "kinship symbols", which give meaning to people's kinship relations, are not only "models-of" reality but also "models-for" the construction of it, and kinship institutions "represent the social establishment of these 'models-of, models-for'" (1975 p.2, p.156-58). Therefore, "often, two or

more descent constructs are relevant in the same or different contexts in the same society" (Keesing p.768), and it is also possible to suppose that in a society that is not based on lineage groups there are embedded descent principles, which function only in a particular situation. Since filiation is the basis of descent, the social importance of descent principles means the validity of filiation as a "model-of/model-for". When filiation is significant as a principle for social activities, there is more probability that authority of parenthood symbolizes that of other levels, and the mechanism of deification is activated. In brief, ancestor worship is based on descent principles rather than descent groups.

The functioning of ancestor worship after the decline of lineage groups in China was probably related to the fact that fatherhood and filiation, as well as kinship, were still significant after the Zhanguo period. Patrilineal descent continued to be an important principle for Chinese group-formation. This is proved by the fact that strong lineage groups were formed again in the late imperial era in southeast China. It is quite probable that the development and popularity of the philosophy of filiality after the Han period reflected the same tendency. The discussion of filiality in the Zhanguo period does not seem to have been related to the principles for kinship institutions; it was concerned with the discussion of human nature and familial ethics for small domestic groups, as we have discussed above. But, since the philosophy of filiality emphasized the authority of fatherhood and it was officially accepted by government, we can assume that it contributed to the promotion of filiation as a principle for group-formation. The Chinese thought that it was ideal for kin of many generations to live together, and this was related to the philosophy of filiality, though this idea was not prominent in the documents dealt with in this dissertation. Thus, it is reasonable to think that the ideas of filiality justified

the formation of powerful heredity families in the Han period (Inaba 1987, Satake 1980-2). As this shows, the philosophy of filiality had powerful influence over society. This problem needs to be discussed in detail, but that is another project.

## NOTES

### Notes for Introduction

1. The religious feature of filiality is also suggested by the facts in later periods; the Book of Filiality was used as a talisman to drive out misfortune in the Six Dynasties period (Yoshikawa 1984, p.547). Jiang Yuanzuo 江元祚 described the method of mystical meditation for filiality in the Xiaojing Daquan 孝經大全 which he edited in the late Ming period.

Everyday early morning, cleaning oneself and combing up one's hair, in full dress, one offers incense and salutes to the north. After that, sitting in silence facing the north, he meditates with his eyes shut; beginning with his own (situation) in the present year, he thinks back to how he was when he was an infant and loved his parents. Further, he thinks back to how he was when he descended from his mother's womb and cried out. Further, he reflects on how he was when in his mother's womb he breathed out and in as his mother did. (When his meditation) reaches this, both his emotion and sensibility are lost, and there is only one piece of ceaseless energy (felt); suddenly delight arises (in his heart). -----

每日清晨、盥櫛盛服上香、北向禮拜、畢、面北默坐、閉目存想、從自身見今年歲、逆想回孩提愛親時光景何如、又逆想回下胎一聲啼叫時光景何如、又逆想回在母胎中、母呼亦呼、母吸亦吸時光景何如、到此情識俱忘、只有綿綿一氣、忽然自生歡喜。 (“Songjing Weiyi 誦經威儀”, XJDQ vol.1, p.22)

Nobuyuki Kaji has studied the Xiaojing Daquan 孝經大全 from the philological point of view (Kaji 1985, p.164-89). According to his study, though Jiang Yuanzuo 江元祚 described as if Jiang edited this book, Jiang actually plagiarized the Xiaojing Jilu 孝經輯錄, which was edited by Zhu Hong 朱鴻 in 1590. The “Songjing Weiyi 誦經威儀”, which is cited



here, is also not Jiang's work but an unidentified author's. Because it is very difficult to use the Xiaojing Jilu, only four copies of which are found out by Kaji, the Xiaojing Daquan is used in this dissertation.

2. The fact that pietas was devotion to parents, to deities and to the state is shown by Cicero's statements, as follows: "Pietas warns us to keep our obligations to our country or parents or other kin" (De Inventione II, XXii, 66, p.231) and "pietas is right dealing towards the gods" (De Natura Deorum XLI, p.70). This shows that the concept of pietas was extremely similar to the Chinese concept of filiality.

3. In this dissertation I repeatedly point out the collapse of lineage or its less importance in the Zhanguo era, but this does not mean that lineage groups completely vanished. A lineage groups has been an important social institution throughout the Chinese history, especially compared with the Western civilization. But it is obvious that lineage was not the supreme legal principle after the Zhanguo period, as it is in some African tribes. Some writers describe that Chinese lineage groups in the late imperial periods were just as African lineage groups (for example, Thompson 1989), but I think that they are misleading. It seems that Chinese lineage groups did not have clearly defined "heads", which are essential to African lineage. Lineage groups were maintained well only when they were given good economic and social bases, and all people did not necessarily belonged to lineage groups, even in the areas where lineage was most developed. Activities of lineage could be even the means of economic investment, as Michio Suenari has pointed out (1977). Unilineal descent was "one of" important principles for group formation in China, and it is difficult to define China as a lineage society in the same way as we do such an African society as the Tallensi or the Lugbara.

## Notes for Chapter One

1. The Jiagu Wenbian says that this graph is in Jinzhang 金璋 476. But we cannot find it there.
2. The inscription of the “Xiao-you” says, “[Hua?] gave Xiao (gifts). By using them, (Xiao) makes a vessel of Zuding. [?]易孝、用作祖丁彝。”  
(Jianmu 4974)
3. The dedicatory portion of A bronze inscription is sometimes called “felicitation (xiaci 嘏辭)”.
4. There are many discussions about the word 𣎵. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 reads this word as pin 𣎵 and thinks that it means “to order” (1916 vol.7, p.14). Gao Hongjin 高鴻緡 (1956, p.92) and Li Xiaoding 李孝定 (Jinwen Gulin, Fulu 付錄 p.1544) read it as jian 兼 (to “hold two offices simultaneously”). Guo Muruo (1935, p.79) and Chen Wenzhuo 沈文倬 (1977, p.337) understand the word as ji 藉, but it is not clear how they interpret this inscription. Mingwen Xuan reads the word as ji 汲, which is understood as xi 扱, and it thinks that xi si 扱司 means “to super-intend” (vol.3, p.142).
5. This inscription does not refer to the King’s gifts nor the phrase “in response extol the king’s beneficence 對揚王休”, but, generally speaking, the production of a vessel is described in a inscription to be caused by the King’s favor, such as gifts or the appointment of a post. . In the case of the “Wei Luan-ding”, Wei Luan produced the vessel because of the King’s order to administer the Nine Banks.

6. The translation of “of” will be discussed later.

7. The exact meaning of 勗 is not clear. Guo Moruo identifies this word as yue 勗, and thinks that the latter means yue 樂 or “happiness” (1935, p.123). His reading is tentatively adopted here.

8. The dating of inscribed bronze vessels is an important and difficult issue in the studies of inscriptions. Principally, there are three methods of the dating. The first one is to identify the chronological relationships among persons to whom inscriptions make reference, by comparing their names with each other. This method is generally reliable, but a mistaken identification of a person can cause totally incorrect dating. The second method is based on calendrical criteria, and this is premised on the accurate reconstruction of the Zhou calendar. The third one is based on the typology of vessels’ shapes, and this is not so precise a criterion as the second method, but it does not lead us to major mistakes. The dating adopted in this dissertation basically depends on the studies of Minao Hayashi, who uses the third method as the principal criterion and the first as the secondary one (Hayashi 1972, 1984 and 1989). However, Hayashi sometimes attributes vessels to later periods than those to which the vessels really belong. For instance, scholars agree that the “Xing-zhong” (I-13) belongs to the mid-Western Zhou period (Wu Shiqian 1981, p.122, Yin Shengping 1992, p.92, Shaughnessy 1991, p.115), but Hayashi attributes it to the late Western Zhou period (strictly speaking, the first half of the late Western Zhou period. See Hayashi 1984, “Dôji Sakumei Seidôki Hyô 同時作銘青銅器表” p.55). This seems to suggest, not that Hayashi’s methodology is misleading, but that his “late Western Zhou period” includes more years than the early or middle periods.

9. In Zheng Xuan's explanation on "when the primary evil-doers are (thus) greatly detested, how much the more then the unfilial and the un-brotherly 元惡大<sub>惡</sub>、矧惟不孝不友" (Karlgren 1950, p.42) of the Book of Documents, he says, "The primary evil-doers are those whom people hate very much. It is needless to say that those who are not good toward their parents and unfriendly to their brothers (are hated by people. This sentence) says that no sin (committed by) people is bigger than unfiliality and unfriendliness. 大惡之人、猶為人所大惡、況不善父母、不友兄弟者乎、言人之罪惡莫大於不孝不友。" Kong Yingda's commentary cites the Erya and says, "To be good toward one's parents is filiality; to be good toward one's brothers is friendliness. 善父母為孝、善兄弟為友" (SSZS vol.14, p.92). The word you 友, which usually means "friends", indicates an attribute of kinsmen whose ages are similar, when it is used in contexts of kinship.

10. See Ref. I-72, 77 and 81. Though these are Chunqiu inscriptions, they show that the concept of filiality was related to the idea of "food", which is symbolized by the element of "shi 食".

11. The "Mai-zun" begins with; "the King ordered (my) lord, the Marquis of Xing, coming out from (= leaving) (?), to function as a marquis in Xing (i.e. to be the Marquis of Xing). 王令辟邢侯出(?), 侯于邢." This suggests that the following events were when the King enfeoffed the Marquis with Xing. Then, the inscription says; "when in the following(?) second month, the Marquis met the King in Zongzhou, (the Marquis) had no blame. Together with the King, (he) [arrives at?] [Pang]jing and carried out a (?) rite. 于若二月、侯見于宗周、亡尤、王(?) 荼京酺祀. (The description of other rites follows.) At this day, the King together with the Marquis entered his living quarters. The Marquis (was) given a black

carved dagger-axe. When the King was at An, --- (a gift list follows). 之日王以侯内(=入)于寢、侯易玄周(=琚)戈、尹王才厥(=岸) ---. Extolling the beneficence of the Son of Heaven, (the Marquis) reported (to his ancestors?) that he had no blame, and respectfully and properly settled Marquis' bright father in Xing. 逌(=揚)天子休、告亡尤、用龍(=恭)義寧侯(=顯)考于邢." So far, the context is concerned only with the relationship between the Marquis and the King, and there is no reference to Mai; in the following passage, the name of Mai is first mentioned. If the subject of the sentence 用恭義寧侯顯考于邢 were Mai, his name must be presented before it. We should think that this inscription consists of two paragraphs, and that the first paragraph is concerned only with the Marquis' relationship to the king, while the second is related only with the Marquis' gift to Mai.

12. Among the Lugbara, a leader of a descent group, who is called "the senior", is also a sacrificer called "ghost shrine man", and he is also a "father" who is most frequently involved in the cases of ghost invocation to punish his disobedient sons (Middleton 1960). Since there is correspondence between leadership, seniority and fatherhood, this is similar to the situation in ancient China.

13. The meaning of this sentence is not clear, mainly because it is quite difficult to find the exact meaning of the word jue 爵. This word principally means a kind of wine cup, and occasionally indicates "rank" or "status". But it is hard to understand what to "have status in Heaven" means here. See Ikezawa (1990, p.120).

14. The passage from the Ode Xiawu might belong to the late Western Zhou period according to Masaaki Matsumoto (1958, p.636).

15. The word xiao is used in the “Wenhou zhi Ming 文侯之命” chapter of the Book of Documents (“mindful of the past, show filial piety for the former accomplished men 追孝于前文人”, Karlgren 1950, p.80). In the Book of Odes, there are twelve examples (three in Xiaoya 小雅, four in Daya 大雅 and five in Song 頌);

“Auspicious and pure are your sacrificial wine and food; with them you make filial offerings; you perform summer, spring, winter and autumn sacrifices, to princes and former kings. 吉蠲為饗、是用孝享、禴祠蒸嘗、于公先王。” (Karlgren 1945, p.224, the Ode Tianbao 天保, No.166)

“The divine protectors (= the spirits) enjoy the offering; the pious descendant will enjoy happiness. 神保是饗、公孫有慶。” (Karlgren 1945, p.246, the Ode Chuci 楚茨, No.206)

“Mindful of his predecessors, he (= King Wen) came and was filial. 追來孝。” (Karlgren 1945, p.70, the Ode Wenwang Yousheng 文王有聲, No.244)

“The lord has pious sons; the pious sons will never be lacking. 君子有孝子、孝子不匱。” (Karlgren 1945 p.73, the Ode Jizui 既醉, No.247)

“Oh, we offer the large male animal, assist us in setting forth the sacrifice; great was my august father, he comforts me, his pious son. 於薦廣牡、相予肆祀、假哉皇考、綏予孝子。” (Karlgren 1945, p.91, the Ode Yong 頌, No.282)

“They are led to appear before the enshrined dead father, to show their piety, to bring offerings, to increase their vigorous old age. 率見昭考、以孝以享、以介眉壽。” (karlgren 1945, p.91, the Ode Zai-jian 載見, No.283)

“Oh, august dead father, for endless generations you deserve to be piously revered. 於乎皇考、永世克孝、念茲皇祖。” (Karlgren 1945, p.91, the Ode Minyu Xiaozi 閔子小子, No.286)

“Brightly he goes to the illustrious ancestors, there are none (of

them) whom he does not revere; for himself, he prays for their blessing. 昭假烈祖、靡有不孝、自求伊祜。” (Karlgren 1945, p.95, the Ode Panshui 泮水, No.299)

“The wan dance is grand; the pious descendants are blessed. 萬舞洋洋、孝孫有慶。” (Karlgren 1945, p.96, the Ode Bigong 閟宮, No.300)

Probably, the usages of the word in the Wenwang Yousheng and the Jizui are not directly related to ritual behavior. It is possible to think that the concept of xiao in the phrase “filial descendants” bears an ethical connotation, but the contexts in the Chuci and the Panshui are related to rituals.

16. According to “the fifth year of Duke Xi” of the Zuozhuan, when Duke Xian of Jin employed Shi Wei to build cities for his two sons, Shi Wei, citing this ode, said, “Let our ruler cultivate his virtue and make secure the zongzi; there is no fortification equal to this. 君其脩德而固宗子、何城如之” (Legge 1972, p.144). Here the term zongzi indicated two sons of Duke Xian. In the feud between a prince of Song and Hua Hebi, the head of the Hua family, in “the sixth year of Duke Zhao”, Hua Hai (Hua Hebi’s younger brother) stood witness against Hua Hebi to drive him out. Xiang Xu said to Hua Hai, “A fellow like you is sure to be ruined, (because) you have ruined your main family, 女夫也必亡、女喪而宗室” (Legge 1972, p.610), and then cited the Ode; “the men of the (royal) clan are a fortified wall; do not let that wall be ruined. 宗子維城、無俾城壞.” Since Xiang Xu criticized Hua Hai for having Hua Hebi ruined, we can think that the term zongzi indicates “a main family” here.

17. Mao says, “Baixing means kinsmen of hundreds of officials. 百姓、百官族姓也” (MSZS vol.9-3, p.144). Kong says that baixing means hundreds of officials 百姓、百官 (SSZS vol.2, p.7). Wei Zhao’s 韋昭 (204-273) commentary to the Guoyu says, “Because of merits and service (a servant

has performed, a ruler) gives him a surname. (A family holding) an office performs hereditary merits, and, thus, a family (whose surname is the same as the name) of an office appears. 以功事賜之姓、官有世功、則有官族” (Guoyu p.571).

18. Mingwen Xuan identifies the word zhou 整 as the word li 釐. The Shuowen defines the latter word as li 戾 (vol.12b, p.61), which means “to come” in the Ode Panshui 泮水 of the Book of Odes. (“The Prince of Lu has come 魯侯戾止.” Karlgren 1945, p.95; Mingwen Xuan vol.3, p.300).

19. Legge translates dafu 大夫 as “great officers”. He also translates jia 家 (“household”) as “clan”, but this term means “(the collateral segments of) their lineage” in this context.

20. “When the mother of Gongfu Wenbo wanted Wenbo to marry, she gave a feast to seniors of his lineage. ----- Shihai heard this and said, ‘Fine. A feast of a husband and his wife (= a wedding feast) does not include retainers of a lineage.’ 公父文伯之母欲室文伯、饗其宗老、……師亥聞之、曰、善哉、男女之饗、不及宗臣 ……” (Guoyu p.210).

21. “Qu Dao liked water caltrops. When he fell sick, he summoned seniors of his lineage, and asked them, ‘Making offerings to me, always offer water caltrops.’ 屈到嗜芰。有疾、召其宗老而屬之、曰、祭我必以芰。” (Guoyu p.552).

22. The Yili describes the mourning rites when a ruler attends his retainer’s funeral (Steele 1917, vol.1, p.66), though this does not necessarily mean that a ruler attended his retainer’s ancestral rites.

23. The phrase zifu 子婦 can be interpreted in two ways. First, this can



be “wives of the sons”. Secondly, it is possible to understand this as “sons and (their) wives”. The second reading is more probable, because this phrase means “sons and their wives” in classical books. For example, the Neize 内則 chapter of the Book of Rites says, “Sons and son’s wives, who are filial and reverential, when they (receive) an order from their parents and parents-in-law should not refuse, nor be dilatory, (to execute it). 子婦孝者敬者、父母舅姑之命、勿逆勿怠” (Legge 1885, p.455, LJZS vol.27, p.234). If so, this inscription is an exception to the rule of arrangement discussed here (that is, the rule that a term referring to a closer relationship with a vessel’s producer is positioned before a term referring to a distant relationship), because “sons” are closer to this vessel’s producer than “friends”. However, in bronze inscriptions, women are rarely mentioned as attendants at ancestral rites, and it is possible to think that the status of “wives” affects the position of this phrase.

24. The “Xiping-ding” (1080-84) and the “Jingong-zheng” (6306).

25. According to Kimura (1981), the term xiaozi is used in several situations:

- 1) “A young man”. The “Ke-zun” says, “Though you were a young child (= too young) (at that time) to recognize ----- 爾有唯小子亡識.”
- 2) A humble expression of oneself. “Yu xiaozi 余小子”.
- 3) “Zong xiaozi 宗小子”: a collateral segment of a lineage.
- 4) “Xiaozi 小子 [a person’s name]”; it is used when a head of a collateral segment expresses himself in his relationship with the main lineage.
- 5) “X xiaozi Y ”; a collateral segment Y, who belongs to a main lineage X.
- 6) “Dashi xiaozi 大師小子 [a person’s name]”; a collateral segment

belonging to a main lineage, whose head holds the office of Dashi. The term has a connotation of “young” in the cases of 1) and 2), and it is used to express agnatic relationships in the others.

26. Mingwen Xuan transcribes this inscription as:

…… 巳 (=以)樂嘉賓、及我者口生、兼 巳 (=以)父 𠂔 (=兄)庶子 …… (vol.4, p.383). But the graph that it transcribes as sheng 生 does not look like it.

27. Legge translates this part as, “The marquis of Wei offered to resign in favour of any one of his uncles or brothers, or of their sons. Yea, having assembled all his officers at court, he said -----” (Legge 1972, p.174).

28. Legge translates “my fathers and brothers” as “my uncles and elder brothers.”

29. Legge’s translation is modified.

30. “(Duke Dao of Jin) required them (= ministers) to teach the sons and younger brothers of the ministers the duties of reverence, economy, filial piety, and fraternal submission. 使訓卿之子弟共儉孝弟” (Legge 1972, p.409).

31. Legge translates xiao as “dutiful” here.

32. Legge’s translation of this phrase is, “Filial reverence and loyal faith are virtues of good conduct” (Legge 1972, p.282). He seems to understand the word xiao 孝 to modify jing 敬.

33. Legge translates wei ren zi zhe 為人子者 as “a son”.

34. Legge translates this passage as “Than that the prince should die for being unfilial, it is better that he should make his escape” (Legge 1972, p.130). But the first phrase indicates, not to die for being unfilial, but that it is not filial piety for the prince to die.

## Notes for Chapter Two

1. There have been many studies of Confucius and the Analects, and most of them agree on several points concerning the composition of the Analects. First, the statements of Confucius and his disciples were orally handed down, as far as the early stage of the Confucian school was concerned. It is quite probable that there was modification of these statements. Secondly, the statements were not established and accepted by Confucians in a short period of time. Some statements had old origins (two or three generations after Confucius), but the others were produced four or five generations after Confucius, or even later. The editing of the book can be assumed between the late Zhanguo period and the early Han period (Takeuchi 1978 vol.1, Miyazaki 1974, Kimura, Eiichi 1971). Strictly speaking, therefore, it is necessary to date each of the cited chapters, so as to find the historical change of the concept of “filiality” in the Analects. But this task is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2. The distinction between nurturing (yang 養) and filiality (xiao 孝) is important in the Analects. Because this phrase (“in nurturing his father and mother, to know how to exert his whole strength”) refers to “strength” (li 力), it is possible to think that Zixia discusses only the physical aspect of filiality. Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 suggests that to

“exert one’s whole strength” is “filiality of ordinary people 庶人之孝” (Lunyu Zhengyi vol.1, p.11). But it is also possible to think that this phrase indicates not only serving one’s parents physically but also affectionate devotion to parents.

3. The phrase xiansheng zhuan 先生饌 or “serving their elders” has a quite complicated problem. Xiansheng normally means “fathers and brothers”; for example, the Collected Glosses 集解 of He Yan 何晏 (d. 249), citing Ma Rong’s 馬融 (79–166) comment, says, “Ma says that the word ‘elders’ means ‘father and brothers’, and zhuan means to drink and eat. 馬曰、先生、謂父兄、饌、飲食也” (LYZS vol.2, P.6), so he interprets this phrase as “when there are food and wine, (one should offer them) for seniors to eat and drink”. But the word zhuan usually means offering foods. So, Liu Baonan 劉寶南, citing the Lunyu Pianzhi 論語駢枝 of Liu Taigong 劉台拱 (1751–1805), understands the sentence as, “The younger (brothers) are called dizi, and the elder are xiansheng; both indicate children. Zhuan means to offer. When anything has to be done, the younger brothers undertake the hard work; when eating and drinking, elder brothers offer foods (to parents) 年幼者為弟子、年長者為先生、皆謂人子也。饌、具也。有事、幼者服其勞、有酒食、長者共具之” (Lunyu Zhengyi vol.2, p.27–8). What complicates the situation more is that the text Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200 C.E.) saw replaced the term zhuan with jun 餽 (= leftover food or eating leftover food. Jingdian Shiwen vol.24, p.2). Thus, Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815) interprets this as that a son eats and drinks the leftover foods (Duan Yucai vol.5b, p.9). In addition, it is possible to read it as the Waley’s translation, which takes the sentence as zhuan xiansheng 饌先生.

4. The word se 色 or “demeanour” is another word which is difficult to interpret in this passage. It is usually understood as the demeanour of

parents; for example, the Collected Glosses 集解 of He Yan says, “Bao (Xian) says that ‘the demeanour is difficult’ means that it is difficult to receive and follow (the mind expressed in) parents’ demeanour (before it is spoken) 包(咸)曰、「色難」者、謂承順父母顏色、乃為難。” (LYZS vol.2, p.6). But Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 made a comment on this, which says “the demeanour of harmonious and submissive pleasure is difficult. 和順悅色是為難也”, so he thought of this “demeanour” as that of sons (LYZY vol.2, p.28). Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384–456) read it in the same way when he said, “When countenance is harmonized, feelings become intelligible. Those who have the intention to serve parents well always harmonize their demeanour first. 夫氣色和、則情志通、善養親之志者、必先和其色” (Lunyu Yishu 論語義疏 vol.1 p.21). It is almost impossible for us to determine which Confucius meant, but both readings indicate a similar conclusion. If He Yan’s reading is right, it means that a filial son should regulate his behavior by always entering into his parents’ feelings. If Zheng Xuan is right, it means that a son’s affection to parents should superintend his inner feelings as well as his external behavior.

5. Concerning Example 4), there are two interpretations about “dogs and horses 犬馬”; one is to think that sons with no respect to their parents are the same as horses because even horses can support human beings by bringing them on their backs. Another interpretation is that serving parents without respect is to deal with them as animals because domestic animals are supported by men. Both of these readings are found in the Collected Glosses of He Yan, which says, “Bao (Xian) says, ‘dogs protect (people), and horses work for (people). Both of them serve people.’ Another (interpreter) says that, because what human beings take care of includes even dogs and horses, there is no distinction (between parents and animals), if one has no feeling of respect. 包曰、犬以守禦、馬以代勞、皆養人者。一曰、人之所養、乃至於犬馬、不敬、則無以別。” (LYZS vol.2,

p.6).

6. This statement of Confucius presents only the concept of respect, not the concept of love. But the Collected Glosses 集解 of He Yan, citing a statement of Mencius, says “Mencius says that to feed a man without showing him love is to keep him like a pig; to love him without showing him respect is to keep him like a domestic animal. 孟子曰、食而不愛、豕畜之、愛不敬、獸畜之。” (LYZS vol.2, p.6). This statement of Mencius is found in No.37 of the Jinxin 盡心 chapter in the Mengzi 孟子, though the word jiao 交 in the original text is replaced by chu 畜 by He Yan. (See Lau 1984, p.281). Therefore, He Yan understands the concept of respect to include both love and reverence.

7. Kôjirô Yoshikawa 吉川幸次郎 arranges the various readings of this passage into three (Yoshikawa 1969, p.49); the first is the reading shown in the translation, which was first advocated by Ma Rong 馬融 (LYZS vol.2 p.6). The second was presented by Zhu Xi 朱熹, who thought this sentence to mean that parents were always anxious about the health of their children, so the children should be cautious so that they do not worry (Lunyu Jizhu p.55). There is no essential conflict between these two theories. The final one is different; Liu Baonan interprets this as worrying about the health of parents (LYZY vol.2, p.26). In fact, there were some Han thinkers who read this in his manner, as he cited, but, based on the context of this sentence, we can hardly agree with him, because it is natural for a son to worry about his parents' health and this interpretation is not an appropriate answer to Meng Wubo's question (unless Meng is too cruel to worry about his parents' health).

8. Liu Baonan thinks that “freeing hands and legs” was normally done

after death for cleaning the body, but Zengzi had it done before his death in order to provide an example for his disciples (LYZY vol.9, p.156).

9. Masao Numajiri thinks this episode was written and added much later (even after Xun Qing, that is the Qin-Han period) because this is too well done as a real story. This kind of idea about filiality can found in neither the Mencius nor the Xunzi. Furthermore, Chapter VIII of the Analects is thought by some scholars to include later additions. (Numajiri 1975, p.124-5). If this is right, it would be inappropriate to use this statement of Zeng Can for studying filiality in the Analects. We can admit that this was written long after the death of Zengzi, but cannot agree that it appeared after the Qin period. Indeed a similar idea is found in the episode of Lezheng Zichun of the Lüshi Chunqiu, but this episode in the Lüshi Chunqiu was taken over from an older document, as will be discussed in the following chapters. Therefore, the fact that the Lüshi Chunqiu includes an idea similar to that in the Analects does not necessarily mean that Example 8 in the Analects was written and added to the original text around the time when the Lüshi Chunqiu was edited. It is possible to think that this episode was handed down by the Zengzi school, which we will discuss later, and that it reflects a comparatively early stage of ideas of the Confucian school.

10. For example, the Lunyu Zhushu says, “This chapter says that Zengzi’s filiality was not to dare to injure (himself). 此章言曾子之孝不敢毀傷也” (LYZS vol.8, p.30).

11. In “the Great Filiality of Zengzi” of the Dadai Liji, this phrase is written as “ren wei da yi 人為大矣”, which is easier to understand than the phrase in “the Meaning of Rites”. (See Chart Two in Chapter Four).

12. Lau translates this sentence as, “No one can find fault with what his parents and brothers have to say (about him)” (Lau 1983, p.97). His understanding is obviously correct, but The Collected Glosses says;

Chen (Qun, the early 3rd c. C.E.) says, “(this statement) says that, when Ziqian serves his parents and followed his brothers, he did good to the utmost; therefore, no one could speak ill of him.

陳(羣)曰、言子騫上事父母、下順兄弟、動靜盡善。故人不得有非間之言。

(LYZS vol.11, p.42)

Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (d. 456) also says, “No abusive languages indicate that all (of Min Ziqian’s behavior) was beautiful. 言之無間、謂盡美也” (LYYS vol.6, p.3). These suggest that the original text was written as “ren wu jian 人無間”, not as “ren bu jian 人不間”.

13. See Note 12.

14. The Lunyu Zhengyi 論語正義 of Liu Baonan 劉寶楠 says;

If a son follows his parents only to let them fall into immorality, the others will necessarily speak abusively against his parents and brothers. If he does not follow his parents’ order but exerts himself in making the behavior of his parents accord with righteousness, then people will not speak abusively against his parents.

蓋以從令而致親於不義、則人必有非間其父母昆弟之言。唯不苟於從令、務使親所行均合於義、人乃無非間其親之言。(LYZY vol.14, p.239)

15. The reason that Confucius identified filiality with the rites in this example may be sought for in the fact that Meng Yizi was the head of the Mengsun family, which was one of the biggest lineages in the Lu state. It can be assumed that filiality in a big lineage was more formal than that in a small family.



16. Here yi 易 or “ease” indicates the situation in which grief is not expressed enough even though the regulations of the rites are observed correctly.

17. The Lunyu Zhushu says, “Neither ‘too lavish’ and ‘too sparing’ nor ‘(excessive) grief’ and ‘ease (= formality)’ correspond with the rites. However, it is (more) undesirable for (the meaning of) the rites to be lost in lavishness; it is a little better for it to be lost in being too sparing. It is (more) undesirable for (the meaning of) mourning to be lost in ease (= formality); it is a little better for it to be lost in (excessive) grief. 奢與儉、易與戚等、弗合禮、但禮不欲失於奢、寧失於儉、喪不欲失於易、寧失於戚。” (LYZS vol.3, p.10).

18. The Lunyu Yishu says, “(Interpreting this passage,) Miu Xie said that a poor person could not ask for complete (materials for his son’s funeral), though his son had been wise, and that a rich person (could not) be sparing (of materials for his son’s funeral), though his son had not been wise; there were regulations of the rites for these cases, and the decision was made according to fathers’ statuses. This is the reason why there was no enclosure (for the coffin) when Li died. 繆協云、子雖才不可貧求備、雖不才而豐(不可)儉、亦各有禮、制之由父。故鯉死也、無槨。” (Lunyu Yishu vol.6, p.4). These sentences of the Lunyu Yishu seem to have a textual confusion, but the meaning is clear.

19. VIIa-35 in the Mencius. See Note 44.

20. The Zidao chapter of the Xunzi. See p.110 of this chapter.

21. Lau positions the sentence “a full year’s mourning is quite enough

(期可已矣)” before “after all, in the course of a year, the old grain having been used up, -----” (Lau 1983, p.179).

22. The translation is based on Lau’s, but Lau does not translate an 安 as “at ease”, as Waley does. I follow Waley’s translation of an.

23. The translation is basically based on Waley’s, but it is modified.

24. Tanida asserts that a mourning period was originally three months, and it was gradually prolonged. According to the Mencius, when Duke Ding of Teng observed the three-year mourning, ministers were opposed to this and said, “The ancestral rulers of the eldest branch of our house in Lu never observed this; neither did our own ancestral rulers. 吾宗國魯先君莫之行、吾先君亦莫之行也” (Lau 1984, p.95. See Note 66). The three-year mourning was not popularly observed when Mencius was alive. (See Tanida 1966, p.38-39).

25. The translation is based on Lau’s, but Waley’s translation is adopted for the sentence cited from the Book.

26. The Lunyu Zhengyi says, “the Zhongyong discusses five ways (= relationships) to be attained: the monarch-retainer, father-son, husband-wife, brother and friend relationships. Of these, a father-son and a brother relationships are where the basis (of human relations) exists. If a man can be filial and fraternal, he will necessarily be righteous in the ethics of the monarch-retainer, husband-wife and friend relationships. 中庸言達道五、君臣、父子、夫婦、昆弟、朋友。而父子、昆弟尤為本根之所在、若人能孝弟、則於君臣・夫婦・朋友之倫、處之必得其宜。” (LYZY vol.1, p.4).

27. The Collected Glosses of He An says, “Kong says that ‘to be discreet at the end’ means to (express) one’s grief completely in mourning for his parents, and that ‘to recollect the remote (people)’ means to (express) one’s reverence completely in sacrifices toward his ancestors. 孔曰、慎終者、喪盡其哀、追遠者、祭盡其敬” (LYZS vol.1, p.2).

28. “Master Cheng said that humanity (= affection) to one’s own (family) should be extended to the others. In serving one’s own seniors, (respect should be paid) to the seniors of other people. This is the case in human relationships, but it is not in one’s relationship with living creatures. (But if the attitudes that one should have both to people and to living creature are) expressed in a word, all of them are humanity. 程子曰、仁、推己及人、如老吾老、以及人之老。於民則可、於物則不可。統而言之、則皆仁” (Mengzi Jizhu 孟子集注 vol.13, p.363).

29. “The way of Yao and Shun is simply to be a good son and a good younger brother. If you wear the clothes of Yao, speak the words of Yao and behave the way Yao behaved, then you are a Yao.” (VIb-2, Lau p.244) 堯舜之道、孝悌而已矣、子服堯之服、誦堯之言、行堯之行、是堯而已矣。(MZ-HY p.46, MZZS vol.12a, p.92)

30. Wan Zhang asked, “While toiling in the fields, Shun wept and wailed, calling upon merciful Heaven. Why did he weep and wail?”

“He was complaining and yearning at the same time,” answered Mencius.

“‘When one is loved by one’s parents, though pleased, one must not forget oneself; when one is disliked by them, though distressed, one must not bear them any grudge.’ Are you saying that Shun bore a grudge against his parents?”

“Chang Xi said to Gongming Gao, ‘That Shun toiled in the fields I now understand, but that he should have wept and wailed, calling upon merci-

ful Heaven and calling upon father and mother, I have not understood.’ Gongming Gao said, ‘That is something beyond your comprehension.’ Now Gongming Gao did not think that a son could be so complacent as to say, all that is required of me is that I should do my best in tilling the fields and discharge the duties of a son, and if my parents do not love me, what is that to me? The Emperor sent his nine sons, and two daughters, together with the hundred officials, taking with them the full quota of cattle and sheep and provisions, to serve Shun in the fields. Most of the Gentlemen of the Empire placed themselves under him, and the Emperor was about to hand the Empire over to him. But because he was unable to please his parents, Shun was like a man in extreme straits with no home to go back to. Every man wants to be liked by the Gentleman of the Empire, yet this was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety; beautiful women are also something every man desires, yet the bestowal of the Emperor’s two daughters on Shun as wives was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety; wealth is something every man wants, yet the wealth of possessing the whole Empire was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety; rank is something every man wants, yet the supreme rank of Emperor was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety. None of these things was sufficient to deliver him from anxiety which the pleasure of his parents alone could relieve. When a person is young he yearns for his parents; when he begins to take an interest in women, he yearns for the young and beautiful; when he has a wife, he yearns for his wife; when he enters public life he yearns for his prince and becomes restless if he is without one. A son of supreme dutifulness yearns for his parents all his life. In Shun I have seen an example of a son who, even at the age of fifty, yearned for his parents (Va-1, Lau p.179)

萬章問曰、舜往于田、號泣于旻天、何為其號泣也。

孟子曰、怨慕也。

萬章曰、父母愛之、喜而不忘、父母惡之、勞而不怨、然則舜怨乎。

曰、長息問於公明高曰、舜往于田、則吾既得聞命乎、號泣于旻天、于父母、則吾不知也。公明高曰、是非爾所知也、夫公明高以孝子之心為不若是<sup>レ</sup>忍、我竭力耕田、共為子職而已矣。父母之不我愛、於我何哉、帝使其子九男二女、百官牛羊倉廩備、以事舜於畎畝之中、天下之士多就之者、帝將胥天下而遷之焉、為不順於父母、如窮人無所歸、天下之士悅之、人之所欲也、而不足以解憂、好色、人之所欲、妻帝之二女、而不足以解憂、富、人之所欲、富有天下、而不足以解憂、貴、人之所欲、貴為天子、而不足以解憂、人悅之・好色・富貴、無足以解憂者、惟順於父母可以解憂、人少、則慕父母、知好色、則慕少艾、有妻子、則慕妻子、仕則慕君、不得於君則熱中、大孝終身慕父母、五十而慕者、予於大舜見之矣。

(MZ-HY p.34, MZZS vol.9a, p.69)

The sentences Wan Zhang cites (“When one is loved by one’s parents, though pleased one must not forget oneself; when one is disliked by them, though distressed, one must not bear them any grudge. 父母愛之、喜而不忘、父母惡之、勞而不怨”) can be Zeng Can’s statement, because the same sentences are found in “the Great Filiality” of the Dadai Liji.

31. Mencius said, “Shun alone was able to look upon the fact that the Empire, being greatly delighted, was turning to him, as of no more consequence than trash. When one does not please one’s parents, one cannot be a man; when one is not obedient to one’s parents, one cannot be a man; Shun did everything that was possible to serve his parents, and succeeded, in the end, in pleasing the Blind Man (= Shun’s father). Once the Blind Man was pleased, the pattern for the relationship between father and son in the Empire was set. This is the supreme achievement of a dutiful son.” (IVa-28, Lau p.157)

孟子曰、天下大悅而將歸己、視天下悅而歸己、猶草芥也、惟舜為然、不得乎親、不可以為人、不順乎親、不可以為子、舜盡事親之道、而瞽瞍底豫、瞽瞍底豫而天下化、瞽瞍底豫而天下之為父子者定、此之謂大孝。(MZ-HY p.30, MZZS vol.7b, p.59)

32. Wan Zhang asked, "Shun's parents sent him to repair the barn. Then they removed the ladder and the Blind Man set fire to the barn. They sent Shun to dredge the well, set out after him and blocked up the well over him. Xiang said, 'The credit for plotting against the life of Shun goes to me. The cattle and sheep go to you, father and mother, and the granaries as well. But the spears go to me, and the lute and the ti bow as well. His two wives should also be made to look after my quarters.' Xiang went into Shun's house and there Shun was, seated on the bed playing on the lute. Xiang, in some embarrassment, said, 'I was thinking of you.' Shun said, 'I am thinking of my subjects. You can help me in the task of government.' I wonder if Shun was unaware of Xiang's intention to kill him.

(Mencius) said, "How could he be unaware? He was worried when Xiang was worried, and pleased when Xiang was pleased."

(Wan Zhang said,) "In that case did Shun just pretend to be pleased?"

(Mencius said,) "No. ----- He, Xiang, came as a loving brother, and so Shun honestly believed him and was pleased. What need was there for pretense?" (Va-2, Lau p.181)

萬章曰、父母使舜完廩、捐階、瞽瞍焚廩、使浚井、出、從而擒之。象曰、謨蓋都君咸我績、牛羊父母、倉廩父母、干戈朕、琴朕、二嫂使治朕棲。象往入舜宮、舜在牀琴。象曰、鬱陶思君爾、忸怩。舜曰、惟茲臣庶、汝其于予治。不識舜不知象之將殺已與。

曰、奚而不知也、象憂亦憂、象喜亦喜。

曰、然則舜偽喜者與。

曰、否、……彼以愛兄之道來、故誠信而喜之、奚偽焉。(MZ-HY p.35, MZZS vol.9a, p.70)

Wan Zhang said, "Xiang devoted himself every day to plotting against Shun's life. Why did Shun only banish him when he became Emperor?" Mencius said, "He enfeoffed him. Some called this banishment. ----- A

benevolent man never harbors anger or nurses a grudge against a brother. All he does is to love him. Because he loves him, he wishes him to enjoy rank; because he loves him, he wishes him to enjoy wealth. To enfeoff him in You Bi was to let him enjoy wealth and rank. If as Emperor he were to allow his brother to be a nobody, could that be described as loving him?" (Va-3, Lau p.183)

萬章曰、象日以殺舜為事、立為天子則放之、何也。

孟子曰、封之也、或曰、放焉。……仁人之於弟乎、不藏怒焉、不宿怨焉、親愛之而已矣、親之、欲其貴也、愛之、欲其富也、封之有痺、富貴之也、身為天子、弟為匹夫、可謂親愛之乎。 (MZ-HY p.35, MZZS vol.9a, p.71)

33. Kuang Zhang said, "Is Chen Zhongzi not truly a man of scruples? ---" (Mencius) said, "Zhongzi came from an old family. His elder brother Dai had an income of ten thousand bushels, but he considered his brother's income ill-gotten and refused to benefit from it, and he considered his brother's house ill-gotten and refused to live in it. He lived in Wu Ling apart from his brother and mother. One day when he came home for a visit and found that his brother had been given a present of a live goose, he knitted his brow and said, 'What does one want this honking creature for?' Another day, his mother killed the goose and gave it to him to eat. His brother came home and said, 'This is the honking creature.' He went out and vomited it all out. He ate what his wife provided but not what his mother provided. He lived in Wu Ling but not in his brother's house. Did he think that he had succeeded in pushing his principle to the utmost limits? Pushed to the utmost limits his way of life would only be possible if he were an earthworm." (IIIb-10, Lau p.133)

匡章曰、陳仲子豈不誠廉士哉。……

曰、仲子、齊之世也、兄戴、蓋祿萬鍾、以兄之祿為不義之祿、而不食也、以兄之室為不義之室、而不居也。辟兄離母、處於於陵、他日歸、則有饋其兄生鵝者、己

頻頤曰、惡用是鵲鵲者為哉、他日其母殺是鵲也、與之食之、其兄自外至、曰、是鵲鵲之肉也、出而哇之、以母則不食、以妻則食之、以兄之室則弗居、以於陵則居之、是尚為能充其類也乎、若仲子者、蚓而後充其操者也。(MZ-HY p.25, MZZS vol.6b, p.51)

34. What a farmer got was what he reaped from a hundred mu of land, the allocation of each man. With an allocation of a hundred mu, a rich farmer could feed nine persons, or eight persons; a middle farmer could feed seven or six persons and a poor farmer could feed five persons. (Vb-2, Lau p.207)

耕者之所獲、一夫百畝、百畝之糞、上農夫食九人、上次食八人、中食七人、中次食六人、下食五人。(MZ-HY p.39, MZZS vol.10a, p.77)

35. "What the world commonly calls undutiful in a son falls under five heads," said Mencius. "First, the neglect of one's parents through laziness of limb. Second, the neglect of one's parents through indulgence in the games of bo and yi and fondness for drink. Third, the neglect of one's parents through miserliness in money matters and partiality toward one's wife. Fourth, indulgence in sensual pleasures to the shame of one's parents. Fifth, a quarrelsome and truculent disposition that jeopardizes the safety of one's parents." (IVb-30, Lau p.173)

孟子曰、世俗所謂不孝者五、惰其四支、不顧父母之養、一不孝也、博奕好飲酒、不顧父母之養、二不孝也、好貨財、私妻子、不顧父母之養、三不孝也、從耳目之欲、以為父母戮、四不孝也、好勇鬪狠、以危父母、五不孝也。(MZ-HY p.33, MZZS vol.8b, p.67)

36. Zengzi, in looking after Zeng Xi, saw to it that he always had meat and drink, and, on clearing away the food, always asked to whom it should be given. When asked whether there was any food left, he always replied in the affirmative. After Zeng Xi's death, when Zeng Yuan looked



after Zengzi, he, too, saw to it that he always had meat and drink, but, on clearing away the food, never asked to whom it should be given. When asked whether there was any food left, he always replied in the negative. He did this so that the leftover food could be served again. This can only be described as looking after the mouth and belly. Someone like Zengzi can truly be said to be solicitous of the wishes of his parents. One does well if one can emulate the way Zengzi treated his parents. (IVa-19, Lau p.153)

曾子養曾皙、必有酒肉、將徹、不請所與、問有餘、必曰有。曾皙死、曾元養曾子、必有酒肉、將徹、不請所與、問有餘、曰亡矣。將以復進也、此所謂養口體者也。若曾子、則可謂養志也、事親若曾子者、可也。(MZ-HY p.29, MZZS vol.7b, p.58)

37. Gongduzi said, "Kuang Zhang is dubbed an undutiful son by the whole country. Why do you, Master, not only associate with him but treat him with courtesy?" Mencius said, "----- In his case father and son are at odds through taxing each other over a moral issue. It is for friends to demand goodness from each other. For father and son to do so seriously undermines the love between them. Do you think that Zhangzi does not want to be with his wife and sons? Because of his offense, he is not allowed near his father. Therefore, he sent his wife and sons away and refused to allow them to look after him. To his way of thinking, unless he acted in this way, his offense would be the greater. This is Zhangzi for you." (IVb-30, Lau p.173)

公都子曰、匡章、通國皆稱不孝焉、夫子與之遊、又從而禮貌之、敢問何也。孟子曰……夫章子、子責善而不相遇也、責善、朋友之道也、父子責善、賊恩之大也、夫章子、豈不欲有夫妻子母之屬哉、為得罪於父、不得近、出妻屏子、終身不養焉、其設心以為不若是、是則罪之大者、是則章子已矣。(MZ-HY p.33, MZZS vol.8b, p.67)

38. See Note 33. In this passage Kuang Zhang refers to Chen Zhongzi not as a filial son but as a man of scruples. But it is probable that Kuang Zhang agreed with Chen's attitude toward his brother, since Kuang Zhang himself was hated by his father because of his remonstrance.

39. Mencius said, "What is the most important duty? One's duty towards one's parents. What is the most important thing to watch over? One's own character. I have heard of a man who, not having allowed his character to be morally lost, is able to discharge his duties towards his parents; but I have not heard of one morally lost who is able to do so. There are many duties one should discharge, but the fulfillment of one's duty towards one's parents is the most basic. There are many things one should watch over, but watching over one's character is the most basic." (IVa-19, Lau p.153)

孟子曰、事、孰為大、事親為大、守、孰為大、守身為大、不失其身、而能事其親、吾聞之矣、失其身、而能事其親者、吾未之聞也、孰不為事、事親、事之本也、孰不為守、守身、守之本也。 (MZ-HY p.29, MZZS vol.7b, p.58)

40. Because Zeng Xi was fond of jujubes, Zengzi could not bring himself to eat them. Gongsun Chou asked, "Which is more tasty, mince and roast or jujubes?" "Mince and roast, of course," said Mencius. Gongsun Chou said, "In that case why did Zengzi eat mince and roast, but not jujubes?" (Mencius) said, "Mince and roast were a taste shared by others, but not jujubes. A personal name is tabooed but not a surname, because a surname is shared while a personal name is not" (VIIb-36, Lau p.301).

曾皙嗜羊棗、而曾子不忍食羊棗。公孫丑問曰、膾炙與羊棗孰美。孟子曰、膾炙哉。公孫丑曰、然則曾子何為食膾炙、而不食羊棗。曰、膾炙所同也、羊棗所獨也、諱名不諱姓、姓所同也、名所獨也。 (MZ-HY p.58, MZZS vol.14b, p.155)

41. Mencius does not explain clearly dao 道 and shi 事 here, but we can understand these as the way (dao) and the duty (shi) of pacifying the world, as Jiao Xun 焦循 has discussed. (Mengzi Zhengyi 孟子正義 vol.15, p.508)

42. Mencius said, “How ruthless was King Hui of Liang! A benevolent man extends his love from those he loves to those he does not love. A ruthless man extends his ruthlessness from those he does not love to those he loves. ----- King Hui of Liang sent his people to war, making pulp of them, for the sake of gaining further territory. He suffered a grave defeat and when he wanted to go to war a second time he was afraid he would not be able to win, so he herded the young men he loved to their death as well. This is what I meant when I said he extended his ruthlessness from those he did not love to those he loved. (VIIb-1, Lau p.287)

孟子曰、不仁哉梁惠王也、仁者以其愛及其所不愛、不仁者以其所不愛及其所愛。-----梁惠王以土地之故、糜爛其民而戰之、大敗、將復之、恐不能勝、故驅其所愛子弟以殉之、是之謂以其所不愛及其所愛也。 (MZ-HY p.55, MZZS vol.14a, p.109)

43. (Mencius said,) “If Your Majesty practices benevolent government towards the people, reduces punishment and taxation, gets the people to plough deeply and weed promptly, and if the able-bodied men learn, in their spare time, to be good sons and good younger brother, loyal to their prince and true to their word, so that they will, in the family, serve their fathers and elder brothers, and outside the family, serve their elders and superiors, then they can be made to inflict defeat on the strong armor and sharp weapons of Qin and Chu, armed with nothing but staves. (Ia-5, Lau p.11)

王如施仁政於民、省刑罰、薄稅斂、深耕易耨、壯者以暇日修其孝悌忠信、入以事

其父兄、出以事其長上、可使制挺以撻秦楚之堅甲利兵矣。(MZ-HY p.2, MZZS vol.1a, p.3)

44. Tao Ying asked, "When Shun was Emperor and Gao Yao was the judge, if the Blind Man (= Shun's father) killed a man, what was to be done?" Mencius said, "The only thing to do was to apprehend him." (Tao Ying said,) "In that case, would Shun not try to stop it?" (Mencius) said, "How could Shun stop it? Gao Yao had authority for what he did." (Tao Ying said,) "Then what would Shun have done?" (Mencius) said, "Shun looked upon casting aside the Empire as no more than discarding a worn shoe. He would have secretly carried the old man on his back and fled to the edge of the Sea and lived there happily, never giving a thought to the Empire." (VIIa-35, p.279)

桃應問曰、舜為天子、皋陶為士、瞽瞍殺人、則如之何。孟子曰、執之而已矣。然則舜不禁與。曰、夫舜惡得而禁之、夫有所受之也。然則舜如之何。曰、舜視棄天下猶棄敝屣也。竊負而逃、遵海濱而處、終身訴然、樂而忘天下。(MZ-HY p.53, MZZS vol.13b, p.105)

45. King Xuan of Qi asked about ministers. "What kind of ministers," said Mencius, "is Your Majesty asking about?" "Are there different kinds of ministers?" "Yes. There are ministers of royal blood and those of families other than the royal house." "What about ministers of royal blood?" "If the prince made serious mistakes, they (= ministers of royal blood) would remonstrate with him, but if repeated remonstrations fell on deaf ears, they would depose him." (Vb-9, Lau p.219)

齊宣王問卿。孟子曰、王何卿之間也。王曰、卿不同乎。曰、不同、有貴戚之卿、有異姓之卿。王曰、請問貴戚之卿。曰、君有大過則諫、反覆之而不聽、則易位。(MZ-HY p.42, MZZS vol.10b, p.82)

46. When King Xuan of Qi asked about the revolution of King Wu of Zhou,

Mencius said, "I have heard that (King Wen) punished 'outcast Zhou', but I have not heard of any regicide. 聞誅一夫紂矣、未聞弑君也。" (Ib-8, Lau p.39)

47. Mencius went to see King Xuan of Qi. "A 'state of established tradition'", said he, "is so called not because it has tall trees but because it has ministers whose families have served it for generations. You no longer have trusted ministers. Those you promoted yesterday have all disappeared today without your even being aware of it." "How could I have perceived," said the King, "that they lacked ability and so avoided making the appointments in the first instance?" "When there is no choice, the ruler of a state, in advancing good and wise men, may have to promote those of low position over the heads of those of exalted rank and distant relatives over near ones. Hence such a decision should not be taken lightly. When your close attendants all say of a man that he is good and wise, that is not enough; when the Counselors all say the same, that is not enough; when men in the capital all say so, then have the case investigated. If the man turns out to be good and wise, then and only then should he be given office." (Ib-7, Lau p.37)

孟子見齊宣王、曰、所謂故國者、非謂有喬木之謂也、有世臣之謂也、王無親臣矣、昔者所進、今日不知其亡也。王曰、吾何以識其不才而舍之。曰、國君進賢、如不得已、將使卑踰尊、疏踰戚、可不慎與。左右皆曰賢、未可也、諸太夫皆曰賢、未可也、國人皆曰賢、然後察之、見賢焉、然後用之。(MZ-HY p.7, MZZS vol.2b, p.15)

48. "If one dislikes disgrace, one's best course of action is to honor virtue and to respect gentlemen. If, when good and wise men are in high office and able men are employed, a ruler takes advantage of times of peace to explain the laws to the people, then even large states will certainly stand in awe of him." (IIa-4, Lau p.63)

如惡之(=辱)、莫如貴德而尊士、賢者在位、能者在職、國家閒暇、及是時、明其政刑、雖大國、必畏之矣。(MZ-HY p.12, MZZS vol.3b, p.25)

Mencius said, "If you honor the good and wise, and employ the able so that outstanding men are in high position, then gentlemen throughout the Empire will be only too pleased to serve at your court." (IIa-5, Lau p.65)

尊賢使能、俊傑在位、則天下之士皆悅、而願立於其朝矣。(MZ-HY p.12, MZZS vol.3b, p.26)

49. Filiality is not a principal issue in the Hanfeizi, but the Zhong-xiao 忠孝 chapter discusses that the Confucian ideas of filiality are misleading, and that a true filial son is one who follows laws. According to Chôhachi Itano, this chapter was written in the Han period (Itano 1970, p.338-9).

50. See Note 33 and 37.

51. Gongsun Chou said, "According to Gaozi, the Xiaobian is the ode of a petty man."

"Why did he say so."

"Because there is a plaintive note."

"How rigid was old Master Gao in his interpretation of the Odes! Here is a man. If a man from Yue bends his bow to take a shot at him, one can recount the incident in a light-hearted manner. The reason is simply that one feels no concern for the man from Yue. If it had been one's own brother who did this, then one would be in tears while recounting the incident. The reason for the difference is simply that one feels concern for one's brother. The plaintive note is due to the poet's feeling of intimate concern for his parents. To feel this is benevolence. How rigid was old Master Gao in his interpretation of

poetry!”

“Why is there no plaintive note in the Gaifeng?”

“The Gaifeng deals with a minor wrong committed by the parent while the Xiaobian deals with a major wrong. Not to complain about a major wrong committed by one’s parent is to feel insufficient concern; on the other hand, to complain about a minor wrong is to react too violently. Insufficient concern and too violent a reaction are both actions of a bad son. Confucius said, ‘Shun was the highest example of a good son. At the age of fifty, he still yearned for his parents.’” (VIb-3, Lau p.245)

公孫丑問曰、高子曰、小辯、小人之詩也。

孟子曰、何以言之。

曰、怨。

曰、固哉、高叟之為詩也、有人於此、越人關弓而射之、則已談笑而道之、無他、疏之也。其兄關弓而射之、則已垂泣而道之、無他、戚之也、小辯之怨、親親也、親親、仁也、固哉、夫高叟之為詩也

曰、凱風何以不怨。

曰、凱風、親之過小者也、小辯、親之過大者也、親之過大而不怨、是愈疏也、親之過小而怨、是不可磯也、愈疏、不孝也、不可疏、亦不孝也、孔子曰、舜其至孝矣、五十而慕。(MZ-HY p.47, MZZS vol.12a, p.92)

52. “If a subject, in serving his prince, cherished the profit motive, and a son, in serving his father, and a younger brother, in serving his elder brother, did likewise, then it would mean that in their mutual relations, prince and subject, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, all cherished the profit motive to the total exclusion of morality. The prince of such a state is sure to perish.” (VIb-4, Lau p.247)

為人臣者懷利以事其君、為人子者懷利以事其父、為人弟者懷利以事其兄、是君臣、父子、兄弟終去仁義、懷利以相接、然而不亡者、未之有也。(MZ-HY p.47, MZZS vol.12a, p.92)

53. See Note 32. In this passage, Wan Zhang, a disciple of Mencius, criticizes nepotism, when he says, “Xiang was the most wicked (of them all), yet he was enfeoffed in Youbi. What wrong had the people of Youbi done? Is that the way a benevolent man behaves? Others he punished, but when it comes to his own brother he enfeoffed him instead. 象至不仁、封之有庠、有庠之人奚罪焉、仁人固如是乎、在他人則誅之、在弟則封之。” But Mencius says that “because he (= Shun) loves him (Xiang), he wishes him to enjoy wealth and rank. 愛之、欲其富也。” (Va-3, Lau p.183, MZZS vol.9a, p.71)

54. “If a man in a subordinate position fails win the confidence of his superiors, he cannot hope to govern the people. There is a way for him to win the confidence of his superiors. If his friends do not trust him, he will not win the confidence of his superiors. There is a way for him to win the trust of his friends. If in serving his parent he fails to please them, he will not win the trust of his friends.” (IVa-12, Lau p.147)

居下位而不獲於上、民不可得而治也、獲於上有道、不信於友、弗獲於上矣、信於友有道、事親弗悅、弗信於友矣。(MZ-HY p.28, MZZS vol.7b, p.57)

We should not think that Mencius asserts filiality as a way to “win the confidence of his superiors”. What he tries to assert here is that any human relation should be based on the same spirit. But if one can “win the confidence of his superiors” because of his filial piety, filiality will be important for its social advantage.

55. The contradiction between the concept of the Son of Heaven and filiality is found in an episode at the very beginning of the Han dynasty, which was just as if Mencius had dramatized it; when Liu Bang ascended the throne of Emperor, his manner to his father was the same as



before. Then, a steward advised his father, "There are not two suns in the heaven and there are not two kings in the earth. Now, the Emperor is the master of people though he is your son. You are a subject though you are his father." When Emperor next came, his father behaved like a subject. Liu Bang, therefore, gave his father the title of Great Emperor (Shiji vol.8, p.382). We do not know if this episode was influenced by Mencius' idea but the contradiction between Son of the Heaven and his father was solved in the way Mencius had showed.

56. See Note 39.

57. Meng Jizi asked Gongduzi, "Why do you say that rightness is internal?"

(Gongduzi) said, "It is the respect in me that is being put into effect. That is why I say it is internal."

(Meng Jizi said,) "If a man from your village is a year older than your eldest brother, which do you respect?"

(Gongduzi) said, "My brother."

(Meng Jizi said,) "In filling their cups with wine (at a village gathering,) to whom do you give precedence?"

(Gongduzi) said, "The man from my village."

(Meng Jizi said,) "The one you respect is the former; the one you treat as elder is the latter. This shows that it is in fact external, not internal."

Gongduzi was unable to find an answer and gave an account of the discussion to Mencius. Mencius said, "(Ask him,) 'Which do you respect, your uncle or your younger brother?' He will say, 'My uncle.' 'When your younger brother is impersonating an ancestor at a sacrifice, then which do you respect?' He will say, 'My younger brother.' You ask him, 'What has happened to your respect for your uncle?' He will say, 'It is

because of the position my younger brother occupies.' You can then say, '(In the case of the man from my village) it is also because of the position he occupies. Normal respect is due to my elder brother; temporary respect is due to the man from my village.'"

When Meng Jizi heard this, he said, "It is the same respect whether I am respecting my uncle or my younger brother. It is, as I have said, external and does not come from within."

"In winter," said Gongduzi, "one drinks hot water, in summer cold. Does that mean that even food and drink can be a matter of what is external?" (VIa-5, Lau p.227)

孟季子問公都子、何以謂義內也。

曰、行吾敬、故謂之內也。

鄉人長於伯兄一歲、則誰敬。

曰、敬兄。

酌則誰先。

曰、先酌鄉人。

所敬在此、所長在彼、果在外、非由內也。

公都子不能答、以告孟子。孟子曰、敬叔父乎、敬弟乎、彼將曰、敬叔父、曰、弟為尸、則誰敬、彼將曰、敬弟、子曰、惡在其敬叔父也、彼將曰、在位故也、子亦曰、在位故也、庸敬在兄、斯須之敬在鄉人。

季子聞之、曰、敬叔父則敬、敬弟則敬、果在外、非由內也。

公都子曰、冬日則飲湯、夏日則飲水、然則飲食亦在外也。(MZ-HY p.43, MZZS vol.11a, p.84)

58. Gaozi said, "Appetite for food and sex is nature. Benevolence is internal, not external; rightness is external, not internal." (VIa-4, Lau p.225)

告子曰、食色、性也、仁、內也、非外也、義、外也、非內也。(MZ-HY p.42, MZZS vol.11a, p.84)

59. See p.83 of this dissertation.

60. See Note 66.

61. In this passage, Mencius is blamed by a retainer of Duke Ping of Lu, who says, "A good and wise man is the source of the rites and what is right, yet with Mencius the second funeral (that is, of his mother) surpassed the first (that is, of his father). 禮義由賢者出、而孟子之後喪踰前喪。" (Ib-16, Lau p.47, MZ-HY p.9, MZZS vol.2b, p.18).

62. Mencius returned from Qi to Lu for the burial (of his mother), and, on his way back to Qi, he put up at Ying. "Some days ago," ventured Chong Yu, "you did not think me unworthy and entrusted me with the task of overseeing the carpenters. As the work was urgent, I did not dare ask questions. May I ask a question now? The wood seemed to be excessively fine in quality." (Mencius) said, "In high antiquity, there were no regulations governing the inner and outer coffins. In middle antiquity, it was prescribed that the inner coffin was to be seven inches thick with the outer coffin to match. This applied to all conditions of men, from Emperor to Commoner. This is not simply for show. It is only in this way that one can express fully one's filial love. However, if such wood is not available, one cannot have the satisfaction of using it; neither can one if one is unable to afford the cost. When both conditions are fulfilled, the ancients always used wood of fine quality. Why should I alone be an exception? Furthermore, does it not give one some solace to be able to prevent the earth from coming into contact with the dead who is about to decompose? I have heard it said that a gentleman would not for all the world skimp on expenditure where his parents are concerned." (IIb-7, Lau p.81)

孟子自齊於魯、反於齊、止於嬴、充虞請曰、前日不知虞之不肖、使虞敦匠事、

嚴、真不敢請。今願竊有請也、木若以美然。曰、古者棺槨無度、中古棺七寸、槨稱之、自天子達於庶人、非直為觀美也、然後盡於人心、不得、不可以為悅。無財、不可以為悅、得之為有財、古之人皆用之、吾何為獨不然、且比化者無使土親膚、於人心獨無憾乎、吾聞之、君子不以天下儉其親。” (MZ-HY p.16, MZZS vol.4b, p.33)

63. “Presumably there must have been cases in ancient times of people not burying their parents. When the parents died, they were thrown in the gullies. Then one day the sons passed the place and there lay the bodies, eaten by foxes and sucked by flies. A sweat broke out on their brows, and they could not bear to look. The sweating was not put on for others to see. It was an outward expression of their innermost heart. They went home for baskets and spades. If it was truly right for them to bury the remains of their parents, then it must also be right for all filial sons and benevolent men to do likewise.” (IIIa-5, Lau p.111)

蓋上世嘗有不葬其親者、其親死、則舉而委之於壑、他日過之、狐狸食之、蠅虻蛄嘬之、其類有泚、睨而不視、夫泚也、非為人泚、中心達於面目、蓋歸反葬槨而掩之、掩之誠是也。則孝子仁人之掩其親、亦必有道矣。(MZ-HY p.21, MZZS vol.5b, p.43)

64. Mencius said, “The content of benevolence is the serving of one’s parents; the content of dutifulness is obedience to one’s elder brothers; the content of wisdom is to understand these two and to hold fast to them; the content of the rites is the regulation and adornment of them; the content of music is (the joy that comes of) delighting in them. Joy arises (from delighting them). When joy arises, how can one stop it? And when one cannot stop it, then one begins to dance with one’s feet and wave one’s arms without knowing it” (IVa-27, Lau p.157).  
孟子曰、仁之實、事親是也、義之實、從兄是也、智之實、知斯二者弗去是也、禮之實、節文斯二者是也、樂斯二者、樂則生矣、生則惡可已也、惡可已、則不知足

之蹈之手之舞之。(MZ-HY p.29, MZZS vol.7b, p.59)

The translation is based on Lau's, but it is modified.

65. See Note 62.

66. Duke Ding of Teng died. The crown prince (= Duke Wen) said to Ran You, "I have never been able to forget what Mencius once said to me in Song. Now that I have had the misfortune to lose my father, I want you to go and ask Mencius' advice before making funeral arrangement." .....

"Splendid," said Mencius, "The funeral of a parent is an occasion for giving of one's utmost. Zengzi said, 'When your parents are alive, comply with the rites in serving them; when they die, comply with the rites in burying them; comply with the rites in sacrificing to them; and you deserve to be called a filial son.' I am afraid I am not conversant with the rites observed by the feudal lords. Still, I have heard something about funeral rites. Three years as the mourning period, mourning dress made of rough hemp with a hem, the eating of nothing but rice gruel — these were observed in the Three Dynasties by men of all conditions alike, from Emperor to Commoner."

Ran You reported this to the crown prince, and it was decided to observe the three-year mourning period. The elders and the officials were opposed to this, and said, "The ancestral rulers of the eldest branch of our house in Lu never observed this; neither did our own ancestral rulers. Now it comes to you, and you go against our accepted practice. This is perhaps ill-advised. Furthermore, the Records say, 'In funeral and sacrifice, one follows the practice of one's ancestors.'" (The crown prince) said, "I have the source from which I have heard about mourning rites." (Lau understood the last sentence as the statement of the elders and the officials, but this is that of the crown prince. See Jiao Xun 焦循's Mengzi Zhengyi 孟子正義 vol.10, p.328.)

…… For five months he stayed in his mourning hut, issuing no orders or prohibitions. The officials and his kinsmen approved of his action and thought him well versed in the rites. When it was time for the burial ceremony, people came from all quarters to watch. He showed such a grief-stricken countenance and wept so bitterly that the mourners were greatly delighted. (IIIa-2, Lau p.93-95)

滕定公薨、世子謂然友曰、昔者孟子嘗與我言於宋、於心終不忘、今也不幸至於大故、吾欲使子問於孟子、然後行事。……

孟子曰、不亦善乎、親喪、固所自盡也、曾子曰、生、事之以禮、死、葬之以禮、祭之以禮、可謂孝矣。諸侯之禮、吾未之學也、雖然、吾嘗聞之矣、三年之喪、齊疏之服、飧粥之食、自天子達於庶人、三代共之。

然友反命、定為三年之喪。父兄百官皆不欲、曰、吾宗國魯先君莫之行、吾先君亦莫之行也、至於子之身而反之、不可、且志曰、喪祭從先祖。曰、吾有所受之也。……五月居廬、未有命戒、百官族人可、謂曰知、及至葬、四方來觀之、顏色之戚、哭泣之哀、弔者大悅。(MZ-HY p.18, MZZS vol.5a, p.37)

67. Knoblock thinks that Xun Qing regarded only Zigong 子弓 (that is, Ran Yong 冉雍) as an authentic disciple of Confucius (1988, p.52-3). Indeed, Zigong is respected as much as Confucius in the *Xunzi*, but it is not necessarily correct for Knoblock to suggest that Xun Qing was critical of all other disciples including Zizhang 子張, Zixia 子夏 and Ziyou 子游. Knoblock has pointed out that Xun Qing condemned those who follow these three disciples as “vulgar Confucians”, but the “vulgar Confucians” Xun Qing called were probably only a part of the schools of Zizhang, Zixia and Ziyou, not all of them. In addition, though Xun Qing denounced Mencius and Zisi, he seems not to have rejected Zeng Can, because the statements of Zeng Can are cited in his writings. Possibly, he was partially influenced by the school of Zengzi.

68. “What is the origin of rites? I reply: man is born with desires. If

his desires are are not satisfied for him, he cannot but seek some means to satisfy them himself. If there are no limits and degrees to his seeking, then he will inevitably fall to wrangling with other men. From wrangling comes disorder, and from disorder comes exhaustion. The ancient kings hated such disorder, and therefore they established ritual principles in order to curb it, to train men's desires and to provide for their satisfaction. They saw to it that desires did not overextend the means for their satisfaction, and material goods did not fall short of what was desired. Thus both desires and goods were looked after and satisfied. This is the origin of rites." (Watson p.89)

禮起於何也、曰、人生而有欲、欲而不得、則不能無求、求而無度量分界、則不能不爭、爭則亂、亂則窮、先王惡其亂也、故制禮儀以分之、以養人之欲、給人之求、使欲必不窮乎物、物必不屈於欲、兩者相持而長、是禮之所起也。(XZ-HY p.70, Xunzi Jijie p.346)

69. But though beauty is utilized, it should never reach the point of sensuousness or seductiveness, and though ugliness is utilized, it should never go as far as starvation or self-injury. Though music and joy are utilized, they should never become lascivious and abandoned, and though weeping and sorrow are utilized, they should never become frantic or injurious to health. If this is done, then rites have achieved the middle state. (Watson p.100)

故其立文飾也、不至於寃冶、其立<sup>鹿</sup><sub>鹿</sub>衰也、不至於瘠棄、其立聲樂恬愉也、不至於流淫惰慢、其立哭泣哀戚也、不至於隘懾傷生、是禮之中流也。(XZ-HY p.73, Xunzi Jijie p.363)

70. Rites are strictest in dealing with auspicious and inauspicious occasions, making certain that they do not impinge upon each other. When the silk floss is held up to the dead man's nose to make certain that he is no longer breathing, then the loyal subject or the filial son

realizes that his lord or parent is very sick indeed, and yet he cannot bring himself to order the articles needed for the laying in the coffin or the dressing of corpse. Weeping and trembling, he still cannot stop hoping that the dead will somehow come back to life; he has not yet ceased to treat the dead man as living. Only when (he has resigned himself to the fact that the person) is really dead can he go about making preparations for funeral. (Watson p.98)

禮者、謹於吉凶不相厭者也、紼纊聽息之時、則夫忠臣孝子亦知其閔已、然而殯斂之具未有求也、垂涕恐懼、然而幸生之心未已、持生之事未輟也、卒矣、然後作、具之。(XZ-HYp.72, Xunzi Jijie p.361)

71. The beginning of these two emotions (= emotions of joy and sorrow which come with auspicious or inauspicious occasions) are present in man from the first. If he can trim or stretch them, broaden or narrow them, add to or take from them, express them completely and properly, fully and beautifully, seeing to it that root and branch, beginning and end are in their proper place, so that he may serve as a model to ten thousand generations, then he has achieved true ritual. (Watson p.102)

兩情者、人生固有端焉、若夫斷之繼之、博之淺之、益之損之、類之盡之、盛之美之、使本末終始莫不順比、足以為萬世則、則是禮也。(XZ-HY p.73, Xunzi Jijie p.365)

72. Watson translates huo 惑 as “hideous”.

73. Rites have three bases. Heaven and Earth are the basis of life, the ancestors are the basis of the family, and rulers and teachers are the basis of order. (Watson p.91)

禮有三本、天地者、生之本也、先祖者、類之本也、君師者、治之本也。(XZ-HY p.71, Xunzi Jijie p.349)



### Notes for Chapter Three

1. The Commentary of Zheng has sometimes been attributed to Zheng Xuan 鄭玄. (For instance, see Chen Tiefan 1986, p.127).
2. See Hayashi, Shûichi (1953 p.46-49).
3. In fact, Emperor Xuanzong was dependent on the New Text and the Commentary of Zheng.
4. These sentences are confused about the number of chapters. Possibly, there are some missing characters after “this has an additional chapter on the ‘Household’ 別有閨門一章”. Besides, it is also unclear that Liu Xiang fixed the Old Text at eighteen chapters. See Note 6.
5. “The Records of Books” of the Suishu says, “There is the Old Text of the Book of Filiality, which came from the same place that the Old Text of the Book of Documents was discovered (that is, Confucius’ house). The text of Changsun (family) has an additional chapter on the ‘Household’, and the rest of the text is (also) quite similar (to the Old Text). Some tablets of the (Old) Text are missing or disturbed, and (the Old Text?) has three more chapters, (except for the chapter on the ‘Household’, than the New Text); the whole text has twenty-two chapters. Kong Anguo made a commentary for this. When Liu Xiang proofread and edited books, comparing the Old Text with the text of Yan (= the New Text), he eliminated the excessive parts to fix it at eighteen chapters. Zheng Zhong (d. 83 C.E.) and Ma Rong (79-166 C.E.) made commentaries for this. 又有古文孝經、與古文尚書同出、而長孫有閨門一章、其餘經文大較相似、篇簡缺解、又有衍出三章、並前合為二十二章、孔安國為之傳、至劉向典校經籍、以顏本比古文、除其繁惑、以十八章為定。劉衆・馬融並為之注。” (Suishu vol.35,

6. We do not know what kind of source Xu Chong 許冲 used, and it is doubtful that he reported on the editing of Wei Hong. The Jingdian Shiwen 經典釋文 and the Suishu 隋書 say that the editor of the Old Text was Liu Xiang. Since “the Records of Arts 藝文志” chapter of the Hanshu says, “The Old Text of the Book of Filiality; the Kong family, one volume, twenty-two chapters” (p.1718), it is reasonable to assume that Liu Xiang or Xiu Xin 劉歆 edited the Old Text. (“The Records of Arts” of the Hanshu was based on the Lius’ work). Even though it is acceptable that Wei Hong may have edited the Old Text, it must have been a version different from that of Liu Xiang, and the Old Text must have been edited in the Western Han period. On the other hand, when the Jingdian Shiwen maintains that Liu Xiang fixed the text at eighteen chapters, it conflicts with “the Records of Arts” of the Hanshu. If the Jingdian Shiwen is right, it is possible that there were two kinds of the Old Text; one the original text of twenty-two chapters and the other the edited text of eighteen chapters. Or, the Jingdian Shiwen may be trying to assert that Liu Xiang compared the two texts and decided on the superiority of the New Text. Huan Tan 桓譚 (c. 24 B.C.E.–56 C.E.) says “the Old Text of the Book of Filiality, one volume, twenty chapters 古孝經一卷、二十章” in his Xinlun 新論 (cited in the Taiping Yulan 太平御覽, ed. in 977, vol.608, p.5), but it is not clear whether this is a mere mistake or indicates another version of the Old Text.

7. “The Old Text of the Book of Filiality, which was presented to the Throne by community officers of the Lu state, is the text that King Gong found in the wall (of Confucius’ house). (Though the text was owned by Kong Anguo,) Anguo could not present it to the Throne. (The Old Text of) the Book of Filiality was presented by community officers of the Lu

state in the era of Emperor Zhao.” (Shuowen Jiezi Zhu vol.15-2, p.12)

魯國三老所獻之古文孝經、皆即恭王壁中所得、而安國未獻者也。孝經、至昭帝時魯國三老乃獻之。

8. The passages that we have cited from Hanshu and the Qianhanji do not mention the Commentary of Kong Anguo, though they say that the Old Text was owned by Kong Anguo. This commentary does not appear in “the Records of Arts” of the Hanshu. According to Hayashi, the reason why he thinks of this commentary as forgery is its way of explaining the text; generally speaking, commentaries in the Han era mainly interpret the meanings of words, while commentaries in the Six Dynasties period analyze underlying ideas. The Commentary of Kong Anguo has the feature of the latter. For example, concerning “zhongni 仲尼”, this commentary not only explains it as Confucius’ name but also interprets five ways of naming (Hayashi, Shûichi 1976, p.241). Yoshio Takeuchi gives many reasons for his doubt about the commentary; for instance, “Introduction” of the commentary (which is also written under the pretense of Kong Anguo) says that Kong Anguo attended Fu Sheng’s 伏勝 lecture of the Book of Documents, but this is almost impossible, because Fu Sheng was more than ninety years old in the era of Emperor Wen (179-156 B.C.E.) and Kong Anguo lived in the Emperor Wu era (140-86 B.C.E.). (Takeuchi vol.2, p.119-20).

9. “The Records of Thirteen Kings of Emperor Jing 景十三王傳” of the Hanshu 漢書 says, “All of the books King Xian acquired were the old books written in the old characters before the Qin period, such as the Official Posts of Zhou, the Book of Documents, the Rites, the Book of Rites, the Mencius, the Laozi (and others). All of them are scriptures, commentaries, discussions and records, that is, what Seventy Disciples (of Confucius) had discussed. 皆古文先秦旧書、周官・尚書・禮・禮記・孟子

· 老子、皆經傳說記、七十子之徒所論。” (Hanshu p.2410). “The Family Records of Five Stems 五宗世家” of the Shiji 史記 says, “Many Confucians in the Shandong district followed and roamed about with him. [山東諸儒、多從之而遊。” (Shiji p.2093)

10. Yuan 員 must be a mistake. The right character is Zhen 貞 according to the Jingdian Shiwen and “the Family Records of Five families 五宗世家” of the Shiji. The present text of the Xiaojing Shuyi 孝經述義 contains a lot of mistakes in writing because the text was hand-written.

11. The volumes of “the Records” in the present version of the Houhanshu was written by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306) in the Jin 晉 period (265–316), while the commentary for them was written by Liu Zhao 劉昭 in the Liang 梁 period (502–557). The cited sentence from “the Commentary for the Book of Filiality” written by Duke Wen of the Wei state (魏文侯孝經傳曰、太學者、中學明堂之位也。) is found in Cai Yong’s 蔡邕 (132–192) long essay “the Discussion of the Hall of Light (Mingtang Lun 明堂論)”.

12. See p.87–99 in Chen Tiefan 1986, or p.35–40 in He Zihuang 1984 concerning similar sentences in the Book of Filiality and other documents.

13. “Emperor Xiao-wen first appointed the professors for each scripture. 孝文皇帝始置一經博士。” (Houhanshu p.1606)

14. “To the reign of Emperor Xiao-wen (179–157 B.C.E.), --- many books in the world often appeared, and all of them were the commentaries or remarks of many philosophers. It seems that (the emperor) established them in the office of studies and appointed professors (for them). 至孝文皇帝 ---天下之衆書往々頻出、皆諸子傳說、猶廣立於學官、為置博士。” (“the

Autobiographies of King Yuan of the Chu State 楚元王列傳” of the Hanshu, vol.36. p.1968). “In the reign of Emperor Xiao-wen, there were more than seventy professors. 孝文皇帝之時、博士七十餘人。” (Cited in the Yiwen Leiju 藝文類聚. Han Jiuyi Buyi 漢舊儀補遺 vol.1, p.2)

15. The four sentences similar to those in the Book of Filiality are as follows;

(1) “Therefore, Confucius says ‘transforming their manners and way of life’ 故孔子曰、移風易俗” (Chapter Four “Wuwei 無為” of the Xinyu, p.67). Cf. “for transforming their manners and ways of life 移風易俗” in Chapter Fifteen of the Book of Filiality (Makra p.27).

(2) “Confucius says, ‘Early kings possessed the highest virtue and the vital way, and thereby kept the world ordered.’ 孔子曰、先王有至德要道、以順天下” (Chapter Six “Shenwei 慎微” p.98). Cf. “The Master says, ‘Early kings possessed the highest virtue and the vital way, and thereby kept the world ordered.’ 子曰、先王有至德要道、以順天下” in Chapter One of the book (Makra p.3).

(3) “Therefore, it is said ‘to emulate the brightness of Heaven and to depend on the benefits of Earth’.故曰、則天之明、因地之利。” (Chapter Eleven “Mingcheng 明誠” p.157). Cf. “to emulate the brightness of Heaven and to depend on the benefits of Earth 則天之明、因地之利” in Chapter Eight (Makra p.15).

(4) “The Duke of Zhou put the meaning of the Rites into practice and made the Jiao sacrifice to Houji. 周公躬行禮義、郊祀后稷。” (Chapter Eleven p.160). Cf. “Formerly, the Duke of Zhou made the Jiao sacrifice to Houji in combination with Heaven.昔者、郊祀后稷以配天。” in Chapter Ten (Makra p.19).

16. Some doubts have been expressed about the genuineness of the Xinyu (for example, Siku Quanshu Zongmu Tiyaoyao 四庫全書總目提要 vol.91, p.10).

Indeed in the present text of the Xinyu there are some problems about missing tablets or editorial confusion, but there is not enough evidence to decide that the whole book was fake.

17. The sentences cited from (or similar to) the Book of Filiality, except for that in “Autobiographic Postface”, are as follows;

(1) “The Duke of Zhou made the Jiao sacrifice to Houji in combination with Heaven. He sacrificed to King Wen at the Hall of Light in combination with Supreme Emperor. 周公郊祀后稷以配天、宗祀文王於明堂以配上帝。” (“The Records of Feng and Chan 封禪書” of the Shiji p.1357). The same sentence is found in Chapter Ten of the Book of Filiality (Makra p.19).

(2) “Thus, their teaching, without being stringent, succeeds; their policy, without being severe, is effective. 是以其教不肅而成、不嚴而治” (“The Records of Wan Shi and Zhang Shu 萬石張叔傳” p.2773). This sentence is found in Chapter Eight of the book (Makra p.15).

(3) “This would be what is called ‘To try to be faithful in office; to try to correct one’s own shortcoming while out of office’. 此所謂進思尽忠、退思補過者哉。” (“The Records of Guan and Yan 管晏傳” p.2136). This is the sentence in Chapter Twenty-one (Makra p.37).

The title of the Book of Filiality is referred to once;

(4) “Zeng Can: ----- Confucius thought him to be able to master the way of filiality and gave him instructions (about how to) write the Book of Filiality. 曾参 ----- 孔子以為能通孝道、故授之業、作孝經。” (“The Biographies of Confucius’ Disciples 仲尼弟子列傳” p.2205)

18. “Under King Zhao of the Chu state, there was an officer, whose name is Shi She. ----- At that time, there was a man who committed a murder in a street. Shi She pursued the murderer, and found that he was his father. Shi She returned to the Court and said, ‘The murderer was my father. To enforce laws toward my father is not filial. Not to ad-

minister the laws of my monarch is not loyal. Because I mitigated the punishment and ignored the laws, submitting myself to the sentence is what I should observe.' At once, he put his head under a beheading ax and said, "The order is yours."

楚昭王有士、曰石奢。-----於是道有殺人者、石奢追之、則父也。還返於廷曰、「殺人者、臣之父也。以父成政、非孝也。不行君法、非忠也。弛罪廢法而伏其辜、臣之所守也。」遂伏斧鑕、曰「命在君。」 (Hanshi Waizhuan Vol.2, p.9)

The Son of Heaven has seven remonstrating retainers; (this is the reason,) even though he lacks the way, why he does not lose his world.

----- A lord has five remonstrating retainers; (this is the reason,) even though he lacks the way, why he does not lose his state. ----- A minister has three remonstrating retainers; (this is the reason,) even though he lacks the way, why he does not lose his family.

天子有爭臣七人、雖無道、不失其天下 ----- 諸侯有爭臣五人、雖無道、不失其國、----- 大夫有爭臣三人、雖無道、不失其家 ----- (Hanshi Waizhuan Vol.10, p.10)

19. Liu Zhao 劉昭's commentary on the Houhanshu cites the Mingtang Lun, which says, "When his filiality and fraternity reached perfection, he could communicate with the spirit world. His virtue illuminated the four seas; there was no place it did not penetrate. An Ode says, 'From the west to the east, From the south to the south, No one thought of disobeying.' 孝悌之至、通於神明、光于四海、無所不通、詩曰、自西自東、自南自北、無思不服。" ("the Records of Sacrifices 2 祭祀志中" p.3180).

20. Xun 訓 or "teach" in the Old Text is replaced by shun 順 or "make follow" in the New Text. It is all right for to Makra to translate it as "keep the world".

21. Makra translates jiao 教 as "civilization" and this is not in-

correct. But since the book refers to the Son of Heaven above, this jiao means the Son of Heaven's teaching toward people.

22. Makra translates this part as "he becomes a pattern for all the border nations" (p.5), but this is slightly problematic. The subject of the sentence is dejiao 德教 or "virtue and teaching". Sihai 四海 or "four seas" actually means "(the world) surrounded by four seas". The whole chapter should be translated as follows;

"The master said: He who loves his parents does not dare to be hostile to others, He who respects his parents does not dare to be contemptuous toward others. (Therefore, the spirit of) love and respect (to others) is perfectly fulfilled in the service to his parents. Thus, (by the spirit of loving and respecting his parents,) his virtue and teaching are applied to the people and become the pattern for the world surrounded by the four sea. This in general is the filiality of the Son of Heaven."

子曰、愛親者、不敢惡於人。敬親者、不敢慢於人。愛敬盡於事親、而德教加於百姓、刑於四海、蓋天子之孝也。"

23. These five classes had their roots in the Western Zhou society. There was King (of Zhou) on the top, and under his authority there were a number of states, the monarchs of which were lords. Each state was governed by a lord and ministers. King of Zhou, lords and ministers constitute the noble class. Shi 士 or officers were free people, but they belongs to the ruling class. The ruled class was called min 民 (people) or yeren 野人 (the people of fields).

24. Makra translates zhi guo zhe 治國者 and zhi jia zhe 治家者 as "the rulers" and "the heads of families" (p.17). From the viewpoint of their actual meanings her translation is right.



25. This chapter arranges zhi guo 治國 or to “govern states” and zhi jia 治家 or to “govern households” in sequence. Chapter Eighteen has a similar expression, but there is a difference between these two chapters. Chapter Nine asserts that any level of government should be carried out in the same spirit, which is filiality. Chapter Eighteen says that good family-heads can be good administrators. Chapter Eighteen develops the idea presented in Chapter Nine.

26. Makra translates pei tian 配天 as “making him a companion of Heaven” (p.19) and says, “P’ei 配 ‘to make equal’ ---” (p.56). Her interpretation of pei is correct, so if this phrase is translated strictly, it means “to make (father) equivalent to Heaven”. But because this chapter presents the example of the Duke of Zhou who made sacrifices to his father and ancestor, the actual meaning of this phrase is “sacrifice to father in combination with Heaven”. It is not correct for her to read yan as an adjective and interpret yan fu as “stern father” in the same page.

27. See Item One of Appendix Two.

28. See Item Two of Appendix Two.

29. Chapter Eleven refers neither to yan 嚴 (veneration) nor to ai 愛 (love). But the last two sentences of this chapter correspond to the latter half of Chapter Ten. This is because these two chapters actually constitute a continuous discussion (see Item Two of Appendix Two). The most prominent feature of the latter half of Chapter Ten is the dichotomy between yan 嚴 or veneration and qin 親 or affection, which is clearly equivalent to the dichotomy between love and reverence. The last

two sentences of Chapter Eleven (“A father and a mother beget their child; no grace could be bigger. A monarch and parents watch over their child with utmost care; no love could be greater. 父母生之、績莫大焉。君親臨之、厚莫重焉。”) definitely form a couplet. The phrase “a father and a mother beget their child” corresponds to the phrase “parents bear and foster a child 親生毓之” in Chapter Ten. The phrase “a monarch and parents watch over their child” corresponds to the phrase “(when) a child nurtures his parents, he becomes to venerate them more day by day 以養父母日嚴” in Chapter Ten. So, the last two sentences should be understood to mean that a child’s love to parents comes from the biological fact that they beget it and its reverence to them comes from the social fact that they bring up it.

Makra translates these sentences as, “Parents give one life; no bond could be stronger. They watch over their child with utmost care; no love could be greater.” She seems to read xu 績 as “continuity” (Makra p.21), because she is using the New Text, but the context is not concerned with the continuation of a family-line as a filial duty. The word xu is replaced by ji 績 in the Old Text, and it should be read as ji in gongji 功績 or achievement. (Xu 績 sometimes means ji 績; Fan Ning’s 范甯 (d. 401) commentary to the Chunqiu Guliang Zhuan 春秋穀梁傳 in “the fifth year of Duke Cheng 成公” says, “ji 績 is written in a text as xu 績或作績” (GLZS vol.13, p.55). Here the concept of ji is the contribution of parents to the existence of a child.

30. Makra does not translate tian 天 (“heavenly”).

31. The Commentary of Mao says on this point, “Yan 嚴 means to respect. 嚴、尊也。” (MSZS vol.20-4, p.360)

32. The words “it is called” are missing in the translation of Makra.

33. The phrase “not be proud of high position 居上不驕” (Makra p.23) can be found in Chapter Three, where the concept is related to “by exercising self-restraint and being respectful of the regulations 制節謹度” (Makra p.7). Therefore, the actual contents of bu jiao 不驕 or “not being arrogant” means to follow regulations. Makra translates jin du 謹度 as “he is judicious” (p.7), but this is not correct.

34. The last sentence of Chapter Eighteen says, “Thus, when his conduct is perfect in his private life, he can perpetuate his name for future generations 是以行成於內、而名立於後世矣” (Makra p.31. Her translation is a little different but generally all right). The phrase “his conduct is perfect 行成” corresponds to the phrase “we develop our own personality and practice the Way 立身行道” (Makra p.3) in Chapter One. The phrase “he can perpetuate his name for future generations 名立於後世矣” corresponds to the phrase “so as to perpetuate our name for future generations 揚名於後世” in Chapter One. So, we can see the relationship between these chapters. This is reason enough to assume that Chapter Eighteen was written based on Chapter One. In the case of Chapter Sixteen, the similarity to Chapter One can be found only in the reference to the term zhi de 至德. Because there is no proof suggesting that Chapter Eighteen borrowed this term from Chapter One, this can be a coincidence.

35. Zhu Xi thought that only Chapters One to Chapter Seven were jing 經, that is genuine, and that the rest of the book was added by later Confucianists. See p.140 of this dissertation and Takeuchi vol.2, p.85.

36. In ancient Chinese philosophy, the concept of music was related to emotion. This is suggested by the following examples:

Music is joy, an emotion which man cannot help but feel at times.

(The “Yuelun 樂論” chapter of the Xunzi, Watson p.112).

夫樂者樂也、人情之所必不免也。(XZ-HY p.76)

All (the modulations of) the voice arise from the mind, and the various affections are produced by things (external to it). The affections thus produced are manifested in the sounds that are uttered. (The “Yueji 樂記” chapter of the Book of Rites, Legge 1885, p.92).

凡音之起、由人心生也、人心之動、物使之然也、感於物而動、故形於聲。

(LJZS vol.37, p.299)

Music comes from within, and rites from without. Music, coming from within, produces the stillness (of the mind); rites, coming from without, produce the elegances (of manner). (ibid. Legge 1885, p.98).

樂由中出、禮自外作、樂由中出故靜、禮自外作故文。(LJZS vol.37, p.301)

In music we have the expression of feelings which do not admit of any change; in rites that of principles which do not admit of any alteration. Music embraces what all equally share; rites distinguishes the things in which men differ. (ibid. Legge 1885, p.114)

樂也者、情之不可變者也、禮也者、理之不可易者也、樂統同、禮辨異。

(LJZS vol.38, p.309)

By mastering completely (the principles of) music, one regulates his mind accordingly. ----- By mastering completely (the principles of) rites, one regulates his body (i.e. behavior) accordingly -----.

(ibid. Legge 1885, p.125)

致樂以治心 ----- 致禮以治躬 ----- (LJZS vol.39, p.315)

37. Makra translates li 禮 as “propriety”.

38. The Commentary of Xuanzong says, "If one who is in a superior position respects those who are in inferior positions, he will completely gain their satisfaction. 居上而敬下、盡得懽心" and then Xing Bing interprets this comment to say, "If the Son of Heaven respects fathers of others, their children will be satisfied with it. 天子敬人父、則其子皆悅" (XJZS p.18). In this case the commentators understand that the meaning of Chapter Fifteen is almost the same as that of Chapter Nine.

39. Ren Wentian 任文田 interprets the phrase "the One Man is revered 敬一人" and says, "When one exerts his filiality or his fraternity, the object of his respect is only one person, that is his father or brother. When he exerts his loyalty, the object of his respect is only one person, that is his monarch. These two cases have the same meaning. 吾自盡其孝弟、則吾所敬者、不過吾父吾兄一人、與自盡其忠而所敬者不過吾君一人、等也" (p.6).

40. "The One Man (yi ren 一人)" is a very old term that can be found in the bone inscriptions, the bronze inscriptions and the Book of Documents. Usually the term is written as yu yiren 余一人 or "I, the One Man" there, but there are a few examples in later documents.

41. Zhu Shen 朱申 understands "the One Man" as the Son of Heaven and says, "If the Son of Heaven is respected and esteemed, the people in the world will be happy and satisfied. 敬重天子、則天下人懽悅" (XJDQ vol.3, p.11). But his reading is not satisfactory either, because he cannot make clear who respects the Son of Heaven, and it is not logical to say that if the people in the world respect the Son of Heaven they will be satisfied.

42. Makra translates chen 臣 as "the duties of subjects" (p.29), which

is correct. Chen (meaning “retainer” usually) here is not used in the original sense but means “the Way of chen or retainers” which is almost the same as “loyalty”.

43. Makra translates this passage as, “He just teaches the principles of filiality and hereby secures to all fathers of the world the respect due to them” (p.29). There is no problem in her translation, but we cannot find any particular reason to translate the second xiao 孝 as “respect”.

44. Makra translates this phrase as “the young obeyed their elders” (p.35) but the phrase obviously says 長幼順, not 幼順長. The word “shun 順” here means “to be in harmony” rather than “to obey”.

45. The phrase 神明彰矣 literally means “the spirits manifested themselves (brilliantly)”. The Commentary of Xuanzong says, “Because the kings were able to be discerning in serving Heaven and Earth, deities were impressed with their extreme sincerity and bestowed blessings and help. 事天地、能明察、則神感至誠、而降福佑。” According to Xing Bing, this means, “In serving Heaven and Earth, the illustrious kings were so discerning as to always cause auspicious response (of deities); thus, the meritorious deeds of deities were manifested brilliantly --- 明王之事天地、既能明察、必致福應、則神明之功彰見” (XJZS vol.8, p.21).

46. “This passage (= Chapter Nineteen), based on the three transferable things that are discussed in the preceding chapter (= Chapter Eighteen), says (that) ----- ‘the veneration to father’ is filiality, ‘the veneration to brother’ is fraternity, and ‘(the management of) wife, children and servants’ is administration.’ 朱子曰、此一節因上章三可移而言 ----- 嚴父、孝也、嚴兄、悌也、妻子臣妾、官也” (Xiaojing Kanwu, p.27).

47. The word “household (guimen 閨門)” is found in the “Zhongni 仲尼” chapter, the “Yuelun 樂論” chapter of the Xunzi (XZ-HY p.76), the “Zhongni Yanju 仲尼燕居” chapter (LJZS vol.50, p.385) and the “Fangji 坊記” chapter (LJZS vol.51, p.392) of the Book of Rites.

48. The Ashikaga Text and the Fukuhara Text are the Old Texts preserved in Japan, and were useful in re-constructing the original Old Text. There are several versions of the Ashikaga Text, but here the version published in 1800 is used. The Fukuhara text was published in 1781. (Wakokubon Keisho Shūsei 和刻本經書集成 1976).

49. Makra translates this phrase “jujia zhi 居家治” as “Self-disciplined at home” (p.31). But this “zhi 治” does not mean the mental situation of a family head but refers to his management of family affairs. If not, there would be no reason to transfer it “to governmental control”.

50. There is a little difference concerning the order of statuses. In the Xunzi “father” is placed before “official”.

51. Makra translates this sentence as “He tries to guide his superior to good, to keep him from evil 將順其美、匡救其惡” (p.37). It is not clear how she understands shun 順.

52. “(After) a coffin, its enclosure, graveclothes and winding sheets are prepared for the dead person, the body is lifted up to be laid in the coffin. The sacrificial vessels are set out with grief and sorrow. Beating the breast, jumping up and down and weeping, the mourners bid a last sad farewell. The body is laid to rest in the burial place selected by divination. An ancestral shrine is made so as for the spirit to enjoy the sacrifices. 為之棺槨衣衾而拊之、陳其簠簋、而哀戚之、擗踊哭泣、哀

以送之、卜其宅兆、而安措之、為之宗廟、以鬼享之。” (Makra p.39. Makra translates the first sentence as “the body, shrouded, is lowered into the encased coffin”, and the last sentence as “offerings are made to the spirits in the ancestral place.”) It is asserted here that one should follow rites to express his affection to dead parents, and the idea is similar to Xun Qing’s idea that feelings should be regulated by rites.

53. “When one serves his living parents, he loves and reveres them; when he serves his dead parents, he laments and grieves for their death. Thus, the basis of human beings is perfected, the principle of life and death is fulfilled, and the way of a filial son’s serving his parent is complete. 生事愛敬、死事哀戚、生民之本盡矣、死生之義備矣、孝子之事親終矣。” This passage is similar to the sentences of the Xunzi; “Therefore, the Rites of mourning have no other purpose than this; to make clear the principle of life and death and send (the dead) away with grief and reverence ---. Serving the living is adorning the beginning; serving the dead is adorning the end. When satisfactory at both the beginning and the end, the filial son’s service is complete and the Way of the sage is fulfilled (See Watson p.105). 故喪禮者、無他焉、明死生之義、送以哀敬……事生飾始也、送死飾終也、終始具、而孝子之事畢、聖人之道備矣” (XZ-HY p.74).

54. The reader may doubt that the first half of the book is intended for the Son of Heaven, because Chapter Three (“the Lords”) and Chapter Four (“the Ministers”) speak of administrators, and Chapter Five (“the Officials”) and Chapter Six (“the Common People”) speak of the common people. But the main purpose of Chapters Two to Seven is to prove the universality of filiality as the basis for the government of filiality.

55. Though there is no direct statement that “formerly the illustrious



kings governed the empire by filiality 昔者、明王之以孝治天下也。”

(Chapter Nine, Makra p.17), it is clear that Mencius asserted that filiality should be extended to government. See p.91 of Chapter Two.

56. A passage in the Mencius, which says, “Serving one’s parents is the basis of serving” (IVa-19, Lau 1984, p.153), may express this idea.

57. This seems to be the same as the idea of filial government. But filial government which the Son of Heaven should carry out is more abstract and mental. For example, when Chapter Nine (“the Filial Government”) says, “Formerly, the illustrious kings governed the empire by filiality. ---昔者、明王之以孝治天下也” (Makra p.17), it means that the Son of Heaven should govern with the spirit of respectfulness to others, rather than that he should deal with the people just like his children and brothers. On the contrary, when Chapter Nineteen (“the Household”) says, “(He should deal with) his wife, children and servants just like those who are drafted from the people 妻子臣妾、繇百姓徒役也,” it seems to mean that an administrator should deal with his subordinates just like his family.

58. When Mencius says, “If a man in a subordinate position fails to win the confidence of his superiors, he cannot hope to govern the people. There is a way for him to win the confidence of his superiors. If his friends do not trust him, he will not win the confidence of his superiors. There is a way for him to win the trust of his friends. If in serving his parents he fails to please them, he will not win the trust of his friends. 居下位而不獲於上、民不可得而治也、獲於上有道、不信於友、弗獲於上矣、信於友有道、事親弗悅、弗信於友矣” (IVa-12, Lau 1984, p.149), he expresses the idea that a filial son is necessarily a good administrator.

59. Strictly speaking, it is one thing to describe filiality as due to heavenly nature and it is the other thing to characterize filiality as an ethic applicable to every human relationship. As far as Chapter Eight is concerned, the chapter seems to present first the thesis that filiality is heavenly nature and then, based on this thesis, to assert that filiality includes the ethics of every human relationship.

60. “The Changes is the method for sages to exalt Virtue and develop achievement. Wisdom is precious and the Rites are humble. What is precious imitates Heaven and what is humble models itself on the Earth. Heaven and the Earth establish the framework (of both sides) and the Changes take place between them. 夫易、聖人所以崇德而廣業也。知崇禮卑、崇效天、卑法地、天地設位、而易行乎其中矣。” (ZYZS vol.7, p.67)

61. “Therefore, the Rites are based on Heaven, imitate the Earth and are ranked among spirits. 是故、夫禮本於天、<sup>參</sup>於地、列於鬼神。” (LJZS vol.21, p.187)

62. This sentence (“The Rites are the principle of Heaven” in the Zuozhuan) is very similar to the sentence in Chapter Eight of the Book of Filiality. (“Filiality is the principle of Heaven”). Those who think that the Book of Filiality was written before the Qin Empire assert that the Book of Filiality influenced the Zuozhuan. But, needless to say, it is possible to think that the Zuozhuan influenced the Book of Filiality. It is also possible to think that both books were based on “a common stock of ancient lore, on which every author had freely drawn” (Karlgren 1929, p.172).

63. “Rites have three bases. Heaven and Earth are the basis of life. 禮

有三本、天地者生之本也。” (Watson p.91, XZ-HY p.71)

64. Makra translates zheng 政, or government, as “policy”.

65. An affection is called zhong 忠 or “hearty” in the second and third example of the Analects, and Lau translates the word as “do one’s best”. This word does not mean “to be loyal” in these examples.

66. This is shown in his famous statement;

Mencius said, “No man is devoid of a heart sensitive to suffering of others. --- Suppose a man were, all of a sudden, to see a young child on the verge of falling into a well. He would certainly be moved to compassion, --- The heart of compassion is the germ of benevolence; the heart of shame, of dutifulness ---.” (IIa-6, Lau 1984, p.67)

孟子曰、人皆有不忍人之心、--- 今人乍見孺子將入於井、皆有怵惕惻隱之心、---惻隱之心、仁之端也。羞惡之心、義之端也。(MZ-HY p.12)

It is clear in these sentences that the innate goodness of human nature which is called “a heart sensitive to suffering of others” is the foundation, and humanity and righteousness are two aspects of this goodness.

67. This idea can be seen in the following examples;

“Accordingly, while living, parents enjoyed all prosperity; after their death, sacrifices were offered to their spirits. 夫然、故生則親安之、祭則鬼享之。” (Chapter Nine, Makra p.17)

“In serving his parents a filial son renders utmost reverence to them, while at home --- he grieves at their death; he sacrifices to them with solemnity. 孝子之事親也、居則致其敬、--- 喪則致其哀、祭則致其嚴。” (Chapter Thirteen, Makra P.23)

“He sacrifices at the ancestral temple in order to keep his parents in remembrance. 宗廟致敬、鬼神著矣。” (Chapter Seventeen, Makra p.35)

68. The idea of three classes is found in the following examples;

a) “The illustrious kings (mingwang 明王)”, “the ruler (zhiguo zhe 治國者)” and “the head of families (zhijia zhe 治家者)” in Chapter Nine.

b) “In high station (jushang 居上)”, “in an inferior position (weixia 為下)” and “among his equals (zaichou 在醜)” in Chapter Thirteen.

The Book of Filiality likes to arrange various issues into three levels, though this is not directly related to the idea of the three classes.

For example;

c) “Thus, begun in the service of our parents, continued in the service of the prince, filiality is completed in the building up of our character. 夫孝、始於事親、中於事君、終於立身” (Makra p.3) in Chapter One.

d) “Filiality is the principle of Heaven, the standard of Earth, the norm of conduct for the people. 夫孝、天之經也、地之義也、民之行也” (Makra p.15) in Chapter Eight.

e) “To intimidate the kings (yaojun zhe 要君者)”, “to denounce the sage (fei shengren zhe 非聖人者) and ”to decry filiality (feixiao zhe 非孝者)” in Chapter Fourteen (Makra p.25).

f) “His father is revered (jing qifu 敬其父)”, “his elder brother is revered (jing qixiong 敬其兄)” and “their prince is revered (jing qijun 敬其君)” in Chapter Fifteen and Chapter Sixteen (Makra p.27-29).

g) “The gentleman’s service of his parents (junzi zhi shiqin xiao 君子之事親、孝)”, “his service of his elder brothers (shixiong ti 事兄、悌)” and “at home (jujia li 居家、理)” in Chapter Eighteen (Makra p.31).

It is not clear why the book has this tendency.

1. The “Jiyi” chapter says;

There were five (ways) by which the ancient kings governed the world. (These five ways are) to honour the virtuous, to honour the noble, to honour the old, to respect the aged and to treat kindly the young. It was by these five things that they maintained the stability of the world. Why did they honour the virtuous? Because of their approximation to Way. They honoured the noble because of their approximation to (the position of) the ruler. They honoured the old because of their approximation to (the position of) parents. They respected the aged because of their approximation to (the position of) elder brothers. They treated kindly the young because of their approximation to sons. (Legge 1885, Vol.2, p.216. The translation is modified.)

先王之所以治天下者五、貴有德、貴貴、貴老、敬長、慈幼。此五者、先王之所以定天下也、貴有德、何為也、為其近於道也、貴貴、為其近於君也、貴老、為近於親也、敬長、為其近於兄也、慈幼、為其近於子也。(LJZS vol.47, p.366)

There are several differences of characters between this section and the fourth paragraph of “the Filial Behavior”, but the contents are almost identical.

2. The third paragraph says, “If in serving his ruler, he is not loyal, he is not filial; if discharging the duties of office, he is not reverent, he is not filial; if with friends he is not sincere, he is not filial; if on the field of battle he is not brave, he is not filial. If he does not accomplish these five kinds of service, misfortune will reach his parents. 事君不忠、非孝也、莅官不敬、非孝也、朋友不篤、非孝也、戰陳無勇、非孝也、五行不遂、災及乎親。” The passage similar to this is found out in the third paragraph of “the Great Filiality” and of “the Meaning of Rites” (See Legge 1885, vol.2, p.226). It is possible to

think that zai 災 indicates punishment as well as disgrace. This passage, therefore, means that, if one is not a loyal retainer or a brave soldier, not only he but also his parents may be punished.

3. It is supposed that “the Great Filiality”, which is cited in “the Filial Behavior”, was composed by a Confucian (or Confucians) belonging to the School of Lezheng Zichun. It is certain that Lezheng Zichun lived his life in the Lu state (See Note 22 and 23). Since the writer of “the Filial Behavior” had a chance to read “the Great Filiality”, he was probably educated in Lu or its nearby states.

4. Wang Pinzhen understands that the meaning of “wide dispensation 博施” is the same as “virtue and teaching are applied to the people and become the pattern for the world 德教加於百姓、刑於四海” in the Book of Filiality, and that “the providing of all things 備物” indicates Shun’s filiality, which is expressed in the Zhongyong 中庸 chapter (“his riches were all within four seas, and he offered them (to his ancestor) in the ancestral shrine. 富有四海之內、宗廟饗之”, LJZS vol.52, p.400, Legge 1885, p.308) and in the Mencius (“To nourish one’s parents with the World is the greatest nourishment. 以天下養、養之至也”, Va-4, Lau 1984, p.185) (Wang Pinzhen 1983, p.84).

5. As has already been mentioned, the discussion in “the Great Filiality” consists of several ideas, as follows;

- 1) The distinction between serving and filiality
- 2) The idea that one’s body is his parents’ body transmitted to him.
- 3) The duty of preserving oneself.
- 4) The negation of one’s free will, and the duty of following social norms.
- 5) Obedience to authority.

6) Filiality as the universal law.

These elements are tightly organized in “the Great Filiality”, and this is the reason why we think its logical plot to be well-rounded. In other documents, these ideas are not presented all together. For example, Chapter One of the Book of Filiality presents the idea that one’s body is his parents’ body, but the discussion concludes, not with the idea of obedience to authority, but with “perpetuating our names for future generations”.

6. The word zhong 忠 can be understood in two ways: “heartiness” and “loyalty”. For instance, Wang Zhao reads this word as “loyalty”, when he says, “(When) a loyal retainer serves his lord and a filial son serves his parents, the basic principle is shared (by both of them). 忠臣以事其君、孝子以其親、其本一也” (vol.4, p.6). But this word in “the Basic Filiality” should be read as “heartiness”, because of two reasons. First, a monarch-retainer relationship is not an important issue in this document; if filiality were essentially defined as “loyalty”, more emphasis would be given to a monarch-retainer relationship and its connection with a father-son relationship. Second, “the Establishing Filiality” defines filiality essentially as zhong 忠 and the rites (li 禮). It is clear that this word does not mean “loyalty” in “the Establishing Filiality”, because the concept of zhong is replaced by zhong ai 忠愛 and that of li by jing 敬 in this document. Taking into consideration the close relation between “the Basic Filiality” and “the Establishing Filiality”, which will be discussed later, we had better understand the concept of zhong in “the Basic Filiality” as “heartiness”. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (vol.4, p.25) understands that the concept of zhong is the same as “heartiness and generosity (zhong shu 忠恕)” in the Analects (IV-15, LY-HY p.7).

7. After the cited passage, “the Basic Filiality” says, “Appointing the good (to official posts, a ruler?) does not dare to treat three virtuous (persons?) as subjects. 任善、不敢臣三德。” Lu Bian understands that this is filiality of the Son of Heaven (Dadai Liji vol.4, p.2). But it is difficult to explain why filiality of the Son of Heaven is referred to after the filiality of a superior man, of officials and of ordinary people are discussed. This phrase is difficult to understand, and there seems to be a confusion in the text.

8. It is possible to read this phrase as “at the verge (of a precipice), one should not point (people, so that they may not misunderstand his action as insult).” But, since the phrase does not specify what is “pointed at”, it is not certain whether this reading is correct.

9. It is assumed that soldiers on ramparts always kept watch over four directions by way of precaution against attack. Pointing or shouting there could be understood as the sign of an attack. For instance, in “the nineteenth year of Duke Zhao” in the Zuozhuan, when Qi conquered Ju, the commander of the Qi troops made only sixty soldiers secretly climb up the ramparts of the city and shout loudly. The attack caused the duke of Ju to desert his state. (Legge 1972, p.675, ZZS vol.48, p.385)

10. The second sentence we have cited has a problem as to belonging to “the Old Quli”, because it is not a three- or four-character phrase.

When, following an elder, one ascends a level height, he must keep his face towards the quarter to which the elder is looking. When one has ascended the wall of a city, he should not point, nor call out.

從長者而上丘陵、則鄉長者所視、登城不指、城上不呼。



But it is not clear here why “not pointing, nor calling out” is restricted to the circumstance of “following an elder”, because pointing and calling out on the rampart of a city was prohibited, as has been discussed (See Note 9). Probably, only the last two phrases (登城不指、城上不呼) belongs to “the Old Quli”.

11. For instance, the Book of Filiality says, “Thus, in the case of seeing (his father’s behavior) immoral, a son must never fail to warn his father against it 故當不義、則子不可以不爭於父” in Chapter Twenty. (Makra p.33. The translation is modified.)

12. “The Establishing Filiality” says, “Therefore, those who can be regarded as loyal retainers before serving a monarch are filial sons. Those who can be regarded as obedient subordinates before serving their superiors are fraternal younger brothers. Those who can be regarded as capable (civil) servants before administrating offices are those who first well manage (their families). 是故、未有君而忠臣可知者、孝子之謂也。未有長而順下可知者、弟弟之謂也。未有治而能仕可知者、先脩之謂也”. Chapter Eighteen of the Book of Filiality says, “In a gentleman’s service of his parents, he is filial; therefore, his fidelity can be transferred to his prince. In his service of his elder brothers, he is fraternal; therefore, his docility can be transferred to his superiors. He can manage his family well at home; he can transfer this good management to governmental control. 君子之事君孝、故忠可移於君、事兄悌、故順可移於長、居家理、故治可移於官.” (Makra p.31. The translation is modified.)

13. Lu Bian 盧辯 understands this yang 養 as “hide 隱” (Dadai Liji vol.4, p.12). Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍 reads it as “fear (you nian 憂念)” (vol.4, p.86), and Ruan Yuan 阮元 as “rong 容”, which means “to

embellish 飾” (vol.2, p.45). But it is used here to express the same meaning as that in a sentence, “Those who are well-adjusted look after those who are not 中也養不中” in the Mencius (IVb-7, Lau p.161), as Kong Guangsen 孔廣森 has pointed out (vol.4, p.55). Yang is occasionally used in this sense; Zheng Xuan says in his commentary on the “Wenwang Shizi 文王世子” chapter of the Book of Rites that yang 養 is akin to jiao 教. (LJZS vol.20, p.178)

14. Legge’s translation does not refer to “the purification before”. He seems to depend on Zheng Xuan 鄭玄’s commentary, which says, “Qi means the time of sacrifices 齊謂祭祀時”. But the Liji Zhushu 禮記注疏 clarifies the meaning when it says, “When he stands, though not in a state of purification, he should be as in purification before sacrifices 倚立之時、雖不齊、亦當如祭前之齊” (LJZS vol.1, p.2).

15. There can be an objection against the discussion that the writer of “the Serving Parents” cited these phrases from the “Quli” chapter. For example, Chen Hao’s Liji Jishuo 禮記集說 cites Zhu Xi’s comment on the Book of Rites, which says, “Liu Yuanfu says that this is the passage from ‘the Serving Parents’ of the Dadai Liji. ----- Probably, (the editor of the “Quli” chapter) cited the sentences, but he failed in eliminating two wards ruo fu. 劉原父云、此乃大戴禮曾子事父母篇之辭。……此篇蓋取彼文。而若夫二字、失於刪去” (vol.1, p.1). Zhu Xi did not give his reasons for this idea, but he probably read the sentence “ruo fu 若夫 -----” as “(the attitudes) like -----”, and thought that its contents were denoted by the demonstrative pronoun “ci 此”. If his reading is right, it is certainly unreasonable that the “Quli” chapter puts the phrase “ruo fu” at the top, with no pronoun “ci”. But Wang Meng’ou 王夢鷗 thinks that there are missing characters in the present text of the “Quli” chapter and that this passage in the original text

carriage. 禮曰、父召、無諾、君命召、不俟駕” (Iib-2, Lau 1984 p.75), and this part is similar to a sentence in the “Quli” chapter, that is, “When his father calls, one should not answer (yes, but go immediately; nor when his teacher calls. 父召、無諾、先生召、無諾” (Legge 1885, p.75). Secondly, the phrase “for him to ask (whether he is guilty of) breaking the food with his teeth while bolting down his food and drink 放飯流<sup>歠</sup>而問無齒決” in the “jinxin 盡心” chapter of the Mencius (VIIa-46, Lau 1984, p.285) seems to be based on the sentences “do not bolt down the various dishes; do not swill down the soup. 毋放飯、毋流<sup>歠</sup>” in the “Quli” chapter (Legge p.80).

19. These ten chapters are:

“The Establishing Services of Zengzi” (Zengzi Lishi 曾子立事), Chapter 49 in the Dadai Liji.

“The Basic Filiality of Zengzi” (Zengzi Benxiao 曾子本孝), Chapter 50.

“The Establishing Filiality of Zengzi” (Zengzi Lixiao 曾子立孝), Chapter 51.

“The Great Filiality of Zengzi” (Zengzi Daxiao 曾子大孝), Chapter 52.

“Zengzi’s Serving Parents” (Zengzi Shifumu 曾子事父母), Chapter 53.

“The Enacting Sayings of Zengzi (1)” (Zengzi Zhiyan Shang 曾子制言上), Chapter 54.

“The Enacting Sayings of Zengzi (2)” (Zengzi Zhiyan Zhong 曾子制言中), Chapter 55.

“The Enacting Sayings of Zengzi (3)” (Zengzi Zhiyan Xia 曾子制言下), Chapter 56.

“The Disease of Zengzi” (Zengzi Jibing 曾子疾病), Chapter 57.

“The Celestial Circle of Zengzi” (Zengzi Tianyuan 曾子天圓), Chapter 58.

Concerning the assumption that these ten documents were written by the school of Zengzi, see Wang Pinzhen 王聘珍 p.3, Takeuchi vol.2, p.288–291, p.446–451, Wang Tie 1987, Kurihara 1991, p.5 and Gao Zhuancheng 高

專誠 p.228.

20. The Hanshu says “the Zengzi, eighteen volumes 曾子一八篇.” The Suishu says, “the Zengzi, two volumes 曾子二篇.” (vol.34, p.997)

21. “The Basic Filiality” has several phrases similar to the expressions in the Analects, as below;

- a) “Therefore, abusive language does not come out of his mouth; annoying words do not reach him. 故惡言不出於口、煩言不及於己。” Cf. “To let a sudden fit of anger make you forget the safety of your own person or even that of your parents, is that not misguided judgment ? 一朝之忿、忘其身以及其親、非惑與。” (XII-21 in the Analects, Lau 1983, p.117)
- b) “When he goes out through the gate (of his home) to run an errand, he does not behave to cause his parents’ anxiety. 出門而使、不以或為父母憂也”. Cf. “Meng Wubo asked about being filial. The Master said, ‘Give your father and mother no other cause for anxiety than illness.’ 孟武伯問孝。子曰、父母唯其疾之憂” (II-6; Lau p.12). “While your parents are alive, you should not go too far afield in your travels. If you do, your whereabouts should always be known. 父母在、不遠遊、遊必有方” (IV-19; Lau p.33).
- c) “He (= a filial son) does not change his father’s way during three years after his father’s death. 父死三年、不敢改父之道。” Cf. “The Master said, ‘If, for three years, a man makes no changes to his father’s ways, he can be said to be a good son.’ 子曰、三年、無改於父之道、可謂孝矣” (II-20; Lau p.33).
- d) “Therefore, (the behavior of) a filial son toward his parents is as follows; when they are alive, he is based on the right way to help them. When they die, he attends their mourning sorrowfully. When sacrificing, he attends the sacrifice reverently. 故孝子之於親也、生則有義以輔之、死則哀以莅焉、祭祀則莅之以敬。” Cf. “The Master said, ‘When your parents

are alive, comply with the rites in serving them; when they die, comply with the rites in burying them; comply with the rites in sacrificing to them.’ 子曰、生事之以禮、死葬之以禮、祭之以禮” (Book 2, Chap.5; Lau p.11).

22. The “Xianxue 先學” chapter says, “Since the death of Confucius, there have been the Confucianists of Zizhang, the Confucianists of Zisi, the Confucianists of Yan, the Confucianists of Meng, the Confucianists of Qidiao, the Confucianists of Zhongliang, the Confucianists of Sun and the Confucianists of Lezheng. 自孔子之死也、有子張之儒、有子思之儒、有顏氏之儒、有孟氏之儒、有漆雕氏之儒、有仲良氏之儒、有孫氏之儒、有樂正氏之儒” (Hanfeizi Jishi p.1080). The “Shuolin 說林” chapter refers to an episode about Lezheng Zichun, which says, “The Qi state sent a expedition to demand the Chan Ding-vessel. The Lu state (made an emissary go to the Qi state,) carrying a fake of this vessel, but the people of Qi said that it was fake. The emissary of Lu said that it was the true one. The people of Qi said, ‘Let Lezheng Zichun come here, so as to ask him (which is true).’ The prince of Lu asked Lezheng Zichun (to give false evidence). Lezheng Zichun said, ‘Why did not you make the emissary take the true one.’ The prince said, ‘Because I value the vessel.’ Lezheng Zichun replied, ‘I also value my uprightness.’ 齊伐魯、索譏鼎。魯以其鴈往、齊人曰、鴈也。魯人曰、眞也。齊曰、使樂正子春來、吾將聽子。魯君請樂正子春、樂正子春曰、胡不以其眞往也。君曰、我愛之。答曰、臣亦愛臣之信” (Hanfeizi Jishi p.474).

23. According to the episode cited in Note 22, Lezheng Zichun lived in the Lu state. His disciples are assumed to have lived in that area.

24. It is interesting to find that Gary Hamilton draws the same conclusion, though he studies Chinese patriarchy from a different point

of view. He maintains that patriarchy in China (strictly speaking, filiality) meant one's playing his social role correctly, rather than just supporting a father's power over his children; when everyone succeeded in playing his role suitable to each situation, harmony of the whole society was created. In the West, any kind of authority or power is justified as derivation from absolute authority, that is God, and expressed in actual contexts as a person's own wish. This wish is circumscribed when it is in conflict with another person's desires, and, thus, relationships among people are prescribed by their rights and conflicts among them. In China, according to Hamilton, relationships among people are harmonized by emphasizing social roles and their responsibility. Unfiliality has been the most serious crime in Chinese statutes because it is against the basic obligation of playing a social role correctly (Hamilton 1991).

26. The word shuo 說 should be read as yue (yue 悅). See Yan Shigu's 顏師古 note (Note 6 in Hanshu vol.48, p.2244).

27. A passage similar to this is found in the Shibian 時變 chapter of the Xinshu 新書. Because Jia Yi was not born yet in the Qin period, there is no reason why we have to believe his statement. His description was probably based on the situation in the early Han period.

28. The Shuihu Qinmu Zhujian interprets the word huan 環 as yuan 原 or "forgive" (i.e. you 宥, p.195), but this is not acceptable, as has been discussed by Hulsewé. He leaves the word untranslated (p.147). Shinkan Kodokukai 秦簡講読会 (1981, p.92) understands the word as que 卻 or "reject", depending on Zheng Xuan's commentary on the Zhouli ("Huan is akin to que. 環猶卻也", ZLZS vol.28, p.193). This seems to be a possible interpretation, but it is still hard to identify the meaning of the

word.

29. See Hulsewē p.196 and the Shuihudi p.263. Because it is contrary to human feelings for a father to ask for the execution of his son, Tsuneko Matsuzaki suggests that a father was forced by law to do so. In other words, the Qin statues seem to have deferred autonomy of domestic groups, but their true purpose lay in controlling the domestic groups, by introducing a legal procedure to punish unfilial sons. Her interpretation is quite acceptable. Especially, we perfectly agree with her, when she says that the statues concerned with “unofficial denunciations” were based on the idea that fatherhood was “omnipotent” only in a household, rather than the idea that the household was autonomous. (1982, p.238)

30. Zhang Jinguang 張金光 thinks that the system of “successor-son” was different from the succession system in a lineage group, though it was related to. According to him, this system symbolically expressed collapse of noble lineages, because ordinary people had the right to appoint a “successor”, which used to be permitted only to the noble class. (1988, p.86)

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- ZZZS = Zuozhuan Zhushu 左傳注疏. See Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi 春秋左傳正義.



## APPENDIX ONE: REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER ONE

### Introductory Remarks

1. English translations of bronze inscriptions are on even-numbered pages, and the cited sentences of the inscriptions are on odd-numbered pages. The cited sentences are followed by a Japanese translation (kun-doku 訓讀).
2. The sources of the bronze inscriptions are indicated by the numbers used by Sun Zhichu 孫稚雛 in the Jinwen Zhulu Jianmu 金文著錄簡目, 1981, Beijing. If inscriptions are not recorded in his book, the sources of the inscriptions are indicated by abbreviated titles and numbers (or page numbers).
3. The period in which each bronze inscription was produced is shown by the following abbreviations;  
The early Western Zhou period (the late 11th century to the first half of the 10th century B.C.E.) **W I**  
The middle Western Zhou period (the second half of the 10th century to the early 9th century B.C.E.) **W II**  
The late Western Zhou period (the middle 9th century to 770 B.C.E.) **W III**  
The early Chunqiu period (770 to the early 7th century B.C.E.) **C I**  
The middle Chunqiu period (the middle 7th century to the early 6th century B.C.E.) **C II**  
The late Chunqiu period (the middle 6th century to the early 5th century B.C.E.) **C III**  
The Zhanguo period (the middle 5th century to 221 B.C.E.) **Z**  
This chronological demarcation and the dating of bronze vessels are based on Hayashi, 1984 (p.187–192) and 1989.

## REFERENCE I: THE USAGE OF FILIALITY IN BRONZE INSCRIPTIONS

### A. The Examples in the Western Zhou period

#### 1) Qiang-pan (6180) **W** II

Shi Qiang, who is filial and fraternal, has never lost (his mandate) morning and night (= throughout). He daily (= always) has his merits recognized (by the king) <sup>[1]</sup>.

#### 2) [Ying]-gui (2544) **W** II

Mindful of the past, I (= Ying) offer filiality, never dare to lose (my mandate), and glorify my auspicious pledging-rituals (for my ancestors). (In this way), I will be subordinate to the Son of Heaven <sup>[2]</sup>.

#### 3) Dong-ding (1206) **W** II

Dong (= I), bowing and touching my head to the ground, in response extol the mandate of the King, and herewith produce (this) precious ritual boiling-vessel of my refined mother (whose ritual) day is geng. Using the vessel, I will respectfully make offerings and offer filiality (to my ancestors) morning and night, and will tranquilize good fortune (i.e. my ancestors will comfort me with good fortune).

#### 4) Dong-ding (1177) **W** II

Dong (= I), bowing and touching my head to the ground, in response extol the beneficence of [?] Jiang(, who is the wife) of the King, and herewith produce (this) precious ritual boiling ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my refined grandfather Yigong, and my grandmother (whose ritual) day (is) wu. May (my) sons and grandsons use the vessel as a treasure forever!

## A. 西周金文に於ける「孝」字の用法

西周中

### 1. 牆盤（簡目6180）

孝𡥉史𡥉、夙夜不𡥉、其日蔑曆。

孝友なる史牆は夙夜墜さず、其れ日に蔑歴せらる。

### 2. 熒𡥉（2544）

西周中

追孝對不敢𡥉、邵朕福盟、朕臣天子。

（熒）追孝𡥉對𡥉へて敢𡥉へて墜さず、朕が福盟を昭かにし、朕れ天子に臣たらむ。

### 3. 戒鼎（甲）（1206）

西周中

戒拜頤首、對𡥉王命、用𡥉文母日庚寶𡥉、穆𡥉夙夜𡥉享孝𡥉受福。

戒は拜し頤首し、王命に對揚して、用て文母日庚の寶𡥉を作𡥉る。穆々として夙夜享孝し、福を綏んぜむ。

### 4. 戒鼎（乙）（1177）

西周中

戒拜頤首、對𡥉王𡥉姜休、用𡥉寶𡥉、其用夙夜𡥉享孝于𡥉文且乙公于文妣日戊、其子𡥉孫𡥉永寶。

戒は拜し頤首し、王𡥉姜の休に對揚し、用て寶𡥉を作𡥉り、其れ用て夙夜𡥉の文祖乙公と文妣日戊とに享孝せむ。其れ子々孫々永く寶とせよ。

5) Dong-gui (2612) **W** II

--- Your son, Dong (= I), bow and touche my head to the ground, in response extol the blessing brilliance of (my) refined mother, and here-with produce a ritual gui-vessel of my refined mother (whose ritual) day (is) geng. Would that you (= Dong's mother) let your son, Dong, make offerings and offer filiality to my refined mother morning and night for ten thousand years. May my sons and grandsons eternally use the vessel as a treasure. (See Shaughnessy 1991, p.177)

6) Bo Hu-gui (2401) **W** II

Bo Hu (= I) produce (this) precious gui-vessel (used in) a room of his palace. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august father to pray for (the longevity of) ten thousand years. May my sons and grandsons use (the vessel) as a treasure forever.

7) Zu Ri Geng-gui (2357, 2358) **W** II

(I,) grandson of Grandfather (whose ritual) day (is) geng, produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will [make offerings?] and offer filiality for generations. May (my) sons and grandsons use (the vessel) as a treasure forever!

8) Yubo-ding (1086) **W** II

Fuyi, (who is a daughter of the Duke of) Jing (whose surname is) Ji, (makes offering?) in the ancestral room of grandfathers and father of the Shugong family. She filially worships (ancestors) and filially sacrifices (to them). (Therefore,) Yubo (= I) produce a ding-vessel and a gui-vessel used by Fuyi. <sup>[3]</sup>

9) Da Ke-ding (the Bigger Ke-ding) (1216) **W** III/**W** II

Ke said, "----- The Son of Heaven is bright and wise, and manifests

5. 戒殷

西周中

乃子戒拜顙首、對訊文母福刺、用乍文母日庚寶簠、卑乃子戒萬年用夙夜降こ富孝于ひ文母、其子孫永寶。

乃の子たる戒は拜し顙首し、文母の福烈に對揚し、用て文母日庚の簠こを作る。乃の子たる戒をして萬年用て夙夜厥の文母に享孝す。其れ子々孫永く寶とせよ。

6. 伯栒殷 (2404)

西周中

白栒乍ひ宮室寶殷、用追孝于ひ皇孝、唯用こ斚こ奉萬年、孫子永寶。

白栒は厥の宮室の寶殷を作り、用て厥の皇考に追孝し、唯れ用て萬年を祈こ奉らむ。孫々子々永く寶とせよ。

7. 祖日庚殷 (2357・8)

西周中

且日庚ひ孫乍寶殷、用こ簠こ孝、其子孫其永寶。𠄎。

祖日庚の孫は寶殷を作り、用て世よ(享)孝せむ。其れ子々孫々其れ永く寶とせよ。𠄎。

8. 彊伯鼎 (1086)

西周中

井姬ひ疇亦ひ祖孝ひ弔公宗室、又孝祀孝祭、隹彊伯乍井姬用鼎殷。

邢姬疇亦、祖孝叔公の宗室にこし、又た孝祀孝祭す。隹れ彊伯は井姫の用るる鼎殷を作る。

(i.e. shows?) his (own) filiality<sup>[4]</sup> to the spirits (of deceased kings).  
He continuously thinks of Ke's sacred ancestor (who was in the post of)  
Bao, Shihuaifu, -----."

10) Li-ding (1024) 𠄎Ⅲ/𠄎Ⅱ

Li (= I), responding to great virtues for the first time, am filial and friendly, so as to be the pattern (to be followed), and herewith produce (this) precious ritual vessel. Using the vessel, I will cook (foods) and make offerings (for my ancestor) morning and night.

11) Zhui-gui (2526-2531) 𠄎Ⅲ/𠄎Ⅱ

Zhui (= I) dare in response to extol the brilliant (grace) of the Son of Heaven, and produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my august grandfather and father. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to deceased refined men (= ancestors), so as to ask for longevity and an eternal mandate, and (to pray that I would) serve the Son of Heaven for ages (until) an auspicious ending.

12) Ci-ding (1202-1204) 𠄎Ⅲ

Ci (= I) dare in response to extol the brilliant beneficence and mandates of the Son of Heaven, and herewith produce (this) ritual ding-vessel of my august father Guigong. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to the refined spirit (of Guigong) to ask for longevity. May Ci have ten thousand years and no limit, and serve the Son of Heaven for ages (until) an auspicious ending!

13) Xing-zhong A (6525) 𠄎Ⅲ/𠄎Ⅱ

Xing (= I) am valiant, morning and evening (=always) being wise and bright<sup>[5]</sup>. I, mindful of the past, offer filiality to (my) eminent grandfather Xingong, refined grandfather Yigong and august father Ding-

9. 大克鼎

西周後

克曰、(中略) 天子明哲、顯孝于神、至念卑聖保且師華父、……

克曰く、(中略) 天子明哲にして、孝を神に顯かにし、厥の聖なる保祖の師華父を經念し、……

10. 曆鼎 (1024)

西周後

曆肇對元德孝登佳井、乍寶曆彝、其用夙夕釐享。

曆は肇めて元德に對し、孝友にして惟れ刑なり。寶曆彝を作る。其れ用て夙夜釐享せよ。

11. 追殷 (2526～31)

西周後

追敢對天子覲黜、用乍朕皇且考曆殷、用享孝于其文人、用禱句贊壽永令、眈臣天子肅冬。

追は敢へて天子の顯に對し揚して、用て朕が皇祖考の曆殷を作り、用て前文人に享孝し、用て眉壽永命を祈句し、峻く天子に臣たりて靈終ならむことを。

12. 此鼎 (1202～4、殷銘五、略同文)

西周後

此敢對覲天子不顯休令、用乍朕皇考癸公曆鼎、用享孝于文申、用句贊壽、此其萬年無彊、眈臣天子肅冬。

此は敢へて天子の丕顯なる休命に對揚して、用て朕が皇考癸公の曆鼎を作る。用て文神に享孝し、用て眉壽を句めむ。此は其れ萬年無彊にして、峻く天子に臣たりて靈終ならむことを。

13. 癸鐘甲 (6525)

西周後

gong, and I produce (this set of) harmonious lin-bells. Using the vessel, I will invite the deceased refined men (= ancestors) to come, so as to please, rejoice and delight them.

14) Xing-zhong B (6526) **W** III/**W** II

I dare to produce (this set of) big precious harmonious bells of refined men (= ancestors). Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality, make offerings and sacrifice (to the ancestors), inviting the great spirits (of my ancestors) to come and delighting them.

15) Guaibo-gui (2618) **W** III/**W** II

I (= Guaibo) herewith produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my august father, King Ji of Wu Guai. Using the vessel, I will offer filiality in my ancestral shrine to make offerings (to my ancestor). By using the vessel, I will, morning and evening, offer filiality to friends and hundreds of matrimonial relatives.<sup>[6]</sup>

16) Song-gui (2621) **W** III

Song (= I) dare in response to extol the very illustrious and generous beneficence of the Son of Heaven, and produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my august father Gongshu and my august mother Gongsu. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality (to my parents) to pray for [peace?], genuine aid, limitless blessings and an eternal mandate.

17) Wei Luan-ding (1176) **W** III

Luan (= I) produce (this) precious ritual boiling-ding-vessel of my august father. Using the vessel, Luan will make offerings and offer filiality to my august father so that he may give me prosperous happiness, generous beneficence, genuine aid, longevity, an eternal mandate



癸趯夙夕聖趯、追孝于高且辛公・文且乙公・皇考丁公、龢鑑鐘、用邵  
各喜侃樂崙文人、……

癸は趯々として夙夕聖趯、高祖辛公・文祖乙公・皇考丁公に追孝し、  
和林鐘（を作る）。用て邵格喜侃して前文人を楽しみません。

14. 癸鐘乙（6526）

西周後

敢乍文人大寶龢鑑鐘、用追孝龢祀、邵各樂大神……

敢へて文人の大寶龢和鐘を作り、用て追孝享祀し、邵格して大神  
を楽しませ、……

15. 乖伯殷（2618）

西周後

用乍朕皇考武乖幾王障殷、用好宗朝鬯、夙夕好俚友雫百者飢遺、

用て朕が皇考たる武乖の幾王の障殷を作り、用て宗廟に孝し享し、夙  
夕俚友と百諸婚媾に孝さむ。

16. 頌殷（2621）

西周後

頌敢對朕天子丕顯魯休、用乍朕皇考龢弔・皇母龢娼寶障殷、用追孝、  
鬯勺康瓊屯右、通祿永命。

頌は敢へて天子の丕顯なる魯休に對揚して、用て朕が皇考龢叔・皇  
母龢姁の障殷を作る。用て追孝し、康□純祐、通祿永命を祈句せむ。

17. 微繼鼎（1176）

西周後

繼乍朕皇考龢彝障鼎、繼用鬯孝于朕皇考、用易康勳魯休・永命噩冬。

and an auspicious ending.

18) Chi-xu (2827) 𠩺 III?

Chi (= I) produce (this) xu-vessel of Jiang Ao. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to Gugong.

19) Xing Renning-zhong (6418) 𠩺 III

Ning (= I) produce (this set of) lin-bells of Hefu. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to deceased refined men (= ancestors) and delight them.

20) Zhongshifu-ding (1140, 1141) 𠩺 III?

Zhongshifu (= I) produce (this) precious ritual ding-vessel of Ji(?) Si. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and my great father, so that they may give me longevity amounting no limit (i.e. a limitless life).

21) Hushu(?) -ding (1089) 𠩺 III?

Hushu, (?) (= I), produce (this) precious ding-vessel of Yi Bu. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my refined grandfather.

22) Zhishu-gui (2503) 𠩺 III?

Zhishu (= I) produce (this) set gui-vessel of Feng Ji Gu. Using the vessel, Feng Ji Gu will morning and night make offerings and offer filiality to Yougong (= Zhishu's ancestor) and Zhishu's friends.

23) Bohao-gui (Wenwu 1980-5) 𠩺 III

Bohao Cuo (= I) for the first time produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of (my) august father. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer

繇は朕が皇考の鬻彝障鼎を作る。繇は用て朕が皇考に享孝し、用て(皇考の)康勳・魯休・永令・靈終を賜はむことを。

18. 倬盥 (2827)

西周後(?)

倬乍姜渙盥、用享孝于姑公。

倬は姜渙の盥を作る。用て姑公に享孝せむ。

19. 邢人妥鐘 (6418)

西周後

邢妥乍龢父蓄鐘、用追孝侃蓐文人。

肆に妥は和父の林鐘を作る。用て追孝して前文人を侃ませむ。

20. 仲師父鼎 (1140・1)

西周後

中師父乍季攸娼寶障鼎、其用享用孝于皇且帝考、用易寶壽無疆。

仲師父は季攸娼の寶障鼎を作る。其れ皇祖帝孝に用て享し用て孝し用て(皇祖帝考の)眉壽無疆を賜はむことを。

21. 旌叔燁鼎 (1089)

西周後

旌弔燁乍易姁寶鼎、用享孝于朕文且。

旌叔燁は易姁の寶鼎を作る。用て朕が文祖に享孝せむ。

22. 寗叔殷 (2503)

西周後

寗弔乍豐姑慙旅殷、豐姑慙用宿夜享考于設公于寗弔朋友。

寗叔は豐姑慙の旅殷を作る。豐姑慙用て夙夜設公と寗叔の朋友に享孝せよ。

23. 伯橧殷 (文物1980・5)

西周後

filiality. May I have longevity of ten thousand years and be in (his high) position for ages. May my sons and the grandsons use the vessel as a treasure forever!

24) Shanfu Liangqi-gui (2481) 𣎵Ⅲ

Shanfu Liangqi (= I) produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my august father Huichong and august mother Huiyi. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, make offerings and offer filiality to ask for longevity amounting no limit (i.e. a limitless life).

25) Bogongfu-shao (6070, 6071) 𣎵Ⅲ/𣎵Ⅱ

Bogongfu (= I) produce (this set of) bronze dippers. Using the vessel, I will offer and pour (wine into cups for my ancestor; thus,) I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august father to pray for longevity.

26) Shiefu-ding (1127) 𣎵Ⅲ?

Shiefu (= I) produce (this) ritual ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality in my ancestral room to pray for longevity, yellow (hair and) dark skin and auspicious tranquility.

27) Dubo-xu (2835-2839) 𣎵Ⅲ

Dubo (= I) produce (this) precious Xu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to the august spirit of my grandfathers, father and good friends to pray for longevity and to ask for an eternal mandate.

28) Liangqi-hu (5285, 5286) 𣎵Ⅲ

Liangqi (= I) produce (this) ritual hu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfathers and father, so as to pray that many blessings, longevity and an eternal mandate

白橈盧肇乍皇考剌公隣殷、用畐用孝、萬年寶壽、畎才立、子孫永寶。

伯橈盧は肇めて皇考烈公の隣殷を作る。用て享し用て孝し、萬年眉壽、畎く位に在らむことを。子々孫々永く寶とせよ。

24. 膳夫梁其殷 (2481)

西周後

膳夫沔其乍朕皇考惠中・皇妣惠妣隣殷、用追畐孝、用甸寶壽無疆、……

膳夫梁其は朕が皇考惠仲・皇妣惠妣の隣殷を作る。用て追享孝し、用て眉壽無疆を甸め、……

25. 伯公父勺 (6070・1)

西周後

伯公父乍金爵、用獻用酌、用畐用孝于朕皇考、用斚寶壽。

伯公父は金爵を作る。用て獻じ用て酌し、用て享し用て朕が皇考に孝し、用て眉壽を祈らむ。

26. 師罍父鼎 (1127)

西周後

師罍父乍隣鼎、用畐考于宗室、用斚寶壽黃甸吉康。

師罍父は隣鼎を作る。用て宗室に享孝し、用て眉壽黃考吉康を祈る。

27. 杜伯盥 (2835～9)

西周後

杜伯乍寶盥、其用畐孝皇申且考于好棚友、用率壽、甸永令。

杜伯は寶盥を作り、其れ用て皇神祖考と好棚友とに享孝し、用て壽を禱り、永命を甸めむ。

28. 梁其壺 (5285・6、亦鼎、略同文1162・3)

西周後

would be without limit.

29) Zhong(?)fu-gui (2472) ㊦ III

Zhong(?)fu (= I), an official (in the court) of Shitangfu, produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will hold feasts and offer filiality to my august grandfathers and father to pray for longevity.

30) Zhuolinfu-gui (2369) ㊦ III?

Zhuolinfu (= I) produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity.

31) Guzhong-gui (2456) ㊦ III?

Guzhong (= I) produce (this) ritual boiling-gui-vessel of my august father Yuanzhong. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity.

32) Dashi Zidai Mengjiang-ye (6254) ㊦ III

Mengjiang (= I), a daughter of Grand General, produce a (?) ye-vessel. Using the vessel, she will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity.

33) Bo Liangqi-xu (2840, 2841) ㊦ III

Bo Liangqi (= I) produce (this) set xu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to ask for longevity and much fortune. May I serve the Son of Heaven for ages!

34) Jifu-hu (5290, 5291) ㊦ III

Jifu (= I), bowing and touching my head to the ground, in response extol the beneficence of my august monarch, and produce (this) ritual hu-

梁其は罍壺を作り、用て皇祖考に享孝し、用て多福眉壽永命無疆を祈る。

29. 仲枏父殷 (2472)

西周後

師湯父有嗣中枏父乍寶殷、用卿考于皇且丂、用斚鬯壽。

師湯父の有嗣、仲枏父は寶殷を作り、用て皇祖考に饗孝し、用て眉壽を祈る。

30. 卓林父殷 (2369)

西周中～後

卓林父乍寶殷、用享用孝、斚鬯壽。

卓林父は寶殷を作り、用て享し用て孝し、眉壽を祈る。

31. 鼓仲殷 (2456)

西周後

鼓中乍朕皇考超中鬯彝罍殷、用享用孝、斚鬯壽。

鼓仲は朕が皇考超仲の鬯彝罍殷を作り、用て享し用て孝し、眉壽を祈りせむ。

32. 大師子大孟姜匱 (6254)

西周後

大師子大孟姜乍畋盥、用享用孝、用斚鬯壽。

大師の子たる大孟姜は匱盥を作り、用て享し用て孝し、用て眉壽を祈らむ。

33. 伯梁其鬲 (2840・1)

西周後

伯梁其乍旅鬲、用享用孝、用鬯鬯壽多福、畋臣天子。

伯梁其は旅鬲を作り、用て享し用て孝し、用て眉壽多福を乞ひ、畋く天子に臣たらむ。

34. 幾父壺 (5290・1)

西周後

vessel of my brilliant father. Using the vessel, Jifu will, mindful of the past, offer filiality (to my father).

35) Shupifu-gui (2455) 𠄎 Ⅲ?

(I) cast (this) ritual vessel of Shupifu. Using the vessel, [?]zi (= a descendant of Shipifu) will make offerings and offer filiality to Shupifu.

36) Shuefu-gui (2384, 2385) 𠄎 Ⅲ?

Shuefu (= I) produce (this) set gui-vessel of Zi Ji. Using the vessel, morning and night, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august monarch (= ancestor).<sup>[7]</sup>

37) [?]-gui (2439) 𠄎 Ⅲ?

[?] (= I) produce (this) precious ritual gui-vessel of my refined grand-fathers and father. Using the vessel, I will offer filiality in my ancestral room.

38) Gao Shishuofu-ding (Shirakawa 1973, p.52) 𠄎 Ⅲ

Shishuofu of Gao (= I) produce (this) ritual ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality in my ancestral room.

39) Cuo-zhong (6394-6398) 𠄎 Ⅲ

Cuo (= I) produce (this set of) precious bells. Using the bells, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to Jibo, make offerings in my big room and delight good guests. Both Cuo and (my wife) Cai Ji will use the bells as a treasure forever, and glorify my big stem (= the main lineage of Cuo).

40) Zhongyinfu-gui (2324-2333) 𠄎 Ⅲ



幾父拜頤首、對錫朕皇君休、用乍朕剌考隣壺、幾父用追孝。

幾父は拜頤首し、朕が皇君の休に對揚して、用て朕が烈考の隣壺を作る。幾父用て追孝せむ。

35. 鑄叔皮父殷 (2455)

西周後

乍壺弔皮父隣殷、其虋子用享考于弔皮父。

叔皮父の隣殷を作鑄す。其れ□子は用て叔皮父に享孝せむ。

36. 叔罍父殷 (2384)

西周後

弔罍父乍鷄姬旅殷、夙夜用享孝于皇君。

叔罍父は鷄姬の旅殷を作り、夙夜用て皇君に享孝せむ。

37. 𣎵殷 (2439)

西周後

𣎵乍文且考隣寶殷、用孝于宗室。

□は文祖考の隣寶殷を作り、用て宗室に孝せむ。

38. 郛史碩父鼎 (通釋卷四 226 P.52)

西周後

郛史碩父乍隣鼎、用享孝于宗室。

郛の史碩父は隣鼎を作り、用て宗室に享孝せむ。

39. 盧鐘 (6394~8)

西周後

盧乍寶鐘、用追孝于己白、用享大室、用滌好賓、盧眾蔡姬永寶用、邵大宗。

盧は寶鐘を作り、用て己伯に追孝し、用て大室に享し、用て好賓を樂ませむ。盧と蔡姬と永く寶として用ゐ、大宗に邵せむ。

Zhongyinfu (= I) cast (this) gui-vessel. Using the vessel, morning and night, I will make offerings and offer filiality in my ancestral room.

41) Xizhong-zhong (6383-6388) **W** III

Xizhong (= I) produce (this set of) big lin-bells. Using the bells, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august father Jibo, and please deceased refined men (= Xizhong's ancestors).

42) Boxian-ding (1077-1079)

Boxian (= I) produce (this) set ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my refined grandfather.

43) Shi Kuifu-ding (1193) **W** III?

Kuifu (= I), bowing and touching my head to the ground, in response extol the very illustrious and generous beneficence of the Son of Heaven, and, being mindful of the past and offering filiality to Liezhong (= an ancestor of Shikuifu), I produce (this) ritual ding-vessel, so as to ask for longevity, yellow (hair and) dark (skin) and auspicious tranquility.

44) Shi Boshuofu-ding (Xiaotang I, p.9-1) **W** III?

Shi Boshuofu (= I), mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august father Lizhong and royal princess Quanzhong (= Lizhong's wife), and [I make] (this) ritual ding-vessel.

45) Xinzhongji-ding (1010) **W** III?

Xinzhongji (= I) produce (this) ritual ding-vessel of (my) august mother. May my sons and grandsons, using the vessel, make offerings and offer filiality to the seniors of the stem (lineage).<sup>[8]</sup>

40. 仲殷父𩚑 (2324~33)

西周後

中殷父𩚑𩚑、用朝夕享考宗室。

仲殷父は𩚑を鑄し、用て朝夕宗室に享孝せむ。

41. 兮仲鐘 (6383~8)

西周後

兮中乍大𩚑鐘、用追孝于皇考己白、用侃喜𣎵文人。

兮仲は大𩚑鐘を作り、用て皇考己伯に追孝し、用て前文人を侃喜せむ。

42. 伯鮮鼎 (1077~9)

西周後

白鮮乍旅鼎、用享孝于文且。

伯鮮は旅鼎を作り、用て文祖に享孝せむ。

43. 師奎父鼎 (1193)

西周後

奎父拜顙首、對𩚑天子丕𩚑魯休、用追考于剌中、用乍𩚑鼎、用𣎵𣎵黃考吉康。

奎父は拜顙首し、天子の丕𩚑なる魯休に對揚し、用て烈仲に追孝し、用て眉壽黃考吉康を𣎵めむ。

44. 史伯碩父鼎 (嘯上9・1)

西周後(?)

史白碩父追考于𩚑皇考𩚑中王中𩚑中𩚑鼎

史伯碩父は朕が皇考𩚑仲・王女𩚑女に追孝し、𩚑鼎(を作る)。

45. 辛仲姬鼎 (1010)

西周後(?)

辛中姬皇母乍𩚑鼎、其子孫用享孝于宗老。

辛仲姬は皇母の𩚑鼎を作る。其れ子々孫々用て宗老に享孝せむ。

46) Fengxi Yi-gui (2367-2368) 𠄎Ⅲ?

Fengxi Yi (= I) produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my august father.  
May Yi use the vessel as treasure for ten thousand years (until the  
generations of) my sons and grandsons, so as to make offerings and offer  
filiality (to my ancestors)!

47) Shuyi-gui (2461) 𠄎Ⅲ?

Shuyi (= I) produce (this) precious ritual gui-vessel. I will use the  
vessel with (my husband) Zhongshi for ten thousand years, so as to  
delight and rejoice hundreds of descendants, friends, sons and their  
wives. May my grandsons eternally use the vessel as treasure, morning  
and night, making offerings and offering filiality in the ancestral  
room!

48) Xi'ao-hu (5259) 𠄎Ⅲ?

Xi'ao (= I) produce (this) ritual hu-vessel. May (my) sons and grandsons  
for ten thousand years eternally use the vessel as treasure to make  
offerings and offer filiality to the big stem (= the main lineage of Xi-  
ao)!

49) Lüzhong-gui (2299) 𠄎Ⅲ

Lüzhong (= I) produce (this) (?) precious gui-vessel. May (my) sons and  
grandsons for ten thousand years eternally use the vessel as a treasure  
to make offerings and offer filiality!

50) Hong-zun (4399) 𠄎Ⅲ?

Hong (= I) make (this) (?) (?) precious ritual vessel. Using the vessel,  
I will eternally offer filiality.

51) Bo(?) -gui (2136) 𠄎Ⅲ?

46. 豐兮夷殷 (2367・8)

西周後(?)

豐兮尸乍朕皇考隣殷、尸其萬年子孫永寶用吉考。

豐兮夷は朕が皇考の隣殷を作る。夷は其れ萬年子々孫々永く寶として用る享孝せむことを。

47. 叔妣殷 (2461)

西周後(?)

弔妣乍寶隣殷、眾中氏萬年用侃喜百生棚友眾子婦、孫永寶用、夙夜吉孝于宗室。

叔妣は寶隣殷を作り、仲氏と萬年用る、百姓・棚友と子婦とを侃喜せむ。孫々永く寶として用る、夙夜宗室に享孝せよ。

48. 兮熬壺 (5259)

西周後

兮熬乍隣壺、其萬年子孫永用、吉考于大宗。

兮熬は隣壺を作る。其れ萬年子々孫々永く用る、大宗に享孝せよ。

49. 旅仲殷 (2299)

西周後

旅中乍鑿寶殷、其萬年子孫永用吉考。

旅仲は諱(義未詳)寶殷を作る。其れ萬年子々孫永く用る享孝せよ。

50. 弘尊 (4398)

西周

弘爲醜膚寶隣彝、用永孝。

弘は醜<sup>つひ</sup>口寶隣彝を爲り、用て永く孝せむ。

Bo(?) (= I) produce (this) set [gui-vessel] of Guishi. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality.

52) (?) Jiliangfu-hu (5284) **W** III?

(?) Jiliangfu (= I) produce (this) ritual hu-vessel of (?) Si. Putting good wine (in the vessel), I will make offerings and offer filiality to my brothers, matrimonial relatives and many seniors, so as to pray for longevity amounting ten thousand years (i.e. a life of myriad years), an auspicious ending and less decrepitude. May (my) sons and grandsons eternally (use) the vessel as a treasure!

53) Lubo Yu-xu (Jilu 843) **W** III?

Lubo (= Duke of Lu,) Yu (= I), [---?] for the first time produce (this) set xu-vessel of my august father and august mother. Using the vessel to make offerings (to my deceased parents) morning and evening, Yu will, mindful of the past, offer filiality, so as to pray for great fortune.

54) Fanzhong Wusheng-ding (1013) **W** III?

Fanzhong Wusheng (= I) produce (this) ritual ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality. May my sons and grandsons eternally use the vessel as a treasure!

55) Guo Jiang-gui (2499) **W** III?

Guo Jiang (= I) produce (this) precious ritual gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will sacrifice and, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august father, Huizhong, so as to pray for peaceful (?), genuine aid, limitless blessings and an eternal mandate.

56) Qian-xu (2783) **W** or **C**

(?) (= I) produce (this) xu-vessel of Qian. Using the vessel, I will,

51. 伯芡罍 (2136)

西周中～後

白芡乍媿氏旅、用追孝。

伯芡は媿氏の旅[罍]を作り、用て追孝せむ。

52. 呂季良父壺 (5284)

西周中～後

呂季良父乍紋娵罍壺、用盛旨酉、用享孝于兄弟慶艱者老、用斚句寶壽其萬年靈冬難老、子孫是永寶。

呂季良父は紋娵の罍壺を作り、用て旨酒を盛り、用て兄弟・婚媾・諸老に享孝し、用て眉壽にして其れ萬年靈終難老を祈句せむ。子々孫々是れ永く寶とせよ。

53. 魯伯念罍 (集録843)

西周末(?)

魯伯念用公斚、其肇乍其皇孝皇母旅罍、念夙夕鞫用追孝、用斚多福。

魯伯念は用て公斚(義未詳)し、其れ肇めて其の皇考皇母の旅罍を作  
る。念は夙夕<sup>ツ</sup>鞫めて用て追孝し、用て多福を祈る。

54. 番仲吳生鼎 (1013)

西周末～春秋初

番仲吳生乍罍鼎、用享用孝、子孫永寶用。

番仲吳生は罍鼎を作り、用て享し用て孝し、子々孫々永く寶として用るよ。

55. 虢姜罍 (2499)

西周末～春秋初

虢姜乍寶罍、用禪、追孝于皇考夷中、斚句康慶屯右通录永命。

虢姜は寶罍を作し、用て禪し、皇考惠仲に追孝し、康□純祐通錄永命を祈句せむ。

mindful of the past, offer filiality to pray for longevity of ten thousand years and an auspicious ending.

57) Mangongfu-xu (2823-5) **W** III?

Mangongfu (= I) produce (this) precious xu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality in my ancestral room. May I have ten thousand years and no limit! May my sons and grandsons eternally use the vessel as a treasure!

58) Boqi-gui (2277) **W** or **C**

Boqi (= I) produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my refined father Youzhong. (Bo)qi will for ten thousand years use the vessel as a treasure, so as to give feasts and offer filiality (to my deceased father).

59) Zhongjufu-gui (Xiaotang II-53) **W** or **C**

Zhongjufu (= I) produce (this) gui-vessel of Zhong Jiang (= Zhongjufu's wife or his deceased mother). May my sons and grandsons eternally use the vessel as a treasure, so as to make offerings and offer filiality!

60) Ji(?)sheng-gui (Xiaotang II-98) **W** or **C**

Ji(?)sheng (= I) produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of Yin Ji (= Ji(?)-sheng's wife or his deceased mother?). May I have ten thousand years and no limit. May my sons and grandsons eternally use the vessel as a treasure to make offerings and offer filiality.



56. 遣盥 (2783)

西周末～春秋初

乍遣盥、用追孝、句萬年壽嫿冬。

遣の盥を作り、用て追孝し、萬年壽にして靈終ならむことを句む。

57. 曼華父盥 (2823～5)

西周後(?)

曼華父乍寶盥、用享孝宗室、其萬年無疆、子孫永寶用。

曼華父は寶盥を作り、用て宗室に享孝し、其れ萬年無疆にして、子々孫永く寶として用るよ。

58. 伯誓殷 (2277)

西周末～春秋初

白誓作文考幽中障殷、誓其萬年寶用卿孝。

伯誓は文考幽仲の障殷を作る。誓は其れ萬年寶として用る饗孝せむ。

59. 仲駒父殷 (嘯下53・4)

西周末～春秋末

中駒父乍中姜殷、子孫永寶用享孝。

仲駒父は仲姜の殷を作る。子々孫々永く寶として用る享孝せよ。

60. 及屠生殷 (嘯下98)

西周(?)

及屠生乍尹姑障殷、其萬年無疆、子孫永寶用享孝。

及屠生は尹姑の障殷を作る。其れ萬年無疆にして、子々孫々永く寶として用る享孝せよ。

B. The examples in the Chunqiu period

61) Zeng Zhongdafu (?)–gui (Jilu 899) **CI**

Zeng Zhongdafu (?) (= I), making use of auspicious (?) (?) bronze (as raw material), on my own accord produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, (?) (= I) will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august father, so as (for him) to give longevity, yellow (hair and) dark (skin) and an auspicious ending.

62) Hu–gui (Jilu 938) **CI**

Ye Hu (= I) produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel (?) morning and night, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and refined father to ask for longevity and an eternal mandate.

63) Ruogong Wuren–gui (2492) **CI**

Wuren (= I), Duke of Shang Ruo, produce (this) ritual gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to his (= my) august grandfather and his (= my) august father, so as (for them) to give (me) longevity amounting ten thousand years and no limit (i.e. a limitless life of myriad years).

64) Ruogong Pinghou–ding (1159–1160) **CI**

Pinghou (= I), Duke of Ruo, on my own accord produce (this) ritual yu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my grandfather Chengong and my august father, Sovereign (?)gong, so as (for them) to give (me) longevity amounting ten thousand years and no limit (i.e. a limitless life of myriad years).

65) Ruogong Jian–fu (2739) **CI**

B. 春秋金文に於ける「孝」字の用法

61. 鄧仲大父蠡殷 (集録899)

春秋初

曾中大父蠡迺用吉攸収𠄎金、用自作寶殷、蠡其用追孝于其皇考、用易眉壽萬考爾冬。

鄧の仲大父蠡は迺ち吉攸□□(義未詳)の金を用る、用て自ら寶殷を作る。蠡は其れ用て其の皇考に追孝し、用て(皇考の)眉壽・萬考・爾冬を賜はむことを。

62. 乎殷 (集録938)

春秋初

龔乎作寶殷、用咻夙夜用享孝皇且文考、用句贊壽永命。

龔乎は寶殷を作り、用て聖夙夜用る皇祖文考に享孝し、用て眉壽永命を句めむ。

63. 都公敎人殷 (2492、亦鐘、略同文)

春秋前

上都公敎人作隣殷、用享孝于𡈼皇且于𡈼皇考、用易贊壽萬年無疆。

上都公敎人は隣殷を作り、用て厥の皇祖と厥の皇考とに享孝し、用て(皇祖皇考の)眉壽萬年無疆を賜はむことを。

64. 都公平侯鼎 (1159～60)

春秋前

都公平侯自作隣盂、用追孝于𡈼皇且𡈼公于𡈼皇考辟𡈼公、用賜贊壽萬年無疆。

都公平侯自ら隣盂を作り、用て厥の皇祖𡈼公と厥の皇考辟𡈼公とに追孝し、用て(皇祖皇考の)眉壽萬年無疆を賜はむことを。

65. 都公誠簋 (2739)

春秋前

Jian (= I), Duke of Ruo, produce (this) set fu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august grandfather and august father so as (for them) to give (me) longevity.

66) Ruogong Jian-ding (1154) **CI**

Jian (= I), Duke Yong of Xia Ruo, produce (this) ritual ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and father, so as to ask for longevity amounting ten thousand years and no limit (i.e. a limitless life of myriad years).

67) Siyi-gui (2395) **CI**

Siyi (= I) produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my father and mother so as (for them) to give (me) longevity.

68) Shao Shushanfu-fu (2741) **CI**

Shao Shushanfu (= I), Great Minister of Manufacture of Count Zheng, produce (this) set fu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to ask for longevity.

69) Zengbo Ji-hu (5281) **CI**

Ji (= I), Count of Zeng, making use of auspicious bronze [?][?] (as raw material), produce (this) wine hu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will give feasts to fine guests, performing virtuous (conducts) with no mistake, and make offerings and offer filiality (to my ancestors), so as (for them) to give (me) longevity.

70) Yu Sikou Bochui-hu (5266–5267) **CI?**

Bochui (= I), Minister of Forces in the Yu state, produce (this)

蜎公誠乍旅簠、用追孝于皇且皇考、用易鬯壽。

都公誠は旅簠を作り、用て皇祖皇考に追孝し、用て(皇祖皇考の)眉壽を賜はむことを。

66. 都公誠鼎 (1154)

春秋前

下蜎雖公誠乍隣鼎、用追享于皇且考、用乞鬯壽萬年無疆。

下都の雖公誠は隣鼎を作り、用て皇祖考に追享孝し、用て眉壽、萬年無疆を乞はむ。

67. 邾遺殷 (2395)

春秋前

邾遺乍寶殷、用追孝于其父母、用易永壽。

邾遺は寶殷を作り、用て其の父母に追孝し、用て(父母の)永壽を賜はむことを。

68. 召叔山父簠 (2741)

尊白大觶工召弔山父乍旅匱、用鬯用孝、用鬯鬯壽。

鄭伯の大觶工、召叔山父は旅簠を作り、用て享し用て孝し、用て眉壽を鬯む。

69. 鄧伯跽壺 (5281)

春秋前

隹曾白跽匱用吉金鑄鑒、用自作醴壺、用卿賓客、爲德無反、用孝用鬯、用易鬯壽。

唯れ鄧伯跽は廼ち吉金鑄鑒を用ひ、用て自ら醴壺を作り、用て賓客を饗し、徳を爲すこと無限、用て孝し用て享し、用て(祖先の)眉壽を賜はむことを。

70. 虞司寇伯吹壺 (5266~7)

春秋前(?)

precious hu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity.

71) Mai-gui (2460) **CI**?

[?] Shumai (= I), on my own accord, produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august father so as (for him) to give (me) yellow (hair,) dark (skin) and longevity.

72) Fanjun Zhao-fu (2726-2730) **CI**

Zhao (= I), Prince of Fan, produce (this) fu-vessel (which is used) in a feast. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity.

73) Ji-ding (1098) **CI**

[?] (= I) [produce] (this) boiling-vessel of [?] Ji. Using the vessel, (I) will make winter sacrifices and autumn sacrifices; using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality (to my ancestors), so as to ask for longevity amounting no limit (i.e. a limitless life).

74) Lu [?]-zhong (6349) **CI**?

Lu [?] (= I) produce (this) harmonious bell. Using the bell, I will make offerings and offer filiality.

75) Qingong-zhong (6566) **CI** or **II**

Duke of Qin said, “----- I produce (a set of) beautiful and harmonious bells. Using the bells, I will, inviting (my ancestors) to come, offer filiality and make offerings (to them), so as (for them) to give (me) genuine blessing, plentiful aid, longevity amounting no limit (i.e. a limitless life).”

虞觶冠白吹乍寶壺、用享用孝、用禱賢壽。

虞の觶冠、伯吹は寶壺を作り、用て享し用て孝し、用て眉壽を祈る。

71. 買餽 (2460)

春秋前(?)

𣎵弔買自乍隣餽、其用追孝于朕皇考、用易黃耆賁壽。

□叔買自ら隣餽を作り、其れ用て朕が皇考に追孝し、用て(皇考の)黄耆眉壽を賜はむことを。

72. 番君召簋

春秋前(?)

番君嚳乍饌匡、用享用養、用𣎵賁壽。

番君召は饌簋を作り、用て享し用て孝し、用て眉壽を祈る。

73. 姬鼎 (1098)

春秋前(?)

[前欠]姬簠彝、用蕤用曾、用孝用享、用𣎵賢壽無疆。

…姫の簠彝(を作り)、用て蒸し用て嘗し用て孝し用て享し、用て眉壽無疆を乞めむ。

74. 魯遽鐘 (6349)

春秋前(?)

魯遽乍龢鐘、用享考。

魯遽は和鐘を作り、用て享孝せむ。

75. 秦公鐘 (薛七112)

春秋中～後

秦公曰(中略)乍龢龢(鐘)…… 召邵零孝享、召受屯魯多釐賢壽無疆。

秦公曰く、…… 淑和鐘を作り、以て邵格孝享し、以て(皇祖の)純魯多釐眉壽無疆を授けむことを。

76) Lu-zhong (6503) C II

Lu Qi said, “---- I will make offerings and offer filiality to delight my ancestors and to pray for longevity.”

77) Zengbo (?) - fu (2755-2756) C II

I (= Zengbo (?)), on my own accord, produce (this) set fu-vessel. Using the vessel in an expedition and in a journey, and serving rice and millet in the vessel, I will offer filiality and make offerings to my august grandfather and refined father.

78) Taoshi-zhong (6452) C II or III

It is the first month, first auspiciousness (= the first week), dinghai day; (?) (= I), grandson of the Taoshi family of the Qi state, selecting auspicious bronze (as raw material), on my own accord produce (this) harmonious bell. Having (the bell) tolled, the sound was quite fine.<sup>[9]</sup> Using the bell, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and refined father; I will hold banquets and serve dishes to delight fine guests and my friends.

79) Xu Zheyu-zheng (Jilu 878) C III

Hucuo (= I), Prince of Gao, and my (wife?) Yiyi produce (this) precious (?) {bell?}<sup>[10]</sup> for Xu Zheyu. Using the bell, may I make offerings and offer filiality for ten thousand years, so as to pray for longevity!

80) (?)er-zhong (6485-6488) C III

(?)er (= I) cast (this set of) harmonious bells. Using the bells, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to ancestors and delight my fathers and brothers (= seniors), giving (them) for drink and food, playing music and dancing.



76. 邵鐘 (6503)

春秋中

邵簠曰 (中略) 我召享孝、樂我先且、召禱賢壽。

邵簠曰く……我れ以て享孝し、我が先祖を樂ませ、以て眉壽を祈らむ。

77. 曾伯甌簠 (2755・6)

春秋中

余用自乍旅匱、召征召行、用盛稻粱、用養用享于我皇且文考。

余は用て自ら旅簠を作り、以て征し以て行し、用て稻粱を盛り、用て孝し用て我が皇祖文考に享さむ。

78. 墜氏鐘 (6452)

春秋中～後

隹正月初吉丁亥、齊墜氏孫泂ハナハ其吉金、自乍甬鐘、卑鳴支好、用享召孝于訓皇且文考、用匣用喜、用樂嘉賓及我ハナハ友。

隹れ正月初吉丁亥、齊の墜氏の孫ハナハ、其の吉金を擇び、自ら和鐘を作り、鳴ること支た好から使め、用て享し以て予が皇祖文考に孝し、用て宴し用て饗し、用て嘉賓及び我が朋友を樂しませむ。

79. 許者兪鉦 (集録878)

春秋後

嵩君流盧與舛召羸、乍無者兪寶ハナハ產、其萬年用享用考、用旂貴壽。

嵩君流盧と舛が以羸とは、許の者兪の寶繩鉦を作る。其れ萬年用て享し用て孝し、用て眉壽を祈る。

80. 儼兒鐘 (6485～6488)

春秋後

召鑄誅鐘、召追考旡且、樂我父兄、觀飲訶ハナハ逝。

以て和鐘を鑄し、以て先祖に追孝し、我が父兄を樂しませ、飲食歌舞せむ。

81) Chen Ni-fu (2754) C III

Chen Ni (= I), a small man <sup>[11]</sup> (of the Chen lineage), said, “----- I cast this precious fu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my main lineage’s august grandfather, august grandmother, august father and august mother.”

82) Qici-gouyao (6569) C III

Qici (= I), selecting auspicious bronze (as raw material), cast (this) gouyao-bell. Using the bell, I will make offerings and offer filiality to pray for longevity.

83) Wangsun Yizhe-zhong (6534) C III

Yizhe (= I), grandson of King, selecting auspicious bronze (as raw material), on my own accord produce (this) harmonious bell. ----- Using the bell, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and refined father to pray for longevity. ----- Using the bell, I will hold banquets and serve dishes to entertain fine guests, fathers and brothers and my friends.

84) Su-bo (6567) C III <sup>[12]</sup>

Su (= I), grandson of Taoshu, Sovereign of Qi, and son of Qizhong, produce (this) precious bo-bell of Zhong Qiang. Using the bell, in order to pray that the Marquis’ eternal mandate (may continue) for ten thousand years and that Su may protect his own body (= himself), I will make offerings and offer filiality to (my) august grandfather Shengshu, august grandmother Shengjiang, august grandfather Youcheng Huishu, august grandmother Youcheng Huijiang, august father Jizhong and august mother. (Using the vessel, I will) pray for longevity, immortality and protecting my brothers.

81. 陳逆簠 (2754)

春秋後

小子陳逆曰(中略)鑄茲寶簠、旨喜旨養于大宗皇祖皇妣皇考皇母。

小子陳逆曰く……茲の寶簠を鑄し、以て享し以て大宗の皇祖・皇妣・皇考・皇母に孝せむ。

82. 其次句鐘 (6569)

春秋後

其次罷其吉金、盪句翟、旨喜旨考、用斲萬壽。

其次は其の吉金を擇び、句鐘を鑄し、以て享し以て孝し、用て萬壽を祈らむ。

83. 王孫遺者鐘 (6534)

春秋後

王孫遺者罷其吉金、自乍餘鐘(中略)用喜喜孝于我皇且文考、用斲萬壽(中略)用匣喜喜、用樂嘉賓父兄及我朋友。

王孫遺者は其の吉金を擇び、自ら和鐘を作り、……用て享し以て我が皇祖文考に孝し、用て眉壽を祈る。……用て享し以て饗し、用て嘉賓父兄及び我が朋友を楽しませむ。

84. 齡鍾 (6567)

春秋後

齊辟疆之孫、遼中之子齡、乍子中姜之寶鐘、用斲侯氏永命萬年、齡俸其身、用喜用考于皇祖聖弔・皇妣聖姜于皇祖又成惠弔・皇妣又成惠姜・皇考遼中・皇母、用斲壽老毋忒、俸廬兄弟。

齊辟疆叔の孫、遼仲の子、齡は子仲姜の寶鐘を作り、用て侯氏の永命萬年を祈り、齡は其の身を保ち、用て享し用て皇祖聖叔・皇妣聖姜と皇祖又成惠叔・皇妣又成惠姜・皇考遼仲・皇母に孝し、用て壽老にして死ぬこと毋きを祈り、我が兄弟を保たむ。

85) Wuwang Guang-jian (6273, 6274) C III

(I) produce a ritual jian (= presentable?) jian-vessel of Shu Ji Siyu.

Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality.

86) Chen Fang-gui (2486) C III

(I) produce this precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to my august (father) and serve foods (to the father) in {feasts?}.

87) Zengshi Ji-pan (Xukao 4-11) C

Ji- (= I), a commander of Zeng, making use of auspicious bronze (as raw material), on my own accord produce (this) precious pan-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality.

88) Wangzi Wu-ding (Jilu 205) C III?

Wu (= I), a Royal prince, selecting auspicious bronze (as raw material), on my accord produce (this) boiling-geding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and refined father to pray for longevity.

85. 吳王光鑑 (6273・4)

春秋後

冒乍弔姬寺吁宗彊薦鑑、用享用孝。

以て叔姬寺吁の宗彊薦鑑を作り、用て享し用て孝せむ。

86. 陳昉餽 (2486)

春秋後

乍茲寶餽、用循孝於我皇餽鎗。

茲の寶餽を作り、用て我が皇に追孝し餽鎗せむ。

87. 曾師季栢盤 (續考4・11)

春秋

曾師季栢用其吉金、自乍寶盤、用孝用享。

曾師季栢は其の吉金を用る、自ら寶盤を作り、用て孝し用て享せむ。

88. 王子午鼎 (集録205)

春秋晚

王子午叢其吉金、自乍簠彝鬯鼎、用享曰孝予我皇且文考、用祈賢壽。

王子午は其の吉金を擇び自ら簠彝鬯鼎を作り、用て享し以て我が皇祖文考に孝し、用て眉壽を祈らむ。

## REFERENCE II: THE PURPOSES OF BRONZE VESSELS EXPRESSED IN BRONZE INSCRIPTIONS

### A. The Examples in the Western Zhou period

#### 1). Shan-ding (1205)

King said, "----- I give you the banner that your grandfather used to have. With the banner, serve me." Shan (= I), daring to bow and touch my head to the ground, in response extol the very illustrious beneficence of the august Son of Heaven, and produce (this) precious ritual vessel in the ancestral room. Using the vessel (for the sacrifice to his ancestor), I will tranquilize good fortune (i.e. my ancestors will comfort me with good fortune), (please?) deceased refined men (= my ancestors), hold on to virtue and be genuinely respectful. Using the vessel, I will make the sons of my lineages and hundreds of descendants come (to attend the ancestral ritual that I hold).

#### 2) Ye-gui (2620)

Chenzi (Ye, = I), for the first time spending all the storing-up of his possession (in) [?], I produce this gui-vessel, by which I will offer dishes and entertain Duke Ji (= an ancestor of Ye) and let (the spirits of) many (deceased) dukes come (to attend Ye's ancestral ritual). Strengthen and favor the luck of your (= Ye's ancestors') (descendant,) Chenzi Ye, perpetuate the auspicious mandate (given to Ye), and comfort the Duke (= the head of the major lineage that Ye belongs to) with his being long-lived. (Using the vessel,) Ye will (pacify?) my brothers, sons and grandsons, and follow (the pattern of) Yifu (= an ancestor of Ye). May (Yifu) be benevolent (to his descendants)!

#### 3) Xiaochen Zhai-gui (2511)

## A. 西周金文に於ける彝器の「用途」

### 1. 善鼎 (1205)

王曰（中略）易汝乃且旂、用事。詒敢拜頤首、對覲皇天子丕杯休、用作宗室寶隙、唯用妥福、唬蒞文人、秉德共屯、余其用各我宗子寧百生、余用句屯魯寧萬年。

王曰く……汝に乃の祖の旂を賜ふ。用て事へよ、と。善は敢へて拜頤首し、皇なる天子の丕杯なる休に對揚し、用て宗室の寶隙を作り、唯れ用て福を綏んじ、前文人を唬し（義未詳）、德を秉り恭純ならむ。余は其れ用て我が宗子と百姓とを格らしめむ。

### 2. 也殷 (2620)

沈子肇斆弱賓審、乍茲殷、用覲卿己公、用絡多公、其凡哀乃沈子也唯福、用水詒令、用妥公唯壽、也用襄猷我多弟子我孫、克又井學攸父、迺是子。

沈子肇めて口の貯積を斆くし、茲の殷を作り、用て己公を覲饗し、用て多公を格らしめむ。其れ乃の沈子也の福を鞏愛し、用て靈命を永くし、用て公の壽たるを綏んぜよ。也は用て我が多弟子・我が孫を懷口し（義未詳）、克く懿父に型學すること有らむ。迺ち是れ摹せむことを。

### 3. 小臣宅殷 (2511)

Extolling the beneficence of the Duke, I produce (this) ritual vessel of Duke Yi (= an ancestor of Zhai). ----- Using the vessel for ten thousand years, I will give feasts to (the envoys?) the King dispatches and summons. <sup>[13]</sup>

4) Ling-gui (2592)

(I) produce (this) precious gui-vessel of Duke Ding. Using the vessel, I will respectfully serve (my ancestors in) august ancestral shrines, entertain (the envoys) the King dispatches and summons, and feed my colleagues.

5). Wei-ding (1122)

Wei (= I), for the first time, produce (this) precious ritual ding-vessel of his (= my) refined father Jizhong. Using the vessel, I will pray for longevity and ask for eternal fortune. Using the vessel, I will entertain the envoys that the King dispatches and summons, along with many friends.

6). Ke-xu (2851)

(I) produce (this) set xu-vessel, with which I will offer dishes to masters (= officers), (my) friends and matrimonial relatives. Using the vessel morning and evening, Ke (= I) will make offerings to (my) august grandfathers and father.

7). Shou-ding (1049)

Shou (= I) produce (this) precious ritual ding-vessel of my father. Shu will use it as a treasure for ten thousand years, and give feasts to my many friends mornings and evenings.

8). Bokang-gui (2477)



駟公白休、用作乙公障彝（中略）其萬年用卿王出入。

公伯の休に揚し、用て乙公の障彝を作り、……其れ萬年用る王の出入に饗さむ。

4. 令殷（2592）

用作丁公寶殷、用障事于皇宗、用卿王逆造、用廐寮人。

用て丁公の寶殷を作り、用て皇宗に障事し、用て王の逆造に饗し、用て寮人に殷さむ。

5. 衛鼎（1122）

衛肇乍阜文考己中寶鼎、用率壽、句永福、用卿王出入事人眾多侖友。

衛は肇めて厥の文考己仲の寶鼎を作り、用て壽を禱り、永福を句め、用て王の出入事人と多侖友とを饗さむ。

6. 克盃（2851）

用作旅盃、用獻師尹侖友慶遠、克其用朝夕富于皇且考。

用て旅盃を作り、用て師尹・侖友・婚媾に獻じ、克は其れ用て朝夕皇祖考に享さむ。

7. 獸鼎（1049）

𤞡獸乍朕考寶障鼎、獸其邁年永寶、用朝夕卿尹多侖友。

□獸は朕が考の寶障鼎を作る。獸は其れ萬年永く寶とし、用て朝夕厥の多侖友を饗さむ。

8. 伯康殷（2477）

Bokang (= I) produce (this) precious gui-vessel. Using the vessel, I will hold banquets <sup>[14]</sup> for (my) friends, and give feasts to (my) grandfather and grandmother.

9). Xian-zhong (6453)

(I) produce (this set of) lin-bells of my august father. ----- Using the bells, I will delight fine guests.

10) Cuo-zhong (6394-6398)

Cuo (= I) produce (this set of) precious bells. Using the bells, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to Jibo, and will delight good guests.

11) Guaibo-gui (2618)

(I) produce (this) ritual gui-vessel of my father, King Ji of Wu Guai. Using the vessel, I will offer filiality in my ancestral shrine to make offerings (to my ancestor). I will, morning and evening, offer filiality to friends and hundreds of matrimonial relatives.

12). Shuyi-gui (2461)

Shuyi (= I) produce (this) precious ritual gui-vessel. I will use the vessel with (my husband) Zhongshi for ten thousand years, so as to rejoice and delight hundreds of descendants, friends, sons and their wives. May my grandsons eternally use it as a treasure, mornings and night, to make offerings and offer filiality in the ancestral room!

13). Mai-yi (4532)

(I) produce (this) ritual vessel. Using the vessel, I will [offer wine?] for (the envoys) the Marquis dispatches and summons, so as to [extol?] the mandate (of the Marquis).

伯康作寶殷、用卿側友、用饌王父王母。

伯康は寶殷を作り、用て側友を饗し、用て王父王母に饌せむ。

9. 鮮鐘 (6453)

用乍朕皇考替鐘 (中略) 用樂好賓。

用て朕が皇考の林鐘を作り……用て好賓を樂しませむ。

10. 盧鐘 (6394~8)

盧作寶鐘、用追孝于己伯、用樂好賓。

盧は寶鐘を作り、用て己伯に追孝し、用て好賓を樂しませむ。

11. 乖伯殷 (2618)

用乍朕皇考武乖幾王隙殷、用好宗朝宮、夙夕好側友寧百者憂邁。

用て朕が皇考武乖幾王の隙殷を作り、用て宗廟に孝し享し、夙夕側友と百諸婚媾に孝さむ。

12. 叔妣殷 (2461)

用妣作寶隙殷、眾中氏萬年用侃喜百生側友眾子婦、孫永寶用、夙夜宮孝于宗室。

叔妣は寶隙殷を作り、仲氏と萬年用て百姓・側友と子婦とを侃喜せむ。孫々永く寶用し、夙夜宗室に享孝せむ。

13. 麥彝 (4532)

用乍隙彝、用嘯井戾出入、匪命。

用て隙彝を作り、用て邢侯の出入に嘯し (義未詳)、命を遑 (= 揚?) さむ。

14). Mai-he (4067)

the Marquis of Xing, in order to glorify his (= the Marquis') subordinate, Mai, visited [to offer wine?] in the house of Mai. (Because) the Marquis gave (an ingot of) bronze to Mai, (Mai, = I hereby) produce (this) he-vessel. Using the vessel, I will carry on the campaign (= military) assignment for the Marquis of Xing.

15). Xicao-ding (1169, 1170)

Xicao (= I), bowing and touching my head to the ground, dare in response to extol the beneficence of the Son of Heaven, and produce (this) precious ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will give feasts to my friends.

16). Ming-gui (2432)

The King gave Ming blessings <sup>[15]</sup>. (Ming = I) herewith produce (this) precious ritual vessel. I will eternally satiate and feed many friends.

17). Zheng Xingshu-zhong (6352)

Xingshu of Zheng (= I) produce (this) auspicious harmonious bell. Using the bell, I will comfort my guests.

18). Xiaozi Sheng-zun (4446)

(I) produce (this) precious ritual vessel, and I herewith in response extol the King's beneficence. I will eternally use the vessel as a treasure for ten thousand years, so as to give feasts to the envoys (the King) dispatches and summons.

19). Mai-fangding (1110)

(I) produce (this) ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will carry on

14. 麥盃 (4067)

井戾光卒吏麥、囁于麥宮、戾易麥金、乍盃、用從井戾征事。

邢侯は厥の吏變を光せむとして、麥の宮に囁(義未詳)す。侯は麥に金を賜ふ。盃を作り、用て邢侯の征事に従はむ。

15. 七年趙曹鼎 (1169、亦十五年鼎1170)

趙瞽拜頤首、敢對甄天子休、用乍寶鼎、用卿俎友。

趙曹は拜頤首し、敢へて天子の休に對揚し、用て寶鼎を作り、用て俎友を饗さむ。

16. 命殷 (2432)

王易命鹿、用乍寶彝、命其永召多友殷飮。

王は命に鹿(=祿)を賜ひ、用て寶彝を作る。命は其れ永く多友を以て殷飮せむ。

17. 鄭邢叔鐘 (6352)

尊井弔乍甬鐘、用妥賓。

鄭の邢叔は靈鐘を作り、用て賓を綏んぜむ。

18. 小子生尊 (4446)

用乍殷寶障彝、用對甄王休、其萬年永寶、用卿出入事人。

用て殷寶障彝を作り、用て王の休に對揚せむ。其れ萬年永く寶として、用て出入事人に饗さむ。

19. 麥方鼎 (1110)

用乍鼎、用從井戾征事、用卿多者友。

campaign (= military) assignment for the Marquis of Xing, and give feasts to many friends.

20). Mai-zun (4462)

Mai (= I), extolling (the beneficence of Marquis of Xing,) produce (this) precious ritual vessel. Using the vessel, I will [offer wine?] (to the envoys that) the Marquis dispatches and summons, so as to [extol?] the bright mandate (of the Marquis). ----- Using it, I will be given virtue, and comfort many friends.

21). Maogong fangding (1114)

Duke of Mao (= I) [makes?] (this) set ding-vessel, and furthermore [makes?] a gui-vessel<sup>[16]</sup>. Using the vessel, I will offer food enough and feed, together with my friends, (myself).

22). Tubo-xu (2835-2839)

Tubo (= I) produce (this) precious xu-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make offerings and offer filiality to august spirits of grandfathers and father, and even good friends, so as to pray for longevity and to ask for an eternal mandate.

23). Zhishu-gui (2503)

Zhishu (= I) produce (this) set gui-vessel of Feng Ji Gu (= Zhishu's wife). Feng Ji Gu will use it morning and night, so as to make offerings and offer filiality to Xiugong (= Zhishu's ancestor) and Zhishu's friends.

24). (?) Jingliangfu-hu (5284)

(?) Jiliangfu (= I) produce (this) ritual hu-vessel of (?)si. Pouring fine wine (in the vessel), I will make offerings and offer filiality to

用て鼎を作り、用て邢侯の征事に従ひ、用て多諸友を饗さむ。

20. 麥尊 (4462)

麥甬用乍寶障彝、用囁戾逆舟、遲明令(中略)用寧徳、妥多友。

麥は揚し用て寶障彝を作り、用て侯の逆造に囁し、明命に遅し、……  
用て徳を受け、多友を綏んぜむ。

21. 毛公方鼎 (1114)

毛公肇鼎、亦佳殷。我用覩厲、眾我友鬲。

毛公は旅鼎(を作り)、亦た惟れ殷(を作る?)。我れ用て覩(=載)すること厚く、我が友と殷さむ。

22. 杜伯盥 (2835~9)

杜伯乍寶盥、其用高孝皇申且考于好侂友、用率壽、句永令。

杜伯は寶盥を作る。其れ用て皇神祖考と好侂友とに享孝し、用て壽を禱り、永命を句めむ。

23. 寗叔殷 (2503)

寗弔乍豐姑慙旅殷、豐姑慙用宿夜高考于諛公于寗弔侂友。

寗叔は豐姑慙の旅殷を作る。豐姑慙用て夙夜諛公と寗叔の侂友に享孝せよ。

24. 吳季良父壺 (5284)

吳季良父乍紋娼障壺、用盛旨酉、用高孝于兄弟廢顛耆老。

吳季良父は紋娼の障壺を作り、用て旨酒を盛り、用て兄弟・婚媾・諸老に享孝せむ。

brothers, matrimonial relatives and many seniors.

25). Yinggong-ding (976)

Duke Ying produces (this) precious ritual vessel (to give it to [?].

Duke Ying) said, “[?]. Using the vessel, together with your younger brothers, make offerings morning and evening.”

B. The Examples in the Chunqiu period

26). Su-bo (6567)

(I) produce (this) precious bo-bell of Zi Zhong Jiang. ----- Using the bell, I will pray for longevity and immortality, and protect my brothers.

27). Xuwang Liang-ding (1097)

Liang (= I), King of Xu, making use of my good bronze, cast my (ritual?) ding-vessel ----- . Using the vessel, I will make fine guests harmonious.

28). Jinjiang-ding (1208)

(I) produce (this) precious ritual ding-vessel. Using the vessel, I will make gentlemen from afar peaceful and at ease.

29). Mingguajun Sizi-hu (5287-5288)

(I) cast (this) ritual hu-vessel. Harmoniously and respectfully<sup>[17]</sup>, I will put at ease and delight my family.

30). Dashi-hu (5282)

I therefore make (this) valuable<sup>[18]</sup> hu-vessel. ----- Using the vessel,



25. 雁公鼎 (976)

雁公乍寶隣彝、曰、臬、召乃弟、用殯夕簫享。

雁公は寶隣彝を作る。曰く、臬よ、乃の弟を以て、用て殯夕簫享せよ。

B. 春秋金文に於ける彝器の「用途」

26. 齡罇 (6567)

乍子中姜寶罇 (中略) 用斲壽老毋忤、倖廬兄弟。

子仲姜の寶罇を作り……用て壽老毋死を祈り、我が兄弟を保たむ。

27. 徐王𣪠鼎 (1097)

郟王𣪠用其良金、鑿其口鼎 (中略) 用誰賓客。

徐王𣪠は其の良金を用る、其の口鼎を鑄し、……用て賓客を誰<sup>たのし</sup>ませむ。

28. 晉姜鼎 (1208)

用乍寶隣鼎、用康𣪠妥裏遠執君子。

用て寶隣鼎を作り、用て遠邇の君子を康柔綏懷せむ。

29. 命瓜君嗣子壺 (5287～8)

乍鑄尊壺、束罍、康樂我家。

尊壺を作鑄し、束々罍々として、我が家を康樂せむ。

30. 杅氏壺 (5282)

I will hold banquets and drink to delight my family.

31). [?]er-zhong (6485)

(I) cast (this set of) harmonious bells. Using the bells, I will, mindful of the past, offer filiality to ancestors, and delight fathers and brothers (= seniors), giving them for drink and food, playing music and dancing.

32). Zengzi Zhongxuan-ding (1133)

Zengzi Zhongxuan (= I), for the first time making use of auspicious bronze, on my own accord produce (this) precious ding-vessel. Using the vessel, (Zhong)xuan, the bright, will make many fathers and many brothers harmonious.

33). Zengzi You-ding <sup>[19]</sup> (1148)

(I) cast (this) [?] ritual vessel and will be blessed by Solemn [?]. --- Using the vessel, I will offer filiality and make offerings; the people will, together (with me), have banquets.

34). Yuewang-zhong (Bogu 22-17)

(I), on my own accord, cast (this) harmonious lin-(bell). Using the bell, I will delight my family and rejoice guests.

35). Zhugong Jing-zhong (6454)

(I) on my own accord produce (this set of) harmonious bells.----- Using the bells, I will delight myself, hold banquets with dignitaries and give feasts to many gentlemen.

36). Zhugong Tuo-zhong (6400)

Tuo (= I), Duke of Zhu, produce my harmonious bell. Using the bell, I

虞冒爲弄壺、虞冒匱飲、盱我室家。

我れ以て弄壺を爲り、我れ以て宴飲し、我が室家を楽しませむ。

31. 儼兒鐘 (6485~8)

冒鑄誅鐘、冒追考烝且、樂我父兄、飢飢訶邇。

以て和鐘を鑄し、以て先祖に追孝し、我が父兄を楽しませ、飲飲歌舞せむ。

32. 曾子仲宣鼎 (1133)

曾子仲宣寘用其吉金、自乍寶鼎、宣喪用誰其者父者兄。

曾子仲宣は造(=鑒)めて其の吉金を用る、自ら寶鼎を作る。宣は喪(=爽)らかに用て其の諸父諸兄を誰しませむ。

33. 曾子旂鼎 (1148)

用鑄口彝、惠于刺口口口 (中略) 用孝用喜、民鼎是卿。

用て口彝を鑄し、刺(=烈)なる口口口に惠され……用て孝し用て享し、民俱に是れ饗さむ。

34. 越王鐘 (博22・17)

自祝禾替口、冒樂虞家、戡而賓客。

自ら和林鐘を鑄し、以て我が家を楽しませ、而(=汝)の賓客を喜ばせむ。

35. 邾公掙鐘 (6454)

自乍蘇鐘 (中略) 冒樂其身、冒宴大夫、冒喜者士。

自ら和鐘を作り……以て其の身を楽しませ、以て大夫に宴し、以て諸士に饗さむ。

36. 邾公鉞鐘 (6400)

will be respectful and take care of covenants and offerings, so as to pray for longevity of years, and I will delight my fine guests and my principal ministers.

37). Xuzi-zhong (Kaogu 7-7)

(I) on my own accord produce (this) ling-bell -----. Using the bell, I will hold banquets and give feasts to delight fine guests, dignitaries and my friends.

38). Xuwang Zitong-zhong (6489)

Zitong (= I), King of Xu, selecting auspicious bronze, on my own accord produce (this) harmonious bell. Using the bell, I will respectfully offer sacrifices, delight fine guests and many {?}{?} of mine, and, at the same time, together with fathers, brothers and many gentlemen, hold banquets and feasts.

39). Gufeng-gouyao (6571)

(I) on my own accord produce (this) gouyao-bell, the pitch of which is sheng <sup>[20]</sup>. Using the bell, I will delight fine guests, my fathers and brothers.

40). Yun'er-zhong (6492)

(I) on my own accord produce (this) harmonious bell. --- Using the bell, I will enjoy <sup>[21]</sup> drinking wine and concurrently convene hundreds of descendants. ----- Using the bell, I will hold banquets and feasts to delight fine guests, my fathers, brothers and many gentlemen.

41). Wangsun Yizhe-zhong (6534)

(I produce this harmonious bell.) Using the bell, I will hold banquets and feasts to delight fine guests, fathers, brothers and my friends.

鄭公鉉乍阜禾鐘、用敬卹盟祀、旂年鬻壽、用樂我嘉賓及我正卿。

鄭公鉉は厥の和鐘を作り、用て盟祀を敬恤し、年眉壽を祈り、用て我が嘉賓及び我が正卿を楽しませむ。

37. 許子鐘（考古7・7）

自作鈴鐘……用宴召喜、用樂嘉賓大夫及我侖友。

自ら鈴鐘を作り……用て宴し以て饌し、用て嘉賓・大夫及び我が侖友を楽しませむ。

38. 徐王子旃鐘（6489）

郟王子旃鬻其吉金、自作甬鐘、召敬祭祀、召樂嘉賓及我□防、兼召父戠庶士、召宴召喜。

徐王子旃は其の吉金を擇び、自ら和鐘を作り、以て敬しみて祭祀し、以て嘉賓及び我が諸□□を楽しませ、兼ねて父兄・庶士を以て、以て宴し以て饌さむ。

39. 姑馮句鐘（6571）

自作商句鐘、召樂賓客及我父戠。

自ら商句鐘を作り、以て賓客及び我が父兄を楽しませむ。

40. 沈兒鐘（6492）

自作甬鐘……用盤飲酉、甬遄百生……虞召匭召喜、召樂嘉賓及我父戠庶士。

自ら和鐘を作り……用て飲酒を盤<sup>も</sup>しみ、百姓を和會し……我れ以て宴し以て饌し、以て嘉賓及び我が父兄・庶士を楽しませむ。

41. 王孫遣者鐘（6534）

用匭召喜、用樂嘉賓・父戠及我侖友。

用宴し以て饌し、用て嘉賓・父兄及び我が侖友を楽しませむ。

42). Taoshi-zhong (6452)

(Using my bell, I) will make offerings and offer filiality to my august grandfather and refined father; I will hold banquets and feasts to delight fine guests and my friends.

43). Zhugong Hua-zhong (6524)

(I) cast my harmonious bell, (that is, I) produce the bell of my august grandfather and august father. ----- Using the bell, I will take care of making sacrifices and covenant rites to delight dignitaries, and hold banquets for gentlemen and many children (= young people).

44). Zizhang-zhong (6422)

(I) on my own accord produce (this) harmonious bell. Using the bell, I will hold banquets and give feasts to delight fathers, brothers and many gentlemen.

42. 瞿氏鐘 (6452)

用宮召孝于嗣皇且文考、用匱用喜、用樂嘉賓及我口友。

用て享し以て予が皇祖文考に孝し、用て宴し用て饗し、用て嘉賓及び我が朋友を楽しませむ。

43. 邾公華鐘 (6524)

用盥乎餼鐘、召乍其皇且皇考（中略）召卹其祭祀盟祀、召樂大夫、召宴士庶子。

用て厥の和鐘を鑄し、以て其の皇祖皇考（の鐘）を作る。……以て其の祭祀盟祀を恤しみ、以て大夫を楽しませ、以て士庶子を宴せむ。

44. 子璋鐘 (6422)

自乍餼鐘、用匱召喜、用樂父雉・者士。

自ら和鐘を作り、用て宴し以て饗し、用て父兄・諸士を楽しませむ。

## APPENDIX TWO

### TEXTUAL PROBLEMS OF THE BOOK OF FILIALITY

The Book of Filiality has several textual problems, most of which are concerned with the differences between the Old Text and the New Text. The principal differences between these texts are found in the following three points (for an inclusive list of the differences, see Chen Tiefan 1986, p.296-364);

- (1) The phrase “shí gu qín sheng yu zhi 是故親生毓之” in Chapter Ten (“the Government of the sage”) of the Old Text is replaced by “gu qín sheng zhi xi xia 故親生之膝下” in the New Text.
- (2) The Old Text has the chapter on “the Household” (Chapter Nineteen), which the New Text does not have.
- (3) The chapter on “Evocation and Response” (Chapter Seventeen) in the Old Text is positioned between the chapters on “the Duty of Remonstrance” and on “Serving the Ruler” in the New Texts.

We have discussed the second and the third points in Chapter Three of this dissertation. Furthermore;

- (4) Some commentators suspect that there are disordered sentences in the chapters on “the Government of the Sage” and on “the Grace of Parents’ Begetting.”

We will discuss here the first and the fourth textual problems, which have not been dealt with in the main body of this dissertation in spite of their importance.

#### ITEM ONE

Chapter Ten of the Old Text says;

Shi Gu Qín Sheng Yu Zhi Yi Yang Fu Mu Ri Yan



是故親生毓之以養父母曰嚴

(Yu 毓 = yu 育)

This part in the New Text (Chapter Nine) is as follows;

Gu Qin Sheng Zhi Xi Xia Yi Yang Fu Mu Ri Yan

故親生之膝下以養父母曰嚴

In fact, this is the biggest difference between the Old Text and the New Text, and we have to find out which is the better (and original) text.

The other problem that we have to solve is how to interpret this part, because there have been many interpretations both for the Old Text and for the New Text. Let us begin with the commentaries to the Old Text.

The Commentary of Kong 孔傳 says;

Those who “foster it” are father and mother. That is, the disposition of respecting father and mother is produced by the favor (of parents) who foster it (=a child). This is the reason that (a child) nurtures (= serves) affectionately his father and mother and he expresses his reverence (to them). (Wakokubon p.523)

「育之」者、父母也。故其敬父母之心、生於育之恩、是以愛養父母而致尊嚴也。

This interpretation has two meanings. First, it seems that the phrase “the disposition of respecting father and mother 其敬父母之心” in the Commentary of Kong 孔傳 is an interpretation for the word qin 親 in the Old Text. If so, the word qin 親 means “affectionate bond”, and this part should be read as “(Children’s) affectionate bond (with their parents) is produced by (the parents’) fostering it (= the children). Because (the children’s reverence is produced by this fostering), when children serve their parents they become respectful to their parents.” But the phrase “those who foster it are father and mother 育之者父母也” in the Commentary of Kong can be understood to explain the word qin 親 in the Old Text. If this reading is right, the word qin 親 means “parents”, and this part in the Old Text can be read as, “Parents beget

and foster their children (and in this favor of the parents who foster the children the mentality of respecting their parents is produced.) Therefore, the children affectionately serve their father and mother when they express their reverence to their parents.”

Secondly, the Xiaojing Shuyi 孝經述義, written by Liu Xuan 劉炫, says;

Therefore, for the very reason that one's body is what his parents have begotten and fostered so as to bring him up into manhood, he reveres and serves his father and mother. This is called yan 嚴 or veneration. (This portion) says that all the people in the world naturally have the disposition of venerating their parents.

是以、人以己身是親所生之育之得至成長、以此尊養父母、名之曰嚴、言天下之人自然有嚴親之意。(Hayashi, Shûichi 1953, p.107)

and it also says;

“To foster” or yu 育 (in the Old Text) means “to nurture” or yang 養 in (the Commentary of Kong). The phrase “the parents beget and foster it (=a child)” in this passage is the same as the phrase “father and mother beget a child 父母生之” in the following chapter (= Chapter Eleven). The phrase “those who foster it are father and mother” in the Commentary (of Kong) interprets the word qin 親 as “father and mother” in (the Old Text of) the Book (of Filiality). (Because parents) have begotten a child and then fostered him, he recognizes how great is their kindness. This is the reason that he should repay it (= their kindness). Therefore, the disposition of respecting father and mother is produced by the kindness of (the parents’) fostering him (= the child). Since he has received the kindness of begetting and fostering, he should exert himself in expressing his love and respect. Therefore, he affectionately serves his father and mother, and he expresses his veneration to them. He respectfully serves them; this is called “to venerate”. The Book (of

Filiality) mentions only “to venerate father 嚴父”. In order to explain the meaning of veneration, (the Commentary of Kong) says “this is called to venerate”, with which it concludes its comments. The phrase “to beget and foster” in the book is similar to “she bore, she bred 載生載育” (Shengmin 生民 in the Book of Odes, Ode No.245, Karlgren 1945, p.71). (The meaning of sheng 生) in the phrase “borne by the kindness (of parents) who foster it” in the commentary, is similar to (that in) the passage “concession is produced by abundance; dissension is produced by shortage 讓生於有餘、爭生於不足” in the Guanzi. (The meaning of) sheng in the commentary is not the same as (that of) sheng in the book.

「育」亦「養」也。此言「親生育之」、即是下章「父母生之」、傳言「育之者父母」、解經「親」、謂父母。既生之、又養之、見其恩之大、所以當報之、故其敬父母之心、乃生於育之之恩也。既荷生育之恩、故當盡其愛敬、是以愛養其父母、而致尊嚴焉。尊而養之、故名之曰嚴。經以止言「嚴父」、說其為嚴之意、故云「曰嚴」、以結之。經云「生育」、猶『詩』「載生載育」之類。傳云「生於育之恩」、猶『管子』「讓生於有餘、爭生於不足」。傳所言「生」、非經之「生」也。(Hayashi, Shûichi 1953, p.122)

We can see two points in these passages. First, Liu Xuan thought of qin 親 as “parents”, that is, he read this part (親生毓之、以養父母) as, “Parents beget and foster a child (and his love to them is borne in this process. Therefore,) he serves them affectionately”. Secondly, the commentary clearly shows that ri yan 日嚴 was replaced by yue yan 曰嚴 in the text Liu Xuan depended on, that is, the text of Liu Xuan was not the text we have now. Shûichi Hayashi (1979, p.82) and Keisuke Kurihara (1986, p.246) follow Liu Xuan’s reading.

Next, let us move to the commentaries on the New Text. The Commentary of Zheng 鄭注 says, “A child’s affectionate bond (with his parents) is produced below the knees of father and mother. Therefore, (when the child) serves his parents, he gives them pleasure. 子親生之父母膝下、是

以養則致其樂” (Hayashi, Shûichi 1976, p.78). The Commentary of Xuanzong 玄宗御注 says more clearly, “Qin 親 or ‘affectionate bond’ is similar to ai 愛 or ‘love’. (The phrase) xi xia 膝下 or ‘under the knees’ means the time of infancy. (This passage) says that the disposition of affection is borne in (the time of) infancy, and that when a child becomes older he gradually recognizes rightness. (At this time the parents) are dignified day by day, and the child becomes able to express his respect to father and mother. 親、猶愛也。「膝下」謂孩幼之時也。言親愛之心生於孩幼、比及年長、漸識義方、則日加尊嚴、能致敬於父母也。” (XJZS vol.5, p.15). The only difference between these two commentaries is that the Commentary of Xuanzong seems to interpret yan 嚴 as “the dignity of parents”, though the Commentary of Zheng reads it as “to revere”. The Xiaojing Zhushu 孝經注疏 naturally follows the Commentary of Xuanzong. Many other commentaries of the New Text, following Xuanzong, read qin 親 as “affectionate bond”, like Zhu Shen 朱申 (the mid-13th c., XJDQ vol.3-1, p.7), Zhu Hong 朱鴻 (c. the Latter half of the 16th C., XJDQ vol.5-2, p.10), Jiang Hede 蔣赫德 (d. 1670, p.11), Ren Wentian 任文田 (the latter half of the 18th c., p.9), Jian Zhaoliang 簡朝亮 (1851-1933, p.54), Chen Zhu 陳柱 (p.40), Kanae Asakawa 朝川鼎 (1781-1849, Kurihara 1986. p.229) and Yoshio Takeuchi 武内義雄 (Vol.2, p.301).

But a lost commentary found in Dunhuang (whose writer is not known and which is temporarily called the Xiaojing Yishu 孝經義疏 by Shûichi Hayashi) shows that this reading was not the only interpretation even in the New Text tradition. This commentary presents two interpretations of this passage. First, reading qin 親 as love, it says, “This (passage) says that father and mother blindly love their child. Therefore, (the child’s) feeling of love is borne below the knees of father and mother. When the child is brought up to have cognitive faculty, he can know that (his parents’) love has begotten and nurtured him, and his reverence increases to its utmost day by day. 彼言父母冥愛、故為愛之情、生起於父母

膝下也、及至子稍成長有識、故能知緣愛而生養、日日加益尊敬之極。” Secondly, it refers to another reading; “qin 親 means father and mother. A father and a mother beget (their child) under their knees, so (the book) says that parents bear it under the knees. Because a father and a mother have begotten their child under their knees, the child serves his father and mother, and his reverence (to them) increases day by day. 「親」謂父母也。父母生於膝下、故云親生之膝下。父母既生子於膝下、故子奉養於父母、日日加尊嚴。” (Hayashi, Shûichi 1976, p.138). This means that qin 親 can be read as “parents” even in the tradition of the New Text’s commentaries. For example, Dong Ding 董鼎 (the 13th c.) says, “Qin means parents. ‘Under the knees’ means that an infant plays under the knees of its father and mother. 親、父母也。膝下謂孩幼嬉戲于父母之膝下” (Xiaojing Dayi, p.14). Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1247–1306) explains this passage as, “Parents bear it (=a child) and it stays under their knees. 親生之而在膝下” (Xiaojing Dingwen p.14).

This situation can be summarized as follows; first, there were three different texts of this passage.

- 1) 是故親生毓之以養父母日嚴 in the present version of the Old Text.
- 2) 是故親生毓之以養父母曰嚴 in Liu Xuan’s version of the Old Text.
- 3) 故親生之膝下以養父母日嚴 in the New Text.

Secondly, there were three different interpretations:

- 1) Parents beget and foster their child. Because of this fact, the child naturally learns to revere his parents when he grows up.
- 2) Parents beget and foster their child. Because of this, the child serves his parents. This is called reverence. (This is the reading of Liu Xuan.)
- 3) The affectionate bond of a child with his parents is produced when the child is in his infancy. When he grows up, his feeling changes into the reverence to his parents.

It is rather difficult to decide which text is right and which reading

is better, because each reading is logically persuasive. Liu Xuan's reading (= the second reading) is, however, less acceptable because it does not show the actual meaning of reverence, if reverence means for parents to beget a child and for the child to serve the parents, as Liu Xuan maintains. In addition, there is no reason that only the concept of reverence is explained, because this passage is concerned with the dichotomy of love and reverence. Another disadvantage to this reading is the fact that we have not yet found the text which says not "ri yan 日嚴" but "yue yan 曰嚴".

The third reading is logically consistent. Especially, if qin 親 can be read as "affectionate bond", this passage corresponds well with the dichotomy of love and reverence. The weak point of this reading lies in zhi 之 in the New Text, because zhi is originally not a prepositional word but a pronoun. It is not impossible to read this passage, as the Commentary of Zheng does, because zhi is occasionally read as a particle, but it is difficult to explain why not yu 於 but zhi is used here. Another point to be noted is that the expression xi xia 膝下 is not normally used to express the time of infancy. This is also the case in the Old Text. It is possible to read qin in the Old Text as "affectionate bond", as has already been pointed out, but if so, it would be more reasonable to say "qin sheng yu fu mu yu zhi 親生於父母毓之".

The first reading is more reasonable at these points. It is more acceptable to read qin sheng zhi 親生之 in the New Text or qin sheng yu zhi 親生毓之 in the Old Text as "parents beget it" or "parents beget and foster it". In addition, Chapter Eleven says "father and mother bear it 父母生之"; this expression is very near to the phrase "parents bear and foster it 親生育之". But if this reading is adopted, it will be difficult to explain why this sentence presents only the concept of reverence and why it neglects the concept of an affectionate bond (= love). It is almost impossible in this situation to decide which reading is correct.

This difference between the texts and the readings may have existed in the first period in which the Book of Filiality appeared, because “the Record of books” of the Hanshu says “concerning gu qin sheng zhi xi xia 故親生之膝下, which the commentaries of many scholars do not explain well, both the text and the reading of the Old Text are different (from those of the New Text). 故親生之膝下、諸家之說不安處。古文字讀皆異” (Hanshu vol.30, p.1719). According to this, there was a difference between the texts in the Western Han period. “The Records of Books” also suggests that the difference between the readings existed at the same time. Therefore, evidently two different readings had already existed when the Book of Filiality appeared, and so this difference was not the result of some mistake. This situation was produced in the process in which the book was gradually circulated. This is another reason why it is difficult to decide which is right. What is more important is to find out how these texts and readings were related with each other and why this difference was produced. As was mentioned before, the use of zhi 之 here seems unnatural. It would be better for zhi to be replaced by yu 於. Based on this situation, we can assume that this passage in the original text was something like “parents beget and foster it (= a child) 親生育之” and the editor of the New Text added the term “under the knees 膝下” to make clearer the connotation of the text. But in this process the editor left zhi unchanged, because it was possible to understand the word zhi as such a particle as yu. If this hypothesis is possible (though it is obviously far from satisfactory), it means that the Old Text is nearer to the original text. There is no doubt, however, that the actual connotation of this passage is shared by both texts; that is, “The love (or an affectionate bond) of a child to his parents is produced when he is an infant, on the basis of the fact that the parents beget and foster their child. When the child becomes old enough to serve his parents, his feelings change from affection to reverence.”

## ITEM TWO

Another textual problem on Chapter Ten has been presented by some scholars, who think that a part of Chapter Ten must have been positioned after Chapter Eleven in the original text of the book. The beginning of the problem is “the Records of Books” of the Hanshu 漢書, which says;

(The book says) “A father and a mother beget their child; no grace could be bigger. Therefore, (the Child’s) affectionate bond (with parents) is produced under their knees.” The readings of many commentators do not explain this clearly.

父母生之、續莫大焉、故親生之膝下、諸家之說不安處。(Hanshu p.1719)  
Gu qin sheng zhi xi xia 故親生之膝下 is the sentence in Chapter Ten, but fu mu sheng zhi xu mo da yan 父母生之、續莫大焉 is found in Chapter Eleven. Considered without prejudice, this passage seems to suggest that a part of Chapter Ten was placed after Chapter Eleven in the text that the editor of “the Records of Books” depended on. Wu Cheng 吳澄 asserts that the twenty-four characters in Chapter Ten (故親生之膝下、以養父母日嚴、聖人因嚴以教敬、因親以教愛) should be placed after Chapter Eleven (XJDQ vol.4, p.16-17, and Xiaojing Dingben p.15). Chen Huai 沈淮 follows Wu’s opinion (XJDQ vol.6-1, p.3-4). Based on “the Records of Books”, Yoshio Takeuchi also asserts that forty-four characters in Chapter Ten (故親生之膝下、以養父母日嚴、聖人因嚴以教敬、因親以教愛、聖人之教、不肅而成、其政不嚴而治、其所因者本也) should be placed after Chapter Eleven (Takeuchi vol.2, p.301).

It is certain that the theme which the latter half of Chapter Ten discusses is slightly different from that of the former half and that the latter half has more logical consistency with Chapter Eleven, as Zhu Xi 朱熹 pointed out (Xiaojing Kanwu p.6-7). But a disadvantageous point of Wu Cheng’s theory is that Chapter Eleven discusses the relation be-



tween a monarch and his retainers, though the latter half of Chapter Ten discusses only the relation between a father and his children. If Wu Cheng's opinion were adopted, it would mean that loyalty to a monarch is discussed before filiality to father. Since the purpose of the whole book lies in logically deducing loyalty from filiality, it is more reasonable for the book to refer to filiality first. Wu Cheng's reading is against the logical structure of the whole book.

## Notes for Appendix

1. There are many discussions about the phrase mie li 蔑曆, which is frequently used in bronze inscriptions. We do not necessarily have a satisfactory interpretation of this phrase. The discussions are collected in Jinwen Gulin, vol.4, p.495, and summarized by Sun, Zhichu (1981-2, p.201-210). According to Sun's list, the interpretations so far presented can be classified as follows;

### A. The word mie:

- (1) "To make efforts for (mian 勉)." (Ruan Yuan 阮元, Weng Danian 翁大年, Li Yanong 李亞農, Yu Shengwu 于省吾, Guan Xiechu 管燮初 1982, p.67, Wu Shiqian 伍仕謙 1981, p.110).
- (2) "To recompense (lao 勞)." (Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, Zheng Yexiao 鄭業學, Liu Shipai 劉師培)
- (3) "To extol (yang 揚)." (Xu Tongbai 徐同柏).
- (4) "There is no (wu 無)." (He Ziyi 何子毅, Dai Junren 戴君仁, Chen Rentao 陳仁濤)
- (5) "To release (a person) from (mian 免)." (Guo Moruo 郭沫若, Liu Jie 劉節)
- (6) Mie = fa 伐, which means "to order well (meritorious deeds) (xu 叙)," "to make clear (ming 明)," "recognize (something) to be beautiful (mei 美)" or "to boast (kua 誇)." (Chen Xiaosong 陳小松, Huang Gongzhu 黃公渚, Yai Yiping 嚴一萍, Jiang Dayi 蔣大沂, Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, Tang Lan 唐蘭, Shirakawa 1962, p.116)
- (7) "To smear with blood (xin 鬻)." (Wen Yiduo 聞一多)
- (8) "To glorify (guang 光)." (Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉)
- (9) Mie = mei 美 → zanmei 贊美 or "to praise." (Zhao Guangxian 趙光賢, Xu Han 許瀚)
- (10) Mie = mie 滅 → mian 免. (Zhang Xiaoheng 張筱衡)
- (11) Mie = fa 伐 = fa 發 → bi 毘 or "to give". (Ping Xin 平心)

B. The word li:

- (1) “harmony (he 和).” (Xu Han 許瀚, Zheng Yexiao 鄭業學, Guan Xiechu 管燮初 1982, p.67)
- (2) Han 漢 → “armor” → military affairs (Guo Moruo 郭沫若)
- (3) 曆 = li 歷 (“to go along”) = what one has done successively or meritorious deeds. (Wu Dongfa 吳東發, Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, Liu Shipei 劉師培, Chen Xiaosong 陳小松, Huang Gongzhu 黃公渚, Yai Yiping 嚴一萍, Jiang Dayi 蔣大沂, Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒, Tang Lan 唐蘭, Yu Shengwu 于省吾, Zhao Guangxian 趙光賢, Shirakawa 1962, p.118).
- (4) 曆 = li 歷 (“Number”). (He Ziyi 何子毅)
- (5) 曆 = li 歷 → guo 過 (“mistake”). (Dai Junren 戴君仁, Zhang Xiaoheng 張筱衡)
- (6) 曆 = li 歷 → ci 次 (“official ranks”). (Chen Rentao 陳仁濤)
- (7) “Happiness (qing 慶)” (Ping Xin 平心)
- (8) 曆 = li 曆 → li 勵 (“to make efforts”). (Wu Shiqian 伍仕謙 1981, p.112).

As far as the word li is concerned, the third reading is more accepted by scholars. Though it is rather difficult to decide how to understand the word mie, the sixth interpretation is adopted in this dissertation.

2. Generally speaking, the dedicatory portion of an inscription is described as the statement of one who had the vessel produced. This is shown by the fact that a vessel's producer usually refers to his ancestors as “my (zhen 朕)” ancestors. However, it is not usual that the first person pronoun is the subject of sentences, and it is possible to translate sentences as if their subjects were in the third person. In Appendix One, all the subjects are translated as the first person, unless the contexts suggest that sentences are not the statements of those who had vessels produced.

3. Xing Ji is a referring name of Fuyi, Yubo's wife. This kind of referring name represents a woman's innate or marital status. The second word ji represents her surname (or, clan name), and the first word fu represents her parental family line (or, lineage name). In some cases, the first word in this kind of referring name may represent the family line that a woman's husband belongs to. Concerning the term ding gui, there is a possibility that the term indicates a particular sort of vessel, but it is more probable that it means "a ding (or dings) and a gui (or guis)", because two ding-vessels and a gui-vessel excavated in the grave that this vessel was excavated in (Rujiashuang 茹家莊 M2, Baoji 寶鷄) have inscriptions referring to "ding gui". (Wenwu 1976-4, p.34-59).

4. What to "manifest his filiality" really means is not clear, but it may indicate some kind of ritual to show one's own filiality to ancestor.

5. Shaughnessy translates yuan yuan 起起 as "permanently" (1991, p.115). He does not present his evidence for this reading, but it is clear that he understands yuan as heng 恒. His understanding is possible, but we can find such a phrase as heng heng neither in bronze inscriptions nor classical books. He understands the phrase sheng sang 聖趨 as an adverb modifying the verb zhui xiao 追孝, and translates it as "in a sagely and bright manner" (ibid.). This is also a possible interpretation.

6. In this passage, the word hao 好 is used twice. It is not impossible to read the first hao literally (i.e. "to be good to an ancestral shrine"), but it is more reasonable to interpret this hao 好 (\*xôg) as xiao 孝 (\*xog), because neither in bronze inscriptions nor in classical texts is found such an expression as "hao zongmiao 好宗廟" or "hao zu-

xian 好祖先”. There is no problem about reading the second hao literally (i.e. “to be good to friends and matrimonial relatives”). But, if the first hao should be understood as xiao, it would be reasonable to read the second one in the same way.

7. In this inscription, Zi Ji is probably Shuefu’s wife.

8. The phrase xin zhong ji huang mu zuo zun ding 辛仲姬皇母作尊鼎 is mistaken. It should be xin zhong ji zuo huang mu zun ding 辛仲姬作皇母尊鼎.

9. Guo Moruo says that the word pu 父 (\*p’ûk) should be read as po 頗 (\*p’wâ) or pu 溥 (\*p’wâg), which means “very good” (1935, p.211).

10. Mingwen Xuan reads these two characters as sheng wu 繩錡, which means a kind of bell. (vol.4, p.408)

11. See Note 25 in Chapter One.

12. Minao Hayashi attributes this bell to the early Zhanguo period (1989 p.199), but this seems to be a mistake. According to him, the feature of a Zhanguo bell is that its upside is almost as wide as its bottom, as is typically shown by the “Chuwang Yanzhang” bell (ibid. p.64). The shape of the “Su-bo” bell does not accord with his own description of a Zhanguo bell, but looks similar to the bells that he attributes to the late Chunqiu period.

13. The phrase wang chu ru 王出入, literally interpreted, means “the King’s coming out and in”. It might be possible to understand this portion of the inscription as “giving feasts (to the king when) he comes

out and in (= visits Zhai's house)." However, there are similar examples, as follows;

饗王逆造 II-4

饗王出入事人 II-5

𠙴 邢侯出入 II-18

饗出入事人 II-18

𠙴 侯逆造 II-20

The phrase ni cao 逆造 is difficult to translate, but it seems to be a transitive verb, because the word ni means to "meet" and cao to "send". Supposing that the phrase chu ru has a similar meaning to ni cao, we can assume that the term shiren is omitted here.

14. Yang Shuda understands the word fen as "giving banquets". (1959, p.168)

15. It is possible to read this word literally, that is, as "deer".

16. A character or characters must be missing in this passage. Here I translate it as "毛公(作)旅鼎、亦唯(作)殷".

17. The meaning of jian jian xiu xiu 東東翬翬 is not clear. Guo Moruo understands jian as kan 侃 and xiu as su 肅 (1935, p.239).

18. The word nong usually means to "play with", but we cannot believe that a ritual vessel was made to play with it. This word should be understood as "precious". Wei Zhao's commentary to the yueyu xia 越語下 chapter of the Guoyu says, "wanhao means rare treasures. 玩好、珍寶也" (Guoyu p.644). The Shuowen Jiezi says, "Wan means nong ("play with"). 玩、弄也" (vol.1a, p.31).

19. There are some doubts about this inscription. The vessel seems to have been broken into pieces, and the inscription looks heavily damaged. Some graphs have unusual shapes. But the vessel is owned by Shanghai Museum, and those who look at the vessel seem to think that there is no problem about its authenticity. (See Mingwen Xuan, in which this inscription is attributed to the early Chunqiu period. Vol.4, p.446)

20. Mingwen Xuan understands the word shang to indicate a musical pitch. (vol.4, p.380)

21. The word pan 盤 should be understood as pan 槃 (“to amuse oneself”).