# Authority in the Great Odes of the *Classic of Poetry*[1]

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In this paper we have poems representing three distinct periods in Zhou history: an archaic period of uncertain date, the period immediately preceding the conquest of the Shang, and the turn of the eighth century B.C., when the Zhou was a mature polity. We can show, I believe, that the representations of these different periods are distinct and that those distinctions, conceived as a chronological sequence, represent a coherent transformation. In describing these differences and the relation between them, it is fair to ask the nature of the claims being made: does this mean that the poems are "from" different periods or is this the Zhou "historical imagination," speaking from a later period? The former answer is highly improbable, while the later answer assumes a sophistication that is, at the least, remarkable. The most credible answer might be some combination of the two forces, particularly in representations of the archaic period: old legends can have their own logic that can be preserved in later representational forms. But the proper answer to the good question is uncertainty: I do not know what these differences mean, nor does anyone now have adequate evidence to make a credible claim. Like a mathematician presenting an interesting problem, I will lay out the evidence and the obvious contrasts.

上天之載，無聲無臭
When Heaven on high takes action,

[1] The astute reader will notice that this essay is formatted as a part of a non-existent book entitled *Essays in Ancient Literature*. The *Classic of Poetry* section was to have had this as the second essay after "Reproduction in the *Shijing*," followed by "The Lesson of the *Feng*" and a fourth essay on the evolution of interpreting the Poems to the Mao commentary. This essay alone retains its original 1997 formatting as camera-ready copy. Cite with web address.

there is no sound, there is no smell.
"King Wen" 文王

In the Great Odes (*Daya* 大雅) there is a body of poems that treat the dukes and kings of Zhou from the legendary Duke Liu 公劉 down to King Xuan 宣王 (827-782 B.C.).[2] These narratives of Zhou belong to roughly three groups.[3] Two of the Odes are narratives of pre-dynastic folk-wanderings: "Duke Liu" (*Gong Liu* 公劉) treats the early migration of the folk to Bin, and "Spreading" (*Mian* 綿) tells the story of Danfu leading the people out of Bin to the plain of Zhou in the third generation before the dynastic founding. The second group of poems gives an account of the reigns leading up to the conquest of the Shang and the foundation of the dynasty. The intervention of Heaven or the high god and the accumulation of *De* plays an important role in these poems, which justify the Zhou kingship. The last group of Odes are ballads of frontier conquest and the investiture of feudal lords from the reign of King Xuan (827-782 BC).

These were the songs that the royal court and the courts of the feudal lords had performed to represent the Zhou past, and they offer varying accounts of the nature of Zhou political authority. One might say that these Odes, together with portions of the *Shangshu*, figuratively functioned as the Zhou "constitution," setting forth the terms on which the polity was based. Over centuries it was probably through these texts that every young member of the Zhou elite learned about his heritage. Ruling over others is never an entirely secure or comfortable enterprise, and those who rule often seek representation of the nature and source of their authority.

The continuity and expansion of the folk and dynasty remain constant motifs in these poems, but the account of the acquisition and exercise of authority changes significantly in the different

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[2] The story of the first ancestor Hou Ji, Lord Millet, is also elliptically treated in "She Bore the Folk" as an adjunct to an account of ritual.

[3] Many Chinese scholars, and in English, C.H. Wang, divide these narratives into two groups, combining the two pre-dynastic Odes with the foundation Odes. Such a two-fold division is valid in terms of language and exposition; but for reasons that will become apparent, I believe the two pre-dynastic Odes represent an ethos that is distinct from the foundation Odes. The age of Duke Liu, the great-grandson of Hou Ji, was widely separated from that of Danfu, the grandfather of King Wen, which stands at the beginning of the rise of the Zhou house to the throne; but both accounts belong to a mythic past of the Zhou.

phases of history described. The pre-dynastic and foundation Odes differ markedly from the Odes of King Xuan's reign in language and in the forms of exposition; thus, it is tempting to assume that they are "older" than the reign of King Xuan. Here, however, we are not so much interested in the unknowable moments of the "initiation" (to use C.H. Wang's phrase) of these Odes, but in the period of use, when these distinct versions of Zhou authority were presented together as representing different stages of the Zhou past.

There are several areas in which we witness variation in the representation of the dynastic story. The first is in agency, cause, and consequence in the narration of an action. The delegation of political authority is formally expressed by a "charge," *ming* 命 (which for convenience is capitalized in translation when it comes from Heaven and left in lower case when it comes from the king). Heaven's "Charge" to rule is reenacted in the Zhou kings' charges to their feudal lords. Because it is a delegation of authority rather than simply ordering someone to do something, the "charge" has something of the status of a performative utterance; it is withdrawn or lost rather than merely countermanded. The pre-dynastic dukes do things and have things done, but they are not themselves "charged" nor do they issue "charges" to others.

Giving a "charge" cannot be completely separated from the representation of cause, act, and consequence. The two pre-dynastic Odes are remarkably silent on why acts are undertaken. Things are done and other events follow, often without any clear indication of causes and purposes. I hesitate to call this archaic representation; but it is, at the very least, an imaginative representation of the archaic. Later historians and commentators often completed the story, retrospectively filling the silences that those later ages perceived. The foundation Odes are, by contrast, no less remarkable in representing all the causes and preconditions (and occasionally the aftermath) of an act that is not itself fully represented—the conquest of the Shang. And in the Odes of King Xuan's reign, we tend to find the complete and sequential representation of purpose, agency, act, and consequence that contributes to the sense that these odes are more "straightforward."

The role of Heaven or the high god 上帝 as the source of political and moral authority is of particular interest in these Odes. Hou Ji is born with the high god's blessing; in the Hymns (*Siwen* 思文 275) he is named as Heaven's "counterpart" and receives Heaven's Charge to spread the norms of agriculture. Since Hou Ji is the first

ancestor of the Zhou house, such an investiture with divine authority conforms to dynastic motives. Heaven's intervention is, however, absent in the accounts of the two pre-dynastic Zhou chieftains, Duke Liu and Danfu. Heaven is likewise absent in the odes of King Xuan's reign, except on one occasion where Heaven graciously produces a particularly useful feudal lord for the king's benefit.[4] In this case divine agency is little more than a polite compliment, and it is a complement to the feudal lord in question rather than to the king himself. Heaven and the high god appear prominently only in the foundation Odes, where the delegation of royal authority itself is very much in question.

As suggested above, we might best understand these differences not as a true historical layering, but as evidence of the Zhou historical imagination. Even Mao often understands the Odes about earlier periods as having been written later, to offer minatory lessons for later princes in the examples of Zhou dukes and kings.

## The Pre-dynastic Odes

The two Odes on the Zhou's folk-wandering take the people first to the land of Bin and then to Mount Qi and the plain of Zhou. Both pre-dynastic rulers, Liu the Duke and Danfu, are praised for those characteristic Zhou virtues of foresight and good planning, backed by accumulation.

### "Liu the Duke" 250

篤公劉，匪居匪康。迺場迺疆，迺積迺倉。迺裹餱糧，
于橐于囊。思輯用光，弓矢斯張。干戈戚揚，爰方啟行。

篤弓劉，于胥斯原。既庶既繁，既順迺宣，而無永歎。
陟則在巘，復降在原。何以舟之，維玉及瑤，鞞琫容刀。

篤公劉，逝彼百泉，瞻彼溥原。迺陟南岡，乃覯于京。
京師之野，于時處處，于時廬旅。于時言言，于時語語。

篤公劉，于京斯依。蹌蹌濟濟，俾筵俾几，既登乃依。

[4] See the first stanza of "Multitudes" (*Chengmin* 烝民 260). In the question of Heaven's absence, I refer here only to the political narratives of conquest and investiture. The lament "River of Stars" was traditionally attributed to King Xuan's reign. Heaven clearly remains central in questions of royal responsibility, but its presence is unnecessary to authorize the delegation of authority within the kingdom.

乃造其曹，執豕于牢，酌之用匏。食之飲之，君之宗之。

篤公劉，既溥既長，既景迺岡。相其陰陽，觀其流泉。
其軍三單，度其隰原，徹田為糧。度其夕陽，豳居允荒。

篤公劉，于豳斯館。涉渭為亂，取厲取鍛。止基迺理，
爰眾原有。夾其皇澗，溯其過澗。止旅乃密，芮鞫之即。

Duke Liu the Steadfast
neither bided nor enjoyed:
now marking plots and boundary lines,
now gathering, now storing;
now wrapping up the meal,
in pouches and in sacks;
and glorious by all amassed,
he brought forth bows and bolts,
shield and pike, axe and hatchet,
and then began the march.

Duke Liu the Steadfast
went and paused upon that plain:
teeming it was and bountiful,
yielding it was, word was spread,
nor were there long cries of woe;
he climbed and was upon the hill,
came down again upon the plain.
What was wrapped around him then?—
it was jade and jasper
studding the sheath of the Dirk.

Duke Liu the Steadfast
went off to the hundred springs,
and scanned this vast plain.
Then he climbed the southern hill-spine,
beheld there the great citadel.
In the wilds around the citadel
there he stayed ever,
there he dwelt ever;
there he spoke ever,
there he talked with others ever.

Duke Liu the Steadfast
settled in the citadel;

with grave and reverent motion,
proffered mat and proffered arm-rest;
he mounted the mat, he then reposed.
He had his bands next go
and seize a pig within the pen.
They poured him wine in jugs of gourd,
they fed him, they gave him drink,
they made him lord, founder of the line.

Duke Liu the Steadfast
made his land vast and made it long,
he marked the shadows, then the hill lines,
he surveyed shadowed and sunlit slopes.
He observed where the springs flowed,
and his army went in three files.
He measured the bogs and plains,
he assessed the fields for his stores.
He measured slopes that stood to the evening sun,
his abode in Bin was verily grand.

Duke Liu the Steadfast
built the lodgings in Bin,
made a fording place to cross the Wei,
there took whetstones and hammer-stones.
Foundations built, he marked off fields,
then we grew many, then we thrived.
On both sides of the Huang Creek,
and upstream to the Guo Creek.
We settled there and we grew teeming,
all the way to the bend of the Rui.

We appreciate that Duke Liu was a hard-working chieftain, but the first stanza's "marking plots and boundary lines" may seem a peculiar way to prepare for a folk-wandering; it is more properly the activity of someone who plans to stay than of one who plans to go. Yet the presence of this line gives us insight into the nature of the narrative. The choice of words is shaped by the necessities of normative process rather than by any demand to give a plausible account of "what actually happened." The line is included to address the issue of provision. Accumulation of provisions must precede any journey, and the orderly division of fields was in turn a necessary stage of the agricultural process that ensured the required bounty. It is a stage that cannot simply be elided; without it the good duke would seem derelict in his planning. Violence, like

journeying, requires adequate stores, here represented in the display and enumeration of weapons. It is only after the declaration of sufficient food and arms that the trek can begin.

If the land provides such ready bounty to provision departure, why are they leaving? The later exegetes adduce motives, placing Duke Liu and the folk among the Rong and Di tribes, having earlier fled the turmoil that accompanied the fall of the Xia Dynasty. But the poem itself gives no hint of this or any other reason for moving the people. Like the account of Hou Ji's exposure in "She Bore the Folk" (*Shengmin* 生民) these fragmentary narratives of important events are strangely silent about the causes of those events. The necessary antecedents of an action are represented in the preparations rather than in the reasons. This is mythic narrative, and Duke Liu's restless energy in provisioning the folk—he "neither bided nor enjoyed" (*fei ju fei kang* 匪居匪康)—continues in a larger restlessness that will permit him to settle only on reaching the land of Bin.[5] Causes and motives are not essential here, only the rhythms from motion to repose to motion again.

With the display of weapons violence is clearly anticipated, but it is not represented. In C.H. Wang's words, there is an "ellipsis of battle." Autochthones are not mentioned on the bountiful plain of Bin; there is no account of the journey itself or of a conquest, only an ambiguous acquiescence, *shun* 順 ("yielding"), and an absence of protest, no "long cries of woe." Taking possession of the land focuses on the characteristic Zhou foresight of the Duke, dressed in his regalia, making a survey and taking stock of the land—its waters, its plains, and its defensive positions. We do not know the significance of the Dirk, the ceremonial knife, (*rongdao* 容刀); we only know that in the middle of his survey the poem pauses and asks us to see what the Duke was wearing.

Reading these poems from the perspective of our own distant age, we would ask why the people had to go, what the journey was like, and whether the rich land they settled in had inhabitants that opposed their coming. The Ode tells us instead what it considered the essential information: the adequate provision of the folk on departure, the adequate provision for the folk in settling, and the

[5] I translate *kang* 康 as "enjoy" in the sense of "enjoy the fruits of one's labors." That is the place of *kang* in the sequence of early Zhou kings: King Wen accumulated the Power of virtue; King Wu achieved the military conquest; King Cheng (with the help of the Duke of Zhou) brought the enterprise to completion; and King Kang "enjoyed" the fruits of his forebears' enterprise.

ceremonial knife that the Duke wore when inspecting the new territory.

The crucial fourth stanza turns away from a survey of the new lands and settling to the internal dynamics of the folk. The Duke has been inspecting the qualities of the place, facing outward; now, in coming to rest in his citadel, he faces his people, and there is a feast. We do not know who the subjects of the verbs are, whether the duke is welcoming and serving representatives of the folk, or they are serving him. But it is a ceremonial moment of confronting and feeding, the outcome of which is: "they made him lord, founder of the line" (*jun zhi zong zhi* 君之宗之). We do not know whether at this moment Duke Liu's authority is being reconfirmed or first recognized as a consequence of his successful settlement of the folk. This initial representation of the assumption of authority by the ruling house, however, consists of an explicit acknowledgment of authority by the folk or their elders. In contrast to later accounts the duke is not enfeoffed by a superior; he is not given a Charge by Heaven; his lordship does not follow from any inner qualities observed or by an accumulation of *De*; authority consists of being acknowledged by those below.

The scene of acknowledging authority is a still, ceremonious moment surrounded by activity. After that festive moment the duke returns to his business of creating order: he measures, he surveys, and he divides the land. And in a significant turn: "he assessed the fields for [his] stores" (*che tian wei liang* 徹田為糧). *Che* 徹 is a tax assessment, made possible by the authority granted to him by the folk and by the division and apportioning of land. Here is the very core of the Zhou polity, and it will remain the essential task of the feudal lords that King Xuan sends off to colonize the south many centuries later. If the Zhou people, using their store of weapons, looted the earlier towns of Bin, we will never know. In its vision of dynastic origins, the Zhou celebrates not plunder but tax assessments.

The two pre-dynastic Odes are not only silent on the causes of events and motives for action, they also do not lead to any conclusion. In foundation Ode "The Greater Brightness" Zhou amasses its bright *De*, leading up to the morning of light when the Zhou army confronts and defeats the Shang. The foundation Odes and the Odes of King Xuan's reign all make some gesture of conclusion. But in the restlessness of "Duke Liu," once the stable center in Bin is attained, the final stanza continues with the Zhou folk moving

outward and growing, crossing rivers and spreading along their banks.

The vegetative growth of the Zhou folk is echoed nine generations later in the ode on Danfu, the "Duke of Old" and grandfather of King Wen, who led the people from Bin to Mount Qi and the Plain of Zhou.

## Spreading 237

綿綿瓜瓞，民之初聲。自土沮漆，古公亶父。
陶復陶穴，未有家室。

古公亶父，來朝走馬。率溪水滸，至于岐下。
爰及姜女，聿來胥宇。

周原膴膴，堇荼如飴。爰始爰謀，爰契爰龜。
曰止曰時，築室于茲。

迺慰迺止，迺左迺右。迺疆迺理，迺宣迺畝。
自西徂東，周爰執事。

乃召司空，乃召司徒。俾立室家，其繩則直。
縮版以載，作廟翼翼。

捄之陾陾，度之薨薨。築之登登，削之馮馮。
百堵皆興，鼛鼓弗勝。

迺立皋門，皋門有伉。迺立應門，應門將將。
迺立冢土，戎醜攸行。

肆不殄厥慍，亦不隕厥問。柞棫拔矣，行道兌矣。
混夷駾矣，維其喙矣。

虞芮質厥成，文王蹶厥生。予曰有疏附，予曰有先後。
予曰有奔奏，予曰有禦侮。

Melons spreading, large and small,
when first the folk were born.
From Du he fared to Qi,
our duke of old, Danfu.
They fashioned dwellings in pits and cliffs;
they did not yet have houses.

Our duke of old, Danfu,

that morning sped his horse.
He followed the edge of the western river
and reached the foot of Mount Qi.
Then he joined the woman Jiang,
they came and shared a roof.

The plain of Zhou was fat and fair,
where thistle and buttercup tasted like honey.
There he started, there he reckoned,
there he pierced our tortoise shells.
It was stop, it was stand,
in this place they built houses.

Then he rested, then he stopped,
then he went left, then he went right,
then he marked borders, then he marked bounds,
then extended, set out fields.
From west he fared to east,
and everywhere he took charge.

He called to his Master Builder,
he called to his Master of Workmen.
He had them set up houses,
and the plumb-lines hung straight.
they lashed planks and raised it,
made the Ancestral Temple well-aligned.

One after another they took earth in hods,
in countless loads they measured it.
With thud upon thud they rammed it hard,
and with scraping sounds they pared it flat.
A hundred wall segments rose together,
and drowned out the sounds of the drums.

Then they set up the outermost gate,
and the outermost gate loomed high.
Then they set up the central gate,
and the central gate was stately.
Then they set up the Altar to Earth,
where his war hosts set forth.

Yet he did not abate his ire,
nor did his repute subside.
The oaks were uprooted,
and roads were cleared through.

The Kunyi tribes flew in panic,
how we harried them to gasping!

Yu and Rui gave warrants for peace,
King Wen lay their beasts on his altars.
He had all those both far and near,
he had those before and behind him,
He had those who would rush to his bidding,
he had those who would fend off slights.

If "Duke Liu" treated the mythic moment of establishing rule, landholding, and taxation, "Spreading" is the moment of architecture. In the first stanza reference is again made to the time when the folk were born. In "She Bore the Folk" 生民 Hou Ji, once he successfully instituted agriculture, "had his household there in Tai" (*ji you Tai jiashi* 即有邰家室). This is the same term used in the first stanza here for the "houses" (*jiashi* 家室) that the folk do not initially have. Only commentators need worry about consistency in accounts of origin. Here we have the folk, initially figuratively associated with melons or gourds, themselves dwelling vegetatively in the earth, scooping out lodgings as they might dig to plant seeds.

Danfu leads the folk on another migration, this time away from Bin. Again, there is no representation of cause or motive. In later ages we find the story that the Zhou folk was being attacked by barbarians; to avoid leading the people to war, Danfu fled, but on their own initiative the people followed him to the foot on Mount Qi.[6] The story is attractive, but it is clearly designed to answer the question of why Danfu left Bin, an account embellished with later political theory of pacific moral rule and strangely at odds with the violence of the end of the Ode.

The marriage mentioned in the second stanza is first in a line of marriages that eventually lead to the founding of the dynasty. The woman is a Jiang 姜, like the first mother of the people and of Hou Ji. Later historians will piously call Danfu's wife Great Jiang 大姜, but here she is, more modestly, "the Jiang woman" 姜女. The "roof," *yu* 宇, where they find shelter is significant because it is specifically a roof with four corners, differing from the pit and cave dwellings of the previous era. The earlier vegetative spreading was associated with dwelling in the earth, while this first mention of human, sexual pairing in the story of the Zhou is linked to architecture.

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[6] See *Shi ji* (Beijing, 1959), p. 114; *Zhuangzi zuanjian* (Hong Kong, 1951), p. 234.

This may well be a memory of the Zhou first entering the orbit of Xia civilization through intermarriage.

The next stanza praises the Plain of Zhou, as "Duke Liu" had praised the land of Bin. Here, however, a new phase intervenes between the arrival and the survey and division of territory that was the basis of the Zhou polity. Danfu first consults the tortoise shell, and only after the confirmation from the omens does he settle the folk and "build houses" (*zhushi* 築室). The message of the tortoise shell presumably comes from Danfu's ancestors, so that the authority for decision—or at least one component of decision—is displaced to a higher level.

We see here, on an elementary level, the separation of decision and action that is necessary to represent agency and cause. As the tortoise shell's advice precedes halting, the building projects of the fifth stanza involve summoning officers (whose offices are not mentioned in bronze inscriptions until the ninth century B.C.). By Danfu's imagined age there are ducal orders and a basic bureaucracy, required to mobilize the folk for collective architectural undertakings. From the rounded contours of pits and caves we reach a virtual orgy of building in which straightness and geometric order is of the utmost importance. With the ancestral temple raised in the center (ancestral worship was not mentioned in "Duke Liu"), the Ode moves to celebrate collective action in building the rammed earth walls and the gates, which are associated with dispatching armies. From this follow roads and the harrying of the Gunyi tribes.

Danfu, later the very archetype of the non-violent ruler, here brings the people from caves to military supremacy in a walled city with roads for warfare. His legacy to his grandson King Wen in the final stanza is security and the submission of neighboring states. "Insult" (*wu* 侮) can be met and opposed. If Duke Liu won authority by the acknowledgement of the folk, Danfu has authority by his power, manifest in his architectural works. But the god has not yet spoken or granted him the authority to rule.

## The Authority to Rule All the Xia: the Foundation Odes

The pre-dynastic Odes were only faint memories of the history of the people and not central to the Zhou polity. In their migrations, spreading, and building, authority seems to have been embedded in action itself. When represented, authority was a ceremonial

moment of acknowledgment at the center of Duke Liu's great undertaking. Such unproblematic authority is the counterpart of the omission of the circumstances and causes that led to the undertakings that are the "matter" of these poems.

The foundation Odes could not be more different in this regard. The undertaking itself—the conquest of the Shang—is not itself extensively represented, including the violence of the great battle on the Pasture Land. We come to the war-array on the edge of the battle and a general smiting, but that is all. For the most part the foundation Odes treat cause, justification, and the amassing of moral capital to weigh in the balance against Shang depravity. This omission of the Shang's overthrow is all the more striking because there are descriptions of clashes with smaller states and gloating on victories by which the Zhou worked its way toward power.

Since the conquest of the Shang was the central event of the dynasty, why is it not represented? Why, when earlier actions taken by the folk require no explanation, does this action become primarily its elaborate justification? There is none of the marking, dividing, inspecting, taking stock, or building carried out by Duke Liu and Danfu, which was the way possession could be represented in an earlier era.

Duke Liu and Danfu judged the suitability of the lands they took. In the foundation Odes the suitability of the Zhou rulers themselves is scrutinized, measured (*duo* 度), and affirmed. The kingship over all the Xia people is not simply a larger version of possessing territory: it is authority on lease from Heaven. And Heaven, it is well known, acts without sound or smell. The Charge and the legitimate authority that follows from it exist only in the evidence of their representation, in the Odes and Hymns and the other repeated words of the Zhou court. That is, in the simplest terms, Zhou's authority to rule—as opposed to mere power—could be known only through these stories that the Zhou itself tells.

One might easily map the imaginary geometry of the Zhou polity from Duke Liu to the Zhou dynastic feudal system. Duke Liu finds a citadel, a central focus where rule is acknowledged and from which the Zhou folk spread. Danfu builds a walled city, with a temple in the center, and from that city Zhou armies go forth. But he is under threat of "insult" as Duke Liu never was. Finally in King Xuan's reign there is the fully developed Zhou feudal structure, conceptualized in concentric circles, with the king and the king's land in the center, spreading out to feudal lords, the Zhou kin, who are a "hedge" for Zhou, protecting the king and the ancestral

temple. Those who submit to the Zhou come to the court, to the center, where their local power is authorized; if they do not come to court, the king requires that they be chastised. Earthly authorization and divine authorization mirror one another.

In the foundation Odes the representation of cause cannot be disentangled of the authority to rule. And if we suppose that here we are dealing with representations not from the time of the conquest, but from a century later at the earliest, we may well wonder why they felt such a crisis regarding their own authority. Perhaps the problem was that their assumption of power broke a cycle of continuous reproduction; it terminated one lineage of kings and instituted a new one. And such a change of family, change of ancestory, and change of rite could be assimilated to the reproductive ideology of the Zhou only by extending the concept of an agricultural cycle and its renewal to the families of kings. King Wen says to the last Shang king: look at what happened to the Xia. The Zhou needs the Xia to say that what has happened is not new, not unprecedented. It is to say: in destroying you we reproduce not rulers but phase-cycles.

This is a new cyclical model of acquisition and spending, gain and loss, rise and fall—as in "Overbearing" (*Dang* 蕩 255):

天生烝民，其命匪諶。靡不有初，鮮克有終
Heaven bore the teeming folk,
his Charge cannot be trusted.
All begin well,
but few can keep it to the end.

The curse placed on the Shang must eventually turn back upon the Zhou itself. It was, perhaps, easy at the very beginning of the dynasty: "all begin well." But within a century, after the obvious phase of beginning, the uncertain moment of ending must have haunted every Zhou ruler.

## Enter the God: "O Splendor" (*Huang yi* 皇矣)

Danfu, often referred to as "the Duke of Old" (*Gu gong* 古公), has another honorific name in royal retrospect: he was the Great King, Taiwang 大王. While Danfu was settling and building on the plain of Zhou in "Spreading," another larger narrative was beginning, a narrative by which Danfu could retrospectively receive the title of "king." This narrative seems to overlap chronologically with Danfu's clearing his war-roads and conquests, though Danfu himself is not included by name as an instrument of divine agency.

It does, however, seem to have been in his reign that the "bright *De*" is transferred to Zhou.

O Splendor 241

皇矣上帝，臨下有赫。監觀四方，求民之莫。
維此二國，其政不獲。維彼四國，爰究爰度。
上帝耆之，憎其式廓。乃眷西顧，此維與宅。

作之屏之，其菑其翳。脩之平之，其灌其栵。
啟之辟之，其檉其椐。攘之剔之，其檿其柘。
帝遷明德，串夷載路。天立厥配，受命既固。

帝省其山，柞棫斯拔。松柏斯兌，帝作邦作對，
自大伯王季。維此王季，因心則友，則有期兄，
則篤其慶。載錫之光，受祿無喪，奄有四方。

維此王季，帝度其心。貊其德音，其德克明。
克明克類，克長克君。王此大邦，克順克比，
比于文王。其德靡悔，既受帝祉，施于孫子。

帝謂文王，無然畔援，無然歆羨，誕先登于岸。
密人不恭，敢距大邦，侵阮徂共。王赫斯怒，
爰整其旅，以按徂旅，以篤周祜，以對于天下。

依其在京，侵自阮疆。陟彼高岡，無矢我陵。
我陵我阿，無飲我泉。我泉我池，度其鮮原。
居岐之陽，在渭之將。萬邦之方，下民之王。

帝謂文王，予懷明德。不大聲以色，不長夏以革。
不識不知，順帝之則。帝謂文王，詢爾仇方，
同爾兄弟，以爾鉤援，與爾臨衝，以伐崇墉。

臨衝閑閑，崇墉言言。執訊連連，攸馘安安。
是類是禡，是致是附，四方以無侮。臨衝茀茀，
崇墉仡仡。是伐是肆，是絕是忽，四方以無拂。

O splendor of the high god!—
blazing, he looked below.
He viewed the lands all around
and sought stillness for the folk.

It was in two kingdoms,
the rulership had failed,
and those kingdoms all around,
he studied and he took their measure.
The high god was wroth with them,
he hated their loose luxury.
Then he turned to look west,
he gave lodging here.

He cut them and removed them,
the standing trunks, the fallen logs.
He sheared them and he leveled it,
the underbrush the scrub.
He cleared it and he opened it,
viburnum and the tamarisk.
He lopped it and he thinned it,
cudrania and morus.
The god transferred the bright *De*,
the Guanyi tribes were laid low.
Heaven set up its counterpart,
and the Charge given was made fast.

The god surveyed this mountain,
its oaks were uprooted,
its pines and cypress cleared away.
The god made a land and a match,
from Taibo and Wangji.
And this Wangji,
his loving heart was friendly.
Friendly to his elder brother,
steadfast in his blessing.
And he was given light,
he received blessing without fail
and broadly held the lands around.

And this Wangji,
the god took measure of his heart,
he spread word of his *De* far and wide,
his *De* could be bright,
could be bright, could be fair,
could be chief, could be lord.
He was king over this great land,
he could yield, could form a pair,
He was paired with King Wen.

There was no faulting his *De*,
he received the god's blessing,
and made it stretch to his progeny.

The god told Wen the King:
be not so at your ease,
do not so pursue desires.
Then he first climbed the high bank.
The men of Mi showed no respect,
they dared thwart the great land,
they invaded Ruan and went to Gong.
The king was blazing in his rage,
then he arrayed his hosts,
to quell them he went to Ju,
to make Zhou's blessings steadfast
to make a response in the world below.

He rested in his citadel,
they invaded from Ruan's border,
they mounted up the high hills.
Do not deploy upon our slopes,
on our slopes, our mountainsides,
do not drink from our springs,
neither our springs nor our pools.
They dwelt on the sunlit slopes,
right by the side of the Wei.
He was the pattern of all the lands,
the king of the folk below.

The god told Wen the King:
I have care for the bright *De*.
You do not make show of your great fame,
you do not alter in being foremost among the Xia.
Without recognizing them or knowing them
you obey the rules of the god.
Consult with companion lands,
bring together your brothers.
And with your grapples
and with your towers and rams
attack the walls of Chong.

Mighty were the towers and rams,
high were the walls of Chong.
There were lines of captives seized,

and cut-off ears brought slowly.
He did the lei and ma rites,
he brought them, he annexed them.
None offered insult in the lands around,
his towers and rams were huge,
Chong's walls were very lofty,
them he attacked, them he smote,
them he ended, them he extinguished,
and in the lands around none opposed him.

In the opening stanzas of "O Splendor" there is a remarkable similarity between the behavior of the high god and that of a responsible Zhou duke. Seeking quiet and security for his people, the god inspects the land—though on a grander scale and from a greater height than Duke Liu. Like Danfu in his migrations, he approves of the "west," the Plain of Zhou. Danfu and his woman Jiang "came and shared a roof" there 聿來胥宇; the high god "gave lodging here" (*ci wei yu zhai* 此維與宅).

The agency at work in clearing the land in the second stanza is uncertain: is it the people, is it Danfu, or is it the high god himself? Since the high god is the subject in the first stanza, the explicit subject later in the second stanza, and the subject in the third stanza, it is hard not to make him the subject here as well, especially in the context of the beginning of the third stanza where:

帝省其山，柞棫斯拔。松柏斯兌，

The god surveyed this mountain,
its oaks were uprooted,
its pines and cypress cleared away.

The human agency in "Spreading" has been replaced by divine agency. We may recall that in "Spreading" it was Danfu who passed through similar phases of wrath and clearing land.

肆不殄厥慍，亦不隕厥問，柞棫拔矣，行道兌矣

Yet he did not abate his ire,
nor did his repute subside.
The oaks were uprooted,
and roads were cleared through.

Danfu's wrath was local, directed against disrespectful tribes nearby; the high god's wrath is more encompassing, like the scope of his vision, responding to general misrule among the Xia people. Given the several formal homologies between the high god and

Danfu, the overlap of their actions here in the chronology of Zhou, and their mutual exclusion (when Danfu is present, the high god is unmentioned, and vice versa), what is the relation between the two? On the theory that *di* 帝, translated as "the god," is sometimes linked with collective ancestral spirits, it would be tempting to identify Danfu and the high god. It is, however, not that simple. The story of Danfu remains that of a tribal chieftain: the interests, the geographical scope, and the degree of planning ahead are limited. These are among the reasons that "Spreading" can be legitimately considered "pre-dynastic" in imagination, if not in pragmatic dating. "O Splendor," which seems to begin referring to the same period, has translated the same events and processes of establishing rule into the ideological machinery of royal Zhou, with hierarchies of authority, serial causes, and agency lasting over generations. The causes of Danfu's "unabating ire" are not given, nor do they need to be, any more than we need to know why Hou Ji was exposed or why Duke Liu had to move the folk.[7] In the foundation narrative, which is the basis of Zhou rule, the high god is angry *because* he wants peace for the folk, *because* he observes all the lands, *because* he witnesses misrule; he looks everywhere and selects Zhou; he clears the land and transfers "bright De" there.

天立厥配，受命既固

Heaven set up its counterpart,
and the Charge given was made fast.

A new ideology of delegating authority for the long term is in place.

帝作邦作對，自大伯王季

The god made a land and a match,
from Taibo and Wangji.

Suddenly the terms of bronze inscriptions, of the Hymns, and of the *Shu* are everywhere: "bright De," *ming De* 明德; "setting up," *li* 立 (the verb of assuming authority); the "counterpart," *pei* 配; the exchange of "conferring" and "receiving," *shou* 受; the Charge, *ming* 命; and the "response" or "match," *dui* 對.

"O Splendor" conveniently dates this moment from the sons of Danfu; the tribal chieftain is effaced, and in his place stands the god, with larger plans. With the new royal ideology question of

[7] Unless we follow Gao Heng in taking 237.42 as "Where Rong hosts traveled," and take that as a cause for Danfu's ire. See Gao Heng 高亨. *Shi jing jinzhu* 詩經今注. Shanghai, 1980.

succession arises, as it did not in "Duke Liu" and "Spreading." It is significant that the royal project dates from a succession crisis in which the choice of an heir is at issue. This is not to say that earlier Zhou chieftains necessarily succeeded to their posts by primogeniture—only that succession was not an issue.

We must assume that the listeners knew the story of the sons of Danfu is some form. The problem of succession is inscribed in their names. Taibo is the "Great Elder Brother"; Wangji is the "Royal Youngest Brother." According to the *Shiji* account:

> The Duke of Old [Danfu] had an eldest son named Taibo; the second son was named Yuzhong [Yu the Middle Brother]. Great Jiang bore a youngest son Jili [Li the Youngest Brother, Wangji]. Jili took Great Ren as wife. Both [Great Jiang and Great Ren] were virtuous women, and she [Great Ren] bore Chang [later King Wen]. He had auspicious signs of sage-power. The Duke of Old said, "Will it not be by Chang that our generations will rise?" The eldest son Taibo and Yuzhong knew that the Duke of Old wished to put Jili on the throne so that he would pass it on to Chang. Then both men fled to Jingman, where they tattooed their bodies and cut their hair, thereby yielding the throne to Jili [Wangji].[8]

The story existed in many variations and elaborations. Precisely which version or versions were known to those who heard "O Splendor" is uncertain. But certain elements seem central. First, there is a choice of an heir that violates primogeniture in the succession, and it is from this deviation that the god makes the Zhou its "match," the subordinate that will "respond" to it. Second, this deviation is an exception; in the next generation primogeniture will be reinstated (in the *Shiji* version, the deviation in the succession is precisely for the sake of primogeniture; Wangji is chosen not for his own sake but so that he will pass the throne on to Chang, King Wen). Finally, as we see in "Devout" (240) and "The Greater Brightness", the choice of wives plays a central role in the concentration of *De* that ensures the rise of the dynasty.

"O Splendor" acknowledges this moment in an elliptical way, simply naming Taibo in conjunction with Wangji as the point of origin, and then moving on to the praise of Wangji, whose "friendliness," *you* 友, is specifically directed to his older brother(s) who

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[8] *Shi ji*, p. 115.

made way for him.[9] If we contrast "O Splendor" with the two pre-dynastic Odes, we see its protagonists praised for good qualities, rather than living in their actions, as do Duke Liu and Danfu, and we begin to find the language of blessing. Both of these important new concerns appear at a moment of problematic succession. Here the high god's interests and abilities reach a new level as he "takes the measure" of Wangji's heart (*Di duo qi xin* 帝度其心). The god looks inside people.

If one were to seek an emblem of the changes between the pre-dynastic and foundation Odes, we might find it in the fourth stanza of "O Splendor." In "Duke Liu" we read: "they made him lord, founder of the line" (*jun zhi zong zhi* 君之宗之); here we have: "could be chief, could be lord" (*ke zhang ke jun* 克長克君). In "Duke Liu" authority is an active verb, the way one is seen and acknowledged by others. In "O Splendor" it is an inner capacity that exists before it is realized. Such a notion of realization and fulfillment of inner qualities through generations lies at the heart of the foundation Odes.

Wangji may have been scrutinized by the high god, but King Wen is directly addressed and told how to behave. Now that qualities are given as inner capacities (rather than being immanent in action), they can be elicited or instigated by external agency. Duke Liu "neither bided nor enjoyed"; King Wen is no less dutifully active, but his expense of energy is preceded by the instigating agency of the god who tells him not to be at ease and not to pursue his desires. Danfu grew wrathful and smote the Gunyi, but King Wen's anger and righteous violence follows from complex causes: from his character, from the high god's prodding, and from a particular affront:

密人不恭，敢距大邦，侵阮徂共。王赫斯怒

The men of Mi showed no respect,
they dared thwart the great land,
they invaded Ruan and went to Gong.
The king was blazing in his rage,

The king, observing from his high bank, responds with a "blaze" (*he* 赫) of wrath, just as the high god was "blazing" (*hehe* 赫赫), in the sky when it observed misrule below. As the high god takes long

[9] *Yu*, "friendliness," seems to describe those virtues of behavior toward others not divided by generations. Thus in 177 it is the complementary virtue of *xiao*, "filiality."

term action through the house of Zhou, Zhou arrays his hosts to punish the Mi and make a "response," *dui* 對, to the high god.

As is so often the case in the *Poems*, we do not know who is doing what in the sixth stanza, as King Wen deals with the people of Mi. We presume that it is King Wen who speaks the prohibitions to the invading Mi people, forbidding them from a land that is now "ours" or "mine" (*wo* 我). King Wen is evidently successful, demonstrating that he is "king of the folk below" (*xiamin zhi wang* 下民之王), thus the hierarchical counterpart of Heaven.

Throughout this passage King Wen is referred to as a king and in terms of kingship, even though he is properly only a duke (*gong* 公) or an earl (*bo* 伯). The kingly qualities he has within and which are manifest in action are applied to him retrospectively, awaiting confirmation through the actions of his son. In this initial action, responding to the high god, King Wen for the first time becomes a "pattern" (*fang* 方, something to be imitated) for all the lands (*wanbang* 萬邦). He enters the larger stage of all the Xia people as an exemplar before e becomes a king, and, in the later legends of Zhou, wins kingship through his son by having been an exemplar. This process corresponds to this new mode of action, in which qualities first exist within and then are gradually realized externally.

In the next stanza we have an interesting elaboration of King Wen's virtues and the authority that follows from those virtues. In the preceding stanza the high god told King Wen not to be slack; King Wen observed; he saw a people that gave offense, and he dealt with them. In this case the high god simply approves King Wen's bright *De* and his conformity to divine rules. Thus, he commands and authorizes King Wen to attack Chong for no stated offense. King Wen has passed from "being in the right" to "being righteous" and thus justified in his actions. Perhaps the most remarkable lines in this stanza are:

不識不知，順帝之則

Without recognizing them or knowing them
you obey the rules of the god.

As a characterization of King Wen's virtue, this clearly places value on what we would call "instinctual" virtue, the very heart of later Confucian ethics, in which neither good actions nor good decisions are as important as spontaneously acting from goodness within. It was perhaps such a passage in the Odes that lay behind Confucius'

formulation of sageliness, a quality that he denied possessing himself: "to be born knowing it" (*sheng er zhi zhi* 生而知之).

"O Splendor" ends with an orgy of violence, piling the ears of captives and celebrating the utter destruction of Chong, whose offenses are, as we have said, unnamed. Seeing the *De* that is demonstrated in successful military action, all the lands around are now aware of King Wen and no one dares threaten him.

## Heaven the Untrustworthy: "The Greater Brightness" and "Overbearing"

Although "O Splendor" shows many of the essential elements of royal Zhou ideology, one crucial term is missing: the high god of "O Splendor" is on the side of the Zhou without qualification: Zhou is his pure instrument. As we draw closer to representing the conquest of the Shang, uncertainty increases. Heaven that gives can also take.

### The Greater Brightness (*Da ming* 大明 236)

明明在下，赫赫在上。天難忱斯，不易維王。
天位殷適，使不挾四方。

摯仲氏任，自彼殷商。來嫁于周，曰嬪于京。
乃及王季，維德之行。大任有身，生此文王。

維此文王，小心翼翼。昭事上帝，聿懷多福。
厥德不回，以受方國。

天監在下，有命既集。文王初載，天作之合。
在洽之陽，在渭之涘。文王嘉止，大邦有子。

大邦有子，俔天之妹。文定厥祥，親迎之渭。
造舟為梁，不顯其光。

有命自天，命此文王。于周于京，纘女維莘。
長子維行，篤生武王。保右命爾，燮伐大商。

殷商之旅，其會如林。矢于牧野，維予侯興。
上帝臨女，無貳爾心。

牧野洋洋，檀車煌煌，駟騵彭彭。維師尚父，
時維鷹揚。涼比武王，肆伐大商，會朝清明。

The brightness is below,
blazing splendor is on high.
Hard to trust in Heaven,
the kingship is not easy.
Yin's heir stood in Heaven's place
yet it made him lose his lands around.

From Zhi the second daughter, Ren,
went from the land of Yin and Shang.
She came to marry into Zhou,
in its great city, foreign bride.
She then came unto Wangji
they did that work of Power.
And Great Ren became with child
and gave birth to our King Wen.

This King Wen of ours,
his prudent heart was well-governed.
He shone in serving the high god,
and thus enjoyed much fortune.
Unswerving in the Power he had,
he held all the domains around.

Heaven scanned the land below,
its charge was laid upon him.
In the first doing of King Wen
Heaven made a mate for him.
It was on the Xia's north shore,
there on the banks of the Wei,
King Wen found the woman fair,
daughter of a mighty land.

This daughter of a mighty land
was seen like Heaven's little sister.
He fixed by good custom a lucky time,
himself he welcomed her at the Wei.
He fashioned boats into a bridge,
with light great and glorious.

There was a charge from Heaven,
a charge for Wen the King,
In Zhou, in its great city,
this next queen, who was of Shen.
This eldest daughter did the work,

and steadfast, bore King Wu.
"I who preserve you, charge you
to join and smite the great Shang."

There, the hosts of Yin and Shang,
their standards like a forest.
An oath was made on the Pasture Ground,
"It is we who are in the ascendant.
The high god looks upon you,
be there no treachery in your hearts."

The Pasture Ground stretched on and on,
with sandalwood chariots glorious.
The teams of bays well-muscled,
War Chief was our Shangfu.
He was the falcon taking wing,
he showed the way for Wu the King.
They fell on great Shang and smote them,
the morning they gathered was clear and bright.

"The Greater Brightness" differs from the preceding Odes in not following chronological order: it begins with a statement of the principles of kingship and in the conclusion, the heir of Shang losing his place. The rest of the poem, however, does not treat how the Shang ruler lost his place but how the Zhou built up its *De* to take that place.

Below is brightness, either from Heaven's revealing light or from Zhou's virtue; above is that "blazing," associated with fearsome power and wrath of Heaven. The shift of Heaven's favor that was given simply as an event in "O Splendor" becomes here an essential attribute of Heaven, an inconstancy and unreliability that should be a source of perpetual caution for the Zhou. The king is "Son of Heaven" (*Tianzi* 天子), so that the change from one ruling house to another is a crisis in family succession, a challenge to the familial model of delegating and transferring authority. One is forced to reconsider Heaven's relation to men below—for if the ancestors had any part in Heaven, it is almost unthinkable that they would abandon their own family for another. The secret counterpart is, of course, the shift in the Zhou succession to Wangji—a succession, though still within the immediate family, determined by the parent, taking into consideration the well-being and prospects of the family as a whole. This then is the problem addressed by the Ode: succession and the quality of the heir.

"O Splendor" tells us that Zhou became the "match" of Heaven from the succession of Wangji, and the second stanza of "The Greater Brightness" immediately takes up Wangji's marriage. His bride, Great Ren, comes from a Shang aristocratic house, so that their child, King Wen, will already represent a crossing of the divisions between Zhou and Shang ("Devout," *Sizhai* 思齊, will refer to to Wangji's mother, the "woman Jiang," as "Jiang of Zhou" 周姜, not as *pin* 嬪, "foreign bride," the bride as "guest").

The fruit of their works, King Wen, has the virtues of prudence and self-discipline, virtues now necessary under the blazing scrutiny of a Heaven that is so unreliable in its favors. We see here explicitly King Wen's relation to the high god: he "serves" (*shi* 事). His *De* is not simply "bright"; it exists in a realm of possibilities where it can "swerve aside" or "turn around" (*hui* 回)—a danger that King Wen avoids. For this virtue he receives blessings, dominance over the lands around, and a mate. In Heaven's increasingly intimate interventions in the fate of the Zhou house, it assumes the role of the parent.

The Ode goes into great length about the selection, meeting, and marriage of King Wen's consort Great Si. Except for the "Son of Heaven," Great Si's appearance as "Heaven's little sister" (*Tian zhi mei* 天之妹) is the only other suggestion of a divine family member, perhaps intimating that an a collectively ancestral Heaven can shift family interests to the female line. Their union is explicitly directed by Heaven's Charge; once she has born King Wu, Heaven immediately intervenes with another Charge—to strike the Shang.

The Ode presents the Zhou royal house as not simply acting under orders but as instruments in a breeding program to produce King Wu. This is not so much narrative as the phases in accomplishing a purpose. There is no mention of King Wu's virtues, of the death of King Wen, of the offenses of the Shang king, or of winning the allegiance of the feudal lords and mustering an army—we move directly from King Wu's emergence from the womb to the scene before the battle on the Pasture Ground. From the beginning the Ode has been concerned with questions of succession, the encounters of marriage and battle that will bring forth a new successor and ultimately remove the Shang Son of Heaven.

At last King Wu addresses his troops and tells them that the high god is looking down on them, the god who, as we have seen, can take the measure of men's hearts. The arrayed troops smite the Shang in a scene of ubiquitous light, like that with which the poem began.

King Wu, the actual instrument of the Shang's destruction, is less often celebrated in the Great Odes than King Wen, as in the Ode that bears his name, "King Wen" (*Wen wang* 文王 235).

文王在上，於昭于天。周雖舊邦，其命維新。
有周不顯，帝命不時。文王陟降，在帝左右。
King Wen is there above,
how he shines there in the sky!
Zhou is an olden land,
the Charge it has is new.
Glorious is the house of Zhou,
was not the god's Charge good?
King Wen rises and descends,
he is on the god's either side.

For the later Zhou kings their ancestor King Wen serves as an intermediary, an intimate of the high god. In this context the "newness" of the Charge might best be understood as "renewed" from generation to generation by virtue of King Wen's continual vertical journeys between heaven and the ancestral shrine of the royal house. But later in the same Ode a warning and reminder are issued:

無念爾祖，聿修厥德。永言配命，自求多福。
殷之未喪師，克配上帝。宜鑒于殷，駿命不易。

命之不易，無遏爾躬。宣昭義問，有虞殷自天。
上天之載，無聲無臭。儀刑文王，萬邦作孚。

Do you not think on your forebears,
and thus perfect their *De*?
Forever be counterpart of the Charge
and seek for yourself many blessings.
Before the Yin had lost its hosts
it could be the high god's counterpart.
You should look in the mirror of Yin,
the great Charge is not easy.

The Charge is not an easy thing—
let it not end with your person.
Make known a name for rightness,
the judgment on Yin came from Heaven.
When high Heaven takes action,
there is no sound, there is no smell.
Take King Wen as your pattern,

and all the lands will trust you.

The continuous reproduction of the model of King Wen ensures the renewal of the Charge for the house of Zhou. The alternative is to be the "last king," to have it "end with your person." For such a person the "bright *De*" that brings Heaven's blessings and the adherence of the lands all around becomes something of a dark anti-*De* that repulses others. Yet here too, in inversion, we find divine agency at work, with the earthly king still the high god's "counterpart" until he loses his place. "Overbearing" is a denunciation of Shang put into the mouth of King Wen and an attempt to give an account of the origins and consequences of wrongdoing.

## Overbearing (*Dang* 蕩 255)

蕩蕩上帝，下民之辟。疾威上帝，其命多辟。
天生烝民，其命匪諶。靡不有初，鮮克有終。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。曾是彊禦，曾是掊克，
曾是在位，曾是在服。天降滔德，女興是力。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。而秉義類，彊禦多懟。
流言以對，寇攘式內。侯作侯祝，靡屆靡究。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。女炰烋于中國，斂怨以為德。
不明爾德，時無背無側。爾德不明，以無陪無卿。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。天不湎爾以酒，不義從式。
既愆爾止，靡明靡晦。式號式呼，俾晝作夜。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。如蜩如螗，如沸如羹。
小大近喪，人尚乎由行。內奰于中國，覃及鬼方。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。匪上帝不時，殷不用舊。
雖無老成人，尚有典刑。曾是莫聽，大命以傾。

文王曰咨，咨女殷商。人亦有言，顛沛之揭，
枝葉未有害，本實先撥。殷鑒不遠，在夏后之時。

Overbearing is the high god,
he gives his rules to folk below.
Perilous, the high god's power,
many the rules within his Charge.

Heaven bore the teeming folk,
his Charge cannot be trusted.
All men begin well,
but few can keep it to the end.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
You have been the harsh oppressor,
you have been grasping and crushing.
You have been in the places of power,
you have held the functions.
Heaven sent recklessness down into you,
and you rise by acts of force.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
Cling to right and seemliness—
much hate comes back from harshness.
Loose words are given as your response,
plunder and pillage are in the center.
People rise up, they speak curses,
without ceasing, without close.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
You have roared in the heartland,
you draw wrath as your Power.
You shed no light from your Power,
so none stand at your back or side.
Your Power sheds no light
so none will stand with you and serve.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
Heaven does not swill you with wine,
you chase and choose things not right.
You have overstepped in your behavior,
unable to tell darkness from the light.
You howl and you shout,
and would have daylight be as night.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
You are like locusts, like grasshoppers,

like froth, like the soup that simmers.
Things great and small draw to destruction,
you men still follow this way.
You have domineered in the heartland,
and it spreads all the way to Guifang.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
Not the high god who is not good—
Yin does not act as it did of old.
And though it has no wise old men,
still it has its sanctions and codes.
Never have you heeded these,
and the Great Charge is overthrown.

King Wen said, Woe!
Woe upon you Yin and Shang!
There is a saying among men:
When a tree falls and is torn from earth,
there is yet no harm to boughs and leaves—
the roots meet ruin first.
Yin's mirror lies not far away,
it is there in the reigns of the lords of Xia.

In "Overbearing" the warning regarding untrustworthy Heaven is followed not by the lineage of Zhou's acquisition of virtue and an exhortation to continue it, but by a catalogue of Shang's misdeeds. And yet who is responsible for these misdeeds? The *Shi* do not reflect upon the fundamental issues of ethics, but they bring the culture to the edge of those issues.

Chinese ethics, even these proto-ethics, focuses not on ethical decision and hence the ethical action, but on ethical nature and disposition. Judgment follows not from an action but from a predisposed practice. Bad acts accumulate, but a person is doomed by a failure to heed when the models of proper action are made available. There is almost always at least one opportunity for a miscreant to reform, and that opportunity is too often missed.

Ethical responsibility tends to rise to the top of hierarchies. Insofar as the ruler offers a model to the folk below, their excess and misbehavior is a sign of the ruler's excess. But at what point in the hierarchy does responsibility cease to rise? What is the culpability of a prson with the power to send down a disposition to transgress? The high god transferred the bright De to the house of Zhou and engaged in a breeding program to produce the virtuous

instrument of Shang's destruction. One line in "Overbearing" proclaims the obvious inversion: "Heaven sent recklessness down into you" (*Tian jiang tao De* 天降滔德). What Heaven has sent is literally a "reckless *De*," a transgressive *De* that floods over boundaries. If this is the case, who is responsible for the Shang's downfall? Rather than a simple moral tale of good rewarded and evil punished, we see both good and evil nurtured by Heaven, then rewarded and punished.

"Overbearing" comes to the edge of ethical issues because a powerful habit of thought—the mirroring of high and low in structures of authority—leads to an unwelcome conclusion. This produces explicit denials of Heaven's responsibility in causing Shang's behavior, denials that would otherwise be unnecessary: "Heaven does not swill you with wine" (*Tian bu mian er yi jiu* 天不湎爾以酒).[10] And again later the Ode protests Heaven's innocence: "Not the high god who is not good—/Yin does not act as it did of old" (*Fei Shangdi bu shi, Yin bu yong jiu* 匪上帝不時，殷不用 舊). At the same time the mirroring of high and low runs throughout the Ode.

In "King Wen" we learn that the Shang ruler was the high god's "counterpart," *pei*, before it "lost its hosts." And here in "Overbearing" we can match up the qualities ascribed to irate Heaven with those of the tyrannical Shang ruler. The fact that "Yin does not act as it did of old" corresponds exactly to the untrustworthiness of Heaven, which also does not act as it did of old. But most striking is the attribute of the high god for which the poem is named: "overbearing," *dangdang* 蕩蕩, suggesting a willful, unrestrained display of authority.[11] This is both the counterpart and consequence of the "reckless *De*" displayed by the Shang ruler, which was itself sent down from Heaven. Mirroring occurs on many levels in these Odes: a brightness on high mirrors a brightness below in "The Greater Brightness," and here the high god and his earthly counterpart both act wantonly, and in doing so produce consequences that mirror the end of the Xia.

We see in the description of the Shang ruler's behavior something essential about *De*. It is an "Attainment" that effects certain responses, but it is not necessarily positive. There is a "reckless *De*"

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[10] I say "seems" here because *Shi* negatives have an uncomfortable way of becoming rhetorical interrogatives: "did not Heaven swill you with wine?"
[11] Such an attribute of Heaven was so alien to the Confucian moral vision that developed later that "Heaven" here was interpreted as a figure for the errant Zhou king Li.

(in the *Pan'geng* of the *Shu* there is a "disastrous *De*, *xiong De* 凶德) that alienates and stirs discord as effectively as the bright *De* of Zhou wins adherents. Particularly interesting in this regard is the line: "You draw wrath as your *De*" (*lian yuan yiwei De* 斂怨以為德. We do not know whether to take *yiwei* 以為 as a full considerative (implying the king's errant judgment) or as actual, as the term often is in the *Shi*. If we take *yiwei* as a full considerative, then drawing the wrath of the people is not really *De*; the king mistakenly understands this as showing his power and authority. If, however, it is actual, then it is a negative *De*, his "reckless *De*," which brings response every bit as effectively as positive *De* does. And the alienation of the king from his people is mirrored in the alienation of the high god from the king.

This unbright, perverse *De* drives people away and spreads negative consequences. Instead of stillness, the Shang king makes noise, and noise returns from the kingdom in a seething murmuring from the populace. Darkness and light are inverted, figuratively and literally in the night orgies of drinking. Before pronouncing the fall of the Great Charge, the poet must affirm that models of behavior were indeed available by which the king could reform himself. Yin has its codes, and the king does not heed.

King Wen ends by citing a popular saying, offering the Shang king a grim warning from the common wisdom that he so willfully disregards. If the polity is an organism, the king is the root, and from the root the polity will fall. The mirror of history lies in the fall of the Xia Dynasty.

## Delegating Authority: The Odes of King Xuan's Reign

Heaven's Charge can be given to a family house, and it can be taken away. As authority is delegated on a vertical axis from Heaven down to earth, so within the feudal kingdom it is delegated outward on a horizontal axis to the margins.

Scholars have often compared the pre-dynastic and foundation Odes with the Odes of the reign of King Xuan (827-782 B.C.). King Xuan's military undertakings have been controversial, and critics of the Odes have been divided on the tone and quality of these pieces. Whatever judgments we ourselves might make regarding King Xuan and his high nobility, I think there is no question that these Odes were intended as praise and embody the values of the day.

The Odes of King Xuan's reign concern conquests and settlements on the Zhou frontier and the royal charge given to court nobles. Several of these are explicitly in praise of court nobles, whose investiture is a delegation of authority that reproduces the essential elements of the investiture of Zhou itself. In the comparison between "Spreading" and "O Splendor" we saw the high god taking the place and functions of Danfu; here we see the Zhou king taking the place of the high god. And as Danfu disappears when the high god appears, so the high god largely disappears once the king takes over his functions.

## Han Huge (*Han yi* 韓奕 261)

奕奕梁山，維禹甸之，有倬其道。韓侯受命，
王親命之。纘戎祖考，無廢朕命，夙夜匪解。
虔共爾位，朕命不易。榦不庭方，以佐戎辟。

四牡奕奕，孔脩且張。韓侯入覲，以其佳圭，
入覲于王。王錫韓侯，淑旂綏章，簟茀錯衡，
玄袞赤舄，鉤膺鏤鍚，鞹鞃淺幭，鞗革金厄。

韓侯出祖，出宿于屠。顯父餞之，清酒百壺。
其殽維何，炰鱉鮮魚。其蔌維何，維筍及蒲。
其贈維何，乘馬路車。籩豆有且，侯氏燕胥。

韓侯取妻，汾王之甥，蹶父之子。韓侯迎止，
于蹶之里。百兩彭彭，八鸞鏘鏘，不顯其光。
諸娣從之，祁祁如雲。韓侯顧之，爛其盈門。

蹶父孔武，靡國不到。為韓姞相攸，莫如韓樂。
孔樂韓土，川澤訏訏。魴鱮甫甫，麀鹿噳噳。
有熊有羆，有貓有虎。慶既令居，韓姞燕譽。

溥彼韓城，燕師所完。以先祖受命，因時百蠻。
王錫韓侯，其追其貊。奄受北國，因以其伯。
實墉實壑，實畝實籍。獻其貔皮，赤豹黃羆。

Huge is Liang Mountain,
it was Yu who cleared it,
splendid was his way.
The Count of Han received the charge,

the King himself charged him:
Continue your ancestors,
never set aside my charge,
do not slacken day or night,
show respect in your position,
my charge is not easy.
Chastise those who come not to court,
thereby assisting your lord.

Huge were his four stallions,
very long and tall.
The Count of Han had an audience,
with his large jade plaque
he came in for audience with the king.
The king gave the Count of Han
a fine dragon banner, a plumed standard,
a chariot mat-screen, a finely wrought yoke,
black dragon-robes and russet slippers,
hooked breastplates, and carved horse-head plates,
a leather rail-guard with a thin tiger-pelt,
studded reins and a metal-set harness.

The Count of Han set forth and prayed,
he set forth and spent the night in Tu.
Xianfu there feasted him
with a hundred pots of clear ale.
What was then the flesh they ate?—
roasted turtle and fresh fish.
What were then their vegetables?—
they were shoots of bamboo and reed.
What was he then given?—
a team of horses, a great chariot.
Bamboo platters and wooden vessels many,
the Count and all made merry.

The Count of Han took a wife,
she was the niece of the king at Fen,
the daughter of Guifu.
The Count of Han went to meet her,
he went to the town of Gui.
A hundred chariots thundering,
the eight bells on each were clanging,
glorious was his light.
Her younger sisters came with her,

teeming they were like clouds.
The Count of Han looked on them,
the radiance filled the gate.

Guifu is a great warrior,
he has gone to every domain.
For his daughter, born Ji, he looked for a place
and no place was so happy as Han.
Very happy indeed is the land of Han,
its streams and marshes are very broad,
it bream are very big,
it has does and stags in droves,
it has bears both black and brown,
it has wildcats and tigers.
Pleased, he bade her dwell there,
Ji of Han was happy and pleased.

Widespread is the city of Han,
completed by the hosts of Yan.
And by the charge to his ancestor,
he commands all the Man tribes' adherence.
The King gave to the Count of Han
the Zhui tribes there and the Mo;
he received widely from northern domains,
they adhered to him as their earl.
For this place he built walls and moats,
he made fields and put them on tax-rolls.
He sent the king pelts of the panther,
of the red leopard and brown bear.

The ode begins by invoking Liang Mountain, within the domain of Han, tracing its opening for agricultural civilization back to the time of Yu, and thus establishing it within the proper realm of the Xia peoples (the final stanza suggests that the current inhabitants are not primarily Xia). We move immediately to the scene of the Count of Han receiving the king's charge. Like Heaven's Charge, the royal charge is declared "not easy" (*bu yi* 不易): the receiver must be diligent (cf. "O Splendor," where the high god addresses King Wen saying: "be not so at your ease"); he must be respectful; and he must chastise those who have affronted the king. There is, however, one important addition to the charge: "continue your ancestors" (*zuan rong zukao* 纘戎祖考). The foundation of the Zhou was a time of crisis and of a problem in succession and reproduction. King Wen became *the* Ancestor, and authority came to him by

a deviation in the line of succession. In the same way the last Shang king has failed to reproduce the models of his ancestors. But once we are within the Zhou itself the lines of reproduction should be perfect.

We do not know exactly where the high god addressed and gave his Charges to kings Wen and Wu. In "The Greater Brightness" the Charge to King Wu to smite the Shang followed directly after his birth. Likewise, in "Han Huge" the giving and receiving of King Xuan's charges occur less in an empirical setting than in a realm of politically loaded words, performative utterances. The delegation of authority in the mortal world, however, requires the supplement of public display. In the second stanza we have the Count of Han arriving at court in his splendid chariot and having an audience with the king, where he is given the royal gifts that are the public sign of the king's favor. These gifts are inventoried for remembrance of the extent of the king's appreciation. The king himself is not described in his regalia: he is present only as the giver of gifts. Reciprocity for such royal generosity comes through service, and eventually in sending back tribute.

As the Count of Han goes forth to his fief, other additions of honor are presented along the way. A lord feasts him in Tu, and the dinner is inventoried, along with further gifts received. Then, as in the foundation Odes, the Count receives a wife and connection to the royal family. Similar to King Wen's welcome for his bride in "The Greater Brightness," we have a scene of the count meeting his bride and a praise of her beauty (and of her sisters, who, by this later custom, would accompany their eldest sister as secondary wives).

Her father Guifu has settled on this match for her not explicitly in consideration of her husband's merits and lineage, but because of the richness of his fief, a "happy land" whose bounty is lavishly praised.

Not only does this domain possess an abundance of game, it has non-Xia peoples—perhaps a predominance of non-Xia peoples. Some of these he owns "by the charge to his ancestor" (*yi xianzu shou ming* 以先祖受命); the Zhui and Mo seem to be recent additions given by the king. In asserting possession over his domain, the count does what Zhou dukes always did: he builds walls, makes fields, and adds lands to his tax-rolls. And with the completion of the "civilizing" activities, he reciprocates the king's largess by sending back pelts as tribute. These will no doubt enter the royal storehouse and be given out as gifts in some future investiture in the spread of Zhou feudal domains.

We have two distinct systems of feudal relations at work here. One is the old Zhou system of the charge, a task and authority delegated downward, a vice-royalty of subordinate mirroring without reciprocity. This system is intertwined with intergenerational relations, of authority and inheritance within a family line. The is the version of investiture in the first stanza. The second system involves exchange and possession. The system of the "charge" gives responsibilities and duties; the exchange system gives gifts. The person with *De* glows with light; the person given honor displays it in inventories of his symbolic trappings and more substantial possessions. The brightness of *De* does not admit the easy marking of degrees; possessions of land, subjects, goods, and honor, however, are quantifiable. The person with possessions receives additions and himself gives gifts and tribute. In the downward transmission of a charge, the superior produces a *dui* 對, a "match" or "response." This is not only the term used in "O Splendor" when the high god makes Zhou its counterpart on earth; it is also the term used commonly in bronze inscriptions, where the casting of the vessel is a "response" to the "king's bounty" (*wang xiu* 王休). The vessel "responds to" the king's generosity, but it is not itself part of an exchange system, returning honor, service, or goods to the king. By contrast, in "Han Huge" gifts of honor are given and additions are made to the domain; but without reciprocity the system is unstable, and the Ode ends with the count making a tributary return to the king.

Royal uncles play a recurrent role in Zhou history. King Wen is king by virtue of his uncle Taibo having yielded the throne to his younger brother Wangji and fled to the non-Zhou south. King Cheng, in his minority, has his uncle the Duke of Zhou serving as regent and putting down rebellion in the east. In "Lofty Height" King Xuan heaps honor upon his (maternal) uncle the Earl of Shen and sends him off to a far southern Zhou fief.

## Lofty Height (*Songgao* 崧高 259)

崧高維嶽，駿極于天。維嶽降神，生甫與申。
維申及甫，維周之翰。四國于蕃，四方于宣。

亹亹申伯，王纘之事。于邑于謝，南國是式。
王命召伯，定申伯之宅。登是南邦，世執其功。

王命申伯，式是南邦。因是謝人，以作爾庸。

王命召伯，徹申伯土田。王命傅御，遷其私人。

申伯之功，召伯是營。有俶其城，寢廟既成。
既成藐藐，王錫申伯，四牡蹻蹻，鉤膺濯濯。

王遣申伯，路車乘馬。我圖爾居，莫如南土。
錫爾介圭，以作爾寶。往近王舅，南土是保。

申伯信邁，王餞于郿。申伯還南，于謝誠歸。
王命召伯，徹申伯土疆。以峙其粻，式遄其行。

申伯番番，既入于謝。徒御嘽嘽，周邦咸喜。
戎有良翰，不顯申伯。王之元舅，文武是憲。

申伯之德，柔惠且直。揉此萬邦，聞于四國。
吉甫作誦，其詩孔碩。其風肆好，以贈申伯。

Of lofty height is the Peak,
towering up to Heaven.
The Peak send down its spirit
that bore Fu and the Earl of Shen.
Fu and Earl of Shen
are the pillars supporting Zhou.
They went to be a hedge in the states around,
they went to be walls in the lands all around.

The Count of Shen strives earnestly,
and the king will continue his service.
He goes to build a city, he goes to Xie,
he is the model for the southern domains.
The King charged the Earl of Shao
to settle the abode of the Earl of Shen,
He will go unto that southern realm
and generations will keep hold of his deeds.

The King charged the Earl of Shen,
be a model for this southern realm:
use the people of Xie
by them make your walls.
The King charged the Earl of Shao
to tax the fields of the Earl of Shen.
The King charged his chief steward
to transport there his household men.

For the deeds of the Earl of Shen
the Earl of Shao did the building.
Work was begun on his walled city,
his ancestral temples were complete,
once complete, they were deep and broad.
The King gave to the Earl of Shen
a team of four strapping stallions
with hooked breastplates gleaming.

The king sent to the Earl of Shen
a great chariot and a team.
"I have planned where you will dwell:
no place is no fine as the southern land.
I give you a great plaque of jade,
take this as your treasure.
Go then, uncle of the king,
and preserve these southern lands."

Then truly the Earl of Shen set forth,
the King feasted him in Mei.
The Earl of Shen then turned south,
indeed going off to his city of Xie.
The King charged the Earl of Shao,
tax the domains of the Earl of Shen,
to build a store of provisions
to speed him on his way.

The Earl of Shen was brave and bold,
he entered into his city Xie.
His footmen and charioteers were teeming,
all in the realm of Zhou rejoiced,
now you have a good pillar.
Glorious was the Earl of Shen,
eldest uncle of the king,
he took his pattern from Wen and Wu.

The *De* of the Earl of Shen
was mild, gracious, and straight.
He stilled the thousands of realms,
his fame is known in the lands around.
Jifu made this song,
its verses are very grand,
and its air is widespread and fine,
to present to the Earl of Shen.

As in "The Teeming Folk" (*Chengmin* 烝民 260) in which Heaven bears Zhongshan Fu to be an aid to the house of Zhou, here we have a myth of divine intention, in this case the Peak (identified with Taiyue 太岳) sending down its spirit (*shen* 神) to produce Fu (Zhongshan Fu?) and the Earl of Shen to be particular helpers for the royal house.[12] Such external agency in the production of worthy helpers is obviously a fiction of praise, but it may also serve to legitimate two high court nobles who do not bear the royal surname and thus are not bound by the family obligations that follow from the Charge to Zhou. They are nevertheless included in the fully developed ideology of the Zhou feudal system, with the king in the center and the feudal lords as an encircling hedge and protective barrier.

Like the high god taking the measure of the house of Zhou, the king notes the quality of the Earl of Shen, that he "strives earnestly" (*weiwei* 亹亹) and therefore will serve the king well as a feudal lord. The line of particular interest here is: "and the king will continue his service" (*wang zuan zhi shi* 王纘之事). The term "continue," *zuan*, usually refers to ancestors or predecessors, as in "Han Huge" (it is a more loaded term than simply suggesting that the earl served the king well before and will continue to do so in his new fief). No mention is made of the Earl of Shen's ancestors. The earl is being enfeoffed so that his service to the royal house will be continued in his descendents. In the southern domain he will be a model, an exemplar of Zhou civilization, and his descendents will reproduce that model. The king as gift-giver can load the earl with chariots and decorations, but the king who makes the charge of investiture delegates inheritable authority under the expectation that the model of the founder can be reproduced in the descendents.

From the looks of it, Xie is not yet a fully "civilized" city where the Earl of Shen can simply assume his duties unaided. The Earl of Shao, who we will see in the next ode as one of the king's successful generals, is charged to go prepare the way and "settle" the place for the Earl of Shen's coming. The Earl of Shao is to equip the city—as Danfu had done his—with walls and an ancestral shrine, which will be the site for future generations to worship their founding ancestor (the Earl of Shen's ancestors, not being of the royal surname, would not worship the Zhou ancestors).

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[12] This may suggest that Fu and the Earl of Shen are by family origin Rong barbarians. Certain Rong tribes traces their ancestry to the sacred Peaks; see *Zuozhuan*, Xiang 4.1.

As in "Han Huge" after the charge come the royal gifts, including a great plaque which is to be the "treasure," (*bao* 寶, the "thing to preserve," *bao* 保)—the sign of this moment of investiture for future generations. When the Count of Han appeared in court, he was carrying his plaque; here the Earl of Shen first receives his. As in "Han Huge" the departure is followed by a feast.

At last, we have the Earl of Shen entering his city of Xie in triumph. In the final stanza we have a praise of the *De* of the Earl of Shen and one of the few instances in the *Shi* in which the poet names himself.

The southern lands were not always easily settled. The preceding poems focus only on investiture, the king's gifts, and the progress of the feudal lord to his fief. "Yangzi and Han" begins with the military service of the Duke of Shao and concludes with recognition by the Son of Heaven.

## Yangzi and Han (*Jiang Han* 江漢 262)

江漢浮浮，武夫滔滔。匪安匪遊，淮夷來求。
既出我車，既設我旗。匪安匪舒，淮夷來鋪。

江漢湯湯，武夫洸洸。經營四方，告成于王。
四方既平，王國庶定。時靡有爭，王心載寧。

江漢之滸，王命召虎。式辟四方，徹我疆土。
匪疚匪棘，王國來極。于疆于理，至于南海。

王命召虎，來旬來宣。文武受命，召公維翰。
無曰予小子，召公是似。肇敏戎公，用錫爾祉。

釐爾圭瓚，秬鬯一卣。告于文人，錫山土田。
于周受命，自召祖命。虎拜稽首，天子萬年。

虎拜稽首，對揚王休。作召公考，天子萬壽。
明明天子，令聞不已。矢其文德，洽此四國。

Yangzi and Han go rolling on,
our warriors go flooding.
We do not rest, do not roam free,
we go to assail the Huai tribes.
We have brought our chariots forth,
we have lifted our falcon standards.
We do not rest, we take no ease,

we go to bring hurt to the Huai tribes.

Yangzi and Han sweep in torrents,
our warriors seethe and surge.
We bring order to the lands around
and declare the completion to the King.
The lands all around are made peaceful,
the King's domain nigh settled.
Now there is no conflict,
and the King's heart may be at ease.

It was by the shores of Yangzi and Han,
the King gave a charge to Hu of Shao:
"Open the lands that lie around,
tax the lands within our bounds.
Neither injure nor oppress
to the farthest reach of the King's domain.
Go make boundaries, mark out fields
all the way to the southern seas."

The King gave a charge to Hu of Shao,
"Go everywhere, go make this known.
When Wen and Wu received the Charge,
a Duke of Shao was their support.
Say not: I am but a child—
you, Duke of Shao, are successor.
You persevered in these great works,
whereby I grant you blessings.

"On you I bestow the *gui* ladle,
one urn of black millet beer with spice.
With these inform your cultured Forebears
that I confer upon you earth and field.
Here in Zhou you receive a charge
that derives from the charge to Ancestor Shao."
Hu bowed and touched his head to the ground:
"Live thousands of years, Heaven's Son!"

Hu bowed and touched his head to earth,
he answered acclaiming the King's goodness.
He made the holy vessel of Shao's Duke—
thousands of years to Heaven's Son.
The Son of Heaven sheds shining light,
his fine renown will never end.
He spreads his Power gained by cultured works,

attunes the domains all around.

The ode begins with a hyperactive Zhou military enterprise, the sort of enterprise that soldiers and officers complain about in the Airs and Lesser Odes. Warriors in other early cultures are generally brave, skillful, or cunning; Zhou's warriors are characteristically hard-working and energetic, never resting. The war is described as *jingying* 經營, translated as to "bring order"; *jingying* is a general term of public service, involving deliberation and prudent management, as applicable to irrigation projects as to the subjugation of non-Xia tribes. *Jingying* stands in sharp contrast to the figure of the surging river of warriors with their banners and chariots, and it is the point where the pacific language of the Zhou polity is reasserted. The end of violent action is not victory, the taking of spoils, or military glory, but a calm and absence of conflict. When the fighting is complete, the king is ritually informed. At the symbolic center of the kingdom, the king seems to be virtually the microcosmic body of the kingdom; and once the king's lands are settled, the king himself feels at peace.

The king's charge to Duke Hu of Shao is to provide him taxes, but expressly not to injure or oppress. At times the Zhou political discourse of bringing peace as a cover for military action approaches the comic, as in "Ever Warlike" (*Chang wu* 常武 263), where, at the beginning of an expedition against the Huai tribes (perhaps the same expedition described here), the king proposes to "extend his grace unto these southern lands" (*hui ci nanguo* 惠此南國). In "Ever Warlike" and here in "Yangzi and Han" it is no secret that the king's grace comes at the sharp point of Zhou bronze. Violence is no longer quite as invisible as it was in "Duke Liu." The consequence is, however, identical: open the land, make boundaries, assess taxes.

The fourth and fifth stanzas are the heart of the ode, the scene of the charge. As the Duke of Shao was the support of kings Wen and Wu in the founding, the present Duke of Shao bears the same relation to the present king. He has persevered, and the king makes him a gift of what usually only Heaven and the high god can give: "whereby I grant you blessings" (*yong xi er zhi* 用錫爾祉).

The Duke of Shao represents an old line of the Zhou nobility. Rather than horses and chariots and regalia, the king here gives objects of great ritual power, donations that strongly recall inscriptions on ritual vessels. This honor is not for public display, riding through the streets of the frontier city of Xie, but to inform the ancestors of the achievements of their descendent, that he has

reproduced their model: he is their "successor," *si* 嗣, and their "resemblance," *si* 似. The ancestors are referred to as the "cultured Forebears" (*wenren* 文人), a term also used in bronze inscriptions. The present charge is a continuation of the charge given to Hu's ancestor.

It is interesting to contrast the charge to the Earl of Shen, the king's maternal uncle, and the charge to the Duke of Shao. In both cases what is at stake in the charge is continuity through generations. The Earl of Shen is given a domain, the trappings of glory, and the promise that he will be the object of veneration by generations of descendants who will hold the fief. The Earl of Shao, from one of the most distinguished feudal lines, is given land, but that is less celebrated than the objects of power from the king's hand by which he may inform his ancestors of his merits and royal acknowledgement and demonstrate that he is the worthy successor.

Zhou political authority imagined the Odes is an uncertain and anxious gift, ever in danger of being withdrawn. The person who holds authority is always under scrutiny. Thus, authority must be regularly reaffirmed, in ritual spectacle and in poems like these, in which "succession" (*si*) becomes "[family] resemblance" (*si*) that goes beyond genetic lineage to the perfect reproduction of ancestral models. The greatest gift that King Xuan can give the Duke of Shao of his generation is the royal recognition that he is the *si*, the "resemblance" of his ancestor through his deeds for the kingdom. The Duke of Shao can take the news and the *gui* ladle to the spirits of his ancestors. Unfortunately, the high god does not reaffirm the king's own reproduction of the model of his founding ancestors with the same public clarity.