

Concepts of *Hsiao* (Filial Piety) in the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Classic of Documents**

Harry Hsin-i Hsiao

I *Hsiao* in the *Classic of Poetry*

Among the distinctive features of the Western Chou (1122-771 B.C.) culture were the concept of the mandate of Heaven (*t'ien-ming* 天命), the virtue of reverence (*ching-te* 敬德), and the concept of filial piety (*hsiao* 孝). According to Ch'i Ssu-ho 齊思和, the importance of the concept of filial piety was probably second only to that of the Mandate of Heaven.¹ In this paper, I will try to define the concept of *hsiao* through examining the relevant source materials in the *Shih-ching* 《詩經》 (*Classic of Poetry*; hereafter, *Poetry*) and the *Shu-ching* 《書經》 or *Shang-shu* 《尚書》 (*Classic of Documents*; hereafter, *Documents*).

We cannot say for certain how the concept of *hsiao* was developed during the early part of the Western Chou. We are even less certain concerning the possible origin of the concept of *hsiao* in the Shang dynasty.² What we can say definitely is that from the

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¹ See his "Hsi-Chou shih-tai chih cheng-chih ssu-hsiang" 《西周時代之政治思想》, *Yen-ching she-hui k'o-hsüeh* 《燕京社會科學》, 1 (November 1949): 19-49.

² Ch'i Ssu-ho suggests that the concept of filial piety did not appear until the Chou period. See his "Hsi-Chou shih-tai," p. 33. Bernhard Karlgren lists a graph 孝 as an early version of the word *hsiao*. See his "Grammata Serica Recensa," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockholm), 29 (1957): 301-302, #1168. Yang Jung-kuo 楊榮國 is even more positive concerning the practices and theories of filial piety in the Shang dynasty. He lists King Wu-ting's 武丁 (also known as Kao-tsung 高宗 in the *Classic of Documents*) observance of a three-year mourning period and Hsiao-chi's 孝己 filial devotion as solid evidence for the prevalence of the concept of filial piety in the Shang dynasty. See his *Chung-kuo ku-tai ssu-hsiang-shih* 《中國古代思想史》 (Peking, 1954; rpt. Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. 生活讀書新知三聯書店, 1962), pp. 11-12. Yang's interpretation is fairly influential in mainland China, especially during the period when he was prominent in the Anti-Confucian Campaign. However, according to Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), I, 458-461 and Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里, *Shang-shu shih-yi* 《尚書釋義》 (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yuan-hui 中華文化出版事業委員會, 1956), p. 108, Wu-ting's filial piety was a later interpretation. Again, according to Ch'en Meng-chia 陳夢家, *Yin-hsü pu-tzu tsung-shu* 《殷虛卜辭綜述》 (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she 科學出版社, 1956), pp. 430-431, Hsiao-chi's filial devotion was a legend of the Warring States period, and furthermore, he was not known as 孝己 in the Shang period. Fang-chih Huang Jacobs 黃芳枝 in her "The Origin and Development of the Concept of Filial Piety in Ancient China" (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1971), p. 6 [This thesis is published in *Chinese Culture*, 14.3 (September 1973): 25-55] concludes that there is no evidence to prove the existence of the word *hsiao* during the Shang period. This conclusion is supported by my preliminary research into some fifty major collections of the oracle bone inscriptions. However, I did not have the opportunity to exhaust all the collections. Professor Paul L-M Serruys of the University of Washington points out for me that the word *hsiao* appears in the following works: (a) Jao Tsung-yi 饒宗頤 *Chia-ku-wen pien* 《甲骨文編》, 8.10, p. 353; (b) Takada Chūshū 高田忠周, *Kochū hen* 《古籀篇》, 33.24, (c) Nakajima Takashi 中島稔, *Shokei engen* 《書契淵源》, p. 319; and (d) Shirakawa Shizu 白川靜, *Setsubun shingi* 《說文新義》, 1B.96.

beginning of the Western Chou, filial piety became a popular idea. The frequent appearance of the word *hsiao* in the bronze inscriptions, the *Poetry*, and the *Documents* suggests how extensively the concept of filial piety prevailed. The posthumous title of the eighth king of the Chou dynasty, "Hsiao Wang" 孝王 (Filial King, r. 909-895 B.C.) is another indication of the role of filial piety in the ruling house.

I will examine the concept of *hsiao* in the *Poetry* in Part I. The conclusion of Part I is tentative. In the light of evidence from the *Documents*, it has to be revised. A further examination of the concept of *hsiao* in the *Documents* will be undertaken in Part II. Then, in another article—"Concept of *Hsiao* in the Bronze Inscriptions"—I will test to what extent the concept of *hsiao* derived from the *Poetry* and the *Documents* can be corroborated by the sources in the bronze inscriptions (*chin-wen*) 金文.³

The major source from which we derive a vivid and detailed description of the

³ For a comprehensive view of the bronze inscriptions see Chou Fa-kao 周法高, ed. *Chin-wen ku-lin* 《金文詁林》 Vol. 14, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1975), pp. 5283-5292. For a brief discussion of the concept of *hsiao* in the bronze inscriptions, see Li Yü-min 李裕民, "Yin Chou chin-wen chung ti *hsiao* ho K'ung Ch'iu *hsiao-tao* ti fan-tung pen-chih" 《殷周金文中的“孝”和孔丘“孝道”的反動本質》, *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* 《考古學報》, 1974, No. 2, pp. 19-28. Based on five articles in the journal *Wen-wu* 《文物》, and the following collections: *San-tai chi-chin wen-ts'un* 《三代吉金文存》, *Shang Chou chin-wen lu-yi* 《商周金文錄遺》, *Li-tai chung-ting yi-ch'i k'uan-shih* 《歷代鐘鼎彝器款識》, *Ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i t'u-shih* 《青銅器圖釋》, *Ch'ün-ku-lu chin-wen* 《摺古錄金文》, *Shang-hai po-wu-kuan ts'ang ch'ing-t'ung-ch'i* 《上海博物館藏青銅器》, and *Chou chin-wen ts'un* 《周金文存》, Li Yü-min lists 69 bronze inscriptions of the Western Chou period, 13 of the Spring and Autumn period, and 6 of the Warring States period, supposedly containing the word *hsiao*.

According to Li, the characteristics of the concept of *hsiao* in the bronze inscriptions belonging to the Western Chou period are:

- (a) The objects of filial piety are deceased ancestors as well as living parents and grandparents. The eternal offering of sacrifices to ancestors is a basis feature of *hsiao*.
- (b) Clan elders, elders of collateral relatives, and even relatives (non-senior members), and friends also become objects of *hsiao*.
- (c) Reverence for, and sacrifice to, the spirits and nature gods are also considered acts of *hsiao*.
- (d) *Hsiao* is closely associated with other virtues. To be filial, one has to inherit the *te* 德 (virtues) of one's ancestors.
- (e) *Hsiao* is an important ethical standard for evaluating each individual.

Li Yü-min's summary is interesting although it is also somewhat controversial. I wonder whether his equation of *hsiao*, *k'ao* 考, and *hao* 好 is justifiable. [His interpretation of *hao* in terms of *hsiao* is qualified. Not all of the *hao* in the bronze inscriptions are said to be equivalent of *hsiao*. However, his equation of *hsiao* and *k'ao* is partially wrong. He suggests that these two words were interchangeable in the Western Chou period. Actually, they were interchangeable only occasionally. Among the 231 phrases and sentences from bronze inscriptions containing the word *k'ao* cited in Chou Fa-kao's *Chin-wen ku-lin*, *k'ao* is interchangeable with *hsiao* in only 14 cases (6%); and among 67 phrases and sentences containing the word *hsiao*, it is interchangeable with *k'ao* in only one case (1.49%). Obviously, the scope of their interchangeability was limited.] It is also rather vague as to the precise meaning of such expressions as: "One is *hsiao* to one's friends," and "One is *hsiao* to one's relatives (including equal and junior members)." Does it suggest that *hsiao* in the Western Chou period was also understood as a general ethical principle which required one to be kind to one's friends and relatives? Was the concept of *hsiao* confused with other ethical principles to the extent that a certain type of pan-filialism already existed in the Western Chou period? Can the concept of *hsiao* in the bronze inscriptions be corroborated with that in the *Poetry* and the *Documents*? I will attempt to answer these questions in a separate article.

concept of filial piety during the Western Chou is the *Classic of Poetry*. Although this anthology was compiled c. 600 B.C., the 305 odes and poems in it date from the 11th to the 7th century B.C.⁴ The word *hsiao* appears frequently not only as a single-character term,⁵ but also in several two-character compounds like: *hsiao-yu* 孝友 (filial piety and brotherly love),⁶ *hsiao-hsiang* 孝享 (to present sacrifice filially; filial sacrifice),⁷ *hsiao-ssu* 孝祀 (filial sacrifice),⁸ *hsiao-ssu* 孝思 (filial mind),⁹ *hsiao-tzu* 孝子 (filial son),¹⁰ and *hsiao-sun* 孝孫 (filial grandson; filial descendant; sacrificer).¹¹

If we base our study on the passages which contain these terms and the single word *hsiao*, the concept of filial piety in the *Poetry* would be: (1) remembrance of deceased parents and ancestors; (2) offering sacrifices to them; (3) conformity to their wishes and teachings; and (4) belief that if one were filial, one could receive such blessings as: longevity, glory, prosperity, an eternal succession of filial descendants, and a prosperous and stable state. The limited scope of this concept may deeply disappoint many of the scholars who are familiar with Confucian concept of filial piety. Applying this concept to the *Classic of Poetry*, one may easily be tempted to expand the scope of filial piety to include the following seven aspects: (5) longing for (living) parents; (6) gratitude for parental loving care; (7) love and respect for parents; (8) support of parents; (9) observance of three years' mourning; (10) having many sons to continue the family line; and (11) acquiring parental consent for marriage.

Indeed, if our minds are preoccupied with the classical concept of filial piety as represented by Confucius down to the 19th century Chinese thinkers, we will be reluctant to exclude items (5) to (11) from our list, despite the fact that the *Poetry* never mentions them as aspects of filial piety. The major difficulty in studying the idea of filial piety in the *Poetry* does not lie so much in its archaic language as in the attempt to avoid oversimplification while at the same time avoiding reading too much into the concept of filial piety itself. If we take only the passages referring to the word

⁴ The dating of individual poems is often difficult. See Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique* (Nouvelle édition. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955), XIX, 354-6; Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937, rpt. New York: Grove, 1960), p. 11; Chang Hsin-ch'eng 張心澂, *Wei-shu t'ung-k'ao* 《偽書通考》 (Shanghai: Commercial Press 商務印書館, 1954), I, 211-223; W.A.C.H. Dobson, "Linguistic Evidence and the Dating of the *Book of Songs*," *T'oung Pao* 51 (1964): 322-34; Herrlee G. Creel, *Studies in Early Chinese Culture* (Baltimore, 1939), pp. 49-54; Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, ed., *Ku-shih pien* 《古史辨》 (Peking: P'u-she 樸社, 1931), III, 504-510.

⁵ The *Classic of Poetry*, No. 244/3 遙追來孝; No. 252/5 有孝有德; No. 283 以孝以享; No. 286 永世克孝; No. 299/4 靡有不孝. Harvard-Yenching Index Series' numbers. See *Mao Shih yin-te* (A Concordance to *Shih Ching*), Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 9 (Peking: Yen-ching ta-hsüeh 燕京大學, 1934; rpt., Tokyo: The Japan Council for East Asian Studies, 1962), p. 147.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 177/6 張仲孝友.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 166/4 是用孝享.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 209/4 苾芬孝祀.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 243/3, 4 永言孝思; No. 243/3 孝思維則.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 247/5 君子有孝子; No. 247/5 孝子不匱; No. 282 綏予孝子.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 209/2, 300/4 孝孫有慶; No. 209/4 徂賚孝孫; No. 209/5 孝孫徂位.

hsiao, we may quite possibly oversimplify the Western Chou concept of filial piety. Because the *Classic of Poetry* is not a collection of essays on ethics, many of the ideas currently considered by the Western Chou people as aspects of filial piety might just be expressed in poetic language without being connected with the word *hsiao*. However, if we take the passages which, according to the popular concept of later times, should be classified under filial piety, we may be in danger of reading too much into the Western Chou concept. Between the two extremes there should be a middle way, but the working out of a middle way is somewhat a matter of subjective speculation.

About a dozen of the poems and odes express the authors' longing for their parents, or state that someone else was thinking of his parents (including ancestors). Among them, one ode expresses the author's thoughts of his father, especially of the latter's longing for the progenitor of the Dynasty:

Alas for me, who am [as] a little child,
 On whom has developed the unsettled State!
 Solitary am I and full of distress.
 Oh! my great father,
 All thy life long, thou wast filial.
 Thou didst think of my great grandfather,
 [Seeing him, as it were,] ascending and descending in the court.
 I, the little child,
 Day and night will be so reverent.
 Oh, ye great kings,
 As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.¹²

Filial piety here is understood in terms of "remembrance" and "reverence." This is the only piece of this category which clearly states that such and such virtues are filial. Other poems, expressing longing for parents or worry over them, are not labeled "filial." Among these poems, one states that the author could not bear to see his parents suffer from the prevailing disorder.¹³ Five poems take the following theme: A soldier on service is depressed because his parents are left in sorrow; or he is depressed because he is not able to provide for his parents' livelihood:

The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged,
 And [so] I cannot plant millet and sacrificial millet,
 What will my father and mother rely on?

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 286; James Legge, tr., *The She King* (Hong Kong and London, 1872; rpt., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 596; No. IV, iC. 2. In Waley's translation, the poet's thoughts of his father's longing for the progenitor of the Dynasty is replaced with his determination to be filial himself and his thoughts of the forefathers. Lines 5-7 are translated as: "All my days I will be pious [*hsiao*: filial],/Bearing in mind those august forefathers/That ascend and descend in the courtyard." See Arthur Waley, *Book of Songs*, p. 233, No. 227. Some commentators think that this was the young King Ch'eng's (r. 1115-1079 B.C.) prayer to his father in the ancestral temple. Some think that this poem was not composed by King Ch'eng himself but is from the legend of King Ch'eng.

¹³ *Poetry*, No. 183.

How shall my father and mother be supplied with food?¹⁴

The frequent appearance of this theme shows that the support of parents' livelihood was one of the commonly agreed upon duties that a son must perform. These poems and odes also suggest that the interests of the king were in conflict with those of the parents.

The idea of gratitude for parents' toil in rearing the children and the children's return of affection, is well expressed in the following poem:

. . . Alas for my father and mother,
Alas for all their toil in bringing me up!

Than to live the life of the common people
Better to have died long ago!

Without a father, on whom can we rely?

Without a mother, whom can we trust?

At every turn we should encounter trouble,

At every turn meet failure.

My father begot me,

My mother fed me,

Led me, bred me,

Brought me up, reared me,

Kept her eye on me, tended me,

At every turn aided me.

Their good deeds I would requite.

It is Heaven, not I, that is bad.¹⁵

The expression of gratitude which would be labeled an important aspect of filial piety in later times, is not labeled as such in the *Classic of Poetry*. Whether the contemporary concept of filial piety covered this sentiment is not clear. What is certain is that this poem exerted a great influence. It has been extensively quoted throughout Chinese history, even in times of anti-filialism. The arrow of criticism in such periods was mainly directed towards the rigid codes of institutionalized filial piety, cruel practices of extreme forms of filial devotion, suppression of children's natural rights, and superstitious ancestor worship rather than the natural expression of gratitude.

Conformity to the examples, wishes or teachings of ancestors is mentioned in three odes.¹⁶ The doctrine of conformity to ancestors' wishes and examples might have had an influence on the formation of Chinese conservatism. A certain leeway might be provided by the concept of the will of Heaven, provided that the latter is not too closely identified with the established rules and practices of the ancestors. But it happens that they are very often closely connected in the *Poetry*. In one ode the ancestors are said to be in Heaven. Although their will is not identified with the will of Heaven, the

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 121, also see Nos. 110, 162, 169 and 185.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 202; Waley, *Book of Songs*, pp. 316-317, No. 283. Part of this theme is also taken up by two other poems, Nos. 29 and 32.

¹⁶ *Poetry*, Nos. 240, 243, and 244.

observance of their examples is said to merit the blessing of Heaven. The relationship between the ancestors and Heaven is close enough to nullify a possible function of Heaven as an effective check against the abuse of the authority of ancestors.

Chou it is that continues the footsteps here below.
 From generation to generation it has had wise kings.
 Three rulers are in Heaven,
 And the king is their counterpart in his capital.
 He is their counterpart in his capital,
 The power of generations he has matched;
 Long has he been mated to Heaven's command
 And fulfilled what is entrusted to a king.
 Has fulfilled what is entrusted to a king,
 A model to all on earth below;
 Forever pious [*hsiao*, filial] towards the dead,
 A very pattern of piety [*hsiao*, filial piety].
 Loved is this One Man,
 Meeting only with docile powers;
 Forever pious [*hsiao*, filial] towards the dead,
 Gloriously continuing their task.
 Yes, gloriously he steps forward
 Continuing in the footsteps of his ancestors.
 "For myriads of years
 May you receive Heaven's blessing!
 Receive Heaven's blessing!"
 So from all sides they come to wish him well¹⁷

A cloud of traditionalism overshadows this ode, and sets up a direction of filial piety for future development. The latter half of this ode is also of interest in that it provided a constant stimulus to the Confucian theory of ruling the state through the moral example (especially filial piety) of the ruler—an ethico-political assumption that whenever the ruler shows his filial piety, the people will follow him by showing their filiality. Furthermore, since the ruler was supposed to be the "parent of the people,"¹⁸ the people would also show "filial piety" (docile obedience) towards him.

One poem has a verse which reads: "How do we proceed in taking a wife? Announcement must first be made to our parents."¹⁹ This was interpreted in later times as a prescription of what a filial son should do. However, in its context in the *Poetry*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 243; Waley, *Book of Songs*, p. 265, No. 248.

¹⁸ *Poetry*, Nos. 172 and 251.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 101; Legge, *She King*, p. 156, No. I. viii. 7. This passage is translated by Waley as: "When one takes a wife, how is it done? The man must talk with her father and mother." See his *Book of Songs*, p. 67, No. 71. The Chinese text for the second sentence is as vague as: "[One] must report to (or talk with) the father and mother." Waley's interpretation probably is closer to the custom of the *Shih-ching* period. However, Legge's translation is cited here simply because it reflects a traditional (post-*Shih-ching* period) practice of citing this passage to demonstrate a dimension of filial duties.

it does not necessarily suggest any relation with filial piety.

The idea of numerous descendants and a continuation of the family line appears in one poem.²⁰ Having numerous descendants is considered a blessing in that poem. However, there is no indication that it is considered filial, nor any indication that anything contrary to it would be unfilial.

According to common belief, the custom of observing a three-year mourning period for each parent had been practiced from time immemorial. However, the portion of the *Classic of Documents* which refers to it might be a forgery of the Warring States period.²¹ Nor does this belief appear in the *Poetry*, although there is one poem which has been mistakenly interpreted as a reference to it.

If I could but see the white cap!
 And the earnest mourner worn to leanness!
 My toiled heart is worn with grief!
 If I could but see the white [lower] dress!
 My heart is wounded with sadness!
 I should be inclined to go and live with the wearer!
 If I could but see the white knee-cover!
 Sorrow is knotted in my heart!
 I should almost feel as of one soul with the wearer!²²

The traditional commentators inferred that somebody was deploring the decay of filial feeling as seen in the neglect of the three-year mourning habit. Both the *Mao chuan* 《毛傳》 (Mao's Commentary on the *Classic of Poetry*) and Chu Hsi's *Shih chi-chuan* 《詩集傳》 (Collective Commentaries on the *Classic of Poetry*) quote Confucius' sayings on the three years' mourning for parents to illustrate their arguments. The "white cap" in the first stanza was identified by Mao as a kind of mourning cap called *lien-kuan* 練冠 which was to be worn by mourners for their parents from the 13th month on, while other commentators identified it as *kao-kuan* 縞冠 to be worn after the lapse of two years from the time of death. If the latter interpretation is correct, we can assume that the supposed mourning period was at least longer than two years. However, whether a "white cap" should be interpreted in this way is questionable. Assuming it should, we still face a question on another level—whether the custom of the three years' mourning was regarded by Western Chou people as a feature of filial piety.

In fact, these problems will disappear if we make a careful study of this poem.

²⁰ *Poetry*, No. 5.

²¹ See the further discussion of this question in Part II of this paper.

²² *Ibid.*, No. 147; Legge, *She King*, pp. 216-7. Modern scholarship has established that there is no reference to a three-year mourning ritual in this poem, and that this poem is actually a courtship song. Waley's translation can be confirmed by modern scholarship. See his *Book of Songs*, p. 26, No. 10: "That the mere glimpse of a plain cap/Could harry me with such longing,/Cause pain so dire!/That the mere glimpse of a plain coat/Could stab my heart with grief!/Enough! Take me with you to your home./That a mere glimpse of plain leggings/Could tie my heart in tangles!/Enough! Let us two be one."

The Chinese text reads:

Shu chien su-kuan hsi, 庶見素冠兮，
 Chi-jen luan-luan hsi, 棘人欒欒兮，
 Lao-hsin t'uan-t'uan hsi. 勞心博博兮。
 Shu chien su-yi hsi, 庶見素衣兮，
 Wo hsin shang-pei hsi, 我心傷悲兮，
 Liao yü tzu t'ung-kuei hsi. 聊與子同歸兮。
 Shu chien su-pi hsi, 庶見素鞞兮，
 Wo hsin yün-chieh hsi, 我心蘊結兮，
 Liao yü tzu ju-yi hsi. 聊與子如一兮。

The only clues the traditional commentators utilized as evidence of the three years' mourning are *su-kuan* 素冠 (white or plain cap), *su-yi* 素衣 (white or plain dress), and *su-pi* 素鞞 (white or plain knee-covers). The chapters on mourning rites in the *Li-chi* 《禮記》 and the *Ta Tai li-chi* 《大戴禮記》 make no mention of these three terms. The term *su-kuan* appears in the "Shih kuan-li 士冠禮," where it is said that a *su-kuan* was used for the capping ceremony in ancient times. Cheng Hsüan's 鄭玄 commentary interprets "*su-kuan* as a white cloth cap, which in contemporary usage is a mourning cap." Cheng's comment is sometimes misunderstood as meaning "*su-kuan* is a mourning cap." In fact, what he was saying is that "white cap is a mourning cap in present times." He never said that "it was also a mourning cap in ancient times." According to Chai Hao 翟灝, the custom of regarding white as the symbolic color for funerals and mourning did not prevail earlier than the Warring States period.²³ In the Western Chou period, white did not have this connotation. Thus there is nothing in this poem that has any connotation of mourning rites.²⁴

The virtues and behavior which are labeled "filial" in the *Poetry* are mainly those which have something to do with sacrificial offerings to deceased parents and ancestors. But not all the odes with references to ancestor worship are formally associated with the word "filial piety." Only 39% (i.e., seven pieces) of them are so labeled.²⁵ The following is an excerpt from one of these odes of ancestor worship. Following a lengthy description of ancestor worship, a stanza reads:

Very hard have we striven
 That the rites might be without mistake.
 The skillful recitant conveys the message,
 Goes and gives it to the pious son [*hsiao-sun*, filial descendant]:
 "Fragrant were your pious offerings [*hsiao-ssu*, filial sacrifice].
 The Spirits enjoyed their drink and food.

²³ Chai Hao, *T'ung-su pien* 《通俗編》, cited in Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shih-ching shih-yi* 《詩經釋義》 (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1953), p. 104.

²⁴ See Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shih-ching*, pp. 103-4; Wang Ching-chih 王靜芝, *Shih-ching t'ung-shih* 《詩經通釋》 (Taipei: Fu-jen 輔仁 University Press, 1968), pp. 295-7.

²⁵ *Poetry*, Nos. 166, 209, 247, 282, 283, 286, and 299.

They assign to you a hundred blessings.
According to their hopes, to their rules,
All was orderly and swift,
All was straght and sure.
For ever they will bestow upon you good store;
Myriads and tens of myriads.”
.....

This sacrificial rite is immediately followed by a feast, where:

The musicians go in and play,
That after-blessings may be secured.
Your viands are passed round;
No one is discontented, all are happy;
They are drunk, they are sated.
Small and great all bow their heads;
“The Spirits,” they say, “enjoyed their drink and food
And will give our lord a long life.
He will be very favoured and blessed,
And because nothing was left undone,
By son’s sons and grandson’s grandsons
Shall his line for ever be continued.”²⁶

I have no intention of going into the details of the sacrificial ceremony, nor of comparing the several variations of it. What concerns me here is that the sacrifice was often called the “filial sacrifice” or “filial offering” and the proceeding was sometimes called “to present sacrifice filially” or “to discharge one’s filial duty,”²⁷ the sacrificer was called a “filial son”²⁸ if he was the heir to the person receiving sacrifice, or a “filial grandson or filial descendant”²⁹ if he was the grandson or great grandson. The filial sacrificial ceremony was supposed to bring longevity, glory, numerous filial sons and descendants, a stable and prosperous state, and many other unspecified blessings.³⁰

One ode states that the Marquis of Lu 魯侯 sought the blessings through being filial:

Reverent is the Lord of Lu,
Scrupulously he keeps his power bright,
Attentively he carries out every attitude and pose,
A model to his people.
[Truly admirable in peace and in war,]
Casting radiance on his noble ancestors,
Pious [*hsiao*, filial] towards them in all thing,
Bringing upon himself nought but blessings.³¹

²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 209; Waley, *Book of Songs*, pp. 209-211, No. 199.

²⁷ *Poetry*, Nos. 209, 166, and 283.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Nos. 247 and 282.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 209 and 300.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Nos. 209, 247, 282, and 300.

³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 299; Waley, *Book of Songs*, pp. 267-268, No. 250, with a slight revision for the fifth line.

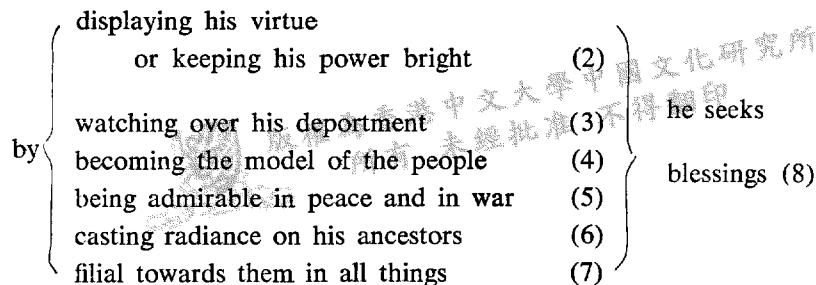
Here, "things filial" do not refer to sacrificial ceremony, but mainly to his virtue, behavior, deportment, civil and martial qualities. While other odes talk about seeking blessings through sacrificial ceremony, this ode suggests a search for blessings through displaying one's civil and martial qualities. In this sense, this ode appears to be exceptional. However, from the point of view that the source of blessing is closely connected with ancestors—the ancestors confer blessings after having received offerings in the case of other odes, or after having been affected by the fine qualities of the descendant in the case of this ode—there is still a continuity.

The Chinese text for the stanza quoted immediately above allows leeway in interpretation.

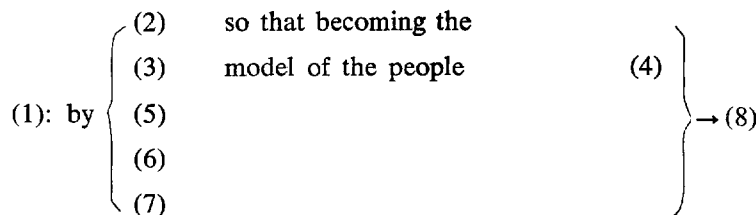
- | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-------|
| (1) | Mu-mu Lu hou | 穆穆魯侯， |
| (2) | Ching ming ch'i te | 敬明其德， |
| (3) | Ching shen wei-yi | 敬慎威儀， |
| (4) | Wei min chih tse | 維民之則， |
| (5) | Yiin wen yün wu | 允文允武， |
| (6) | Chao chia lieh-tsu | 昭假烈祖， |
| (7) | Mi you pu-hsiao | 靡有不孝， |
| (8) | Tzu ch'iu yi ku | 自求伊祐。 |

It is not impossible to interpret this stanza in the following different ways:

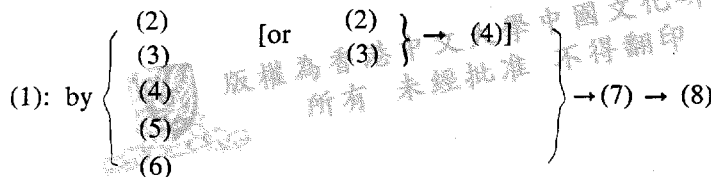
(a) The Lord of Lu (1):



(b)



(c)



(d)

$$(1): \text{by } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (2) \\ (3) \\ (4) \\ (5) \end{array} \right\} \left[\text{or } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (2) \\ (3) \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow (4) \right] \rightarrow (6) \rightarrow (7) \rightarrow (8)$$

If we take the first interpretation, then “filial piety” would be something parallel to the qualities mentioned in lines 2 to 6. Filial piety could be independent of, but could also overlap with part of, those qualities referred to in lines 2 to 6. This would also be true if we take the second interpretation. However, if we take the third one, the seventh line: “Filial towards them in all things” will then be interpreted as a summary of lines 2 to 6: to display one’s virtue was filial piety, to have excellent civil and martial qualities was filial piety, and to affect one’s ancestors was also filial piety. If we take the last interpretation, it would mean that the person, with his fine qualities as listed in lines 2 to 5, was able to affect his ancestors. The qualities listed in the second to the fifth lines were not themselves equivalents to filial piety, but they were used as means to affect one’s ancestors; they were the qualities through which one could impress or win over one’s ancestors and become filial.

Before engaging in a further discussion of the problem, I must go back to the question raised at the beginning of this section: Whether the filial piety of this period involved only concepts related to ancestor worship, or whether it might also have involved other acts, as listed in the sixth to the eleventh items at the beginning of this section.

If the third interpretation on p. 430 is the correct meaning of the original Chinese text, then we can readily proceed to assert that the concept of filial piety in the *Classic of Poetry* would imply all the eleven items. But I am afraid that the third interpretation cannot but be rejected. Otherwise we will introduce into the *Poetry* the idea of pan-filialism which is completely foreign to the rest of the *Poetry*. It seems that the last interpretation is the most acceptable one. If we accept the last interpretation, we cannot yet give any definite conclusion for the items numbered 6 to 11 at the beginning of this section.

Let us recall again those which were labeled “filial.” Except for two of the odes which mention that to conform to the wishes of the deceased parents or ancestors is filial, all the other odes and poems in which the word *hsiao* appears have something to do with sacrificial ceremony to ancestors. Thus, it does not seem inappropriate at this moment to offer the hypothesis that the term “filial piety” in the Western Chou period referred mainly to something related to ancestor worship, and secondarily to conformity to ancestors’ wishes and models.

One may argue that the *Classic of Poetry* is not a collection of philosophical or ethical essays. A philosopher and a moral essayist may put the label of “filial piety” on something he has classified under filial piety, but a poet may not put any such label

on it. He may simply express the filial feeling with a few concrete images without giving any abstract term of "filial piety." Secondly, among the poems which express longing for parents or a deep concern for parents, only one of them employs the term *hsiao*. Suppose this poem had not been selected for the *Poetry*, none of the poem or ode depicting the feelings of longing and deep concern for parents would have been formally associated with the term *hsiao*. Is it not enough to show the danger of overreliance on the formal label "*hsiao*"? If so, how can we exclude the items 6 to 11 from being covered by the concept of filial piety?

These arguments are reasonable. The first argument, that a poet might not always employ the abstract term "*hsiao*", is convincing. As for the second argument, it may also be convincing provided that the particular poem with reference to *hsiao* (*Poetry*, No. 286) expresses longing for parents in a manner similar to that found in the other poems and odes. However, from a closer examination, it appears that this is not the case. The poem concerned was in fact the prayer of a young king to his deceased father declaring his sentiments in the temple of his father, and hence is different from the other poems and odes in question.

Perhaps as far as the *Classic of Poetry* is concerned, it does not seem to do injustice to assume that the original meaning of the term *hsiao* in the early Western Chou referred mainly to some filial devotion in connection to ancestor worship such as to present sacrificial offerings to the deceased parents and ancestors,³² to conform to their wishes and teachings, and to always keeping their memory alive. And since an unceasing continuation of descendants (in a patrilineal society, male descendants) was essential to unceasing performance of sacrifices, to have a son or many sons was also considered filial. The next step of development might be to extend the scope of definition and to begin to consider affection and respect for living parents, obedience to them, support of them (especially aged parents), and ever thinking of them, as also filial.

This hypothesis leads to two difficult problems. First, it sounds somewhat unnatural to say that the concept of filial piety should start with one's obligation towards the ancestors and dead parents and then be extended to the living parents rather than the other way around. It would appear more natural that the concept of filial piety be applied to the living parents first, then be extended to the deceased parents, and finally to the ancestors. Unfortunately, no material in the *Poetry* is decisive enough for us to do any conclusive analysis.

The second difficult problem is: Even though we accept this hypothesis tentatively, there is no reliable way to determine when the second stage occurred. Is the fact that so many poems refer to affection for and support of parents, enough for us to arrive at the conclusion that the concept of filial piety had already been extended to cover these feelings and practices in the Western Chou period? Or were these feelings and practices still not consciously classified as filial piety? The evidence from the *Poetry*, again, is too weak to confirm either hypothesis.

³² This had a great deal to do with the ancient belief that the spirits needed food, etc.

II *Hsiao* in the *Classic of Documents*

In Part I, after an examination of the odes and poems in the *Classic of Poetry*, I was inclined to assume that the original meaning of the term *hsiao* in the early Western Chou dynasty referred mainly to some filial devotion in connection to ancestor worship; and that the objects of filial piety was gradually extended from ancestors and dead parents to living parents in the next stage of development. This hypothesis appears to be strange. Whether it can be supported by the evidence in other Western Chou source materials or not will be discussed in Part II.³³

The appearance of the word *hsiao* in the *Shu-ching* (*Classic of Documents*) is less frequent than in the *Classic of Poetry*. If we uncritically take the canonical *Thirteen Classic* edition as the text, the word *hsiao* appears eight times in the *Documents*. But this edition of the *Documents* is the Old Text version which has been proved to be a late forgery of the third or fourth century A.D.³⁴ A late forgery may contain earlier materials, so that a text might be used, with caution, if there were not a much more reliable Modern Text version available. However, the Modern Text version of the *Documents* is also questionable. Ch'en Meng-chia is of the opinion that all the 29 documents in this version were revised by Confucians from the States of Ch'i and Lu during the Ch'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.).³⁵ But according to Matsumoto Masaaki and Creel, some documents are authentic.³⁶

The word *hsiao* appears four times in the Modern Text version of the *Documents*:

- (1) He [Shun] is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his [step-] mother was insincere; his half brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been

³³ There are some attempts by contemporary scholars to define the concept of *hsiao* in the *Poetry* and the *Documents*. Among them, the quality of the following two works is very poor: (a) Ch'iu Shih-ju 丘式如, "Shih-ching kan-fa *hsiao*-ssu ti yen-chiu" 《詩經感發孝思的研究》, *Chung-hua wen-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an* 《中華文化復興月刊》, 4.9 (September 1971): 47-49; and (b) Li Kuo-liang 李國良, "Ju-chia *hsiao*-tao ssu-hsiang ti yüan-yüan" 《儒家孝道思想的淵源》, *Nü-shih-chuan hsüeh-pao* 《女師專學報》, 4 (March 1974): 73-77.

Fang-chih Huang Jacobs' article (see note 2 above) is superior to the above two articles, although she occasionally misinterpreted the earlier concept of *hsiao* in terms of the later orthodox Confucian concept of filial piety. Professor Hsü Fu-kuan's article (see note 39 below) is very stimulating.

³⁴ Tseng Yün-ch'ien 曾運乾, *Shang-shu cheng-tu* 《尚書正讀》 (Peking: Chung-hua Shu-chü 中華書局, 1964). Yen Jo-chü 閻若璩, *Ku-wen Shang-shu shu-cheng* 《古文尚書疏證》, *Huang-Ch'ing ching-chieh hsü-pien* 《皇清經解續編》 ed. (1888). Chang Hsin-ch'eng, *Wei-shu*, I, 126-198. Paul Pelliot, "Le Chou King en Caractères Anciens et le Chang Chou Che Wen," *Mémoires concernat l'Asie orientale* 2 (1916): 124-158. Bernhard Karlgren, "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso chuan," *Göteborgs Höskolas Arsskrift* 32 (1926): 3-65. The authenticity of the *Documents* is discussed in pp. 49-53. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu shih-yi* (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1956), pp. 12-14. Ch'en Meng-chia, *Shang-shu tung-lun* 《尚書通論》 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1957), pp. 114-135. Herrlee G. Creel, *The Origins of Statecraft in China*, vol. 1, *The Western Chou Empire* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 447-448.

³⁵ Ch'en Meng-chia, *Shang-shu*, pp. 135-146.

³⁶ Matsumoto Masaaki 松本雅明, *Shunjū sengoku ni okeru Shōsho no tenkai* 《春秋戰國によげず尚書の展開》 (Tokyo: Kazama shobo 風間書房, 1966). Creel, *Origins*, pp. 448-463. Creel thinks 12 out of 29 documents are generally reliable as source materials of the Western Chou period.

able, however, by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness.³⁷

This passage from the "Yao tien 堯典" chapter was supposed to be a recommendation for Shun by eminent officials of Yao. It is unreliable in two senses. First, Yao and Shun are legendary figures, so that this cannot be a realistic record. Secondly, a legend may reflect the intellectual climate of the time during which it was composed. If the legend of Shun existed in the Western Chou period, this document might be used as an example of the Western Chou concept of filial piety. Some scholars believe that the "Yao tien" was fabricated sometimes between Confucius and Mencius, but Hu Hou-hsüan points out that some parts of this document can be confirmed by oracle bone inscriptions.³⁸ Nevertheless, the portion which refers to Shun's filial devotion seems to be a later addition. I suspect that it was composed during the time of Mencius or a little earlier. The *Analects* records several passages praising Shun, but none of them praise him as a filial son. There is a passage in the *Chung-yung* 《中庸》 praising his filial behavior, but the authenticity and date of the *Chung-yung* is disputable. The first traceable person who praised Shun's filiality was Mencius.³⁹ If Mencius was not responsible for fabricating Shun's filiality, someone a little earlier may have been.

(2) The sixth paragraph of the "Chiu kao 酒誥" chapter also has the word *hsiao*. The "Chiu kao" was a charge given by a king to Feng.⁴⁰ This king prohibited the use of intoxicating liquor, except in a few special cases such as in connection with sacrifices, or in a happy reunion of a family when a filial son came back from far-away lands. Legge's translation revised by Clae Waltham reads:

Ye people of the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs cultivating your millet, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong and use them.⁴¹

However, according to Ch'ü Wan-li, the last sentence should be interpreted as: "When your parents are so pleased to see you coming back from doing business in faraway lands, and prepare a family feast, the prohibition of the use of liquor may be lifted."⁴²

³⁷ Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, p. 8. James Legge, tr., *The Shoo King*, in *The Chinese Classics*, vols. 3 & 4 (Hong Kong, 1865; rpt., Hong Kong University Press, 1960), I. iii. 12, p. 26.

³⁸ Ch'en Meng-chia, *Shang-shu*, p. 112; Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, pp. 2-3; and Matsumoto Masaaki, *Shōsho*, pp. 240-246 hold that the "Yao tien" was a post-Confucian fabrication. Hu Hou-hsüan 胡厚宣 disagrees with them. See Hu's *Chia-ku hsüeh Shang shih lun-ts'ung* 《甲骨學商史論叢》 (Ch'eng-tu 成都: Ch'i-lu ta-hsüeh kuo-hsüeh yen-chiu-so 齊魯大學國學研究所, 1944-46).

³⁹ Hsü Fu-kuan 徐復觀, "Chung-kuo hsiao-tao ssu-hsiang ti hsing-ch'eng yen-pien chi ch'i li-shih chung ti chu wen-t'i" 《中國孝道思想的形成演變及其歷史中的諸問題》 in his *Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang-shih lun-chi* 《中國思想史論集》 (Taichung 台中: Chung-yang shu-chü 中央書局, 1959), pp. 157-158.

⁴⁰ Feng 封 is the name of K'ang-shu 康叔. See Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i tuan-tai" 《西周銅器斷代》, *K'ao-kü hsüeh-pao* (September 1955), p. 163.

⁴¹ Clae Waltham, *Shu Ching: Book of History* (Chicago: H. Regnery, 1971), p. 154.

⁴² Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, p. 85.

The Chinese text is too vague to determine which interpretation is correct, although Ch'ü's seems better. Actually, the difference in these interpretations does not affect my study of the concept of filial piety. This passage does not give us much detail as to the content of *hsiao*. However, it gives us a very important clue that the support of parents' economic needs was considered *hsiao* in the time this document was written. The date of this document, therefore, is crucial in order to answer the question raised at the end of last section. It may also prove crucial in overturning the hypothesis offered at the same place.

One tradition attributes this document to King Ch'eng 成王 (r. 1115-1079 B.C.), or to the Duke of Chou speaking for King Ch'eng.⁴³ Another tradition attributes it to King Wu 武王 (r. 1122-1116 B.C.).⁴⁴ The last assumption is favored by some modern critical scholars.⁴⁵ If King Wu was the author, then one cannot but say that as early as the beginning of the Chou dynasty the support of parents' livelihood was considered to be an aspect of filial piety. If this is true, I am afraid the working hypothesis tentatively arrived at the end of last section—that the term *hsiao* in the early Western Chou referred mainly to filial devotion in connection with ancestor worship—must be revised or abandoned. Even if this document was written by the Duke of Chou or King Ch'eng, my working hypothesis must be revised. I am a little reluctant to do so, because that assumption is supported by many poems and odes in the *Poetry*. I do not have enough evidence to reject the authorship of King Wu, King Ch'eng, or the Duke of Chou, but I suspect that there could be later additions to the "Chiu kao" as in the case of many pre-Ch'in books. Perhaps, Ch'en Meng-chia's opinion that the *Documents* was revised during the Ch'in⁴⁶ may not be lightly dismissed. Whether the word *hsiao* here in question is a later addition will determine whether I should revise my earlier hypothesis. There being no decisive evidence, I had better leave this question unresolved for the time being.

(3) The king says, "O Feng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more detestable are the unfilial and unbrotherly—as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father's heart, and the father who can no longer love his son, but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat

⁴³ See the "Preface to the *Documents*" and the "Wei shih-chia 衛世家" chapter in the *Shih chi* 《史記》.

⁴⁴ Ts'ai Ch'en 蔡沈, *Shu chi-chuan* 《書集傳》 (Taipei: Commercial Press, Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an San-pien ed., 1975), the "Chiu-kao" chapter.

⁴⁵ Karlgren, "Glosses on the *Book of Documents*," (1), *The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 20 (1948): 296. Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i," I, 163-164. Homer H. Dubs, "The Archaic Royal Jou [Chou] Religion," *T'oung Pao* 46: (1958) 227-228, n. 2. Creel, *Origins*, p. 451.

⁴⁶ Ch'en Meng-chia, *Shang-shu*, pp. 135-146.

parties who proceed to such wickedness as **offenders**, the laws of our nature given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into **great** disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of King Wen, punishing them severely and not pardoning.”⁴⁷

The above passage is from the “K’ang kao 康誥” chapter, which was a charge given by King Wu to K’ang Shu (Feng) when the latter was appointed as Director of Crime and, simultaneously, gained the fief of K’ang in lieu of emolument.⁴⁸ Therefore, this document was also an early Chou work. This passage is important in that it indicates the incorporation of filial piety into legal codes. As Wang Kuo-wei commented: “In the Shang, people were only punished for crimes of violence, whereas Chou society also punished people for unfilial or unfraternal behavior,”⁴⁹ filial piety, which should be a moral obligation, was made a legal obligation. And the punishment for filial impiety was severe.

Filial impiety (*pu-hsiao*) was the crime of the son, but as Legge pointed out, this passage “goes on to speak of the father’s failure in duty as well as the son’s . . . we must understand by *pu-hsiao* all offences between father and son.”⁵⁰ Such an implication of the term *pu-hsiao* seems to be awkward. I suspect that the author might originally merely intend to list the son’s failure in his filial duties as a crime of *pu-hsiao*, but then, feeling that a wicked father should also be punished, he accordingly added the father’s failure in his duties to the son under the crime of *pu-hsiao* as well. Otherwise, we must assume that *hsiao* referred to the father’s duty towards the son as well as the son’s towards the father in the early Chou. This would be an anomalous usage. One is tempted to suppose that the term *pu-hsiao* here was a careless misuse. It may be possible to find out whether it was a misuse or not by examining the concept of *hsiao* in the bronze inscriptions. If it is proved to be a misuse, then the content of *hsiao* implied here consisted mainly of the son’s obligation towards his father rather than towards the ancestors. If it was not a misuse, then the concept of *hsiao* referred to mutual love and obligation between father and son. No matter whether the term *pu-hsiao* was a misuse here or not, the results all suggest the same thing: *hsiao* was concerned with the relationship between father (parents) and son (children), and not with that between ancestors and descendants. Thus, from this and the other case in the *Documents* discussed above, it does not seem proper to insist that in the very beginning of the Western Chou *hsiao* originally referred to one’s obligation towards ancestors primarily.

Hsü Fu-kuan believes that filial piety was a new politico-ethical principle introduced in the beginning of the Chou dynasty. He remarks that the urgent task felt by the

⁴⁷ Ch’ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, pp. 80-81; Waltham, *Shu Ching*, pp. 149-150.

⁴⁸ Creel, *Origins*, pp. 450-451.

⁴⁹ Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, “Yin Chou chih-tu lun” 《殷周制度論》, in his *Kuan-t’ang chi-lin* 《觀堂集林》 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959, rpt.), p. 452. Cited in Fang-chih Huang Jacobs, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Legge, *Shoo King*, p. 392.

Chou founders was to consolidate their power through the enfeoffment of their relatives in strategic areas so as to control the nonrelatives, and to maintain order among their relatives through the *tsung-fa* 宗法 system. The inner force to sustain the structure of the *tsung-fa* system was the ethical principles of filial piety and of deference to elder brothers. They hoped to keep the Chou house an unbroken unit through these institutional and ethical devices. The key symbol for unifying the Chou house in the beginning of the Chou dynasty was King Wen 文王.⁵¹ The sons of King Wen were urged to be filial to their father, and the grandsons of Wen were urged to be filial to their grandfather King Wen, as well as to their own fathers. Accordingly, it is possible to advance the following interpretation: in the time of King Wu, for his generation, the object of filial devotion was the father, King Wen; for the succeeding generation, it was both their grandfather, King Wen, and their fathers, the sons of Wen. Conformity to King Wen's wishes and example was filial for the second generation. Conformity to King Wen's example through obedience to a son of his was filial for the third generation. Thus, we see that the object of filial devotion was the father as well as the ancestor. In the earlier period when King Wu was the key preacher of filial piety, the object was the father. Later, when the Duke of Chou preached filial piety to King Ch'eng and other nephews, the object was the father as well as the grandfather. And much later, it was the father as well as the ancestors.

Thus, "filial piety" was originally applied to one's obligation towards his father, but soon afterward was extended to include one's piety towards his ancestors. So far, this hypothesis appears to work well. It can be used to interpret the excerpts from the *Classic of Poetry* and the *Classic of Documents*. Furthermore, the first difficulty of the working hypothesis for the previous section raised at the end of Part I can be easily solved. (As will be examined in my book on filial piety in ancient China [to be published by the Cambridge University Press], this hypothesis might have to be rejected according to the source materials in the bronze inscriptions.)

(4) Uncle Yi-ho, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wen and Wu, collecting the scattered powers and continuing the all but broken line of your sovereign. Your filial piety goes back to your accomplished ancestor and is equal to his.⁵²

This document was dated quite late in the Western Chou.⁵³ Filial piety was understood to mean imitation of the examples of the founders of the Dynasty and the continuation

⁵¹ Hsü Fu-kuan, "Hsiao-tao ssu-hsiang," p. 158. Traditional view holds that the *tsung-fa* system was devised by the founders of the Chou dynasty. However, according to Kwang-chih Chang, a *tsung-fa* system was practised in the Shang dynasty. See his *Early Chinese Civilization: Anthropological Perspectives* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 53, 78.

⁵² From the "Wen-hou chih ming" chapter "文侯之命". Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, p. 146; Wal-tham, *Shu Ching*, p. 239, with a revision.

⁵³ Ch'en Meng-chia, "Hsi-Chou t'ung-ch'i," III, 113. Kuo Mo-jo, *Chin-wen ts'ung-k'ao*, 《金文叢考》 (Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan-she 人民出版社, 1954), pp. 229b-301. Creel, *Origins*, p. 454.

of the line of succession unceasingly. Whether it implied obedience to parents is not clear. If my new working hypothesis is not too far from the truth, we may say that obedience to parents was implied, but the political implication of conforming to the examples of the ancestors and keeping the lineage of the ruling house unbroken, received a greater emphasis.

(5) The following passage does not contain the word *hsiao*, but is generally interpreted as one of the most important sources of the three years' mourning, which was sometimes considered as the center of filial piety during the imperial period.⁵⁴

The Duke of Chou said, "... If we come to the time of Wu Ting [in the Chinese text, he is referred to as Kao-tsung], he toiled at first away from the court and among the lower people. When he came to the throne and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. Afterwards he was still inclined not to speak; but when he did speak, his words were full of harmonious wisdom."⁵⁵

This passage is from the "Wu yi 無逸" chapter, which is commonly attributed to the Duke of Chou, and is regarded as genuine by eminent and critical scholars. But Creel has proven it to be a forgery, written after the end of Western Chou but before the time of Confucius.⁵⁶ Ch'ü Wan-li notices that a similar story about Kao-tsung's keeping silence is also told in the "Shen-ying 審應" chapter of the *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 《呂氏春秋》, but the implication of the story in the *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* is neither mourning ritual nor filial piety, but rather care in conversation, especially in conversations related to policy making. Ch'ü is of the opinion that this implication might be the original meaning intended in the Kao-tsung story. Later, some Confucians twisted it to mean silence during the mourning period.⁵⁷ The Kao-tsung story in the *Classic of Documents* is this twisted version.

In Confucius' time, this story was referred to by Tzu Chang 子張, asking "what does it mean by Kao-tsung liang-an, san-nien pu-yen 高宗諒陰, 三年不言?" Confucius' reply was: "Why must Kao-tsung be referred to as an example of this? The ancients all did so. When the sovereign died, the officers all attended to their several duties, taking instructions from the prime minister for three years."⁵⁸ Following Confucius, this *Shu-ching* passage has generally been considered to relate to a three-year mourning ritual,⁵⁹ which had been universally practiced since time immemorial. The

⁵⁴ For instance, see the biographies of filial children in the twenty-four dynastic histories, where the observance of the three years' mourning was very much emphasized.

⁵⁵ From the "Wu yi" chapter. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*. p. 107; Waltham, *Shu Ching*, pp. 179-180.

⁵⁶ Creel, *Origins*, pp. 458-461.

⁵⁷ Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, p. 108.

⁵⁸ *Analects*, 14.43. James Legge, tr., *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, in *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1893; rpt., Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 291.

⁵⁹ Ch'ü Wan-li, *Shang-shu*, p. 108. Yü Hsing-wu 于省吾, *Shuang-chien-ch'ih Shang-shu hsün-cheng* 《雙劍諺尙書新證》 (Peking: Chih-li shu-ch'ü 直隸書局, 1936), 3:27b-29a.

Chinese conservatives of the 1960's and early 1970's still quote it to lament the deterioration of ancient rituals.

However, according to the oracle bone inscriptions, Kao-tsung (also known as King Wu-ting, 1324-1266 B.C.) was an extremely energetic ruler. Thus, "this three years of inactivity seems unlikely. Furthermore, there seems to be no definite evidence that the practice of three years of mourning—at least to anything like this extent—was in fact this early, although the Confucians tried to represent it as having been. Even as late as the time of Mencius it seems to have been by no means universal."⁶⁰ There is no positive evidence as to the prevalence of the three-year mourning ritual in the Western Chou period, let alone of its having been regarded as an aspect of filial piety.

In sum, the concept of filial piety had its significant development in the Western Chou period. The ancestor worship inherited from the Shang became an ingredient of *hsiao*. Sacrificial offerings to ancestors, conformity to the teachings of the ancestors (especially those of the founding fathers of the Chou dynasty), obedience to the father, love for parents, support of parents' livelihood, and having male descendants, etc., all became integral parts of this ethico-political requirement, *hsiao*. However, the practice of three years' mourning does not seem to have been considered a requirement of *hsiao* in this period. These are what we can induce from the *Poetry* and the *Documents*. Further researches are necessary before we can say whether or not the conclusion reached in this article can be supported by other source materials of the Western Chou period.

⁶⁰ Creel, *Origins*, p. 461. Also his *Confucius, the Man and the Myth* (1949), p. 309, n. 3, and p. 124, n. 3. Rev. ed. under the new title: *Confucius and the Chinese Way* (New York: Harper, 1960).

《詩經》及《尚書》中的孝道思想

(中文摘要)

蕭欣義

孝道思想是否已在商代出現，學術界還沒有定論。但在西周初期，孝的觀念則已相當普遍。《詩經》及《尚書》所保存的有關資料，成為後世儒家孝道思想的泉源。《詩》、《書》中的孝道思想雖為春秋、戰國及大一統後的傳統孝道思想所繼承發揮，但兩者有不少重大差異。本文目的在討論《詩》、《書》的孝道思想。將來擬另撰一文論金文的孝道思想，然後再與《詩》、《書》比較，以探索西周時代的孝道思想。

本文第一節討論《詩經》。歸納《詩經》中含有孝字詩句，則《詩經》的孝道觀僅限於下列四點：1. 思念祖先及已死父母、祖父母，2. 對他們祭祀，3. 遵行他們的教訓，實現他們的期待，4. 如對他們有孝，則可享長壽，榮華富貴，世系長傳，代代現孝子，而且也可使國家安定富強。以上四點，似乎把《詩經》時代的孝道思想過份貧乏化。《詩經》中還有不少詩句含有後世所公認的孝道觀念。例如：5. 思念在世的父母，6. 感激父母養育之恩，7. 敬愛父母，8. 奉養父母，9. 守三年之喪，10. 多子多孫(男性子孫)以保世系永傳，11. 依父母之命而嫁娶。

以儒家正統孝道觀念(從孔子到十九世紀)來衡量，則第5至第11諸點不應與孝道無關。可是《詩經》中並沒有指明這幾點與孝有關。到底它們在西周時代算不算“孝”？本節的初步結論是除了第9點(三年之喪)以外，其餘六點在西周時可能已逐步納入孝的範疇。

依照《詩經》資料，西周初期，孝的原始內容似乎環繞着與祭祖有關的宗教及道德情操以及禮儀。及至第二階段，才漸漸把孝的對象從祖先及過世父母轉移到在世父母。對他們敬愛、感恩、順服、奉養，漸成為孝的新內容。換句話說，孝的觀念的發展可從二方面說明：1. 它從宗教性轉化為人文化，2. 它的對象從祖先擴及父母。

這個解釋面臨兩個問題：1. 依照常理，孝的對象應該是從在世父母擴充到祖先，而應顛倒順序，從先祖而推及父母。2. 縱使我們接受“祖先先而父母後”的學說，我們也無從斷定第二階段的發展在甚麼時候發生。《詩經》中有很多提到懷念敬愛奉養在世父母的詩句，這能不能解釋作第二階段在《詩經》時代已發生？或者這些懷念敬愛奉養的情操在當時還沒有被納入孝的範疇？《詩經》的資料，對於這兩個難題都無法提供確切的答案。

第二節討論《尚書》的孝道觀念。按照《酒誥》，奉養父母是孝的一要件。《康誥》

談到對於不孝者處以重刑，可見孝不只是倫理上的義務，同時又是法律上的義務。關於“不孝”的內容，《康誥》一面指兒子對父親不盡義務，刺傷父親的心情是不孝，可是另一面又說父親憎恨兒子也是不孝。這樣，到底孝是指兒女對父母的感情及義務，或者指父子之間互相的感情及義務，就不清楚了。不過至少有一點我們可以明確斷定：孝並不指子孫對祖先的感情與義務。說到這裏，《酒誥》及《康誥》的年代成爲一關鍵問題。如果這兩篇是東周膺品，或者主文雖是西周作品，但有關孝的段落是後代竄入的僞作，則可說第一節所提出的“孝的第二階段發展”未曾在西周時代發生。然而一般學者公認《酒誥》及《康誥》是西周初期作品，而且有關孝的段落也不太可能是僞竄的句子，那麼所謂第二階段的發展恐怕在西周初年就發生了。

其實，我們甚至可以懷疑第一節的結論關於從原始孝道思想演變到第二期孝道思想的學說是否站得住腳。第二節的資料傾向於否定上述學說。但到底是否站得住腳，第二節也無法確切下結論。以後探討金文，或許可摸到些微線索也說不定。

從廿四史孝義傳，孝友傳及方誌對孝子的表揚看來，守三年之喪是傳統孝道思想中極重要的內容。孔子和孟子都強調這個習慣自古已有之。不少學者引《尚書·無逸》一篇及《詩經》第174首（庶見素冠兮），稱三年之喪是西周孝道內容的重要一環。可是據 Creel 及屈萬里兩位教授的研究，三年之喪恐怕是在孔子前不久才被當作孝的要件。西周時代似無此禮儀，更與“孝”風馬牛不相及。

以上兩節的討論能解釋西周孝道思想到甚麼地步，有待進一步對照金文中的資料。讀者可參看周法高教授編纂《金文詁林》以及李裕民《殷周金文中的孝和孔丘孝道的反動本質》（《考古學報》，1974，第二期），李文引西周金文中含孝字者69件，春秋時代者18件，戰國時代者6件。徵引廣泛，可資參考。李文關於西周一節，在註3摘要簡介。但李氏解釋有商榷之處不少，擬另撰一文釐清之。