

小邦周寧王惟卜用。克綏受茲命。今天其相民矧亦惟卜用。嗚呼。天明
 畏。爾我丕丕基。爾惟舊人。爾丕克遠省。爾知寧王若勤哉。天閱朕我
 天愆我。成功所。予不敢不極卒寧王圖事。肆予大化。誘我友邦。天業
 忱。辭嗣其考我民。予曷其不于前寧人圖功。攸終。天亦惟用勤。愆我
 民。若有疾。予曷敢不于前寧人攸受。休畢。休弼。王曰。若昔朕其逝。
 朕言艱日思。若考作室。既底法。厥子乃弗肯堂。矧肯構。厥父蓄厥子。乃
 弗肯播。矧肯穫。厥考翼。厥考其肯曰。予有後弗棄。肆予曷敢不越
 卬教寧王大命。及若兄考乃有。交伐。厥子民養其勸。觀弗救。
 乃王曰。嗚呼。肆哉。爾庶邦君。越爾御事。奕邦由哲。亦惟十人。迪知上帝。
 命。越天業忱。爾時罔敢。易法。易定。矧今天降戾于周邦。大艱人誕鄰
 胥。伐于厥室。爾亦不知天命不易。及予永念曰。天惟喪殷。若禱夫。予曷
 敢不終朕敬。天亦惟休于前寧人。予曷其極卜。敢弗于從。率寧人。有
 指。有苞。疆土。矧今卜并吉。肆朕以爾東征。天命丕僭。卜陳惟若茲。

康誥。惟三月哉。載生魄。周公初基。作新大邑于東國洛。四方民大
 和會。侯甸男邦采衛。百工播民和。見士于周。周公成勤。乃洪大誥治。王
 若曰。孟侯。朕其弟。小子封。惟乃丕顯考文王克明德。慎罰。不敢
 侮。鯨寬庸。庸祗威顯民。用肇造我區夏。越我一二邦。以修我西土。
 時。曷。聞于上帝。帝休。天乃大命文王。殪戎殷。誕受厥命。越厥邦厥
 民。惟時敘。乃寡兄。勸。肆汝小子封。在茲東土。王曰。嗚呼。封。汝念哉。今
 民將在祗。適乃文考。紹聞衣。德言。往敷求于殷先哲王。用保乂民。汝
 丕遠。惟商耆成人。宅度。心知訓。別求聞由古先哲王。用康保民。弘于
 天。弘。覆于天。若德。裕乃身。不廢在王命。王曰。嗚呼。小子封。憫瘼
 乃身。敬哉。天畏棗忱。民情大可見。小人難保。往。盡乃心。無康。好逸。好
 逸。乃其乂民。我聞曰。怨不在大。亦不在小。惠不惠。懋不懋。又已。汝惟小
 子。乃服。惟弘。王應保殷民。亦惟助王。宅天命。作新民。王曰。嗚呼。封。敬
 明乃罰。人有小罪。非眚。乃惟終。自作不典。式爾。有厥罪小。乃不可不殺。
 乃有大罪。非終。乃惟眚。適爾。既道極。厥辜。時乃不可殺。王曰。嗚呼。
 封。有敘時。乃大明服。惟民。其勸。其力。懋和。若有疾。惟民。其畢。棄咎。若

慎 shen
 cautious
 careful
 罰 fa
 punish
 penalize
 命 ming
 mandate
 command
 order
 罪 zui
 crime
 guilt

build the upper part? If the father breaks the soil, and his son is not willing to sow, how much the less will he be willing to (reap =) bring it to a crop. Will then the father be willing to say: I have a descendant who does not discard the foundation (sc. created by me)? Then how could I dare not, when it has passed on to me, achieve the serene (dead) kings' great mandate? — 12. If among the (elder brothers and uncles =) seniors of the family there are those who jointly attack his son, should the feeders of the people (i. e. the princes) look on and not succour him? — 13. The king said: Oh, you are lax, indeed, you princes of the states and you managers of affairs! If the faulty states would follow the wise men, there are the ten men who obey and understand the commands of God on High. Heaven is not to be relied on (sc. the mandate is uncertain). Do not dare now to change what has been determined. Moreover, when Heaven now sends down guilt on the state of Chou (sc. the sedition), and great troublemakers and (extravagant =) disorderly neighbours attack us within the house, do you still not understand that Heaven's mandate is not easy (to keep)? — 14. I constantly think and say: Heaven in destroying Yin is like a (weeding) farmer; how would I dare not to finish (the weeding of) my acres? Heaven then also favours my deceased serene men (ancestors). — 15. How should I (first) explore to the utmost the oracle, and then dare not go and follow it? Following the serene (dead) men (i. e. their directions through the oracle), we shall have fine territories. Moreover, now the tortoise oracles have all been auspicious; therefore I shall grandly with you march to the East. Heaven's commands are not faulty; what the oracles (displayed =) indicated was like this.

K'ang kao.

1. In the 3rd month, on the 2nd (or: 3rd) day, Chou Kung first laid the foundations and made a new big city, at Lo in the eastern state. The people from the four quarters greatly concurred and convened. From the hou, tien and nan states, and from the ts'ai and wei zones, the various officers and the scattered people willingly appeared for service in Chou. Chou Kung encouraged them all. And then he grandly announced the work to be done.¹⁾ — 2. The king spoke thus: Oh you leading prince, my younger brother, youngster Feng! — 3. Your greatly illustrious (dead) father Wen Wang was able to make bright the virtue and to be careful about the punishments. — 4. He dared not maltreat the widowers and widows. Very meritorious, very respectful, very majestic, he was illustrious among the people. And so he created our (divisional Hia =) section of the Hia (i. e. Chinese-speaking) countries. In our one or two states there was thereby created order, and our western territories relied on him; it was seen and heard by God on High, and God favoured him. Heaven then grandly ordered Wen Wang to kill the great Yin and grandly receive its mandate, its states and people became orderly. Your (single-standing =) sovereign elder brother has

¹⁾ These first lines should, according to Su Shi, belong to the chapter Lo kao, and have been erroneously placed at the head of the present chapter, with the contents of which they have no connection.

exerted himself, and thus you, youngster Feng, are here in the eastern territory. — 5. The king said: Oh, Feng, consider! Now the people will (dwell on =) be disposed respectfully to follow your father Wen, to continue what they have heard and to follow the virtuous words. Go and widely seek from the Yin's former wise kings, thereby protecting and governing the people. You should grandly and far think of Shang's old and accomplished men, (measure =) comprehend their (hearts =) minds and understand their instructions. You should, besides that, seek information from the ancient former wise kings (i. e. those anterior to Yin), and so tranquillize and protect the people. You will be grandly (covered =) protected by Heaven, a compliant virtue will be abundant in your person, you will not neglect to (dwell on =) be intent on the king's orders. — 6. The king said: Oh, youngster Feng, (pain your body =) exert yourself intensely and be careful. Heaven's majesty is not to be relied on (i. e. you cannot be sure of its favour). The people's feelings are greatly visible (i. e. beware of signs of unrest), the small people are difficult to keep in order. Go and (exhaust your heart =) do your very best. Do not repose and love idleness, and you will (well) govern the people. I have heard the saying: dissatisfaction does not depend on whether it (sc. the matter) is great or whether it is small. Make compliant those who are not compliant, make energetic those who are not energetic. — 7. Yes, you are a youngster, but you shall manage great things; when your king has received and taken in his care the Yin people, you shall help the king to (settle =) consolidate Heaven's mandate, and make of them a new people. — 8. The king said: Oh, Feng, be careful and enlightened in regard to your punishments. If somebody has made a small offence, if it is not a (misfortune =) offence by mishap but a (going to the end =) persistence and he himself has committed what is unlawful (pattern-wise =) according to his set purpose, even if his offence is small, then you cannot but kill him. If he has a great offence, if it is not a persistence but a (misfortune =) offence by mishap, done (happening-wise =) by chance, when you have (acc. to the norm =) justly probed to the end his guilt, then you cannot kill him. — 9. The king said: Oh, Feng, if you have order in that, you will make greatly illustrious your management. The people will with force strive to be concordant. As if there were a sickness (sc. to be got rid of), so the people will entirely throw away its faults; as if one protected an infant, so the people will become peaceful and well-governed. — 10. Is it not you, Feng, who punish people and kill people? — do not erroneously punish or kill people. (And again) is it not you, Feng, who cut the nose or the legs off people? — do not erroneously cut the nose or legs off people. — 11. The king said: In the external (court) affairs (i. e. judicial affairs) you should set forth those items of the law, and follow those laws of the Yin that have good principles. — 12. And again he said: Having (summed up =) tried a case of arrest, reflect upon it five or six days, nay even to a decade or a season, and then grandly decide the (summed up =) tried case of arrest. — 13. The king said: You should set forth those items of the law and take for punishments

刑 xíng
punishment
(corporal
sentence)

殺 shā
kill

自刎 zì wǎn
cutting off
the nose

刳 yuē
cut off the
feet

則 ēr
cut off ears

保赤子。惟民其康乂。非汝封刑人殺人。無或[惑]刑人殺人。非汝封
又曰)封,劓(刑人,em.)刑人。無或[惑]劓(刑)刑人。王曰:外事。汝陳時
臬司。師茲殷劓有倫。又曰:要囚。服念五六日。至于旬時。丕蔽要囚。王
曰:汝陳時臬事。罰蔽殷彝。用其義刑。義殺。勿庸(以次汝)以即汝封。乃
汝盍遜。曰時敘。惟曰未有遜事。已。汝惟小子。未其有若汝封之心。朕
心。朕德。惟乃知。凡民自得罪。寢攘姦宄。殺越人于貨。斃不畏死。罔弗
斃。王曰:封。元惡大兇。惟不孝不友。子弗祇服。厥父事。大傷厥考心。
于父不能字厥子。乃疾厥子。于弟弗念天顯。乃弗克恭厥兄。兄亦不念
鞠子哀。大不友于弟。惟弔茲。不于我政人得罪。天惟與我民彝。大泯亂。
曰。乃其速由文王作罰。刑茲無赦。不率大曼。矧惟外庶子訓人。惟厥
正人。越小臣諸節。乃別播敷造。民大譽弗念弗庸。厥厥君時。乃引惡。惟
朕怒。已。汝乃其速由茲義率殺。亦惟君惟長。不能厥家人。越厥小臣。
外正。惟威惟虐。大放王命。乃非德用乂。汝亦罔不克敬典。乃由裕民。
惟文王之敬忌。乃裕民曰。我惟有及。則于一人以擇。王曰:封。爽惟民
迪吉康。我時其惟殷先哲王德。用康乂民。作求矧。今民罔迪。不適不迪。
則罔政在厥邦。王曰:封。于惟不可不監。告汝德之說于罰之行。今惟
民不靜。未戾厥心。迪屢未同。爽惟天其罰殛我。我其不怨。惟厥罪無在
大。亦無在多。矧曰其尚顯聞于天。王曰:嗚呼。封。敬哉。無作怨。勿用非
謀。非彝。蔽時忱。丕則敏德。用康乃心。顧乃德。遠乃猷。乃以民
寧。不汝瑕[題]殄。王曰:嗚呼。肆汝小子封。惟命不于常。汝念哉。無我
殄享。明乃服命。高乃聽。用康乂民。王若曰:往哉。封。勿替敬典。聽朕告
汝。乃以殷民世享。
酒誥。1.王若曰:明大命于妹邦。2.乃穆考文王肇國在西土。厥誥,em.)
乃誥,崇庶邦庶土。越小正御事。朝夕曰:祀茲酒。惟天降命。肇我民。惟元
祀。3.天降威。我民用大亂喪德。亦罔非酒惟行。越小大邦用喪。亦罔非酒
惟辜。4.文王誥教小子。有正有事。無彝酒。越庶國飲惟祀。德將無醉。5.
惟曰:我民迪。小子惟土物愛。厥心臧。聰聽祖考之舞訓。越小大德。小
子惟一。6.妹土嗣爾股肱。純其藝黍稷。奔走事厥考厥長。肇牽車牛。遠

and verdicts the norms of the Yin. Use their just punishments and just killings. Do not use them so as to agree with you, Feng (i. e. your personal wishes). Then you will be entirely compliant, saying: »It is in order»; yet saying (sc. modestly): »There has not yet been (a sufficient) compliance». — 14. Yes, you are a youngster, but there is nobody who has a heart like you, Feng; and my heart and my virtue you know. — 15. All people who draw guilt upon themselves, being robbers and thieves and villains and traitors, who kill and (overthrow =) destroy and go for (goods =) spoil, and are forceful and do not fear death, there are none who do not detest them. — 16. The king said: Feng, when the primary evil-doers are (thus) greatly detested, how much the more then the unfilial and the unbrotherly? When a son does not respectfully manage his service to his father, he greatly hurts his father's heart. The one in a position of father cannot cherish his son but hates his son, the one in a position of younger brother does not think of Heaven's (clearness =) clear laws and so he cannot respect his elder brother. The elder brother likewise does not think of his tender younger brother's pitiableness and is greatly unfriendly towards his younger brother. If we are (pitying =) kind to these, and they are not considered as offenders by us, the rulers, the norms given by Heaven to our people will be greatly brought into disorder. I say, may you speedily follow Wen Wang's (rules of) punishments, and punish these without pardon. — 17. Those who are not compliant should be greatly subjected to rules. How much the more then the (external =) provincial tutors of the noble youths, the administrators and the petty officers of various ranks? When they (separately =) on their own account promulgate (penal) innovations, and do not think of or employ the greatly renowned ones among the people and distress their ruler, then they lead on to wickedness, and I detest them. Indeed, you should speedily, according to these norms of right, kill them all. — 18. And further, being ruler and president, if you do not treat your house-people well, and your petty officers and your provincial administrators, but are terrorizing and tyrannical and greatly set aside the Royal orders, then with immorality you govern. — 19. You should in everything respect the rules, and following them make the people opulent; thinking of Wen Wang's care and caution, you should make the people opulent, saying: May I only attain to him! Then I, the One Man, will be pleased. — 20. The king said: Feng, when it is at fault, the people should be guided to happiness and peace. I always think of the virtue of Yin's former wise kings, in order to tranquillize and govern the people, and I actively seek it (sc. their virtue). All the more since at present the people go wherever they are guided; if one does not guide them, there will be no government in their state. — 21. The king said: Feng, I cannot but scrutinize. I will tell you the principles of virtue in the application of the punishments. Now the people are not quiet, they have not yet settled their minds. I have guided them, but repeatedly they have not concurred (sc. with my directions). If there is any fault, Heaven will punish and kill me, and I shall not resent it. As to their crimes (my responsibility) does not depend on whether

義 yì
justice

寇 kòu
bandit
robber

擄 lǔ
seize
grab

姦 jiān
adultery
illicit sex.
relat.

兇 xiōng
evildoer

越 yuè
get jump
over

貨 huà
goods
spoil

敬 jìng
respect

典 diǎn

律 lǜ
written
document, law
canon

they are great, it does not depend on whether they are many — how much the more, then, when they upwards are manifest to and heard by Heaven! — 22. The king said: Oh, Feng, be careful. Do not create animosity, do not use bad counsels and bad norms. May your decisions (verdicts) be correct and reliable. Grandly take as pattern the active virtue (sc. of the ancients). Thereby make steady your heart, (look at =) take care of your virtue, make far-reaching your plans and intentions, then you will make the people tranquil, and I will not remove you or cut you off. — 23. The king said: Oh, now, you youngster Feng! The mandate is not (in a constant place =) invariable. You should think of it. May it not happen that I cut off your enjoyment (of the fief). Make illustrious the mandate you manage. Think highly of what you have (now) heard, and so tranquillize and govern the people. — 24. The king spoke thus: Go, you Feng, do not set aside your respectful care; constantly listen to my admonishments; then you will, with the people of Yin (as your subjects), from generation to generation enjoy (your fief).

常 cháng
constant
殄 tiān
destroy,
finish,
clear

享 xiǎng
enjoy

Tsiu kao.

1. The king spoke thus: Make manifest the great command in the state of Mei. — 2. When your dead father of the odd series, Wen Wang, created the state in the western lands, he told and cautioned all the (princes of) the states, the various officers, the assistants and the managers of affairs, and morning and evening he said: Sacrifice this wine; when Heaven sent down the mandate, what it created for people was the fundamental sacrifices (sc. to the founders; in which wine should be offered). — 3. When Heaven sent down its (severity =) inflictions, and our people thereby became greatly disorderly and lost their virtue, it was always the wine that (was the conduct =) characterized their conduct. When small and great states were thus ruined, it was likewise always the wine that was the fault. — 4. Wen Wang told and instructed you youngster (i. e. prince Feng, *alias* K'ang Shu) and the principal officers and (lower) managers of affairs not to have a constant (use of) wine. In the various states the drinking (should be) only at the sacrifices, and by virtue they should hold on to (not being drunk =) sobriety. — 5. I say: in our people's guidance, you youngster should (love =) economize the products of the soil (sc. not make too much wine of the grain); then their hearts will be good, and they will (hearingly =) willingly listen to the regular instructions of their grandfathers and fathers. In small and great virtues you, youngster, should be (one =) alike. — 6. (The people of) the land of Mei will (successively =) for generations be your legs and arms, and they should make (pure =) whole-hearted their cultivation of the millet and hasten about serving their old men and seniors. They should diligently lead their carts and oxen and far away manage the trading of commodities, and (thus) filially nourish their parents. Their parents will be happy. They should themselves wash (sc. the vessels) and make it ample (sc. the food) and bring forward the wine to be used. — 7. All you officers and leaders and all you noble chiefs, may you constantly listen to my instructions. That you can