

Outline

1. Pre-course survey/getting to know you
2. Getting to know me/the syllabus
3. What is philosophy? What is (distinctive about) Chinese philosophy?
4. An exercise on culture

Pre-course survey

15 minutes

Anonymous, BUT, please complete the consent form...

research possibilities – capstone design

Getting to know you

Write the following:

1. Your name
2. Where you're from
3. What you're studying
4. Why you're taking this course/something you hope to get out of it
5. Something about which you're passionate

Getting to know me

1. Rockwell Franklin III, PhD (a family name, doctorate from Purdue) – call me “Rocky.”
2. Chicago originally, although I’ve moved all over: undergrad in NYC, did my MA and spent a year as a foreign fellow in Belgium, did my PhD in Indiana, finished writing my dissertation in France, moved to Shanghai for this job – was back in the US working on a grant project for another course
3. Studied economics for two years in undergrad, switched to philosophy. Wrote my dissertation on French philosophy, American literature, and psychoanalysis, and now I’m interested in applied ethics, philosophy of technology, and moral psychology

Getting to know me



Associate Teaching Professor in engineering ethics and philosophy,
University of Michigan-Shanghai Jiao Tong University Joint Institute



Research fellow, Institute of Social Cognitive and Behavioral Science, Shanghai Jiao Tong University



Long-term educational consultant, Purdue
University, West Lafayette, IN, USA

Getting to know me

4. Learning discussing contemporary significance of Chinese philosophy with you – some good vignettes/questionnaires

5. Learning new things and telling others about what I learn (teaching) and binge watching TV shows (Game of Thrones, of course, House of Cards, West World, Black Mirror, etc. while eating 生煎包, 小笼包, and ice cream...)



Introduction to philosophy

What is philosophy?

Introduction to philosophy

philo + sophos

love/friend + wisdom

Introduction to philosophy

philosophy = the love of wisdom

philosopher = someone who loves wisdom

Introduction to philosophy

Socrates – philosopher/lover of wisdom

Introduction to philosophy

Who's not a lover/friend of wisdom?

In contradistinction to what should philosophy
be understood?

Introduction to philosophy

the sophist = claims to have wisdom

Introduction to philosophy

Socrates never had wisdom completely, but was constantly striving after it.

How did he go about striving after wisdom?

Introduction to philosophy

Asking questions!!!

What types of questions does philosophy ask?

Introduction to philosophy

Each branch of philosophy deals with specific questions/problems:

1. What's the nature of reality? (metaphysics)
2. What can I know/is knowledge? (epistemology)
3. What should I do – given some conception of the good? (ethics)

Introduction to philosophy

Branches of knowledge result from a convergence of questions and methodologies to address those questions, for example, physics, economics, and psychology...

All knowledge, ultimately, comes from and can, therefore, be unified through philosophy.

Chinese philosophy

What is *Chinese* philosophy?

Chinese philosophy

哲学

Chinese philosophy

哲 (knowledge) 学 (learning)

Chinese philosophy

“...the Western word ‘philosophy’ is quite recent in Chinese; it was initially rendered into Chinese as zhèxué in 1873 by the **Japanese** scholar Xi Zhou (1829–1897) who studied in the Netherlands...

the initial character zhe means ‘knowledge’ or ‘capacity to acquire knowledge’, with an extended meaning of wisdom; and the second character xue means ‘learning’.

The Chinese term for ‘philosophy’ thus means ‘learning to become a wise and knowledgeable person.’”*

*Wang, N. (2013). “Philosophical perspectives on technology in Chinese Society.” *Technology in Society* 35. p. 165.

Chinese philosophy

“Before the word coinage by Xi Zhou, the **abstract** notion of philosophy was always embedded in more **specific** neo-Confucianism terms created by Cheng Hao (1033–1107), Cheng Yi (1032–1085), and Zhu Xi (1130–1200), such as **qiongli xue** (inquiry learning into the universe), **xingli xue** (theory of human nature), or **li xue** (learning of principle).

In a note to explain why he decided to create zhixue to replace specific terms with a more general one, Xi Zhou wrote:

The original English word for zhixue is philosophy, and the French word is *philosophie*. Both derive from the Greek word philosophos, which means the person who loves (philo) wisdom (sophos). The functional implication in the Chinese language is the so called ‘scholar who follows the example of the wise person’, according to a proposal by Zhou Dunyi in the Song dynasty. Later generations specifically identified philosophy [in general] with neo-Confucianism [a specific philosophy] and even literally translated the former as the doctrine of neo-Confucianism. In many instances, it is better to translate philosophy as zhixue in order to distinguish it from Confucianism in East Asia”*

*Wang, N. (2013). “Philosophical perspectives on technology in Chinese Society.” *Technology in Society* 35. p. 166.

Chinese philosophy

Confucius ~ first Chinese philosopher

Striving after wisdom

Emphasis on questioning

Skepticism regarding (definitive) knowledge claims
– his perspective/theory versus those of others

Chinese philosophy

1. What's the nature of reality? (metaphysics)
2. What can I know/is knowledge? (epistemology)
3. **What should I do – given some conception of the good?** (ethics) ← relative priority/emphasis

What is culture?

What is culture?

Give three examples of things that are “cultural,” explaining what makes them so.

Close reading and critical thinking

- “Active reading,” with a pen in hand
- Ask yourself: “What’s the main question/point of this reading/article/section/paragraph?”
- Try to state it in your own words, and look out for it in the text
- Use parentheses, a line in the margin – double lines for more important questions/points – or star to mark
- Definitions: Circle the word, make a line in the margin, and an “=” sign.
- Contrasts: Make a “/” between elements
- Claims you don’t understand/find dubious/with which you disagree → Use a “?” with a note reminding you of the problem
- Make notes for other important thoughts/connections

“Culture in humans and other animals”

Q: What's the main question of this article? A: What is culture?

Q: What's the main point of this article? A: Culture is not merely behaviors, ideas, beliefs, or other *cultural* variants, i.e., things related to culture.

These are the kinds of things – and differences between them – that culture is supposed to explain. They're phenotypic!

“Culture in humans and other animals”

An argument to refute this claim:

1. “Culture” should be able to explain (differences in) “behaviors, ideas, etc.”
2. Define/understand “culture” as “behaviors, ideas, etc.”
3. It follows, from 1. and 2., that “behaviors, ideas, etc.” explain “behaviors, ideas, etc.”
4. 3. is circular/seems absurd
5. Hence, reject premise 2. – “culture” should not be defined as “behaviors, ideas, etc.”

“Culture in humans and other animals”

In my own words: Culture is socially transmitted information that has long-term effects on the behaviors of individuals and groups.

In the text: “Culture is *information* [1] *transmitted between individuals or groups* [2], where this information *flows through* [3] and brings about the *reproduction* of [4], and a *lasting change* in [5], the *behavioral trait*” (Ramsey 466 – italics mine).

Culture is socially transmitted (2, 3?, 4?) information (1) that has long-term effects (5, 4) on the behaviors (3, 4) of individuals and groups.

“Culture in humans and other animals”

Hence, five criteria for the application of the term “culture,” along with critical clarifications/questions:

1. information: different types, BUT not a *lack* of information
2. transmitted between individuals/groups – versus genes – BUT how transmitted? Includes environments/“niche construction”
3. transmitted through behaviors (“flows through”) – BUT, what types of behaviors? Again, environments/“niche construction,” and teaching
4. reproduction of behavior – NOT the information itself, BUT to what extent/how perfectly?
5. causes lasting changes – how long?

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5. causes lasting changes – how long?

Group/critical thinking activity

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

“Culture and social behavior”

1. cooperation and punishment
2. fairness and punishment effects
3. ingroup favoritism/parochialism
4. markets
5. religion and ritual
6. ecology and class causes
7. monogamous marriage
8. social safety nets and security

“Culture and social behavior”

1. What's the main question/point of this article? In my own words:

How do behaviors vary across human groups and why? Human behaviors are incredibly variable across groups (parts 1-3), as a result of social institutions (4-8), which are cultural.

2. In the text:

“**Social** behavior varies dramatically across human populations and throughout **history**” (84). “Let us consider four packages social **norms** – **institutions** – that have been linked to **psychological** difference” (86).

Some preliminaries – Economic games

-“economic” (phenomena related to market activities, such as fairness and cooperation)

-“games” (quantify behaviors – versus mere judgments)

1. Dictator game – allocate

2. Ultimatum game – allocate and (dis)agree

3. Cooperation game – put in and multiply

-Variations: anonymous versus known, one-off versus repeated,
punishment: peer versus bystander

Some preliminaries – Cultural variants

- Related to culture (remember: culture is INFORMATION, such that cultural variants would be informational – carriers of information)
- For example, self concepts ~ how one thinks about oneself: independent versus interdependent
- To date, “values” have been the most widely studied and conceived (cross-) cultural variant...

Some preliminaries – (Chinese) values

Introduction: the context of Chinese cultural comparisons

Fascination with noting the uniqueness of 'the Chinese' and their culture has been an enduring pursuit of many throughout recent history, observations well documented, for example, by Mackerras (1991, 1999) and Spence (1998). Some of these differences have been attributed to 'Chinese values'. Western observers early took note of and tried to describe these 'Chinese characteristics' (Russell, 1922; Smith, 1890/1984), and were joined by generations of internationally educated Chinese seeking to contrast and clarify the richness of their own civilization (e.g. Ku Hong-ming's *The spirit of the Chinese*, 1915, Hu Shí's *The Chinese renaissance*, 1934, and Lin Yu-tang's *My country and my people*, 1935/2000). The insights and significance of each of those cultural 'sightings' (Spence, 1998, p. xi-xiii) still arouse the interest of both modern 'China watchers' and modernizing Chinese citizens, as evidenced by multiple recent reprints of each of those early works (having similar status as Benedict's 1946 ever-read study on the Japanese, *The chrysanthemum and the sword*). But, as Spence noted, 'Assessments of China and the Chinese people were often coarse-grained or inaccurate; they drew on imagination and stereotype as much as on any kind of informed application of intellect' (1998, p. xvii). Social psychologists have been equally intrigued with and have committed research energy toward scientifically clarifying the unique or comparable domains of Chinese cultural values.

The psychological study of Chinese values has a long history, from Chinese being included in small-set multi-nation comparative studies (e.g. Morris, 1956; Hofstede, 2001), to deeper considerations of 'the Chinese' from indigenous and emic perspectives (K. S. Yang, 1982, 2006; Chinese Culture Connection, 1987), to seeking to integrate Chinese values into universal etic frameworks (Ho, 1998a; and Chinese samples included in Schwartz, 1992, 1994a, 2005). The earlier history of this endeavor has been well documented by K. S. Yang (1986; 1996) and Bond (1996), so that the focus of this essay will be the ongoing quest of indigenous and multicultural studies that seek to duly differentiate, inclusively consider, or universally incorporate variations of Chinese values.

With the development of social science, the quality of values studies continues to improve, a trend Bond (1996) noted and predicted, where increasingly 'samples are more comparable, instruments are more comprehensive, analyses are more sophisticated, and studies are more pancultural' (p. 208). This essay will depart slightly from Bond's (*ibid.*) previous edition, as we now believe that some emic

Definitions of values

Though recent years have witnessed extensive theoretical and methodological debate over diverse conceptualizations of culture (cf. Borofsky, Barth, Shweder, Rodseth, & Stolzenberg, 2001; Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002; Kitayama, 2002), a core body of research on the values construct (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002) has emerged. Several influential definitions continue to guide most values studies (even in China, e.g. Jin & Xin, 2003):

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action.

Gluckhohn, 1951, p. 395

A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end state of existence.

Rokeach, 1973, p. 5

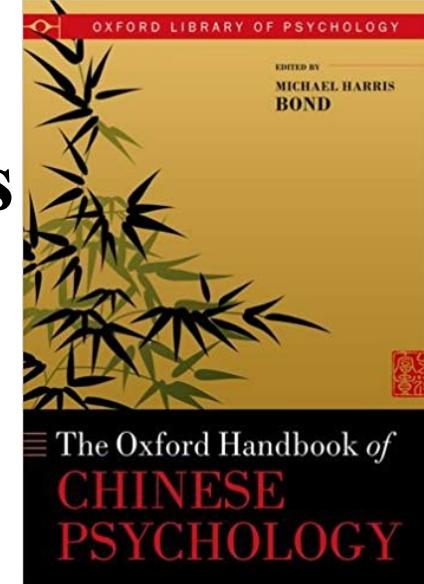
[V]alues are (a) concepts or beliefs, (b) about desirable end states or behaviors, (c) that transcend specific situations, (d) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events, and (e) are ordered by relative importance.

Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, p. 551

I define values as desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity.

Schwartz, 1994, p. 21

These formulations span the latter half of the twentieth century and have been extensively drawn on to evaluate diverse bodies of research, incorporate broad multinational comparative samples (e.g. Hofstede, 1980, 2001), and develop more integrated theories (Schwartz, 1992). Though interest in



Some preliminaries – (Chinese) values

-Hofstede and Schwartz value dimensions:

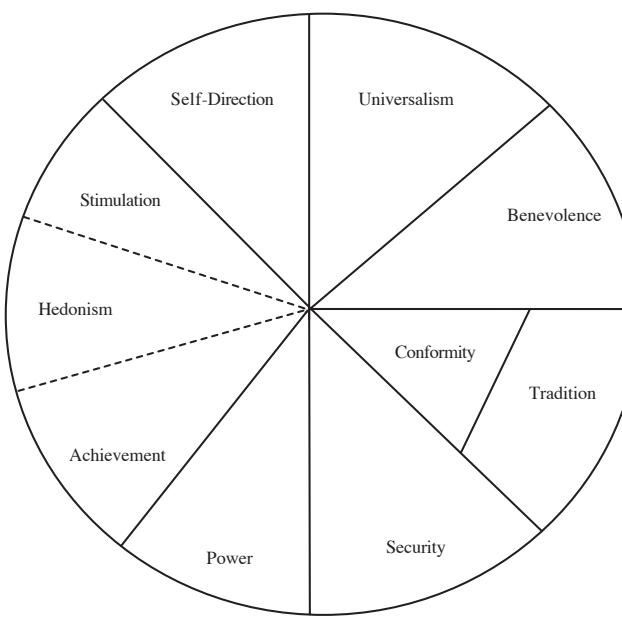
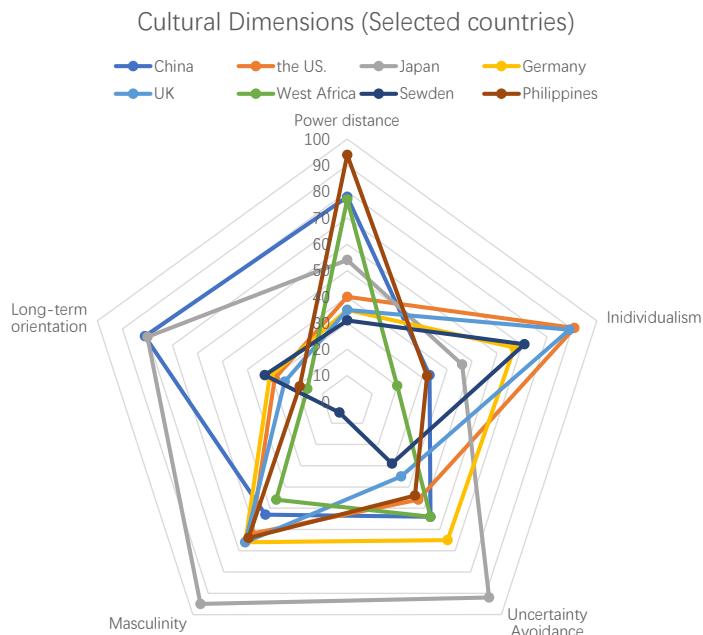


Figure 1 Theoretical structure of values.

-BUT, values aren't particularly/universally predictive of behaviors – high amounts of variation in the relation between (reported) values and (observed) actions

*Bardi & Schwartz 2003

Values	Behavior Items
Power	Pressure others to go along with my preferences and opinions Choose friends and relationships based on how much money they have Study late into the night before exams even if I studied well in the semester
Achievement	Take on many commitments Take it easy and relax Consume food or drinks even when I'm not hungry or thirsty Watch thrillers
Hedonism	Do unconventional things Examine the ideas behind rules and regulations before obeying them Come up with novel set-ups for my living space Use environmentally friendly products Make sure everyone I know receives equal treatment
Stimulation	Agree easily to lend things to neighbors Keep promises I have made Observe traditional customs on holidays Show modesty with regard to my achievements and talents
Self-direction	Obey my parents Avoid confrontations with people I don't like Refrain from opening my door to strangers Buy products that were made in my country
Universalism	
Benevolence	
Tradition	
Conformity	
Security	

Some preliminaries – Norms

In addition, a focus on norms:

“...a norm is a **rule** or principle [1] that specifies **actions** [2] that are **required**, permissible, or forbidden [3] **independently** of any legal or social institution [4]. Of course, some norms are also recognized and enforced by social institutions and laws, but the crucial point is that they needn't be... Very roughly, people are motivated to comply with norms as ultimate ends, rather than as a means to other ends; we'll refer to this type of motivation as **intrinsic motivation** [4]... People can also be motivated to comply with a norm for instrumental reasons, though intrinsic compliance motivation adds a substantial additional motivational force [We'll return to this in debates between Confucians, Daoists, Mohists, and legalists]. Violations of norms...typically engender **punitive** attitudes, like anger, condemnation, and blame, directed at the norm violator, and these attitudes sometimes lead to punitive behavior [5]” (Sripada & Stich 2007).

Some preliminaries – Norms

Hence, five criteria for the application of the term “norm,” along with critical some clarifications/questions:

1. rule/principle – not necessarily ideational – i,e., involving a belief, idea, etc.
2. specifying actions – versus thoughts, beliefs, etc. BUT, these might not be unrelated...
3. specification of: should, could, or **should not** – to date, the greatest amount of research has focused on the last one...
4. institutionally independent/intrinsically motivating – the relations between these two are not entirely clear...
5. punitive attitudes or punishing actions

Cooperation and punishment

- Own words: Levels of cooperation (as measured by mean contributions in cooperation games) and their “dynamics” (~whether these remain the same, go up, or down, and the affects of punishment on these levels) are different among different groups in different places.
- In the text: Not really...
- Definitions?

Cooperation and punishment

-Information transmitted/how: If people will cooperate (contribute money – a behavior), how they will cooperate (how much money they contribute), and whether and to what extent people *should* cooperate (how and how much people punish)

-Lasting change in behavior: How likely people are to cooperate in the future – for example, group projects...

-Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Fairness and punishment

-Own words: Perceptions of fairness (as measured by mean offers made and accepted in ultimatum games) are different among different groups in different places.

-Definitions?

-Information transmitted/how: What people think is fair (how much they offer and rates at which people accept – behavior) and what people *should* think is fair (when an offer is rejected because it is too low/high)

Fairness and punishment

- Lasting change in behavior?
- Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Ingroup favoritism/parochialism

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Markets

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Religion and ritual

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Ecology and class

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Ecology and class

“...certain ecological conditions, in particular those conducive to intensive paddy *rice* cultivation, should favor the formation of highly *cooperative* groups... The results reveal a strong positive correlation between rice-growing and in-group favoritism,” interdependent conceptions of the self, and holistic thought (86 – emphasis added).

Monogamous marriage

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

Social safety nets and security

1. What's the main question/point of this section? (philosophy)
2. State it in your own words – try to find it in the text too
3. Are there any definitions?
4. What information is being transmitted? (culture)
5. How is it being transmitted? (For example, in environments, behaviors of others, explicit instruction, or...)
6. What kind of lasting change in behavior occurs/takes place?
7. Claims you don't understand/find dubious/with which you disagree?

“The cultural evolution of prosocial religions”

Some preliminaries: A common tendency to conceive of religion in terms of *belief* in a supernatural God ← *orthodoxy* (=“right belief”)

Based on the influences (“success”) of the “Abrahamic” religions – those tracing their origins to Abraham – i.e., Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (6 & 8).

Throughout most of history/among most people, emphases within religion have been on *orthopraxy* (=“right practice”/behavior).

“The cultural evolution of prosocial religions”

1. What's the main question/point of this article? In my own words:
How can cultural evolution explain the predominance of a particular type
of religion and, therefore, large-scale human cooperation? Beliefs and
practices associated with morally interested, super natural watchers are
adaptive.

2. In the text:

“We explain how a package of culturally evolved religious **beliefs** and
practices characterized by increasingly **potent**, **moralizing**, supernatural
agents, credible displays of faith, and other psychologically active
elements conducive to social **solidarity** promoted high fertility rates and
large-scale cooperation with co-religionists, often contributing to success
in intergroup competition and conflict. In turn, prosocial religious beliefs
and practices **spread** and **aggregated** as these successful groups expanded,
or were copied by less successful groups” (1).

“The cultural evolution of prosocial religions”

Two questions:

1. How has it been possible for human societies to scale up so much/quickly? (Large, anonymous, and cooperative)
2. Why have ”prosocial”/”big gods” religions come to dominate the cultural landscape?

The two are related

“The cultural evolution of prosocial religions”

-Religion is prototypically cultural, where individual/evolved psychology interacts with socially/behaviorally transmitted information, which changes how people behave over the long run.

-Form a mutually reinforcing feedback loop, like: cooking, long-distance running, precision throwing, and lactose tolerance.

The components – byproducts

1. Individual psychology: ““(1) mentalizing [=attributing minds to/being able to empathize with others] (Bering 2011; Frith & Frith 2003; Waytz et al. 2010), (2) teleological [=purposiveness] thinking (Kelemen 2004), and (3) mind-body dualism (Bloom 2007; Chudek et al. 2015)” (4).
2. We monitor and sanction each other – reputation concern – for example, learning and remembering normative rules more easily than others

The components – byproducts

3. We are social learners/believe in others (more on pages 10-14):

“[A.] Content-based mechanisms, which lead to the selective retention and transmission of some mental representations [and behaviors] over others because of differences in their content (Boyer 2001; Sperber 1996). For example, emotionally evocative and socially relevant ideas are more memorable and, therefore, culturally contagious (Heath et al. 2001; Stubbersfield et al. 2015; see also Broesch et al. 2014).

[B.] Context-based mechanisms (or model-based cultural learning biases), which arise from evolved psychological mechanisms that encourage learners to attend to and learn from particular individuals (cultural models) based on cues such as skill, success, prestige, self-similarity (Henrich & Gil-White 2001), and trait frequency (Perreault et al. 2012; Rendell et al. 2011).

[C.] Credibility-enhancing displays (CREDs), or learners’ sensitivity to cues that a cultural model is genuinely committed to his or her stated or advertised beliefs. If models engage in behaviors that would be unlikely if they privately held opposing beliefs, learners are more likely to trust the sincerity of the models and, as a result, adopt their beliefs (Henrich 2009; see also Harris 2012; Sperber et al. 2010)” (5).

The components – byproducts

4. “Cultural group selection” (more on pages 14-16) – Groups that are more cooperative/internally cohesive will outperform those that are less:

“experimental evidence reveals that larger and more economically successful groups have stronger prosocial norms: a pattern consistent with cultural group selection models. For example, in a global sample of roughly a dozen diverse populations, individuals from larger ethnolinguistic groups and larger communities were more willing to incur a cost to punish unfair offers in experimental games (Henrich et al. 2010a; 2014), a result that held after controlling for a range of economic and demographic variables (see also Marlowe et al. 2008). Even among Hadza foragers, larger camps are more often prosocial in economic games (Marlowe 2004)” (5).

“Cross-nationally, experimental work also reveals a negative correlation between gross domestic product (GDP) per capita and both people’s motivations to punish cooperators in a public goods game (stifling cooperation) and their willingness to cheat to favor themselves or their local ‘in’ group (Hermann et al. 2008; Hruschka et al. 2014).”

Bringing it together

1. “Big Gods” become responsible for watching and reprimanding – lower costs for individuals/groups
2. Behaviors heighten commitment to religious groups through feelings – for example, CRED’s (credibility enhancing displays), singing, and dancing
3. Beliefs and behaviors raise cooperation – for example, in-versus out-group marking

China – Social stratification...

“In China, for example, the beginning of the Bronze Age (ca. 1500 BCE [商朝 – Shang dynasty]) is accompanied by a radical elaboration in tomb architecture and burial practices of elites, indicating the emergence of highly *centralized* and *stratified* polities *bound* together by costly public religious ceremonies (Thote 2009)” (8 – italics mine).

China – Supernatural monitoring...

“...although China has sometimes been portrayed as lacking moralizing gods, or even religion at all (Ames & Rosemont 2009; Granet 1934), scholars in recent years have begun systematically correcting that misconception (Clark & Winslett 2011; Slingerland 2013)... in the earliest Chinese societies for which written records exist, the worshipped pantheon includes both the actual ancestors of the royal line and a variety of nature gods and cultural heroes, all under the dominion of a supreme deity, the ‘Lord on High’ (shangdi [上帝]) or Heaven (tian [天]). This Lord on High/Heaven was a Big God in our sense, wielding supreme power over the natural world, intervening at will in the affairs of humans, and intensely concerned with prosocial values. The ability of the royal family to rule was a direct result of its possessing the ‘Mandate’ (lit. ‘order or ‘charge’) of Heaven 【天命】 , the possession of which was – at least by 1000 BCE or thereabouts – seen as being linked to moral behavior 【德】 and proper observance of costly sacrificial and other ritual duties... Even from the sparse records from the Shang Dynasty, it is apparent that the uniquely broad power of the Lord on High to command a variety of events in the world led the Shang kings to feel a particular urgency about placating Him with proper ritual offerings. When the Zhou polity began to fragment into a variety of independent, and often conflicting, states (770–256 BCE [Eastern Zhou = Spring and Autumn + Warring states 东周=春秋 + 战国时代]), supernatural surveillance and the threat of supernatural sanctions remained at the heart of interstate diplomacy and internal political and legal relations (Poo 2009). Finally, the written record reveals an increasingly clear connection in early China between morality and religious commitments. The outlines of moral behavior had been dictated by Heaven and encoded in a set of social norms, and a failure to adhere to these norms – either in outward behavior or in one’s inner life – was to invite supernatural punishment (Eno 2009)” (8).