# Chapter 1: The Unfolding of Confucian Thought in the Warring States Period

A crucial phase in Chinese history, the Warring States period witnessed the advancement and solidification of Confucianism. Notably, alongside the works of Mencius and Xunzi, most chapters of the transmitted *Liji* 礼记 (Records of Rites) and the *Da dai Liji* 大戴礼记were complied and edited during this era. Recent excavation of a significant number of bamboo slips manuscripts of the Warring States period, coupled with subsequent research on them have greatly enriched our comprehension of the depth and intricacy of Confucianism. However, we should not overlook the significance and value of the transmitted documents in studying the intellectual history, especially the significance of the *Liji* in Confucian studies. Taking “ritual” as the starting point, this book delves into the content of the *Liji* and its role in intellectual historiography. By situating the *Liji* within the context of Confucius’ ideology, particularly between the thought of Confucius and Mencius, Mencius and Xunzi, and by drawing mainly on the *Liji*, this book aims to analyze the divergence and evolution of the early Confucian studies, thereby advancing research into the history of early Confucianism.

In this chapter, we shall explore the ideological implications embedded in the *Liji* chapters Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 (Confucius dwelt in leisure), Ruxing儒行 (conduct of the scholar), Jingjie经解 (interpretation of classics), and Xiang yinjiu yi 乡饮酒义 (the meaning of village drinking rites) and examines their significance in the development of Confucian scholarship. Specifically, by integrating insights from the intellectual history, we link these chapters with various Confucian schools in the Warring States period, thereby reconstructing their scholarly lineages and roles within the history Chinese ideology. This approach holds great value for furthering research into history of early Confucianism.

## 1.1 “Ritual without Embodiment”: The Development and Transformation of Pre-Qin Ritual Theory

The Kongzi Xianju chapter of the *Liji* records Confucius’s teachings on the “Five Attainments” (*wuzhi* 五至) and the “Three Withouts” (*sanwu* 三无). Because there are no clear corresponding threads in reliable pre-Qin Confucian classics such as the *Lunyu* 论语 (*Analects*), *Mengzi* 孟子 (*Mencius*), or *Xunzi* 荀子, nor any direct connection to the thought of Confucius and Mencius in the pre-Qin period, these concepts have not received much attention in traditional Confucian studies. Moreover, explanations from scholars throughout the dynasties have been rather general and their evaluations not particularly high. In 2002, the second volume of the Shanghai Museum’s collection of Warring States Chu bamboo slips was published, containing fourteen slips with content similar to *Kongzi Xianju*. After being sorted and studied, they were titled *Min zhi Fumu* 民之父母 (*The Parents of the People*). The contents therein, including the “Five Attainiments” and “Three Withouts,” are largely identical to those in the *Liji*.[1](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fn-1)

The discovery of new materials naturally attracts great attention from the academic world. As research into bamboo and silk manuscripts has deepened, scholars have not only focused on deciphering the bamboo slips, determining their dating, and comparing them with extant texts, but have also gradually come to recognize the ideological value of both the transmitted *Kongzi Xianju* and the bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu*. Consequently, they have begun to further explore their philosophical content. For example, according to *Kongzi Xianju*, Confucius used “will and *qi*” (*zhiqi* 志气) to explain the “Five Attainments” and the subsequently mentioned “Five Evocations” (*wuqi* 五起). This concept of *zhiqi* can be linked to the “will and *qi*” and the “flood-like *qi*” (*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之气) mentioned by Mencius, allowing for an exploration of the intellectual development between Confucius and Mencius. For this reason, academia has generally focused more on the “Five Attainments.” In contrast, because there are fewer textual discrepancies regarding the “Three Withouts” between the transmitted texts and the bamboo slips, and its meaning is relatively clear, it has not attracted specialized scholarly attention. This section, building on the existing research, aims to further discuss the concept of “ritual without embodiment” (*wuti zhi li* 无体之礼) from among the “Three Withouts,” in conjunction with the development of pre-Qin Confucian ritual thought, and thereby gain a new understanding of the evolution and transformation of ritual theory in the pre-Qin period.

Before proceeding, it is necessary to briefly account for the sources we are using. Although the text and content of the bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu* and the *Liji*’s *Kongzi Xianju* are largely the same, many scholars still believe the bamboo slip version is more primitive and closer to the original state of the text. In our view, although the bamboo slip may be more logical in certain aspects—for instance, the line “Thus, when we look for it with our eyes, it cannot be seen; when we listen for it with our ears, it cannot be heard” appears after the “Five Attainments” in *Kongzi Xianju*, but after the “Three Withouts” in *Min zhi Fumu* (with slight textual variations),[2](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fn-2) a detailed comparison shows the bamboo text is more coherent and rational—the overall ideological content is fundamentally consistent. The main difference is that *Kongzi Xianju* adds some narrative text at the beginning and end to make the story more complete. Some scholars have pointed out that this practice of “adding boots and a hat” was a common method used by scholars in the pre-Qin and Han periods when editing texts, where they would add a few words or sentences at the beginning and end to provide background and a conclusion, making the text more coherent.[3](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fn-3) It seems, then, that when Han dynasty scholars edited the ancient pre-Qin texts they discovered, they only added some descriptive content to make the text more complete, without making major changes to the main body. *Kongzi Xianju* is such a case. Therefore, even if the bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu* is more primitive than the *Liji*’s *Kongzi Xianju*, and the latter has been edited by later scholars, this situation does not significantly impact the study of intellectual history, as the two are highly consistent in their ideological content. Thus, this section will primarily rely on the *Kongzi Xianju* chapter of the *Liji*, while appropriately utilizing some bamboo and silk materials in relevant parts.

Confucius’ remarks of the Five Presences 五至and Three Withouts三无 for the ideal of a parent of the people is documented in the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 chapter. Since these are absent in the pre-Qin Confucian classics such as the *Analects*, *Mencius* and *Xunzi*, and do not correlate directly with the thoughts of Confucius and Mencius, these concepts have not garnered sufficient attention in traditional Confucian studies. Furthermore, Confucian scholars in the past dynasties neither offered them clear interpretation nor attributed importance to it. In the Shanghai Museum collection of bamboo manuscripts(v.2) (henceforth: Shangbo) published in 2002, fourteen bamboo slips contain similar contents to the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 chapter. These fourteen slips are edited together and entitled the Min zhi fumu 民之父母(Parent of the People), which narrates concepts of the Five Presences and Three Withouts, closely resembling what was recorded in the *Liji*. The discovery of these materials has garnered significant attention from scholars who came to realize the ideological value of the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 chapter and the Min zhi fumu 民之父母 as they focus on the interpretation of the bamboo slips, determining their age of origin, and comparing them with existing documents. For instance, according to the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居, Confucius uses zhiqi 志气 (intention and breath） to expound upon Five Presences and the Five Evocations. The intention and breath here can be linked together with Mencius’ zhiqi 志气 (will) and haoran zhi qi浩然之气(overflowing will) in discussing the development of thoughts between Confucius and Mencius. Generally, the notion of Five Presences has drawn more scholarly attention than the Three Withouts, as the later was recorded with less clarity in the transmitted documents and bamboo slips. This chapter aims to delve deeper into the ritual without embodiment among the Three Withouts, shedding light on the development of ritual thought in the pre-Qin period based on previous studies.

Before proceeding further, it is essential to provide a brief overview of the materials used in this book. Although the text and content of the Min zhi fumu inscribed on the bamboo slips are the same as those of the Kongzi xian ju 孔子闲居 chapter, many scholars tend to favor the authenticity and originality of the bamboo slips. In our opinion, the bamboo slips possess certain aspects that are logically reasonable than the Kongzi xian ju 孔子闲居. For instance, in the Kongzi xian ju 孔子闲居, the sentence “Thus it is that when we look with the direct vision of the eyes at we cannot see them, and when we have bent our ears with the utmost tension we cannot hear them”, comes after the description of the Five Presences, whereas in theMin zhi fumu, this sentence follows the description of the Three Withouts. Evidently, the bamboo text appears more coherent and plausible. But there are no significant differences between the two versions in terms of their content. It has been argued that it is common practice in the pre-Qin era to reposition certain sentences and add background information at the beginning or end of the original text so as to enhance coherence (Wang 2006). Thus, it seems that when Han Dynasty scholars edited the pre-Qin texts, they only added narrative elements to enhance the text’s completeness without altering its content and meaning. This holds true with the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居. Considering that later generations’ editing of the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居has not influenced the study of intellectual history, this section will rely on the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居, occasionally referring to bamboo slips.

#### 1.1.1Ritual (Li) and “Ritual without Embodiment”

In the Kongzi Xianju 孔子闲居chapter of the *Liji*, there is a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Zixia子夏:

Confucius dwelt in leisure. Zixia attended. Zixia said, “I make bold to ask: It is said in the *Shijing* 诗经(Book of Odes*)* ‘The joyous and easy gentleman is a parent to the people.’ What must one be like to be thus called parent of the people?”

In this dialogue, Confucius enumerates the Five Presences, Three Withouts, Five Evocations, and Three Unselfishness in response to Zixia’s inquiry about a line from the poem “Jiong Zhuo” 泂酌 in the “Daya” 大雅 (*Major Odes*) section of the *Shijing* 诗经and then explains them in great detail. Confucius defines the Three Withouts as music without sound, ritual without embodiment, and mourning without garb. As ritual and music are intrinsically interconnected with each other and mourning garment forms an integral part of the ritual system, the term mainly refers to ritual without embodiment, an original concept in pre-Qin Confucian literature. Similar passages can be found in Han dynasty manuscripts. In the Lunli论礼 (On ritual) chapter of the *Kongzi jiayu* 孔子家语(Family sayings of Confucius), there is a corresponding passage explaining the Five Presences, Three Withouts and Five Evocations similar to what was narrated in the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居. Additionally, in the chapter Xiuwen修文 (The Cultivation of Civil Order) of *Shuoyuan*说苑 (Garden of Eloquence) compiled by Liu Xiang of Han dynasty, we find the following passage regarding the Three Withouts:

Confucius said, “Ritual, when disembodied, consists of respect. Mourning, when not embodied in hempen garb, consists of sorrow. Music, when not embodied in sound, consists of joy. The thing that inspires belief without speech, that inspires awe without action, and that inspires human empathy without acts of charity is the will. When drums and bells are struck in anger, the sound will be martial; when they are struck in sorrow, the sound will be tragic; when they are struck in delight, the sound will be joyous. When the will changes direction, the sound will change as well. When a person’s will is without adulteration, even stone and metal will be stirred by it—so how much more must this be true of human beings!”(Also found in the Liu Ben 六本chapter of the *Kongzi Jiayu*孔子家语, ).

According to Liu Xiang, *Shuoyuan*说苑was a collection of treatises on diverse subjects. The Xiuwen 修文 chapter focuses on ritual and music, particularly stories about Confucius and his disciples. The Three Withouts in the Xiuwen 修文 evidently originates from the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 and the passages following “the sound of drums and bells” can be found in volume 575 Shizi 尸子chapter of *Taiping yulan* 太平御览complied by Li Fang (925-996), usually catalogued in the miscellaneous section in the Yiwen zhi chapter (Treatise on Arts and Letters) of *Han shu* 汉书(History of the former Han) bibliography, showcasing the heterogeneous nature of its content. It is therefore plausible for Liu Xiang to mold these two similar scenes in the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居and Shizi尸子 into one passage. In addition, the Three Withouts (belief without speech, awe without action, and human empathy without acts of charity) mentioned in Xiuwen chapter resembles in essence Confucius’ Three Withouts.

In the chapter Zhuyan主言(Royal speeches) of the *Da Dai Liji*, Confucius engages in a dialogue mentioning “the wise ruler pursues interior cultivation of Seven Teachings and external cultivation of Three Perfections”. The Three Perfections are explained in detail:

Zengzi 曾子asked: May I ask what is “three presences”. Confucius said: When the highest form of ritual is practiced without difficulty, the world will be in well-ruled. When the highest reward is given without money, the scholars will be content. When the highest form of music has no sound, people will be in harmony and peace. The sage diligently practices these Three Perfections so that the rulers can know and follow suit.

Similar contents can be found in the *Kongzi jiayu*孔子家语. Confucius’s Three Perfections is very close in meaning to the Three Withouts. There is a passage in the *Han shi waizhuan* 韩诗外传(Exoteric traditions of the Han version of the Songs) mentioning “the sound without sound” which is similar with “the music without sound”:

The ruler of a state may be compared to tuning a lute. When the large strings are too tight, the small strings break. He who bridles his horse in haste cannot travel for a thousand mile. The sound that does not have sound does not spread beyond a hundred mile; the sound without sound spreads the farthest. Thus one whose pay exceeds his services is pared down, and one whose reputation exceeds the reality suffers loss. When feelings and actions are in accord with reputation, disaster and prosperity do not arrive without cause. The *Shijing*诗经 says, Why do they rest without stirring? It must be they expect allies. Why do they prolong the time? There must be a reason for their conduct. Therefore, only when there is inaction is one no longer hampered by the external world, even though he prolongs his life. (Xu 1980:24)

The accounts of the Three Perfections and Three Withouts in the aforementioned manuscripts suggest their probable derivation from the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居. Hence, we intend to integrate these manuscripts into the discussion of Confucius’s Three Withouts, with the later serving as our primary source of material.

Scholars have interpreted the Three Withouts differently, with many holding negative views on it. The Han commentator Zheng Xuan made no mention of it. The Tang-era commentator Kong Yingda offers an explanation, defining the Three Withouts as “emphasizing spiritual engagement over physical presence”. This interpretation is faithful to the literal meaning of the original text. In Kong’s view, Three Withouts focuses on inner joy of a person when practicing rituals. Qing dynastry scholar Sun Xidan argues:

Music without sound means the tranquility of the mind, which does not depend on actual sound. Ritual without embody shows one’s piousness, which does not depend on deeds. Mourning without garb refers one’s sincerity, which does not depend on what clothes he wears. All these three behaviors are closely related with one’s heart and mind, from which one can have will of power, write poems like those in the Odes, practice for ritual, music, and mourning etc. In sum, Five Presences represents the substance of ritual and music, while Three Withouts is the origin of ritual and music.(Sun 1989:1276)

Sun’s interpretation of Three Withouts as “tranquility of the mind”, “piousness of the heart”, and “greatest sincerity” is a typical neo-Confucian’s approach. His reading of the relationship between Five Presences and Three Withouts as substance and origin of ritual and music also bears a significant resemblance to neo-Confucian’s concepts of substance and function. However, this perspective appears to be far from the original meaning intended in the *Liji*.

Moreover, many scholars do not seem to value it highly. Ye Shi, a philosopher from the South-Song period (1150-1223) criticizes these concepts, remarking that “adherence to them negates the necessity for physical involvement” (1977:107). He questions the advocacy for the music without sound, ritual without embodiment, and mourning without garb, dismissing them as neither self-evident, nor from the authentic *Shijing*诗经*.*” Ye Shi holds a pragmatic approach to philosophy and is quite critical of the *Liji* chapters such as Liyun 论礼(The Conveyance of Rites), Liqi 礼器(Implements of rites), Yueji乐记 (Discourse on music), and Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居, viewing their narratives as either overly exaggerated or implausible. Conversely, Ye Shi highly esteems Confucius’ principles of “appreciating five virtues and abandoning four evil things” in his response to Zizhang’s question regarding the necessary qualities for government service. Wang Meng’ou, a Chinese Taiwanese scholar, describes this chapter as mythical, denounced by later scholars (1970:816). Additionally, modern scholars interpret the Three Withouts as having metaphysical insights derived from Daoism.

Through the various interpretations of the Three Withouts, it becomes evident that scholars have approached the concept from other philosophical traditions instead of the Confucian thought. For instance, Pang Pu (2004) pointed out the resemblance between the Three Withouts and Laozi’s notion that the most astounding sound is not audible and Zhuangzi’s notion that the greatest ritual makes no distinction among people, thus associating the Three Withouts with Daoist philosophy. Most traditional Confucians didn’t base their interpretations on the classics themselves, failing to give an explicit and comprehensive explanation from the perspective of the evolution of Confucian philosophy.

It appears that the Three Withouts put forward by Confucius in the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 is not documented in other similar texts. In fact, a more significant inquiry might revolve around the relationship of this idea with early Confucian thought, particularly that of Confucius himself. Some assert that that the Three Withouts does not originate from the *Analects*. In our opinion, while there is explicit description of the Three Withouts in the *Analects*, certain indications suggest a potential relationship between the two.

According to Confucius, “The Yin dynasty inherits its rites system from the Xia dynasty” and “The Zhou dynasty inherits its rites system from the Yin dynasty”( *Analects* 2), rituals are cultural inheritance from antiquity. Although the contents of ritual may change with historical and social developments, the rites of the Three Dynasties are the same (Liqi礼器), representing the general cultural traits of the Three Dynasties. As ritual became embedded in culture, their interpretations diverged, leading to varied understandings. Two accounts in the chapters Lord Zhao 5 and 25 of *Zuo Tradition* (zuo zhuan) exemplify the difference between ritual and ceremony, reflecting people’s new understanding of ritual during the Spring and Autumn period. Ru Shuqi of Jin and Zi Dashu of Zheng viewed formal greetings of saluting, bowing, and turning as ceremonies rather than true rituals. They saw ritual as “the law of heaven, the duty of earth, and the best conduct of the people. It is the law of heaven and earth, and it is this that people make their model. They make a model of the brightness of heaven, they go along with the nature of earth, and they are born in the midst of the six vapors and use the Five Elements.” (Lord Zhao 25, *Zuo Tradition* ). This view has transcended the concrete textual description of ritual and vessels definitions, focusing instead on its function and value, thus giving ritual an abstract meaning. Similar discussions of ritual and ceremony are found in the manuscript of *Tian Zi Jian Zhou* 天子建州on bamboo slips of Shanghai Museum, which defines ritual as “the brother of ceremony”, which, as explained by Qiu Xigui (2019), means that ritual should be based on ceremonies which in turn come from ritual, hence the saying “ritual is the brother of ceremony. Ritual serves as the basis and ceremonies are merely the form”. Therefore, the greatest sincerity comes from insincerity. The highest degree of beauty comes from unbeauty. Ceremonies are only concerned about form, so they are against essence of ritual. The brother metaphor of ritual signifies that it is more fundamental than ceremonies, which is congruent with the above-mentioned discussion of ritual and ceremony in the *Zuo Tradition*.

Throughout his lifetime, Confucius endeavored to uphold and preserve the Zhou rites, show immense reverence towards them. His remarks on ritual can be found in the *Analects*. For example, he advocated practices like “wearing the cap of Zhou and music following the Shao dance” (*Analects* 15) and instructed his son: “If you do not learn the rules of ritual, you cannot establish yourself in society”(*Analects* 16). He said in chapter 8 of the *Analects* that a person should “start from poetry*,* establish himself through ritual and achieve perfection with music”. Though sporadic, these observations demonstrated Confucius’s profound understanding of the ritual of three dynasties. It was for this reason that he was deeply saddened by Ji family’s impertinent behaviors such as having Bayi dance in their courtyard and making a sacrifice ceremony at Taishan Mountain. He also taught his disciples “not to look at what is contrary to ritual; not to listen what is contrary to ritual; not to speak what is contrary to ritual; not to do anything that does not accord with ritual” (*Analects* 12). From the above narrations, we can see that Confucius viewed ritual as societal order and human norms. Ritual in this sense certainly demands physical involvement. Its meaning is unambiguous and rules explicit.

Yet, Confucius also attaches importance to benevolence, an inner virtue that could be performed without bodily engagement. Confucian scholars are prone to concur that Confucius interprets ritual by benevolence, as he stated in chapter 3 of the *Analects*,“ If a man has no the virtues of benevolence, how hat has he to do with the rites? If a man has no the virtues of benevolence, what has he to do with music?”. This viewpoint on ritual surpasses the traditional thought of ritual since West Zhou. Confucius believe that ritual encompassed more than mere the ceremonies of bowing and serving the chariot and horses. Its essence was intangible yet profoundly essential. The *Analects* relates:

What is ritual? Is it nothing more than jade and silk? What is music? Is it nothing more than drums and bells? (*Analects* 17 Yang Huo)

In ritual, it is better to be frugal than extravagant; in funerals deep sorrow is better than ease. (*Analects* 2 Ba Yi)

Ziyou子由 said, “When mourning has been carried to the utmost degree of grief, it should end” (*Analects* 19). In the *Liji* chapter Yueji乐记, there are passages discussing ritual: “Great ritual must be characterized by ease; great music must be marked by simplicity. ” “In the ceremonies of the great sacrifices, black wine was put in the front and uncooked fish was put on the stands; the grand soup had no condiments”. It also states:

Music does not mean the notes emitted by the musical instruments Huangzhong and Da Lv pitches, the strumming of stringed instruments in song, or the shield and axes in dance -- these are but the minor part of music. Thus children can act as the pantomimes. Similarly, ritual does not mean the alignment of vessels and observances of mere ceremony -- these are but the minor part of ritual which can be directed by the low-ranked officers.

In the *Liji* chapter Zhongni yan ju仲尼燕居 (Confucius dwelt at home), there is a dialogue between Confucius and his disciple Zizhang:

The Master said: Shi, do you think that arranging a banquet where you set forth the stools and mats, filling the cups and presenting them is the ritual? Do you think that music means the movements of the performers in taking up their positions, the brandishing of the plumes and fifes, and the sounding of the bells and drums? To speak and to carry into execution what you have spoken is ceremony; to act and to give and receive pleasure from what you do is music. The ruler who vigorously pursues these two things may well stand with his face to the south, for thus will great peace and order be secured all under heaven.

It can be seen from these narrations that both Confucius and his disciples held the view that the elaborate ceremonies involving jade and silk that we can see with our naked eyes and the grand music made by drums and bells and stringed songs that we can listen by our ears, represent only the minor aspects rather than the fundamental essence of ritual. The true essence of ritual, according to Confucius’s remarks in the *Analects*, resides in people’s genuine emotions, their understanding of benevolence, and their sincere execution of rituals. In other words, true ritual cannot be understood solely through the adornments of jade and silk or drums and bells. Similar perspectives can also be found in the Yueji乐记:

The grand music is an echo of the harmony between heaven and earth, the grand ceremony reflects the order of the heaven and earth. Ritual and music extend to the limits of Heaven and lie low upon the ground; travel through yin and yang and communicate with ghosts and spirits; exhaust the heights, reach the farthest limits, and delve into the deep and thick. Music dwells in the great beginning, and ritual resides in matured things. That which manifests non-rest is Heaven, and that which manifests non-motion is Earth. That which has one in motion and one still is among Heaven and Earth. Thus, the sages speak of ritual and music.

Ritual and music in this sense transcend the bounds of vessels used in ceremonies. They are parallel to Heaven and earth and connected with ghosts and gods. This perspective is truly profound and metaphysical in nature. Therefore, the ritual without embodiment in the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居 is the natural outcome of people’s understanding of ritual since the Spring and Autumn period. It is congruent with Confucius as well as Confucianism and not necessarily stem from Taoist influences.

The argument of “ritual of Heaven” in the Shanghai Museum Chu Bamboo Manuscript San De (Three Virtues), is very close to the Confucian concept of ritual without embodiment:

In order and succession, the outer and inner have separation and men and women have integrity. This is called the ritual of Heaven. The Empress says, stand upright, do not make crooked speech. Do not be an actor. Do not engage in great affairs. Do not harm constancy. Do not block up rivers. Do not cut off or stop water. Do not destroy ancestral temples. Do not ruin the strong. When resting, do not be lazy. In action, do not be far away. Be great, do not destroy. Do no make ill omens. When entering ruins, do not show happiness. When climbing hills among tombs, do not sing. This is what is regarded as the ritual of Heaven.

The Empress mentioned in the passage is often regarded as referring to the Yellow Emperor (Cao 2015). Some scholars perceive the San De chapter as bearing strong elements of Huang-Lao Daoist thought, and being one of the intellectual origins of the *Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor*. The ritual of Heaven in San De manuscript, thought not found in other documents, has apparently extended the bound of of ritual from ceremonies between men and women to the order of Heaven, which come close to the above-mentioned ritual as “the order of heaven and earth” and “extending to the limits of Heaven and lie low upon the ground” in the the *Liij* chapter Yueji乐记. Another concept that is similar to ritual of Heaven is order of Heaven. The *Book of History* states, “Heaven has mandated the five levels of ranks and these give rise to our five rites, which we have to conduct accordingly.” Kong Anguo argues that: “Heaven has mandated the relationship between human, and we should make the five rites of duke, the marquis, the earl, the count, and the baron our common conduct of behavior.” Kong Yingda said, “Heave bestows titles and ranks and establishes ritual principles and laws. For this reason, the ruler of a state should observe the rites of the duke, the marquis, the earl, the count, and the baron, making them the common act of behavior.” He also said:

Heaven has ordained an order of hierarchy which means making the humble serve the noble, the low serve the senior, and this is the way of heaven. Therefore, the rule of the state should comply with the heaven’s will, practice the rites of the duke, the marquis, the earl, the count, and the baron respectively, and make the humble class and noble class in their order. This chapter aims at describing the son of Heave. From the son of Heaven to the lords, from carriages, flags, clothing, national rituals, banquets, and sacrificial feasts, each social rank has its own ritual principles. The social relationship of Heaven and the hierarchy of Heaven are similar in meaning, with one narrates human relations and the other refers to social ranks.

These explanations of “Heaven’s order” are in the same line with “Heaven’s rites” in the bamboo slips. A passage in the Xingfa zhi 刑法志(Criminal Law）of the *Book of Han* explains this more clearly：

Therefore, the ritual system is used to gain honor and respect, and punishments are employed to clarify power. Because the sages are personally endowed with a keen wisdom by nature, they necessarily penetrate the heart of heaven and earth. They institute rituals to instruct, and they set up laws to establish punishments. In this way they manage the circumstances of the people, and accord with heaven and the shape of earth. Therefore, it is said that the sage kings established the rites “principled on the brilliance of heaven and according to the nature of earth.” *The Book of Shang* states: “Heaven distinguishes those who perform ritual, heaven punishes those who commit crimes”, the sage thus laid down five rites and five punishments respectively.

The passages quoted reveal that “hierarchy of Heaven” and “ritual of Heaven” essentially convey the same implications, with the former establishes the social order of the human world by emulating the way of Heave and the later sets up the rites of Heaven by summing up social rites. These two concepts share a fundamental similarity: they abstract specific human rights and elevate them to the will of Heaven, thus proving a universal and apocalyptical rationale for ritual that surpasses the concrete system of ceremonies.

In summary, the above analysis indicates that across the millennia, from the Shang and Zhou dynasties through the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, there was a gradual deepening of understanding regarding ritual, in which the discussion of the distinction between ritual and ceremony in the Spring and Autumn period played a crucial role in the developmental history of ritual thought. Building on ancient ceremonies, Confucians made further explanations of ritual. For them, ritual does not only mean the various ceremonies in social life but also signifies the mandate of Heaven and Earth, which is invisible and extremely abstract. Therefore, it is a natural thing for the Confucians to define ritual as ritual without embodiment, which is an inevitable and significant evolution of ritual theory rather than something enigmatic or mystical.

#### 1.1.2 Ritual without embodiment and the turn of ritual thought

The notion of “ritual without embodiment” mentioned by Confucius in the Kongzi xian ju孔子闲居chapter gradually evolved since the Spring and Autumn period, reflecting an intellectual effort to abstract specific ritual texts. However, a further analysis reveals that Confucianism in later times were differentiated from the traditional ritual theory via sublation.

While “body” (体Ti) in the pre-Qin documents has various meanings, it mainly refers to human body or its four limbs. Examples of “body” includes expressions like “The mind is expanded, and the body is at ease” in the Da xue 大学*(Great Learning)* chapter of the Liji and “Expose his body to hunger” in the *Mencius*. Instances of “four limbs” appear in lines such as “Your four limbs are unaccustomed to toil” in the *Analects*, and “have not enough warm clothing for your body” in the *Mencius*.

Ritual, as a complex emblematic system, involves body movements like bowing, turning, and dressing, which relies on the body for execution. Moreover, the practice of many ceremonies requires the coordination and restrictions on the body, therefore it is quite common to connect ritual with human body in the ancient documents. For example, the Liqi 礼器chapter has the following passage: “Ritual is just like human body. When the parts of one’s body are not complete, he is not considered a full man. So, it will be unprepared if ritual is used improperly.” To associate ritual with body is a general overview of ritual.

In the Xici系辞chapter of the *Book of Changes,* it is said, “Therefore god has no place and *Book of Changes* has no body (form).” “No body” here means the *Changes* is formless, but the body in the concept of “ritual without (em)body” mentioned in the Kongzi xian ju 孔子闲居 chapterdoes not only mean literally the appearance and gestures. This idea represents the negation of appearance ritual.

As a matter of fact, the ceremonies of bowing and saluting, entering and exiting, and appearance and dressing are an important aspect of ritual system. Nobles must perform these ceremonies with the cooperation of their body and appearance. The Pinli聘礼 chapter (Rites of Courtesy Visits) of the *Yili* 仪礼(Ceremonies and Rituals) described the details of one visit:

The chief of suite holds the jade as if it were very heavy, and hands it to the commissioner. The commissioner enters the palace gate with an impressive air. He ascends the steps in a deferential manner. When he is about to hand over the jade, he looks purposeful and move quickly. He hands it over as if he were watching to seize an advantage and goes down the stairs as if he were escorting someone. He does not withdraw until the Prince has turned his back on him. When he has gone down, he lets go his breath and takes things easily. He lifts his feet two or three times, and then steps out freely. Then when he gets to the door, he resumes his correct demeanor. When the commissioner takes the jade he bends his body as he enters the temple door as if he fears he will drop it. When the time for the presentation has come, he breathes freely and assumes an expansive air. And the suite, facing north, throw off all appearance of restraint. At the private interview the demeanor should be one of perfect good humor. And they go out of the temple like wild geese. The one who carries the jade should walk to the temple with an impressive air. Entering the door, he lays most stress on a reverential demeanor, and as he ascends to the hall, he is careful to an extreme.

This paragraph delineates the ceremonies of diplomatic visit between feudal lords, focusing on the appearance and gestures of the emissary such as “impressive air” “deferential manner”, “takes things easily”, “steps out freely”, and “expansive air” etc. The coordination of the posture and appearance of the performer and facilitator played an important role in the ceremony as they make the ritual look both solemn and harmonious, thus accomplishing the goal perfectly.

Confucius is known to follow the rites of Zhou and was very strict with the appearance and posture in performing rites. Detailed description can be found in Book 10 (Xiang Dang) of the *Analect*s:

When Confucius was in his village, he was quiet and sincere, as if he were not able to speak.

When he was in the the court and speaking to the officers of lower grade, he spoke freely and at ease. when speaking to the senior officers, he was straightforward but formal. When the ruler was present, he straightened up ceremoniously, but with a calm demeanor.

When the ruler called him to receive important visitors, his face took on a serious expression, and he walked briskly. He bowed as he came to the place of greeting, and with his left and right hand held his garment in front and back, keeping it properly adjusted. He advanced quickly with his arms like wings. When the visitor left, he would report, “The visitor has stopped looking back.”

When he came through the court door, he shrunk down deferentially, as if there was not enough space. Once inside, he did not stand in the middle, and he would not step on the threshold. When he passed in front of the ruler's position, his expression became serious, and he stepped carefully in small steps; it seemed difficult for him to speak. He lifted up the hems of his skirt when entering the hall nodding deeply in respect. He held his breath as if he could not breathe. Upon leaving, once he had gone down one step, his countenance became relaxed, and he appeared to be contented. Reaching the bottom of the stairs he began to move briskly, his arms like wings. Returning to his original position, he was deferential.

When holding the jade scepter, he was bent over with deference, as if he could not support it. He held it from above in a folding way, and from below in an offering way. He showed a serious and anxious expression, walking in a straight line with shuffling steps. In the presentation ceremony, he showed a genial expression. In private meetings, he seemed relaxed without concerns.

When he saw someone in mourning clothes, even if he knew them well, he would change his expression. Encountering a person in full attire, or the blind, even if he was in his informal home dress, he would show the proper attitude. Encountering someone in mourning, he would lower his head in the carriage, and would do the same for someone carrying census boards. When he saw delicious food, his expression would change and he would stand up. His expression would also change with a thunder or violent wind.

These paragraphs describe various appearances in performing certain rites such as “quiet and sincere”, “freely and at ease”, and “arms like wings” according to Confucius’s requirement. Zengzi once said, “There are three things a gentleman should prize: In his deportment he avoids brashness and arrogance; In regulating his facial expressions he is guided by sincerity; When speaking, he avoids vulgarity and slander. As for attending to the sacrificial vessels, there are specialists for them (*Analects* 8 ). In his commentary on the Dunhuang manuscript in Tang dynasty, Zheng Xuan (127-200) stated: “If deportment is honest, other people will not dare to be arrogant and contemptuous. If your facial expression is solemn, nobody can bully you. If your words are respectful, you will receive no irreverent remarks.” It can therefore be seen that “sincere deportment, solemn express, and respectful words” are the three important requirements of ritual. In the *Liji* chapter Guanyi冠义 (The Meaning of Capping), ritual is described as: “The meaning of ritual starts from the correct deportment, the solemn countenance, and the respectful speech. Only with these three things the meaning of ritual becomes complete.” This passage is apparently quoting Zengzi. The the *Liji* chapter Biaoji 表记 quotes Confucius: “Therefore a gentleman’s deportment induces awe, his countenance induces fear, and his words produce confidence”, whose connotation is consistent with what the *Analects* records. Xunzi said: “Therefore, only if they are reverent, may you discuss the approaches to the Way (Dao) with them. Only if their speech is respectful, may you discuss the pattern of the Way with them. Only if their countenance is agreeable may you discuss the culmination of the Way with them.” (Quanxue 劝学of *Xunzi*)Similar rules on deportment and countenance for ceremonies can also be found in the recently unearthed manuscripts in the same period with Xunzi. For example, Shanghai Museum Collection Tianzi jianzhou天子建州 (Son of Heaven Builds His Realm) has the description: Son of Heaven sits like a square，eat with according to ceremony, stands like music-stand，eat with elegance, and walk energetically. The feudal lords eat in the way the same with Son of Heaven and follow the same rules with the nobles.”

From these narrations, it can be seen that the deportment, countenance and body posture that are performed in ceremonies constitute the integral part of ritual, which is also valued by the Confucians. According to Shiji 史记(The Records of the Grand Historian*),* Confucius developed a profound interest in the *Book of Changes* in his later years and studied it so diligently that he authored ten commentaries, including Tuan zhuan彖传 (Commentary on the Judgment), Xici 系辞(the Commentary on the Appended Phrases), Xiang zhuan象传 (Overall Image), Shuogua 说卦(the Explanation of the Trigrams), and Wenyan zhuan文言传 (Commentary on the Words). While Confucius valued and observed ritual practices throughout his life, his attitude toward the rites of Zhou underwent a transformation from his childhood, when he “often arranges sacrifices and comportment used in ceremonies” (Hereditary House of Confucius of the *Shiji*史记), to the later years’ emphasis on the ideological and metaphysical significance of rituals. The *Analects* (chapter 11) has the dialogue between Confucius and Zigong:

Zigong asked: “Who is more virtuous, Shi 师 (Zizhang) or Shang 商(Zixia)?”.

The Master replied: “Shi goes too far, and Shang falls short.”

Zigong asked: “Then is Shi more virtuous?”

The Master replied: “Going too far is as bad as falling short.”

In Confucius’ evaluating of his disciples, Zizhang is criticized for “going too far”, while Zixia “falls short”. But most previous scholars explain “going too far” and “falling short” from the perspectives of human disposition and virtue. For example, Huang Kan (488-545) in his *Commentary to the Analects* said: “Zizhang is too cautious and is good at avoiding mistakes but not good at stopping them. Zixia is generous but often stops halfway.” The commentator Xing Bing (932-1010) also remarked that chapter 11 of *Analects* “displayed the advantages and weakness of Zizhang and Zixia.” While these comments are reasonable in some way, they are not in line with what Confucius meant. In the Zhongni yan ju仲尼燕居 chapter of the *Liji,* there is a corresponding dialogue between Confucius and his three disciples. Confucius said: “Shi, you go too far. Shang, you fall short.” Zigong asked: “Dare I ask how one comes to find balance?” Confucius responded: “It is ritual. Ritual! Ritual is the means by which one creates a sense of balance”. For this dialogue, Zheng Xuan’s comments are: “Going too far and falling short reflect the acuteness and slowness. Neither is in line with ritual.” These comments clearly tell us that Confucius’ evaluation of “going too far” and “falling short” are based on ritual instead of human disposition. For Confucius, while both Zizhang and Zixia value ritual, their comprehension of rites lacks profundity. There is a similar account in the Tanggong I檀弓上 chapter of the *Liji*:

After he finished the mourning for his Parent, Zixia went to see Confucius who asked him to play on a musical instrument. Zixia tried to tune it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, 'I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient emperors made the rules of ritual, and I dare not go beyond them.' When the instrument was given to Zizhang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily did so; he touched it, and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, 'The ancient emperors made the rules of ritual, and I do not dare not to perform them to the extremes.’

Despite Zixia and Zizhang’s remarks in the above passage might be their response to Confucius’ evaluation on them in the *Analects*, with one “falling short ”and the other “going too far”, “Tangong” provides a more explicit interpretation: both Zixia and Zizhang were following the rites formulated by previous Emperors. From the two accounts in the Zhongji yan ju仲尼燕居 and the Tangong檀弓, we can be sure that Confucius based his evaluation criteria for Zizhang and Zixia on ritual.

Using ritual as his benchmark, Confucius regarded Zizhang’s practices as “going too far”. But how did he make such judgement? Let’s first see another statement in the *Analects* 11:

Chai 柴(Zigao) is simple. Shen参 (Zengzi) is dull. Shi师 (Zizhang) is specious. You由(Zilu) is reckless.

In this quotation, Confucius evaluated four of his disciples. He Yan (195-249) in his *Commentaries of the Analects* quotes Ma Rong (79-166): Zizhang is most talented, but a bit pompous. Huang Kan in his Commentaries of the *Analects* spoke of Zizhang as “fond of covering up errors”. Wang Bi has similar comments. These comments from Cao Wei era read Zizhang’s “being specious” as giving too much emphasis on external countenance and posture, which is close to what Confucius’ call “artful words and flashy manners”. In the Wudi de五帝德chapter of the *Da Dai Liji*大戴礼记, we found Confucius’s speech: “I had wanted to judge people by their appearance, but Zigong made me change my view.” In Chapter six of *Xunzi*, Xunzi attacks these behaviors: “They walk like the emperor Yu and run like emperor Shun, they are the base Confucianism represented by Zizhang.” It seems clear that Zizhang paid too much emphasis in countenance in his practice of ritual, blindly following the ancient people. Zhu Xi (1130-1200) interpreted these behaviors in ritual as insincere.

Confucius’s assessments of Zizhang in the *Analects* and the similar accounts in the *Liji* tell us about the nature of the ritual observed by Zizhang. Zhu Xi, in his explanation of “going too far” and “falling short” in the *Analects,* stated: Zizhang, being talented and aspiring, often pursues grand endeavors, so he goes too far. Conversely, Zixia was sincere and meticulous with a narrow mind, so he often fell short in his efforts.” Although Zhu Xi’s interpretation stresses the disparity in talent and disposition of Zizhang and Zixia, hinting at the inadequacy in their practice, which is also the difference in their observance of ritual. Zizhang placed significant emphasis on the countenance of ritual, closely adhering to the various ritual comportments since Shun 舜and Yu 禹era. Such ritual practices would inevitably be out of step with the society as they look exaggerated and eccentric，which is why Confucius appraised him as “going too far”and Zhu Xi “like big challenges”

It is likely that most of the accounts regarding ritual comportments in the chapter 9 of the *Analects* quoted above were written during the time when Confucius served in the court. His political career began as the chief minister of the Lu state under Duke Ding’s reign in 509 BC, lasting to 497 BC when, at the age of 55, he left Lu to travel around the states to disseminate his political beliefs. According to the *Shiji*史记, Zixia was 44 years younger, and Zizhang 48 years younger than Confucius, suggesting they became his disciples in his later years. In other words, “going too far” and “falling short” were evaluations Confucius made when he was in his old age, signifying a shift in his attitudes towards ritual from its external form to its essence and meaning.

It is therefore reasonable to infer that Zixia’s concept of ritual without embodiment is an extension of Confucius’s later understanding of ritual. Jia Yi in the Han dynasty attached importance to ritual comportment. In his Rong Jing 容经chapter of the *New Writings*, he argues that “There are four types of intentions, four types of comportments, four rules of looking and four skills of speech.” While *The Catalogue of Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature* is critical of the *New Writings* for its similar passages with The Biography of Jia YI贾谊传 chapter, the *Hanshu* 汉书, it argues that both the Bao Fu 保傅and Rong Jing容经 chapters present concisely the facts of classics, suggesting that they have their original sources. This implies that ritual comportment is part of ancient ritual. But in general, ritual with comportment as its central focus gradually waned over time.

According to the Rulin lie zhuan 儒林列传(Biography of Confucian Scholars) chapter of the *Shiji*史记, the ritual thought of the Han Dynasty was passed down from Gaotang Sheng of Lu. However, due to “the incomplete nature of ritual texts from the time of Confucius, compounded by the extensive loss and scattering of books during the Qin burning the books, only his *Shih li*士礼 (The Rites of Servicemen)” remains today, which may constitute the main content of the Confucian ritual thought in Han dynasty. In addition, this chapter has the following account:

Xu Sheng of Lu was skilled in ritual countenance. During the time of Emperor Xiao Wen, due to his proper countenance, Xu Sheng became the Grand Master of the Office of Ritual. Xu Sheng passed on his learning to his son Xu Yan and even on to his grandson Xu Xiang. As for Xiang, though he was endowed with skill in acting with proper countenance, he was unable to master the *Lijing*礼经; Xu Yan was able to master more *Lijing* 礼经, but was not skilled in it. Due to his proper countenance, Xu Xiang became Grand Master of the Office of Ritual of the Han and finally became Scribe of the Capital in Guangling. Xu Yan and the disciples of the Xu family, Gonghu Manyi公户满意, Huan Sheng 恒生and Shan Ci 单次had all been Grand Masters of the Office of Ritual. Moreover, Xiao Fen 萧奋 became Grand Administrator of Huaiyang. After this, those who could explain ritual and show proper countenance all came from the Xu family.

The Rulin zhuan 儒林传chapter of the *Hanshu* 汉书 quotes Su Lin: *The* *Old Ritual of Han dynasty* has the narration: “There were two scholars who like to sing the praise of the ritual countenance. After them, there are the Xu and Zhang families who cannot master classics but are good at practicing ritual countenance. Every state has its ritual countenance that they have learned from the state of Lu.” The above accounts indicate that although scholars in the school of ritual countenance, inherited by Xu Sheng, may still hold some official positions at the Han dynasty’s court, their ritual theory lacked official recognition. Additionally, the system of music and ceremonies proposed by Shu Suntong for the early Han Dynasty also has contents of ritual countenance. But Shun Suntong exploited ritual for personal benefits, limited its scope to political purposes and yielding minimal achievements in the academic domain. The Han dynasty’s ritual was mainly practiced by officials like Xiao Fen, Hou Cang, and Dai De and De Sheng. While the modern version of the *Lijing*礼经 often faced criticism and its influence in the Han Dynasty was not significant, it became the country’s official ritual practice as its compilers Dai De and Dai Sheng were erudites (boshi, ritual and canonical specialists). Conversely, Xu Sheng’s school of rituals, primarily focusing on ritual comportment, declined after the Han dynasty due to its weak foundation.

Due to the burning of books in the Qin Dynasty, the Han dynasty ritual system did not directly follow the pre-Qin Confucian rituals but instead underwent significant changes. Its main contents comprised various elements, including the disruption of ritual documents caused by the book burning, ensuing debates, and the complex relationship between Confucian ritual classics, ritual thoughts, and the political changes and social development of the Han dynasty. During this process, greater emphasis was placed on ritual thought and its role in governance and establishing social customs. This is in line with the pre-Qin ritual theory, especially with Confucian ritual thought. On the other hand, while the ritual focusing on comportment also originated from ancient rituals, it declined inevitably as it had been opposed by orthodox Confucianism and failed to engage in ritual debates in the Han dynasty.

In summary, ritual without embodiment put forward by Confucius marked a pivotal shift in the Confucian ritual theory. On the one hand, it represents a sublimation of the development of Confucian ritual thought since the Spring and Autumn Period. Just as it is said in the *Liji*: “To respect ritual is to respect its meaning”, Confucian disciples attached increasingly greater importance to the connotation of various rites and their significance, function and meaning, and the philosophical construction of ritual when they inherited them from previous periods. On the other hand, in addition to the fact that Confucians gradually ignored ritual countenance because of Confucius’ opposition, ritual theory in the Han Dynasty was dominated by the *Lijing* 礼经. All of these led to the eventual decline of the school of ritual countenance. It can be observed that the notion of ritual without embody put forward during the Warring States period had influenced the development of ritual until the Han dynasty.

#### 1.1.3 The Differentiation of Confucianism in the Warring States Period: Seen from the Liji chapter Kongzi xian ju

The Kongzi xianju 孔子闲居 chapter of the *Liji* primarily consists of dialogues between Confucius and Zixia. From the *Liji* and other texts, chapters featuring Zixia as the protagonist appear to have been recorded and created by Zixia's later disciples, and should be considered works of the Zixia school. This is consistent with what we understand from the *Analects* about Zixia being listed among the "four subjects" in the "literary studies" category (see "Xianjin" 先进 chapter of the *Analects*), and his expertise in the study of the *Shijing* 诗经 and ritual learning.

According to the "Bayі" 八佾 chapter of the *Analects*:

Zixia asked: "What is meant by 'Her artful smile dimpling, her beautiful eyes glancing, plain silk for ornamentation'?" The Master said: "Painting comes after the plain groundwork." Zixia said: "Does ritual come after?" The Master said: "Shang [Zixia] is one who can rouse me! Now I can begin to discuss the *Shijing* 诗经 with him."

From a line in *the Shijing* 诗经, Zixia understood the idea that "ritual comes after," Zixia inferred that ritual regulates and completes virtue, earning Confucius’ praise. From this passage, we can also see that Zixia mastered the reveals Zixia’s well *Shijing* 诗经 and was adept at integrating it with ritual,a key characteristic of his scholarship.

Zixia attached great importance to ritual, yet Confucius criticized his understanding of ritual as inadequate. Specifically, this inadequacy was due to Zixia's excessive emphasis on ritual details, which sometimes caused him to neglect a holistic understanding of ritual and its meaning. The Zizhang chapter of the *Analects* has the following accounts:

Ziyou said, "The disciples and followers of Zixia, in sprinkling and sweeping the ground, in answering and replying, in advancing and receding, are sufficiently accomplished. But these are only the branches of learning, and they are left ignorant of what is essential. How can they be acknowledged as sufficiently taught?" Zixia heard of the remark and said, "Alas! Yan You is wrong. According to the way of the superior man in teaching, what departments are there which he considers of prime importance, and delivers? what are there which he considers of secondary importance, and allows himself to be idle about? But as in the case of plants, which are assorted according to their classes, so he deals with his disciples. How can the way of a superior man be such as to make fools of any of them? Is it not the sage alone, who can unite in one the beginning and the consummation of learning?"（James Legge trans.）

From these records in the *Analects* , we can see that Zixia's and Ziyou's understandings of rituals differ. Zixia believed that understanding and practicing ritual should begin with specific, detailed actions like sweeping and responding, as these details, though seemingly trivial, contain “something worth observing.” Zixia’s strict adherence to rules and focus on details prompted Confucius’ warning: "Be a noble Confucian scholar, not a petty one." ( Yongye 雍也 of the *Analects*). If one limits oneself to the minor details of ritual and fails to grasp the whole, one risks becoming a "petty Confucian" rather than the "noble Confucian" that Confucius valued.

After Confucius’ death, Zixia played a significant role in the transmission of Confucian teachings. The *Shiji* 史记 recorded that “After Confucius passed away, Zixia resided in Xihe, where he taught Marquis Wen of Wei” (Biographies of the Disciples of Confucius, the *Shiji* 史记). Since Wei was one of the most powerful states of the early Warring States period, the Zixia school must have been highly influential at that time. There were many records about Zixia’s composing the Preface to the *Shijing* 诗经and transmitting the *Yijing* 易经, from which we can infer that Zixia had indeed played a significant role in the transmission of Confucianism. In addition, Zixia, together with his followers, also developed Confucius's Confucianism. One significant aspect of this development was that Zixia's followers, while preserving the Confucian rituals, emphasized moving beyond the external forms of rituals to focus on the profound meanings contained within the ceremonies and artifacts. This was the intellectual background for the idea of ritual without embodiment proposed in the *Kongzi xianju* 孔子闲居 chapter of the *Liji*.

Although Confucianism was divided into eight schools after Confucius’s death, Confucianism of Mencius and Xunzi are two major schools that dominate. Correspondingly, Confucian ritual studies also developed along two main trajectories: one focusing on inner world, the other on external form. Zixia’s school did not prioritize external forms of ritual and music; instead, they were more attracted by their higher-level of meaning and value, advocating “music without sound, ritual without embodiment, mourning without garb”. This is consistent with Confucius’s theory of ritual. This theory has two orientations, one, represented by Mencius, posits that "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom are rooted in the heart," an approach that internalizes ritual. The other, represented by Xunzi, combines ritual with heaven and earth, yin and yang, emphasizing the metaphysical construction of ritual. The Wuxing五行 chapter of the Mangwagndui Silk Manuscripts has the following paragraph:

The textual section:

Swallows fly in the sky, fluttering their wings unevenly.

This woman is about to die, and I accompany her to the suburbs.

I open my eyes and can't see her, and tears fall like rain. Only after being able to have "uneven fluttering" can one reach the deepest sorrow. The gentleman is cautious when he is alone.

The commentary section:

Unevenness (*chachi*) refers to a state not confined by mourning attire. Only when one is not preoccupied with the external mourning clothes can one attain the most profound sorrow. In mourning, while one might wear the proper attire, adjust the collar, and appear overcome with grief, the inner sorrow reaches a depth that is not expressed by these outward forms. This state of pure inner feeling is shendu 慎独 (being alone). To 'be alone' means to forget the external form.(庞朴：《帛书五行篇研究》，齐鲁书社 1980 年版，第 31、32 页。)

Mourning apparel is an important manifestation of human relationships and an essential component of the mourning rites. In this paragraph, however, it is argued that the essence of funeral rites should lie in showing a person’s deepest sorrow, rather than in the external forms of various types of mourning apparel. This view is quite close to “mourning without mourning apparel.” The Wuxing 五行 text describes mourning rites as "those that reach the innermost," meaning that for funeral rites, genuine emotion instead of mourning garments is what really matters, that is "abandoning the body( sheti舍体) ". This view corresponds to the idea of ritual without embodiment.

It is generally believed that the Wuxing 五行 text was written by Zisi and is a key representative work of the school of Zisi and Mencius, which is the Confucian school that inherited the concept of Confucian "benevolence" (ren仁), internalized Confucianism, and made it a matter of the heart-mind (xinxing心性), which made it more closely related to the later Neo-Confucianism. From the perspective of purely logical development of thought, it is plausible to associate ritual without embodiment with the inner virtue of the Zisi school, believing that it leads to Mencius' explanation of "benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom being rooted in the heart". Some contemporary scholars also believe that the "three withouts" are consistent with the thought of the Zisi-Mencius school (参见徐少华《楚竹书〈民之父母〉思想源流探论》，《中国哲学史》2005 年第 4 期。). Ritual without embodiment focuses on the heart, which brings people’s attention from external ceremonies to the understanding of and respect for ritual (王齐洲：《“威仪”与“气志”：孔子〈诗〉教的人格取向》，《清华大学学报》（哲学社会科学版）2013 年第 1 期。).

In fact, it is matter of logic to associate ritual without embodyment with the Zisi–Mencius school in the development of Confucianism and ritual thought. Tthere were fundamental disagreements between the thought of Zixia and Zengzi. In *Mencius*, there is a paragraph as follows:

Formerly, when Confucius died, […]. On another occasion, Zixia, Zizhang, and Ziyou, thinking that Youruo resembled the sage, wished to render to him the same observances which they had rendered to Confucius. They tried to force Zengzi to join with them, but he said, "This may not be done. What has been washed in the waters of the Jiang and Han, and bleached in the autumn sun - how glistening is it! Nothing can be added to it." (Tengwen gong 滕文公 chapter of *Mencius.* Trans. James Legge)

After Confucius’ death, Zixia and others believed that Youzi's thought can best embody the essence of Confucius’ teachings, hoping to choose Youzi as Confucius' successor, which met with criticism and ridicule from Zengzi. This may suggest two things. One is that Youzi and Zengzi were leaders of two influential Confucian schools at the time. The other is that Zengzi and Zixia disagreed with each other on selecting the successor to Confucius' thought. This disagreement was not personal but stemmed from their different understanding of Confucius' thought. The Tangong 檀弓 chapter of the *Liji* also records several instances of conflicting views on ritual between Zengzi and Youzi, Ziyou, and others, some of which explicitly pointed out Zengzi’s disrespect for ritual. This divergence of opinions suggested that Zixia school cannot possibly linked to the ritual thought of Zengzi and Mencius.

Ritual without embodiment could also be explained from an externalist perspective. In the Kongzi xianju 孔子闲居 chapter, Confucius described ritual without embodiment as: "majestic and reverent," "making progress daily", and "extending to the four seas." This description of ritual is in similar vein with the explanation of ritual from Heaven and Earth, Yin and Yang during the Warring States period, which can be linked to the ritual thought of Xunzi.

According to the *Analects*, Zixia himself attached great importance to ritual. He was conservative and meticulous, believing that in practicing ritual one should begin with minute details —such as sweeping, greeting, and responding—so that one could finally grasp the essence of ritual. Zixia’s thought was changed by his followers into emphasizing on the macro explanation of ritual and grasp Confucianism holistically. The *Han shi waizhuan* 韩诗外传 recorded two passages to this effect:

When Zixia had completed his reading of the *Shijing* 诗经,  the Master asked him, "What can you say about the *Shijing* 诗经?" Zixia replied, "In their treatment of situations, the *Shijing* 诗经 are brilliant, with a radiant brightness  like that of the sun and moon; they are lustrous as the stars in their alternating progress. On the one hand they contain the Way of Yao and Shun; on the other they have the *i* of the Three Kings.  What your disciple [has learned from his Master, he has engraved on his heart and] dares not forget. Even though I were dwelling in poverty,  I would sing to the accompaniment of the lute of the lessons of the former kings. Were there others with me, I should enjoy them; without company I would still enjoy them, and become so excited as to forget food.

The *Shijing*  诗经says, The Master suddenly changed countenance and said "Ah sir, now you can discuss the *Shijing* 诗经.  But as yet you have seen only the externals and not what is within." Yen Yüan said, "Having finished with the externals, what more is there to see within?" Confucius said, "If you peep through the door without entering, how can you know where its hidden treasures are? But that they are hidden is not what is difficult. I have entered into them [by dint of] great effort and intense application. In front [it is as though they were] a high cliff: behind, a deep valley, so that I could only stand solemnly erect. One who does not see what lies within cannot be called refined or profound [in his understanding of the *Shijing* 诗经]."(Hanshi waizhuan, v.2, chpt29, Trans. Anne Kinney)

Zixia asked, "Why is the *kuan-chü* made to begin the "Kuo-fêng" [section of the *Shijing* 诗经]?"Confucius said, "The *kuan-chü* is perfection.  Now in its relation to man,  the *kuan-chü* above is like Heaven; below it is like Earth. Mysterious and dark is the virtue it hides; abundant and rich the Way it puts into practice. Its transformations are like those of the supernatural dragon.  It is complete in its brilliancy and order. Oh great is the Way of the *kuan-chü!* It is that which connects all things and on which the life of human beings is dependent. "The Ho and the Lo [Rivers] gave forth the writing and the diagram;  the *lin* and the phoenix frequented  the suburbs:  by what means could this be brought about except by following the Way  of the *kuan-chü,* and by taking the subject of the *kuan-chü* for a model?  Now the writings of the Six Classics  all are devoted to exhaustive discussion, but they derive [their matter] from the *kuan-chü.* The subject of the *kuan-chü* is great! Vast and soaring, `from the east to the west, from the south to the north, there is not a thought but does it homage.'  May you exert yourself [to emulate it], and cherish it in thought.  Neither human beings between Heaven and Earth nor the origin of the Kingly Way are outside its compass." Zixia sighed deeply and said, "Great indeed is the *kuan-chü;* it is the [very] foundation of Heaven and Earth." (Hanshi waizhuan, v5.chpt1) (Trans. Anne Kinney)

From the nature of the sources, the *Han shi waizhuan* 韩诗外传 does not rank among the most reliable materials for studying pre-Qin Confucianism. We can only use it as a supplementary source and utilize it when cross-referencing with other reliable documents. While these two passages seemed to be imitating the *Analects*, they may not be Zixia’s words. They can be considered understandings of the *Shijing* 诗经 by Zixia’s later followers. In this light, Zixia's intepreation of the *Shijing* 诗经, especially the poem Guanju关雎, in the quoted passages is quite different from the one in the  *Preface to Mao Shi* 毛诗, which states that Guanju 关雎 is about the virtue of the queen consort (（汉）毛亨传，（汉）郑玄笺，（唐）孔颖达疏：《毛诗注疏》，上海古籍出版社 2013 年版，第4-5 页). Lu Ji’s *Meanings of Plants, Birds, Beasts, Insects and Fishi in Mao Shi* says, “Confucius edited the Shijing 诗经 and transmitted it to Bu Shang (Zixia), who then wrote the preface for it.” Lu Deming held the similar view. In terms of their explanations to the poem Guanju 关雎, the *Preface to Mao Shi* 毛诗 is totally based on the ethical cultivation of human relationships, while the *Hanshi waizhuan* 韩诗外传 claims that Guanju is the foundation of Heaven and Earth. This may reflect the trajectory of the study of *the Shijing* 诗经 and Confucianism among Zixia's followers.

From the development of thought, the ritual without embodiment put forwarded by Confucius in the Kongzi xianju 孔子闲居chapter could lead to two schools. One is that of Zengzi, Zisi, and Mencius which emphasized the internalization of ritual. The other school, represented by Xunzi, built ritual upon the cosmological foundations of heaven, earth, yin and yang. The Kongzi xianju 孔子闲居 chapter belongs to the Zixia school, which was to some extent, related to Xunzi’s thought. The Qing dynasty scholar Wang Zhong, in his *General Discussion on Xun Qing*, stated: "Xunzi’s theory derives from Zixia and Zhonggong."（李金松校笺：《述学校笺》，第 453 页。） In this light, **ritual without embodyment** has a more direct connection of succession with Xunzi’s ritual thought.

Of course, Xunzi also criticized the "vulgar Confucians" of Zizhang, Zixia, and Ziyou in his chapter Against the Twelve Masters. Such criticism can be interpreted from two perspectives. First, criticism is inevitable in his growing into a great Confucian. His theory evolved throughout his life. For example, while Xunzi criticized the wuxing 五行 (Five Elements) theory of Zisi and Mencius, but his Bugou不苟 chapter shows signs of having absorbed ideas from the Zhongyong 中庸 chapter of the *Liji*. Thus, it is not difficult to understand how Xunzi could both criticize Zixia and inherit his thought. Second, as influential disciples of Confucius, Zixia and others had followers who founded their own schools of thought. Therefore, Xunzi's criticism might not be directed at Zixia and Ziyou, but at other members of their schools. For instance, Xunzi's criticism of the Confucians of Ziyou's school as "petty Confucians who shirk responsibilities, shameless, and gluttonous" is a far cry from the Ziyou described in the *Analects,* where he was listed by Confucius in the group of "literary science". The Qing scholar Hao Yixing remarked, "The criticisms are only on their appearance but not touched the essence. They refer to the vulgar and corrupt Confucian disciples of the schools of Ziyou, Zixia, and Zizhang, not the three masters”(参见王先谦撰《荀子集解》卷三《非十二子》，中华书局 1988 年版，第 105 页). This view is largely tenable.

As a key figure in the development of Confucian ritual thought in the pre-Qin era, Xunzi established his philosophy around ritual, exploring this concept from various perspectives, such as its origin and relationship with humanity. One of his important views is that Xunzi believed ritual originated from Heaven and Earth instead of human nature. Xunzi said:

Ritual has three roots: the heavens and earth are the root of life; our predecessors and ancestors are the root of humankind; rulers and teachers are the root of an ordered world. Without the heavens and earth, how would we live? Without our predecessors and ancestors, how would we come about? Without rulers and teachers, how would there be order? Without all three of these, there is no way anyone can be secure. This is why rituals are used to serve the heavens above and the earth below; to serve our predecessors and ancestors with reverence; and to esteem rulers and teachers. These are the three roots of ritual. (Nai-Yi Hsu and Michael D.K. Ing. Trans.)

Xunzi did not mean that ritual has three different origins. He was explaining the concept from three dimensions.

The ritual that Xunzi detailed is an abstract conception which has detached from specific ceremonial forms and naturally does not need the presence of “body”. It is a highly philosophical interpretation of ritual by Confucian scholars, marking a further development in Confucian ritual thought since the Spring and Autumn period, especially after Confucius used ren仁 (benevolence) to interpret ritual to explore the profound meanings beyond the ritual forms of bells, drums, jade, and silk. While Confucians provided abstract interpretations, they also embodied it in concrete ceremonies, institutions, and objects. This embodied the duality nature of ritual. From this perspective, Xunzi’s theory of grounding ritual in cosmic heaven, earth, yin and yang ensured its supremacy and objectivity, offering a more conducive perspective to the development of ritual studies and Confucian thought.

In addition, Ziyou’s school is important to mention. Ziyou and Zixia were the same age (据《史记·仲尼弟子列传》：子游少孔子四十五岁，子夏少孔子四十四岁). Both were Confucius’ disciples in his later years and listed under the category of “literary science.” Although their understanding of ritual are largely different, they agreed that ritual is abstract and metaphysical. In the Liyun礼运 chapter of the *Liji*, representative work of the Ziyou school, ritual is explained as follows:

It was by those rules that the ancient kings sought to represent the ways of Heaven, and to regulate the feelings of men. Therefore he who neglects or violates them may be (spoken of) as dead, and he who observes them, as alive. Therefore those rules are rooted in heaven, have their correspondences in earth, and are applicable to spiritual beings. They extend to funeral rites, sacrifices, archery, chariot-driving, capping, marriage, audiences, and friendly missions. Thus the sages made known these rules, and it became possible for the kingdom, with its states and clans, to reach its correct condition. (James Legge trans.)

Although this grand ritual which rooted in Heaven must ultimately be embodied in various ceremonies like capping, marriage, mourning, and sacrifice, it is metaphysical at its origin, which also means it is without embodiment.

From the viewpoint of intellectual history, the logic of the development of ritual thought is clear: from ritual without embodiment of the Zixia school, to the explanation of ritual in terms of Heaven and Earth, yin and yang, and spirits of the Ziyou school, to Xunzi’s statement that “ritual has three roots.” This once again reveals the importance of ritual without embodiment in functioning as a crucial intellectual link in the progression of Confucian ritual thought from Confucius and Zixia to Xunzi and value of the Kongzi xianju孔子闲居 chapter in the history of Confucianism and Confucian ritual studies.

## Footnotes

1. A. The “Five Attainments” in the *Liji*, “Kongzi Xianju” are: “Where the will arrives, the *Odes* also arrive. Where the *Odes* arrive, ritual also arrives. Where ritual arrives, music also arrives. Where music arrives, grief also arrives. Grief and joy give rise to each other.” The “Five Attainments” in the bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu* are: “Where the *wu* arrives, the *Odes* also arrive. Where the *Odes* arrive, ritual also arrives. Where ritual arrives, music also arrives. Where music arrives, grief also arrives. Grief and joy give rise to each other. The gentleman uses this to be correct, this is called the Five Attainments.” The editor of the bamboo slips transcribes “Where the *wu* (*wù* 勿) arrives, the *Odes* also arrive” as “Where the will (*zhì* 志) arrives, the *Odes* also arrive,” which is determined based on the *Liji*. But he also points out: “‘*Wu*’ is suspected to be a miswriting of ‘*zhi*’, but ‘*wu*’ can be read as ‘*wu*’ (物, thing), which seems to also make sense.” See Ma Chengyuan 马承源, ed., *Shanghai Bowuguan Cang Zhanguo Chu Zhushu (er)* 上海博物馆藏战国楚竹书（二） (*Shanghai Museum Collection of Warring States Chu Bamboo Slips, Vol. 2*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2002), 159. Most scholars follow the view of the editor of the Shanghai Museum slips, equating the “Five Attainments” of the bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu* with the “Five Attainments” in *Kongzi Xianju*. However, some scholars insist on the bamboo slip’s “*wu*” (thing), believing that the “Five Attainments” of the bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu* should be: “Where the thing arrives, the will also arrives. Where the will arrives, ritual also arrives. Where ritual arrives, music also arrives. Where music arrives, grief also arrives.” See Wang Qizhou 王齐洲, “Cong *Min zhi Fumu* kan Kongzi *Shi* jiao” 从《民之父母》看孔子《诗》教 (*Confucius’s Teaching of the Odes as Seen from ‘The Parents of the People’*), in *Zhongguo Wenxue Guannian Lungao* 中国文学观念论稿 (*Essays on the Concepts of Chinese Literature*) (Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2003); Yao Xiao’ou 姚小鸥 and Zheng Yongkou 郑永扣, “Lun Shanghai Chu Jian *Min zhi Fumu* de ‘wuzhi’ shuo” 论上海楚简《民之父母》的“五至”说 (*On the ‘Five Attainments’ Theory in the Shanghai Chu Bamboo Slip ‘The Parents of the People’*), *Zhexue Yanjiu* 哲学研究 (*Philosophical Research*), no. 4 (2004). [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-1)
2. A. The bamboo slip *Min zhi Fumu* reads: Confucius said: “‘The Three Withouts’ are: music without sound, ritual without embodiment, mourning without garb. The gentleman uses these to be august in the world. How can one listen with the ears and not be able to hear it; see with clear eyes and not be able to see it? Yet their virtue has already filled the four seas. This is called the ‘Three Withouts.’” [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-2)
3. B. See Wang E 王锷, “*Kongzi Xianju*, *Min zhi Fumu* zhi bijiao ji qi chengpian niandai” 《孔子闲居》、《民之父母》之比较及其成篇年代 (*A Comparison of ‘Kongzi Xianju’ and ‘Min zhi Fumu’ and Their Dates of Composition*), in *Lixue yu Zhongguo Chuantong Wenhua: Qingzhu Shen Wenzhuo Xiansheng Jiushi Huadan Guoji Xueshu Yantaohui Lunwenji* 礼学与中国传统文化：庆祝沈文倬先生九十华诞国际学术研讨会论文集 (*Ritual Studies and Traditional Chinese Culture: A Collection of Papers from the International Academic Symposium Celebrating the Ninetieth Birthday of Mr. Shen Wenzhuo*), ed. Zhejiang Daxue Guji Yanjiusuo (Zhejiang University: Institute of Ancient Books, 2006). [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-3)
4. Xu Weiyu 许维遹, ed. and coll., *Han Shi Waizhuan Jishi* 韩诗外传集释 (*Collected Explanations of the Outer Commentary on the Han School Text of the Odes*), vol. 1 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980), 24. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-4)
5. A. Zheng Xuan 郑玄 (Han), annot., and Kong Yingda 孔颖达 (Tang), sub-comment., *Liji Zhengyi* 礼记正义 (*Correct Meaning of the Records of Rites*), vol. 58, “Kongzi Xianju” (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2008), 1942. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-5)
6. B. Sun Xidan 孙希旦 (Qing), comp., *Liji Jijie* 礼记集解 (*Collected Explanations of the Records of Rites*), vol. 49, “Kongzi Xianju” (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1989), 1276. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-6)
7. A. Ye Shi 叶适 (Song), *Xixue Jiyan Xumu* 习学记言序目 (*Preface and Table of Contents to the Records of Words for Study*), vol. 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), 107. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-7)
8. B. Wang Meng’ou 王梦鸥, annot. and trans., *Liji Jinzhu Jinyi* 礼记今注今译 (*The Records of Rites with Modern Annotations and Translation*) (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1970), 816. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-8)
9. C. See Pang Pu 庞朴, “Hua shuo ‘wuzhi sanwu’” 话说“五至三无” (*On the ‘Five Attainments and Three Withouts’*), *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 (*Journal of Literature, History & Philosophy*), no. 1 (2004). [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-9)
10. D. Pang Pu 庞朴, “Hua shuo ‘wuzhi sanwu’” 话说“五至三无” (*On the ‘Five Attainments and Three Withouts’*), *Wenshizhe* 文史哲 (*Journal of Literature, History & Philosophy*), no. 1 (2004). [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-10)
11. A. See Qiu Xigui 裘锡圭, “*Tianzi Jianzhou (jiaben)* xiaozha” 《天子建州（甲本）》小札 (*Brief Notes on ‘Tianzi Jianzhou’ (Version A)*), originally published on Jianbo.net, cited in Wang Qichao 汪奇超, “Shanghai Bowuguan Cang Chu Zhushu *Tianzi Jianzhou* jishi” 上海博物馆藏楚竹书《天子建州》集释 (*Collected Explanations of the Shanghai Museum Chu Bamboo Slip ‘Tianzi Jianzhou’*), in *Chudi Jianbo Sixiang Yanjiu (disiji)* 楚地简帛思想研究（第四辑） (*Research on Chu Bamboo and Silk Manuscript Thought, Vol. 4*), ed. Ding Sixin 丁四新 and Xia Shihua 夏世华 (Chongwen Shuju, 2010), 232. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-11)
12. A. Ma Chengyuan 马承源, ed., *Shanghai Bowuguan Cang Zhanguo Chu Zhushu (wu)* 上海博物馆藏战国楚竹书（五） (*Shanghai Museum Collection of Warring States Chu Bamboo Slips, Vol. 5*) (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2005), 290, 294–296. The character for *cha* 察 (scrutinize) was originally written as 𫟦. Li Ling 李零 believes this character is composed of the same elements as the character used for *cha* in Chu bamboo slips. This article follows this view. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-12)
13. B. See Cao Feng 曹峰, “*San De* suojian ‘Huanghou’ wei ‘Huangdi’ kao” 《三德》所见“皇后”为“黄帝”考 (*A Study of ‘Huanghou’ as ‘Huangdi’ in ‘San De’*), in *Jinnian Chutu Huang-Lao Sixiang Wenxian Yanjiu* 近年出土黄老思想文献研究 (*Research on Recently Unearthed Huang-Lao Thought Texts*) (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 2015), 288–293. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-13)
14. C. See Cao Feng 曹峰, “*San De* yu *Huangdi Sijing* duibi yanjiu” 《三德》与《黄帝四经》对比研究 (*A Comparative Study of ‘San De’ and ‘The Four Classics of the Yellow Emperor’*), in *Jinnian Chutu Huang-Lao Sixiang Wenxian Yanjiu*, 294–312. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-14)
15. D. Wang Zhongjiang 王中江 also believes that *San De* has Confucian characteristics and can be classified as Confucian overall. See Wang Zhongjiang, “*San De* de ziran lifa he shenyi lun—yi ‘tianchang’ ‘tianli’ he ‘tianshen’ wei zhongxin de kaocha” 《三德》的自然理法和神意论—以“天常”“天礼”和“天神”为中心的考察 (*The Natural Laws and Divine Will in ‘San De’—An Investigation Centered on ‘Heavenly Constancy,’ ‘Heavenly Ritual,’ and ‘Heavenly Spirits’*), in *Jianbo Wenming yu Gudai Sixiang Shijie* 简帛文明与古代思想世界 (*Bamboo and Silk Civilization and the Ancient World of Thought*) (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2011), 158–177. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-15)
16. A. Kong Anguo 孔安国 (Han), comm., and Kong Yingda 孔颖达 (Tang), sub-comment., *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚书正义 (*Correct Meaning of the Book of Documents*), vol. 4, “Gao Yao Mo” (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2007), 151, 152. [↩](https://poe.com/chat/r9xgcswlh150viiyme#user-content-fnref-16)