

The Concept of Lǐ 禮 in Excavated Confucian Texts

- An Exploration of Wǔ Xíng 五行 and Xìng Zì Mìng Chū 性自命出

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Abstract

During the Zhou to early Han dynasties, significant changes occurred in China's political, social, and cultural landscape. This era saw the emergence of new ritual practices that profoundly influenced individuals and society as a whole. Rituals, referred to as *lǐ* 禮 in Chinese, encompassed more than mere ceremonies. It constituted a comprehensive system of practices and social norms aimed at maintaining order and harmony. In this thesis, the concept of *lǐ* 禮 will be explored through the examination of excavated texts from Guodian, specifically *Wǔ Xíng* (五行) and *Xìng Zì Mìng Chū* (性自命出) in order to understand the fundamental ideas that shaped the belief and values of the society at that time. Through a comparative approach, it helps to identify commonalities, variations, and transformations of the concept, contributing to a deeper understanding of its complexities. These texts were chosen for their early historical significance, providing firsthand information on the Pre-Qin period and shedding light on personal and societal rituals and virtue.

The result of this study has revealed that the concept of *lǐ* 禮 encompasses a multi-layered function that includes both the individual's relationship with society and their connection to the transcendent realm. It starts with the notion that the Heaven (*tiān* 天) gives a mandate (*mìng* 命) to an individual's nature (*xìng* 性). The four conducts of sagacity (*shèng* 聖), knowledge (*zhì* 智), humane (*rén* 仁) and propriety (*yì* 義) when work in harmony, will exist and function in *lǐ* 禮, helping the individual to cultivate and express emotions (*qíng* 情) truthfully. Through constant practices, it can then yields virtuosity (*dé* 德) that helps the individual to connect symmetrically to society and the collective consciousness. Ultimately, it helps an individual realize the Way (*dào* 道) that Heaven shows him, and respond upward to the mandate that Heaven sends to him.

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I. Introduction

During the Zhou to early Han dynasties, China witnessed a major change in its political, social, and cultural landscape. One of the most vital developments was the emergence of new ritual practices that impacted how people perceived themselves and the society. Ritual, or the Chinese word *lǐ* 禮 in this context, was not just a set of ceremonies, but a comprehensive system of ritual practices and social standards that helped to maintain order and harmony in the society. In the Confucian perspective, “Mencius believed that *li* 禮 made possible the full realization of humans’ shared incipient (inherent) moral quality, Xunzi argued that *lǐ* 禮 helps transform and regulate humans’ pursuit of the satisfaction of desires, thereby creating a stable society” (Chan 2009, 363). According to French Sociologist Emile Durkheim (1995, 421), what makes ritual still relevant to the modern world is that it represents a collective feeling that has manifested in a tangible form, providing us with a means to comprehend and explain what happened in the world. In addition, American religious studies scholar Catherine Bell (2009, 128) believes that rituals serve political institutions by establishing and showcasing power.

A. The Purpose of the Study

This research covers the early stages of Chinese history, from Zhou Dynasty to the early Han Dynasty (--221 BCE). This period is important because it represented China’s earliest stages of philosophical and social development and is the earliest period that we have philosophical textual information on. Therefore, this thesis aims to study how *lǐ* 禮 as a concept plays a role in an individual’s symmetrical relation to society, and also the upward relation with the transcendent realm.

B. The Scope and the Background of the Study

In this thesis, the concept of *lǐ* 禮 through the Guodian 郭店 excavated texts of *Wǔ Xíng* 五行 (The Five Conducts; hereafter cited as *WX*) and *Xìng Zì Mìng Chū* 性自命出 (Human Nature Comes via Mandate; hereafter cited as *XZMC*) are explored. These two texts are chosen as the main reference because they are two of the earliest excavated texts that can be found about Chinese philosophies, though some manuscripts are incomplete, they provide first-hand information about the textual environment during the pre-Qin period, as they had not gone through all the tampering that the transmitted texts went through.

Another reason for choosing these texts is because they discussed how a person's virtue (*dé* 德) was presented and practised on a personal level and at a societal level (L. Chen 2018). The two chosen texts are largely in orientation with what gradually became known as the school of Confucianism, one of the frequently cited schools of thought, which helps understand the concept of *lǐ* 禮, as it was one of the main focuses of Confucianism.

The initial discovery of the text *WX* can be traced back to the winter of 1973, at the Mawangdui archaeological site in Changsha, Hunan. *WX* was found as a silk text in a tomb of the Han dynasty. In 1993, 20 years after the discovery, bamboo slips of *WX* were discovered in the Guodian tombs in Jingmen, Hubei Province (Pang 1999, 469). *WX* consists of 50 bamboo slips, separated into 28 chapters/sections, and is one of the most complete excavated texts found. The bodies and the thoughts of the two texts are very similar, but as they were produced in different periods, the ideas were presented differently. The Guodian bamboo slip version is believed to be written in the mid to late Warring States period (L. Guo 1999, 452), and the Mawangdui silk

version is believed to be written a few decades later at the end of the Warring States to the early Han period. Therefore, it will be more suitable to use the Guodian bamboo slip texts in this study because they presumably had been transcribed earlier and were more likely to stem from the same period as the other chosen text like *XZMC* (Z. Chen 2004, 95).

XZMC is also discovered as part of the Guodian bamboo manuscripts in Hubei province, consisting of a total of 67 slips. A similar text can also be found in the Shanghai Museum's discovery of the text *Xing Qing Lun* 性情論 in early 1994. According to the researchers in Shanghai Museum, the content of the two texts is very similar, the difference between them are wordings, separations of paragraphs, and the complexity of the sentences (Ma 2001, 218).

The Guodian text of *WX* and *XZMC* will therefore be used as the main reference. Since both texts were discovered at the same excavation site, they were more likely to be written around the same period, and the method used to document the texts is alike. This similarity helps cross-reference the precision of the word and narrows how *lǐ* 禮 was seen at the time when the Guodian texts were written.

C. The Limitation, Importance and the Hypothesis of the Study

It is noteworthy that the focus is on two pieces of excavated text from one excavation site, thus the full picture of the history at that time may not be shown. As a result, this study will only show how *lǐ* 禮 as a *concept* was represented at the time when the two chosen texts were recorded, but not for the whole pre-Qin era. The versions used of the two texts were published by Jingmen City Museum, which was an institution that excavated and compiled the sources first-hand (Jingmen City

Museum 1998, intro (前言) 2). The English translation of the two texts was from Scott Cook's publication of "The Bamboo Texts of Guodian", as he worked closely with Jingmen City Museum, and Cook is one of the major scholars who studied and translated the Guodian excavated texts (Cook 2013, xiii-xvii).

As the excavated, the transmitted text and some secondary sources were written in Chinese, the sentences are translated into English. Some translations are taken from other sources, and some are the author's translations. Thus, there may be a loss in translation that could impact the interpretation of the text by the readers, and the language difference may prevent readers from fully understanding the character and grammar in the Chinese context.

What differentiates this research from the others is the use of ritual theories developed by Western scholars to verify whether the concept of *lǐ* 禮 conforms to what they had discussed. Researching Chinese materials from a Western perspective could contribute new knowledge to the realm of Chinese history. It also provides a niche perspective by using Guodian text to discuss how *lǐ* 禮 are connected to individual, society and transcendent level.

To conclude, relevant examples from the pre-Qin to Han texts will be used to explore the concept of *lǐ* 禮 in the Guodian excavated text of *WX* and *XZMC*. The hypothesis is that *lǐ* 禮 went beyond the function of facilitating social relationships but also served as a means of establishing a harmonious relationship between individuals and the transcendent realm in the period under study.

II. Research Methodology

A. Researching Concepts

Researching concepts is crucial for extending the understanding of various disciplines and exploring the interconnectedness of ideas, allowing effective communication and challenging existing notions that can lead to an increased ability to solve intricate problems, make informed decisions, and expand society's understanding of the world.

“To ensure having sufficient information to research a concept, Koselleck (2011, 7-8) recommends the concept should come from a lexicon that has a big range of meanings and applications, making it possible to analyse the historical structure and events that the concept may arise from. He specifically mentions how concepts should be chosen, and that we should focus on ‘concepts central to classifying constitutions, key terms used by political, social, and economic organizations, self-characterizations used in the disciplines dealing with these organizations, concepts, and slogans crucial to political movements, designations of dominant professional groups and social strata and core concepts with a claim to the status of theory (including those of ideology), which articulate and interpret the domains of social and political action and labour’ (Koselleck 2011, 8). Therefore, *li* 禮 remains a defining concept as its meaning of ‘ritual’ still exists and is applicable today, and is still commonly used in various societal sectors. There are also other definitions of the same word that we can explore. These definitions also meet the above criteria of being a concept that is mainly a ‘key term used by political, social, and economic organizations...core concepts with a claim to the status of theory (including those of ideology)’ (Koselleck 2011, 8). As a

result, 禮 is a suitable concept for further research.” (Lam 2022, 2-3)¹.

As Durkheim (1995, 434) points out that the study of concepts is the “basic material of logical thoughts”. Therefore, understanding the development of society also requires knowing how different concepts are formed. Durkheim believes concepts can be defined as the “collective representation” of society:

Concepts are representations just as concrete as any the individual can make of his own environment, for they correspond to the way in which the social being that is society thinks about the things of its own experience...they add to what our personal experience can teach us all the wisdom and science that the collection has amassed over centuries. To think with concepts is not merely to see the real in its most general characteristics but to turn upon sensation a beam that lights, penetrates, and transforms it. To conceptualize a thing is to apprehend its essential elements better and to place it in the group to which it belongs. Each civilization has its own ordered system of concepts, which characterizes it (Durkheim 1995, 436-437)

Studying concepts help understand how different personal experiences contribute to the establishment of a concept in a society, and how concepts characterize and differentiate societies from one another.

B. Text Analysis

“Text analysis will also be performed to analyse the primary sources as *WX* and *XZMC*. In accordance with the observation of Bernard (1998, 595), the sociological tradition in text analysis that treats text as a window into human experience, will be

¹Please note that the section about the citations of Reinhart Koselleck (2011) was used in my assignment for course KIN4010 – “Research Methodologies in China Studies”, in which the assignment instruction states that the “paper needs to account for and discuss the choice of methodologies and the process of data collection related to the Master’s thesis” (University of Oslo n.d.). Thus, the Master thesis I am presenting now is the rewritten content of the said assignment’s section, and the in-text citation I wrote is (Lam 2022).

adopted, employing content analysis for examining relevant primary and secondary texts. Firstly, the relationship of *lǐ* 禮 with other major ideas and issues as indicated in the texts will be studied. The texts containing the concept of *lǐ* 禮 will be broken down into smaller units for examination of the different uses, the context, the structure and how the concept was expressed. The next step will consist of cross-referencing the two texts with other transmitted texts. This is to verify the accuracy and authenticity of how the concept was expressed. This step will also show the differences in the idea of various texts or uncover evidence in the excavated text leading to a new interpretation of the transmitted texts. This may help fill the gaps in understanding the expressions of knowledge in both excavated and transmitted texts.” (Lam 2022, 3-4)²

“A combination of methods will be employed to identify the meaning, development, and changes that what the character *lǐ* 禮 is about by studying the two chosen texts of *WX* and *XZMC*. Questions including *lǐ* 's 禮 meaning in the two chosen texts, relation with other concepts, roles in the society at that time, are asked. Through exploring the etymology, semantic meaning, and linguistic context of the character *lǐ* 禮 through the two excavated texts, the concept of the character will be explored (Cheng, et al. 2009, 89). Comparing the texts with other major texts in a related period gives a brief understanding of the formation of certain philosophies, beliefs, values, and cultures, and how these different concepts were perceived during the period where the texts were documented. It is expected that significant and unique themes and issues that have shaped the contemporary Chinese thoughts and cultures

² Please note that this section was used in my assignment for course KIN4010 and it is quoted from (Lam 2022).

can be identified.” (Lam 2022, 3-4)³

A point to note is that the specific period when these texts were written is unclear. While the texts were written within the pre-Qin period, the chronological order of the texts is uncertain. These texts will be compared to the non-Confucian transmitted texts, such as *Shī Jīng* 詩經, *Zhōu Lǐ* 周禮 and so on, in the Qin to Han dynasties. As these Guodian text of *WX* and *XZMC* are believed to have contents close to the so-called Confucian philosophy, different transmitted Confucian texts, like *Lǐ Jì* 禮記, *The Analects* 論語 and so on, will be referenced. By comparing to the transmitted texts, a deeper understanding of their similarities, differences, and the evolution of ideas within the context of the respective periods will be developed.

III. Literature Review

A. Previous Studies of the texts *WX* and *XZMC*

The research of the Guodian excavated texts was described by Chinese scholar Guo Qiyong 郭齊勇 as being separated into three directions. The first direction is the verification of the period when the texts and other items were buried. The research focus in this direction can be as general as who owned the tomb to when each individual text was recorded. Scholars strive to decode and compile each text by trying to relate to some other possible texts. The other two main directions focus on the study of the Daoist texts and the Confucian texts. (Q. Guo 1999, 179-186) This study therefore will mainly consist of scholars trying to understand the meaning of each word and sentence in these texts to fill the gaps in the defective transcripts.

³ Please note that this section was used in my assignment for course KIN4010, and it is quoted from (Lam 2022).

A fair amount of research efforts has been spent on identifying the authors of both the texts of *WX* and *XZMC*, but even to this day, it is still highly debatable. However, this research is to study previous philosophical research in the two chosen texts.

Japanese scholar Ikeda Tomohisa debated on whether *WX* was narrowly a Mencian piece or was it a text combining with other schools of thought, like Daoism and Mohism. Chinese scholars Pang Pu 龐樸 and Xing Wen 邢文 researched the difference between the Guodian Bamboo transcript and the Mawangdui Silk transcript, especially on the texts' relation with Mencius and the emphasis on sagacity and knowledge (Q. Guo 1999, 187-188). Scholar Ding Sixin 丁四新 concluded in his research that according to *WX*, sagacity and knowledge were the origins of ritual while virtue and rituals were the key elements that Confucianism proposed as a tool for governance (Li 2018, 5-6).

In the study of *XZMC*, scholars Li Zehou 李澤厚, Pang Pu 龐樸, Zhang Liwen 張立文 and etc. conducted extensive investigations into the interpretation of the text. Their main discussion focused on the heart and nature of humans by comparing them with other texts, showing how a person can be nurtured and interact with society. There is also research showing how benevolence and righteousness play a role in nurturing a person's moral values (Q. Guo 1999, 188-189).

Scholar Ding Yuanzhi 丁原植 compared the relationship of ritual and emotion in *XZMC* to those in other excavated texts such as *Liù Dé* 六德 and *Yǔ Cóng* 語叢, and concluded that ritual and music build upon a person's emotion to adapt to society

(Li 2018, 6-7). Scholar Peng Lin 彭林 studied what the “display of ritual” (*lǐ róng* 禮容) was, and how it was seen in the Confucian texts from Guodian. He also discussed the role of emotion in ritual by comparing *XZMC* and *Zhōng Yōng* 中庸, trying to prove that *zhì* 志 has a guiding function on *xīn* 心 and emotion, and by knowing how to control emotion, one knows the truth of what *lǐ* 禮 is. (Li 2018, 9-11)

B. Ritual Theories

Since *lǐ* 禮 has a close relation with ritual and rites, the study of ritual as a cross-disciplinary subject exploring the various ways in which humans are involved in symbolic behaviors helps understand people’s lives and the world around them. By exploring anthropology, sociology, and religious studies, it is expected that the social and cultural elements will be recognised in ritual and that ritual practices can be established, transforming individuals and communities. Such application helps contextualize how *lǐ* 禮 works as ritual better and opens a door for broader debates and discussions on rituals in the early history of China.

Durkheim’s study (1995) on the sacred and profane, as well as his study on social solidarity, have been widely cited when it comes to religious study. He believes religion was not just a matter of individual belief, but a fundamental aspect of social life:

...the objective, universal and eternal cause of those sui generis sensations of which religious experience is made—is society, I have shown what moral forces it develops and how it awakens that feeling of support, safety, and protective guidance which binds the man of faith to his cult. It is this reality that makes him rise above himself... This is so because society cannot make its influence felt unless it is in action, and it is in action only if the individuals who comprise it are assembled and acting in common. It is through common action that society

becomes conscious and affirms itself (Durkheim 1995, 421).

If rituals and rites are seen from a religious perspective, they will no longer be just standard practices like meals, sacrifice, or funerals, but a force that has human and moral suspects. It is a force of collective feelings that takes on a physical form that explains the world. Rituals and rites as physical operations are not made to constrain human physical and mental behaviours but to help realize their mental processes of feeling, strengthening and regulating consciousness. The primary function of the sense of spirituality in these activities is to help people act upon their moral life (Durkheim 1995, 421-422). Therefore, the comparison of the concept of *li* 禮 and the theories of rituals may give clues on how *li* 禮 as a form of ritual operates to shape collective consciousness in society.

In another direction, Durkheim (1995) raised the idea of the sacred and the profane, two opposite forces that he believes are:

The division of the world into two domains, one containing all that is sacred and the other all that is profane—such is the distinctive trait of religious thought. Beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends are either representations or systems of representations that express the nature of sacred things, the virtues and powers attributed to them, their history, and their relationship with one another as well as with profane things (Durkheim 1995, 34).

Durkheim (1995) later commented that what made something sacred was not just the power and higher level of hierarchy attributed to them, but was much simpler as being identified as “forces that, through their exceptional energy, have managed to impress the human mind forcefully enough to inspire religious feelings” (Durkheim 1995, 39). Even though the sacred and profane are two absolutely opposite forces, this does not mean that they do not come across each other at all; only that it requires a

true metamorphosis to transform into the other side. Durkheim (1995) used the rites of initiation as an example, saying that there is a “series of rites to introduce the young man into religious life. For the first time, he comes out of/from the purely profane world...and enters into the world of sacred things...he is born again in a new form” (Durkheim 1995, 37). Thus, the concept of *lǐ* 禮 could conform to these theories established by Durkheim and performs transformation of the humans in the society.

As mentioned above, rituals and rites are not strictly religious, but are a part of a bigger social picture. Thus, the possible political involvement in the practice of rituals cannot be ignored. There are political rituals and ceremonial practices that “specifically construct, display and promote the power of political institutions (such as king, state, the village elders) or the political of distinct constituencies and subgroups” (Bell 2009, 128). Anthropologist Geertz (1980) argues that rituals can construct power by explaining the idea of the exemplary centre, saying “this is the theory that the court is ‘universe on a smaller scale’—and the material embodiment of political order. It is not just the nucleus, the engine, or the pivot of the state, it is the state” (Geertz 1980, 13). The state portrays itself as a small scale of a supernatural order and as a

... statement of a controlling political idea—namely, that by the mere act of providing a model, a paragon, a faultless image of civilized existence, the court shapes the world around it into at least a rough approximation of its own excellence. The ritual life of the court, and in fact, the life of the court generally, is thus paradigmatic, not merely reflective, of social order (Geertz 1980, 13)

Bell (2009) summarized Geertz’s findings that the political actor in court “orchestrates a cosmic framework within which the social hierarchy headed by the king is perceived as natural and right. Political rites, Geertz continued, are elaborate

arguments about the very nature of power that make this power tangible and effective” (Bell 2009, 128). Bell defined political rites in two ways:

First, they use symbols and symbolic action to depict a group of people as a coherent and ordered community based on shared values and goals; second, they demonstrate the legitimacy of these values and goals by establishing their iconicity with the perceived values and order of the cosmos...It is through ritual, however, that those claiming power demonstrate how their interests are in the natural, real, or fruitful order of things (Bell 2009, 129)

These studies show that rituals had a great role in constructing moral values and the collective consciousness in a society and will help understanding the two texts as the relationship between ritual, ethics, and the connection with transcendent forces are much discussed in them. These studies also record how rituals were used in maintaining social order, and therefore provide a framework for analysing the relationships between all these factors mentioned.

IV. Analysis

A. Etymology and Definition of Lǐ 禮

“According to *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese*, the word *lǐ* 禮 was first attested in *Shī Jīng* 詩經, through bronze inscription (*jīn wén* 金文) that might exist as early as 600 BC or earlier (Schuessler 2007, XV, 351). The definition of the word is ‘rites, rituals, ceremony’, along with other cognate meanings of ‘lord, nobleman’ and ‘to honour, reverence’ (Schuessler 2007, 351). This study will focus on the first set of definitions listed above, i.e. *lǐ* 禮 as a concept of rituals and ceremonies. Both of the two excavated texts from Guodian show that *lǐ* 禮 is written as *lǐ* 豊” (Lam 2022, 6-7). According to historian Ji Xusheng (2014) in *Shuō Wén Xīn Zhèng* 說文新證, the use of *lǐ* 豊 can be traced back to as early as in an oracle bone transcript in the Shang dynasty (Ji 2014, 405). Therefore, the character *lǐ* 禮 is

probably not the most original form in records, but was evolved from another character. One can “make the argument that the writing of this *lǐ* 禮 only occurred in Han period, the original character of *lǐ* 禮 should be *lǐ* 豊” (Lam 2022, 6-7)⁴.

B. Wǔ Xíng 五行

The main idea of *WX* is explaining five individual moral conducts, which include humane (*rén* 仁, Cook 2013 translated it as ‘humanity’), propriety (*yì* 義), ritual (*lǐ* 禮), knowledge (*zhì* 智), and sagacity (*shèng* 聖). The *WX* text also elaborates on how these conducts are meant to synchronize wells with each other. For these conducts to be considered “conducts of virtue,” they must be motivated by genuine intentions and not affected by external practices. When the conducts are “in concert” (*hé* 和), “goodness” (*shàn* 善) is obtained. Only when all five conducts synchronize in harmony can true virtue be ultimately achieved, reaching what Cook (2013) understands as “the realm of ‘virtuosity’ (*dé* 德)”. This prestigious state corresponds to the “Way of Heaven” (*tiān dào* 天道) that has real “happiness” (*lè* 樂) or “musical contentment” (*yuè* 樂), which embodies the moral values and conduct and the feelings of self-gratification that arise from it (Cook 2013, 466-467).

The character *lǐ* 禮 appears eight times in the chosen text of *WX*, written as *lǐ* 豊. The character is used with other characters to form words such as *lǐ yuè* 豊樂, and *hàoX lǐ zhě* 好豊者. The other appearances of *lǐ* 豊 is interpreted as the independent meaning of “ritual”, though the meaning could differ or have additional meaning due to the linguistic context of the sentence.

⁴ Please note that the section “Etymology and Definition of *Lǐ* 禮” was used in my assignment for course KIN4010, and it is quoted from (Lam 2022).

C. Xìng Zì Mìng Chū 性自命出

The text is believed to be a Confucian text that explores subjects, including the role of music, and the idea of naturalness in human emotions, that are related to human nature. According to Chan (2009, 361-362), “this text points out that *qíng* 情 derives from *xìng* 性. It further suggests that *xìng* 性 can be manifest only through induction by *xīn* 心, which does not have an inherently fixed intention or commitment but is influenced by other factors, namely, *wù* 物 (external things), *yuè* 悅 (pleasure), and *xí* 習 (practice). The above assumptions set the background for arguing both the necessity of education (through rituals and music) as a way of cultivating the *xīn* 心 and the importance of habitual practice. The discussion on *xìng* 性 and *qíng* 情 in the Guodian text draws on a notion that recognizes both the basis of human nature and the part that social construction plays in it”. The text puts *xìng* 性 right at the beginning,

凡人雖有性，心亡奠志，待物而後作，待悅而後行，待習而後奠 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 179)

“In general, although all people possess [human] nature, their heart-minds have no fixed inclinations, [which instead] depend on external things to arise, depends upon gratification to take action, and depends upon practices to become fixed.” (Cook 2013, 700)

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion of the two texts, what makes *WX* and *XZMC* comparable is that they both show how inner human qualities can be altered by social activities. The enlightenment of inner human nature of *xìng* 性 and *qíng* 情 through *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 as an outer social construction behaviour is one of the main themes of the *XZMC* text. Teaching and enlightenment (*jiào* 教) help generate the quality of *dé* 德 in their inner self (*xīn* 心). This observation echoes with the *WX*'s 五行 concept of *dé* 德 not being inborn. It also shows that during the period

when this text was written, *dé* 德 as a concept had not been fully immersed into people's inner selves (Q. Wang 2017, 96-97).

The character *lǐ* 禮 appears seven times in the text, written as *lǐ* 豐. There is one identical theme observed in both texts, that is *lǐ yuè* 豐樂.

D. *Lǐ* 禮 and *Yuè* 樂

Lǐ yuè 禮樂 is the ritual and music system believed to be established as early as during the “Three Dynasties” (*Sān Dài* 三代) period, which are the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties (Y. Yu 2014, 17). Chinese scholar Yu Yingshi quoted Mozi's *Tiān Zhì Shàng* 天志上, saying that “the kings in these dynasties used ritual ceremonies to pray and communicate with Heaven. The group of people who hosted these rituals to connect heaven and earth were believed to be *wū* 巫, which were shamans. The *wū* 巫 established the very early stage of what later was developed into *lǐ yuè* 禮樂” (Y. Yu 2014, 23-35). However, it is agreed by most scholars that it was changed and further developed in the Zhou Dynasty, when the Duke of Zhou “established ritual and made music” (*zhì lǐ zuò yuè* 制禮作樂) (Y. Yu 2014, 31). Evidence can be found by referring to several transmitted texts.

In *Lǐ Jì* 禮記, *Míng Táng Wèi* 明堂位 chapter, it was recorded that:

武王崩，成王幼弱，周公踐天子之位以治天下；六年，朝諸侯於明堂，制禮作樂，頒度量，而天下大服；七年，致政於成王。

(M. Wang 1969, 422)

“When King Wu died, King Khang being young and weak, the duke took the seat of the son of Heaven, and governed the kingdom. During six years he gave audience to all the princes in the Hall of Distinction; instituted ceremonies, made his instruments of music,

gave out his (standard) weights and measures, and there was a grand submission throughout the kingdom. In the seventh year, he resigned the government to King Khang.” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 31)

The same historic record can also be found in the *Míng Táng* 明堂 chapter of *Yì Zhōu Shū* 逸周書 and the *Dà Chuán* 大傳 chapter of *Shàng Shū* 尚書 (Cao and Chen 2019, 2) From these texts, it can be seen how *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was created by the Duke of Zhou as a set of systems of ritual and music to govern the state. What exactly did it do and what was the purpose? Another text of *Zuǒ Zhuàn* 左傳, chapter *Lǚ Wén Gong Shí Bā Nián* 魯文公十八年 stated:

季文子使太史克對曰……先君周公制周禮曰：則以觀德，德以處事，事以度功，工以事民。(Durrant, Li and Schabery 2016, 570)

“Ji Wenzhi had the grand scribe Ke respond as follows... Our former ruler, the Zhou Duke, created the Zhou rituals, which say, ‘By means of models, one observes virtue. By means of virtue, one manages official business. By means of official business, one measure merits. By means of merits, one is nourished by the people.’” (Durrant, Li and Schabery 2016, 571)

This quote indicated that there was one main purpose of the system was used as a tool to “observe a man’s virtue”. Through virtuosity, a man’s merit was evaluated to see if one’s behaviours deserved the support of the people.

In the case of *WX*, the phrase *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 only appeared once in the passage and can be seen in the 28-29 of Guodian Bamboo slips, describing how and where *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 came from,

聞君子道，聰也。聞而知之，聖也。| 聖人知而〈天〉道也。
知而行之，義也。行之而時，德也。| 見賢人，明也。見而知
之，智也。知而安之，仁也。安而敬之，豐禮也。| 聖智
(知)，豐禮樂之所由生也，| 五□□□【行之所和】也。| 和
則樂，樂則有德，有德則邦家譽。文王之視也如此。

(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 150)

“To have heard the way of the noble man is to be discerning [of ear]; to know it when one hears it is to be sagacious. The sage [is one who] knows the Way of Heaven. To know it and put it into practice is propriety. To practice it in a timely manner is virtuosity. To have seen [the way of] the worthy man is to be perspicacious [of sight]; to know it when one sees it is to be knowing. To know it and be secure in it is humanity. To be secure in it and respectful of it is ritual. Sagacity and knowledge are that from which ritual and music are born, 【that in which the】 five 【conducts find harmony】. With harmony, there is musicality (happiness); with musicality (happiness), there is virtuosity; and with virtuosity, the states and households will sing [one’s] praises. Such was the vision (prominence) of King Wen” (Cook 2013, 504-506).

The first half of the quote summarises that a person who knows the Way of Heaven, he will be called a sage; when he practises what he knows he is virtuous. If this person is secured and respectful about what he does, it is a ritual. Thus, when one comes to perform rituals and music, one must know what is given by the Way of Heaven; and by being secured and respectful of what one practises, the practice and performance is a ritual.

Note that the second last sentence in the Chinese text has three to four character-blanks between *wǔ* 五 and *yě* 也. According to the excavation and compiling team of the texts, these blanks could be replaced by “conducts find harmony” 行之所和 (L. Guo 1999, 454). From this, the five conducts mentioned here are the five conducts

mentioned at the beginning of the texts. They are humanity, propriety, ritual, knowledge, and sagacity. With such replacement, the function of *WX* echoes with the last quote, which shows that *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 are actions that people do to show their virtuosity (*dé* 德). When an individual can practice *WX* in harmony, the musicality will bring virtuosity that can earn praise and support from people. Even though the latter part of the text only mentions *yuè* 樂 will yield *dé* 德, but *lǐ* 禮 is also part of the picture as *lǐ* 禮 is mentioned with *yuè* 樂 in the earlier sentence. With the similarity of the two texts, it is consistent that *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 functions together to show the virtue of an individual; and by being a person with virtue, an individual can earn support from people.

When analysing the text, one should differentiate the two meanings of the character *yuè* 樂, as it has the homograph of *lè* 樂, with the same written character, but of different pronunciation and meaning. In the *WX* quote on page 18, when the character is not next to *lǐ* 禮, then it should be pronounced as *lè* 樂, which means happiness and pleasure instead of music. Therefore, “gaining happiness” to earn virtue fits the context more logically in the above quote, as a person can gain happiness when the five conducts are working in harmony and gaining virtue.

Following the last paragraph on page 18, a difference between this part of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 in *WX* and other texts is that the former claimed that *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was born from sagacity and knowledge (*shèng zhì* 聖智). The words *shèng* 聖 and *zhì* 智 can be interpreted in different ways. *Zhì* 智 can be interpreted as knowledge, the same as in *WX*, and similarly by Cook’s translation. However, the text that came afterwards only mentioned how *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was created and the related function, but did not

mention “knowledge” *zhì* 智 at all. The same applies to “sagacity” *shèng* 聖 (L. Guo 1999, 454). Consequently, *shèng* 聖 and *zhì* 智 when interpreted according to *WX* as “sagacity and knowledge” does not directly relate to the textual context of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 in 28-29 of Guodian Bamboo slips. What if a different meaning is adopted? If *shèng* 聖 is interpreted as “sage” and *zhì* 智 as *zhī* (知), i.e. “knows”, then the sentence will read as “the sage knows where rituals and musicality are born”. This will not be in line with the idea of the text since a later description of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 does not mention a sage, and does not reflect what the text wanted to convey.

As there is a lack of evidence in Guodian transcriptions about this paragraph, the Mawangdui’s silk texts is taken as reference. There are similarities in both texts, with the Mawangdui slip echoing the 28-29 line of Guodian bamboo slip. Though parts of the text are missing, the same words are kept:

(□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□則樂，樂則有德。有德則國家與(興)
□□□□)

(L. Guo 1999, 454) (Y. Yu 2012, 188)

“There is musicality (happiness); with musicality (happiness), there is virtuosity; and with virtuosity, the states and households will sing [one’s] praises” (Cook 2013, 504-505)

Meanwhile, the connection between *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 and *shèng zhì* 聖智 can be found earlier in the silk text, saying:

君子毋中(心之)憂則無中心之知(智)，無中心之知(智)則無中心之說(悅)，無中心之說(悅)則不安，不安則不樂，不樂則無德。(君子)無中心之憂則無中心之聖，無中心之聖則無中心之說(悅)，無中心之說(悅)則不安，不安則不樂，不樂則無德 (L. Guo 1999, 454) (Y. Yu 2012, 189)

“If the noble man has no inner-heart apprehension, he will have no inner-heart knowledge; lacking inner-heart knowledge, he will have no inner-heart 【gratification】; lacking inner-heart 【gratification, he will not be】 secure; insecure, he will not be happy (/musical); and unhappy (/unmusical), he will be without virtuosity. If the nobleman has no inner-heart apprehension, he will have no inner-heart sagacity; lacking inner-heart sagacity, he will have no inner-heart 【gratification】; lacking inner-heart 【gratification, he will not be】 secure; insecure, he will not be happy (/musical); and unhappy (/unmusical), he will be without virtuosity”. (Cook 2013, 489)

The first half of this text that says having inner-heart knowledge appeared in both bamboo and silk versions of the text, but the second half that discusses the inner-heart sagacity only appeared in the silk text. From the silk text, both *shèng* 聖 and *zhì* 智 are ways that lead people to virtuosity (*dé* 德); lacking them will lead to unhappiness, and an unhappy individual will have no virtuosity. The 19 and 20 slips of the *WX* bamboo transcript show more evidence regarding the relation between *shèng* 聖 and *dé* 德:

金聖(聲)，善也；玉音，聖也。善，人道也；惠德，而天(道也)。唯又(有)惠德者，(然)句(後)能金聖(聲)而玉晨(振)之
(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 150)

“The tones of bronze are goodness; the timbre of jade is sagacity. Goodness is the way of mankind; virtuosity is the way of Heaven. Only one with virtuosity can [possess] the tones of bronze and [instil] them [with] the resonance of jade.” (Cook 2013, 500).

This passage says that only people who have virtue can instil the resonance of jade. The sound of jade in the previous sentence means sagacity, thus it can be said that only a person with virtue and knows the way of Heaven can resonance with things that have the characteristic of sagacity and reach a status of a sage (L. Guo

1999, 454). In bamboo slips 25-27, it says:

聖人智知而〈天〉道也。知而行之，義也。行之而時，德也。
(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 150)

“The sage [is one who] knows the Way of Heaven. To know it and put it into practice is propriety. To practice it in a timely manner is virtuosity” (Cook 2013, 504-505)

Since *shèng rén* 聖人 is used to describe a sage, who is a person who knows the Way of Heaven. Knowing and practising the ways gives the sage virtuosity. The above two quotes indicate that there is a strong connection between *shèng* 聖 and *dé* 德 (L. Guo 1999, 454).

In earlier parts of *WX*, it can also be seen something that is similar:

德，天道也 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 149)

Virtuosity is the Way of Heaven (Cook 2013, 488)

One can say that by having virtuosity, a person knows the Way of Heaven; and by knowing it, one can reach the status of *shèng* 聖. A further exploitation of the quote is that with a good practice of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂, a person can obtain *dé* 德 and *shèng* 聖. What makes *shèng* 聖 different is that it is not a way to earn support from the people, but to show that a person knows and practices the Way of Heaven.

There is also evidence in the silk text describing how *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 is established. It is from humanity and righteousness (*rén yì* 仁義) as shown in the following quote:

...仁義，禮樂所(由)生也，言禮樂之生於仁義...

(Y. Yu 2012, 195)

“...humanity and righteousness are the reasons for the birth of ritual and music, saying that ritual and music being born from humanity and righteousness...” (the author’s translation)

As the beginning and end of the sentence are missing, it is hard to fully interpret the statement given the available evidence. As a result, other Confucian texts are used to search for evidence. In chapter *Bā Yì* 八佾 from *The Analects*, Confucius said:

人而不仁，如禮何？ 人而不仁，如樂何？ (Confucius 1996, 24)

“A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with ritual? A man who is not Good, what can he have to do with music(happiness)?” (Confucius 1996, 25)

This quote says that a man who is not good, or can be interpret as “not humane”, rites and music cannot be properly performed. In *Kǒng Zǐ Jiā Yǔ* 孔子家語, chapter *Zi Xià Wèn* 子夏問, Confucius also mentioned:

夫仁者、制禮者也 (Yang 1996, 614)

“A man who is humane is the one who establishes the rituals.”

(My translation)

According to Confucius, there is a close relationship between *rén* 仁 and *lǐ* 禮 (You 1993, 607). However, the concept *yì* 義 is not found in the same text. It seems to say that *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was based on only *rén* 仁 itself during the time of Confucius. One may venture to say that the concept of *rén yì* 仁義 was developed after the time of Confucius up to the time when the Guodian Bamboo text was transcribed (L. Guo 1999, 454). It is argued that *rén yì* 仁義 was not fully recognized when *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was first established as there was no evidence of the relation in earlier texts.

The bamboo transcript of *WX* gave a more detailed look than the silk text on how *rén yì* 仁義 is part of *lǐ* 禮. This text was written right after the part quoted on page 18 about ritual and music being born from sagacity and knowledge, and the sentence structure of these two quotes is parallel, as a continuation of the vision of King Wen:

見而知之，智也。知而安之，仁也。安而行之，義也。行而敬之，豐也。仁義，豐所由生也，四行之所和也。和則同，同則善。 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 150)

To know it when one sees it is to be knowing. To know it and be secure in it is humanity. To be secure in it and put it into practice is propriety. To put it into practice and hold it in reverence is ritual. Humanity and propriety are that from which ritual is born, that in which the four conducts find harmony. With harmony there is unity, and with unity there is goodness. (Cook 2013, 507)

As seen from the quote, the character *yuè* 樂 is not paired with *lǐ* 禮, with only *lǐ* 禮 being born from *rén yì* 仁義. This part about how *lǐ* 禮 was born is very similar to the previous part about *lǐ* 禮 being born from sagacity and knowledge. This section also raises the discussion on humane (‘humanity’ in Cook’s translation) and propriety, from which *lǐ* 禮 was born.

Similarly, the discussion of knowing the Way of Heaven is not seen. Since the other parts about being secure, reverence and what one knows are almost the same, it could be a more pragmatic description of how *lǐ* 禮 was established. It shows that *lǐ* 禮 is not just about interacting with Heaven, it can also be seen and expressed through knowledge and respectful behaviours to others.

Since the above quote is the vision of King Wen, the ritual theories stipulates that

as a leading figure in a political entity, King Wen performed ritual and music to “demonstrate (to the people) how their interests are in the natural, real, or fruitful order of things” (Bell 2009, 129), and these things were based on a community’s “shared values and goals”, which are the conducts listed in *WX* and “iconicity with the perceived values and order of the cosmos” (Bell 2009, 129), showing how working the conducts in harmony will lead one to the Way of Heaven and the status of sagacity.

The arguments of *lǐ* 禮 being born from sagacity and knowledge and similarly from humanity and propriety are not contradictory. Being able to know and respect The Way of Heaven gives one the ability to communicate and respond to one’s mandate through ritual. That is why *WX* asserted those people the status of sagacity, as they were transcendent due to their knowledge of Heaven. However, knowing the Way of Heaven is not enough, one needs to act with humanity and propriety in the society, and to respond to people respectfully with their knowledge. To conclude, *lǐ* 禮 is a conduct that is born from two conducts, which are sagacity and knowledge (*shèng zhì* 聖智), that respond to Heaven. *Lǐ* 禮 is also born from two conducts, which are humanity and propriety (*rén yì* 仁義), that respond to people. By working these four conducts in harmony, the fifth conduct *lǐ* 禮 came into place to unite people around him. When people are united, there will be happiness and goodness that create virtuosity that responds to people and Heaven. The last part of *WX*, demonstrate the foregoing argument:

天施諸其人，天也。其人施諸人，介也。聞道而悅者，好仁者也。聞道而畏者，好義者也。聞道而共恭者，好豐（禮）者也。聞道而樂者，好德者也。（*Jingmen City Museum 1998, 151*）

When Heaven bestows it upon its [chosen] person, this is [a matter of] Heaven. When that person bestows it upon others, this is [a matter of] mediation. One who hears of the Way and finds gratification in it is one fond of humanity. One who hears of the Way and stands in awe of it is one fond of propriety. One who hears of the Way and feels humility before it is one fond of ritual. One who hears of the Way and finds happiness (/musicality) in it is one fond of (/who possesses) virtuosity. (Cook 2013, 519-520)

“It” is what Heaven bestows its own “Way”, which is *dào* 道. Knowing the Way of Heaven gives a person the “knowledge” and the sagacity. Together with humanity and propriety, a person can then bestow the Way of Heaven upon others through *lǐ* 禮. Thus, “one who feels humility by hearing the Way is one that is fond of ritual” (Cook 2013, 519-520).

As mentioned before, *lǐ* 禮 and *yuè* 樂 also appear together in *XZMC* twice and the meaning remains the same. They are in slips 15 to 16:

時 (詩)、箒 (書)、豐 (禮)、樂，其司 (始) 出皆生於人。
時 (詩)，又 (有) 為為之也。箒 (書)，又 (有) 為言之也。
豐 (禮)、樂，又 (有) 為 (舉) 之也。

(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 179)

“The Odes, Documents, Ritual, and Music all in their beginnings arose from mankind. The odes [of men] were created for a purpose; the [words of their] documents were expressed for a purpose; [their] rituals and music were performed for a purpose” (Cook 2013, 711)

In the text, the phrase *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was used with the words *shī* 詩 and *shū* 書 coming before it. These four words indicate that the author wanted to talk about the four books that are considered classics in Chinese history: they are *The Odes* (*Shī Jīng*

詩經), *The Documents* (*Shū Jīng* 書經), *The Rites* (*Lǐ Jīng* 禮經), and *The Music* (*Yuè Jīng* 樂經). In the chapter *Tiān Yùn* 天運 in *Zhuāng Zi* 莊子, Confucius' conversation with *Lǎo Dān* 老聃 was recorded:

丘治《詩》、《書》、《禮》、《樂》、《易》、《春秋》六經，自以為久矣，孰知其故矣 (C. Cao 1982, 224).

“I have been studying the Six Classics—The Odes, the Documents, the Ritual, the Music, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn, for what I would call a long time, and I know their contents through and through.” (Watson 2013, 117)

Since the words and the sequence of words used in both *XZMC* and Confucius' responses are identical, the *XZMC* text should be discussing the four books. The word *lǐ* 禮 in the context of this sentence in *XZMC* therefore was used as an indication of the classic text of *The Rites*, and the cultural traditions recorded in *The Rites*. This passage shows that *The Rites* is one of the commonly used texts to understand the rules and function of *lǐ* 禮 at that time.

In the next sentence of the *XZMC*, the text elaborates on how the four books are formulated and used, as stated:

聖人比其類而論會之，觀其之(先)後而逆順之，體其義而節文之，理其情而出入之，然後復以教。教，所以生德於中者也 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 179)

“The sages compared their types and arranged and assembled them; observed their succession and reordered them into better accord; gave embodiment to their propriety and provided it with regularity and refined pattern; ordered the affections [they expressed by] drawing them out and reimplanting them; and then returned [this all] back [to the people] so as to instruct them. Instruction is that by which one gives rise to virtue within” (Cook 2013, 711-712)

The above text that the sages, or Confucius in this context as some may say, arranged, categorized, and observe the elements in these cultural traditions to instruct people to form and cultivate virtue (*dé* 德) from within (Chan 2009, 375-376) (Q. Wang 2017, 98-99). *XZMC* clearly suggests that everyone possesses human nature (*xìng* 性), but the *xīn* 心 itself is static and has no intention. Only through external factors like *wù* (物, external things), *yuè* (悅, pleasure), and *xí* (習, practice) that a person's *xīn* 心 can be influenced and altered. The implication is that teaching by the sages, or even education through the four texts listed, are the “external” things that work as a catalyst to help an individual to actualize and utilize their virtue spontaneously. *Lǐ yuè* 禮樂 is then represented as a tool to assist an individual's nature to go through a moral transformation, and even to manage one's emotions and to express them in a socially acceptable way (Chan 2009, 375-376). The same argument can be seen in *Xiū Shēn* 修身 chapter in *Xún Zi* 荀子, which says:

禮者所以正身也，師者所以正禮也...情安禮、智若師，則是聖人也。故非禮，是無法也。非師，是無師也。不是師法而好自用...舍亂妄無為也 (Liang 1956, 21)

“Ritual is that by which to correct your person. The teacher is that by which to correct your practice of ritual...If your disposition accords with ritual, and your understanding is just like your teacher's understanding, then this is to be a sage. And so, to contradict ritual is to be without a proper model, and to contradict your teacher is to be without a teacher. If you do not concur with your teacher and the proper model but instead like to use your own judgment...you will accomplish nothing but chaos and recklessness.” (Hutton 2014, 14)

Following the previous argument on sages' teaching as “external” catalysts for an individual in *lǐ* 禮, this text further emphasises on the importance between *lǐ* 禮 and

the teaching of the sages. The teachers or sages have an important role in helping an individual to understand *lǐ* 禮 and to rectify the behaviour so that the individual can act according to rules and culture that are acceptable by the society. Therefore, if an individual would like to understand and carry out *lǐ* 禮 in one's own way, one may result in not achieving anything. If an individual does everything right as the text says above, one also needs to exercise these practices repeatedly, as *XZMC* also says:

養性者，習也。長性者，道也 (*Jingmen City Museum 1998, 179*)

“Practices are what nurture human nature, and [proper] ways (dao) are what give human nature growth” (Cook 2013, 706-707)

Therefore, by nurturing human nature through practices of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂, one can manage to know and achieve the Way of Heaven (*dào* 道).

There is one outlying statement, in which *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 appears together, but it could be an error of interpretation. In *XZMC*, lines 22-23 show:

笑，禮之淺澤也。樂，禮之深澤也

(*Jingmen City Museum 1998, 180*)

“Laughter is the shallow release of joy; music is the deep release of joy” (Cook 2013, 718)

For the character *zé* 澤, scholar Cook (2013) who translated the text indicated that it should be read as *shì* 釋, with the meaning of “release”, which is also seen in the Manwangdui *Laozi* manuscript. *Lǐ* 禮 is questionable in this incidence because it was written differently, as the character *lǐ* 𧯛, in the text. Researchers of *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* (1998) render it as *lǐ* 𧯛 instead of the usual *lǐ* 豐 in other

incidences (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 180). *Shangbo Chujian* has the character as *xī* 熹 (Ma 2001, 83), read as *xī* 喜, meaning “happiness, joy” (Ma 2001, 239).

Qiu Xigui’s 裘錫圭, one of the editors of *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* points out that the character *lǐ* 𠄎 in the strips of the Guodian manuscript is probably a graphic error for *xī* 熹 (Cook 2013, 715). The scans of the original bamboo strips on page 62 of *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* and page 83 of *Shangbo Chujian* shows that even though the character *lǐ* 𠄎 is blur, the bottom part of the character is different from those in other incidences. *Lǐ* 豐 in the scans looks similar to the contemporary shape and form, as seen on pages 62 and 66 in *Guodian Chumu Zhujian* and pages 98-99 in *Shangbo Chujian*. Even though there are still scholars who use the character *lǐ* (禮) as *lǐ* 禮 to interpret the text, the evidence shows clearly that there are two different characters, and treating them as the same may lead to misinterpretations of the text.

In Confucian philosophy, *lǐ* 禮 together with *yuè* 樂 is a set of rules related to rituals. *The Odes* and *The Documents* explain that *lǐ* 禮 together with *yuè* 樂 work as external stimuli (*wù* 物) to cultivate and nurture human nature. Through constant practice in these rituals, an individual can establish virtue (*dé* 德) in their nature to better connect and contribute to society. If an individual practised it well enough, one can reach the status of sagacity (*shèng* 聖); this means that one knows and practices the Way of Heaven. Without the understanding and practice of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂, an individual’s nature and aspiration will be lost without a fixed intention or commitment (C. Liu 2011, 35).

The element of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 also conforms to the ritual theories proposed by

Durkheim (1995) and Geertz (1980). The establishment of ritual in two texts had a certain religious involvement, which gradually secularized into the social and political areas.

The secularisation started from the time when the Duke of Zhou took on the position of the son of Heaven, a role people believed was sacred and had the ability to connect with the Heaven. The position of the ruler as the son of Heaven helped promote the power of the royal court as a political institution. Duke of Zhou then established the rules for rituals and music as external stimuli (*wù* 物), what Durkheim (1995, 421-422) parallels as physical operation, to help people realize the work of the mind within oneself, that is the human nature (*xìng* 性). After constant practice, a man can reach, fortify and discipline one's consciousness, which will ultimately result in *dé* 德. The argument also conforms with Geertz's (1980, 13) theory because the rules for rituals and music was created for the court to "shape the world around it into at least a rough approximation of its own excellence". It is arguable whether there is a heavy sense of spirituality in these physical actions, however, the goal of the Duke of Zhou for establishing *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 was to help people act upon their moral life. When people act upon the rituals established by the sovereign, the collective consciousness in the society will be built.

E. Lǐ 禮 and Qíng 情

In this section, a common theme which is *lǐ*'s 禮 relation with the inner self especially with *qíng* 情, between the two chosen texts will be discussed. *Qíng* 情 can be understood as emotions and affections. The focus is on how *lǐ* 禮 derives from *qíng* 情 and also how *qíng* 情 helps display *lǐ* 禮. It is vital to show the

importance of *qíng* 情 in *lǐ* 禮 because the former as emotions represents:

Our ability to perceive and respond to our surroundings, is important in informing us how we really feel about something. Understanding our emotions and feelings is essential to self-knowledge and social practice. We perceive the emotions of others through our understanding of their expressions and the situation in which we find ourselves. Being sensitive to feelings and emotions enables us to master consciousness effectively without repressing those feelings and emotions, instead of being enslaved by irrational and coarse reactions (Chan 2009, 373)

The discussion of *lǐ* 禮 and *qíng* 情 in the texts identifies both the basis and needs of human emotions as well as emotions as a social construct. The 18-22 slips of *XZMC* contains a starting point for us to understand *lǐ* 禮 and *qíng* 情:

禮作於情，或興之也。當事因方而製之，其先後之序則宜道也。又(或)序為之節，則文也。致容貌，所以文而節也。君子美其情，貴其義，善其節，好其容，樂其道，悅其教，是以敬焉。拜，所以口口口其舉節文也。幣帛，所以為進與徵也。其辭宜道也 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 179-180).

“Ritual arises from the affections, but also elevates them. It is tailored in accordance with what is proper for each occasion. As it is prioritizing of first and last, this is the way of propriety. There is that which lends rhythm to this prioritizing, and this is refined patterning. It is by extending to the full one’s countenance and appearance that one brings about refined patterning and rhythm. The noble man regards the affections as beautiful, place value in the propriety, holds the rhythm in approval, has fondness for the countenance, finds happiness in the [proper] way, and delights in the instruction—thus he is held in respect. Obeisance is that by which to [show respect?]; its gradation is finely patterned. Gift of coin and silk are that by which to garner trust and confirmation; their regulation [of exchange] are [in accordance with] the way of propriety” (Cook 2013, 714-715)

This quote is different from what was previously mentioned as *lǐ* 禮 deriving

from conducts, but through *qíng* 情, which was translated by Cook (2013) as affection. *Lǐ* 禮 in this quote is seen as a tool to elevate affection, helping an individual properly adapt ways of expressing affection on different occasions. In *lǐ* 禮, there are affections, priorities, propriety, countenance and the way; in fact, a combination of moral, physical and aesthetic elements. Being instructed in these elements helps cultivate a person's understanding of one's needs and connection with the social construct (Q. Wang 2017, 99) (Chan 2009, 379). When *lǐ* 禮 is properly executed, it should bring harmony and balance to a person's soul and body. An ideal person that follows *lǐ* 禮 should embody good qualities both on the moral and aesthetic levels.

The individual's attitudes and emotions should respond when one is displaying moral measures. In the text, the words *měi* 美, *guì* 貴, *shàn* 善, *hào* 好, *lè* 樂, and *yuè* 悅 are used by the noble man to display his character and conduct, and these responses help the noble man gain respect from others (Chan 2009, 379). Such interpretation is similar to what is mentioned in previous sections, that the function of *lǐ* 禮 is to help an individual cultivate virtue to earn people's respect. Thus, this passage furthers the argument that having virtue is not enough, one needs to express emotions and virtues appropriately in the right occasions.

Another part of *XZMC* also raises the notion of *qíng* 情, which points out that *lǐ* 禮 is originated from *qíng* 情. The 18-22 slips of *XZMC* says:

性自命出，命自天降。道始於情，情生於性。 (Jingmen City
Museum 1998, 179)

“[Human] nature comes via mandate, and [this] mandate is sent
down from Heaven. The Way begins with the affections, and the

affections are born of [human] nature.” (Cook 2013, 700)

There are many discussions about whether the word “*dào* 道” in the above quote can be viewed as *lǐ* 禮 itself, or does *lǐ* 禮, representing what people believe to be “the way”(dào 道) at that time. This line is very similar to one of the quotes from Guodian’s *Yǔ Cóng II* 語叢二, which is a “set of aphorisms appears to bear a close relationship with ‘XZMC’, delineating in detail the generative processes by which human affections and desires arise out of different aspects of human nature” (Cook 2013, 17). The text further elaborates that:

情生於性，禮生於情。 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 203)

“The affections are born of [human] nature; rituals are born of the affections.” (Cook 2013, 850)

The two texts quoted above look completely the same, but the second quote replaced *dào* 道 with *lǐ* 禮. In XZMC, the context of *dào* 道 is unclear, and the meaning of “the way” does not suggest what functions *qíng* 情 performs. However, when *lǐ* 禮 is put in the picture, a whole ritual system is shown to be originated from affection (Zhang 2019, 20). *Yuè Jì* 樂記 supports the notion that *lǐ* 禮 arises from *qíng* 情:

是故先王本之情性，稽之度數，制之禮義。

(M. Wang 1969, 504)

“Therefore the ancient kings (in framing their music), laid its foundations in the feelings and nature of men; they examined (the notes) by the measures (for the length and quality of each); and adapted it to express the meaning of the ceremonies (in which it was to be used).” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 108)

In this quote, it tells how the ancient kings, who lived long before the Guodian texts were written, first established *lǐ* 禮 based on the feelings and the nature of men, and then aimed to bring harmony to a person's emotions and establish a standard moral conduct in the society (C. Liu 2011, 36). More evidence of *lǐ* 禮 coming from *qíng* 情 can be found in other transmitted texts. Chapter *Kǒng Zǐ Xián Jū* 孔子閒居 in *Lǐ Jì* 禮記 relates how Confucius considered *qíng* 情. When Confucius was asked by his disciple *Zi Xià* 子夏 what a sovereign must do to be the “parent of the people” (*mín zhī fù mǔ* 民之父母), he said:

夫民之父母乎，必達於禮樂之原，以致五至，而行三無，以橫於天下。(M. Wang 1969, 667)

“Ah ! the parent of the people! He must have penetrated to the fundamental principles of ceremonies and music, till he has reached the five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence, and be able to exhibit these all under heaven.” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 278)

According to this passage, Confucius believed that a sovereign must penetrate the fundamentals of ceremonies and music. This translation by Legge (1885) does not fully express what the original text would like to express. A more accurate interpretation should be to “reach the origins of ceremonies and music” to understand the “five extreme points to which they conduct, and the three that have no positive existence” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 278).

Confucius elaborated subsequently on what the five extreme points are:

志之所至，詩亦至焉。詩之所至，禮亦至焉。禮之所至，樂亦至焉。樂之所至，哀亦至焉。哀樂相生...此之謂五至

(M. Wang 1969, 667-668)

“The furthest aim of the mind has also its furthest expression in the Book of Poetry (Shī Jīng 詩經). The furthest expression of Book of Poetry has also its furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages. The furthest embodiment in the ceremonial usages has also its furthest indication in music. The furthest indication of music has also its furthest indication in the voice of sorrow. Sorrow and joy produce, each the other...these are what we denominate "the five extreme points" (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 278-279)

In these translations, *lǐ* 禮 was translated into English as ceremonies, though the word kept a similar definition as rituals. Confucius believes that *Shī Jīng* 詩經, ceremonies, and music have been established through the emotional basis of sorrow and joy (Zhang 2019, 20), echoing *XZMC* about rituals is derived from affections. He then elaborates that “the three points that have no positive existence” are:

無聲之樂，無體之禮，無服之喪 (M. Wang 1969, 668)

“The music that has no sound; ceremonial usages that have no embodiment; the mourning that has no garb” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 279)

These three points show what *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 can do to express a person’s genuine emotions, and genuine emotions is what Confucius believes as the origins of ceremonies and music, and is the most important element acting on these rituals (Zhang 2019, 20). In *Kǒng Zǐ Xián Jū* 孔子閒居, Confucius also elaborates how rituals can help a sovereign connect and express his emotions with the people.

Confucius’s attitude on the relation between *lǐ* 禮 and *qíng* 情 is demonstrated in several incidences recorded in *Lǐ Jì* 禮記, in which he discusses the rituals for mourning. In chapter *Sān Nián Wèn* 三年問, Confucius was asked about the purpose

of the rites of mourning for three years, he answered as:

稱情而立文 (M. Wang 1969, 757)

“The different rules for the mourning rites were established in harmony with (men's) emotions.” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 391)

In chapter Wèn Sàng 問喪, Confucius discusses the creation of *lǐ* 禮 through emotions when he commented on a filial son mourning his parent:

此孝子之志也，人情之實也，禮義之經也，非從天降也，非從地出也，人情而已矣 (M. Wang 1969, 741)

“Such is the mind of the filial son, the real expression of human emotions, the proper method of rites and righteousness. It does not come down from heaven, it does not come forth from the earth; it is simply the expression of human emotions” (Legge, Sacred Books of the East Vol 28 1885, 379)

According to these two examples above, Confucius shows that *lǐ* 禮 as rites does not come from anywhere else but human emotions. There are occasions when the ritual, morals and emotions may not align. In those moments, Confucius would rather put the formal rituals aside, and follow a person's inner morals and emotions, because without the support of emotions, rituals may just be a mandatory social rule that people follow, but not an action that a person does with their real intentions (Zhang 2019, 20) (Mei 2007, 243). As scholar Peng (2000, 140) concludes on the relation between *lǐ* 禮 and emotions, “what Confucianism proposes as ‘ruling with ritual’, is not a forceful and extra system of morality. It is the opposite, it should comply with human emotions, and conform to the law of nature. It is a way of systematizing and theorizing human emotions” (my translation) (Li 2018, 10).

After all the evidence shown on how *lǐ* 禮 originates in *qíng* 情, and how *lǐ* 禮 fits into the context of “The Way begins with affections” (*dào shǐ yú qíng* 道始於情) (Cook 2013, 700) in *XZMC*. A quote from *WX* that was previously used in this thesis to further explain this idea:

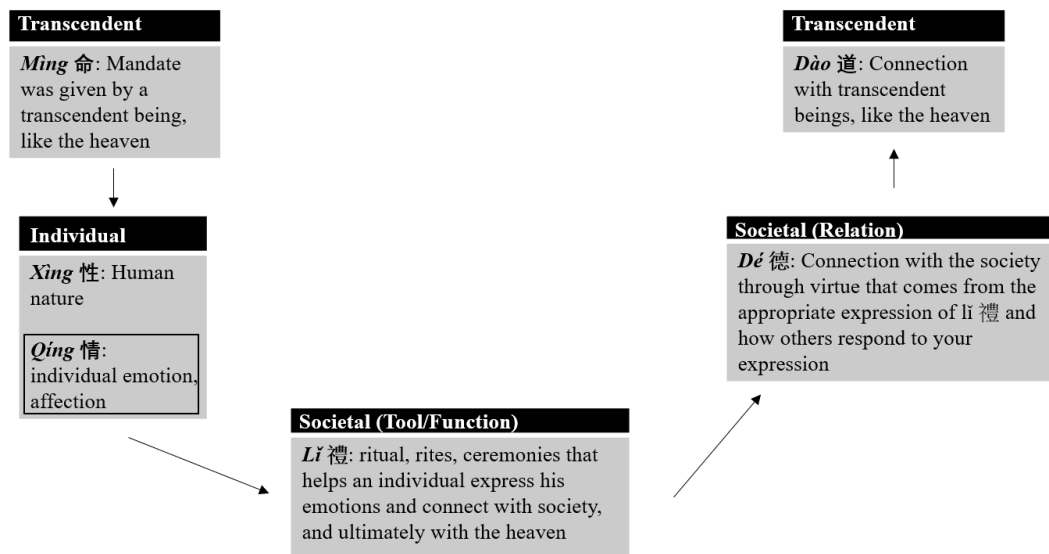
德，天道也 (*Jingmen City Museum 1998, 149*)

Virtuosity is the Way of Heaven (Cook 2013, 488)

The *dào* 道 mentioned in *XZMC*, and understood as the Way of Heaven, is the final product of how *qíng* 情 can function if it goes through the proper practice of *lǐ* 禮, and is the process of how a person can connect with a bigger world. The train of thoughts is illustrated in Diagram 1 below.

On the under left column of the diagram, *qíng* 情 is on an individual level within *xìng* 性. It gradually evolves to the realm of the transcendent on the top right column.

Diagram 1: Diagram of *lǐ* 禮 as a Tool to Respond to The Transcendent



Going back to the argument of *lǐ* 禮 being *dào* 道. Knowing *dào* 道, also known as the “Way of Heaven” is the main aim of why an individual should practice *lǐ* 禮. Without *lǐ* 禮, an individual will not be able to connect and understand the “Way of Heaven”. What differentiate them is that *dào* 道 is the final result, and *lǐ* 禮 is the tool to get there. Though they are phrased differently in the texts, what they represent is very similar.

The *WX* quote on page 38 is relevant in explaining this concept because in the previous *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 section of this thesis, *lǐ* 禮 as a ritual system helps an individual cultivate the moral values through external conducts. With a good practice of *lǐ* 禮, a person can yield *dé* 德 to connect with and contribute to the society, and ultimately, hope to understand and connect with *dào* 道, which is the Ways of Heaven. Both *lǐ* 禮 and *dé* 德 are under the societal category because *lǐ* 禮 is a tool and an action, it is for a person to externalize one’s own emotions to people around one. Meanwhile, *dé* 德 is the response from others when one expresses emotions appropriately through *lǐ* 禮.

Thus, *lǐ* 禮 helps an individual externalize the internal emotions appropriately. It is worthwhile to emphasize that every part of this process is equally important, *qíng* 情 cannot result in knowing *dào* 道 if any steps are skipped.

The argument so far mainly focuses on how *lǐ* 禮 means *dào* 道 in the chosen texts, and also how *qíng* 情 results in *dào* 道 through *lǐ* 禮. A bigger picture shows that there are more elements than have been presented in this study so far. The 18-22 slips of *XZMC* (page 33 of this study) points out that *qíng* 情 originates from *xìng*

性, which means human nature. Also, the whole point of *XZMC* is to point out that human nature (*xìng* 性) is derived from mandate (*mìng* 命), and this mandate comes from heaven. *Mìng* 命 therefore comes first in the top left corner of the diagram and *xìng* 性 is seen under it, indicating that a *mìng* 命 is given downward to *xìng* 性. *Qíng* 情 is inside *xìng* 性 as emotions are part of human nature. Finally, the diagram starts and ends with elements of a transcendent nature.

This is a “U-shape” direction, where Heaven gives a mandate for humans, which is a mandate that seems to be unknown to humans at first. Through the personal development of human emotions and ritual practice that cultivates human nature, men can respond properly towards society and realize what “The Way” is that the Heaven is pointing to. It is a one-way direction because so far, there is no evidence that the heaven will give out another mandate even after men have responded to the given mandate.

F. Ritual as a Way to Display Emotions 禮以飾情

Scholar Peng Lin’s 彭林 article “*Discussing the Display of Lǐ in Guodian Bamboo Slips* 論郭店竹簡中的禮容 (2000) illustrates how an individual should display one’s aesthetics and attitude in a ritual, which is called *lǐ róng* 禮容, a ritual display. Peng argues that “postures and appearance are very important to the people who execute the ritual” (my translation) (Li 2018, 9-10). One of the examples used is in the chapter *Yáng Huò* 陽貨 in *The Analects*, in which Confucius raised the discussion of what was important in a ritual, quote:

禮云禮云，玉帛云乎哉？樂云樂云，鐘鼓云乎哉？

(Confucius 1996, 232)

*“Ritual, ritual! Does it mean no more than presents of jade and silk? Music, music! Does it mean no more than bells and drums?”
(Confucius 1996, 233)*

It can be seen that Confucius did not fully agree that the ritual vessels were the most important element in a ritual ceremony; there was more than that, namely the etiquette and how an individual displayed themselves through the ritual. An example of ritual display can be seen in *XZMC*, showing how a nobleman should direct his inclinations in rituals:

賓客之禮，必有夫齊齊之容；祭祀之禮必有夫齊齊之敬；居喪，必有夫戀戀之哀 (Jingmen City Museum 1998, 181)

In ritual involving guests, he must have a countenance that is respectful, in ritual of sacrifice, he must hold a reverence that is solemn, and when undergoing mourning, he must bear a grief that is reluctant to part. (Cook 2013, 750)

Before continuing on the discussion between *lǐ* 禮 and emotion, an additional note about the different kinds of ritual ceremonies listed in this quote should be highlighted. Chapter *Jì Tǒng* 祭統 in the *Lǐ Jì* 禮記 recorded that there were five different kinds of rites serving the purpose to worship and communicate with Heaven (C. Liu 2010, 146). The five rites discussed are the ones recorded in *The Rites of Zhou*, Offices of Spring chapter. They are: auspicious rites (*jí lǐ* 吉禮), which the purpose is to worship and communicate with the heaven and earth, inauspicious rites (*xiōng lǐ* 凶禮), which includes rituals regarding sorrow, mourning and sadness; hosting rites (*bīn lǐ* 賓禮), which are ceremonies related to visiting royal courts; military rites (*jūn lǐ* 軍禮), which aim to unite states in the region, and lastly, the congratulatory rites (*jiā lǐ* 嘉禮), which are festive ceremonies to bring together

relatives and the people around (Theobald 2018) (Lin 1985, 192).

Each of the three types of ritual listed in the above quote falls into one type of the rite listed above. “Ritual involving guests” is part of hosting rites. The ritual of sacrifice is an auspicious rite, as the purpose of sacrifice is to worship. “Undergoing mourning” is an action that can be seen in an inauspicious ritual. Even though military and congratulatory rites are not mentioned in the two chosen texts, given that the other three rites still exist, it is highly likely that the system of five rites still existed in the time when the texts were written.

We can see an individuals should behave and express their emotions appropriately according to the rituals. The quote even uses the character *bì* (必), the translation of which as “must” is accurate, to emphasize the importance of the need to express appropriate emotion. Peng Lin 彭林 agrees to this argument by saying that:

Pre-Qin Confucianism believes that a man has the nature of happiness, anger, sorrow and joy (*xǐ nù āi lè* 喜怒哀樂), and when these kinds of nature turn into emotions, it will be displayed through their appearance, colour, voice and other aspects, that is why the text *Chéng Zhī Wén Zhī* 成之聞之 said emotion ‘take shape from within and emanating in his demeanour’ (*xíng yú zhōng, fā yú sè* 形於中, 發於色) (Cook 2013, 617-618). For a certain ritual, one must embody a certain kind of emotions, like the happiness in coming of age rituals (*guàn lǐ* 冠禮), respect in ritual of sacrifice, grief in mourning rituals and so on. These emotions externalize a person’s inner nature, and posture, appearance and voice will alter accordingly. If we give up on displaying our emotion, we could not call it a ritual. These are evidence of why there are ritual display when performing a ritual (my translation) (Li 2018, 10) (Peng 2000, 136).

One may ask: how does the display of *lǐ* 禮 relate to emotion? The argument is that *lǐ* 禮 was used to help decorate and display a person’s emotion. Peng’s argument tallies with one of the occurrences of *lǐ* 禮 in WX:

豐形內謂之德之行，不形於內謂之行。

(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 149)

“If ritual takes shape from within, we call it a ‘conduct of virtue’; if it does not take shape from within, we [simply] call it a ‘conduct’.”

(Cook 2013, 486)

As in this quote, rituals must take shape from within, and the “within” in this context means emotions. If an individual does not display emotions while performing a ritual, that act cannot be called a conduct of virtue, and ultimately the result of not having virtue can be traced back to pages 20-21: when one was unhappy, one could not build virtue from within nor earn praise from others.

An example of a display of ritual from Confucius can be seen in *Lǐ Jì* 禮記, chapter *Zēng Zǐ Wèn* 曾子問. *Zēng Zǐ* 曾子 asked Confucius about the three years of mourning, Confucius said:

“三年之喪，練，不群立，不旅行。君子禮以飾情。” (M. Wang 1969, 260)

“On the completion of the first of the three years, one should not be seen standing with others, or going along in a crowd. With a superior man the use of ceremonies is to give proper and elegant expression to the feelings.” (Legge, *The Sacred Books Of East Vol 27* 1885, 331)

The rituals of “three years' mourning for parents” was interpreted as an individual should follow the ritual to display one’s emotions to others. Personal emotion is internal, but through the function of ritual which is external, one can express emotions appropriately. Just like what Confucius mentioned, a superior man

performs the ritual of mourning by not “standing with others” or “going along in a crowd” for three years to display to others their emotions of grief and sorrow about losing a parent (Zhang 2019, 20).

In chapter *Yáng Huò* 陽貨 of The Analects, *Zǎi Wǒ* 宰我 discussed with Confucius about “three years' mourning for parents”, saying that one year was enough, and he felt at ease by doing so. Confucius responded that:

女安則為之！夫君子之居喪，食旨不甘，聞樂不樂，居處不安，故不為也。今女安，則為之！ (Confucius 1996, 236)

"If you feel at ease, then do so. But when a true gentleman is in mourning, if he eats dainties, he does not relish them, if he hears music, it does not please him, if he sits in his ordinary seat, he is not comfortable. That is why he abstains from these things. But if you would really feel at ease, there is no need for you to abstain"
(Confucius 1996, 237)

While Confucius seemed to let *Zǎi Wǒ* 宰我 mourn his parents for only a year, he did not feel that a person would enjoy or be happy with what they did during the first three years when their parents passed away (Mei 2007, 243). This is an example of how *lǐ* 禮 displays a person's emotions to persuade others that their emotions are genuine. *Zǎi Wǒ* 宰我 himself believed that one year was enough to persuade himself not to be sorrowful about the passing of his parent. This shows how rituals function to cultivate inner emotions. However, Confucius did not believe that it was enough and believed that the three years standard should be kept. It means that *Zǎi Wǒ's* 宰我 belief in the mourning ritual did not comply with the then social standard, which ultimately made Confucius question his emotions toward his parents. If one's emotions could not be fully transmitted to others through ritual, then the ritual would

not exist. That is why *lǐ róng* 禮容, the display in ritual is important because it shows people clearly what emotion one would like to convey, which is not just express and release one's own emotions, and also for others to understand and feel one's emotions in a way that is natural and authentic to them.

Another display of ritual in *WX* lists what attitude should an individual have while performing ritual:

不遠不敬，不敬不嚴，不嚴不尊，不尊不恭，不恭亡豐。
(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 150)

If one maintains no distance, he will hold no reverence; holding no reverence, he will hold no awe; holding no awe, he will hold no honour; holding no honour, he will hold no humility; holding no humility, he will have no [accordance with] ritual.

(Cook 2013, 502)

This quote briefly indicates that to have accordance with ritual, one must show distance, reverence, awe, honour, and humility. A more detailed explanation of the quote can be seen later in *WX*:

以其外心與人交，遠也。遠而莊之，敬也。敬而不懈，嚴也。
嚴而畏威之，尊也。尊而不驕，恭也。恭而博交，豐也。
(Jingmen City Museum 1998, 150)

To interact with others with one's outer heart is to "maintain distance." To maintain distance and make it solemn is to "hold reverence." To hold reverence and not slacken is to "hold awe." To hold awe and make it mighty is to "hold honour." To hold honour and not be arrogant is to "hold humility." To hold humility and interact widely is "ritual." (Cook 2013, 511)

The argument in this study all along is that ritual is a social tool that helps

express emotions and connects people, which seems to be contradictory to this quote that implies one should show distance. One should however view it from two perspectives. Firstly, *lǐ* 禮 can express emotions but not overwhelmingly to a point that makes others feel disrespected, or that the feelings are untruthful. The quote here clearly indicates that such overture will cause a reaction towards how people view one, resulting in inappropriate act of ritual. *Zāi Wǒ* 宰我 is a good example of a person not knowing the appropriate distance when expressing emotions through *lǐ* 禮. Therefore, to “maintain distance and make it solemn” (Cook 2013, 511) in rituals should ultimately result in expressing emotions in an appropriate way. Secondly, since the notion of transcendent gives us human nature and emotions, one should respond through *lǐ* 禮 with respect and humility, and acknowledging that there is a lasting distance and hierarchy between humans and the transcendent.

Since “*lǐ* 禮 originates from *qíng* 情” and “*lǐ* 禮 is used to express *qíng* 情”, their relations are consistent; there are just differences in perspectives. *Qíng* 情 are emotions that are internal and private to an individual. *Lǐ* 禮 are rituals that help a person extend their inner emotions to the external realm; it is an externalized *qíng* 情. Thus, “*lǐ* 禮 originates from *qíng* 情”. Practically, *qíng* 情 is the internal content of *lǐ* 禮, and *lǐ* 禮 is the external expression and display of *qíng* 情. Thus “*lǐ* 禮 is used to express *qíng* 情”. Both arguments are the same, emphasizing that *lǐ* 禮 as a form of external behaviour is an extension and display of inner emotions. Through *lǐ* 禮, a person can display their emotions naturally to others (Mei 2007, 243) (Zhang 2019, 20-21).

This conclusion is parallel to Durkheim’s theory that rituals and rites are a religious force that have human and moral aspects. It is a force of collective feelings

that take on a physical nature which can help realize the mental operations hidden in oneself, and to reach, fortify, discipline consciousness and ultimately connect with the world (Durkheim 1995, 421-422). *Lǐ* 禮 as the ritual is exactly a physical form of emotion and feelings. Through practising and performing rituals that are recognized by others, one can understand one's own emotion and consciousness, and ultimately express feelings genuinely to connect to a bigger collective consciousness.

V. Results and Conclusions

The analysis of the Guodian texts *WX* and *XZMC* has provided valuable insights into the concept of *lǐ* 禮 and its significance within the early Chinese context. The result of this study contribute to the understanding of *lǐ* 禮 by indicating how *lǐ* 禮 as a conduct listed in *WX*, are established through the four other conducts of sagacity (*shèng* 聖), knowledge (*zhì* 智), humane (*rén* 仁) and propriety (*yì* 義). Through teaching from sages and individual practices, these conducts can work in harmony. It then results in goodness and yields virtuosity (*dé* 德) that helps the individual to connect symmetrically to society and the collective consciousness.

The establishment of *lǐ yuè* 禮樂 by the Duke of Zhou and the vision of King Wen, conforms Geertz and Bell's theories (2009) by showing that it can “construct, display and promote the power of political institutions” (Bell 2009, 128), and how the state portrays itself as a small scale of a supernatural order by “providing a mode” that “shapes the world around it into at least a rough approximation of its own excellence” (Geertz 1980, 13). The Duke and the King “demonstrate the legitimacy of these values and goals by establishing their iconicity with the perceived values and order of the cosmos...It is through ritual, however, that those claiming power demonstrate how their interests are in the natural, real, or fruitful order of things” (Bell 2009, 129), and

how the collective consciousness that they propose should be followed by individuals within the society.

This study also contributes on showing the relation between *lǐ* 禮 and *qíng* 情 by analysing how ritual took a role in expressing one's genuine emotions, and how ritual should be one's externalized emotion. This study also further the discussion of the role of emotion by discussing the display of emotions in rituals. Indicating that one should express emotions and display behaviours in an appropriate manner during the practice of rituals, to not just cultivate one's emotion, but also persuade other's to believe that the emotions expressed through the ritual are genuine and true.

Lǐ 禮 conforms to Durkheim's theories (1995) by showing it is physical operation that can help people realize the mental operations hidden in themselves, which is human nature (*xìng* 性) and emotion (*qíng* 情). After consistent practice, a man can reach, fortify and discipline one's consciousness, which if practised appropriately will ultimately result in *dé* 德, which help people act upon their moral life and connect to the collective consciousness in the society, and ultimately connect to a sacred being.

By comparing the results, it revealed that the concept of *lǐ* 禮 encompasses a multi-layered function that includes both the individual's relationship with society and their connection to the transcendent realm. It starts with the notion that the Heaven (*tiān* 天) gives a mandate (*mìng* 命) to an individual's nature (*xìng* 性). The four conducts of sagacity (*shèng* 聖), knowledge (*zhì* 智), humane (*rén* 仁) and propriety (*yì* 義) when work in harmony, will exist and function in *lǐ* 禮, helping the individual

to cultivate and express emotions (qíng 情) truthfully. Through constant practices, it can then yield virtuosity (dé 德) that helps the individual to connect symmetrically to society and the collective consciousness. Ultimately, it helps an individual realize the Way (dào 道) that the Heaven shows him, and respond upward to the mandate that Heaven sends to him.

The results provided evidence supporting the hypothesis that *lǐ* 禮 went beyond the function of facilitating social relationships, it also served as a means of establishing a harmonious relationship between individuals and the transcendent realm. *Lǐ* 禮 is a societal function that connects an individual to the society and the transcendent.

The study of these texts not only enhances our understanding of *lǐ* 禮 in its early manifestations but also contributes to the broader discourse on how *lǐ* 禮 as a concept relates to individual, society and the transcendent in early Chinese history. Future research could delve deeper into the concept of rituals and practices in other Guodian texts. By examining a wider range of textual sources, researchers can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the intricate nuances and variations of *lǐ* 禮 as a concept throughout the period where Guodian texts were recorded. Further study can also explore the concept of *lǐ* 禮 in Guodian texts with relevance to modern-day concepts and issues, fostering a bridge between the past and the present, ultimately enriching contemporary discussions and scholarships.

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