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REN AND GANTONG: OPENNESS OF HEART AND THE ROOT OF CONFUCIANISM

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Ren 仁 is the heart of Confucianism. Its importance to ancient Chinese thought and culture cannot be overstated. But the etymological origins of *ren* have long been clouded by ambiguities and complexities. In his illuminating account of the evolution of *ren*, Wing-tsit Chan summarized a range of its English translations: “benevolence, love, altruism, kindness, charity, compassion, magnanimity, perfect virtue, goodness, true manhood, manhood at its best, human-heartedness, humanness, humanity, ‘hominity,’ man-to-manness.”¹ This list did not include the translation “authoritative humanity” that was proposed later by David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames.

In a sense, these translations may all be correct to the extent that each of them articulates some distinctive aspect of *ren*. Despite the lack of agreement about the root meaning of *ren* in classical scholarship, there has been some exciting progress in the study of variant forms of *ren* found in ancient inscriptions on bronze vessels and the newly discovered bamboo slips of the Chu state. These discoveries and investigations were consequential for revealing the origins of this enigmatic word. Unfortunately, the inferences from these new researches were often at variance with one another. They have not been conclusive and convincing enough to dissolve the puzzles concerning *ren*. It remains a deep irony that for this Confucian word that is so essential for the harmony of the human community, the investigations into its linguistic sources have admitted of little concord and consensus.

The ambition of this essay is to take the long neglected connection between *ren* and *gantong* 感通 as a vital clue so as to work out a line of interpretation that may bring the complex meanings of *ren* and its various written forms into a coherent unity. The long and short of my hypothesis is this: one of the oldest and most crucial meanings of *ren* is *gantong*, which can be translated as “to open oneself to and be affected by the spiritual, human, and natural beings in the surrounding world.” The word *ren* can be traced to the word *shi* 尸, which referred to the spiritual surrogates and sorcerers in ancient ritual ceremonies who served as intermediaries for the correspondence (*gantong*) between dead ancestors and their living descendents—between heavenly spirits and human beings. The origin of *ren* lies in the rites of ancestral worship that summoned the divine presence by dint of the affinity (*gantong*) between grandfathers and grandsons. While the use of *ren* did not start with Confucius, what distinguished the Confucian understanding of *ren* was the shift of priority from the way of heaven to the way of the human, from the divination and intuition of godly injunctions to care and compassion among individuals in the human community. Openness and sincerity of heart became the central meaning of *ren* in Confucian teachings and constituted the root of Confucian moral practice.

In what follows, I will work out this hypothesis in three steps. First, I will demonstrate the central importance of *gantong* in early Chinese thinking and show its relation to *ren* in early Chinese texts. Second, by reexamining some key evidence from archaic inscriptions and pre-Confucian texts, I will establish *gantong* as one of the oldest meanings of *ren* and demonstrate its significance for ancient ritual ceremonies. Last but not least, I will examine the transformation of *ren* in early Confucianism so as to establish an understanding of *gantong* as the core of Confucian moral teachings.

I. *Gantong* and *Ren*: A Preliminary Exposition

The phrase *gantong* is beyond any direct English translation on account of its multiple connotations and the unique ancient Chinese experience that produced it. We can track its basic meanings by examining closely its two components: *gan* 感 and *tong* 通. *Gan* has a wide range of meanings including affection, perception, sensation, reception, animation, inspiration, and sympathy, as well as influence, intercourse, and infection. As a verb, it can be used to express both the active and passive senses of “to move” and “touch” or “be moved” and “be touched.” In general, *gan* describes the action or process—mainly affective in nature—through which human, natural, and spiritual beings are interconnected. On the other hand, the major meanings of *tong* are “to reach,” “pass through,” “open,” and “transmit,” and “to correspond,” “communicate,” and “interact,” as well as “to comprehend.” As a noun, *tong* refers to “a passage,” “a thoroughfare,” or “a hole”—an opening or orifice that runs through and discloses the internal body of a thing. The core meaning boils down to an open way of transmission among different bodies and locations. Accordingly, the phrase *gantong* carries the literal meaning of “to open oneself to and be affected by.”² In ancient Chinese texts, it often carries very broad implications as it describes an assortment of interactions and communications between human beings or between human beings and natural or divine beings. Considering the rich and multifaceted connotations of this expression, I will not confine myself to one “standard” translation, but adopt the best English expression according to the context in this essay.

While the essential connection between *gantong* and *ren* has escaped the attention of most ancient commentators, Cheng Hao was probably the first Confucian scholar to articulate *gantong* as the foundation of *ren*. Elucidating a key line in the *Book of Changes* concerning *gantong*, Cheng alluded to an ancient medical text that described the paralysis of limbs as *buren* 不仁 (literally “not *ren*”), and portrayed the person of *ren* as one who took all things in the world as one body that was none other than the self.³ In his critical review of Song and Ming Confucianism, Mou Zongsan laid bare the central import of Cheng’s account: “the nature of *ren* consists in *gantong*” (*ren yi gantong wei xing* 仁以感通為性).⁴

In the remainder of this section, I will take my cue from Cheng’s and Mou’s interpretations and explore the essential importance of *gantong* for early Chinese thinking. After that, I will account for a few passages in early Chinese texts in which *ren* was used in the sense of *gantong*.

The Importance of Gantong in Early Chinese Thinking

Gantong played a central role in early Chinese thinking. To the ancient Chinese mind, the dynamic concord of the cosmos relied on hidden spiritual forces that circulated through the interactions of human, divine, and natural beings. Accordingly, *gantong* named the very manner in which sky and earth, the human and the divine, were brought together into a harmonious conjunction.⁵ It referred not only to the open compartment among persons, but also to the reciprocal intuition and communication between various animate forms in the human, spiritual, and natural worlds in general. Here, it is important to note the root meaning of *gantong* in the ancient Chinese mind: the intercourse of the primordial cosmic forces of *yin* and *yang* that were responsible for the birth and emergence of all beings in the universe.

As mentioned above, Cheng Hao took *ren* as the foundation for the integration of all things in the universe. To be *ren* was to open oneself to the surrounding world so as to join and respond to the movements of the world as if all other beings and oneself were functioning as one body. In *The Features of Chinese Philosophy*, Mou Zongsan pinned down the core of Cheng's thoughts in one maxim: "The nature of *ren* consists in *gantong*; its function consists in the nourishment of beings." Mou explicated *gantong* as the gradual expansion of life: "the process of expansion is infinite, so that *gantong* must have its end in the unity of all beings in the universe."⁶ On another occasion, Mou alluded to Xiong Shili's comment on the importance of *gantong* and further identified *gantong* as the sincerity of heart (*cheng* 誠) that was expounded in the *Zhongyong / Doctrine of the Mean*.⁷

Except for Mou's passing identification of *gantong* as the nature of *ren*, reference to and investigations of the significant relation between *ren* and *gantong* have been rare at best in both ancient and modern scholarship. However, the importance of *gantong* itself has caught the attention of some leading contemporary Confucian scholars. For example, Xu Fuguan interpreted the central phrase *gewu* 格物 in the *Great Learning* as *gantong yu wu* 感通于物, "to open oneself to and be affected by things." In the light of this interpretation, *gantong* was illuminated as the heart and soul of early Confucian moral cultivation.⁸ In his analysis of the *Great Treatise of the Book of Changes*, Tang Junyi took *gantong* and its synonym *ganying* 感應 as two key dictums for the moral education of the self and the concord between the human and the divine in early Confucian thought.⁹

The line on *gantong* appears in the first half of the *Great Treatise (Dazhuan 大傳)*: "Yi (—the sagacious diviner) was mindless and inactive, being tranquil and motionless. When affected, he opened himself to (*ganersuitong* 感而遂通) things and events in the world. How was this possible except for the most wonderful person in the world?"¹⁰ This sentence addressed one of the four manners in which the *yi* 易—the official who was responsible for divining the changing course of the cosmos—realized the way of the sages as discussed by Confucius. According to Han Kangbo 韓康伯, those who were the most divine and wonderful were so tranquil in their comportment that there was nothing to which they could not respond (*zhishenzhe jiran er wubuying* 至神者寂然而無不應). Kong Yingda 孔穎達 elaborated on this: being mindless

and inactive, one was tranquil and motionless, so that one was always able to respond to whatever affected him and to reach and comprehend all things and events (*ji wusi wuwei, gu jiranbudong, youganbiying, wanshijietong* 既無思無為，故寂然不動，有感必應，萬事皆通). Here, the process of divination involved the ancient “meditation” experience that would purify all mental and physical agitations and that would thus elicit the mystical receptiveness to the changing realities in the surrounding world.¹¹ The still and unconcerned heart of a sage was comparable to a spotless mirror that reflected worldly things and events exactly as they were. Accordingly, on divining the mysterious changes in the world, the sage had to withdraw his self-consciousness so that he might open himself and respond to all things and events between sky and earth and realize his supreme personhood in the great concord with the cosmos.¹²

The statement above in the *Great Treatise* revealed *gantong* as a crucial process through which ancient sages divined the mysterious movements and changes of the universe. On the other hand, the hexagram *xian* 咸 brought out the most important meaning of *gan* as the intercourse between *yang* and *yin*, sky and earth, male and female, which constituted the origin of all life in the cosmos. The *Tuan* 蒙 Commentary identified *xian* as *gan* 感, which took place when the soft was positioned above the hard, so that the two forces (*qi* 氣) of *yin* and *yang* affected and responded to each other so as to move toward a state of harmony: “With the intercourse of sky and earth, all beings emerge and evolve. With the sages affecting and influencing the hearts of the people, peace and harmony arrive in the world.”¹³

Remarkably, the hexagram *xian* exposed also an essential relation between *gan* and *sheng* 生: the birth and emergence of beings only took place with reciprocal influence between the primordial cosmic forces of *yin* and *yang*. This reminds us of an important twin phrase of *gantong*—*gansheng* 感生. The ancient Chinese often attributed the birth of great kings and emperors to certain forms of spiritual influence. According to a variety of early Chinese literary sources, the conception of the ancestral emperors, who were regarded as the sons of heaven, was that they were all associated with the inspiration of mysterious heavenly forces.¹⁴ For instance, the poem “Shengmin” 生民 in the *Shijing* / *Book of Poetry* depicted a ritual ceremony in which Jiang Yuan 姜嫄 prayed for a son by stepping on the footprint of the ancestral tribal god, represented by a spiritual surrogate (*shi* 尸). With the transmission of the godly influence from the footprint, Jiang Yuan conceived and gave birth to Hou Ji 后稷—the first king of Zhou.¹⁵

I will show shortly that the perception and transmission of spiritual influences in the ritual ceremonies was precisely the origin of the character for *ren* that was used interchangeably with *shi* 尸 (spiritual surrogate) in the oldest inscriptions. Here, it suffices to note two pieces of circumstantial evidence for the essential relation between *ren* and *gantong*. First, like *gantong*, *ren* is associated with *sheng* 生—the emergence and evolution of beings in the universe. Lin Xiyi’s 林希逸 Commentary on *Laozi* took the generation of beings as *ren* (*shengwu ren ye* 生物仁也).¹⁶ The Commentary on the *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 identified the function of *ren* as the growth and nourishment of all things.¹⁷ Perhaps the most informative elaboration of *ren* and

sheng can be found in Zhu Xi's "Discourse on *Ren*." According to Zhu Xi, *ren* was the wonder in the human heart that opened up the relation of human beings to the heart of the sky and earth, and this was responsible for the emergence and evolution of all beings in the world. Therefore, the way of *ren* "is the heart of sky and earth that gives birth to all beings."¹⁸

Second, *ren* is often used to denote the seeds and kernels of nuts and fruits.¹⁹ As I see it, the rationale of such usage hinges precisely on the meaning of growth and generation (*sheng*). As Li Daoping pointed out, "*ren*" in the sense of seeds and kernels referred to what really contained the life forces within the stone of a nut or fruit.²⁰ To the ancient Chinese mind, a seed or kernel sprang from the intercourse of *yin* and *yang* in the natural world. Therefore, this usage of *ren* as the seed and kernel must have derived from one of its primary senses: the intercourse (*gantong*) of the primordial cosmic forces (*qi* 氣) of *yin* and *yang* that are responsible for the birth and emergence of all beings in the universe.

Early Textual Evidence for the Relation between Ren and Gantong

Wing-tsit Chan argued that *ren* was "essentially a Confucian concept, and it was Confucius who made it really significant."²¹ Recent scholarship has made some notable discoveries about the significance of *ren* before Confucius.²² I shall elaborate later on the transformation of *ren* from its original meaning of *gantong* to such Confucian understandings as "love," "affinity," "benevolence," and "perfect virtue." Remarkably, the influence of the Confucian teachings of *ren* has been so dominant that *gantong* as its oldest meaning has been largely forgotten. Nevertheless, there is still some textual evidence for us to discern a strong implication of *gantong* in the early uses of *ren*.

Perhaps the most conspicuous case for the connection between *ren* and *gantong* is in the *Suwen*, the ancient medical classic to which Cheng Hao alluded. There are numerous instances in which the phrase *buren* 不仁 is used to describe the paralysis of limbs, muscles, and skin. For example, in chapter 24 of volume 7 it is mentioned that the blockage of channels and meridians caused by trepidation would lead to the ailment of *buren*. Wang Bing 王冰 construed *buren* as "not responding to its function, as a result of which the body becomes palsied and paralyzed."²³ If the status of "not *ren*" (*buren*) corresponded to a lack of sensation and perception, then it is reasonable to infer that sensation and perception (i.e., *gantong*) were indeed the meanings of *ren* assumed by the author of the text.

The identification of *ren* as *gantong* in other early texts would call for special circumspection. Here, let me offer and explicate two examples. The "Xiuwen" 脩文 chapter of the *Shuoyuan* elaborates the development of moral cultivation as an accumulative process from *en* 恩 (favor, kindness) to *ai* 愛 (love) to *ren* 仁 and finally to *ling* 靈.²⁴ While most scholars have taken love (*ai*) as the primary meaning of *ren*, this passage gives *ren* a higher status of moral accomplishment than love. But what did the word *ren* mean here? As *ren* was described as an intermediary stage between *ai* (love) and *ling* 靈, it is important to lay bare the meaning of *ling* in the first place.

The *Shuowen* defines the primary meaning of *ling* as *wu* 巫—sorcerer. In ancient Chinese texts, the word *ling* was often understood in a double sense, denoting both sorcerers and the spiritual entities or powers they represented.²⁵ At the same time, *ling* could also indicate one's magical ability to be in communication with the divine. Let us recall that the function of *gantong* has two dimensions, too. On the one hand, it signifies a spiritual transmission between a human being (e.g., a sorcerer) and a deity, such as the prayer that led to the pregnancy of Jiang Yuan. On the other hand, it may also refer to the open comportment and communication between human and natural beings, which take place when one is emotionally aroused by the things done by other human or natural beings (e.g., cordial greetings, caring actions, captivating musical recitals, or the display of scenery). Now, it is clear that while *ling* denotes the ability to sense or divine heavenly spirits, the meaning of *ren* consists in the openness and sincerity of heart that are essential to the expression of human feelings. To love others, to be sure, is the key step to opening and expanding empathetic relationships among all human beings, only through which the human and the divine can be brought into genuine correspondence. Therefore, the interpretation of *ren* as *gantong* makes perfect sense in this context.

The “Zhongni yanju” 仲尼燕居 chapter of the *Liji* contains a passage in which Confucius expounds the significance of an assortment of ritual ceremonies that were performed to effect communion (*ren* 仁) with gods and ghosts, ancestors, the deceased, the neighborhood, and guests, respectively.²⁶ The best translation of the verb *ren* in this context, where I believe strongly that it implies the sense of *gantong*, is thus “to commune with.” Zheng Xuan interpreted *ren* in this context as *cun* 存. This interpretation reminds us of his well-known annotation of *ren* in a key line in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, which defines *ren* with its homophone *ren** 人. Zheng Xuan asserted that the character *ren** was pronounced “*ren**” in the phrase *xiangrenou* 相人偶, which meant to greet and salute with human care and affection (*yi renyi xiang cunwen zhiyan* 以人意相存問之言).²⁷ (I will discuss the complex meanings of the phrase *xiangrenou* in the next section.) Here, it is clear that for Zheng Xuan, the basic meaning of *ren* 仁 lies in *cun* or *cunwen* 存問. According to the *Shuowen*, the primary meaning of *cun* is the same as *wen* 問 (to ask, inquire, greet). Apparently, the action of greeting and inquiring is the very first step through which we interact and communicate (*gantong*) with others, just as to pass by someone without a word of salutation is an expression of utter indifference. By inquiring into the well-being of others, we communicate and join with them and thus open up a way toward affectionate human relationship.

Let me note further that the earliest use of *wen* had much to do with the ancient practice of divination (*zhanwen* 占問). The primary wonders and questions of the ancients were posed toward heaven concerning fortune and destiny.²⁸ Remarkably, like the character in current use, the oracle bone script *wen* 問 was composed of the characters *meng* 門 (door, gate) and *kou* 口 (mouth, opening). Liu Xingrong noted that the oracle bone script of *meng* referred to the gate before a temple or palace.²⁹ Accordingly, the oldest meaning of *wen* was to ask for entrance into the holy place of the kings and priests so that this might open up and preserve a path of communica-

tion (*gantong*) between the human and the divine. While the everyday senses of *cun* and *wen* are to offer regards to and to greet other people in the same community, their original meanings consist in divination and communication with the gods.³⁰ These two-dimensional meanings of the word *wen* echo nicely with the double meanings of *gantong* explained above. Hence, the interpretation of *ren* as *gantong* is well justified in this context.

II. Inspiration of Spiritual Surrogates: Deciphering the Original Meanings of *Ren*

I have demonstrated the essential connection between *ren* and *gantong* in early Chinese literature. The task of this section is to establish *gantong* as one of the oldest senses of *ren* from which stem other common meanings such as “love, affinity, and goodness.” The revelation of this sense of *gantong* will help not only to ascertain a coherent unity for the meanings of *ren* in ancient scripts and early texts, but also to provide a genealogical base for us to understand the various forms in which it is written. In what follows, I will first identify the character *shi* 尸 as the etymological origin of *ren* and show its connection with *gantong*. The identification of *gantong* as the earliest meaning of *ren* will give us a vital clue toward solving a range of problems in early texts and scripts a propos *ren*.

Let me prelude my investigation with the exposition of the character *ren* in the *Shuowen*, which offers three different theories (see figure 1): (1) the character *ren* 仁, which means affinity and inclusive love, is derived from *ren** 人 (human) and *er* 二 (two); (2) the ancient script *ren* 𠄎 is derived from *qian* 千 and *xin* 心; (3) the ancient script *ren* (see *ren* [3] in figure 1) is probably derived from *shi* 尸.³¹ Xu Shen’s different theories on the etymology of *ren* are based on three different *ren* scripts. I will show that the second script is a variant of *ren* that corresponds to the character *ren* 𠄎, as found on the bamboo slips of the Chu state, which combines *shen* 身 and *xin* 心. The first and third scripts share the same component *er* 二 (two). Presumably, the character *ren** 人 in the left part of the first script is a deviation from the character *shi* 尸 found in the third script. In the oracle bone scripts (see figure 2), the images of *ren** 人 and *shi* 尸 look very much alike (the main difference lies in the additional sharp curve in the last vertically turning stroke in *shi*), and they may well be indistinct from each other in some early usage.

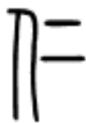

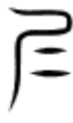
		
<i>ren</i> 仁 (1)	<i>ren</i> 仁 (2)	<i>ren</i> 仁 (3)

Figure 1

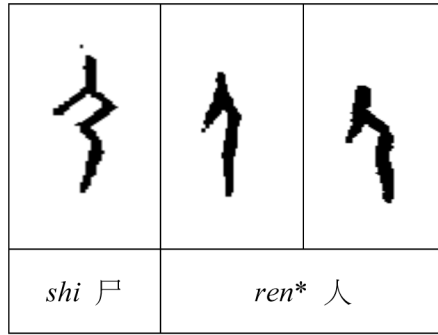


Figure 2

In all probability, *shi* is the main figure in the early *ren* scripts. It is curious that given the prime importance of *shi*, we can find few sophisticated investigations on the relation between *shi* and *ren* in both premodern and modern research. Instead, most ancient and contemporary debates have been directed to the import of *er* (two): the reciprocal relation between two human persons that may serve as a foundation for such common meanings of *ren* as love, affinity, and benevolence.³² However, Chinese philologists often disagree on whether *er* plays a substantial role in the formation of *ren* at all. In my view, the major problem in this line of argument is that it fails to establish a solid correlation between the meaning of love and affinity and the sign of two human figures. Remarkably, there are a number of Chinese characters whose original configurations consist of two human figures, such as *cong* 從/从 (to follow, go after), *bi* 比 (to juxtapose, stay close, near), *bei* 北 (to stand against), *hua* 化 (to change, transform).³³ Apparently, the exact meaning of each of these characters is determined by the particular arrangement of the two human figures in the character. The mere indication of “two” human figures in the character *ren*, therefore, contains no firm and adequate ground for the connotation of “love and affinity.” Indeed, the attempts to trace the original meaning of *ren* through *ren** and *er*, which are often based on circumstantial textual evidence, have produced few convincing conclusions.³⁴

Ren and Shi: The Inspiration of Spiritual Surrogates

Many contemporary philologists have made an effort to discover a relation between *ren* and *shi* as indicated by the *Shuowen*. Drawing upon the affinity among the characters *shi*, *ren*, *ren**, and *yi* 夷 in the early scripts, Pang Pu has argued that the main component in the character *ren* was not *er* 二 but *ren** 人, which was a contemporary variation of the ancient script *shi* 尸. According to Pang, the component *er* “is probably only a decorative sign.”³⁵ In the early writings, *ren* was “written as *ren**, which was the same as *shi*. Afterward, the two strokes were added to beautify it, or to distinguish it from the character *shi*, from which it is derived.”³⁶ In the same vein, Xie Yangju affirmed the derivation of *ren* from *shi*, which he attributed to the transforma-

tion in ancient Chinese memorial ceremonies in which the spiritual surrogates (*shi* 尸) were employed in lieu of the name tablets or idols used in funeral rites. Xie referred to some key passages in the writings on the bamboo slips of the Chu state that defined the funeral rites as the origin of *ren*. In view of that, he rejected the traditional theory that took the origin of *ren* as the reciprocal love between two persons as “a perennial misunderstanding.” According to Xie, the true origin of *ren* consisted in the rites: “*ren* is fundamentally a natural state of mind of extreme piety and sincerity toward the ancestral spirits; it means to worship and love the deceased with respect as if they were alive.”³⁷

Considering other propositions on the morphological development of *ren*, Pang’s and Xie’s analyses and inferences may not be conclusive. But they establish firmly the genealogical importance of *shi* that has been utterly overlooked in the traditional theories. I believe the major problem in traditional theory is the unwary presupposition of the senses of love and kinship as its most original meaning. This fails to recognize and appraise the possibility that the sense of love and affinity, although dominant in the Confucian understanding of *ren*, may not be the most original sense of the term. However, with the hasty attribution of this sense as the foundation of all philological and linguistic research, the role of *shi*, which “appears” to have no direct relation to such Confucian virtues as love and affinity, has gradually fallen out of attention. This presumption with the Confucian conception of *ren* has been so prevalent that even Xie, who mentions in passing the role of spiritual surrogates to invoke and invite (*gan’ge* 感格) ancestors in the sacrificial rites, stops short of exploring the deep implications of this primitive state of mind. Instead, Xie attempts to establish a plausible but circumstantial link between the meanings of *shi* and *ren* through the Confucian teachings of respect for and devotion to ancestral spirits.³⁸

In my view, the disparity in meaning between *shi* and *ren* can only be bridged through the recognition of *gantong* as the root meaning of *ren* and of its crucial function in the ancient *shi* rites (*shijili* 尸祭禮). The spiritual surrogates (*shi*) enacted in the ancient rites served the key function of being inspired by and of transmitting (*gantong*) the spiritual forces as they effected communion between the living human descendents and their departed ancestors.

Zhan Yinxin recounts the evolution of ancient sacrificial ceremonies from the primitive use of idols to the enactment of the spiritual surrogate that was normalized in the Zhou dynasty. Zhan brings out an enlightening hypothesis concerning the ancient convention according to which the role of the spiritual surrogate (*shi*) was performed by the grandson of the deceased, which reflected a remnant matriarchal custom:

In the age of matriarchy, the son inherited the family name from his mother’s clan and thus did not belong to the clan of his father. But the grandson would return to the original clan. As the sacrificial ceremony for the ancestors was an internal affair of the clan, only the grandson could take the role of the spiritual surrogate. Despite the later evolution into patriarchy, this archaic convention was carried on in the sacrificial ceremonies.³⁹

As Zhan elaborates, in ancient matriarchy, two neighboring clans usually maintained a perennial intermarriage with each other in the practice of exogamy. According to

ancient Chinese convention, people with the same family name (*xing* 姓), which was first determined through the maternal line, should not marry each other. The son had to marry a woman in the neighboring clan (which was distinguished by a different family name), to which his father belonged. Therefore, in a family, the father and mother always came from one of the two clans. As the family name was passed down through the maternal line, the son and the father always had different family names, while the grandson and the grandfather shared the same family name. In other words, the grandson and the grandfather were regarded as of the same kind (*lei* 類) since they belonged to the same clan.⁴⁰ This explains the ancient convention that employed the grandson of the dead person as the spiritual surrogate, who was able to empathize and commune with (*gantong*) the departed grandfather. The grandfather and the grandson were of the same kind, as they were under the consecration of the same ancestral god for the same clan. Apparently, communication and correspondence between human and spiritual beings were only possible when the dead and the living were beings of the same kind.⁴¹

Remarkably, one of the oldest meanings of *ren* consists precisely in the empathy among beings of the same kind. By stressing the genetic difference between humans and other beings, a passage in the *Lüshi chunqiu* elaborated that to be *ren* was to sympathize and commune (*ren*) with beings of the same kind, that is, human beings (*ren hu qi lei zhe ye* 仁乎其類者也).⁴² Now, the awareness and recognition of the other as a being of the same kind is the foundation of such moral actions as care and love, which are often deemed the substance of *ren* in later Confucianism. The Confucian conception of *ren* as benevolence and kindness may well have originated in the senses of compassion for kin of the same kind.

Drawing on a line in the *Doctrine of the Mean* that defines *ren* as “(to be) human (*ren**),”⁴³ Liang Qichao explicated the origin of *ren* as the perception and realization of the other as one’s own kind (*tonglei yishi* 同類意識): “Humanity manifests itself first and foremost through the consciousness of the same kind (*tonglei yishi*) to which two or more persons belong together.”⁴⁴ Liang arrived at this original meaning of *ren* on the basis of the traditional interpretation of *ren* as “two human persons.” However, given the primary function of spiritual surrogates (*shi*) in evoking and inviting the ancestral blessing for the people of the same clan/kind, the path toward this consciousness of the same kind through the word *shi* may prove more solid and illuminating.

Let us recall in this context a crucial difference between the meanings of *ling* 靈 and *ren* as revealed by the *Shuoyuan*, which I brought out near the end of the last section. While *ling* denotes the power of spiritual surrogates to intuit and communicate the will of the divine, *ren* refers to the affection and affinity among different individuals in the human world. The meanings of these two characters correspond perfectly with the two dimensions of the meanings of *gantong*: the inspiration that comes from spiritual beings and the open comportment and communication among human and natural beings. Now, it has become clear that in the primitive Chinese mind, the inspiration of ancestral spirits through spiritual surrogates (*shi*) was the very source of the conscious realization and recognition of the same kind (*tonglei yishi*),

which was the foundation of the feelings of care and compassion among different individuals belonging to the same family, clan, or species.

While the foremost Confucian understanding of *ren* consists in love and benevolence in the human world, we can still trace a sense of the divine inspiration and communication that it derives from the word *shi*. Presumably, the earliest *shi* rites, which served to evoke and invite the ancestral spirits, were practiced by royal families privileged to make offerings to ancestral deities for the consecration of the entire tribe or nation. Early scripts referring to the sage-kings, such as *sheng* 聖, *wang* 王,⁴⁵ and *di* 帝,⁴⁶ all imply some kind of intermediary role in the communication between the human and the spiritual worlds. In the ancient Chinese mind, the primary function of a king or a sage was to serve as an intermediary between humanity and heaven. For example, the *Shuowen* defines *sheng* 聖 (sage) as *tong* 通—to pass through, to open, and to transmit, correspond, or communicate. The charisma of a sage came from his sacred capacity to intuit and communicate the will of the divine during the ancestral offerings. Presumably, as the one who presided over the whole kingdom, the earliest kings and sages were, first and foremost, spiritual surrogates (*shi*) or sorcerers (*wu* 巫) who presided over the ritual ceremonies for communication between humanity and heaven.⁴⁷

Now, the crucial intermediary role of ancient sages and kings in the reciprocal influences between the human and the divine has been a perennial theme in classical Chinese literature. Here, it will suffice to make reference to one illustrious example. According to the *Lüshi chunqiu*, after the sage-king Tang 湯 deposed the last despot of the Xia dynasty and restored order to the world, there ensued five years of draught and deprivation. Offering his own body as a sacrifice, Tang made a petition to the divinities to bring down all punishment upon himself instead upon the lives of the people. The people were pleased by the sincerity of Tang's prayer for good fortune, and the heavy rainfall arrived as requested. As the author of the *Lüshi chunqiu* concludes, this episode demonstrated Tang's capacity to communicate with the mysterious forces of the gods and spirits so as to change the course of human affairs.⁴⁸

Many contemporary scholars have also endorsed this intermediary function of ancient Chinese rulers. Taking note of the various functions performed by the ancient Chinese *wu* 巫 in the cult of spirits, including exorcism, prophecy, fortune-telling, rain-making, and the interpretation of dreams, Arthur Waley picked up on a similarity between the function of the Chinese *wu* and that of Siberian and Tunguz shamans, who were the intermediaries in the communication between the human and spirit worlds. Waley argued that it was "convenient to use shaman as a translation of *wu*."⁴⁹ Adopting Waley's translation, Chang Kwang-chih identified shamans as "a crucial part of every state court; in fact, scholars of ancient China agree that the king himself was actually head shaman."⁵⁰ Chang cited Chen Mengjia, an authority on oracle bone scripts, who pointed to numerous scripts that depicted the king of the Shang dynasty engaging in necromantic or shamanistic activities: "There are, in addition, inscriptions describing the king dancing to pray for rain and the king prognosticating about a dream. All of these were activities of both king and shaman, which means in effect that the king was a shaman (*wu*)."⁵¹

I do not know how appropriate it is to translate *wu* as shaman. With respect to such questions of nomenclature, opinions vary. One may indeed regard it a good idea to have terms like Kaiser and Pharaoh as translations for each other. I trust readers' taste and judgment about the wisdom of such a practice. In any case, it is well established now that ancient Chinese kings and sages played an intermediary role in the communication between the human and the divine. Incidentally, in the ancient Chinese classics, *ren* was often used as an epithet for sages and kings. *Ren* often figured in the posthumous titles of the kings and emperors, which was demonstrated by such common appellations as *renwang* 仁王 and *renzu* 仁祖. *Ren* and *sheng* 聖 (sage), likewise, were often coupled and used together in classical texts.⁵² In all probability, before *ren* took the dominant meanings of love and benevolence, it carried a root meaning of *gantong* that described the major function of *shi* or *wu* under the headship of ancient Chinese sages and kings.⁵³

The clarification of this essential relation between *ren* and the sagacious personalities presiding over ancient ritual ceremonies will also shed light on the meanings of *ren* in some early texts whose interpretations have been perplexing and controversial. According to the mainstream scholarship, the currently used figure for *ren* did not exist in the oracle bone scripts and appears only once in the bronze vessel inscriptions. There were a couple of lines in the *Book of Poetry* and the *Shangshu / Book of History* that are probably the earliest instances of the use of this character. But what proves so vexing is that *ren* in these texts appears to have little to do with such moral virtues as love and benevolence. For example, in the poems "Shuyutian" and "Luling" in the *Book of Poetry*, *ren* is used along with the word *mei* 美 (handsome, beautiful) in the phrase *meiqieren* (美且仁).⁵⁴ Judging from the other words with which *ren* is used in parallel, it clearly implies a sense of fine appearance. After an elaborate study of these passages, Takeuchi Teruo concluded that the word *ren* in these contexts "firstly expresses external beauty and secondly represents manly beauty, because it is placed in line with such modifiers as 武 (*wu*), 鬚 (*quan*), [and] 佻 (*cai*) which express manly beauty belonging to the same category."⁵⁵

Despite the tendency of traditional commentaries to impose a sense of moral virtue on the word *ren* here, I believe Takeuchi's careful examination of these two poems and their parallel syntaxes has established firmly the correct meanings of *ren* in this context: "the Jên [*ren*] 仁 of 美且仁 (*meiqieren*) should be taken as an adjective merely modifying such external beauty as 'elegant, nice-looking' or 'handsome, brave' instead of expressing the conception relating to humaneness or affection, although generally it has been interpreted in that way."⁵⁶ Furthermore, Takeuchi applied this reading to his interpretation of *ren* in a line of the *Shangshu* and made a persuasive case that this sense of handsome appearance agreed well with the meaning of the passage there also.

The "Jinteng" 金縢 chapter of the *Shangshu* was presumably the oldest text in which the current figure of *ren* first appeared. One passage in this chapter recorded Zhougong's 周公 prayer for the recovery of his sick brother King Wu at the cost of his own life. Zhougong announced that he was a better candidate to be sacrificed than King Wu: "I am nice-looking (*ren*) just like the departed father. I am talented and

well-rounded and capable of serving the gods and ghosts.” The editing and interpretation of the phrase *yurenruokao* 予仁若考, which I have translated in line with Takeuchi’s interpretation, have been extremely controversial. The central difficulty is that the common understanding of *ren* as moral virtue does not make sense in this sentence. Ruan Yuan 阮元, an esteemed Qing dynasty classicist, argued that the character *ren* here was a substitute for *ning* 佺, which referred to the spiritual surrogates used in serving gods and spirits in ancient times.⁵⁷ Remarkably, Takeuchi also pointed out an affinity between *ren* and *ning*:

First appeared . . . 人 [*ren**], which represented [a] human being[,] and then 仁 [*ren*] and 佺 [*ning*] came[,] being derived from it. On this stage both 仁 and 佺 were used respectively to represent man’s nice appearance. Later, 仁 [*ren*] became an adjective modifying internal personality while 佺 [*ning*] became that of modifying external personality.⁵⁸

Despite his astute recognition of the common meanings of *ren* and *ning* as “nice appearance,” I suspect Takeuchi’s attribution of *ren** as their linguistic root is deficient if not arbitrary. After all, this conclusion relies mainly on a few relatively late Confucian texts (such as the *Doctrine of the Mean*) that interpreted *ren* in terms of *ren** 人. While I will evaluate the definition of *ren* in the *Doctrine of the Mean* in depth shortly, I have shown already that the traditional interpretation of *ren* based on the theory of two persons stands on shaky ground. In my humble opinion, *ren* and *ning* are indeed cognates. But the etymological source is the character *shi* 尸 instead of *ren**. *Ren* and *ning* originally designated male and female sorcerers, from which they derived a sense of “handsomeness” or “beauty” that describes an exterior quality of sorcerers. They were then used to represent men’s and women’s “nice appearances,” respectively.

The *Shuowen* defined the primary meaning of *ning* as skillful articulation and high talent and traced its source in the character *nü* 女 (woman). The *Shuowen xizhuan* 說文繫傳 pointed out that the words *ren* and *ning* originally were homophones.⁵⁹ A close inspection of the character *ning* 佺 reveals that it is actually a combination of the character *ren* 仁 and the character *nü* 女 (woman). If we recognize the etymological origin of *ren* as *shi*, then it may well be the case that *ren* and *ning* are a pair of opposites referring originally to male and female sorcerers and then used to describe their attractive appearance and pleasant bearing, respectively.

Beauty and decorum were important criteria for the candidacy of a sorcerer. For example, the “Dongjun” 東君 canto of the *Nine Songs* has a line that commends the fine appearance of the sorceresses (*si lingbao xi xiankua* 思靈保兮賢媵). The “Donghuang Taiyi” 東皇太一 canto likewise portrays the meandering performance and fine garments of the sorceress as she was possessed by a descending spiritual being (*ling yanjian xi jiaofu* 靈偃蹇兮姣服). In his commentary, Zhu Xi expounded the ancient custom according to which the sorceress was responsible for inviting the gods: “when the gods arrived, they embodied themselves through sorceresses and were manifested in their beautiful countenance and fine garments. For the bodies belonged to the sorceresses, while the hearts belonged to the gods.”⁶⁰ The clean and beautiful

body of a sorceress dressed in gorgeous garments served as a “lure” to entice the entrance of the gods.

Sexual attraction was a common device in ancient Chinese ritual ceremonies to please and pander to gods and spirits while appealing for their blessings. The *Shaosiming* 少司命 canto gives a graphic depiction of one such erotic relationship between a god and a sorceress. Speaking in the first person of a divine figure expecting a sorceress, the poem goes: “‘I would bathe with you in the pool of heaven, and dry your hair on the sunny hill.’ I look forward to my beauty who has not arrived / Despairing, I chant vocally to the wind.”⁶¹ The use of sexual seduction to entice possession by spiritual beings⁶² reminds us of a primary sense of *gantong* as the intercourse between *yin* and *yang*, female and male, that is the origin of all lives. Sexual intercourse, which normally could only take place between creatures of the same species, constituted the primary way in which a human person opened herself and was affected by others. It accordingly played a foundational role for rousing a consciousness of the same kind (*tonglei yishi*), which in turn was the basis of the interaction among all human beings as well as correspondence between the human and the divine.

After all, precisely because beautiful appearance was an important attribute for spiritual surrogates and sorcerers in ancient times, Zhougong’s prayer in the “Jinteng” chapter, as Takeuchi and Ruan Yuan have elaborated, alluded to his nice appearance (*ren*) as a qualification for candidacy. Therefore, the interpretation of *ren* as external beauty makes perfect sense in this context.⁶³ The clarification of the meanings of this key passage in the earliest use of *ren* has not only affirmed its origin in the spiritual surrogates (*shi*) of the ancient sacrificial rituals, but also established *gantong* as its root meaning.

Ren and “Xiangren*ou”

I have illustrated the origin of *ren* in the ancient sacrificial rites, which bestowed its primary meanings of *shi* and *gantong*. In the light of this new discovery, we may now reassess the traditional theory that identifies the etymological formation of *ren* as “two persons.” Apart from Xu Shen’s analysis in the *Shuowen*, this theory relies heavily on a line in the *Doctrine of the Mean* and Zheng Xuan’s commentary with regard to *xiangren*ou* 相人偶.⁶⁴ While both the *Doctrine of the Mean* and Zheng Xuan’s commentary are of a relatively late age, they seem to suggest an intrinsic connection between the earliest meanings of *ren* and the phrase *xiangren*ou*, which deserves careful examination.

Professor Liu Wenying 劉文英 proposed an insightful theory on the origin of *ren* and its relation to *xiangren*ou*. In Liu’s view, *xiangren*ou* described an ancient ritual of mutual greeting and salutation. Drawing upon the equation of *ren* and *yi* 夷 in early Chinese texts, Liu argued that this ancient ritual appeared first in the foreign or barbarian Yi tribes and might well date from the Xia dynasty or even earlier. The character *ren*, according to this theory, came from a shorthand form of the image of “two

persons” who were facing each other in a posture of mutual salutation. Taking notice of the important connection between *ren* and *shi*, Liu argued further that the sharp curve in the form of *shi* suggested the image of squatting. *Ren*, which was composed of two *shi* characters, thus signified two persons saluting to each other while squatting—a distinctive custom of the Yi tribes.⁶⁵

Interesting and instructive as it is, Liu’s theory has not convinced many scholars. Professor Bai Xi took issue with Liu’s interpretation of the configuration of *ren* and raised objections to Liu’s association of *xiangren*ou* with ancient Yi rituals. For one thing, the combination of two persons might indicate a number of different meanings. The character *cong* 從/从 (to follow), among others, is also composed of two *ren** 人 characters placed side by side, facing the same direction. Even if we granted the controversial interpretation of *ren* as “two persons,” the character itself would give no firm indication regarding how these two persons are related to each other. Thus, to deduce the sense of mutual regard and respect merely on the basis of “two persons” seems rather arbitrary. What is more, the Yi tribes were regarded as barbarians who lacked the rituals and decorum of civilized society in early Chinese history. Hence, a “developed” ritual of mutual salutation in those tribes is dubious. To trace the origin of *ren* in the greeting customs of this supposedly barbarian region is even more far-fetched.⁶⁶

While Liu’s theory is not persuasive, there may well be a good reason why Zheng Xuan alluded to the phrase *xiangren*ou* in his influential annotation on the central meaning of *ren*. Let us proceed with a closer look into the individual components of this critical phrase, whose configuration may sound peculiar to many. The character *xiang* 相 is an adverb that denotes the “relation” of an action or intention performed between two parties or by one party toward the other. By itself, the phrase *ren*ou* 人偶 may have two senses. First, it is a noun referring to idols and images—thus the same as *ouren** 偶人. Second, it is also used as a verb signifying “to respect, to admire, to cherish, to be close to, to be on intimate terms with.” However, on the surface, it is perplexing how this verbal sense of respecting and cherishing is related to the sense of idol or image and how it can be deduced from the connotations of the two individual components *ren** (human) and *ou* (idol) at all.

Perhaps a close examination of the meanings of *ou* will offer us some clues. The *Shuowen* defines *ou* 偶 as an idol or image made of tung wood (*tongren** 桐人). According to the *Shuowen tongxundingshen* 說文通訓定聲, *tongren** is a deviation from the original version, *xiangren** 相人—a mistake caused by the similarity of the characters *tong* 桐 and *xiang* 相. Accordingly, *ou* in its original meaning of *xiangren** (to imitate the human) refers to the idol that imitates the human image (*xiang*ren** 像人).⁶⁷ There are numerous references to the use of wooden or pottery idols in various necromantic and ritual ceremonies in the early Chinese classics.⁶⁸ Zhan Yinxi recognized pottery and wooden idols as the most common symbols for gods in the earliest ritual ceremonies. These idols continued to be used along with the human spiritual surrogates (*shi* 尸), whose appearance became more and more customary later on.⁶⁹ Just as with *ou*, *shi* was also regarded as the image of a god (*shenxiang** 神像).⁷⁰ The primary function of *ou* was to imitate a human form, by virtue of which it

might either represent the spirits of the departed or the human figures to be buried along with the dead in funeral rites.⁷¹ The substitution of human surrogates (*shi*) for wooden idols (*ou*) brought a more direct and lively means of communication between the human and the divine. Apparently, both the idol (*ou*) and the surrogate (*shi*) were hosts (*yu* 寓) for the spirits of the divine or the departed.⁷²

Furthermore, *ou* carries a derivative sense of *lei* 類, as it refers to those of the same kind, type, class, or rank. Both the idol and the spiritual surrogate were used as a symbol for the ancestors who granted blessings for family members belonging to the same clan. Thus, just as with *shi* and *ren*, the word *ou* must also have implied a *tonglei yishi* 同類意識—a consciousness of the same kind that was first consecrated in ancestral sacrificial rituals.

But how can we deduce the verbal sense of *ren*ou*—to respect and to cherish—from the basic meaning of *ou* as an idol? One may propose that this verbal connotation originated in the deferential attitude and feelings of affection shown by worshipers to their ancestor, represented by the idol. Zheng Xuan interpreted the basic meaning of *ren*, which he defined as *xiangren*ou*, as “to greet and salute with human care and affection” (*yi renyi xiang cunwen zhiyan* 以人意相存問之言). Presumably, precisely because an idol was not a real human being, one was called to treat it with “human” care and affection. This rite of ancestral worship centering on an idol might be responsible for two aspects of meaning in *ren*ou*: the ritual aspect and the psychological aspect. On one hand, *ren*ou* refers to the ritual of greeting and salutation,⁷³ which Liu identified as the original meaning of *ren*. But instead of the doubtful connection Liu attempted to establish with the ancient customs of the Yi tribes, we may well attribute this ritual of greeting to the salutation that worshipers tendered to the idol. On the other hand, the feeling of affection for and deference to the godly ancestors (who were now incarnated in the idols) might well have bestowed the phrase “*rou*ou*” a verbal sense of “to respect, admire, and cherish” that was used to describe attitudes toward other human beings in later ages.⁷⁴

Granted, most ancient and modern commentators have attempted to follow an alternative path by figuring out the verbal way of expressing respect and admiration from the theory of two persons.⁷⁵ The word *ou* indeed carries the meanings of “even,” “pair,” “couple,” “double,” “spouse,” or “to couple with,” “to harmonize with.” However, I suspect that this sense of “two” or “couple” may not come from the basic meaning of *ou* as an idol but is borrowed from its homonym *ou** 耦, which refers originally to “a couple of plows” or “a couple of peasants plowing side by side with the plows.” *Ou* and *ou** were often treated as synonyms and used in place of each other in ancient texts. Duan Yucai took *ren*ou* or *ren*ou** as a word expressing the intimate relation between you and me: “for to be alone is to be without a spouse, while in a couple each is affectionate and attached to the other.”⁷⁶ According to Duan, this intimate love and affection between two persons in a couple was the reason that the character *ren* was derived from *ren** and *er*.⁷⁷ One advantage of this theory of two persons is that it well explicates the sense of intimacy and affection between a couple. At least on one occasion, the phrase *ren*ou* was used to describe love and an erotic relation with a sexual implication.⁷⁸ Arguably, the more usual

sense of mutual respect is to be deduced from this sense of mutual love—a path, although somehow feeble,⁷⁹ that is acceptable nonetheless.

Now, there seems to be a problem in my first hypothesis considering the apparent difficulty to derive a sense of love and erotic relation from the basic meaning of *ou* as an idol. However, this difficulty can easily be resolved if we recall the practice of sexual seduction in the ritual of ancestor worship. The key here is to recognize the interplay of the two senses of *gantong*: to intuit and communicate with the ancestral gods through the medium of an idol and the intercourse of *yin* and *yang*, male and female, that elicits the coming of the divine.⁸⁰ One can say that for the primitive worshipers, the consciousness of being of the same kind (*tonglei yishi*) with the ancestors was often provoked and affirmed through the erotic relation to the godly figures incarnated in the idol. Hence, the sense of respect and admiration and the sense of erotic intimacy may well have their common foundation in the consciousness of being of the same kind.

All in all, it seems that despite their different starting points and approaches, both theories above may account for the development of the meanings of *xiangren*ou*. However, if we take into consideration the inadequacy of the theory of two persons for explicating the etymology of the character *ren*, the hypothesis of idol worship turns out to be superior. After all, it illustrates well the intrinsic relation between *ren* and the sacrificial rites centering on spiritual surrogates or idols—a relation that is completely elided in the theory of two persons.

Various Forms and Synonyms of the Character Ren

The character 仁 (*ren*) was written in a variety of forms in ancient Chinese scripts and texts. A list of these variant forms and synonyms may include at least the following characters: 人 (*ren**), 尸 (*shi*), 夷 (*yi*), 忝 (*ren***), 𠂔 (see *ren* [3] in figure 1), and 𠂔 (*ren****; see figure 3). Although some characters here seem to differ in their current pronunciation, all of them were actually homophones in the earliest usage. We have already examined the intrinsic relation between *ren*, *ren**, and *shi*. In this subsection, I will focus on the importance of the sense of *gantong* as reflected in the genealogy and configuration of *yi*, *ren***, and *ren****.

Let us begin with the characters for *ren*** 忝 and *ren**** (see figure 3), which share the same component *xin* 心 (heart). Recent scholarship has determined that the word *ren*** is a deviation from the character *ren****, although the genealogical relation between them remains controversial. Liu Xiang was among the first scholars to recognize the character *ren**** on the Chu bamboo slips as a variant form of *ren* and to identify the character 忝 as its digression—which Liu attributed to the resembling forms and pronunciation of the characters *qian* and *shen*.⁸¹ Bai Xi elaborated that the component *qian* 千 in the character *ren*** was actually a deviation from the component *shen* 身 (body) in the character *ren****. According to Bai, the character *qian* was originally an image of the human body, whose figure was very close to the character *shen* in the ancient scripts. It is thus an abridged variation of the character *shen*.⁸² While Liu Xiang took the character *ren**** as the basis for all other forms of *ren*, Bai




		
<i>ren**</i> 忞	<i>ren***</i> 息	<i>ren***</i> (standard script)

Figure 3

argued that the character *ren**** represented a different line of development than the character *ren* 𠤎 derived from *shi* and *er*.

In order to resolve the disagreements on the morphological development of *ren*, we need to understand the rationale behind their configurations. The key question is what a combination of body (*shen*) and heart (*xin*), as reflected in the composition of *ren*** and *ren****, has to do with the basic meanings of *ren*. Now, both Bai and Liu assumed the foundational meaning of *ren* as the Confucian idea of *airen** 愛人—to love others. From this perspective, they took the combination of *shen* (body) and *xin* (heart) to denote a reflective or emotional relation to the body of a human person. When perceived in abstract and general terms, this reflective relation to the human person (*ren** 人, which carries the double meaning of “a human person” and “the other”) was said to acquire the meaning of putting others in one’s heart—thus “the love of others.”⁸³

One has to say that this line of interpretation from “the reflective relation to the human body” to “the love of others” sounds a little far-fetched. I believe we can obtain a more persuasive explanation by taking the point of departure from the sense of *gantong* and the ancient ritual ceremonies. In my view, the composition of *shen* and *xin* clearly indicates a sense of *gantong*: the open comportment of the human self that is affected by things and events in the surrounding world. Now, the combination of *shen* and *xin* in the character *ren**** may well have reflected an early Chinese understanding of human perceptions and sensations that only arise when the human heart opens the physical body to the influence of changing worldly realities. For example, the *Book of Music* found the beginning of music, which played an essential role in ancient ritual, in the human heart, which was affected by the surrounding things and events.⁸⁴ Furthermore, in ancient sacrificial rites, we can even assume a role of the human body as host for the spirits that were summoned by the heart and soul. The primordial cooperation of *shen* and *xin*, body and heart, may well have taken place in the capacity of a sorcerer or spiritual surrogate in her interaction with godly beings.⁸⁵ Thus, it becomes manifest that both the characters *ren**** 息 and *ren* 𠤎 contain a sense of *gantong*. This sense of *gantong* is indicated through the component of *shi* in the character *ren*, but expressed through the combination of *shen* and

xin in *ren****. These different configurations may indeed have reflected some different routes of development, as suggested by Bai Xi.

With the basic configuration of *ren*** and *ren**** clarified, let us look into the genealogy of the character *yi* 夷, which was often used interchangeably with the characters *ren*, *ren**, and *shi* in early scripts and texts. The *Shuowen* defined *yi*, which was derived from *da* 大 and *gong* 弓, as “the people of the East.”⁸⁶ In early Chinese texts, the word *yi* often referred specifically to a variety of “uncivilized” tribes in the east. It was also used as a generic name for all foreign and “barbarian” people outside the central civilization.⁸⁷ In the oracle bone scripts, the character *shi* 尸 and *ren** were often used in combination with the word *fang* 方 (state) to refer to the nations or tribes that stayed in belligerent or harmonious relationship with the Yin dynasty. Current scholarly opinions have affirmed that the characters *shi* 尸 and *ren** 人 in such phrases as *shifang* 尸方 or *ren*fang* 人方 are all substitutes for the character *yi*. On the other hand, there is at least one sentence in the *Shanhaijing* in which the character *ren* is also used to replace the word *yi*.⁸⁸ Xu Shen attributed the connection between *yi* and *ren* to the custom of the Yi tribes that was “*ren*” (*yisuren* 夷俗仁).⁸⁹

But what exactly was this custom of the Yi tribes that Xu Shen described as “*ren*”? Liu Wenyong took this custom as the ritual of mutual salutation and bowing. I have demonstrated the inadequacy of this postulation based on the traditional theory of two persons. In my opinion, given the kinship between the words *shi* and *yi*,⁹⁰ it is probable that the use of *shi* was originally a custom of the Yi tribes that was introduced to the central civilization of China during the Yin dynasty and formalized in the Zhou dynasty.⁹¹ Drawing upon the famous Tang dynasty historian Du You 杜佑, Zhu Xi attributed the origin of the *shi* rites to primitive customs and referred to some vestiges of such usage in the barbarian practices (*manyi* 蠻夷) of his day.⁹²

Now, ancient Chinese employed a variety of devices to serve as the intermediary figure between the human and the divine: pottery or wooden images, tablets with or without writings, and human spiritual surrogates. The actual dates, relations, and full evolution of these sacrificial practices call for more careful research, especially when classical accounts and evidence often appear inadequate and inconsistent. Here it will suffice to cite two cases of archaeological evidence that establish the actual presence of *shi* rites in the Yi tribes of early China. Professor Lu Zhongfa alluded to two archaeological discoveries in his research on the ancient *shi* rites. One is a fragmentary picture of the *shi* rites carved on the remains of some bronze vessels of the Spring and Autumn period discovered in Liuhe 六合 in Jiangsu 江蘇 Province. The other is a group of sculptures found in a mausoleum in Shizhaishan 石寨山, Jingning 晋寧 (in Yunnan Province today) dating to the middle of the Han dynasty.⁹³ Both the picture in Jiangsu and the group of sculptures in Jingning depict some spiritual surrogates (*shi*) in a sitting position while receiving salutations and offerings from worshipers. So far as the geographical sites of these two findings are concerned, Jiangsu was a territory of the Eastern Yi tribes (Dongyi 東夷), while Jingning was a region inhabited by the Southwestern Yi tribes (Xinanyi 西南夷). Lu pointed out as well that the mausoleum

in Jingning was occupied by one of the ancient kings of the Dian 滇, which, according to the *Shiji* 史記, was one of the largest states of the Southwestern Yi tribes.⁹⁴ Although the pictures in Jiangsu and the sculptures in Jingning were both later than the Yin dynasty, they might well have reflected some perennial ritual practices since primitive times.

Presumably, the introduction and adoption of the spiritual surrogates (*shi*) in ritual ceremonies since the Yin dynasty was a result of increasing interaction and influence between the central civilization and its “barbaric” hinterlands (Yi 夷), with which it had been engaged in recurrent clashes and reconciliations.⁹⁵ Incidentally, the recognition of the origin of the *shi* rites and their employment in the Yin dynasty also shines new light on Confucius’ distinctive role in promulgating the importance of *ren*. Notably, Confucius was a remote descendant of the Yin royalty and occasionally expressed his wish to go to the Eastern Yi tribes.⁹⁶ Thus, in his teaching of *ren*, Confucius was actually retrieving and reviving an old tradition from his own ancestors while endowing it with new significance.

III. Openness of Heart and the Root of Confucianism

I have to acknowledge that for a range of complex problems concerning the genealogy of *ren*, records and evidence are still wanting. But my research has at least established a credible origin for *ren* in *gantong* and *shi*, that is, in the inspirational function of the spiritual surrogates in the ancient rites of ancestral worship. This discovery reveals a genealogical base for the various forms of *ren* in archaic inscriptions. It also gives us a new outlook that may bring a coherent unity to the seemingly diverse meanings of *ren* in early texts.

The original meaning of *ren* lies in the sense of *gantong*, which describes the very manner in which sky and earth, the human and the divine, are brought together in a harmonious conjunction. *Gantong* refers at once to the reciprocal influences between humans and gods, the open comportment of a human self with things and events in the surrounding world, and the intercourse between the cosmic forces of *yin* and *yang*. *Gantong* is also the foundation of the consciousness of the same kind that is invoked in the ancestral sacrificial ceremonies, that is, the *shi* rites. This discovery has shed new light on the important roles of ritual (*li* 禮) and filial piety (*xiao* 孝) in the understanding of the early uses of *ren*. On the other hand, the significance of *gantong* and its relation to the same-kind consciousness offers a unique vantage point from which we may finally see in perspective the different aspects of *ren* such as the love of others, benevolence, humanity, affinity, and perfect virtue.

Indeed, the function of *gantong*, namely openness and sincerity of heart, as the central meaning of *ren* in Confucian teaching may well be the root of all affectionate moral sentiments and benevolent deeds that find consummation in the perfect virtue of humanity. With regard to how to unify the various manifestations of *ren* as expounded by Confucius and his followers on the basis of *gantong*, I am confident that researchers into Confucianism and Chinese thinking in general may draw on the

inferences of this study from a range of perspectives. Here, I will make some initial attempts by marking out two distinctive ways in which the primordial conception of *ren* was transformed in the Confucian moral teachings.

First, Confucius moved the emphasis of *ren* from the divination and intuition of godly spirits to care and compassion for other individual human beings. This make-over represented a new Confucian project that shifted the priority and substance of moral practice from the way of heaven to the way of the human, from the sacred to the secular. Recall the “Xiuwen” 脩文 chapter of the *Shuoyuan*, which sheds light on Confucian moral cultivation as an accumulative process from *en* 恩 (favor, kindness) to *ai* 愛 (love) to *ren*, and finally to *ling* 靈.⁹⁷ As I have elaborated above, in contrast to *ling*, *ren* in this context was deprived of most of its magical implications and was conceived simply as the openness and sincerity of heart that was to bring about affinity and harmony in the human world. It is well known that Confucius demonstrated little interest in discussing the magical or mystical, as he offered few theoretical accounts of the meanings of *ren* itself. In my view, Confucius’ approach was neither to negate the existence of the gods nor to submit blindly to their sacrosanct commands through magical performance.⁹⁸ Rather, he intended to open a new way to moral life through truthful engagement with one’s worldly transactions and responsibilities. The hope was that with human affairs well taken care of, with harmony and prosperity in the human community, we would already be corresponding to the mysterious course of heaven without superstitious calculation and manipulation.

Herbert Fingarette argued for a dimension of the Holy in the Confucian image of human community founded on sacred rituals that he believed to be analogous to the Christian conception of brotherhood and divine law. While correcting the prejudiced modern dismissal of the magical elements in Confucianism, Fingarette attempted to bring out a neglected Confucian idea that underscored a magic quality characteristic of truly and distinctively human powers.⁹⁹ Now what is secular in Confucius’ teachings may well have contained certain sacred overtones. But on the whole, Fingarette’s interpretation has taken Confucius’ teachings out of their historical context. For it is clear that the orientation of the Confucian teaching was not to bring in or underline the holy dimension, but to reduce and circumvent it. Such an attitude was well articulated when Confucius interpreted knowledge and wisdom (*zhi* 知) to mean “respect the gods and spirits but distance oneself from them.”¹⁰⁰ It seems that despite a growing open-mindedness and perceptiveness in contemporary scholarship, Confucius’ shrewd equivocation on gods and spirits has still not come to be recognized and appreciated properly. It remains a challenge for us to comprehend this subtle and astute dimension of Confucianism that is in many ways different from—to wit, more open, flexible, and enlightening than—the kind of humanized Christianity that has prescribed certain mainstream contemporary Western interpretations of Confucianism.

As in many other religious disciplines, the Christian approach to ethical life is to found the morality of the world on the sacred decree of God, whose authority has to

be embraced with absolute faith. Ironically, starting with a resolute quest for truth and certainty, the perennial investigation into the paranormal divinity has not even been able to prove His actual existence with rational persuasiveness. In modern eyes, the acclaimed “universal” mandates of Heaven in various religions often turn out to be nothing but provincially consecrated dogmas anchored in the gods and spirits to which only a particular historical people would subscribe. In contrast, Confucian moral practice distinguishes itself in at least two ways. First, the Confucian shift of priority from the sacred to the secular moved the center of moral cultivation from abstract and immaterial heavenly speculation to sincere and down-to-earth engagement in concrete everyday practices that were elemental in all human lives. Furthermore, by virtue of its silence and distance from religious and mystic argumentation, the Confucian approach incited the valence of a human love and compassion that were capable of softening and permeating the sectarian boundaries of different religious doctrines. In so doing, it promised to bring about the integration of a dynamic and interactive community for the harmonious coalescence of a pluralism of social, political, and religious elements.

The second Confucian transformation of *ren* consists precisely in the continuous opening out of the consciousness of the same kind, with a view to integrating the whole of humanity. The primitive consciousness of the same kind, as sanctified in the *shi* rites, recognized only people of the same clan or kinship group as carried through the line of grandfathers and grandsons. Even a father and a son were not of the same kind in the strict sense. Now, the Confucian project of *ren* was to infiltrate through the boundary of particular kinship, clan, tribe, and nation so as to expand this primitive consciousness of the same kind to encompass all human and even natural beings. The development of such an empathetic feeling for the same kind was realized first through Confucius’ decision to propagate education for all people regardless of their class or kind (*youjiaowulei* 有教無類).¹⁰¹ In the same vein, Mengzi proposed moral self-cultivation for the achievement of *ren* as a gradual process in which the senses of care and compassion were extended to the whole world.¹⁰² While love and care always start with one’s family members, the Confucian ideal is to bring the whole world into a big family, that is, to spread outward the circle of compassion progressively to include all human beings and all lives in the universe. Communication and correspondence with the divine—*gantong* in the primordial sense—is to be anticipated and brought about through open and candid interaction and transaction with a diversity of human individuals and natural events between sky and earth. The person of *ren*, as Chen Hao elaborated, took all things in the world as one body that was none other than the self.¹⁰³

Hall and Ames have proposed to expound the Confucian personhood through a pragmatic model of person making and thinking that consists in a “dialectical process of interpersonal communications and transactions whereby the emerging person pursues integration in the context of his social environs.” Based on this model, they have defined *ren* or authoritative person as “a process of integrative person making in which one incorporates the interests of others as his own and conducts himself in a manner that addresses the general good.”¹⁰⁴ The analogy between this prag-

matic process of person making and the Confucian process of self-cultivation is illuminating. Hall and Ames may well have discovered a most enlightening Western model in approaching the gist of Confucian moral cultivation. But we can bring the distinctive significance of *ren* and the spirit of Confucianism into sharper focus by taking note of two crucial differences between the Confucian and pragmatic projects, which seem to have been left out in Hall and Ames' account.

In my view, the two essentials in Hall and Ames' pragmatic model—thinking and making—do not occupy as central a position in Confucianism as they do in the ideologies of the West. In their interpretation of Confucius, Hall and Ames rely heavily on George Herbert Mead's social psychology, according to which the unity or integrity of the self was achieved through the response and adjustment of the self to its social situations by internalizing the attitude of "the generalized other." The dialectic of such conscious adjustments of the self to its social contexts, which is the dialectic of the 'I' and the 'me,' "characterizes the activity of thinking itself."¹⁰⁵ It is an act of thinking that is essentially integrated with the process of person making and becoming that is inexorably social. In light of Mead's concept of the emergence of the self from its social context, Hall and Ames have presented "personal articulation and realization in Confucius as a 'thinking through.'"¹⁰⁶ Granted, the pragmatic understanding of thinking integrated within a dynamic social experience is the sublation (*Aufheben*) of the traditional Western conception of thinking as abstract reasoning. In addition, Hall and Ames have expressed proper caution when applying this pragmatic model of person making to Confucianism. Nonetheless, by placing the priority of their interpretation of Confucius on thinking, Hall and Ames may well have overlooked a fundamental watershed between the Confucian teachings and Western ideologies on the development of the self.

Now, we should certainly recognize the importance of reflection and deliberation in the Confucian teachings. But while the activity of thinking is the core of the whole dialectical process of person making, it is *gantong*—open and affective comportment—that embodies the spirit of Confucian moral self-cultivation. Let us recall that to be mindless and inactive was the precondition for the Confucian sage to divine and communicate (*gantong*) with the mysterious movement of *dao* that was the origin of all beings between sky and earth.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, reason (*li* 理) and order (*li* 禮) in human society were not enforced on the basis of the authoritative injunctions of a supposedly eternal and universal paradigm of the universe. Rather, they depended on the enactment of sagacious and virtuous leaders who were able to accord with the way of heaven through the utmost sincerity of the heart.¹⁰⁸ The function of ritual and music in a harmonious social order relies on a kind of imaginative reason arising out of "the serene and blessed mood which enables us to see into (*gantong*) the life of things."¹⁰⁹ Indeed, compared with *gantong*, the role of thinking, especially in the dominant Western sense of theoretical calculation, is not definitive but derivative for Confucian teachings. The root of Confucianism is not the authority of reason but the sincerity of the heart.

Along the same line, the very language of "making" may inevitably implicate a technical conception of human existence that is distinctively Western in origin. For

all the interest in and respect for technological development, the Confucian tradition has never assessed the development of human civilization on the basis of technological advancement and sophistication. Instead, the benchmark for civilization lay in the honor and dignity of human persons that a civilization was able to cultivate and promote. Now the highest dignity of a Confucian personality can only be obtained in conjunction with a harmonious and prosperous community, which is only achievable through an openness of the heart, which may more and more bring diverse human and natural elements into a gracious concordance. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to describe the Confucian development of a humane (*ren*) person as a process of person opening (*gantong*) than of person making. Indeed, it is hard to obliterate the senses of domination and subjugation implicit in the activity of making, which essentially involves the commanding and ordering of rudimentary elements in accord with the higher ends and purposes of human subjects. This technical understanding can be traced to the early Greek conception of man as the master of nature. In contrast with this persistent intent to lord it over nature and others on the basis of technical ability and rationality, the Confucian tradition maintains constant care and reverence for the mysterious ways of sky and earth that are often beyond any rational and technological manipulation. The reciprocal communications and transactions in Confucian moral practice do not pivot on the subjective subjugation of natural beings and other human beings, but are oriented toward a humble subscription to the primordial way of nature and life, toward a withdrawal of the self in the propitious projects of a harmonious community to which both the self and others belong together.

The development of both Chinese and Western civilizations has involved the function of respective hierarchical structures that have dictated and regulated the distribution of goods and desirables in their societies. One leitmotif of the Western tradition has been the tension and confrontation between the individual and the state, between diverse centers of power implicated in such authoritative hierarchies as order and chaos, reason and passion, mind and body, good and evil, civilization and barbarity, and heavenly and earthly worlds. In contrast, the Confucian project of *ren* and *gantong* is to attenuate and domesticate the rigidity and authority of such hierarchies, to advance the sense of openness, dynamism, and communication by promoting affection and affinity among different individuals within the conventional social and political structures. Indeed, *ren* and *gantong*—openness and sincerity of heart—mark the crucial difference between the dialectical process of integrating and subsuming and the Confucian project of self-cultivation that is not anchored in the authority of the subject. The function of *gantong* is the foundation of Confucian social communion. It underwrites the dynamic interaction and evolution of the communities that nourish and promote the dignity of individual selves. It also highlights a distinctively Chinese appropriation of humanity that is manifested in the humble reverence and preservation of a blissful community originating in the conjunction of sky and earth, the human and the divine—an auspicious way of human life in which a pluralism of social and natural elements may conjoin and coalesce.

Notes

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In this article the symbol * is used to distinguish between different characters with the same pronunciation. Please note the following:

<i>ren</i> = 仁	<i>di</i> = 帝	<i>xiang</i> = 相
<i>ren*</i> = 人	<i>di*</i> = 蒂	<i>xiang*</i> = 像
<i>ren**</i> = 忒	<i>ou</i> = 偶	
<i>ren***</i> = 息	<i>ou*</i> = 耦	

- 1 – Chan 1955, p. 295. See also Chan 1975.
- 2 – For the source of my annotation of these two characters, see Lin 1985, vol. 4, pp. 175–178, and vol. 9, p. 61.
- 3 – Cheng 1965, II:1, “Zhiren pian” 識仁篇: “醫書言手足痿痺為不仁, 此言最善名狀. ‘仁者’ 以天下萬物為一體, 莫非己也.”
- 4 – Mou 2003, p. 200. All English translations of Chinese texts are mine unless noted otherwise.
- 5 – See Liji 1965, “Liyun” 禮運: “故聖人參於天地, 並於鬼神, 以治政也.” Indeed, the primary function of ancient sages, who were acclaimed for their supreme openness and responsiveness, was to bring sky and earth, the human and the divine, into a harmonious conjunction. See also *Zhouyi zhengyi* 1965, “Qian” 乾: “夫大人者, 與天地合其德, 與日月合其明, 與四時合其序, 與鬼神合其吉凶.” Despite the emphasis on the threefold relation among humans, the sky, and the earth in the ancient Chinese classics, there is an apparent correspondence to the fourfold conjunction (sky and earth, the human and the divine) considering the responsive relation between the sages and the divine as highlighted in various early texts. For an exposition of the meanings of the fourfold in relation to Heidegger’s thought, see Wang 2009, pp. 325, 353 n. 48. Heidegger’s discourse on the theme of the fourfold can be found in his essays “Building, Dwelling, Thinking” and “The Thing,” in Heidegger 1971, pp. 141–

- 160, 161–184. For an interesting exploration of the relation between Heidegger’s discourse on the fourfold and the Daoist tradition, see Zhang Wei 2006, chap. 5, and Goulding 2007. I would like to thank one reviewer for *Philosophy East and West* for bringing these two sources to my attention.
- 6 – Mou 1997, p. 31: “仁以感通為性, 以潤物為用。”
- 7 – Mou 1998, p. 22: “熊十力先生曾說: ‘感觸大者為大人, 感觸小者為小人. 毫無感觸禽獸也.’ 這個世界, 感觸最大的莫過於釋迦牟尼佛和孔子, 感觸最大莫過於聖人. 這是把 ‘感’ 的觀念擴大, 等於中庸所說的誠。”
- 8 – Xu Fuguan 2001, p. 254. For a more detailed elaboration of the meanings of this critical idiom and its relation to early Confucian thinking, see Wang 2007.
- 9 – Tang 1976, vol. 2, chap. 24.
- 10 – *Zhouyi zhengyi* 1965, “Jici” 繫辭: “易無思也, 無為也, 寂然不動, 感而遂通天下之故, 非天下之至神, 其孰能與於此。”
- 11 – I am using the word “meditation” here in a broad sense to refer to a wide range of ancient Chinese practices that have been roughly translated as *qigong* 氣功 in modern Chinese. There was no unified and standard designation for such practices in ancient Chinese texts. Some scholars have used more formal names such as *xingqi* 行氣 and *daoyin* 導引, based on the descriptions of some of the most representative texts. For a comparative study of the meditation practices in Daoism, Buddhism, and Hinduism, see Kohn 2008. For scholarly investigations into the relation between pre-Qin thought and meditation practice, see Ni 1996, Li Ling 2001, and Zhang Rongming 1987.
- 12 – See Zhuangzi 1965, “Tiandao” 天道: “水靜猶明, 而況精神. 聖人之心靜乎! 天地之鑒也, 萬物之鏡也。”
- 13 – *Zhouyi zhengyi*, “Xian”: “咸, 感也. 柔上而剛下, 二氣感應以相與 . . . 天地感而萬物化生, 聖人感人心而天下和平。”
- 14 – Many ancient Chinese classics like the *Liji*, the *Shijing*, and the *Shiji* have all included such stories. For a small collection of these accounts, see the entries “Ganshendishuo” 感生帝說 and “Tianziganshengshuo” 天子感生說, in Lin 1985, 4:176 and 2:1527–1528.
- 15 – *Shijing* 1965, “Daya” 大雅, “Shengmin” 生民: “厥初生民, 時維姜嫄, 生民如何? 克禋克祀, 以弗無子. 履帝武敏歆, 攸介攸止. 載震載夙, 載生載育. 時維后稷.” Wen Yiduo pointed out that the word *di* 帝 in this context referred to the spiritual surrogate impersonating the ancestral god. So, what Jiang Yuan actually did was to follow in the footsteps of the spiritual surrogate in the rites of dancing. See Wen 2001.
- 16 – Laozi V, “天地不仁”: “林注: ‘生物仁也.’” Quoted in Lin 1985, 1:760.
- 17 – *Taixuan jing* 太玄經, “Xuanshu” 玄數: “‘性仁.’ 注: ‘長養萬物曰仁.’” Quoted in Lin 1985, 1:760.

- 18 – Zhu 1996, pp. 3542–3543: “天地以生物為心者也，而人物之生，又各得夫天地之心以為心者也。 . . . 蓋仁之為道，乃天地生物之心，即物而在。” For other instances in which *ren* is used in the sense of *sheng*, see Liu Xi 2008, vol. 2, “Shixingti” 釋形體: “人，仁也。仁，生物也”; Chen 1994, vol. 8, “Qingxing” 情性: “仁者好生”; Hou Hanshu 1965, “Dongyi Zhuan” 東夷傳: “王制云: ‘東方曰夷。’ 夷者，柢也，言仁而好生，萬物柢地而出。” See also Chan 1975, pp. 115–117, 124–126.
- 19 – Lin 1985, 1:760: “果核中之人，亦作仁。”
- 20 – Li Daoping 1994, p. 42: “凡果核中實有生氣者曰‘仁。’”
- 21 – Chan 1955, p. 295.
- 22 – See, for example, Bai 2007.
- 23 – *Suwen* 1965, vol. 7, chap. 26: “形數驚恐，經絡不通，病生於不仁。” 注: “不仁，謂不應其用，則癱瘓矣。” For other instances in which *buren* is used in the sense of palsy and paralysis, see (1) vol. 12, chap. 43: “皮膚不營故為不仁。” 注: “不仁者，皮頑，不知有无也”; (2) vol. 12, chap. 44: “肌肉濡瀆，痺而不仁”; (3) vol. 15, chap. 58: “肌肉濡瀆，痺而不仁”; (4) vol. 21, chap. 73: “民病卒中偏痺，手足不仁。” For the correlation between *buren* and paralysis in other classics, see, for example, *Hou Hanshu* 1965, “Banchaozhuan” 班超傳: “頭髮不黑，兩手不仁。” 注: “不仁，猶不遂也。”
- 24 – *Shuoyuan* 1965, “Xiuwen” 修文: “積恩為愛，積愛為仁，積仁為靈，靈臺之所以為靈者，積仁也。神靈者，天地之本，而為萬物之始也。是故文王始接民以仁，而天下莫不仁焉。” For a similar instance in this line, see Lü Buwei 2002, vol. 21, “Ai lei” 愛類: “仁於他物，不仁於人，不得為仁; 不仁於他物，獨仁於人，猶若為仁。仁也者，仁乎其類者也。” It makes good sense to interpret the word *ren* as *gantong* in this context also.
- 25 – For a discussion on the double functions of ancient sorcerers, see Qian 1986, vol. 1, p. 156; vol. 2, p. 598.
- 26 – *Liji* 1965, “Zhongni yanju” 仲尼燕居: “郊社之義，所以仁鬼神也; 嘗禘之禮，所以仁昭穆也; 饋奠之禮，所以仁死喪也; 射鄉之禮，所以仁鄉黨也; 食飧之禮，所以仁賓客也。”
- 27 – *Liji*, “Zhongyong” 中庸: “仁者，人也。”
- 28 – For example, see *Zhouyi zhengyi*, “Jici” 繫辭: “是以君子將有為也，將有行也，問焉而以言。’ 正義: ‘往占問其吉凶而以言命著也。’”
- 29 – Liu Xinglong 2005, p. 785.
- 30 – For the use of *cun* in the sense of intuition and perception (*gantong*) of the spirits, see, for example, Yang Xiong 1965, “Wenshen” 問神: “聖人存神索至 . . . 和同天人之際，使之無間也。”
- 31 – Xu Shen 2006, “Ren”: “仁，親也。从人从二。臣鉉等曰: ‘仁者兼愛，故从二。’ . . . 古文仁从千，心。古文仁或从尸。”

- 32 – It is noteworthy that this line of interpretation has been endorsed not only by classical Chinese scholars, but also by the Korean Neo-Confucian thinker Chǒng Yagyong or Tasan. Tasan argued that “*Jen/in* is the association of two people. Treating one’s elder brother with fraternal respect is *jen*. Elder brother and younger brother are two people. Serving one’s king with loyalty is *jen*. King and minister are two people. Ruling the people with compassion is *jen*. Ruler and citizen are two people. The fulfillment of respective duties in relationships between all pairs of people, including spouses and friends, is *jen*.” See *Nonǎ kongǔi* 1 : 34b, quoted in Setton 1997, p. 111. I would like to thank a reviewer for *Philosophy East and West* in bringing this source to my attention.
- 33 – For the exposition of the meanings of these four characters in the oracle bone scripts, see Liu Xinglong 2005, pp. 504–508.
- 34 – For a brief review and evaluation of some main researches on the origin of *ren*, see Liao 2001.
- 35 – Pang 2001, p. 4.
- 36 – *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 37 – Xie 2001, pp. 46–47. Xie rightly pinpoints the difference between *ren** and *shi*, which I mentioned above. However, the mistaken identification of these two characters could have started in a very early age, which might have been responsible for their conflated usages in early writings.
- 38 – *Ibid.*
- 39 – Zhan 1992, p. 81. For a more detailed account of the ancient exogamy and the *shi* rites in connection with the custom of an extant Chinese minority group, see Li Yujie 1992.
- 40 – Cf. *Da Dai Liji huijiao jijie* 2008, “Lisanben” 禮三本: “先祖者, 類之本也.”
- 41 – For a brief discussion of the paradigmatic practice of exogamy between two ancient clans with the noble family names of Ji 姬 and Jiang 姜, see Yang Xiangkui 1992, pp. 1–2. For a general introduction to the institution of family names in early Chinese societies and its relation to the institution of marriage, see Zhou 2007, pp. 2–11.
- 42 – Lü Buwei 2002, vol. 21, “Ai Lei” 愛類: “仁於他物, 不仁於人, 不得為仁; 不仁於他物, 獨仁於人, 猶若為仁. 仁也者, 仁乎其類者也.” See also note 24 above.
- 43 – *Liji*, “Zhongyong”: “仁者, 人也.”
- 44 – Liang 1996, p. 82, cf. p. 86.
- 45 – Qi Wenxin argued that the original configuration of the character *wang* indicated the image of a great person (*daren* 大人), who was taken as the master between sky and earth and the chief of ancient tribes (see Qi 1991). I would like to note that in the original configuration of the character *wang*, the image of the great person is located between two horizontal strokes that represented

sky and earth, respectively. Thus, it makes perfect sense to infer that the great person played the intermediary role for the communication between sky and earth, the human and the divine (see also Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒: “古之造文者, 三畫而連其中謂之王. 三者, 天, 地, 人也. 而參通之者, 王也”; Confucius 孔子: “一貫三為王”—both cited in Xu Shen 2006, “Wang” 王).

- 46 – There is no consensus on the etymological origin of the character *di* 帝. Guo Moruo took the original figure of *di* in the oracle bone scripts and bronze vessel inscriptions as an image of the pedicel (*huadi** 花蒂). Accordingly, *di* 帝 would be the primary figure for the character *di** 蒂 (pedicel). While there was sufficient evidence for this inference, Guo was frustrated by a baffling problem: why would the ancients use the image of the pedicel (*di**) to represent the supreme divinity of the ancestral gods (*di*)? One might indeed take the function of pedicel (from which arose the lives of fruits) as analogous to the nature of the gods as the source of all lives. However, would not the image of a root be a more apposite image than that of a pedicel as the symbol of the gods? (See Guo Moruo 2000a, p. 315.) In my view, Guo’s scruples about the image of the pedicel can easily be resolved if we recognize the primary function of the ancestral gods as the intermediaries between sky and earth, the divine and the human. Thus, just as the pedicel serves the critical function of transporting water and nutrients from the root to the flower and fruit, the ancestral gods performed the vital function of conveying and communicating the mysterious life forces of nature to their human descendants. Here, it is worthwhile to note further that in ancient Chinese medical and Daoist texts, the word *di** often denotes the navel point (丹田) or the umbilical cord—the crux and intermediary through which the primal life energy is conveyed to the fetus via the mother’s body. For example, Li Shizhen illustrated the function of the umbilical cord as the pedicel of human life (*mingdi** 命蒂). After the birth, a particle of the true vitality was conserved in the navel that was the gateway of the life force (*mingmen dantian* 命門丹田). The umbilical cord dried up and detached itself from the child’s body, just as a fruit fell off the pedicel (see Li Shizhen 2006, “Renbu” 人部, “Shushen qidai” 初生臍帶). A passage in volume 67 of the *Daofa Huiyuan*, on the other hand, rejected the common conception of the navel point as the crux of primal life forces. Instead, the root of true vitality was described as an intangible center — the mysterious pass of one orifice (*xuanguan yiqiao* 玄關一竅). It was really the in-between of the intercourse of sky and earth and the pedicel of the mixture of *yin* and *yang* (Daofa Huiyuan 1923–26, vol. 67: “實天地交界之間, 陰陽混合之蒂”). For a recent study of *di* in the oracle bone scripts that affirms the image of the pedicel as its etymological origin, see Zheng 2004.
- 47 – Strictly speaking, the word *shi* referred to the spiritual surrogate who served as a standing impersonator for the departed ancestor, while the primary meaning of *wu* pointed to the sorcerer or sorceress who danced to invite the arrival of the divine in ancient sacrificial ceremonies. Despite this subtle difference in

connotation, there are numerous texts in which they are used interchangeably in reference to the intermediary figures who intuit and invite the spirits of the deceased. Qian Zhongshu pointed out that *shi* 尸, *shen* 神, and *shenbao* 神保 were three names pointing to the same figure (Qian 1986, 1:156). Yu Yu 俞玉 pointed out that what his contemporaries designated as *wu* was the same as what the ancients called *shi*, which was called *taibao* or *shiren* in the southern colloquialism: “今之巫者, 言神附其體, 盖猶古之尸. 故南方俚俗稱巫為太保, 又呼為師人. 師字亦即是尸字” (quoted in Qian 1986, 1:156). Zhu Xi’s commentary on a line in the “Chuci” 楚茨 in the *Shijing* identified *shenbao* as the honorable title of *shi*, which was called *lingbao* in the “Chuci.” And they all designated the figure *wu*, who invited the arrival of the gods: “神保, 盖尸之嘉號. 楚辭所謂靈保, 亦以巫降神之稱也” (see Luo 1998, p. 604). Accordingly, such expressions as *shi*, *wu*, *shen*, *shenbao*, *ling*, *lingbao*, and *taibao* could all refer in general to the central figures in the sacrificial rites who were responsible for divining and transmitting the godly messages. Presumably, in the primitive rites, the roles of spiritual surrogate and dancer were assumed or led by the monarchs themselves. For the exposition of the functions and relations of *shi* and *wu* in ancient Chinese rites, see also Lü Simian 2005, pp. 413 ff., and Xu Dishan 2009, pp. 108–114.

- 48 – See Lü Buwei 2002, “Jiquiji” 季秋紀, “Shunmin” 順民 (1:484–485): “則湯達乎鬼神之神化, 人事之傳也.”
- 49 – Waley 1955, p. 9.
- 50 – Chang 1983, p. 45.
- 51 – Chen Mengjia 陳夢家, “Myths and Magic of the Shang dynasty” (in Chinese), *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* 20 (December 1936): 535, quoted in Chang 1983, pp. 45–46. Chang cited some other works in support of his recognition of the king as the head shaman, which include Li Tsung-t’ung, *History of Ancient Chinese Society* (in Chinese) (Taipei: Hua-kang, 1954), pp. 118–125, and Yang Hsiang-k’uei, *Studies of Ancient Chinese Society and Ancient Chinese Thought* (in Chinese) (Shanghai: Jen-min, 1962). According to Chang, “Yang characterized the Ch’ung-Li myth by saying, ‘The kings severed communication between heaven and the people, and they took as their monopoly the great right of communicating with God’ (p. 164)” (Chang 1983, p. 45). For a comprehensive study of the function of Shamanism in the Neolithic period and Shang China, see Keightley 1998.
- 52 – See, for example, (1) *Shiji* 1965, “Boyi Zhuan” 伯夷傳: “孔子序列古之仁聖賢人”; (2) Chen 1994, vol. 2, “Shi” 謚 (1:71): “仁聖盛明謚曰舜”; (3) Zhu 1979, “Qi jian” 七諫: “尧舜聖而慈仁兮”; (4) *Analects* 7.34: “若聖與仁, 則吾豈敢”; (5) *Liezi* 1965, “Yangzhu” 楊朱: “仁聖亦死”; (6) *Liji*, “Jingjie” 經解: “其在朝廷, 則道仁聖禮義之序.”
- 53 – For the overlapping reference of *shi* and *wu*, see note 47 above.

- 54 – See, for example, *Shijing*, “Guofeng” 國風, “Shuyutian” 叔于田: “叔于田, 巷無居人. 豈無居人, 不如叔也, 洵美且仁 . . . 不如叔也, 洵美且好 . . . 不如叔也, 洵美且武.” Cf. “Qifeng” 齊風, “Luling” 盧令: “盧令令, 其人美且仁 . . . 其人美且鬢 . . . 其人美且偲.” Cf. *Huainanzi* 1965, “Zhuixingxun” 墜形訓: “漢水重安而宜竹, 江水肥仁而宜稻.”
- 55 – Takeuchi 1965, p. 67.
- 56 – *Ibid.*
- 57 – Ruan Yuan, “Shining” 釋佞, in *Yanjingshi xuji* 羣經室續集, vol. 1: “予仁若考者, 言予且之巧若文王也. 巧義即佞也. 佞從仁得聲而義隨之, 故仁可為佞借也. 古者事鬼神當用佞, 金滕之以佞為美, 借仁代佞者, 因事鬼神也. 故論語孔子謂祝鮀之佞治宗廟, 即金滕仁巧多才多藝能事鬼神之義也” (quoted in Liu Jiahe 1990, p. 24). With regard to Confucius’ remarks on Zhu Tuo 祝鮀 in relation to *ning*, which Ruan Yuan cites in passing, see *Analects* 6.15 and 14.19. Remarkably, Ruan Yuan also points out that contrary to its derogatory connotation in late texts, *ning* in early usage often carried a positive meaning, which is affirmed by both Takeuchi (see Takeuchi 1965, pp. 70–72) and Liu Jiahe (Liu Jiahe 1990, p. 24).
- 58 – Takeuchi 1965, p. 71.
- 59 – *Shuowen*: “巧調高材也. 从女, 信省. 臣鉉等曰: 女子之信近於佞也”; *Shuowen xizhuan* 說文繫傳: “佞从女, 仁聲” (quoted in Lin 1985, 1:889).
- 60 – Zhu 1979, p. 30: “靈, 謂神降於巫之身者也. 偃蹇, 美兒姣好也, 服飾也. 古者巫以降神, 神降而託於巫. 則見其貌之美而服之好. 盖身則巫而心則神也” (emphases in the English translation added).
- 61 – Zhu 1979, “Jiuge” 九歌, “Shaosiming” 少司命: “與女沐兮咸池, 晞女髮兮陽之阿. 望美人兮未來, 臨風愴兮浩歌.” Cf. Zhu Xi’s comment: “此復為神語以命巫者. 女及美人借指巫也. 言欲與女休於咸池而望汝不至, 遂愴然而浩歌也” (Zhu 1979, p. 52).
- 62 – For an investigation into the erotic tactics in early Chinese witchcraft as represented in the *Jiuge*, see, for example, Fan 2005.
- 63 – See *Analects* 8.11, which also alludes to the beauty of Zhou Gong: “如有周公之才之美.”
- 64 – *Liji*, “Zhongyong” 中庸: “仁者, 人也.” Zheng Xuan notes: “人也, 讀如相人偶之人. 以人意相存問之言.”
- 65 – Liu Wenying 1990, pp. 51–54.
- 66 – Bai 2003; cf. Bai 2000.
- 67 – Both texts are cited in Lin 1985, 1:1137.
- 68 – Here are some instances of the use of *ouren** in the early classics: (1) *Shiji*, “Yinbenji” 殷本紀: “帝武乙無道, 為偶人, 謂之天神”; (2) “Mengchangjun

liezhuan” 孟嘗君列傳：“今旦代從外來，見木禺人與土禺人相與語”；(3) *Hanshu* 1965, “Kuaiwu jianxifu zhuan” 蒯伍江息夫傳：“充將胡巫掘地求偶人，捕蠱及夜祠。”

69 – Zhan 1992, pp. 293–295; cf. pp. 128–132.

70 – According to Duan Yucui’s annotation on the character *shi*, the spiritual surrogate had the primary function of impersonating the divine: “祭祀之尸本象神而陳之” (Xu Shen 2006, “Shi”). See also (1) *Liji*, “Jitong” 祭統: “尸在廟門外”; Zheng Xuan annotated: “尸，神像也”; (2) “Jiaotesheng” 郊特牲: “尸，陳也”; Sun Xidan annotated: “尸以象神，神無形而尸陳見。故曰：‘尸，陳也’” (see Sun 1989, vol. 2, p. 717).

71 – We need to distinguish two uses of *ou* (idols) in ancient rituals. In addition to representations of the gods, idols (which were designated as *yong* 俑) were also used as substitutes for human beings to be buried along with the deceased in certain funeral rites. It was this custom that provoked some harsh criticisms from Confucius. See (1) *Mengzi* 1.1.4, “仲尼曰：‘始作俑者，其無後乎。’為其象人而用之也”；(2) *Huainanzi*, “Miuchengxun” 繆稱訓: “紂為象箸而箕子譏，魯以偶人葬而孔子歎，見所始則知所終。”

72 – Sun Xidan, indeed, glossed the word *ou* as *yu*, which carries the double meanings of “to host and to find a host in.” As Sun elaborated, the purpose of *ou* (the idol) was to provide a host for the human form in the wooden figure. See Sun Xidan’s annotation on a line of “Tangong,” “孔子謂為芻靈者善，謂為俑者不仁，” which read: “偶，寓也。以其寄寓人形於木，故曰偶” (Sun 1989, 1:263). Remarkably, Yu Yue’s annotation on the character *ou** 耦 (a synonym for *ou* 偶 as used in the *Zhuangzi*, “Qiwulun” 齊物論) also brought out its basic meaning as *yu*. See Guo Qingfan 2004, p. 44.

73 – See Duan Yucui’s annotation of Xu Shen’s gloss of *ren* in the *Shuowen*: “正義曰：‘人偶者，謂以人意尊偶之也。’論語注：‘人偶，同位人偶之辭。’禮注云：‘人偶，相與為禮儀’” (Xu Shen 2006, p. 365).

74 – It is interesting to note that the word *zong* 宗, whose earliest configuration indicates clearly the godly idol or image, carries also a verbal sense of respecting (*zun* 尊). Thus, we may observe an analogy between the derivation of the verbal sense of respect and admiration in *zong* and the derivation of the same verbal sense of respecting in *ou*. See Zhan 1992, pp. 189–190.

75 – For a brief summary of traditional and modern scholarship on the interpretation of *ren***ou* according to the theory of two persons, see Bai 2003, pp. 52–54. Apart from Liu Wenying and Bai Xi himself, there are a number of scholars, such as Duan Yucui, Kang Youwei, and Yang Xiangkui, who are committed to this line of interpretation, as noted in Liu’s and Bai’s articles.

76 – Xu Shen 2006, p. 365: “按人耦猶言爾我親密之辭。獨則無耦，耦則相親。故其字从人二。”

- 77 – Xu Shen 2006, p. 365.
- 78 – See *Jiazi xinshu* 賈子新書, “Xiongnu pian” 匈奴篇: “胡嬰兒得近侍側, 胡貴人更進得佐酒前, 上時人偶之” (quoted in Bai 2003, p. 53).
- 79 – For example, Bai Xi questioned that there might be no intrinsic connection between these two senses; see Bai 2003, p. 53.
- 80 – For the important role of sexual attraction in ancient sacrificial rites, see my discussion of the female sorcerer in the *Nine Songs* (see notes 60 and 61 above) and Fan 2005. There have been plenty of archaeological findings that give evidence of the pervasive sexual implications in ancient Chinese spiritual symbolism. In a famous article, Guo Moruo took the oracle bone figures of the Chinese character *zu* 祖 (ancestor) as a phallus image (see Guo 2002, Li Ling 2001a). In another article, Guo interpreted the original symbols of *yin* and *yang* as representative of the female and male sexual organs: “畫一以像男根, 分而為二以像女陰, 所以由此演出男女, 父母, 陰陽, 剛柔, 天地的觀念” (Guo Moruo 2000, p. 33). For the role of sexuality in early Chinese ritual practice in general, see also Zhan 1992, pp. 120–124; Hu 2005, 4.12–13.
- 81 – Liu Xiang 1996, p. 159.
- 82 – Bai 2000, pp. 97–98. Bai offered an interesting and illuminating instance for the equation of *qian* and *shen* in the configuration of ancient characters. The character *nian* 年, according to Bai, has a variant form *nian* 季 that is composed of *he* 禾 and *qian* 千. Bai argued that the character *qian* in *nian* was also an abridged variation of *shen* because the ancient conception of the year had to do with the harvest during which people would carry crops (*he*) on their bodies (*shen/qian*) (Bai 2000, p. 98).
- 83 – See Bai 2000, p. 98; Liu Xiang 1996, pp. 159–161.
- 84 – *Liji*, “Yueji” 樂記: “凡音之起, 由人心生也. 人心之動, 物使之然也. 感於物而動, 故形於聲.” See also *ibid.*: “樂者, 音之所由生也; 其本在人心之感於物也. . . 人生而靜, 天之性也. 感於物而動, 性之欲也. 物至知知, 然後好惡形焉.” We can find also some early Confucian accounts of human sensation and perception in connection with the function of the human body and heart in *Mengzi* 6A15: “曰: ‘鈞是人也, 或從其大體, 或從其小體, 何也?’ 曰: ‘耳目之官不思, 而蔽於物. 物交物, 則引之而已矣. 心之官則思. 思則得之, 不思則不得也.’” For an elaboration of the early Chinese understanding of *gantong* in human perception and sensation, see Wang 2007, pp. 209–212, 216–222.
- 85 – See Zhu Xi’s comments on the *Nine Songs* cited in note 60: “盖身則巫而心則神也.” My exposition of *ren* as the combination of body and heart here agrees with Roger Ames’ interpretation of *ren* as a psychophysical disposition: “The *jen* disposition of mind is inseparable from its physical disclosure in comportment, poise, dignity, and can only be explained by such reference. . . . *Jen*, as a homophone of ‘person’ (*jen* 人) denoting achieved personhood, is the whole human process: body and mind” (see Ames 1993, p. 164). For my critique of

Ames' translation and interpretation of *ren* as "authoritative humanity," see the next section.

- 86 – Xu Shen 2006, "Yi" 夷: "从大从弓. 東方之人也."
- 87 – See Luan 2002.
- 88 – *Shanhaijing* 1965, "Haineixijing" 海內西經: "非仁羿莫能上." Cf. Liu Wenying 1990a, p. 53; Bai 2003, p. 52.
- 89 – See Xu Shen 2006, "Qiang" 羌: "唯東夷从大. 大, 人也. 夷俗仁, 仁者壽. 有君子不死之國. 孔子曰: '道不行, 欲之九夷, 乘桴浮於海.' 有以也."
- 90 – Zhuang Shouhu cited a number of cases in bronze vessel inscriptions in which *yi* was written as *shi* (see Zhuang 2001). For evidence from the early classics, see Zhen Xuan's annotation of the *Zhouli* that interprets *yi* as *shi* (*Zhouli* 1965, "Tianguan," "Lingren*" 凌人: "'大喪, 共其夷盤冰.' 注: '夷之言尸也'"). In addition, Xu Shen took the character *yi* to be composed of *da* and *gong*. Duan Yucai interpreted the meaning of *da* as "a great person." Notably, a great person in the ancient Chinese classics often refers to a sage or king who functions as the spiritual surrogate (*shi*) in ritual ceremonies. Now Liu Xinglong interpreted the oracle script of *yi* as the images of arrow and rope (Liu Xinglong 2005, pp. 663–664). This interpretation may indeed be well founded. But there are a number of other forms of the script of *yi*, as listed in Lin 1985, 2:1631. These scripts (see figure 4) seem to indicate the image of an upright human person (a great person) and the image of a goat, which served as an important sacrificial animal in ancient Chinese ritual ceremonies.
- 91 – There is no agreement on the exact historical period in which the *shi* rites first started in ancient China. Some scholars tend to date their origin in the Zhou dynasty. Drawing upon the evidence from the oracle bone scripts, Fang Shuxing and Ge Yinghui have demonstrated the presence of the *shi* rites in the Yin dynasty (see Fang 2000 and Ge 2000). It is thus likely that the *shi* rites could be an archaic form of sacrifice among the Yi tribes and were introduced and adopted by the Yin people, who maintained close interaction and communication with these barbarian tribes.

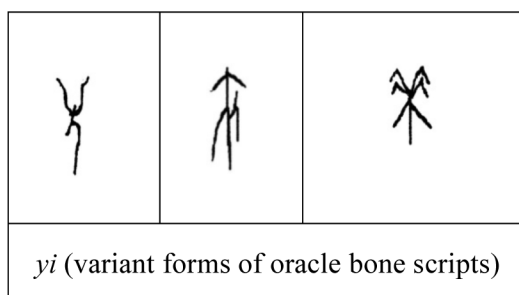


Figure 4

- 92 – Zhu 1965, vol. 90: “今蠻夷獠洞中, 猶有尸遺意焉” (cited in Xu Dishan 2009, p. 109).
- 93 – Lu Zongfa 2001. Lu’s article includes also two pictures of these two findings.
- 94 – See Lu Zongfa 2001, p. 90. Cf. *Shiji*, “Biographies of Southwestern Yi Tribes”: “西南夷君長以什數, 夜郎最大. 其西靡莫之屬以什數, 滇最大.”
- 95 – For the interaction and transaction between the Yi tribes and central civilization in early China, see Fu 1996.
- 96 – In the *Liji*, “Tangong” 檀弓, Confucius identified himself as a man of the Yin people: “而丘也, 殷人也.” For Confucius’ wishes to travel to the region of the Yi tribes, see note 89 above and *Analects* 5.7, 9.14.
- 97 – *Shuoyuan* 1965, “Xiuwen”: “積恩為愛, 積愛為仁, 積仁為靈. 靈臺之所以為靈者, 積仁也. 神靈者, 天地之本, 而為萬物之始也. 是故文王始接民以仁, 而天下莫不仁焉.”
- 98 – *Analects* 3.12 records Confucius’ sincere attitude in performing the sacrificial rites to the ancestors and the gods as if the deceased and the gods were present. Xunzi explicated Confucius’ position nicely when he took the magical rites such as rain-begging and divination ceremonies as a mere decoration (*wen* 文) for the gentlemen who were in the know: “故君子以為文, 而百姓以為神” (Xunzi 1965, “Tianlun” 天論). See also Qian 1986, 1:18–22, and the argument by Adam B. Seligman et al. for the “subjunctive aspect” and the importance of “as if” in Confucian and Judaic ritual actions (Seligman et al. 2008, pp. 21–28). Insofar as Confucian spiritual ceremonies are concerned, the argument by Adam B. Seligman et al. is apposite for the most part. However, their dismissal of the relevancy of “sincerity” in the performance of ritual overall (*ibid.*, pp. 24–25) seems too bold and simplistic, as they overlook the other dimension of sincerity in Confucianism: sincere human relations and sincere reverence for Life that were not based on the sincere faith in a supernatural divinity. After all, the opposition of ritual and sincerity, as presented in Seligman et al.’s treatise, is hardly applicable to the early Confucian tradition if done without serious qualifications. For Confucius, the ground of moral action consists in the sensible agreement of sincere intentions and ritual instructions. Therefore, in contrast to the authority of social conventions, it is *ren* as openness and sincerity of heart that must be the genuine source of ritual actions. See, for example, *Analects* 3.3: “人而不仁如禮何?”
- 99 – See Fingarette 1972, vol. 1, esp. pp. 4–6 and 15–17.
- 100 – *Analects* 6.20: “樊遲問知, 子曰: ‘務民之義, 敬鬼神而遠之, 可謂知矣.’” Cf. *Zuozhuan* 1965, “Zhaogong Eighteenth Year” 昭公十八年: “天道遠, 人道邇, 非所及也. 何以知之?”
- 101 – *Analects* 15.39. The social and political effects of Confucius’ humanistic turn cannot be overstated. H. G. Wells, among others, regarded this openness of education as a fundamental difference between Chinese and Western histories:

“The literary class was detached from the priestly class at an early date. It became a bureaucratic body serving the local kings and rulers. That is a fundamental difference between the history of China and any Western history” (Wells 1949, 1.3.16, p. 226).

- 102 – See, for example, *Mengzi* 1A7: “老吾老, 以及人之老; 幼吾幼, 以及人之幼. 天下可運於掌 . . . 故推恩足以保四海, 不推恩無以保妻子. 古之人所以大過人者, 無他焉. 善推其所為而已矣.”
- 103 – Cheng 1965, “Zhiren pian” 識仁篇, vol. 2, p. 1: “醫書言手足痿痺為不仁, 此言最善名狀. ‘仁者’ 以天下萬物為一體, 莫非己也.”
- 104 – Hall and Ames 1987, pp. 83, 122.
- 105 – *Ibid.*, p. 81. Note that in this context, “The ‘me’ represents a definite organization of the community there in our own attitudes, and calling for a response. . . . The ‘I’ . . . is something that is, so to speak, responding to a social situation which is within the experience of the individual. It is the answer which the individual makes to the attitude which others take toward him when he assumes an attitude toward them (George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self and Society*, ed. Charles Morris [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934], pp. 175, 177–178, quoted in Hall and Ames 1987, p. 81).
- 106 – Hall and Ames 1987, p. 83.
- 107 – See *Zhouyi zhengyi*, “Jici” 繫辭 (see note 10 above).
- 108 – See *Liji*, “Zhongyong” 中庸: “禮儀三百, 威儀三千, 待其人而後行.” See also *ibid.*, “唯天下之至誠, 為能盡其性 . . . 可以贊天地之化育, 則可以與天地參矣 . . . 故至誠如神.”
- 109 – Ku 1915, p. 73. The word *gantong* in parenthesis is my addition and interpretation of the poetical vision (“see into”) into the life of things. See also Ku’s insightful elaboration on the harmony of heart and reason in the spirit of the Chinaman as a person “with the head of a grown-up man and the heart of a child. The Chinese spirit, therefore, is a spirit of perpetual youth. . . . [W]hat gives to the Chinese type of humanity . . . his inexpressible gentleness is the possession of what I called sympathetic or true human intelligence. This true human intelligence . . . is the product of a combination of two things, sympathy and intelligence. It is a working together in harmony of the heart and head” (Ku 1915, p. 13).

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