

THE ORIGIN OF CONFUCIANISM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ANCIENT CHINESE RELIGION AND ETHICS

LULU ZHENG* and LIM CHEE MEN

Institute of Chinese Studies, Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, Kampar 31900, Perak, Malaysia

ABSTRACT

The ritual and music culture of the Western Zhou Dynasty in China is the soil where Confucianism was born. In a sense, it can be said that Confucianism already existed in the pre-Confucius era. At the same time, the culture of the Western Zhou Dynasty in China is the product of the long evolution of three generations of Chinese culture. It has experienced the culture of witchcraft and sacrificial worship and developed into a culture of ritual and music. From primitive religion to natural religion, it has developed into an ethical religion, forming Confucius and early Confucianism. deep roots. Therefore, Confucianism is the product of the development of culture itself since the early days of Chinese civilization, reflecting the tradition passed down through three generations and the ethos of its upbringing, as well as the inherent connection between Confucianism and the development of ancient Chinese culture. What this paper provides is an interpretation of the ideology and culture that pays attention to the religious-ethical system.

Keywords and phrases: Confucianism, 巫Wu, Culture of The ritual and music, the Zhou Dynasty, Confucius, de (Virtue)

1. History and Culture of 巫Wu

According to Chen (1996, p.5), "the changes in China's Axial Era were not sudden. It was an obvious continuation from the Pre-Axial Age to the Axial Age observed from Confucius' longing for Duke of Zhou and Mozi's frequent citations of *Shangshu* (Book of Documents)." Hence, from the perspective of cultural continuity, the relationship between Chinese literature in the period around 500 BC and the development of literature since the three generations consisted of continuity in the breakthrough. Therefore, as far as the structure of Chinese culture and history is concerned, the search for the axis that determines the development of history should not only focus on the Spring and Autumn Period but further back in the past. As Jaspers (1989) stated, aside from focusing on the Axial Era, we should also pay attention to the Pre-Axial Era. This is especially true in studying the origins of Confucian literature. According to Li (2006, p.157), "before Confucius, there was a long tradition of 巫 (hereafter as *wu*) history". (*Wu* can be generally translated as "witchcraft", "witch" or "shaman", but in this context, its transliteration is used to avoid confusion between Western and Chinese culture of witchcraft.) Therefore, as far as the entire Chinese traditional literature is concerned, there are two characteristics that were particularly important. The first one is a clan system of lineage, and the other is a rationalized *wu* history and culture, which is reflected in the rationalization of religions. Both are closely linked and have been in various forms for a long time to this day. However, this thesis is limited to the Confucianism, thus, only the latter is discussed in this article.

(1) What is "巫Wu"

There are two major characteristics of Chinese civilization, one is a clan system of lineage, and the other is rationalized *wu* history and culture. Both are closely linked and have been in various forms for a long time to this day. According to He (1996, p. 93), "Neolithic archaeology found that one of the indisputable and important primitive phenomena of Chinese culture was the worship of ancestors". Many other cultures also had ancestor worship; however, China was unique for its characteristics of firstly, the unity of ancestor worship and god worship since ancient times until Yin and Zhou Dynasties. Although historians had different opinions on the relationship between the ancient Chinese supreme god and the ancestral god, and the so-called "unity" of the two may appear in many different forms, scholars generally acknowledged both were closely connected. For example, Wang (1997) believed that the ancestors of Yin Dynasty were also "商人所自出之帝，故商人谛之" (the ancestor of Shang Dynasty, hence Emperor Ku was also known as Shang Dynasty's ancestor) (p. 6). According to Chen (1998, p. 562), "the ancestor worship and god worship were gradually approaching and combining, which had established a regulation for the Chinese religion after Yin Dynasty, where the ancestor worship had overwhelmed the worship of God". Zhang (1994) believed that the meaning of the word 商 "Shang" was ancestor worship. "In the worldview of people of Shang Dynasty, the difference between the world of gods and the world of ancestors was almost insignificant" (p. 346). When the ancestors were still alive, they were human; when they died, they became a god. Regardless of their status of being alive or dead, ancestors (mainly the ancestors of clan leaders) were protecting the existence and continuation of their tribes, clans, and nations. In here, men and gods, the world of man and the world of god were often in direct contact and solidarity with each other. *Liji* (Book of Rites) mentioned that "文王之祭也，事死者如事生" (King Wen of Zhou Dynasty worshiped their ancestors just as how he served them when they were still alive). Confucius said, "未能事死，焉能事鬼" (If you have not worshipped the dead, how can you understand ghosts and gods?) The quotes from the Book of Rites and Confucius were built on the foundation of "serving ancestors". The boundaries between life and death, men and gods had never been completely separated, but rather coherent and always in interaction. In modern folk customs, after a person died, the person was buried with various grave goods prepared by family members and descendants. This showed a concrete continuation of ancestor worship to "serve the dead like he was still alive" since two thousand years ago. Secondly, this kind of connection and correlation had its unique way of realization during ancient times, which was known as "*wu*".

(2) The "combination of *wu* and kingship"

"*Wu*" had an extremely long and complicated evolution in ancient times. One of the important key points was that "*wu*" had become the privileged function of "君" *jun* (political leader). In the oracle bone inscriptions, "*wu*" and "king" were often related, as shown in quotations such as "帝于巫" *di yu wu* and "帝东巫" *di dong wu* where both quotes mean

king and *wu*. In the system, there was a so-called "combination of king's bedroom and ancestors' temples", as a place to handle human affairs and serve ghosts and gods (He, 1996, p. 98). Even though a whole set of professional officials of 巫 *wu* (witch), 祝 *zhu* (monk), 卜 *bui* (diviner), and 史 *shi* (secretary) were differentiated in the later period, the biggest "*wu*" was still "王" *wang*, "君" *jun* and "天子" *tianzi* (all has the definition of "king"). In other words, the "king" as a political leader was ultimately the greatest "*wu*" to communicate between the two realms of man and god in order to make final decisions and actions. This meant that political leaders fundamentally held the supreme theocratic power to communicate between heaven and mankind. King, jade, *wu*, and ritual dancers all strongly narrated the important historical facts of their identities in both archaeological discoveries and documentary records. Su (1994) stated that "jade artifacts in Hongshan Culture and Dawenkou Culture five thousand years ago became the first symbol of sovereignty... theocratic power was monopolized by reign, and certain jade artifacts became the greatest artifacts (p. 249)". The "combination of *wu* and kingship" and the ancestor-god worship were the same thing. It went through a long process. According to Zhang (1996), although the kingship was increasingly overwhelming and replacing theocracy, the consistency and combination of the two had never been disintegrated. Li believed that "君 *jun* (king) and 尹 *yin* (administer) were often used interchangeably in bone oracle inscriptions. *Yin* is the priesthood and is also responsible for divine affairs". The famous ancient political figures such as Emperor Yao, Emperor Shun, Yu the Great, King Tang, King Wen, King Wu, Duke of Zhou, Yi Yin, Wuxian, and Bo Yi were great shamans who possessed political power (reign) and spiritual power (theocracy). They were great shamans and political leaders who enjoy the sacrifice of the descendants of King Yin. According to Xu (1990, p. 27), "宁王遗我大宝龟，绍天明，即命....." (the divination tool left to us by King Wen was used to predict and seek the destiny). According to Ding (1988, p. 64), "Chengtang of the Yin Dynasty was destined to be the king by heaven, and Yi Yin was the virtuous minister assisting him. This moved the heaven. This is a compliment to Qin Hui as Yi Yin". These were the sagacious kings and virtuous ministers praised by future Confucians. In ancient times, the leader of patriarchy leading clans and tribes as the political leaders not only needed to have incomparable courage and fortitude, but also required superhuman wisdom to foresee the future and take actions. Counsels of the Great Yu in the Book of Documents mentioned, "（伯）益赞于禹。" (Bo Yi helped King Yu to conquer the enemy and said that only virtue can move Heaven, so we are granted invincibility). According to Zhang (1990, p. 65), "gods and ghosts had a prophecy. Men strived to obtain this kind of wisdom. Those who mastered this wisdom possess political power. Therefore, *wu* and politics were closely related during Shang Dynasty". This is the greatest secret in the history of ancient Chinese thought. The basic characteristics of "*wu*" have been directly rationalized through the "combination of *wu* and kingship" as well as the "unification of politics and religions", thus they became the fundamentals of the great tradition of Chinese thought. The characteristics of *wu* have been preserved and continued in the Chinese tradition. They have also become the key to understanding Chinese thought and culture.

2. Sacrificial Culture: From "*Wu*" to "History"

(1) The statistical calculation functions of *wu*

The key is from "*Wu*" to "History". Divination using oracle bones and dried stem of yarrows were the prominent methods documented in ancient Chinese archaeology. Both methods were related to the ancient *wu* and a static form was developed from *wu*. According to Zhang (1990, p.42), "the dried stalks of yarrow were one of the tools of divination, just as rulers as the tool of a craftsman". Longwen Culture and Erlitou Culture had oracle bones burned for the purpose of divination as archaeological materials (Su, 1994, p.34). These bones had appeared during Longshan period. Divination using tortoiseshell evolved from oracle bones, while the dried stalks of yarrow evolved from the tortoiseshell divination. Rao (1993) believed that divination using tortoiseshell and dried stem of yarrows consisted of calculation and statistics, as "the first method can foretell the reason for the creation of everything, while the second method can envision the reason for the accomplishment of all" (p. 52). Although divination using both methods had evolved from dynamic group activities to individual statistical calculations, *wu* was equivalent to the rulers (such as mathematical and geometrical tools) used by craftsmen during this period. *Wu* was also a mathematician during the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. It seemed that the legendary sages made "河图" *hetu*, "洛书" *luoshu*, 八卦 *bagua*, and 周易 *zhouyi* (The Book of Changes), etc., which showed the evolution and development of shamans and witchcraft. This was also the historical path through which "witchcraft rituals" moved towards rationalization through "prediction" (divination using bones and yarrows, changes). The quotes from the Book of Changes such as 天地定位 (heaven and earth have a fixed position), 山泽通气 (mountains and rivers bear the changes in nature), 水火相济 (water and fire do not hate each other), and 雷风相薄 (thunder and wind approach each other) seemed to be objective depictions of external objects, but they might be derived out of the imagination of various natural phenomena in witchcraft activities. The quotes "左旋知往" (left rotation to know the past) and "右旋知来" (right rotation to know the future) in the Book of Changes might come from the body movements in witchcraft of left and right rotations. According to Zhou (1991), scholars had demonstrated that *bagua* was closely related to ritual dances in witchcraft. In short, the natural objects and activities that were originally used as intermediaries or tools in witchcraft rituals had evolved in this process of rationalization and become a symbolic system of operation. It was increasingly objectified but still consisted of strong emotions and beliefs such as fear, respect, loyalty, and sincerity. It was worth noting that there was still no independent and supreme concept of God of Personality in the witchcraft activities as they were evolving into symbolic activities of prediction and calculation. On the contrary, what was clearly shown were the dominance and initiative of men in the mysterious calculation and prediction. Although it was similar to *wu*, divination emphasized more on the connection with the emperor's political activities, because it recorded and preserved major political and military events. In other words, the inconceivable and inexplicable God's will was intertwined with

human's historical facts and experience, thus, they gained more rational examples and explanations.

Many historical facts were preserved in 卦辞爻辞 *guaci yaoci* of the Book of Changes. They had been mixed with God's will as part of the historical experiences. This was also a concrete manifestation of the process of evolving from *wu* to history. The world of witchcraft had become a world of symbols, numbers, and historical events. The emergence of the system of divination, number, change, and ritual was the key in such a process. According to Chen (1988), a large number of inscriptions in the Yin Dynasty were "the archives of the royal family" (p. 636), while Li (1978) believed that "there were two types of divination record in the history, one is 卦 *gua* and the other is 爻 *yao*" (p. 21). In the Book of Rites, "there were shamans who greeted and served ghosts and gods in front of the king, and behind the king were historians who recorded the king's words and deeds". What was mentioned here was most probably space. However, Li interpreted it as the concept of time and regarded "history" as the general title of performing divination and sacrificial rites after "*wu*" in order to serve the king. In short, on one hand, "history" was both "*wu*" and the inheritance of "*wu*", as shown in a quote by Chen (1936, p.535), "祝史 *zhushi* (officers in charge of rituals) and 巫史 *wushi* (officers in charge of divination) were shamans, and 史官 *shiguan* (officers in charge of recording history) were also shamans"; on the other hand, "history" was after all a new stage of rationalization of "*wu*", characterized by the mastery of divination of "statistics and numbers".

(2) *Wu's astronomical calendar function*

A very important point was the mastery of astronomy and calendar by "history" and "*wu*". This was the so-called "understanding the natural phenomena to know the will of heaven". Archaeological discoveries indicated that there was amazing knowledge of astronomy in the tombs of the early Yangshao period. It was originally combined with "witchcraft rituals" and was an important part of "*wu*". In the Book of Han, there was an official position of ancient Chinese diviners called "羲和" *xihe*. They were the evolution of primitive shamans. In the Proceedings of Government in the Different Months of the Book of Rites 《礼记·月令》, the astrological changes could be used as fortune-telling to determine men's destiny. All these were the remains of witchcraft directly related to ancestor worship. Many documents recorded that "*wu*" and "history" were related to knowing the will of Heaven. It has the purpose of governing men. The connection between heaven and men being one was an extension of the characteristics of *wu*. When Yu the Great controlled the flood, he followed the astronomical phenomena. Yao was the first king of Confucianism, precisely because he was a great wizard and could forecast weather. Weather forecasting consisted of statistical calculations, so it was connected to the calendar (Fei & Lai, 1992, p.20). All these showed the rational way of ordering and stylizing witchcraft through statistical calculation. The astronomical phenomena and almanac were the schools of ancient times.

(3) The military function of *wu*

Aside from the two reasons above for the rationalization of witchcraft rituals, military operations were also one of the key factors. National events and rituals were all related to war. Sacrificial ceremonies and military activities were the two most important events led by ancient kings. These events were related to the life and death of the entire clan, tribe, and country. The early maturity of Chinese military books was a piece of clear evidence. In ancient times, the leader of war was a great shaman who possessed all theocratic, royal, and military powers. However, the victory or defeat of war depended on the ability of the king to rationally plan and formulate tactics and strategies. The Art of War stated at the beginning that, "War is a national event, an important event that concerns the rise and fall of a country, the key to the survival of thousands of people. Therefore, it must be carefully studied thoroughly". As a *wu* and a king who was responsible for military operations, the "wushu etiquette" engaged should not be affected by the constraints of the experience and lessons in this respect. It might cause the irrational elements in witchcraft to decrease, while the realistic and history elements to increase. Hence, all kinds of mysterious emotions, perceptions and cognitions would have gradually obtained a rational explanation. War experience had played a vital role in this regard, which is a very important point.

The ideological and historical process of Chinese literature of transforming "from *wu* to history" has become more rationalized, and finally reached the point of being able to know one's luck without divination.

3. Culture of ritual and music: “德” *de* (Virtue) and “礼” *li* (Rite)

At the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty, the process of transforming “from *wu* to history” in ancient China had experienced a qualitative turning point. It finally completed the rationalization process of *wu* history and culture, thus laying the foundation of Confucianism.

(1) What is “德” *de* (Virtue)

"Virtue" and "Rite" were the signs of completion of rationalisation. In the literature, the early Zhou Dynasty used the terms “敬德” *jingde* (cultivating virtue) and “明德” *mingde* (carrying out virtue acts). The bronzeware in Zhou Dynasty was also engraved with the word “德” (virtue). There were different opinions on the meaning of “virtue”. In my opinion, it was probably related to the witchcraft of sacrifices to ancestors. It was a magical quality of shamans, which then transformed into "the customary laws of the clans" (Li, 1985, p. 86). The so-called "customary laws" were the long-standing systematic norms of primitive witchcraft rituals. Virtue was the meaning of the power of *wu* and the rules of "witchcraft rituals" but has gradually transformed into the meaning of behavior and character of a king, and finally, it carried the meaning of an individual character and morality.

Virtue was raised to an unprecedented noble position in the early Zhou Dynasty, which was related to the establishment of a complete set of normative system of a clan, tribe or state with the king's political power as its core. “德政” *dezheng* (benevolent political measures or achievements) of “制礼作乐” *zhilizuoyue* (system of rites and music) can be divided into two aspects: “敬” *jing* (respect) and “礼” *li* (rite).

(2) The relationship between "de" (Virtue) "respect"

"Respect" meant awe, including various psychological emotions such as fear, worship, and admiration. There were many words of "respect" in the documents that an ancient emperor gave orders to his courtiers in the early Zhou Dynasty. It originated from the ancient "witchcraft rituals", which was the division, definiteness and rationalization of the mad mental state in primitive witchcrafts. Even until the period of Confucius and the Analects, "respect" retained the emotional characteristics of awe, terror, and fear of God. The feeling of "awe" towards the gods consisted of the traits of witchcraft rituals. I would like to quote Mou's description of the characteristics of "respect". Mou (1984, p.20) stated that "In respect, our bodies do not cathect on God, what we do is not self-denial, but self-affirmation." In other words, "respect" in Confucianism was not denying one to devote himself to God in the context of religion, but the feeling that one's own life and existence were affirmed because one was being one with God. The "features of Chinese culture" described by Mou above originated from his mental understanding of witchcraft rituals, which were emotional characteristics. It did not mean to establish and worship objectified gods but to the activity itself. It gave rise to the feeling and experience of integration of man and god. Therefore, the concept of "transcendence" of God did not emerge from here, but the mysterious and reverent psychological state of "being with God" was idealized into behavioral norms and inner characters. This was the gradual evolution of witchcraft power into witchcraft character. This was not only the internalization of "virtue", but ultimately became the individual moral strength that was required of political leaders. Therefore, "virtue" was often mentioned in later Confucianism.

(3) The relationship between "de" (Virtue) "li" (Rite)

The external aspect of "virtue" had evolved into "rite". Guo (1962, p. 25) stated that "Rite has degenerated from the objective aspect of virtue. All the proper behaviors of the virtuous people in ancient times were collected and became rites of future generations. Virtue focused on the word 'respect'. "Rite" first came from the original witchcraft sacrificial activities, but through history, it became a set of detailed regulations on important behaviors, activities, and language. According to the Books of Rites, "The hierarchical systems attached to the sacrificial rituals for the dead in ancient China were different. There were generally ten different sacrificial relationships in China, such as the relationship between the monarch and ministers, father and son, husband and wife, elders and children, etc." "Sacrifice" in witchcraft rituals had made clear arrangements for all social, political, and ethical orders. Since the main objective of a sacrifice was for ancestors, if the blood relationship with the ancestor was different, there would be some

distinctions as well. These distinctions were strictly presented in the formal norms such as the etiquette, posture, appearance and attire of the sacrifice. This was known as “礼数” *lisu* (etiquette). “数” *su* referred to the above-mentioned standardized orders, behaviors and rules. As an unwritten norm, “礼” *li* was not only the ceremonial details of behavior and rules but also the morality with sacred significance. Here, “礼” *li* became “理” *li*, where the formal etiquette is institutionalized into a norm of universal values. "Etiquette" originated from body postures, steps, gestures, and facial expressions in witchcraft. Its sacredness, ritualism and asceticism all came from witchcraft. Confucius said, “周监于二代，郁郁乎文哉。” (The etiquette system of the Zhou Dynasty was set by reference to the Xia Dynasty and the Shang Dynasty. How colorful!) Duke of Zhou fully rationalized and institutionalized the ancient witchcraft rituals of offering sacrifices to ancestors and communicating with gods to guide mankind through “制礼作乐” *zhilizuoyue* (established ordinance systems). This became the norms of social order, so as to achieve the role of enlightenment. This was the basic convention of the so-called “亲亲尊尊” *qinqinzunzun* (It was the fundamental principles and guiding ideology of the legislation and justice of the Western Zhou Dynasty. It meant to get close to those who should be close to and respect those who should be respected. In fact, it was to maintain the hierarchy). “数” *su* from the transformation of *wu* to history was not only divination but also included "etiquette". This was the fundamental reason why the interpersonal relationships established by "etiquette" were sacred. It was all-encompassing. It communicated between heaven and men. It replaced witchcraft and divination and became a judgment that "predicts men's good or bad luck". It was a solid foundation for "the triad of Chinese ethics, politics and religion" (Xu, 1990, p.22). “礼” *li* had evolved from witchcraft etiquette to the "unchangeable" orders and norms between heaven and men. This process of rationalization of human culture had been completed.

In conclusion, "witchcraft etiquette" was completely divided at the beginning of the Zhou Dynasty. On one hand, it developed into professional officials of 巫 *wu* (witch), 祝 *zhu* (monk), 卜 *bui* (diviner), and 史 *shi* (secretary), and then gradually entered the folks and formed a small tradition. Later, it merged with Taoism and became various folk religions and superstitions. On the other hand, through Duke of Zhou's “制礼作乐” *zhilizuoyue* (established ordinance systems), the fundamental characteristics of *wu* in the unity of nature and men and the unity of politics and religion were preserved and continued in an institutionalized manner. It then became the core of Confucianism. However, it was different from the separation of religion and science from witchcraft etiquette in the West.

References

1. Baichuan, J. (1983). *Zhongguo gudai wenhua* [Ancient Chinese Culture]. Wenjin chubanshe.
2. Bo, K. (1988). *Duoyuan wenhua yu shehui jinbu* [Multiculturalism and Social Progress]. Liaoning renmin chubanshe.
3. Chen, L. (1996). *Gudai zongjiao yulunli—rujia sixiang de genyuan* [Ancient Religion and Ethics: The Roots of Confucianism]. Beijing: Joint Publishing.
4. Chen, M. (1936). *Shangdai de shenhua yu wushu* [The Myth and Witchcraft of the Shang Dynasty]. Yanjing xuebao, 20.
5. Chen, M. (1998). *Yinxu buci zongshu* [A Summary of Inscriptions on Yin Ruins]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.
6. Chen, Y. (1974). *Songshu·Juan wushi* [Song Book·Volume Fifty]. Zhonghua shuju.
7. Confucius. (1999). The analects of Confucius: a philosophical translation. New York: Ballantine Books.
8. Ding, S. (1988). *Shang Zhou shiliao kaozheng* [Shang and Zhou Historical Data Research]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.
9. Fei, Z, & Lai, X. (Eds.). (1992). *Zhongguo: chuantong yu biange* [China: Tradition and Change]. Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe.
10. Feng, Y. (2014). *Zhongguo zhhexueshi shangjuan* [The History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume 1]. Zhonghua shuju.
11. Fu S. (2012). *Shangshu* [The Book of Documents]. Zhonghua Book Company.
12. Guo, M. (1962). Qingtong shidai: Xianqin tiandaoguan de fazhan [The Bronze Age: The Development of Pre-Qin Heavenly Taoism]. *Guo moruo wenji*, 16. Renmin wenxue chubanshe.
13. He, B. (1996). Huaxia renben zhuyi wenhua: yuanyuan, tezheng ji yiyi [Chinese humanistic culture: Origin, characteristics and significance]. *Ershiyi shiji*, 33.
14. Jaspers, K. (1989). *Vom ursprung der selbstladedipstole* [The Origin and Goal of History]. (Chinese Edition). Huaxia chubanshe.
15. Li, J. (1978). *Zhouyi tanyuan* [Explore the root of Zhouyi]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.
16. Li, Z. (1985). *Zhongguo gudai sixiang shilun* [History of Ancient Chinese Thought]. Renmin chubanshe.
17. Li, Z. (2006). *Lishi bentilun* [Historical Ontology]. Beijing: Joint Publishing.
18. Mou, Z. (1984). *Zhongguo zhaxue de tezhi* [The Characteristics of Chinese Philosophy]. Taiwan xuesheng shuju.
19. Rao, Z. (1993). *Rao zongyi shixue lunzhe xuan* [Selected Works on Rao Zongyi's Historical Studies]. Shanghai: shanghai guji chubanshe.
20. Smith, W. (1987). *Yuanshi zongjiao yu shenhua* [Primitive Religion and Mythology]. Shanghai wenyi chubanshe.
21. Su B. (Ed.). (1994). *Zhongguo tongshi-dier juan*. [Chinese General History: Volume Two]. Shanghai: shanghai renmin chubanshe.
22. Su, B. (1994). *Huaren·long de chuanren·Zhongguo ren* [The Chinese: The Descendants of the Dragon: Chinese]. Shenyang: Liaoning University Publishing House.
23. Wang, G. (1997). Gushi xinzheng·Yin zhi xiangong xianwang [New Proof of Ancient History: Deceased Kings of Yin]. *Wang guowei wenji* (Vol. 4). Beijing: Chinese Literature and History Press.
24. Xu, F. (1990). *Zhongguo renxinglun shi* [The History of Chinese Human Nature Theory]. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan.
25. Yang, T, & Zhang, S. (Trans.). (2014). *Zhouyi* [The Book of Changes]. Zhonghua shuju.

26. Yang, X. (1962). *Zhongguo gudai shehui yu gudai sixiang yanjiu* [Research on Ancient Chinese Society and Ancient Thought]. Shanghai renmin chubanshe.
27. Yang, X. (1992). *Zongzhou shehui yu life wenming* [Zongzhou society and ritual and music civilization]. Renmin chubanshe.
28. Zhang, G. (1990). *Zhongguo qingtong shidai erji* [The Bronze Age of China Vol. 2]. Beijing: Joint Publishing.
29. Zhang, G. (1994). *Zhongguo qingtong shidai* [The Bronze Age of China]. Taipei: Linking Publishing.
30. Zhang, Z. (1990). *Zhongguo wushu* [Chinese Witchcraft]. Shanghai sanlian shudian.
31. Zhang, Z. (1996, October). *Mingbao yuekan* [Mingpao Monthly].
32. Zhou, B. (1991). *Wu·Wu·Bagua* [Witch · Dance · The eight trigrams]. Beijing: Xinhua chubanshe.
33. Zhuang, X. (Ed.). (1988). *Wenhua renleixue de lilun kuangjia* [The Theoretical Framework of Cultural Anthropology]. Zhejiang renmin chubanshe.