



PROJECT MUSE®

---

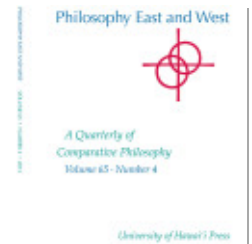
## Signs of the Sacred: The Confucian Body and Symbolic Power

Lim Tae-Seung

Philosophy East and West, Volume 65, Number 4, October 2015, pp. 1030-1051 (Article)

Published by University of Hawai'i Press

DOI: [10.1353/pew.2015.0105](https://doi.org/10.1353/pew.2015.0105)



➔ For additional information about this article

<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/pew/summary/v065/65.4.tae-seung.html>

# SIGNS OF THE SACRED: THE CONFUCIAN BODY AND SYMBOLIC POWER



**Lim Tae-seung**

Academy of East Asian Studies, Sungkyunkwan University  
lintsh@skku.edu

## *Introduction*

The sociology of symbolic power, as put forth by Pierre Bourdieu, treats the relations between behavior and socio-cultural structure. Bourdieu comprehends culture as a form of capital that follows certain laws of accumulation, exchange, and operation, and emphasizes that its symbolic form plays an important role in establishing and maintaining power structures.<sup>1</sup> Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital comprises a variety of resources such as language capabilities, general cultural consciousness, aesthetic symbols, educational information, and level of education.<sup>2</sup> His analysis of cultural capital reveals three different processes of its formation.<sup>3</sup> First, education fosters its formation, internalizing it through the socialization process of individuals and from an early age casting a cognitive matrix to appreciate cultural commodities. In this case, cultural capital exists as an internal property of individual subjects. Second, cultural capital exists in an objective form as, for instance, books and artistic products, which in turn demand appreciation by a connoisseur. Third, in Bourdieu's theory cultural capital exists as an institutional form, that is, in the form of educational institutions.

The relations between symbolic form and power to which Bourdieu draws attention also matter much in the *Analects*, which may be regarded as the cognitive world of Confucius and his disciples. In retrospect, the early Confucian school (*rujia* 儒家) was also concerned with the three conditions of cultural capital that Bourdieu mentioned, namely its internalization, objectification, and institutionalization. A Confucian man of honor and integrity (*junzi* 君子) was considered an agent for passing on and practicing the school's guidelines and doctrines through achieving the ideal of "cultivating oneself and rectifying others" (*xiuji zhiren* 修己治人). In his efforts to fulfill the agent's role, he was called upon to acquire cultural capital. If we put the three conditions just mentioned into Confucian context, they can be termed "standardization of bodily motions based on everyday rules of conduct," "acquiring literati qualifications through the cultivation of the six classical arts" (*liuyi* 六藝), and "Confucian learning" (*ruxue* 儒學) (in later ages for the government exams), respectively. Just as the focus has been shifted from economic capital to cultural capital in recent years, so in Confucius's feudal era there had occurred a shift from the ascriptive capital accrued through hereditary status to cultural capital based on merit, vested in such prestigious figures as Confucian literati and men of honor and integrity. It was precisely cultural capital that empowered them to enter officialdom through

government examinations, to perform literati functions, and to exercise monopolistic power over the production and use of the discourse of the times.

Confucius created a new concept of “culture as power” by attaching a new meaning to the concept of the “power endowed by god” of the Xia and Shang dynasties and inheriting the power forged by the insistence on propriety (*li* 禮) of the Western Zhou dynasty. Confucius provided the cultural capital essential to a man of honor and integrity. For him, cultural capital was represented by stylized cultural symbols, which by being used as a prerequisite and manifestation of power turned into symbolic power. Symbolic power is the most obvious and effective form of power. Confucius’s innovation was to enhance cultural capital as the prerequisite for men of honor and integrity and to render it essential to power. This innovation entailed a new definition of the nature of Confucianism itself.

As many scholars have pointed out, the Confucian school manifested a variety of forms in its relation to state power in order to bolster its dominance.<sup>4</sup> For example, Li Zehou analyzes how Confucius’s notion of benevolence (*ren* 仁) was related to his conception of propriety (*li* 禮) as buttressing the order of blood-related hierarchical clan-based society.<sup>5</sup> Jin Guantao analyzes how the feudal system of ancient China was maintained by a successful functioning of the patrilineal clan system.<sup>6</sup> Li Xiantang shows how the pre-Qin autocratic regimes were assisted by the Confucian school in their appropriation of the *dao* 道 to create legitimacy, and how they acquired the power to interpret the truth by creating institutions and rituals.<sup>7</sup> The civil service exams are highlighted by Yan Buke as the institutional channel to incorporate the scholarly class into officialdom.<sup>8</sup> Liu Zehua and others analyze how, in ancient China, symbiotic bonds were created between literati, officials, and landlords who dominated political, cultural, and economic activities.<sup>9</sup> Ge Quan argues that sagely control of society took place in the three modes of ideological control (worship of sage kings), institutional control (rituals and state institutions), and religious control (worship of sages), and that this cultural mechanism of control was one of the prime means by which the monarch ruled the state.<sup>10</sup> As Li Dongjun has noted, the sacralization of the unity of *dao*, king, and the divine by the sages ensured the unity of sacredness and kingship, and attracted the consensus of the masses.<sup>11</sup> All these discourses address the question of how Confucianism transformed itself into a political and cultural power.<sup>12</sup> The present essay also addresses the same question, and does not intend to challenge the theories put forth by the above-mentioned studies. Yet its intention is complementary by shedding light on the relation between Confucian body forms and the prestige Confucianism afforded through the application of a semiological approach.

Through case studies, this essay explores what constituted cultural capital in the Confucian School since the time of Confucius, how it rendered symbolic power, and how ultimately symbolic power changed into power capital in the process of building and maintaining the inner circle of Confucian literati. The study adopts a semiological framework in analyzing the relations between text and image. For the text case, the description of Confucius’s everyday motions in “Book Ten” of the *Analects* (hereafter “Book Ten”) will be examined, while for the image case, the *Pictures*

of *Confucius's Traces* (*Kongzi shengji tu* 孔子聖蹟圖, hereafter *SJT*) and the *Portraits and Encomia of the Sages* (*Shengxian xiangzan* 聖賢像讚, hereafter *SXXZ*) will be used.

The present essay has four sections. In the first, the textual definition of Confucius's deportment<sup>13</sup> or appearance in the various situations described in Book Ten will be examined. In the second, the images of Confucius in the *SJT* will be examined in terms of their semiology. In the third, I will investigate how images were rendered in texts or transformed into visual ideologies. The last section will show how the formal symbols as represented by the sage's motions functioned as an artistic mechanism to change people's minds, and how the Confucian body rendered cultural capital or the symbolic power of the Confucian literati class.

### *Textual Construct: Analects, Book Ten*

Book Ten of the *Analects* is a rather good source of information for knowing the everyday behavior and motions of Confucius. The fact that the entire section is devoted to describing the details of Confucius's day-to-day behavior, manners, and appearances, may be surprising to the reader who expects the *Analects* primarily to be a crucial source for the philosophical origins and background of the early stage of Confucianism. Nevertheless, this digression from philosophical discourse can be understood when the following considerations are taken into account. First, in terms of propagating its way and doctrine, the *Analects* represents the stage of oral transmission rather than literary narration, as is evident from Confucius's actual utterances.<sup>14</sup> Second, to make his teachings convincing, Confucius did not confine himself to logical persuasion, but was liberal in using appeals to human feelings as well as visual images. Third, Confucius emphasized body-related rules of conduct not only as a key means for cultivating one's morality (*xiushen* 修身, literally "cultivating the body") but also as an effective way to express his inner world.

In fact, Confucius and the early Confucian School prioritized the physical body rather than spirituality. As Hahm Chaibong has stated clearly, "In Confucianism, what determines and confirms my being is not the metaphysical, the transcendental, or the rational, but my physical body and the intricate intersubjective social network within which it is placed."<sup>15</sup> The "Confucian body" or "Confucian bodily forms" constituted an integral part of the crucial virtue of cultivating one's morality as expressed in the Confucian catchphrase, *wenzhi binbin* 文質彬彬, meaning harmonious state of outer (physical) grace and inner substance (*Analects* 6.18).<sup>16</sup> Confucians believed that the mind could pervade the body; hence, it could be read through the pervaded body, which in turn constituted the surest evidence of the mind. They also believed that disciplining the body would result in solidifying and sustaining an upright state of mind. For example, Zeng Zi's well-preserved body, shown to his disciples on his death bed (*Analects* 8.3), is a semiotic manifestation of such virtues as filial piety, sincerity, and reverence. The well-preserved body as *signifiant* denotes *wen* 文 (outward grace), while those virtues as *signifié* denote *zhi* 質 (inner substance). The well-preserved body, as it implies the virtues of filial piety, sincerity, and reverence, is a

form of “visualized ideology.”<sup>17</sup> The early Confucianism or Confucius put a higher priority on this kind of bodily signifiers of inner virtues than did Neo-Confucianism, thus proving more amenable to semiotic interpretation. Hence, the original Confucianism of Confucius, as opposed to Neo-Confucianism with its utmost priority on *li* 理 (principle, or reason), was more concerned with mastery of the body than of the mind.

Given the centrality of the *Analects* in approaching Confucius, there is little doubt that Book Ten is the authoritative source for comprehending the dignity, reverence, humility, and moderation Confucius displayed in his daily life. The everyday details of Confucius depicted in Book Ten can be classified into the following five categories: speech (10.1 to 10.2), motion (10.2 to 10.5), costume (10.6 to 10.7), food (10.7 to 10.11), and responses to differing social contexts (10.12 to 10.26).<sup>18</sup> This essay deals only with the description of speech and motion, because it focuses on a semiological analysis of bodily actions. Table 1 summarizes Confucius’s actions (i.e., speech and motion) for the given situations, characteristic features of which highlight humility, precaution, dignity, congeniality, and tidiness.<sup>19</sup> The table shows Confucius’s deportment and his reactions in a number of public and private situations. It conveys three different kinds of information. First, all the everyday actions of Confucius are depicted by way of facial expression, mode of speech, gesture of hands and feet, bodily posture, and so forth. Second, these individual actions imply semiological interpretations that go beyond purely physical gestures, because they signify inner attitudes of Confucius and are associated with moral attributes such as humility, dignity, and carefulness. Third, these individual actions in everyday situations serve as models for a sacred mode of action in which power, Confucianism, and artistic representation were welded into a consolidated unity.

### *Transforming Texts into Images: Kongzi shengji tu (SJT)*

From the Song dynasty on, the state was committed to spreading Neo-Confucianism among the general population, especially after its establishment as the leading state ideology, one significant outcome of which was the production of an illustrated biography of Confucius known as the *Kongzi shengji tu (SJT)*. The printing of the *SJT* rose to a major national project to such an extent that tens of revised editions were published, turning it into a crucial vehicle for spreading the basic tenets of Confucianism among the people.<sup>20</sup> The *SJT*, which was printed extensively during the Ming dynasty, owed its form to Buddhist influences, which had had a lasting impact on Chinese learning and culture.<sup>21</sup> In other words, the Buddhist innovation of using images for popular proselytization came into use in a Confucian shift of paradigm from Confucianism as learning (*ruxue* 儒學) to Confucianism as religious ideology (*rujiao* 儒教).<sup>22</sup>

Published in greatest numbers from the late Ming dynasty onward, the *SJT* is a collection of printed illustrations with brief accounts of the major events in Confucius’s life, from his remarkable birth to the posthumous worship of him as a sage.<sup>23</sup> In the *SJT*, everyday actions of Confucius, all dignified and respectful as described in

Table 1. Confucius's actions in given situations

Chapter / Paragraph	Situations	Actions
10.01	In the local community,	Confucius was submissive and seemed to be inarticulate.
10.01	In the ancestral temple and at court,	Though fluent, he did not speak lightly.
10.02	When speaking with Counselors of lower rank,	He was affable.
10.02	When speaking with Counselors of upper rank,	He was frank though respectful.
10.02	In the presence of his lord,	His bearing, though respectful, was composed [in his steps].
10.03	When he was summoned by his lord to act as usher,	His face took on a serious expression, and his step became brisk.
10.03	When he bowed to his colleagues,	Stretching out his hands to the left or to the right, his robes followed his movements without being disarranged.
10.03	He went forward with quickened steps,	As though he was gliding on wings.
10.04	On going through the outer gates to his lord's court,	He drew himself in, as though the entrance was too small to admit him.
10.04	When went past the station of his lord,	His face took on a serious expression, his steps became brisk, and his words seemed more laconic.
10.04	When lifting the hem of his robe to ascend the hall,	He drew himself in, stopping inhaling as if he had no need to breathe.
10.04	When he had come out and descended the first step,	Relaxing his expression, he seemed no longer to be tense.
10.04	When he had reached the bottom of the steps,	He went forward with quickened steps as though he was gliding on wings.
10.04	When he resumed his station,	His bearing was respectful.
10.05	When he held the jade tablet,	He drew himself in as though the weight was too much for him. He held the upper part of the tablet as though he was bowing; he held the lower part of the tablet as though he was ready to hand over a gift. His expression was solemn as though in fear and trembling, and his feet were constrained as though following a marked line.
10.05	When making a presentation,	His expression was genial.
10.05	At a private audience,	He was relaxed.
10.25	When a sumptuous feast was brought on,	He invariably assumed a solemn expression and rose to his feet.
10.25	When there was a sudden clap of thunder or a violent wind,	He invariably assumed a solemn attitude.
10.26	When climbing into a carriage,	He invariably stood squarely and grasped the mounting cord.
10.26	When in the carriage,	He did not turn toward the inside, nor did he shout or point.





























the texts, including Book Ten, are depicted visually. Although the *SJT* and Book Ten share only one fully identical match (between *SJT* no. 42 and Book Ten 10.4) many actions in the two bear a great similarity. Thus, it can be argued that the textual construction of the everyday actions and deportment of Confucius in Book Ten is represented by the corresponding visual images in *SJT*.

The *SJT* as an explicit product of the union between the Confucian School, political power, and art reflects the transition of Confucian learning to Confucian ideology. The transition from early Confucianism to Neo-Confucianism by no means signifies a mere shift of weight from the body to the mind. As the early Confucianism put priority on the political order based on *li* 禮, and was aided by the ethic of *ren* 仁, it also put weight on the formality of the Confucian body. On the other hand, Neo-Confucianism, buttressed by the more stable political order of the state, concerned itself with the ethics of human moral character, which integrated not only the level of the physical body but also the level of metaphysics.

The portraits of Confucius in the *SJT* give a visual representation of the characteristic features of humility, precaution, dignity, congeniality, and tidiness highlighted in the text of Book Ten. The *SJT* includes many nearly identical and related pictures, which can be classified into the following ten categories: lecturing, explanations, conversations, questions and answers, courtesy visits, reactions, reception of guests, carriage travel, playing the zither, and holding the jade tablet when going to court, as arranged in table 2. This table intends to classify the features of Confucius's motions in the *SJT* as he engages in particular activities.<sup>24</sup> For example, in the lecturing scene Confucius is put in the center, lecturing to the disciples standing before him.<sup>25</sup> He takes on a dignified expression. In the explanations scene, in images 1 to 3, Confucius uses explanatory hand gestures to the (hidden) disciples, and assumes a condescending expression. It is important to note that the same or almost identical features of his motions are repeated in each category of picture that depicts a particular activity. In other words, an identical pattern of motions is created to denote the sacredness of Confucius's actions. Thus, the power of signals is in operation to elevate all actions of Confucius to the level of sacredness. Historically speaking, those followers of Confucius who were in a position to appropriate the power of the signals that elevated him to sacred status were able to perpetuate the cultural power derived from it.

In terms of semiological analysis, the following action signals can be abstracted from the action pictures in the *SJT*, as shown in table 3. This semiological analysis reveals that the depictions of Confucius's actions in the *SJT* follow certain patterns to highlight their sacredness. Five characteristic traits can be discerned in the *SJT* drawings. First, Confucius appears larger than the surrounding figures, so as to visually illustrate his superior moral authority over others.<sup>26</sup> Second, Confucius's costumes are usually splendidly embroidered to outwardly illustrate his inner moral eminence. Third, the pictures are arranged horizontally to give them narrative sequence. These pictures are intended less to describe reality than to illustrate the thread of narration. A similar device can be found in East Asian painted scrolls, which are unrolled and "read" horizontally, with the eye following the flow of time.<sup>27</sup> The absence of

Table 2. Classification of pictures of actions in *SJT*

Category	Whole Picture	Action Captured						
		Serial Number						
Lecturing								
	19	19	38	95				
Explanations								
	17	17	23	30	64	16	81	96
Conversations								
	32	32	35	37	40	66	79	80
Q and A								
	22	22	28	50	61			
Courtesy Visits								
	12	12	14					

perspective in the drawings represents less a lack of skill than a means to bring themes and ideologies to attention, thus pointing to the existence of a world of episteme different from that of the world of Western drawing.<sup>28</sup> Fourth, the gaze of Confucius is directed obliquely to the side rather than to the front so as to give greater naturalness to the figure. Fifth, more often than not, the sides of figures are depicted, yet in the events of lecture, explanation, and conversation, the chest is directed to the front, despite the oblique direction of face and hands. Here we can see an application of the “frontality” trope, which characterizes the ancient



Table 2. Classification of pictures of actions in *SJT* (continued)



































Category	Whole Picture	Action Captured						
		Serial Number						
Reactions								
	24	24	26	57	92	93	31	33
								
		39	53	75				
Reception of Guests								
	55	55	56	86	87	89	97	
Carriage Travel								
	25	25	27	62	70	71	82	
Playing the Zither								
	11	11	21	36	85	88		
Holding a Jade Tablet								
	42	42	59					

Table 3. Semiological signs in the *SJT*






















Category	Action Signal		
	Body Action	Eyesight	Expression
Lecturing	Directed to the front with parallel hands	Directed to the front	Dignified
Explanations	Hands pointing to the object of speech	Directed to the audience	Serious
Conversations	Turning the head slightly to the partner with parallel hands	Directed to the partner	Serious
Q and A	Facing the partner either standing or sitting with parallel hands	Directed to the partner	Serious
Courtesy Visits	Bowing slightly with parallel hands	Directed to the partner	Polite
Reactions	Bowing substantially with parallel hands	Directed to the partner	Polite
Reception of Guests	Sitting squarely with parallel hands	Upward slightly to the partner	Polite
Carriage Travel	Sitting calmly	Directed to the outside	Careful
Playing the Zither	Sitting on chair with the zither either on knee or desk	Downward slightly	Restrained
Holding a Jade Tablet	Bowing with two hands holding the tablet	Directed to the tablet	Humble

Egyptian drawing of human figures.<sup>29</sup> The frontality trope had been used to highlight absolute authority, supernatural greatness, and mystical dignity. There was a double motivation behind the use of this device: the desire on the one hand to add a formalistic aura to the dignity of the figure, and on the other to inspire awe in the viewers by conveying such dignity to them.<sup>30</sup> In the events of lecturing, explanation, and conversation, Confucius's self comes to the fore by voicing his opinion and argument. The frontality device effectively depicts such moments in Confucius's self-expression.

#### *Reproduction of Images: Shengxian xiangzan (SXXZ)*

The action signals created in the *SJT* constituted a pattern that was reproduced repeatedly in the portraits of Confucius's disciples and later worthies. Table 4 shows the sacred images of Confucius that had been reproduced in the renderings of the deportment of his disciples and later worthies, as appearing in the *SXXZ*.<sup>31</sup> Comparing the *SJT* with the *SXXZ*, two points of difference are remarkable. First, the *SXXZ* lacks the background to the pictures seen in the *SJT*, focusing on the human figures. Second, in terms of textual characteristics, while the *SJT* provides an explanatory narrative of the pictorial representations of subject figures, the text in the *SXXZ* is a eulogy of their careers and achievements. The original sacred images of











Table 4. Department of Confucius's disciples and later worthies

Person	Whole Picture		Department Name					
Yan Yuan 顏淵								
	Kongzi / Yan Yuan (1)	Kongzi / Yan Yuan (2)	Yan Yuan (1)	Yan Yuan (2)	Kongzi / Yan Yuan (SJT)	Yan Yuan (SJT)		
Disciple	 Zi Zhang 子張							
			Zi Zhang 子張	Zi Xia 子夏	Zhong Gong 仲弓			
Later Sages	 Zeng Shen 曾參							
			Zeng Shen 曾參	Zi Si 子思	Mengzi 孟子			
Worthies in the Song	 Zhu Xi 朱熹							
			Zhu Xi 朱熹	Zhou敦-yi 周敦頤	Cheng Hao 程顥	Zhang Zai 張載	Cheng Yi 程頤	Shao Yong 邵雍

the *SJT* went through a process of simplified transformation when reproduced in the *SXXZ*.

The continuous reproduction of images resulted in the fixation and reinforcement of the original depictions. As shown in table 5, the everyday interactions

Table 5. Everyday episodes of Confucius and his disciples in the *SJT*

Whole Picture	Details of Printing Block				
	Serial Number				
					
	33	35	37	52	
					
33	53	67	79	91	93

between Confucius and his disciples are rendered as taking place in a relatively free atmosphere, suggesting that Confucius valued popular access to his doctrines,<sup>32</sup> even though he tried to maintain a principled attitude.<sup>33</sup> In a sense, Confucius seems to have walked a fine line between the formal/abstract actions that could be turned into symbolic power and the real/concrete actions that could provide a ground for communication with the general public. Communication could be made possible by allowing popular, practically feasible rites rather than insisting on the formal, prescribed rites. In the *SXXZ*, however, the department portraits of the disciples and later worthies progressively turn more rigid, acquiring definitely authoritarian overtones in the portraits of the Song worthies. This fixation and reinforcement of images in later periods coincided with their being used as visual vehicles to spread fixed and reinforced ideologies.

*Turning Images into Text: Action as Visualized Ideology*

The effect of communication can be greatly enhanced when linguistic and non-linguistic means are combined, the latter playing a no less significant role than the former. Confucius's means of communication in Book Ten largely consisted of non-linguistic signs, as shown in table 1. These non-linguistic means of communication have much to do with the structure and function of the Confucian perception of imagery. This implied the construction of a system by means of images, based on the interactions between the *signifiant* and the *signifié* in semiological terms. Non-linguistic means of communication in the form of gestures and movements are crucial here. The actions of Confucius used as non-linguistic means of communication in the text of Book Ten were initially intended to convey his virtues and doctrines as the *signifié*. Eventually, however, those actions transformed themselves into symbols of prestige, thus functioning to distinguish sage and layman, the man of virtue and the petty man, master and disciple, and monarch and sub-

ject. In pictorial depictions, the semiology of the image represents such structural distinctions.

The physical actions of Confucius as depicted in the *SJT* and the *SXXZ* are represented by a combination of both images and textual accounts, thus constituting a mixed system of means of communication. Still, it should be noted that the images by themselves independently convey messages, apart from their supplementary role in the communication of the message dominated by the textual accounts. Seen in this way the images are no longer a vehicle to convey the meaning of the text, but by themselves provide a “visualized ideology.”<sup>34</sup> In the area of non-linguistic communication, ideologies are transmitted by means of images that assume the function of a language. Thus, the images of action bring “image-derived-ideologies” to the field of communication. Here shape is not the bowl containing matter but the factor that changes matter.

The images depicting motions are at first derived from the meanings of the text. Yet they ultimately convey the inherent meaning by themselves. In other words, the images are used to convey a complex set of meanings that is hard or impossible for mere text to convey. The complex set of meanings intends for the reader to penetrate it and to achieve an “autonomous moralization.”

Confucius was fully aware of what Feinberg called “the public-harm principle,”<sup>35</sup> which justifies coercion in protecting the institutional means and control system designed to keep the public good. For him, coercion was a kind of “preventive coercion.”<sup>36</sup> From the concept of coercion, we can well understand the combination of the body and propriety (*li* 禮) in cultivating one’s morality (*xiushen* 修身). Confucius was aware that propriety not only guides and regulates one’s outer actions, one’s movements, speech, and bearing,<sup>37</sup> but also has an effect on one’s inner mental functions, on one’s emotions, understanding, imagination, and thinking,<sup>38</sup> which ultimately lead to volition. This volition empowers autonomous moralization, a “spontaneous order”<sup>39</sup> independent of any outer or inner force of coercion. Therefore, this spontaneous moralization is an “unintended consequence”<sup>40</sup> coming from a state in which one has achieved a fundamental freedom that is not concerned with the responsibility for the results of one’s actions.<sup>41</sup>

Cultivating one’s morality (*xiushen*) by integrating the body and propriety (*li*) in Confucianism is an enactment of the “autonomous moralization.” When the images are used to propagate the inherent will that empowers the self to perform the “autonomous moralization,” their effectiveness is assured by employing stylized signs of the sacred. This is because, just as the repeated physical exercise of propriety exerts an impact on the will in cultivating one’s morality, the repeated pattern of images has an effect on the will through artistic means.

In semiology, the principle of labeling implies that one image for which one text serves as a label supplies only one piece of information. An image should not be contextually related to another image, and *mutatis mutandis* the same goes for texts. Images are only connected to texts through the affixing of the label, and the only context of a text is the image.<sup>42</sup> In the Confucian text/image communication system, however, images such as portraits of worthies, though representing individuals, are

subsumed under an inclusive category of sacredness on the basis of their stylized physical motions. The reproduction of stylized motions in the Confucian text/image communication system does not fit the theory of labeling in semiology because the repetition of stylized motions makes the text as a label meaningless. This is the ultimate goal of Confucian physical deportment. From this, an image beyond a text becomes a new text (i.e., visualized ideology) for itself.

Roland Barthes remarked that images cannot effectively represent power relations and internalize ideologies in politics, culture, and society less than any textual message.<sup>43</sup> His theory illuminates the fact that in the unity of visual and ideological elements, pictorial images function to represent political, social, cultural, and historical codes no less than the textual medium. This function of pictorial images was facilitated by woodblock printing in the Ming dynasty. The growth of the woodblock printing culture in the Ming resulted in the preparation of images accompanying a wide range of Confucian texts like Book Ten. Woodblock printing produced a large number of copies, which duplicated the images of the sages. The same case is true of the sculptural molding of icons. It was out of the question to manufacture a new mold every time to show a differing image. That was not just a matter of the manufacturing cost; to repeat identical images was also effective in inscribing the messages associated with the icons on the mind. The stylized reproduction of sculptural and pictorial images, through the cumulative effect of the repetition, engendered a powerful “visualized ideology,” with the images fulfilling much more than their original role of representing the text. It is beyond question that the repetition of identical images serves as an effective promotion of the ideologies they represent. A formalized pattern when constantly repeated gives rise to the uniformity that is the ultimate goal of an ideology that aims for power.

### *Conclusion: The Confucian Body as Symbolic Power and Cultural Capital*

Although, in the case of Confucius, the pattern of daily routines originated from the semiological framework of the *signifiant* (i.e., physical body) and the *signifié* (i.e., inner virtue), the Confucian body or the Confucian physical form ultimately breaks out of that framework. The semiologically represented Confucian body comes to attain its own meaning beyond its initial function as a symbol to express inner virtue. It ultimately comes to possess symbolic power. The initial semiological body is established by inner virtue, yet the body with symbolic power does not revert to that inner virtue (i.e., the *signifié*). Since the body as symbolic power expresses visualized ideology or the *signifié*, the viewer responds to its inherent power, not to the inner virtue it originally intended to represent. As Confucius knew this mechanism of its functions, he put emphasis on the Confucian body as symbolic power, as evident in cultivating one's morality (*xiushen*) and in achieving the “harmonious state of outer grace and inner substance” (*wenzhi binbin*) (6.16).

The importance of the Confucian body as symbolic power accounts for the power of the images that represent it. The Confucian body and the Confucian texts turned into images through the medium of woodblock printing share signs of the

sacred. The text-derived images offer stylized images of Confucius and other sacred worthies that convey the prestige of sacred persons. In this “figuration-concept” combination,<sup>44</sup> the images have their own value, beyond their function of representation. The text of Book Ten serves to attach a label to the images. Yet, the text does not speak of those moral virtues and doctrines such as teaching by influence or ruling by morality and justice (*wangdo* 王道) that we normally expect from the *Analects*. Book Ten, as a visualized text, merely describes the actions of Confucius. Nonetheless, the visualized actions of Confucius are meant to represent the fixed and stylized actions that imply propriety (*li*) based on benevolence and righteousness (*ren* 仁 and *yi* 義). The subject who performs the stylized actions that signify propriety is none other than a sacred person to whom the virtues of benevolence and righteousness are guaranteed. Thus, the images assume the role of “figuration-concept” combination.

The fixed and stylized actions of the Confucian school or Confucian literati<sup>45</sup> were passed on among Confucians as an important element of prestige. Along with the body attitudes, another important element of prestige among Confucians was “recreation” or the “six classical arts” (*liuyi* 六藝), which represented the cultured manner of life for Confucians, and aimed at a monopolistic appreciation of art and culture.<sup>46</sup> The following episode shows how closely the body attitudes are related to the six classical arts:

The Master said, “There is no contention between gentlemen. The nearest to it is, perhaps, archery. In archery they bow and make way for one another as they go up and on coming down they drink together. Even the way they contend is gentlemanly.” (3.7)

The Master said, “In archery [as one of the six arts] the point lies not in piercing the hide, for the reason that strength varies from man to man.” (3.16)<sup>47</sup>

The Confucian gentlemen’s code of action while practicing archery as one of the six classical arts as laid down in *Analects* 3.7—“In archery they bow and make way for one another as they go up and on coming down they drink together”—is one example of the Confucian way of life. The phrase in *Analects* 3.7, “Even the way they contend is gentlemanly,” and the phrase in *Analects* 3.16, “In archery the point lies not in piercing the hide,” tell of the Confucian gentleman’s prestigious behavior, which is in contrast to the undisciplined behavior of small men. Zhu Xi’s note to *Analects* 3.7, that “Gentlemen bow three times before ascending the hall, and after descending the hall, they drink the penalty wine,”<sup>48</sup> is more detailed in defining the acts in the archery contest that lend prestige. Here, the prestige of Confucian gentlemen is defined and acknowledged through specified bodily forms. These bodily forms and the forms of propriety (*li*) in the six classical arts in general are symbols constituting a cultural capital that brings prestige to Confucian literati. When the Confucian literati possess power, the elements of their cultural capital, that is, the way they carry themselves and the six classical arts, turn into symbolic power.

Confucian prestige is cultivated by standardizing the attitudes of the body based on everyday rules of conduct (i.e., a body that assumes symbolic values), the “six classical arts” (i.e., a life style that symbolically expresses values), and “literati art”

(i.e., art that expresses such values), while this prestige in turn again promotes standard bodily attitudes, the six classical arts, and literati art. The prestige produced through this process is an intangible yet substantive form of the cultural capital of the Confucian literati, which functioned symbolically to distinguish them definitively from the rest of society.<sup>49</sup>

In Confucian society, what effected the transformation from ascriptive status to that of a Confucian literatus distinguished by learning and moral virtue, and then to that of a scholar official who belonged to the elite that monopolized the creation and control of intellectual discourse, were individual merit and ability. Yet, what demonstrated this transformation visually and elicited tacit agreement with its legitimacy was distinctive prestige derived from bodily attitudes. The prestige of such distinctions as a form of cultural capital prompts its symbolic power, which in turn reinforces its standing.

The cultural power of Confucian gentlemen was based not on an economic foundation but on the prestige derived from their morality and ideals.<sup>50</sup> This cultural capital, which can be referred to as propriety (*li*), was inherited and preserved within the world of the Confucian literati class in an effort to monopolize it. Confucian ethical codes constituted the means for transferring cultural capital, while the rules based on the doctrine of propriety transmitted the authoritativeness of this cultural capital. The dominant position of Confucian literati was maintained through the Confucian gentlemen's cultural resources (i.e., the six classical arts) and the methods of their ritual practice. The cultural power of Confucian literati was a symbolic power. Yet, when they exercised political power as government officials, their symbolic power turned into real power. Such symbolic power based on cultural symbols continued to function as a mold fashioning and reproducing the dominant status of Confucian literati in society despite the changes of the times and circumstances.<sup>51</sup> The stylized images of Confucian bodily forms and the stylized bearing of prestigious Confucian gentlemen created a visualized ideology that dictated the perpetuation of Confucian ideals.

From the Song dynasty on, the Confucian literati combined Confucian bodily attitudes with a Confucian manner of life based on the six classical arts to gain prestige as a form of cultural capital, and they turned this cultural capital into a cultural power that actualized their power in the real world. Thereafter, until the end of the Qing dynasty the Confucian literati, on the basis of their political power, continued to produce and dominate the discourse of each given age. Then the discourse in producing and dominating needed a mechanism of communication, because the discourse was predicated on consensus and common aspirations among members of the literati class. In this communication they came to have an "agreed code" for themselves.<sup>42</sup> Symbolic power, derived from this "agreed code" and expressed in daily body postures and the six classical arts, was used by the literati in producing and dominating the discourse of the times.

Power in general fears change in the existing order. In order to block reform and innovation, upholding conventional norms as sacred is considered most effective. Since Confucianism was to a high degree informed by its own interpretation of an



ideal past, it naturally cooperated with the powers of conservatism. One form of this cooperation was the union of power, the Confucian school, and art, which gave birth to the *SJT*. Power used stylized images to supply the symbols that would tie the mental world of its subjects to the past, and turned the images into a visualized ideology. Therefore, the *SJT* can be seen as a sign of the transformation of Confucianism as learning (*ruxue* 儒學) to Confucianism as religious ideology (*rujiao* 儒教). The *SJT* as a combination of power, Confucianism, and art has two characteristics, namely the systematic idolization of Confucius and the effort to have Confucianism pervade society at large.<sup>53</sup> To Alfred North Whitehead, a necessary function in every society is “a continuous process of pruning, and of adaptation to a future ever requiring new forms of expression.”<sup>54</sup> As long as the Confucian school survived, however, the process Whitehead mentioned did not work due to the union of power, Confucian school, and art, and thus old symbols have continued to be used. Taken as a whole, however, the union of power, Confucian school, and art cannot be defined negatively as only a “distorted” innovation. On the other hand, by creating a sense of cultural homogeneity beyond a particular time and place this union not only brought formal stability to members of the Confucian literati class, but also produced an effective medium of communication.

#### Notes

I am indebted to the anonymous reviewers for their questions and comments on this article. I am grateful to Boudewijn Walraven for his editing and important comments. My gratitude also goes to Son Cheol Bae for his valuable help. The publication of this work was supported by the fund of the Multi-disciplinary Project Unit for “Global Scholarship Promotion in the 21st Century—Amalgamating and Spreading East Asian Studies” at Sungkyunkwan University, and it was also supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea by the Korean Government (MEST) (NRF-2007-361-AL0014).

- 1 – David Swartz, *Culture and Power: the Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Tao Dongfeng, trans., *Wenhua yu quanli: Buerdie de shehuixue* (Culture and power: The sociology of Pierre Bourdieu) (Shanghai: Shanghai Yiwu Chubanshe, 2006), pp. 7–9.
- 2 – *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 3 – Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in John G. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 241–258.
- 4 – The transformation of Confucian learning into Confucian religious ideology may be regarded as an aspect of the paradigm of “empowered Confucianism” or “Confucianism-as-power”; in that state power used Confucianism in order to secure and maintain its political legitimacy, especially from the Ming dynasty

on. Turning images into visualized ideology, that is, “empowered signals” or “signals-as-power,” also fits this paradigm. This paradigm, which is seen as a relation of image and text, may be more clearly understood by other examples of “empowered Confucianism” or “Confucianism-as-power” established in various realms in ancient China. Meanwhile, the fact that in the present article I refer exclusively to Chinese scholars’ views may be regarded as a limitation of the scope of this article. The interpretation I present, however, is entirely my own, and reference to other scholars would not substantially change it.

- 5 – Li Zehou, *Zhongguo gudai sixiangshi lun* (Intellectual history of ancient China) (Beijing: Renmin Chubanshe, 1986), p. 16.
- 6 – Jin Guantao, *Zai lishi de biaoxiang beihou* (Background of historical representations) (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1983), p. 40.
- 7 – Li Xiantang, *Xian Qin rujia de zhuanzhi zhuyi jingshen* (The autocratic spirit of the pre-Qin Confucian school) (Beijing: Zhongguo Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 2003), p. 184.
- 8 – Yan Buke, *Shidafu zhengzhi yanshengshi gao* (The development of politics by the scholar-official class) (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 1998), p. 454.
- 9 – Liu Zehua, Wang Maohe, and Wang Lansong, *Zhuanzhi quanli yu Zhongguo shehui* (Autocratic power and Chinese society) (Tianjin: Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, 2005), p. 214.
- 10 – Ge Quan, “Chongsheng yu shehui kongzhi” (Sage worship and social control), in Liu Zehua, ed., *Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi zhaxue yu shehui zhenghe* (Traditional political thought in China and social integration) (Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe, 2000), pp. 242–245.
- 11 – Li Dongjun, *Kongzi shenghua yu ruzhe geming* (The sacred elevation of Confucius and the Confucian revolution) (Beijing: Beijing Renmin Daxue Chubanshe, 2004), pp. 102–128.
- 12 – The concept of cultural power is in line with “culture-as-power.” In this context, culture does not exercise such governmental authority as political or state power; however, it produces an intrinsic power wielding practical influence over judgments, perceptions, and decisions. The fundamental factors producing this intrinsic power are not physical pressure but psychological agreement, respect, and willing obedience to “the cultural,” that is, cultural knowledge, dignity, and professionalism. In this way, the “power” in cultural power refers to a spontaneous internal pressure, involving mental respect and cognitive approval, which is not less than the physical pressure implied in the “power” of the state.
- 13 – Confucius’s deportment or appearance as described in Book Ten provides the following three sources for analysis. First, the written description of Confucius’s deportment in his day-to-day activities—of his facial expressions, mode of

speech, walking, hand gestures, and body positions—had the potential to be turned into visual images (see table 1). Second, from individual actions, such mental qualities as humility, dignity, and precaution can be abstracted. Third, Confucius's bodily motions, the direction of his gaze, and his facial expression provide signals that can be interpreted in a semiotic way.

- 14 – Ye Shuxian, “‘Xue er shi xi zhi’ xinyi” (A new understanding of verse 1, book 1 of the *Analects*), in *Wenyi zhengming* (Contention of literature and art) 2 (2006): 66–74.
- 15 – Hahm Chaibong, “Confucian Rituals and the Technology of the Self: A Foucaultian Interpretation,” *Philosophy East and West* 51, no. 3 (July 2001), p. 317.
- 16 – Hereafter the interpunctuation and numbering of chapters and paragraphs will follow those of Yang Bojun's *Lunyu yizhu* 論語譯注 (Translations and notes on *the Analects*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1980). Chapter and paragraph numbers given in parentheses are all for the *Analects*, unless otherwise indicated.
- 17 – For visualized ideology, see note 34.
- 18 – Lü Dalin, *Sishu bianzheng* 四書辨證 (Differentiation of the Four Books), in Cheng Shude, *Lunyu jishi* 論語集釋 (Collected commentaries of the *Analects*) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006), p. 636.
- 19 – The English translations of the texts from Book Ten are quoted from D. C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 101–102, 105.
- 20 – Kim Gi-ju, Hwang Ji-won, and Lee Gi-hun trans., *Gongja seongjeok do* (Pictures of Confucius's life) (Seoul: Yemun Seowon, 2003), p. 2.
- 21 – Julia K. Murray, “The Temple of Confucius and Pictorial Biographies of the Sage,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 2 (May 1996): 271.
- 22 – So far, the *SJT* has not received much scholarly attention, for the following reasons. First, it does not shed new light on Confucius's activities and thought. Second, it has lent a supra-human quality to Confucius's behavior and life. Third, the depicted customs are removed from the contemporary context of Confucius's times. These shortcomings direct us to rethink the *SJT* not as a product of the historical study of Confucius's life but as a product of religious practice influenced by Buddhism and Daoism. Printed images made their first appearance in China as religious images, which were more accessible to ordinary people for an understanding of religious principles and tenets than the difficult written classics. The *SJT* presents the visual images of Confucius's life and thought in chronological fashion, arranged point-by-point, thus effectively conveying its themes to ordinary people (see Kim, Hwang, and Lee, *Gongja seongjeok do*, pp. 15–17).
- 23 – The *SJT* was published in a variety of media, such as woodblock prints, paintings on silk, and incised stone tablets. The present article omits the comparisons

in style and format between the *SJT* publications through different media and through different editions because of its focus on a semiological analysis of the *SJT* pictures. This article makes use of the *Kongzi shengji tu* (Pictures of Confucius's shrines) (Jinan: Shandong Youyi Chubanshe, 1997), edited by Kong Xianglin, preserved at the Temple of Confucius. Among the 104 pictures in this edition, 58 pieces are shown in the present article. For the history of the *SJT*, see Kong, *ibid.*, and Murray, "The Temple of Confucius and Pictorial Biographies of the Sage," pp. 269–277.

- 24 – Only the pictures of Confucius are taken from Kong's *Kongzi shengji tu*, with serial numbers.
- 25 – For a better understanding of the printed pictures in tables 2 and 4, one picture is presented integrally at the head of each category.
- 26 – Figures higher in social status than Confucius are sometimes identical in size.
- 27 – Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Seo Seong, trans., *Geurim sok eui geurim* (The double screen) (Seoul: Isan, 1999), p. 61.
- 28 – Park So-hyeon, "Power, Image, Text—Illustrated Gong'an 公案 Texts in the Late Ming Period," Daedong Institute for Korean Studies at Sungkyunkwan University, ed., *Daedong munhwa yeon'gu* (Journal of Eastern studies) 61 (2008): 282.
- 29 – The "frontality" discovered by J. Lange and A. Erman is a drawing technique from ancient Egypt for depicting the human body. No matter what pose the human body chose to take, the chest part faced the viewer, hence the frontal direction, thus enabling a vertical line to divide the upper body into two symmetrical parts (Arnold Hauser, *Sozialgeschichte der Kunst und Literatur* [München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953]; Baek Nak-cheong trans., *Munhak gwa yesul eui sahoesa* [The social history of literature and art] [Seoul: Changjak gwa Bipyeong Sa, 1995], p. 49).
- 30 – Lim Tae-seung, "Xujia wenren xianxiang: Rujia meixue fanshi zai Chaoxian houqi yishushehuixue li de yiyi he jiazhi" (The pseudo-literati phenomenon: The significance and values of the paradigm of Confucian aesthetics in the late Joseon dynasty), Institute of Confucian Philosophy and Culture at Sungkyunkwan University ed., *Yugyo munhwa yeon'gu* (Journal of Confucian philosophy and culture), International edition, 6 (2006): 135–136.
- 31 – The *Shengxian xiangzan* 聖賢像讚 (Portraits and encomia of sages and worthies) (Beijing: Xueyuan Chubanshe, 2000) was compiled by Lü Weiqi during the Chongzhen period (1628–1644) of the Ming dynasty, containing portraits, short biographies, and eulogies written by emperors and dignitaries, of many Confucian worthies from Confucius to Lü Zhaoxiang of the Ming dynasty. Unless otherwise indicated, the pictures in table 4 are from the *SXXZ*.

- 32 – For example, Confucius said, “A ceremonial cap of linen is what is prescribed by the rites. Today black silk is used instead. This is more frugal and I follow the majority” (9.3).
- 33 – For example, Confucius said, “The Chou is resplendent in culture, having before it the example of the two previous dynasties. I am for the Chou” (3.14). Or, Confucius said, “To prostrate oneself before ascending the steps is what is prescribed by the rites. Today one does so after having ascended them. This is casual and, though going against the majority, I follow the practice of doing so before ascending” (9.3).
- 34 – If shapes are endowed with meanings and values, an ideology emerges from the shapes. In other words, cognitively ideology emerges from visual shapes. For example, in literati pictures, the bamboo tree extolled as one of the “four Confucian gentlemen” represents the uprightness of the Confucian gentleman, a moral quality; it is not the beauty of its straight shape that is ultimately relevant. In the present article, ideology represented by visual shapes is called “visualized ideology.”
- 35 – Joel Feinberg, *Social Philosophy* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 25–26.
- 36 – *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 37 – The constraints of *li* 禮 with regard to the body are well expressed in the “Neize” 內則 (Inner law) section of the *Liji* 禮記 (Book of rites).
- 38 – This point is clearly articulated in the “Twenty-fifth Year Rule of Zhaogong 昭公,” in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo commentary).
- 39 – This term of M. Polanyi was quoted by Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 160, and requoted in Shi Yuankang, “Zifa de zhixu yu wuweierzhi” (Spontaneous order and ruling by doing nothing), *Zhongguo shehuikexue jikan* (Chinese social science quarterly) 7, (1994): 92.
- 40 – Shi, “Zifa de zhixu yu wuweierzhi,” p. 93.
- 41 – Confucius expressed this highest state by saying “at seventy I followed my heart’s desire without overstepping the line” (2.4).
- 42 – Bernard Bosredon, “Communication non-verbale et communication verbale dans l’interaction image/texte,” Hanguk Gihohakhoe (Korean Society of Semiology), ed., *Momjit eoneo wa gihohak* (Body language and semiology) (Seoul: Munhak gwa Jiseong Sa, 2002), p. 65.
- 43 – Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, selected and trans. from the French by Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), pp. 116–121.
- 44 – Bosredon, “Communication non-verbale et communication verbale dans l’interaction image/texte,” pp. 66–67.

- 45 – The literati class, making their appearance in the Tang dynasty, took firm root in Chinese society by the time of the Song. The literati combined the multiple aspects of power, scholarship, morality, and art, thus acting as public officials, arbiters of Confucian wisdom, superior moralists, and artists expressing their inner world in literary and artistic forms. The creation of important discourses within society was dominated by the literati class until the end of the Qing dynasty (Lim Tae-seung, “Xujia wenren xianxiang,” p. 274).
- 46 – Reinhold Niebuhr remarks that the nobility had a high appreciation for the “life style of the leisured class,” and regarded rites as belonging to the category of morality (Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* [New York: Scribner, 1960], pp. 125–126). In addition, Kojima Tsuyoshi attributes the leadership position of the scholar-official class since the Song dynasty to their “cultural prestige” rather than to their economic class background (Kojima Tsuyoshi, *Shushigaku do Yomeigaku* [Tokyo: Hosodaigaku Kyoiku Shinkokai, 2004]; Shin Hyeon-seug, trans., (*Sadaebu eui sidae* [The age of noblemen] [Seoul: Dong Asia, 2004], pp. 34–35). Niebuhr’s “life style of the leisured class” can be comparable to the “Confucian life style” or the “six classical arts” of the literati class, which constituted the source of “cultural prestige” mentioned by Kojima.
- 47 – The English translation of the texts is quoted from D. C. Lau, *Confucius*, pp. 68 and 70.
- 48 – I cite Zhu Xi’s commentary on three times bowing simply to show the manner by which personal prestige is established. The prestige in this context had little to do with Zhu’s ideology.
- 49 – The two passages above from the *Analects*, “Book Three,” show the connection between the six classical arts and the prestige of their performers.
- 50 – Propriety (*li*), codes of physical deportment, and the procedures of rites, designed as effective vehicles to realize moral virtues and ideals, comprise cultural capital.
- 51 – “The cybernetics theory of our age points to the fact that as long as an identical organ in [an]other dimension has the ability to preserve the data of its original structure, then it can restore the original organ. When a system is stable, it reproduces the data of its structure to a system inside it. When such a system is destroyed, the identical system tries to restore the broken system on the basis of reproduced data” (Jin Guantao, *Zai lishi de biaoxiang beihou* [The background of historical signals] [Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin Chubanshe, 1983], p. 114).
- 52 – “Bodily language is less for transferring information than for spreading signs of shared beliefs so as to strengthen solidarity in a community” (Lee Seung-hwan, “A Semiological Study of Body,” Hanguk Gihohakhoe [Korean Society of Semiology], ed., *Sam gua giho* [Life and symbols] [Seoul: Munhak gwa Jiseong Sa, 1997], p. 44).

- 53 – Another example of systematic idolization is the Temple of Confucius. The idolization of Confucius as *suwang* 素王, virtuous enough to be a king, combines Confucian orthodoxy with the legitimacy of a ruler. Emperors of the Chinese dynasties demonstrated the legitimacy of their rule by offering sacrifice in the temples of their ancestors. Likewise, the Temple of Confucius was given a similar symbolic legitimacy, which could be utilized in the ruling of the dynasties. These cultural efforts to establish the legitimacy and prestige of heroes through the means of offering sacrifices can be found in the worship of Guan Yu 關羽 from the Three Kingdoms era and the spreading of his shrines to local village communities. For the Confucianization of Guan Yu and its function, see Prasenjit Duara, *Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Wang Fuming trans., *Wenhua, quani yu guojia: 1900–1942 nian de huabei nongcun* (Culture, Power, and the State: Rural North China, 1900–1942) (Nanjing: Jiangsu Renmin Chubanshe, 1995), pp. 127–134.
- 54 – Alfred North Whitehead, *Symbolism: Its Meaning and Effect* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1959), p. 61.