

Ethics in Early China
An Anthology

Edited by
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For
Chad Hansen
— colleague, teacher, friend



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Embodied Virtue, Self-Cultivation, and Ethics

Lisa Raphals

Virtue ethics, one of the three major contemporary approaches to normative ethics, places emphasis on virtue or moral character. Within the Greek context on which it draws, it is centrally concerned with the key concepts of virtue (*aretê*), practical wisdom (*phronesis*), and the “good life” (*eudaimonia*).¹ In this chapter I offer a view of the first two, *aretê* and *phronesis*, that differs from the prevailing approaches of virtue ethics. I explore Chinese and Greek views of virtue and character derived from self-cultivation practices based on notions of ethics and virtue as specifically embodied and of selves that are “cultivated” by physical practices with an explicitly physical dimension. The immediate occasion for this chapter was the 2008 Summer Olympic Games in Beijing and the implicitly comparative problems they raise about the role of virtue in athletic competition. These problems provide a useful framework for examining broader ethical aspects of embodied Chinese self-cultivation practices. I discuss notions of embodied virtue and self-cultivation in three contexts: early Confucian texts, Daoist and technical works, and finally in a comparative perspective.

An important role of the Olympic Games in Greece was the mediation of inter-polis relations.² Needless to say, the problem of harmonizing, pacifying, or aligning various *poleis* through periods of war and peace did not occur as such in imperial China and arguably did not occur during the periods of non-imperial control, especially the Warring States. So we may speculate at the outset that there is nothing in China that we could, or arguably should, attempt to compare to the Games as a set of sociopolitical and cultural institutions. I argue against that speculation in order to look in a different direction, namely, how self-cultivation was understood. The context of the Games and athletic competition offers an opportunity to consider the role of embodied self-cultivation practices in Warring States and Hàn China. It also offers an interesting comparative

prospect. How do we compare athletics or physical self-cultivation between a tradition that is monistic in the sense that body, mind, and spirit form a continuum with an aggressively dualistic tradition that posits a complete separation between mind and body? Finally, it offers an interesting alternative to both virtue ethics (as it is usually construed) and to consequentialism as a way of looking at early Chinese philosophical thought.

Self-Cultivation and Athletic Performance

“Sport” is something that has an enduring and transnational appeal, and it might be said that we “recognize it when we see it.” But what do we mean by sport or athletics? Among theorists of the origin of sport, there are three basic approaches, each with its problems: ethological, Marxist, and religio-ritual.³ Ethologists view sport as a manifestation of instinctive behavior. Marxists derive sport from the processes of labor and production. More interesting for present purposes is the view that all sport is based on ritual, sacrifice, and religion; sport has even been defined as “the ritual sacrifice of physical energy” (Sansone 1992, 37). But what does that “sacrifice” involve or presuppose? I want to suggest that, at least in early China, three practices form a continuum:

1. “Athletic” contests that involve skilled and possibly competitive specialized athletic performance, possibly derived from, or assimilated to, combat.⁴
2. Physical exercise, “self-cultivation” regimens, and other related practices understood to “transform the *qì* 氣” for purposes of health and longevity.
3. Ritual performance that was viewed as a fundamental aspect of the cultivation of virtue and ethics.

It could be argued that these practices had different purposes: competition, moral development, health, and so on. Where they form a continuum is in the nature of the techniques used and the ethical, religio-medical, and metaphysical assumptions behind them.

I argue that Chinese “athletic performances” are based on notions of virtue and self-cultivation. I use these terms beyond the trivial point that athletic excellence, like any other, requires great effort and cultivates, at the very least, the physical self. Aristocratic competitions in archery, charioteering, and the like were judged not by victory but by quality of performance. They were linked to broadly Ruist (“Confucian”) notions of ethics and virtue. But they are also part of a broader set of “embodied virtue” traditions, based on: (1) the tacit and unexpressed view that mind and body are a continuum rather than a duality, and (2) the explicit view that embodied self-cultivation practices can

transform the *qì*. These include, but are not limited to, athletic performance properly undertaken. This view of embodied virtue is grounded in late Warring States physiognomy and medicine. It was also closely linked to “Daoist” texts, to southern schools (nowadays most visible in excavated texts from the state of Chǔ 楚), and in “moralized” views of health in the traditions that culminated as the *Huángdì Nèijīng* 黃帝內經.

A Ruist View

Archery Contests in the Analects, Mencius, and Lǐjì

Chinese athletic performances included court competitions in archery and charioteering, but in some accounts at least, competition was not their primary purpose. Archery appears indirectly in Chinese ritual and historical texts through ritual hunts. The emperor and his officials personally shot game and sacrificed the meat at imperial tombs.⁵ But archery as a manifestation of the virtue of the athlete first appears in the *Analects* (*Lúnyǔ* 論語). The *Analects* refers to ritual archery contests of the nobility, but Confucius praises less the skill of archery than the character of the *jūnzǐ* 君子 (gentleman), expressed in noncompetitive behavior. For example, in *Analects* 3:7 Confucius says, “The *jūnzǐ* has nothing over which he contends.” He uses the example of archery; the archer behaves with ritual courtesy and, although in contest with others, remains a *jūnzǐ*. Elsewhere Confucius remarks that, in archery, the important point is not hitting the target, because people’s strength is not equal (3:16).

For Mencius (3A:3), archery was one of four traditional institutions that make the people understand human relationships: *xiáng* 庠 (rearing), *xù* 序 (archery), *xué* 學 (learning), and *xiào* 校 (teaching). The “*Zhōngyōng*” 中庸 chapter of the *Lǐjì* 禮記 also ascribes to Confucius the view that archery revealed moral superiority:

In archery there is something like the *jūnzǐ*. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause in his person.⁶

A *Lǐjì* chapter devoted to archery describes the conduct and meaning of ceremonial archery contests and explicitly links archery style to character. After describing the general conduct of the archers, it states that “in this way it is possible to observe the virtue (*dé* 德) of their conduct (*xíng* 行).”⁷ The *Shèyì* 射義 makes an explicit link between archery and benevolence, which elaborates on the previous passage: “Archery is a *dào* 道 of benevolence (*rén* 仁). The

archer seeks to be correct in himself and then discharges the arrow. Again, if he misses, he is not angry with a superior archer, but seeks the cause of failure in himself."⁸

Cultivating Radiant Qi

Nonetheless, the picture presented of ritual athletic activity in explicitly Ruist texts is idealized. We may question whether the archer was not primarily trying to win. But even if he was, the physical practice of archery to describe virtue mirrors other passages in which Mencius emphasizes the importance of embodied virtue. Ritual and other physical performances entail a view of material virtue grounded in the transformation of *qi*. Let me mention two examples.

In 2A:2, Mencius famously describes *qi* as filling the body and moved by the will:

The will is commander over the *qi*, while the *qi* is that which fills the body. The *qi* halts where the will arrives.

When Gōngsūn Chǒu 公孫丑 asks Mencius about his own particular strengths, he replies:

I understand language, and I am good at nurturing my radiant ("flood-like") *qi*.⁹

He emphasizes that the radiant *qi* is difficult to describe but nonetheless gives hints for how to nurture it:

This is a *qi* which is, in the highest degree, vast and unyielding. If you are straightforward in nourishing it and never harm it, it will fill all the space between heaven and earth. It is a *qi* that puts together righteousness (*yi* 義) and *Dào* 道. Without these, it starves. It is what is born from accumulating righteousness; you cannot win righteousness by luck or grasp it in your hand. (2A:2)

Physiognomy

Given Mencius's view that virtue arises in part from physical self-cultivation of the *qi*, we might expect the results also to be visible in the body. In several passages, Mencius does seem to say that self-cultivation transforms the body and its appearance. It is visible in a jade-like countenance and in the appearance of the eyes. In 7A:21, he describes the four virtues of the *jūnzǐ* (*rén* 仁, *yì* 義, *lǐ*

禮, and *zhì* 智) rooted in the heartmind and visible in the body. They produce a glossy coloration visible in the face and visible in the limbs. "The four limbs do not speak, but they convey it."

But if virtue is visible in the body, it should be possible to "read" it, and Mencius effectively defends the practice of physiognomy:

In examining others, nothing is more effective than the pupils. The pupils cannot conceal evil. If that within the chest is upright [*zhèng* 正], the pupils are clear and bright; if it is not, they are clouded. If you listen to their words and examine their pupils, how can people hide anything?¹⁰

Xúnzǐ 荀子, by contrast, rejected physiognomy as based on endowments received at birth and thus not an indicator of self-cultivation. In a similar vein, the Hàn iconoclast Wáng Chōng 王充 explicitly attacks Mencius's physiognomy on the grounds that clarity or cloudiness of the eyes is determined at birth and does not depend on character.¹¹ In summary, for Mencius, this theory of *qi* linked the development of ethics and virtue and the transformed appearance of a sage.¹²

Embodied Virtue: A Broader Chinese Perspective

Now I turn to a more broadly Chinese view of embodied self-cultivation practices. Mencius's views about *qi* conform to and probably draw on a culture of embodied (bodily based) self-cultivation practices, aptly described in a recent book by Mark Csikszentmihalyi. These practices and the concepts behind them structured much of early Daoism, medical theory, and, more broadly, important areas of early Chinese ethics and metaphysics.¹³ Such "material virtue" traditions held that the body-mind was constructed of *qi* and that embodied self-cultivation practices could transform *qi*. Such views informed Warring States accounts of dietary practices, exercise regimens, breath meditation, sexual cultivation techniques, and other technical traditions associated with *fāngshì* 方士 (masters of recipes). Material virtue traditions also had important links with "Daoist" texts and southern schools, as well as potential links to the "moralization" of health in the traditions that culminated as the *Huángdì Nèijīng*. Accounts of these practices appear in passing in the texts of the received tradition. Many more come from texts excavated from tombs.

Daoist "Virtue" Traditions

Several early Daoist texts describe what happens when a sage transforms the *qì* that constitutes the body. Here the emphasis is not visible virtue but actual power.

The *Nèiyè* 內業 clearly refers to cultivation of *qì*, *jīng* 精 (vital essence), and *shén* 神 (spirit), specifies that the cultivation of *dé* 德 or "power" must be worked on each day, and describes *Dào* as pervading the person of a sage.

Respectful and cautious, and avoiding excesses, he daily renews his power (*dé*). He comes to understand everything in the world and thoroughly examines its four extremities.¹⁴

The *Zhuāngzǐ* 莊子 and other texts refer to the figure of the *shén rén* 神人 (spirit-person) as someone who has effectively transformed the physical body and the *qì* that constitutes it. *Zhuāngzǐ* 1 describes the *shén rén* of Gūyè 姑射, who concentrates his *shén*, avoids the five grains, rides the clouds, and, through the concentration of his *shén*, "protects creatures from sickness and epidemic and makes the yearly harvest ripen."¹⁵ This passage suggests that a realized sage can have a nurturing effect even on the world at large, by acting at a distance. The *Zhuāngzǐ* does not indicate that these effects are intended; they may be simply a by-product of self-cultivation practices.

Zhuāngzǐ 22 clearly identifies *qì* as the basis of the physical constitution of the body: "Human birth is caused by the gathering together of *qì*" (*Zhuāngzǐ* 22: 733). A related strand of fourth-century BCE thinking about embodied virtues stresses the need to regulate the *qì* of one's constitution in order to achieve emotional balance. Passages of this kind occur in the *Zuǒ Zhuàn* 左傳 and the *Guānzǐ* 管子.¹⁶

The *Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 呂氏春秋 describes how the sages "made their numinous essence (*jīng shén*) tranquil, and preserved and lengthened their longevity."¹⁷ The *Zhuāngzǐ* also describes harmonizing or taking charge of the six *qì*:

The *qì* of heaven is out of harmony, the *qì* of earth is tangled and snarled. The six *qì* are out of adjustment, the four seasons are out of order. Now I want to harmonize the essences of the six *qì* in order to nurture life. (11:386)

There are many other passages that could be adduced. The point is that a sage or numinous person achieves that status through physical as well as meta-physical means, which are not distinguished. Similarly, a broad category of *yǎngshēng* 養生 ("self-cultivation" or "nurturing life") techniques sought physical self-cultivation and longevity. These included therapeutic gymnastics, dietetics, breath cultivation, and sexual cultivation.

Medicine, Fāng Arts, and Physiognomy in Excavated Texts

Now I turn to technical texts of a slightly different orientation: health, longevity, and the assessment of the "virtues" of people and objects. For example, many titles of medical manuscripts excavated from tombs describe techniques for self-cultivation through dietary, exercise, and sexual practices. These fragments and titles suggest the extent to which early self-cultivation techniques were linked to magico-medical and technical expertise traditions.

Most of these texts do not survive in the received tradition, but we can get some idea of their contents from the titles of lost texts in the *Hànshū* 漢書 *Yìwénzhì* 藝文誌.¹⁸ It lists the titles of texts in the imperial library under six categories in an explicitly descending hierarchy that created a paradigm used by subsequent compendia to classify texts.¹⁹ So, even though many of the titles are no longer extant, they provide a guide to categories of knowledge used by Hān thinkers. Most useful here are the last two of the six sections of the treatise, "Numbers and Techniques" (*Shùshù* 數術) and "Recipes and Methods" (*Fāngjì* 方技).

The "Recipes and Methods" section includes the *Huángdì Nèijīng* as well as the titles of other medical works concerned with physical cultivation, health, and longevity. For example, the *jīngfāng* 經方 subsection includes "Recipes for Married Women and Infants" and "Food Prohibitions of Shén Nóng 神農 and Huáng Dì 黃帝" (*Hànshū* 30.1777-78).

The sexual arts section includes five texts titled "The *Yīn* Way" (*yīn dào* 陰道), ascribed to *Yáo* 堯 and *Shùn* 舜 and other putative masters.²⁰ It also includes a "*Yīn* and *Yáng* of [the star god] *Tiān Yī* 天一," "Recipes for Nurturing *Yáng* of *Huáng Dì* and the Sage-Kings," and "Inner Chamber Recipes of the Three Schools for Having Children."

Other sections describe physical exercises and therapeutic techniques, such as "Stepping and Pulling Book of *Huáng Dì* and Other Masters," "Massage of *Huáng Dì* and *Qí Bó* 岐伯," and several titles on fungi and mushrooms and household recipes (*jiāfāng* 家方).

The subject matter of these texts is borne out by medical and esoteric texts excavated from *Mǎwángduī* 馬王堆 (*Chángshā*, *Húnán*, 168 BCE).²¹ For example, "Eliminating Grain and Eating Vapor" concerns dietetics and breath cultivation.²² "Drawings of Guiding and Pulling" is a series of forty-four drawings of human figures performing exercises, some with captions. Some are described in another excavated text, the *Yīnshū* 引書 or "Pulling Book" from *Zhāngjiāshān* 張家山 (*Jiānglíng*, *Húběi*). Both exemplify a tradition of exercise for both therapy and health known as *dǎoyīn* 導引 (pulling and guiding). "Recipes for Nurturing Life" consists of eighty-seven recipes, including food, drugs, and beverages, along with several sexual cultivation exercises. "Various

Restricted Recipes” is a series of charms, including remedies for marital problems and crying babies and love charms to secure the affections of another. “Harmonizing *Yīn* and *Yáng*” and “Discussion of the Culminant Way of All under Heaven” refer to the movements and postures of animals as whole-body metaphors for sexual techniques.²³ The *Yīnshū* also describes exercises that refer to or are named after animals, including inchworms, snakes, mantises, wild ducks, owls, tigers, chickens, bears, frogs, deer, and dragons.

In summary, most of the above texts can be described as part of a “*yǎngshēng* 養生 culture,” which offered and emphasized control over the physiological processes of the body and mind, understood as transformations of *qì*. These transformations were understood as self-cultivation in the coterminous senses of moral excellence, health, and longevity (rather than medical pathology) and physiological transformation through the manipulation of *qì*.²⁴

Physiognomy

If the transformed *qì* of a cultivated individual was visible in the body, the corollary was that a skilled individual could “read” these transformations. In theory at least, the ability to physiognomize persons and things allowed a skilled reader to assess the merit, not only of individuals but of animals and plants used in agriculture, and even of material used in warfare.

Within the transmitted tradition, titles of texts on physiognomy appear in the “Numbers and Techniques” section of the *Hànshū Yīwénzhì*. All the texts are lost, but their titles give an indication of their concerns, including a range of titles on practical physiognomy: “Military Prohibitions and Physiognomizing Clothing and Material,” “*Shén Nóng*’s Cultivations of Fields, Physiognomizing the Earth, and Plowing and Planting,” “Planting Trees, Storing Fruit, Physiognomizing Silkworms,” “Physiognomizing People,” “Physiognomizing Precious Swords and Knives,” and “Physiognomizing Six Kinds of Animals” (*Hànshū* 30: 1773–75).

These titles suggest the practical and technical uses to which these skills were put. Physiognomy could be used to assess the economic worth of objects (clothing, equipment, swords), animals (domestic animals, silkworms), and people. Excavated texts on physiognomy emphasize these practical contexts, for example, a text from *Yínquèshān* 銀雀山 (*Línyí*, Shāndōng c. 140–118 BCE) on the physiognomizing of dogs, a Han sword physiognomy text from *Jūyán* 居延 (*Gānsū*), and a text on the physiognomy of horses from *Mǎwángduī*. All share the view that internal *qì* is reflected in appearance and makes it possible to judge character or potential. In economic and military contexts, this meant judging the “character” of an animal or weapon.

A Comparative Perspective

In conclusion, I turn to the problem of comparing Greek and Chinese views of what, in both cases, look like athletic performance.²⁵ In Greek views of sport as competitive, there are clear winners and losers but also a morality of competition that puts virtue ahead of victory. In the Chinese case, what on the surface looks like competitive sport may be something very different.

There is an apparent incommensurability between Greek and Chinese sport. Greek sport was centralized, democratic, competitive, external, and aesthetic (in some contexts erotic). Chinese sport was local, hierarchical, non-competitive, internal, and in some contexts imitative of the whole body movements of animals.²⁶ Needless to say, very different social structures and institutions underlie these differences. Both are linked to ritual and sacrifice, but in different ways. Although a definition of sport as the sacrifice of energy may apply to Chinese sport, it is not clear that it has the same purchase in China as in Greece.

In Greece the connection between athletic contests, competition, and sacrifice (including the sacrifice of animal victims, libations, and feasts) is much older than the establishment of the Olympic Games in 776 BCE.²⁷ For example, the Homeric poems devote the better part of a book of the *Iliad* to the funeral games for Patroclus and describe at length the ad hoc games held in honor of Odysseus at the court of King Alkinoos.²⁸ The heroic ethos of competition became a part of such games: “always to be best and to surpass others” (*Iliad* 6.208). Such excellence was encouraged by the perceived approbation, or even active participation, of a divine audience.

There is also a “dark side” of Greek sport, involving its attitudes toward cunning and deception, the morally ambiguous quality of “practical and cunning intelligence” the Greeks called *mêtis*.²⁹ In *Iliad* 23, Nestor advises his son Antilochus to use *mêtis* in the chariot race, because Antilochus is disadvantaged by slow horses that will mar his chances of victory. He urges his son to fill up your spirit with every kind of *mêtis*, which will enable him to prevail.

The horses of these men are faster, but they themselves do not understand this art any more than you.

But come my dear son, fill up your spirit with every kind of *mêtis* so that the prize may not elude you.

The woodman does more by *mêtis* than by force;

by *mêtis* the helmsman holds his swift ship on course,

though torn by winds, over the wine-dark sea,

and so by *mêtis* one charioteer can outpace another. (*Iliad* 23.311–18)

Nestor instructs his son to make a tight turn at the post, potentially cutting off another driver. This strategy will give him a clear shot, even with slower horses. This example illustrates a second characteristic of *mêtis*: its close links to physical action.

The “deceptions” of the *Sūnzǐ* 孫子 general or the wily Odysseus are a far cry from the “virtues” and ethics advocated by Confucius or Plato. But all are models of sagacity, very differently understood. Interestingly, each case has its counterpart in sport (and also in metaphors that compare sport to wisdom or moral excellence). These accounts show very different moralities of competition, along with complex relations between virtue, victory, performance, and entertainment. They also draw on very different metaphysics.

How much must we be put off by these? Can we reconcile an apparent Greek mind-body dichotomy with a Chinese metaphysics in which mind and body are a continuum, or even inseparable? Do we find ourselves in a glen of incommensurables?

I would argue that we do not. Both Greek athletics and Chinese-embodied self-cultivation practices (and their athletic aspects) are based on notions of ethics, virtue, and self-cultivation. The social and institutional contexts for their expression differ greatly, as do Greek and Chinese epistemologies and metaphysics.

Greek sport is based on notions of virtue and self-cultivation in several senses, beginning with its ancient connections with sacrifice, in which the athlete is a willing offering. Any sacrificial victim must be the best of its kind, and an athlete achieves this status through competition. A second sense of self-cultivation is the wholehearted effort and concentration that victory requires, in which human virtue or *aretê* is understood as a unitary whole of which athletic eminence is a part. Thus understood, athletic competition is a demonstration of the virtue of the athlete, rather than a form of technical expertise. That virtue is expressed in effort, in the discipline of training, in the sacrifice of time and money, and in the willingness to risk defeat and disgrace (Fränkel 1975, 487–88). A third notion of virtue derives from the Greek ideal of balance between the two modes of excellence of mind and body (in which the two are viewed as profoundly different).

The Chinese evidence also urges us to reconsider conventional accounts of Greek philosophy that treat mind and body as profoundly separate. Such views may derive in part from accounts of the mind-body problem in Plato and Aristotle.³⁰ However, other Greek traditions unite mind and body in ways that warrant further exploration, for example, the view that that moral virtue

could and should manifest *through* the body as *kalos kagathos* (good to look at and good in action).³¹ Another example is the linkage of health with virtue and ethics, for example in a fragment by Sophocles:

Most beautiful of all is to be just; best is to live without disease, and sweetest the means to seize each day what one desires.³²

To conclude, as we have seen, the classical Confucian representation of archery stressed the expression of the character of the *jūnzǐ*, despite the fact that bow and arrow were also military weapons with a long history of use in combat. But archery was also part of a spectrum of embodied practices which expressed, and transformed, the virtues of the practitioner. Other self-cultivation practices included gymnastics, longevity practices, and arguably the quotidian activities of cooking and medicine. In these practices, mind and body are a continuum that warrants comparison to Greek views, dualist and otherwise.

NOTES

1. This in contrast to deontology and consequentialism. For virtue ethics, see Hursthouse (2009).
2. Two Panhellenic institutions, the Olympic Games and the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, were particularly important for co-operation in inter-polis relations in ancient Greece. See Tod (1913).
3. The Marxist definition does not account for the pursuit of health or longevity. The ethological view is better suited to play (with its biological or evolutionary functions) than to sport. The religio-ritualist approach has suffered from methodological problems, but the prevalence of religious and ritual aspects of sport has been widely noted. See Sansone (1992, 15–28).
4. The present discussion focuses on archery because of its specific association with Confucian virtue. It was one of several modes of athletic competition associated with military training, including charioteering, jumping and throwing, wrestling, swimming, boating, ball kicking (*càjú* 蹴鞠), and chess. Other recreational athletic activities included lifting heavy objects, acrobatics, dancing, and games of accuracy (such as throwing arrows into a wine bottle or hitting a wood pack). Yet other activities were linked to seasonal festivals, such as lion dances, walking on stilts, and flying kites. Finally, some broadly athletic procedures were exercises for health, including “exercises for pulling” (*dǎoyǐn*, discussed below) and “martial arts” (*wǔshù* 武術), including both hand and sword methods. Both *dǎoyǐn* and *wǔshù* were linked to the movements of animals. See Ren (1988, ch. 2, 55–90).
5. These sacrifices are described in the *Zuǒ Zhuàn* 左傳 and systematized in the *Zhōulǐ* 周禮. See Lewis (1990, 145–51).
6. *Lǐjì* 31, “Zhōng yōng,” 884, cf. Legge (1885, vol. 2, Book 28, 307).
7. *Lǐjì* 46, “Shè yì,” 1014–15, cf. Legge (1885, vol. 2, Book 43, 446).
8. *Lǐjì* 46, “Shè yì,” 1020; cf. Legge (1885, vol. 2, Book 43, 452).

9. For discussion of “floodlike” and “radiant” as translations for *haorán* 浩然, see Csikszentmihalyi (2004, 152–56, especially note 122).
10. *Mencius* 4A:15, trans. Csikszentmihalyi (2004, 101).
11. *Lùnhéng* 論衡 3, “Běn xing” 13, 135 (Forke 1911, 1.385).
12. Mark Csikszentmihalyi argues that a “material virtue” tradition of “embodied” virtues developed as a response to criticisms of Ruist ritual, initially in the *Mòzǐ* 墨子 and *Zhūāngzǐ* 莊子. At issue was whether these “archaic” (and expensive) practices were a genuine element in self-cultivation and the creation of social order. One *Rú* 儒 defense against this critique was a claim for an authentic practice. See Csikszentmihalyi (2004, 59).
13. For an excellent summary of some of these, see Lo (2005).
14. *Guānzǐ* 管子 XVI, 49, 4a–b, trans. Rickett (1985, 48).
15. *Zhuāngzǐ* 1:28, cf. Graham (1986, 46).
16. “People have love and hate, pleasure and anger, sorrow and joy. These are born from the six *qì*. Therefore be careful to choose your models from the fitting categories in order to regulate the six intentions” (*Zuǒ Zhuàn Zhào* 25.3, 1458). A similar fourth-century BCE passage from the *Guānzǐ* describes the responses of the sage-kings to the six emotions: “Love and hate, pleasure and anger, and sorrow and joy are the transformations of life. Clear perception and appropriate responses to things are the virtues of life. Therefore the sage kings were moderate in satisfying their tastes and timely in their movement and repose. They rectified and controlled the transformations of the six *qì* and prohibited excess in sound and color” (*Guānzǐ* X, 26, 2a). This translation is based on the *Sibù Bèiyào* text but is indebted to Rickett 1:379. I follow Rickett’s practice of using Roman numerals for *juàn* 卷 and Arabic numerals for *piān* 篇 and page numbers (see Rickett 1985, 1:47).
17. *Lǚshì Chūnqiū* 3.2, 3b–4a.
18. The thirtieth chapter of the *Hànshū* (Hàn history) is a “Bibliographic Treatise” (*Yìwénzhì*), compiled in the first century CE by Bān Gù 班固 (32–92), based on earlier compilations by the Hàn court bibliographers and exegetes Liú Xiàng 劉向 (79–8 BCE) and his son Liú Xīn 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE). Liú Xiàng’s “Separate Listings” (*Biélù* 別錄) was initiated by Hàn Chéng Dì 漢成帝 (r. 32–7 BCE) in 26 BCE. Liú Xīn abridged it under the title of *Seven Epitomes* (*Qīlùè* 七略). The *Shùshù* 數術 section was compiled by the grand astrologer Yīn Xián 尹咸; and, not surprisingly, gives precedence to the astrocalendric divination methods that fell within the purview of his office.
19. *Hànshū* 30.1701–84. The categories are: (1) the “Six Arts” (*Liùyì* 六藝) or “Six Classics” (*Liùjīng* 六經); (2) the “Masters” (*Zhūzǐ* 諸子); (3) poetry (*Shīfù* 詩賦); (4) military works (*Bīngshū* 兵書), (5) “Numbers and techniques” (*Shùshù*), and (6) “Recipes and methods” (*Fāngjì*).
20. Other putative authors include Róng Chéng 容成, Wù Chéngzǐ 務成子, Tāng Pángēng 湯盤庚, and Tiān Lǎo and other masters 天老雜子.
21. The *Mǎwángduī* 馬王堆 medical corpus consists of eleven medical manuscripts written on three sheets of silk. They reflect Warring States medical traditions of the third and second centuries BCE, before the cosmological correspondence theories of the

- Huángdì Nèijīng*. Several reflect embodied self-cultivation traditions. The importance of this site is well known for its two versions of the *Lǎozǐ* 老子 and its medical texts on *yīnyáng* 陰陽 theory and *acumoxa*.
22. Eliminating grain is accomplished with the aid of both breathing exercises performed at morning and evening, and by eating the herb *shíwéi* 石韋. The text also contains a seasonal regimen of breath cultivation through consuming six *qì* and avoiding another five. For translations of these texts see Harper (1998). For a survey of the corpus, see Harper (1998, 25–30).
 23. For example, the description of the “Ten postures” in “Harmonizing *yīn* and *yáng*”: the first is “tiger roving”; the second is “cicada clinging”; the third is “measuring worm”; the fourth is “river deer butting”; the fifth is “locust splayed”; the sixth is “gibbon grabbing”; the seventh is “toad”; the eighth is “rabbit bolting”; the ninth is “dragonfly”; the tenth is “fish gobbling” (Harper 1998, 418).
 24. For an excellent summary, see Lo (2001).
 25. Most Greek terms are transliterated according to the third edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Unless otherwise indicated, Greek texts are from Loeb Classical Library editions. Translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.
 26. For the history of Chinese sport, see Ren (1988).
 27. For an overview of the history of the relation between religion and Greek sport, see Scanlon (2002), especially ch. 1.
 28. For the funeral games, see *Iliad* 23.256–897. For the games for Odysseus, see *Odyssey* 8.97–384. There is also a spontaneous boxing match between Odysseus and the beggar Iros (18.66–897).
 29. For *mētis* in a Greek context, see Detienne and Vernant (1978). For a comparative context, see Raphals (1992).
 30. Plato first poses the problem as the connection between an immortal soul and a mortal body in the *Phaedo* (82e, 85e–86d), *Phaedrus* (246ad, 253c–254c), and *Republic* (439c–441b). For an overview, see Robinson (2002). Aristotle’s position on the nature of the soul is more difficult to characterize, and there is no scholarly agreement on this subject. See van der Eijk (2002) and edited volumes by Lloyd and Owen (1978) and Nussbaum and Rorty (1992).
 31. See Dover (1974), 41–45. Dover emphasizes that (like *jūnzǐ*) this term denotes an elite social class as well as a moral elite.
 32. Sophocles fr. 356, quoted by Aristotle at *Nicomachean Ethics* 1, 9 1099a 25 (cf. Pearson 1917, vol. 2, 28).

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