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Sino-Hellenic Studies, Comparative Studies of Early China and Greece

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Introduction

The past few decades have seen the emergence of a new field that has come to be known as "Sino-Hellenic studies." The field focuses on the comparison—across many disciplinary perspectives and methodologies—of various aspects of the culture, society, literature, art, philosophy, history, and science of ancient China and ancient Greece. These comparisons vary according to method and mode of comparison. Some are thematic, and they make no attempt to match historical patterns; others seek comparable historical or political formations. Comparative work of this kind has been viewed with suspicion from both sides. On the sinological side, it has been viewed as a kind of universalism that tends to subsume non-Western cultures and cultural particularity, in general, under the rubric of hegemonic Western culture. On the Hellenic side, most classicists have been unreceptive to comparison. Some reasons are ideological and derive from the "Classics silo" view, in which the Greco-Roman traditions are sui generis superior and incomparable to anything else. This view is bolstered by an early-20th-century history of problematic comparison. That situation changed significantly with the work of the "Paris school" under the leadership of Jean-Pierre Vernant and later his student and collaborator Marcel Detienne at the Centre Louis Gernet. It has been driven by comparative interests, largely motivated by Marxist and structuralist frameworks. Their work initially had little influence outside France, but it was eventually popularized by anglophone Hellenists such as Geoffrey Lloyd (in part through the work of his wife, the translator Janet Lloyd, who translated many of their works into English), Gregory Nagy, and Froma Zeitlin, among others. Comparative studies are produced by different kinds of collaboration, including the teamwork of a pair of scholars, comparative projects by single individuals with significant expertise in both areas, comparative volumes, and studies by specialists in one field with specific interests and expertise in the other. After a section on General Surveys, the next section addresses five different approaches to Sino-Hellenic studies. The last section contains detailed surveys by area. Because this article concentrates on Sino-Hellenic studies, it deliberately does not attempt to address broader comparisons of Chinese and "Western" philosophy or comparisons of Chinese and Roman, Egyptian, or Mesopotamian culture. Similarly, it does not address the field of classics in Japan or comparative studies of Japanese and Greek or Roman culture.

General Surveys

Only two articles (Tanner 2009, Beecroft 2015) survey the current state of Sino-Hellenic studies from various disciplinary perspectives. This article adds to that number.

Beecroft, Alexander. "Comparisons of Greece and China." In Oxford Handbooks Online. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Written from the viewpoint of the discipline of comparative literature, with a strong focus on reception history. As Beecroft notes, the comparative study of Greece and China dates back to a mutual awareness of the existence of "classical traditions" since the late-16thcentury Jesuit missions to China, including the translation (Euclid) and in some cases paraphrase (Epictetus) of Greek and Roman works into Chinese.

Tanner, Jeremy. "Ancient Greece, Early China: Sino-Hellenic Studies and Comparative Approaches to the Classical World: A Review Article." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 129 (2009): 89–109.

A review article in the influential periodical the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* by the art historian Jeremy Tanner marks the first attempt at a systematic review of the development of this field. It is addressed to classicists. According to the author (personal communication), the article was undertaken as part of his initial engagement with the study of classical Chinese.

Types of Comparative Study

This section introduces five different approaches to the comparative study of China and Greece: collaborations by comparative teams, single authored comparative works (books and PhD dissertations), and edited volumes with a comparative focus. A fourth section addresses studies by specialists in either classics or sinology who have significant comparative interests. A fifth section introduces the recent rise of the Western classics in contemporary China, on the assumption that such work is implicitly comparative. This section foregrounds a debate in the field on whether comparison is best done collectively or by individuals trained in both areas. In this sense, "collective" efforts include both Comparative Collaborations and Edited Volumes that treat both Chinese and Greek studies of the same topic.

Comparative Collaborations

An initial wave of Sino-Hellenic studies occurred in the area of comparative philosophy in the 1980s. These projects involved teamwork, typically by a pair of specialists in Chinese and Greek philosophy or in history or history of science, who collaborate over a long period of time, for example as found in Bunnin and Yu 2001. The sinologist Roger Ames and the Whiteheadian philosopher David Hall collaborated on linked books that were extremely influential and correspondingly controversial. In Hall and Ames 1995, they set out to draw hard comparative lines between and Mediterranean and later "Western" philosophical tradition grounded in a dualist and transcendent metaphysics and a view of Chinese philosophy as immanent, non-transcendent, non-dualistic, and even non-metaphysical. A very different approach is taken by two eminent historians of Greek and Chinese science, Geoffrey Lloyd and Nathan Sivin, in Lloyd and Sivin 2002. They attempt both to compare and to establish a methodology for the comparative history of science. They consistently invoke the importance of social context and also the need to attend to "actors' categories"—the problems and questions that motivated ancient investigators—instead of simply focusing on "observers' categories"—the desiderata and problems of contemporary history of science. A third comparative work by the classicist Steven Shankman and the China historian Stephen Durrant addresses works of poetry, history, and philosophy in Shankman and Durrant 2000.

Bunnin, Nick, and Jiyuan Yu. "Saving the Phenomena: An Aristotelian Method in Comparative Philosophy." In *Two Roads to Wisdom? Chinese and Analytic Philosophical Traditions*. Edited by Bo Mou, 293–312. Chicago: Open Court, 2001.

An early collaboration between the Aristotelian philosopher Yu Jiyuan and Nick Bunnin. Use of Aristotle's method of "saving the phenomena" in a comparative context informs Yu's later publications. See especially Yu 2007 (cited under Aristotle (or Plato) and "Confucian" Texts).

Hall, David L., and Roger T. Ames. *Anticipating China: Thinking through the Narratives of Chinese and Western Culture*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.

The authors argue that we must abandon an approach of measuring any philosophy against one single—Western—norm of rationality. Argues that transcultural applications of "Western" rationality fail to understand the other culture on its own terms. Affirms that "China" and "the West" (whatever those entities might be) have different norms of rationality: contrasting Western causal or rational thinking with Chinese "analogical" or "correlative" thinking. Slight relevance to Sino-Hellenic studies lies in the attribution of "Western" causal and rational thinking to Greeks.

Lloyd, Geoffrey, and Nathan Sivin. *The Way and the Word: Science and Medicine in Early Greece and China*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

Argues for a strong link between social factors and styles of reasoning; social factors are constitutive of how any society produces, supports, disseminates, and controls knowledge. Asks what local conditions gave rise to early science. Four chapters discuss Chinese and Greek scientific cultures separately, repeatedly focusing on the social and institutional frameworks of Chinese and Greek sciences and "fundamental issues" that each set of scientific practices addressed.

Shankman, Steven, and Stephen W. Durrant. *The Siren and the Sage: Knowledge and Wisdom in Ancient Greece and China*. London: Cassell, 2000.

The first section traces the emergence of intentional consciousness from the experience of participation in *Shijing* and *Odyssey*. The second section compares Chinese and Greek historiography via Thucydides and Sima Qian. The third section argues that Chinese and Greek philosophers articulated a participatory dimension that Thucydides lacked, Platonic philosophy especially. Authors adopt a strongly historicist view of philosophy, with ample attention paid to the contexts for the emergence of the Chinese "sage" and the Greek "philosopher."

Single-Authored Books

A different approach arises from comparative projects by single individuals with significant training in both areas, and some have produced a sizable body of comparative work. Due to section-length requirements, these works are broken down into books and PhD dissertations. Several of these studies are cross-disciplinary and resist easy classification. Single-authored comparative books address a wide range of topics, with very different methods and points of view. Such training is never even-handed and inevitably results in greater strength in one area than the other. Beecroft 2010 addresses Chinese and Greek poetics. Lloyd 1996, Lloyd 2002, and Kuriyama 1999 are comparative studies in the history of science. Unger 1994 is a study of comparative Chinese and Greek rhetoric. Raphals 2013 compares the practices and methods of Chinese and Greek divination and prediction. Raphals 1992, Reding 1985, and Reding 2016 address problems in Greek and Chinese rationality and modes of thought. Zhou 2010 turns to Chinese and Greek feasts and convivial gatherings and their implications for family and gender. These studies are all described at length under Single-Authored Studies by Area. They are listed here to provide an overview of how significantly single-authored studies inform the field. Additional shorter journal articles and book chapters are also listed under Single-Authored Studies by Area.

Beecroft, Alexander J. *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Presents a sixfold scheme for the study of Chinese and Greek poetics, with a focus on the Homeric poems and the Chinese *Classic of Poetry (Shi jing)*. For further details, see Beecroft 2010 (cited under Comparative Literature).

Kuriyama, Shigehisa. *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*. New York: Zone Press, 1999.

A comparative examination of several aspects of the body and how they are expressed in Chinese and Greek medical traditions, using areas of "common" experience, such as the blood, pulse, and breath. For further details, see Kuriyama 1999 (cited under Specialist Studies in Astronomy, Life Sciences, Medicine, and Mathematics).

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. *Adversaries and Authorities: Investigations into Ancient Greek and Chinese Science*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Proposes methodological priorities and explores conventional antinomies between Greece and China in the contexts of medicine,

rhetoric, notions of causality, infinity and harmony, and cultural constructions of the body. For further details, see Lloyd 1996 (cited under Interdisciplinary Comparative Studies).

Lloyd, G. E. R. *The Ambitions of Curiosity: Understanding the World in Ancient Greece and China*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Addresses the rise of interest in systematic inquiry in early Chinese and Greek intellectual exploration in the contexts of historiography, divination, mathematics, engineering, and technical language. For further details, see Lloyd 2002 (cited under Interdisciplinary Comparative Studies).

Raphals, Lisa. Knowing Words: Wisdom and Cunning in the Classical Traditions of Greece and China. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Considers possible Chinese equivalences to Greek *mētis* ("cunning intelligence") in philosophical and literary contexts. For further details, see Raphals 1992 (cited under Comparative Literature.

Raphals, Lisa. *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

First comparative treatment of Chinese and Greek divination. For further details, see Raphals 2013 (cited under Religion).

Reding, Jean-Paul. Les fondements philosophiques de la rhétorique chez les sophistes grecs et chez les sophistes chinois. New York: Peter Lang, 1985.

Synchronic study of Chinese and Greek sophism, with an explicit notion of comparative philosophy as scientific. For further details, see Reding 1985 (cited under Aspects of Linguistic Relativism).

Reding, Jean-Paul. Comparative Essays in Early Greek and Early Chinese Rational Thinking. London: Routledge, 2016.

Seven essays focused on Chinese and Greek logic and language, some reprinted from earlier publication. For further details, see Reding 2016 (cited under Aspects of Linguistic Relativism).

Unger, Ulrich. Rhetoric des klassischen Chinesisch. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.

Comparative analysis of classical Chinese rhetoric via Greek rhetoric. For further details, see Unger 1994 (cited under Comparative Literature).

Zhou, Yiqun. Festivals, Feasts, and Gender Relations in Ancient China and Greece. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Examines patterns of family and gender relations and the sociopolitical forces that inform them in ancient China and Greece as reflected in a broad range of "convivial" settings. For further details, see Zhou 2010 (cited under Comparative Literature).

Comparative Dissertations

Growth in the field of Sino-Hellenic studies is attested by recent dissertations that expand the field. These include Sikri 2015, Suzuki

2018, and Zhao 2014.

Sikri, Rohan. "The Cut That Cures: Therapeutic Methods in the Platonic Dialogues and Zhuangzi Neipian 莊子内篇." PhD diss., DePaul University, 2015.

Comparative examination of the problem of "philosophical therapy" in Plato and the Zhuangzi. Plato's frequent references to "philosopher-physicians" are grounded in both a medical vernacular and the larger objectives of philosophy. Similarly, the Zhuangzi draws on intersections of medical and philosophical texts. Also examines the dangers associated with each project, for Plato, the risks of a language of eros; for the Zhuangzi, the eventual suspension of its own philosophical method.

Suzuki, Yumi. "Methods of Moral Inquiry in the Earliest Chinese Texts: A Comparative Analysis with Socrates in Plato's Dialogues." PhD diss., University of Hong Kong, 2018.

Comparative study of methods of moral inquiry in Plato's early and transitional dialogues, the *Lunyu*, *Mozi*, and *Daodejing*, especially focusing on Socratic "definition" and Chinese *bian* 變 (distinction) and *ming* 名(names). Focuses on problems of the identification of moral values, such as *aretē* and *ren* 仁 and *yi* 義, in their respective relations with truth (*alētheia*) and *dao* 道.

Zhao, Jenny Jingyi. "Aristotle and Xunzi on Shame, Moral Education and the Good Life." PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2014.

Compares Aristotle's and Xunzi's theories of moral training and their relation to shame. Identifies unique features of Aristotle and Xunzi's approaches to human nature and their implications for moral and political philosophy, beginning with the insight that neither Chinese *xing* nor Greek *phusis* were limited to humans. Asks how Aristotle's and Xunzi's very different approaches to human nature informed their discussions of shame and disgrace and how their views on shame and disgrace informed their views of human nature.

Edited Volumes

Another approach to comparative study is a volume with a comparative theme, often resulting from a conference or workshop. At times, essays on Chinese and Greek topics are matched by subject, with few comparative essays. For example, Poo, et al. 2017 considers the introduction of a new "foreign" religion into an established society: specifically the introduction of Christianity into Rome and Buddhism into China, but includes only one comparative essay by way of conclusion. Brownell 2013, a volume on the Olympic Games intended to coincide with the 2008 Olympics in Beijing, presents eleven essays, three of which are explicitly comparative. Ziolkowski 2005 is a festschrift with a wide range of essays, of which only two are devoted to Sino-Hellenic comparison. King and Schilling 2011, one of two edited volumes on Chinese and Greek ethics, contains four comparative contributions. King 2015 contains three explicitly comparative papers. Other conference volumes are more consistently comparative. Shankman and Durrant 2002 includes five explicitly comparative essays on diverse topics. A landmark volume for Sino-Hellenic comparative study is Lloyd and Zhao 2018, which, unlike any of the other volumes surveyed here, consists entirely of comparative essays and includes contributions by many of the major figures in this field.

Brownell, Susan, ed. From Athens to Beijing: West Meets East in the Olympic Games. New York: Greenworks Press, 2013.

Surveys topics in the history of Chinese and Greek sport. The volume contains three comparative essays: on animal imitation (Ren Hai 任海), embodied virtue (Lisa Raphals), and reflections on comparing Greek and Chinese sports (Nathan Sivin).

King, R. A. H., ed. *The Good Life and Conceptions of Life in Early China and Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015.

Contains a mixture of specialist and comparative essays on early Chinese and Greco-Roman notions of what a "good life" (Greek *eudaimonia*) consists of. For further details, see King 2015 (cited under Philosophy).

King, R. A. H., and Dennis Schilling, eds. *How Should One Live? Comparing Ethics in Ancient China and Greco-Roman Antiquity.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.

Contains mixture of specialist and comparative essays on early Chinese and Greco-Roman views of ethics. For further details, see King and Schilling 2011 (cited under Philosophy).

Lloyd, G. E. R., and Jenny Jing-yi Zhao, eds. *Ancient Greece and China Compared: Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Distinctive because the volume consists almost entirely of comparative essays on very diverse topics by (among others) Karine Chemla, Richard King, Reviel Netz, Michael Puett, Lisa Raphals, Nathan Sivin, Jeremy Tanner, Jenny Jing-yi Zhao, and Yiqun Zhou. Some of these authors are listed separately. See Tanner 2017 and Tanner 2018 (cited under Art History), Zhou 2010 and Zhou 2018 (cited under Comparative Literature), Chemla 2018 and Netz 2018 (cited under Specialist Studies in Astronomy, Life Sciences, Medicine, and Mathematics), King 2015 (cited under Philosophy), and Puett 2002 and Puett 2015 (cited under Religion).

Poo, Mu-chou, H. A. Drake, and Lisa Raphals, eds. *Old Society, New Belief: Religious Transformation of China and Rome, ca.* 1st–6th Centuries. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Explores how the new and "foreign" belief systems of Buddhism and Christianity were assimilated to the long-established societies of China and Rome in the 1st century CE. Examines lasting impacts of these "new beliefs" on the "old societies" they entered. For further details, see Poo, et al. 2017 (cited under Religion).

Shankman, Stephen, and Steven W. Durrant, eds. *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking through Comparisons*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Includes both essays on Chinese and Greek topics and five comparative chapters on disguise and deception (David Keightley), self-divinization (Michael Puett), fate and fatalism (Lisa Raphals), Aristotelian and Confucian ethics (Andrew Plaks), and approaches to names in the *Cratylus* and *Xunzi* (Anthony Yu).

Ziolkowski, Eric, ed. *Literature, Religion and East/West Comparison: Essays in Honour of Anthony C. Yu.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.

Festschrift for the Chicago comparativist Anthony C. Yu; diverse contents reflect Yu's diverse interests, including comparativism. Includes two comparative essays on craft analogies in Chinese and Greek argumentation (Lisa Raphals) and on words, music, and conviviality in classical Athens and Song China (Yiqun Zhou. For Zhou's book-length work on this topic, see Zhou 2010 (cited under Comparative Literature).

Studies by Specialists with Comparative Interests

A fourth approach is represented by scholars who are primarily specialists in one field but who have made a significant investment in the other, at least for the purposes of a particular volume or project, but have not produced a body of comparative work. Most are by sinologists. For example, Graham 1959 studies the behavior of Chinese and Greek words for "being" and "becoming." Harbsmeier 1998, the volume on language and logic in Joseph Needham's *Science & Civilisation in China* includes long discussions of differences between Greek and Chinese grammar. Jiang 2000 uses Aristotle in comparison with the Chengzhu school, one of the major schools of

Neo-Confucian thought. A series of studies by the French sinologist François Jullien explores comparative themes between China and the "West," of which one, Jullien 2000, is specific to Sino-Hellenic studies. Keightley 2014a and Keightley 2014b, a comparative study of heroes in early China and Greece and a related study of the issue of deception, include a significant study of the Homeric poems. The author of Turner 1990 uses brief Greek comparison to examine Chinese legal texts excavated from tombs. Two important studies by Hellenists use China as a reference point. Detienne 2007 considers the reception of "Greekness." Kim 2009 addresses accounts of alterity and "foreignness." Comparative studies of this kind sometimes provoke controversy due to disagreements on the expertise of authors in their non-primary field. Studies by specialists in one area (only) sometimes draw criticism for misrepresentation of the "other," an extreme example being Billeter 2006.

Billeter, Jean François. Contre François Jullien. Paris: Alia, 2006.

Critique of the work of François Jullien by a noted French sinologist. Argues that his works oversimplify and misrepresent China by ignoring historical change and misrepresenting China as an imagined republican elitist society of secular philosophers. It is noteworthy that Billeter attacks Jullien's sinology rather than his classicism.

Detienne, Marcel. *The Greeks and Us: A Comparative Anthropology of Ancient Greece*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007.

Critically examines claims for Greek uniqueness or superiority. Advocates "comparative anthropology" to examine both ancient and modern societies. Also published in French as *Les grecs et nous* (Paris: Tempus Perrin, 2009). For further details, see Detienne 2007 (cited under History and Historiography).

Graham, Angus C. "Being in Western Philosophy compared with shih/fei and yu/wu." Asia Minor 7 (1959): 79-112.

Comparative treatment of terms for "being" and "becoming." Describes six functions of "to be" in classical Chinese texts; analyzes uses of *shi fei* 是非 (is, is not) and *you wu* 有無 (positive and negative existential quantifier) in the *Zhuangzi*, Mohist canon, Wang Bi, Guo Xiang and Zhang Zai. Concludes with a section on "to be" in Chinese translations of Western philosophers, Hegel especially.

Harbsmeier, Christoph. *Science & Civilisation in Ancient China*. Vol. 7, Part 1, *Language and Logic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

An inherently comparative history of the foundations of science in language and logic. Includes sections on language and logic within the Chinese tradition, Chinese language and logic in the West, and Chinese syntax, grammar, and lexicography. Treats Chinese logic in five areas: (1) logical features of classical Chinese, (2) logical concepts in classical Chinese thought, (3) logical practice, (4) theories of logic in early China, and (5) Chinese Buddhist logic.

Jiang, Xinyan. "What Kind of Knowledge Does a Weak-Willed Person Have? A Comparative Study of Aristotle and the Ch'eng-Chu School." *Philosophy East and West* 50.2 (2000): 242–253.

Comparative treatment of akrasia. Examines Aristotle's and the Chengzhu school's views on how people can know what is best but intentionally act otherwise. Describes different emphases and reaches different conclusions. Aristotle emphasizes the state of the agent at the moment of akratic action, while the Chengzhu authors focus on the akratic person's knowledge before the action.

Jullien, François. *Detour and Access: Strategies of Meaning in China and Greece*. Translated by Sophie Hawkes. New York: Zone, 2000.

Argues for indirection or allusiveness (*détour*) as a typical Chinese way of approaching reality, which is contrasted to Western, direct ontologies and approaches. Presents material that the author considers representative of Chinese "otherness," presented in fifteen

chapters. Uses Greek or Western examples to illustrate points about Chinese thought. Published in French as *Le détour et l'accès: Stratégies du sens en Chine, en Grèce* (Paris: Seuil, 1995).

Keightley, David N. "Clean Hands and Shining Helmets: Heroic Action in Early Chinese and Greek Culture." In *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*. Edited by Henry Rosemont Jr., 253–282. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014a.

A comparative examination of heroes in early Chinese historical writings and the Homeric poems. For further details, see Keightley 2014a (cited under Religion).

Keightley, David N. "Epistemology in Cultural Context: Disguise and Deception in Early China and Early Greece." In *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*. Edited by Henry Rosemont Jr., 283–310. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014b.

Explores the implications of early Chinese and Greek attitudes toward disguise. For further details, see Keightley 2014b (cited under History and Historiography).

Kim, Hyun-Jin. Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China. London: Duckworth, 2009.

First comparative examination of early Greek and Chinese perceptions of alterity through Greek and Chinese claims for superiority over "foreigners" and "outsiders," based on comparison of Herodotus and Sima Qian. For further details, see Kim 2009 (cited under History and Historiography).

Lane, Melissa. "Comparing Greek and Chinese Political Thought: The Case of Plato's *Republic*." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 36.4 (2009): 585–601.

A political philosopher uses the example of Mencius's account of a true king and Plato's *Republic* to argue broadly for the comparative methods of Geoffrey Lloyd (along with R. G Collingwood and Quentin Skinner) in starting with questions asked within each tradition, and against the comparative methods of Yu Jiyuan and Nick Bunnin, who argue that comparative philosophy must start from (already determined) "comparable phenomena."

Lau, D. C. "Taoist Metaphysics in the Chieh Lao 解老 and Plato's Theory of Forms." In Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities. Vol. 2. Edited by Chow Tse-tsung, 101–122. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Detailed analysis of the "Jielao" chapter of the Hanfeizi. Argues that li 理 (pattern, reason) is an analogue of Plato's Forms.

Turner, Karen. "Sage Kings and Laws in the Chinese and Greek Traditions." In *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*. Edited by Paul S. Ropp, 86–111. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Primarily a sinological account of Chinese ideas about the proper role of laws in government. Draws extensively on excavated texts (as of 1990). Uses Greek material by way of comparison.

Western Classics in Contemporary China

A fifth approach—not always comparative, but still of great importance—is the emergence of a group of Asian Hellenists and Romanists working in East Asia and elsewhere, leading to a marked rise of interest in Western classics in contemporary China. These projects are typically purely classical, but, it could be argued, they are implicitly comparative. Chinese Hellenists and comparativists working in

China include Gao Fengfeng at Peking University (Gao 2012), Huang Yang at Fudan University (Huang 2000–2001), Liu Chun at Peking University (Liu 2010), and Zhang Wei at Fudan University (Zhang 2009). Others work in the United States and Europe. (Note: Chinese names are cited as normally written, with the surname preceding the given name.)

Gao Fengfeng 高峰枫. Gu dian de huisheng 古典的回声. Hangzhou, China: Zhejiang University Press, 2012.

Collection of essays and book reviews. The first section takes up topics in biblical scholarship, such as "In search of the historical Jesus," Homer's epic and the gospel of Mark, and the book of Genesis. The second section turns to (Western) classical studies, primarily in Latin, including discussions of Cicero, Augustine, and the comparison of Virgil and Paul as well as treatment of Shakespeare. Translated as "The echo of classics."

Huang Yang. "Teaching Athenian Democracy in China Today." The Classical Journal 96.2 (2000–2001): 195–205.

Reviews several practical difficulties—political and pedagogical—in teaching the topic of Athenian democracy in a Chinese context. In addition, there is no indigenous Chinese equivalent to democracy, which adds difficulties in both comprehension and in making distinctions between theories and practices of ancient and modern democracies.

Liu Chun 刘淳. "The Motif of Fate in Homeric Epics and Oedipus Tyrannus." PhD diss., University of California at Riverside, 2010.

Examines literary perspectives on the concept of fate in Greek antiquity and the literary, rhetorical, and dramatic reasons texts use fate as they do. Focuses on the Homeric epics and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Includes study of semantic fields and traces themes across genres. Draws on relevant theories of formulaic composition and methods from folklore studies.

Zhang Wei. "The Poet as Educator in the Works and Days." The Classical Journal 105.1 (2009): 1-17.

Examines Hesiod's use of the poetic voice of the educator in *Works and Days*. Argues that it sets up a competition over the administration of justice between "gift-devouring" kings and poets' access to the wisdom and justice of Zeus. Thus the poet as the champion of justice in speech complements Zeus as the champion of justice in action.

Single-Authored Studies by Area

The preceding section presented five different approaches to Sino-Hellenic studies. This section complements that effort by offering a detailed survey of single-authored comparative studies organized by the disciplines in which these studies occur: Art History, Comparative Literature, History and Historiography, History of Science, Philosophy, and Religion.

Art History

Comparative directions have been slow to grow in the field of art history, in contrast, for example, to comparative literature. An important exception is the work of Jeremy Tanner. Tanner uses comparative evidence to address problems within art history. Tanner 2013 applies comparative evidence to the theory of agency of Alfred Gell. Tanner 2017 uses a comparative Sino-Hellenic perspective to reconsider a debate between Norman Bryson and E. H. Gombrich. Tanner 2018 applies comparative methods to the visual depictions of historic events.

Tanner, Jeremy. "Figuring Out Death: Sculpture and Agency at the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and the Tomb of the First

Emperor of China." In *Distributed Objects: Meaning and Mattering after Alfred Gell.* Edited by Liana Chua and Mark Elliott, 58–87. London: Berghahn, 2013.

Applies Alfred Gell's theory of agency to the roles of figurative representation in tombs of an early Greek and an early Chinese ruler, namely Mausolus of Halicarnassus and Qin Shi Huangdi.

Tanner, Jeremy. "Narrative and Naturalism in Classical Greek and Early Imperial Chinese Art." In *Comparativism in Art History*. Edited by Jaś Eslner, 180–224. London: Routledge, 2017.

Addresses problems of method in comparison by considering the views of Bryson and Gombrich in a comparative context. Argues that naturalist tendencies appeared in both Greek and Chinese art and attempts a systematic comparison of Chinese and Greek naturalisms. Argues that comparativism makes possible a clearer understanding of naturalism in both traditions. Tanner explains the importance of naturalism in both traditions, including the development of body-state analogies.

Tanner, Jeremy. "Visual Art and Historical Representation in Ancient Greece and China." In *Ancient Greece and China Compared: Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Edited by G. E. R. Lloyd and Jenny Jingyi Zhao, 189–233. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Explores the development of a novel artistic genre devoted to visual depictions of historic events. Compares the role played by works of art in strategies by which elites disestablished lineages of kinship and ancestry in Western Zhou and archaic Greece and how new practices of pictorial history displaced them in classical Athens and early imperial China. Links pictorial history to development of political institutions and historical memory.

Comparative Literature

In contrast to the field of art history, comparative literature provides a rubric for a number of comparative works, especially single-authored book-length studies. These works vary widely in their topics, even within a specifically Sino-Hellenic framework, and they include early poetics in Beecroft 2010, the cross-cultural study of such topics as wisdom and cunning in Raphals 1992, travel and geography in Schaberg 1999, rhetoric in Schaberg 2002 and Unger 1994, conviviality in Zhou 2010, and representations of women in Zhou 2018.

Beecroft, Alexander J. *Authorship and Cultural Identity in Early Greece and China*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Explores Chinese and Greek poetics in a sixfold scheme of local/epichoric, panchoric, cosmopolitan, vernacular, national, and global. Focuses on the problem of the authorship of the Homeric poets, with significant attention to biographical narratives and theories of formulaic composition. Also focuses on interpretation of *Shijing* poems. Argues against "reverse biographical fallacy" in favor of an "implied poetics" that provides clues to the significance of poems.

Raphals, Lisa. *Knowing Words: Wisdom and Cunning in the Classical Traditions of Greece and China*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Considers possible Chinese equivalences to Greek *mētis* ("cunning intelligence"), based on the work of Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne. Includes a detailed comparison of the two Homeric epics and two Ming novels: the *Iliad* and *Sanguo yanyi* (Romance of the three kingdoms) and the *Odyssey* and *Xiyou ji* (Journey to the West).

Schaberg, David. "Travel, Geography, and the Imperial Imagination in Fifth-Century Athens and Han China." Comparative

Literature 51.2 (1999): 152-191.

Compares travel and geography narratives of circulation in "imperial texts" about frontier confrontations in Thucydides' Melian dialogue, the *Zuo zhuan*, and the *Shiji*.

Schaberg, David. "The Logic of Signs in Early Chinese Rhetoric." In *Ancient China/Early Greece: Thinking through Comparisons*. Edited by Stephen Durrant and Steven Shankman, 155–186. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Examines "logic of signs"—symbols that shape arguments through analogies and examples— in Chinese and Greek argumentation. Argues against excessively "Confucian" readings of Mencius especially. Uses Chinese examples from *Zuozhuan* and *Mencius* to argue that the logic of signs explains some continuities in pre-Qin historiographical and philosophical texts.

Unger, Ulrich. Rhetoric des klassischen Chinesisch. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.

An analysis of classical Chinese rhetoric by a sinologist also trained in Greek and Latin. Selects fifty-five primarily Greek rhetorical concepts and uses short examples to demonstrate their applicability to selected pre-Han texts. Each Greek concept includes a brief definition and a list of pre-Han sentences that show how the Greek tropes work in Chinese. Draws on recent Chinese scholarship on rhetoric.

Zhou, Yiqun. Festivals, Feasts, and Gender Relations in Ancient China and Greece. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Uses "convivial" settings to examine patterns of family and gender relations and sociopolitical forces behind them in ancient China and Greece. These include family banquets, public festivals, and religious feasts. Explores multiple genres, including epic, lyric poetry, bronze inscriptions, ritual texts, and comedy. Investigates relationship roles, such as comrade, citizen, ancestor, descendant as well as how these roles were gendered and expressed in public and domestic settings.

Zhou, Yiqun. "Helen and Chinese Femmes Fatales." In *In Ancient Greece and China Compared: Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Edited by G. E. R. Lloyd and Jenny Jing-yi Zhao, 234–256. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Uses the case of Helen and three Chinese "femmes fatales" (Mo Xi, Da Ji, and Bao Si) to contrast elusive and changing representations of Helen with a Chinese pattern of uniformly negative judgments of the wives or concubines of the last rulers of dynasties (the Xia, Shang, and Western Zhou, respectively). Asks why these two societies represented anxieties about beautiful and talented in women in such strikingly different ways.

History and Historiography

Several important comparative works in history and historiography have been produced by specialists with strong comparative interests, including Detienne 2007, Kim 2009, Keightley 2014b, and Turner 1990 (cited under Studies by Specialists with Comparative Interests). Vernant and Gernet 1974, a collaborative article, explores topics in social history.

Detienne, Marcel. *The Greeks and Us: A Comparative Anthropology of Ancient Greece*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007.

Critically examines Eurocentric approaches that promote the idea that "the Greeks are us": as "ancestors" of democracy, rational inquiry, etc. Argues that such claims for Greek uniqueness or superiority are both narrow-minded and nationalistic (with particular interest in the French education system). Advocates an approach of "comparative anthropology" to examine beliefs, practices, and

institutions of both ancient and modern societies. This study is not strictly "Sino-Hellenic studies," but the issues Detienne raises in the representation of Greek civilization are of constitutive importance to it. Published in French as *Les grecs et nous* (Paris: Tempus Perrin, 2009).

Keightley, David N. "Epistemology in Cultural Context: Disguise and Deception in Early China and Early Greece." In *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*. Edited by Henry Rosemont Jr., 283–310. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014b.

Considers very different Greek and Chinese attitudes toward disguise. Argues that Greek interest in disguise may correlate to uncertainty about the nature of reality, and that Chinese lack of interest in disguise may correlate to a "metaphysical and epistemological optimism" behind much early Chinese philosophy. Explores interactions between philosophical concerns and other areas of a culture.

Kim, Hyun-Jin. Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China. London: Duckworth, 2009.

Examines early Greek and Chinese perceptions of alterity through ethnocentric claims for superiority over "foreigners" and "outsiders," focusing on ethnographies in Herodotus's *History* and Sima Qian's *Shiji*. Argues that both societies has similar prejudices against "others," but the important differences are in the nuanced details of analysis of well-chosen examples.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre, and Jacques Gernet. "Social History and the Evolution of Ideas in China and Greece from the Sixth to the Second Centuries BC." In *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*. Edited by Jean-Pierre Vernant, 79–100. Translated by Janet Lloyd. London: Methuen, 1974.

This "discussion between a Chinese scholar and a Greek scholar" deliberately begs broad questions of comparability and starts from an intuition of similarity in the dissolution of an aristocratic society, sped by changes in military techniques. The authors examine fundamental differences, such as the Greek institution of the polis and rapid changes in political constitution, and Chinese "organicism" and interest in areas of physics that were neglected by Greek thinkers.

History of Science

The dominant voice in the comparative history science is Sir Geoffrey Lloyd. His comparative work began in a long collaboration with Nathan Sivin in Lloyd and Sivin 2002 (cited under Comparative Collaborations) to compare the history of science in China and Greece. Considerable comparative studies in this area have been undertaken, due, in part, to his own corpus of comparative studies over the past twenty-five years and, in part, to a range of specialist studies in the history of science that have been significantly influenced by his work.

Interdisciplinary Comparative Studies

Lloyd has authored a series of single-authored monographs on various aspects of Greek and Chinese science. Each work is relatively short (usually less than two hundred pages) and consists of a series of linked comparative essays. Lloyd 1996, Lloyd 2002, Lloyd 2004, Lloyd 2005, Lloyd 2006, Lloyd 2007, Lloyd 2009, Lloyd 2012, Lloyd 2014, and Lloyd 2015 take up not only questions in the comparative history of science, but also broader questions on the relations between the sciences and humanities and between science and politics, and on how the study of the past can inform the present.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. *Adversaries and Authorities: Investigations into Ancient Greek and Chinese Science*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

The first of many single-authored comparative studies of science in ancient Greece and China. Sets out methodological project to "de-

parochialize" the history of ancient science. Challenges assumptions that Greek approaches and methods were "normal" or inevitable. Each chapter presents and challenges a conventional antinomy between Greece and China. Topics include Greek medicine, rhetoric, causality, notions of (in)finity, ideas about "heavenly harmonies," and cultural constructions of the body.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. *The Ambitions of Curiosity: Understanding the World in Ancient Greece and China*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

A systematic comparison of social context and epistemology of the origins of early Chinese and Greek sciences. Asks what modes of inquiry were used and how interest in systematic inquiry developed. Individual chapters explore systematic inquiry in historiography, divination and other attempts to predict the future, changing notions of mathematics, engineering in warfare and agriculture, and the growth of technical language in the early sciences.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. Ancient Worlds, Modern Reflections: Philosophical Perspectives on Greek and Chinese Science and Culture. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Addresses the relevance of the study of ancient civilizations to contemporary problems. Asks whether there is science in the ancient world and how to study it, and topic treated include logic, notions of truth, the nature of belief, whether worldviews share a common ontology, and problems of classification and exemplification. Considers problems in sociopolitical thought, including problems in higher education, human rights, human nature, and the advantages and problems of democratic institutions.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. *The Delusions of Invulnerability: Wisdom and Morality in Ancient Greece, China and Today.* London: Duckworth, 2005.

Asks what we can learn from the ancient world on questions of contemporary import. Explores the nature of learned elites in both societies, philosophical pluralism, how learned elites are selected and trained, and the nature of their audiences. Also considers ideals and practices of ancient and modern societies, including the human tendency to seek invulnerability from misfortune and accident, Greek and Chinese ideas of social justice, and "models for living."

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. Principles and Practices in Ancient Greek and Chinese Science. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2006.

Selects what Lloyd considers his most important publications. Most deal exclusively with Greek material, but four concluding pieces address the role of comparativism to Lloyd's overall project. The three parts of the book address problems in Greek medicine, Greek mathematics and philosophy (including two studies published in English translation for the first time), and four comparative studies on appearance versus reality, mythology, literacy, and the future of ancient science.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. Cognitive Variations: Reflections on the Unity and Diversity of the Human Mind. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Explores the debate between cultural universalists and particularists on psychic unity or diversity of the human mind. Compares Chinese and Greek material and introduces perspectives from contemporary sciences. Chapters explore the question in the contexts of color perception; spatial cognition; plant and animal taxonomies as models for classification; the emotions; notions of health and well-being; understandings of self, agency and causation; debates between the roles of nature and culture; and reason itself.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. *Disciplines in the Making: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Elites, Learning and Innovation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Contrasts contemporary academic disciplines with those of ancient Greece, China, and India. Surveys ancient practices of what we now call philosophy, mathematics, history, medicine, art, law, religion, and science. Examines how cultural elites determine the practices and

contents that define these disciplines.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. Being, Humanity and Understanding. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Examines aspects of being, cosmology, and the human condition in ancient Greece and China. Topics include: Greek ideas of humanity between gods and animals, ideas of error, how to understand the aims of ancient philosophy and science, issues of texts and their audiences, and a critique of accounts of problems of language in contemporary literary and cultural theories, typically by scholars who know no ancient language.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. The Ideals of Inquiry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Considers "investigation" in the ancient world, including what to investigate, underlying assumptions, and what investigation was good for. Includes information from several sciences and extensive illustrations. Chapters take up "experts" and problems attendant on claims for certainty, a taxonomy of ancient debate, negative consequences of Greek interest in certainty, and questions of whether there are radical differences in reasoning faculties across human populations.

Lloyd, Geoffrey E. R. *Analogical Investigations: Historical and Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Human Reasoning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Assesses four problematic dualisms: nature and culture, realism and relativism, appearance and reality, and the literal and the metaphorical. Uses notions of semantic stretch and the multidimensionality of reality to argue against these dichotomies. Topics include notions of mutual intelligibility, the uses of comparison, uses of analogies, images and models in ethics, analogy and cognition, and a broad assessment of the "Western legacy."

Specialist Studies in Astronomy, Life Sciences, Medicine, and Mathematics

Other contributions to this field include articles on mathematics and mathematical astronomy (Chemla 2018, Netz 2018, Raphals 2002), and medicine (Kuriyama 1999).

Chemla, Karine. "Abstraction as a Value in the Historiography of Mathematics in Ancient Greece and China: A Historical Approach to Comparative History of Mathematics." In *Ancient Greece and China Compared: Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Edited by G. E. R. Lloyd and Jenny Jing-yi Zhao, 290–325. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Examines "abstraction" as a recurring theme in 19th-century comparisons of China and Greece in mathematics. Focuses on accounts by the British missionary Alexander Wylie and on Michel Chasles's historiography of geometry as diverging historiographies and accounts of abstraction in China. Uses commentaries to early Chinese mathematical texts to adduce clear understanding of abstraction.

Kuriyama, Shigehisa. *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*. New York: Zone, 1999.

Comparative examination of how aspects of the body are expressed in Chinese and Greek medical traditions. Describes important differences in medical perspectives on language, blood, the pulse, and breath and "wind." Contrasts Greek and later Western "articulated" anatomical views of the body and Chinese and East Asian views of the body as an organic "microcosm" rather than an assemblage of discrete parts.

Netz, Reviel. "Divisions, Big and Small: Comparing Archimedes and Liu Hui." In *Ancient Greece and China Compared: Interdisciplinary and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Edited by G. E. R. Lloyd and Jenny Jing-yi Zhao, 259–289. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

A comparative examination of the Greek and Chinese accounts of the "Box-Lid," the figure produced by the intersection of two cylinders circumscribed within the same cube. Argues that Archimedes and Liu Hui "converge" in their methods. Argues for the importance of fine-grained mathematical detail and for the ultimate superiority of Archimedes' account.

Raphals, Lisa. "A 'Chinese Eratosthenes' Reconsidered: Chinese and Greek Calculations and Categories." *East Asian Science Technology and Medicine* 19 (2002): 10–60.

Compares the calculations and underlying assumptions behind Eratosthenes of Cyrene's calculation of the circumference of the earth and measurements of the "height of heaven" in the *Huainanzi*. Both used gnomon shadow measurements and what would in contemporary terms be called the properties of similar triangles.

Philosophy

Philosophy has been a particularly rich site for comparative inquiry, along several distinct lines. King and Schilling 2011 and King 2015 are the result of an ongoing series of workshops on comparative Greek and Chinese ethics. Other studies interact with the history of science, including Raphals 2003 and Harbsmeier 1998 (cited under Studies by Specialists with Comparative Interests). Three subsections present broadly virtue ethics-based comparisons of Aristotle (or Plato) and Confucius, Mencius or Xunzi; comparisons between the *Zhuangzi* and Greek Stoics or Skeptics; and studies of linguistic relativism, skepticism, and sophism.

King, R. A. H., ed. *The Good Life and Conceptions of Life in Early China and Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015.

Contains a mixture of specialist and comparative essays on early Chinese and Greco-Roman notions of what a "good life" (Greek eudaimonia) consists of. Comparative essays are included on Mencius and the Stoics (Richard King), autonomy, fate, divination and the good life (Lisa Raphals), and the virtue of equanimity (Lee Yearley).

King, R. A. H., and Dennis Schilling, eds. *How Should One Live? Comparing Ethics in Ancient China and Greco-Roman Antiquity.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011.

Contains a mixture of specialist and comparative essays on early Chinese and Greco-Roman views of the emotions. Comparative essays include the problem of cross-cultural universals and cultural relativism (Geoffrey Lloyd), the ethics of prediction (Lisa Raphals), the metaphysics and ethics of Aristotle and Liezi (May Sim), and complexity and simplicity in Aristotle and early Daoist thought (David Wong).

Raphals, Lisa. "Fate, Fortune, Chance and Luck in Chinese and Greek: A Comparative Semantic History." *Philosophy East and West* 53.4 (2003): 537–574.

Comparative survey of the semantic fields of terms for fate, fortune, luck, and chance in classical Chinese and Greek. Reprinted as "Languages of Fate: Semantic Fields in Chinese and Greek," in The Magnitude of Ming: Command, Allotment, and Fate in Chinese Culture, edited by Christopher Lupke (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 2005), pp. 70–106.

Aristotle (or Plato) and "Confucian" Texts

One line of inquiry focuses on ethics via comparative studies of Aristotle. The "ethics" are often (but not always) Confucian. These include Camus 2017, Conolly 2012, Hutton 2000, Hutton 2008, and Yu 2007. See also Bunnin and Yu 2001 (cited under Comparative Collaborations), Jiang 2000 (cited under Studies by Specialists with Comparative Interests), Suzuki 2018 (cited under Comparative Dissertations), and Zhao 2014 (cited under Comparative Dissertations).

Camus, Rina Marie. "Comparison by Metaphor: Archery in Confucius and Aristotle." Dao 16.2 (2017): 165-185.

Comparative study of metaphor using the example of archery metaphors in the *Analects* of Confucius and Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*. Argues that shared metaphors serve as hermeneutic tools for reading early texts and comparing views of different traditions. Both texts employ similar images, but with vastly different meanings.

Conolly, Tim. "Friendship and Filial Piety: Relational Ethics in Aristotle and Early Confucianism." *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 39.1 (2012): 71–88.

Comparative study of Aristotelian friendship (*philia*) and early Confucian filiality (*xiao*). Asks whether Aristotelian emphasis on equal relationships is compatible with Confucian hierarchical filiality. Argues that the Aristotelian and early Confucian accounts share many tensions in their respective attempt to balance hierarchical and familial associations with those of more equal friendship.

Hutton, Eric L. "Moral Reasoning in Aristotle and Xunzi." Journal of Chinese Philosophy 29.3 (2000): 355-384.

Argues that Aristotle's conception of moral reasoning offers insights into Xunzi's view of moral judgment. Presents a close comparison of Xunzi's Jiebi pian and Aristotle's view of phronesis in *Nicomachean Ethics* VI, arguing that Aristotelian particularism is closely paralleled in the *Xunzi*. Both adopt positions avoiding rule-based ethics, based on intellectual virtues that make out what to do in the circumstances.

Hutton, Eric L. "Un-democratic Values in Plato and Xunzi." In *Polishing the Chinese Mirror: Essays in Honor of Henry Rosemont, Jr.* Edited by Marthe Chandler and Ronnie Littlejohn, 314–331. ACPA Series of Chinese and Comparative Philosophy. New York: Global Scholarly, 2008.

Argues that Xunzi and Plato justify their un-democratic ideals in similar ways, but that subtle differences with those similarities offer a more nuanced account of Xunzi's view. Argues that some aspects of Xunzi's thought may be more palatable than that of Plato.

Yu, Jiyuan. The Ethics of Confucius and Aristotle: Mirrors of Virtue. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Draws on earlier studies published in *Philosophy East and West* (1998) and the *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* (2001, 2002) to examine the ethics of Confucius and Aristotle. Uses two methods, both derived from Aristotle: the idea of friendship as a mirror (imagining a "friendship" between Confucius and Aristotle) and "saving the phenomena": establishing phenomena, considering the difficulties, and demonstrating what is right in conventional opinion.

Zhuangzi, Skeptics, and Stoics

Another group of studies focuses on comparative studies of the *Zhuangzi* and Greek texts. Kjellberg 1996 and Raphals 1994 address problems of skepticism via the skeptics and Plato, respectively. See also Sikri 2015 (cited under Comparative Dissertations). Machek 2011, Machek 2015, and Machek 2018 engage in comparisons with several aspects of Stoic philosophy.

Kjellberg, Paul. "Sextus Empiricus, Zhuangzi, and Xunzi on "Why Be Skeptical?" In Essays on Skepticism, Relativism, and

Ethics in the Zhuangzi. Edited by P. J. Ivanhoe and Paul Kjellberg, 1-25. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Approaches Zhuangzian skepticism less as a philosophical position than as a way of life. Compares Zhuangzian skepticism to that of Sextus Empiricus. Argues that the goal of Zhuangzian skepticism is to return to an experience of nature not mediated by human representation. Reconsiders Xunzi's criticism that Zhuangzi was obsessed by the natural and did not understand the human.

Machek, David. "The Doubleness of Craft: Motifs of Technical Action in the Life Praxis according to Aristotle and Zhuangzi." Dao: Journal of Comparative Philosophy 10.4 (2011): 507–526.

Addresses ambivalent in craft analogies by Aristotle and Zhuangzi that posit an analogy between the ability to live well and the mastery of a craft. Argues that both philosophers had strong reasons for their commitment to some aspects of the analogy, but also had strong reasons for denying other aspects. Argues that their reasons for an ambiguous view on the craft analogy are remarkably different and even opposite.

Machek, David. "Emotions That Do Not Move: Zhuangzi and Stoics on Self-Emerging Feelings." *Dao: Journal of Comparative Philosophy* 14.4 (2015): 521–544.

Compares Stoic and Daoist theories of emotions and argues that both Zhuangzi and the Stoics thought that certain emotional responses emerge by themselves and are therefore entirely "natural" insofar as they do not involve evaluative judgments and desires. These are sharply distinguished from "passions" that arise from mistaken evaluative judgments and other artificial viewpoints.

Machek, David. "Stoics and Daoists on Freedom as Doing Necessary Things." Philosophy East and West 68.1 (2018): 174-200.

Extends earlier comparisons of Stoic and Daoist views of "following nature" and emotional detachment to argue for strong similarity in ideals of freedom, understood as the ability to do only things that are necessary. But this apparent similarity conceals important differences, especially insofar as Stoic wise persons are constrained in ways that Zhuangzian sages are not.

Raphals, Lisa. "Skeptical Strategies in the Zhuangzi and Theaetetus." Philosophy East & West 44.3 (1994): 501–526.

Considers doctrine, method, and recommendation skepticism as three distinct modes of skepticism in both texts. Reprinted in *Essays on Skepticism, Relativism, and Ethics in the Zhuangzi*, edited by P. J. Ivanhoe and Paul Kjellberg (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 26–49.

Aspects of Linguistic Relativism

Several studies consider topics under the broad heading of epistemology, including the relation of language to thought and rhetoric. Raphals 2015 compares root metaphors dealing with mind-body dualism. Reding 1985 address the question of "sophism." Reding 2016 is a collection of comparative essays on rational thinking. Reding 1986 reconsiders issues of linguistic relativism. Wardy 2000 turns to the reception of Aristotle's *Categories* in China. See also Graham 1959 and Harbsmeier 1998 (both cited under Studies by Specialists with Comparative Interests).

Raphals, Lisa. "Body and Mind in Early China and Greece." Journal of Cognitive Historiography 2.2 (2015): 132-182.

Surveys early Chinese and Greek representations of the self and their account of relations among body, mind, and soul or spirit, with particular interest in conceptual metaphor analysis. Surveys three comparable sets of early Chinese and Greek root metaphors of (1) mind and body as an amalgam, (2) body as a container of mind, and (3) mind (or soul or spirit) as ruler of the body.

Reding, Jean-Paul. Les fondements philosophiques de la rhétorique chez les sophistes grecs et chez les sophistes chinois. New York: Peter Lang, 1985.

Attacks prior accounts of Chinese "sophism" in the interest of advocating a "scientific" methodology for investigating a comparison of sophism. Argues for the need to reconstruct the historical contexts in which "sophism" arose by both philosophical and philological means. Includes an extensive treatment of Greek sophism, including an inventory of and commentary on the relevant fragments and discussion of relevant theories of language and rhetoric. Includes a separate extensive treatment of Hui Shi and Gongsun Long.

Reding, Jean-Paul. "Greek and Chinese Categories: A Reexamination of the Problem of Linguistic Relativism." *Philosophy East and West* 36.4 (1986): 349–374.

Reassesses Emile Benveniste's account of Aristotle's *Categories* in the context of the work of A. C. Graham. Uses classical Chinese philosophy as a lens to examine Aristotle's categories to ask whether different questions were asked and, by implication, whether the categories behind Aristotle's *Categories* (according to Benveniste) are truly universal.

Reding, Jean-Paul. Comparative Essays in Early Greek and Early Chinese Rational Thinking. London: Routledge, 2016.

Essays on logic and language, some reprinted. Chapters include: "Contradiction Is Impossible," "Origins of Logic in China," "Philosophy and Geometry in Early China," Greek and Chinese Categories," "Words for Atoms," "Light and the Mirror in Greece and China," and "To Be' in Greece and China." Reprint of 2004 Aldershot edition. Contains English versions of several studies previously published in French.

Wardy, Robert. Aristotle in China: Language, Categories and Translation. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Reconsiders the relation between language and thought via a translation of Aristotle's *Categories* into Chinese. Begins with a detailed account of (and blistering attack on) linguistic relativism, with a specific reference to China. Also includes detailed study of *Mingli tan* 名 理探 (translated as "Investigation of the theory of names"), a 17th-century translation of Aristotle's *Categories* into Chinese by Francisco Furtado and Li Zhizhao.

Religion

Comparative studies in religion focus on several distinct areas. These include the comparison of Buddhism and Christianity in Poo, et al. 2017 and Puett 2015; comparisons of Daoist thought to Greek religion or philosophy in Raphals 2015b; and comparative accounts of the nature of relations between humans and divine powers in Keightley 2014a, Puett 2002, Puett 2015, Raphals 2013, and Raphals 2015a.

Keightley, David N. "Clean Hands and Shining Helmets: Heroic Action in Early Chinese and Greek Culture." In *These Bones Shall Rise Again: Selected Writings on Early China*. Edited by Henry Rosemont Jr., 253–282. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014a.

Comparative examination of heroes in early Chinese historical writings (*Shijing, Shangshu*, and *Zuozhuan*) and Greek epics (Homer and Hesiod). Examines representations of the hero, including in tomb art and vase painting. Introduces a typology of heroes and different attitudes toward force and guile. Ends with representations of death and their religious and social implications.

Poo, Mu-chou, H. A. Drake, and Lisa Raphals, eds. *Old Society, New Belief: Religious Transformation of China and Rome, ca. 1st–6th Centuries.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Explores how two new and foreign belief systems, Buddhism and Christianity, entered the long-established societies of China and Rome in the 1st century CE. Specialists in Chinese and Roman history and religion address sites of contention and adaptations on all sides. Topics include examples of religious encounter and interaction, genres of biography, the supernatural, the production of art and architecture, and a comparative conclusion.

Puett, Michael J. "Humans and Gods: The Theme of Self-Divinization in Early China and Early Greece." In *Early China/Ancient Greece: Thinking through Comparisons*. Edited by Steven Shankman and Stephen W. Durrant, 55–74. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.

Comparatively examines the theme of "self-divinization" in early China and Greece with a view to both broader cosmological beliefs, political and social contexts, and the question of the development of monism. Uses this topic to make broader proposals about comparative method.

Puett, Michael J. "Ghosts, Gods, and the Coming Apocalypse: Empire and Religion in *Early China and Ancient Rome*." In *State Power in Ancient China and Rome*. Edited by Walter Scheidel, 230–259. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Explores religious aspects of emperorship in ancient China and Rome. In both contexts claims for divine rulership coincided with the formation of empires. In both cases, such claims were hotly contested, including by several religious movements. Chapters explore the reasons that claims for and against divine rulership emerged during the formation of empire in each cultural context and the historical implications of key differences in these debates.

Raphals, Lisa. *Divination and Prediction in Early China and Ancient Greece*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

First comparative treatment of Chinese and Greek divination and mantic practices. Provides a detailed and methodological account of sources, theories, practitioners, methods, questions, consultors, and relations of divination and prediction to the development of systematic thought in both traditions, with attention to both social and intellectual institutions and practices.

Raphals, Lisa. "China and Greece: Comparisons and Insights." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*. Edited by Esther Eidinow and Julia Kindt, 651–665. Oxford University Press, 2015a.

Focuses on three topics of significant interest to both subjects and suitable for comparison: (1) cosmogony and cosmology, including macrocosm-microcosm analogies; (2) relations and distinctions among humans, animals, and gods, including "scales of nature"; (3) the scope and nature of mantic practices (divination), including a discussion of methodological considerations.

Raphals, Lisa. "Daoism and Greek Philosophy." In *Dao: Companion to Daoist Philosophy*. Edited by Liu Xiaogan, 527–538. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2015b.

Argues that past rigorous comparison of Chinese and Greek philosophy has been hampered by biases toward virtue ethics and Confucianism. Surveys comparative studies of Daoist and Greek philosophy in three other relatively neglected areas: explicit concepts and conceptual categories, epistemological methods and styles of reasoning, and recommendations for how to live.

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