

Elisabeth Hsu (Oxford)

## ***Bing*-distress in the *Zuo zhuan*: the not-so-good-life, the social self and moral sentiment among persons of rank in Warring States China**

This chapter contributes to the theme of this collection in an indirect way by examining the not-so-good-life in the idiom of *bing* 病, a term which gained currency in Warring States China (475–221 BCE). In the medical domain *bing* is nowadays commonly glossed as the antonym to *zhi* 治 ‘to govern, to order’ (Sivin 1987, p. 106). Indeed, as we will see below, in political contexts where *luan* 亂, ‘chaos’, tends to be *zhi*’s antonym, *bing* ‘to be in disorder’ is sometimes used interchangeably with *luan*. Accordingly, *bing* would be a body political notion *par excellence*, and the good life would be dependent on good government.

With a view to the above claim that the good life was primarily a function of the body politic this chapter will examine contexts in which *bing* occurs in the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (see Yang 1981, Legge [1872] 1991). As we will see, *bing* was indeed used in a body political sense but not exclusively; in about one third of the cases it referred to the distress of a person of rank (*ren* 人). Accordingly, the good life also critically depended on the social self and a sense of rank-specific honour and prestige, which was sometimes explicitly coupled with the self-respect derived from ritual propriety and land holdings.

The chapter is based on preliminary research undertaken in the context of the translation of 25 medical case records within China’s first dynastic history, the *Shi ji* 史記 (*Records of the Historian*, see Sima ([2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE] 1959) and Takigawa (1934)), in the second Memoir of chapter 105 (Hsu 2010).<sup>1</sup> In the context of a physician of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE who treated members of the nobility in Eastern China, *bing* played a central role and had functions of a ‘text structuring

---

<sup>1</sup> The prose in the *Zuo zhuan* is rather challenging, and this project could not have been undertaken without the help of Bill Jenner, Robert Neather and John Moffett in the late 1990s, and Zhang Jianjun, Visiting Professor at the University of Oxford in 2012–13, with whom the text excerpts were revisited, and grammatically and semantically dissected. Finally, some important detail was double checked with Rodo Pfister in spring 2015. Legge’s ([1872]1991) translation is masterful; and I leave it to someone else to undertake its updating. The study has taken into consideration recent text critical research (e.g. footnote 10), and the analysis is based on Yang Bojun’s (1981) excellent edition. Y4.1415 means: Yang (1981), vol. 4, p. 1415; L769 means Legge (1991), p. 769.

device' in so far as each case record started with the statement that the official so and so was ill, *bing*, followed by statements of how this illness was contracted and the means whereby the doctor recognised it (Hsu 2010, ch. 10, pp. 109–119). Likewise, in the so-called “Vessel texts” (*Shiyimai jiujiing* 十一脈灸經) among the ‘medical’ manuscript texts unearthed from a Mawangdui tomb closed in 168 BCE, the term *bing* played a superordinate role; it structured the reading of these texts in that, after each description of the vessel’s route (mostly on the body surface), a phrase referring to *bing* introduced a list of specific ‘disorders’ considered indicative of the vessel’s (*mai* 脈) undesirable affections (Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 1985, pp. 7–22).

Whereas *ji* 疾 occurs already in oracle bone inscriptions (e.g. Zhang 1996, Li 2008) and was widely used in pre-dynastic texts as a term for designating an ‘affliction’ (the ideograph shows an arrow), *bing* gained currency as late as during the Warring States and early Han dynasty (206 BCE–8 CE). This was, as argued here, when the term started to be used in a rather specific sense; it referred to an often internally generated, all-encompassing distress and eventually became the term that still today prevails in medical practice (see Farquhar (1994) on *kan bing* 看病, to see a doctor who ‘looks at the disorder’).

In full awareness that the *Zuo zhuan* consists of an assemblage of different texts and is not a treatise written in a single brush stroke (Cheng 1993), this chapter sets out to examine all sixty plus occurrences of *bing* in the *Zuo zhuan*. In the passages first discussed below *bing* was used in a body political way, where it referred to disorder in ‘macrocosm’ and ‘microcosm’, or if one takes a more practice-oriented stance, in the ‘body ecologic’ (Hsu 1999, pp. 78–83). In this body political sense *bing* was also used in a causative way. Following on from this we will examine the ten contexts in which occurred *ji bing* 疾病, a compound word that invariably designated a serious sickness if not a terminal disorder. Although it is not generally possible to differentiate between *ji* and *bing* in Han and later texts, some *Zuo zhuan* passages permit formulating the suggestion that *ji* differs from *bing* similarly to the way it did in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE Shuihudi manuscripts on iatromancy, where *ji* is “the point of origin of a morbid condition” (Harper 2001, p. 112) and *bing* its manifestation that can be perceived from the outside by an onlooker (based on a presupposition that seems to underlie also the modern idiom *kan bing*).

Finally, we will look at the idiom *bing zhi* 病之 ‘aggrieved by it’, and the eleven passages in which it occurs. In nine of those *bing* unambiguously refers to moral sentiment, and the body political approximation of *bing* as ‘disorder’ makes little sense. Among persons of rank (*ren*), emotions, feelings and moral sentiment were regularly attuned to government, appropriate social conduct being modulated by ritual music (e.g. Brindley 2012). Moral sentiment inhabited

also the Warring States medical body. This body, which was primarily affected by moral sentiment (Hsu 2008–2009),<sup>2</sup> was in some contexts described as a bipartite *yin yang* 陰陽 body that housed in heart and liver joy and anger respectively.

In summary, this fine-grained study of the over sixty occurrences of *bing* in the *Zuo zhuan* suggests that the good life did indeed depend on good government, but not merely. Importantly, slander, land disputes, hindrance from partaking in the rites and other incidences causing what we might call today ‘loss of face’ gave rise to *bing*-distress. The good life in Warring States China would accordingly depend not merely on an ordered body politic but also on maintaining an honourable and honoured social self.

## 1 Kingdoms and people in distress, *bing*

In the *Zuo zhuan* the term *bing* frequently refers to disorder, utter distraught and complete devastation of a country, a people or an individual person (see below, nineteen passages in section 1).

### 1.1 *Guo* 國, the state, is in disorder

The current translation of *bing* as ‘to be in disorder’ gives it as an antonym of *zhi* ‘to govern’ and emphasizes this body political aspect. Legge, by contrast, generally translates *bing* as ‘distress’. When speaking of a country or a people in distress, he uses the word in an anthropomorphic manner. In Chinese Studies it is common to assume that this anthropomorphising translation is one that invokes a homology between macro- and microcosm.

G1. 冀之既病 (Y1.282): It [the kingdom Ji] suffered for its doing [Because of this the kingdom of Ji got into disarray]. (Duke Xi, second year, L136)

G2. 國必甚病 (Y1.293): our States will be very much distressed. (Duke Xi, fourth year, L141)

---

<sup>2</sup> This body was sensitised, in the sense of Despret (2004), to being affected by moral sentiment rather than by seasonal change, as is the ‘body ecologic’ (which established itself as a central paradigm of the body in the later canonical Chinese medical texts). It is infelicitous and misleading that I used the idiom ‘sentimental body’ when meaning to refer to a ‘body affected by moral sentiment’ in Hsu (2008–2009).

G3. 國病矣 (Y3.978): It will distress the State. (Duke Xiang, tenth year, L447)

G4. 病，不猶愈於亡乎 (Y3.978): we may be distressed, but is that not better than perishing? (Duke Xiang, tenth year, L447)

G5. 楚於是乎始病 (Y4.1509): Ts'oo [the kingdom of Chu] thus began to be distressed [suffer]. (Duke Zhao, thirtieth year, L735)

G6. 病何如矣 (Y4.1567): How would you bear the distress [trouble]? (Duke Ding, eighth year, L769)

G7. 病而後質焉 (Y4.1567): We can give our hostages when we are brought to distress. (Duke Ding, eighth year, L769)

G8. 孟孫為成之病 (Y4.1689, glosses *bing* as 民貧困): Mang-sun [Mengsun] does nothing but distress Ch'ing-. (Duke Ai, fourteenth year, L840)

G9. 齊因其病，取讎與闡 (Y4.1693): Ts'e [Qi] took advantage of our distress to take Hwan [Huan] and Shen [Chan]. (Duke Ai, fifteenth year, L843)

In the above nine quotes the *bing*-distress that affects a country refers to troubles and suffering, distraught and devastation; it can reach a degree close to *wang* 亡-perishing (see above, G4) or being *e* 餓-famished (see below, I5), as in the following episode (G10):

G10. 寡君使元以病告，曰：“敝邑易子而食，析骸以爨” (Y2.761): My master has sent me to inform you of our distress [disaster]. In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them, and splitting up their bones for fuel [to cook them]. (Duke Xuan, fifteenth year, L328)

Although cannibalism is in some societies an expression of love, as among the Wari in Lowland South America, who are ritually obliged to ingest and incorporate their deceased affine during the funeral meal (Conklin 2001), and although endocannibalism was apparently also practiced in early China (Granet [1926] 1959, pp. 95–100), eating one's children is here a state of utmost distress. Conversely, one surmises, raising flourishing offspring was among the most highly valued attributes of the good life in Chinese antiquity, and eating uncooked food appears to have been unimaginable, even in times of utter distress.

## 1.2 *min* 民, the people, are in distress

The juxtaposition of *bing* to the people, *min* 民, highlights that famine was indeed one of the foremost forms of distress that people experienced. Terms like *pi bing* 罷病, to be weary and distressed, or *ku bing* 苦病, to suffer bitterly in utter distress, emphasize the felt, experiential dimension of the suffering that affected the people rather than the polity.

M1. 民不罷病 (Y3.957): the people will not be [weary and] distressed. (Duke Xiang, fourth year, L435)

M2. 國家罷病 (Y3.1067 is compared to *pi bing* 罷病 in the *Mengzi* 孟子): our state has been wearied and distressed.<sup>3</sup> (Duke Xiang, twenty-second year, L495)

M3. 於是鄭饑，而未及麥，民病 (Y3.1157): The [Zheng] State was suffering from famine, and as the wheat crop was not yet ripe, the people were very badly off. (Duke Xiang, twenty-ninth year, L548)

In M3 ‘the people’ affected are *min*, but in the two episodes below, ‘the people’ (in Legge’s translation) are not *min* 民 but *ren* 人, persons of rank. In those cases it is possible that the *ren* were not suffering from a famine but felt wronged, as suggested below in section 4 on *bing zhi*.

M4. 鄭人病之 (Y3.1089): the people of Ch’ing [Zheng] were distressed about it. (Duke Xiang, twenty-fourth year, L507)

M5. 因祝史揮以侵衛，衛人病之 (Y4.1726): [The duke] ... by means of a correspondence with the prayer-maker Hwuy [Hui], made incursions into Wei, to the distress of the people. (Duke Ai, twenty-fifth year, L857)

Accordingly, M6 below might be more accurately translated as: “The populace suffered and the persons of rank felt wronged.”

M6. 民人苦病 (Y4.1417): the people are pained and distressed. (Duke Zhao, twentieth year, L683)

We will examine the idiom *bing zhi* in more detail below. Important in this section is that, apart from connoting the body politic, *bing* can refer to felt experience in individual bodies.

<sup>3</sup> Hence M2 is listed here: the experiential dimension in *pi bing* warrants considering the translation of *guo jia* as ‘[all] the households of the kingdom’, rather than to ‘the state’ in the abstract.

### 1.3 The causative use of *bing*

When *bing* is used as a causative, it usually means ‘to bring distress’ to a country or a people, implicitly through the devastation that warfare causes, which was collectively experienced.

C1. 初北戎病齊 (Y1.128): Formerly when the northern Jung [Rong] were distressing [bringing hardship to] Ts’e [Qi]. (Duke Huan, tenth year, L55)

C2. 以其病燕故也 (Y1.247): [... the Hill Jung] had reduced the State of Yan to great distress [it was the reason for their having caused distress to the state of Yan]. (Duke Zhuang, thirtieth year, L118)

C3. 會于鹹，淮夷病故 (Y1.344): The meeting at Heen [Xian] was because the E of the Hwae [the barbarians on the Huai] were distressing Ke [Qi]. (Duke Xi, thirteenth year, L161)

C4. 於是衛方病邢 (Y1.387): to consult about the difficulties it was in from Wei, which was then much distressing Hing [Xing]. (Duke Xi, twentieth year, L178)

In the above four passages the body politic is affected. In the following episode, C5, the word *wo* 我 refers to ‘us’, a people, and the causative *bing* is again used in a body political sense. By contrast, the term *huan* 患, to suffer, expresses the felt distress and suffering of an individual.

C5. 傳 二十五年春，齊崔杼帥師伐我北鄙，以報孝伯之師也。公患之，使告于晉。孟公綽曰：‘崔子將有大志，不在病我，必速歸，何患焉？其來也不寇，使民不嚴，異於他日。’齊師徒歸 (Y3.1095):

In the [Duke’s] twenty-fifth year, in spring, Ts’uy ‘Ch’oo of the Ts’e [general Cui Zhu of Qi] led a force and attacked our northern borders (L513) ... This was in retaliation for the expedition of Mang Heaou-pih [Meng Xiaobo]. The duke was distressed about it, and sent information to Tsin [Jin], when Mang Kung-ch’oh [Meng Gongchuo] said to him, “Ts’uy-tsze [Cuizi] has a greater object in his mind. He is not set on troubling us; he is sure to return back soon: – why need you be distressed? His coming this time is without injuring us, and he does not treat the people with severity. It is very different from other invasions.” The army of Ts’e [Qi] returned empty-handed. (Duke Xiang, twenty-fifth year, L513)

In C5 the duke is *huan*-distressed by the thought that his people could get into a *bing*-distress. This episode suggests that *huan* refers to an individual’s personal feelings and *bing* to body political ones. However, as seen above and further el-

borated in section 4, *bing* also can describe distress that an individual experiences.

## 2 *Ji bing* 疾病, a serious illness

In all ten passages of the *Zuo zhuan* that *ji bing* occurs in, it designates a terminal condition, except in one feigned to be as serious as that. If the ruler was ill, this was prone to lead to chaos in the country (JB1). To prevent this, a meeting might be held among potential successors (JB2) or a successor furtively assigned by a powerful minister (JB3).

JB1. 公疾病而亂作 (Y1.104): The disorder arose when the marquis was very ill. (Duke Huan, fifth year, L45)

In JB1 the terminal illness of the ruler, the microcosm, was thought to affect the country as whole, the macrocosm. This well-known rationale was perhaps not only a cosmological one based on a homology between person and polis, but also quite a practical one, where crisis in government, if no suitable successor is found, ontologically affects the country at large.<sup>4</sup>

JB2. 曰：‘君有疾病，請二三子盟’ (Y4.1730): And said to them: “The ruler is very ill and asks you to make a covenant.” (Duke Ai, twenty-sixth year, L859)

JB3. 齊侯疾，崔杼微逆光，疾病而立之 (Y3.1049): When the marquis [of Qi] was ill, Ts’uy Ch’oo [Cui Zhu] privately brought Kwang [Guang] back to the capital; and when the marquis became very ill, Ch’oo raised Kwang to be his successor. (Duke Xiang, nineteenth year, L483)

JB2 and JB3 involved court intrigue. In hotbeds of political power struggle *ji bing* was sometimes used to obtain absence from court (JB4) or for feigning social un-

---

<sup>4</sup> The macrocosm is typically related to the microcosm through an analogy (e.g. Lloyd 1966). Emphasis on both pragmatics and ontology, i.e. the practical stance that crisis in government leads to crisis in the governed land, draws on an ontological continuity between government and governed land. The concept of the ‘body ecologic’ underlines such an ontological continuity, as it posits that body internal processes resonate with and are consubstantial with the environment; the ‘body ecologic’ is not the bounded entity that is the body-enveloped-by-skin which figures in microcosm-macrocosm homologies.

availability (JB5 and JB6), thereby highlighting that the social function of an illness's 'secondary gains' (Parsons 1951)<sup>5</sup> was recognised already in antiquity.

JB4. 請曰 無字之母疾病，請歸 (Y3.1147): He [Wu Yu] asked leave [from Fung] to return, saying that his mother was very ill. (Duke Xiang, twenty-eighth year, L542)

JB5. 豎牛曰：‘夫子疾病，不欲見人。’使實饋于个而退 (Y4.1258): New [Niu], giving out that the master was very ill and did not wish to see anyone, made the attendants place the food in two side-chambers, and retire. (Duke Zhao, fourth year, L599)

In JB5 Niu ordered the servants to put food in a side chamber in order to starve his master to death, as he himself furtively removed the food from the side chamber to secretly feed his own son with it.

JB6. 君之臣杼疾病，不能聽命。近於公宮，陪臣干撻。有淫者 (Y3.1097): “Your lordship’s servant Ch’oo [Cui] is very ill, and cannot receive your commands. And this is near the duke’s palace. We are watchmen, [and have to take] an adulterer.” (Duke Xiang, twenty-fifth year, L514)

Preceding JB6 the narrator tells us that [Cui] Zhu was ‘ill’, *ji*, but his watchmen are here quoted to say he was ‘seriously ill’, *ji bing*. [Cui] Zhu survives and his *ji bing* is a pretext to kill Zhuang. Although Zhuang was Cui’s sovereign, Cui’s watchmen killed Zhuang as he had had a love affair with Cui’s wife. The above quote ends with the watchmen saying: 不知二命 “We can know nothing of two commands”, which lent expression to their moral dilemma. Like Upright Gong 直躬 in the *Analects*, they experienced sentiments of divided loyalty. Should they be loyal to their sovereign or their master who was subordinate to the sovereign? They acted as a good Ruist would do, and unlike Upright Gong (Csikszentmihalyi 2004, p. 113–16), by creating a situation that allowed them to put the authority of their head of house over that of their head of state.

The serious illness that *ji bing* in the *Zuo zhuan* consistently refers to often affected the physicality of the body. According to JB7 one would seek for a physician, *qiu yi* 求醫, to attend to a *ji bing*.

---

<sup>5</sup> King (2009) provides an appraisal of the early Parsons’ *The Structure of Social Action* and claims that it contains the seed for overcoming the pervasive problem of structure and agency in contemporary sociology in that it foregrounds honour and shame as motive for social action; one may doubt the ubiquitous applicability of Parsons’ theory but it works strikingly well here for explaining the sociality of the nobility in Warring States China.

JB7. 公疾病，求醫于秦 (Y2.849): The duke became very ill, and asked the services of a physician from Tsin [Qin]. (Duke Cheng, tenth year, L374)

The story within which the above sentence is embedded is well-known. It involves two dreams of the duke: he called first a shaman, Sangtian 桑田, who predicted the duke would not eat new wheat, and then a physician, Huan 緩, who explained that the illness was indeed where the duke had dreamt it do be, deep inside the body, and hence incurable. As the duke was served new wheat, he had the shaman executed. However, before sitting down to eat the new wheat, he had an urge to relieve himself and died while doing so.<sup>6</sup>

JB8 is of particular interest as it throws light on the semantics of *zhi* 治, *ji bing* 疾病 and *luan* 亂 in one single episode.

JB8. 初，魏武子有嬖妾，無子。武子疾，命顆曰：‘必嫁是’。疾病，則曰：‘必以為殉！’及卒，顆嫁之，曰：‘疾病則亂，吾從其治也’(Y2.764): Before this, Wei Woo-tsze [Wuzi] had a favourite concubine, who brought him no child. When he was ill, he charged Ko [his son Ke] that he should marry her to someone; but afterwards, when he had become very ill, he told him that he must bury her alive in his grave. After his father's death, Ko [Ke] provided her with a husband, saying: “When my father was so very ill, his senses were disordered; I will follow the charge he gave when his mind was right.” (Duke Xuan, fifteenth year, L328)

The son Ke of the father Wuzi was pious and claimed to carry out the parental order, *zhi* 治, when he married off his father's favorite concubine, rather than burying her alive. He was able to do this because he differentiated between his father's requests when being ill, *ji*, and very ill, *ji bing*. When very ill, his father's state of mind had become confused, *luan*.<sup>7</sup>

JB8 also calls out for closer examination of *ji*-illness; whether and if, how, it semantically differed from *bing*-distress.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A similarly tragic narrative element is contained in the medical case 12 of the second Memoir in *Shi ji* 105 (translated in Hsu 2010, p. 79–80).

<sup>7</sup> We are reminded that in JB1 the term *luan* referred to a country in chaos but here in JB8 to a person who is confused. The term *luan*, much like the term *bing* refers to events that indiscriminately affected microcosm and macrocosm.

<sup>8</sup> The *Zuo zhuan* recorded so many illness episodes of *ji*, that it was impossible to investigate them all in this project. Bridgman (1955, pp. 7–10) recorded 12 episodes *ji*-illness that had been translated by Couvreur ([1914]1951).

### 3 Distinctive meanings of *ji* and *bing* in the iatromantic literature

In the iatromantic Shuihudi manuscripts of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Harper (2001, p. 112) noted that *ji* is “the point of origin of a morbid condition ... the morbid condition [*ji*] attached to the sign Wood becomes a manifest ailment [*bing*] on the days when Wood conquers Earth.” If *ji* was associated with one of the Five Agents/Five Phases (*wu xing* 五行), e.g. Wood, it became *bing* when Wood conquers Earth (*mu sheng tu* 木勝土). Accordingly, *ji* and *bing* were temporally sequenced: *ji* preceded *bing* in time. They were also spatially distinct: *ji* referred to an invisible affliction inside the body, which only eventually, once it had matured, would be perceived from the outside as a *bing*.

In the *Zuo zhuan* there are passages suggestive of this iatromantic differentiation between *ji* and *bing*. For instance, one asks after [a patient suffering] an illness, *wen ji* 問疾, but inspects the person, *shi zhi* 視之, to identify a *bing*. Among the ten episodes in which the compound word *ji bing* is mentioned the idiom *wen ji* occurs twice. It is used in at least two senses. First, it means to go and visit a patient, as in the episode of the marquis of Qi:

#### Episode-1-on-*wen ji*

齊侯疥，遂瘥，期而不瘳。諸侯之賓問疾者多在 (Y4.1415):

The marquis of Ts'e [Qi] had a scabbiness which issued in intermittent fever, and for a whole year he did not get better, so that there were many visitors from the various States [in Qi], who had come to inquire for him. (Duke Zhao, twentieth year, L683)

Notably, *wen ji* might also have implied inquiries into the cause of the illness, as in case of the marquis of Jin:

#### Episode-2-on-*wen ji*

晉侯有疾，鄭伯史公孫僑如晉聘，且問疾 (Y4.1217):

The marquis of Tsin [Jin] being ill, the earl of Ch'ing [Zheng Bo] sent Kong-sun K'eaou [Gongsun Qiao] to Tsin on a complimentary visit, and to inquire about the marquis's illness (Duke Zhao, first year, L580).

Incidentally, these two occurrences of *wen ji* occur within two of the best-known episodes in the *Zuo zhuan*, which are both known for opposing a religio-moral to a more human-agency-centred (i.e. 'naturalistic', 'rationalistic') aetiology. The cause of the illness, into which one made aural inquiries, *wen ji*, is in both cases identified through divination, *pu* 卜. Some might have considered the duke's serious illness to have arisen from a lack of reverence (*bu jing* 不敬) to-

wards the ancestors and spirits (JB9), thereby violating a key virtue of the Ru (Csikzentmihalyi 2004, p. 20).

JB9. 梁丘據與裔款言於公曰：吾事鬼神豐，於先君有加矣。今君疾病，為諸候憂，是祝、史之罪也。諸候不知，其謂我不敬 (Y4.1415):

Keu [Ju] of Leang-k'ew [Liangqiu] and E K'wan [Yikuan] said to him, "We have served the Spirits more liberally than former rulers did; but now your lordship is very ill, to the grief of all the princes; – it must be the crime of the priests and the historiographers. The States, not knowing this, will say that it is because we have not been reverential [to the Spirits]." (Duke Zhao, twentieth year, L683)

Others pointed to diviners and astrologers ('historiographers' in Legge's translation). They suggested licentiousness had caused the duke's serious illness, *ji bing*, and accordingly advocated a regulated life style and moderate sexual congress (see JB10b).

JB10a: 叔向問焉，曰：‘寡君之疾病，卜人曰：“實沈，臺駘為祟”，史莫之知。敢問此何神也？’(Y4.1217): Shu-heang [Shuxiang] then asked K'eaou [Qiao], saying: "The diviners say that our ruler's illness is inflicted on him by [the Spirits] Shih-ch'in [Shishen] and T'ae-t'ae [Taitai], but the historiographers do not know who these are. I venture to ask you." (Duke Zhao, first year, L580)

The duke of Jin's calling for a physician from Qin, named He 和, who then expounds on a naturalistic rationale of medicine (Y4.1217–23), is well rehearsed in the secondary literature and will not be repeated here.

JB10b. 若君身，則亦出入，飲食，哀樂之事也，山川，星晨之神又何為焉 (Y4.1220): Your ruler's person must be suffering from something connected with his movements out of the palace and in it, his meat and drink, his griefs and pleasures; what can these Spirits of the mountains and stars have to do with it? (Duke Zhao, first year, L580)

So, one asked about *ji*-afflictions, *wen ji*, and into their causation, regardless of whether it was a rationalistic/naturalistic matter or one of religious/moralising attribution, while one visually inspected whether someone was *bing*-distressed, *shi zhi*:

Episode-1-on-visible-*bing*

使問，且視之。病，將殺之 (Y1.454): he sent a messenger to ask for him and see how he was, intending, should he be very ill, to execute him. (Duke Xi, twenty-eighth year, L208)

The person in question, Wei Chou 魏攣,<sup>9</sup> had been wounded in his chest. In anticipation of the messenger's visit, he had dressed his wound and bound it up such that he could jump high and leap crosswise thrice. Since *bing* was considered visible from the outside, Wei could conceal his vulnerable condition in this way.

With this in mind, let us look at the following episode:

Episode-2-on-visible-*bing*

荀偃瘡疽，生瘍於頭。濟河及著雍，病，目出 (Y3.1046): Seun Yan [Xun Yan] was now suffering from an ulcer, which grew upon his head; and after crossing the He [Yellow River] as far as Choo-yung [upon reaching Zhuyong], he was quite ill [his disorder became apparent], and his eyes protruded (Duke Ai, nineteenth year, L482).

The term *dan* 單 [later 憊 or 瘡] is already in the *Shi jing* 時經 (*Book of Odes*) a widely used term for designating a state of exhaustion and overwork, lassitude and longing (Hsu 2010, case 5, pp. 213–14). *Ju* 疽, abscess or ulcer, belongs among the ailments discussed in the Mawangdui “Fifty-two Recipes” (Mawangdui Hanmu boshu zhengli xiaozu 1985, Harper 1998). It is also a *bing*-disorder, in cases 1 and 22, among the 25 medical case records found in *Shi ji* 105 (Hsu 2010, pp. 123–26). In both case records there is an explicit temporal dimension to a *ju*-abscess: in case 1 it takes five, and then another three days to mature; in case 22 one hundred days. In the *Shi ji*, the *ju*-abscess, which originates in an internal, if not the innermost body part, but eventually erupts in the region of the head. This understanding of the *ju*-abscesses in the *Shi ji* parallels the *Zuo zhuan* episode-2-on-visible-*bing*. However, episode-2-on-visible-*bing* represents insofar an anomaly as it is the only one in the entire *Zuo zhuan* where the term *bing* refers to a nosological entity (a specific kind of sickness), i.e. an abscess.<sup>10</sup>

In the following excerpt, episode-3-on-visible-*bing*, the wounded warrior is prompted into saying: *yu bing yi* 余病矣, perhaps best approximated as: “I am done with”. Streams of blood flowing from the wounds make him very visibly *bing*-distressed. This visible *bing*-distress affects not merely the body surface but the entire person in his very existence. However, duke Zhang appeals to the warrior's social self, admonishing him to give himself fully to his cause even if he himself bleeds to death.

<sup>9</sup> *chou* 攣 to groan like an ox.

<sup>10</sup> Text critical remark: Interestingly, Yang Bojun found it necessary to provide punctuation: *bing, mu chu* 病，目出 to prevent the reading “he ailed from the eyes protruding”. The phrase *mu chu* is easy to understand without the word *bing*. Since *bing* is given as an apposition, this begs the question as to whether it might be an interpolation of a later commentator.

### Episode-3-on-visible-*bing*

郤克傷於矢，流血及屨，未絕鼓音，曰：“余病矣！”張侯曰：“自始合，而矢貫余手及肘，余折以御，左輪朱殷，豈敢言病？吾子忍之！”一師之耳目，在吾旗鼓，進退從之。若之何其以病敗君之大事也？病未及死，吾子勉之！”左并轡，右援枹而鼓。馬逸不能止，師從之。齊師敗績 (Y2.791–792): K'eoh K'ih [Que Ke] was wounded by an arrow, till the blood ran down to his shoes, but he never let the sound of the drum cease. [At last,] he said: "I am in pain." Chang-how [marquis Zhang] said: "At the first encounter one arrow pierced my hand, and another my wrist. But I broke them and continued my driving, till the left wheel [was] of a deep purple, not daring to speak of pain. Do you, Sir, bear yours." ... "The eyes and ears of the army are on our flag and drum. It will advance or retire as our chariot does. ... Why should you for your pain cause the failure of our ruler's great enterprise? ... You are not in pain to death; – strive to combat with it." With this, he held the reins with his left hand, and with the right took the drumstick, and beat the drum. The trained horses urged on, unable to stop, followed by the army. The army of Ts'e [Qi] received a great defeat. (Duke Cheng, second year, L345)

*Bing* is mentioned thrice in this episode, and Legge invariably translates it as 'being in pain'. There was a word for pain, *tong* 痛, in Warring States China, but Legge's translation is probably meant to convey the unwelcome preoccupation with one's own physicality that should be superseded by actions of the social self for the good of the group. Importantly, as already noted, *bing* was not merely a superficial visible aspect of a morbid condition but affected the very core of a person's social self. It is this aspect of *bing* that alludes to moral sentiment, which we will examine in section 4 of this chapter.

## 4 *bing*-distress and the social self affected by shame

There are episodes in the *Zuo zhuan* where *bing* has no apparent body political connotations. Nor does it designate a specific nosological entity. Rather, *bing* appears to affect the social self and refers to the distress that a person experiences when being wronged, humbled or hurt.

## 4.1 Individuals affected by *bing*

In the following passages the social self of an individual is affected. Interestingly, the grief, worry, disgrace and distress that these individual bodies experience seems to be belittled in the rhetorical questions that make up four of the following six *Zuo zhuan* passages.

I1. 心則不競，何憚於病 (Y1.315): When a man is incapable of firm resolve, why should he feel it a pain to be humble [be anxious about being humbled/disgraced]? (Duke Xi, seventh year, L149)

I2. 彼實家亂，子何病焉 (Y3.1137): But why should you feel any distress at [be worried about] disorder in his House? (Duke Xiang, twenty-seventh year, L535)

I3. 子何病焉 (Y4.1288): Why should you be distressed [by what I propose]? (Duke Zhao, seventh year, L617)

I4. 與則其父而弗能病者 何如 (Y2.630): “How is it,” replied Chih [Zhi], “between me and him who was able to see his father’s feet cut off without feeling aggrieved?” (Duke Wen, eighteenth year, L281)

I5. 見靈輒餓，問其病。曰：“不食三日矣” (Y2.661): [Xuan] ... noticed one, Ling Cheh [Ling Zhe], lying near in a famished condition. Seuen [Xuan] asked what was the matter with him, and he said that he had not eaten for three days. (Duke Xuan, second year, L290)

I6. 孟僖子病不能相禮，乃講學之 (Y4.1294): Mang He-tsze [Meng Xizi] felt distressed that he had not been able to direct the ceremonial observances, and set about learning them. (Duke Zhao, seventh year, L618)

Excerpt I6 is of particular interest. If it were taken out of context, the first phrase would allow the translation: “Since Meng Xizi was ill, he had not been able to direct the ceremonial observances.” However, since Meng was not physically ill but hurt in his sense of propriety, he solved his problem by learning the ceremonial observances (rather than by going to see a doctor). In this case *bing* clearly refers to moral sentiment that is specific to a person with social standing.

## 4.2 *Bing zhi* “and this rendered him distressed”

In the following nine passages the idiom *bing zhi* quite unambiguously relates to moral indignation, psychological processes and emotional upset in an individu-

al, and *zhi* 之 refers to the preceding events of complex social interactions that affect the social self.<sup>11</sup>

#### Episode-1-of-*bing zhi*

伍參言於王曰：‘晉之從政者新，未能行令。其佐先穀剛愎不仁，未肯用命。其三帥者，專行不獲。聽而無上，衆誰適從？此行也，晉師必敗。且君而逃臣，若社稷何？’ 王病之，告令尹改乘轅而北之，次于管以待之 (Y2.730):

But Woo Ts’an [Wu Can] said to the king: “Tsin’s [Jin’s] chief minister is new, and cannot make his commands obeyed. His assistant commander, Seen Hwoh [Xian Hu] is violent and headstrong, without any benevolence, and unwilling to obey the other’s commands. The generals of the three armies would each take the chief control, but not one of them can do so. In council there is no supreme Head; whom can the multitudes follow? In this expedition Tsin cannot fail to be defeated. Moreover, if your majesty flee before a subject of Tsin, what becomes of the honour of our altars?” The king felt powerfully these representations, and told the chief minister to change the course of the chariots, and proceed northwards. He then halted at Kwan [Guan] to await the army of Tsin. (Duke Xuan, twelfth year, L318)

The suggestion that the king might not fulfill his ritual duties causes *bing*-distress in him; one surmises that not only the prospects of being unable to fulfill them would have been morally upsetting but also being exposed to public suspicion that it might be so. In this case the king took these representations as an admonition to go into combat, not least because the prospects of winning in battle were high. Accusations of the kind against people in high office are also in other cases experienced as *bing*-distressing, as in the case of the chief minister (episode-2-of-*bing zhi*) who, in the very least, must have been embarrassed. Or they were met with indignation (episode-3-of-*bing zhi*) and put off as annoying (episode-4-of-*bing zhi*).



<sup>11</sup> Since more context is necessary to understand the specific situation of moral indignation, excerpts containing the idiom *bing zhi* are longer than the others.

### Episode-2-of-*bing zhi*

晉陳之族呼於國曰：‘鄆氏、費氏自以為王，專禍楚國，弱寡王室。蒙王與令尹以自利也。令尹盡信之矣，國將如何？’“令尹病之 (4.1486):

The kindred of Tsin Ch'in [Jin Chen] cried out in the city, "Yen [Yan] and Fei [Fei] are making themselves kings, and by their own authority working calamity to the state of Ts'oo [Chu]; weakening and thinning the royal House, and deceiving the king and the chief minister for their own gain. The chief minister believes them entirely; – what is to become of the state?" This distressed the chief minister. (Duke Zhao, twenty-seventh year, L722)

### Episode-3-of-*bing zhi*

陳靈公與孔寧、儀行父飲酒於夏氏。公謂行父曰：‘徵舒似女’ 對曰：‘亦似君。’ 徵舒病之 (Y2.707):

Duke Ling of Ch'in [Chen], with K'ung Ning [Kong Ning] and E Hang-foo [Yi Hangfu], was drinking in the house of the Hea [Xia] family. When the Duke said to Hang-foo, "Ch'ing-shoo [Zhengshu] is like you." "He is also like your lordship," was the reply. Ch'ing-shoo [overheard these remarks, and] was indignant at them. (Duke Xuan, tenth year, L308)

### Episode-4-of-*bing zhi*

乘丘之役，公以金僕姑射南宮長萬，公右黻孫生搏之。宋人請之。宋公靳之，——曰：‘始吾敬子；今子，魯囚也，吾弗敬子矣。’ 病之 (Y1.189):

In the action at Shing-kew [Chengqiu], the duke with his arrow called Kin Puh-koo [Jin Pugu] shot Nan-kung Chang-wan [Nangong Zhangwan], after which the spearman on the right, Chuen-sun [Chuan Sun], took him prisoner. He was subsequently released at the request of the people of Sung [Song], but the duke of Sung ridiculed him, saying, "Formerly, I respected you; but since you have been the prisoner of Loo [Lu], I respect you no more." This annoyed Ch'ang-wan. (Duke Zhuang, eleventh year, L88)

The above excerpts suggest the moral sentiment that *bing* describes has to do with either an open offense against the public persona of an official or with an insinuated failure in proper conduct. This sort of verbal offense, blame and slander, and also false insinuations that cause a loss of face can be devastating to a person of high politico-ritual status. In the above excerpts *bing* does not actually have a body political connotation, although the discussion centres on the cosmopolitical. Rather, *bing*-distress affects sociality and the social self: a person of rank is expected to perform their ritual obligations, to be competent in office and to be met with respect by his social entourage. The *bing*-distress these persons of rank felt is perhaps best approximated as a sort of 'shame'. Accordingly,

maintenance of one's face and public persona would belong to the good life of any person of honour and social rank.

In the following passage the reprimands against a general eventually result in him becoming *bing*-distressed to the degree of *xin ji* 心疾. In this case *xin ji* is not to be read as 'heart disease' in the sense of a heart attack, nor as 'love sickness', but as a state of mental disarray over his expedition in shambles; it is likely that the death that ensued was a suicide.

#### Episode-5-of-*bing zhi*

子重歸，既飲至三日，吳人伐楚，取駕。駕，良邑也；鄧廖，亦楚之良也。君子謂：子重於是役也，所獲不如所亡。楚人以是咎子重。子重病之，遂遇心疾而卒 (Y3.925–926):

Tsze-chung [Zi Chong] had returned [to Ying]; and three days after he had drunk his arrival [in the ancestral temple], the people of Woo [Wu] invaded Ts'oo [Chu], and took Kea [Jia]. Kea was a good city, as Tang Leaou [Deng Liao] was a good officer of Ts'oo. Superior men observed that what Tsze-chung gained in this expedition was not equal to what he lost. The people of Ts'oo on this account blamed Tsze-chung, who was so much distressed, that he fell into mental trouble, and died. (Duke Xiang, third year, L419)

Episode-5-of-*bing zhi* highlights clearly how destructive the loss of one's social self can be, emotionally and physically. In this context it is worth noting that in the *Zuo zhuan* only the heart, which in pre-dynastic China was the seat of all emotion and cognition, becomes *bing*-distraught.<sup>12</sup> This *bing*-distress pertaining to self-respect and moral sentiment, is perhaps best conceived of as a sort of 'shame'.

Finally, the following four events resulting in *bing zhi* all occur after disputes over land. Rather than cultivating feelings of anger or vengeance, as people might do today over land disputes, the moral sentiment of the *bing*-distressed persons of rank seems to have been closer to shame.



<sup>12</sup> The *bing*-disorder mentioned in the *Zuo zhuan* that originates in the abdominal region (a bodily location later to be inhabited by the liver), is known by a specific nosological term; it is a *ju*-abscess that eventually causes the eyes to protrude (see case-2-on-visible-*bing*).

Episode-6-of-*bing zhi*

初，州縣，欒豹之邑也。及欒氏亡，范宣子、趙文子、韓宣子皆欲之。文子曰：“溫，吾縣也。”二宣子曰：“自郤稱以別，三傳矣。晉之別縣不唯州，誰獲治之？”文子病之，乃舍之 (Y4.1239–1240):

Before this the district of Chow [Zhou] had belonged to Lwan P'au [Luan Bao]; and on the ruin of the Lwan family, Fan Seuen-tsze [Fan Xuanzi], Chaou Wan-tsze [Zhao Wenzi], and Han Seuen-tsze [Han Xuanzi], all wished to have it. Wan-tsze [Wenzi] said, "All Wan [Wen] (Chow had once been part of it) belongs to me." The two Seuen-tsze (Xuanzi) said, "Since the time of Keoh Ch'ing [Xi Cheng], [Chow] has been handed down, separate [from Wan], in three families. There are other districts in Tsin [Jin], separated [in this way], and not Chow only; – who can get the right to take the rule of them? "Wan-tsze was vexed by this, but gave Chow up. (Duke Zhao, third year, L590)

Episode-7-of-*bing zhi*

子產曰：“古人有言曰：‘其父析薪，其子弗克負荷。’施將懼不能任其先人之祿，其況能任大國之賜？縱吾子為政而可，後之人若屬有疆場之言，敝邑獲戾，而豐氏受其大討。吾子取州，是免敝邑於戾，而建置豐氏也。敢以為請。”宣子受之，以告晉侯。晉侯以與宣子。宣子為初言，病有之，以易原縣於樂大心 (Y4.1291):

Tsze ch'an [Zi Chan] said to him: "People have the saying, 'the father split the firewood, and the son was not able to carry it.' She [Shi] will be afraid lest he should not be able to sustain the weight of his father's office; how much less can he sustain the weight of that gift from your great State. Though it might be possible for him to do so, while the government is in your hands, yet with other men that will follow you, if there should come to be any words about border matters, our poor State will be held to be an offender, and the Fung [Feng] family will experience the weight of Tsin's [Jin's] indignation. If you will take [back] Chow [Zhou], you will save our poor State from any charge of offence, and you will make the Fung family stronger: – I venture to make it my request that you will do so." Seuen-Tsze [Xuanzi] on this received Chow, and informed the marquis of it, who gave it to him. Because of what he had said before, however, he was distressed by the idea of holding it, and exchanged it with Yeh Ta-sin [Ye Daxin] for the district of Yuan. (Duke Zhao, seventh year, L617)

Episode-8-of-*bing zhi*

傳 二十七年春，越子使后庸來聘，且言邾田封于駘上。二月，盟于平陽，三子皆從。康子病之 (Y4.1732–1733)

In the [duke's] 27<sup>th</sup> year, in spring, the viscount of Yueh [Yue] sent How Yung [Hou Yong] on a complimentary mission to Loo [Lu], and to speak about the lands of Choo [Zhu], that the boundary between it and Loo should be T<sup>2</sup>ae-shang [Taishang]. In the second month, a covenant was made at P<sup>2</sup>ing-yang [Pingyang], in which the three ministers all followed the envoy. K<sup>2</sup>ang-tsze [Kangzi] was vexed about this. (Duke Ai, twenty-seventh year, L861)

Episode-9-of-*bing zhi*

陳成子館客，曰：“寡君使恆告曰‘寡君願事君如事衛君’”。景伯揖子贛而進之，對曰：“寡君之願也。昔晉人伐衛，齊為衛故，伐晉冠氏，喪車五百。因與衛地，自濟以西，禚、媚、杏以南，書社五百。吳人加敝邑以亂，齊因其病，取讎與闡，寡君是以寒心。若得視衛君之事君也，則固所願也。成子病之，乃歸成，公孫宿以其兵甲入于羸 (Y4.1693–1694)

Ch'in Ch'ing-tsze [Chen Chengzi] assigned their lodging to the guests, and said to them, “My ruler has sent me to say to you that he wishes to do service to your ruler as he has done to the ruler of Wei.” King-pih [Jingbo] made a sign to Tsze-kung [Zigan] to advance and reply, which he did, saying “This is the desire of our ruler. Formerly, when the people of Tsin [Jin] invaded Wei, Ts'e [Qi] on account of Wei attacked [the city] Kwan-she [Guanshi] of Tsin, and lost 500 chariots. Notwithstanding, it made a grant of territory to Wei, and assigned it in writing 12,500 families on the west of the Tse [Ji], and the south of Choh [Zhuo], Me [Mei] and Hang [Xing]. When the people of Woo [Wu] attacked our poor state, Ts'e took advantage of our distress to take Hwan [Huan] and Shen [Shen];<sup>13</sup> in consequence of which our ruler became cold to it. If indeed you will deal with him as you have dealt with the ruler of Wei [Wei], this is what we desire. Ch'ing-tsze [Chengzi] was pinched by this address, and restored Ch'ing [Cheng], on which Kung-sun Suh [Gongsun Su] entered Ying with his military stores. (Duke Ai, sixteenth year, L843)

The lengthy excerpts highlight how context-dependent the processes were that caused the sentiment of feeling wronged. Unlike an affliction that, like an arrow, strikes one in an instance (*ji* means also rapidly, fast, quickly), *bing*-distress arises here in situation-specific complex social interaction. It is worth not-

13 This phrase is discussed in G9 above.

ing that the social self of a person with rank, who draws on the memory of the well-rehearsed family line (episode-7-of-*bing zhi*), is closely tied to the governance of land. In other words, land makes persons and accordingly, a person of rank had to feel part of his ancestral lands to have a good life; his self then could spread out and extend into this land holdings.

Loss of face is devastating. Slander kills. The sort of moral sentiment and emotional distress that *bing zhi* described, particularly in the first five excerpts, arose from a violation of the social self that persons with honour and rank cultivated. The idiom *bing zhi* referred to distress caused by non-observance of ritual, and the gossip over it, by disputes over land and other forms of disrespectful insinuations and open shaming.

## 5 Discussion

The above passages highlight how the term *bing* was used in the *Zuo zhuan*. Evidently, *bing* often designated a state of hunger, famine, utter destitution and disorder, and this sort of *bing*-distress affected people (*min*), households (*jia*) and kingdoms (*guo*). In those cases the body politic was primarily affected. Less evident but nevertheless demonstrable were some semantic continuities between an iatromantic Shuihudi manuscript text from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE and some passages in the *Zuo zhuan*. where *ji* designated a morbidity's point of origin and *bing* its matured, visible bodily manifestation. Accordingly, one would ask about a *ji*-affliction, *wen ji*, but visually inspect a person with *bing*-disorder, *shi zhi*. One might do divination, *pu*, regarding a *ji*, but would call for a doctor, *qiu yi*, to inspect a serious illness, *ji bing*.

However, the most important finding regarding the meanings of *bing* in the *Zuo zhuan* is that the term was not merely used in a body political sense: the term *bing* can refer to moral sentiment and emotional distress that arises when an outwardly perceived aspect of one's social self is adversely affected. An event of the kind typically arose after an offense against one's public persona. Men of rank who felt wronged due to slander or after a dispute over land were distressed by it, *bing zhi*. This was both a visible event of their face being lost and an existential one, which went to the very core of one's entire self and could result in suicide.

In Legge's translation the severity of the offence ranges from being 'pinched' and 'annoyed' to being 'indignant' and 'vexed'. While people, *min*, typically would be *bing*-distressed by hunger and misery, persons of rank, *ren*, would be *bing*-distressed by their sense of shame and honour. So, in line with Norbert Elias ([1939]1994) who demonstrated that a person's 'affective household' is sta-

tus specific, and critically shaped by specific historical processes of social stratification, *bing*-distress in some passages of the *Zuo zhuan*, appears to have referred to moral sentiment characteristic of the ‘affective household’ of persons of rank, *ren*, in the feudal order specific to Warring States China.

Where in Græco-Roman drama the *persona* was a mask, men of rank in Warring States China cultivated ‘face’. While the mask covered up and provided disguise for the private self, no concept of the self as detached-from-the-environment was found in the above passages examined. The self in Warring States China was in general visually comprehended. One’s outward appearance comprised body form, *xing* 形; face, *mian* 面; and also one’s eyes, *mu* 目 (Csikszenmihalyi 2004:130). Face typically had colour and expressions that could be seen by an onlooker (Kuriyama 1999, p. 174). Likewise, the *xing*-form would be visually appreciated, this in contrast to the tactually known *shen* 身 body, as mentioned in a *Huainanzi* 淮南子 passage of the Western Han (Hsu 2005).

To an English speaker the seen is understood to adhere to the surface, and to cover up other, deeper layers of one’s being. The seen might be taken as evidence but equally it is easily put down to an illusion. In the Chinese texts examined above, by contrast, a loss of face was not a superficial but an existential matter. The texts seemed to presuppose continuity between one’s outward appearance and the internal self. One’s self was, furthermore, not bounded by skin. Rather, one’s social self extended onto one’s homestead and dependents as well as one’s land holdings. Otherwise, disputes over land would not have affected a person of rank as existentially with *bing*-distress. Those lands bore the weight of the lineage, having been transmitted through the family line, and losing them seems to have been not merely a matter of grief but, as seen above, of shame. The lands brought wealth, no doubt (although the texts say nothing of it). Yet they presumably also had a more tangible ontological significance, not least through the ancestors’ presence in the lands (particularly, if their graves were then, as today, either in the fields or on the surrounding hillocks).

In the Warring States no mechanistic devices were necessary, like holes in a solid mask or pores in the skin that open and close (as is implied by the notion of the *cou li* 腠理, the webbed pattern), and through which water and *qi* would go in and out. Rather the universe was of a more fluid or metamorphous consistency, and the self could seamlessly extend itself into it. From the sparse manuscript texts pertaining to medicine, it is difficult to know how this happened but in later canonical medical texts the universe was thought to be permeated by *qi* 氣. *Qi* could be stored inside organs, concealed from the onlooker, yet resonated with the outside world, its seasons (*shi qi* 時氣) and lands (*di qi* 地氣). In the body ecologic the internal and external aspects of the self that extended into

its environment could be simultaneously affected thanks to *gan ying* 感應, resonance.<sup>14</sup>

Resonances, like vibrations, can be tactually perceived, which gives them a material quality. Csikszentmihalyi's (2004) spoke of 'material virtue' when he argued that internal moral growth of a person is outwardly perceptible. Csikszentmihalyi argued that the *Mengzi*'s sophisticated psychology linked the internal and external aspects of the self to each other on the basis that they both were considered material. Due to their materiality feelings and appearance could be intricately connected.<sup>15</sup>

The above *Zuo zhuan* passages on *bing zhi* gesture in the same direction. However rather than speaking of a connection between inside and outside, it may be more fertile to conceive of the self as ontologically continuous from its most internal core to its most spread out, as in those moments when it reaches out to ancestors and gods, to the departed and the unborn. Accordingly, it makes sense to translate the feelings of *xi* 喜 and *nu* 怒, as known to us from the bi-partite Warring States medical body (Hsu 2008–2009), as 'joy' and 'anger', where the word joy would be used in the sense it has in Christmas carols and psalms, referring to the elation the believers feel in celebration, as their singing extends to the divine. Yes, it is a socially produced and physically felt delight, and in this sense physically pleasurable, but unlike the contemporary notion of pleasure, this joyfulness simultaneously transcends a person's physicality and reaches out to the numinous. In a similar vein, *ai* 哀 and *le* 樂, which were mentioned in JB10b above, have been translated with the words one uses for expressing the feelings experienced towards the dying/dead and the newly born. Sadness/sorrow and delight/happiness are feelings that extend one's self, often with great intensity, as far as into the worlds of the departed and of the unborn. Such moral sentiment that a person of rank would cultivate in the Warring States appears to have had the capacity to ontologically spread out the self far beyond the body-enveloped-by-skin.

---

<sup>14</sup> For an attempt, in line with postcolonial studies, to add this ethno-theoretical concept *gan-ying* to the analytical anthropological toolkit, see Chao (2008).

<sup>15</sup> Csikszentmihalyi's (2004) argument resonates with the point underlined here, namely that there was an ontological continuity between internal and external aspects of the self.. However, the evidence he provides— mostly quotes from the Han dynastic literature of the received tradition — to claim that *qi* was the medium of communication in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE *Mengzi* — comes across as rather anachronistic. Furthermore, although the author repeatedly says that the received texts have multiple layers, in his actual analysis of the episodes he discusses, text critical issues are barely taken into consideration. Nevertheless, his overall project has been an important inspiration for this piece.

So, this fine-grained study of *bing* in the *Zuo zhuan* has lead us into discussions of a social self that can be acutely threatened and critically affected by moral sentiment.<sup>16</sup> It has also underlined the powers that moral sentiment has, when intense feelings of joy or sorrow make it possible for the self to spread out, so to speak, beyond itself into the world towards the other. What might this tell us about the good life in Warring States China?

One answer to this question is quite straightforward: good government within the body politic mattered, yet also ritual propriety and social respect among persons of rank who cultivated a moral sentiment that reached out to others.

The other answer is more difficult to formulate, as it aims to convey conceptions of the self in the ethics of Warring States China. Accordingly, there would be powers inherent to moral sentiment that affect the social self, such that it can become extended. Such an extension of the self into one's lands and towards one's ancestors was considered honourable and central to the good life for a person of rank.

## References

- Bridgman, R.F. (1955): La médecine dans la Chine antique. *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 10: 1–213.
- Brindley, E. (2012): *Music, Cosmology, and the Politics of Harmony in Early China*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Chau, A. (2008): The Sensorial Production of the Social. In: E. Hsu (Ed) *The Senses and the Social. Special Issue. Ethnos* 73(4): 485–504.
- Cheng A. (1993): Ch'un ch'iu 春秋, Kung yang 公羊, Ku liang 穀梁 and Tso ch'uan 左傳. In M. Loewe (ed.) *Early Chinese Texts: a Bibliographical Guide*. Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies. Berkeley: University of California, 67–76.
- Conklin, B. (2001): *Consuming Grief: Compassionate Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society*. University of Texas Press.
- Couvreur, S. [1914] (1951)-: *Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan*, *La chronique de la principauté de Lôu*, 3 volumes. Paris: Cathasia.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2004)-: *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China*. Leiden: Brill.
- Despret, V. (2004)-: The Body we Care for: Figures of Anthro-zoo-genesis. *Body & Society* 10(2–3): 111–134.
- Elias, N. [1939] (1994): *The Civilizing Process*, transl. Edmund Jephcott. 2 Vols. Oxford: Blackwell.

---

<sup>16</sup> This is said in full awareness that there is still space for a more sinologically oriented text critical study, as it is obvious that *bing* occurs more frequently in some parts of the *Zuo zhuan* than in others and that these texts are composites with layers from different time periods.

- Farquhar, J. (1994): *Knowing Practice: the Clinical Encounter of Chinese Medicine*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Granet, M. ([1926] 1959): ~~*Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*~~. Annales du musée Guimet, vol. 44. Paris: Presses Universitaires Françaises.
- Harper, D. (1998): *Early Chinese Medical Literature: the Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts*. London: Routledge.
- Harper, D. (2001): Iatromancy, Diagnosis and Prognosis in Early Chinese Medicine. In E. Hsu (ed.) *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 99–120.
- Hsu, E. (1999): *The Transmission of Chinese Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hsu, E. (2005): ~~*Facility and the Body in Early Chinese Medicine*~~. *Science in Context* 18.1: 7–34.
- Hsu, E. (2008–2009): Outward Form (*xing* 形) and Inward *qi* 氣: the “Sentimental Body” in Early Chinese Medicine. *Early China* 32: 103–124.
- Hsu, E. (2010): *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine: the Telling Touch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- King, A.C. (2009): Overcoming Structure and Agency: Talcott Parsons, Ludwig Wittgenstein and the Theory of Social Action. *Journal of Classical Sociology* 9(2): 260–88.
- Legge, J. [1876] (1991): *The Chinese Classics*, vol. 5: *The Ch'un ts'ew with the Tso chuen*. Taipei: SMC Publishing.
- Li Zongkun 李宗焜 (2008): *Huadong buci de bing yu si* 花東卜辭的病與死. In Li Jianmin 李建民 (ed.) *Fong yiliao kan zhongguo shi* 從醫療看中國史 (A view of China's history from the perspective of therapeutics). Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 15–28 (ch. 1).
- Lloyd, G.E.R. [1966] (1992): *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mawangdui Hammu boshu zhengli xiaozu (eds.) (1985): *Mawangdui Hanmu boshu* (The Silk Documents from a Han Tomb at Mawangdui), vol. 4. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe.
- Parsons, T. (1951): Illness and the Role of the Physician: a Sociological Perspective. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 21(3), 452–460.
- Sima Qian 司馬遷 [ca 86 BCE] (1959): *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Historian). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju. See also Takigawa Kametaro 1934.
- Sivin, N. (1987): *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China: a Partial Translation of Revised Outline of Chinese Medicine (1972) with an Introductory Study on Change in Present-day and Early Medicine*. Center for Chinese Studies, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Takigawa Kametaro 瀧川龜太郎 (1934): *Shiki kaichu koshō* 史記會注考證 (Examination of the Collected Commentaries to the *Records of the Historian*). Tokyo: Toyo Bunka Gakuin.
- Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (editor and annotator) (1981): *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* (Annotations to the Annals of the Zuo tradition). Anon. 4 Vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Zhang Biao 張標 (1996): *Jiaguwen 'ji' zi zhiyi* 甲骨文‘疾’字質疑 (Critical Appraisal of the Term *ji* in the Oracle Bone Inscriptions). *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, 6: 62–67, 78.