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Boundaries of the *Ti* Body

As part of his argument that “ideas of Nature, state, and the body were so interdependent that they are best considered a single complex,”¹ Nathan Sivin considered the permeable boundaries of the human frame and assayed the body’s dynamic resonances with the political, social, and ethical realms of thought in early China. He outlined different meanings of various terms for the human body: *qu* 軀, *xing* 形, *shen* 身, and *ti* 體. This last character, *ti*, according to Sivin,

refers to the concrete physical body, its limbs, or the physical form generally. It can also mean “embodiment,” and may refer to an individual’s personification of something – for instance, a judgment that an immortal embodies the Way (*ti dao* 體道).²

Sivin did not explore the term *ti* here in great detail, as the focus of his article lay elsewhere. But the *ti* body and embodiment deserve further attention.³ This article explores the boundaries of this body as they are outlined in Warring States and early Han received texts.

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¹ Nathan Sivin, “State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.,” *HJAS* 55.1 (1995), p. 5.

² Sivin, “State, Cosmos, and Body,” p. 14, with romanization changed to pinyin. Sivin’s continuing interest in these terms is also reflected in several recent conference presentations on that subject.

³ For the notion of *ti*, see Derk Bodde, “On Translating Chinese Philosophic Terms,” *FEQ* 14.2 (1955), pp. 231–44; Peter A. Boodberg, “The Semasiology of Some Primary Confucian Concepts,” *Philosophy East and West* 2.4 (1953), pp. 317–32; Boodberg’s review of Bodde’s translation of Feng Youlan’s *History of Chinese Philosophy*, “A History of Chinese Philosophy, Volume II: The Period of Classical Learning (from the Second Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century A.D.),” *FEQ* 13.3 (1954), pp. 334–37; Roger Ames, “The Meaning of Body in Classical Chinese Philosophy,” in Roger T. Ames, Wimal Dissanayake and Thomas P. Kasulis, eds., *Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 1993), pp. 157–77; Yang Rubin 楊儒賓, ed., *Rujia shenti guan* 儒家身體觀 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiujuan Zhongguo wenzhe yanjiusuo, 1996); Yang Rubin, ed., *Zhongguo gudai sixiangzhong de qilun ji shenti guan* 中國古代思想中的氣論及身體觀 (Taipei: Juliu, 1993); Cheng Chung-ying, “On the Metaphysical Significance of *Ti* (Body-embodiment) in Chinese Philosophy: *Benti* (Origin-substance) and *Ti-yong* (Substance and Function),” *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* 29.2 (2002), pp.

Building upon Sivin's work, I assay the parameters of the *ti* body – a body that, seemingly paradoxically, multiplies when it is divided and remains whole even when fragmented. To clarify the meaning of *ti*, I distinguish some of its meanings from those of other terms for the body found in early transmitted texts: the dysfunctional *qu* 軀 mortal coil of the petty person, the elemental and structural *xing* 形 form, the *gong* 躬 body of displayed ritual conduct, and the socialized and cultivated *shen* 身 body. I am not making the case that these terms are mutually exclusive; in fact, their fields of meanings often overlap or are interchangeable. But I am interested here not so much in each term's general field of meaning (which might overlap with that of another term) but in their unique focuses of significance. For they do not always overlap and are not always interchangeable. Focusing on the *ti* body, in this article I try to indentify the cache of connotations associated with each term. Given the great expanse of time covered (the article considers materials from the *Book of Odes* to the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), this article cannot do justice to all usages of each term much less to shifts in meanings over time. It is moreover limited in that it focuses on terms used primarily for living bodies and does not consider the vocabulary of the dead. Nonetheless, it attempts to build upon Sivin's earlier work and to suggest ideas for thinking about the ways the human body was conceptualized in early received texts.

Boundaries of the *ti* body, because of the very nature of this corpus, are difficult to ascertain. But the *ti* body can be understood as follows: as a polysemous corpus of indeterminate extent that can be partitioned into subtler units, each of which is often analogous to the whole and shares a fundamental consubstantiality and common identity with that whole. *Ti* bodies can potentially extend in all directions and can exist in multiple, overlapping layers or valences. Boundaries between valences are often unmarked or are obscure. When a *ti* body is fragmented into parts (literally or conceptually), each part retains, in certain aspects, a kind of wholeness or becomes a simulacra of the larger entity of which is a constituent. These qualities are unique to the *ti* body (at least as it is described in early texts) and are rarely ex-

145–61; and Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 2006), chap. 1. On embodiment in general, see Tu Wei-ming, "A Confucian Perspective on Embodiment," in Drew Leder, ed., *The Body in Medical Thought and Practice* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992), pp. 87–100. Early uses of *ti* should not be understood in terms *ti yong*, or "substance and function," which are part of a later discourse. See my entry "Ti yong" in Yao Xinzong, ed., *RoutledgeCurzon Encyclopedia of Confucianism* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003). National Palace Museum databases greatly facilitated locating citations of terms.

hibited by the *qu* mortal coil, the *xing* form, the *shen* body (except in the case of the bodies of close kin), or the *gong* 躬 body. *Gong*, *xing*, and *qu* generally refer to entities that occupy discrete physical frames. That is, one human being has only one *gong* body whose identity does not overlap with that of another human being. But one human being, however, may be inhabited by multiple *ti* bodies, and several human beings may participate in a single or common *ti* body.

The ability of the *ti* body to multiply even as it is divided is no doubt related to its associations with plant life, particularly with the ability of plants to multiply through vegetative reproduction. Vegetative propagation is accomplished not with seeds but by dividing the roots, stems, tubers or other fleshy parts of plants into segments that are then replanted to develop into “new” plants. Roger Ames has long noted the organic quality of *ti*, and he observes that “the organic connotation of this character is immediately apparent in its long-standing abbreviated forms in which it is represented as ‘root,’ that is, *ti* 体.”⁴ The right half of this character is commonly understood both as “root” and “trunk.” Ames’s interest in the organic quality of *ti*, however, was not concerned with plant life specifically but with more general organic forms of ritual (*li* 禮) as discussed by Boodberg, who had earlier asserted that *ti* and *li* are connected by a common concern for “organic” form.⁵ “‘Form,’” Boodberg writes, “that is, ‘organic’ rather than geometrical form, then, appears to be the link between the two words, as evidenced by the ancient Chinese scholiasts who repeatedly used *t’i* to define *li* in their glosses.”⁶ I would agree with the close association between *ti* embodiment and *li* ritual, although I understand this association foremost in terms of the commensal consumption of grain and of animal victims that are also understood as *ti* bodies, as discussed below.⁷ But the significance of plant life for the meaning of *ti* merits further con-

⁴ Ames, “Meaning of Body,” pp. 168–69. Donald J. Munro explores Song plant metaphors and notions of the self in “The Family Network, the Stream of Water, and the Plant: Picturing Persons in Sung Confucianism” in Donald J. Munro, ed., *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, U. of Michigan, 1985), pp. 259–91. For *ti* in Song thought, see pp. 276–77.

⁵ Ames, “Meaning of Body,” p. 169. He quotes from Boodberg, “Semasiology,” p. 326.

⁶ Boodberg, “Semasiology,” p. 326. Boodberg was more interested in the “form” rather than the “organic” aspects of *ti* elsewhere, in his critique of Bodde’s translation of *ti* as “essence.” Boodberg insists that the “Chinese *t’i* never developed the subtlety of our ‘essence’ and ‘substance’, having remained close to the level of ‘embodiment’ or ‘form.’” See Boodberg, “History of Chinese Philosophy,” pp. 335–36.

⁷ For associations between ritual and the body, see Ames, “Meaning of Body,” pp. 169–70; Zhu Pingci 祝平次, “Cong li de guandian lun xian Qin Ru, Dao, shenti/zhuti guannian de chayi” 從禮的觀點論先秦儒、道身體主體觀念的差異, in Yang, ed., *Qilun ji shenti guan*, pp. 261–324; and Lewis, *Construction of Space*, chap. one.

sideration, particularly as the term was first used in reference to plant (and also animal) bodies.

For *ti* bodies often act more like plants than like humans. When living human bodies are divided, they die: halving, quartering, or fragmenting human or animal bodies inevitably results in dismemberment or death. *Ti* bodies, however, lend themselves readily to unusual kinds of division and multiplication—processes that rarely occur with other kinds of bodies without killing them—and for *ti* bodies, division is actually tantamount to reproduction and multiplication, not death. This quality is most likely associated with *ti*'s early association with plants. For some kinds of plants, such as those that are propagated vegetatively, division results in an increase rather than a decrease of life forms. Each new plant produced in vegetative propagation becomes a new plant exactly like its “parent.” Moreover, each new plant in some sense *is* still the parent plant, and there exists a material continuity of identity from one life form to the next.⁸ If one quarters a tuberous root into four segments, each of which flourishes on its own, does the plant matter from those four segments then belong to the original “mother” plant (to use modern horticultural terminology) or the four new “daughter” plants?⁹ Mother and daughter plants are at once autonomous and yet consubstantial. For people of an agriculturally based society, the notion that plants can be multiplied through vegetative division would have been commonplace.

⁸ My understanding of the material continuity of personal identity has been informed by Carolyn Walker Bynum's studies of that notion in such works as her “Material Continuity, Personal Survival and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in its Medieval and Modern Contexts.” See her *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1992), pp. 239–97 and 393–417. Here she explores the significance of the medieval Christian identification of the “self” with the material continuity of the physical body itself rather than with the soul – a continuity that in medieval Christianity persists until the resurrection of the body at the end of time, when all skeletons are literally re-enfleshed. “Material Continuity” asks how a particular personal identity (a “human being”) is associated with a particular physical frame and how that identity persists (or does not persist) when that body is transformed, fragmented, consumed by animals, or re-enfleshed. Turning to received texts in China, one might ask how a personal identity associated with a particular body (whether understood as *ti*, *shen*, or any other term) persists over time.

⁹ I use the number four here as the human body is most commonly understood to contain four *ti*, or four limbs (*si ti* 四體 or also *si zhi* 四肢; the latter written with the tree radical in the Mawangdui texts. Mawangdui Han mu boshu zhengli xiaozu, 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組 ed., *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985) 4, p. 149. My understanding of those texts is based on Donald J. Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998). The number four figures also in Mao no. 246 in the *Odes*, as discussed below.

And in fact, one of the earliest meanings of *ti* is not “human body” at all but rather “plant vegetation”: of the four instances where the term appears in the *Book of Odes*, none directly denotes human bodies, but two (Mao nos. 35 and 246) refer directly to the roots, foliage, or stalks of plants (the other two refer to animal bodies or refer indirectly to plants).¹⁰ Plant forms in the *Odes* are signs for human emotion and activity. In “Valley Winds” (*Gu feng* 谷風, Mao no. 35), *ti* signifies both the unwanted lower sections of plants and the unwanted body of a discarded wife: the “lower bodies,” or *xia ti* 下體, of *feng* 葑 and *fei* 菲 plants collected from the field are metaphors for the “lower body” of a spurned woman. The former wife begs her dissatisfied spouse to accept the good with the bad, just as when gathering in plants, one does not throw away an entire plant simply because an unwanted segment of root or stem is attached. She asks rhetorically,

When picking the *feng*, when picking the *fei*,
Does one not also end up with their roots below (*xia ti* 下體)?¹¹

Let me not be spurned, she seems to ask, because of some inevitable shortcomings. But (like the discarded vegetables) she is not brought to the table; in the succeeding verse, her former husband ritually replaces her by banqueting with a new woman, and their relationship is already as close as that of blood relatives. “You banquet with your new bride,”

¹⁰ *Ti* also refers indirectly to the bodies of plants (and animals) in the *Odes* in Mao no. 58, where it is a corpus of information concerning a betrothal interpreted from *shi* 筮 divination (which uses the stalks of plants) and *bu* 卜 divination (which uses bones of livestock also known as *ti*, as discussed below). James Legge, *The She King* (rpt. Taipei, Southern Materials Center, 1985), p. 98. For *ti* as a body of signs revealed through divination, see *Book of Documents*, “Jin teng” 金滕. James Legge, *The Shoo King* (rpt. Taipei, Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1985), p. 356. This is one of only two occurrences of the term in the *Documents*. (So that references might be accessible to scholars of comparative body studies, I cite page numbers from bilingual sources and alternative English translations when available. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.) See also *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Min 閔 1; James Legge, *The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Iso chuen* (rpt. Taipei, Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1985), pp. 124–25. In the *Zhou li* 周禮, the tortoiseman (*gui ren* 龜人) cares for the six tortoises (those for heaven, earth, and the four directions), distinguishing them based on their colors and their *ti*, a term variously understood by later commentators as their bodies or four legs. Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, annot., *Zhou li zhengyi* 周禮正義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), pp. 1950–52. The fourth occurrence of *ti* in the *Odes*, Mao no. 52, is the body of a “rat” that is a metaphor for a human being devoid of ritual decorum. Legge, *She King*, p. 85.

¹¹ Legge, *She King*, p. 55. Both Hightower and Chen Zizhan note that *ti* in this passage was written (or miswritten or borrowed) as *li*, or ritual, in such texts as the *Han Shih wai zhuan* 韓詩外傳. James Robert Hightower, *Han Shi Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P., 1952), p. 306 and Chen Zizhan, 陳子展, ed. *Shijing zhijie* 詩經直解 (Shanghai: Fudan Daxue, 1983), p. 104. For translating terms in the *Odes*, I have generally followed Xiang Xi 向熹, ed., *Shijing cidian* 詩經詞典 (Chengdu: Sichuan Renmin, 1986), which discusses *ti* at pp. 637–38. Cultivars of the *feng* and *fei* are no longer identifiable, but Xiang Xi notes many commentaries that assume they were edible.

the former wife laments, “as if you were older siblings, as if you were younger siblings.”¹²

Close sibling relations appear again in “Wayside Rushes” (*Xing wei* 行葦, Mao. no. 246), where *ti* refers to a clump of plant buds that is an allegory for a corporate group of siblings. Rushes grow luxuriantly at the sides of the road, and their “bodies” (their budding root clumps or new stems) are just beginning to sprout foliage above ground.

Thick, those wayside rushes;
 Don’t let the cattle and sheep trample them.
 Developing (*fang* 方) are their shoots, developing are their bod-
 ies (*ti*),
 Furled foliage lush and tender.¹³

Rushes appear later in the verse, this time after having been crafted into woven mats that seat a family of siblings who have convened for a ritual banquet. Dense plant growth in the wild is now transformed into the close-knit ties of family members seated on the mats:

Close, close are the elder and younger siblings.
 None are distant, all are nigh.
 Mats are spread for them.¹⁴

After feasting, the siblings pray together for blessings and long life. References to “four arrows” in a post-banquet archery contest suggest there are four siblings.¹⁵ Additional allusions to plants appear even in the archery game itself, as the arrows are described as being “planted” like trees (*shu* 樹) in their targets. Connections between plant life and sibling amity in this verse were long ago noted by Legge, who comments as follows:

In the reeds growing up densely from a common root we have an emblem of brothers all sprung from the same ancestor; and in plants developing so finely, when preserved from injury, an emblem of the happy fellowships of consanguinity, when nothing is allowed to interfere with mutual confidence and good feeling.¹⁶

In these two examples from the *Odes*, *ti* denotes plant forms that are signs for human bodies – and, significantly, signs for bodies engaged

¹² Legge, *She King*, p. 56.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 472.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

¹⁵ Qualities of four are also suggested earlier in the verse in the term *fang* 方, which I have understood as “developing” or “emerging in all directions,” but which could also allude to the four quarters. Relationships between siblings are likened to the four bodies/limbs in the “Sang fu” 喪服 chapter of the *Ceremonial and Ritual* (*Yili* 儀禮). *Yili*, “Sang fu”; Hu Beihui, annot., *Yili zhengyi* 儀禮正義 (Jiangsu: Jiangsu guji, 1993), p. 1409. See also John Steele, *The I-li* (rpt. Taipei, Ch’eng-wen, 1966) 2, p. 17.

¹⁶ Legge, *She King*, p. 473.

in (or divorced from) the ritual consumption of food. The wife is cast out from the marriage table, whereas the siblings' banquet solidifies a corporate harmony avowed to last through old age. In later texts, *ti* retains echoes of its associations with the plant world, ritual, and the commensal consumption of food integral to ritual performance. Ritual is itself likened to a great body that is incorporated into all under heaven. "The great body (*da ti* 大體) of ritual," says the *Book of Rites*, "is embodied (*ti*) in heaven and earth, is modeled on the four seasons, is gauged in the yin and yang, and accords with the human condition."¹⁷ And not surprisingly, when the *ti* body is separated from ritual, it frequently dies.¹⁸

THE *QU* MORTAL COIL

More commonly, however, the *ti* body enjoys food, as will be seen below. No other body routinely consumes food; however, the *qu* 軀 body is even noted for its inability to digest things, even things as easily absorbed as learning. *Qu*, an uncommon term I translate as "mortal coil," refers almost exclusively to the dysfunctional bodies of small or petty people (*xiao ren* 小人), whose diminished virtues invite ridicule and even early death. Xunzi, for example, in "Encouraging Learning" contrasts the learning of the person of noble character (*junzi*) with that of the petty person. Noble people have *ti* bodies (here understood as the four limbs), *xing* forms, and *shen* bodies; petty people instead have *qu* mortal coils.

The learning of noble people enters their ears, is made manifest in their minds, spreads throughout their four limbs [lit. *si ti*, or "four bodies"], and takes form (*xing*) in their activities and repose. . . . But the learning of petty people enters their ears and comes right back out of their mouths. Now the distance between mouth and ear is only about four inches – how is that enough to make a seven-foot mortal coil (*qu*) fine! In antiquity, learning was done for one's self; today, it is done for [the sake of impressing] others. The learning of noble people is done to make their bodies (*shen*) fine; the learning of petty people is for show.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Liji zhengyi* 禮記正義, "Sang fu si zhi" 喪服四制 (SSJZS edn.; Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979), p. 1694. See also James Legge, *The Li Ki* (rpt. of vols. 27–28 of *The Sacred Books of the East*; Delhi: Motilal, 1964), vol. 28, p. 465.

¹⁸ See for example the case of the rat in Mao. no. 52 of the *Odes*, whose ritual-less *ti* body might soon die, and Zigong's prediction of the deaths of two officials who do "not embody" (*bu ti* 不體) ritual. *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Ding 定 15; Legge, *Isa chuen*, pp. 790–91.

¹⁹ Wang Xianqian, annot., 王先謙, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1988), "Quan

Noble people completely somatize their learning in their *ti* bodies and let it beautify their social *shen* bodies, but petty people quickly regurgitate it unabsorbed. Smallness of character has potentially fatal consequences: another of the rare occurrences of *qu* refers to Pen Chengkuo, who in the *Mencius* is a man of petty talents ignorant of the great (*da* 大) Way of the noble person. Pen's limited gifts were just sufficient enough to kill him – literally, to “kill his mortal coil” (*sha qi qu* 殺其軀).

Pen Chengkuo became an officer in Qi. Mencius said, “Pen Chengkuo will die!” And when Pen Chengkuo met his death, the disciples asked, “Master, how did you know he was about to meet his death?” Mencius said, “As a person, he was small in terms of capability, and he had not yet heard of the great Way of the noble person. And that was simply just enough to kill his mortal coil.”²⁰

The *qu*, then, is a diminished body marked by deficiencies and incapacities. *Qu* mortal coils are measurable in length (as indicated by the size of the seven-foot mortal coil whose ears and mouth are four inches apart), but in terms of character they are marked primarily by smallness and diminishment. Disconnected from learning and from the great Way, they are foils against which the fine bodies of noble people stand in contrast.

XING FORMS

Xing forms might be the forms of anyone, noble or petty. Sivin notes that “the only term for the body that has nothing to do with the person seen whole, *hsing* 形, literally means ‘shape.’ It often refers to the body's outline rather than to its physical identity.”²¹ Similarly, Ames says of the *xing* that it is “the form or shape, the three-dimensional disposition or configuration of the human process.”²² *Xing* has two primary valences of meaning: first, as Sivin and Ames note, it refers to a visible or solid form, shape, mass, or physical frame whose

xue” 勸學, pp. 12–13; see also John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford U. P., 1988–94) 1, p. 140.

²⁰ *Mencius* 7B.29; D.C. Lau, *Mencius* (Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P., 1984), pp. 296–97.

²¹ Sivin, “State, Cosmos, and Body,” p. 14.

²² Ames, “Meaning of Body,” p. 165. For the various usages of *xing*, see also his *Sun-tzu: The Art of Warfare* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1993), pp. 82–83 and 114–16; Mark Csikszentmihaly, *Material Virtue: Ethics and Body in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 281–82 and 312–20; and Huang Junjie 黃俊傑, “Mawangdui boshu *Wuxing pian* ‘Xing yu nei’ de yihan” 馬王堆帛書五行篇形於內的意涵, in Yang, ed., *Qilun ji shenti guan*, pp. 353–67.

boundaries, outlines, and external features are clearly discernible on the surface to the naked eye. These are often solid, discrete forms that do not overlap with other *xing* forms. Second, it refers also to nonvisible structures, patterns, or matrices that lie beneath the surface of a visible form and give it its shape or structure. Nonvisible structures may be solid, such as the skeleton of the living human body (*xing hai* 形骸), which provides an invisible framework for the soft tissue that is visible to the naked eye. Forms may also be very subtle, like the forms of the mind described in the “Inner Training” of the *Guanzi*. *Xing* can refer also to the conformation of the terrestrial landscape, its geographic or political boundaries, or to the configuration and direction of military maneuvers on the surface of the earth. The opening lines of the “Appended Statements” of the *Book of Changes* claim that “in heaven are completed the images; on earth are completed the forms 在天成象; 在地成形.”²³ *Ti* bodies differ from *xing* forms in that *ti* bodies are primarily understood in terms of the relationship between whole and part; *xing* forms, on the other hand, are more commonly understood in terms of relationships between inner and outer, subtle and manifest, or depth and surface. *Xing* forms, unlike *ti* bodies, do not readily multiply into parts that are consubstantial with, or analogous to, a larger wholeness. *Xing* forms can be divided, but division is likely to result in death rather than reproduction, and *xing* is one of the terms used for a dead body. *Ti* bodies are wholenesses that can be divided from within; *xing* forms are templates that can be shaped from without. *Ti*, when used as a verb, means to embody within; when *xing* is used as a verb, especially when it appears as the variant *xing* 刑, it is associated with resection or modeling from without.

Ti bodies are not necessarily structured, but *xing* is inherently structured; there are no “shapeless” forms, which by definition would be “formless,” or *wu xing* 無形, “without form.” *Xing* forms are bounded by formlessness itself; they exist at a more primordial or elemental level than do *ti* bodies and are sometimes described as coming into existence prior to the *ti* body. In some texts that describe the early developmental stages of a human being, form (variants *xing* 刑 or *xing* 形) is contrasted with the formlessness of liquid conditions (flowing, variously *liu* 流 or 溜) or darkness. According to the *Book of the Generation of the Fetus* (*Tai chan shu* 胎產書) from the Mawangdui texts, at the

²³ *Zhou Yi zhengyi* 周易正義 (SSJZS edn.), p. 75. In the *Rites of Zhou*, the master of the conformation of territories (*xing fang shi* 形方氏) supervised configurations of states and enfeoffments. Sun, annot., *Zhouli zhengyi*, “Xing fang shi,” pp. 2700–1.

earliest stages of pregnancy, the nascent human form flows into being from an amorphous state of darkness (*ming ming* 冥冥).

When human beings are generated, they enter the vast darkness and emerge from the vast darkness, and then they first become human beings (*ren* 人). The first month is called “flowing into the form” (*liu xing* 留刑).²⁴

The expression “flowing into form” (written as 溜刑) appears also in the “Ten Questions” (*Shi wen* 十問 of the Mawangdui texts, in a passage where the Yellow Lord asks Master Rong Cheng how human life forms come into being from shapeless inchoateness. Note that the *xing* form is developmentally earlier than the *ti* body in this passage, for only when the form is complete does the *ti* body come into existence.

In the beginning, when from that expanse of inchoateness there is flowing into the form, what do the people obtain such that they become alive? When flowing into the form completes (*cheng* 成) the body (*ti*), what is lost such that they [eventually] become dead?²⁵

It is perhaps this incomplete, primordial, or elemental quality of the *xing* form that precludes it from playing a significant role in discussions of ritual performance, where the *ti* aspect of the human body (which is often associated with the quality of being complete, or *cheng*) more commonly comes into play.

Xing forms, when understood in their subtle sense, can exist as multiple or overlapping phenomena within one physical human frame. Those multiple forms, however, unlike the multiple aspects of a *ti* body, are not analogous to the whole and are not simulacra of the whole. They can exist at a level that is more subtle than, and prior to, conditions of completeness, awareness, consciousness, or communicability. In the “Inner Training” (*Nei ye* 內業) chapter of the *Guanzi*, for example, the mind has subtle forms that pre-exist human speech.

Within the mind there is also a mind. Regarding this mind of the mind, there is thought that pre-exists speech. When there is thought, then there are forms; when there are forms, then there is speech.²⁶

²⁴ *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 4, p. 136; Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 378.

²⁵ *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 4, p. 146, and Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 393. In the Mawangdui texts *ti* is commonly written with the flesh radical instead of the radical for bone. See also Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue*, p. 321.

²⁶ Following the Chinese text and translation in Harold D. Roth, *Original Tao: Inward Training and the Foundations of Taoist Mysticism* (New York: Columbia U. P., 1999), pp. 72–73.

Cultivating the form (or forms) when it is understood in this subtle or almost physiological sense is difficult, for the *xing* form is not readily accessible to conscious effort. Mencius acknowledges this difficulty, saying that “one must be a sage, and only then can one develop the form [or forms]” (*jian xing* 踐形).²⁷ The form cannot usually be affected by reflection or cogitation, but it can sometimes be developed through simple body placement: in the “Inner Training,” the form is developed physiologically through alignment, or *zheng* 正 (following Roth’s translation of the term); if it is aligned properly, it might manifest inner power, or *de*.²⁸ The aspect of the body or self most readily accessible to cultivation and development is not the form, however, but is instead the *shen* body.

THE SOCIALIZED, CULTIVATABLE, AND LINEAR *SHEN* BODY

Xing is usually below the level of conscious reflection for people other than sages, and for most people, it is the *shen* body, person, or self that is self-aware and is the site of inner reflection and cultivation. The *ti* body, in contrast, is usually not. *Shen* is the socially constructed self that is marked by signs of status and personal identity, and it is the accumulated corpus of a person’s moral values, character, experience, and learning. Having a *xing* form prevents one from being formless in the cosmos, but having a *shen* body places one in more specific, parallel relationships with other human *shen* bodies, with one’s clan, and with the state. *Shen* bodies are more often associated with the qualities of parallelism or of linear contiguity, but not commonality; *ti* bodies, on the other hand, are associated with undelineated commonality. *Shen* bodies, other than the bodies of family members, are much less likely to overlap than *ti* bodies, and even when they do, they are more likely to overlap only contiguously, linearly, and segmentally. Within the family, relationships between *shen* bodies might be understood in terms of contiguity, that is, the quality of being “next to” someone else – either horizontally, within one’s own generation, or vertically, to past and future generations. Relationships between parents and children can be so intimate as to be virtually consubstantial. Relationships between nonkin *shen* bodies, however, are at best parallel but do not overlap.

²⁷ Mencius 7A.38. Lau, *Mencius*, p. 281. Mencius’s notion of *jianxing* is analyzed in Yang, *Rujia shenti guan*, pp. 43–53; see also idem, “Zhili yu jian xing” 支離與踐形, in Yang, ed., *Qilun ji shenti guan*, pp. 415–49.

²⁸ Roth, *Original Tao*, pp. 56–57, 66–67, and 110–11.

Shen bodies, even though they are living physical frames, are less circumscribed by the flesh than are *ti* bodies; *shen* bodies may routinely be developed through thought and reflection, but *ti* bodies rarely are. One might reflect on one's *shen* body and thus transform it, but one could not do so with one's *ti* body or *xing* form. The *shen* is the site where personal values and moral autonomy are constructed, and it is an inner focal point of awareness to which one returns after being involved in the external world. This inward turn is exemplified most famously by Zengzi's thrice-daily reflections on his *shen* body to examine his loyalty, trustworthiness, and ability to enact what he had learned (*Analects* 1/4). *Shen* bodies are allied with values but also maintain a reflective distance, both temporal and emotional, from them. They can be consciously acted upon and may be cultivated (*zhi* 治 or *xiu* 修); they can also be treated badly. Confucius stated that people of noble character would have nothing to do with people who treated their *shen* bodies badly (*Analects* xvii/7).

As in the case of the *ti* body, plant metaphors also inform the understanding of the *shen* body, but the metaphors operate more linearly than do those associated with the *ti* body. In a passage from the *Book of Rites* spoken in the voice of Confucius, *shen* bodies of children are likened to branches growing outward from the trunk (*ben* 本, "trunk," "basis," or "foundation") of their parents' bodies and are thus linear segments or extensions outward of their parents. Confucius explains how bodies of family members overlap.

Children are the descendants of their parents. How could one not but revere them? Noble people are always reverent, and being reverent about the body (*shen*) is of greatest importance. The body is a branch of one's parents, so how could one be irreverent in this regard? Irreverence towards one's own body wounds one's parents; when the parents are wounded, the trunk is wounded, and when the trunk is wounded, the branch perishes.²⁹

At the level of the *shen* body, children are not discrete, autonomous entities (although they might be so understood at the level of the *xing* form), and the overlap with their parents' bodies is so complete that physical harm to one party is felt (metaphorically at least) by the other.

In this sense, understandings of the *shen* body and *ti* body share much in common. But for nonkin *shen* bodies, such imbrication does not occur, for they might be parallel but do not overlap; overlapping

²⁹ *Liji zhengyi* (SSJZS edn.), "Ai Gong wen" 哀公問, p. 1612. See also Legge, *Li Ki*, vol. 28, p. 266.

nonkin bodies are usually *ti* bodies. Nonkin *shen* bodies can nonetheless resonate empathetically with one another provided certain forms of behavioral symmetry – usually a form of linear rectitude – are followed. Such mutual response is reflected in Confucius’s saying that as long as one’s own *shen* body is aligned (*zheng* 正, aligned or upright in terms of both physical bearing and moral rectitude), then others will respond appropriately and comply without even being ordered to do so.³⁰ Conversely, a lack of alignment will cause others to not comply even when ordered to do so (*Analects* XIII/6). It is the term *shen* that is used for the body or self when a person is spoken of in terms of his or her relationship to (but not necessarily incorporation with – a condition more characteristic of the *ti* body) the clan, the ruler, or the state. This is seen most readily in the eight aspects of the *Great Learning*, where the *shen* is the pivotal point between a person’s inner life of the mind and intentionality, on the one hand, and family, state, and all-under-heaven, on the other. Speaking of relationships between self and ruler, Confucius’s disciple Zixia spoke admiringly of those who could extend (*zhi* 致, to reach to or develop) their *shen* bodies to the utmost in service to their sovereigns (*Analects* I/7). But to extend oneself toward another is not to be consubstantial with them; when the bodies of rulers and subjects are described as being as one, the word *ti* is usually used, not *shen*, as discussed below.

Extendibility of the branching *shen* body is characterized by linearity and segmentability. *Shen* is a linear form measurable in length, conceptually segmented horizontally into qualitatively different parts at the neck and waist. At the neck, the *shen* is distinguished from the head (*tou* 頭) or face (*mian* 面). Xunzi’s “Against Physiognomy,” for example, recounts how physiognomers describe the purportedly misshapen faces and *shen* bodies of culture heroes and sages.³¹ An imaginary snakelike creature recorded in the “Water and Earth” (*Shui di* 水地) chapter of the *Guanzi* has one head but two *shen* bodies.³² And the *Annals of Master Lü* (*Lüshi chungiu* 呂氏春秋) reports that the *ding* 鼎 bronze vessels of the Zhou bear *taotie* 饕餮 designs; having a head but no *shen* body, however, the *taotie* can eat people but cannot swallow them.³³ The *shen* is also divided horizontally at the waist: *Analects* x/6

³⁰ I follow Roth in understanding *zheng* as “aligned.” Roth, *Original Tao*.

³¹ Wang, annot., *Xunzi jijie*, “Fei xiang” 非相, pp. 73–75. See also Knoblock, *Xunzi* 1, pp. 203–4.

³² Li Mian 李勉, annot., *Guanzi jinzhu jinyi* 管子今註今譯 (Taipei: Shangwu, 1988), “Shui di,” p. 677. See also W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from China, Volume 2* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1998), pp. 105–6.

³³ John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford U.P.,

states that one type of gown is half the *shen*, or body, in length. But the *shen* body is rarely bisected vertically from top to bottom so as to divide the body into right and left sides that are mirror images of one another; such a vertical division is more characteristic of the *ti* body, whether of humans or sacrificial animals.

Shen bodies are measurable in terms of length (that is, height) and temporal lifespan. In Xunzi's "Against Physiognomy," the *shen* body of a minister named Gongsun Lü is "seven feet (*chi* 尺) in length."³⁴ Elsewhere in that chapter, Xunzi uses *xing* 形 for the human body (a term useful to the physiognomist concerned with the body's visible form), but he employs *shen* when Gongsun's body is measured. Zhuangzi notes that Robber Footpad's *shen* body is eight feet, two inches long.³⁵ Measurability of the surface area of the *shen* body is seen in Mencius's assertion that one's *shen* does not have one foot or inch of skin one does not cherish.³⁶ Length of the *shen* is also measured in days and years, and the *shen* can be the living physical body or its temporal life span. It is often synonymous with *sheng* 生, life itself; the expression *zhong shen* 終身, literally, "until the end of one's body," means "until death."³⁷ In *Analects* xv/9, it is the *shen* that is subject to death. Persons of humaneness, Confucius asserts, do not injure that humaneness by seeking inappropriately to stay alive but would rather kill the body (*sha shen* 殺身) and thus complete humaneness. *Ti* bodies, on the other hand, are not ordinarily subject to measurement, and their boundaries extend beyond one physical human frame. They are also rarely referred to as being dead.

Boundaries of the *shen* body do not overlap significantly with the *shen* bodies of other people (other than the bodies of one's parents or children), but they are nonetheless socially permeable: they absorb dishonor, disgrace, or other kinds of pollution and experience honor or

2000), "Xian shi" 先識, p. 376. For the Chinese text of the *Annals* I have followed Knoblock and Riegel. Oddly, this entry concludes that the *taotie* thus harms its *shen* body – a body it supposedly does not have.

³⁴ Wang, annot., *Xunzi jiji*, "Fei xiang," p. 73; see also Knoblock, *Xunzi* 1, p. 204.

³⁵ Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961), "Dao zhi" 盜跖, p. 993. See also Victor Mair, *Wandering on the Way: Early Taoist Tales and Parables of Chuang Tzu* (Honolulu: U. of Hawai'i P., 1994), p. 301. For Zhuangzi's notion of the body, see Wu Guangming 吳光明, "Zhuangzi de shenti siwei" 莊子的身體思維, in Yang, ed., *Qilun ji shenti guan*, pp. 393–414.

³⁶ *Mencius* 6A.14. Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 236–37.

³⁷ *Analects* xv/24 and ix/27. For other associations between the body and temporality, see Robin D. S. Yates, "Body, Space, Time and Bureaucracy: Boundary Creation and Control Mechanisms in Early China," in John Hay, ed., *Boundaries in China* (London: Reaktion, 1994), pp. 56–80.

purity. Zilu, commenting sanctimoniously about the recluse in *Analects* xviii/7, implies that not serving in office or maintaining other important human relationships results in the *shen* not being clean. Confucius once remarked that Bo Yi and Shu Qi, who starved themselves to sustain righteousness, did not disgrace their *shen* bodies by doing so (*Analects* xviii/8; see also xvi/12). Confucius noted that two other forthright men were pure of body (*shen zhong qing* 身中清; *Analects* xviii/8). *Xing* forms might be physically harmed, but they are not subject to the trauma of disgrace, and neither are *ti* bodies. The *Mozi* describes how incompetent rulers can end up “injuring their forms (*xing*) and wasting their spirit, afflicting their minds and belaboring their thoughts, such that the state runs headlong into danger and their persons (*shen*) run headlong into disgrace.”³⁸ The *xing* is injured; the *shen*, disgraced. The *shen* body can become ill and feel pain and other physical sensations (and is the term most commonly used for the physical frame in the Mawangdui healing texts), although it is not as commonly associated with the sense faculties of the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth as is the *ti* body.

THE GONG BODY OF RITUALIZED CONDUCT

One might, like Zengzi, internally reflect on one’s *shen* body three times a day, but if one were to display one’s trustworthiness and loyalty to others, then those values might instead be conveyed publicly through one’s *gong* 躬 body. *Gong* is particularly associated with, and largely limited to, the deliberate public display of virtuous conduct. It most often signifies a body in the process of personally and consciously performing an action, usually in a ritual context before an audience, that demonstrates visually the virtuous character of the actor. Actions performed by the *gong* body most often occur in a situation – such as an appearance at court – where an audience can directly discern the moral tenor of the actor. Hence, the *gong* body can be understood as a living, physical human frame that is the site of publicly displayed, performed values. The conduct of the *gong* body is ritualized, stylized, nonspontaneous, and guided by traditional mores and social obligations. As *gong* in an expanded sense refers to the sum total of the self or person that is created by those actions, it can also be translated as “person” or “personally,” and it appears frequently with the character *qin* 親, “to do in person.” In *Analects* iv/22, for example, the people of antiquity were said to be shamed lest they not personally (*gong*) live up

³⁸ Sun Yirang 孫詒讓, annot., *Mozi xiangu* 墨子閒詁 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2001), “So ran” 所染, p. 18. See also Yi-pao Mei, *The Ethical and Political Works of Motse* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1929), p. 11.

to what they said. Confucius himself lamented his perceived inability to enact personally (*gong xing* 躬行) the conduct of the noble person (*Analects* VII/33).

Gong bodies endure hardship and perform exemplary physical labors, often in paradigmatic ritual contexts. Such toil is virtuous conduct, for the laboring body displays efforts performed not for personal gain but on behalf of society at large. Confucius himself recommends being hard on oneself, that is, being hard on one's *gong* body (*gong zi hou*; 躬自厚) and easy on others (*Analects* XV/15). Hardship and suffering are humbly endured even by persons of royal status or by culture heroes who substitute their own suffering or labor for the suffering of others. The culture hero Tang is lauded in the final book of the *Analects* for personally (*gong*) vowing to ritually take upon his own person (*gong*) the mistakes of all his people.³⁹ *Gong* bodies perform agricultural labor. According to the *Analects*, even the mythic hero Yu (who dredged canals from primordial wetlands and created a structured order out of amorphous chaos) and the legendary Hou Ji (who developed plant husbandry) experienced hardship when they labored in the wetlands and fields (*gong jia* 躬稼; *Analects* XIV/5). Ancient spring rites whereby the ruler and highest ranking ministers personally performed the first plowing were called *gong geng* 躬耕, literally "plowing in person."⁴⁰ Royal women labored when they performed the spring sericulture rites, as recorded in the "Ordinances of the Months" in the *Book of Rites*: the queen and her entourage, after fasting and performing sacrificial vigils, went in person to pick mulberry leaves (*gong sang* 躬桑).⁴¹

How might the *gong* body be compared to other kinds of bodies? The *gong* body is heavily inscribed with social responsibilities, but rarely does it enjoy the fruits of those labors. That role falls more often to the *ti* body, which can enjoy pleasurable sensations and eat the food produced by labor. *Ti* bodies can move and perform labor, but those labors are not necessarily performed in ritual contexts. When the *ti* body appears in ritual contexts, as it often does, it is more likely to be associated with containment than performance. Unlike the *ti* body, whose boundaries are indeterminate, the *gong* body has clearly delimited boundaries; it is coextensive with the human physical frame and does not exceed it. *Gong*, unlike *shen*, is not usually the experiencer of self-reflection, nor is it measured spatially or temporally. *Gong* almost always refers to a

³⁹ *Analects* XX/1.

⁴⁰ *Liji zhengyi*, SSJZS ed., "Yue ling" 月令, p. 1356. See also Legge, *Li Ki*, vol. 27, pp. 254-55.

⁴¹ *Liji zhengyi*, SSJZS ed., "Yue ling," p. 1363. See also Legge, *Li Ki*, vol. 27, p. 265.

human body, not to an animal body or to nonhuman phenomena (such as those sometimes denoted by *xing* or *ti*). It cannot be multiplied by division, and *gong* bodies do not overlap with one another.

TI BODIES DIVIDED AND MULTIPLIED

The *ti* body, on the other hand, is amenable to various kinds of division and overlapping. When it is fragmented or divided, its parts are more likely to exhibit similitude or consubstantiality. *Ti* bodies can overlap in ways that other kinds of bodies cannot. *Shen* bodies can overlap, at least in the case of parents and children, but *shen* bodies of persons who have no kin relationship rarely do. One human frame contains only one *shen* body or person, but a single human frame might contain several *ti* bodies, and one *ti* body might also extend across several human beings.⁴² It is at the level of the *ti* body – not the *gong*, *shen*, or *xing* bodies – that one sees the greatest erasure of the boundaries between individual identities. Multiple *ti* bodies might be conceptually fused with those of another person. People who are not kin – rulers and ministers, husbands and wives, or kings and their people – might share in the same *ti* body or bodies, and many different people might together form *yi ti* 一體, or one *ti* body.

According to the *Annals of Master Lü*, one's *shen* body is but one aspect of a larger *ti* body that includes the physical frames both of one's self and one's parents. Master Lü writes, "Zengzi said that the body (*shen*) is the bequeathed body (*yi ti* 遺體) of one's father and mother. When putting into action this bequeathed body of one's father and mother, does one dare be irreverent?"⁴³ According to this understanding, one's individual *shen* body inhabits the larger somatic realm encompassed by a larger *ti* body that extends across generations. Elsewhere, the *Annals of Master Lü* states that parents and children are actually one body in two parts, or *yi ti liang fen* 一體兩分:

[The relationships between] father and mother and their child, and between the child and its father and mother, is that of one

⁴² But see the unusual statement in *Annals of Master Lü*, "You shi" 有始 that "heaven and earth and the ten thousand things are the *shen* body of one person, which is called a great commonality (*da tong* 大同)." Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 282.

⁴³ *Annals of Master Lü*, "Xiao xing" 孝行. Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 303. The notion that one should preserve the body bequeathed by one's parents is also attributed to Zengzi, and ultimately to Confucius, in the succeeding entry in the "Xiao xing." There it is called, unusually, the bequeathed *gong* body. Perhaps this is because the body in question has been injured in a ritual context while descending from a hall; it might be an indirect allusion to the *gong* body described descending from a hall in *Analects* x/4.

body in two parts, of a common *qi* in two breaths. They are like grasses and plants from the same flowers and fruit, like trees from the same rootstock (lit., “root mind,” *gen xin* 根心). They may be in different places, but they communicate with one another; they may have unseen intentions, but they are known to one another; one may be sick or in pain, and the other will try to help them; one may be worried or anxious, and the other will sense it; when one is alive and flourishing, the other is happy; when one dies, the other is sad. Such is what it means to have the close intimacy of bone and flesh.⁴⁴

Plant analogies are important in this passage: parents and children are of the same *gen xin*, the same “root mind,” rootstock, or heartwood. Spatial boundaries of the *ti* body in this case are of little concern, for even though parent and child are in different places, they nonetheless share the same sensations. This passage recalls the entry from the *Book of Rites* where children are extended branches of their parents’ *shen* bodies. Here, however, the fusing of identities is expanded, and the emphasis is placed on the wholeness that is the one body and on commonalities shared at cognitive, physical, and emotional levels.

The Mohists discuss *ti* at the very beginning of the Mohist “Canons” (*Jingshang* 經上, *Canons Part I*, and *Jingxia* 經下, *Canons Part II*).⁴⁵ The “Canons” explores the dimensions, boundaries, relationships, commonalities, and distinctions between different phenomena. Graham understands the “Canons” in terms of optics, mechanics, and geometry, but since they also define such intangible phenomena as ritual, humaneness, and even dreams, their scope is clearly not limited to mechanical calculations.⁴⁶ In the “Canons,” *ti* is understood foremost as something that can be divided.⁴⁷ The *ti* body (for Graham, the *ti* “unit”) is associated with wholeness, entirety, or completeness (*jin* 盡); with commonality (*tong* 同); and with being of a kind (*lei* 類).⁴⁸ Just as form

⁴⁴ *Annals of Master Lü*, “Jing tong” 精通. Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, p. 221. The expression *yi ti liang fen* is very similar to Mohist definitions of the *ti* body, as discussed below.

⁴⁵ The “Canons” (*Mozi juan* 40) and “Explanations of the Canons” (*Mozi juan* 41, “Jingshuo shang” 經說上 and “Jingshuo xia” 經說下, parts 1 and 2, respectively) are translated in A. C. Graham, *Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science* (rpt. Hong Kong: The Chinese U.P. 2003), pp. 265 and 499. I read this phrase the opposite of Graham, who translates as follows: “A *ti* (unit/individual/part) is a portion in a *chien* (total/collection/whole).” Graham, p. 265. I understand *ti* as whole and *jian* as part.

⁴⁶ Graham, *Later Mohist Logic*.

⁴⁷ Sun, annot., *Mozi xiangyu*, “Jing shang” 經上, p. 309. Ames has also noted that for Mozi, the *ti* is “a share of the whole.” Ames, “Meaning of Body,” p. 169.

⁴⁸ Sun, annot., *Mozi xiangyu*, p. 316; Graham, *Later Mohist Logic*, pp. 329–30 and 500.

is bound by formlessness, so *ti*, for the Mohists, is bound by dimensionlessness. The “Canons” assay the outer parameters of *ti*: at their most incipient, or *qian* 前, points, they are dimensionless, or *wu hou* 無厚. They are also bounded by *duan* 端: edges, starting points, or incipencies.⁴⁹ Mencius also understands *ti* in terms of *duan*, but he adds to them a moral dimension, as discussed below. For Zhuangzi, *ti* is also a wholeness, as seen in the expression “the body is wholeness without limit 體盡無窮.”⁵⁰ The wholeness of the Mohist *ti* is divisible into *jian* 兼, or parts: “*Ti* is divisible into parts 體分於兼也.”⁵¹ *Jian* parts are not random fragments but are counterparts that exhibit mutual kinds of symmetries. Elsewhere in the *Mozi*, the notion of *jian* as counterpart or mutuality becomes important ethically in the chapters on *jian ai* 兼愛, or “mutual concern,” a concern for others that implies a relational symmetry between counterparts from different groups.⁵² According to this principle, one should feel a similar concern toward both one’s own parents and toward their counterparts in other families – the parents of other children.

Symmetry between counterpart sections of *ti* bodies is found also in the *Zuo zhuan*, where the human body can be halved into right and left sides that are mirror images of one another. Complementary sides of the human body are signs of an elaborate cosmic system of counterparts, matches, doubles, and pairs.

Things are given life (*sheng* 生) in twos (*liang* 兩), in threes, in fives, and in paired doubles (*pei er* 陪貳). Hence, heaven has the three constellations, earth has the Five Phases, and the body (*ti*) has its left and right sides. Everything has its counterpart (*fei ou* or *pei ou* 妃耦). Kings have their dukes, the marquises have their chief officers – each has its paired double. Heaven has given birth to the Ji clan that it might be a double (*er*) for the Marquis of Lu.⁵³

Pairs, counterparts, and doubles did not figure in the language of the *shen*, *xing*, or *gong* bodies. But here, the *ti* human body is itself doubled, as are the constituents of the body politic, where phenomena are naturally produced in twos, doubles, and counterparts. Some pairings are conceptually hierogamous, for they are described as helpmeets

⁴⁹ Sun, annot., *Mozi xiangu*, p. 312. Graham, *Later Mohist Logic*, pp. 310 and 499.

⁵⁰ Guo, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, “Ying diwang” 應帝王, p. 307. See also Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 71.

⁵¹ Sun, annot., *Mozi xiangu*, p. 309.

⁵² *Mozi* 14, 15, and 16, “Jian ai,” Parts I, II, and III, respectively.

⁵³ *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Zhao 昭 32. See also Legge, *Tso chuen*, pp. 739 and 741. I have read *fei* as a variant of *pei* 配.

or espoused couples (*fei ou* or *pei ou*): kings and dukes, marquises and officers, the Marquis and the entire Ji clan, each has its helpmeet in the body politic. In fact, rulers, ministers, and even the people are described as inhabiting a single body, as discussed below.

Ti bodies can be conceptually quartered as well as divided into paired halves, and one human frame is often said to contain within it four *ti* bodies (*si ti* 四體), often understood as the body's four limbs (*si ti*, or *si zhi* 四肢), each of which has a certain degree of autonomy and can move independently. The limbs are often associated with movement, as in the following passage from the *Analects*, where a farmer derides Zilu for his idleness.

Once when Zilu accompanied [Confucius], he fell behind, and he ran into an elderly gentleman who was carrying his work baskets hoisted on his cane over his shoulder.

Zilu asked, "Sir, have you seen the Master?"

The elderly man replied, "Your four limbs don't belabor themselves 四體不動, and you can't tell one crop from another – just who might 'the Master' be?" He planted his cane in the ground and continued weeding.⁵⁴

These four *ti* bodies, like *gong* bodies, labor, but the efforts of the *ti* body are less ritually circumscribed than those of the *gong* body. *Gong* bodies of rulers and queens ritually set plowing and sericulture in motion for the whole realm, but the *ti* bodies of the ordinary farmer in this passage – who virtually plants himself in the field with his cane – simply tend their fields. Zilu's inactive bodies are associated with his ignorance about, and distance from, the world of food production (and the *ti* body is the body that eats), although the farmer eventually invites a repentant Zilu to share a meal of meat and grain.

One's four bodies, or four limbs, can conceptually overlap with the body of another person. Such somatic fusions most often occur in the bodies of kings and their ministers.⁵⁵ In the *Book of Documents*, for example, the minister Yue is likened to the four limbs of the king. The king notes, "just as the legs and arms constitute the human being, so does a good minister constitute the sage [ruler]."⁵⁶ Similarly, the *Zuo*

⁵⁴ *Analects* XVIII/7.

⁵⁵ For comparative studies of the overlapping bodies of European rulers, see Alan Boureau, *Le simple corps du roi* (Paris: Les Éditions de Paris, 1988); Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1957).

⁵⁶ *Book of Documents*, "Yue ming xia." Legge, *Shoo king*, p. 262. The bodies of the king and

zhuan states that “The Minister of Command is the side (*pian* 偏) of the sovereign and is his four bodies (*si ti*)”; when someone injures the minister of command, he also injures the king’s body.⁵⁷ Somatic connections also tie rulers to their people. In the “Black Robes” (*Zi yi* 緇衣) chapter of the *Book of Rites*, the ruler is the mind or heart (located somatically in the chest rather than the head), and the people are the body; the ruler’s physical survival hinges upon the survival of the people.

The people consider the sovereign to be the mind/heart, and the ruler considers the people to be the body (*ti*). When the mind is settled, the body is at ease. ... The mind/heart is made complete through the body and can be harmed through the body; the ruler survives by means of the people and perishes by means of the people.⁵⁸

Just as harm to the child could be felt by the parent, so harm to the people is felt by the ruler. Rulers, their ministers, and/or the people can also form one body, as discussed below.

Mencius conceptually both halves and quarters the body into double and quadruple *ti*, which he understands as corpuses of potentiality latent within one physical frame. Conceptually dividing the human condition into overlapping halves, he observes a “great” or “large body” (*da ti*), which he associates with the mind and its ability to think and to guide the sense faculties; the second is a “small” or “petty body” (*xiao ti*), which he associates with the sense faculties only, which cannot think and can be obfuscated by external things. “Those who follow their great body become great people,” he writes, “and those who follow their petty body become petty people.”⁵⁹ When asked where these bodies come from, Mencius replied, “These are what heaven has given me. If one first stands by what is great, then what is petty cannot usurp that.”⁶⁰

of Yue overlap in many ways in this account, for Yue is a body-double of the king that has emerged from the king’s dream-like condition of mourning austerities.

⁵⁷ *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Xiang 30. Legge, *Íso chuen*, pp. 554, 558. The passage could be read to mean either that the minister stands at the side of the king or constitutes his side. Medieval European body metaphors and the body politic are discussed in Jacques Le Goff, “Head or Heart? The Political Use of Body Metaphors in the Middle Ages,” in Michel Feher, ed., *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (New York: Zone Books, 1989) 3, pp. 13–27.

⁵⁸ *Liji zhengyi*, “Zi yi,” p. 1650. See also Legge, *Li Ki*, vol. 28, p. 359. A slightly different version of this passage appears in the *Guodian Zi yi*, which says “the people consider the ruler to be the heart, and the ruler considers the people to be the body. When the mind is at fond ease (*xin hao* 心好), the body will be stable (*ti an* 體安); when the ruler is at fond ease, then the people will delight (*min yu* 民欲). Hence, the mind perishes by the body (*xin yi ti fa* 心以體廢), and the ruler perishes (*wang* 亡) by the people.” *Jingmenshi bowuguan 荆門市博物館, Guodian chu mu zhujian* 郭店楚墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1998), p. 129. I read *fa* 法 as *fei* 廢, following *ibid.*, fn. 27, p. 132.

⁵⁹ *Mencius* 4A.15. See also Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 238–39.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

One human frame, then, has within it these two different somatic possibilities, either of which might take on a life of its own.

Dividing the body into four, Mencius finds it suffused with the well-known four moral potentialities of humaneness, rightness, ritual, and wisdom, which he somatically associates with the “four bodies,” or four limbs. Employing metaphors of plant roots characteristic of the *ti* body in the *Odes*, and employing language similar to the *gen xin*, or “root mind,” of the *Annals of Master Lü*, Mencius claims that when the mind is literally rooted (*gen* 根) in the four moral potentialities, then this will “spread to the four bodies; the four bodies do not speak, but they will communicate.”⁶¹ His very disclaimer that the bodies/limbs do not speak implies that they actually just might: rooted in common ethical virtues, the four bodies here also take on lives of their own and develop the ability to communicate, thus becoming simulacra of the entire physical human frame. Mencius elsewhere, in 2A.6, uses the same language as the Mohists in determining the boundaries of *ti* bodies: he counterposes *ti* with *duan*, edges, starting points, or incipencies. The *Mozi* does not define incipency in moral terms, but Mencius associates the four *ti* with the well-known four incipencies of humaneness, rightness, ritual, and wisdom. “People have these four incipencies (*si duan*),” he writes, “just as they have the four bodies (*si ti*, four limbs).”⁶² One physical human frame, then, might have within it multiple *ti* bodies, each of which demonstrates a certain autonomy; it does not, however, have comparable multiple *shen* bodies, *gong* bodies, or *xing* forms.

TI BODIES THAT EAT AND ARE EATEN

Zilu’s four bodies did not belabor themselves, but through the courtesy of the farmer, he was able to eat. *Gong* bodies perform agricultural labor, but they do not taste the fruits of their labors; that is done instead by the *ti* body, which eats its fill and becomes pleasantly corpulent. For it is the *ti* body that eats – and is eaten. *Ti* is the term used both for the human being that eats the sacrificial animal and for the flesh of the livestock consumed. *Gong*, *qu*, and *shen* bodies are rarely associated with ordinary food intake: the dysfunctional *qu* vomits, and hence does not

⁶¹ *Mencius* 7A.21. Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 270–71.

⁶² *Mencius* 2A.6. Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 66–67. Cf. Graham, *Later Mohist Logic*, pp. 310 and 499; Sun Yirang, annot., *Mozi xiangyu*, p. 312. Mencius is otherwise fond of plant metaphors (the uprooted seedlings of 2A.2 and the vegetation on Ox Mountain in 7A.8, for example), but I do not see *duan* as “sprout” in an organic sense, as it is understood in Sarah Allen, *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 1997), pp. 87 and 113–14. I instead understand *duan* more generally as incipency.

consume, and the *shen* bodies of Bo Yi and Shu Qi were not affected by their starvation. The *ti* body eats real food with a real mouth; the *xing* form is not usually associated with the mouth but absorbs the energies of the cosmos at a much subtler level. *Xing* forms are more likely to be developed metabolically, to use a modern term, and are associated with *qi*, essence, and *shen* 神, or spirit – elemental components that suffuse both living beings and the cosmos itself. Characters for *qi* 氣 and essence 精 both contain the radical for grain – *mi* 米 – implying that one’s life energy stems ultimately from the food the body consumes. But the *xing* form is rarely associated with the actual consumption of grain or other foods; eating is a communal ritual activity more closely associated with the *ti* body, which might become pleasantly fat through food consumption.⁶³ Nonetheless, the *xing* form can be harmed by excessive amounts of food or by overly restricting food intake.⁶⁴

Rarely subject to the various forms of cultivation imposed upon the *shen* body, *ti* bodies are instead more likely to be nourished (*yang* 養) or fed.⁶⁵ Nourishment can take the form of food, but it can also be supported by other means. For Mencius, one is what one eats. Noting how strongly environment and food influence the body, he states that “where one abides changes one’s *qi*, and one’s nourishment changes one’s body 居移氣養移體.”⁶⁶ *Ti* bodies, unlike *xing* forms, do not readily reveal their external or internal shapes, dimensions, structures, boundaries, or sizes. Conceptually they are more commonly associated with containment, as they are sometimes conceptualized as containers that can be filled and expanded from within.⁶⁷ The notion of containment informs Mencius’s statement that the body is full of *qi*: “Qi,” he writes, “is that which fills the body (*ti*).”⁶⁸ *Shen* bodies might be suffused with moral qualities such as inner virtue and might experience emotional phenomena such as honor and disgrace, but the *ti* body is more of-

⁶³ See, however, the “Discussion of Heaven” (*Tian lun* 天論) section of the *Xunzi*, where the *xing* is paralleled with the ear, eye, nose, and mouth. Wang, annot., *Xunzi jijie*, p. 309; Knoblock, *Xunzi* 3, p. 16.

⁶⁴ Roth, *Original Tao*, pp. 90–91.

⁶⁵ But for an uncommon instance of nourishing the *shen*, see *Mencius* 6A.13.

⁶⁶ *Mencius* 7A.36. See also Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 280–81.

⁶⁷ Ames remarks on the container imagery associated with Western concepts of the body. Ames, “Meaning of Body,” pp. 164–67. Even in the Mawangdui healing texts, which usually speak of the body as *shen*, the term *ti* is used in reference to swellings that protrude outward from the skin. *Mawangdui Han mu boshu*, pp. 59 and 85, and Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 279 and 306, respectively.

⁶⁸ *Mencius* 2A.2. Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 56–57. Yet see the almost verbatim passage where *ti* is replaced by *shen* in *Guanzi*, “Xin shu xia” 心術下: “Qi is that which fills the *shen*.” Li Mian, annot., *Guanzi*, p. 647. See also Rickett, *Guanzi*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

ten filled with food and is not the site of emotional activity. The *Great Learning*, for example, remarks how the *ti* body becomes pleasantly plump – a desirable condition. Expansion of the mind is paralleled with enlargement of the physical frame.

Prosperity adorns a house, and inner power adorns one's own person (*shen*). The mind is expanded, and the body (*ti*) becomes plump (*pang* 胖).⁶⁹

In this passage, *shen* is the site of intangible inner power or virtue, but it is the *ti* body that becomes fat. Similarly, the *Guanzi* notes that it is the *ti* body that becomes fat or thin. Just as the willingness to accept remonstrance makes a ruler's place secure, so

food is what makes the body (*ti*) fat. If rulers do not like remonstrance, they will not be secure; if someone does not like food, they will not become fat. Hence it is said, "Those who do not like food will not have fat bodies (*ti*)."⁷⁰

What grows fat can also be starved. Mencius notes that heaven, when it readies people for great responsibilities, toughens them by starving their *ti* bodies.⁷¹

Ti bodies are elsewhere associated with food, the mouth, and the containment of food. The Mawangdui medical texts usually employ the term *shen* when discussing bodily phenomena, but when eating and drinking are discussed, *ti* is used. The Mawangdui *Ten Questions* states that "drink and food fill the body 飲食實體."⁷² Associations between oral ingestion and the *ti* body are also evidenced in Mencius's disparaging remarks about someone who selfishly hoards food: such a person merely "nourishes mouth and body 養口體" as opposed to nourishing their intentionality (*zhi* 志).⁷³ In contrast, *shen* bodies are rarely associated with the mouth.

Ti bodies experience sense perceptions and are associated with both touch and taste. When both Xunzi and Mencius discuss how the physical body senses the world through the faculties of sight, sound,

⁶⁹ *Great Learning* 6.4.

⁷⁰ Li Mian, *Guanzi*, "Xingshijie" 形勢解, p. 945. See also W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from China*, vol. 1 (Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1985), p. 75.

⁷¹ *Mencius* 6B.15; Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 260–62. The passage adds that heaven also empties and exhausts their *shen* bodies.

⁷² *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 4, p. 145; Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 387. But note also that it is the *shen* that becomes warm after alcohol is drunk. *Ibid.*, pp. 64 and 287, respectively.

⁷³ *Mencius* 4A.19; Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 152–53.

smell, taste, and touch, they both use the term *ti* – not *shen* or *xing* – as the experiencer of touch. Describing the sense faculties and their capacity for satiety, for example, Mencius rhetorically asks King Xuan of Qi whether his food is not sufficient for his mouth and his clothes are not sufficient for his *ti* body.⁷⁴ In Xunzi's well-known discourse on ritual as nourishment, it is the *ti* body that is nourished. Describing how the senses are nourished by the material goods that are the stuff of ritual praxis, Xunzi describes how the mouth is nourished by “grass- and grain-fed animals, rice and millet, and the five flavors all balanced and seasoned”; the body (*ti*), for its part, is nourished by cushions, bolsters, and mats.⁷⁵ The *Annals of Master Lü* also associates nourishing the body with comfortable surroundings and with eating and drinking: “There are five ways (*dao*) of nourishment. To have well-appointed halls and chambers, to have peaceful sleeping arrangements, to moderate one's drink and one's food is the way to nourish the body (*ti*).”⁷⁶ Like the *Mencius* and *Xunzi*, this text places the nourishment of the body within the context of the nourishment of the eyes, ears, mouth, and intentionality.

Animal bodies are also usually understood as *ti* bodies rather than *shen* or *gong* bodies. A horse's body appears in Zhuangzi's “Autumn Floods,” where it is a metaphor for the smallness of human endeavor.⁷⁷ Animals commonly eaten at ritual functions are usually referred to as *ti* bodies. According to the *Ceremonial and Ritual*, animal bodies have left and right sides, and hence they mirror the shape of the human *ti* body; the text provides detailed instructions for butchering them into segments.⁷⁸ According to the *Rites of Zhou*, inspecting, selecting, and preparing the bodies of animal victims for sacrificial offerings was the responsibility of the inner chefs (*nei yong* 內饗) and outer chefs (*wai yong* 外饗), who oversaw food preparation for rituals inside and outside of the royal palace, respectively.⁷⁹ Rules for presenting whole and cut-up animal *ti* at rituals are debated in the *Zuo zhuan*.⁸⁰ At ritual

⁷⁴ Mencius 1A.7; Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 18–19.

⁷⁵ Wang, annot., *Xunzi jijie*, “Li lun” 禮論, pp. 346–47. See also Knoblock, *Xunzi* 3, p. 55.

⁷⁶ Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, “Xiao xing” 孝行, pp. 304–5.

⁷⁷ Guo, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, p. 564; Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 154.

⁷⁸ Hu, annot., *Yili zhengyi*, “You si” 有司, pp. 2340–43. See also Steele, *I-li* vol. 2, pp. 183–84. On the taxonomy of animals used in rituals, see Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China* (Albany: State U. of New York P., 2002), pp. 56–61.

⁷⁹ Sun, annot., *Zhou li zhengyi*, “Nei yong” and “Wai yong,” pp. 268–69 and p. 277, respectively.

⁸⁰ *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Xuan 宣 16. Legge, *Iso chuen*, pp. 330–31.

performances that nourish the human *ti* body (and the body politic), animal *ti* bodies are dismembered, cooked, and presented in bronze vessels, and are then consumed by and absorbed into the *ti* bodies of human sacrificers.⁸¹

Incorporating multiple bodies through ritual food exchange might be understood in the light of Bruce Knauft's studies of the human body in Melanesia. Exploring how a Melanesian person is considered to be but one part of a larger web of social and biological exchange, Knauft demonstrates how in Melanesian traditions, the collectively constituted body begins at conception; the body of the growing child is slowly formed from food provided by relatives, who acquire food through their own labor and by labor exchange with others who also produce food. All who contribute food and/or labor to the creation of the physical frame of the child then share in the child's physical being. Food consumption connects a human being to others, to the land, and to the spirit world. Knauft writes,

The linkage between food and exchange in Melanesia informs images of the body in a number of different contexts. Perhaps most basically, those whose food you consume are those whose labor, land, and essence constitute your own being. Most Melanesians concretely appreciate the physical energy used in subsistence cultivation, and the way this is converted into bodily substance to maintain health and well-being. . . . This makes a gift of food, in a fundamental way, a gift of oneself.⁸²

Thus in Melanesia, as Mencius would say, you are what you eat; moreover, you are also consubstantial with all the other people who have labored to provide you with food. (Zilu's ignorance of this, manifested in his idle bodies or limbs, earned him the farmer's scorn.) In China, the *ti* body is incorporated with the bodies of one's ancestors (one is their "inherited body"), agricultural products (the *ti* bodies of livestock), and with other members of one's family and state. Connections between them are outlined in the *Book of Odes* in such verses as "Thick Caltrops" (Mao. no. 209), which describes the cosmogonic sig-

⁸¹ When the human body is cannibalized and one human *ti* body becomes absorbed into another, however, the cannibalized person is simply called *rou* 肉, or flesh, not *ti*. In the *Annals of Master Lü*, for example, when the Di people ate all of Duke Yi except his liver, he was simply called flesh. Knoblock and Riegel, *Annals of Lü Buwei*, "Zhong lian" 忠廉, pp. 249–50. In the succeeding chapter, "Dang wu" 當務, is a bizarre account of two people who attacked and ate one another until both died; they, too, are simply referred to as flesh and not *ti*. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁸² Bruce M. Knauft, "Bodily Images in Melanesia: Cultural Substances and Natural Metaphors," in Feher, ed., *Fragments* 3, p. 223.

nificance of communal agricultural labors and the commensal ritual meals of thanksgiving to ancestral spirits.⁸³

The outermost boundaries of the *ti* body are difficult to define, for many people might inhabit “one body” (*yi ti*) or a “common body” (*tong ti* 同體). Just as one physical human frame might contain four bodies or limbs, so might multiple people occupy one *ti* body. Such claims are rarely if ever made for *xing*, *shen*, or *gong* bodies, whose boundaries are far more circumscribed. The scope of the “one body” is sometimes so large that it incorporates heaven and earth itself. Human members of one body do not necessarily share kin relations, although they often inhabit the same state.

Some people who are incorporated into one body do share kin or marriage relations, as outlined in the “Mourning Attire” chapter of the *Ceremonial and Ritual*. There, a father and the son who is appointed his successor are described as being of “one body.”⁸⁴ That common body is associated with the patriline, for should the father divorce the son’s mother, the son does not wear mourning for her because he is of one body with the father and subsequently does not wear mourning for his “personal relatives” (*si qin* 私親), that is, for his divorced mother. Brothers of the same generation are also of one body: one wears mourning for paternal uncles, for they are of “one body” with one’s father.⁸⁵ Provided that husband and wife remain married, they still form one body. All members of the nuclear family, in fact, constitute one body that is conceptually halved or paired (the husband and wife) and quartered (the siblings).

Father and child are one body, husband and wife are one body, and elder and younger siblings are one body. Now father and child are as head and feet; husband and wives are as two halves conjoined; elder and younger siblings are as the four limbs (*si ti*).⁸⁶

A wife may be one with the husband, but a concubine is not, for “a concubine is not of the body of her lord.”⁸⁷ According to the *Ceremonial and*

⁸³ Legge, *She king*, pp. 368–73. See also Martin Kern, “*Shi jing* Songs as Performance Texts: A Case Study of ‘Chu ci’ (Thorny Caltrop),” *Early China* 25 (2000), pp. 49–111. For the ritual significance of food, see Gilles Boileau, “Some Ritual Elaborations on Cooking and Sacrifice in Late Zhou and Western Han Texts,” *Early China* 23–24 (1998–99), pp. 89–123; Terry F. Kleeman, “Licentious Cults and Bloody Victuals: Sacrifice, Reciprocity, and Violence in Traditional China,” *AM* 3d ser. 7.1 (1994), pp. 185–211; Roel Sterckx, ed., *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁸⁴ Hu, annot., *Yili zheng yi*, “Sang fu,” p. 1409. See also Steele, *I-li*, vol. 2, p. 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Hu, annot., *Yili zhengyi*, “Sang fu,” pp. 1445 and also 1454. See also Steele, *I-li*, vol. 2, pp. 22 and 24.

Ritual, then, marriage allows the official wife to participate in the body of her husband's patriline; divorce dissolves those ties, and the status of concubine is insufficient to permit such incorporation. Otherwise, however, all other members of this body are related by blood.

References to somatic connections between blood relatives, however, actually occur less often than references to connections between nonkin relations within the body politic. It has already been noted above that the bodies of rulers and ministers are paired doubles and that their limbs and organs overlap. Moreover, rulers, ministers, the state, and the people might all variously participate within one body. The *Gongyang zhuan* tersely asserts that "the state and the ruler are one body 國君一體也," rhetorically asking, as if by way of explanation, "How are the state and the ruler as one body? It is because the ruler of the state considers the state as the body."⁸⁸ Other texts elaborate on the relationship between rulers and their subjects: rulers are one part of the body; ministers or subjects, another. In the *Guanzi*, rulers and ministers have different purviews that are described somatically. The ruler governs through subtlety and appears to neither see nor hear, instead using ministers to act as ears and eyes; both sides have different functions, but they nonetheless tally together as one body (*yi ti*).⁸⁹ Moreover, the *Guanzi* continues, the early kings, who harkened to what the people said and acted in accord with them, were gifted at being of one body (*yi ti*) with the people and governing them with a light hand.⁹⁰

Officials who did not embody 不體 ritual courted death. In the *Zuo zhuan*, Confucius's disciple Zigong, who was noted for keenly observing court rituals, predicts the imminent demise of two officials whom he observes do not understand how "ritual (*li*) is the body (*ti*) of dying and living, of surviving and perishing."⁹¹ Zigong's sanctimonious predictions are parodied, however, in the *Zhuangzi*, which ridicules those who do not see that "dying and living, and surviving and perishing" are actually just "one body."⁹² Zhuangzi's *ti* body is boundless, and its openness is demonstrated at the funeral of the recently deceased Mulberry

⁸⁸ Wang Jianwen 王健文 discusses somatic associations between rulers and their states, focusing particularly on the *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 and *Yili*. See his "Guo jun yi ti" 國君一體, in Yang, ed., *Qilun ji shenti guan*, pp. 227-60.

⁸⁹ Li, annot., *Guanzi*, "Junchen shang" 君臣上, p. 514. See also Rickett, *Guanzi*, Vol. 1, pp. 404-5.

⁹⁰ Li, annot., *Guanzi*, "Junchen shang," p. 517. See also Rickett, *Guanzi*, Vol. 1, p. 410.

⁹¹ *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Ding 15; Legge, *Iso chuen*, pp. 790-791.

⁹² Guo Qingfan, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, "Da zong shi" 大宗師, p. 258. Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 57. Elsewhere in the *Zhuangzi*, Confucius instructs Ran Qiu on the "one body" that encompasses both life and death. Guo, *Zhuangzi jishi*, "Zhi bei you" 知北遊, p. 763. See also Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 221.

Door (*Sang hu* 桑戶), a character who, as his name indicates, is liminally positioned to see through ordinary boundaries. When Zigong arrives at the funeral, he is scandalized to find Door's mourners gleefully singing over his corpse and claiming that Door had returned to the "real" (*zhen* 真). "Might I ask," says Zigong, "whether singing right over the corpse can be considered ritual?"⁹³ The friends respond by laughing at Zigong's ignorance about the true meaning (or meaninglessness) of ritual. Zigong returns to Confucius and asks who these people might be who treat their forms (*xing*) as if they were something external to themselves. Confucius explains that "they inhabit a common body (*tong ti* 同體), forget about their livers and spleens, and cast away their eyes and ears."⁹⁴ Door's friends turn the superficial uniqueness of discrete forms inside out, embracing instead the essential commonality of their *ti* body. Seeing *through* forms, they dispense with ordinary eyesight. The Zigong of the *Zuo* is an astute observer of the body of ritual and the bounds between life and death, but in the *Zhuangzi* he is blind to the common *ti* body that incorporates them all.

Sages, too, could form one body with all things, claimed Zhuangzi. They so thoroughly interweave themselves into the world that they form one body with all around them 周盡一體, even without understanding how that might be so – such was simply their natures.⁹⁵ Zhuangzi's expansive vision of the profound connections and commonalities sages share with others, however, did not appeal to everyone. Mencius, for example, when asked whether some of Confucius's disciples formed "one body" with the master, refused even to entertain the question. Mencius allowed that one human frame might potentially have a large and small *ti* body or even four incipient bodies of moral conduct, but he was uncomfortable with the notion that several human beings could participate in a common *ti* body – at least, when one of the parties to the body was Confucius. In *Mencius* 2A.2, the thinker Gongsun Chou asks whether some of Confucius's disciples were not of "one body" (*yi ti*) or "replete in the body" with him. Gongsun asks Mencius,

I once heard it said that Zixia, Ziyou, and Zizhang were of one body with the sage 聖人之一體; Ran Niu, Minzi, and Yan Yuan

⁹³ Guo, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, "Da zong shi," p. 267. See also Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, pp. 59–61.

⁹⁴ Ibid. Confucius's disciple Yan Hui, however, acquitted himself more admirably in the *Zhuangzi*, and by sitting in forgetfulness, forgot ritual and dropped off his *ti* body. Guo, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, "Da zong shi," p. 284. See also Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 64.

⁹⁵ Guo Qingfan, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, "Ze yang" 則陽, p. 88o. See also Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 255.

[Yan Hui] were replete in this body but subtly so 具體而微。Where do you stand on this?

Mencius replied, “Let us set this aside.”⁹⁶

Mencius, by refusing to respond to these questions, demonstrates his discomfort with the notion that any of the six disciples participated in Confucius’s *ti* body. The mere fact that Mencius’s refusal is recorded suggests that he considered the questions sufficiently threatening to his own understanding of Confucius’s perceived uniqueness that they merited rebuttal.

The specific distinctions Gongsun Chou makes between the two groups of disciples are not clear. What qualities might Zixia, Ziyou, and Zizhang have that they might be “of one body” with the sage? The three of them appear far less frequently in the *Analects* than some of the more famous disciples. But they dominate Book 19, appearing in sixteen of the twenty-five verses of that book, although competition between them is palpable.⁹⁷ Competition aside, however, the fact that they dominate this chapter suggests that at some point in the compilation of the *Analects*, they were perceived as sharing a common legacy from their teacher. That legacy was perhaps what informed Gongsun’s question – which is nonetheless unusual, as I know of no other cases in early received texts where anyone posits that a teacher and disciple might be of one body.

Does being “of one body” with Confucius differ, if at all, from being “replete in this body but subtly so” (*ju ti er wei*), as Ran Niu, Minzi, and Yan Hui were said to be? Did one group of disciples embody Confucius more thoroughly? Or did they merely embody sagehood in general? What *ti* means in this passage is problematic, and commentaries offer little insight.⁹⁸ Comparisons with a similar expression in the “Canons” and “Explanations of the Canons” in the *Mozi*, however, might shed light on the meaning of *ju ti er wei* 具體而微 in the *Mencius*. The passage *qi ti ju ran* 其體具然, literally, “the body is complete in it,” appears in Mozi’s discussions optics, mirrors, and reflections.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁶ *Mencius* 2A.2. Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 58–59.

⁹⁷ In that chapter, Zixia appears in verses 3–13; Ziyou, in 12, 14, and 15; Zizhang, 1–3 and 15–16. For an interpretation of the structure of this chapter, see E. Bruce Brooks and Taeko Brooks, *The Original Analects* (Columbia U. P., 1998), pp. 244–45. Ziyou says of “my friend Zhang” that Zizhang “cannot yet be considered humane” (*ren*; 19.15); and when Ziyou claims that Zixia’s disciples are “lacking in fundamentals,” Zixia retorts that Ziyou is “mistaken” about “the Way of the noble person” (19.12).

⁹⁸ Lau understands this to mean that the first three disciples had “one aspect of the sage” whereas the second three “were replicas of the sage in miniature.” Lau, *Mencius*, p. 59.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of Mohist optics and a translation of the relevant passages from the “Canons” and “Explanations,” see Graham, *Later Mohist Logic*, 372–87 ff.

Mohists were aware that the shape, size, and inversion of reflections in mirrored surfaces depended upon such criteria as the concavity of the mirror and the distance and angle that obtained between the object (that is, the body or the “unit,” following Graham) being reflected and the mirror itself. A mirror reflects everything in its range; by looking into it at different angles, one can see that the reflections in it greatly exceed the small surface of the mirror’s plane. Hence, large people can look into a mirror that is much smaller than a person’s own body, and as the Mohists say, “their body (*ti*) will be completely there in it (*qi ti ju ran*), mirrored in its parts (*fen*).”¹⁰⁰ That is, one would not be able to see a whole body reflected at once in a mirror that is only about eight inches round, but by looking into it at various angles to the body, one could see all its parts mirrored therein.

Perhaps Gongsun Chou was trying to make an analogous point about the relationship between Confucius and his disciples: looking at Ran Niu, Minzi, or Yan Hui at different angles, so to speak, one could see all of Confucius somehow mirrored there, if only subtly or faintly. One cannot definitively know whether Gongsun Chou’s questions were shaped by Mohist discussions on optics and semblance, but Mohists and followers of Mencius shared a common discourse. Both the *Mozi* and *Mencius* record direct meetings between the two groups.¹⁰¹ The *Mozi* records that disciples of Zixia – the very disciple who was said above to be of “one body” with the master – met directly with Mozi himself, and the *Mencius* describes face-to-face encounters between Mencius and the followers of Mozi.¹⁰² At any rate, Mencius in the end rejects the notion that anyone could be of one body with Confucius, and he concludes that “from the birth of the people until now, there has never been another Confucius.”¹⁰³ The boundaries of Confucius’s body, for Mencius at least, are closed to others.

¹⁰⁰ Following the punctuation of the *Daozang* 道藏 edition of the text in Graham, *Early Mohist Logic*, pp. 379 and 509. Cf. Sun, annot., *Mozi xiangyu*, p. 366.

¹⁰¹ Most of the terms found elsewhere in *Mencius* 2A.2 concerning degrees of likeness and similitude – *ti* 體, *tong* 同, *lei* 類, and *yi* 異 – are defined also in the “Canons” and “Explanations of the Canons” chapters of the *Mozi*.

¹⁰² According to the *Mozi*, Zixia’s student was humiliated on this occasion, as recorded in *Mozi* 46, “Geng Zhu” 耕柱, which immediately follows the “Canons” chapters. See also Mei, *Works of Motse*, p. 215. Zizhang, Zixia, and Ziyou are derided by Xunzi in his “Against the Twelve Masters.” Knoblock, *Xunzi* 1, pp. 219–20. For the meeting with Zixia’s disciples, see Sun, annot., *Mozi xiangyu*, “Geng Zhu,” pp. 428–29. Mencius humiliated a Mohist in *Mencius* 3A.5 and derides Mozi in 3B.9, lamenting that Mozi’s ideas are wildly popular everywhere.

¹⁰³ *Mencius* 2A.2. Lau, *Mencius*, pp. 60–61. *Mencius* 3A.4 is also uncomfortable with You Ruo’s perceived semblance to Confucius; some of the surviving disciples wanted to serve him as if he were the master.

Such delimitations of the *ti* body, however, are very unusual, and that fact alone helps Mencius make that much more dramatically his point about the singularity of Confucius. In most other instances, *ti* denotes a corpus of indefinite boundaries that might encompass multiple people. The *ti* body is, as Sivin defined it above, that which “refers to the concrete physical body, its limbs, or the physical form generally.” But one can see from the discussion above that it also extends beyond the concrete physical body and extends far beyond the physical frame of one human being. It exists at many levels, both concrete and conceptual, and operates according to its own scales of multiplicity and unity. It does not lose its wholeness when it is fragmented: and the boundaries of the field of a *ti* body can include many people (and even animals) at once, yet each element of the *ti* retains its own particular focus. Its circumference is everywhere, but its center is everywhere as well. A *ti* can be one person, one family, and one body politic of an entire state. Understood in its broadest sense, *ti* is a wholeness that can encompass life and death and heaven and earth, and it is a corpus of such scale that it can incorporate all under heaven. Thus the logician Hui Shi could say that “if there is broad concern (*ai*) for the ten thousand things, heaven and earth are one body.”¹⁰⁴ This encompassing commonality is a wholeness rarely if ever expressed by other terms for body in early received texts. Thus Sivin’s immortals might *ti* the Dao – but they could not *shen* the Dao, *xing* the Dao, *gong* the Dao, and certainly not *qu* the Dao – and could thus embody the cosmos within themselves, and embody themselves within the cosmos.

¹⁰⁴ Guo, annot., *Zhuangzi jishi*, “Tian xia” 天下, p. 1102. See also Mair, *Wandering on the Way*, p. 344.