

**Prescribing ‘Guiding and Pulling’:
The institutionalisation of
therapeutic exercise in Sui China
(581–618 CE)**

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I, [Dolly Yang], confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.
Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this
has been indicated in the thesis.

Dolly Yang

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the development of therapeutic exercise known as *daoyin* 導引 (guiding and pulling) during the Sui dynasty (581–618 CE). The main research questions are 1) how and why did *daoyin* become an important component of state medicine during the Sui period, 2) why was it included systematically in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 (Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders), the earliest known nosological text compiled under the decree of the second Sui emperor Yangdi 隋煬帝 and 3) in the context of the process of unification during the Sui, what is the larger significance of these initiatives for our understanding of the unique continuities in the history of imperial China?

Central to this research is an investigation into the contemporary political, cultural and religious circumstances that influenced the decisions by the two Sui emperors to adopt therapeutic exercise, which was already widely popular among circles of literate elites and religious sects, into an official medical system. The vision of the second Sui emperor to promote therapeutic exercise as the main component of state medicine, in preference to all other medical treatments, led directly to the transformation of the state medical service with the employment of a disproportionately large number of *daoyin* specialists to the Sui court. This research argues that the inclusion of *daoyin*, together with advice on health regimes, under the newly-devised classification of disease in *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, is one of the most important medical innovations of the Sui. As a vignette that illustrates how the role of the state can extend its reach into social and community practice, this study also has wider implications for how, in contrast to the fragmentation of Europe after the fall of Rome, we understand the continuity of empire in China.

Impact Statement

This dissertation contains descriptions of 110 diseases together with recommended therapeutic exercises, from *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, translated for the first time into a European language. The translation provides a bridge, connecting ancient Chinese medical knowledge to modern medical practice. It also highlights a number of similar texts yet to be made accessible to the European language world.

The explorations in this thesis are in the subject areas of the history of medicine, religions, literature and the imperial dynasties of early and medieval China, which should be of interest to historians and researchers alike. The specific instance of the institutionalisation of therapeutic exercise is a vignette of a much broader process of unification and centralisation of knowledge and practice in imperial China. The contrast between that process and the history of Europe during the same period offers a significant new vista for global medical studies and for further research by scholars of both European and Chinese history.

Furthermore, the intention of this research is to bring a fresh understanding of ancient Chinese therapeutic exercise to contemporary thinking and to consider to what extent the health benefits of therapeutic exercise, recognised and promoted by the two Sui emperors, have relevance for people today. Part of the contemporary context is the intense debate within Britain and other developed countries about government responsibility versus self-care. How do we provide preventative medicine for the health needs of growing numbers of older people against the background of finite resources for medical care? The impact here falls within the area of 'social prescription', by which I mean non-drug-based treatment, with a greater emphasis on individuals taking responsibility for their own health. By standardising *daoyin*, the Sui government had a foot in both camps, i.e. a state medical service, and an individual's health regime. When a doctor prescribes 'Guiding and Pulling', state control and individual responsibility are brought together. Thus, whilst

the historical perspective of this thesis has potential value within academia, the discourse around 'social prescription' might be fruitfully developed in main-stream media.

To my parents,

Yung Jen-hua 楊仁華

02.10.1924 – 09.03.2016

&

Chiu Mei-hoh 邱美鶴

凱風自南，吹彼棘心。

棘心夭夭，母氏劬勞。

- 詩經

Acknowledgements

My PhD started, seven years ago, with a fortuitous and memorable encounter with Dr. Vivienne Lo. She had come to the University of Wales, Lampeter (subsequently renamed University of Wales Trinity Saint David, UWTSD) with Dr. Michael Stanley-Baker, her then PhD student, to give a talk on medicine in the Daoist tradition. I was working at the University library at the time. After their presentation, I introduced myself to them, telling them a little bit about my background, my degree in Religious Studies and the translation of *Laozi* I did for my BA dissertation. I also told Vivienne that I had been considering a postgraduate study on ancient Chinese texts. Immediately, she said, 'Why don't you come and be my student?' I was shocked and deeply honoured. It was a moment that profoundly changed my life. Although I had no idea what kind of research I would do, I knew in that brief conversation with Vivienne that I had found a wonderful scholar and teacher. My introduction to the text *Zhubing yuanhou lun* came in the very first email Vivienne sent me, and this set me on my research path. Her telling me about the text and its fascination for her brought to mind the secret transmission of ancient Chinese medical texts from master to disciple. Fortunately, we did not have to 'cut our forearms and smear the blood on our mouths'! For that and for everything else, my gratitude to Vivienne is immense. She even allowed me to stay with her whenever I came up to London from Wales for supervision. Such complete 'immersion', normal in Ancient China, is rare in a modern PhD programme. While it is not possible to catalogue here everything I have learned from Vivienne, academically and otherwise, I do hope that I have managed to capture a glimpse of her brilliant mind in this thesis.

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in my heart. Through Elisabeth's classes, I have met many acupuncturists with an eagerness to deepen their knowledge of Chinese medicine. Their reading of medical and classical texts inspired my translation of *Zhubing yuanhou lun*.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The aim of this study

During the Sui (581–618 CE), the dynasty that unified China after nearly four centuries of political fragmentation, two important developments had far-reaching implications for medicine in China:

1. A state-sponsored medical education institution with specialised teaching departments was established by Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty 隋文帝 (541–604 CE)
2. The earliest known nosological text, *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 (Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders, hereafter *Bingyuan*) was compiled at the decree of Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty 隋煬帝 (569–618 CE).

The formal recognition of therapeutic exercise, known as *daoyin* 導引 (Guiding and Pulling)¹ as a medical treatment is evidence that it had a central place in both of these initiatives. It was, in effect, promoted by the two Sui Emperors, Wendi 文帝 (re. 581–604 CE) and Yangdi 煬帝 (re. 604–618 CE).

During the Sui, twenty *Anmo* Erudites (*Anmo boshi* 按摩博士) and one hundred and twenty *anmo* teaching assistants specialising in therapeutic exercise were employed by the medical education institution of the Sui court.²

The other two teaching departments, Medicine (*Yi* 醫), and Incantation and

¹ A discussion of the term *daoyin* can be found in 1.2.1 *daoyin*.

² A discussion of the term *anmo* can be found in 1.2.2 *anmo*.

Interdiction (*Zhoujin* 咒禁), had just two erudites with two and no teaching assistants respectively.³ Even the department of acupuncture was not established until the Tang period (618–906 CE).

Closely connected to the Sui's centralised medical education system was the compilation of medical texts. A significant increase in the number of medical texts in the imperial library collection helped to make this possible.⁴ One of the largest medical compendia produced during the Sui dynasty was *Bingyuan*, compiled and written by Emperor Yang's imperial physician, Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (fl. 610 CE) and his colleagues.⁵ The text contains descriptions of 1739 diseases detailing, under seventy-one headings, their aetiology and symptoms.⁶ *Bingyuan* is unique in that it includes quotations from various *yangsheng* self-cultivation texts,⁷ in particular *Yangsheng fang* 養生方 (*Yangsheng* recipes) and *Yangsheng fang daoyinfa* 養生方導引法 (*Yangsheng* recipes and *daoyin* methods). The former offers advice on life-style such as diet, sleep and personal hygiene. The latter gives *daoyin* instructions for the cure of various diseases. *Daoyin* is a form of physical exercise which often incorporates breathing, self-massage, visualisation, incantation and other techniques. Various combinations of more than 200 different *daoyin* exercises

³ *Tang liudian* 唐六典, j.14 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), p. 411.

⁴ See 3.4 The medical texts in *Suishu jingji zhi*.

⁵ Authorship of *Zhubing yuanhou lun* has been attributed to Chao Yuanfang only since the Northern Song period; see 4.3 Authorship of *Zhubing yuanhou lun*.

⁶ Evidence concerning the number of disease entries and categories varies. The figure of 1739 diseases under seventy-one categories is based on Ding Guangdi's edition. Ding Guangdi 丁光迪, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu* 諸病源候論校注 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1991).

⁷ A discussion of the term *yangsheng* can be found in 1.2.4 *Yangsheng*.

are prescribed for over two-thirds of the disorder categories in *Bingyuan*.⁸ The inclusion of these exercises, together with advice on health regimes, under the newly-devised classification of disease, is arguably one of the medical innovations of the Sui.

There are three main questions that I would like to address in this dissertation:

1) how and why did therapeutic exercise become an important element of state medicine during the Sui period, 2) why was it included in *Bingyuan*, in what was essentially the earliest Chinese nosological text, and 3) in the context of the process of unification during the Sui, what is the significance of these initiatives for our understanding of the unique continuities in the history of imperial China?

To respond to these questions, I will trace the development of therapeutic exercise from its earliest documentation during the Warring States period (481–221 BCE) to its pivotal position at the state-sponsored medical education institution during the Sui period. I will examine a variety of primary sources in order to elucidate the social and cultural contexts within which *daoyin* flourished. This will give us a greater understanding of the range of therapeutic exercise in early and medieval China.

Central to this research is an investigation into the contemporary political, cultural and religious circumstances which influenced the decisions by the two Sui emperors to adopt and adapt therapeutic exercise, which had been

⁸ For a detailed discussion on what diseases have been given *daoyin* instructions in *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, see 4.7 Diseases in *Bingyuan*.

practised by a wide variety of people within society, into an official medical system. I will identify the key actors who are likely to have been involved, either directly or indirectly, with the institutionalisation of therapeutic exercise during the Sui period.

Using *Bingyuan* as a case study, I will examine the process of formalising, medicalising and standardising therapeutic exercise within a classification of diseases newly devised by the medical officials in the Sui court. Questions such as ‘How did the compilers of *Bingyuan* incorporate various *daoyin* exercises into this encyclopedic nosological text?’, ‘What is the rationale behind the choice of different therapeutic exercises for specific diseases?’ and ‘What types of diseases have or do not have *daoyin* instructions in *Bingyuan*?’ are among the subjects to be addressed.

Reflecting upon the innovative medical reforms initiated by the two Sui emperors as part of their efforts to unify China under a single centralised government, I will look, in the concluding chapter, at the significance of these initiatives from a bigger perspective, particularly in relation to the imperial unity of medieval China, which outlived the Sui dynasty and lasted for nearly three hundred years before another political fragmentation took place towards the end of the Tang dynasty.⁹ I will draw a comparison between the imperial China of this period and Europe, where the absence of imperial power, after the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 CE, encouraged the rise of religious

⁹ For the history of the Tang dynasty, see Mark Edward Lewis, *China's cosmopolitan empire: the Tang dynasty* (Harvard University Press, 2009); Charles D. Benn, *China's Golden Age: Everyday Life in the Tang Dynasty* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2002) and *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, ed. by Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

sovereignty.¹⁰

The translation of key primary sources has been fundamental to this research. I have chosen a literal translation style, avoiding as much as possible modern biomedical terms while at the same time making the material comprehensible to non-specialist readers. The appendices include a translation of the 110 diseases with corresponding *daoyin* instructions, found in over two-thirds of the larger disorder categories in *Bingyuan*. This will be the first translation of this material into a European language, and furthermore, unless indicated otherwise, I have translated all the Chinese quotations in this thesis.

This research builds on that of other modern scholars whose work connects to the history of *yangsheng*, of which therapeutic exercise forms an important part. Donald Harper and Vivienne Lo have made significant contributions to the history of *yangsheng* in the pre- and early Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).¹¹ Catherine Despeux, Livia Kohn, Ute Engelhardt and Yoshinobu Sakade have researched the later development of *yangsheng* and *daoyin* through the medieval period, particularly in a Daoist context.¹² Works by Joseph Needham, Fan Ka-wai 范家偉, Asaf Goldschmidt, and TJ Hinrichs have been particularly helpful on the theme of state and medicine in medieval China.¹³

¹⁰ There are numerous works on the history of medieval Europe, include Ralph H. C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe: From Constantine to Saint Louis* (London: Routledge, 2014), Matthew Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 300–900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book* (London: Routledge, 2010), Richard L. Demolen and David Herlihy, *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974) and David Nicholas, *The Evolution of the Medieval World: Society, Government, and Thought in Europe, 312–1500* (London: Routledge, 2016).

¹¹ See 1.3.1.1 In European and Japanese languages.

¹² See 1.3.1.1 In European and Japanese languages.

¹³ See 1.3.2 The state and medicine in medieval China.

Arthur Wright and Victor Xiong have provided reliable and valuable secondary sources for the institutional history of the Sui period.¹⁴ Ding Guangdi 丁光迪 has made a great contribution to the textual study of *Bingyuan*.¹⁵ His revised edition, published in 1991, is the version I have drawn on most for this research. These are just some of the scholars whose work has particular significance for this research. I will discuss their and other scholars' work in greater detail under four themes in 1.3 'Literature review'.

The research relies heavily on the investigation of primary sources from between the Warring States (475–221 BCE) and the Sui and Tang periods (581–907 CE), from official records to excavated manuscripts, from philosophical and religious literature to medical and *yangsheng* texts, and tomb inscriptions (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) of the Sui and Tang periods. The variety of sources makes possible a multi-perspective, comparative approach. For example, excavated medical manuscripts from the Han tombs tell very different stories from canonical works preserved in print, and biographies of doctors serving at the Sui and Tang courts, found in tomb inscriptions, tell stories about the state medical system which differ from descriptions in official records such as *Tang liudian* 唐六典 (The Six Statutes of the Tang Dynasty). Therefore, each of these sources requires rich historical contextualisation and textual analysis.

The methodology of this research, i.e. the way the sources are analysed and

¹⁴ See 1.3.3 The institutional history of the Sui dynasty and 4.2 The textual history of *Bingyuan*.

¹⁵ See 1.3.4 *Bingyuan*.

interpreted, is greatly influenced by the ideas of mainly western philosophers, historians and social theorists, such as Heidegger and Gadamer's 'hermeneutic circle', Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities', Robert Company's 'repertoires of resources', and Michel Foucault's 'medical discourse' and its relation to state control.¹⁶ Their powerful and persuasive views, which challenge us to think deeply about the various subjects they have scrutinised, have influenced, either directly or indirectly, my interpretation of the materials related to this research. Their ideas will be discussed in greater detail in 1.4 'Methodology'.

Despite the fact that several modern scholars have made significant contributions to the history of Chinese medicine and *yangsheng* practices, there is as yet no research examining how therapeutic exercise became an important part of state medicine in 7th century China - a development which itself reflects the changing relationship between the state and medical practice. By state medicine, I am referring to medicine sponsored and regulated by the government. I intend to demonstrate that by the time of the Sui dynasty, *daoyin* was widespread and practised by a variety of people within society. During the Sui's unification, the state appropriated various bodily practices, not necessarily labeled as *daoyin*, to be part of the official medical system, including certain practices which had already been adopted and adapted within religious communities. I will argue that during the Sui

¹⁶ Martin Heidegger, *Being and time*, trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2d ed. (London: Versa, 1991); Robert Company, 'On the Very Idea of Religions (in the Modern West and in Early Medieval China)', *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (2003), 287–319; Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock Publications, 1973).

period, China experienced a further wave of medical innovation, characterised by the establishment of specialised departments within the imperial medical education institution, the compilation of medical works such as *Bingyuan*, and the medicalisation of therapeutic exercise. The appropriation of *daoyin* by the medical bureaucracy initiated by the Sui government reaffirms its importance as a medical treatment. This study can be seen as a vignette illustrating the state's ability to extend its reach into social and community practice. This models the larger sociological dynamics that served to ensure continuity of political power in China and distinguish Chinese history from that of Europe, where imperial power was absent for many centuries after the fall of Rome.

1.2 Key terms and concepts

In this section, I will discuss some key terms and concepts which are relevant to this research. The principle term is *daoyin*, which I have translated as 'therapeutic exercise'. I will explain what *daoyin* is and how it has been understood differently by different people, both historical and modern. The term *anmo* is often translated as 'massage', but this can be misleading as it is often synonymous with *daoyin* in many historical texts. Many people around the world today are familiar with *qigong*, which is often portrayed as an ancient traditional exercise with at least two, if not five, thousand years of history.¹⁷ In China, it has been the subject of political censure as a *xiedao* 邪道 (Evil Way). Not only are both terms, *anmo* and *qigong*, closely connected to *daoyin*, but they are also subject to ambiguities and confusion. Another

¹⁷ See 1.3.1.2 In the Chinese language.

important term is *yangsheng* which has become an umbrella term for all kinds of self-cultivation practices, including *daoyin*, but which has been understood very differently by different people and communities historically.

1.2.1 *Daoyin* 導引

The term *daoyin* consists of two characters: *dao* 導 and *yin* 引. *Dao* usually means ‘to guide’ or ‘to instruct’. The pictograph of *dao* 導 implies a guidance or an instruction leading ultimately to the *Dao* 道 (the Way), the fundamental principle of all things.¹⁸ *Mengzi* 孟子 (*Mencius*), attributed to the Confucian philosopher and government adviser, Mengzi 孟軻 (372–289 BCE), uses *dao* to describe how King Wen of Zhou 周文王 (1152–1056 BCE) provided and cared for the elderly of his kingdom :

。。。制其田里，教之樹畜，導其妻子，使養其老。

... [King Wen] regulated land use and dwellings, taught the people how to plant mulberry trees and raise animals, and **instructed** married women in the care of the elderly.¹⁹

This is the earliest Chinese passage to advocate humanitarian social practice, where *dao* 導 is directly associated with the instruction and guidance given by a benevolent ruler, expounding a theory of rulership related to the moral role of the state.

¹⁸ Livia Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises: The Tradition of Daoyin* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), p. 11.

¹⁹ *Mencius*, j.13, in *Chongkan Songben Shisanjing zhushu fujiao kanji* 重刊宋本十三經注疏附校勘記, ed. by Yuan Ruan 阮元, Zhu Hualin 朱華臨 *et al.* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), p. 238.

An example of *dao* in a different context can be found in *Zhuangzi* 莊子, a Warring States text attributed to the philosopher Zhuangzi (370–87 BCE) which was later reinvented as a text in the canon of organised Daoism around the 2nd century CE. *Zhuangzi* tells a story about a cook who perfected his skills in carving an ox by:

。。。批大卻，導大窾，因其固然。

...cutting through the gaps between the bones and **guiding** [the knife] into the inner cavity by following its natural structure.²⁰

The story eulogises the abilities of the artisan rather than the education of a gentleman. In direct contrast to the aforementioned passage in *Mencius*, which advocates conforming to set social norms in the development of a Confucian tradition, the cook follows natural universal patterns and keeps his knife sharp, a metaphor for honing the acuity of the senses, requiring physical intelligence and long-term practice more than intellect. This story epitomises Zhuangzi's view of *yangsheng*.²¹

A further explanation of *dao* can be found in *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Explaining Simple and Analysing Compound Characters) compiled in the 1st century CE and the earliest comprehensive lexicon to have survived in China. In *Shuowen jiezi*, *dao* is described as *yin* 引, as in 'opening a bow'.²² The character *yin* conjures up the image of a person drawing a bow and arrow, confirming the meaning of *yin* as 'to pull, draw or stretch'. This tells us that by

²⁰ *Zhuangzi*, ch.3 in *Zhuangzi jijie* 莊子集解, ed. by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), p. 19.

²¹ Further discussion on Zhuangzi's view of *yangsheng* can be found in 1.2.4 *Yangsheng*.

²² *Shuowen jiezi*, p. 1977 and p. 8448.

late Han times, the two words had become cognate, with *yin* also seeming to define the quality of guidance inherent in *dao*, understood as a form of pulling, which simultaneously increases latent power and potential for action.

The idea of pulling is an important one. A text excavated from a Han tomb at Zhangjiashan 張家山 in Hubei 湖北 province, dated 186 BCE, is unusual in having the title *Yinshu* 引書 (The Book of Pulling) on the back of the first of the bamboo slips.²³ The text contains a step-by-step guide to bodily movement, and prescribes a daily and seasonal health regime. Thus, when the two characters are combined as *daoyin*, the term refers specifically to the kind of therapeutic exercise depicted in *Yinshu*, which is aimed at improving health, cultivating the spirit, as well as curing specific diseases. There follows an example of the kind of exercise found in *Yinshu*:

引膝痛，右膝痛，左手據權，內揮右足，千而已，左膝痛，右手據權，而力揮左足，千而已。左手勾左足趾，後引之，十而已；又以左手據權，右手引右足趾，十而已。

Pulling knee pain. If the right knee is in pain, press against a tree with your left hand, swinging the right leg to the inside. Stop after one thousand times. If the left knee is in pain, press against a tree with the right hand and vigorously swing the left leg. Stop after one thousand times. Hook your left hand over your left toes, and pull them back. Stop after ten times. Again, press against a tree with your left hand and pull the right toes with your right hand. Stop after ten times.²⁴

²³ *Zhangjiashan 247 hao hanmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu* 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組, *Zhangjiashan hanmu zhujian: Yinshu* 張家山漢墓竹簡引書 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002). Most excavated texts from this period have no titles other than those given by modern editors. For the study and translation of *Yinshu*, see Vivienne Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture on Early Chinese Medical Theory*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of London, 1998) and *How to do the Gibbon Walk: A Translation of the Pulling Book* (Cambridge: NRI, 2014) – Open access at <http://www.nri.cam.ac.uk/yinshu.html>

²⁴ *Yinshu*, strip no. 45 and 46.

There are various definitions and understandings of *daoyin* in different contexts at different historical times. For example, Li Yi 李颐, a commentator on *Zhuangzi* in the time of the Jin dynasty (265–420 CE), explains *daoyin* as ‘guiding the *qi* to make it harmonious; pulling the body to make it supple’ (*daoqi linghe, yinti lingrou* 導氣令和, 引體令柔).²⁵ This, perhaps the best-known definition, is frequently quoted. The compilers of *Bingyuan* defined *daoyin* as follows:

引之者，引此舊身內惡邪伏氣，隨引而出，故名導引。

To pull is to pull the pernicious and deviant *qi* hidden in the ageing body and in response to this pulling, the [deviant *qi*] is drawn out; thus giving the name *daoyin*.²⁶

By deviant *qi* is meant invading agents, ranging from ethereal entities such as ghosts and spirits to natural phenomena such as wind and cold.²⁷ These ‘intruders’ can pose a serious threat to the health and well-being of a person. In *Bingyuan*, *daoyin* is more about pulling deviant *qi* out of the body than making the body supple.

Wang Bing 王冰 (710–804 CE), a Tang physician famous for his commentary on *Suwen* 素問 (Basic Questions), a compilation of the Yellow Emperor’s corpus compiled around the turn of the first millennia, understood *daoyin* as ‘shaking sinews and bones and moving joints’ (*yao jinggu, dong zhijie* 搖筋骨，

²⁵ From Li Yi’s commentary of *Zhuangzi*, ch.15 *Keyi*, p. 132.

²⁶ From *Bingyuan*, j.27 in *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu* 諸病源候論校注, ed. by Ding Guangdi 丁光迪 and Ni Hexian 倪和憲 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1991), p. 766.

²⁷ See Vivienne Lo and Sylvia Schroer, ‘Deviant Airs in “Traditional” Chinese Medicine’ in *Asian medicine and globalization*, ed. by Joseph S. Alter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 45–66.

動支節).²⁸ Hui Lin 慧琳 (737–820), a Tang Buddhist monk, writes,

凡人自摩自捏，伸縮手足，除勞去煩，名為導引。

People massage and pinch themselves, stretch and contract their limbs in order to eliminate exhaustion and get rid of vexation. This is called *daoyin*.²⁹

These various definitions in ancient texts give us some idea of how *daoyin* was understood. They also illustrate different *daoyin* techniques, including stretching and contracting the body and limbs, moving the *qi* and self-massage. Moving the *qi* often involves breathing techniques, contemplation and visualisation.³⁰

Catherine Despeux defines *daoyin* as ‘a set of gymnastic techniques aimed to let *qi* properly circulate, expel pathogenic *qi*, heal certain diseases, keep old age away, and nourish life (*yangsheng*).’³¹ Using the term ‘gymnastics’ to describe *daoyin* runs the risk of associating the practice more with its modern meaning of physical agility and coordination rather than traditions of healing or self-cultivation. John Dudgeon (1837–1901), one of the Christian missionaries who introduced *daoyin* to Europe in the 19th century, described it as ‘Daoist medical gymnastics’, limiting the tradition to a religious context.³² Other modern scholars such as Henri Maspero and Joseph Needham also use the

²⁸ From Wang Bing’s commentary of *Suwen*, j.12 in *Huangdi neijing suwen yishi* 黃帝內經素問譯釋 ed. by Nanjing Zhongyiyao daxue 南京中醫藥大學 (Taipei: Wenguang tushu, 2011), p. 107.

²⁹ From *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義, T54, no.2128, j.18, p. 419a19.

³⁰ Examples of different techniques of *daoyin* from *Bingyuan* can be found in 4.8 *Daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*.

³¹ Catherine Despeux, ‘*daoyin* 導引 "guiding and pulling"; gymnastics’ in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 334.

³² See John Dudgeon, *Kung-Fu, or Taoist Medical Gymnastics*, Vol. 1 (Library of Alexandria, 1885).

term 'gymnastics', or sometimes 'calisthenics', to describe *daoyin*.³³ In around 1826, Calisthenics, borrowed from Greek, became an English word meaning 'exercises designed to improve physical fitness (and, especially originally, also grace of movement).'³⁴ Livia Kohn prefers the term 'healing exercises' and defines *daoyin* as 'a physical exercise practice that purports to drive all evil out of the body.'³⁵ Kohn's definition, as explained in her book *Chinese healing exercises: the tradition of daoyin*, refers to that found in *Bingyuan*.³⁶

These various definitions illustrate how *daoyin* can be understood in different ways according to cultural, religious and medical contexts. Whilst the aims may differ and the techniques vary, *daoyin* is essentially a therapeutic technique which, by working on the *qi* of the body, improves mobility, health and well-being. Its preventative and curative aspects help us to understand how *daoyin* can be used in different circumstances according to individual and community priorities.

1.2.2 *Anmo* 按摩

Anmo has been closely related to *daoyin*. Yet its modern connotations can differ considerably from how it was used and understood historically.

According to *Shuowen jiezi*, *an* 按 means 'down' and the radical of the

³³ Henri Maspero, 'Method of 'Nourishing the Vital Principle' in the ancient Taoist Religion', in *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981); Joseph Needham, with the collaboration of Lu Gwei-djen, 'Hygiene and preventative medicine' in *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. VI, Biology and Biological Technology, Part 6: Medicine, ed. with an introduction by Nathan Sivin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Rpt. 2004), pp. 67–94.

³⁴ 'calisthenic, adj. and n.', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), www.oed.com/view/Entry/26448 [Date Accessed 1 March 2018].

³⁵ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, pp. 11–12.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 12.

character suggests a movement of pushing down with a hand or hands.³⁷ *Mo* 摩 is ‘to grind’, or ‘to rub’.³⁸ Thus *anmo* is often understood as massage, an action of rubbing with a hand or hands in a downward movement. However, during the Sui and Tang periods, *anmo* was used as a synonym for *daoyin*, and the two terms were often interchangeable. In fact, most historical texts containing instructions for *anmo* techniques, are essentially *daoyin* exercises with self-massage as an important component. This is reflected in the name of the department in the imperial medical education institution during the Sui and Tang periods, where *daoyin* exercises were taught - the department of *anmo*. In *Sun Simiao’s* 孫思邈 ‘Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold’ (*Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方) Sun describes a set of 18 *daoyin* exercises as ‘the *anmo* technique from India and the Brahmans’ method’ and a set of 49 *daoyin* exercises as ‘the *anmo* method of Laozi’.³⁹ The Tang historian, Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679–732 CE), in his commentary on the Records of the Grand Historian (*shiji* 史記), the first dynastic history completed by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145 or 135–86 BCE), entitled ‘Seeking the Obscure in the Records of the Grand Historians’ (*Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱), explained the term *qiaoyin* 橋引, another term for *daoyin*, as a ‘method of *anmo*, in which one raises and stretches one’s body like a bear turning its head or a bird stretching’ (*anmo zhifa*, *yaojiao yinshen*, *ru xiongnu niaoshen ye* 按摩之法，天橋引身，如熊顧鳥伸也).⁴⁰ These examples demonstrate that the term *anmo* was used to denote *daoyin* exercise.

³⁷ *Shuowen jiezi*, j.13, p. 7845.

³⁸ *Shuowen jiezi*, j.13, p. 7969.

³⁹ *Qianjin yaofang*, j.27 (Taipei: Zhongguo yiyao yanjiusuo, 1990), pp 481–3.

⁴⁰ *Shiji suoyin*, j. 24 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), p. 45.

The use of the term *anmo* to describe *daoyin* predates the Sui and Tang periods, and can be seen, for example, in the following set of *daoyin* exercises, frequently cited in Daoist texts such as *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the perfected), a 6th century Daoist text of the *Shangqing* 上清 (Highest Clarity) school:

大洞真經精景案摩篇曰：臥起當平炁正坐。先叉兩手，乃度以掩項後。因仰面視上。舉項使項與兩手爭，爲之三四止；使人精和血通，風氣不入。能久行之，不死不病。

The *Dadong zhenjing jingjing anmopian* (Great Cavern Scripture Chapter of Essential Visions and *Anmo*) says: ‘When you get up in the morning, sit up straight, breathing evenly. First, lock your hands together and place them behind your neck. Next, lift your face and look up, pressing your hands firmly against your neck while raising your head upwards. Do this three or four times and then stop. This harmonises essence, increases blood flow, and prevents wind *qi* from entering. Practised over a long period of time; it will keep you free from disease and death.’⁴¹

The reference to freeing oneself from death and disease introduces the themes of longevity and immortality, which had long been interwoven into *daoyin*-related texts.⁴²

Yangxing yanming lu 養性延命錄 (Records of Cultivating Nature and Extending Life), a synoptic text on *yangsheng* self-cultivation practices, compiled during the Tang period, has a chapter entitled ‘*daoyin* and *anmo*’

⁴¹ *Zhengao*, j.9.3b1–4.

⁴² Further discussion on the theme of immortality and longevities in relation to *daoyin* can be found in 2.2.4 *Xian* 仙 (Transcendents).

which gives instructions for several *daoyin* exercises similar to the one quoted above. Some of these exercises are combined with self-massage techniques, including warming the eyes (*yunyan* 熨眼), rubbing the ears (*nuoer* 掬耳), massaging the face (*momian* 摩面), massaging the body (*ganyu* 乾浴), massaging the abdomen (*mofu* 摩腹) and combing the hair (*shutou* 梳頭).⁴³ Such techniques figure frequently in *daoyin*, so much so that *anmo*, which originally meant rubbing and pressing down with hands, became a proxy for *daoyin*.

Although there is often an assumption that *anmo* refers to massage done by someone else, especially in a therapeutic, medical context, this was generally not the case in medieval China. It was not until the Ming dynasty (1368 – 1644 CE) that the term *tuina* 推拿 (pushing and grasping) was introduced to describe the specifically external manipulation of massage, often applied to the pediatric massage of children (*xiaoyer tuina* 小兒推拿).⁴⁴

1.2.3 *Qigong* 氣功

Qigong, literally ‘skills of *qi*’ or ‘work on *qi*’, is a modern term encompassing a wide variety of practices to improve personal health and well-being. A western understanding of the term is reflected in The Oxford English Dictionary which defines it as ‘a Chinese system of physical exercises and breathing control

⁴³ *Yangxing yanming lu*, j.5.

⁴⁴ Wang Xianbin 王先濱, *Zhongguo gudai tuina anmoshi yanjiu* 中国古代推拿按摩史研究, PhD Dissertation (Heilongjian University of Chinese Medical, 2009).

related to tai chi.⁴⁵ The term '*qigong*' is first found in a Daoist text entitled *Taishang lingbao jingming zongjiao lu* 太上靈寶淨明宗教錄 (Records of Pure and Bright Sect of the Most High, in the Lingbao Tradition) compiled during the Qing period (1636–1912).⁴⁶ It was refashioned by a modern physician, Dr. Liu Guizhen 刘贵珍 (1920–1983), who established the first '*qigong*' hospital in China in 1956 and subsequently wrote a book entitled *Qigong liaofa shijian* 气功疗法实践 (The Practice of *Qigong* Therapy).⁴⁷ Dr. Liu considered *qigong*, with its three thousand year history, to be part of China's cultural heritage, defining it as, 'a health practice aimed to cultivate the original *qi* (*yuanqi* 元氣) of the body.'⁴⁸ His work was initially supported by the Chinese government and the practice of *qigong* became popular in China to the extent that a so-called '*qigong* fever' swept the country during the 1980s and 1990s.⁴⁹

Livia Kohn sees *qigong* as 'a Communist adaptation of ancient practices for public health that developed into a mass movement, supported the quest for supernatural powers, and eventually grew into religious cults.'⁵⁰ Some of these groups, such as *Falungong* 法輪功 (Dharma Wheel Practice) have attracted millions of followers all over the world, potentially posing a threat to state control, and have consequently been banned from operating in China. Thus, *qigong* has become a highly politically charged term.

⁴⁵ '*qigong*' in *Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. by Angus Stevenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 1449.

⁴⁶ Hu Zhiwen 胡之玟 and Hu Shixin 胡士信 eds., *Jingming zongjiao lu* 淨明宗教錄 (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2009).

⁴⁷ Liu Guizhen 刘贵珍, *Qigong liaofa shijian* 气功疗法实践 (Hebei: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1957).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 3–6.

⁴⁹ See David A. Palmer, *Qigong Fever: Body, Science, and Utopia in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

⁵⁰ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 198.

Several modern historians have argued that various exercises under the rubric of *qigong* take on vastly different political and cultural meanings in the context of socialism, globalisation and political resistance.⁵¹ While it is certainly possible to trace elements of these exercises from the Warring States to the People's Republic of China, the experiences and contexts are entirely different. Yet, many publications on the history of *daoyin*, particularly from mainland China, use the term *qigongshi* 氣功史 (The History of *Qigong*) to describe a long tradition of therapeutic exercise, and often trace the origin of *qigong* to the pre-historical period.⁵²

1.2.4 *Yangsheng* 養生

There is a widespread misconception, particularly in the west, that *yangsheng* is inherently Daoist. The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions defines *yangsheng* as 'Taoist practices, especially through breathing and directing the breath (*ch'i*) to prolong life and attain immortality.'⁵³ The term 'daoist' creates confusion and ambiguity because there is no consensus about what it actually means, to the extent that anything to do with China is assumed to be Daoist.⁵⁴ In fact, the term *yangsheng* has meant different things in different historical contexts to different people; some of whom are not Daoists in any sense of

⁵¹ Some of the literature on this topic include Elisabeth Hsu, *The Transmission of Chinese Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Nancy N. Chen, *Breathing Spaces: Qigong, Psychiatry, and Healing in China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); David Palmer, *Qigong Fever: Body, Science, and Utopia in China* (Columbia University Press, 2007); Livia Kohn, 'Daoyin Today' in *Chinese Healing Exercises*, pp. 198–232.

⁵² See 1.3.1.2 In the Chinese language.

⁵³ John Bowker, 'Yang-sheng', in *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 1054.

⁵⁴ Nathan Sivin, 'On the Word "Taoist" as a Source of Perplexity. With Special Reference to the Relations of Science and Religion in Traditional China', *History of Religions*, 17.3/4 (1978), 303–30.

the word. When Mencius was recorded as giving advice on the art of government to King Hui of Liang 梁惠王 (re. ca. 370–319 BCE), the third ruler of the state of Wei during the Warring States period, he used the term *yangsheng* to describe how rulers should ensure the livelihood of people so that they have sufficient means to ‘care for the living’:

穀與魚鼈不可勝食、材木不可勝用、是使民養生喪死無憾也、養生喪死無憾、王道之始也。

When there is more grain, more fish and turtles than can be eaten, and more wood than can be used, the people will **nourish the living** and mourn the dead without resentment. **Nourishing the living** and mourning the dead without resentment is the beginning of the road to true kingship.⁵⁵

Xunzi 荀子, a third century BCE philosophical work attributed to another influential Warring States thinker Xun Kuang 荀況 (c. 310–c. 235 BCE), often associated with Confucian tradition, recommends the inclusion of ritual principles and trustworthiness as part of the cultivation of one’s *qi*:

扁善之度，以治氣養生，則後彭祖；以脩身自名，則配堯禹。宜於時通，利以處窮，禮信是也。

If you employ the measure of excellence in every circumstance to control the vital breath and nourish life, your lifespan will approach that of Patriarch Peng. If you use it to cultivate your character and to strengthen yourself, you will establish a reputation equal to that of Yao or Yu. It is suitable to living in the time of success and beneficial when dwelling in impoverished circumstances. This measure is ritual principles and being trustworthy.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Mencius*, j.1, in *Chongkan Songben Shisanjing zhushu fujiao kanji* 重刊宋本十三經注疏附校勘記, ed. by Yuan Ruan 阮元, Zhu Hualin 朱華臨 *et al.* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), p. 10; tr. by A. Charles Muller (Open access at <http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/mencius.html>)

⁵⁶ *Xunzi*, j.2, in *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, ed. by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), pp. 21–22.

The authors of *Xunzi* understood *yangsheng* as a means of extending one's life span to that of Pengzu, a legendary figure known for his longevity through the practice of *daoyin* and sexual techniques.⁵⁷ However, their advocacy of ritual principles (*li* 禮) and trustworthiness (*xin* 信) has little to do with breathing or *daoyin* exercises, both often associated with seekers of longevity.

In *Zhuangzi*, *yangsheng* is neither about caring for others nor cultivating one's *qi* to achieve longevity, but about attaining a spiritual state of heightened awareness which is in harmony with *dao* 道. Zhuangzi's⁵⁸ understanding of *yangsheng* is encapsulated in the aforementioned story of the cook, who says:

臣之所好者道也，進乎技矣。。。雖然，每至於族，吾見其難為，怵然為戒，視為止，行為遲。動刀甚微，謦然已解，如土委地。

What I care about is the Way, which goes beyond skill...However, whenever I come to a complicated place, I size up the difficulties, tell myself to watch out and be careful, keep my eyes on what I'm doing, work very slowly, and move the knife with the greatest subtlety, until — flop! the whole thing comes apart like a clod of earth crumbling to the ground.⁵⁹

This much-quoted story, recorded in the chapter entitled *Yangsheng zhu* 養生主 (Mastery in Nourishing Life), vividly demonstrates Zhuangzi's concept of *yangsheng*, which is about patterning oneself to Dao in all human activity,

⁵⁷ See Yoshinobu Sakade, 'Pengzu 彭祖 Ancestor Peng', in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 790–1.

⁵⁸ *Yangsheng zhu* is one of the seven 'Inner Chapters' which have been considered to be the actual work of Zhuangzi himself. See H. D. Roth, 'Chuang tzu' in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* ([Berkeley, Calif.]: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), pp. 56–66.

⁵⁹ *Zhuangzi*, j.3, p. 115.

even when butchering oxen.

Such an understanding of *yangsheng* resonates in *Huainanzi* 淮南子 (Writing of the Prince of Huainan), a collection of essays written and compiled under the patronage of Liu An 劉安 (?179–122 BCE), a grandson of the Han dynasty's founder, Liu Bang 劉邦 (256–195 BCE). The writers of *Huainanzi* acknowledge the idea of *yangsheng* as a way of self-cultivation but regard 'nourishing the spirit' (*yangshen* 養神) to be of primary importance in a time of moral crisis when disparity of wealth was allowing those with leisure to indulge themselves:

治身，太上養神，其次養形。。。神清意平，百節皆寧，養生之本也，肥肌膚，充腹腸，供嗜欲，養生之末也。

To cultivate the body, it is best to nourish the spirit; second best is to nourish the form. With a clear spirit and a poised will, the hundred joints will be in a peaceful state. This is the root of *yangsheng*. To fatten the muscles and skin, to fill the abdomen and intestines, and to satisfy the wonted desires are the antithesis of *yangsheng*.⁶⁰

Yet another understanding of *yangsheng*, which differs from the ideas expressed in *Zhuangzi* and *Huainanzi*, comes from the writers of the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 (The Inner canon of the Yellow Emperor ca. first century BCE), the oldest received classic of medical theory. They define *yangsheng* as being in harmony with the seasons and emphasise the importance of a daily regimen which accords with the *qi* of the natural cycles:

三月，此謂發陳。天地俱生，萬物以榮，夜臥早起，廣步於庭，被髮緩形，以使志生，生而勿殺，予而勿奪，賞而勿罰，此春氣之應，養生之

⁶⁰ *Huainanzi*, j.20, p. 679.

道也。

The three months of spring, they denote effusion and spreading. Heaven and earth together generate life; the myriad beings flourish. Go to rest at night and rise early. Move through the courtyard with long strides. Dishevel the hair and relax the physical appearance, thereby causing the mind [to orient itself on] life. Give life and do not kill. Give and do not take. Reward and do not punish. This is in correspondence with the *qi* of spring and it is the Way to nourish life.⁶¹

Its physical focus and emphasis on patterning one's life style to nature's cycle is an important feature of *Neijing*. The same idea can be found in *Yinshu*:

春產，夏長，秋收，冬藏，此彭祖之道也。

In the spring generate, in the summer grow, in the autumn harvest, in the winter preserve, this is the way of Pengzu.⁶²

The text goes on to describe the kind of regimen one should follow according to the season. This type of physical cultivation is far from the kind of *yangsheng* to which the writers of *Zhuangzi* and *Huainanzi* aspired.

Excavated texts, found in *Mawangdui* 馬王堆 and *Zhangjiashan* 張家山 Han tombs around 200 BCE, contain descriptions of many similar bodily practices, particularly in relation to sexual hygiene, breathing exercises and *daoyin*. Yet the concept of *yangsheng* as an accepted category of bodily practice, with commonly understood techniques and objectives, was not yet established in the Warring States, Qin and Han periods but was a much later textual rubric.

Ji Kang 嵇康 (223–262 CE) was an original thinker of the Three Kingdoms

⁶¹ *Suwen*, j.2, p. 13; tr. Paul U. Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic—Basic Questions*, 2 Volumes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 45–6.

⁶² *Yinshu*, strip, no.1.

period (220–280 CE) who reportedly lived the lifestyle of a free spirit, but was executed during a time of political turmoil. His understanding of *yangsheng* encompasses nourishment of both ‘form’ (*yangxing* 養形), and spirit (*yangshen* 養神), as outlined in his *Yangsheng lun* 養生論 (On Nourishing Life):

是以君子知形恃神以立，神須形以存，悟生理之易失，知一過之害生。故修性以保神，安心以全身，愛憎不棲於情，憂喜不留於意，泊然無感，而體氣和平，又呼吸吐納，服食養身，使形神相親，表裏俱濟也。

Therefore the Gentleman knows that the form relies on the spirit to stand and the spirit needs the form to exist: [he] understands that the principle of life is easily lost and that a single mistake can injure life. Therefore he cultivates his nature to protect his spirit and calms his mind to keep his body intact. Love and hate do not dwell in his feelings; anguish and delight do not stay in his thoughts. Quiet is he and unmoved, his body and breath harmonious and still. Moreover, he exhales and inhales, ingests food to nourish his body, causing form and spirit to draw together, benefitting interior and exterior alike.⁶³

During the Eastern Jin period (317–420 CE), Zhang Zhan 張湛 (fl. 350–400 CE), an aristocrat of northern descent, compiled a text entitled *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集 (Compendium of Essentials on Nourishing Life) citing many bodily practices from various sources. Unlike Ji Kang’s largely philosophical and theoretical *Yangsheng lun*, Zhang Zhan’s *Yangsheng yaoji* gives instructions for specific *yangsheng* techniques which are divided into 10 categories:

1. Conserving spirits (*seshen* 齎神)
2. Cherishing *qi* (*aiqi* 愛氣)

⁶³ Tr. Robert G. Henricks, *Philosophy and Argumentation in Third-Century China: The Essays of Hsi K'ang* (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 24.

3. Nourishing the form (*yangxing* 養形)
4. Therapeutic exercise (*daoyin* 導引)
5. Use of language (*yanyü* 言語)
6. Food and drink (*yinshi* 飲食)
7. Sexual techniques (*fangshi* 房室)
8. Rejecting worldly pursuits (*fangsu* 反俗)
9. Medicine and drugs (*yiya* 醫藥)
10. Interdictions and Prohibitions (*jinji* 禁忌)⁶⁴

Yangsheng yaoji clearly views bodily practices such as *daoyin* and sexual techniques as essential elements of *yangsheng* practice. By the fourth century, the association of *yangsheng* with bodily self-cultivation practices would have been well established.

The modern perception of *yangsheng* becomes increasingly eclectic, and ‘encompasses just about everything one can do to improve one’s health, including what tonic to take, what to eat and drink, how to take care of one’s body, how to relate to time and space, and how to relate to other people and the environment.’⁶⁵ In modern Beijing, for example, *yangsheng* has turned into ‘ten thousand things’ of ‘self-help’ for the newly-wealthy urban middle classes in their quest for health and happiness.⁶⁶ Compared with the *Qigong* fever of the 1980s and 1990s, *Yangsheng*, the latest fad, attracts far more sophisticated commercial packaging and much less political entanglement.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ See Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, pp. 64–6; Stephan Stein, *Zwischen Heil Und Heilung: Zur Frühen Tradition Des Yangsheng in China* (Uelzen: Medizinisch-Literarische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999).

⁶⁵ Wanning Sun, ‘Mediatization of *yangsheng*’, in *Lifestyle Media in Asia: Consumption, Aspiration and Identity*, ed. by Fran Martin and Tania Lewis (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 67.

⁶⁶ See Judith Farquhar and Qicheng Zhang, *Ten thousand things: Nurturing life in contemporary Beijing* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2012).

⁶⁷ See David Dear, ‘Chinese Yangsheng: self-help and self-image’, *Asian Medicine* 7.1 (2012), 1–33.

1.3 Literature review

The literature review is the historiographical part of this research and is divided into four main themes:

1.3.1 *Daoyin*

1.3.2 The state and medicine in medieval China

1.3.3 The institutional history of the Sui dynasty

1.3.4 *Bingyuan*

Although the focus of this thesis is on the development of *daoyin* in 7th century China, the first part of the literature review looks at works by modern scholars focusing on the broader theme of *yangsheng* practices, which often include *daoyin*, in the early and medieval periods. I will first introduce works in European and Japanese languages, but mainly in English, and then discuss works in Chinese. The reason for such a division is that works in European and Japanese languages had little impact on works by Chinese scholars written in Chinese, and vice versa, a situation which began to change only in recent years. Therefore, their perspectives and narratives on the historical development of *daoyin* differ widely. By separating them, their differences become clear.

I will then look at works by modern scholars on the relationship between the state and medicine in medieval China. Very few scholars have investigated this area. A literature review of the institutional history of the Sui will throw light on their reforms. This is crucial for the understanding of how *daoyin* became

institutionalised in this period. Finally, I will look at work by modern scholars on *Bingyuan*, the central text of this research, and, in particular, works that focus on *daoyin* within this text.

1.3.1 *Daoyin*

1.3.1.1 In European and Japanese languages

The Jesuits were the first Europeans to write about *daoyin* in western languages, as far back as the 18th century. Pierre-Martial Cibot (1727–1780), a French Jesuit missionary in ‘Pekin’ during the reign of the Qianlong 乾隆 Emperor (1711–1799), was perhaps one of the first Europeans to bring the knowledge of *daoyin*, identified as ‘Cong-Fou’ (i.e. Kung-fu), to the west. The paper ‘Notice du Cong-fou des Bonzes Tao-sée’ in his ‘Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences les arts, les moeurs, les usages, etc., des Chinois: par les missionnaires de Pékin’, published in 1779, presents breathing exercises and *daoyin* with illustrations (Fig 1.1).⁶⁸ Needham believes this seminal work to have ‘almost certainly influenced the Swedish founder of the modern phase of the art, Per Hendrik Ling’.⁶⁹ Per Hendrik Ling (1776–1839) a Swedish medical gymnastic practitioner and advocate of physical exercise as a medical cure, founded the Central Gymnastic Institute of Stockholm in 1813. His theory and practice laid the foundation for the physical education that we know today. The possible link between *daoyin* and modern gymnastics is an

⁶⁸ Pierre-Martial Cibot, ‘Notice du Cong-fou des Bonzes Tao-see’, in *Mémoires concernant l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les Usages, etc., des Chinois. Par les Missionnaires de Pékin* (Paris, 1779), pp. 441–51.

⁶⁹ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 170.

exciting one but requires further investigation in order to establish concrete evidence. Cibot's paper was influential, as the idea of 'Taoist gymnastics' began to take root in the west.

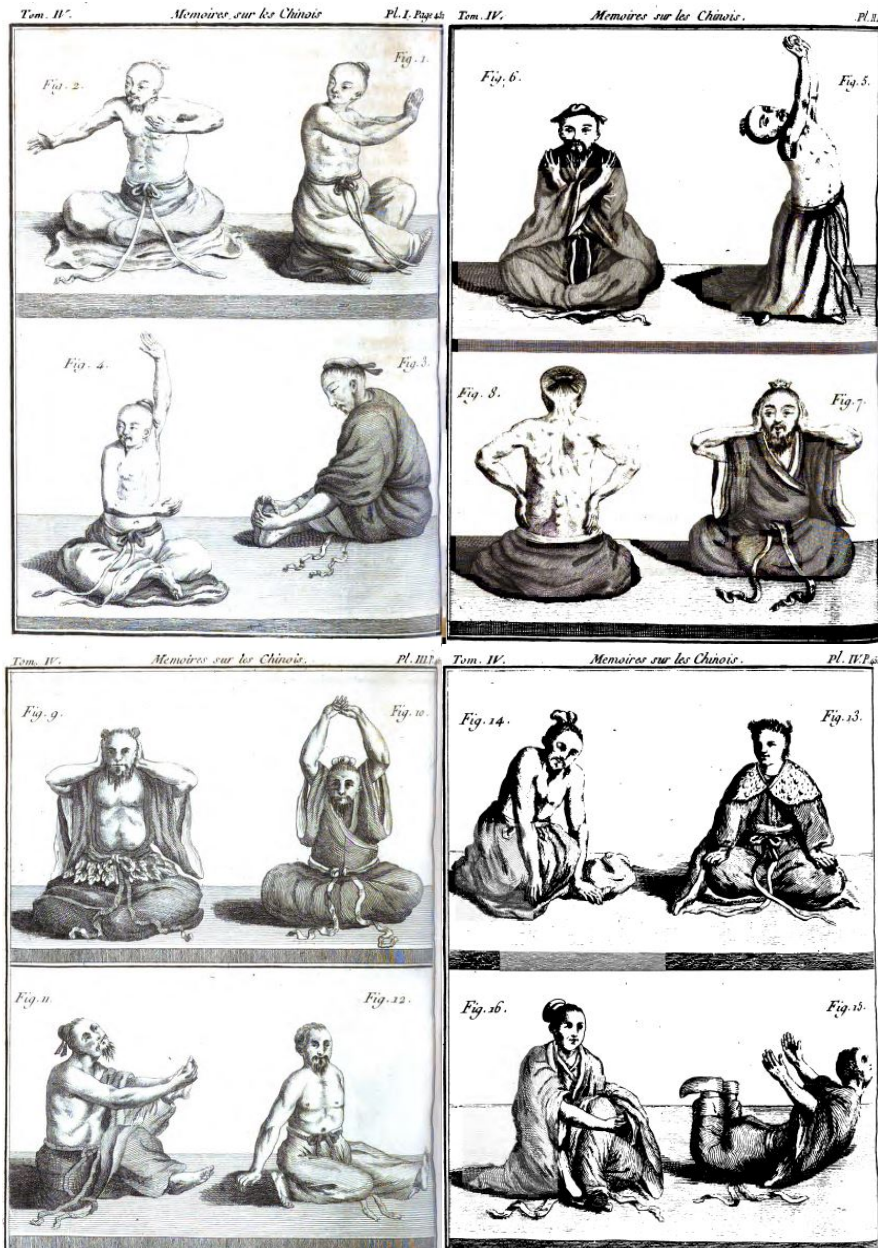


Figure 1. 1 Illustrations from Notice du Cong-fou des Bonzes Tao-sée by Pierre-Martial Cibot, 1779

John Dudgeon (1837–1901) was a Scottish physician who served as a missionary doctor in China for nearly forty years. He was appalled by the opium trade, initiated by the British government, which devastated China in

many ways, not least the health of its people. While treating patients, he was drawn to the wisdom of ancient Chinese *yangsheng* practices, and translated excerpts from texts, one such being *Zunsheng baqian* 遵生八箋 (Eight Treatises on Following the Principles of Life) by Ming scholar Gao Lian 高濂 (1573 – 1620), which he translated into English in 1895. His 'Kung Fu, Or Taoist Medical Gymnastics' includes sections on methods of breathing, and *daoyin* exercises.⁷⁰ Following Cibot's terminology, Dudgeon also uses the term 'Kung-fu',⁷¹ although spelt differently, to describe the art of *daoyin* in China. Like Cibot, he attributes this art to 'the Taoists' who were 'the priests of the religion or system of rationalism of Lau-tse (500 B.C.), [and who] have always been the chief practitioners of this form of Medical Gymnastics.'⁷² Both Cibot and Dudgeon introduced *daoyin* to their western readers as a part of Daoist tradition and practices. Thus, the assumption that *daoyin* was 'Daoist' had already begun to germinate and was reinforced by numerous modern European scholars who were fascinated by the Daoist tradition of China.

Known for his pioneering work on Daoism, Henri Maspero (1883–1945) is one of the first sinologists to introduce *yangsheng* practices in the Daoist context to western scholarly circles. His early treatise on Daoist self-cultivation techniques, 'Methods of 'Nourishing the Vital Principle' in the Ancient Taoist Religion', was first published in 1937. He dedicated a section to the practice of *daoyin*, referring to it as 'Taoist gymnastics'. A posthumous compilation of his

⁷⁰ John Dudgeon, *Kung-Fu, or Taoist Medical Gymnastics* (Library of Alexandria, 1885).

⁷¹ The modern western understanding of the term *Kung fu* often relates to Chinese martial arts made popular by actors such as Bruce Lee (1940–1973) in the 70's.

⁷² Dudgeon, *Kung-Fu, or Taoist Medical Gymnastics*, 'Introduction'.

work, *Le Taoïsme et les religions chinoises*, was published in 1971, and later translated into English by Frank A. Kierman in 1981 under the title *Taoism and Chinese Religion*. The aforementioned article was included in the English compilation.⁷³

For his study, Maspero translated several sets of *daoyin* exercises, including ‘Ch’ih-sung-tzu’s gymnastic method’ (*Chisongzi daoyin fa* 赤松子導引法), ‘P’eng-tsu’s gymnastic method’ (*Pengzu daoyin fa* 彭祖導引法), ‘Chung-li’s gymnastic method’ (*Zhongli daoyin fa* 鍾離導引法), and ‘Master Ning’s gymnastic method’ (*Ningxiansheng daoyin fa* 寧先生導引法) from texts such as *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 (Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel, DZ 1032), *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life, DZ 818), and *Xiuzhen shishu* 修真十書 (Ten Books on the Cultivation of Perfection, DZ 263), found in the Daoist Canon, edited in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) (Fig. 1.2). Maspero’s translations do not attempt to be faithful to the original texts, as he deliberately discards sentences which he finds either ‘unnecessary’ or ‘repetitive’. For example, when translating the ‘P’eng-tsu’s gymnastic method’, he says in his notes:

Each of the exercises ends with the phrase: “Do five respirations and stop”, which I find it useless to repeat every time. There are then indications of the results of each exercise, like those of Ch’ih-sung-tzu’s method.⁷⁴

⁷³ Henri Maspero, ‘Method of ‘Nourishing the Vital Principle’ in the ancient Taoist Religion’ in *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), pp. 431–554.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 546.

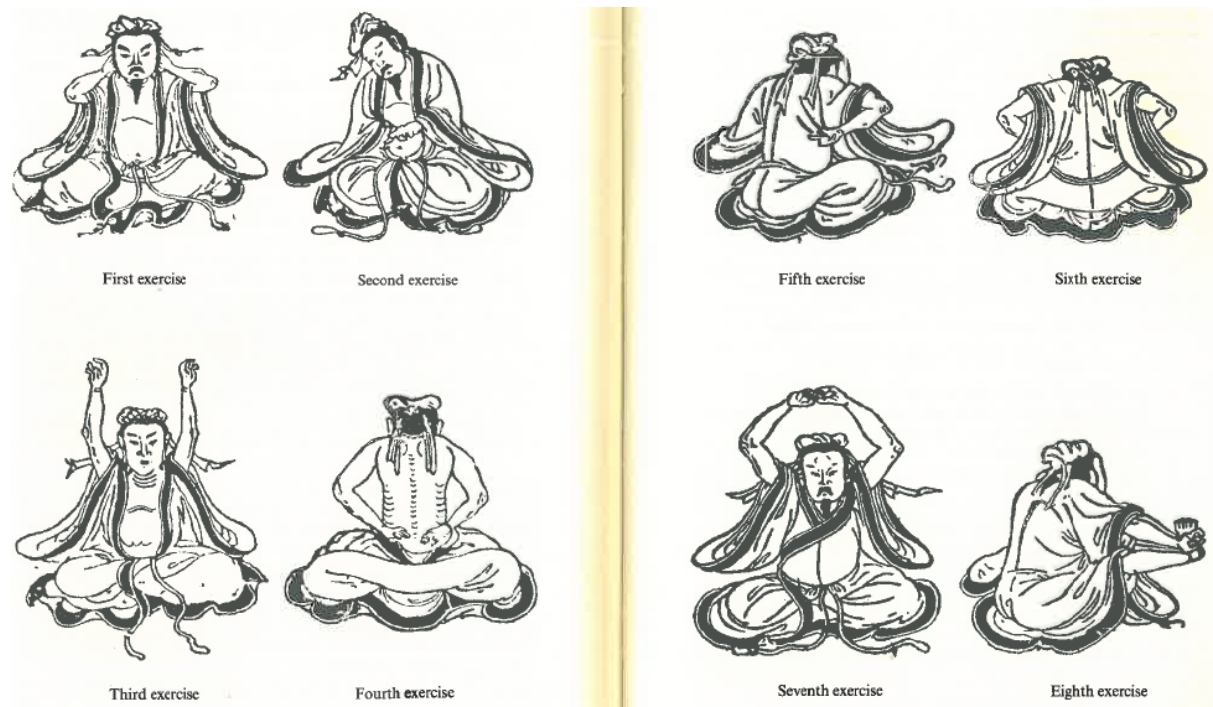


Figure 1. 2 Illustrations from *Methods of 'Nourishing the Vital Principle' in the Ancient Taoist Religion*, 1937

In spite of conscious exclusion and several translation errors, Maspero conveys a flavour of various *daoyin* exercises which, according to him, were already being practised by Daoists during the Han period and the Six Dynasties (222–589 CE). Among other self-cultivation techniques practised by Daoists, Maspero mentions embryonic respiration, the holding and expelling of breath, the absorption of Sun breaths, abstinence from grains and other dietary regimens, prayers, clacking of the teeth, meditation, exercises of inward vision, magical formulas, the use of talismans and so on. He tells us that 'if we were to imagine the life of a fervent Taoist in the time of the Han and the Six Dynasties, we should have to think of such ensembles as wholes, rather than as separate practices following one another'.⁷⁵ However, it is almost certain that Daoists in the Han period differed considerably from those

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 552.

who identified as Daoists during the period of the Six Dynasties. As long as there is disagreement among scholars as to whether somebody can be referred to as a Daoist before the establishment of organised Daoist communities such as the *Tianshi dao* 天師道 (Way of the Celestial Masters) during the second century CE, the term 'Daoist' remains highly ambiguous and, at times, misleading. Nevertheless, Maspero's work has inspired many western scholars to explore the field of *yangsheng* practices, particularly within the Daoist tradition.

Although focusing more on Chinese medicine and religion than on the history of *yangsheng* practices, Nathan Sivin published his first monograph on Chinese Alchemy as early as 1968.⁷⁶ His seminal paper, 'On the Word 'Daoist' as a source of Perplexity', published in 1978, raised concerns about the vagueness of the term and how other phenomena have been mistakenly associated with it.⁷⁷ For example, Sivin explains that 'the issue is not whether *hsien* immortality or breath disciplines had Taoist connotations in the minds of certain Chinese, but whether such beliefs and practices reliably signal Taoist influence.'⁷⁸ His advice to be specific about how the term is applied in each particular context has been a guiding light throughout this research, particularly since *yangsheng* practices, including *daoyin*, were introduced to the western world predominantly through the writings of Daoist or pro-Daoist

⁷⁶ Nathan Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁷⁷ Nathan Sivin, 'On the Word "Taoist" as a Source of Perplexity. With Special Reference to the Relations of Science and Religion in Traditional China', *History of Religions* 17, no. 3/4 (1978), 303–30. See also Gil Raz *The emergence of Daoism: Creation of tradition* (New York: Routledge, 2012) and Russell Kirkland, 'The Taoism of the Western Imagination and the Taoism of China: De-colonializing the Exotic Teachings of the East', *Presented at the University of Tennessee* (1997).

⁷⁸ Sivin, *On the Word "Taoist"*, p. 319.

scholars. Sivin asserts that ‘there is every reason to believe that, even before the first Taoist sect originated, and right up to the mid-twentieth century, immortality and breath control were taken seriously by numerous people in every segment of Chinese society.’⁷⁹

In 1976, as academic study of the Daoist tradition continued to grow, Daoist scholar Kristofer Schipper created a research team for the study of the *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign, printed in 1444–1445) and the *Xu daoze* 續道藏 (Supplement to the Daoist Canon, dat. 1607).⁸⁰ Nearly 30 scholars were involved in this monumental project of cataloguing, analysing and writing brief descriptions of roughly 1500 texts from these two sources. In the three-volume Companion finally published in 2004, there are many *daoyin*-related texts found in part 1: Eastern Zhou to Six Dynasties under the category of *Yangsheng* and in part 2: Sui, Tang and Five Dynasties under the categories of *Yangsheng* and Respiratory techniques. Several scholars such as Catherine Despeux, Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, Jean Levi and Kristofer Schipper himself, contributed to these particular sections of the project. This epoch-making project has made an invaluable contribution to the study of Daoist tradition with its multifaceted features and practices.

In the same year that Kristofer Schipper launched ‘The Tao-Tsang Project’, French sinologist Catherine Despeux published her study on *Taiji quan* 太極拳

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ *The Taoist canon: A Historical Companion to the Daoze* ed. by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

describing it as a technique both of extending one's life and of combat.⁸¹ Despeux traces its origin to the 19th century and, in particular, to the Wu school created by Wou Ken-ts'iu'an/Wu Jianquan 吳鑿泉 (1870–1942). Despeux also recognised that *Taiji quan* was heavily influenced by the physical practices of the Buddhist Shaolin monks and Daoist practitioners at Mount Wu-Dang 武當山, who passed down their techniques of bodily movement from generation to generation.

In 1979, Despeux published a French translation of a treatise on internal alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) written by late 19th century Daoist master Zhao Bichen 趙避塵 (1860–1942), entitled *Weisheng shenglixue mingzhi* 衛生生理學明指 (Traité d'alchimie et de physiologie taoïste/Clear Explanations on Physiology and Hygiene).⁸² Zhao Bichen integrated his knowledge of western science, particularly medicine and anatomy, into his work. The text introduces various meditative practices with elements of breathing, and *daoyin* exercises which were practised in the *Wuliu* sect 伍柳派, an eclectic Daoist school founded around 1644, drawing on Buddhist and Daoist practices as well as ideas from Confucianism. Despeux's translation is one of the earliest publications in French on Daoist Inner Alchemy.

In the same year, another French scholar, Isabelle Robinet (1932–2000) published 'Méditation Taoïste', the first scholarly study on the meditation

⁸¹ Catherine Despeux, *Taiki K'iu'an: Technique de Combat, Technique de Longue Vie* (Paris: Institute des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1976).

⁸² Catherine Despeux, *Traité D'alchimie et de Physiologie Taoïste = Weisheng shenglixue mingzhi* (Paris: Les Deux océans, 1979).

techniques of the *Maoshan* 茅山 (also known as *Shangqing*) school.⁸³ The many techniques practised by the *Shangqing* Daoist practitioners included meditation on ‘preserving the one’ (*shou-1* 守一), where one visualised (*cun* 存) coloured lights in the organs of the body or imagined those organs to be the dwelling places of various gods.⁸⁴ Practitioners also visited other realms through practices of visualisation, incantation or performing ecstatic dance steps emulating the ‘Steps of Yu’ (*yubu* 禹步).⁸⁵ Robinet explained that whilst many *Maoshan* practices were visually and ‘mentally’ orientated, instructions were also given for ‘auxiliary and preparatory exercises’ such as respiratory exercises, clacking the teeth and swallowing saliva, massage and hand positions.⁸⁶ Thus, *daoyin* would have been performed by the *Shangqing* practitioners as preliminary techniques to help them develop a heightened concentration in order to experience the inner spiritual world and beyond.

During the eighties, several works on *yangsheng* appeared, championed by pro-Daoist scholar Joseph Needham (1900–1995) and by Daoist scholars such as Yoshinobu Sakade and Livia Kohn. Some of their writings explicitly or implicitly suggest that *yangsheng* techniques, such as breathing exercises and *daoyin*, are intrinsically Daoist.

In 1983, Joseph Needham, one of the world’s most celebrated sinologists, published ‘Physical Alchemy’, part of his magnum opus ‘Science and

⁸³ Isabelle Robinet, *Méditation Taoïste* (Paris: Dervy livres, 1979); Translated into English as *Taoist Meditation: The Mao-shan Tradition of Great Purity* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–38.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 171–225.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–8.

Civilisation in China', a series of books begun in 1954.⁸⁷ The section 'Gymnastics, massage and physio-therapeutic exercise' is dedicated to the history of *daoyin* which, he stresses, forms an important part of the techniques of physiological alchemy. However, Needham's seemingly limited understanding of *daoyin* leads to some erroneous conclusions. He says,

The expression *tao yin* [*daoyin* in Wade-Giles Romanisation system] has often been taken by sinologists as meaning all macrobiotic gymnastics, but this is rather loose and inexact, for what it really came to designate is that part of them which involves self-massage. Massage done by a second person has always been called *anmo*.... The more all-embracing and colloquial term for gymnastic and physical exercises was *kung fu*, 'the results of (meritorious) work', or alternatively *nei kung* 'interior achievement'.⁸⁸

Needham's interpretation of *daoyin* as 'self-massage' is incomplete, and his interpretation of *anmo* lacks historical justification. In not a single historical source from the early and medieval periods are the terms *kung fu* 功夫 and *nei kung* 内功 referred to as *daoyin*.

Needham tends to ascribe a Daoist character to the origins and manifestations of Chinese science and technology.⁸⁹ When describing the images of *Daoyin tu* 導引圖, a chart of 44 figures in different postures depicting various *daoyin* exercises from the Mawangdui Han tomb (closed

⁸⁷ Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology: Part V: Spagyric Discovery and Invention: Physiological Alchemy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 154–78.

⁸⁹ See Nathan Sivin, 'Taoism and Science', in *Medicine, philosophy and religion in ancient China: researches and reflections* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), pp. 303–30.

168 BCE), he readily assigned the term 'Taoist calisthenics' to them.⁹⁰ For Needham, physiological alchemy in China is synonymous with Daoist physiological alchemy.

In his work on the history of Chinese Medicine, published posthumously in 1999, Needham calls *daoyin* 'physiotherapy and medical gymnastics', stating that, 'ancient Chinese medicine was closely associated with the beliefs of the philosophers who may broadly be termed Taoist' and that 'various forms of gymnastics, special sexual practices, fasting and abstinence, and meditative visualisations involving the forces of Nature and the gods' are Daoist techniques.⁹¹

Among his many works on *yangsheng*, Yoshinobu Sakade published two articles specifically on the history of *daoyin*, examining relevant sources of excavated documents and received literature from the Han to the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1912) periods.⁹² In his 1986 paper in particular, most of the primary sources on *daoyin* are listed, helpfully, in chronological order. However, Sakade is also convinced that anything connected with *yangsheng* belongs to Daoism. In his article 'The Taoist Character of the 'Chapter on Nourishing Life' of the *Ishinpō*', published in 1986, Sakade argues that 'the arts of nourishing life, such as gymnastics, breathing. etc, were integrated not only into Taoism as a method of physical and spiritual cultivation, but also into

⁹⁰ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 5, Part 5, p. 156.

⁹¹ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 6, Part 6, p. 67.

⁹² Yoshinobu Sakade 坂出祥伸, 'Dōin kō' 導引考 in *Ikeda Suetoshi hakushi koki kinen tōyōgaku ronshū* 池田未利博士古稀紀念東洋學論集 (Tokyo: Tōhō gakkai, 1978), pp. 225–40 & 'Dōin no enkaku' 導引の沿革, Published as an appendix to a reprint of Kitamura Toshikatsu 喜多村利且, *Dōin taiyō* 導引体要 (Taniguchi: Taniguchi shoten, 1986). Reprinted in Yoshinobu Sakade, *Dōkyō to yōjō shisō* 道教と養生思想 (Tōkyō: Pelikan Publishing, 1992), pp. 223–54.

Chinese medicine through the medium of Taoism' and concludes that 'all arts of nourishing life found in chapter 27 of the *Ishinpô* are ultimately of Taoist character'.⁹³ His statements, although made with great conviction, are misleading, as I argue throughout this thesis that *yangsheng* practices and *daoyin* exercises were not integrated into early and medieval Chinese medicine through Daoism and that many of the quotations included in chapter 27 of the *Ishinpô* are from non-Daoist texts. The section on *daoyin* in chapter 27 quotes from six different texts: *Yangsheng yaoji* 養生要集, *Taisu jing* 太素經 (Classic of Great Simplicity), *Fuqi daoyin chao* 服氣導引抄 (An Epitome of Ingesting Qi and *Daoyin* exercises), *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold), *Tang Lin jiaoqi lun* 唐臨脚氣論 (Treatise on Tang Lin's Foot Qi), and *Su Jing qiaoqi lun* 蘇敬脚氣論 (Treatise on Su Jing's Foot Qi). None of these texts are Daoist.

Some *daoyin*-related texts do indeed belong to the Daoist tradition. In 1987, German sinologist Ute Engelhardt, published her study on the work of Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735 CE), a patriarch of the *Shangqing* School during the Tang dynasty, entitled *Fuqi jingyi lun* 服氣精義論 (Treatise on the Essential Meaning of the Absorption of qi).⁹⁴ *Fuqi jingyi lun*, one of the key texts on the *yangsheng* practices of the *Shangqing* School, dedicates one chapter to *daoyin*. Unfortunately, Engelhardt's translation does not include much of the *daoyin* section as it is based on the *Yunji qiqian* edition of the

⁹³ Yoshinobu Sakade, 'The Taoist Character of the 'Chapter on Nourishing Life' of the *Ishinpô*', in *Kansai daigaku bungaku ronshû* 関西大學文學論集 36.2 (1986), 775–98 (790).

⁹⁴ Ute Engelhardt, *Die klassische Tradition der Qi-Übungen: Eine Darstellung anhand des Tang-zeitlichen Textes Fuqi jingyi lun von Sima Chengzhen*. Miiinchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 44 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1987).

text, which omits certain passages.

In 1988, Despeux translated a 16th century text entitled *Chifeng Sui* 赤鳳髓 (Marrow of the Red Phoenix), a practical manual on *daoyin*, by Ming literati and prolific writer, Zhou Lüjing 周履靖 (1549–1640).⁹⁵ The text contains many *daoyin* exercises including ‘The Five Animal Mimes’, ‘The Eight Brocades’ and ‘The Six Breaths’, all of which are still practised today in their different variations. Despeux believes the author Zhou Lüjing to have been ‘un lettré Taoïste’. He was certainly knowledgeable about *yangsheng* practices and *daoyin* exercises.

In 1989, the ground-breaking volume ‘Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques’ was published, incorporating many significant works by scholars who had been working on the theme of *yangsheng*, such as Yoshinobu Sakade’s ‘Longevity techniques in Japan’, Ute Engelhardt’s ‘Qi for Life: Longevity in the Tang’, Isabelle Robinet’s ‘Visualization and Ecstatic Flight in *Shangqing* Taoism’ and Kunio Miura’s ‘The Revival of Qi: Qigong in Contemporary China’. A less misleading title for the book might have been ‘Taoist Meditation and the Chinese traditional longevity technique’, a phrase which appears in the editor’s preface.⁹⁶ Much of the work is relevant to the history of *daoyin*, in particular the chapter ‘Gymnastics: the Ancient Tradition’, written by Catherine Despeux.⁹⁷ Despeux asserts that all texts from between

⁹⁵ Catherine Despeux and Lüjing Zhou, *La Moelle du Phénix Rouge: Santé et Longue Vie dans la Chine du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Guy Trédaniel, 1988).

⁹⁶ Livia Kohn and Yoshinobu Sakade eds., *Taoist meditation and longevity techniques*. No. 61 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989).

⁹⁷ Catherine Despeux, ‘Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition’ in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, ed. by Livia Kohn and Yoshinobu Sakade (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese

the Han and Tang periods dealing with *daoyin* were transmitted through the Daoist Canon, edited in the Ming dynasty, the exceptions being ‘*Daoyin tu*’ and ‘*Yinshu*’, both of which had recently been excavated from Han tombs, and *Bingyuan*.⁹⁸ Her statement highlights the general tendency to assume the Daoist nature of any texts found in the Daoist Canon and, as a result, to characterise *daoyin* as inherently Daoist. The exceptions she mentions are key to the present analysis since they are direct evidence of the non-Daoist nature of *daoyin*.

Despeux convincingly traces the roots of *daoyin* to the ancient shamanic technique of ecstasy, citing ancient masters who were renowned for their expertise in *daoyin* and their links to shamanism, known as *wu* 巫.⁹⁹ She pays special attention to *Bingyuan* which contains extensive material on *daoyin*. Unfortunately, such non-Daoist sources on *daoyin* having been ‘buried’ among the more prevalent Daoist sources or within books focusing on the Daoist tradition are often overlooked by other authors. Despeux identifies the quotations from *yangsheng fang* 養生方 (The *yangsheng* recipes) in *Bingyuan* as being more or less identical to those in the *Yangsheng yaoji*, a lost 4th century *yangsheng* text attributed to Zhang Zhan with fragments extant in other, later, texts. She believes that ‘among the various sources on gymnastics between the Han and Tang dynasties, the *Yangsheng yaoji* occupies a central position.’¹⁰⁰ Yet, almost all *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan* come not from *yangsheng fang*, but from a source entitled *yangsheng fang*

Studies, University of Michigan, 1989), pp. 223–61.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 226.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 237–240. See also 2.2.3 *Wu*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 237.

daoyin fa 養生方導引法 (The *Yangsheng* Recipes and the *Daoyin* Methods), and almost none of the quotations on the *daoyin* exercises from *yangsheng fang daoyin fa* can be found in the fragments of *Yangsheng yaoji*.

During the 1990s, works on the history of *yangsheng* began to shift from Daoist to non-Daoist perspectives and sources. In particular, excavated materials from the Han tombs threw light on another category of practitioners who practised *daoyin* and other *yangsheng* techniques in order to extend their life span and enjoy their worldly pleasures. This was the Han nobility, who had the time and money to engage in such practices. They were certainly not Daoists, nor did they learn these techniques from Daoists. Yet, even without the additional support of excavated Han manuscripts, some scholars had already begun to cast doubt on the portrayal of *yangsheng* techniques as being fundamentally Daoist.

In her 1996 MA thesis, 'The Chapter on 'Nourishing Inner Nature' in Sun Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang*', Elena Valussi argues that 'Sun Simao was not at all writing a Taoist section to his medical compendium, but rather, referring to very well-known and widely spread practices in his own time, practices that had a long tradition in the Chinese history of healing and that were probably available and used by the majority of people.'¹⁰¹ Her argument resonates with that made by Sivin nearly two decades previously and with the findings in this present research. Valussi stresses that,

The fact that similar practices were performed by Taoists and

¹⁰¹ Elena Valussi, *The Chapter on 'Nourishing Inner Nature' in Sun Simiao's Qianjin yaofang*, M.A. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies (London, 1996), p. 2.

suggested by physicians in their works does not necessarily mean that there had been a heavy influence of Taoism on Chinese medicine, but rather that a common Chinese tradition of exercises of self-cultivation and self-healing had been developed and used in different ways and for different purposes, eventually coming to have different meanings.¹⁰²

In 1997, Donald Harper published a complete translation of the medical manuscripts excavated from the Mawangdui 馬王堆 Han tomb, including the famous *Daoyin tu*.¹⁰³ Harper's in-depth introduction, together with his meticulous translation and commentaries, gives an amazing insight into the extent of medical knowledge and bodily practices available to the literate elites of that period. Harper preferred the term 'macrobiotic hygiene' to 'yangsheng' to describe the type of bodily practices available to these Han nobles, noting that 'All of the material on macrobiotic hygiene belongs to a medical tradition of yangsheng 養生 (nurturing life), but neither this term nor several related terms in received literature occur in the manuscripts.'¹⁰⁴ According to Harper, these excavated manuscripts would have been part of the 'fang-literature' which contains the knowledge and techniques of the fangshi 方士 (Masters of Formulas) who were specialists in 'natural philosophy and occult knowledge'.¹⁰⁵ These tomb manuscripts resemble the literature in the *Shushu* 數術 (Calculations and arts) and *Fangji* 方技 (Recipes and techniques) divisions of the bibliographic treatise of the Han, the *Hanshu*

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁰³ Donald J. Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, pp. 50–2.

yiwenzhi 漢書藝文志.¹⁰⁶ Harper also objects to the assumption that bodily self-cultivation practices must be Daoist or belong to Daoism:

The scholarly convention is to treat the complex ideas associated with both macrobiotic hygiene and the belief in *xian* as aspects of a belief system loosely called Daoist....The Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan macrobiotic hygiene texts are evidence enough that macrobiotic hygiene did not originate in so-called Daoist philosophy....In short, efforts to understand the development of ideas concerning macrobiotic hygiene and the *xian* cult are not well served by a too easy use of the label Daoism.¹⁰⁷

In 1998, Vivienne Lo completed her PhD thesis 'The Influence of *Yangsheng* Culture on Early Chinese Medical Theory', and produced the first ever English translation of two excavated medical texts from another Han tomb located in *Zhangjiashan* 張家山 (closed 186 BCE).¹⁰⁸ One of the manuscripts, *Yinshu*, is the first extant text focusing solely on *daoyin*.¹⁰⁹ Lo's main argument is that fundamental aspects of early Chinese medical theory derive from *yangsheng* practices, which were a significant feature of daily life in the elite society of the early Han period. Based on her dissertation, Lo published several articles on the influence of self-cultivation practices, and in particular *daoyin*, on the development of the channel theory which was based on 'experienced' symptoms rather than signs of illness, in effect tracking routes of pain.¹¹⁰ Both

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 8 & 52.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 114 n.1.

¹⁰⁸ Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture*.

¹⁰⁹ Lo, *How to do the Gibbon Walk*.

¹¹⁰ Vivienne Lo, 'Tracking the Pain: Jue a, b, c and the Formation of a Theory of Circulating Qi through the Channels', *Sudhoffs Archiv* (1999), 191–211; 'The Influence of Western Han Nurturing Life on the Development of Acumoxa Therapy', in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. by Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 19–51; 'On the Nature and Purpose of Early Chinese Medical Writing: a Study of the Structure of Zhangjiashan 張家山 Yinshu 引書', in *The Medical View of Chinese History*, ed. by J. Li,

Lo and Harper's works have shed light on a whole range of practices from early Chinese medicine represented in tomb literature, including breathing exercises and *daoyin*, diet, sexual techniques, and drug recipes.

In 1999, Harold Roth published a complete translation, together with commentary, of a collection of philosophical verses entitled *Neiye* 内業 (Inward Training) from *Guanzi* 管子, one of the largest early political and philosophical texts, named after a chancellor and reformer of the State of Qi, Guan Zhong 管仲 (d. 645 BCE), but compiled in its present form in around 26 BCE by the Han dynasty scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE).¹¹¹ Roth asserts that the authors of *Neiye* practise breathing meditation at 'depths not normally attained by daily practitioners of breathing for health and longevity with whom they shared aspects of technical terminology and worldview.'¹¹² Roth categorises the textual sources of what he calls 'early Taoism' into three types: Individual, Primitivist, and Syncretist and suggests that 'these three groupings of texts reflect actual aspects or phases in the evolution of early Taoism.'¹¹³ Roth also asserts that *Neiye* can be best understood as 'the earliest extant statement of the one common mystical practice that ties together the three phases of early Taoism, including the texts heretofore regarded as the sole foundations of this tradition, the Lao Tzu and the Chuang Tzu.'¹¹⁴

(Lianjing Press: Academica Sinica, 2008), pp. 29–43.

¹¹¹ Harold David Roth, *Original Tao: Inward Training (Nei-Yeh) and the Foundations of Taoist Mysticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Whilst slotting ancient sources neatly into three modern categories is problematic, to project such groupings as a reality for the development of so-called 'early Taoism' would be misleading, as there is no evidence to suggest such an evolution. Roth readily quotes Robinet's understanding of *yangsheng* of that period that says,

Yangsheng...the art of 'nourishing the vital principle'...consists of adopting a way of life ruled by physico-mental hygienic principles. This is not specifically a Taoist art and derives from ancient Chinese practices; Taoists adopted, developed, and modified them...Even when they seem to be eclipsed by new tendencies, the rules of the art remain a foundation of all Taoist practices in all eras.¹¹⁵

Despite Robinet's explanation of a non-Daoist origin for many Daoist practices, Roth believes that 'the very origins of the distinctly Taoist version of the central practice are in *Inward Training*.'¹¹⁶

Also in 1999, Stephen Stein published his PhD dissertation 'Zwischen Heil und Heilung: Zur Frühen Tradition Des Yangsheng in China' with the aim of reconstructing the lost fourth century text of *Yangsheng Yaoji*.¹¹⁷ Stein identifies many of the quotations from the *yangsheng fang* 養生方 (*yangsheng* recipes) in *Bingyuan* as similar to those found in *Yangsheng yaoji*, suggesting that they are quoting from a common source. It is important to note that *Yangsheng yaoji* itself is an anthology, composed of quotations from other sources. However, Stein found no quotations from the *Yangsheng fang daoyin*

¹¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 122–3.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Stephan Stein, *Zwischen Heil Und Heilung: Zur Frühen Tradition Des Yangsheng in China* (Uelzen: ML Verlag, 1999).

fa in *Bingyuan*, from which nearly all the *daoyin* exercises come, in *Yangsheng yaoji*. Therefore, the *Yangsheng fang daoyin fa* and *Yangsheng yaoji* share almost no common source material.

In 2000, Livia Kohn edited 'Daoism Handbook', an authoritative guide to the Daoist tradition, with contributions from thirty scholars, including Ute Engelhardt, who contributed the chapter 'Longevity Techniques and Chinese Medicine'.¹¹⁸ Engelhardt observes that 'In Daoism, longevity techniques reach their peak, while also continuing to develop in the medical tradition. Over the course of history, the two traditions have maintained a fruitful and stimulating exchange.'¹¹⁹ When discussing *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, Engelhardt, in accordance with Despeux's belief, reinforces her opinion that 'the text introduces its instructions on longevity practices under the heading "Gymnastic Methods of the *yangsheng fang*". Many of these can be traced back to earlier texts, such as the *Daoyin yangsheng jing* 導引養生經 (Scripture of Gymnastics and Longevity, DZ 818).'¹²⁰ My view, argued in 4.9.2, is that the 'gymnastic methods', i.e. *daoyin* in *Bingyuan* do not quote directly from *Daoyin yangsheng jing*, but rather that there was a pool of *daoyin* sources from which both the compilers of *Daoyin yangsheng jing* and *Bingyuan* drew.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ute Engelhardt, 'Longevity Techniques and Chinese Medicine', in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. by Livia Kohn (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), pp. 74–108.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹²¹ See 4.9.2 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*.

In 2006, Wang Shumin 王淑民 and Penelope Barrett published an article on the history of animal 'impersonation' exercises, a distinctive form of *daoyin* from the pre-Qin period (221–206 BCE) to the present day.¹²² They identify 9 of the 44 images of the *Daoyin tu* as representing forms imitating the movement of animals or insects, and discuss various other forms, such as the Six Animal Frolics (*Liuqin xi* 六禽戲) from *Huainanzi* in the second century BCE, the Five Animal Mimes (*Wuqin xi* 五禽戲) of Hua Tuo 華佗 (140 – 203 CE) and the Eight Animal Mimes (*Baqin xi* 八禽戲) documented in a Qing (1644 – 1911 CE) text.¹²³ They note that a modern version of the Five Animal Mimes has become 'one of just four methods of *qigong* for health recommended by the Health Qigong Administration Centre under the General Administration of Sport of China.'¹²⁴ This article is an important contribution to the historiography of *daoyin*.

Also in 2006, Livia Kohn edited 'Daoist Body Cultivation: Traditional Models and Contemporary Practices'. This book is divided into eight chapters, each chapter introducing a particular bodily practice, including acupuncture, breathing techniques, diets and fasting, *daoyin*, sexual practices, *Qigong*, and *Taiji quan*.¹²⁵ While the epithet 'Daoist' has certain market traction, it is evident that these practices come from a much broader cultural milieu, being Daoist neither in origin nor in essence. For example, the first chapter, written by Lonny Jarrett from his own practice as an acupuncturist, discusses

¹²² Wang Shumin and Penelope Barrett, 'Profile of a Daoyin Tradition: the 'Five Animal Mimes'', *Asian Medicine*. 2.2 (2006), pp. 225–53.

¹²³ Ibid. See also 2.3.2 *Fangshi*.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 250.

¹²⁵ Livia Kohn, *Daoist Body Cultivation: Traditional Models and Contemporary Practices* (Magdalena, NM: Three Pines Press, 2006).

acupuncture and its potential to trigger spiritual realisation.¹²⁶ There is nothing in his writing which can be described as Daoist body cultivation apart from his own conviction. In his review of this book, Stephen Eskildsen remarks that 'it tends to mislead less-informed readers in regard to the content and nature of Daoism as taught and practised in China in premodern times.'¹²⁷ In the chapter written by Kohn herself, 'Yoga and *Daoyin*', she compares two Eastern bodily systems – Indian yoga and Chinese *daoyin* – from their philosophical, historical, social and technical perspectives, and concludes that 'given the enormous differences in historical origins, fundamental worldview, and applied techniques, it is safe to conclude that Yoga and *Daoyin* are indeed two radically different systems of body cultivation.'¹²⁸ For Kohn, *daoyin* comes from the domain of the aristocracy and upper classes and aims to alleviate disease and physical discomfort, whereas yoga grew out of an ascetic tradition of detaching oneself from worldly pursuits.¹²⁹ A chapter contributed by Catherine Despeux, 'The Six Healing Breaths', explores variations of a particular breathing technique found in medical, Daoist and Buddhist literature.¹³⁰

In 2006, Michael Stanley–Baker produced his Master's dissertation on *Yangxing Yanming lu*, an eclectic work citing over thirty different sources from

¹²⁶ Lonny Jarrett, 'Acupuncture and Spiritual Realization', in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, pp. 19–36.

¹²⁷ Stephen Eskildsen, 'Daoist Body Cultivation: Traditional Models and Contemporary Practices—Edited by Livia Kohn', *Religious Studies Review* 34, no. 3 (2008), 230–1.

¹²⁸ Livia Kohn, 'Yoga and Daoyin' in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, p. 146.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 130–6.

¹³⁰ Catherine Despeux, 'The Six Healing Breaths' in *Taoist Body Cultivation*, pp. 37–67.

the Han to the Jin (265–420 CE) and beyond.¹³¹ One of its six *juan* (scrolls), entitled ‘*daoyin* and *anmo*’, contains a number of *daoyin* instructions and various techniques of self-massage. Stanley–Baker argues that the text was written during the Tang period by an unknown author between 650 and 763, refuting the traditional attribution of authorship to Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456 – 546 CE), the first official patriarch of the *Shangqing* School or Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (560?–682?), an eminent Tang physician.¹³² More importantly, Stanley–Baker asserts that *Yangxing yanming lu* is ‘not a religious Daoist text, and by some criteria, not really Daoist at all.’¹³³ His dissertation also includes a translation of the ‘*daoyin* and *anmo*’ chapter from *Yangxing yanming lu*.

In 2008, Livia Kohn published the first monograph exclusively on the history of *daoyin* in a western language entitled *Chinese Healing Exercises: The Tradition of Daoyin*,¹³⁴ marking an important milestone in the historiography of *daoyin*. She presents the development of *daoyin* in historical sequence, from early medical manuscripts of the Han to modern *qiqong*. Kohn chooses the terms ‘longevity techniques’ and ‘healing exercises’ to describe *yangsheng* and *daoyin* respectively. The book presents a preliminary history of the longevity tradition as seen through the lens of healing exercises. In her introduction, Kohn states explicitly that ‘the longevity tradition neither forms

¹³¹ Michael Stanley-Baker, *Cultivating Body, Cultivating Self: A Critical Translation and History of the Tang Dynasty Yangxing yanming lu* 養性延命錄 (Records of Cultivating Nature and Extending Life), M.A. thesis (Indiana University, 2006).

¹³² Zheng Canshan 鄭燦山 argues that *Yangxing yanming lu* was written by Sun Simiao. Zheng Canshan, ‘Yangxing yanming lu zuozhe xinkao 養性延命錄作者新考’ in *Liuchao suitang daojiao wenxian yanjiu* 六朝隋唐道教文獻研究 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 2009), pp. 163-184.

¹³³ Stanley-Baker, *Cultivating Body, Cultivating Self*, p. 46 and n.83.

¹³⁴ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*; Kohn also published an article which was adapted from the book a year earlier. See Livia Kohn, ‘Daoyin: Chinese Healing Exercises’, *Asian Medicine*, 3.1 (2007), 103–29.

part of mainstream Chinese medicine nor is it originally or even essentially Daoist.’¹³⁵ It is clear that Kohn acknowledges neither *yangsheng* nor *daoyin* as being inherently Daoist. However, her statement that the longevity tradition existed apart from mainstream Chinese medicine is not completely accurate. Nearly all the *yangsheng* texts in the bibliographies of the imperial libraries of the Han, Sui and Tang are listed under the divisions of medical literature, arguably a reflection of physicians’ conceptions of medicine and medical literature during those periods.¹³⁶ Furthermore, this dissertation draws attention to the importance of these bodily practices within the medical institution of the Sui, positioning *daoyin* at the heart of its state medical system.

Livia Kohn’s further monograph on *yangsheng*, published in 2012, ‘A Source Book in Chinese Longevity’, contains translations of some key texts on longevity practice from the 4th century BCE to the late Qing period.¹³⁷ The book offers material on specific practices such as diet, self-massage, breathing exercises and *daoyin*. In the chapter dedicated to *daoyin*, Kohn focuses mainly on *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, which she discusses in great detail.¹³⁸ In the same year, Kohn’s chapter in the edited volume, ‘*Daoyin Among the Daoists: Physical Practice and Immortal Transformation in Highest Clarity*’, describes how *daoyin* began as part of a traditional Chinese medicine

¹³⁵ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 10.

¹³⁶ I share with Harper’s idea that all the texts listed under the four subsections of the *Fangji* in *Hanshu yiwenzhi* were medical texts not just the ones under the *Yijing* 醫經 (Physicians’ Canons) subsection. See Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 6–8; for the division of medical literature in the *Suishu* bibliographic treatise, see 3.4 The Medical texts in *Suishu jingji zhi* 隋書經籍志.

¹³⁷ Livia Kohn, *A Source Book in Chinese Longevity* (St. Petersburg, Fla: Three Pines Press, 2012).

¹³⁸ For more discussion on *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, see 4.9.2.

and was practised by people on all levels of Chinese society, becoming, from the 4th century, part of the Daoist practice within the newly arising *Shangqing* School.¹³⁹ While it is true that practitioners of the *Shangqing* Daoist sect adopted *daoyin* as part of their daily cultivation regime for spiritual and religious aims, the transmission of *daoyin* did not occur only in Daoist circles. Anyone who aspired to *yangsheng* practices could perform *daoyin* whilst having different motivations from Daoists.¹⁴⁰

We have seen that from as early as the 18th century, when the Jesuits introduced *daoyin* to Western readers, the idea of *daoyin* being Daoist was evoked. The misconception that *daoyin* belongs wholly to the Daoist tradition persists today. Yet, Daoists, whoever they were, did not invent these therapeutic exercises, nor were they the only people to practise them. Daoists incorporated comprehensive collections of manuscripts, including many *daoyin*-related texts, into the Daoist canon. Yet, material on *daoyin* can also be found in the medical literature, which contains an abundance of *yangsheng* texts. One of the aims of this research is to highlight the various strands within the *daoyin* tradition and in particular to draw attention to *daoyin* in a medical context.

Modern Japanese scholars, on the other hand, have the advantage of following a long tradition of Japanese writing on *yangsheng* and *daoyin*. From as early as the seventh century, *yangsheng* and *daoyin*-related texts had been introduced into Japan. Some were quoted in the *Ishinpō* 醫心方

¹³⁹ Kohn, *Daoyin Among the Daoists*, p. 114.

¹⁴⁰ See 2.3 Therapeutic exercise during the Six Dynasties (220–589 CE).

(Essential Medical Methods), the oldest extant Japanese medical text compiled by Tamba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 (912–995).¹⁴¹ Several works on *daoyin* were published in Japan during the *Edo* 江戸 era (1603–1868), including Hayashi Masakatsu’s 林正旦 *Dōin taiyō* 導引體要 (The Essentials of *Daoyin*) in 1648, Ōkubo Dōko’s 大久保道古 *Kokon dōin shū* 古今導引集 (Collection of Ancient and Modern *Daoyin*) in 1707 (Fig.1.3), Miyawaki Chūsoku’s 宮脅仲策 *Dōin kōketsu jo* 導引口訣鈔 (Book of Mnemonic Instructions on *Daoyin*) in 1713 and Kitamura Toshikatsu’s 喜多村利且 *Dōin taiyō furoku* 導引體要補論 (Supplemented Essential Formulas of *Daoyin*) in 1713.¹⁴²



Figure 1. 3 Illustrations from *Kokon dōin shū* 古今導引集 (Collection of Ancient and Modern *Daoyin*), 1707

¹⁴¹ *Ishinpō*, j. 27–9, pp. 563–619.

¹⁴² For a brief history of Chinese *yangsheng* techniques in Japan, see Yoshinobu Sakade, ‘Longevity techniques in Japan: Ancient Sources and Contemporary Studies’ in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, ed. by Livia Kohn and Yoshinobu Sakade (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1989), pp. 1–40.

The first significant contributions on *daoyin* in modern Japan were made in the 1930's, when works such as Ishihara Yasuhide's 石原保秀 (1877–1943) 'Kōkan igaku oyobi dōin no shiteki kōsatsu 皇漢醫學及導引の史的考察 (Studies on the History of Chinese Medicine and *Daoyin*) were published.¹⁴³ According to Yoshinobu Sakade, although limited in scope, these books were nevertheless significant milestones in Japanese scholarship on *yangsheng* and *daoyin*.¹⁴⁴ Apart from the two aforementioned articles on the history of *daoyin* written by Yoshinobu Sakade himself,¹⁴⁵ more recent works on *daoyin* in Japanese include:

Masao Hayashima 早島正雄, *Tōyō igaku tsūshi* 東洋医学通史: 漢方・針灸・導引医学の史的考察 (Tōkyō: Shizensha, 1979)

Sadakatsu Oguro 大黒貞勝, *Dō-in* 導引: 不老長生の仙術 (Entapuraizu, 1980)

Toshikatsu Kitamura 喜田村利且, Yoshinobu Sakade, and Kazuhiko Kobayashi 小林和彦, *Dōin taiyō* 導引體要 (Tōkyō: Taniguchi Shoten, 1986)¹⁴⁶

There also exist several books for a wider Japanese readership on the applications of *daoyin*, including:

Nishizawa Michimasa 西沢道允, *Yoga to dōin no kenkōhō: Byōki wa jiriki de naoru* ヨガと導引の健康法: 病気は自力でなおる (Tōkyō: Kubo Shoten, 1961)

Masao Hayashima 早島正雄, *Ki de boke nai dōinjutsu* 気でボケない導引術 (Tōkyō: Ginga Shuppan, 1993)

¹⁴³ Yasuhide Ishihara, *Kōkan Igaku Oyobi Dōin No Shiteki Kōsatsu* (Tōkyō: Hōmeidō Shoten, 1933).

¹⁴⁴ Sakade, *Longevity Techniques in Japan*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁵ See footnote 94.

¹⁴⁶ Another work by Sakade on *daoyin* entitled 'Kaisetsu dōin no enkaku 解釋導引の沿革' is also included in *Dōin taiyō* 導引體要, pp. 1–41.

Takatsu Kazuo 高津一夫, *Dōin to Iu Iyashi: Tsukurareta tōri ni ikiru tame no* 「導引」という癒し: 創られた通りに生きるための (Tōkyō: Tamashuppan, 1998)

Yanagida Kinshū 柳田錦秀, *Chūgoku Dōin Seitai Kyōshitsu: Jiko shindanhō to byōki No Yobōhen* 中国導引整体教室: 「自己診断法と病気の予防」編 (Tōkyō: Intāwākushuppan, 2004)

Kushi Michio, 久司道夫 and Kazuko Kakimoto 柿本和子, *Dōin: Makurobiotikku kenkōhō: Seishin o kōjōsase kokoro to karada o tsuyokusuru ekusasaizu* 導引: マクロビオティック健康法: 精神を向上させ、心とからだを強くするエクササイズ (Tōkyō: Nichibō Shuppansha, 2007)

1.3.1.2 In the Chinese language

Since the 1980s, many books and articles on the history of *daoyin* have been published in China, most of which were written under the banner of *qigong*, including:

Ma Jiren 马济人, *Zhongguo qigong xue* 中国气功学 (The Study of Chinese Qigong) (Shanxi: Shanxi kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983)

Yue Baofeng 赵宝峰, Tian Hongji 田宏计 and Zhang Tiange 张天戈, *Zhongguo qigong xue gailun* 中国气功学概论 (An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Qigong) (Beijing: Xinghua shudian faxingsuo, 1987)

Zhang Rongming 张荣明, *Zhongguo gudai qigong yu xianqin zhexue* 中国古代气功与先秦哲学 (Chinese Ancient Qigong and the Pre-Qin Philosophies) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1987)

Lin Yagu 林雅谷, *Zhongguo yixue baike quanshu: qigong xue* 中国医学百科全书·气功学 (The Encyclopedia of Chinese Medicine. Qigong) (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu, 1988)

Li Zhiyong 李志庸, *Zhongguo qigong shi* 中国气功史 (The History of Chinese Qigong) (Henan: Henan kexue jishu chubanshe, 1988)

Lin Zhongpeng 林中鹏, *Zhongguo Qigong Xue* 中華氣功學 (A Study on Chinese Qigong) (Beijing: Beijing tiyu xueyuan chubanshe, 1989)

Liu Tianjun 刘天君, *Zhongyi qigong xue* 中医气功学 (The study of Chinese Medical *Qigong*) (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2012)

Qigong is a modern expression, relating to a variety of bodily practice, which is entangled with the political agenda of the Communist party in China. A significant number of primary sources used in the *qigong* literature relate to *daoyin*. Many of these books trace the 'origin' of *qigong* to a pre-historical period. They often begin with a quotation from *Lüshi chunqiu* 吕氏春秋 (Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals, c. 239 BCE) set during the period of Emperor Yao 堯帝, one of the five mythical rulers (*wu di* 五帝) in prehistoric China:

昔陶唐氏之始，陰多滯伏而湛積，水道壅塞，不行其原，民氣鬱闕而滯著，筋骨瑟縮不達，故作為舞而宣導之。

At the beginning of the reign of *Taotang shi*,¹⁴⁷ there was an excess of *yin* which accumulated and stagnated. Water courses were blocked; the water could not return to its origins. The *qi* of the people was depressed and stagnant, their sinews and bones were seized up; they lacked flexibility. Dances were performed to disperse the *qi* and alleviate their problems.¹⁴⁸

Rather than factual information about a historical event which took place around 2000 BCE, this passage is more likely to refer to the political ambitions of the Qin Emperor, Qinshi Huangdi 秦始皇帝 (re. 221–210 BCE) and his desire to legitimise his claim as ruler of Qin China. One of his major projects was the *Dujangyan* 都江堰 (Capital River Dam) irrigation system, which

¹⁴⁷ *Taotang shi* is another name for Emperor Yao 堯帝, who was also called Tang Yao 唐堯 (Yao of the Tang). According to legend, the Emperor ordered Yu to control the flood and later appointed him as ruler of Xia in 2278 BCE. See Endymion P. Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* (Cambridge Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2012), p. 671.

¹⁴⁸ *Lüshi chunqiu*, j.5, p. 284.

facilitated agriculture in the Shu 蜀 area (modern Sichuan 四川) and the subsequent rise of Qin.¹⁴⁹ That an excess of *yin*, resulting in water blockage, was troubling the political power of Yao may simply be an oblique reference to the power invested by the Qin Emperor in water management. Yet, many books and articles on the history of '*qigong*' try to use this as proof of its long history.¹⁵⁰

There is a tendency to categorise *qigong* into different 'schools'. For example, Li Zhiyong divides *qigong* into four schools:

1. School of *Daoyin* (*daoyin pai* 導引派)
2. School of Moving Qi (*xing qi pai* 行氣派)
3. School of Visualisation and Contemplation (*cun si pai* 存思派)
4. School of Inner Alchemy (*nei dan pai* 內丹派)¹⁵¹

Whilst Liu Tianjun 劉天君 classifies *qigong* into the following five groups:

1. Physicians' *Qigong* (*yijia qigong* 醫家氣功)
2. Daoist *Qigong* (*daojia qigong* 道家氣功)
3. Buddhist *Qigong* (*fojia qigong* 佛家氣功)
4. Confucian's *Qigong* (*fojia qigong* 儒家氣功)
5. Martial arts' *Qigong* (*wushu qigong* 武術氣功)¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Mark E. Lewis, *China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 35.

¹⁵⁰ For example, Li Zhiyong 李志庸, *Zhongguo qigong shi* 中國氣功史 (Henan: Henan kexue jishu chubanshe, 1988), p. 6; Wu Zichao 吳志超 & Hu Xiaofei 胡曉飛, *Daoyin jianshen fa jieshuo* 導引健身法解說 (Beijing: Beijing tiyu daxue chubanshe, 1998), p. 9.

¹⁵¹ Li Zhiyong, preface.

¹⁵² Liu Tianjun, *Zhongyi qigong xue*, pp. 13–17.

None of these categories corresponds to any historical reality, but are modern classifications reflecting textual affiliations or bibliographical descriptions.

In recent decades, the term ‘medical *qigong*’ began to gain currency in China, partly owing to the fact that Liu’s *Zhongyi qigong xue* 中医气功学 (Qigong Study in Chinese Medicine) is used as an official text book by many colleges and universities of Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM). In the introduction to the English edition, Liu remarks that,

This unique book is a systematic survey of the history, methods, transformation, and development of ancient Chinese mind-body cultivation skills, or what is currently known as Qigong.¹⁵³

Liu refers to the archaeological discovery of two artifacts dated to the Majiayao 馬家窯 period (3300–2000 BCE), one a basin decorated with black dancing human figures, the other a painted pottery jar depicting a figure whom Liu claims to be either ‘ingesting *qi*’ or doing ‘standing meditation’. The term *qi* was attested several thousand years later,¹⁵⁴ yet, according to Liu, this figure provides ‘evidence for the hypothesis that Chinese Qigong has a history of at least 5000 years.’¹⁵⁵ Liu’s book offers ‘*qigong* therapy’ for a considerable number of modern diseases, such as pulmonary tuberculosis, hypertension, coronary artery disease, peptic ulcers and so on.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Liu Tianjun and Kevin W. Chen, *Chinese Medical Qigong* (London: Singing Dragon, 2010), p3.

¹⁵⁴ The earliest written character for *qi* consisted of three horizontal lines found in oracle bone script of the Shang dynasty (c. 1600–1046 BCE) with its original meaning of vapours gathered to form clouds. See Zhang Yu Huan and Ken Rose, *A Brief History of Qi* (Massachusetts: Paradigm Publications, 2001).

¹⁵⁵ Liu Tianjun and Kevin W. Chen, *Chinese Medical Qigong*, p. 35.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 367–516.

There are numerous books on how to practice *daoyin*, with illustrations or photographs demonstrating different forms and postures.¹⁵⁷ Interpretations of *daoyin* exercises, without textual support, can be fanciful, and exercises are sometimes altered for aesthetic or performance purposes.¹⁵⁸ Such books are aimed largely at modern people who want to keep themselves fit and healthy.

A few authoritative *daoyin*-related books written in Chinese are regularly consulted by Western scholars. For example, Ma Jixing's 马继兴 philological study of medical manuscripts from the Mawangdui Han tomb, Gao Dalun's 高大伦 work on *Yinshu* from the Zhangjiashan Han tomb, and Li Ling's 李零 work on the techniques of *fangshi*.¹⁵⁹ These works represent in-depth studies of the material culture and texts of the late Warring States and early Han periods. They demonstrate a much more detailed picture of *yangsheng* and *daoyin*.

1.3.2 The state and medicine in medieval China

In China, state intervention in medicine took place much earlier than in Europe. Although the institutionalisation of medicine in Europe can be traced

¹⁵⁷ For example, Chen Shou 沈寿, *Daoyin yangsheng tushuo* 导引养生图说 (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1992); Chen Shou 沈寿, *Daoyin yangsheng baifa tupu* 导引养生百法图谱 (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1994).

¹⁵⁸ For example, Guojia tiyu zongju jianshen qigong guanli zhongxin 国家体育总局健身气功管理中心 ed., *Jianshen qigong mawangdui daoyin shu* 健身气功马王堆导引术 (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 2010); Guojia tiyu zongju jianshen qigong guanli zhongxin 国家体育总局健身气功管理中心 ed., *Jianshen qigong dawu* 健身气功大舞 (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 2010).

¹⁵⁹ Ma Jixing 马继兴, *Mawangdui guyishu kaoshi* 马王堆古医书考释 (Changsha: Hunan kexue jishu chubanshe, 1992); Gao Dalun 高大伦, *Zhangjiashan hanjian yinshu yanjiu* 张家山汉简引书研究 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1995); Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中国方术考 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2000) & *Zhongguo fangshu xukao* 中国方术续考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006).

to the medieval period, when a discernable medical school appeared first at Salerno in southern Italy around 1080, it was not until the 19th century that the state began to take responsibility for the health of an emergent industrial society through health regulations, and custody of the insane.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, works related to the state and medicine in Western medical historiography have largely concentrated on the modern period, focusing on various governmental initiatives such as public vaccination, sanitary reforms, the licensing and registration of physicians, and the establishment of national health schemes such as the National Health Service in the UK.

Joseph Needham's and Lu Gwei-Djen's 'China and the Origin of Qualifying Examinations in Medicine' highlights the development in China of a state medical service, and the conception of an imperial university, dating back to the 2nd century BCE, leading to the establishment of professorships and lectureships of medicine in 493 under the Northern Wei (386 –535).¹⁶¹ Needham also suggests a possible link, via Chinese-Arab contacts, between European systems of medical qualifications and examinations, derived from Arabic culture through the School of Salerno, and the Chinese medical examination system.¹⁶²

Fan Ka-wai has investigated the interactions between the state and medicine

¹⁶⁰ See William F. Bynum, *The History of Medicine: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 23 and Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), p11.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-djen (1962) 'China and the Origin of Qualifying Examinations in Medicine', in *Clerks and Craftsman in China and the West: Lectures and Addresses on the History of Science and Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), pp. 379–395; see also 3.3 The medical system under the Sui government.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 379 and pp. 392–5.

from the Six Dynasties to the Sui and Tang periods.¹⁶³ He emphasises a shift in the transmission of medical knowledge from private master-disciple apprenticeships to predominantly familial lineages during the Six Dynasties, and to the state-sponsored medical education of the Sui and Tang periods which formalised and standardised medical knowledge.¹⁶⁴ Fan argues that the ‘southernisation of medicine’ (*yixue nanchaohua* 醫學南朝化) manifested in the state medicine of the Sui and Tang periods.¹⁶⁵ In particular, he asserts that the inclusion of *yangsheng* and *daoyin* materials in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* has a strong link to southern medical practice.¹⁶⁶ Chen Hao’s investigation of tomb inscriptions of medical officials at the imperial Sui and Tang courts supports Fan’s southernisation theory, although Chen is more interested in exploring the tension between the relatively independent cultural identity of the southern medical practitioners and the opportunities for state employment faced by these southern physicians.¹⁶⁷ Fan emphasises the influence of the Southern Daoist school of Highest Clarity on both the establishment of the Sui’s medical education institution and on the compilation of *Bingyuan*.¹⁶⁸ My research challenges his viewpoint and argues for a variety of possible influences on the medical reforms initiated by the two Sui emperors, each of

¹⁶³ Fan Ka-wai 范家偉, *Liuchao suitang yixue zhi chuancheng yu zhenghe* 六朝隋唐醫學之傳承與整合 (Hong Kong: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe, 2004) and *Dayi jingcheng: Tangdai guojia xinyang yu yixue* 大醫精誠 – 唐代國家, 信仰與醫學 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 2007)

¹⁶⁴ See also Fan Ka-wai, ‘The Period of Division and the Tang Period’ in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*, ed. by T. J. Hinrichs and Linda L. Barnes (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 65–96.

¹⁶⁵ See also Fan Ka-wai, ‘Nanchao yijia rushi beichao zhi tantao 南朝醫家入仕北朝之探討’, *Hanxue yanjiu*, 18.2 (2000), 143–66.

¹⁶⁶ Fan Ka-wai, *Dayi jingcheng*, pp. 52–64.

¹⁶⁷ Chen Hao 陳昊, ‘Jiaguozhijian – Nanbeichao moqi zhi tangchu yishu shijia de shenfen shanbian jiqi yu guojia yixue jigou zhi hudong 家國之間 – 南北朝末期至唐初醫術世家的身份嬗變及其與國家醫學機構之互動’, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 32.1 (2014), 73–98 and Muzhi suojian nanbeichao yishu shijia de shenfen rentong yu zongjiao xinyang – yi danyang xushi wei zhongxin 墓誌所見南北朝醫術世家的身份認同與宗教信仰 – 以丹陽徐氏為中心, *Wenshi* 文史, 2 (2008), 77–104.

¹⁶⁸ Fan Ka-wai, *Dayi jingcheng*, pp. 52–64.

whom took considerably different approaches.¹⁶⁹

Based on his 1999 PhD dissertation, Asaf Goldschmidt published a study of the medical history of the Song dynasty in 2009,¹⁷⁰ in which he argues that the rapid development of medical knowledge during the Song was a result of the emperors' personal interest in medicine, government involvement in revising, printing and disseminating earlier medical texts, and the development of imperially-sponsored medical institutions to handle public health and epidemics.¹⁷¹ This leads to Goldschmidt's conviction that the history of Chinese medicine hinges on three major turning points: 1) the formation of canonical theory in the Han dynasty; 2) the integration of theory and practice into one systematic comprehensive medicine in the Song dynasty; and 3) the impact of Western medicine from the nineteenth century onwards.¹⁷² I would question the over-simplification of such a periodisational perspective. Most importantly, I would argue that between the Han and the Song period, China experienced another wave of medical innovation. Many influential medical works such as *Bingyuan*, recorded in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of the Sui (*Suishu jingjizhi* 隋書經籍志), were produced during this period.¹⁷³ The establishment of the state medical institution of the Sui and Tang periods laid a strong foundation for the Song to build upon.¹⁷⁴ Likewise, Yan Liu argues that this period was pivotal in the history of Chinese

¹⁶⁹ See 3.3 The medical system under the Sui government and 3.5 The Sui Emperors

¹⁷⁰ Asaf Goldschmidt, *The Evolution of Chinese Medicine: Song Dynasty, 960–1200* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, pp. 19–41.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, Epilogue.

¹⁷³ See 3.4 The medical texts in *Suishu jingji zhi*.

¹⁷⁴ See 3.3 The medical system under the Sui government.

pharmacology.¹⁷⁵ As Fan Ka-wai has pointed out in his review of Goldschmidt's book, the Northern Song emperors were not, as claimed by Goldschmidt, the first emperors to commission and sponsor a number of formularies, but were preceded by the Sui and Tang emperors.¹⁷⁶

TJ Hinrichs also explores the link between the Song state and medicine in her 2003 PhD dissertation, and in a subsequent chapter appearing in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900–1400*. She addresses the efforts made by the Northern Song's government to produce and distribute medical texts as part of medical relief and care for its people.¹⁷⁷ Hinrichs argues that 'the unprecedented state deployment of medical texts to combat what were deemed noxious southern customs' did not begin with the technology of printing but rather with the 'expansion and consolidation of the use of medical knowledge as a tool of governance, and a marked intensification of campaigns to reproduce and disseminate this knowledge to common people.'¹⁷⁸ Unfortunately, in the case of the Sui's medical reforms, we have no concrete evidence as to whether they extended beyond the Sui capitals.

There is an abundance of secondary literature, published mainly in Chinese

¹⁷⁵ Yan Liu, *Toxic Cures: Poisons and Medicines in Medieval China*, Doctoral dissertation (Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, 2015), pp. 19–20.

¹⁷⁶ Asaf Goldschmidt, p. 107; Fan Ka-wai and Sze-nga Lau, 'The Evolution of Chinese Medicine: Song Dynasty 960–1200. By Goldschmidt Asaf. London: Routledge, 2008', *International Journal of Asian Studies* 7.2 (2010), 232–5.

¹⁷⁷ TJ Hinrichs, *The Medical Transforming of Governance and Southern Customs in Song Dynasty China (960–1279 CE)*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 2003) and 'Governance Through Medical Texts and the Role of Print', in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900–1400*, ed. by Lucille Chia and Hilde De Weerd (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 217–38.

¹⁷⁸ TJ Hinrichs, *Governance Through Medical Texts and the Role of Print*, p. 218.

journals, on state medical institutions during the Sui and Tang periods, which contains valuable information drawn from various primary sources.¹⁷⁹

1.3.3 The institutional history of the Sui dynasty

Several histories of the Sui and Tang periods have laid strong foundations for study of the institutional history of the Sui.¹⁸⁰ In particular, Chen Yinke's 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) hypothesis on the so-called 'Primacy of the Guanlong Bloc' (*Guanlong jituan* 關隴集團) has been influential and controversial.¹⁸¹ Chen argues that from the Northern Zhou to the Sui and Tang periods, court politics was dominated by a powerful military aristocratic group from the Guanlong area (in modern Shanxi 陝西 and Gansu 甘肅). His hypothesis dominated scholarship of medieval Chinese history for many decades, but has been

¹⁷⁹ See, for example, Ren Yucai 任育才, *Tangdai de yiliao zuzhi yu yixue jiaoyu* 唐代的醫療組織與醫學教育, in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan guoji hanxue huiyi lunwen ji* 中央研究院國際漢學會議論文集 (Taipei: Zhongyanyuan, 1980), pp. 449–73; Yue Gang 趙剛, 'Suitang shidai de yixue jiaoyu 隋唐時代的醫學教育', *Liaoning shifan daxue xuebao* 遼寧師範大學學報, 5 (1990), 7–13; Liang Jun 梁峻, 'Suitang zhongyi jiaoyu shilun 隋唐中醫教育史論', *Zhongyi jiaoyu* 中醫教育, 13.4 (1994), 41–2, 49; Yu Gengzhe 于庚哲, 'Tangdai de yixue jiaoyu yu yiren diwei 唐代的醫學教育與醫人地位', *Weijin nanbeichao suitangshi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料, 20 (2003), 155–65; Yuan Zhen 袁貞, 'Lun tangdai yixue rencai de kaoshi he xuanba 論唐代醫學人才的考試和選拔', *Zhongguo zhigong jiaoyu* 中國職工教育, 3 (2013), 90–1; Wang Nenghe 王能河, 'Suichao yixue fazhan yu yixue jiaoyu 隋朝醫學發展與醫學教育', *Liaoning Zhongyiyao xuebao* 遼寧中醫藥大學學報, no. 4 (2006), 31–2.

¹⁸⁰ See Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Suitang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao* 隋唐制度淵源略論稿 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 1963; Reprint, 1977) and *Tangdai zhengzhi shi shulun gao* 唐代政治史述論稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982); Arthur F. Wright, 'The Sui dynasty (581–617)' in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, ed. Dennis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 48–149; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Suitang Shi* 隋唐史 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1982), pp. 3–88; Lu Simian 呂思勉, *Suitang wudai shi* 隋唐五代史 (Hong Kong: Taiping shuju, 1980), pp. 1–73; Jacques Gernet, 'The Aristocratic Empire' in *A History of Chinese Civilisation* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 235–260; Wang Shounan 王壽南, *Suitang shi* 隋唐史 (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2000), pp. 1–82; Wang Zhongluo 王仲犛, *Suitang wudai shi* 隋唐五代史. Vol.1, *Zhongguo duandaishi xilie* 中國斷代史系列 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), pp. 1–108. Tang Changru 唐長孺, *Weijin nanbeichao suitangshi jiangyi* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史講義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), pp. 101–22.

¹⁸¹ Chen Yinke, *Tangdai zhengzhi shi shulun gao*.

challenged by scholars questioning the duration of such a phenomenon.¹⁸²

Arthur F. Wright's chapter 'The Sui dynasty (581–617)', a condensed version of his 1978 book of the same title, in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906*, and Denis Twitchett's introduction to this volume provide valuable references to the history of the Sui.¹⁸³ Twitchett's introduction offers an excellent brief description of the cultural, economic, institutional and social history while Wright's chapter gives an in-depth account of the two Sui emperors and their achievements.

Victor Xiong's research into the second Sui emperor, Yangdi, gave a new lease of life to Western-language scholarship on Sui history.¹⁸⁴ His ability to organise and summarise a huge body of primary sources from this period has benefited the present study greatly. Sanping Chen's work, 'Multicultural China in the Early Middle Ages', has sharpened our perception of the prominent Tuoba-Xianbei ethnicity of the Sui and Tang imperial families.¹⁸⁵ Jonathan Skaff's work, 'Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power and Connections, 580–800', places Sui-Tang China within a broader 'Eastern Eurasian' region, while challenging the conventional 'China-centred' methodologies of historical scholarship, symptoms of the 'frog in the well

¹⁸² Huang Yongnian 黄永年, 'Guanlong jituan dao tangchu shifo jixu cunzai 关陇集团到唐初是否继续存在', in *Wenshi tanwei 文史探微* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 169–182; Lei Yanhong 雷艳红, 'Chen Yinke "Guanlong jituan" shuo pingxi 陈寅恪“关陇集团”说评析', *Xiamen daxue xuebao 厦门大学学报*, 1 (2002), 73–80.

¹⁸³ Arthur F. Wright, *The Sui Dynasty* (New York: Knopf, 1978); Denis Twitchett, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, ed. by Dennis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 1–47 (pp. 38–47); Arthur F. Wright, 'The Sui dynasty (581–617)' in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, ed. by Dennis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 48–149.

¹⁸⁴ Victor C. Xiong, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty: His Life, Times, and Legacy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

¹⁸⁵ Sanping Chen, *Multicultural China in the Early Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

syndrome'.¹⁸⁶

1.3.4 *Bingyuan*

Almost no substantial works on *Bingyuan* are written in western languages. Unschuld mentions *Bingyuan* fleetingly in his 'Medicine in China' with a few translated excerpts in his appendices,¹⁸⁷ and together with Jürgen Kovacs, he explores the eye diseases mentioned in *Bingyuan*.¹⁸⁸ Catherine Despeux and Frederic Obringer examine the cough-related disorders and translate fifteen relevant diseases into French.¹⁸⁹ Sabine Wilms investigates the gynecological section.¹⁹⁰ The Encyclopedia of Taoism also includes an entry on *Bingyuan*, even though it can hardly be classified as a Daoist text.¹⁹¹ A short paragraph written by Catherine Despeux in 1989 remains one of the few resources in a Western language to refer to the *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*.¹⁹²

Chinese scholarship on *Bingyuan* has been far more prolific. Ma Jixing produced a comprehensive textual history of *Bingyuan*.¹⁹³ After spending

¹⁸⁶ Jonathan K. Skaff, *Sui-tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power and Connections, 580–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 4–6.

¹⁸⁷ Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 2010), p. 176 and 196–302.

¹⁸⁸ Jürgen Kovacs, and Paul U. Unschuld, *Essential Subtleties on the Silver Sea: The Yin-Hai Jing-Wei; a Chinese Classic on Ophthalmology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 29–33.

¹⁸⁹ Catherine Despeux and Frédéric Obringer, *La Maladie Dans La Chine Médiévale: La Toux* (Paris: Harmattan, 1997), pp. 61–104.

¹⁹⁰ Sabine Wilms, 'The Transmission of Medical Knowledge on 'Nurturing the Fetus' in Early China', *Asian Medicine* 1.2 (2005), 276–314; Wilms, Sabine, 'Ten Times More Difficult to Treat: Female Bodies in Medical Texts from Early Imperial China', *Nan Nü* 7.2 (2005), 182–215.

¹⁹¹ Elisabeth Hsu, 'Zhubing yuanhou lun' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 1300–1.

¹⁹² Despeux, *Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition*, pp. 236–7. In Liu Tianjun's 'Chinese Medical Qigong', eight diseases with their *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan* were translated; Liu Tianjun, pp. 537–44.

¹⁹³ Ma Jixing, *Zhongyi wenxian xue* 中医文献学 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), pp. 142–4.

twenty years comparing different editions of *Bingyuan*, Ding Guangdi 丁光迪 (1918 – 2003) produced his own edition with commentaries.¹⁹⁴ Ding also published a monograph on the *yangsheng* and the *daoyin* sections of the text, numbering their entries with extensive commentaries.¹⁹⁵ This research has benefited enormously from the above-mentioned works. There are also a number of works about medieval Chinese language which look at the usage of words in *Bingyuan* from a linguistic perspective.¹⁹⁶

In 1990, Zhao Bangzhu 赵邦柱 published 'The Methods of Ancient Qigong for Treating Disorders – A New Explanation of *Daoyin* in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* (*Gudai qigong zhibing fa – Zhubing yuanhou lun daoyin xinjie* 古代气功治病法—诸病源侯论导引新解), offering his own interpretations of how to perform all the *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*, and assigning names to the exercises for ease of reference.¹⁹⁷ Following in Zhao's footsteps, a couple of PhD theses have focused on how the *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan* should be performed.¹⁹⁸ Catering to modern consumption and commercial viability, a number of books and DVDs have been published in recent years based on

¹⁹⁴ Ding Guangdi, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu* 诸病源候论校注 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1991).

¹⁹⁵ Ding Guangdi, *Zhubing yuanhou lun yangshengfang daoyinfa yanjiu* 诸病源候论养生方导引法研究 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2010).

¹⁹⁶ Cui Xizhang 崔锡章 and Wang Jingyang 王静扬, 'Xilun Zhubing yuanhou lun dieyinci de yunyong 析论《诸病源候论》叠音词的运用', *Beijing zhongyi* 北京中医, 20.3 (2001), 51–53; Guo Yin 郭颖, *Zhubing yuanhou lun ciyu yanjiu* 《诸病源候论》词语研究 (Zhejiang University, 2005); Qian Xinyan 钱新艳, *Zhubing yuanhou lun yuyan wenzi yanjiu* 诸病源候论语言文字研究, MA dissertation (Nanjing zhongyiyao daxue 南京中医药大学, 2009).

¹⁹⁷ Zhao Bangzhu 赵邦柱, *Zhubing yuanhou lun daoyin xinjie* 古代气功治病法—诸病源侯论导引新解 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1990).

¹⁹⁸ Liu Feng 刘峰, *Zhubing yuanhou lun daoyinfa de chaozuo huanyuan jiqi tedian yanjiu* 《诸病源候论》导引法的操作还原及其特点研究, Ph.D. dissertation (Beijing University of Chinese Medicine, 2011); Dai Jingang 代金刚, *Zhubing yuanhou lun daoyinfa yanjiu* 《诸病源候论》导引法研究, Ph.D. dissertation (China Academy of Chinese Medical Science, 2014).

the *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*.¹⁹⁹ Writings on the medical disorders, together with suitable *daoyin* exercises, mostly published in journals, have been prolific. A sample of these articles is listed in the Bibliography section. The present study differs from these writings in its emphasis on situating *Bingyuan* in its historical and cultural context and in its attempt to understand how *daoyin* came to be incorporated into a state-sponsored medical text.

1.4 Methodology

The theoretical foundation of this research is indebted to the works of several influential European philosophers, historians and social theorists. The three principle strands of theoretical ideas which have guided this study are: Heidegger and Gadamer's 'hermeneutic circle', Robert Campany's 'repertoires of resources' and Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities', and Foucault's 'medical discourse' in relation to power. Their theories helped shape my understanding of the sources and strengthened the underlying structure of this research.

1.4.1 Heidegger and Gadamer's 'hermeneutic circle'

When we read a text, or have any interaction with an object or a person, we

¹⁹⁹ Wu Xi 吴曦, Zhou Bin 周斌 and Tian Peng 田鹏, *Qidao bingchu: Tujie 172 zhong gufa daoyin qiangshen shu* 气到病除: 图解 172 种古法导引强身术 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2010); Liu Tianjun 刘天君, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jianshen gongfa 15 shi* 诸病源候论健身功法 15 式 (Beijing: Renmin junyi chubanshe, 2011) and *Jinbing guzhi: Zhubing yuanhou lun daoyin liaofa* (DVD) 今病古治 – 诸病源候论导引疗法 (Beijing, Jiefangjun weisheng yinxiang chubanshe, 2011); Wang Kaiqiang 王剡鏘, *Tujie zhubing yuanhou lun ziyu liaofa: Suichao taiyi liuchuan qiannian yannian yishou yangsheng dafa* 图解诸病源候论自愈療法: 隋朝太醫流傳千年延年益壽養生大法 (Taiwan: Guangxia, 2011).

are performing what the German philosophers Martin Heidegger (1889 – 1976) and Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900–2002) called ‘a hermeneutic circle’. According to this theory, we can only understand or interpret anything according to presuppositions. For Heidegger, these presuppositions are an essential ‘anticipatory structure’ (*Vorstruktur*) of understanding, and for Gadamer, they are ‘prejudices’, though not necessarily negative ones.²⁰⁰ We always start with certain preconceptions or even prejudices, which inform our understanding and interpretation. Therefore, for Heidegger and Gadamer, no understanding is free of presuppositions or prejudices. Nor can there be a definitive and objective account of history. There is inevitably something of ‘me’ in the story that I am trying to tell about the past, and my presuppositions or prejudices are likely to have come from inherited traditions, and from personal, cultural, and historical circumstances. Gadamer called such awareness an ‘effective-historical consciousness’ (*wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein*). To simplify Gadamer’s idea, Gorner explains that ‘all understanding, whether of something past, present, or future, is historically affected in the sense that it takes place within the happening of tradition.’²⁰¹ In other words, when conducting research, we do not start from a blank piece of paper. We start with our preconceptions, which we constantly modify in the engagement of ‘a hermeneutic circle’.

Such an awareness is important, as this thesis offers a particular interpretation of the history of therapeutic exercise in medieval China. It is

²⁰⁰ See Heidegger, *Being and Time*, Section 32: Understanding and Interpretation, pp. 158–94 and Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), pp. 278–400.

²⁰¹ Paul Gorner, *Twentieth Century German Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 147.

framed within the boundary of my own historical, cultural and traditional circumstances. Presuppositions also constantly change and evolve as the research progresses and develops. For example, the fact that I am doing a PhD in the History Department at University College London, at this particular moment in time, has already 'guided' the conduct of this research. The current academic culture of the institution, the expertise of my supervisors, and my own academic training in both Taiwanese and British educational systems, bring with them a host of 'prejudices' which privilege certain theories and methodologies. Nor is it possible to analyse historical sources without a 'modern gaze', no matter how hard one tries to be 'objective'.

1.4.2 Robert Campany's 'repertoires of resources' and Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities'

In terms of conceptualisation, Campany alerts us to the potential danger of thinking and speaking metaphorically, pointing out how we often use words such as 'Religions', 'Buddhism', and 'Daoism' metaphorically, as if they were entities that can make or do things. In his research on the relationship between Buddhism and Daoism, Campany reminds us that,

When we study aspects of the history of the relationship between two religions, what we are studying – whether we recognize it or not – is the extant record of what certain people (whether or not their names are known) produced with reference to or in the presence of the productions of certain other people.²⁰²

²⁰² Robert F. Campany, 'Religious Repertoires and Contestation: A Case Study Based on Buddhist Miracle Tales', *History of Religions* 52, no. 2 (2012), 99–141(103); See also Robert F. Campany, 'On the Very Idea of Religions (in the Modern West and in Early Medieval China)', *History of Religions* 42, no. 4 (2003), 287–319.

To avoid linguistic and conceptual personification, Company suggests alternative ways of thinking and talking about religions as 'repertoires of resources' and as 'imagined communities', the idea he adopted from Benedict Anderson.²⁰³ In Anderson's work on nationalism, he puts forward the idea of 'nations' as 'imagined communities'. People imagine themselves as belonging to such socially constructed communities. One of the advantages of seeing religions as 'repertoires of resources' and as 'imagined communities', Company stresses, is to recognise that people are the agents, making and doing things with a variety of resources available to them, which are not restricted to 'members', and forming imagined communities through making and circulating, performing rituals, and telling stories, etc.²⁰⁴

If, in examining the history of therapeutic exercise in early and medieval China, we think of *daoyin* and, indeed, *yangsheng* practices, as 'repertoires of resources', and their practitioners as being part of 'imagined communities', it is easy to accept that these exercises can be practised by all kinds of people with different aims and objectives, whether or not they belong to a particular religious sect. The idea that *daoyin* belongs to the Daoists is a misleading one. As Company observes, '...even in a pluralistic context such as medieval China - most people felt no particular allegiance to one religion over others, or felt no constraints on the resources on which they might legitimately draw.'²⁰⁵ Likewise, if we look at the development of therapeutic exercise in medieval China, we see various kinds of people engaged in different practices drawn

²⁰³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

²⁰⁴ Company, *Religious Repertoires and Contestation*, p. 107.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 108–9.

from the *daoyin* or *yangsheng* repertoires for their own specific needs. Thus, when discussing the development of therapeutic exercise from Warring states to the Sui period in chapter 2 and 3, the main focus is on those who practised *daoyin* in their own social contexts.

1.4.3 Michel Foucault's 'medical discourse' and its relation to state control

Michel Foucault (1926–1984) was a French philosopher whose works on language, discourse, knowledge and power have been important landmarks of the intellectual landscape of our time. He criticised the power of the modern bourgeois capitalist state and argued that the systems operating in our modern society for treating the behaviourally-challenged and socially-excluded, prisoners, and homosexuals, are far worse and more inhumane than what happened in the past. Foucault observed that from the mid-17th century, authority's 'rational' response to medicalised and institutionalised people with psychological abnormalities was to lock them away in asylums.²⁰⁶ As doctors became more and more professionalised, their elevated position, he argues, encouraged a dehumanising attitude towards their patients, manifesting as the 'clinical gaze', which separated the patient's body from the person.²⁰⁷ The medical discourse, set within a wider structure of knowledge organised into more scientific and highly specialised disciplines, enhanced doctors' authority and their ability to intervene, while shaping the ways their patients understood their illness and their own bodies. For Foucault, social

²⁰⁶ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1964), trans. by Richard Howard (London: Tavistock, 1971).

²⁰⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic* (1963), trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 2012).

control has become increasingly subtle, professionalised and oriented to surveillance, as illustrated in Bentham's Panopticon.²⁰⁸ In his examination of post-war Western countries, Foucault used the term 'governmentality' to illustrate a kind of power which is disguised through a social system and embedded into everyday life. Thus, individuals become willing participants in being governed, through 'self-governing' or 'self-regulating', which is an effective way of managing a large population.²⁰⁹

The political structure of seventh century China was a classic hierarchy where the emperors, as figureheads of state, held absolute power. Foucault's idea of 'governmentality', where the 'internalisation' of social control by individuals guides the behaviour of populations, can be applied to ancient and medieval China. The only difference between ancient China and post-war Europe is the sophistication of the technological means through which the state can assert that power. In Chapter three, we will see how therapeutic exercise was institutionalised to form an important part of state medicine, creating a new medical discourse of authority, as part of the Sui's strategy for centralising imperial power. In Chapter four, we will see how this new medical discourse was formulated and designed, through specific knowledge given to doctors, to reach the entire population.

²⁰⁸ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

²⁰⁹ Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality' (Lecture at the Collège de France, Feb. 1, 1978), in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, & Peter Miller (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 87–104; 'Technologies of the Self' (1982), in *Technologies of the Self. A seminar with Michel Foucault*, ed. by L. H. Martin, H. Gutman and P. H. Hutton (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988).

1.5 Outline of chapters

This thesis is divided into five chapters, the core chapters being 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 2 charts the remarkable development of therapeutic exercise from its antecedents to just before its pivotal position in the Sui's medical reforms. The rise in awareness of *daoyin* can be credited to many and diverse influences over an historical period covering nearly a thousand years. Using the models of Company's 'Repertoires of Resources' and Anderson's 'Imagined Communities' as the underlying structure, the chapter investigates the major primary sources on *daoyin*, dividing them into two main historical periods: The Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties (481 BCE–220 CE) and the Six Dynasties (220 – 589 CE). Further subsections are formulated according to the different groups of people who were associated with *daoyin*, such as *wu* 巫 (spirit mediums), *xian* 仙 (transcendents), *fangshi* 方士 (masters of formulas), *yi* 醫 (physicians), Daoists, Buddhists, and literate elites. These groupings are not mutually exclusive, and are used only as a convenient categorisation, relating mostly to the genres where these actors appeared. Two main arguments are made in chapter 2:

1. There was no formal teaching of *daoyin* during the Warring States, Qin and Han periods. There was only a loose network of people, of 'imagined communities', with different political, philosophical and personal ambitions, practicing *daoyin* as part of their self-cultivation practices, from the 'repertoires of resources' that were available to them.

2. Although it is more noticeable during the Six Dynasties that *daoyin* was adopted and adapted as an integral part of religious practice in the Daoist tradition, particularly within the *Shangqing* School of the 4th and 5th century CE, the idea that *daoyin* was inherently Daoist, and that *daoyin* was integrated into early and medieval Chinese medicine *through* Daoism, is inaccurate and lacking historical justification. Various groups, such as those referred to as *fangshi*, members of prominent families (*menfa* 門閥 or *shizu* 士族) and Buddhists, practised *daoyin*.

Chapter 3 investigates the institutionalisation of *daoyin* during the Sui. This innovative medical reform was initiated by the first Sui emperor, Wendi, and greatly expanded by the second Sui emperor, Yangdi, who established *daoyin* as the dominant court medicine during his reign. This chapter explores the possible causes of such a phenomenon, investigating contemporary political, cultural and religious circumstances, the state medical system during the Sui, and medical texts at the imperial library of the Sui court. Particular attention is paid to the main actors, including the two Sui emperors, physicians and medical officials, literate elites, Daoists and Buddhists. Foucault's 'medical discourse', with its relation to state control, is a helpful analytical tool when we reflect upon the strong impulse on the part of Chinese rulers right up to the present day to create a centralised political sovereignty. This chapter has three main arguments:

1. The institutionalisation of *daoyin* was not an isolated state intervention but rather part of a much bigger process, initiated by the two Sui emperors, of

unification and centralisation, which drew the best physicians, including *daoyin* practitioners, to the Sui court, in order to establish an 'official' state medical practice.

2. The medical reforms undertaken by the two Sui emperors were very different in character. Wendi created three specialised medical departments at the state-sponsored medical education institution - Medicine, Therapeutic Exercise, and Incantation and Interdiction. This reflected the kind of medical knowledge and practice which had become more established during the Han dynasty, exemplified in *Huangdi neijing*, and which had been transmitted mainly through familial lineages of physicians, members of genteel families and religious communities during the Six Dynasties. New medical knowledge and practices, such as those of the Buddhists, were also absorbed into the Sui's state medical system.

3. It was Yangdi who was responsible for the employment of a large number of *daoyin* practitioners at the imperial court, with the intention of establishing therapeutic exercise as the main therapy of the state medical service.

Although Yangdi's radical medical reform was short-lived, as successive emperors abandoned Yangdi's initiative, the legacy of his vision is embodied and preserved in *Bingyuan*.

Chapter 4 investigates the formalisation and standardisation of *daoyin*, using *Bingyuan* as a case study. We see how Yangdi's medical reform was put into practice to form a new 'medical discourse' by appropriating *daoyin* and incorporating it into this official medical text, with its new system of classifying

diseases. The chapter begins with a textual history of *Bingyuan*, discussing the ambiguity of its authorship. It goes on to look at two important concepts in the text – *bing* 病 and *hou* 候, examine the text's structure and the editorial treatment of *daoyin*, and analyse why some diseases have *daoyin* instructions while others do not. Moreover, the chapter explores different kinds of bodily practices selected and collated by the compilers of *Bingyuan* under the rubric of 'yangsheng fang daoyin fa' and compares them with two *daoyin*-related texts. Four main arguments emerge in this chapter:

1. The version of *Bingyuan* revised during the Northern Song period assigned Chao Yuanfang as the designated author. This became the basis of all later editions.

2. As a comprehensive and highly technical text, *Bingyuan* was compiled and written by medical officials for physicians and medical students during the time when the newly-established *anmo* department at the state-run medical education institution had twenty *Anmo* Erudites and one hundred and twenty *anmo* assistants teaching *daoyin*. The authoritative and formulaic style of writing in *Bingyuan* reflects the fact that it was an official publication appropriate for pedagogical and examinational purposes.

3. The new organisation and medicalisation of *daoyin*, in accordance with the aetiology and symptoms of a given condition, enabled physicians first to identify the patient's illness and then to prescribe appropriate exercises. This systematic search device was an invention of the Sui.

4. The incorporation of various bodily practices, collated under the rubric of *daoyin*, into a newly-devised nosological text could be interpreted as the state extending its control over the 'bodies' of individuals and local communities, through standardisation and state regulation. Foucault's idea of governmentality is useful in highlighting the other side of the formalisation of *daoyin* which reveals the subtlety of state control, as we imagine patients performing exercises prescribed for them by doctors, who were themselves regulated by the state. However, the dynasty did not last long enough to see the effect of this innovative medical governance.

Chapter 5, the conclusion, draws together the evidence from chapter 2 to chapter 4, summarising the ideas raised and arguments put forward. It also revisits the three main questions raised at the beginning of this introductory chapter, paying particular attention to the significance of the Sui's medical initiatives in relation to the broader political history of medieval China.

Through this research, we get a sense of how the foundation of centralised government laid out during the Sui brought stability to imperial power for at least another three hundred years. It becomes even more striking when we situate this continuity of imperial power against the background of what was happening in Medieval Europe.

Chapter 2: The social profile of *daoyin* practitioners before the Sui

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to introduce the major primary sources relating to *daoyin* from their earliest documentation during the Warring States period (475–221 BCE) to the end of the Six Dynasties (220–589 CE) before the Sui (581–618 CE), and to reflect critically on the early development of this particular therapeutic tradition. These sources can be found in numerous forms and genres: inscriptions, excavated manuscripts, philosophical, religious, medical and *yangsheng* texts, annals of state, biographies and hagiographies. Far from being a single, linear narrative, these writings represent a diverse tradition of bodily practice, not necessarily being referred to as *daoyin* during this time, extending over a period of almost a thousand years, the meaning of many of which are reinvented in different contexts.

This chapter is structured chronologically and is divided into two parts: 2.2 *daoyin* during the Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties and 2.3 *daoyin* during the Six Dynasties. The approach is primarily descriptive but through careful readings of the selected primary sources, my intention is to illustrate geographically the diversity of the *daoyin* tradition through those who performed various bodily exercises, some of which might not even be considered or understood as *daoyin*, but which subsequently became part of the *daoyin* repertoire appropriated by the Sui government.

Using Campany's 'repertoires of resources' and Anderson's 'imagined communities' as the tools to conceptualise and structure this chapter, I will

attempt to map out the social profile of *daoyin* practitioners before the Sui by investigating the following questions:

1. Who practised *daoyin*?
2. What kind of people were they?
3. Where were they located?
4. Why did they practise *daoyin*?
5. What kind of *daoyin* did they practise?

While many features of *daoyin* can be traced to earlier periods, the term itself, and the culture surrounding it, appear to date from the Warring States period. A description of the general social and political background between the Warring States and the Han dynasty, in the first part of this chapter, will help us to situate the sources in their historical context. I will identify the earliest extant recorded instance of the term *daoyin*, describing the context in which it occurred. I will examine the connection between *daoyin* and *wu* 巫 (spirit mediums), pertaining to the possible roots of *daoyin*. A number of ancient figures, described by Han and later writers as *xian* 仙 (transcendents), who had allegedly succeeded in their quest for transcendence and often lived an extraordinarily long time, seem to have had certain traditional connections with the *wu* of antiquity, and within those traditions were represented as masters of *daoyin*.²¹⁰ Most *daoyin* texts from between the Warring States and the early Han periods belong to the literature of *fangshi* 方士 (masters of

²¹⁰ I have adopted Robert Campany's translation of *xian* as 'transcendents' rather than 'immortals', as the etymology of *xian* 仙 suggests a person 'entering the mountain' and its close association with another character *qian* 遷, meaning 'to move', usually upward, implies a sense of 'ascension'. See Campany, *Making Transcendents*, pp. 33–5.

formulas), specialists in technical arts and occult knowledge who were associated with the *xian* cult that emerged around the third century BCE.²¹¹ I will analyse three sources in particular, contextualising them socially and culturally, in order to give us a greater understanding of the early development of *daoyin*. These are: *Xingqi yuming* 行氣玉銘 (The Jade Inscription of Qi Movement), *Daoyin tu* 導引圖 (The Drawing of Guiding and Pulling) and its associated texts, and *Yinshu* 引書 (The Book of Pulling). It is worth noting that only *Yinshu* has the title shown on the original manuscript, the other two, ‘The Jade Inscription of Qi Movement’ and ‘The Drawing of Guiding and Pulling’ are modern titles. The use of *daoyin* as a treatment is evidenced in a number of medical texts written in the Han period, identifying it as one of the main therapies used by healers since ancient times.

The second part of this chapter examines sources relating to *daoyin* from the end of the Han to the end of the Six Dynasties and identifies key historical figures who were experts in bodily practice of one kind or another. These figures are located geographically and are placed in their social and historical context. Four groups of people can be identified as having engaged in the practice of *daoyin* during this period: *fangshi*, Daoists, Buddhists, and literate elites. These groupings tend to reflect the type of genres where these actors appear, rather than their social groupings, which were more fluid and often multifarious. As we will see in chapter 3, these four groups of people,

²¹¹ Harper uses the term ‘fang-literature’ to refer to ‘all literature produced in the milieu of the specialists in natural philosophy and occult knowledge during the Warring States, Qin and Han’; Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 52. See also Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture on Early Chinese Medical Theory*, pp. 65–70.

although less so in the case of *fangshi*,²¹² continue to play an important role in the development of *daoyin* during the Sui period.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that from the Warring States to the end of the Six Dynasties, many people, with different aims and objectives, engaged themselves in a variety of *yangsheng* self-cultivation practices, of which *daoyin* was an important part. Their expertise had a profound impact on medical knowledge and practice in early and medieval China, culminating in the establishment of a specialised teaching department of *anmo* at the state medical education institution under the Sui. Some of these techniques, which had not previously been referred to as *daoyin*, became part of a growing repertoire that was gradually absorbed, under the *daoyin* rubric, into one of the Sui's official medical texts – *Bingyuan*. The inclusion of *daoyin* in this state-sponsored publication played a vital role in establishing a non-religious context for the discipline of therapeutic exercise.

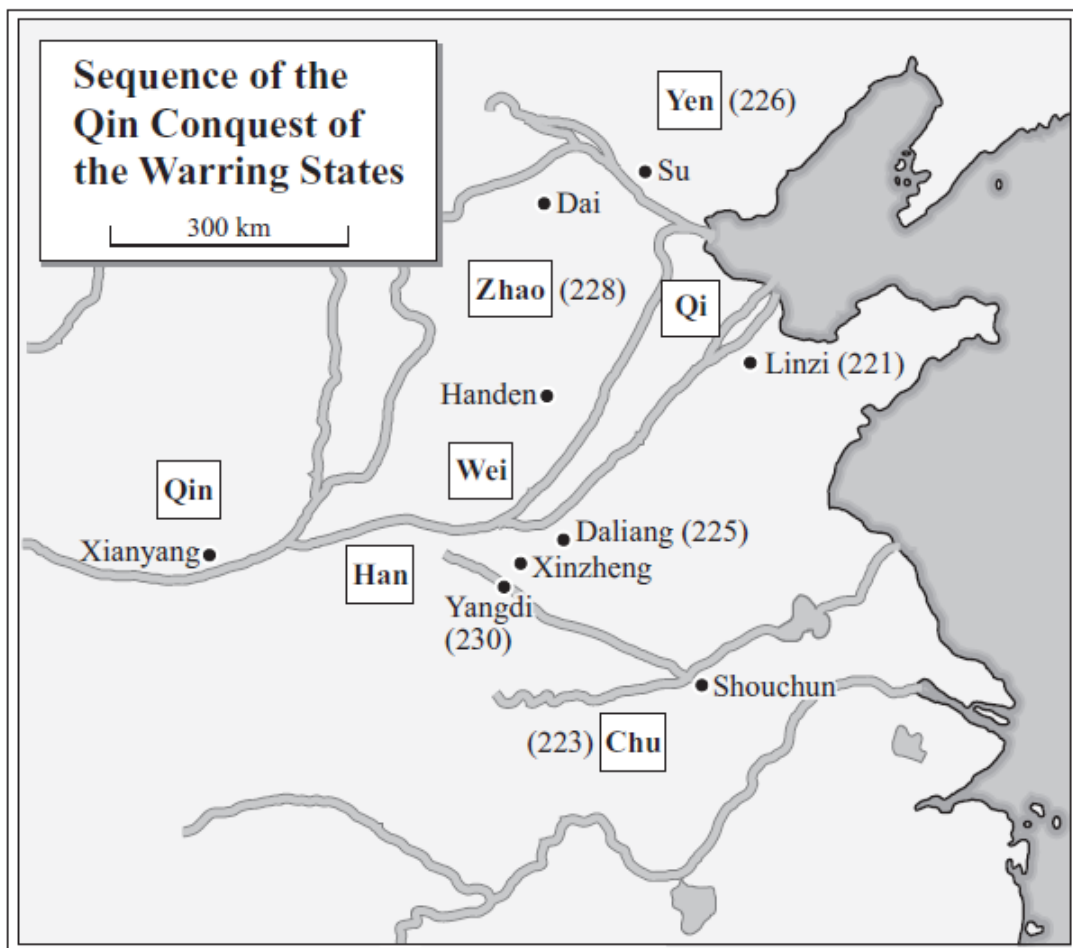
2.2 Therapeutic exercise during the Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties

2.2.1 Social and political context

The Warring States period was a turbulent time with constant warfare between seven great states, each vying with the others for overall hegemony. The state of Qin in the northwest finally defeated all the other states,

²¹² This is because the term *fangshi* was gradually replaced by other titles such as *daoshi* 道士 (Daoist Masters). See Mark Csikszentmihalyi, 'Fangshi 方士, masters of methods' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 406–9.

establishing the first unified Chinese empire - the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) (Map 2.1). This lasted only 15 years before being taken over by Liu Bang 劉邦 (256–195 BCE) who led a peasant revolt against the Qin emperor and later established the Han dynasty in 206 BCE (Map 2.2). The Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) is divided into the Western or Former Han (206 BCE–8 CE) and the Eastern or Later Han (25–220 CE). It was briefly interrupted by Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE–23 CE), often labelled as the usurper who established the Xin dynasty (9–25 CE).



Map 2. 1 The Warring States period (475–221 BCE)
 (Source: Lewis, *The Early Chinese Empires: Qin and Han*, p.10)



Map 2. 2 The Han Empire in 195 BCE
 (Source: Li Feng, *Early China: A Social and Cultural History*, p.262)

The Warring States period was also a time of great cultural and intellectual expansion. Many prominent thinkers emerged during this period of social and political turmoil, who were very much concerned about the art of rulership and statecraft. Some of these thinkers travelled from court to court, offering their advice to rulers of powerful states on methods of government, war, and diplomacy. Among them were Mencius (Mengzi/Meng Ke) and Xunzi (Xun Kuang), widely thought of as scholars writing in different lineages associated with the tradition of Confucius, who valued education, and Shang Yang 商鞅 (390–338 BCE) and Han Feizi 韓非子 (c. 280–233 BCE) who were concerned

with law and punishment and were influential in the rise of the first Emperor of China, posthumously known as Qinshi Huangdi (260–210 BCE). Other significant philosophers of the Warring States period were Mozi 墨子 (c. 470 BCE–c. 391 BCE), the proponent of utilitarianism, and Zhuangzi (c. 369 BCE–c. 286 BCE) whose concentration on the art of spontaneity is most vividly associated in later times with the Dao 道 (the Way).²¹³ In the Warring States period, each philosopher had his own Dao.²¹⁴ The term was to be appropriated in the late Han period by the newly emerging Daoist organisation.

Later historians such as Sima Tan 司馬談 (c. 165–110 BCE) and Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE) attributed the ideas expounded by these different philosophers to various schools (*jia* 家) causing a wide-spread misconception of *jia* as some kind of scholastic lineage. Modern historians now recognise *jia* as convenient labels used for bibliographical purposes.²¹⁵ In reality, there were no schools of thought, no institutions of importance, and only loose connections between these significant figures and those who subscribed to their ideas.

Csikszentmihaly and Nylan argue that ‘the ascription of philosophical “schools” is an anachronistic imposition of a set of Eastern Han and post-Han concerns onto earlier periods.’²¹⁶ Many of the writings attributed to these philosophers were authored by anonymous writers over a long period of time. They may

²¹³ In later ‘Daoist’ appropriation of the notions of the Dao, Laozi and Zhuangzi take precedence over the moral cultivation of Confucius and Mencius. The notion of spontaneity, Zhuangzi rather than Laozi, takes centre stage.

²¹⁴ On the idea of Dao in classical Chinese philosophy, see Angus Charles Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical argument in ancient China* (La Salle: Open Court, 1989).

²¹⁵ See Mark Csikszentmihalyi and Michael Nylan, ‘Constructing lineages and inventing traditions through exemplary figures in early China’, *T’oung Pao* 89.1 (2003), 59–99; Kidder Smith, ‘Sima Tan and the Invention of Daoism, “legalism,” et cetera’, *The Journal of Asian Studies* 62.1 (2003), 129–56.

²¹⁶ Csikszentmihalyi and Nylan, *Constructing lineages and inventing traditions*, p. 99.

have been edited and reconstructed in later times, reflecting the prejudices of later generations.²¹⁷ It is important to bear this in mind as it helps us to understand the social and historical context of the early development of *daoyin*, because just as there were no established institutions reflecting different schools of thought, neither was there any formal teaching of self-cultivation practices during the Warring States, Qin and Han dynasties. There was only a loose network of people, with different political, philosophical and personal ambitions, who practised *daoyin*. We can picture these people as ‘imagined communities’ and their practices as ‘repertoires of resources’,²¹⁸ as it was not until later, through Daoist religious organisation, that *daoyin* became institutionalised. And under the Sui’s medical reform, *daoyin* also achieved some standardisation and coherence as a system of medicine, albeit short-lived.

2.2.2 The earliest recorded instance of the term *daoyin*

According to extant historical sources, the earliest recorded instance of the term *daoyin* appears in chapter fifteen of *Zhuangzi*:²¹⁹

²¹⁷ David Shepherd Nivison, ‘The Classical Philosophical Writings’ in *The Cambridge history of ancient China: From the origins of civilization to 221 BC*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 744–812 (pp. 745–7).

²¹⁸ See 1.4.2 Robert Company’s ‘repertoires of resources’ and Benedict Anderson’s ‘imagined communities’.

²¹⁹ For the textual history of *Zhuangzi*, see H. D. Roth, ‘Chuang tzu 莊子’ in *Early Chinese Texts* ed. by Michael Loewe ([Berkeley, Calif.]: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993), pp. 56–66; See also H. D. Roth, ‘Who Compiled the Chuang Tzu?’ in *Chinese texts and philosophical contexts: Essays Dedicated to Angus C. Graham*, ed. Henry Rosemont, Jr. (LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court, 1991), pp. 79–128; Angus Charles Graham, *How Much of Chuang Tzu Did Chuang Tzu Write?* (Chico, Calif.: American Academy of Religion, 1979).

吹胸呼吸，吐故納新，熊經鳥伸，為壽而已矣。此道引之士，養形之人，彭祖壽考者之所好也。

The acts of exhaling and inhaling, breathing out the old and breathing in the new, hanging like a bear and stretching like a bird are *simply* methods for achieving longevity. These are what practitioners of *daoyin*, people who "nourish their form" and pursue longevity like Pengzu, like to do.²²⁰

This extract from one of the *waipian* 外篇 (outer chapters), entitled *Keyi* 刻意 (Ingrained Ideas), illustrates the inclusion of certain breathing techniques and animal 'impersonations' in *daoyin* exercises performed by followers of Pengzu. It tells us that the practice of *daoyin* as a means of attaining longevity was already firmly established by the Warring States period (475 – 221 BCE). However, there existed a wide variety of opinions on appropriate methods and on specific goals. The authors of the *Keyi* chapter, writing in the context of advice to rulers on effective government, believed it unnecessary to practise *daoyin* in order to achieve longevity:

若夫不刻意而高，無仁義而修，無功名而治，無江海而閒，不導引而壽，無不忘也，無不有也。澹然無極而眾美從之。此天地之道，聖人之德也。

Now, being lofty without having ingrained ideas, practising self-cultivation without relying on benevolence and righteousness, administering the government without looking for merit or fame, being peaceful without [the need of] contemplating rivers and oceans, being long-lived without practising *daoyin*, means forgetting everything but possessing everything. Calmly residing in the Ultimateless while having

²²⁰ *Zhuangzi*, j.6, ch. 15, p. 535.

all pleasing things follow oneself - this is the Way of Heaven and Earth, and is the virtue of the sage.²²¹

This is reminiscent of the idea of *wu-wei* 無為 (non-action) in *Laozi* where the sage governs the world through the practice of non-action. To take just one example from chapter two of *Laozi*:

是以聖人處無為之事，行不言之教，萬物作焉而不辭，生而不有，為而不恃，功成而弗居。夫唯弗居，是以不去。

[...Thus] the sage manages his affairs without doing anything. He teaches without saying anything. Ten thousand things are created and he partakes without rejection, lives without possessing, acts without dependence, accomplishes but does not claim his accomplishments.²²²

In the view of the writers of the *Keyi* chapter in *Zhuangzi*, the followers of Pengzu, when compared with the sage who follows the way of Heaven and Earth, fall short of their goal of achieving long life. This perspective is critical of those *daoyin* practitioners whose priority is to nourish their physical being. For the writers of *Zhuangzi*, it is far more important to nourish spirit (*yangshen* 養神) than form (*yangxing* 養形) i.e. the body. Elsewhere in *Zhuangzi*, the chapter entitled *Dazongshi* 大宗師 (The Great and Venerable Teacher) describes a perfected being (*zhenren* 真人):

古之真人，其寢不夢，其覺無憂，其食不甘，其息深深。真人之息以踵，眾人之息以喉。

²²¹ *Zhuangzi*, j.6, ch.15, p. 537; tr. Fabrizio Pregadio, 'The Notion of 'Form' and the Ways of Liberation in Daoism', *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 14 (2004), 95–130 (119).

²²² *Laozi*, ch.2, in *Laozi jiaoshi* 老子校釋, ed. by Zhu Qianzhi 朱謙之 (Beijing : Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 6–7.

The perfected of old slept without dreaming and woke without worrying. They ate without delighting in taste and breathed deeply. In fact the perfected breathed all the way to their heels, unlike ordinary folk who breathe only as far as their throats.²²³

Although these *zhenren* may not have engaged in *daoyin*, their ability to 'breathe all the way to their heels' was an inspirational concept for those who were engaging themselves with breathing and *daoyin* exercises.²²⁴ While ordinary *daoyin* practitioners do not stand comparison with sages or perfected beings, and are criticised in *Zhuangzi* as inferior because of their bodily practice, they nevertheless contributed greatly to the unique culture later known as *yangsheng*.²²⁵ As Lo remarks, the scorn of *Zhuangzi*'s writers for Pengzu's followers is testament to the fact that there were enough people engaged in *daoyin* to make this particular method of *yangsheng* practice worthy of criticism.²²⁶

2.2.3 Wu 巫 (Spirit medium)

The character *wu* 巫 is often translated into English as 'shaman' or 'spirit medium'.²²⁷ It has the same root sound as *wu* 舞, meaning 'dances', but with

²²³ *Zhuangzi*, j.3, p. 228; tr. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968 & 2002), pp. 77–8.

²²⁴ The technique which is based on Zhuangzi's concept of breathing to the heels can be found in *Yunji qiqian*, j. 58, *Fu yuanqi fa* 服元氣法 (The Method of Ingesting the Original Qi).

²²⁵ See 1.2.4 *Yangsheng*.

²²⁶ Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture*, p. 78.

²²⁷ On the relationship between *wu* and shaman, see Lothar Von Falkenhausen, 'Reflections on the Political Rôle of Spirit Mediums in Early China: The Wu Officials in the Zhou Li', *Early China* 20 (1995), 279–300; Enzheng Tong, 'Magicians, Magic, and Shamanism in Ancient China', *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4.1 (2002), pp. 27–73; Gilles Boileau, 'Wu and Shaman', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 65.2 (2002), 350–78; Fu-Shih Lin, 'The Image and Status of Shamans in Ancient China' in *Early*

a different inflection.²²⁸ *Shuowen jiezi* defines *wu* 巫 as *zhu* 祝 (invocators) explaining that ‘women have the ability to serve the formless and use dances to invoke spirits to descend’ (*nü neng shi wuxing, yi wu jiangshen zhe ye* 女能事無形，以舞降神者也).²²⁹ The image of the character denotes a person dancing with sleeves twirling on both sides. *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou), a Han text describing the ideal and bureaucratic system of the imaginary royal state of Zhou (ca. 11th to 3rd centuries BCE), states, when there is a great drought in the country, the chief *wu* leads other *wu* in calling for rain while at the same time performing dances’ (*ruo guo dahan, ze shuai wu er wu yu* 若國大旱，則帥巫而舞雩).²³⁰

The *wu* of antiquity were religious specialists, held in high regard for their learning and intelligence. They were seers and soothsayers who played an important part in both official and popular religion.²³¹ A description of these religious adepts can be found in *Guoyu* 國語 (Discourses of the States, 5th century BCE), a collection of discursive anecdotes dating from the Spring and Autumn period 春秋 (770–476 BCE):

古者民神不雜，民之精爽不攜貳者，而又能齊肅衷正，其智能上下比意，其聖能光遠宣朗，其明能光照之，其聰能徹聽之。如是則明神降之，在男曰覲，在女曰巫。

Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang through Han (1250 BC–220 AD), Vol.1, ed. by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 397–458.

²²⁸ Edward Schafer notes that the graphic evidence shows a cluster of concepts ‘feminine’, ‘dance’, ‘shaman’, ‘fertility’, and ‘rain-making’ about the word *wu*. Edward H. Schafer, ‘Ritual Exposure in Ancient China’, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 14, 1/2(1951), pp. 130–184 (p. 154).

²²⁹ *Shuowen jiezi*, p. 201.

²³⁰ *Zhouli*, j.17–27, p. 398. On the political role of *wu*, see Falkenhausen, *Reflections on the Political Role of Spirit Mediums in Early China*.

²³¹ By popular, I mean common and shared at all social levels.

Of old, the gods descended into those whose spirit was focused, who were at once poised and centred, who knew how to ascend and descend and make comparisons, whose saintliness shed its light abroad, whose vision illumined matters, and whose hearing penetrated them. Men of this kind were called *xi*, women *wu*.²³²

A number of modern authors argue that the ritual dances performed by *wu* are the precursors of *daoyin* animal forms.²³³ In *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, Roel Sterckx gives a vivid description of the exorcistic ritual performed at the annual *nuo* 傩 festival recorded in *Zhouli*.²³⁴ This ritual was performed by a male spirit medium, known as *Fangxiangshi* 方相氏 who covered his face with an animal mask and wore a bearskin. He was assisted by a troupe of ritual officiates who also dressed as animals. During the performance, they adopted animal postures and imitated animal behaviour:

...at the heart of the ceremony was a shaman brandishing a lance and shield to drive away noxious influences from the palace. The shaman was accompanied by twelve attendants disguised as spirit beasts wearing fur, feathers, and horns. A spell was chanted to urge these costumed actors to devour a host of evils and expel dreams. Various other officials put on wooden animal masks to participate in the exorcisms.²³⁵

The purpose of this ritual was to expel any pestilence and noxious influences lingering from the preceding year. In the same way, the purpose of *daoyin* is to drive all evil out of the ageing body. It is clear that the Han nobility were

²³² *Guoyu*, j.18, p. 559; tr. Fu-Shih Lin, *The Image and Status of Shamans in Ancient China*, p. 397.

²³³ See Roel Sterckx, *The animal and the daemon in early China*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); Despeux, *Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition*, pp. 237–40; Wang Shumin and Penelope Barrett, *Profile of a Daoyin Tradition*, 225–53.

²³⁴ Sterckx, pp. 187–8; *Zhouli*, j 28–33, p. 475.

²³⁵ Sterckx, p. 188.

familiar with the idea that ritual animal movement could drive away inauspicious elements. One can imagine how a similar kind of exorcism could have become part of the arsenal of medicine.

Yubu 禹步 (the Pace of Yu) provides further evidence connecting *daoyin* with *wu*. Yu refers to Yu the Great, said to be the founder of the Xia dynasty (2070–1600 BCE), who, after spending ten years on flood control, suffered from various physical disabilities. Harper refers to the work of Marcel Granet, who ‘traces the Pace of Yu to the ancient royal cult in which the shaman-king controlled the world by virtue of his contact with the spirits.’²³⁶ The Pace of Yu reflects a universal theme of shamanism, namely the ability of the shaman to overcome the onset of physical disability and to influence others by virtue of his contact with the world of the spirits.²³⁷ *Yinshu*, the excavated text on therapeutic exercise of the second century BCE, refers to the Pace of Yu as a *daoyin* exercise:

熊經以利腓背，復據以利腰，禹步以利股間，前厥以利股膝，反擊以利足蹄，夾指以利足氣，敦踵以利胸中，此物，皆三而已。

Bear Ramble is good for the muscles of the back. Repeating holds is good for the lumbar. The Pace of Yu is good for between the thighs. Forward Stumble is good for the thighs and knees. Backwards treading is good for the soles of the feet. Squeezing the Toes is good for the *qi* of the feet. Knocking the Heels is good for the chest. For these things stop after three times.²³⁸

²³⁶ Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 168. n.2.

²³⁷ The Pace of Yu also came to be used in later Daoist rituals and became a trademark of religious Daoism; See Poul Andersen, *Taoist Ritual Texts and Traditions with Special Reference to 'bugang', the Cosmic Dance*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Copenhagen, 1991).

²³⁸ Based on Lo's translation; Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture*, p. 353.

Hence, from the pictorial understanding of the character *wu*, the *nuo* festival of animal dances and the pace of Yu, we can make connections between *daoyin* and ancient *wu* practice. Despeux identifies four legendary figures connected both to various practices of *daoyin*, and to the ancient techniques of *wu*: Pengzu 彭祖 (Ancestor Peng), Chisongzi 赤松子 (Master Redpine), Ningfengzi 寧封子 (Master of the Tumulus at Ning) and Wangzi Qiao 王子喬.²³⁹ Testimony linking these masters with *daoyin* can be found in the text *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life, DZ 818). This text, recorded in the *Daozang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon), collates and organises various *daoyin* exercises dating from before the Sui dynasty, attributing particular sets of exercises to each of these ancient adepts.²⁴⁰ The hagiographies of these four legendary masters are included in *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (Arrayed Traditions of Transcendents), a collection of biographies of seventy legendary figures attributed to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE), a librarian and historian during the final years of the Western Han dynasty. However, in *Liexian zhuan*, these ancient adepts are addressed as *xian* 仙, the transcendents, rather than *wu*. According to Lin Fushih 林富士, from the time of the Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (r. 140–87 BCE) on, *wu* were denigrated by officialdom and gradually lost their leading role in state rituals.²⁴¹

²³⁹ Despeux, *Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition*, p. 237.

²⁴⁰ A comparison between the *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* and the *daoyin* exercises in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* can be found in 4.9.2.

²⁴¹ Fu-shih Lin, 'Shamans and Politics', in *Early Chinese Religion, Part Two: The Period of Division (220–589 AD)*, ed. by John Lagerwey and Marc Kalinowski (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), pp. 275–318 (p. 275).

2.2.4 *Xian* 仙 (Transcendents)

Although little is known about the early formation of the *xian* cult, it had become prominent by the late third century BCE.²⁴² Harper argues that ‘eremitism, shamanic religion, and ideas about flight to spirit paradises each played a role, as did new ideas about a drug of deathlessness and alchemical elixirs which began to circulate in the third century BCE.’²⁴³ Various ancient figures, depicted by the Han and later writers as *xian*, have been portrayed as masters of *daoyin*.

According to *Liexian zhuan*, Pengzu was a high officer in the Yin 殷 kingdom (the present-day Henan) under the Shang 商 dynasty (1600–1050 BCE). His surname was Qian 籤 and his first name was Keng 鏗. Grandson of Lord Zhuan Xu 顓頊 and third son of the Lu Zhongshi 陸終氏, he is reputed to have lived for more than eight hundred years through the Xia and to the end of the Shang dynasty.²⁴⁴ Company counters that Pengzu, literally ‘Ancestor of the Pengs’, should be understood as an honorific title, not a real person.²⁴⁵

Nevertheless, *Liexian zhuan* elaborates further:

常食佳芝，善導引行氣。歷陽有彭祖仙室，前世禱請風雨，莫不輒應。常有兩虎在祠左右，祠訖，地即有虎跡，雲後升仙而去。

He would often eat cassia and mushrooms and was skilled in *daoyin* and moving the *qi*. A shrine was dedicated to him in Liyang and people in ancient times who prayed for wind and rain would always be

²⁴² On meaning of the term *xian*, see Company, *Making transcendents*, pp. 33–4.

²⁴³ Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 114.

²⁴⁴ *Liexian zhuan*, in *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏, ed. by Zhang Yuchu 張宇初, Shao Yizheng 邵以正 and Zhang Guoxiang 張國祥 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1985), vol 8, p. 255–1.

²⁴⁵ Robert F. Company, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: a Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 172, n131.

rewarded with success. There were often two tigers beside his shrine, one on each side. At the end of ceremonies, tiger tracks could be seen on the ground. Pengzu is reputed to have ascended into the clouds and to have become a transcendent.²⁴⁶

Other sources such as *Yinshu* with its opening sentence described in chapter 1 and the aforementioned passage from *Zhuangzi* where the term *daoyin* first appears, have attested a close link between the teaching of Pengzu and *daoyin*.

Chisongzi, rain master to the Emperor Shennong 神農 (Divine Husbandman) was known for his magical powers. He was able to follow the wind and to practise self-immolation without being burned.²⁴⁷ The fact that Chisongzi was a rain master is a strong indicator of his connection with *wu*. His acts of self-immolation have a particular resonance in the context of ancient rain-seeking rituals.²⁴⁸ Chisongzi's expertise in *daoyin* was noted in the biography of Zhang Liang 張良 (262–189 BCE) in *Shiji* 史記 (Historical Records), the first of the official dynastic histories written by Sima Tan 司馬談 (d. ca. 110 BCE) and his son Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86 BCE). Zhang Liang was the chief political adviser to the first emperor of the Han dynasty, Liu Bang 劉邦 (?–195 BCE). After his retirement, Zhang Liang expressed a wish to abandon worldly affairs in order to follow Chisongzi, upon which he practised *bigu* 辟穀 (abstaining from grains), *daoyin* and *qingshen* 輕身 (lightening the body).²⁴⁹ In this

²⁴⁶ *Liexian zhuan*, in *Zhengtong daoze*, vol 8, p. 255/1.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 251/2.

²⁴⁸ See *Houhan shu*, j.81, p. 2683. See also Edward H. Schafer, 'Ritual Exposure in Ancient China', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14, no. 1/2 (1951), 130–84.

²⁴⁹ *Shiji* j. 55, p. 2048.

scenario, Zhang Liang chose the life of a recluse, and practising *daoyin* was part of that aspiration.

Huainanzi records a breathing and self-cultivation technique practised by both Chisongzi and Wangzi Qiao:

今夫王喬、赤誦子，吹嘔呼吸，吐故納新，遺形去智，抱素反真，以游玄眇，上通雲天。

They exhaled the old and inhaled the new, sought to renounce the body and the intellect, to embrace simplicity, and return to truthfulness. They wandered in the realm of mystery, reaching up to the clouds and to heaven.²⁵⁰

According to *Liexian zhuan*, Wangzi Qiao was crown prince and heir to King Ling of Zhou 周靈王 (r. 571–545 BCE) who studied with Fuqiu Gong 浮丘公 on Mount Song 嵩山 (in modern Henan) for over thirty years and later departed on a white crane from the top of Mount Goushi 緱氏山 (nr. Luoyang).²⁵¹

Ningfengzi is another ancient adept who was strongly associated with *daoyin*. *Liexian zhuan* describes him as an official in charge of pottery production during the time of the Yellow Emperor, who achieved transcendence through self-immolation.²⁵² As many as fifty-five different *daoyin* exercises were

²⁵⁰ *Huainanzi* j. 11, p. 541.

²⁵¹ *Liexian zhuan* in *Zhengtong daoze*, vol 8, p. 258; Max Kaltenmark, *Le Lie-Sien-Tchouan = Biographies légendaires des Immortels taoïstes de l'Antiquité* (Pékin: [s.n.], 1953), pp. 109–114.

²⁵² *Liexian zhuan*, in *Zhengtong daoze*, vol 8, p. 251.

attributed to Ningfengzi in *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, including exercises imitating different animals and the Six Breaths.²⁵³

These legendary figures form an important part of *daoyin* tradition as ‘archetypal’ practitioners who achieved the ultimate goal of transcendence.

2.2.5 Fangshi 方士 (Masters of Formulas) and their aristocratic patrons

Like *xian*, *fangshi* is another term invented by Han writers to denote certain specialists of the third century BCE. *Shiji* first uses the title *fangshi* for those who arrived at the court of the First Emperor of the Qin (r. 221–210 BCE) with techniques for the way of *xian*, of releasing the form and interacting with ghosts and spirits.²⁵⁴ Both the First Emperor and Emperor Wu of the Han are portrayed in their official biographies as being obsessed with the search for drugs that would make them immortal. They were enthusiastic patrons of *fangshi*, who claimed to possess such drugs. *Shiji* describes *fangshi* as followers of Zou Yan 騶衍 (ca. 305 – 240 BCE), who was reputed to have developed a theory of cosmogony, using *yin-yang* and the five phases (*wuxing* 五行) in order to explain cyclical change in nature and to predict the political fortunes of rulers. His theory of *yin-yang* and the five phases became a theoretical framework in many areas, including ritual, astrology, divination, and medicine.²⁵⁵ Subsequently, the term *fangshi* became a label to denote a

²⁵³ See 4.9.2 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*; See also Catherine Despeux, ‘The Six Healing Breaths’, in *Taoist Body Cultivation*, ed. by Livia Kohn (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2006), pp. 49–54.

²⁵⁴ *Shiji*, j. 28, p. 1368.

²⁵⁵ Yu-lan Feng, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Circa 100*

diverse group of specialists with a broad range of skills in technical arts.

Harper observes that,

At Warring States courts and among the elite generally, the applied knowledge of the natural experts and occultists was valued as much as the speculations of the masters of philosophy. Astrology, hemerology, medicine, and other arts were of immediate consequence in the pattern of daily life; the natural experts and occultists were there to dispense their wisdom as the occasion required.²⁵⁶

Sivin stresses that the term *fangshi* was never used as a self-referent. People became *fangshi* in the eyes of others because of what they had done, not because of their social status.²⁵⁷ The scholar-officials responsible for compiling historical records often describe *fangshi* in a derogatory fashion. Nevertheless, some *fangshi* with expertise in medical knowledge and *yangsheng* techniques, attracted Han nobles, who became their patrons. These literate elites had the time and money to engage in the pursuit of longevity and immortality practices and were 'significant participants in the culture of secrecy and privileged knowledge.'²⁵⁸

Two *daoyin*-related texts can be found listed in the *Shenxian* 神仙 (Spirit Transcendence) subcategory under the *Fangji* 方技 (Recipes and Techniques) section of *Hanshu yiwenzhi* 漢書藝文志 (The Bibliographic Treatise of the Han): *Huangdi zazi buyin* 黃帝雜子步引 (The Yellow

B.C. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 159–69; Needham, Joseph, and Colin A. Ronan, *The Shorter Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 142–3.

²⁵⁶ Donald Harper, 'Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought' in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 813–84 (p. 825).

²⁵⁷ Nathan Sivin, 'Taoism and Science' in *Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China: Researches and Reflections* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995), p. 29.

²⁵⁸ Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 57.

Emperor's Miscellaneous Walking and Pulling Exercises) and *Huangdi Qibou anmo* 黃帝岐伯按摩 (Massage and Therapeutic Exercises of the Yellow Emperor and Qibo).²⁵⁹ Together with the other three subcategories - *Yijing* 醫經 (Medical Classics), *Jingfang* 經方 (Canonical Recipes) and *Fangzhong* 房中 (Sexual Cultivation), these texts listed in the *Fangji* were an integral part of early Chinese medical literature. These four types of texts continue to appear, without further division, in medical sections of bibliographies in the imperial libraries of the Sui and Tang. Such a phenomenon reflects strong continuity in the long tradition of medical knowledge and practices between the Han and the Sui and Tang periods.²⁶⁰

Three important *daoyin* sources from between the Warring States and the Han dynasty will now be analysed in detail, namely The Jade Inscription of Qi Movement 行氣玉銘, *Daoyin tu* 導引圖 (The Drawing of Guiding and Pulling) together with its associated texts, and *Yinshu* 引書 (The Book of Pulling).

2.2.5.1 *Xingqi yuming* 行氣玉銘 (Jade Inscription of Qi Movement)



The earliest extant textual evidence of a breathing technique relating to *daoyin* is an inscription on a block of jade dating from the late Warring States period (around the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE) (Fig. 2.1).²⁶¹ This jade artefact, now in the

Figure 2.1 The

²⁵⁹ *Hanshu*, j.30, Jade Inscription 玉銘 Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 6–8.

²⁶⁰ Further discussion of Qi Movement kinds of texts listed under the *Fangji* section in *Hanshu yiwenzhi* can be found in the medical texts in *Suishu jingji zhi*.

²⁶¹ Harper refers it as the only ancient example of a macrobiotic technique prior to the Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan macrobiotic hygiene texts (Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 125); Livia Kohn describes it as the earliest known reference to healing exercises (Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 14); Li Zhiyong 李志庸 describes it as the earliest *qigong* text (Li Zhiyong, *Zhongguo qigong shi* 中國氣功史, p. 59.)

Tianjin Museum, has twelve sides in the shape of a cylinder, measures 5.4 cm in height and 3.4 cm in width, and fits comfortably in the hand. Three characters are inscribed on each side, making 36 characters in all. Nine of the thirty-six characters are underscored by two lines underneath them, suggesting that these characters were intended to be read twice.

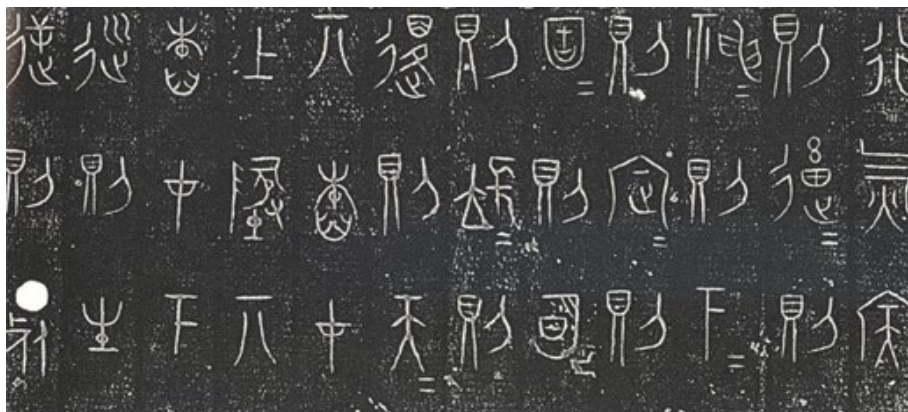


Figure 2. 2 The text of the Jade Inscription of Qi Movement

The meaning of these characters has been the subject of considerable debate, as has the original function of the object, and its precise date.²⁶² Although there are only thirty-six characters, not all of them can be easily identified, resulting in differing interpretations of the text. Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), a renowned scholar of ancient literature and archaeology, interprets the text as follows:

²⁶² See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. 2 *History of Scientific Thought* (1956), p. 242; Guo Moruo 郭沫若, 'Gudai wenzi zhi bianzheng de fazhan 古代文字之辩证的的发展'; Kaogu 考古 3 (1972), 2–13 (p. 9); Chen Banghuai 陈邦怀, 'Zhanguo xingqi yuming kaoshi 战国《行气玉铭》考释', *Guwenzi yanjiu*, 古文字研究, 7 (1982), pp. 187–93; Tang Yuhui 湯餘惠, *Zhanguo mingwen xuan* 戰國銘文選 (Changchun Shi: Jilin Univ. Press, 1993); Mao Liang 毛良, 'Xingqi yupei ming ji qi shiwen de taolun 行氣玉佩銘及其釋文的討論', *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中華醫史雜誌, 5 (1982), 121–3; Ute Engelhardt, 'Zur Bedeutung der Atmung im Qigong', *Chinesische Medizin* 1 (1996), 17–23 (p. 19); Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 126; Roth, *Original Tao*, pp. 161–3; Li Ling 李零, *Zhongguo fangshu kao* 中國方術考 (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 2000), pp. 342–6; Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 14–15.

行氣深則蓄，蓄則伸，伸則下，下則定，定則固，固則萌，萌則長，長則退，退則天。天幾(機)春(動)在上，地幾(機)春(動)在下。順則生，逆則死。

The movement of the *qi*: When it becomes deep, it stores. When it stores, it extends. When it extends, it goes downward. When it goes downward, it becomes stable. When it is stable, it becomes strong. When it is strong, it begins to germinate. When it germinates, it grows. When it grows, it then retreats. When it retreats, it becomes Heaven. The dynamism of Heaven moves upwards and the dynamism of Earth moves downwards. Following it, one lives; opposing it, one dies.²⁶³

Chen Banghuai 陳邦懷 (1897–1986), an epigrapher and calligrapher, has a different understanding of some of the characters and, therefore, of the text:

行氣，吞則遙，遙則伸，伸則下，下則定，定則固，固則萌，萌則長，長則復，復則天。天其本在上，地其本在下。順則生，逆則死。

To circulate vapour: Swallow, then it travels; travelling, it extends; extending, it descends; descending, it stabilizes; stabilizing, it solidifies; solidifying, it sprouts; sprouting, it grows; growing, it returns; returning, it is heaven. Heaven - its root is above; earth – its root is below. Follow the pattern and live; go against it and die.²⁶⁴

Such varying interpretations of the various characters illustrate how difficult it is to decipher the exact meaning of this short text. Despite its ambiguity, some scholars have tried to give a concrete explanation of its meaning. Li Ling 李零, for example, is convinced that the ‘roots’ of heaven and earth in the text refer to the upper and lower *dantian* 丹田 (cinnabar field).²⁶⁵ He argues that the text

²⁶³ Guo Moruo 郭沫若, ‘*Gudai wenzi zhi bianzheng de fazhan* 古代文字之辩证的发展’; *Kaogu* 考古 3 (1972), 2–13 (8).

²⁶⁴ Translated by Harper who has based his translation on Chen Banghuai’s transcription; Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 126.

²⁶⁵ The upper *dantian* is located in the region of the brain and is the seat of spirit (*shen* 神).

describes a type of exercise familiar in modern *qigong* practice as ‘the *qigong* of the microcosmic orbit of the *ren* and *du* channels’ 任督二脈小周天功.²⁶⁶

Livia Kohn’s translation follows Li’s hypothesis:

....When it is pulled upwards, it reaches the crown of the head. It then touches above at the crown of the head and below at the base of the spine. Who practises like this will attain long life. Who goes against this will die.²⁶⁷

While Li’s claim is speculative and anachronistic, Kohn’s translation seemingly interpolates modern detail and is potentially misleading. Harper suggests that,

Like the *Neiyi* and the *Laozi*, the text is an example of verse meant for recitation by initiates who would have received fuller knowledge of its meaning either orally or in ancillary texts. The verse itself is the verbal distillation of the technique, each verb an icon of the act of circulating vapour.²⁶⁸

Varying interpretations of the text, notwithstanding, most agree that it is the earliest known evidence detailing the practice of deep breathing, an essential element of *daoyin* exercises. Roth asserts that the simplicity of the concepts outlined in the text indicates that it predates the more complicated ideas expressed in the *Neiyi* chapter of *Guanzi*, a set of writings on statecraft composed in the late fourth century BCE.²⁶⁹ A.C. Graham regards *Neiyi* as possibly the oldest ‘mystical’ text in China to talk about physio-spiritual transformations within the body which produce the physique of a sage,

Also known as muddy pellet (*niwan* 泥丸). The lower *dantian* is located 3 cun 寸 (inches) below the navel and is the seat of essence (*jing* 精).

²⁶⁶ Li Ling, *Zhongguo fangshu kao*, p. 345.

²⁶⁷ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 14–15; Kohn, *A Source Book in Chinese Longevity*, p. 24.

²⁶⁸ Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 126.

²⁶⁹ Roth, *Original Tao*, p. 162.

preparing the body for rulership in association with the spirits of ancestors, by means of moderation in diet, adjustment of posture and breathing meditation.²⁷⁰ For the practitioners of *Neiye*, implicitly the ruling elite, the aim of breathing meditation is to cultivate inner equilibrium and impartiality, and ultimately to attain Dao, rather than to achieve health and longevity. However, *Neiye* is not a practitioners' manual with step-by-step instructions, whereas the jade cylinder inscription can be interpreted as describing stages of breath cultivation from inhalation to exhalation.

Roth also suggests that methods of inner cultivation outlined in *Neiye* were being applied to the problems of rulership.²⁷¹ A growing body of literature during the late Warring States period is concerned with the cultivation of the body of the ruler as a conduit between heaven and earth, and with the exercise of divine power. The jade inscription seems to belong to this particular genre.

The cultivation of the body of the ruler is the main theme of *Lúshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals, c.239 BCE), an eclectic anthology of philosophical thoughts of the pre-Qin period. Lú Buwei 呂不韋 (291–235 BCE), the wealthy merchant, politician and philosopher, responsible for the compilation of *Lúshi Chunqiu*, was critical of the rise of the Qinshi Huangdi. *Lúshi chunqiu* sets out a philosophy of statecraft which exalts the ruler as the exemplar of humanity who holds the pivotal position between Heaven and Earth. It is through the ruler's self-cultivation that the harmony of

²⁷⁰ Graham, *Disputers of the Tao*, pp. 100–5.

²⁷¹ Roth, pp. 28–30.

his state can be established. Movement plays an important part, and this later became an influential concept of *daoyin*:

流水不腐，戶樞不蠹，動也。形氣亦然，形不動則精不流，精不流則氣鬱。

Flowing waters do not stagnate and door hinges do not get mole crickets, because they move. The ethers (*qi*) and bodily frame are also like this. If the bodily frame does not move, the vital essence does not circulate, and if it does not circulate, the ethers will coagulate.²⁷²

The cultivation of the body was also important to Mencius. Concerned with the practice of benevolent government, he is said to have practised breath cultivation in order to nourish the flood-like *qi* (*yang haoran zhiqi* 養浩然之氣) in his body. For him, breath cultivation was inseparable from cultivating moral character and the self-cultivation of the *junzi* 君子 (the gentleman) who was fit to rule. Mencius believed that ‘the virtue of goodness in human nature, like water, simply descends; there are no humans without goodness, there is no water which does not descend.’²⁷³ Thus, good nature within humans can be guided to flourish through education and moral cultivation.

From the above examples we see the importance of breathing techniques as part of self-cultivation for the ruling elites, techniques which were applied to different philosophies of statecraft. Although there is no reference to its context, and ambiguity as to its content, the jade inscription contains the distinct mnemonic structure of a breathing exercise. It would be inappropriate

²⁷² *Lüshi Chuqiu*, j.3, p. 136; tr. John Knoblock, and Jeffrey Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei: A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 100.

²⁷³ *Mencius*, j.3, in *Chongkan Songben Shisanjing zhushu fujiao kanji* 重刊宋本十三經注疏附校勘記, ed. by Yuan Ruan 阮元, Zhu Hualin 朱華臨 *et al.* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), p. 54.

to suggest that the inscription was composed by *fangshi*, as that term was not in circulation at that time. However, this kind of technical knowledge and bodily practice was later associated with people described by Sima Qian and other Han writers as *fangshi*. Similarly, material found in Han tombs, such as Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan, was most likely to have been composed by *fangshi* for their aristocratic patrons, evidence of a wider transmission of the practice of *daoyin* among elite members of society during the late Warring States, Qin and early Han periods.

2.2.5.2 *Daoyin tu* 導引圖 (Drawing of Guiding and Pulling)

One of the most celebrated archaeological discoveries relating to *daoyin* is referred to by modern authors as *Daoyin tu*, a drawing of forty-four colour illustrations of human figures performing *daoyin* exercises (Fig. 2.3).



Figure 2. 3 Mawangdui *Daoyin tu* (Source: *Mawangdui hanmu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, 1985)

Daoyin tu was unearthed in 1973 at Mawangdui Han tomb No. 3 near Changsha 長沙 in Hunan province, southern China, along with many other texts, such as *Wushier bingfang* 五十二病方 (Recipes for Fifty-two Ailments),

Yangsheng fang 養生方 (Recipes for Nurturing Life) and *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions).²⁷⁴ It was discovered on a silk manuscript, being one of the burial objects belonging to the son of a local lord who died in 168 BCE at around the age of thirty. The silk manuscript, measuring approximately 50 cm wide and 110 cm long, consists of two texts, twenty ruled blank columns, and the *Daoyin tu*. *Daoyin tu* takes up more than two thirds of the entire manuscript. The two texts were untitled but were later named by the excavators as ‘*Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣 (Eliminating Grain and Eating Qi)’ and ‘*Yin Yang shiyi mai jiujiing yiben* 陰陽十一脈灸經乙本 (Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels, ed. B)’. The blank columns suggest that more writings were intended to be included.

Despite the fact that *Daoyin tu* was already broken into fragments, with many of its images damaged and captions missing, we can still see some of the figures, both men and women, either standing, kneeling, bending or sitting, while stretching and contorting their limbs. A reconstruction of *Daoyin tu* has been made available, although the process has inevitably involved some guesswork. In this reconstruction, we can see forty-four figures, each 9 to 12 cm tall, arranged in four horizontal rows with eleven figures in each row (Fig. 2.4).

²⁷⁴ For further information and translation of Mawangdui excavated medical texts, see Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*.



Figure 2. 4 Reconstructed *Daoyin tu* (Source: Wellcome images)

Only some of the captions in *Daoyin tu* have been preserved and identified.

Shen Shou 沈寿 divides them into three categories: Positioning of a movement, curing of a disease and naming of an animal.²⁷⁵ The table below illustrates Shen's classification, with captions which can be identified with confidence. The figures are counted from top right to bottom left:²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Shen Shou, *Daoyin yangsheng tushuo* 导引养生图说 (Beijing: Renmin tiyu chubanshe, 1992), p. 7.

²⁷⁶ Based on Harper's translation; Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 310–27.

Positioning of a movement	Curing of a disease	Naming of an animal
30. 以杖通陰陽 Penetrating <i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i> with a pole	15. 引積 Pulling inguinal swelling	25. 鶴 [] Crane
32. 伸 Stretch ²⁷⁷	20. 引聾 Pulling deafness	27. 龍登 Dragon ascending
34. 仰呼 Looking up and shouting	23. 引膝痛 Pulling knee pain	40. 猿据 Gibbon shouting
37. 坐引八維 Sitting and pulling the eight radial-cords ²⁷⁸	24. 引肱積 Pulling upper side accumulation	41. 熊經 Bear ramble
	29. 引項 Pulling the nape	44. 鷓 Merlin/Bird of the morning wind
	35. 引炁中 Pull internal heat	
	36. 引溫病 Pulling warm diseases	
	39. 引癢痛 Pulling <i>bi</i> pain	

Table 2. 1 Three types of *daoyin* exercises from *Daoyin tu* based on Shen Shou's classification

From Table 2.1, we can see that captions indicated by the word ‘*yin*’ 引 (pulling) imply that these exercises are to be used to treat illness, such as deafness or knee pain. This curative aspect of *daoyin* was later to be formalised and standardised in *Bingyuan* during the Sui dynasty.

At least five animals feature in the descriptions of certain exercises.²⁷⁹ One exercise, ‘the bear ramble’, is cited in *Zhuangzi* chapter 15, the very place where the term *daoyin* first appears in written documents. *Huainanzi* mentions six *daoyin* exercises involving animal mimes - bear ramble, bird stretch, wild duck bathing, monkey leaping, hawk gazing and tiger turning to look back

²⁷⁷ A strong possibility that it could be ‘bird’ stretch though there is only one graph *shen* 信 in the caption. See Harper, p. 311, n.4.

²⁷⁸ According to Harper, the eight radial-cords denote the eight compass directions in terms of the analogy between net-cords radiating from a centre and the axial structure of the cosmos. See Harper p. 315, n.4.

²⁷⁹ In ‘Profile of a *Daoyin* Tradition’, Wang and Barrett identified nine images from the *Daoyin tu* which represent movements of animals or insects. Four additional images which are not included in the animal section in Table 1 are: 8. Mantis, 31. Goshawk 32. Rooster and 42. Tortoise. Harper considered their graphs to be illegible and marked them as lacunas. See Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p311, n. 1, p. 314, n.3, n.4 and p. 316, n. 3.

(*xiongjing*, *naoshen*, *fuyü*, *yuanjue*, *chishi*, *hugu* 熊經, 鳥伸, 鳧浴, 黿躍, 鴟視, 虎顧).²⁸⁰ *Yinshu* contains twelve *daoyin* exercises relating to animal movements.²⁸¹ Hua Tuo 華佗 (140–203 CE) a famous physician during the Later Han and early Three Kingdoms, developed a set of *daoyin* exercises entitled *Wuqinxi* 五禽戲 (The Five Animal Frolics).²⁸² We can conclude that the imitation of animals was a distinctive feature of *daoyin* exercises aimed at physical cultivation and longevity.²⁸³

The fact that the two texts, ‘Eliminating Grain and Eating Qi’ and ‘Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels, ed. B’ appear in the same manuscript as the *Daoyin tu*, is significant, suggesting some kind of connection between them. ‘Eliminating Grain and Eating Qi’ is essentially a breath cultivation text, utilising specific breathing techniques according to the season. ‘Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels’ outlines eleven *mai* 脈 (channels), which predates the twelve channels described in the *Huangdi neijing* of first century BCE. .

In his 1983 article, Shen Shou suggests that the four rows of *Daoyin tu* correspond to the four seasons expounded in ‘Eliminating Grain and Eating Qi’ and that the eleven columns refer to the eleven channels described in

²⁸⁰ *Huainanzi*, j. 7 *jingshen*.

²⁸¹ Vivienne Lo, ‘Imagining Practice: Sense and Sensuality in Early Chinese Medical Illustration’ in *The Warp and the Weft: Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China*, ed. by Metallie and Dorofeeva-Lichtmann Bray (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 385–425 (p. 385).

²⁸² More on Hua Tuo in 2.3.2 The *Fangshi*.

²⁸³ See Wang and Barrett 2006, pp. 225–53.

'Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels'.²⁸⁴ Shen Shou's interpretation of *Daoyin tu* provides a convincing reason why the forty-four figures were drawn in four rows and eleven columns. While hard to prove or disprove Shen's theory, it has certainly given us a new way of looking at the structure of *Daoyin tu*. The table below illustrates Shen's theory:²⁸⁵

	<i>Daoyin tu</i> numbering	<i>Yinyang shiyi mai jiu jing</i> 陰陽十一脈灸經 (Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels, ed. B)
1	1,12,23,34	鉅陽脈 The Great Yang Channel
2	2,13,24,35	臂少陰脈 The Forearm Lesser Yin Channel
3	3,14,25,36	肩脈 The Shoulder Channel
4	4,15,26,37	少陽脈 The Lesser Yang Channel
5	5,16,27,38	臂鉅陰脈 The Forearm Great Yin Channel
6	6,17,28,39	陽明脈 The Yang Illumination Channel
7	7,18,29,40	太陰脈 The Great Yin Channel
8	8,19,30,41	少陰脈 The Lesser Yin Channel
9	9,20,31,42	耳脈 The Ear Channel
10	10,21,32,43	齒脈 The Tooth Channel
11	11,22,33,44	厥陰脈 The Ceasing Yin Channel

Table 2. 2 The relationship between *Daoyin tu* and 'Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels, ed. B' according to Shen Shou's theory

Some Western scholars have also explored the connection between *Daoyin tu* and 'Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels, ed. B'.

Wang and Barrett suggest 'an association between the development of *daoyin* and the channel therapies on which later acu-moxa treatment was based.'²⁸⁶

Lo also argues that 'the juxtaposition of *Daoyin tu*, chart of therapeutic gymnastics, with *Yinyang shiyimai jiu jing*, a channel text which mentions no cautery, suggests alternative physical therapy for disorders of the *mai*.'²⁸⁷ In

²⁸⁴ Shen Shou 沈寿, 'Xihan bohua daoyintu jiehe yinyang shiyi maijiu jing zongtan 西汉帛画《导引图》结合《阴阳十一脉灸经》综探', *Chengdu tiyuan xuebao* 成都体院学报, 4 (1983), 11–15.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Wang and Barrett, p. 232.

²⁸⁷ Lo, *Imagining Practice*, p. 390.

her earlier writing on 'The Mianyang Figurine', Lo proposes the possibility that 'those self-cultivation practices, in particular the breathing and *daoyin* exercises, exerted a major influence at an early stage in the development of the concept of the channels.'²⁸⁸

Another Mawangdui text which gives instructions on *daoyin* and breathing exercises is *Shiwen* 十問 (Ten Questions). It comprises ten dialogues between various ancient figures cast as teachers and students. The following quotation comes from a dialogue between the Yellow Emperor and his teacher Rong Cheng 容成, an expert in sexual techniques and *daoyin* exercises (*budao zhishi* 補導之事):²⁸⁹

翕(吸)氣之道，必致之末，精生而不厥。尚(上)下皆精，塞(寒)溫安生？息必探(深)而久，新氣易守。宿氣為老，新氣為壽。善治氣者，使宿氣夜散，新氣朝最，以徹九微(竅)，而實六府。

The way to suck in vapour: it must be made to reach to the extremities, so that essence is generated and not deficient. Above and below are all essence, cold and warm are tranquillity generated. Breathing must be deep and long, so that the new vapour is easy to hold. The old vapour is that of agedness, the new vapour is that of longevity. He who is skilled at cultivating vapour lets the old vapour disperse at night and the new vapour gather at dawn, thereby penetrating the nine apertures and filling the six cavities.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ He Zhiguo 何志國 and Vivienne Lo, 'The Channels: A Preliminary Examination of a Lacquered Figurine from the Western Han Period', *Early China* 21 (1996): 81–123 (p. 87).

²⁸⁹ See *Liexian zhuan* in *Zhengtong daozaog*, vol 8, p. 252–2; Campany, *To live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, p. 173, n.134.

²⁹⁰ Tr. Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 394–5.

In *Shiwen*, *daoyin* is closely connected to sexual techniques, particularly techniques performed by men. The dialogue between Wangzi Qiaofu 王子巧父²⁹¹ and Pengzu illustrates this directly:

是故道者發明唾手循辟（臂），靡（摩）腹從陰從陽。必先吐陳，乃翕（吸）竣（脰）氣，與竣（脰）通息，與竣（脰）飲食，飲食完竣（脰），如養赤子。

...at the first light of day the person of the Way spits on his hands and strokes his arms. He rubs the abdomen, following the Yin and following the Yang. He must first spit out the stale, then suck in the penile vapour. Let penetrating breathing be together with the penis; let drinking and eating be together with the penis. Drink and food consummate the penis, like nurturing the red infant.²⁹²

2.2.5.3 *Yinshu* 引書 (The Book of Pulling)

Another important *daoyin* text from the Han period was found in 1983 at tomb 247 at the Zhangjiashan burial site in Hubei 湖北 province, two hundred kilometres north of Mawangdui.²⁹³ The tomb, closed in 186 BCE, contained two medical manuscripts – *Maishu* 脈書 (the Book of Channel) and *Yinshu*, written on bamboo slips 27.3 - 28 centimetres long and 0.4 – 0.5 centimetres wide. *Maishu* can be divided into six texts, one of which is an edition of the Mawangdui ‘Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Yin and Yang Vessels, ed. B’, in much better condition than the edition found on the same silk scroll as *Daoyin tu*.²⁹⁴ *Yinshu* comprises three discrete texts. The first describes both daily and seasonal health regimes, including personal hygiene, grooming, diet,

²⁹¹ It is possible that Wangzi Qiaofu refers to the legendary *xian* figure Wangzi Qiao.

²⁹² See Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 401.

²⁹³ The full translation of *Yinshu* can be found in Lo's PhD dissertation, pp. 344–55 and in her 2014 publication.

²⁹⁴ Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture*, p. 41.

sleep and sexual behaviour. The second outlines forty-one sets of exercises, of which thirty-seven have survived in entirety. The third describes the aetiology of diseases and ways of maintaining good health. Some of the exercises described in *Yinshu* are comparable with those depicted in *Daoyin tu*, for example *long deng* 龍登 (Dragon Rising) and *yin xi tong* 引膝痛 (Pulling Knee Pain).²⁹⁵ Yet, as a whole, the exercises described in *Yinshu* do not closely match those depicted in *Daoyin tu*.²⁹⁶ Unlike the static poses portrayed in *Daoyin tu*, the descriptions of *daoyin* exercises in *Yinshu* are more informative, giving instructions on how they are to be performed. According to Lo, the types of illnesses treated with *daoyin* in *Yinshu* match closely those associated with each of the *mai* as described in *Maishu*.²⁹⁷ Lo calculates that ‘over 60% are pain and discomfort or motor problems associated with co-ordination of the limbs.’²⁹⁸

Yinshu describes in detail more than one hundred *daoyin* exercises for treating various illnesses, and emphasises the importance of having a health regime relating to the four seasons. Some of the exercises in *Yinshu* can be found in *Bingyuan*, a text compiled more than 800 years later, demonstrating a continuity in the tradition. Exercises in these two texts will be compared in 4.9.1.

Yinshu also describes the relationship between disease and social class:

²⁹⁵ From the captions of the *Daoyin tu*, there are at least five *daoyin* exercises can be found in *Yinshu*.

²⁹⁶ Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture*, p. 40.

²⁹⁷ Lo, *Imagining Practice*, p. 390.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 390–1.

The reason that the nobility get illness is that they do not harmonise their joys and passions. If they are joyful then the Yang *qi* is in excess. If they are angry then the Yin *qi* is in excess... The reason that lowly people become ill is exhaustion from their labour, hunger and thirst; when the hundred sweats cease, they plunge themselves into water and then lie down in a cold and empty place. They don't know to put on more clothes and so they become ill from it. Also they do not know to expel air and breathe out (dry breath) to get rid of it. On account of this they have many illnesses and die easily.²⁹⁹

As Lo observes, 'the preponderance of nurturing life texts among the burial goods in the tombs at Zhangjiashan and Mawangdui suggests that the courtly elite of Chu were familiar with the way of life advocated in the texts.'³⁰⁰ These archaeological discoveries have brought to light the 'Northern bias' of regarding Chu as the semi-barbarous culture of the south, the traditional text-based view of the south, which distorted the historical reality of the pre-Han period.³⁰¹

Both *Daoyin tu* and *Yinshu* demonstrate the popularity of *daoyin* among Chu elites in the Warring States and early imperial periods. The nobility were able to moderate their behaviour, protect themselves from illness, and preserve their youthfulness and natural vitality through the practice of *daoyin*, which they learned from experts generally referred to as *fangshi*.

²⁹⁹ Yinshu slips 108–9; tr. Lo, *The Influence of Yangsheng Culture*, p. 354.

³⁰⁰ Lo, 'The Influence of Western Han Nurturing Life on the Development of Acumoxa Therapy', in *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. by Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 19–51 (p. 23).

³⁰¹ On Chu, see Constance A. Cook, and John S. Major, *Defining Chu: Image and Reality in Ancient China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1999), p. 1; Patricia B. Ebrey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 57.

2.2.6 Yi 醫 (Physicians)

While *fangshi* is an eclectic term referring to a range of specialists in technical arts and occult knowledge, *yi* is a more specific title for physicians, more often than not, referring to scholar (i.e. literate) physicians during the Warring States, Qin and Han periods. These scholar physicians treated their patients with a new knowledge of the body. They developed new medical ideas, incorporating theories of *yin* and *yang* and the five agents, and distinguished themselves from other healers, such as *wu*, who operated according to a belief system that considered evil spirits and ancestors the sole agents of disease. Works such as *Huangdi neijing* epitomise the new medical paradigm of these scholar physicians.³⁰² In *Neijing*, the term *fangshi* appears as a reference to physicians.³⁰³

A number of texts written during the Han period bear witness to the use of *daoyin* as one of the main therapeutic treatments. For example, the biography of Bian Que 扁鵲 in *Shiji* mentions a physician of antiquity called Yu Fu 俞跗 who, rather than curing illness with decoction, medicinal wine, stone needles, *daoyin*, massage or hot pack, instead, apparently conducted radical surgical operations. He examined patients' symptoms, followed the *shu* 俞 points of the five organs, cut the skin, dissected the flesh, opened the vessels (*mai*) and tightened the muscles, compressed the marrow and brain, cleared the

³⁰² See Unschuld, *Medicine in China*, pp. 51–100; Donald Harper, 'Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought' in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221*, ed. by Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 874–84; Elisabeth Hsu, *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine: The Telling Touch*. Vol. 68 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Miranda Brown, *The Art of Medicine in Early China: The Ancient and Medieval Origins of a Modern Archive* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

³⁰³ Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, p. 51; *Suwen*, j.11 *Wuzang bielun* 五臟別論, p. 100 & j. 74 *Zhizhen yao dalun* 至真要大論, p. 661 & p. 667.

diaphragms, washed the stomach and intestines, rinsed the five organs, refined the essence and transformed the bodies.³⁰⁴

From this we can infer that *daoyin* was generally included among therapies employed by physicians, along with decoction, medicinal wine, stone needles, massage and hot packs. Such understanding is also evidenced in the *Huangdi neijing*, which gives *daoyin* a prominent position among treatments administered by doctors at that time. Written in the form of question and answer between the Yellow Emperor and his teacher Qibo 岐伯, the Emperor asks,

余受九針於夫子，而私覽於諸方，或有導引行氣，喬摩、灸、熨、刺、炳飲藥之一者，可獨守耶，將盡行之乎？岐伯曰：諸方者，眾人之方也，非一人之所盡行也。

I have learned the knowledge of the nine needles from you but have read about various treatments myself. These treatments could be *daoyin* and moving *qi*, massage, moxibustion, hot packs, acupuncture, burning therapy and decoction. Do you apply just one of them, or all of them when you are treating somebody? Qibo answered, 'These various treatments are for various kinds of people, and you do not apply all of them to one person.'³⁰⁵

In this passage, *daoyin* and moving *qi* are the first to be mentioned in a list of therapies. In *Suwen* 素問 (Plain Question), we are told about the five regional origins of five types of therapies, including *daoyin*, which originates from the central region:

中央者，其地平以濕，天地所以生萬物也眾。其民食雜而不勞，故其病多痿厥寒熱，其治宜導引按蹻，故導引按蹻者，亦從中央出也。

³⁰⁴ Shiji, j.105, *Bianque cangong liezhuan* 扁鵲倉公列傳 45, p. 2788.

³⁰⁵ *Lingshu*, j.42 *bingchuan* 病傳, p. 325.

The area in the central region is level but damp; it is where myriad things are created by Heaven and Earth. The people of this region eat mixed food and do not toil. So they often suffer from atrophy and reversal of *qi*, hot and cold diseases which can best be cured by *daoyin* and massage. *Daoyin* and massage, therefore, have their origins in the central region.³⁰⁶

Lu and Needham suggest that this ancient account of medical regionalism represents ‘a number of ‘local culture’, environing societies which brought various distinguishable traits into the eventual common Sinic stock.’³⁰⁷ They postulated that ‘acupuncture would have been associated with the south-eastern quasi-Indonesia aquatic element, while moxa would have come down to join it from the northern quasi-Tungusic nomadic element, and the pharmaceutical influence would have come from the western Szechuanese and quasi-Tibetan element.’³⁰⁸ Investigating Ming medical regionalism, Hanson notes that ‘the central region of China in the five phases system of correlations symbolically corresponded also to Chinese ethnic and political identity.’³⁰⁹ Both Needham and Hanson’s works suggest that people of the central region would have been ‘Chinese’, who ate mixed food and did not toil and whose illnesses could be cured by *daoyin*.

Elsewhere in the text, it states that a chronic breathing condition can be cured only by a combination of drugs and *daoyin*:

³⁰⁶ *Suwen*, j.12 *yifa fangyi lun* 異法方宜論, p. 106.

³⁰⁷ Lu Gwei-djen and J. Needham, *Celestial Lancets: A History and Rational of Acupuncture and Moxa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 1–2.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁹ Marta E. Hanson, ‘Northern purgatives, southern restoratives: Ming medical regionalism’, *Asian Medicine* 2.2 (2006), 115–70.

帝曰：病脅下滿氣逆，二三歲不已，是爲何病？岐伯曰：病名曰息積，此不妨於食，不可灸刺，積爲導引服藥，藥不能獨治也。

The [Yellow] Emperor said, 'When [someone] suffers from fullness below the flanks, with *qi* moving contrary [to the normal course] for two or three years without end, which disease is that?' Qi Bo said, 'The disease is named breath accumulation. Here the intake of food is not impeded, one must not cauterize or pierce. [Let the patient] practise [exercise of] guiding-pulling continuously and [let him] take drugs. Drugs alone do not suffice for the treatment.'³¹⁰

Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (150–219 CE), one of the most eminent Chinese physicians during the later years of the Han Dynasty, adheres closely to ideas expounded in the *Huangdi neijing*, advocating the use of *daoyin* as a first call in the prevention and treatment of illness:

若人能養慎，不令邪風干忤經絡，適中經絡，未流傳臟腑，即醫治之；四肢才覺重滯，即導引吐納，針灸膏摩，勿令九竅閉塞。

People should be cautious in nourishing themselves. They should not allow deviant wind to invade and attack the channels and network vessels. As soon as it strikes the channels and network vessels, they need to be treated by the doctors. As soon as they feel heaviness and stagnation in their limbs, they should perform *daoyin* and breathing exercises, use acupuncture, moxibustion, ointment or massage so that their nine orifices are not closed or blocked.³¹¹

Here Zhang Zhongjing emphasises the importance of preventive medicine and of treating an illness as soon as it occurs. His recommendation contrasts with the advice given by the seventh century Tang physician Sun Simiao 孫思

³¹⁰ *Suwen*, j.47, p. 357; tr. Paul U. Unschuld, and Hermann Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic—Basic Questions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 691–2.

³¹¹ *Jingui yaolue* 金匱要略 j.1, p. 21.

邈 who advocated food over drugs rather than *daoyin*.³¹² Such priorities form the essence of the medical knowledge of *Huangdi neijing*, which became the theoretical foundation of Chinese medicine. *Daoyin* would have played an important role in preventive medicine and health care given by doctors such as Zhang Zhongjing, working under the new medical paradigm during the Han.

To summarise, during the Warring States, Qin and Han periods, various kinds of people whose different aims and intentions were represented both positively and negatively, engaged in styles of breathing and body stretching and pulling that engaged the *qi* in their bodies. These include the followers of Pengzu in *Zhuangzi*, who aspired to longevity, practitioners of the *Neiye* in *Guangzi*, who were strengthening their spirit and vital essence, Mencius, who cultivated his moral character, Zhang Liang, who became a recluse, *fangshi*, who were knowledgeable about *yangsheng* and *daoyin*, the Han nobility, who engaged themselves in bodily practice for worldly aims, and the scholar physicians, who treated patients with the new medical ideas and theories. The maps and table below illustrate the geographical origin of various *daoyin*-related texts and practitioners during the Warring States, Qin and Han periods:

³¹² Sun Simiao said, 'A physician should first examine the cause of illness, understand what has been violated before giving treatment with food. Only when treating with food does not work can it then be treated with medicine. (夫為醫者，當須先洞曉病源，知其所犯，以食治之，食療不愈，然後命藥。); *Qianjin yaofang*, j.26, p. 464–1.



Map 2. 3 Geographical locations of *daoyin* texts and practitioners during the Warring States period



Map 2. 4 Geographical locations of *daoyin* texts and practitioners during the Han period

No.	<i>Daoyin</i> -related text/ <i>daoyin</i> practitioner	Period	Location
1	<i>Xingqi yuming</i> 行氣玉銘 The Jade Inscription of Qi Movement	Warring States Late 4 th BCE	Unknown
2	<i>Guanzi neiyè</i> 管子內業 Inner Training of Guanzi	Warring States Late 4 th BCE	Qi
3	<i>Mencius</i> 孟子	Warring States	Qi
4	<i>Lúshi Chunqiu</i> 呂氏春秋 Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals	Qin c.239 BCE	Qin

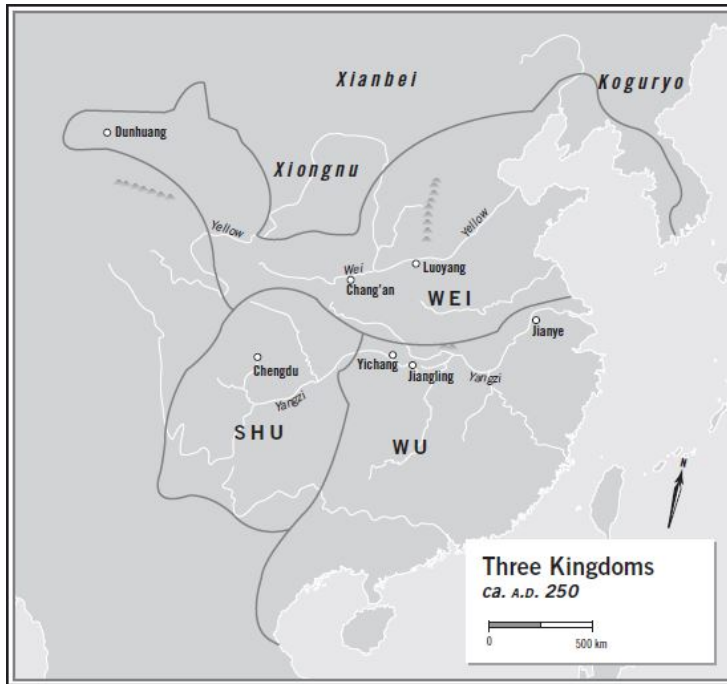
5	Zhang Liang 張良(262 –189 BCE)	Western Han	Chu
6	<i>Daoyin tu</i> 導引圖 The Drawing of Guiding and Pulling	Western Han 168 BCE	Chu
7	<i>Yinshu</i> 引書 The Book of Pulling	Western Han 186 BCE	Chu
8	Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (150–219 CE)	Eastern Han	Nanyang (in modern Henan)

Table 2. 3 A numerical list of *daoyin*-related texts and practitioners during the Warring States, Qin and Han periods (numbers indicated on Map 2.3 and 2.4)

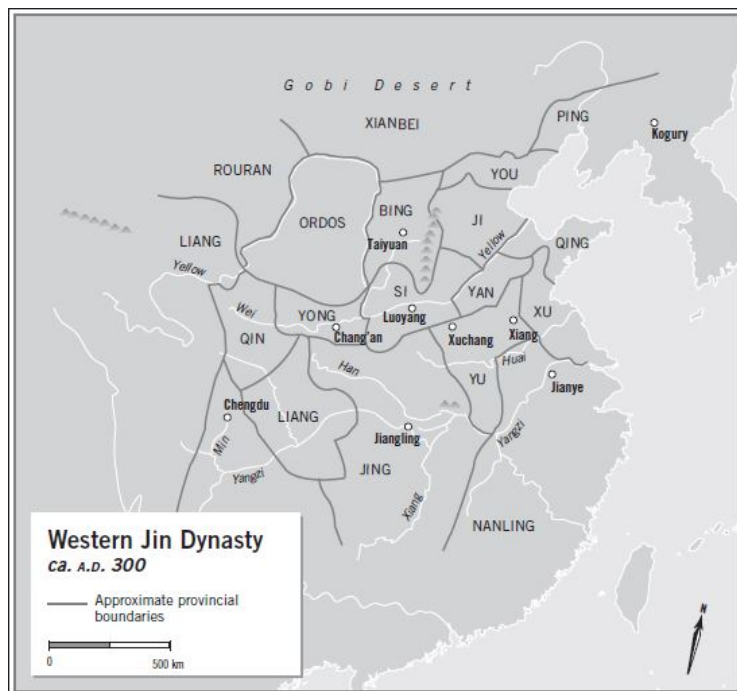
2.3 Therapeutic exercise during the Wei, Jin, Southern & Northern dynasties (220–589 CE)

2.3.1 Social and political context

Social disruption marked the end of the Han Empire in 220 CE. There followed a period of political fragmentation, lasting almost four hundred years, which ended when Yang Jian 楊堅 (541–604 CE), a general of the Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581 CE) seized the throne and founded the Sui dynasty (581–618 CE). The period immediately following the collapse of the Han dynasty is known as the Three Kingdoms (220–280 CE) comprising the Wei 魏 state in the north, the Shu 蜀 state in the west and the Wu 吳 state in the south (Map 2.5). After Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211 – 265 CE) of the Wei state conquered the Shu state in 263, his son Sima Yan 司馬炎 (236 – 290 CE) succeeded as emperor and established the Jin 晉 dynasty, historically referred to as Western Jin 西晉 (265–316 CE). In 280, Sima Yan destroyed the Wu state and united China but this was short lived (Map 2.6).



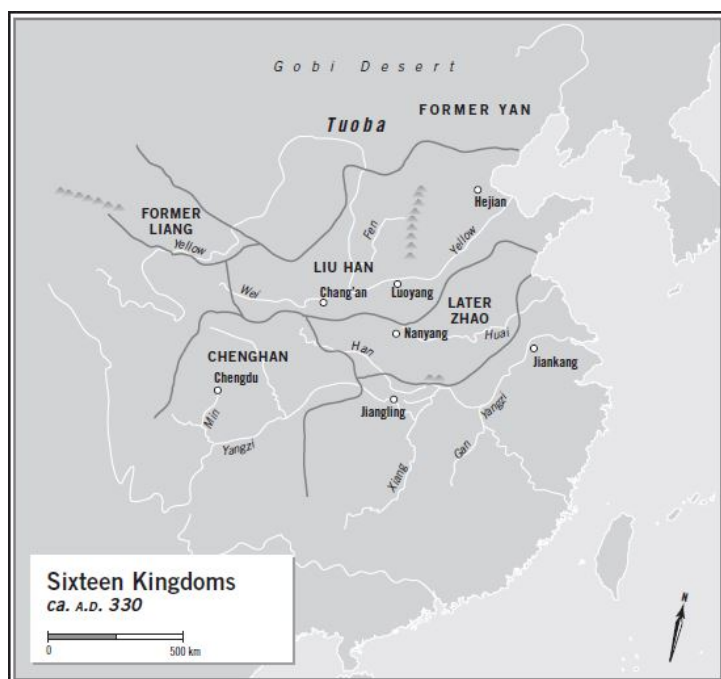
Map 2. 5 The Three Kingdoms (220–280 CE)
 (Source: Lewis, *China between Empires*, p.34)



Map 2. 6 The Western Jin Dynasty (265–316 CE)
 (Source: Lewis, *China between Empires*, p.76)

Between 304–316 CE, a further series of uprisings, instigated by northern non-Chinese nomadic tribes, occurred. After successfully capturing the Western Jin capital of Luoyang, they rapidly established a series of states and

kingdoms in the north of China known as the Sixteen Kingdoms (316–387 CE) (Map 2.7). Chaos and devastation in the north prompted a mass migration to the south. Many of those who fled were from prominent families, who had the means to escape. They brought the refinement of northern culture to southern China, precipitating new waves of art and literature. The imperial court moved to Jiankang 建康 (modern-day Nanjing 南京) thereby transferring the seat of the dynasty from the Western to the Eastern Jin 東晉 (317–420 CE) (Map 2.8). A further three centuries of political fragmentation and turmoil ensued while north and south were ruled independently. In the south, four distinct dynasties followed the demise of the Eastern Jin: Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479), Southern Qi 南齊 (479–502), Liang 梁 (502–557) and Chen 陳 (557–589). At the same time, a number of dynasties were established in the north by non-Chinese tribes such as *Xiongnu* 匈奴 and *Xianbei* 鮮卑.



Map 2.7 The Sixteen Kingdoms, 330 CE
(Source: Lewis, *China between Empires*, p.77)



Map 2. 8 The Eastern Jin (317–420 CE)
 (Source: Hinrichs and Barnes, *Chinese Medicine and Healing*, p.66)

The period between the Han and Sui dynasties has been simplified into three dynastic periods - the Three Kingdoms (220–280), the Western and Eastern Jin dynasties (265–420), and the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–589).

The whole period is known as *Wei Jin Nanbeichao* 魏晉南北朝 (Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties) or *Liuchao* 六朝 (Six Dynasties). It is also referred to as the Period of Division or Disunity.

Wei, Jin, Southern & Northern dynasties	220–589
Three Kingdoms	220–280
Jin dynasty	265–420
Western Jin	265–316
Eastern Jin	317–420
Northern and Southern dynasties	385–589
Northern dynasties	386–581
Northern Wei	386–534
Eastern Wei	534–550
Northern Qi	550–577
Western Wei	535–556
Northern Zhou	557–581
Southern dynasties	420–589
Liu Song	420–479
Southern Qi	479–502
Liang	502–557
Chen	557–589

Table 2. 4 Wei, Jin, Southern & Northern dynasties

The Six Dynasties is not only one of the most tumultuous but also one of the most culturally diverse periods. The human suffering of that time no doubt stimulated an intensified search for spiritual and intellectual insight, which could have invigorated the establishment of the institutional religions of Daoism and Buddhism, operating away from any central control. This period is also characterised by the emergence of powerful aristocratic clans.³¹³ The knowledge of *yangsheng* practices and *daoyin* exercises continued to spread during this chaotic time, with members of aristocratic families being important transmitters of cultural knowledge.

2.3.2 *Fangshi*

In the early Period of Division, *daoyin* practitioners were often referred to as *fangshi*, famed for their pursuit of immortality and transcendence through self-cultivation techniques, such as abstaining from grains, breathing exercises and *daoyin*, and sexual cultivation practices. Some *fangshi* became sufficiently well-known to have biographies or anecdotes written about them in various texts from different genres, including:

- *Bowuzhi* 博物志 (Records of Myriad Things) by Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300 CE)
- *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms) by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297 CE) and its commentary by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372–451 CE)
- *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Traditions of Divine Transcendents) by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 CE)
- *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity) by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 CE)

³¹³ See Mark E. Lewis, *China between Empires*.

- *Houhan shu* (History of the Later Han) 後漢書 by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–446 CE)

A chapter on *fangshi* in *Bowuzhi*, a collection of short stories arranged in an encyclopaedic manner, begins with the story of Cao Cao 曹操 (155–220), a founding figure of the state of Cao Wei of the Three Kingdoms (220–265), who would summon *fangshi* from afar to his court:

魏武帝好養性法，亦解方藥，招引四方之術士，如左元放、華佗之徒，無不畢至。

The Emperor Wu of Wei (i.e. Cao Cao) was fond of methods of nourishing one's inner nature³¹⁴ and understood drug recipes, [and] would call upon experts in those techniques from the four corners of the world. People such as Zuo Yuanfan and Hua Tuo all came [to his court].³¹⁵

Bowuzhi records sixteen *fangshi* who visited Cao Cao's court, at least seven of whom were knowledgeable in *daoyin*: Gan Shi 甘始, Zuo Ci 左慈 (aka Zuo Yuanfan), Yan Nian 延年, Feng Junda 封君達, Wang Zhen 王真, He Mengjie 郝孟節, and Hua Tuo 華佗.³¹⁶ There are several anecdotes about these *daoyin* experts.

According to *Bowuzhi*, Gan Shi, a native of Gan Ling 甘陵 (in modern Hebei 河北) was skilled in moving *qi*, and in *daoyin*, and

³¹⁴ The term *yangxing* 養性 (nourishing one's inner nature) is used frequently to describe various self-cultivation practices and can be seen as synonymous to *yangsheng*. During the Tang period, Sun Simaio writes about various *yangsheng* self-cultivation practices in a chapter entitled *yangxing pian* 養性篇. The Tang text *Yangxing yanming lu* 養性延命錄 contains many bodily practices, including a chapter on *daoyin* and self-massage.

³¹⁵ *Bowuzhi*, j. 5, pp. 61–70 (p. 61)

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

retained a youthful complexion into old age.³¹⁷ Pei Songzi's commentary on Chen Shou's 'Record of the Three Kingdoms', written in 429, quotes a passage from *Dianlun* 典論 (Normative Disquisitions), a literary critique written by Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226), the second son of Cao Cao. This quotation gives a vivid description of *daoyin* masters such as Gan Shi and Zuo Ci:

潁川郤儉能辟穀，餌伏苓，甘陵甘始名善行氣，老有少容，廬江左慈知補導之術，並為軍吏。。。後始來，眾人無不鳴視狼顧，呼吸吐納。軍謀祭酒弘農董芬為之過差，氣閉不通，良久乃蘇。左慈到，又競受其補導之術。

Xi Jian of Yinchuan is able to abstain from grains and eats only *fuling*. Gan Shi of Ganling is renowned for his practice of moving *qi* and as an old person he has a youthful complexion. Zuo Ci of Lujiang is knowledgeable about the techniques of supplementing the essence and *daoyin* exercises³¹⁸, and is also an army officer....Later when Gan Shi came, many people began to practise 'owl gazing and wolf looking behind' and breathing exercises. Dong Fen, a military official in Hongnong, practised them incorrectly. His breathing became blocked, and it took him a long time to recover. When Zuo Ci arrived, again all of them rushed to receive his techniques of supplementing the essence, and *daoyin*.³¹⁹

This passage illustrates the popularity of these *fangshi*, who attracted many people to learn various *yangsheng* techniques, including *daoyin*, from them. It also warns of the potential dangers of practicing a movement incorrectly.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ Campany understands *bu* 補 in 補導之術 as *bujing* 補精 (supplementing one's essence), referring to sexual techniques (Campany, *To live*, p. 173, n.134).

³¹⁹ *Sanguozhi*, j.29, p. 804. The biography of Zuo Ci can also be found in *Houhan shu* j 82, pp. 2747–8; tr. Ngo, *Divinisation, magie et politique dans la Chine ancienne*, pp. 138–9 and Campany, *To live*, pp. 279–86.

Zuo Ci was a native of Lujiang 廬江 (in modern Anhui) said to be endowed with extraordinary abilities. According to the records of Ge Hong's *Shenxian zhuan*, and Fan Ye's *Houhan shu*, he was able to stay alive for one year without food.³²⁰ He could materialise exotic fish and have ginger from over hundreds of miles away appear instantly. He is said to have fed one hundred officials with inexhaustible quantities of meat and wine. Under threat of death from Cao Cao, he walked through walls, caused multiple images of himself to appear in the market, and fled into a flock of sheep disguised as one of them.

According to *Houhan shu*, Gan Shi, Yan Nian and Feng Junda practised an unusual kind of bodily movement alongside their sexual cultivation practices:

甘始、東郭延年、封君達三人者，皆方士也。率能行容成御婦人術，或飲小便，或自倒懸，愛嗇精氣，不極視大言。甘始、元放、延年皆為操所錄，問其術而行之。

Gan Shi, Yan Nian from the Eastern city wall, and Feng Junda were all *fangshi*. They practised the sexual techniques of Rongcheng gong, drinking urine, and hanging upside down. They were keen to preserve their seminal *qi* and did not exhaust themselves in looking and talking. Gan Shi, Yuan Fang (i.e. Zuo Ci) and Yan Nian were all appointed by Cao Cao, who asked them about their techniques and practised them himself.³²¹

³²⁰ *Shenxian zhuan*, j.8, pp. 271–8 (p. 271); for English translation, see Campany, pp. 279–286; *Houhan shu* j.82, pp. 2746–7.

³²¹ *Houhan shu*, j.82, p. 2749. Hanging upside down appears in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* as a cure for dizziness and madness induced by wind; *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, j.2.42 and 43, p. 55 and 59.

There were techniques which involved holding the breath, and generating and swallowing saliva. According to *Houhan shu*, Wang Zhen 王真 claimed to be practising ‘embryonic breathing’ (*taixi* 胎息) and ‘embryonic eating’ (*taishi* 胎食), which made him look remarkably young.³²² A quotation from *Hanwu neizhuan* 漢武內傳 (The Inner Story of [Emperor] Wu of the Han) explaining how to perform embryonic breathing and embryonic eating is also recorded in *Houhan shu*:

王真字叔經，上黨人。習閉氣而吞之，名曰『胎息』；習嗽舌下泉而咽之，名曰『胎食』。真行之，斷穀二百餘日，肉色光美，力並數人。

Wang Zhen from Shangdang, whose courtesy name was Shu Jing, practised holding the breath before swallowing it. This is called ‘the embryonic breath’. He practised generating liquids under his tongue before swallowing them. This is called ‘embryonic eating’. Practising them, Zhen was able to live for more than 200 days without grains. His flesh was shining and beautiful. His strength was greater than that of several people’s combined.³²³

The many references to embryonic breathing and embryonic eating in later texts, particularly in the Daoist Canon of the Ming dynasty, compiled in 1445, testify to their popularity in Daoist tradition.³²⁴ In *Baopuzi*, Ge Hong claims that when his great uncle, Ge Xuan 葛玄 (164–244) became over-heated and intoxicated during the summer, he was able to remain underwater for a whole

³²² *Houhan shu*, j.82, p. 2750.

³²³ *Ibid*; see also Schipper, *The Taoist Canon*, pp. 115-6.

³²⁴ See *Gaoshang yuhuang taixi jing* 高上玉皇胎息經 DZ 14; *Shesheng cuanlu taishitaixi fa* 攝生纂錄 胎食胎息法 DZ 578; *Taishang yangsheng taixi qijing* 太上養生胎息氣經, DZ 819; *Taixi baoyi ge* 胎息抱一歌, DZ 827; *Taixi jingwei lun* 胎息精微論, DZ 829; *Taixi jingzhu* 胎息經注, DZ 130; *Taixi miyao gejue* 胎息秘要歌訣, DZ 131; *Yanling xiangsheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 延陵先生集新舊服氣經: 胎息精微論 胎息雜訣, DZ 825; *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤: 胎息根旨要胎息羽化功, DZ 1032; *Zhuzhen shengtai shenyong jue* 諸真聖胎神用訣, DZ 826.

day by holding his breath and doing embryonic breathing (*biqu taixi* 閉氣胎息).³²⁵

Although the term *taixi*, embryonic breathing, is not used, the technique of 'holding the breath' is one of the most important *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*. Terms such as *buxi* 不息 (not breathing) and *biqu* 閉氣 (holding the breath) appear more than sixty times in connection with curing various diseases. They are often used for generating sweat, or as part of a visualisation technique, where one visualises *qi* moving to the diseased area of the body. A detailed analysis of various exercises involving 'holding the breath' from *Bingyuan* can be found in chapter 4.6. Embryonic eating, the technique of generating and swallowing saliva, is a similarly important *daoyin* exercise in *Bingyuan*, although the term '*taishi*' is not used. It appears under ten different diseases, as part of the accompanying *daoyin* instructions.

He Mengjie 鄒孟節, like Wang Zhen a *fangshi* from Shangdang 上黨, was renowned for his fasting and breathing techniques, and was favoured by Cao Cao:

孟節能含棗核，不食可至五年十年。又能結氣不息，身不動搖，狀若死人，可至百日半年。亦有室家。為人質謹不妄言，似士君子。曹操使領諸方士焉。

Mengjie could hold a date kernel in his mouth and abstain from eating for five to ten years. He could also hold his *qi* and not breathe, his body would not move, and he looked like a dead person. He could be like this for one hundred days to half a year. He had a family, and was

³²⁵ *Baopuzi*, j.8, p. 137 (Tr. Ware, p. 139–40); For more details on Ge Xuan, see Campany, *To live*, pp. 152–9; For more details on *taixi*, see Catherine Despeux, '*Taixi*' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 953–4; Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese Religion*, pp. 459–505; Schipper, *The Taoist Body*, p. 157; Campany, p. 365, no.23.

meticulous and cautious in his speech like a learned gentleman. Cao Cao made him the head of all his *fangshi*.³²⁶

The technique of holding a date kernel in the mouth, described as a means of attaining longevity, is described in a Daoist text entitled ‘Array of the Five Talismans’:

長生之道，常含一棗核，如兒乳汁，久久及液滿口，三分嚥二餘一，口與氣俱入，名曰還精。

A method of longevity: Regularly hold a date kernel in your mouth, just as a baby suckles a nipple. Hold it for a long time until the juice fills your mouth. Divide into three measures, swallowing two parts and keeping one third in your mouth. Ingest each mouthful together with air. This is called “returning the essence”.³²⁷

This unusual exercise, which would not have been regarded as part of *daoyin*, was incorporated into *Bingyuan* for curing symptoms of deficiency-exhaustion and shortage of *qi*:

人能終日不涕唾，隨有漱漏咽之。若恆含棗核而咽之，令人受氣生津液，此大要也。

You should not have a runny nose or saliva leaking from your mouth constantly. Rinse and swallow whenever they leak out. If you habitually keep a date stone in your mouth and swallow [the saliva it produces], it will cause you to receive *qi* and generate fluids. This is of great importance.³²⁸

³²⁶ Based on the translation of DeWoskin, p. 88; *Houhan shu*, j.82, p. 2750.

³²⁷ *Taishang lingbao wufu xu* 太上靈寶五符序, *Lezi changhan zaohe fang* 樂子長含棗核方, from *Zhengtong daoze*, vol 10, p. 752; tr. Raz, pp. 61–2

³²⁸ *Bingyuan*, j.3.14.

Perhaps the most celebrated of the *fangshi* who came to Cao Cao's court was Hua Tuo (140–203 CE). A native of Qiao 譙 in the kingdom of Pei 沛, now Bo 亳 county in Anhui 安徽 province, Hua Tuo was renowned for his surgical skills and his invention of *mafeisan* 麻沸散, an analgesic powder. He was appointed personal physician to Cao Cao, but subsequently fell out of favour and was executed. None of his work survives and his medical records have also been lost. The biography in *Sanguozhi* describes him as being knowledgeable in the techniques of nourishing one's inner nature. Although he was nearly a hundred years old, he had the appearance of a man in the prime of life.³²⁹

Hua Tuo was also noted for his knowledge of *daoyin*, and is credited with the invention of a set of exercises called the Five Animal Frolics, which he taught to his disciple, Wu Pu 吳普, who practised them diligently:

廣陵吳普、彭城樊阿皆從佗學。普依準佗治，多所全濟。佗語普曰：

「人體欲得勞動，但不當使極爾。動搖則穀氣得消，血脉流通，病不得生，譬猶戶樞不朽是也。是以古之仙者為導引之事，熊頸鳴顧，引輓腰體，動諸關節，以求難老。吾有一術，名五禽之戲，一曰虎，二曰鹿，三曰熊，四曰猿，五曰鳥，亦以除疾，並利蹄足，以當導引。體中不快，起作一禽之戲，沾濡汗出，因上著粉，身體輕便，腹中欲食。」普施行之，年九十餘，耳目聰明，齒牙完堅。

Wu Pu of Guangling and Fan A of Pengcheng were both pupils of Hua Tuo. Wu Pu accurately followed Hua Tuo's methods of treatment, and his patients generally recovered. Hua Tuo once said to Wu Pu, 'the body should be exercised but do not overdo it in any way. Exercise brings about good digestion and a free flow of blood, and prevents

³²⁹ *Sanguozhi, weishu*, j.29, *fangji zhuan* 29, p. 799.

illness. It is like a door pivot which never rots.³³⁰ Therefore, the *xian* of antiquity engaged in such *daoyin* exercises as moving the head like a bear, and looking back like an owl. By lengthening the lumbar and moving the joints, one seeks longevity. I have a method known as the five animal frolics - tiger, deer, bear, ape and bird. It can be used to get rid of diseases, and benefits the legs and feet. These are the *daoyin* exercises. When you feel unwell in the body, start practising one of the exercises. After sweating and powdering the body, you will sense a lightening of the body, and a desire for food.” Wu Pu put this into practice and attained an age greater than ninety, yet with excellent hearing, vision, and teeth.³³¹

The earliest descriptions of exercises resembling the Five Animal Frolics can be found in *Yangxing yanming lu* 養性延命錄 (Records of Cultivating Innate Nature and Extending Life) and the *Taishang Laojun yangsheng jue* 太上老君養生訣 (Instructions on Nourishing Life by the Most High Lord Lao; CT 821) from the Tang period (618–907 CE).³³² However, one cannot be certain that these were the original *daoyin* exercises Hua Tuo passed on to his disciples. Different versions of the Five Animal Frolics have been developed right up to the present day, some of which bear little resemblance to the practices described in *Yangxing yanming lu* or in *Taishang Laojun yangsheng jue*, shown below:

虎戲者，四肢距地，前三擲，卻二擲，長引腰側腳，仰天即返；距行前卻，各七過也。

³³⁰ This axiom comes from *Lüshi Cunqiu*; see footnote 66.

³³¹ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 5, Part 5, p. 161; *Sanguozhi*, j.29, *fangji zhuan* 29, p. 804.

³³² See Schipper and Verellen, *The Daoist Canon*, vol.1 p. 354, *Houhan shu*, j.82, p. 2739.

Tiger Frolic: Place four limbs on the ground, leap forwards three times and backwards twice. Lengthen and stretch your lumbar while leaning your body to one side and raising your leg towards the sky. Return to the position of four limbs on the ground, and move forwards and backwards. Do this seven times.

鹿戲者，四肢距地，引項反顧，左三右二，伸左右腳，伸縮亦三亦二也。

Deer Frolic: Place four limbs on the ground, stretch your neck and look backwards, three times to the left and twice to the right. Stretch left and right legs, stretching and contracting them three times on the left and twice on the right.

熊戲者，正仰，以兩手抱膝下，舉頭左擗地七，右亦七，蹲地，以手左右托地。

Bear Frolic: Facing upwards, hold below the knees with both hands. Raise your head to the left and lean towards the ground seven times. Do the same on the right seven times. Squat on the ground, pressing it with left and right hands.

猿戲者，攀物自懸，伸縮身體，上下一七，以腳拘物倒懸，左右七、手鉤腳五，按頭各七。

Ape Frolic: Suspend yourself by holding onto a bar, stretching and contracting your body up and down seven times. Hook your feet on to the bar and suspend yourself upside down. Hook it with your left and right foot seven times each. Then, hook your hands on to your feet five times. Press your head with each hand seven times.

鳥戲者，雙立手，翹一足，伸兩臂，揚眉，用力各二七，坐伸腳，手挽足趾，各上，縮伸二臂各七也。

Bird Frolic: Raise both palms, raise one foot, stretch both arms, and raise your eyebrows. Using your strength, do it on each side twice seven times. Sit with the legs outstretched; take hold of your toes with

your hands, pulling them upwards alternately. Contract and stretch the arms seven times each.³³³

The animal forms featured prominently in many *daoyin*-related sources such as *Daoyin tu*, *Yinshu*, and *Yangxing yanming lu* can also be found in *Bingyuan*, including toad (*Hama* 蝦蟇), snake (*She* 蛇), tortoise (*Gui* 龜), duck (*Wu* 鶩), goose (*Yan* 雁) and dragon (*Long* 龍). However, the animal form exercises in *Bingyuan* are essentially breathing exercises and differ considerably from the strenuous Five Animal Frolics described above.³³⁴

Apart from Cao Cao's seven *fangshi* who were conversant in *daoyin* exercises, other *fangshi* mastered the arts of transcendence successfully enough to be included in Ge Hong's *Shenxian zhuan*, a hagiography of *fangshi* who strove to become transcendent. Among them were Shen Jian 沈建, Liu Jing 劉京, and Huang Fulong 皇甫隆, all noted for their expertise in *daoyin*.

Like Hua Tuo, Shen Jian from Danyang 丹陽 (in Modern Jiangsu 江蘇) was a physician and expert in *daoyin*:

沈建者，丹陽人也。世為長史，而建獨好道，不肯仕宦。學道導引服食之術，遠年卻老之法，又能治病，病無輕重，遇建則差，舉事之者千餘家。

Shen Jian was a native of Danyang. [His family] for generations had served [there] as senior subalterns, but Shen alone [in his family] loved the Dao and was unwilling to serve in office. He practised arts of

³³³ *Yangxing yanming lu*, j.5; see also Stanley-Baker, *Cultivating Body, Cultivating Self*, pp. 121–4.

³³⁴ See 4.8.2 Breathing Exercises.

“guiding and pulling” and macrobiotics and methods for reversing one’s years and dispelling aging. He was also capable of treating illnesses; no matter whether their illness was minor or grave, all who sought treatment from Shen were cured, and the households that supported him numbered several thousand.³³⁵

An acquaintance of Wang Zhen, Liu Jing 劉京, was also expert in *daoyin*. A native of Nanyang, Liu Jing was an Attendant Gentleman under Emperor Wen of Han. He later abandoned the world to study ‘the Way’, first with Lord Zhang of Handan 邯鄲 (in Hebei Province) and later with Ji Zixun 蒯子訓, one of the *fangshi* who were invited to Cao Cao’s court. According to Ge Hong’s *Shenxian zhuan*, Liu Jing and Wang Zhen travelled together to famous mountains, including the five sacred mountains – Taishan 泰山 in Shangdong 山東, Huashan 華山 in Shannxi 陝西, Hengshan 衡山 in Hunan 湖南, Hengshan 恆山 in Shanxi 山西, and Songshan 嵩山 in Henan 河南. During the reign of Cao Cao, they travelled to all their disciples’ homes. Huangfu Long 皇甫隆, another native of Nanyang 南陽, came to learn from Liu Jing. A few years later, before Liu Jing left for Mount Heng 衡山 (in modern Hunan 湖南), never to be seen again, he told Huangfu Long,

治身之要，當朝朝服玉泉，使人丁壯有顏色，去三蟲而堅齒也。玉泉者，口中液也。朝來起早，漱液滿口，乃吞之，琢齒二七過，如此者三乃止，名曰煉精，使人長生也。

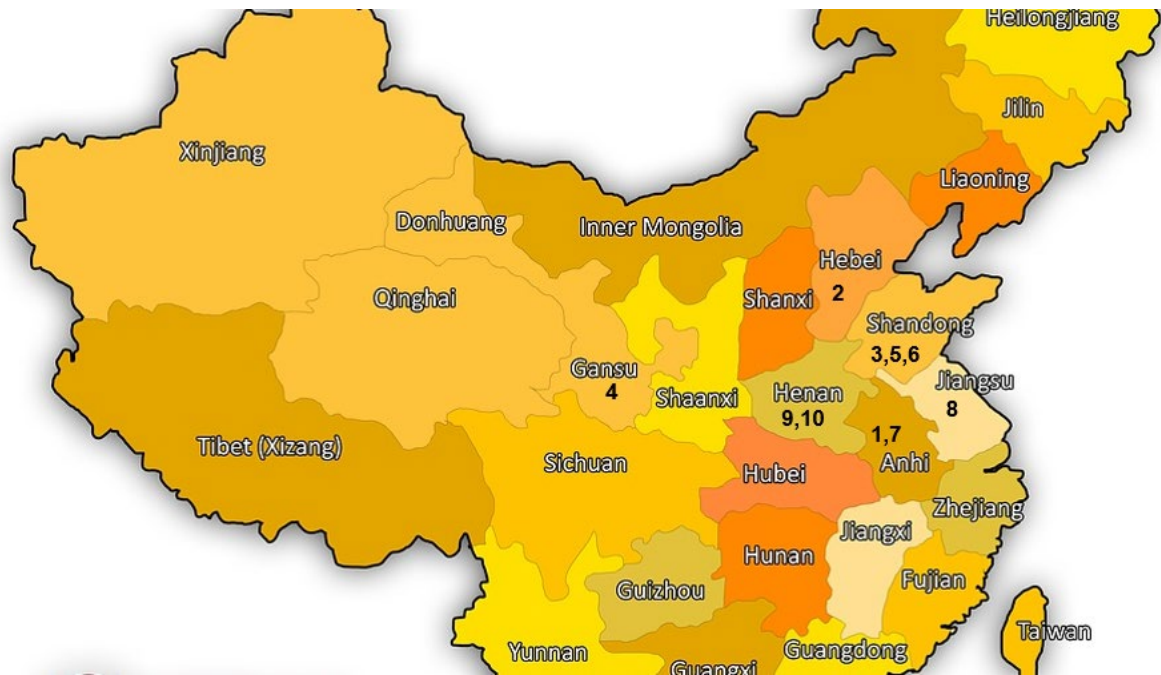
The essential thing in regulating the body is to drink from the ‘jade spring’ every morning. This will cause the person to become vigorous

³³⁵ *Shenxian zhuan*, j.2, pp. 41–3 (p. 41); tr. Company, *To live*, p. 333.

and strong, of good complexion, and will drive out the three worms and anchor the teeth. The 'jade spring' is the saliva in one's mouth. When you rise in the morning, let the saliva accumulate until your mouth is full. After swallowing it, clack your teeth twice seven times. Do this three times and then stop. This is called 'cultivating the essence' and will result in a long life.³³⁶

To summarise, during the early period of the Six Dynasties, the most prominent *daoyin* practitioners were the so-called *fangshi*, an eclectic label for those who possessed knowledge and skills in technical arts. These adepts passed on their knowledge of *daoyin* to all kinds of people, including Cao Cao's officials in the case of Zuo Ci and Gan Shi, together with their followers, or their patients and disciples in the case of Hua Tuo and Shen Jian. Liu Jing and Wang Zhen also had many followers from a variety of locations. The knowledge and techniques of these *fangshi* were later recorded, notably in medical and *yangsheng* literature, as well as in Daoist writings. The map and table below illustrate the geographical origin of the aforementioned *fangshi* during the early period of Division:

³³⁶ *Shenxian zhuan*, j.7, pp. 225–8 (p. 226). An identical *daoyin* instruction is recorded in seventh century Sun Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang*, j.27, p. 478.



Map 2. 9 Geographical locations of *fangshi* who were *daoyin* experts during the early period of Division, on a modern Chinese map

1	Zuo Ci	左慈	Lujiang, Anhui	廬江,安徽
2	Gan Shi	甘始	Ganling, Hebei	甘陵,河北
3	Dongguo Yannian	東郭延年	Shanyang, Shandong	山陽,山東
4	Feng Junda	封君達	Longxi, Gansu	隴西,甘肅
5	Wang Zhen	王真	Shangdang, Shandong	上黨,山東
6	He Mengjie	郝孟節	Shangdang, Shandong	上黨,山東
7	Hua Tuo	華佗	Pei Kingdom, Anhui	沛國,安徽
8	Shen Jian	沈建	Danyang, Jiangsu	丹陽,江蘇
9	Liu Jing	劉京	Nanyang, Henan	南陽,河南
10	Huangfu Long	皇甫隆	Nanyang, Henan	南陽,河南

Table 2. 5 A numerical list of *fangshi* who were *daoyin* experts during the early period of Division (numbers indicated on Map 2.9).

2.3.3 Daoists

The chaos that ensued around the collapse of the Han dynasty aided the growth of religious movements such as *Tianshi dao* 天師道 (Way of the

Celestial Masters) in the Sichuan region and *Taiping dao* 太平道 (Way of the Great Peace) in the eastern province. The former, established during the mid-second century by Zhang Ling 張陵 (34?–156?) also known as Zhang Daoling 張道陵, developed a more coherent identity as the formal establishment of the Daoist religion (*daojiao* 道教).³³⁷ Practitioners, eventually referred to as *Daoshi* 道士 (Daoist Masters), adopted *xian* techniques and *yangsheng* practices as part of their healing methods, and in order to convert commoners. Zhang Daoling was said to have practised a particular breathing exercise for a thousand days and, as a result, was able to see his own five organs.³³⁸

Health and salvation in this period were closely intertwined. According to Engelhardt,

Based on a formal covenant between the newly arisen Lord Lao and the Daoist community, the way of the Celestial Master promised its members that the gods would grant them health and long life – provided they did not commit any sins. Thus, they also practised physical longevity techniques like eating *qi*, abstention from grains and breathing exercises to maintain health.³³⁹

One of the earliest Daoist texts, *Taiping jing* (太平經 The Canon of Heavenly Peace), expounds the notion of ‘inherited burden’ (承負 Chengfu) where fault and blame are passed from one generation to another, causing calamity and misfortune. Thus, an individual has to reflect upon these transgressions and

³³⁷ See Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism*; Company, *On the Very Idea of Religions*.

³³⁸ *Shenxian zhuan*, j. 5, pp. 150–63 (p. 151).

³³⁹ Engelhardt, *Longevity Techniques and Chinese Medicine*, p. 76.

confess them to the celestial deities in order to gain salvation. One manifestation of *chengfu* is in the form of disease, for which the text offers different healing techniques, including meditation, visualisation, and various breathing exercises, typifying the self-cultivation techniques engaged in by *fangshi*.

Considering the relationship between *fangshi* and Daoist techniques, Csikszentmihalyi remarks that,

The "methods" of the *fangshi* may be seen as forerunners of organized Taoist practices on several levels. In the Han, the concept of the Dao served to explain the efficacy of the myriad of newly forming technical disciplines, and many of these disciplines were the province of the *fangshi*. This explains why the term *daoshi* (masters of the Dao) was already beginning to replace the term *fangshi* in the *Hanshu*, resulting in its gradual eclipse of the latter term. On a more concrete level, many specific techniques of spirit transcendence, medicine, and alchemy initially used by *fangshi* found their way into later Taoist practice.³⁴⁰

Ge Hong, an influential figure in the technical arts of transcendence, and a prolific writer of the Eastern Jin era (317–420 CE), exemplifies someone who could have been thought of as either *fangshi* or Daoist, as the two labels become less distinct. Born into a southern aristocratic family near Jiankang, Ge Hong, in his autobiography, speaks of experiencing great poverty throughout his life while remaining free in spirit.³⁴¹ Despite living meagrely, Ge Hong was an avid reader, more interested in cultivating his nature by following

³⁴⁰ Mark Csikszentmihalyi, 'Fangshi 方士' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 406–9.

³⁴¹ *Baopuzi waipian*, j. 50, Autobiography, p. 665; See *Chinese civilization: A sourcebook*, ed. by Patricia B. Ebrey (New York: The Free Press, 1993), p. 115.

the Way of Master Redpine and Wang Ziqiao, the ancient adepts in *yangsheng* practices and *daoyin* exercises, than in engaging with the mundane world:

且自度性篤懶而才至短，以篤懶而禦短才，雖翕肩屈膝，趨走風塵，猶必不辦大致名位而免患累，況不能乎？未若修松喬之道，在我而已，不由於人焉。將登名山，服食養性。

I am by nature lazy and untalented. With these two characteristics, even if I could cringe, kneel, and rush about in the mundane world, I would certainly fail to obtain fame or high position – which is beside the fact since I could never bring myself to do so! It is better for me to cultivate the Way of Master Redpine and Wang Ziqiao, and depend solely on myself. I am hoping to ascend a famous mountain where I will ingest certain food and nourish my inner nature.³⁴²

Ge Hong understands *daoyin* as a method of extending one's lifespan by imitating the movements of long-lived animals such as tortoises and cranes.³⁴³ He claims that 'for regulating and benefiting sinews and bones, there is a method of bending down and rising up' (*tiaoli jingo, you yanyang zhifang* 調利筋骨, 有偃仰之方) and suggests that one should 'practise *daoyin* in the mornings and evenings in order to promote the movement of the flourishing and defensive *qi*, preventing it from being hindered or blocked' (*xingqi buxie, zhaoxi daoyin, yi xuandong rongwei, shiwu chuohe* 行氣不懈, 朝夕導引, 以宣動榮衛, 使無輟闕).³⁴⁴ However, Ge Hong perceives *daoyin* as a minor art, feeling that although these methods may have health benefits,

³⁴² *Baopuzi waipian*, j.50, Autobiography, p. 692; Translation based on Clara Yu from Patricia B. Ebrey ed., *Chinese civilization: A sourcebook*, p. 117.

³⁴³ *Baopuzi neipian*, j.3, p. 40.

³⁴⁴ *Baopuzi neipian*, j.13, p. 223 and j. 15, p. 274.

one cannot attain immortality through them alone. The way to attain immortality is by ingesting elixirs:

雖呼吸道引，及服草木之藥，可得延年，不免於死也；服神丹令人壽無窮已，與天地相畢，乘云駕龍，上下太清。

Although practising breathing exercises and *daoyin*, and taking herbal medicine can extend your lifespan, you will still die. Ingesting the numinous elixir will give you infinite longevity, on the par with the lifespan of heaven and earth. You will ride the clouds and the dragons, ascending to and descending from the realm of *Taiqing* (Great Clarity).³⁴⁵

Ge Hong placed himself in the lineage of Zuo Ci who, according to Ge Hong, received the Scriptures of Transcendents on Golden Elixir (*jindan xianjing* 金丹仙經) from a divine personage (*shenren* 神人). Zuo Ci passed these alchemical texts on to Ge Hong's great uncle Ge Xuan 葛玄 (164–244 CE) who passed them on to Ge Hong's teacher Zheng Yin 鄭隱 (ca. 215 – ca. 302 CE) who passed them to Ge Hong.³⁴⁶ This marks the beginning of the *Taiqing* tradition, an early *waidan* 外丹 (External Alchemy) tradition, which played an important role in the development of the religious Daoism of the *Shangqing* School in the south.

The *Shangqing* School synthesised 'the native ecstatic tradition, the late-Zhou and Han traditions of immortality seekers, and the religion of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi dao*) imported from the north.'³⁴⁷ It came to prominence after two brothers from the aristocratic Xu family of Jiankang, a family with links to

³⁴⁵ *Baopuzi neipian*, j.4, p. 65; On the notion of *Taiqing*, see Fabrizio Pregadio, 'Taiqing', in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 941–2 and Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*, pp. 31–47.

³⁴⁶ *Baopuzi neipian*, j.4, p. 62.

³⁴⁷ Isabelle Robinet, 'Shangqing', in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 858–66.

the family of Ge Hong, recorded a series of revelations transmitted by the spirit medium Yang Xi 楊羲 (330–386 CE). The teachings in these revelations became popular within southern aristocratic circles. The new practices provided, through spiritual elevation, a sense of importance and position thought to be attainable in the spiritual realm. Devotees would practise specific methods, including incantation, visualisation and ecstatic excursions, in order to be able to interact with divine beings from the other world. As part of a daily routine, *Shangqing* practitioners performed *daoyin* as preparation for the ultimate practice, which was the recitation of the Great Cavern Scripture. The following passage from *Zhengao*, a 5th century Daoist text, illustrates a hierarchy of different practices within the *Shangqing* School:

君曰：「食草木之藥，不知房中之法、及行炁導引，服藥無益也，終不得道。若至志感靈，所存必至者，亦不須草藥之益也。若但知行房中、導引行炁，不知神丹之法，亦不得仙也。若得金鈞神丹，不須其他術也，立便仙矣。若得《大洞真經》者，復不須金丹之道也。讀之萬過，畢，便仙也。房中之術、導引行氣，世自有經，不復一二說之。

Lord Pei said: If you take drugs from herbs and trees, without knowing methods of sexual cultivation or the circulation of *qi* and *daoyin*, then the medicines will be of no benefit, and in the end you will not attain the Way. If with utmost determination you stimulate the spirits [to respond], then what you visualise must invariably manifest, and you won't need the supplementary benefits of plant drugs. If you only know how to practice the arts of the bedchamber, *daoyin* and circulate *qi*, but do not know the methods of divine elixirs, then you also will not attain transcendence. If you acquire Golden Liquor and Divine Elixirs, then you don't need other arts, and can immediately transcend. If you acquire the *Great Cavern Scripture of Perfection*, you don't need the way of the golden elixir either. Upon reading it ten thousand times, you

will then transcend. As for sexual cultivation, *daoyin*, and circulation of *qi*, there are scriptures among the generations, and I need not go over them one by one.³⁴⁸

Thus, as a spiritual practice within the *Shangqing* epistemological system, *daoyin* was valued more highly than plant drugs, but less than alchemical methods and reciting the *Great Cavern Scripture of Perfection*.³⁴⁹

Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (365–448),³⁵⁰ who transformed the School of the Celestial Masters (*tianshi dao* 天師道) into an official state religion during the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534), was an expert in *daoyin*. *Suishu* describes this northern Daoist adept as follows:

後魏之世，嵩山道士寇謙之，自云嘗遇真人成公興，後遇太上老君，授謙之為天師，而又賜之《雲中音誦科誡》二十卷。又使玉女授其服氣導引之法，遂得闕谷，氣盛體輕，顏色鮮麗。弟子十餘人，皆得其術。

During the Northern Wei period, the Daoist of Mount Song, Kou Qianzhi, claimed to have met a perfected being named Chenggong Xing. Kou later received revelations from the Most High Lord Lao who appointed him the new Celestial Master and bestowed on him the *Yunzhong yinsong kejie* (Code and Precept Recited in the Clouds) in twenty *juan*. [Lord Lao] sent Jade Maidens to teach Kou the methods of breathing and *daoyin* exercises. As a result, Kou was able to abstain from grains, his body filled with *qi* and was light. His complexion was shining and beautiful. All Kou's disciples, more than ten of them,

³⁴⁸ *Zhengao*, j 5, 11b1–8; tr. Michael Stanley-Baker, *Daoists and Doctors: The Role of Medicine in Six Dynasties Shangqing Daoism*, Ph.D. dissertation (University College London, 2013), p. 114.

³⁴⁹ Lin Fushi, *Zhongguo zhonggu shiqi de zongjiao yu yiliao* 中國中古時期的宗教與醫療 (Taipei: Lianjing, 2008), p. 330; Stanley-Baker, *Daoists and Doctors*, pp. 115–16.

³⁵⁰ Livia Kohn, 'Kou Qianzhi' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 601–2.

learned his techniques.³⁵¹

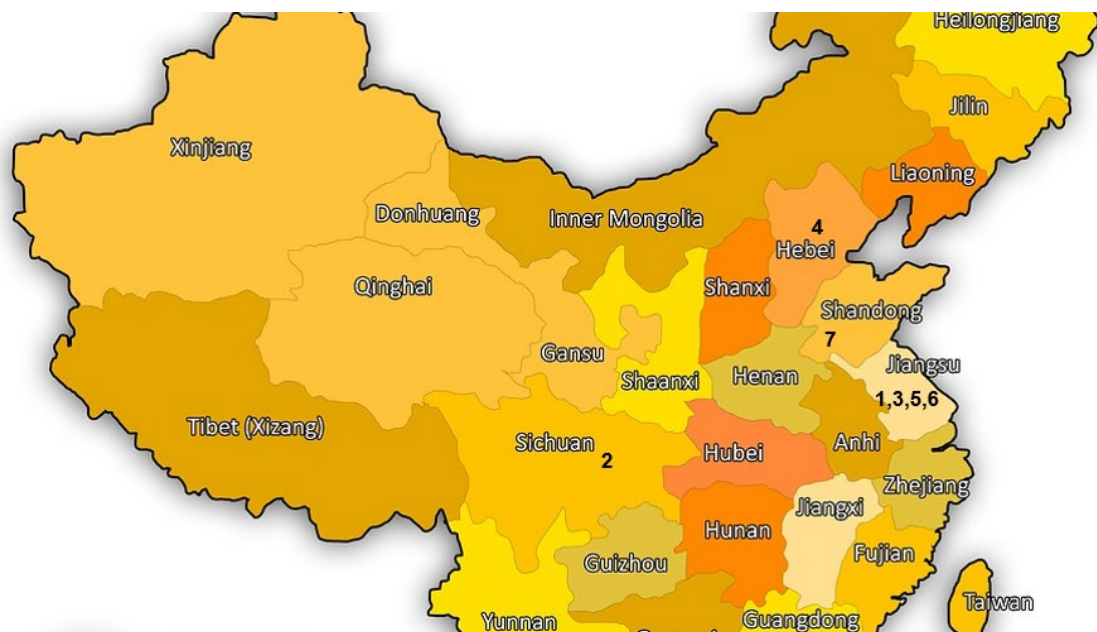
Born into a southern family of landowners and scholars, Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–546 CE) was the first official patriarch of the *Shangqing* School. He gathered and organised the original manuscripts describing Yang Xi's revelations into two works - the *Zhengao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected) and the *Dengzhen yinjue* 登真隱訣 (Secret Instructions for Ascent to Perfection). An imperial alchemist and family-trained physician, Tao served in various positions at the courts of the Song (420–79 CE), Qi (479–502 CE) and Liang (502–557 CE) before retiring to Maoshan 茅山 (Mount Mao in modern Jurong, Jiangsu). Under his guidance the *Shangqing* School rose to prominence in the fifth century and continued to gain strength and influence well into the Sui and Tang periods. Tao's biography in *Liangshu* 梁書 (The Book of Liang) testifies to the fact that he was knowledgeable about *daoyin* and practised it himself along with other *yangsheng* practices such as abstaining from grains.³⁵² Tao Hongjing's disciple, Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知 (528–635 CE), an influential Daoist master during the Sui and Tang periods, passed on the self-cultivation techniques he had learned from Tao Hongjing, to Pan Shizheng 潘師正 (585–682 CE) who then taught them to Sima Chengzhen (647–735 CE) the author of *Fuqi jingyi lun* 服氣精義論 (Essay on the Essential Meaning of Absorption of Qi), a key text on physical self-cultivation from the Tang period. Sima's work is evidence that *daoyin* was practised from the very beginning of the *Shangqing* school until well into the

³⁵¹ *Suishu*, j.35, p. 1093.

³⁵² *Liangshu*, j.51, p. 743.

Sui and Tang periods. Thus, following its adoption by 4th to 6th century Daoist organisations, *daoyin* became canonised as a core body practice in a religious context.

As Daoists began to establish their own communities, distinguishing themselves from other groups, such as Buddhists or spirit mediums, the term *daoshi* 道士 began to appear to describe those who were involved in Daoist religious organisations or who followed Daoist ideology. Yet many activities, such as *daoyin*, were practised by both *fangshi* and *daoshi*, potentially causing confusion and leading to anachronistic interpretations. However, it is evident that the practitioners of the *Shangqing* School and the northern School of the Celestial Masters, led by Kou Qianzhi, were knowledgeable in *daoyin*. The map and table below illustrate the geographical locations of Daoists who were *daoyin* practitioners during the period of Division:



Map 2. 10 Geographical locations of Daoists who were *daoyin* practitioners during the period of Division, on a modern Chinese map

1	Zhang Daoling	張道陵	Fengxian, Jiangsu	豐縣, 江蘇
2	The headquarters for the Way of the Celestial Masters	天師道總部	Hemingshan, Sichuan	鶴鳴山, 四川
3	Ge Hong	葛洪	Jurong, Jiangsu	句容, 江蘇
4	Kou Qianzhi	寇謙之	Chanping, Beijing	昌平, 北京
5	Tao Hongjing	陶弘景	Jurong, Jiangsu	句容, 江蘇
6	The headquarters for the School of Highest Clarity	上清派總部	Maoshan, Jiangsu	茅山, 江蘇
7	Wang Yuanzhi	王遠知	Linyi, Shangdong	臨沂, 山東

Table 2. 6 A numerical list of Daoists who were *daoyin* practitioners during the period of Division (numbers indicated on Map 2.10).

2.3.4 Buddhists

The most remarkable cultural transformation to occur during the period of the Six Dynasties was the phenomenal growth of Buddhism in China. Indian in origin, Buddhism was first brought to China at the beginning of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE) by Buddhist monks and traders travelling along the so-called Silk Road. Buddhist texts with distinctively new ideas and methods of medicine were translated into Chinese, and consequently influenced the medical texts of the Sui and Tang periods.³⁵³ An Shigao 安世高 (fl. c. 148–180 CE), the earliest known translator of Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese, made the first translation of *Ānāpānasati* instructions in the 2nd century CE.³⁵⁴ *Ānāpānasati*, a meditation technique focusing on breathing, closely resembles breathing exercises already familiar to various *yangsheng* practitioners.

³⁵³ See Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*, pp. 132–53.

³⁵⁴ See *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經, T15, no. 602.

According to *Jinshu*, the official dynastic history of the Jin dynasty (265–420), an Indian Buddhist monk, Fo Tucheng 佛圖澄 (ca. 232–348 CE), who played an important role in the spread of Buddhism in China, is said to have practised breathing exercises:

佛圖澄，天竺人也。本姓帛氏。少學道，妙通玄術。永嘉四年，來適洛陽，自云百有餘歲，常服氣自養，能積日不食。善誦神呪，能役使鬼神。

Fo Tucheng, a native of India, whose original family name is Bo. At a young age, he learned the Way and has mastered esoteric techniques. He came to Luoyang during the fourth year of Yongjia (310 CE), and claimed that he was already over one hundred years old. Often he absorbed *qi* for self-nourishment and could stop eating for days. He was fluent in divine incantation and was able to control ghosts and spirits.³⁵⁵

The fact that Fo Tucheng was an Indian, who had already acquired fasting and breathing techniques before coming to China, suggests that understanding of these techniques may have been influenced by Indian practice. His supposed supernatural powers are nevertheless reminiscent of the magical feats displayed by some of the *fangshi* in earlier times:

善誦神呪，能役使鬼神。腹旁有一孔，常以絮塞之，每夜讀書，則拔絮，孔中出光，照于一室。又嘗齋時，平旦至流水側，從腹旁孔中引出五藏六府洗之，訖，還內腹中。又能聽鈴音以言吉凶，莫不懸驗。

He was good at incantation, which kept the ghosts and spirits under control. On one side of his abdomen was a hole. Most of the time, he used cotton wool to block it. But, every night, when he studied, he

³⁵⁵ *Jinshu*, j.95, p. 2485.

unplugged the cotton wool and the light emanating from the hole lit up the whole room. Also, when he was fasting, he would go to the bank of some running water in the morning and pull out his five *zang* organs and six *fu* organs from the hole at the side of his abdomen. When he had finished, he put them back into his belly. Moreover, he could tell a good or bad omen from the sound of a bell and was always proved to be right.³⁵⁶

Some Buddhists expressed interest in indigenous *yangsheng* practices and *daoyin* exercises. Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–543 CE), a Chinese monk from Dai county (in Modern Shanxi) who lived in the Kingdom of Northern Wei (386–534 CE) became interested in techniques of longevity and transcendence after suffering an illness. He went to learn from Tao Hongjing (456–546 CE) in Maoshan and was given a *xian* text of ten *juan*.³⁵⁷ Upon his return to Luoyang, Tanluan met a dharma teacher from north India, Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (?–527) who imparted to him the teaching of the Pure Land, after which Tanluan decided to give up the practice he learned from Tao Hongjing. However, a breathing exercise was named after Tanluan, which can be found in *Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing* 延陵先生集新舊服氣經 (Scripture on New and Old Methods for the Ingestion of Breath Collected by the Elder of Yanling; CT 825, and YJQQ 59) in the Daoist literature:

曇鸞法師服氣法

初寬大座，伸兩手置膝上，解衣帶，放縱支體，念法性平等，生死不二。經半食頃，即閉目舉舌奉愕，徐徐長吐氣，一息二息，傍人聞氣出

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, j.6, p. 470a13; See also T. H. Barrett's entry on 'Taoluan' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 967-68.

入聲，初龐漸細。十餘息後，乃得自聞聲。凡覺有痛癢處，便想從中而出，但覺有異，漸漸長吐氣，從細至龐，十息後還如初。

Method of taking *qi* of the Dharma master of Luan

First, making yourself comfortable and sitting in a lotus position, extend both arms and place them on your knees. Loosen your body, contemplate the equality of the dharma nature and the non-duality of life and death. After a short period of time, close your eyes and raise your tongue to the palate. Take a long and slow exhalation, one breath, two breaths, as though the person next to you could detect the sound of your breathing becoming less abrasive and more refined. After ten breaths, only you can hear the sound. If you feel pain or itchiness anywhere, imagine it coming out from inside. If you feel something unusual, take a long and slow exhalation, going from refined to more abrasive breathing. After ten breaths, you will be like your old self again.³⁵⁸

This breathing exercise is probably unconnected to Tanluan as Various bodily techniques were often attributed by Daoists to famous Buddhist monks, such as Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 (?– 535), the first patriarch of Zen Buddhism. Meir Shahar remarks that,

As early as the medieval period, Daoist authors attributed *daoyin* gymnastic techniques to the Buddhist saint. The eleventh-century Daoist encyclopedia *Seven Slips from a Cloudy Satchel* (*Yunji qiqian*) includes a treatise of embryonic respiration that is ascribed to Bodhidharma, and the *Song History* lists two breathing and gymnastic manuals (now lost) under his name: *Bodhidharma's Formula of Embryonic Respiration* (*Putidamo taixi jue*) and *Monk Bodhidharma's Visualization Method* (*Seng Putidamo cunxiang fa*).³⁵⁹

³⁵⁸ *Yunji qiqian*, j. 59, from *Zhengtong Daozang*, vol.37, p. 728.

³⁵⁹ Meir Shahar, *The Shaolin Monastery: History, Religion, and the Chinese Martial Arts* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), p. 172.

Similarly, *daoyin* exercises were given titles to indicate an Indian origin. In particular, there is a set of 18 *daoyin* exercises described as “the massage technique from India and the Brahmans’ method” in *Sun Simiao’s* 孫思邈 *Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold* (*Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方), and a set of 12 *daoyin* exercises entitled ‘The *Daoyin* Method of the Brahmans’ in *Shesheng zuanlu* 攝生纂錄 (Collection of Texts for Conserving Health) in the *Daozang* 道藏 (The Daoist Canon).³⁶⁰

As the earliest Sanskrit text on physical yoga available to us is dated to the 12th century, it is impossible to prove whether or not these exercises are of Indian origin.³⁶¹ According to Stanley-Baker, ‘... the massage techniques described here were likely of Indian origin, or if not, that it was important to mark them as such for reasons of exoticism and foreign prestige.’³⁶²

On the other hand, Chinese Buddhists borrowed many ideas and techniques from Daoists in their apocryphal textual productions. Moillier found a mutual influence in textual appropriation between

³⁶⁰ Despeux noted that this is the only reference to Indian *daoyin* exercises in the *Daozang*; see Catherine Despeux, ‘Shesheng zuanlu 攝生纂錄’ in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, ed. by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), Vol 1, p. 356.

³⁶¹ See Mallinson, J. (in preparation), ‘The Amṛtasiddhi: Haṭhayoga’s Tantric Buddhist Source Text’ in [*Festschrift for Alexis Sanderson*], ed. by D. Goodall, S. Hatley and H. Isaacson (Leiden: Brill).

³⁶² Michael Stanely-Baker, ‘Indian Massage from Sun Simiao’s *Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold*’, *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology*, ed. by C Pierce Salguero (Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 533–7 (p. 534).

Buddhist and Daoist traditions. Indeed some Buddhist texts were based on existing Daoist texts.³⁶³

As time passed, many Buddhist ideas and practices began to take root in China while, at the same time, Buddhists were beginning to adopt and adapt indigenous *yangsheng* practices as part of their own religious practice. Interactions between Buddhists and the indigenous culture, which became more prominent between the Northern Wei, and the Sui and Tang periods, went both ways.³⁶⁴

Even though the Buddhists' breathing meditation and the esoteric techniques performed by Fo Tucheng were not strictly *daoyin* exercises, elements of Buddhist practice were eventually absorbed into the *daoyin* repertoire, and collated in the official Sui medical text – *Bingyuan*.

2.3.5 Literate elites

During the period of the Six Dynasties, members of aristocratic families were prime transmitters of cultural knowledge. They maintained their authority by

³⁶³ Christine Mollier has examined and found some of the Buddhist sutras such as the Sutra of the Three Kitchens, Preached by the Buddha (*Foshuo sanchu jing* 佛說三廚經) was copied directly from the existing Daoist text, the scripture of the Five Kitchens, Revealed by Laozi (*Laozi shuo wuchu jing* 老子說五廚經) and the sutra of the Divine Talismans of the Seven Thousand Buddhas to Increase the account, Preached by the Buddha (*Foshuo qiqian fo shenfu yisuan jing* 佛說七千佛神符益算經) was replicated from the Marvellous Scripture for Prolonging Life and for Increasing the Account, Revealed by the Most High Lord Lao (*Taishang laojun shuo changsheng yisuan miaojing* 太上老君說長生益算妙經). See Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

³⁶⁴ See 3.9 for further discussion about Buddhists' engagement with *yangsheng* and *daoyin*.

immersing themselves in classical learning, which helped them to refine the skills necessary to hold high office, and which distinguished them from others in the southern frontiers to which they had migrated since the time of the Eastern Jin in 4th century CE. These literate elites also passed on medical and *yangsheng* knowledge, acquired in the process of caring for themselves and their families. Political division was in part responsible for differences in medical and *yangsheng* practices in north and south, and according to Fan Ka-wai, the medical tradition of the south was, in many ways, more developed than that of the north.³⁶⁵ This also seems to have been the case in the development of *daoyin*.

Zhang Zhan 張湛 (early fourth century), whose grandfather's involvement in the political unrest at the end of the Western Jin period had forced the family to move south to Jiankang 建康, compiled an anthology of *yangsheng* texts called *The Yangsheng Yaoji* (Essential Compendium on Nourishing Life). In ten sections, he summarises the early sources of *yangsheng* practices, including *daoyin*, going back to the Han.³⁶⁶ This text, circulated among southern educated gentry, was lost during the An Lushan rebellion (755–763 CE). It survives only in fragments and citations, notably in the *Yangxing yanming lu* (On Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life), *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth a Thousand), and in Japanese medical texts such as the *Ishinpô* 醫心方 (Methods from the Heart of Medicine). Several *daoyin* texts, cited in works such as *Yangxing yanming lu*, were presumably

³⁶⁵ See Fan Ka-wai, *Dayi jingcheng: Tangdai guojia xinyang yu yixue* 大醫精誠 - 唐代國家, 信仰與醫學 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 2007), pp. 47–72.

³⁶⁶ See Despeux, *Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition*, pp. 228–30.

previously cited in *Yangsheng yaoji*, including a text called *Daoyin jing* 導引經 (Classic of *Daoyin*).³⁶⁷ One set of *daoyin* exercises from *Daoyin jing* is to be performed both morning and evening:

清旦未起，先啄齒二七，閉目握固，漱滿唾三咽。氣尋閉不息自極，極乃徐徐出氣，滿三止。便起野狼踞鴟顧，左右自搖，亦不息自極，復三。便起下床，握固不息，頓踵三。還上一手、下一手，亦不息自極，三。又叉手項上，左右自了捺不息，復三。又伸兩足及叉手前卻，自極，復三。皆當朝暮為之，能數尤善。

Before rising at dawn, first clack your teeth together twice seven times, close your eyes and clench your fists, rinse the mouth completely with saliva, and swallow three times. Try to retain the *qi* by holding your breath for as long as you can. Then, exhale steadily and softly. Do this three times. Then sit up, and do wild-wolf and owl neck-twists. Rock to the right and the left while holding your breath for as long as possible. Repeat this three times. Then rise and get down from your bed. Clench your fists while holding your breath and stamp your feet three times. Then, extend one arm up and the other one down while holding your breath for as long as possible. Do this three times. Then, lock your hands together behind your neck and twist to the left and right while holding your breath. Repeat this three times. Then, stretch out both legs; lock your hands together and move them forwards and backwards as much as you can. Do this three times. You should always do this at dawn and dusk. The more you can do it, the better.³⁶⁸

Because *Daoyin jing* was mentioned in Ge Hong's (283–343 CE) *Baopuzi*, it must have already been in circulation during Ge Hong's time. It is also important to note that *Yangsheng yaoji* is not a text dealing with spiritual

³⁶⁷ See Stanley-Baker, *Cultivating Body, Cultivating Self*, pp. 113–24.

³⁶⁸ *Yangxing yanming lu*, j.5 from *Zhengtong daoze*, vol 31, pp. 90–2.

transcendence or religious liberation. Kohn suggests that Zhang Zhan compiled the text with a specific readership in mind:

The practices he mentions were probably well known and widely used at the time, and he may well have put together the *Yangsheng yaoji* to help his fellow aristocrats stay healthy and live moderately despite their riches and newly found leisure, thus using long-life practices predominately for this-worldly advancement'.³⁶⁹

Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591 CE), born in Jiangkang to a prominent family of northern émigrés, became a Confucian scholar who was also interested in *yangsheng* self-cultivation practices. In his *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Family Instructions of the Yan clan) written for his sons, there is a whole chapter entitled 'yangsheng', in which he mentions the effectiveness of 'clacking teeth' 300 times every morning. It cured his toothache. He learned this from reading Ge Hong's *Baopuzi*.³⁷⁰ However, Yan differs from Ge Hong, in asserting his belief that human destiny is determined by Heaven, thereby rejecting the aims of immortality and transcendence. He is particularly opposed to alchemical drugs. For Yan, *yangsheng* self-cultivation techniques are useful as part of a daily health regime. Thus, although the *Shangqing* Daoist School was popular among the southern elite during the time of Yan Zhitui, many members of genteel families would perform *yangsheng* and *daoyin* for their own needs and objectives, without considering themselves Daoists. Books such as *Yangsheng yaoji* and *Yangxing yanming lu* were written with this specific clientele in mind.

³⁶⁹ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 65.

³⁷⁰ *Yanshi jiaxun*, j.5, p. 327.

2.4 Conclusion

We have seen that the term *daoyin*, and the culture surrounding it, dates from the Warring States period. One of the possible roots of *daoyin* links to ritual dances performed by the *wu*, the spirit mediums. The *wu* of antiquity, reinvented as *xian*, the transcendents, and referred to as such in various Han texts, were recognised as authoritative figures of *daoyin*. *Fangshi*, some of whom also had expertise in *daoyin*, were specialists in natural philosophy and occult knowledge during the Warring States, Qin and Han periods. However, just as there were no established institutions reflecting different schools of thought, nor was there any formal teaching of self-cultivation practices during the Warring States period, Qin and Han periods.

During the early period of the Six Dynasties, *daoyin*, which had previously been practised mostly by *fangshi* and their aristocratic patrons, was taken up by all kinds of people, most prominently within Daoist communities. However, *daoyin* was not an exclusively Daoist practice. Buddhist monks gradually took up indigenous self-cultivation practice, contributed elements from their own meditation and other self-cultivation techniques to the *daoyin* repertoire. Members of genteel families continued to have access to medical knowledge, and practised *daoyin* for their own physical health and well-being. It was not until the Sui dynasty that *daoyin*, for the first time, was taught in a state-sponsored medical education institution.

Chapter 3: The institutionalisation of therapeutic exercise during the Sui dynasty (581–618 CE)

3.1 Introduction

During the Sui period, therapeutic exercise became an important part of state-sponsored medicine. An exceptionally large number of *anmo* practitioners, experts in therapeutic exercises were appointed at the Sui court and a rich resource of *daoyin* instructions was incorporated into *Bingyuan*, the state-sponsored medical text.³⁷¹ These two historical events are significant in that they demonstrate the particular vision of the Sui government and its commitment to creating a distinct medical system with a greater emphasis on non-drug-based therapy.

This chapter investigates the historical context within which therapeutic exercise was incorporated into the medical system and practice of Sui China, and examines how and why *daoyin* became an important element of government-promoted medicine during the Sui period. There is some evidence as to how this came about, but it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to give a definitive answer as to ‘why’. It is possible, however, to identify a number of key factors which are likely to have contributed directly or indirectly to the institutionalisation of *daoyin* under the Sui.

As we saw in chapter 2, by the end of the Northern and Southern dynasties

³⁷¹ During the Sui and Tang periods, the term *daoyin* was interchangeable with *anmo*. A discussion of the term *daoyin* can be found in 1.2.1 and of *anmo* in 1.2.2.

(386–581 CE), various therapeutic exercises were already widely practised by different groups of people, including literate elites, Daoist practitioners and Buddhist monks. There were significant overlaps between these various categories as people do not necessarily assume only one particular identity. Nor were the exercises they performed necessarily described or understood as *daoyin*. The variety of practices, which became part of a growing repertoire of therapeutic exercise, included *anmo* 按摩 (therapeutic exercise and massage), *tuna* 吐納 (Inhalation and exhalation), *xingqi* 行氣 (moving *qi*), *taixi* 胎息 (embryonic breathing), *taishi* 胎食 (embryonic eating), *neishi* 內視 (seeing within one's own body), *cunxiang* 存想 (visualisation), *sinian* 思念 (contemplation), and *nianzhou* 念咒 (incantation). In addition, there were physical exercises that involved unusual and challenging postures, such as hanging upside down, the lotus position, or simply holding a kernel in the mouth. These practices were to go through a process of formalisation and standardisation instigated by the Sui emperors, in particular by Yangdi, the second emperor of the Sui dynasty. The exercises in *Bingyuan*, compiled under the decree of Yangdi, illustrate a diverse array of therapeutic exercises, such as those mentioned above. They were appropriated and officially endorsed as medical treatments under the rubric of *daoyin* methods. *Bingyuan* was written by court physicians primarily for doctors and medical students. By 'medical', I refer to Sivin's definition - 'what physicians did'.³⁷² At the same time, 'medicine' might also mean 'officially endorsed' i.e. not necessarily what medical officials did, but rather that which was sponsored by the government. Similarly, 'state medicine' in this period refers to the kind of

³⁷² Nathan Sivin, *Health Care in Eleventh-Century China* (Cham: Springer, 2015), p. 10.

medicine endorsed and regulated by the government. The Foucauldian approach is particularly helpful when looking at the Sui emperors' creation of an effective bureaucratic mechanism of centralised government, which was to survive their dynasty. The new medical discourse initiated by the two Sui emperors, manifested in their medical reforms, played a key role in maximising and extending their imperial power, which was designed to affect every individual within Sui China.

The principle primary sources on the development of *daoyin* during the Sui dynasty were not written until the Tang period (618–907 CE). This was partly due to the fact that the Sui was a comparatively short-lived dynasty, leaving very few primary sources. Primary sources relating to *daoyin* can be found in a variety of texts, including official dynastic histories (*zhengshi* 正史), and medical, *yangsheng* self-cultivation, Daoist and Buddhist texts. For example, *Suishu* 隋書, the Book of Sui written by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643) and other Tang officials during the reign of Emperor Taizong 唐太宗 (re. 626–649) is one of the most important sources on the historical context and the institutional aspect of *daoyin* during the Sui period. However, it is important to bear in mind that although these writers, some of whom were alive during the Sui period, might have had the benefit of looking back to their recent past, they may also have had a certain bias against a dynasty which they had, by necessity of the changing political circumstance, disavowed. Their account of Yangdi, for example, is particularly hostile and condemnatory. Denis Twitchett remarks that,

The surviving record of the Sui, the *Sui shu*, was compiled in 629–36,

and its monographs added in 656. It was thus written during the reign of T'ai-tsung, when the new dynasty was anxious to establish its claim to legitimacy. To do so, the work is generally hostile, and gives a very negative account of the events of Yang-ti's reign.³⁷³

Tang liudian 唐六典 (The Six Statutes of the Tang dynasty), written by the chancellor of the Emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (re. 712–756) Li Linfu 李林甫 (683–753), provides further detailed information about the establishment of medical organisations in the Sui court, including the disproportionately large number of *daoyin* practitioners who were subsequently dismissed after the reign of Yangdi. The different staffing levels under the two Sui emperors are documented in the two texts, *Suishu* and *Tang Liudian*, which give us a glimpse of the extent to which therapeutic exercise became institutionalised, particularly under Yangdi. Other primary sources I will consult in this chapter include:

- Two medical texts by Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (560?–682?) - *Beiji qianjin yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Essential Recipes of a Thousand Gold Worth for Emergency), Taipei: Zhongguo yiyao yanjiusuo, 1990 and *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (Supplement to the Recipes of a Thousand Gold Worth), Taipei: Zhongguo yiyao yanjiusuo, 1974
- An early seventh century *yangsheng* text, *Yangxing yanming lu* 養性延命錄 (Records of Nourishing Inner Nature and Extending Life) which can be found in *Zhengtong Daozang*, DZ 838, and in *Yunju qiqian*, j 32.
- Two Daoist texts - *Fuqi jingyi lun* 服氣精義論 (Essay on the Essential Meaning of the Ingestion of Breath, DZ 830) by the twelfth patriarch of

³⁷³ Dennis Twitchett, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge History of China*, p. 42.

Shangqing School, Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735) and *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life, DZ 818) in the *Zhengtong Daozang*

- Two Buddhist texts - *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan yaofa* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (Essentials of Practising Śamatha and Vipāśyanā Meditation) and *Liumiao famen* 六妙法門 (Six Mysterious Dharma Gates) by the first patriarch of Tiantai school Zhiyi 智顓 (538–597 CE) written in 594, which can be found in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Revised Tripiṭaka in *Taishō*), edited between 1924 and 1934.

These texts reveal the range of knowledge and practices circulating during the Sui period in various social and religious millieux amongst practitioners with different aims and objectives. Some who were conversant with therapeutic exercise, such as Sun Simiao and Zhiyi, had direct contact with the Sui emperors.³⁷⁴

I will begin the introduction to the Sui with an overview of the various ambitious projects and innovative reforms initiated by the two Sui emperors as part of their efforts to unify China under a single centralised regime. Using mainly *Suishu* and *Tang Liudian*, I will then analyse accounts of the establishment, by the Sui court, of medical organisations, including the Imperial Medical Academy, which was an important part of the Imperial Medical Office (*Taiyishu* 太醫署).³⁷⁵ I will also examine texts listed under the medical section of the *Suishu jingji zhi* 隋書經籍志 (The Bibliography of the

³⁷⁴ A more detailed discussion of Sun Simiao can be found in 3.6 and of Zhiyi in 3.9.

³⁷⁵ Although it did not have a separate name, I refer to the educational institution at the Imperial Medical Office as the Imperial Medical Academy for ease of reference.

Book of Sui), the catalogue of the Sui's Imperial Library, to give an idea of how many of them related to therapeutic exercise. Because most of the texts at the Imperial Library were collected from far and wide within the Sui's imperial territory, we can safely assume that some *daoyin*-related texts would have been in circulation prior to the Sui period. Following the models of Campany's 'repertoires of resources' and Anderson's 'imagined communities', I will identify the different actors who had knowledge of therapeutic exercise and were likely to have contributed to the development of *daoyin* during the Sui period. I will argue that it was the first Sui emperor whose initiative it was to set up three specialised medical teaching departments, including the department of therapeutic exercise. This new medical education institution, established by Wendi, reflected the medical knowledge and practice of a long tradition of *yangsheng* culture, that emerged from the Han dynasty and which was epitomised in the *Huangdi neijing*. Such an accumulation of medical knowledge and practice can be ascertained from the list of texts in the medical section of the *Suishu jingji zhi*, and from the medical writings of the Sui and Tang periods. Further discussion of these can be found in section 3.4 and 3.6 below. However, it was the second Emperor whose vision it was to establish *daoyin*, above all other medical treatments, as the main component of state medicine. This radical reform is reflected in the large number of *daoyin* practitioners appointed by Yangdi, and in the compilation, according to Yangdi's decree, of one medical text in particular. Special attention will be paid to the characters of these two emperors, especially Yangdi, as well as to their political ambitions, religious affiliations, and their knowledge of *yangsheng* self-cultivation techniques. I will also look at the various groups of

people, namely physicians (*yi* 醫), members of prominent families (*menfa* 門閥 or *shizu* 士族), Daoists and Buddhists, who were conversant with *yangsheng* practices, including *daoyin*, and who could have either directly or indirectly influenced decisions made by the two Sui emperors. It is important to note that these groupings are a convenient presentational device and not in any way exclusive categories; some key figures, for example, were both Daoists and Buddhists, or both physicians and members of prominent families.

3.2 The Sui dynasty

The Sui dynasty (581–618 CE), although remarkably short-lived, was one of the most vigorous in Chinese history.³⁷⁶ Two emperors span the Sui. Yang Jian 楊堅 (541–604), also known by his posthumous name, Emperor Wen of the Sui dynasty (Sui Wendi 隋文帝) reigned between 581 and 604. His second son, Yang Guang 楊廣 (569–618), Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (Sui Yangdi 隋煬帝) reigned for a further 14 years before being murdered by his own officials. Prior to this, several revolts had already taken place and after Yangdi's death, the Sui dynasty rapidly collapsed. The capital was seized by his cousin Li Yuan 李淵 (566–635) who proclaimed himself emperor in 618,

³⁷⁶ For a general history on the Sui dynasty, see Arthur F. Wright, 'The Sui dynasty (581–617)' in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, ed. by Dennis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 48–149; Jacques Gernet, 'The Aristocratic Empire' in *A History of Chinese Civilisation* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 235–60; Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉, *Suitang Shi* 隋唐史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982); Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Suitang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao* 隋唐制度淵源略論稿 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuju, 1963; Reprint, 1977). Lu Simian 呂思勉, *Suitang wudai shi* 隋唐五代史 (Hong Kong: Taiping shuju, 1980), pp. 1–73; Tang Changru 唐長孺, *Weijin nanbeichao suitangshi jiangyi* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史講義 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), pp. 101–22; Wang Zhongluo 王仲榮, *Suitang wudai shi* 隋唐五代史. Vol.1, *Zhongguo duandaishi xilie* 中國斷代史系列 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), pp. 1–108.

and adopted the name of his fief Tang as the title of his new dynasty. Thus, imperial power was simply transferred to another member of the same family.



Map 1. Sui China, 609

Map 3. 1 Sui China (581–618 CE) (Source: *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589–906, Part I*, p. 129)

Over the course of 38 years, the two emperors initiated not only a series of administrative reforms but also ambitious construction projects, with the aim of unifying China under a single centralised government (Map 3.1). In the medical sphere, reform of the state medical service and the institutionalisation of *daoyin* were part of a similar strategy. While the succeeding Tang dynasty is widely regarded as the pinnacle of medieval Chinese civilisation, it is generally acknowledged that its reputation is built on the valuable legacy

bequeathed by the two Sui emperors. Thus Somers asserts that, 'The Tang inherited a comprehensive set of institutions already shaped and essayed during Sui times, social and political devices which the Tang simply applied more broadly and systematically than their predecessors.'³⁷⁷ However, many of Yangdi's radical medical reforms were immediately dismantled by the succeeding Tang dynasty, and *daoyin* practice within the state medical service was substantially reduced.

In general, it is accurate to say that 'the brilliance of the Tang civilization was essentially founded on the bedrock of the Sui legacy.'³⁷⁸ The most significant achievements of the Sui may be categorised as follows, and will be examined in detail, as they offer critical historical, social and cultural context for the development of *daoyin* at that time, without which one cannot easily comprehend the value of Wendi and Yangdi's medical reforms. They are:

1. The building of two capital cities and the Grand Canal
2. Reorganisation of the administrative system
3. The setting up of a civil service examination system
4. Creating economic prosperity
5. Encouraging religious freedom and giving imperial patronage to both Buddhism and Daoism
6. The emphasis on sustaining Han culture for enhancing imperial identity

³⁷⁷ Robert M. Somers, "The Sui Legacy" in *The Sui Dynasty: The Unification of China, A.D. 581–617*, ed. by Arthur F. Wright (New York: Knopf, 1978), pp. 198–206 (p. 201); See also Wright *The Sui Dynasty*, p. 90, Twitchett, *Introduction*, p. 4 and Xiong, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty*, p. 3.

³⁷⁸ Xiong, p. 3.

3.2.1 The building of two capital cities and the Grand Canal

In order to consolidate and strengthen a centralised ruling power, numerous construction projects were undertaken throughout the Sui period. Wendi initiated two major construction projects: the building Daxingcheng 大興, an entirely new city to the south of the old Han city Chang'an 長安 (Map 3.2) and the digging of the huge Guangtong Canal 廣通渠, nearly 100 km long, which linked the new capital with the Yellow River.³⁷⁹ After Wendi died in 604, his second son, Yang Guang, who was believed to have both hastened his father's death and assassinated his elder brother Yang Yong 楊勇 (568–604), ascended to the throne.³⁸⁰ Like his father, Yangdi initiated a number of major construction projects, including the building of the eastern capital Luoyang 洛陽 (Map 3.3), far more grandiose and extravagant than Daxingcheng. Over a period of five years, Yangdi constructed four more canals,³⁸¹ which, together with the one built by Wendi, became known as the Grand Canal. It was the longest and grandest navigation system ever undertaken in premodern history (Map 3.4). Adshead notes that 'the first, and still the longest, arterial canal in the world, it was primarily a transport lane to bring tax rice from the south to the capital, but it also served secondarily as a hydraulic device for irrigation and flood prevention in the Central Plain.'³⁸² In linking north and south China, the Grand Canal was a significant physical statement of the Sui's unification. Yangdi also undertook the project of renovating and extending the Great Wall

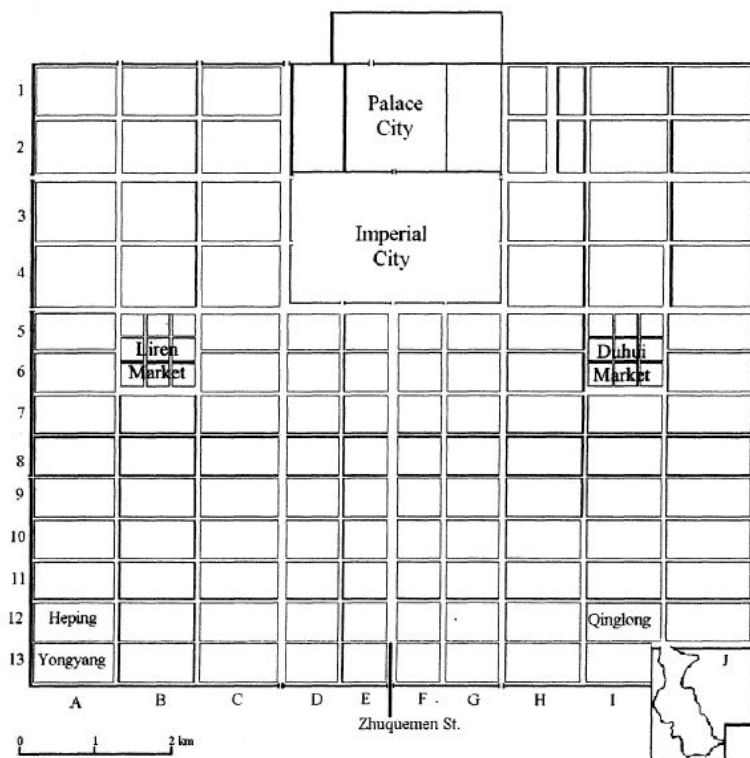
³⁷⁹ *Suishu*, j.24, pp. 683–4.

³⁸⁰ Xiong, pp. 29–33.

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 92.

³⁸² Samuel Adshead, *T'ang China: the rise of the East in world history* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 39.

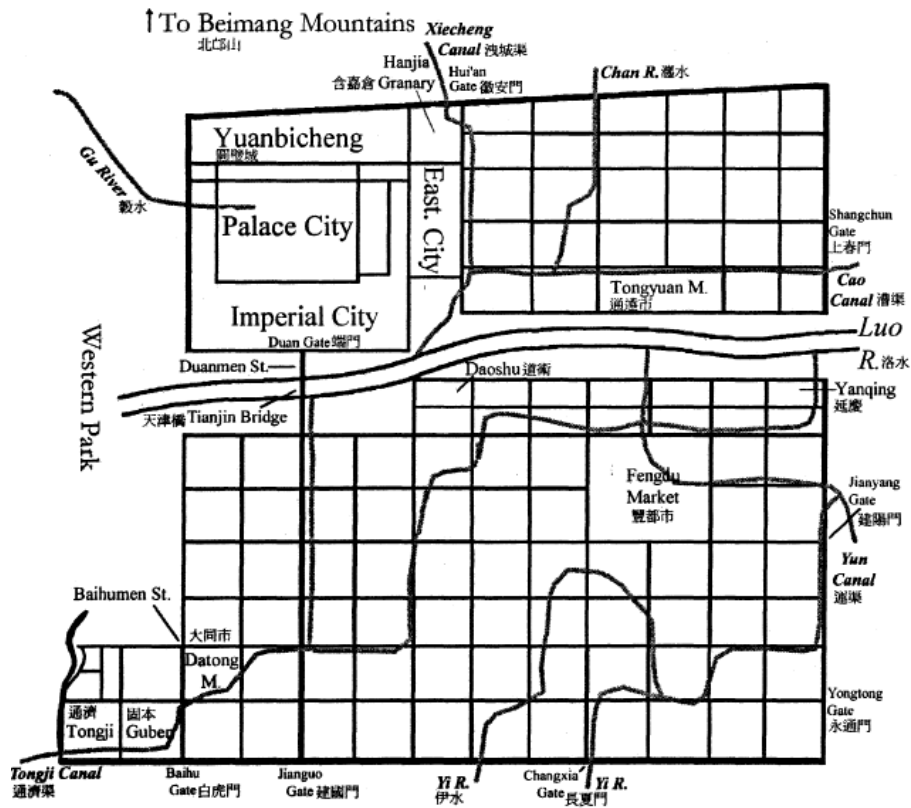
in order to deter attacks by nomadic tribes from beyond the Northern frontiers, against advice given to him by his senior officials, who considered it unnecessary.³⁸³ Although these labour-intensive constructions were built at huge human and economic cost to the Sui, they provided enormous benefits to those living under the Tang dynasty and beyond.³⁸⁴ While the institutionalisation of *daoyin* was underway within the Sui capital of Daxingcheng, the canal infrastructure, which brought various goods and human resources to the Sui court, would have also brought those with knowledge of *daoyin*.



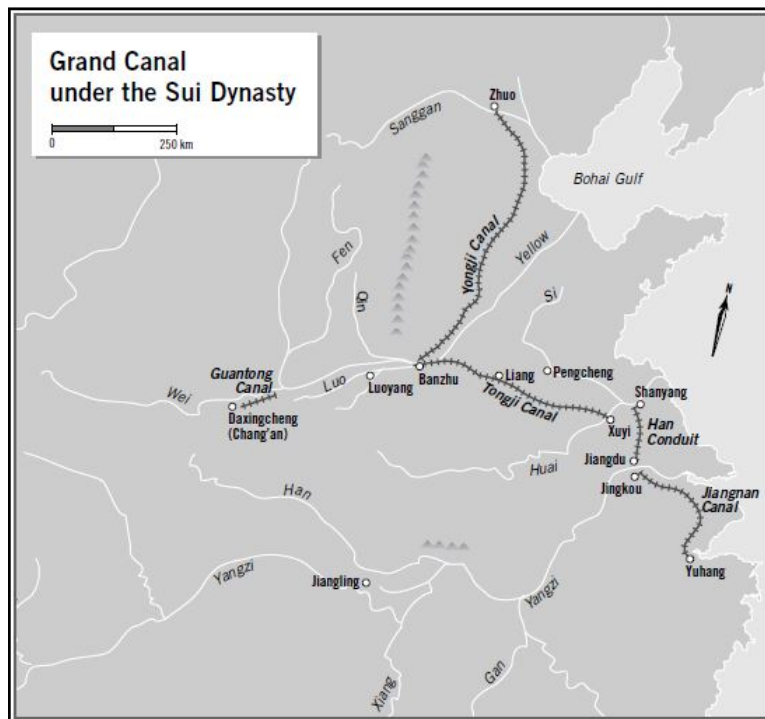
Map 3. 2 Sui Daxingcheng (Source: Xiong, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty*, p. 83)

³⁸³ *Suishu*, j.3, pp. 7071; *Zizhi tongjian*, j.180, p. 5632; Xiong, p. 43.

³⁸⁴ There were also many construction projects such as building palaces and parks which Yangdi undertook with no other benefit than for his own pleasure. *Suishu*, j.3, p. 63; *Zizhi tongjian*, j.181, p. 5618, p. 5637, p. 5639, pp. 5651–5652; Xiong, pp. 95–105.



Map 3. 3 Sui Luoyang (Source: Xiong, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty*, p. 80)



Map 3. 4 Sui Grand Canal (Source: Lewis, *China's cosmopolitan empire*, p. 23)

3.2.2 Reorganisation of the administrative system

Wendi's greatest political legacy can be seen in the comprehensive institutional reforms he introduced, replacing the Northern Zhou system with a more streamlined administrative mechanism based on the Han, Northern Wei and Northern Qi models.³⁸⁵ The resulting centralised government comprised Five Departments, Six Boards and Eleven Courts. The Five Departments were:

1. The Chancellery (*menxia sheng* 門下省)
2. The Secretariat (*neishi sheng* 內史省)
3. Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省)
4. Department of the Palace Library (*mishu sheng* 秘書省)
5. Department of Palace Domestic Services (*neishi sheng* 內侍省)³⁸⁶

Both the Chancellery (*menxia sheng* 門下省) and the Secretariat (*neishi sheng* 內史省) were directly involved in the decision-making process. The Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) was concerned with implementation, and under its direction were the Six Boards. The Six Boards controlled the day-to-day running of the government and consisted of the Boards of Personnel (*libu* 吏部), Revenue (*duzhi* 度支; *min* 民部), Rites (*libu* 禮部), War (*bingbu* 兵部), Justice (*duguan* 都官; *xingbu* 刑部), and Works (*gongbu* 工部).

³⁸⁵ Xiong, pp. 107–22.

³⁸⁶ *Suishu*, j.28, p. 773.

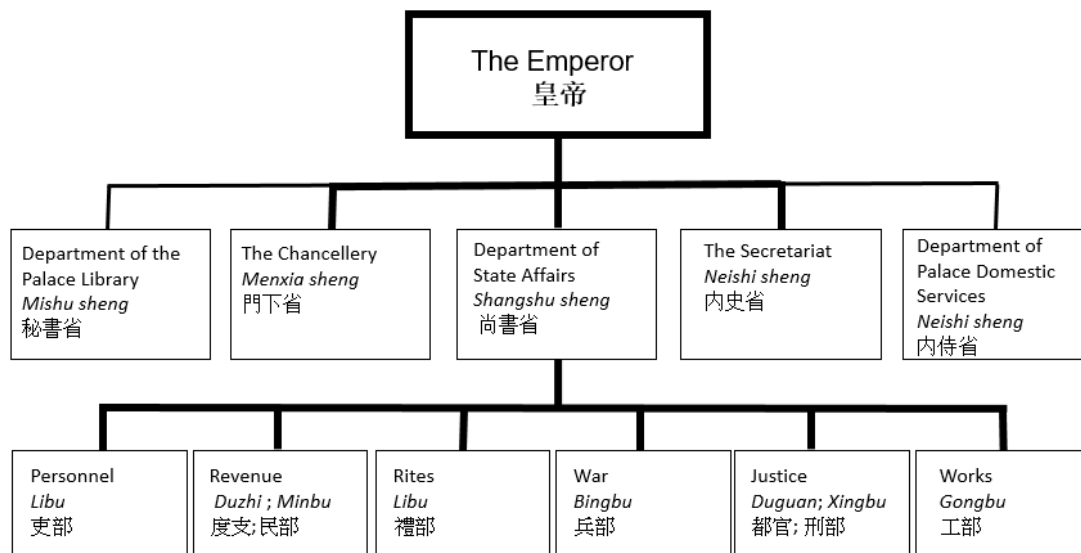


Table 3. 1 The Sui's central administrative system

The Three Departments and the Six Boards (indicated by bold lines on Table 3.1) constituted the central nerve system of the government. The other two departments, the Department of the Palace Library (*mishu sheng* 秘書省) and the Department of Palace Domestic Services (*neishi sheng* 內侍省) were in charge of the palace library and palace affairs respectively, and were not involved with political affairs.

The Chancellery was a top-echelon decision-making agency, responsible for advising the emperor on proposals submitted through the Secretariat (*Neishi sheng* 內史省), remonstrating with the emperor about the practicality and morality of policy decisions, and serving as the channel through which imperial decrees were given their final form and passed to the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu sheng* 尚書省) for implementation.³⁸⁷ It was under a former subdivision of the Chancellery, the Palace Medical Service

³⁸⁷ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford Calif: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 329.

(*Shangyaoju* 尚藥局), which was later moved to a different department, that we find as many as one hundred and twenty *daoyin* practitioners, whose main duty was to provide medical care for the emperor and the imperial household.³⁸⁸

In addition to the Five Departments and the Six Boards, Wendi also instituted Eleven Courts to complement, with equal rank and power, the functions of the Six Boards:

1. Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang si* 太常寺)
2. Court of Imperial Entertainments (*Guanglu si* 光祿寺)
3. Court of the Imperial Regalia (*Weiwei si* 衛尉寺)
4. Court of the Imperial Clan (*Zongzhen si* 宗正寺)
5. Court of the Imperial Stud (*Taipu si* 太僕寺)
6. Court of Judicial Review (*Dali si* 大理寺)
7. Court of State Ceremonial (*Honglu si* 鴻臚寺)
8. Court of the National Granaries (*Sinong si* 司農寺)
9. Court of the Imperial Treasury (*Dafu si* 太府寺)
10. Court of Education (*Guozi si* 國子寺)
11. Court of Palace Building (*Jiangzuo si* 將作寺)³⁸⁹

The Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang si* 太常寺) was responsible for the conduct of major state sacrificial ceremonies according to ritual regulations

³⁸⁸ *Tang Liudian*, j. 11, p. 324. A further discussion on *Shangyao ju* in 3.3 The medical system under the Sui government.

³⁸⁹ *Suishu* j. 28, p. 775.

prescribed by the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部),³⁹⁰ and one of its subdivisions was the Imperial Medical Office (*taiyi shu* 太醫署).³⁹¹ Within the Imperial Medical Office, a state-sponsored medical education institution was established where, initially, two Erudites of *Anmo* 按摩博士 were appointed. Their number later increased to twenty and a further set of one hundred and twenty *daoyin* practitioners was also appointed. When were these *daoyin* specialists brought to the Sui court? This is the question I hope to answer.

Yangdi made further changes to Wendi's new administrative system, such as reducing the Eleven Courts to nine and making them subordinate to the Six Boards. He removed the Palace Medical Service from The Chancellery's control and expanded its structure by adding two new positions, appointing four Palace Physicians (*Siyi* 司醫) and eight Medical Assistants (*Yizuo* 醫佐). Yangdi also added a further two positions at the Imperial Medical Office, appointing five Medical Supervisors (*Yijian* 醫監) and ten Principal Practitioners (*Yizheng* 醫正).³⁹²

In local government, Wendi streamlined the three-level *zhou-jun-xian* 州-郡-縣 (prefecture-commandery-county) administrative system of Northern Zhou into

³⁹⁰ Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, p. 476.

³⁹¹ There were eleven subdivisions at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices: 1. Office of the National Altars (*jiaoshe shu* 郊社署) 2. Office of the Imperial Ancestral Temple (*taimiao shu* 太廟署) 3. Office of the Imperial Mausoleums (*zhuling shu* 諸陵署) 4. Office of the Imperial Invocator (*taizhu shu* 太祝署) 5. Valeting Office (*yiguan shu* 衣冠署) 6. Imperial Music Office (*taiyue shu* 太樂署) 7. Qingshang Music Office (*Qingshang shu* 清商署) 8. Office of Drums and Fifes (*ku-ch'ui shu* 鼓吹署) 9. Imperial Medical Office (*taiyi shu* 太醫署) 10. Imperial Divination Office (*taipu shu* 太卜署) 11. Office of Sacrificial Grains and Animals (*lin-hsi shu* 廩犧署); *Suishu*, j.28, p. 775.

³⁹² *Tang Liudian*, j.11, pp. 324–5 & j.14, pp. 408–9.

a two-tier *zhou-xian* 州-縣 (prefecture-county) structure. The new reconfiguration strengthened the power of central government over local officials, while reducing local bureaucracy.³⁹³ During the reign of Yangdi, the two-tier *zhou-xian* 州-縣 (prefecture-county) structure became a *jun-xian* 郡-縣 (commandery-county) structure, while the number of commanderies and counties was reduced. The inspection system, established by Yangdi, further increased the power of central government.³⁹⁴

Perhaps because the Sui dynasty was relatively short-lived, no records exist of doctors being sent to the provinces, nor are there any Sui records at local government level of medical provision with an element of therapeutic exercise. Whilst there is concrete evidence of Medical Erudites (*yixue boshi* 醫學博士) serving at the prefectures during the Tang period, who gave treatments to local people and had students learning under them, there is no mention of *Anmo* Erudites serving at the prefectures during the Tang period.³⁹⁵ Thus, although we can assert that an institutionalisation of therapeutic exercise took place within the Sui's imperial court, beyond that we can only speculate.

3.2.3 The civil service examination system

As impressive in its way as the comprehensive administrative reform, Wendi created a new and radical method of appointing government officials through

³⁹³ The old three-tier structure was compared to 'using nine shepherds for ten sheep'. *Suishu*, j.46, p. 1253.

³⁹⁴ Xiong remarks that, 'Drastic reduction of the size of the local bureaucracy was one of the main achievements of Yangdi's reform of local government.' Xiong, p. 114; *Suishu*, j.28, p. 797;

³⁹⁵ *Jiu tangshu*, j.44, pp. 1919–20 and *Xing tangshu*, j. 49, pp. 1314–5.

an examination system.³⁹⁶ The previous system of the Nine Ranks, which had been brought in during the Cao Wei dynasty (220–265 CE) was abolished. Its intention had been to replace what were effectively the sycophantic recruitment practices of the Han dynasty, but had itself subsequently become highly elitist during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. In its place, Wendi introduced the imperial examination system, and with it a more meritocratic civil service recruitment process. As a result, anyone who passed the imperial examination, irrespective of social background, had the opportunity to take up an official position. However, this new merit-based examination system did not completely replace the other method which was based on recommendations. Among high-ranking officials, there was a continued dominance of an aristocratic group in the Guanlong 關隴 area (in modern Shanxi 陝西 and in southeast Gansu 甘肅), the home territory of the Sui.³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, the civil service examination system, initiated by the Sui Dynasty, was hugely influential and adopted by successive dynasties over a period of 1,300 years. It was abolished only in 1905.

There were two types of subject for the Imperial Examinations: regular subjects (*changke* 常科) which took place once a year, and special subjects (*zhike* 制科) which took place only when the emperor issued a decree to appoint particular specialists. The imperial medical examination (*yiju* 醫舉) fell

³⁹⁶ Xiong, pp 123–6.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 120. See also Chen Yingge 陳寅恪, *Tangdai zhengzhishi lunshu gao* 唐代政治史論述稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982).

into the second category.³⁹⁸ The earliest extant record of the use of the imperial examination for appointing medical civil servants can be found in the preface of the tomb inscription of Wu Benli 吳本立 who was appointed Medical Supervisor (*Taiyijian* 太醫監) after passing his imperial medical examination in 650. He later became the Imperial Physician (*taiyiling* 太醫令) at the court of the Emperor Gaozong of Tang (628 – 683), the third emperor of the Tang dynasty.³⁹⁹ Judging by the large number of *daoyin* practitioners appointed at the Sui court, it is highly likely that they were appointed under a decree of one of the Sui emperors, almost certainly by Yangdi, after undergoing examination to assess their expertise in *daoyin*.

3.2.4 Economic prosperity

Innovative political reforms and the new network of canals invigorated economic growth during the early Sui period. As an agrarian society, grain production was the essential economic activity in Sui China. In 592, Wendi implemented the equal-field system (*juntian zhi* 均田制) nationwide. This had been introduced under the Northern Wei in 485 to provide centralised standards for more equitable distribution of arable land, and to rationalise taxation.⁴⁰⁰ Anderson comments that ‘what was new, indeed revolutionary, about the revival was its uniform extension to everyone in all of China. The system was a form of socialism.’⁴⁰¹ Both male adults and adolescents (aged

³⁹⁸ Gao Mingshi 高明士, *Suitang gongju zhidu* 隋唐貢舉制度 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1999).

³⁹⁹ Wang Renbo 王仁波, *Suitang wudai muzhiming huibian* 隋唐五代墓誌銘彙編, vol. 3 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1991), pp. 419–20.

⁴⁰⁰ Xiong, pp 180–2.

⁴⁰¹ E. N. Anderson, *The Food of China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 62.

between 10 and 16) were given significant land entitlements.⁴⁰² Many granaries were built at strategic locations along the Grand Canal, including a network of relief granaries (*yicang* 義倉) for supporting local populations in time of need. To increase state revenue from taxpayers, Wendi instituted inspection mechanisms known as *maoyue* 貌閱 (visual inspection) and *tuanmao* 團貌 (group inspection). These methods proved to be extremely effective. A significant gain in population, by more than 1.6 million, generated greater tax revenue.⁴⁰³ *Suishu* describes the economic conditions during Wendi's reign as follows:

隋文帝既平江表，天下大同，躬先儉約，以事府帑。開皇十七年，戶口滋盛，中外倉庫，無不盈積。所有資給，不逾經費，京司帑屋既充，積於廊廡之下，高祖遂停此年正賦，以賜黎元。

Sui Wendi had pacified the lower Yangzi area and the whole country was united. He set a personal example of simple living in order to help fill up the state storehouses. In 597 CE – the 17th year of his reign (Kaihuang 17) – the population was booming, and storehouses both in the capital and the provinces were overflowing with produce. Capital storehouses were so full that goods had to be piled up in the corridors. Government expenditure was within budget. So Gaozu (Wendi) waived that year's official taxes in order to reward the people.⁴⁰⁴

When Yangdi took over, the treasury coffers were full and it was during this period of political stability and economic boom that a great many *daoyin* practitioners were officially established in the Sui court. The employment of

⁴⁰² Xiong, pp. 180–2.

⁴⁰³ Ibid, p. 190.

⁴⁰⁴ Tr. Xiong, p. 194; *Suishu*, j.24, p. 672.

these *daoyin* practitioners, who numbered well in excess of 250,⁴⁰⁵ was made possible by the wealth of the imperial funds and considerable state sponsorship.

3.2.5 Religious freedom and imperial patronage of both Buddhism and Daoism

During the Sui, Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism all flourished. Confucian scholars such as Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–591) and Wang Tong 王通 (584–618) advocated the concept of Three Teachings as One (*sanjiao heyi* 三教合一).

Their aim was to integrate Buddhism and Daoism into the Confucian orthodoxy.⁴⁰⁶ Li Shiqian 李世謙, another Sui scholar of that time, ranked the three teachings as heavenly bodies in the solar system:

佛，日也；道，月也，儒，五星也。
Buddhism is the Sun, Daoism the moon and Confucianism the five stars.⁴⁰⁷

The two emperors, Wendi and Yangdi, were enthusiastic patrons of both Buddhism and Daoism. In 580, during the reign of the last emperor of Northern Zhou, when Yang Jian was the *de facto* sovereign, a decree was issued, revoking the bans on Buddhism and Daoism which had been put in place six years earlier by Emperor Wu (re.561–578).⁴⁰⁸ It says:

復行佛、道二教，舊沙門、道士精誠自守者，簡令入道。

Revive the two teachings of Buddhism and Daoism. Those who were

⁴⁰⁵ See 3.3.1 *Shangyaoju* 尚藥局 (The Palace Medical Service) and 3.3.2 *Taiyishu* 太醫署 (The Imperial Medical Office)

⁴⁰⁶ Joachim Gentz, 'Religious diversity in three teachings discourses', in *Religious Diversity in Chinese Thought*, ed. by Perry Schmidt-Leukel and Joachim Gentz (New York, NY : Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 123–39 (p. 126).

⁴⁰⁷ *Suishu* j.77, p. 1755.

⁴⁰⁸ *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, j.23, p. 625.

previously monks and Daoists and who have sincerely kept their faiths will be selected to return to their paths.⁴⁰⁹

As soon as Wendi ascended to the throne, he issued another decree, emphasising the equal status of all teachings, including Buddhism and Daoism.⁴¹⁰ When building the new capital, *Daxingcheng*, in 583, Wendi established two religious institutions, the Daxingshan Monastery 大興善寺 and the Xuandu Abbey 玄都觀 as the national religious centres for Buddhism and Daoism respectively. Like his father, Yangdi was also an enthusiastic patron of both Buddhism and Daoism, in particular, of *Tiantai* Buddhism and *Shangqing* Daoism.⁴¹¹ While he was still Prince of Jin in Jiangdu 江都 (590 – 602) (in modern Jiangsu) in effect the senior Sui administrator of the south, he established two Buddhist monasteries and two Daoist abbeys, known as the Four Places of Enlightenment (*si daochang* 四道場), inviting many prominent monks and Daoist adepts to take up residence there. These religious centres were subsidised generously by the state.⁴¹² Further involvement with Buddhism and Daoism by the two Sui emperors will be discussed in 3.5.

3.2.6 Emphasis on Han culture

For almost three hundred years, between the collapse of the Western Jin and the founding of the Sui, various non-Chinese nomadic groups had dominated the political scene in northern China. According to Twitchett, ‘about 65 percent

⁴⁰⁹ *Zhoushu* 周書, j.8, p. 131.

⁴¹⁰ *Wuyu gezhi sengsi zhao* 五嶽各置僧寺詔, Quansuiwen 全隋文 in *Quanshanggu sandai qinhan sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, p. 4016.

⁴¹¹ Xiong, pp. 143–71.

⁴¹² *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, j. 11, p. 513; see also Hiroshi Yamazaki 山崎宏, ‘Yodai no shidojo 煬帝の四道場’, *The Toyo gakuho* 東洋學報, 34 (1942), pp. 22–35.

of top-ranking Northern Zhou officials were of non-Chinese origin. Wendi had himself grown up within this system, and most of his friends and chief advisers came from this group.⁴¹³ Wendi was from an ethnically mixed northern clan in Guanlong area with strong Tuoba ancestral roots, and bore the Tuoba name Puliuru Jian (普六茹堅).⁴¹⁴ His childhood name was Naluoyan (那羅延), of Buddhist origin, which was also the name of a central Asian Turkic chieftain.⁴¹⁵ Wendi's wife, Dugu Qieluo 獨孤伽羅 (544 – 602) was a daughter of Dugu Xin 獨孤信 (504 – 557) who was from a Xianbei clan that for centuries had intermarried with the great families of Northern Wei.⁴¹⁶ Dugu Xin's eldest daughter was married to the first Northern Zhou emperor, his seventh daughter to Wendi and his fourth daughter to Li Bing 李昞 (? – 573), father of the first Tang Emperor, Li Yuan. Therefore, the mothers of both Yang Guang and Li Yuan were sisters of Xianbei ethnicity. Charles Holcombe remarks that 'despite Sui and Tang dynasty imperial family claims to Chinese descent, both had extensively intermarried with the Xianbei, at times bore Xianbei names, and probably sometimes spoke the Xianbei language.'⁴¹⁷

Despite their Xianbei roots, both Sui emperors regarded themselves as descendants of Han Chinese and promoted Chinese culture throughout their territory. Sanping Chen argues that ever since the collapse of the Western Jin,

⁴¹³ Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, p. 81.

⁴¹⁴ See Wontack Hong, *East Asian history: a tripolar approach* (Kudara International, 2010), pp. 201–30.

⁴¹⁵ Sanping Chen, *Multicultural China in the Early Middle Ages* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), p. 12.

⁴¹⁶ Wontack Hong. *East Asian history: a tripolar approach* (Seoul: Kudara International, 2010), p. 22.

⁴¹⁷ Charles Holcombe, 'The Xianbei in Chinese History', *Early Medieval China*, 19 (2013), 1–38 (34).

political and cultural ‘legitimacy’ tended to be regarded, by people in both south and north, as residing with the Southern Dynasties. Thus, in order to gain political legitimacy, the Sui and Tang regimes endeavoured to present themselves as having been Han Chinese all along.⁴¹⁸ Many of Wendi’s policies followed the old systems of the Han and Wei,⁴¹⁹ adopting much of the ‘sinicized’ policy of Emperor Xiaowen of Northern Wei.⁴²⁰ The aim was to create a single unified empire dominated by Chinese culture, Chinese systems of thought, art, law and political organisation etc., and using the Chinese written language. Accordingly, the medical knowledge and practices, associated with the foundational imperial dynasties of Qin and Han, were advocated and supported during the Sui.

The intention behind many of the projects undertaken by the two Sui emperors was to secure their political legitimacy and to advance the unification of China under a single centralised government. Rather than being an isolated intervention, the medical reforms initiated by the Sui emperors was part of that unification and centralisation process, which drew the best physicians, including *daoyin* practitioners, to the Sui court, in order to establish and develop the ‘official’ state medical practice.

3.3 The medical system under the Sui government

⁴¹⁸ Sanping Chen, p. 32.

⁴¹⁹ *Suishu*, j.1, p. 13.

⁴²⁰ See Gan Huaizhen 甘懷真, ‘Yangjian jituan yu suichao kaiguo: jianlun suichao liguowenhua zhengce 楊堅集團與隋朝開國: 兼論隋朝立國文化政策’ in *Disijie tangdai wenhua xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 第四屆唐代文化學術研討會論文集, (Tainan: Guoli chengong daxue, 1999).

Before we examine the medical system under the Sui government, it may be helpful to give a brief account of medical institutions prior to the Sui period. One of the earliest texts to refer to medical bureaucracy in China is *Zhouli*, compiled around the 2nd century, which outlines various medical posts of different ranks at the imperial court. They include:

1. Two senior and four junior Master Physicians (*Yishi* 醫師), who, in addition to giving treatment, were in charge of state medical policy and administration. Under them were two Administrative Officials of the 5th (*fu* 府) class and two Administrative Officials of the 6th (*shi* 史) class, and twenty of the 8th class (*tu* 徒).
2. Two Dieticians (*Shiyi* 食醫) in charge of the diet of the emperor and his court.
3. Eight Physicians for Common Diseases (*Jiyi* 疾醫) to combat epidemics, and treat anybody with infections and illnesses caused by the four seasons. They also certified and recorded causes of death.
4. Eight Physicians for External Disorders (*Yangyi* 瘍醫) who specialised in swellings, ulcers, wounds and fractures.
5. Four Veterinarians (*Shouyi* 獸醫) who treated and looked after animals.⁴²¹

Rather than reflecting the reality of medical provision at the imperial court of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BCE), this listing illustrates what the Han scholars considered to be an ideal formula for medical provision under a

⁴²¹ *Zhouli*, j1, p. 14, pp. 66–75.

unified imperial bureaucracy.⁴²² Only during the Western Han dynasty were there two actual posts of Imperial Physician (*Taiyi ling* 太醫令), one under the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*Fengchang* 奉常) the other under the Chamberlain for Palace Revenues (*Shoufu* 少府).⁴²³ During the Eastern Han dynasty, the Imperial Physician (*Taiyi ling* 太醫令) under the Chamberlain for Ceremonials was discontinued, but the Imperial Physician under the Chamberlain for Palace Revenues had two aides, one Medical Treatment Aide (*fangcheng* 方丞) and one Pharmacist Aide (*yaocheng* 藥丞). Under them were two hundred and ninety-three official physicians (*Yuanyi* 員醫) and nineteen official functionaries (*Yuanshi* 員史). The Imperial Physician and his staff were responsible for treating court officials, managing the imperial pharmacy for drug prescriptions, and the medical affairs of local government.⁴²⁴

Some of these posts continued into the period of the Six Dynasties. None of them, however, was to do with medical teaching. According to *Tang Liudian*, under a new programme of institutionalised medical teaching, during the Jin period, sons of physicians were taught by medical officials. However, it was not until 443 CE during the Liu Song dynasty (420–479) that the Imperial Physician Qin Chenzu 秦承祖 proposed the establishment of state medical education. The Northern Wei dynasty (386 – 534 CE) also created two, relatively low-ranking, teaching posts – Medical Erudite (*Taiyi boshi* 太醫博士)

⁴²² Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Volume 6, Part 6, p. 96.

⁴²³ *Hanshu*, j.19, p. 410 & p. 415.

⁴²⁴ *Houhan shu*, zhi 26, p. 3592; Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 6, Biology and Biological Technology, Part 6, Medicine*, p. 98.

and Medical Teaching Assistant (*Taiyi zhujiao* 太醫助教).⁴²⁵ Limited evidence from the extant sources suggests that these medical institutions were relatively small. It was not until the Sui that the state medical service and state medical education underwent further reform and took a huge leap forward.

Institutional reform under the Sui included reorganisation of the state medical service. This reorganisation was informed by the medical institutional structures of the Northern Dynasties.⁴²⁶ It consisted of four main areas:

1. *Shangyaoju* 尚藥局 The Palace Medical Service
2. *Taiyishu* 太醫署 The Imperial Medical Office
3. *Taizi yaocang ju* 太子藥藏局 The Pharmacy in the Secretariat of the Heir Apparent
4. Medical services for the animals

The Palace Medical Service was responsible for providing medical care mainly to the emperor and the imperial family, and was under the supervision of the Chancellery. The Imperial Medical Office was the Sui's medical governing body, responsible for all medical affairs, including providing treatments. It had a teaching institution for training professional physicians in government service. *Daoyin* practitioners had a presence in both units during the Sui period, and this will be discussed in more detail. The Pharmacy in the Secretariat of the Heir Apparent was responsible for treating the crown prince. This much smaller unit, comprising eight staff in total, did not employ any

⁴²⁵ *Tang liudian*, j.14, p. 410.

⁴²⁶ See 'Weiji nanbeichao suitang shiqide yixue 魏晉南北朝隋唐時期的醫學' in *Zhongguoshi xinlun – Yiliaoshi fence* 中國史新論 - 醫療史分冊, p. 163.

daoyin specialists.⁴²⁷ The medical service for the animals at the Court of the Imperial Stud (*Taipu si* 太僕寺) employed one hundred and twenty veterinarians (*shouyi boshi* 獸醫博士).⁴²⁸ In addition to these four main medical services at the Sui court, there were medical professionals working at other locations. For example, there were pharmacists (*zhuyao* 主藥) working at the Office of the Imperial Mausoleums 諸陵署 and dieticians (*shiyi* 食醫) at the Palace Food Service (*shangshi ju* 尚食局).⁴²⁹

3.3.1 *Shangyaoju* 尚藥局 (The Palace Medical Service)

The Palace Medical Service was one of six subdivisions under the Chancellery, the other five units being Capital Gates Service (*Chengmen ju* 城門局), Palace Food Service (*Shangshi ju* 尚食局), Imperial Seals Service (*Fuxi ju* 符璽局), Palace Wardrobe Service (*Yufu ju* 御府局), and Palace Attendance Service (*Diannei ju* 殿內局). When the Palace Attendance Service was promoted to the status of a Department in 607, during the reign of Yangdi, replacing the Palace Domestic Service (*Neishi sheng* 內史省) as one of the Five Departments in the top echelons of central government, the Palace Medical Service was also promoted and established as one of the subdivisions of the Department of Palace Attendance (*Diannei sheng* 殿內省).⁴³⁰ The new configuration of the Department of Palace Attendance consisted of six subsidiary services: Palace Food Service (*shangshi chu* 尚

⁴²⁷ *Tang liudian*, j.26, p. 667.

⁴²⁸ *Suishu*, j.28, *zhi* 23, p. 776.

⁴²⁹ *Tang Liudian*, j.14, p. 401; *Suishu*, j.28, *zhi* 23, p. 774; *Tang Liudian*, j.11, p. 324.

⁴³⁰ *Tang Liudian*, j.11, pp. 324–5.

食), Palace Medical Service (*shangyao ju* 尚藥), Palace Clothing Service (*shangyi ju* 尚衣), Palace Accommodations Service (*shangshe ju* 尚舍), Palace Livery Service (*shangcheng ju* 尚乘), and Palace Sedan-chair Service (*shanglien ju* 尚輦).

This reshuffle by Yangdi of the internal administration was significant. Whilst under the Department of the Chancellery, fifty people had been employed by the Palace Medical Service, including two Chief Stewards, four Imperial Physicians-in-attendance, four Duty Chiefs and forty Master Physicians (Table 3.2).⁴³¹

Job titles in Chinese	Job titles in English	Before 607 CE
<i>Dianyu</i> 典御	Chief Steward	2
<i>Shiyuyi</i> 侍御醫	Imperial Physician-in-attendance	4
<i>Zhizhang</i> 直長	Duty Chief	4
<i>Yishi</i> 醫師	Master Physician	40
Total		50

Table 3. 2 Staffing levels at the Palace Medical Service (*Shangyaoju* 尚藥局) under the Chancellery (*Menxiasheng* 門下省) before 607 CE

After the Palace Medical Service was placed under the Department of Palace Attendance in 607, over two hundred people were employed there, including one hundred and twenty Masters of *Anmo*, who were experts in *daoyin* (Table 3.3).

Job titles in Chinese	Job titles in English	After 607 CE
<i>Fengyu</i> 奉御	Chief Steward	2
<i>Shiyuyi</i> 侍御醫	Imperial Physician-in-attendance	4
<i>Zhizhang</i> 直長	Duty Chief	4
<i>Yishi</i> 醫師	Master Physician	40
<i>Zhuyao</i> 主藥	Pharmacist	4
<i>Yaotong</i> 藥童	Apprentice Pharmacist	24
<i>Siyi</i> 司醫	Palace Physician	4

⁴³¹ *Suishu*, j.28, zhi 23, p. 774.

<i>Yizuo</i> 醫佐	Medical Assistant	8
<i>anmo shi</i> 按摩師	Master of <i>Anmo</i>	120
Total		210

Table 3. 3 Staffing levels at the Palace Medical Service under the Department of Palace Attendance after 607 CE

Although it is possible that *Anmo* Masters were already working at the Palace Medical Service while it was still under the Chancellery, no such records can be found. It is far more likely that these *Anmo* Masters were appointed during Yangdi's reign, as part of his expansion of the Palace Medical Service. We can be certain that these one hundred and twenty *Anmo* Masters continued to work at the Palace Medical Service under the Department of Palace Attendance until the end of the Sui period, when their numbers were drastically reduced to four by the Tang Emperor, possibly by Li Yuan.⁴³²

3.3.2 *Taiyishu* 太醫署 (The Imperial Medical Office)

The Imperial Medical Office was the highest administrative authority of medicine during the Sui period. One of eleven subdivisions at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices (*Taichang si* 太常寺), the Imperial Medical Office had four main functions:

1. Medical administration
2. Medical education
3. Medical care for the imperial officials

⁴³² *Tang Liudian*, j.11, p. 325

4. Care of medical remedies⁴³³

According to *Suishu*, there were two Imperial Physicians (*taiyiling* 太醫令) who were the heads of the Imperial Medical Office, under whom were the two Aides (*Taiyicheng* 太醫丞). Various staff working at the Imperial Medical Office included two pharmacists who managed drug remedies, two hundred Master Physicians, who treated officials of the Sui court, and two herbalists, who tended to the medicinal garden. There were two Erudites of Medicine with two assistants, two Erudites of *Anmo* and two Erudites of Incantation and Interdiction, whose main responsibility was to teach. Needham suggests that it was around 585 when the teaching institution was established with the aforementioned staffing levels.⁴³⁴ The table below shows staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office according to *Suishu*:⁴³⁵

Job title (in Chinese)	Job title (in English)	No. of staff
太醫令	Imperial Physician	2
太醫丞	Aide to the Imperial Physician	2
主藥	Pharmacist	2
醫師	Master Physician	200
藥園師	Herbalist	2
醫博士	Erudite of Medicine	2
醫助教	Assistant of Medicine	2
按摩博士	Erudite of <i>Anmo</i>	2
咒禁博士	Erudite of Incantation and Interdiction	2
Total		216

Table 3. 4 Staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office according to *Suishu*

There may have been lower-ranking staff, or staff without rank, working at the Imperial Medical Office who were not recorded in *Suishu*. It is worth noting that although two assistants of medicine are mentioned in *Suishu*, there is no

⁴³³ See also Ren Yuncai 任育才, 'Tangdai de yiliao zuzhi yu yixue jiaoyu' 唐代的醫療組織與醫學教育, *Zhongxing daxue wenshi xuebao* 中興大學文史學報, 11 (1981), 101–32.

⁴³⁴ Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Volume 6, Part 6*, p. 99.

⁴³⁵ *Suishu*, j.28, p. 775.

mention of any assistants for the Erudites of *Anmo*. One might have expected mention of the one hundred and twenty *Anmo* Masters under the Erudites of *Anmo*, had they already been employed when the Imperial Medical Office was first established by Wendi. Another set of data in *Tang Liudian* records the positions and numbers of staff and students at the Imperial Medical Office when it was handed over to the Tang sovereign:

隋煬帝置醫監五員、醫正十員，皇朝減之。

Sui Yangdi established five Medical Supervisors and ten Principal Practitioners. The Emperor [of the Tang] reduced their numbers.

隋又有藥園師、藥生等，皇朝因之。

Sui also had herbalists and student herbalists. The Emperor [of the Tang] followed this model.

隋太醫有師二百人，皇朝置二十人，醫工一百人。

There were two hundred Master Physicians at the Imperial Medical office of the Sui. The Emperor [of the Tang] instated twenty plus one hundred Medical Apprentices.

隋太醫有生一百二十人，皇朝置四十人。

There were one hundred and twenty students at the Imperial Medical Office of the Sui [under the Master Physicians]. The Emperor [of the Tang] instated forty.

隋太醫有博士二人，掌醫。

There were two Erudites in charge of medicine at the Imperial Medical office of the Sui.

隋太醫有按摩博士二十人，皇朝因之。貞觀中減置一人。

There were twenty Erudites of *Anmo* at the Imperial Medical office of the Sui. The Emperor [of the Tang] followed this model. During the Zhenguan period (626 – 649), they were reduced to one.

隋太醫有按摩師一百二十人，無按摩工，皇朝置之。

There were one hundred and twenty Masters of *Anmo* at the Imperial Medical office of the Sui but no *Anmo* apprentices. These were instated by the Emperor [of the Tang].

隋太醫有按摩生一百人。皇朝武德中置三十人，貞觀中減置十五人也。

There were one hundred students of *Anmo* at the Imperial Medical office of the Sui. During the Wude period (618 – 626), the emperor instated thirty people. During the Zhenguan period (626 – 649), they were reduced to fifteen.

隋太醫有咒禁博士一人，皇朝因之。

There was one Erudite of Incantation and Interdiction. The Emperor [of the Tang] followed this model.⁴³⁶

The chart below shows staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office during the Sui, according to *Tang liudian*:

Job titles (Chinese)	Job titles (English)	Staffing levels
太醫令	Imperial Physician.	2
太醫丞	Aide to the Imperial Physician	2
醫監	Medical Supervisor	5
醫正	Principal Practitioner	10
醫師	Master Physician	200
藥園師	Herbalist	2
藥生	Student herbalists	8
醫博士	Erudite of Medicine	2
醫助教	Assistant of Medicine	0
醫生	Student of Medicine	120
按摩博士	Erudite of <i>Anmo</i>	20
按摩師	<i>Anmo</i> Master	120
按摩生	Student of <i>Anmo</i>	100
咒禁博士	Erudite of Incantation and Interdiction	1
Total		592

Table 3. 5 Staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office according to *Tang Liudian*

If we compare the data from *Suishu* and *Tang Liudian*, we can see a striking

⁴³⁶ *Tang liudian*, j.14, pp. 409–11.

difference between the two:

Job titles (Chinese)	Job titles (English)	S.	Job titles (Chinese)	Job titles (English)	T.
太醫令	Imperial Physician	2	太醫令	Imperial Physician.	2
太醫丞	Aide to the Imperial Physician	2	太醫丞	Aide to the Imperial Physician	2
			醫監	Medical Supervisor	5
			醫正	Principal Practitioner	10
主藥	Pharmacists	2	主藥	Pharmacists	2
醫師	Master Physician	200	醫師	Master Physician	200
藥園師	Herbalist	2	藥園師	Herbalists	2
			藥生	Student herbalists	8
醫博士	Erudite of Medicine	2	醫博士	Erudite of Medicine	2
醫助教	Assistants of Medicine	2	醫助教	Assistants of Medicine	0
			醫生	Student of Medicine	120
按摩博士	Erudite of <i>Anmo</i>	2	按摩博士	Erudites of <i>Anmo</i>	20
			按摩師	<i>Anmo</i> Master	120
			按摩生	Student of <i>Anmo</i>	100
咒禁博士	Erudite of Incantation and Interdiction	2	咒禁博士	Erudite of Incantation and Interdiction	1
Total		216	Total		594

Table 3. 6 Staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office according to *Suishu* (S.) and *Tang Liudian* (T.)

The medical supervisors and the principal practitioners were a later addition by Yangdi. Three types of student appear in *Tang Liudian*: student herbalists, students of medicine and students of *anmo*. The number of assistants of medicine dropped from two to zero and the number of Erudites of Incantation and Interdiction from two to one. The most significant difference is in the number of Erudites of *Anmo*, which increased from two to twenty, and in the appearance of one hundred and twenty *Anmo* Masters.

Regarding the question of whether the 200 *yishi*, Master Physicians, could have been part of the teaching staff under the Erudite of Medicine, neither

Suishu nor *Tang Liudian* support such a claim. *Tang Liudian* states that it was not until the reign of the second Tang Emperor, Li Shiming 李世民 (re. 627 – 649) when a teaching position with the title of *yishi* was established:

隋太醫有博士二人，掌醫。皇朝武德中，博士一人，助教二人；貞觀中，減置一人，又置醫師、醫工佐之，掌教醫生。

There were two Erudites in charge of medicine at the Imperial Medical office of the Sui. During the Wude reign (618–626), there was one Erudite of Medicine and two Assistants. During the Zhenguan reign (627 – 649), the number of assistants was reduced to one, and the post of Master of Medicine (*yishi*) and Technician of Medicine were established to assist the Assistant of Medicine, who was in charge of teaching students.⁴³⁷

Several editions of *Tang Liudian*, including the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) version and the 17th century Japanese edition, confirm the numbers of Erudites of *Anmo* and of *Anmo* Masters to be twenty and one hundred and twenty respectively:

⁴³⁷ *Tang liudian*, j.14, p. 410.

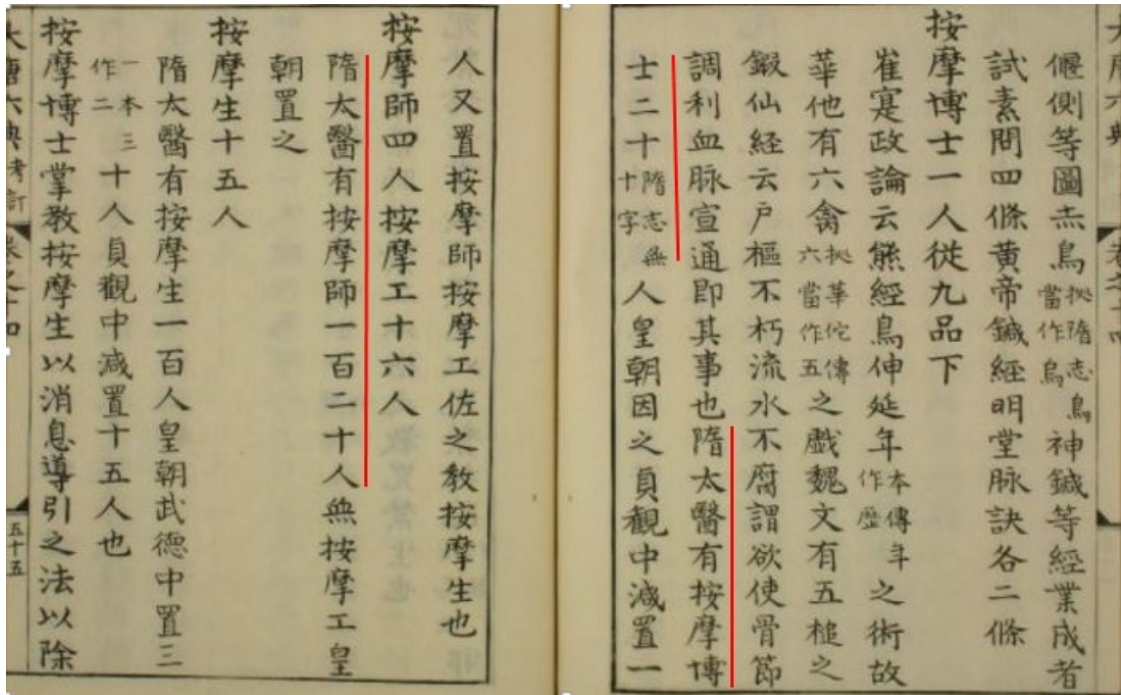


Figure 3. 1 From the 17th century Japanese edition of *Tang liudian*

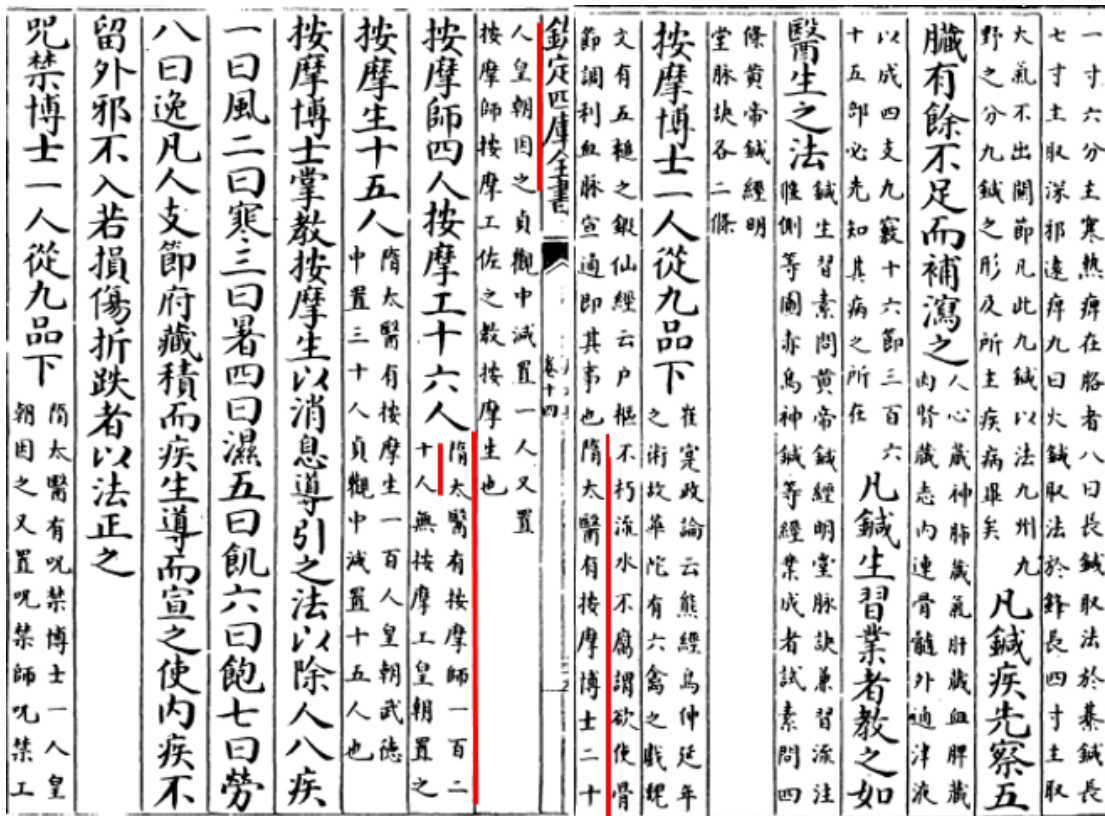


Figure 3. 2 From *Qinding Siku quanshu* 欽定四庫全書 edition

The Japanese edition of *Tang Liudian* also notes that the character ‘十’ (ten) did not appear in *Suishu*, which records only two Erudites of *Anmo*. Although there is always the possibility that there is a ‘mistake’ in *Tang Liudian*, such an

explanation becomes less convincing when we consider that there are several other statistics which fail to match up. For example, there are two Assistants of Medicine in *Suishu* but none in *Tang liudian*, or two Erudites of Incantation and Interdiction in *Suishu* but only one in *Tang Liudian*.

The two sets of data would seem to reflect staffing levels during the reigns of the two emperors. *Suishu* reflects initial staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office when first established by Wendi, whereas *Tang Liudian* shows the changes that took place under Yangdi's reign. Yangdi was renowned for being extravagant, and disliked being thwarted, whereas Wendi was said to be hard-working, diligent and extremely frugal.⁴³⁸ If Yangdi had wanted to appoint twenty *Anmo* Erudites and one hundred and twenty *Anmo* Masters at the Imperial Medical Office and another one hundred and twenty *Anmo* Masters at the Palace Medical Service, nobody would have argued with him. Various clues suggest that Yangdi more than Wendi was responsible for the Sui's radical medical reforms. Thus, the structure of the Imperial Medical Office would have looked like this during the reign of Wendi:

⁴³⁸ More discussion on the personalities, political styles of the two Sui emperors in 3.5.

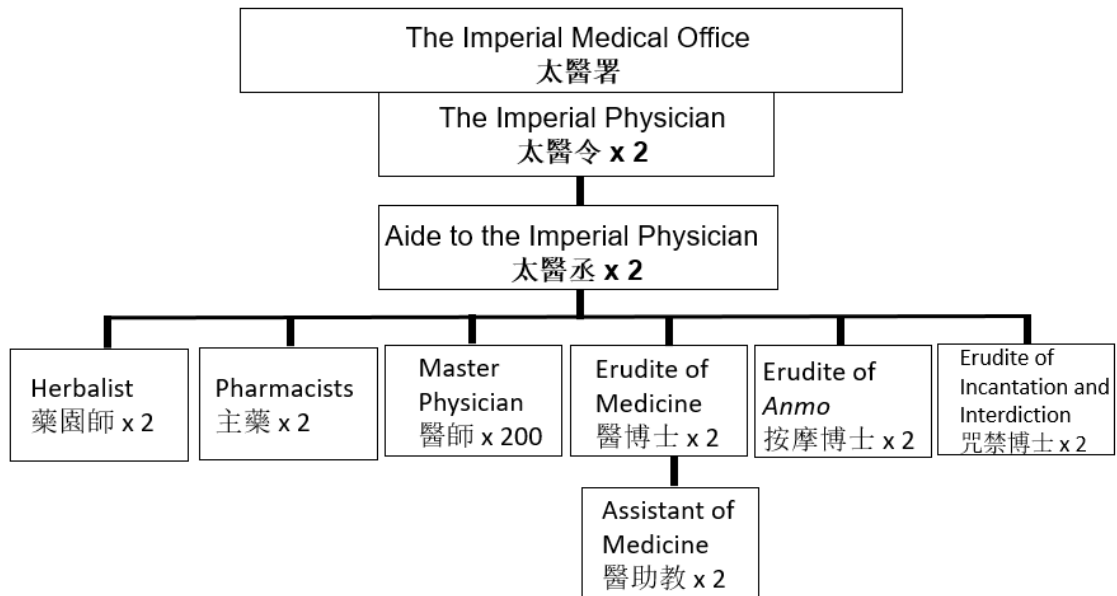


Table 3. 7 Staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office during the reign of Wendi

And become more like this during the reign of Yangdi:

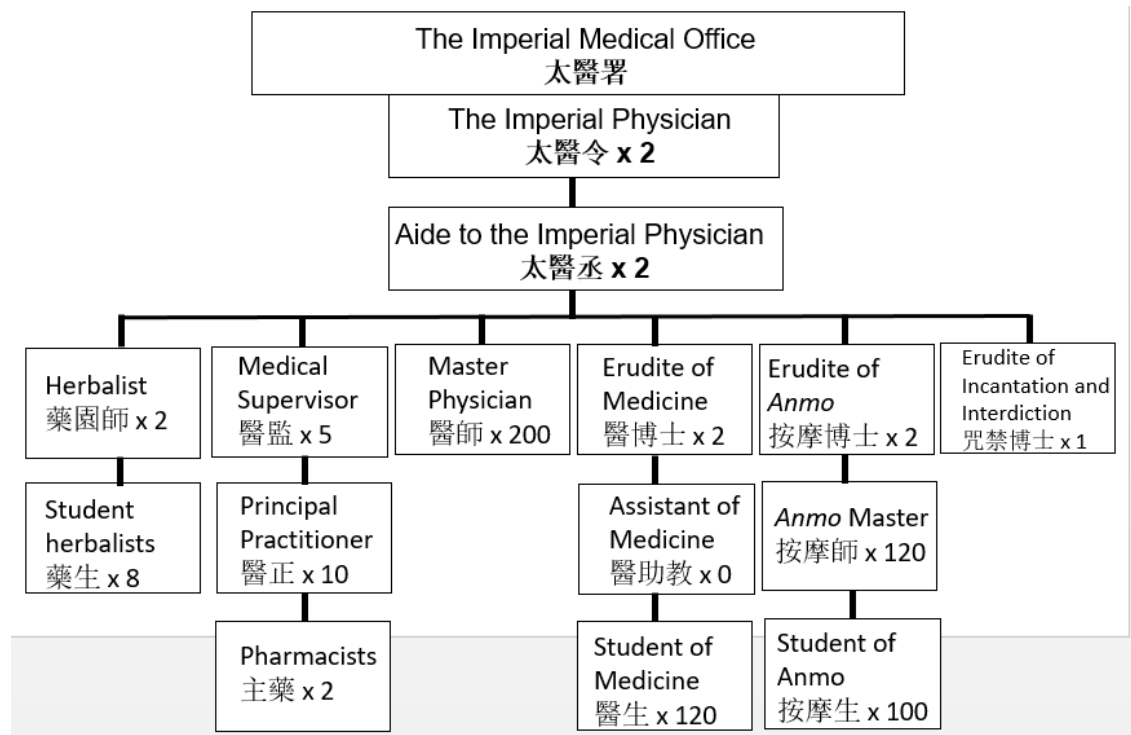


Table 3. 8 Staffing levels at the Imperial Medical Office during the reign of Yangdi

Tang Liudian offers the following explanation for *anmo* and for what was being taught in that department:

按摩博士掌教按摩生以消息導引之法，以除人八疾：一曰風，二曰寒，三曰暑四曰濕，五曰饑，六曰飽，七曰勞，八曰逸。凡人支、節、府、藏積而疾生，導而宣之，使內疾不留，外邪不入。若損傷折跌者，以法正之。

Anmo Erudites were responsible for teaching *anmo* students methods of breathing exercises and *daoyin* in order to get rid of eight types of illness; that is diseases associated with wind, cold, summer heat, damp, hunger, overeating, over-exertion and over-indulgence. Any accumulations in the limbs, joints, *fu* (the *yang* organs) and *zang* (the *yin* organs) generate illness. Use *daoyin* to disperse them so that no illness stays inside the body and neither is any external deviant able to enter the body. If there are fractures or injuries caused by falls, correct them using the appropriate method.⁴³⁹

As already noted, although it was Wendi who first established the three specialised medical departments in the Imperial Medical Academy, the department of therapeutic exercise grew enormously during Yangdi's reign. A parallel expansion happened within the Palace Medical Service. As Yangdi reigned for only fourteen years, *daoyin* practitioners would have been working at the Sui court for just over a decade before the Tang emperor reduced their number to four at both units. Unsurprisingly, there is barely a trace of them in historical records apart from mention of their numbers at the Sui capital. However, we can confidently assert that Yangdi had a particular vision of medical care which emphasised the role of *daoyin*. Sadly, although his vision was not fully realised, traces of it remain in the rich material of therapeutic exercise organised in an innovative fashion in *Bingyuan*. This text is listed among several other medical texts in the catalogue of the Imperial Library of

⁴³⁹ *Tang Liudian*, j. 14, p. 411.

the Sui which also contain materials on *daoyin*. We will now look to the medical section of *Suishu jingji zhi* to throw light on the range of medical knowledge and practice acknowledged by the court and clearly available during the Sui period.

3.4 The medical texts in *Suishu jingji zhi* 隋書經籍志

As part of the process of centralisation during the Sui dynasty, Niu Hong 牛宏 (545–610 CE), president of the Board of Personnel, suggested to Wendi in 583 CE a new way of collecting the books that were scattered among private collections, by instituting a system of rewards for people who lent their books to be copied.⁴⁴⁰ This greatly expanded the collection in the imperial library of the Sui court, including the number of medical texts. According to *Suishu*, Wendi ordered scribes to produce texts, each with a master and an extra copy, which would be placed in the palace library and in other locations. Altogether the library housed thirty thousand *juan*.⁴⁴¹ Yangdi was an enthusiastic book collector as well as an accomplished writer and poet. According to *Xin tangshu* 新唐書 (The New Book of the Tang Dynasty) and Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒 (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government), during Yangdi's reign there were 370,000 scrolls in the palace library in Daxingcheng.⁴⁴² Yangdi ordered the director of the State Library (*Mishu jian* 秘書監), Liu Guyan 柳顧言 and others, to sift through the collection, and discard anything of low quality. They produced 37,000 *juan* for

⁴⁴⁰ *Suishu*, j.32, p. 908.

⁴⁴¹ *Suishu*, j.32, p. 908.

⁴⁴² *Xin tangshu*, p. 1422 and *Zizhi tongjian*, j.182, p. 5694.

imperial master copies, which were stored in the palace library of the Eastern capital.⁴⁴³ Yangdi ordered fifty copies of each text to be made, and placed in the palace libraries of the two capitals as well as in local government offices. The Imperial master copies utilised the best quality scrolls, and decorative embroidery.⁴⁴⁴

Yangdi was very much involved in book production, ordering as many as 31 books from different genres to be compiled and written. In *Zizhi tongjian*, Sima Guang comments that,

帝好讀書著述，自為揚州總管，置正府學士至百人，常令修撰，以至為帝，前後近二十載，修撰未嘗暫停；自經術、文章、兵、農、地理、醫、卜、釋、道乃至菟博、鷹狗，皆為新書，無不精洽，共成三十一部，萬七千餘卷。

Yangdi liked studying and writing. When he was the commander in Yangzhou, he appointed one hundred academicians to edit and compile books. When he became emperor, Yangdi continued with the work of editing and compiling books. For nearly twenty years, he never stopped. New books were produced ranging from texts of classical learning, literature, warfare, agriculture, geography, medicine, divination, Buddhist and Daoist scriptures to texts on games and falconry, written to a high literary standard. Together, there were thirty-one books in about 17000 *juan*.⁴⁴⁵

Among the books commissioned by Yangdi were three encyclopedic medical texts:

1. *Sihai leijufang* 四海類聚方 (A Collection of Classified Formularies of the Four Seas) in 2600 *juan*

⁴⁴³ *Zizhi tongjian*, j.182, p. 5694.

⁴⁴⁴ *Suishu*, j.32, p. 908.

⁴⁴⁵ *Zizhi tongjian*, j.182, p. 5694.

2. *Sihai leijufang* 四海類聚單要方 (A Collection of Classified Formularies of of the Four Seas with Single Ingredients) in 300 *juan*
3. *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 in 50 *juan*

The first two texts have been lost; fortunately, *Bingyuan*, containing a substantial amount of materials on *daoyin*, has been preserved in its entirety.

Suishu jingjizhi testifies to a significant increase in medical texts since the Han period. *Hanshu yiwen zhi* 漢書藝文志 (The Catalogue of the Imperial Library of the Han), completed in 6 BCE, lists only 36 medical texts in 868 *juan*, while the *Suishu jingjizhi*, compiled between 641 and 656 CE, lists 256 medical texts in 4510 *juan*.

Although there are no subcategories in the medical section (*yifang* 醫方, Medicine and Recipes) of *Suishu jingji zhi*, some of the medical texts in *Suishu jingji zhi* correspond to the four types of texts in the *fangji* 方技 section of *Hanshu yiwen zhi* – Medical Classics (*yijing* 醫經), Classical recipes (*jingfang* 經方), Arts of the Bedchamber (*fangzhong* 房中), and Transcendents (*shenxian* 神僊).⁴⁴⁶

The medical section of *Suishu jingjizhu* contains many *xian* 仙 texts on immortality and transcendents, including: *Lianhua shu* 煉化術 (Techniques of Cultivation and Transformation), *Shenxian fushi jing* 神仙服食經 (Scripture of

⁴⁴⁶ As mentioned in 2.2.4 Two *daoyin* related texts can be found listed in the ‘Spirit Transcendence’ category under the ‘Recipes and Techniques’ section of *Hanshu yiwenzhi*; *Hanshu*, j. 30, pp. 1775–80.

Transcendent's ingesting food), *Xianren jinyin jing bing changsheng fang* 仙人金銀經並長生方 (Scripture of Gold and Silver of Transcendence with Recipes of Longevity), *Shenxian zafang* 神仙雜方 (Miscellaneous Recipes of Transcendence), and *Za shenxian huangbai fa* 雜神仙黃白法 (Miscellaneous Yellow and White Methods of Transcendence).⁴⁴⁷ There are also a number of texts on *fangzhong*, the Arts of the Bedchamber, including *Sunü midao jing* 素女秘道經 (Scripture of the Secret Way of Plain Maiden), *Sunü fang* 素女方 (Recipes of Plain Maiden), *Yufang mijue* 玉房秘訣 (The Secret Instructions of the Jade Bedchamber) and *Xu Taishan fangnei miyao* 徐太山房內秘要 (Secret Essentials of Xu Taishan on Arts of the Bedchamber).⁴⁴⁸

There are separate catalogues for Buddhist and Daoist scriptures. Two of the subcategories in the Daoist section are *Erfu* 餌服 (Ingestion of Elixir) and *Fangzhong*, Arts of the Bedchamber which partly intersect with the listed *xian* and *fangzhong* texts.⁴⁴⁹ This is not to say that the *xian* and *fangzhong* texts in the medical section are Daoist, or vice versa, but rather that these types of texts were circulated among both medical and Daoist practitioners with a shared knowledge base.

Apart from the medical texts corresponding to the ones belonging to the four categories of *Hanshu yiwenzhi*, other texts in the medical section of *Suishu*

⁴⁴⁷ *Suishu jingjizhi*, j.34, pp. 1040–50.

⁴⁴⁸ *Suishu jingji zhu*, j.34, pp. 1040–50.

⁴⁴⁹ For Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, *Suishu* only gives the categories, number of texts and *juan*; therefore, no individual titles were given. The Daoist Scriptures were divided into four categories: rules (301 titles in 908 *juan*), Ingestion of Elixir (46 titles in 167 *juan*), Arts of the Bedchamber (13 titles in 38 *juan*) and Talismans (17 titles in 103 *juan*). *Suishu jingjizhi*, j.35 *Suishu*, j.35, p. 1091.

jingjizhi have distinctive Daoist and Buddhist characteristics. *Laozi jinshijing* 老子禁食經 (Scripture on Laozi's Food Prohibitions), *Laozi shishi lantai zhong zhilai fu* 老子石室蘭台中治癩符 (Talismans for Curing Scabies at the Orchid Terrance of Laozi's Stone Chamber), *Taiqing caomu jiyao* 太清草木集要 (Collection of Essentials on Vegetation of Great Clarity), *Taiqing shendan zhongjing* 太清神丹中經 (Central Scripture on Divine Elixir of Great Clarity), *Taiqing xuanji wen* 太清璿璣文 (Writing of Jade Cog and Armil of Great Clarity), *Taiqing zhudan jiyao* 太清諸丹集要 (Collection of Essentials of All Elixirs of Great Clarity) were all texts compiled within the Daoist tradition and in particular within the tradition of The Highest Clarity, the *Shangqing* School. The last two texts were written by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), the founder of the *Shangqing* School of Daoism. In fact, as many as ten medical texts in *Suishu Jingjizhu* were written by Tao Hongjing.⁴⁵⁰

At least twelve texts in the medical section of *Suishi jingjizhi* relate to Buddhist or Indian medicine, including:

Longshu Pusa he xiangfa 龍樹菩薩和香法 (Methods of the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna for Compounding Perfumes, or Incense), 2 *juan*

Longshu Pusa yangsheng Fang 龍樹菩薩養性方 (Recipes of Nourishing Inner Nature of the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna), 1 *juan*

Longshu pusa yaofang 龍樹菩薩藥方 (Medical Recipes of Nagarjuna Bodhisattva), four *juan*

Puoluomen yaofang 婆羅門藥方 (Brahman Medical Recipes), 5 *juan*

Puoluomen zhuxian yaofang 婆羅門諸仙藥方 (Medical Recipes of Various Brahman Rishis), 20 *juan*

⁴⁵⁰ *Suishu*, j.34, pp. 1040–9.

Qiantuoli zhigui fang 乾陀利治鬼方 (Gandhari Recipes to Treat Demons), 10 *juan*

Qipo suoshu xianren minglun fang 耆婆所述仙人命論方 (Prescriptions for the Rishis Described by Jīvaka), 3 *juan*

Xiangshan xianren yaofang 香山仙人藥方 (Medical Recipes of the Rishis of Gandhamadana Mountain), 10 *juan*

Xinlu qiantuoli zhi gui fang 新錄乾陀利治鬼方 (The Newly Recorded Gandhari Recipes to Treat Demons), 5 *juan*

Xiyu boluo xianren fang 西域波羅仙人方 (Recipes of the Brahman Rishis of the Western Regions), 3 *juan*

Xiyu mingyi suoji yaofang 西域名醫所集要方 (Essential Recipes Compiled by the Famous Physicians of the Western Regions), 4 *juan*

Xiyu zhuxian suoshuo yaofang 西域諸仙所說藥方 (Medical Recipes Taught by Various Rishis of the Western Regions), 23 *juan*

Also recorded in *Suishu jingji zhi* are ten medical texts written by Buddhist monks.⁴⁵¹ These distinctively Buddhist and Daoist medical texts mark a new departure from those types of medical texts found in the Imperial library of the Han dynasty.

Another new genre of medical texts which became prominent after the Han period is writing on *yangsheng*, which often incorporates therapeutic exercise. At least twelve *yangsheng* texts appear in the medical section of *Suishu jingjizhi*:

Daoyin tu 道引圖 (*Daoyin Chart*), 3 *juan*

Diwang yangsheng yaofang 帝王養生要方 (Essential Methods of Nourishing Life for the Emperors), 2 *juan*

Longshu pusa yangxing fang 龍樹菩薩養性方 (Methods of Cultivating Innate Nature by *Longshu* Bodhisattva), 1 *juan*

⁴⁵¹ *Suishu*, j.34, pp. 1040–50.

Pengzu yangxing jing 彭祖養性經 (Scripture of Pengzu's Cultivation of Innate Nature), 1 *juan*

Yangshen jing 養身經 (Scripture of Nourishing the Body), 1 *juan*

Yangsheng fushi jingji 養生服食禁忌 (Prohibitions when Taking Food for Nourishing Life), 1 *juan*

Yangsheng shu 養生術 (Techniques of Nourishing Life), 1 *juan*

Yangsheng yaoji 養生要集 (Essential Compendium on Nourishing Life), 10 *juan*

Yangsheng yaoshu 養生要術 (Essential Techniques of Nourishing Life), 1 *juan*

Yangsheng zhu 養生注 (Commentary of Nourishing Life), 11 *juan*

Yangsheng zhuan 養生傳 (Biographies of Nourishing Life), 2 *juan*

Yinqi tu 引氣圖 (Chart of Pulling the Qi), 1 *juan*

Amongst the *yangsheng* texts in the Sui Imperial Library's medical collection is a *Daoyin* Chart in three *juan*, organised by postures of standing, sitting and lying down.⁴⁵² Unfortunately, none of the *yangsheng* texts has survived, leaving us to speculate about the extent of their inclusion of *daoyin*, yet fragments of *Yangsheng yaoji* appear in *Yangxing yanming lu*, which itself contains a chapter on *daoyin* and self-massage techniques.⁴⁵³

The range of texts in the medical section of *Suishu jingji zhi* represents medical knowledge and practice of that time. It is hardly surprising that *daoyin* became one of the three specialised medical departments at the state-

⁴⁵² *Suishu*, j.34, p. 1049.

⁴⁵³ More discussions on *Yangsheng yaoji* and *Yangxing yanming lu* can be found in 3.7 The Literate elites.

sponsored medical institution, as it was always an important part of medical and *yangsheng* practices, as evidenced in the two catalogues, *Hanshu yiwenzhi* and *Suishu jingjizhi*.⁴⁵⁴ But what is extraordinary was Yangdi's vision of single-handedly transforming current medical practice by promoting the use of *daoyin* as the dominant medical treatment. We will now focus once more on the character and political style of the two Sui Emperors who, with their different outlooks and proclivities, directly involved themselves with the institutionalisation of therapeutic exercise.

3.5 The Sui emperors

The very different personalities of the two Sui emperors were reflected in their style of rulership. Wendi was hard-working and diligent. Every morning, he held imperial gatherings, worked throughout the day and showed no sign of fatigue even after sunset.⁴⁵⁵ He was also extremely frugal. His personal belongings, and the carriages he used, were shabby and tattered, out of a reluctance to throw anything away. Things were repaired again and again. He avoided lavish feasts and ate only one meat at a time.⁴⁵⁶ Wendi encouraged his officials, and the people to follow his example. Under Wendi's measures of austerity, the economy flourished and state wealth increased considerably. Yangdi could not have been more different in this respect. Having inherited a newly unified empire, with the fortune his father had carefully amassed, Yangdi wasted no time in launching a number of ambitious projects, from the building of a luxurious city to the construction of an impressive canal system.

⁴⁵⁴ For the *daoyin*-related texts in *Hanshu yiwenzhi*, see 2.2.4 Xian (Transcendents).

⁴⁵⁵ *Suishu*, j.2, p. 53.

⁴⁵⁶ *Suishu*, j.24, p. 681.

He also launched large-scale military operations against Koguryō (modern Korea). Yangdi's love of tours and expeditions prevented him from conducting the morning imperial gathering more than once every five days.⁴⁵⁷ In stark contrast to his father Wendi, he was renowned for his 'penchant for extravagance, pomp and display'.⁴⁵⁸ He made several trips to the south in a colossal 'dragon boat' of four decks with thousands of accompanying ships and a huge entourage of people including the imperial harem, princes, princesses, court officials, Buddhist monks, Daoist adepts, and foreign visitors.⁴⁵⁹ For his personal comfort, Yangdi built palaces around the country where he might stay for a day or two in the course of his tours. In 607, Yangdi embarked on an historic overland tour to Yulin 榆林 near the border of Tujue's territory. To impress the Tujue leader Qimin qaghan 啓民可汗 (? –609), Yangdi erected an enormous tent sufficient to house three thousand people, entertaining Qimin qaghan and his people with festivities and acrobatic shows.⁴⁶⁰ Yangdi disliked adverse comment, and executed any officials who dared to criticise him. In the year 607 alone, Yangdi dismissed Su Wei 蘇威 (542–623) and executed three other senior officials, Heruo Bi 賀若弼 (544–607), Yuwen Bi 宇文弼 (545–607), and Gao Jiong 高颉 (? –607),⁴⁶¹ all leading statesmen who had served in his father's court but had made the mistake of criticising his profligacy and ostentatious behaviour. In that same year Yangdi moved the Palace Attendance Service out of the control of the Department of the Chancellery and promoted it to be one of the top five departments, with

⁴⁵⁷ *Suishu* j. 61, p. 1470.

⁴⁵⁸ Wright, 1976, p. 131.

⁴⁵⁹ *Zizhi tongjian*, j.180, p. 5620.

⁴⁶⁰ *Suishu*, j.3 p. 70.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

the Palace Medical Service as one of its subdivisions. The Palace Medical Service expanded fourfold, to employ more than 200 staff including, notably, the 120 *daoyin* practitioners. A similar situation applied at the Imperial Medical Academy, where a further 120 *daoyin* practitioners, as well as 20 *Anmo* Erudites, were employed. It is clear that Yangdi was responsible for bringing such a large number of *daoyin* practitioners to his court.

However, it was Wendi who had earlier established three specialised medical departments within the Imperial Medical Office, appointing two *Anmo* Erudites to teach students *daoyin*. We cannot be sure of the extent of Wendi's awareness of current medical practice, but, he would certainly have had knowledgeable physicians to advise him on medical matters. Wendi wanted to employ Sun Simiao as an Erudite at the National Academy (*gozi boshi* 國子博士), but Sun, who had no interest in officialdom or personal advancement, declined the imperial offer.⁴⁶² This would suggest the existence of physicians, perhaps not as accomplished as Sun Simiao, who would, nevertheless, have been able to inform and advise Wendi when he was establishing the Imperial Medical Office. Two of Sun Simiao's medical works, *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, written around 652, and *Qianjin yifang*, around 682, include many *daoyin* exercises for treating various ailments, which we will discuss in detail in 3.6. His works shed light on the nature of medical knowledge and practice of the Sui and Tang periods. For example, Sun Simiao mentions five kinds of medical treatment, including *daoyin*, as techniques for saving lives:

故有湯藥焉，有針灸焉，有禁焉，有符印焉，有導引焉，斯之五法，皆

⁴⁶² *Jiutangshu*, j.191, p. 5097.

救急之術也。

There are decoction, acupuncture and moxibustion, interdiction, talismans and seals, and *daoyin* exercises. These five methods are the techniques of saving people in crisis.⁴⁶³

If we group 'Interdiction' and 'Talismans and Seals' together, the three specialised departments established by Wendi, i.e. General Medicine, *Anmo* and Incantation and Interdictions, would have covered four of the five treatments mentioned by Sun Simiao. Although acupuncture and moxibustion were not established as a specialised department until the Tang period, this does not mean they were not taught at the Sui's Imperial Medical Academy. We can see how Wendi's medical reforms broadly reflected current medical practice, whereas Yangdi's medical reform was revolutionary, with hundreds of *daoyin* practitioners dominating the Palace Medical Service and the Imperial Medical Office.

Another important factor to consider is the religious belief and patronage of the two emperors. Although there is no evidence of their own personal engagement with the practice of *daoyin*, Wendi and Yangdi were both keen supporters of Daoism and Buddhism, whose religious practice was intertwined with many of the *yangsheng* practices, including *daoyin*. The religious receptivity of the two emperors would have brought them into contact with various self-cultivation practices intrinsic to these religious traditions. The teaching department devoted to Incantation and Interdiction at the Imperial Medical Academy taught both Buddhist and Daoist rituals for medical

⁴⁶³ *Qianjin yifang*, j.29, p. 341.

purposes.⁴⁶⁴ *Tang Liudian* notes that:

咒禁博士掌教咒禁生以咒禁祓除邪魅之為厲者。有道禁，出於山居方術之士；有禁咒，出於釋氏。以五法神之：一曰存思，二曰禹步。三曰營目，四曰掌訣，五曰手印；皆先禁食葷血，齋戒於壇場以受焉。

The Erudites of Incantations and Interdiction primarily teach students of Incantations and Interdiction to expel and exorcise obnoxious ghosts by means of incantations and interdiction. There is Daoist interdiction from those with recipes and techniques who dwell in mountains. There are Buddhist incantations and interdiction. There are five methods of exorcism: 1. Contemplation 2. The Pace of Yu 3. Eye signaling 4. Palm instructions 5. Mudrās. One must first abstain from eating meat and blood, follow the rules of abstention in order to receive [the methods] at the platform where the ritual takes place.

As both Buddhism and Daoism played an important role in the public and private lives of Wendi and Yangdi, it is worth examining further their personal engagement with the two religions, which flourished under their enthusiastic patronage.

Buddhism

Wendi's upbringing was unusual, having been born in a monastery and brought up by a Buddhist nun as his surrogate mother. Although Wendi supported both religions, Buddhism was his personal faith. It dominated his religious outlook and the way he governed the State. He modelled himself on the Indian King Aśoka (re. 274 – 236 BCE), a devout sovereign intent on protecting and expanding Buddhism.⁴⁶⁵ According to Xiong, the main

⁴⁶⁴ *Tang liudian*, j.14, p. 411.

⁴⁶⁵ King Aśoka was the first royal patron of Buddhism who pledged to consolidate his rule through the teachings of the Buddha and was particularly famous for his medical philanthropy.

characteristic of Wendi's Buddhist policy was 'the eclectic concept of combining church and state, and fusing divine power and temporal authority, rather than subjecting church to secular authority'.⁴⁶⁶ Thus, Sui secular power and Buddhist religious authority were equal in status. On the other hand, Arthur F. Wright, emphasises Wendi's insecurity, noting that 'the current characteristic of credulousness and the pervasiveness of Buddhist belief in his family and his immediate circle led him to focus much of his search for legitimacy and personal reassurance on Buddhism'.⁴⁶⁷ Wright argues that Wendi created for himself the image of an ideal ruler, a cakravartin (wheel-turning king) in order to demonstrate the legitimacy of his reign to receive the mandate of heaven.⁴⁶⁸

Like his father and the rest of his family, who were all practising Buddhists, Yangdi had a strong affinity towards Buddhism. In 591, Yangdi went through a Bodhisattvasila (*pusa jie* 菩薩戒) ritual conducted by Zhiyi 智顓 (538 – 597), founder of the Tiantai school, subsequently developing a deep and personal connection with this eminent Buddhist monk, who was familiar with *yangsheng* practices and had incorporated them into his teaching.⁴⁶⁹ After succeeding to the throne, Yangdi continued to promote Buddhism, supporting the building of many monasteries in both capitals, the repair and construction of Buddhist statues, as well as the repair and copying of Buddhist scriptures. The chart below shows the impressive number of works undertaken by Wendi

See Paul Demieville, *Buddhism and Healing: Demieville's Article 'Byō' from Hōbōgirin*, trans. by Mark Tatz (Lanham, Md., and London: University Press of America, 1985); Radhakumud Mookerji, *Asoka* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1962).

⁴⁶⁶ Xiong, p. 157.

⁴⁶⁷ Wright, p. 61.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 76.

⁴⁶⁹ More on Zhiyi in 3.9 The Buddhists.

and Yangdi on behalf of Buddhism:

	Monks and nuns ordained	Sutras copied and repaired (in <i>juan</i>)	Statues constructed	Statues Repaired	Monasteries built
Wendi	230,000	247,676	106,580	1,508,940	3,792
Yangdi	6,200	903,580	3,850	101,000	193

Table 3. 9 Works undertaken by Wendi and Yangdi on behalf of Buddhism⁴⁷⁰

Yangdi's patronage of Buddhism was substantial, but less than that of his father. His devotion took a particularly literary turn, judging by the number of Buddhist scriptures repaired and copied during his reign, evidence of his aforementioned love of books. Both Buddhist and Daoist catalogues were compiled during Yangdi's reign.⁴⁷¹

Notable is Yangdi's enthusiasm for occultism. He gravitated towards those supposedly in possession of magical powers. In the Huiri 慧日 Buddhist monastery in the Eastern capital, Yangdi supported more than two thousand Buddhist monks (*daoyi* 道藝 or *yiseng* 藝僧) specialising in the occult arts.⁴⁷²

One of these Buddhist monks, Fa An 法安 is said to have accompanied Yangdi on a visit to Mount Tai. Unable to find water after reaching their destination, Fa An pricked a rock with a knife, causing a spring to emerge. Fa An was also believed to be able to predict unforeseen events and avoid disasters.⁴⁷³ Another monk at the Huiri monastery, Fa Ji 法濟, was able to 'commune with subtle elements and perceive the anomalies'.⁴⁷⁴ Allegedly, Fa

⁴⁷⁰ Data collected by Xiong from *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 and *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑竹林; Xiong, p. 160.

⁴⁷¹ *Suishu*, j.32, p. 908.

⁴⁷² Xiong, p. 161.

⁴⁷³ *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, j. 25, p. 651.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Ji was able to predict the future, see ghostly creatures and cure people who suffered from rashes with water over which he had pronounced incantations.⁴⁷⁵

Daoism

Although a practising Buddhist, Wendi was also a strong patron of Daoism. His first reign title, *Kaihuang* 開皇 (Opening sovereign) is one of the reign titles of *Yuanshi Tianzun* 元始天尊 (the Celestial Venerable of the Primordial Beginning), one of the highest deities of Daoism.⁴⁷⁶ According to Tang Daoist Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933), Wendi built in the capital, Daxingcheng, thirty-six Daoist abbeys known as *xuantan* 玄壇 (Mysterious altars) where two thousands Daoists were ordained.⁴⁷⁷ Wendi often visited the abbey of the Louguan school 樓觀, his favourite Daoist sect, which worshipped the Eastern Zhou official Yinxi 尹喜, who was allegedly the first recipient of Laozi's *Daode jing*.⁴⁷⁸

Daoism thrived under the reign of Wendi but reached its apex under the reign of Yangdi. *Suishu* records that during the Daye 大業 period, large numbers of Daoists, valued for their technical arts, were presented to the court.⁴⁷⁹ In the Eastern capital, Yangdi built twenty-four Daoist abbeys where eleven hundred Daoists were ordained.⁴⁸⁰ Yangdi gave high respect to eminent Daoists,

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ *Suishu*, j.35, p. 1091.

⁴⁷⁷ *Lidai chongdaoji* 歷代崇道記 by Du Guangting 杜光庭, DZ 593.

⁴⁷⁸ See also entry on 'Louguan' and 'Louguan pai' in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, pp. 708–11.

⁴⁷⁹ *Suishu*, j.35, p. 1093.

⁴⁸⁰ *Lidai chongdao ji*.

particularly those believed to possess supernatural abilities. For example, Yangdi wrote a personal letter to the Daoist recluse Xu Ze 徐則 who employed the ‘technique of living on pine nuts and medicinal herbs while resting among smokes and clouds.’⁴⁸¹ Yangdi wished to learn from Xu Ze, but unfortunately Xu Ze died before he was able to fulfil Yangdi’s request. Several other Daoists, such as Song Yuquan 宋玉泉 of Jianan 建安, Kong Daomao 孔道茂 of Kuaiji 會稽, and Wang Yuanzhi 王遠知 (528–635) of Danyang 丹陽 were also honoured by Yangdi. Conversant with occult practices, they had reputedly mastered ‘the techniques of abstaining from grains while living on water among the pines.’⁴⁸² Wang Yuanzhi, successor to the great *Shangqing* master Tao Hongjing, played a significant role in Yangdi’s life. While stationed in Jiandu as the Prince of Jin, Yangdi became Wang Yuanzhi’s nominal disciple. Allegedly living to the age of one hundred and twenty-six, Wang Yuanzhi was renowned for his esoteric practices, including breathing exercises, and abstaining from grains.⁴⁸³

Yangdi was familiar with the Daoist transformation known as ‘release from the corpse’ or ‘mortuary liberation’ (*Shijie* 尸解). He was familiar with stories about Daoists Wang Yan 王延,⁴⁸⁴ who had achieved transcendence at his apparent death, and the living legend Zhou Yingyao 周隱遙, who had died three times, each time for seven years.⁴⁸⁵ In his own quest for eternal life, Yangdi patronised the Daoist alchemist Pan Dan 潘誕 of Mount Song, who claimed

⁴⁸¹ *Suishu*, j.77, p. 1760.

⁴⁸² *Ibid*, p. 1762.

⁴⁸³ *Jiu tangshu*, j. 192, p. 5128.

⁴⁸⁴ *Yunji qiqian*, j.85, 602c–603a.

⁴⁸⁵ *Taiping Guangji*, j.6, p. 42.

to be three hundred years old. He promised to produce a longevity elixir for Yangdi, but this never materialised. When Pan Dan asked for the livers and marrows of young children for his alchemical work, Yangdi was said to be furious, and had Pan Dan executed.⁴⁸⁶

Yangdi himself claimed knowledge of divination, meteoromancy, prognostication and physiognomy⁴⁸⁷ and brought many specialists said to possess these techniques to his Eastern capital. A text entitled 'The examination of the city wards of the two Tang capitals' written by a Qing scholar Xu Song 徐松 (1781–1848) gives the following account of a special residential area in Luoyang during the reign of Yangdi:

隋煬帝多忌惡，五行、占候、卜筮、醫藥者皆追集東都，置此坊，遣使檢察，不許出入。時改諸坊為里，以此偏居里外，既技藝所聚，謂之道術坊。

Yangdi had many taboos and avoidances. Those who were experts in the five agents, meteoromancy, divination, and medicine were gathered in the Eastern Capital. A ward was set up and commissioners were sent over to oversee them. No one was allowed to exit or enter [the ward]. At that time, various wards were renamed as *li*. Those who had special arts and techniques would also gather and live just outside the ward which is called the Ward of Techniques of Dao.⁴⁸⁸

According to Xiong, this special residential area hosted '*fangshi*' of various descriptions, who were Daoists, Buddho-Daoist synthesists, or occultists with

⁴⁸⁶ *Zizhi tongjian*, j.181, p. 5658. T.H. Barrett argues that Pan Dan had survived Yangdi's execution. See Barrett, 'Sima Guang 司馬光 and Ennin 圓仁 on reports of imperial cannibalism: A correction', *Studies in Chinese Religions*, 1.3 (2015), 203 – 208.

⁴⁸⁷ *Zizhi tongjian*, j. 185, p. 5775.

⁴⁸⁸ *Tang liangjing chengfong kao* 唐兩京城坊考, j.5, p. 18/2.

no particular religious affiliations.⁴⁸⁹

Yangdi's fascination with occultism and his reverence for people who appeared to possess supernatural powers undoubtedly drew him to the kind of self-cultivation techniques they practised. *Daoyin* had always been associated with people who possessed exceptional abilities or supernatural powers, such as Pengzu, who allegedly lived for eight hundred years, many of the *fangshi* during the Six Dynasties, such as Zuo Ci who disguised himself as a sheep, Gan Shi and Wang Zhen, who looked exceptionally young in their old age, or the Daoists who were able to live without eating for an exceedingly long period.

Yangdi has long been regarded as one of Chinese history's most tyrannical emperors. Like many last emperors who squander their ruling power, Yangdi was extravagant and ruthless. A great many people died in the course of his gargantuan construction projects and battles. His despotic regime evoked rebellions, which brought the dynasty to an abrupt end. Li Yuan, the founding Emperor of the Tang, gave him his 'deceased name' (*shihao* 諡號) Yangdi, meaning a licentious, immoral, insolent, ruthless emperor who abandoned etiquette, neglected his duties and was heartless towards his people.⁴⁹⁰ However, such negative, often exaggerated, remarks by Li Yuan and later historians should not detract from the fact that Yangdi was a man of immense talents and abilities, with vaulting ambition and a grandiose vision. The following observation by Tang Emperor Taizong confirms Yangdi's erudition:

⁴⁸⁹ Xiong, p. 150.

⁴⁹⁰ *Yizhou shu* 逸周書, *shifa jie* 諡法解, ch.54.

戊子，上謂侍臣曰：「朕觀《隋煬帝集》，文辭奧博，亦知是堯、舜而非桀、紂，然行事何其反也！」

On the day of Wuzi (13th June 628), the Emperor asked his courtier, 'I read The Anthology of Emperor Yang of the Sui', whose words are profound and wide-ranging. These are the words of Yao and Shun (benevolent emperors of antiquity) and not Jie or Zhou (malevolent emperors of antiquity). But why did his actions contradict his words?⁴⁹¹

In *Zizhi tongjian*, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) describes Yangdi's exceptional talents and maturity as a young man:

晉王廣美姿儀，性敏慧，沉深嚴重；好學，善屬文，敬接朝士，禮極卑屈；由是聲名籍甚，冠於諸王。

The Prince of Jin, Guang, was good-looking and intelligent. Being undemonstrative and serious, he loved learning and was talented in literature. He would receive the court officials with great venerations, being extremely courteous and deferential. For these reasons, he had a brilliant reputation, as the crown of all monarchs.⁴⁹²

In many ways, Yangdi was more 'cultured' and 'sinicised' than his father Wendi,⁴⁹³ perhaps because he had as a young man spent over ten years in Jiangdu 江都 (Yangzhou) immersing himself wholeheartedly in to the southern culture. He married a southern princess, Lady Xiao 蕭氏 (567–647), daughter of Emperor Ming of the Western Liang dynasty (542–585 CE), who was not only intelligent and educated, but also known for her love of literary composition.⁴⁹⁴ Yangdi greatly admired the southern literary tradition and

⁴⁹¹ *Zizhi tongjian*, j.192, p. 6053.

⁴⁹² *Zizhi tongjian*, j.179, p. 5575.

⁴⁹³ *Suishi* describes Wendi as a person who was neither scholarly nor showing any interest in poetry or books. In comparison, 'Yangdi was keen to learn, liked to collect unusual books and the books he collected and compiled was comprehensive and extensive. *Suishu*, j.2, p. 53; *Jiu tangshu*, j.46, p. 1961.

⁴⁹⁴ Only one of Lady Xiao's literary work entitled *shuzhi fu* 述志賦 (Rhapsody on My Wishes) is still extant. On Yangdi's posting to the South, see *Zizhi tongjian*, j.177, p. 5532; *Suishu*, j.3 p. 60; On Lady Xiao, see *Suishu*, j.36, pp. 1111–3.

adopted the poetic palace style of the Liang as his own. His love of the south was also reflected in his recruitment of court officials from that region. Under Wendi, not a single southerner was appointed to a top-ranking position, whilst Yangdi made a deliberate effort to promote southerners to leading positions at court.⁴⁹⁵ This applied also to the recruitment of medical officials, as we will see in 3.6.

In the course of establishing specialised medical departments at the Imperial Medical Academy, Wendi would have been able to consult knowledgeable court physicians, as well as Buddhists and Daoists. Yangdi's radical medical reforms, however, would have been more likely to have come out of his own personal conviction, with little consultation with anyone else.

3.6 The Physicians

Whilst Yangdi's enthusiasm disproportionately elevated the importance of *daoyin*, Wendi's medical reform was perhaps a more accurate reflection of the medical knowledge and practice which was employed, during the Sui period, both by learned physicians, and by religious practitioners who practised medicine. To better understand such knowledge and practice, it is useful to know how medicine had been transmitted prior to the establishment of a dedicated medical education institution at the Sui court.

During the Warring States, Qin and Han periods, medical knowledge and

⁴⁹⁵ Xiong, p. 121.

skills were transmitted mainly from masters to disciples.⁴⁹⁶ Physicians would not readily pass on their knowledge and expertise until they had found a person of suitable moral standing and talent. Because disciples would take a vow of secrecy during the initiation rites, this kind of transmission was known as the transmission of 'Forbidden Techniques' (*jinfang* 禁方).⁴⁹⁷ Stories of Bianque 扁鵲 and Chunyu Yi 淳于意 from *Shiji* illustrate vividly this mode of medical teaching and learning in ancient China.⁴⁹⁸ Similarly, prior to the transmission of medical knowledge from the Yellow Emperor to the Duke of Thunder (Leigong 雷公), *Lingshu* 靈樞 describes the ritual in which they 'cut their forearms and smeared the blood on their mouths.'⁴⁹⁹ Yet, medical texts found in Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan Han tombs, as discussed in chapter 2, reveal open access to medical knowledge to those with wealth and power, through their patronage of *fangshi*, who possessed medical knowledge and produced texts with a mixture of home remedies, medical theories, *yangsheng* techniques, and so on, for their elite patrons.⁵⁰⁰

During the Six Dynasties, the transmission of medical knowledge and skills took place mainly within families, particularly aristocratic families who had received Confucian-style education and had the means to acquire texts,

⁴⁹⁶ Keiji Yamada 山田慶兒, *Zhongguo gudai yixue de xingcheng* 中國古代醫學的形成 (Taipei: Dongda tushu, 2003), pp. 413–38; Fan Ka-wai, *Liuchao Suitang yixue zhi chuancheng yu zhenghe*, pp. 91–5.

⁴⁹⁷ Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, pp. 55–67; LI, Jianmin 李建民, 'Zhongguo gudai jinfang kaolun' 中國古代 [禁方] 考論', *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊, 1997, pp. 117–166; Ma, Bouyin 馬伯英, *Zhongguo yixue wenhua shi* 中國醫學文化史 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1994), pp. 256–260.

⁴⁹⁸ *Shiji*, j.105, p. 2796.

⁴⁹⁹ *Lingshu*, j.48, *Jinfu* 禁服, 7, p. 204; Harper, pp. 63–4.

⁵⁰⁰ See 2.2.4 *Xian* 仙 (Transcendents).

including medical and *yangsheng* writings.⁵⁰¹ Another typical mode of transmission of medical knowledge of this period was through the religious observances which took place within Buddhist and Daoist communities. Fan Xingzhun 范行準 stresses the fact that during the Six Dynasties, two groups of people monopolised medical knowledge and techniques: members of aristocratic families (*menfa* 門閥) and 'mountain dwellers' (*shanlin* 山林) i.e. Buddhists and Daoists.⁵⁰² The connection between these two groups was close, many aristocratic families being themselves followers of Buddhism or Daoism. Often they learned medicine and *yangsheng* techniques from Buddhist monks or Daoist masters.⁵⁰³ Chen Yinke asserts that following the abolition of the Han dynasty's educational system, and the cessation of knowledge transmission by the Erudites (*Boshi chuanshou* 博士傳授) during the Six Dynasties, cultural transmission shifted to family clans (*jiazu* 家族). The culture and religion of this period was inextricably linked with these family clans and their locations.⁵⁰⁴ Chen Yinke also claims that entire generations of influential families who followed the 'Way of the Celestial Masters' were knowledgeable in medicine.⁵⁰⁵

Furthermore, during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, medical practice developed differently in the north and south, owing to the mass migration of northerners to the south of the Yangtze River following the fall of the Western

⁵⁰¹ See 2.3.5 Literate elites.

⁵⁰² Fan Xingzhun, *Zhongguo yixue shilue* 中國醫學史略 (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 62.

⁵⁰³ Fan Ka-wai, *Liuchao suitang yixue zhi chuancheng yu zhenghe*, pp. 96–105.

⁵⁰⁴ Chen Yinke, *Suitang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao* 隋唐制度淵源略論稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), p. 20.

⁵⁰⁵ Chen Yinke, 'Tianshi dao yu binhai diyu zhi guanxi' 天師道與濱海地域之關係, *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (1998), 439–508 (461).

Jin (265–316) while the north was largely ruled by non-Chinese. According to Fan Ka-wai, the medical tradition of the south was, in many ways, more developed than that of the north.⁵⁰⁶ However, during the period of the Northern Wei (386–534) whose military power was stronger than that of the Liang dynasty (502–587) in the south, many southern physicians came to the north as ‘subject people’ (*xiangren* 降人).⁵⁰⁷ Some, serving at the northern imperial courts, became famous for their medical expertise.⁵⁰⁸

The re-establishment of a state medical system, and the creation of the civil service examination system during the Sui, offered further opportunities for skilled medical physicians to be employed in the imperial court. Many court physicians were from the south, particularly following the collapse of the southern Chen dynasty in 589, such as Xu Zhicang 許智藏, Xu Cheng 許澄, Xu Yinzong 許胤宗, Chao Yuanfang 巢元方, Wu Jingda 吳景達, and members of the Jiang family from Yixing (in Modern Jiangsu) 義興蔣氏 (Table 3.13).⁵⁰⁹

	Court physician	Place of origin
1.	許智藏 Xu Zhicang	高陽 Gaoyang in modern Jiangsu
2.	許澄 Xu Cheng	高陽 Gaoyang in modern Jiangsu
3.	吳景達 Wu Jingda	濮陽 Puyang in modern Henan
4.	許胤宗 Xu Yinzong	義興 Changzhou in modern Jiangsu
5.	巢元方 Chao Yuanfang	義興 Changzhou in modern Jiangsu

⁵⁰⁶ Fan Ka-wai, *Dayi jingcheng: Tangdai guojia, xinyang yu yixue* 大醫精誠: 唐代國家, 信仰與醫學 (Dongda tushu, 2007), pp. 47–73.

⁵⁰⁷ Fan, Kawai, ‘Nanchao yijia rushi beichao zhi tantao’ 南朝醫家入仕北朝之探討, *Hanxue yanjiu*, 18/2 (2000), 143–66.

⁵⁰⁸ Among the family lineages of physicians, the Xu family of Donghai 東海徐氏 and Yao family of Wukang 武康姚氏 were particularly distinguished. See Fan Ka-wai 范家偉, ‘Nanchao yijia rushi beichao zhi tantao 南朝醫家入仕北朝之探討’, *Hanxue yanjiu*, 18.2 (2000), 143–66

⁵⁰⁹ See also *Zhongguoshi xinlun – Yiliaoshi fence* 中國史新論 – 醫療史分冊, pp. 162–9.

6. 蔣氏 Jiang family ⁵¹⁰	義興 Changzhou in modern Jiangsu
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Table 3. 10 Places of origin of some Court physicians during the Sui

Thus, medical practice in the Sui court, particularly during Yangdi's reign, relied heavily on the knowledge of southern physicians who came from family lineages of physicians.⁵¹¹ While it is reasonable to suggest that southern physicians were prominent in the Sui court, we know nothing about the origins of the two *Anmo* Erudites who taught *daoyin* at the Imperial Medical Office under Wendi's reign, nor of the twenty *Anmo* Erudites or the two hundred and forty *Anmo* Masters serving at Yangdi's court. Did the majority of them also come from the south? Unfortunately, existing sources reveal neither the identity nor the place of origin of these *daoyin* experts. However, because, before the Sui's unification, various *yangsheng* texts such as *yangsheng lun* and *yangsheng yaoji* were circulated predominantly in the south, particularly among southern literate elites, we might infer that *daoyin* too was more prevalent in the south. The southern *Shangqing* Daoist School was well-known for incorporating self-cultivation techniques into its religious practices. Therefore, *Shangqing* practitioners would have been familiar with certain *daoyin* techniques. Buddhists in the south would have been exposed to the different kinds of *yangsheng* techniques prevalent in their social milieu. Needless to say, some people in the north would also have had knowledge of *daoyin* and practised it for various reasons.

⁵¹⁰ The Jiang family moved to north after Chen dynasty was destroyed. Jiang Ziying's 蔣子英 son Jiang Ai 蔣敷 was a Chief Steward at the Palace Medical Service (*Shangyao fengyu* 尚藥奉御). Jiang Ai's son, Jiang Xiaozhang 蔣孝璋 was also a *Shangyao fengyu* during the time of Tang Gaozong 唐高宗 (628–683). There is a possibility that either Jiang Ziying and/or Jiang Ai were serving at the Sui court.

⁵¹¹ Fan Ka-wai, *Dayi jingcheng*, pp. 48–52.

Following Chen Yinke's lead regarding the strong connection between the Daoist School of the Celestial Masters and medicine, Fan Ka-wai argues for a significant Daoist influence on the southern medical tradition, suggesting that the presence of *daoyin* in *Bingyuan* was an example of the incorporation of Daoist practices into an official medical text.⁵¹² Fan says,

諸病源候論作為一部官方醫書，吸收了道教的導引按摩法，將導引按摩一變而成為官方主流的治療方法。

As an official medical text, *Zhubing yuanhou lun* assimilated Daoist's *daoyin* and *anmo* methods, transforming them into mainstream official methods of treatment.

However, neither *daoyin* nor *anmo* was a 'Daoist' method. Fan's argument obscures the fact that *yangsheng* practices were pervasive in society, and not performed only by Daoists. A close look at *Bingyuan* reveals numerous quotations from *yangsheng* texts but relatively few from Daoist sources.⁵¹³ While some *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan* can be said to be of Daoist origin, the vast majority are not. Most *yangsheng* texts, such as those quoted in *Bingyuan*, were written for literate elites who were not necessarily followers of Daoism. As mentioned earlier, with regard to the medical section of *Suishu Jingjizhi*, we know that *yangsheng* texts were part of the medical literature, even though similar texts might also be found in the Daoist section. Therefore, it would be more accurate to suggest that whilst Daoists appropriated *daoyin*, making it part of their religious practice, the new government of the Sui court also set about incorporating *yangsheng* exercises

⁵¹² Ibid, pp. 52–64.

⁵¹³ See 4.8 *Daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*.

into its official medical system, and, specifically, into *Bingyuan*.

The works of Sun Simiao, one of the most outstanding physicians of the Sui and Tang periods, exemplify medical knowledge of the Sui and Tang periods, which was imbued with *yangsheng* practices and informed by both Buddhist and Daoist healing traditions. According to *Jiu Tangshu*, Sun Simiao was from Huanyuan 華原 county in Jingzhao 京兆 (in modern Shanxi). At the age of seven he started to study, reciting more than a thousand characters every day. At the age of twenty, he was adept at discussing the ideas of Zhuangzi, Laozi and [all the other ancient philosophers collectively known as] the Hundred Schools. He was equally fond of Buddhist scriptures.⁵¹⁴

We know neither Sun Simiao's date of birth nor when he died.⁵¹⁵ According to *Jiu Tangshu*, when Dugu Xin 獨孤信 (504 – 557), the governor of Luo Zhou 洛州 of the Western Wei (535 – 557), met Sun Simiao, he praised Sun as a child prodigy.⁵¹⁶ Both *Jiu Tangshu* and *Xin Tangshu* state that Sun died in the first year of Yongchun 永淳 reign (682), making him at least one hundred and thirty years old.⁵¹⁷ While debate about Sun's dates of birth and death continues, there is no doubt that he lived through several dynasties, including the Sui.

Although as many as eighty works were attributed to Sun Simiao, only a

⁵¹⁴ *Jiu Tangshu*, j. 191, *liezhuan* 141, p. 5097.

⁵¹⁵ Song Zhenmin 宋珍民, 'Sun Simiao shengnian xinzheng 孙思邈生年新证', *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中华医史杂志, 2013, 43(1), 9–17; Song Zhenmin 宋珍民, 'Sun Simiao zunian xinzheng 孙思邈卒年新证', *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中华医史杂志 2013, 43(4), 195–9.

⁵¹⁶ *Jiu Tangshu*, j. 191, *Liezhuan* 141, p. 5097.

⁵¹⁷ *Jiu Tangshu*, j. 191, *Liezhuan* 141, p. 5096 and *Xin Tangshu*, j.196, *Liezhuan* 121, p.5598. For a detailed study of Sun Simiao's official biographies, see Nathan Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies* (Cambridge, Mass, 1968), pp. 81–144.

handful are extant, and only two that we can reasonably be certain to have been written by him - *Beiji qianjin yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Essential Recipes of a Thousand Gold Worth for Emergency) and *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (Supplement to the Recipes of a Thousand Gold Worth).⁵¹⁸ In *Qianjin yaofang*, Sun Simiao introduces two sets of *daoyin* exercises, one described as 'Brahmanic techniques from India' and the other 'Laozi's *anmo* method'.⁵¹⁹ The eighteen therapeutic exercises in 'Brahmanic techniques' include some to be performed in a lotus position, e.g.,

大坐斜身偏欹如排山。左右同。

Sit in the lotus position, lean your body to one side as if pushing a mountain aside. Do the same on both left and right sides.

大坐伸兩脚。即以一脚向前虛掣。左右同。

Starting in the lotus position, stretch out both legs. Kick one of your legs forward in the air. Do the same on both left and right sides.

大坐伸兩脚，用當相手勾所申脚著膝中以手按之。左右同。

Starting in the lotus position, stretch out both legs. With the opposite hand, hook one leg and hold it inside the knee, while pressing the knee with the other hand. Do the same on both left and right sides.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ Another text entitled *Sheyang zhenzhong fang* 攝養枕中方 is also attributed to Sun Simiao where a section of the text is dedicated to *daoyin*. *Yunji qiqian*, j.33. There is also a Daozang version entitled *Zhengzhong ji* 枕中記 (DZ 837); see also Ute Engelhardt, *Qi for Life: Longevity in the Tang*, pp. 277–88.

⁵¹⁹ The Brahmanic technique of *daoyin* also appears in *Taiqing daolin shesheng lun* 太清道林攝生論 (DZ 1427) as 'Methods of Self-massage' (*Zi anmo fa* 自按摩法) and in *Shesheng zuanlu* 攝生纂錄 (DZ 578) as 'Daoyin methods of the Brahmins' (*Poluomen daoyin fa* 婆羅門導引法).

⁵²⁰ *Qianjin yaofang*, j.27, p. 481; the full translation of Sun Simiao's *anmo* technique of Indian Brahmins' method can be found in Appendix 5.

Therapeutic benefits of the exercises are listed after the instructions:

但是老人日別能依此三徧者。一月後百病除。行及奔馬。補益延年能食。眼明輕健。不復疲乏。

If old people can practise them three times a day, all diseases will be gone in a month. They will move like a galloping horse. They will be nourished, their life span will increase and their digestion improved. Their vision will be bright, their body become light and healthy, and they will no longer be tired or exhausted.⁵²¹

In Laozi's *anmo* methods, there are 49 simple stretching exercises, such as:

兩手捺，左右捩身二七遍。

Press both arms down and move your body to left and right twice seven times.

兩手捻，左右扭肩二七遍。

Press both arms down and rotate your left and right shoulders twice seven times.

兩手抱頭，左右扭腰二七遍

Press your hands at the back of your head, twist your waist to the left and right twice seven times.

左右挑頭二七遍。

Shake your head to the left and right twice seven times.

兩手托頭三舉之。

Lift up your head with both hands. Do this three times.⁵²²

As part of a daily health regime, Sun Simiao advises practising *daoyin* while still in bed after waking up in the morning, emphasising the fact that older people should know how to regulate their bodies by doing *anmo*,

⁵²¹ Ibid, p. 482.

⁵²² Ibid.

moving their joints, practising *daoyin* and breathing exercises.⁵²³ After every meal, one should massage one's face and lower abdomen. This improves the working of the various fluids in the body. Also, one should take a walk after a meal, and, after that, apply powder to the abdomen, massaging it several hundreds of times. This will greatly improve digestion and no illness will arise from eating.⁵²⁴

As well as emphasising the benefits of *daoyin* and *anmo* as a daily health regime, Sun Simiao prescribes several *daoyin* exercises for curing specific illnesses. The following, requiring assistants, is for treating lumbar pain:

腰痛導引法

正東坐收手抱心，一人於前據躡其兩膝，一人後捧其頭，徐牽令偃臥，頭到地，三起三臥，止便差。

Daoyin Method for Lumbar Pain

Sit straight facing east and fold both arms, embracing the heart area. One person in front squeezes both knees with his legs. Another person holds behind the head, and slowly pulls it to the ground, bringing [the patient] into a supine position. Raise them up three times and lower them three times. Having done this, the condition will improve.⁵²⁵

Sun also mentions an *anmo* method for treating sudden strike caused by occupying ghosts and demons (*Anmo zhuzhong wangliang fa* 按摩卒中注忤魍魎法) and describes how to massage and shake the body as a

⁵²³ *Qianjin yifang*, j.12, pp. 148–9 and j. 14, p. 162.

⁵²⁴ *Qianjin yaofang*, j.27, p. 479.

⁵²⁵ *Qianjin yaofang*, j.19, p. 348.

treatment for food poisoning.⁵²⁶

Commenting on Sun Simiao's extensive and eclectic medical knowledge, and his ability to integrate traditional Chinese medicine with other healing traditions, such as those of Buddhists and Daoists, Sivin observes that,

It is precisely in their eclecticism, the ease with which they incorporate elements from the folk traditions as well as from the medical traditions of other cultures into a loose rational structure, that Sun's books are most representative of the major trends in Chinese medicine.⁵²⁷

More specifically, Sun Simiao's works are representative of the major trends in the Chinese medicine of his time. Other contemporary medical works, including *Bingyuan* and *Waitai miyao* 外臺秘要 (Secret Essentials of the Outer Terrace, 752) contain abundant materials on *yangsheng* techniques, including *daoyin*. It is not difficult to see how physicians during the Sui period would have acquired enough knowledge of *daoyin* to be able to use it as a method of therapy and as preventive medicine, even though their main method of treatment was to prescribe drugs.

3.7 The Literate elites

During the Six Dynasties, members of aristocratic families (*shizu* 士族 or *menfa* 門閥) played an important role in preserving and transmitting medical

⁵²⁶ *Qianjin yifang*, j.30, p. 355; *Qianjin yaofang*, j.24, p. 433.

⁵²⁷ Nathan Sivin, 'A Seventh-Century Chinese Medical Case History', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 41.3 (1967), 267–73 (270).

and *yangsheng* knowledge, recognising its value and role in caring for themselves and their families, particularly after the fourth century invasion of the north by non-Chinese nomads caused millions to flee to the south. Despite their integration into the southern political and cultural elite, these northern émigrés found themselves living in an unfamiliar environment, making it urgent and necessary to possess medical knowledge and ways of keeping healthy. In the preface of *Waitai miyao*, the author Wang Tao says,

在南朝的齊梁時期，不通曉醫術的人是不能稱為孝子的，像孔子的弟子曾參、閔損一向以孝行著稱的人，如果生活在齊梁時期，也須用心於醫術。

During the Qi and Liang periods (479–557) of the South, those who were not proficient in the art of medicine could not be regarded as filial sons. Had Confucius' disciples, Zeng Shen (505–435 BCE) and Min Sun (536–487 BCE), renowned for their filial piety, lived in the Qi and Liang periods, they would have also had to commit themselves to the art of medicine.⁵²⁸

This attitude, common among southern literate elites, was passed on to their descendants in the Sui and Tang periods. For example, the grandfather of Xu Zhizang 許智藏, Yangdi's imperial physician, studied medicine in order to be able to treat his mother. *Suishu* records that:

許智藏，高陽人也。祖道幼，嘗以母疾，遂覽醫方，因而究極，世號名醫。誠其諸子曰：「為人子者，嘗膳視藥，不知方術，豈謂孝乎？」由是世相傳授。

Xu Zhizang was from Gaoyang (in modern Jiangsu). His grandfather, Xu Daoyou, read many medical recipes due to his mother's illness. As a result of his thorough study, [Daoyou] became a

⁵²⁸ *Waitai miyao*, preface.

famous doctor of his time. He warned his sons, ‘As a son, if you taste food and inspect medicine [for the parents] without understanding recipes and techniques, how could that be called being filial?’ Thus [medical knowledge] was passed on from generation to generation.⁵²⁹

Many *yangsheng* texts were written for this particular clientele. *Yangxing yanming lu* is a fine example of such writing from the Sui and Tang periods. Traditionally, the text is attributed either to Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456 – 536) or to Sun Simiao. However, many modern scholars argue convincingly that the text could not have been written by Tao Hongjing but was compiled during the Tang period, although they cannot agree on whether this was during the early, mid or late Tang period.⁵³⁰ While *Yangxing yanming lu* itself would not have been in circulation during the Sui period, it is based on an earlier text, Zhang Zhan’s *Yangsheng Yaoji*, which was in circulation both before and during the Sui period. This 4th century *yangsheng* manual, no longer extant, contains citations from over thirty different sources, written mostly between the Han and the Jin periods, among them quotations from *Daoyin jing* 導引經 (Classic of *Daoyin*), *Yangsheng neijie* 養生內解 (Inner Explanations of Nourishing Life), *Yuanyang jing* 元陽經 (Scripture of Primordial Yang), *Huanglao jing xuanshi* 黃老經玄示 (Mysterious Revelations of *Huanglao* Scripture), *Fuqi jing* 服氣經 (Scripture on Ingesting Qi) and *Mingyi lun* 明醫論 (Treatise on Elucidating Medicine), all of which contain instructions for breathing exercises and *daoyin*. According to *Yangxing yanming lu*, a chapter in *Yangsheng yaoji* is dedicated to *daoyin*. Many of the exercises in the *daoyin* and *anmo* section

⁵²⁹ *Suishu*, j.78, p. 1784.

⁵³⁰ For an extensive discussion on the dating and authorship of *Yangxing yanming lu*, see Stanley-Baker, *Cultivating Body, Cultivating Self*, pp. 6–15.

of *Yangxing yanming lu*, from *Yangsheng yaoji*, are to be performed in the morning and in the evening as part of a daily health regime. There is also a chapter on the 'Art of the Bedchamber' which gives instruction on various sexual techniques, largely from a male perspective. Both texts were essentially *yangsheng* manuals for householders, particularly for genteel families, and for those who aspired to nourish their bodies and extend their lifespans.

One of the daily *daoyin* exercises recorded in *Yangxing yanming lu* gives a detailed description of caring for one's hair and teeth:

晨夕梳頭滿一千梳，大去頭風，令人髮不白。梳訖，以鹽花及生麻油搓頭頂上，彌佳。如有神明膏搓之，甚佳。旦欲梳洗時，叩齒一百六十，隨有津液便咽之。訖，以水漱口，又更以鹽末揩齒，即含取微酢清漿半小合許，熟漱。取鹽湯吐洗兩目，訖，以冷水洗面，不得遣冷水入眼中。此法齒得堅淨，目明無淚，永無齧齒。平旦洗面時漱口訖，咽一兩咽冷水，令人心明淨，去胸臆中熱。

Every morning and evening, comb your hair one thousand times. This is effective in getting rid of wind deviance in the head and prevents the hair from going white. After combing, it is good to rub the top of your head with a pinch of salt and uncooked sesame oil, or, even better, with Numinous Illumination ointment, if you have some. In the morning, before washing yourself, clack your teeth one hundred and sixty times. When the saliva is generated, swallow it immediately. When you have finished, rinse your mouth with water. Again, rub your teeth with a pinch of salt. Hold it in your mouth and rinse your mouth thoroughly with half a *sheng* of diluted vinegar. Take some warm salted water, spit it out on to your palms and wash your eyes [with it]. When you have finished, close your eyes and wash your face with cold water, making sure that the water does not go into your eyes. This method will strengthen your

teeth, brighten your eyes without secreting tears, and get rid of rotten teeth. When you wash your face in the morning, after rinsing your mouth, swallow some cold water once or twice. This will make you feel bright and clean, and gets rid of heat in the chest.⁵³¹

We can imagine members of genteel families of the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries consulting this type of *yangsheng* manual, making an effort to care for themselves and their family members. By the time of the Sui, genteel families who would have learned about these kinds of *yangsheng* practices from texts compiled mainly in the south, would have included those aristocratic clans in the north. *Yangsheng* texts compiled after the Sui's unification, such as *Yangxing yanming lu*, would have been written not just for southern literate elites but would have circulated among educated householders throughout the whole of China.

3.8 The Daoists

As discussed in chapter 2, Daoists, renowned for their pursuit of bodily transcendence, were keen practitioners of *yangsheng* practices and *daoyin*. In particular, *daoyin* formed an 'auxiliary and preparatory' part of religious practice at the *Shangqing* School. Patriarchs of the *Shangqing* School in the 6th and 7th centuries, Tao Hongjing (456–536), Wang Yuanzhi (528–635), Pan Shizheng (585–682) and Sima Chengzhen (647–735) were all experts in methods of abstaining from grains and in *daoyin* (*bigu daoyin zhifa* 辟穀導引之法). This southern Daoist school became influential during Yangdi's reign at

⁵³¹ *Yangxing yanming lu*, ch.5, p. 228.

the time when Wang Yuanzhi, whom Yangdi held in high esteem, was patriarch. According to the biography of Wang Yuanzhi from *Jiu Tangshu*,

遠知少聰敏，博綜群書。初入茅山，師事陶弘景，傳其道法。後又師事宗道先生臧兢。陳主聞其名，召入重陽殿，令講論，甚見嗟賞。及隋煬帝為晉王，鎮揚州，使王子相、柳顧言相次召之。遠知乃來謁見，斯須而須發變白，晉王懼而遣之，少頃又復其舊。煬帝幸涿郡，遣員外郎崔鳳舉就邀之，遠知見於臨朔宮，煬帝親執弟子之禮，敕都城起玉清玄壇以處之。

As a child, Wang Yuanzhi was alert and intelligent, and read all kinds of books. When he first entered Mount Mao, he studied with Tao Hongjing who transmitted to him Daoist techniques. Later, he studied with another Daoist master, Zang Jing, Master Zong Dao. When the emperor of the Chen dynasty (557–589) heard about Wang Yuanzhi, he summoned Wang to Chongyang palace and was impressed by Wang's speech. When Yangdi was stationed in Yangzhou as the Prince of Jin, he sent Wang Zixiang and then Liu Guyan to summon Wang Yuanzhi who finally came to see Yangdi, but turned his own hair and beard to white suddenly. The prince of Jin was frightened and sent Wang away. Wang's hair and beard swiftly returned to what they were before. When Yangdi was visiting Tun commandery, he sent Supernumerary Vice Minister, Cui Fengju to invite Wang Yuanzhi to Linshuo palace, where Yangdi personally conducted a discipleship ritual. Yangdi made a decree to build Jade Purity abbey in the capital in order to house Wang Yuanzhi.⁵³²

One of the main reasons Yangdi admired Wang Yuanzhi so much, argues Xiong, was because of 'the latter's renowned occultist practices, such as the

⁵³² *Jiu Tangshu*, j. 192, p. 5127. Also in *Xin Tangshu*, j. 204, p. 5807.

avoidance of grains and living on pine water, both associated with the pursuit of longevity.⁵³³ Wang Yuanzhi's best known disciple, Pan Shizheng 潘師正 (587–684), who became the eleventh patriarch of the *Shangqing* School, mastered such techniques from Wang Yuanzhi and resided at Mount Song 嵩山 (in Henan) in the North for over twenty years, living on only pine leaves and water.⁵³⁴ He passed on these techniques to Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎 (647–735). From Sima Chengzhen's biography in *Xin Tangshu*, we learn that,

司馬承禎字子微，洛州濩人。事潘師正，傳辟穀道引術，無不通。師正異之，曰：「我得陶隱居正一法，逮而四世矣。」

Sima Chengzhen, style name Ziwei, was a native of Wen County in Luo prefecture (in modern Henan). Sima studied with Pan Shizheng who transmitted to him methods of abstaining from grains and *daoyin* exercises, of which he fully mastered. Pan Shizheng was impressed with Sima Chengzhen and said, 'I attained methods of Orthodox Unity of Tao Yinju [i.e. Tao Hongjing] and [had passed them] to the fourth generation.'⁵³⁵

As many as fifteen works were attributed to Sima Chengzhen, including *Zuowang lun* 坐忘論 (On Sitting in Oblivion, DZ 1036),⁵³⁶ *Fuqi jingyi lun* 服氣精義論 (Discourse on the Essential Meaning of Absorption of Qi, DZ 830) and *Tianyinzi* 天隱子 (Book of the Master of Heavenly Seclusion, DZ 1026). A section on Absorbing Qi, and another section dedicated to *daoyin*, in *Fuqi jingyi lun* give a glimpse of the kind of bodily exercises performed by the

⁵³³ Xiong, p. 149.

⁵³⁴ *Jiu Tangshu*, j. 192, p. 5129.

⁵³⁵ *Xin Tangshu*, j. 196, p. 5608.

⁵³⁶ For the translation and study of *Zuowang lun*, see Kohn, *Seven Steps to the Tao: Sima Chengzhen's Zuowanglun*, Monographie Serica Monumenta 20 (St. Augustin/Nettetal: Monumenta Serica, 1987).

Shangqing practitioners of the Sui and Tang periods. On Absorbing *Qi*, Ute Engelhardt explains that,

Adepts begin by absorbing the so-called Great Clarity Talisman for the Facilitation of *Qi* Circulation. By doing so, they are enabled to gradually refrain from eating cereals. Undergoing the proper ritual purification and maintaining a strict dietetic regimen, practitioners absorb the *qi* by visualizing the first rays of the rising sun. This *qi* is then guided through the *orbis pulmonalis*, lung orb, and through the arms. From there it is taken to the *orbis stomachi*, the stomach orb, then to the *orbis renalis*, the kidney orb, and finally to the legs. The process always ends by “retaining the *qi*”, making sure that whatever has been absorbed won’t leave again.⁵³⁷

Immediately after the section on Absorbing *Qi*, Sima Chenzhen expounds the importance of *daoyin*, giving instructions for a series of seventeen⁵³⁸ different exercises ‘in the same order as the *qi* proceeds through the body upon absorption,’⁵³⁹ beginning with the following preparation,

凡導引，當以丑後卯前天氣清和時為之。先解髮，散梳四際，上達頂，三百六十五過，散髮於後，或寬作髻亦得。燒香，面向東，平坐握固，閉目思神，叩齒三百六十五過，乃縱體平氣，依次為之。

One should perform *daoyin* after *chou* (1–3 am) and before *mao* (5–7 am) when the weather is clear and calm. First, loosen your hair, then comb your loosened hair up to the top of your head from four sides, 365 times. Then let your hair loose at the back or roll it up into a bun. Light incense, sit (with both knees on the floor) facing east and clench

⁵³⁷ Engelhardt, *Qi for life*, p. 273.

⁵³⁸ The *Yunji qiqian* edition includes only one *daoyin* exercise.

⁵³⁹ Engelhardt, *Qi for life*, p. 274.

your fists (with your thumbs wrapped by your other fingers). Close your eyes and contemplate, clack your teeth 365 times, making your body relaxed and your *qi* poised. Perform the exercises in the following order.⁵⁴⁰

The first exercise comprises several different stretching exercises:

先閉氣，以兩手五指交叉，反掌向前，極引臂，拒托之良久，即舉手，反掌向上極臂，即低左手，力舉右肘，令左肘臂按著後項，左手向下力牽之，仍亞（壓）向左，開右腋努脅為之，低右舉左亦如之，即低手鉤項，舉兩肘，偃胸，仰頭向後，令頭與手前後競力為之，即低手鉤項，擺肘揜身，向 左向右，即放手兩膝上，微吐氣通息，又從初為之三度。 First, hold your breath, interlace your fingers, turn your palms and push them out in front of you, extending the arms as much as possible, tensing them for a long time. Then, raising your arms, palms facing up, extend your arms as much as possible. Lower your left arm, raise your right elbow with strength, while pressing the back of your neck with left elbow and arm. Press your left arm downwards with strength on the left while opening up the right armpit and the right side of the body as much as possible. Lower your right arm and raise your left arm and do the same. Then, lowering your arms with hands gripping your neck, raise both elbows. Lie on your belly, raise your head backward, pulling your head back while your arms stretch forward with strength. Then [sit up], lowering your arms with your hands gripping your neck, move your elbows while leaning your body to left and right. Relax your hands on both knees, exhale gently to ease the breath. Start from the beginning and do this three times.⁵⁴¹

The rest of the *daoyin* exercise is performed in a sitting posture, each part

⁵⁴⁰ *Fuqi jingyi lun*, DZ 830 and *Xiuzhen jingyi zalu*, DZ 277.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid.*

beginning with the word ‘next’ (*ci* 次), and finishes with a series of self-massages. Sima Chenzhen recommends practising this set of *daoyin* exercises every three to five days. He also mentions other *daoyin* exercises done while standing or lying down, without elaborating on them, saying that practitioners could perform those exercises as they pleased. This would suggest practitioners’ prior knowledge of those exercises.

Various Daoist texts recorded in *Daozang*, written during the Sui and Tang periods, testify to an abundant resource of *daoyin*, including,

Taishang laojun yangsheng jue 太上老君養生訣 (Instruction of the Most High Lord Lao for Nourishing Vitality, DZ 821)

Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu 神仙食氣金櫃妙錄 (Marvellous Record from the Golden Chest on Qi-Eating [as Practised] by the Immortals, DZ 836)

Shesheng zuanlu 攝生纂錄 (Collection of Texts for Conserving Health, DZ 578)

Taiqing Daolin shesheng lun 太清道林攝生論 (Great Clarity Discourse on Protecting Life by Master Daolin, DZ 1427)

Baopu zi biezhi 抱樸子別旨 (Separate Instructions from the Master Who Keeps to Simplicity, DZ 1186)

The only text in *Daozang* to focus exclusively on *daoyin* is *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life, DZ 818). Although most of the exercises recorded in this text can be dated to before the Sui dynasty, it is likely to have been compiled during the Tang period.⁵⁴² Many of these exercises appear in

⁵⁴² *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* also appears in the eleventh-century encyclopedia *Yunji Qiqian*, ch.34; See Despeux, *Gymnastics: The ancient tradition*, pp. 230–1.

the state-sponsored medical text of the Sui, *Bingyuan*.⁵⁴³

Thus, Daoists of the Southern School of the Highest Clarity, headed by Tao Hongjing, were conversant with, and played an important part in, the development of *daoyin* during the Sui period. Wang Yuanzhi in particular, the disciple of Tao Hongjing, who became Yangdi's teacher and resided in the Eastern capital Luoyang during the period of Yangdi's medical reforms, would have had a direct influence on Yangdi and his attitude to medicine.

3.9 The Buddhists

Prior to the Sui period, there were two major proscription campaigns against Buddhism. One took place in 446 under Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei Tuoba Tao 拓跋燾 (408–452, r. 423–452) and lasted for six years. The other was initiated in 574 by Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou, who banned Buddhism and Daoism, forcing monks of both religions to leave their monastic orders. The ban was lifted six years later by Wendi, before the reign of the last emperor of Northern Zhou came to an end. During this period, many Buddhists and Daoists retreated to the mountains where they were able to share religious ideas and practices. As food in the mountains was scarce, many Buddhists learned the technique of abstaining from grains, which often involved breathing exercises and *daoyin*.⁵⁴⁴ *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Supplement to the Biographies of Eminent Monks) records several Buddhists

⁵⁴³ The differences and similarities of the two texts will be examined in 4.9.2.

⁵⁴⁴ The earliest extant source on 'abstaining from grains' is found in the Mawangdui manuscript *Quegu shiqi* 卻穀食氣, the same manuscript as the *Daoyin tu*, buried in 168 BCE. See Chapter 2.2.4.

who had mastered such techniques while hiding in the mountains during the Northern Zhou and Sui periods:

釋僧善: 山居服藥 糧粒既斷

Shi, Sengshan ingested medicine when he was residing in the mountain, where food was cut off (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.17, p. 569a12)

釋普曠: 居山餌栢一十五載

Shi, Pukuang lived on the leaves and berries of cypress for fifteen years when he was residing in the mountain (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.11, p. 512a21)

釋慧約: 卻粒巖栖 餌以松朮

Shi, Huiyue lived by the cliff, abstained from grains and ate only pine nuts and root *atractylodes* (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.6, p. 468b21)

釋淨業: 篤愛方術 卻粒練形

Shi, Jingye was devoted to occult practices. He abstained from grains and cultivated his body (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.12, p. 517b16)

釋曇榮: 年登不惑斷粒練形

Shi Tanrong, at the age of forty, abstained from grains and cultivated his body (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.20, p. 589a22)

釋慧融: 山居服食， 咒水治病

Shi, Huirong ingested medicinal herbs when he was residing in the mountain, and used water infused with spells for curing diseases (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.20, p. 594b02)

釋靜琳: 入白鹿山。山糧罕繼。便試以却粒之法。

Shi, Jinglin entered Mount White Deer. Food in the mountains was rarely available so he tried the method of abstaining from grains (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.20, p. 590a03)

釋慧常: 斷穀練形

Shi Huichang abstained from grains and cultivated his body (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.30, p.704c21)

Both Wendi and Yangdi were aware of these mountain-dwelling Buddhist monks, some of whom later resided in the Buddhist monasteries in the Sui's capital. For example, Shi Huichang, well-known during Wendi's reign, lived in Riyan 日巖 monastery in Daxingcheng. He was also respected highly by Yangdi.⁵⁴⁵ The open religious policy of both Sui emperors, together with their patronage, transformed Buddhism into the most popular religion among all classes of society at that time.

Zhiyi 智顓, the eminent southern Buddhist monk, who founded the *Tiantai* school, was venerated by both Wendi and Yangdi. After Wendi's overthrow of the Chen dynasty in the south, he issued an edict in 590, addressed to Zhiyi,

光宅顓禪師。昔周武毀教。朕曾發心必許護持。及受命於天遂即興復。師已離世網修己化人。必希獎進僧倫用光大道。

Master Yi of Guangzhai Temple: When Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou was destroying the religion, I [Wendi] vowed to uphold it. Upon receiving the Mandate of Heaven, [I] immediately revived the religion. The Master [Zhiyi] has abandoned the world to cultivate himself and to liberate others. It is my hope that the Master will promote sangha ethics to illuminate the Great Way.⁵⁴⁶

Yangdi, in particular, had a strong personal connection with Zhiyi, exchanging

⁵⁴⁵ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, j.30, p. 704c21.

⁵⁴⁶ *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, j. 39, p. 360a15 in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, T 49, no. 2035.

letters with him for many years before Zhiyi's death. Among Zhiyi's writings, two texts in particular contain meditation techniques and breathing exercises deriving from both Indian and Chinese traditions. One is *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan yaofa* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (Essentials of Practising Śamatha and Vipāśyanā Meditation), also referred to as *Tongmeng zhiguan* 童蒙止觀 (Śamatha and Vipāśyanā for Beginners) and *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀 (Shorter Treatise on Śamatha and Vipāśyanā). The other is *Liumiao famen* 六妙法門 (Six Mysterious Dharma Gates). In Shorter Treatise on Śamatha and Vipāśyanā, Zhiyi describes two methods of meditation that he taught on Mount Tiantai between 575 and 585. He emphasises the importance of regulating one's diet, sleep, body, breath and mind. To regulate the body, Zhiyi recommends certain breathing and *daoyin* exercises:

次當正身先當挺動其身并諸支節。作七八反如似按摩法。勿令手足差異。如是已則端直。令脊骨勿曲勿聳。次正頭頸令鼻與臍相對。不偏不斜。不低不昂。平面正住。次當口吐濁氣吐氣之法開口放氣。不可令麤急。以之綿綿恣氣而出。想身分中百脈不通處。放息隨氣而出。閉口鼻納清氣。如是至三。

...Then straighten yourself, by first raising and moving your body and various joints up and down seven or eight times, like the *anmo* method. Then, do the same with your arms and legs. Once finished, make your body upright and straight, with the spine neither bent nor over-extended. Then straighten your head and your neck by aligning your nose with the navel, neither leaning to one side nor being too high or too low. Stay straight and upright. Then, spit out turbid *qi* from your mouth. Open your mouth to release *qi*, not rushing it but releasing it slowly and gently. Focusing your attention, bring the *qi* to any blockage in any of the hundred vessels in your body; expel it with the breath. Close your mouth and breathe in clear *qi* with your nose. Do this three

times.⁵⁴⁷

The ninth chapter of the Shorter Treatise on Śamatha and Vipāśyanā, entitled Treating Illness, contains various breathing techniques, including the method of the Six Breaths, which appears in many medical and Daoist texts of the Sui and Tang periods.⁵⁴⁸ Zhiyi explains,

何等為六種氣？一吹、二呼、三嘻、四呵、五噓、六咽。此六種息，皆於唇口之中，想心方便，轉側而作。若於坐中，寒時應吹，熱時應呼。若以治病，吹以去寒，呼以去熱，嘻以去痛，及以治風，呵以去煩，又以下氣，噓以散痰，又以消滿，咽以補勞。若治五臟，呼吹二氣，可以治心，噓以治肝，呵以治肺，嘻以治脾，咽以治腎。

What are the Six Breaths? [They are the syllables] (1) *chui*, (2) *hu*, (3) *xi*, (4) *he*, (5) *xu*, and (6) *si*. Imagine each of the Six Breaths revolving around inside your mouth and between your lips, and then make [the sounds]. If you are in meditation, use *chui* when you are cold and *hu* when you are hot. In the treatment of illness, *chui* is for eliminating cold, *hu* is for eliminating heat, *xi* is for eliminating pain and treating wind, *he* is for eliminating mental troubles and also flatulence, *xu* is for breaking up phlegm and relieving congestion, and *si* is for replenishing exhaustion. If you are treating the Five Viscera, the two breaths of *hu* and *chui* can treat the Heart, *xu* is for treating the Liver, *he* is for treating the lungs, *xi* is for treating the Spleen, and *si* is for treating the Kidneys.⁵⁴⁹

There are different variations of the Six Breaths. In terms of how the sounds

⁵⁴⁷ *Xiao zhiguan*, T46, no.1915, p. 465c18,21 and 22.

⁵⁴⁸ See Despeux, *The Six Healing Breaths*, pp. 37–67.

⁵⁴⁹ *Xiao zhiguan*, T46, no.1915, p.471c26. A more comprehensive passage can be found in *Shichan boluo cidì fāmen*, j.4 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門卷第四, T46, no.1916, p. 503b09 which is quoted here and is translated by C. Pierce Salguero. See Salguero, ‘Healing with Meditation: “Treating Illness” from Zhiyi’s Shorter Treatise on Śamatha and Vipāśyanā’, in *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology*, ed. by C. Pierce Salguero (Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 382–9 (p. 386).

correspond to the different organs, the version adopted by Zhiyi is the same as the one which appears in Sun Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang* and also in *Bingyuan*.⁵⁵⁰ Apart from the Six Breaths, Zhiyi mentions twelve additional breathing techniques for treating various afflictions, as well as drawing one's attention to where the illness is, to the balls of the feet, or to the *Dantian* 丹田 (Cinnabar Field, one *cun* below the navel) area, which he calls *yotuona* 憂陀那.

The main practice of the Six Wondrous Gateways Meditation is mindfulness of breathing. This comes from the *Ānāpānasati Sutta*, first translated by An Shigao 安世高 (fl. c. 148–180 CE). Zhiyi encapsulates *Ānāpānasati* into six processes: Counting the breath from one to ten (*shu* 數), following and observing the breath (*sui* 隨), refining the breath and quietening the mind (*zhi* 止), contemplating the mind (*guan* 觀), returning to the mind and reflecting on its true nature (*huan* 還) and attaining a purified mind (*jing* 淨). Thus, practitioners begin by counting their breath and gradually move towards realisation of the mind's pure state.

These were the kinds of breathing meditations and techniques Zhiyi taught to his followers during the Sui period. He embraced indigenous breathing exercises and *daoyin* and Indian meditation practices, while maintaining a

⁵⁵⁰ The Six Breaths appears also in *Yangxing yanming lu* 養性延命錄, *Taiqing daolin shesheng lu* 太清道林攝生錄, *Taiqing tiaopi jing* 太清調氣經, *Taishang laojun yangsheng jue* 太上老君養生訣, *Taiwu xiansheng fuqi fa* 太無先生服氣法, *Huanzhen jue fa* 幻真訣法, *Taixi miyao gejue* 胎息秘要歌訣, *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 in the Daoist Canon.

clear separation between the two. Commenting on Zhiyi's work, particularly the ninth chapter of the Shorter Treatise on Śamatha and Vipāśyanā, Salguero suggests that, '...as the text brings both Indian and Chinese therapeutics within the framework of Śamatha and Vipāśyanā meditation, its primary goal seems to be to establish Buddhist meditation practice as a repository of diverse cross-cultural techniques for managing illnesses and promoting health.'⁵⁵¹

As part of their meditation techniques, Buddhists of the *Tiantai* School would have employed breathing exercises, together with *daoyin* exercises rooted in the Chinese tradition.

3.10 Conclusion

To conclude, in 6th and 7th century China, various groups, such as physicians, literate elites, Daoists and Buddhists, were conversant with, and played an important part in, the development of *daoyin* during the Sui period, particularly those who resided in the Sui's capitals or who had personal contact with the Sui emperors. Wendi and Yangdi would have been aware of both the medical and religious applications of *daoyin*. As part of their efforts to unify China under a single, centralised government, Wendi and Yangdi initiated medical reforms that were unprecedented. The newly established Imperial Medical Academy transformed methods of transmitting medical knowledge, from master-disciple apprenticeship or family lineages of physicians, to an exam-

⁵⁵¹ Salguero, *Healing with Meditation*, p. 383.

based educational system. The three specialised medical departments, including the department of *anmo*, established by Wendi, began the institutionalisation of *daoyin* as an important part of state medical practice. Wendi's medical reform reflected medical knowledge and practices between the Han and the Sui periods, whereas Yangdi's medical initiative of employing large numbers of *daoyin* practitioners to teach at the Imperial Medical Academy and serve at the Palace Medical Service, created an official medical system with therapeutic exercise as its principle therapy. Yangdi's erudition, his fascination for occultism, his personal connections with the contemporary religious leaders Zhi Yi and Wang Yuanzhi, as well as his love of southern culture, which led to the employment of many southern physicians at the imperial court, would all have contributed to his decision to promote *daoyin* as the most important medical treatment.

Unfortunately, Yangdi's vision was cut short by the overthrow of the dynasty shortly after his death in 618. The group of *daoyin* practitioners at the Sui court was swiftly disbanded, leaving barely a trace of its existence.

Fortunately, as part of Yangdi's radical medical reform, we are left with a medical text with whose compilation some of these *daoyin* practitioners might have been involved - *Bingyuan*, wherein an abundance of therapeutic exercise was systematised and standardised.

Chapter 4: The medicalisation of therapeutic exercise in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 (Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders)

4.1 Introduction

As argued in the previous chapter, the medical reform initiated by the first Sui Emperor, Wendi, reflected therapeutic exercise as an integral part of medical knowledge and practices, developed within a diverse tradition of *yangsheng* culture between the Han and the Sui period, and epitomised by medical texts such as the *Huangdi neijing*. However, it was the second Sui emperor, Yangdi, whose imperial court employed hundreds of *daoyin* specialists, who asserted his own vision of medicine with a greater emphasis on this particular non-drug based therapy. Yangdi's radical reform included compilations of medical texts, one of which was *Bingyuan*. This became the earliest known nosological text in China and has fortuitously been preserved in its entirety. *Bingyuan* gives descriptions of 1739 diseases, detailing under seventy-one headings their aetiology and symptoms.⁵⁵² The earliest texts on nosology in Europe, such as 'Nouvelles classes des maladies dans un ordre semblable à celui des botanistes' (1731) by François Boissier de Sauvages de Lacroix (1706–1767) and 'Genera Morborum' (1763) by Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), do not appear for over another thousand years. The British medical historian W. F. Bynum quotes the old adage, 'to name is to know'. 'A disease known is half cured, runs the proverb. Put these two together and nosology,

⁵⁵² The number of diseases and their headings in *Bingyuan* differ greatly depending on its various editions. The 1739 disease entries and the 71 headings are calculated according to Ding Guangdi's edition.

the branch of medicine concerned with the classification of diseases, should have been the queen of the medical sciences.’⁵⁵³ Bynum goes on to say that nosology became central to formal medical knowledge only during the eighteenth century.⁵⁵⁴ This may have been true for Western medicine, but not for other medical knowledge systems such as the Chinese.

The essential feature of *Bingyuan* lies in the naming, describing and classifying of all medical disorders known in early seventh century China. This in itself is a remarkable medical innovation which asserted a great influence over subsequent medical texts and remains to the present day an important text for students and practitioners of Chinese medicine. It was one of the core textbooks to be studied in the Imperial Medical School during the Song dynasty (960–1279),⁵⁵⁵ and Zhang Congzheng 張從正 (1156–1228), one of the four prominent physicians of the Jin-Yuan period (1115–1368), comments that physicians of his time would keep this text at home as a guidebook.⁵⁵⁶

Medical texts such as *Waitai miyao* 外台祕要 (Arcane Essentials from the Imperial Library, 752), *Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖惠方 (Imperial Grace Formulary of the Great Peace, 992), *Shenji zonglu* 聖濟總錄 (General Records of Sagely Benefaction, 1117) and *Puji fang* 普濟方 (Formulary for Universal Benefaction, 1406), as well as *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Remedies at the Heart of Medicine, ca. 982) in Japan and *Ui'bang'ryuchui* 醫方類聚 (Classified

⁵⁵³ W. F. Bynum, ‘Nosology’ in *Companion encyclopedia of the history of medicine* ed. by W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 335–56 (p. 335).

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ Asaf Goldschmidt, *The Evolution of Chinese Medicine: Song Dynasty, 960–1200* (London; New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 53; *Songshi*, j.157, p. 3688.

⁵⁵⁶ *Rumen shiqin* 儒門事親, j.1, p. 40 from *Siku quanshu* edition.

Collection of Medical Remedies, 1477) in Korea all quote extensively from *Bingyuan*, especially when expounding the aetiology and symptoms of a certain disorder before recommending curative recipes.

A striking feature of *Bingyuan* is the inclusion of *yangsheng* practices, an important part of which is therapeutic exercise. Approximately 200 different *daoyin* exercises appear under two-thirds of disorder categories as treatments for various diseases. Some exercises, recommended for treating several diseases, appear more than once in the text.⁵⁵⁷ Conversely, as many as 13 exercises can be used for the treatment of a single disease. The inclusion of *daoyin* in *Bingyuan* was part of Yangdi's vision of establishing therapeutic exercise as the main component of state medicine, in preference to all other medical treatments. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the compilation of *Bingyuan* took place at the time when the department of *anmo* formed the largest department at the Imperial Medical Academy. The new 'medical discourse' of this state-sponsored initiative, to use Foucault's terminology, focused on 'naming' disease and 'articulating' symptoms, creating a new category of specialist language which gave greater authority to doctors, enabling them to 'announce' what was wrong with their patients in a more professional and technical way.

The main focus of this chapter is to investigate the rich material of therapeutic exercise as an important part of this new medical discourse contained in

⁵⁵⁷ Ding Guangdi calculated 287 entries of *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*, including 83 repetitions and 6 errors/ambiguities; Ding Guangdi, *Zhubing yuanhou lun yangshengfang daoyinfa yanjiu* 諸病源候論養生方導引法研究 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2010), p. 2.

Bingyuan, and to see how Yangdi's ambition was manifested in creating what was almost certainly the first comprehensive medical text on nosology in China, while at the same time establishing a systematic approach to therapeutic exercise based on the newly-devised classification of diseases. This, I would argue, is another important medical innovation of the Sui which has never been adequately acknowledged. The way exercises were now ordered, in accordance with the aetiology and symptoms of a given condition, enabled physicians first to identify the patient's illness and then to prescribe appropriate practices. This systematic search device, of locating certain *daoyin* exercises to treat particular diseases, was an invention of the Sui.

This chapter begins with a textual history of *Bingyuan*, highlighting the difficulty of identifying the original version through its various editions. There is also ambiguity as regards authorship, particularly since different authors were named in various bibliographies prior to the Song (960–1279). The structure of the text and the rationale behind the order of the scrolls (*juan* 卷) will be discussed, reinforcing its official and authoritative nature and purpose. The various medical disorders described in the text will be examined with the intention of distinguishing the types of disorders for which *daoyin* instructions are given from those for which they are not prescribed. The authorial and editorial intent will be scrutinised by looking at how 'selected' *daoyin* exercises were assembled from existing texts written and inserted into different disease entries by the compilers of *Bingyuan*. The variety of exercises 'approved' in this official medical text demonstrates how the Sui government appropriated different kinds of bodily practices under the rubric of *daoyin*, resulting in an

expansion of the *daoyin* repertoire during the Sui period. Some exercises appear in much earlier texts, such as *Yinshu* from the early Han period. Some have distinctive Daoist features and others appear to have been influenced by Buddhist teachings. *Daoyin* exercises from other *daoyin*-related texts, in particular, *Yinshu* and *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, will be compared with those in *Bingyuan*, emphasising their different objectives, styles and readerships.

The main argument in this chapter is that *Bingyuan* was compiled by medical officials in the imperial court essentially for physicians and medical students. Being a highly technical text, it carried an authority, aiming to reach all parts of the Sui's territory and beyond, through the training of doctors who were equipped with knowledge of nosology and who were able to prescribe appropriate *yangsheng* and *daoyin* instructions.

4.2 The textual history of *Bingyuan*

Following its completion during Yangdi's reign, *Bingyuan* was circulated initially in manuscript form, until its first print edition in 1027.⁵⁵⁸ Although none of these early manuscripts still exists in its entirety, fragments can be found in other medical texts such as: *Waitai miyao* 外台祕要 (*Arcane Essentials from the Imperial Library*, 752), *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (*Remedies at the Heart of Medicine*, ca. 984), *Taiping Shenghuifang* 太平聖惠方 (*Imperial Grace Formulary of the Great Peace*, ca. 978–992) and *Rumeng Shiqin* 儒門事親 (*Confucian's Duties*

⁵⁵⁸ Goldschmidt, p. 38; *Yuhai*, j. 63, p. 25b.

to their Parents, 1228).⁵⁵⁹ These texts contain many quotations from the earlier manuscripts of *Bingyuan*. According to Ma Jixing 马继兴, 394 quotations from one particular manuscript of *Bingyuan* can be found in *Waitai miyao* and 648 quotations from another manuscript of *Bingyuan* in *Ishinpō*.⁵⁶⁰ The manuscript of *Bingyuan* consulted by Zhang Congzheng 張從正 (1156 – 1228), author of *Rumeng Shiqing*, has a division of inner and outer chapters.⁵⁶¹ Inevitably, alterations could easily have occurred whilst the text was circulating in manuscript form. It was not until the Song dynasty that the use of printing became widely available, which improved the ‘stability’ of the text.

Print editions of *Bingyuan* first appeared during the Northern Song period (960–1127) under the decree of Emperor Renzong 宋仁宗 (1010–1063).⁵⁶²

The preface of *Bingyuan* by Song Shou 宋綬, an imperial academician of Northern Song, elucidates the intention of Emperor Renzong:

明燭幽隱，惠綏動植。憫斯民之疾苦，佇嘉醫之拯濟。...乃下明詔，疇咨舊聞，上稽聖經，旁摭奇道，發延閣之秘蘊，敕中尚而讎對。

[Our emperor] is like a candle casting light into the dark hidden corners. People are moved by his benevolence and are at peace. He has sympathy for the illnesses and sufferings of his people, and he is waiting for good doctors who can save lives and bring health to his people... Therefore, the emperor issued a decree to investigate old

⁵⁵⁹ Comparison of these fragments to later print editions, particularly to the *Yuan* edition, can be found in Ma Jixing 马继兴, *Zhongyi wenxian xue* 中医文献学, pp. 142-144. See also Tameto Okanishi 岡西為人, *Sō izen isekikō* 宋以前醫籍考 (Beijing: *Renmin weisheng chubanshe*, 1958), pp. 774–90.

⁵⁶⁰ Ma Jixin, *Zhongyi wenxian xue*, p. 142. According to Okanishi Tameto (1898–1973), there are 343 quotations in *Waitai miyao* and 561 in *Ishinpō*; Tameto Okanishi, 1958, p. 774.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵⁶² *Yuhai*, j. 63, p. 25b.

anecdotes, to examine Holy Scriptures, to gather unusual methods, to discover the secrets hidden in the imperial library and to instruct the officials at the Central Service to proofread and edit these [medical] texts.⁵⁶³

It is unfortunate that no preface survives from the Sui period, which might have clarified Yangdi's intention. Although, from what we know of Yangdi, his intention would probably have had more to do with his ambition to create a unified China under a centralised government than 'sympathy for the illnesses and sufferings of his people' or a desire for 'good doctors who can save lives and bring health to his people'. There is no doubt that *Bingyuan*, over time, achieved sufficiently high status in medical literature that the Song Emperor was eager for the text to be widely distributed, so that physicians across Song China could have access to it.

Although the earliest print edition, revised under Emperor Renzong's decree, has not survived, several hand-written copies and facsimiles of the Southern Song (1127–1279) edition have been preserved in Japan and Taiwan. These are essentially reprints of the Northern Song edition with its preface by Song Shou.⁵⁶⁴

The early loss of the Southern Song edition makes the Yuan edition of *Bingyuan* China's earliest surviving edition.⁵⁶⁵ Many later editions use the Yuan edition as a base text, such as the Ming edition which was printed in

⁵⁶³ *Chaoshi zhubing yuanhou zonglun xu* 巢氏諸病源候總論序 (Preface for Mr. Chao's Overall Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders) in Ding Guangdi's edition, pp. 19–24; the English translation is included in the appendices.

⁵⁶⁴ Ma Jixing, *Zhongyi wenxian xue*, pp. 142–4.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

1522.⁵⁶⁶ Several print editions appeared during the Qing dynasty (1644–1912).⁵⁶⁷ There is also a Japanese edition which appeared in 1645 under the title of *Sōshi shobyō genkō sōron* 巢氏諸病源候總論 and which has been digitised by Waseda University Library.⁵⁶⁸ Between the end of the Qing dynasty and the present day, several editions have been produced, including that of Ding Guangdi.⁵⁶⁹

The fact that the original Sui version of *Bingyuan* is lost and that many editions are based on the Northern Song, Southern Song or Yuan versions, poses a serious question about the accuracy of these later editions. It is impossible to know how much material was altered, added or deleted by various scribes and editors after the Sui period, or which characters are correct when there are variants appearing in different editions. Although a textual investigation of surviving editions is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is important to be mindful of such limitations. For this research, I have used the modern edition of *Bingyuan*, revised by the Chinese scholar Ding Guangdi, who, after spending 20 years comparing many different editions, published in 1991 his own revised version together with commentaries.⁵⁷⁰ Thus, all calculations, including the number of disease entries and *daoyin* exercises, are based solely on this modern edition.

⁵⁶⁶ See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, j.103, p. 2090.

⁵⁶⁷ Ma Jixing, pp. 142–4.

⁵⁶⁸ Sō genhō 巢元方, *shobyōgen kōsōron* 諸病源候總論 (kyōto : umemurayaemon, 正保2[1645]) http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ya09/ya09_00136/index.html

⁵⁶⁹ Ma Jixing, pp. 142–4.

⁵⁷⁰ For the various editions Ding consulted for his work on *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, See Ding, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu*, pp. 1565–7.

4.3 Authorship

Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (fl. 610 C.E.), Yangdi's imperial physician, is often cited as the author of *Bingyuan*. However, in several official bibliographies prior to the Song period, there is conflicting information about the authorship. *Suishu jingjizhi*, compiled between 641 and 656, records Wu Jingxian 吳景賢 as its author; *Jiutangshu jingjizhi* 舊唐書經籍志 (The bibliography of The Old Book of the Tang), compiled between 941 and 945, records Wu Jing 吳景 as its author and *Xintangshu yiwenzhi* 新唐書藝文志 (The Bibliography of The New Book of the Tang), compiled between 1043 and 1060, lists two authors under the same title: Wu Jing, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, fifty scrolls and *Chaoshi Zhubing yuanhou lun* 巢氏諸病源候論, fifty scrolls, Chao Yuanfang 巢元方.⁵⁷¹

The name Wu Jing from *Jiutangshu* bears a close resemblance to Wu Jingxian from *Suishu*. While there is no historical record for Wu Jing, the name Wu Jingxian appears in the biography of Mai Tiezhang 麥鐵杖 (538 – 612), a great general admired by Yangdi for his valour and gallantry who was killed during the battle against Koguryō in 612. Before going into battle, the general, reflecting on the nature of mortality, turned round and said to a doctor named Wu Jingxian:

大丈夫性命自有所在，豈能艾炷灸頰，瓜蒂歎鼻，治黃不差，而臥死兒女手中乎？

The lifespan of a man has been allocated; how could the use of moxa on my forehead or the stalks of melons on my nose make any

⁵⁷¹ *Suishu*, j.34, p. 1044; *Jiutangshu*, j.47, p. 2049; *Xintangshu*, j.59, p. 1567.

difference? My jaundice has not yet been cured but I will die anyway in the hands of some youngsters!⁵⁷²

Fan Ka-wai casts doubt on the possibility of this particular Wu Jingxian being the author of *Bingyuan*,⁵⁷³ asking how it would have been possible for him to accompany Mai Tiezhang into battle in 612 while he was supposed to be in the Sui court compiling the text? Fan's doubt also provokes uncertainty over the date of the text's completion. Could 610 have been the year when Yangdi made the decree, rather than the year of the text's completion? Fan assumes that the above statement was made on the battlefield, but equally it could have been made in the Sui court at the time Mai sought permission from the emperor to be sent to the frontier.⁵⁷⁴

There is another Wu Jingxian, who was Yangdi's clerk (*Dianqian* 典籤) when Yangdi was stationed in the south during the reign of Wendi.⁵⁷⁵ Could these two Wu Jingxian be the same person? Could either of them be the author of *Bingyuan*, acknowledged in the bibliography of the Imperial Library of the Sui?

To complicate the matter further, a court physician named Wu Jingda 吳景達 was one of the Chief Stewards at the Palace Medical Service (*dianyao fengyu* 典藥奉御) during the reign of Yangdi.⁵⁷⁶ His name is mentioned in an inscription on the tomb of his son, Wu Xu 吳續, who also served as a Chief

⁵⁷² *Suishu*, j.64, p. 1511.

⁵⁷³ Fan, *Dayi jingcheng*, p. 52.

⁵⁷⁴ *Suishu*, j.64, p. 1511.

⁵⁷⁵ See *Tiantaishan fangwaizhi* 天台山方外志, j.16 *Jinwang qianshi rushan shezhou jishu* 晉王遣使入山設周忌書 and *Shanzhong xie jiwang zhoushu* 山眾謝晉王周忌書.

⁵⁷⁶ According to Fan Ka-wai, the two Chief Stewards at the Palace Medical Service during the reign of Yangdi were Xu Yinzong 許胤宗 (535?–626?) and Wu Jingxian. Fan, 2007, p. 50.

Steward at the Palace Medical Service, but in the Tang court.⁵⁷⁷ Could this Wu Jingda be the author of *Bingyuan*? Or, were Wu Jingda and Wu Jingxian brothers from the same family of physicians? Although we have no evidence of a Wu Jing, we do have evidence of at least two court physicians during the reign of Yangdi named Wu Jingda and Wu Jingxian. Therefore, it is probably safe to conclude that Wu Jingxian in *Suishu* and Wu Jing in *Jiutangshu* refer to the same person, and that there is a simple error of a missing character in *Jiutangshu*, later replicated in *Xintangshu*.

The first time Chao Yuanfang appears as the author of *Bingyuan* in any of the bibliographies is in *Xintangshu*, four hundred years after the text's completion, along with the other entry of the same title by Wu Jing. *Tongzhi yiwenzhuan* 通志藝文略 (A Brief Bibliography in Comprehensive Treatises), compiled by the Southern Song scholar Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162) also lists two authors – Wu Jingxian and Chao Yuanfang.⁵⁷⁸ Apart from *Xintangshu* and *Tongzhi*, all other bibliographies compiled during and after the Song period cite Chao Yuanfang as the main author. Interestingly, *Xintangshu* was also compiled under the decree of Emperor Renzong (re.1022–1063).⁵⁷⁹ In fact, the name Chao Yuanfang first appears in Song Shou's preface of *Bingyuan*, which says,

《諸病源候論》者，隋大業中太醫巢元方等奉詔所作也。會粹群說，沈研精理，形脈之証，罔不該集。

Zhubing yuanhou lun was written during the *Daiye* period of Sui by the Imperial Physician, Chao Yuanfang and others who had received the

⁵⁷⁷ Zhao Shaoliang 周紹良 and Zhao Chao 趙超, *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌彙編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), pp. 968–9.

⁵⁷⁸ *Tongzhi*, j.69, pp. 812–2.

⁵⁷⁹ *Jinxin tangshu biao* 進新唐書表 by Ouyang, Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) in the appendix of *Xintangshu*.

imperial decree to undertake this work. They brought together the most authoritative writing from various schools of thought and immersed themselves in a detailed study of their essential concepts and theories. Examining all the evidence, they verified ideas of form and *mai*.⁵⁸⁰

After the revision of *Bingyuan*, completed in 1027, the two entries by different authors appeared in *Xintangshu*, which was compiled between 1043 and 1060. This suggests that in order to distinguish the newly revised version from the existing version of *Bingyuan*, a different author was cited. I would argue that it was the version of *Bingyuan* that was revised and sponsored by the Song administration which was widely circulated and became the basis of all later editions. From then on, Chao Yuanfang became the designated author of *Bingyuan*.

There is very little information about Chao Yuanfang, neither in official dynastic histories (*zhengshi* 正史) or alternative histories (*bieshi* 別史) nor in miscellaneous histories (*zashi* 雜史). He does appear, however, in *Kaiheji* 開河記 (Records for the Opening Up of a Waterway), a novel written in the genre of *chuanqi* 傳奇 (Tales of Strange Events) during the Song dynasty:

叔謀既至寧陵縣，患風癢，起坐不得。帝令太醫令巢元方往治之。曰：「風入腠理，病在胸臆。須用嫩羊肥者蒸熟，糝藥食之，則瘥。」叔謀取半年羊羔，殺而取腔，以和藥，藥未盡而病已瘥。

When [Ma] Shumou arrived Ningling County, he suffered from itchiness associated with wind and was unable to stand up or sit down. Yangdi ordered the Imperial Physician Chao Yuanfang to go and treat Ma, to whom Chao said, 'the wind has entered the pores and the disease is

⁵⁸⁰ Ding Guangdi, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu*, p. 19.

now in the chest. You must steam some tender juicy lamb, mix it with some drugs and eat it. You will then be cured.’ Shumou killed a six-month-old lamb, took its organs and mixed it with drugs. He was cured before the medication was completed.⁵⁸¹

As this anecdote comes from a Song novel, we cannot treat it as historical fact. Another reference to Chao Yuanfang comes from *Gujin xingshishu bianzheng* 古今姓氏書辯證 (The Examination of Books of Ancient and Contemporary Family Names) by Southern Song scholar Deng Mingshi 鄧名世 (fl. 1134):

望出義興者，宋中書舍人巢尚之。玄孫公逸為唐尚藥奉御，世傳醫術，今稱為巢氏病源者。

The [Chao] family comes from Yixing (in modern Jiangsu). Chao Shangzhi was the Secretariat Drafter at the Liu Song dynasty (420–479). His great-great-grandson Gongyi served as the Chief Steward at the Palace Medical Service of the Tang. The family passed on its medical skills from generation to generation. Today it is called Chao’s Aetiology of Disorders.⁵⁸²

The compilers of the Annotated Catalogue of the Complete Imperial Library (*Siku Quanshu Zongmu Tiyaoyao* 四庫全書總目提要), completed in 1798, were aware of the ambiguity of the authorship of *Bingyuan* and suggested that both Wu Jing (most likely to have been Wu Jingxian) and Chao Yuanfang were involved in the compilation of the text, one acting as the chief editor and the other overseeing the whole project.⁵⁸³ This seems a satisfactory explanation,

⁵⁸¹ From *Gujin yishi jingming keben* 古今逸史景明刻本, j.4, p. 79.

⁵⁸² Deng, Mingshi 鄧名世, *Gujin xingshishu bianzheng* 古今姓氏書辯證, *Qinding siku quanshu* edition 欽定四庫全書本, j.11, p. 72.

⁵⁸³ *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, j.103, p. 13.

Bingyuan being a state-sponsored text more likely to have been produced by a group of medical officials at Yangdi's court than the work of a single author. And we should bear in mind that the sources we have for Chao Yuanfang appear only after the text was revised under the decree of Emperor Renzong of Northern Song in 1026.

4.4. *Bing* 病 and *Hou* 候

There are two fundamental concepts in *Bingyuan* which are central to the formation of the text – *bing* 病, meaning disease, illness or disorder, and *hou* 候, which can be translated as manifestation, sign, syndrome or symptom.

Bingyuan is organised on two levels – that of *bing*, which functions as a larger 'disorder' category, and that of *hou*, which functions as an individual disease. The *bing* category, identifying illness as separate from the sufferer, runs contrary to the central premise of Chinese medicine, that it is the patient, not just the disease, that is being treated. Thus, the process described in *Bingyuan*, of identifying different 'disorders' and their various 'signs' and 'symptoms', seems to have a rather modern ring to it, anticipating the extensive specialisation of modern western medicine.

According to *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, *bing* is more severe than *ji* 疾, another character related to illness.⁵⁸⁴ The character *ji* is found in oracle inscriptions and its pictograph suggests a person (大, 人) injured by an arrow (矢).⁵⁸⁵

During the orthographic reform of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE), the

⁵⁸⁴ *Shuowen jiezi*, j.8, p. 4674.

⁵⁸⁵ See Unschuld, *Medicine in China*, pp. 19–22.

pictograph of a person ‘人’ was removed and the radical of a bed ‘𦉳’ was added.⁵⁸⁶ The character *ji*, now a composite of ‘bed’ and ‘arrow’, suggests an external injury from which a patient will recover if he takes bed rest.

The pictograph of *bing*, on the other hand, is a composite of bed ‘𦉳’ and *bing* 丙. *Bing* 丙 is one of the ten celestial stems (*tiangan* 天干) used as time measurements in ancient China. They were associated with the five agents (*wuxing* 五行). *Bing* 丙 corresponds to fire in the five phases as well as heart in the five *zang* 五臟 (Five Organs).⁵⁸⁷ Thus, the character *bing* 病 suggests an internal injury. As the heart governs all internal organs, this is therefore far more serious than *ji*.

A medical anthropologist, Elisabeth Hsu, having examined the medical case histories of Chunyu yi 淳于意 (206 BCE–8 CE) from *Shiji* 史記, distinguishes between *ji*, ‘point of origin of a morbid condition’ and *bing*, ‘its full-blown manifestation’⁵⁸⁸ Paul Unschuld emphasises the objective and subjective aspects of *bing* which he identifies in *Su Wen* 素問 (Basic Questions):

Bing appears in contexts suggesting a meaning of being ill from the perspective of a patient, and it was used in other contexts to denote what medical theory believes to be the pathological change or

⁵⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷ Liver (wood), heart (fire), spleen (earth), lungs (metal) and kidneys (water). The heart rules in summer. The hand minor yin and the [hand] major yang [conduits] rule [its] treatment. Its days are *bing* and *ding*. When the heart suffers from slacking, quickly consume sour [flavour] to contract it again. *Suwen*, ch. 22, *Zangqi fashi lun* 藏氣法時論 (Discourse on How the Qi in the Depots Follow the Pattern of the Seasons); tr. Paul Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic—Basic Questions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. 384.

⁵⁸⁸ Elisabeth Hsu, *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine: The Telling Touch*. Vol. 68 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 111.

dynamics in an organism underlying visible or otherwise noticeable signs.⁵⁸⁹

Unschuld also suggests that when *bing* is used from the perspective of the patient, the term can be translated as 'to suffer from', 'suffering', 'ailment' or 'illness'. When *bing* is used from the perspective of the trained physician, it is commonly rendered as 'disease' or 'to have a (specific) disease'.⁵⁹⁰ While Vivienne Lo translates *bing* as illness, her understanding of the word 'illness' does not appear to encompass the subjective quality that Unschuld characterises. According to Lo,

Bing is a general term which I translate as "illness", a reference to signs and symptoms of bodily discomfort whether experienced, reported or observed. It is distinct from, but includes, "disease" which I equate with the identification of a syndrome, the organisation of several signs or characteristics of illness under one title.⁵⁹¹

Thus for Lo, *bing* could be rendered as the larger category of 'illness', and *hou* as the set of signs and symptoms relating to that illness. Nathan Sivin prefers to translate *bing* as 'medical disorder' and suggests that *hou* corresponds roughly to 'symptom'.⁵⁹² Sivin also comments on the blurred boundaries between various concepts, such as symptom, syndrome and disease, especially when trying to equate them to Chinese terms such as *bing* and

⁵⁸⁹ Paul Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, p. 20.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁹¹ Vivienne Lo, 'Crossing the Neiguan 内關 "Inner Pass": A Nei/Wai 内外 "Inner/Outer" Distinction in Early Chinese Medicine', *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 17 (2000), 15–65 (15 n.3).

⁵⁹² Nathan Sivin, *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China (a Partial Translation of Revised Outline of Chinese Medicine with an Introductory Study on Change in Present Day and Early Medicine)* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1987), p. 99 and p. 106.

hou.⁵⁹³ Sivin explains that, ‘the symptom is the smallest unit employed in diagnosis. It is sometimes divided into symptoms reported by the patient and signs observed by the physician, in this century increasingly supplemented by laboratory findings’; whereas ‘the syndrome is a recurring set of symptoms that characterise a pathological process but may be associate with more than one disease.’ But the term *bing*, often refers to ‘symptoms, syndromes, and groups of related syndromes or diseases as well.’⁵⁹⁴

The Oxford Dictionary defines ‘disease’ as ‘a disorder of structure or function in a human, animal, or plant, especially one that produces specific symptoms or that affects a specific location and is not simply a direct result of physical injury’ and defines ‘disorder’ as ‘an illness that disrupts normal physical or mental functions.’⁵⁹⁵ In this sense, ‘disorder’ is more generic than ‘disease’. For example, someone suffering from an eating disorder could be diagnosed with anorexia or bulimia, diseases with specific symptoms. In this case, *bing* could be understood as ‘medical disorder’ and *hou* as ‘disease’.

Thus, ways of understanding and translating *bing* and *hou* differ, depending on context and on the preference of the individual translator. In the case of *Bingyuan*, I concur with Sivin in translating *bing* as ‘medical disorder’ or simply ‘disorder’ when the context makes it clear that it refers to disorder in a medical

⁵⁹³ Ibid, p. 106.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 106

⁵⁹⁵ ‘disease’ in *Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. by Angus Stevenson (Oxford University Press, 2010. Oxford Reference. 2010) [Date Accessed 25 May 2018] http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0230380; ‘disorder’ in *Oxford Dictionary of English*, ed. by Angus Stevenson (Oxford University Press, 2010. Oxford Reference. 2010) [Date Accessed 25 May 2018] http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0231600.

sense. I have translated *hou* as ‘symptom’, and more often as ‘symptoms’, as most of the time more than one symptom is described under each *hou* in *Bingyuan*. In this sense, I equate each *hou* to an individual disease.

<i>Bing</i> 病	<i>Hou</i> 候
Medical Disorder	Symptom
Disorder	Syndrome
Illness	Sign
Disease	Disease

Table 4. 1 Varying English renderings of *Bing* 病 and *Hou* 候

4.5 The structure of the text

Ding Guangdi’s edition has a total of 1739 entries under 71 categories in fifty scrolls (*juan* 卷).⁵⁹⁶ Each entry is a *hou* and each category is a *bing*. The first category is Wind Disorder (*feng bing* 風病). The whole section, entitled ‘Various Symptoms of Wind Disorder’ (*fengbing zhuhou* 風病諸候), contains 59 entries, i.e. individual diseases in two scrolls, including:

- Symptoms of lateral withering associated with wind (*Feng pianku hou* 風偏枯候)
- Symptoms of spasm in the limbs and inability to bend or stretch, associated with wind (*Feng sizhi juluan bude qushen hou* 風四肢拘攣不得屈伸候)
- Symptoms of an inability to move the body and limbs, associated with wind (*Feng shenti shouzu busui hou* 風身體手足不隨候)
- Symptoms of lopsidedness associated with wind (*pianfeng hou* 偏風候)
- Symptoms of sensation loss associated with wind (*Feng buren hou* 風不仁候)

⁵⁹⁶ The list of the 71 categories can be found in Appendix 2.

- Symptoms of head-spin associated with wind (*Feng touxuan hou* 風頭眩候)
- Symptoms of madness associated with wind (*Feng dian hou* 風癲候)

At this level, disorder is described and classified according to its external manifestations, signs, symptoms or syndrome, such as restrictions in movement, paralysis on one side of the body, numbness, dizziness or mental instability.

In medical literature, notably *Huangdi neijing*, Wind Disorder is regarded as either the ‘Chief of All Disorders’ (*baibing zhizhang* 百病之長) or the ‘Origin of All Disorders’ (*baibing zhishi* 百病之始).⁵⁹⁷ This would explain why the compilers of *Bingyuan* placed ‘Wind Disorder’ as the first disorder category. This category also has the highest number of *daoyin* exercises, with at least one fifth of the total number appearing in this first category alone.⁵⁹⁸

Although it is not easy to see a logical pattern for the arrangement of the 71 medical disorders in *Bingyuan*, those in the first twelve *juan* appear to be the most prevalent disorders from which people in medieval China might have suffered, followed by disorders associated with external and environmental factors:

⁵⁹⁷ See *shengqi tongtian lun* 生氣通天論, *yuji zhengcang lun* 玉機真藏論, *fenglun* 風論, *gukong lun* 骨空論 of *Suwen* 素問 and *wuse* 五色 of *Lingshu* 靈樞; see also Shigehisa Kuriyama, ‘The imagination of winds and the development of the Chinese conception of the body’ in *Body, subject, and power in China*, ed. by A. Zito & T.E. Barlow (Chicago: University Press, 1994), pp. 23–41 and Elisabeth Hsu, ‘The Experience of Wind in Early and Medieval Chinese Medicine’, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (2007), 117–34.

⁵⁹⁸ See Table 4.9.

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>
1.	1 and 2	Wind Disorder (<i>Feng bing</i> 風病)	59
2.	3 and 4	Disorder of Deficiency Exhaustion (<i>Xulao bing</i> 虛勞病)	75
3.	5	Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions (<i>Yaobei bing</i> 腰背痛)	10
4.	5	Disorder of Dispersion-thirst (<i>Xiaoke bing</i> 消渴病)	8
5.	6	Disorder of Resolving Powder (<i>Jiesan bing</i> 解散病)	26
6.	7 and 8	Disorder of Cold-damage (<i>Shanghan bing</i> 傷寒病)	77
7.	9	Seasonal Disorder (<i>Shiqi bing</i> 時氣病)	43
8.	9	Hot Disorder (<i>Re bing</i> 熱病)	28
9.	10	Warm Disorder (<i>Wen bing</i> 溫病)	34
10.	10	Epidemic Pestilential Disorder (<i>Yili bing</i> 疫癘病)	3
11.	11	Disorder of Intermittent Fever (<i>Nue bing</i> 瘧病)	14
12.	12	Yellow Disorder (<i>Huang bing</i> 黃病)	28
13.	12	Disorder of Cold and Hot (<i>Lengre bing</i> 冷熱病)	7

Table 4. 2 Disorders in the first twelve *juan* of *Bingyuan* including the number of entries in each category

Then follow disorders involving the internal organs, such as incontinence, constipation, heart pain, abdominal pain, and indigestion:

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>
14.	13	<i>Qi</i> Disorder (<i>Qibing</i> 氣病)	25
15.	13	Leg- <i>qi</i> Disorder (<i>Qiaoji bing</i> 腳氣病)	8
16.	14	Cough Disorder (<i>Kesou bing</i> 咳嗽病)	15
17.	14	Strangury Disorder (<i>Linbing</i> 淋病)	8
18.	14	Urinary Disorder (<i>Xiaobian bing</i> 小便病)	8
19.	14	Disorder of Bowel Movements (<i>Dabian bing</i> 大便病)	5
20.	15	Disorder of Five <i>Zang</i> and Six <i>Fu</i> (<i>Wuzang liufu bing</i> 五臟六腑病)	13
21.	16	Disorder of Heart Pain (<i>Xintong bing</i> 心痛病)	5
22.	16	Disorder of Abdominal Pain (<i>Futong bing</i> 腹痛病)	4
23.	16	Disorder of Pain in the Heart Region (<i>Xinfu tong bing</i> 心腹痛病)	7
24.	17	Dysentery Disorder (<i>Libing</i> 痢病)	40
25.	18	Disorder of Damp-hidden (<i>Shini bing</i> 濕匿病)	3
26.	18	Disorder of Nine Worms (<i>Jiuchong bing</i> 九蟲病)	5
27.	19	Disorder of Aggregation and Accumulation (<i>Jiju bing</i> 積聚病)	6

28.	19	Disorder of Abdominal Mass (<i>Zhengxia bing</i> 癥瘕病)	18
29.	20	Bulging Disorder (<i>Shan boing</i> 疝病)	11
30.	20	Phlegm-rheum Disorder (<i>Tanyin bing</i> 痰飲病)	16
31.	20	Disorder of Ensconced Lumps (<i>Bi bing</i> 癰病)	11
32.	20	Disorder of Block and Choke (<i>Poyi bing</i> 否噎病)	8
33.	21	Disorder of Spleen and Stomach (<i>Piwei bing</i> 脾胃病)	5
34.	21	Retching Disorder (<i>Ouhui bing</i> 嘔噦病)	6
35.	21	Indigestion Disorder (<i>Sushi buxiao bing</i> 宿食不消病)	4
36.	21	Disorder of Water Swelling (<i>Shuizhong bing</i> 水腫病)	22
37.	22	Disorder of Sudden Turmoil (<i>Huoluan bing</i> 霍亂病)	24
38.	23	Disorder of Malignity Stroke (<i>Zhong e bing</i> 中惡病)	14
39.	23	Corpse Disorder (<i>Shi bing</i> 尸病)	12
40.	24	Disorder of Residence (<i>Zhubing</i> 注病)	34
41.	25 & 26	Disorder of <i>Gu</i> Poison (<i>Gudu bing</i> 蠱毒病)	36
42.	27	Blood Disorder (<i>Xue bing</i> 血病)	9

Table 4. 3 Disorders between *juan* 13 and 27 of *Bingyuan*, including the number of entries in each category

Then there are disorders chiefly affecting parts of the head - the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, teeth, throat, hair etc.:

No.	<i>Juan</i>	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>
43.	27	Hair Disorder (<i>Maofa bing</i> 毛髮病)	13
44.	27	Disorder of Face and Body (<i>Mianti bing</i> 面體病)	5
45.	28	Eye Disorder (<i>Mu bing</i> 目病)	38
46.	29	Nose Disorder (<i>Bi bing</i> 鼻病)	11
47.	29	Ear Disorder (<i>Er bing</i> 耳病)	9
48.	29	Teeth Disorder (<i>Yachi bing</i> 牙齒病)	21
49.	30	Disorder of Lips and Mouth (<i>Chunkou bing</i> 唇口病)	17
50.	30	Disorder of Throat, Heart and Chest (<i>Yanhou xinqiong bing</i> 咽喉心胸病)	11

Table 4. 4 Disorders between *juan* 27 and 30 of *Bingyuan*, including the number of entries in each category

Then, there are disorders which are perhaps more visible, such as disorders

relating to boils, ulcers, swelling, animal bites and weaponry wounds:

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of hou
51.	30	Limb Disorder (<i>Sizhi bing</i> 四肢病)	14
52.	31	Disorder of Goitres and Tumors of the Neck(<i>Yinliu deng bing</i> 瘰癧等病)	15
53.	31	Disorder of Cinnabar Poison (<i>Dandu bing</i> 丹毒病)	13
54.	31	Swelling Disorder (<i>Zhong bing</i> 腫病)	17
55.	31	Disorder of Clove Sore (<i>Dingcang bing</i> 丁瘡病)	13
56.	32 & 33	Disorder of Abscess and Swelling (<i>Yongju bing</i> 癰疽病)	45
57.	34	Disorder of Chronic Sore (<i>Lou bing</i> 癩病)	35
58.	34	Haemorrhoid Disorder (<i>Zhi bing</i> 痔病)	6
59.	35	Sore Disorder (<i>Cang bing</i> 瘡病)	65
60.	35	Wound Disorder (<i>Shangcang bing</i> 傷瘡病)	4
61.	36	Disorder of Animal Poison (<i>Shoudu bing</i> 獸毒病)	4
62.	36	Disorder of Snake Poison (<i>Shedu bing</i> 蛇毒病)	5
63.	36	Disorder of Miscellaneous Poison (<i>Zadu bing</i> 雜毒病)	14
64.	36	Disorder of Incised Wound (<i>Jincang bing</i> 金瘡病)	23
65.	36	Disorder of Injury of Wrist (<i>Wanshang bing</i> 腕傷病)	9

Table 4. 5 Disorders between *juan* 30 and 36 of *Bingyuan*, including the number of entries in each category

The final two categories are disorders relating to women and children:

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of hou
66.	37,38,39 and 40	Women's Miscellaneous Disorder (<i>Furen zabing</i> 婦人雜病)	141
67.	41 and 42	Disorder During Pregnancy (<i>Furen renchen bing</i> 婦人妊娠病)	61
68.	43	Disorder Before Delivery(<i>Furen jianchan bing</i> 婦人將產病)	3
69.	43	Disorder of Difficult Delivery(<i>Furen nanchan bing</i> 婦人難產病)	7
70.	43 and 44	Disorder After Delivery (<i>Furen chanhou bing</i> 婦人產後病)	71
71.	45,46,47, 48,49,50	Children's Miscellaneous Disorder (<i>Xiaoer zabing</i> 小兒雜病)	255

Table 4. 6 Disorders between *juan* 37 and 50 of *Bingyuan*, including the number of entries in each category

Thus, the organisation of the 71 disorders in *Bingyuan* progresses from the most prevalent, followed by disorders associated with meteorological factors in *juan* 1–12, to the internal organs in *juan* 13–27, parts of the head in *juan* 27–30, visible injuries in *juan* 30–36, and finally to specific disorders of women and children in *juan* 37–50.

The writing style of *Bingyuan* is lucid but also formulaic. Each individual entry (*hou*) tends to follow the same format - the aetiology of a specific manifestation of a particular disorder, its signs and symptoms, and, sometimes, its pulse. Where there are *yangsheng* and/or *daoyin* instructions, a standard phrase appears at the end of the disease description:

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached below.

One disease entry, entitled ‘Symptoms of Spasm in the Limbs and Inability to Bend and Stretch associated with Wind’ typifies the formal and authoritative style of writing used to describe disease in *Bingyuan*. Six *daoyin* exercises are recommended for treating this particular disease and, like many *daoyin* instructions in *Bingyuan*, they come in the form of quotations from *yangsheng fang daoyin fa* 養生方導引法 (The *Yangsheng* Recipes: The *Daoyin* Methods):

[The name of the disease entry (*hou*)]

卷一風病第十四候、風四肢拘攣不得屈伸候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 14: Symptoms of spasm in the limbs and inability to bend or stretch, associated with wind

[The section of aetiology]

此由體虛腠理開，風邪在於筋故也。春遇痺，為筋痺，則筋屈，邪客關機，則使筋攣。

This is caused by a deficiency in the body, whereby the pores are opened, and the *wind-deviance* remains in the tendons. When *bi* (blockage) is encountered in the spring, it becomes *tendon-bi*. The tendons are contracted. The deviance is lodged in the gates (between the joints), causing spasms in the tendons.

[The section of symptoms]

邪客於足太陽之絡，令人肩背拘急也。足厥陰，肝之經也。肝通主諸筋，王在春。其經絡虛，遇風邪則傷於筋，使四肢拘攣，不得屈伸。

When the deviance is lodged in the network of the *foot taiyang*, it restricts and tightens one's shoulder and back. *Foot jueyin* is the channel of the liver, which communicates with and governs all the tendons. Its dominant season is spring. When the liver's channels and network vessels are deficient, the *wind-deviance* will be encountered. It damages the tendons, causing spasms in the limbs, which then cannot be bent or stretched.

[The section of pulses]

診其脈，急細如弦者，筋急足攣也。若筋屈不已，又遇於邪，則移變入肝。其病狀，夜臥則驚，小便數。

If, when diagnosing the [liver] pulse, it is speedy and as thin as string, the tendons will be tight and there will be spasms in the legs. If the contraction of the patient's tendons has not been resolved, s/he will again encounter the deviance, which will then move to the liver. The symptoms of this disorder are nightmares and frequent urination.

[The phrase that comes before the *yangsheng* and/or *daoyin* instructions]

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones

is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplement and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

[The section of *yangsheng* and/or *daoyin* instructions]

《養生方·導引法》云：手前後遞互拓，極勢三七，手掌向下，頭低面心，氣向下至涌泉、倉門，卻努一時取勢，散氣，放縱。身氣平，頭動，髀前後欹側，柔髀二七。去髀井冷血。筋急，漸漸如消。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Extend your arms forwards and backwards alternately [palms pushing outwards] as much as you can, thrice seven times. With palms facing down and head bowed towards the heart, lower your *qi* to the *yongquan* (the soles of your feet, KI. 1) and to *cangmen*.⁵⁹⁹ Try to hold the position for a while, then disperse the *qi* and relax. The *qi* in your body has calmed. Move your head; move your shoulders forwards and backwards and lean to the sides; rotate your shoulders twice seven times. This gets rid of cold blood at *boujing* (GB.21) point. Tightness in the tendons will gradually disappear.

又云：兩手抱左膝，伸腰，鼻內氣七息，展右足，除難屈伸拜起，脛中痛萎。

Again, it says, 'Holding your left knee with both hands, lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose for seven breaths, and stretch your right foot. This gets rid of problems of bending, stretching, bowing and rising, as well as pains and atrophy in the calves.'

又云：兩手抱右膝著膺，除下重難屈伸。

Again, it says, 'With both hands hold your right knee against your chest. This gets rid of problems and difficulties in contracting and stretching.'

又云：踞坐，伸右腳，兩手抱左膝頭，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展

⁵⁹⁹ The location of *cangmen* is not certain. It could be at the entrance of the stomach, or refer to LIV. 13 on the left side of the rib.

右足著外。除難屈伸拜起，脛中疼痺。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground with your knees up. Extending your right leg, hold your left knee with both hands, and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale fully through your nose for seven breaths. Stretch out your right foot. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and *bi* in the calves.'

又云：立身，上下正直，一手上拓，仰手如似推物勢，一手向下如捺物，極勢，上下來去，換易四七。去膊內風，兩膊井內冷血，兩掖筋脈攣急。

Again, it says, 'Stand upright, with both upper and lower body straight. One hand faces up and pushes as if pushing an object while the other hand faces down and presses down as if pressing an object. Use your full strength. Alternate the hands from top to bottom four times seven times. This gets rid of wind in the shoulders, cold blood in the *boujing* (GB.21), and spasm and tightness in the tendon channels under the armpits.'

又云：踞坐，伸左腳，兩手抱右膝，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展左足著外。除難屈伸拜起，脛中疼痺。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground with your knees up. Extend your left leg, hold your right knee with both hands and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale fully through your nose for seven breaths, extending your left foot outwards. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and *bi* (obstructions) in the calves.'

There are two important details which are worth elaborating here. Firstly, the curative benefits of the exercise are given after each set of *daoyin* instructions, as shown in table 4.7 for this particular disease:

Exercise	Curative benefits
1 st	Gets rid of cold blood at <i>boujing</i> (GB.21) point and tightness in the tendons will gradually disappear
2 nd	Gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and

	rising, as well as pains and atrophy in the calves
3 rd	Gets rid of problems and difficulties in contracting and stretching
4 th	Gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and <i>bi</i> in the calves
5 th	Gets rid of wind in the shoulders, cold blood in the <i>boujing</i> (GB.21), and spasm and tightness in the tendon channels under the armpits
6 th	Gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and <i>bi</i> in the calves

Table 4. 7 The *daoyin* exercises for 'Symptoms of Spasm in the Limbs and Inability to Bend and Stretch associated with Wind'

It would seem that the original source material gave instructions for an exercise followed by a description of its curative benefits. This is not particularly helpful for a physician wanting to find exercises suitable for a particular illness. In *Bingyuan*, on the other hand, the disease description precedes the *daoyin* instructions. Thus, the information at the end about each exercise's curative benefits becomes relatively superfluous but is nevertheless retained since it was part of a complete quotation.

Secondly, the compilers of *Bingyuan* sometimes recommend several *daoyin* exercises for a single disease, using a technique of 'copying and pasting', i.e. inserting exercises into appropriate sections. In the case of 'Symptoms of Spasm in the Limbs and Inability to Bend and Stretch associated with Wind', six *daoyin* exercises were selected and assembled, presumably because they could all benefit stiff bones and joints. Editorial treatment of *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan* will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

4.6 Editorial treatment of the *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*

4.6.1 The *Yangsheng* Recipes: The *Daoyin* Methods (*Yangsheng fang daoyin fa* 養生方·導引法)

All *yangsheng* and *daoyin* instructions in *Bingyuan* are quotations from the following titles, most of which are individual texts:⁶⁰⁰

1. *Yangsheng fang* 養生方 (The *Yangsheng* Recipes)
2. *Yangsheng fang daoyin fa* 養生方·導引法 (The *Yangsheng* Recipes: The *Daoyin* Methods)
3. *Yangsheng fang Zhengao* 養生方·真誥 (The *Yangsheng* Recipes: Declarations of the Perfected)
4. *Yangsheng jing yaoji* 養生經要集 (The *Yangsheng* Classics Compendium)
5. *Yangsheng jinji* 養生禁忌 (The Interdictions and Prohibitions of *Yangsheng*)

Nearly all the *daoyin* exercises are quotations from the so-called *Yangsheng fang daoyin fa*. Unfortunately, no text of this name can be found in any of the historical bibliographies. One of the texts listed above is described as *yangsheng fang zhengao*. *Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected) is a 5th century Daoist text written by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), founder of The *Shangqing* School of Daoism. Therefore, it is possible that *daoyin fa* is the

⁶⁰⁰ Apart from the *yangsheng* and *daoyin*-related texts, other texts quoted in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* include: The Recipes for the Corresponding Treatment of Dissolving Powder (*Jiesan duizhi fang* 解散對治方); The Recipes of Great Powder (*Dasan fang* 大散方); Speaking of the Resolving Powder (*Jiesan shuo* 解散說); Lesser Medical Recipes (*Xiaopin fang* 小品方); Canonical Pharmacopoeia of the Divine Husbandman (*Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經); Recipes of Fan Wang (308–372) (*Fanwang fang* 范汪方); Scripture on the Pulse (*Maijing* 脈經); Zhou Poetry (*Zhoushi* 周詩); Classics of Cranial Fontanelles (*Luxin jing* 顱凶經); The charts for the geomancy of the changing years (*Kanyu li younian tu* 堪輿歷游年圖); Treaties on Nine Worms (*Jiuchong lun* 九虫論).

name of the text and *yangsheng fang* refers to the genre. Yet no text with the title of *daoyin fa* can be found in historical bibliographies either. A text called *daoyin jing* 道引經 (*Daoyin Classic*), which is no longer extant, appears in the bibliographic list of Ge Hong's library.⁶⁰¹ This text is likely to have already been lost by the time of the Sui dynasty, as it does not appear in the catalogue of the Sui's Imperial Library. The Daoist scholar, Livia Kohn, claims that the *daoyin jing* mentioned in Ge Hong's bibliography is the *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (*Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life*, DZ 818), the only text that deals exclusively with *daoyin* in the Daoist Canon.⁶⁰² However, there is no evidence to support this claim, despite Kohn's qualifying remark that 'it is doubtful whether this early scripture is identical with the text that survives today'.⁶⁰³ What we do know is that there were various *yangsheng* texts, likely to have contained *daoyin* exercises, existed in the Imperial Library of the Sui court. The following examples illustrate that the compilers of *Bingyuan* were able to consult an array of different texts in the Imperial Library and record the variations within them:

。。。常數行之，使人齒不痛，髮牢不白。一云頭腦不痛。

… If you practise this regularly, you will have no toothache, your hair will be strong, and it will not go white. **Another text** says: there will be no headache.

。。。除腳中弦痛、轉筋、腳酸疼。一本云：治腳弱。

… This gets rid of string-like pain in the legs, twisted tendons, and

⁶⁰¹ See Ge Hong's *Baopuzi, neipian* 內篇, *xialan* 遐覽.

⁶⁰² Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 99. A comparison of different *daoyin* exercises in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* with those in *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* is discussed in 4.9.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

aching pain in the legs. **Another text** says that this cures weak legs.

。。。除難屈伸拜起，去脛中疼。一本云，除風目暗、耳聾。

…This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and *bi* (obstructions) in the calves. **Another text** says that this gets rid of poor vision and deafness associated with wind.

4.6.2 The technique of ‘copying and pasting’

The technique of ‘copying and pasting’ is most evident when the same *daoyin* exercise appears within several disease entries. The following *daoyin* exercise, with different curative benefits, appears in four disease entries. Not only does it look to be from different texts, or at least four different versions of the same text, but it also appears that the compilers of *Bingyuan* inserted the exercise under relevant disease headings already suggested in the original source:

Daoyin instruction	Curative benefits	Disease entry
<p>《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，令兩手布膝頭，取踵置尻下，以口內氣，腹脹自極，以鼻出氣，七息。</p> <p><i>The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods</i> says, ‘Lie on your back, covering your knees with both hands, and placing your heels under your buttocks. Inhale <i>qi</i> through your mouth until the lower abdomen becomes fully bloated. Exhale <i>qi</i> through your nose and take seven</p>	<p>除陰下濕，少腹裏痛、膝冷不隨。 This gets rid of dampness in the genitals, pains in the lower abdomen and cold, inflexible knees.</p>	<p>卷四虛勞病第七十三候、虛勞陰下癢濕候 <i>Juan 4 Disorder of Deficiency-exhaustion, section 73: Symptoms of Itchy and Damp Genitals associated with Deficiency-exhaustion</i></p>
	<p>去淋、數小便。 This gets rid of strangury and frequent urination.</p>	<p>卷十四淋病第一候、諸淋候 <i>Juan 14 Strangury disorder, section 1: Symptoms of various strangury disorders</i></p>
	<p>去石淋、莖中痛。 This gets rid of</p>	<p>卷十四淋病第二候、石淋候</p>

breaths.	<i>stone-strangury and pain in the penis.</i> 去小便數。 <i>This gets rid of frequent urination.</i>	<i>Juan 14 Strangury disorder, section 2: Symptoms of stone-strangury</i> 卷十四小便病第二候、小便數候 <i>Juan 14 Urinary disorder, section 2 : Symptoms of frequent urination</i>
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Table 4. 8 Example of the same *daoyin* exercise, with different curative benefits, appearing in four disease entries

The above example, with its differing claims for the same exercise, suggests that these descriptions could have come from different texts. Had the quotations been from the same text, we might have been expected to see the different curative benefits all listed together under the one exercise. As this kind of example appears frequently in *Bingyuan*, it is most likely that its compilers simply followed ‘clues’ given in the original sources and ‘copied and pasted’ the exercise under the appropriate disease entry or entries; while at the same time placing all the different *daoyin* quotations under the heading of *The Yangsheng Recipes: The Daoyin Methods*.

Without any variation between original sources, the following *daoyin* exercise with all possible curative benefits listed together at the end of the quotation, appears under different disease entries (*hou*) in *Bingyuan*:

凡人常覺脊背皆倔強而悶，不問時節，縮咽膊內，仰面努膊并向上，頭左右兩向掇之，左右三七，一住，待血行氣動定，然始更用。初緩後急，不得先急後緩。若無病患，常欲得日起、午時、日沒三辰如用，辰別二七。除寒熱病，脊腰頸項痛、風痺、口内生瘡、牙齒風、頭眩盡除。

Whenever you feel congestion and stiffness in your back, regardless of the season, tuck your neck between your shoulder blades. Raise your head and try to make the *boujin* points face upwards. Then move your head to left and right, thrice seven times. Stay still for a while. Wait until the circulating blood and the moving *qi* settles, then continue to practise it again. Start slowly and speed up at the end. You must not speed up in the beginning and slow down at the end. If you don't have any illness, it is desirable to practise it three times a day – at sunrise, noon and sunset; each time, practise it twice seven times. It gets rid of disorder associated with cold and heat, pain in your spine, lower back and your neck, *wind-bi*, ulcers in your mouth, *teeth-wind* and dizziness.

Six curative benefits were stated in the original source, and this particular *daoyin* exercise can be found under five different disease entries in *Bingyuan*, very much in concert, apart from the first part, with the information given in the original sources (Table 4.9):

No.	Curative benefits from the original source material	Disease entry in <i>Bingyuan</i>
1	Disorder associated with cold and heat	---
2	Pain in the spine, lower back and your neck	Symptoms of lower back pain (<i>Yaotong hou</i> 腰痛候 j.5.1)
3	<i>Wind-bi</i>	Symptoms of <i>wind-bi</i> (<i>Fengbi hou</i> 風痺候 j.1.24)
4	Ulcers in the mouth	Symptoms of Sores in the Mouth and on the Tongue (<i>Koushe canghou</i> 口舌瘡候 j.30.1)
5	<i>Teeth-wind</i>	Symptoms of Toothache causes by Wind (<i>Fengchi hou</i> 風齒候 j.29.4)
6	Dizziness	Symptoms of <i>head-spin</i> associated with wind (<i>Feng touxuan hou</i> 風頭眩候 j.2.42)

Table 4. 9 The same *daoyin* exercise, together with its curative benefits, in the original source material and under different disease entries in *Bingyuan*

Again, these kinds of examples are numerous, illustrating how the compilers

of *Bingyuan* ‘assembled’ *daoyin* exercises from other sources and re-organised them in *Bingyuan*. Although this simple method seems to be effective, it is not without its shortcomings. In the course of extracting exercises from various sources, some instructions were left behind. For example, a set of *daoyin* exercises to be performed in a supine position, entitled ‘The Lying Down and Pulling Method of the Ancient Transcendent Pengzu (*Pengzu guxian woyin fa* 彭祖穀仙臥引法) is recorded in *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life, DZ 818):

彭祖者，殷大夫。歷夏至商，號年七百，常食桂得道。

Pengzu was a high official of the *Yin* dynasty, who lived through the Xia and the Shang dynasties. Often eating cinnamon, and having attained *Dao*, he lived to seven hundred years.

[1] 居常解衣惓臥，伸腰，填小腹，五息止，引腎去消渴利陰陽。

Make it a regular habit to loosen your clothes and lie down on your back. Lengthen your lumbar, fill up your lower abdomen with your breath. Take five breaths and stop. This pulls the kidneys, gets rid of dispersion-thirst and benefits *yin* and *yang*.

[2] 又云：申左腳，屈右膝，內壓之，五息止，引脾，去心腹寒熱、胸臆邪脹。

Again, it says, ‘Stretch out your left leg while bending your right knee and pressing it against you. Take five breaths and stop. This pulls the spleen, and gets rid of cold and heat in the heart region, and bloated chest associated with deviant agencies.

[3] 挽兩足指，五息止，引腹中，去疝癥，利九竅。

Hold the toes of both feet, take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the central abdomen, eliminates hernia and abnormal tumours, and benefits the nine orifices.

[4] 仰兩足指，五息止，引腰脊痺偏枯，令人耳聲。

Raise your toes, take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the *bi* and the lateral withering on your lower back, and improves your hearing.

[5] 兩足內相向，五息止，引心肺，去咳逆上氣。

Turn both feet to face each other, take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the heart and lungs, eliminates reversal coughs and rising *qi*.

[6] 踵內相向，五息止，短股，除五絡之氣，利腸胃，去邪氣。

Turn your heels to face each other, take five breaths, and stop. Shortening the thighs eliminates *qi* in the five branch channels, benefits the intestines and stomach, and eliminates deviant *qi*.

[7] 掩[伸]左脛，屈右膝，內壓之，五息止，引肺，去風虛，令人明目。

Stretch out your left leg, bend your right knee, and press it. Take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the lungs and gets rid of problems of deficiency associated with wind, and improves one's eyesight.

[8] 張脛兩足指，號五息止，令人不轉筋。

Stretch the legs and toes of both feet. Take five breaths, and then stop. This prevents cramps in the tendons.

[9] 兩手牽膝置心上，五息止，愈腰痛。

Taking hold of your knees with both hands, pull them to your chest so they are right above your heart. Take five breaths, and stop. This cures lumbar pain.

[10] 外轉兩足十通，內轉兩足十通止，復諸勞。

Circle both feet outwards ten times and inwards ten times. You will recover from various exhaustions.

右彭祖穀仙臥引，除百病，延年益壽要術。凡十節，五十息，五五(十)二百五十息。欲導引，常夜半至雞鳴，平旦為之，禁飽食沐浴。

This is the lying down and pulling [method] of the grain (ancient) transcendent Pengzu. It eliminates a hundred diseases, and is an important technique for increasing one's longevity. Let each ten sections take 50 breaths. Do them five times, taking 250 breaths in total. When you want to practise *daoyin*, always do the practices between midnight and when the cock crows at dawn. You should refrain from eating too much and from washing the hair and bathing.

In addition to instructions of how to perform the exercises with specific posture, breathing technique, and number of repetitions, *Pengzu guxian woyin fa* lists both individual and collective curative benefits of the ten exercises when performed in a particular sequence. We also learn when one should practise them, and what things to avoid.

Eight of the above ten exercises can be found dispersed into different places in *Bingyuan*, without any extra information attached, which leads to confusion. For example, the third exercise of *Pengzu guxian woyin fa* appears as the first of two *daoyin* exercises in *Juan 20 Bulging Disorder*, section 11: Symptoms of Deceptive Bulging Disorder:

《養生方·導引法》云：挽兩足指，五息止，引腹中氣。去疝瘕，利孔竅。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Take hold of your toes; stop after five breaths, pulling the *qi* in the abdomen. This gets rid of intermittent bulging disorder and benefits the orifices.'

This quotation does not stipulate in what position one should be when trying to hold one's toes. One could be standing or sitting, but according to *Pengzu guxian woyin fa*, it is supposed to be done in a supine position. One could do it while sitting with the legs stretched out in front, because it is immediately followed by another exercise in a sitting position from a different unconnected source:

又云：坐，舒兩腳，以兩手捉大拇指，使足上頭下，極挽，五息止，引腹中氣遍行身體。去疝瘕病，利諸孔竅，往來易行。久行精爽，聰明脩長。

Again, it says, 'Sit, stretch out both legs, and take hold of your big toes with both hands. Raise your feet and lower your head, pulling the big toes to their limit. Stop after five breaths. Pull the *qi* inside your abdomen so that it circulates round your body. This gets rid of intermittent bulging disorder and abdominal mass, benefits the orifices, and improves easy movements. If you practise it over a long period of time, your essence will be clear, your hearing sharp and your vision remain clear.'

Similarly, the fourth exercise of *Pengzu guxian woyin fa* appears in *Juan 1*, Wind Disorder, section 13: Symptoms of Lateral Withering associated with Wind, immediately following the quotation of an exercise done 'standing against a wall'.⁶⁰⁴ Some might automatically try to raise their toes while still leaning against the wall, rather than lying down. This kind of 'missing' information could easily cause confusion in the absence of a knowledgeable teacher. We might also ask whether exercises are supposed to be done in a particular sequence, and whether doing them in isolation makes them less

⁶⁰⁴ *Bingyuan* j.1.13, p. 15.

effective. In any case, in the process of assembling different *daoyin* exercises and tailoring them to the new classification of diseases, certain features of the original sources were inevitably omitted.

4.6.3 Notes by the compilers of *Bingyuan*

Although it often appears that the compilers of *Bingyuan* simply cannibalised exercises from other texts, regardless of whether those exercises were originally part of a sequence, and inserted them into different disorder categories according to the curative benefits stated in the original sources, the situation is more complex. We can conclude, from various explanatory notes added to the *daoyin* instructions, that at least some of the compilers possessed considerable knowledge of therapeutic exercise. According to Ding Guangdi, at least 46 additional comments were added by the compilers of *Bingyuan*.⁶⁰⁵ For example, here is an exercise for the eyes found in

Yangxing yanming lu:

東向坐，不息，再通，以兩手中指，口唾之二七，相摩拭目，令人目明。

Sit facing east, and hold your breath twice. Putting the middle fingers of both hands in your mouth, spit twice seven times. Rub your hands together and wipe your eyes [with the saliva]. This makes your eyes bright.

The same exercise was incorporated into *Juan 28 Eye Disorder*, section 12: Symptoms of Poor Vision, with additional explanations inserted by the compilers:

⁶⁰⁵ Ding Guangdi, *Zhubing yuanhou lun yangshengfang daoyinfa yanjiu*, pp. 2–3.

東向坐，不息再通，以兩手中指，口唾之二七，相摩拭目。令人目明。以甘泉漱之，洗目，去其翳垢，令目清明。上以內氣洗身中，令內睛潔，此以外洗，去其塵障。

Sit facing east, and hold your breath twice. Putting the middle fingers of both hands in your mouth, spit twice seven times. Rub your hands together and wipe your eyes [with the saliva]. This makes your eyes bright. **Gargle with your saliva and use it to wash your eyes. This gets rid of any obstruction and impurity in your eyes, making them clear and bright. As above, inhale *qi* to clean the body inside, making the eyes pure on the inside. Then use [the saliva] to wash your eyes on the outside, which gets rid of dirt and obstructions.**⁶⁰⁶

Such additional editorial work by the compilers of *Bingyuan* is invaluable, especially when the same exercise is found in other extant sources. Their notes can clarify instructions, particularly when those instructions include technical terms. The following exercise, for getting rid of white hair, appears both in *Yangxing yanming lu* and *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*:

常以子後午前，解髮東向，握固不息一通，舉手左右導引，手掩兩耳，令髮黑不白。

After midnight and before noon, make it a habit to loosen your hair, face east, and do *wogu* (holding your thumbs with the other four fingers) while holding your breath once. Raise your arms, guiding and pulling them, first to the left and then to the right thereby covering both ears. This prevents your hair from turning white and keeps it black.

When this exercise was incorporated into *Juan 27* Hair Disorder, section 3: Symptoms of White Hair, a detailed explanation of the various terminologies was given by the compilers of *Bingyuan*, which is absent in the above-

⁶⁰⁶ *Bingyuan*, j.28.12, p. 785.

mentioned texts:

[The original instruction]

伏，解髮東向，握固，不息一通，舉手左右導引，掩兩耳。令髮黑不白。

Lie face down, loosen your hair, and face in an easterly direction. Do *wogu*. Hold your breath once and raise your arms, guiding and pulling them, first to the left and then to the right, thereby covering both ears. This makes your hair black and prevents it from going white.

[The commentary given by the compilers of *Bingyuan*]

伏者，雙膝著地，額直至地。

To lie face down, press both knees to the ground with your forehead resting on the ground.

解髮，破髻，舒頭，長敷在地。

Loosen your hair, untie the pins, and spread your long hair so that it covers the ground.

向東者，向長生之術。

To face east is to practise the art of longevity.

握固，兩手如嬰兒握，不令氣出。不息，不使息出，極悶已，三噓而長細引。

To do *wogu*, clench your hands like a baby so that your *qi* will not escape.

一通者，一為之，令此身囊之中滿其氣。

To hold your breath, stop your exhalation as long as you can, and pull the *qi* out long and thin, with the sound of 'xu', three times. To do it once, fill your body with *qi*.

引之者，引此 舊身內惡邪伏氣，隨引而出，故名導引。

To pull, pull the deviant *qi* hidden in your ageing body. It follows the pulling and comes out. Thus, it is called *daoyin* (guiding and pulling).

舉左右手各一通，掩兩耳，塞鼻孔三通，除白髮患也。

Raise your left and right arms and cover both ears alternately. Block your nostrils three times. This gets rid of problems of white hair.⁶⁰⁷

From the compilers' additional notes, we learn, for example, that the word *tong* 通 is a verb meaning 'to do' or more specifically 'to breathe' in such a way that the body is filled with *qi*. This is helpful, as interpretations might vary. For example, Livia Kohn understands the word *tong* 通 as the length of a breath.⁶⁰⁸ As the word *tong* appears frequently in many *daoyin* instructions, it is crucial to know its exact meaning. Rather than referring to how long one should hold the breath, *tong* refers to how many times one should hold the breath. For example, *buxi shier tong* 不息十二通 should be translated as 'hold your breath twelve times', and not 'hold your breath for the count of twelve'.

After consulting available *daoyin*-related texts, the compilers of *Bingyuan* copied and inserted appropriate exercises for various diseases, adding, if necessary, explanatory notes to clarify the instructions. In a significant percentage of cases, *daoyin* had the potential to treat many diseases encountered in 7th century China.

4.7 Diseases in *Bingyuan*

As mentioned earlier, in Ding Guangdi's edition, there are 71 *bing*, 'disorders', as larger categories and 1739 *hou*, 'symptoms', as individual disease entries. *Daoyin* exercises are prescribed for 110 out of 1739 '*hou*' - about 6% of the '*hou*' in *Zhubing yuan hou lun*. However, these 110 '*hou*' appear in 50 of the

⁶⁰⁷ *Bingyuan*, j.27.3, p. 766.

⁶⁰⁸ Kohn, *Chinese Healing Exercises*, p. 114.

71 'bing'. By this measure, *daoyin* exercises are prescribed for over two-thirds of disorders in *Bingyuan*. Many of the *daoyin* instructions appear at the beginning of each category, and the *first hou* often bears the same name as the disorder itself. For example, the first *hou* in the 'Disorder of Deficiency Exhaustion (*xulao bing* 虛勞病) is named 'Symptoms of Deficiency Exhaustion' (*xulao hou* 虛勞候), and gives a general introduction to the whole disorder (*bing*). Twelve *daoyin* exercises are recommended for the conditions described in this '*hou*'. The fact that many *daoyin* exercises appear in the first *hou* of *bing* categories is significant, as they could potentially address all diseases in those categories, and therefore be relevant for two-thirds of all 1739 sets of signs and symptoms.

Let us reexamine the disorders in *Bingyuan* but this time distinguishing those with accompanying *daoyin* instructions from those without. It should be remembered that while numerous *hou* have multiple *daoyin* exercises, some have none. The chart below shows the disorders in the first twelve *juan*, together with the number of *hou* and *daoyin* instructions in each category and whether or not the exercises appear in the first disease entry (*hou*):

No.	<i>Juan</i>	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>	No. of <i>daoyin</i>	<i>Daoyin</i> in the 1 st <i>hou</i> ?
1.	1 and 2	Wind Disorder (<i>Feng bing</i> 風病)	59	65	□
2.	3 and 4	Disorder of Deficiency Exhaustion (<i>Xulao bing</i> 虛勞病)	75	41	✓
3.	5	Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions (<i>Yaobei bing</i> 腰背痛)	10	11	✓

4.	5	Disorder of Dispersion-thirst (<i>Xiaoke bing</i> 消渴病)	8	2	✓
5.	6	Disorder of Resolving Powder (<i>Jiesan bing</i> 解散病)	26	0	□
6.	7 and 8	Disorder of Cold-damage (<i>Shanghan bing</i> 傷寒病)	77	2	✓
7.	9	Seasonal Disorder (<i>Shiqi bing</i> 時氣病)	43	1	✓
8.	9	Hot Disorder (<i>Re bing</i> 熱病)	28	0	□
9.	10	Warm Disorder (<i>Wen bing</i> 溫病)	34	3	✓
10.	10	Epidemic Pestilential Disorder (<i>Yili bing</i> 疫癘病)	3	2	✓
11.	11	Disorder of Intermittent Fever (<i>Nue bing</i> 瘧病)	14	0	□
12.	12	Yellow Disorder (<i>Huang bing</i> 黃病)	28	0	□
13.	12	Cold and Hot Disorders (<i>Lengre bing</i> 冷熱病)	7	9	✓

Table 4. 10 Disorders in the first twelve *juan* of *Bingyuan* including the number of *hou* and *daoyin* exercises in each category, and whether the *daoyin* instructions appear in the first *hou* of a particular category

Apart from Wind Disorder, which contains the majority of *daoyin* instructions embedded in various entries, and four other disorders which contain no *daoyin* instructions, all other disorder categories incorporate *daoyin* instructions in their first entries (*hou*) which often bear the same name as their disorder category (*bing*) and act as an introduction to the whole disorder:

1. Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 1: Symptoms of Deficiency-exhaustion with 12 *daoyin* instructions
2. Juan 5 Disorder of Lumbar Region, section 1: Symptoms of Lower Back Pain with 6 *daoyin* instructions
3. Juan 5 Disorder of debilitating-thirst, section 1: Symptoms of Debilitating-thirst with 3 *daoyin* instructions
4. Juan 7 Disorder of Cold-damage, section 1: Symptoms of Cold-damage with 2 *daoyin* instructions
5. Juan 9 Seasonal Disorder, section 1 - Symptoms of Seasonal Disorders

with 1 *daoyin* instruction

6. Juan 10 Warm Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Warm Disorder with 2 *daoyin* instructions

7. Juan 10 Epidemic Pestilence Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Epidemic Pestilence Disorder with 1 *daoyin* instruction

8. Juan 12 Cold and Hot Disorders, section 1 Symptoms of Hot Disorder with 3 *daoyin* instructions

Placing *daoyin* instructions in the first entries of these disorder categories enhances their visibility and accessibility.

Four types of disorder do not include *daoyin* instructions. Those are:

1. Disorder of Resolving Powder (*Sanjie bing* 解散病)
2. Hot Disorder (*Re bing* 熱病)
3. Disorder of Intermittent Fever (*Nue bing* 瘧病)
4. Yellow Disorder (*Huang bing* 黃病)

Disorder of Resolving Powder relates to *hanshi san* 寒食散, a poisonous psychotic drug which was popular as a ‘recreational’ drug during the medieval period in China.⁶⁰⁹ Hot disorder is a type of cold damage disorder where one is attacked by cold but does not become ill until the following summer. *Nue* disorder occurs when one is attacked by heat in the summer and becomes ill in later seasons. Yellow disorder refers to the yellow complexion associated with heat in the body. What these four disorders have in common is a raised body temperature. Two also have delayed symptoms, indicating a serious

⁶⁰⁹ See Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫, ‘Hanshisn kao 寒食散考’, *Furen xuwzhi* 輔仁學誌, 7.1 (1938) and Li Ling, ‘Wushi kao 五石考’ in *Zhongguo fangshu xukao* 中國方術續考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), pp. 341–9; Shi Youwen 施又文, ‘Weijin nanchao renshi fusan zhi tanjiu 魏晉南朝士人服散之探究’, *Xingda renwen xuebao* 興大人文學報, 36 (2006), 187–216.

febrile illness. In these circumstances, *daoyin* exercises are not recommended.

The chart below shows the disorders affecting internal bodily functions and organs, which appear between scrolls 13 and 27. They are listed together with the number of *hou* and *daoyin* exercises in each category and whether or not the *daoyin* instructions appear in the first *hou* of a particular category:

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>	No. of <i>daoyin</i> exercises	<i>Daoyin</i> in the 1 st <i>hou</i> ?
14.	13	Disorder of Qi (<i>Qibing</i> 氣病)	25	8	✓
15.	13	Disorder of Leg-qi (<i>Qiaoji bing</i> 腳氣病)	8	5	✓
16.	14	Cough Disorder (<i>Kesou bing</i> 咳嗽病)	15	3	10th
17.	14	Strangury Disorder (<i>Linbing</i> 淋病)	8	5	✓
18.	14	Urinary Disorder (<i>Xiaobian bing</i> 小便病)	8	3	2nd
19.	14	Disorder of Bowel Movements (<i>Dabian bing</i> 大便病)	5	3	✓
20.	15	Disorder of Five Zang and Six Fu (<i>Wuzang liufu bing</i> 五臟六腑病)	13	11	✓
21.	16	Disorder of Heart Pain (<i>Xintong bing</i> 心痛病)	5	0	□
22.	16	Disorder of Abdominal Pain (<i>Futong bing</i> 腹痛病)	4	11	✓
23.	16	Disorder of Pain in the Heart Region (<i>Xinfu tong bing</i> 心腹痛病)	7	2	✓
24.	17	Dysentery Disorder (<i>Libing</i> 痢病)	40	1	✓
25.	18	Disorder of Damp-hidden (<i>Shini bing</i> 濕匿病)	3	0	□
26.	18	Disorder of Nine Worms (<i>Jiuchong bing</i> 九蟲病)	5	2	2nd

27.	19	Disorder of Aggregation and Accumulation (<i>Jiju bing</i> 積聚病)	6	7	✓
28.	19	Disorder of Abdominal Mass (<i>Zhengxia bing</i> 癥瘕病)	18	1	2nd
29.	20	Disorder of Bulging Disorder (<i>Shan boing</i> 疝病)	11	3	2nd
30.	20	Phlegm-rheum Disorder (<i>Tanyin bing</i> 痰飲病)	16	3	✓
31.	20	Disorder of Ensconced Lumps (<i>Bi bing</i> 癥病)	11	1	✓
32.	20	Disorder of Block and Choke (<i>Poyi bing</i> 否噎病)	8	1	2nd
33.	21	Disorder of Spleen and Stomach (<i>Piwei bing</i> 脾胃病)	5	1	2nd
34.	21	Retching Disorder (<i>Ouhui bing</i> 嘔噦病)	6	3	4th
35.	21	Disorder of Indigestion (<i>Sushi buxiao bing</i> 宿食不消病)	4	9	✓
36.	21	Disorder of Water Swelling (<i>Shuizhong bing</i> 水腫病)	22	1	✓
37.	22	Disorder of Sudden Turmoil (<i>Huoluan bing</i> 霍亂病)	24	12	22nd
38.	23	Disorder of Malignity Stroke (<i>Zhong e bing</i> 中惡病)	14	1	8th
39.	23	Disorder of Corpse (<i>Shi bing</i> 尸病)	12	1	7th
40.	24	Disorder of Residence (<i>Zhubing</i> 注病)	34	2	✓
41.	25 and 26	Disorder of <i>Gu</i> Poison (<i>Gudu bing</i> 蠱毒病)	36	3	✓
42.	27	Blood Disorder (<i>Xue bing</i> 血病)	9	1	✓

Table 4. 11 Disorders between *juan* 13 and 27 of *Bingyuan* including the number of *hou* and *daoyin* exercises in each category, and whether the *daoyin* instructions appear in the first *hou* of a particular category

The many *daoyin* exercises given under these disorders frequently appear in the first entry of a particular disorder. Only two disorders have not been given *daoyin* instructions: Disorder of Heart Pain (*Xintong bing* 心痛病), a serious, potentially fatal, condition and Disorder of Damp-hidden (*Shini bing* 濕匿病) which refers to parasites in the body. *Daoyin* exercises are not recommended for these conditions.

The chart below shows disorders affecting mainly the organs of the head, which appear between scrolls 27 and 30. Only one disease category, Disorder of Face and Body (*Mianti bing* 面體病), does not contain *daoyin* instructions.

This is a type of skin disease, such as acne, for which therapeutic exercise is unsuitable:

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>	No. of <i>daoyin</i>	<i>Daoyin</i> in the 1 st <i>hou</i> ?
43.	27	Hair Disorder (<i>Maofa bing</i> 毛髮病)	13	7	✓
44.	27	Disorder of Face and Body (<i>Mianti bing</i> 面體病)	5	0	□
45.	28	Eye Disorder (<i>Mu bing</i> 目病)	38	12	7th
46.	29	Nose Disorder (<i>Bi bing</i> 鼻病)	11	4	✓
47.	29	Ear Disorder (<i>Er bing</i> 耳病)	9	2	✓
48.	29	Teeth Disorder (<i>Yachi bing</i> 牙齒病)	21	4	3rd
49.	30	Disorder of Lips and Mouth (<i>Chunkou bing</i> 唇口病)	17	1	✓
50.	30	Disorder of Throat, Heart and Chest (<i>Yanhou xinqiong bing</i> 咽喉心胸病)	11	7	✓

Table 4. 12 Disorders between *juan* 27 and 30 of *Bingyuan*, including the number of *hou* and *daoyin* exercises in each category, and whether the *daoyin* instructions appear in the first *hou* of a particular category

In the 'External Disease' section, which appears between scrolls 30 and 36, only six out of fifteen disorders contain *daoyin* instructions. Limb disorder, referring to injuries on the limbs, such as boils or cracked skin, does not contain *daoyin* instructions, as movement would exacerbate cracked skin or a bone injury. Nor do different types of poisons and wounds lend themselves to the treatment of *daoyin*, as movement can spread poisons throughout the body:

No.	Juan	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>	No. of <i>daoyin</i>	<i>Daoyin</i> in the 1 st <i>hou</i>
51.	30	Limb Disorder (<i>Sizhi bing</i> 四肢病)	14	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
52.	31	Disorder of Goitres and Tumors of the Neck (<i>Yinliu deng bing</i> 癭瘤等病)	15	3	11th
53.	31	Disorder of Cinnabar Poison (<i>Dandu bing</i> 丹毒病)	13	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
54.	31	Swelling Disorder (<i>Zhong bing</i> 腫病)	17	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
55.	31	Disorder of Clove Sore (<i>Dingcang bing</i> 丁瘡病)	13	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
56.	32 and 33	Disorder of Abscess and Swelling (<i>Yongju bing</i> 癰疽病)	45	2	15th
57.	34	Disorder of Chronic Sore (<i>Lou bing</i> 癩病)	35	2	34th
58.	34	Haemorrhoid Disorder (<i>Zhi bing</i> 痔病)	6	4	✓
59.	35	Sore Disorder (<i>Cang bing</i> 瘡病)	65	2	3rd
60.	35	Wound Disorder (<i>Shangcang bing</i> 傷瘡病)	4	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
61.	36	Disorder of Animal Poison (<i>Shoudu bing</i> 獸毒病)	4	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
62.	36	Disorder of Snake Poison (<i>Shedu bing</i> 蛇毒病)	5	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
63.	36	Disorder of Miscellaneous Poison (<i>Zadu bing</i> 雜毒病)	14	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
64.	36	Disorder of Incised Wound (<i>Jincang bing</i> 金瘡病)	23	0	<input type="checkbox"/>

65.	36	Disorder of Injury of Wrist (<i>Wanshang bing</i> 腕傷病)	9	5	3rd
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Table 4. 13 Disorders between *juan* 30 and 36 of *Bingyuan* including the number of *hou* and *daoyin* exercises in each category, and whether the *daoyin* instructions appear in the first *hou* of a particular category

The final two categories are disorders relating to women and children. Here only two *daoyin* exercises are given, under Women's Miscellaneous Disorder (*Furen zabing* 婦人雜病). According to the compilers of *Bingyuan*, *daoyin* is not suitable as a treatment for pregnant women and children. The two *daoyin* exercises under Women's Miscellaneous Disease are for 'Symptoms of Infertility' and 'Symptoms of Breast Lumps':

No.	<i>Juan</i>	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>	No. of <i>daoyin</i>	<i>Daoyin</i> in the 1 st <i>hou</i>
66.	37,38,39 and 40	Women's Miscellaneous Disorder (<i>Furen zabing</i> 婦人雜病)	141	2	133rd
67.	41 and 42	Disorder during Pregnancy (<i>Furen renchen bing</i> 婦人妊娠病)	61	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
68.	43	Disorder before Delivery (<i>Furen jianchan bing</i> 婦人將產病)	3	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
69.	43	Disorder of Difficult Delivery (<i>Furen nanchan bing</i> 婦人難產病)	7	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
70.	43 and 44	Disorder after Delivery (<i>Furen chanhou bing</i> 婦人產後病)	71	0	<input type="checkbox"/>
71.	45,46,47,48,49,50	Children's Miscellaneous Disorder (<i>Xiaoer zabing</i> 小兒雜病)	255	0	<input type="checkbox"/>

Table 4. 14 Disorders between *juan* 37 and 50 of *Bingyuan* including the number of *hou* and *daoyin* exercises in each category, and whether the *daoyin* instructions appear in the first *hou* of a particular category

These tables demonstrate the predominance of *daoyin* in the first 30 *juan*, which deal with disorders that were most prevalent, such as Wind Disorder,

Disorder of Deficiency Exhaustion and Disorder of Lumbar Pain (*juan* 1–5), as well as disorders associated with meteorological factors (*juan* 5–12), of internal organs (*juan* 13–27) and of parts of the head (*juan* 27– 30). Fewer *daoyin* instructions are given after *juan* 30. Moreover, 30 out of 71 disorders have *daoyin* instructions in their first *hou*, with 29 of them appearing in the first 30 *juan*.

Catherine Despeux makes the following observations about the kind of disorders which would have been treated by *daoyin* in the Sui and Tang period:

The texts refer to gymnastics especially in connection with problems of the arms and legs, with muscle tensions, rheumatism, locomotive troubles, paralyse, and so on. All these, in large part, belong to a group of ailments classified traditionally as “disorder caused by wind”. In the same group one finds also digestive troubles, psychosomatic disorders, weakness in the circulation of the blood, body fluids or respiratory symptoms. On the other hand, fevers, epidemics, and the various disorders related to the seven orifices (ears, eyes, nose, mouth etc.) are only occasionally mentioned as responding to gymnastics therapy.⁶¹⁰

Vivienne Lo, referring to Despeux’s analysis of illness treated by *daoyin*, observes similar types of disorders which were treated by moxibustion, a form of heat therapy in which dried plant materials called ‘moxa’ are burned on particular points of the body. Having examined the moxibustion charts in the Dunhuang Manuscripts found in a Buddhist cave on the Silk Road, Lo observes that:

⁶¹⁰ Despeux, *Gymnastics: the ancient tradition*, p. 244.

For treatment of those non-fatal, non-contagious chronic illnesses, predominantly associated with pain, digestion and external attack by wind and cold, moxibustion and *daoyin* must have provided a practical and accessible form of home remedy, especially for those with no access or money to pay professional physicians.⁶¹¹

It is worth noting that *daoyin* is regarded here as a practical, flexible and accessible form of home remedy, in contrast to the effort made by the Sui emperors, in particular Yangdi, to formalise and standardise *daoyin* essentially for physicians and medical students, as demonstrated in *Bingyuan*.

Thus, for both Despeux and Lo, *daoyin* is most effective in treating locomotive muscular conditions, gastro-intestinal disorders, pain, and sensory disturbance. In *Bingyuan*, there are a few exceptions. For example, under the disease heading 'Symptoms of Cold Residence', which can be treated by *daoyin*, we read that:

注者住也，言其病連滯停住，死又注易傍人也。陰陽偏虛，為冷邪所傷，留連腑臟，停滯經絡，內外貫注，得冷則發，腹內時時痛，骨節酸疼，故謂之冷注。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The meaning of *zhu* is to reside, implying that the disease lingers and stagnates, comes to a halt, and takes residence. Even if the person dies, it can transfer to somebody else. The *yin* and *yang* become deficient, and are injured by the cold deviance, which lingers in the *zang* and *fu*, and, stuck, obstructs the channels and their branch networks. Both the inside and outside of the body are completely filled with [the deviance]. It breaks out as soon as there is cold. From time to

⁶¹¹ Vivienne Lo, 'Quick and easy Chinese medicine: the Dunhuang moxibustion charts', in *Medieval Chinese medicine: the Dunhuang medical manuscripts*, ed. by Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen (Routledge, 2005) pp. 227–51 (p. 244).

time, there is pain in the abdomen, and aching pain in the bones and joints. Hence this is called 'cold residence'. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached below.⁶¹²

In this scenario, we see an illness which is chronic, but also contagious, even after the patient's death. And here we have an example of an acute illness for which *daoyin* is recommended:

肺主於氣。若肺氣虛實不調，或暴為風邪所乘，則腑臟不利，經絡否澀，氣不宣和，則卒上氣也。又因有所怒，則氣卒逆上，甚則變嘔血，氣血俱傷。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。《養生方·導引法》云：兩手交叉頤下，自極，致補氣；治暴氣咳。

Lungs govern *qi*. If lung-*qi* is unregulated, either deficient or in excess, the wind deviance seizes its opportunity, causing harm to the *zang* and *fu*. Because the channels and their branch networks are blocked, their flow is impeded, and the *qi* cannot spread out evenly. Hence it rises suddenly. Anger also causes *qi* to rise up suddenly in reversal. In severe cases, with vomiting of blood, both *qi* and blood are injured. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached below.

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Cross your hands and place them below your chin, pressing them against your chin as much as you can. This replenishes *qi*, and cures violent cough.'⁶¹³

To illustrate the kind of diseases *daoyin* is prescribed for in *Bingyuan*, the table below lists, in descending order of number of *daoyin* exercises, Wind

⁶¹² *Bingyuan*, j.24.12, pp. 701–2.

⁶¹³ *Bingyuan*, j.13.2, p. 394.

Disorder, containing the largest number of *daoyin* exercises, and the 30 disorder categories where *daoyin* instructions are given in their first *hou*:

No.	Name of <i>bing</i>	No. of <i>hou</i>	No. of <i>daoyin</i>	<i>Daoyin</i> in the 1 st <i>hou</i>
1.	Wind Disorder (<i>Feng bing</i> 風病)	59	65	
2.	Disorder of Deficiency Exhaustion (<i>Xulao bing</i> 虛勞病)	75	41	✓
3.	Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions (<i>Yaobei bing</i> 腰背病)	10	11	✓
4.	Disorder of Five <i>Zang</i> and Six <i>Fu</i> (<i>Wuzang liufu bing</i> 五臟六腑病)	13	11	✓
5.	Disorder of Abdominal Pain (<i>Futong bing</i> 腹痛病)	4	11	✓
6.	Cold and Hot Disorders (<i>Lengre bing</i> 冷熱病)	7	9	✓
7.	Disorder of Indigestion (<i>Sushi buxiao bing</i> 宿食不消病)	4	9	✓
8.	Disorder of Qi (<i>Qibing</i> 氣病)	25	8	✓
9.	Disorder of Aggregation and Accumulation (<i>Jiju bing</i> 積聚病)	6	7	✓
10.	Hair Disorder (<i>Maofa bing</i> 毛髮病)	13	7	✓
11.	Disorder of Throat, Heart and Chest (<i>Yanhou xinqiong bing</i> 咽喉心胸病)	11	7	✓
12.	Disorder of Leg-qi (<i>Qiaoji bing</i> 腳氣病)	8	5	✓
13.	Strangury Disorder (<i>Linbing</i> 淋病)	8	5	✓
14.	Nose Disorder (<i>Bi bing</i> 鼻病)	11	4	✓
15.	Haemorrhoid Disorder (<i>Zhi bing</i> 痔病)	6	4	✓
16.	Warm Disorder (<i>Wen bing</i> 溫病)	34	3	✓
17.	Disorder of Bowel Movements (<i>Dabian bing</i> 大便病)	5	3	✓
18.	Phlegm-rheum Disorder (<i>Tanyin bing</i> 痰飲病)	16	3	✓
19.	Disorder of <i>Gu</i> Poison (<i>Gudu bing</i> 蠱毒病)	36	3	✓
20.	Disorder of Dispersion-thirst (<i>Xiaoke bing</i> 消渴病)	8	2	✓

21.	Disorder of Cold-damage (<i>Shanghan bing</i> 傷寒病)	77	2	✓
22.	Epidemic Pestilential Disorder (<i>Yili bing</i> 疫癘病)	3	2	✓
23.	Disorder of Pain in the Heart Region (<i>Xinfu tong bing</i> 心腹痛病)	7	2	✓
24.	Disorder of Residence (<i>Zhubing</i> 注病)	34	2	✓
25.	Ear Disorder (<i>Er bing</i> 耳病)	9	2	✓
26.	Seasonal Disorder (<i>Shiqi bing</i> 時氣病)	43	1	✓
27.	Dysentery Disorder (<i>Libing</i> 痢病)	40	1	✓
28.	Disorder of Enscocned Lumps (<i>Bi bing</i> 癰病)	11	1	✓
29.	Disorder of Water Swelling (<i>Shuizhong bing</i> 水腫病)	22	1	✓
30.	Blood Disorder (<i>Xue bing</i> 血病)	9	1	✓
31.	Disorder of Lips and Mouth (<i>Chunkou bing</i> 唇口病)	17	1	✓

Table 4. 15 Wind disorder, and 30 disorders where *daoyin* instructions are given in the first disease entries

4.8 *Daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*

There are five principle types of exercise in *Bingyuan*: physical movement, breathing exercises, self-massage, visualisation and incantation, all of which will be discussed in detail. These exercises are often combined. There are also five main postures in which these *daoyin* exercises should be performed – standing, sitting, squatting, lying down and kneeling. Some exercises clearly indicate which posture should be used, others are less prescriptive, partly as a result of ‘copying and pasting’ from other texts. The chart below illustrates a variety of different Chinese terms for the postures found in *Bingyuan*:

Standing	Sitting	Squatting	Lying down	Kneeling
Stand (<i>li</i> 立)	Sit (<i>zuo</i> 坐, as in a Japanese style)	Squat (<i>ju</i> 踞)	Lie down (<i>wo</i> 臥)	Kneel on both knees (<i>pinggui</i> 平跪)
Stand upright (<i>lishen</i> 立身)	Sit straight (<i>zhengzuo</i> 正坐)	Squat (<i>dunju</i> 蹲踞)	Lie down straight (<i>zhengwo</i> 正臥)	Kneel with one knee up (<i>hugui</i> 互跪)
Stand straight (<i>pingsheng</i> 平身)	Sit straight (<i>duanzuo</i> 端坐)	Squat (<i>qiju</i> 踣踞)	Lie on your back (<i>yan</i> 偃)	Kneel with one knee up (<i>hugui</i> 胡跪)
Stand upright (<i>zhengli</i> 正立)	Sit on the ground with knees up (<i>juzuo</i> 踞坐)		Lie on your back (<i>yanwo</i> 偃臥)	Kneel with one leg and sit on it (<i>gui yizu, zuo shang</i> 跪一足, 坐上)
	Squat on the ground (<i>dunzuo</i> 蹲坐)		Lie straight on your back (<i>zheng yanwo</i> 正偃臥)	
	Sit on the ground (<i>zuodi</i> 坐地)		Lie on your back (<i>yangwo</i> 仰臥)	
	Sit with legs wide open (<i>qizuo</i> 踣坐)		Lie face down (<i>fu</i> 伏)	
	Sit on one leg (<i>zuo yizu shang</i> 坐一足上)		Lie on your stomach (<i>fuwo</i> 覆臥)	
	Sit with legs stretched (<i>shu liangzu zuo</i> 舒兩足坐)		Lie down on your side with your body bent (<i>quwo</i> 曲臥)	
	Sit on both heels (<i>zuo liangzu tougen</i> 坐兩足頭跟)		Lie on one side (<i>cewo</i> 側臥)	
	Sit with both legs crossed (<i>liangzu jiaozuo</i> 兩足交坐)		Lie on your right side (<i>you cewo</i> 右側臥)	
	Sit in a half lotus position (<i>pianjia</i> 偏跏)		Lie on your left side (<i>zuo cewo</i> 左側臥)	

Table 4. 16 Technical terms for postures in *Bingyuan*

Two unusual postures stand out in the table above - sitting in a half lotus position (*pianjia* 偏跏) and kneeling with one knee up (*hugui* 互跪) or (*hugui* 胡跪), neither of which were indigenous to China. Sitting in a half lotus position would have originated from the Buddhist tradition in India. The Chinese monk Daocheng 道誠, who compiled *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (Manual of Buddhist Practices), a lexicon of Buddhist terms in 1019, explains *hugui* 互跪 as,

天竺之儀也。謂左右兩膝互跪著地。故釋子皆右膝。若言胡跪。音訛也。

An Indian etiquette. It means kneeling with either the left or right knee to the ground. All Buddhist monks and nuns kneel with their right knees. When it is described as *hugui*, it is due to an incorrect pronunciation.⁶¹⁴

4.8.1 Physical movement

The majority of exercises in *Bingyuan* involve a physical movement of some kind. This is a fundamental aspect of *daoyin*. Over thirty technical terms can be found in *Bingyuan* for instructing movement, such as raising both shoulders (*ju* 舉兩髀), shaking the legs (*yao* 搖足), lengthening the lumbar (*shenyao* 伸腰), pushing the chin (*tuo* 拓頤), or turning the body to one side (*qishen* 敬身). The table below illustrates the plethora of terms relating to physical movement:

⁶¹⁴ *Shishi yaolan*, j.2, p. 278 in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, T54, No. 2127.

Technical Term	Examples
<i>An</i> 安 (to place)	屈一足，安膝下 bend one leg and place it under the knee of the other leg 叉手安頰下 Interlace your fingers and place them below your chin
<i>An</i> 按 (to press)	左手按右脅 Press your ribs on the right with your left hand 轉身按腰脊極勢 Turn your body and push your lumbar as much as possible
<i>Bao</i> 抱 (to embrace)	兩手抱足 Hold your feet with both hands 兩手抱膝三里 Hold the <i>Sanli</i> point on the knee with both hands
<i>Cheng</i> 承 (to hold, to carry)	以右手承右脅 Support your right side with your right hand 兩手承轆轤倒懸 Hang upside down with both hands holding a well-pulley
<i>Chi</i> 持 (to hold, to support)	右手持腰 Support your lumbar with your right hand 左手持鼻 Hold your nose with your left hand
<i>Dong</i> 動 (to move)	動膝節 Move the joints of your knees 腰不動 Keep your lumbar still
<i>He</i> 合 (to join)	合兩膝 Bring both knees together 手掌合地 Palms against the ground
<i>Jian</i> 踐 (to tread)	以左足踐右足上 Press your left foot on your right foot
<i>Ju</i> 舉 (to raise)	舉右手 Raise your right hand 舉兩髀 Raise both shoulders
<i>Lou</i> 摟 (to hold, to embrace)	摟肘使急 Hold your elbows tightly together 膝頭摟席使急 Keep the knee firmly against the mat
<i>Mo</i> 摩 (to rub, to massage)	以手摩面目 Massage your face and eyes with your hands 以兩手相摩令熱 Rub both hands together to make them hot
<i>Na</i> 捺 (to press down firmly)	捺搖二七 Press and shake twice seven times 一手捺上膝向下 One hand presses down firmly upon your knee
<i>Nie</i> 捻 (to pinch)	手捻鼻兩孔 Pinch both nostrils with your fingers
<i>Nuo</i> 搦 (to grasp, to take hold of)	雙手搦腰 Take hold of your waist with both hands 一手搦解谿 Grasp the <i>jiexi</i> point (ST.41) with your hand
<i>Pa</i> 扒 (to spread outwards)	身外扒 Stretch your body outwards 兩足指向外扒 Spread both sets of toes outwards
<i>Qi</i> 欹 (to move to one side)	欹身 Lean your body to one side 手兩向共頭欹側 Move both hands and head to one side
<i>Qu</i> 屈 (to bend)	屈一足 Bend one of your legs 屈大拇指 Bend your thumb
<i>Shen</i> 伸 (to stretch)	伸腰 Lengthen your lumbar 伸臂脛 Lengthen your arms and legs

<i>Shu</i> 舒 (to stretch)	舒手傍肋 Stretch your arms and put them by your ribs 緩舒兩腳 Gently stretch out both legs
<i>Ta</i> 蹋/踏 (To press, to stand)	足蹋手 Press your foot on to your hands 兩足相踏 Face the soles of your feet towards each other
<i>Tuo</i> 拓 (to push)	拓席 Press your hand against the mat 一手拓前 Push one arm out in front
<i>Wan</i> 挽 (to hold)	挽兩耳 Take hold of both ears 兩手挽繩 Hold the rope with both hands
<i>Wo</i> 握 (to hold)	握固 Hold each thumb with four fingers 急手握足五指 Hold all five toes tightly
<i>Ya</i> 壓 (to press)	屈右膝內壓之 Bend your right knee and press it inwards 患左壓右足 For problems on the left, press right leg
<i>Yan</i> 仰 (to raise the face)	仰天 Face to the sky 兩肘頭仰上極勢 Raise your elbows as much as you can
<i>Yao</i> 搖 (to shake)	搖足三十 Shake your legs thirty times 左右手搖臂 Shake both left and right arms
<i>Yin</i> 引 (to pull)	引鬚髮 Pull the hair on your temples 引脾中熱氣出 Pull the hot <i>qi</i> out from the spleen
<i>Zhan</i> 展 (to stretch)	展兩脛 Stretch both calves 展兩肘頭相向 Stretch both your elbows so that they face each other
<i>Zhang</i> 張 (to open, to expand)	大張口 Open your mouth wide 張吸其腹 Expand your abdomen by inhaling
<i>Zhen</i> 振 (to shake)	振兩臀 Shake the buttocks 振腹自極 Shake your abdomen as much as you can
<i>Zhuan</i> 轉 (to turn)	轉腰 Turn your waist 轉身二七 Turn your body twice seven times
<i>Zhuo</i> 捉 (to grasp, to hold)	一手捉頰 Hold your chin with one hand 捉足五指 Take hold of your five toes

Table 4. 17 Technical terms for physical movement in *Bingyuan*, with examples

Terms such as *wei* 微 (gently), *huan* 緩 (slowly) *Ji* 急 (quickly or firmly), *nu* 努 (vigorously) and *jishi* 極勢 (extreme posture, i.e. extending the posture as much as possible) are used to describe the intensity of the movement; others such as *shang* 上 (up), *xia* 下 (down), *qian* 前 (front), *hou* 後 (back), *zuo* 左 (left), *you* 右 (right), *sifang* 四方 (four directions) indicate direction.

Many of the movements are simple and easy to perform, while others require a certain level of flexibility. Some are particularly challenging. For example,

腳著項上，不息十二通。

Bring one leg to your neck; hold your breath. Do this twelve times.

舉兩膝，夾兩頰邊，兩手據地蹲坐。

Raise both knees and press them against the sides of your cheeks.
Press your hands against the ground, while squatting.

兩手向後，倒挽兩足，極勢。頭仰，足指向外努之，緩急來去七

Put both of your hands behind and hold both your feet upside down as much as possible. Raise your head and with effort, turn your toes outwards; move back and forth slowly and then quickly seven times.

坐地，交叉兩腳，以兩手從曲腳中入，低頭，叉手項上。

Sit on the ground, legs crossed. Tuck your arms in your bent legs.
Lower your head, interlace your fingers and put them on your neck.

One unusual instruction recommends suspending oneself in mid-air:

以兩手承輓轆倒懸，令腳反在其上元。愈頭眩風癩。

Hang upside down with both hands holding a well-pulley, your feet uppermost. This cures dizziness and madness induced by wind.

This exercise is reminiscent of a practice performed by some of the *fangshi* at Cao Cao's court, such as Gan Shi 甘始, Dongguo Yannian 東郭延年 and Feng Junda 封君達 who, keen to preserve their seminal *qi*, would drink urine and hang themselves upside down.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ See chapter 2.3.2 The *Fangshi*.

Some *daoyin* exercises are solely physical. For example,

以左足踐右足上。除心下積。

Press your left foot on your right foot. This gets rid of accumulations below the heart.

The most common exercises in *Bingyuan*, however, are a combination of physical movement and breathing exercise. For example,

大蹠坐，以兩手捉足五指，自極，低頭不息九通。治頸、脊、腰、腳痛，勞疾。

Sit with legs wide open, and using both hands, take hold of your five toes as much as possible. Lower your head and hold your breath. Do this nine times. This cures pains in the neck, spine, lumbar and legs, as well as disorder resulting from over-exertion.

Physical movement is also combined with self-massage, visualisation or incantation. In the following example we see physical movement combined with specific breathing techniques and self-massage in a single exercise:

以手摩腹，從足至頭，正臥，蹠臂導引，以手持引足住，任臂，閉氣不息十二通，以治痺濕不可任，腰脊痛。

Massage your abdomen with your hands. Lie straight, stretched out from feet to head; curl your arms for 'guiding and pulling', and pull your feet with your hands. Hold for a while. Relax your arms, and hold the *qi* without breathing. Repeat twelve times. This cures *bi-damp*, an inability to move freely and pain in your lower back.

4.8.2 Breathing Exercises

Various terms have traditionally been associated with breathing exercises such as *tuna* 吐納 (exhalation and inhalation), *xingxi* 行氣 (moving *qi*), *shiqi* 食

氣 (eating *qi*), *fuqi* 服氣 (Ingesting *qi*), *taixi* 胎息 (embryonic breathing) and *biqi* (閉氣 Holding *qi*). In *Bingyuan*, *daoyin* often utilises specific breathing techniques. The word *xi* 息, in most cases, meaning ‘to breathe’, appears at least 140 times in the *daoyin* sections. Often, a numerical number is used in front of *xi* 息; thus *yixi* 一息 is one breath and *qixi* 七息 is seven breaths. Alternatively, a negative word, *bu* 不, is used in front of *xi*, meaning not to breathe. The term *buxi* 不息 appears 49 times. An alternative term, *biqi* 閉氣 (holding the breath) is used 11 times. A simple exercise of ‘holding the breath’ is supposed to cure headache:

欲治頭痛，偃臥閉氣，令鼻極乃息，汗出乃止。

If you want to cure headache, lie on your back and hold your *qi*, drawing as much as possible into your nose; then breathe. Stop after you begin to sweat.

Other terms such as ‘inhale through the mouth’ (*kounaqi* 口內氣), ‘inhale through the nose’ (*binaqi* 鼻內氣), ‘exhale from the mouth’ (*tuqi* 吐氣) or ‘exhale from the nose’ (*bichuqi* 鼻出氣) appear frequently. It is also common to ‘pull the *qi*’ (*yinqi* 引氣) with your nose or to ‘swallow the *qi*’ (*yanqi* 咽氣) as if swallowing saliva.

The term *xingqi* 行氣 (moving *qi*), a breathing exercise recorded as early as the Warring States period, is used in *Bingyuan* to describe six breathing techniques associated with different animals – snake, toad, tortoise, wild duck, wild goose and dragon:

1. 蛇行氣，曲臥，以正身復起，踞，閉目隨氣所在，不息。少食裁通腸，服氣為食，以舐為漿，春出冬藏，不財不養。以治五勞七傷。

The moving *qi* of a snake: lie down on your side with your body bent; then straighten your body and sit up. Sit with your knees up and eyes closed; follow your *qi* wherever it goes while holding your breath. Eat less to keep your intestines clear. Ingest *qi* as food and lick [your lips and teeth] to make fluid. In spring, go out; in winter, hide away. Do not seek fortune and pampering. This will cure the five exhaustions and the seven damages.

2. 蝦蟇行氣，正坐，動搖兩臂，不息十二通。以治五勞、水腫之病。

The moving *qi* of a toad: sit up straight, shaking both arms while holding your breath. Do this twelve times. This cures the five exhaustions and illnesses of water-swelling.

3. 龜行氣，伏衣被中，覆口鼻頭面，正臥，不息九通，微鼻出氣。治閉塞不通。

The moving *qi* of a tortoise: Cover your mouth, nose and face with your bedding. Lie straight and hold your breath. Do this nine times, exhaling *qi* gently through your nose. It cures blockages and constipation.

4. 鶩行氣，低頭倚壁，不息十二通，以意排之，痰飲宿食從下部出，自愈。

Again, it says, 'Moving *qi* of a wild duck: Draw your head down towards your shoulders. Hold your breath twelve times. Use your intention to discharge accumulated food and drink, getting them out, and expelling them from below. You will automatically be cured.

5. 雁行氣，低臂推膝踞，以繩自縛拘左，低頭倚臂，不息十二通。

The moving *qi* of a wild goose: Lowering your arms, push them against your knees while squatting. Tie your left arm with a rope, lower your head, drawing it down towards your shoulders. Hold your breath twelve times.

6. 龍行氣，低頭下視，不息十二通。愈風疥、惡瘡，熱不能入咽。

The moving *qi* of a dragon: Lower your head and look down. Hold your breath twelve times. This cures wind-induced scabies and malign sores, and prevents heat from entering the throat.

In these animal-related breathing exercises which differ considerably from those found in *Yinshu* or in Hua Tuo's five animals' frolics,⁶¹⁶ the word 'tong 通' is often used to indicate how many times a certain exercise should be repeated, and appears in five of the above exercises. The aim is to 'fill the whole body with *qi*' (*Ling ci shennang zhizhong man qiqi* 令此身囊之中滿其氣).

Another distinctive set of breathing exercises combines exhalation with the uttering of six different sounds – *he* 呵, *hu* 呼, *chui* 吹, *xi* 嘻, *xu* 噓 and *si* 呬.

These exercises are used for treating diseases relating to the five organs - the liver, the heart, the spleen, the lungs and the kidneys:

肝臟病者，愁憂不樂，悲思嗔怒，頭旋眼痛，呵氣出而愈。

Those who suffer from liver disease feel worried, sad and unhappy. They have anxious thoughts, or get annoyed and angry. They feel dizzy and have pain in their eyes. Exhale *qi* while making a 'he' sound; the symptoms will be cured.

心臟病者，體有冷熱。若冷，呼氣出；若熱，吹氣出。

Those who suffer from heart disease experience their bodies as cold or hot. If you feel cold, exhale *qi* while making a 'hu' sound; if you feel hot, exhale *qi* while making a 'chui' sound.

⁶¹⁶ See Shumin Wang and Penelope Barrett, 'Profile of a Daoyin Tradition: the 'five Animal Mimes'', *Asian Medicine*, 2.2 (2006), 225–53.

脾臟病者，體面上游風習習，痛，身體癢，煩悶疼痛，用嘻氣出。

Those who suffer from spleen disease have pain and sensations of wind passing over the surface of their flesh. They feel vexed and oppressed, and itchy with aches and pains. Exhale *qi* while making a ‘x’ sound.

肺臟病者，體胸背痛滿，四肢煩悶，用噓氣出。

Those who suffer from lung disease have a lot of pain in their chest and back, and a feeling of discomfort and compression in their four limbs. Exhale *qi* while making a ‘xu’ sound.

腎臟病者，咽喉窒塞，腹滿耳聾，用呬氣出。

Those who suffer from kidney disease have blocked and obstructed throats, bloated abdomens, and deafness in their ears. Exhale *qi* while making a ‘si’ sound.

These particular breathing techniques appear in slightly differing forms in many medical and Daoist texts of the Sui and Tang periods. The table below provides examples of some of the variants:

Texts	Liver (<i>gan</i> 肝)	Heart (<i>xin</i> 心)	Spleen (<i>pi</i> 脾)	Lung (<i>fei</i> 肺)	Kidney (<i>shen</i> 腎)	Triple heater (<i>sanjiao</i> 三焦)
<i>Bingyuan</i> 病源	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼 <i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>si</i> 呬	
<i>Qianjin yaofang</i> 千金要方	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼 <i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 唏	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>si</i> 呬	
<i>Yangxing yanming lu</i> 養性延命錄	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼 <i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 唏	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>si</i> 呬	
<i>Taiqing daolin shesheng lun</i> 太清道林攝生論	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>hu</i> 呼 <i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>si</i> 呬	
<i>Shichan boluoming cidifamen</i> 釋禪波羅	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>hu</i> 呼 <i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>si</i> 呬	

蜜次第法門						
<i>Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing</i> 太清導引養生經	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼	<i>si</i> 呬	<i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻
<i>Taiqing tiaopi jing</i> 太清調氣經	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼	<i>si</i> 呬	<i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻
<i>Taishang laojun yangsheng jue</i> 太上老君養生訣	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼	<i>si</i> 呬	<i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻
<i>Songshan Taiwu xiansheng fuqi fa</i> 嵩山太無先生服氣法	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼	<i>si</i> 呬	<i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻
<i>Huanzhen xiansheng funa yuanqi jue</i> 幻真先生服內元氣訣	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼	<i>si</i> 呬	<i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻
<i>Xiuxi zhiguan fayao</i> 修習止觀法要	<i>xu</i> 噓	<i>he</i> 呵	<i>hu</i> 呼	<i>si</i> 呬	<i>chui</i> 吹	<i>xi</i> 嘻

Table 4. 18 Variations of Six Breathing Exercises in different texts of the Sui and Tang periods

4.8.3 Self-massage

Self-massage, where the whole body, or different parts of the body, are massaged, forms an important part of *daoyin* practice in *Bingyuan*. The chart below illustrates some of these self-massage techniques:

No.	Self-massage technique	Examples
1	Massaging the abdomen	兩手相摩，令熱，以摩腹，令氣下。 Rub your hands together, making them hot, and massage your abdomen. This causes <i>qi</i> to go down.
2	Massaging around the navel	若腹內有氣脹，先須暖足，摩臍上下并氣海，不限遍數，多為佳。 If your abdomen is bloated with <i>qi</i> , first warm your feet and then massage your navel above and below including the <i>qihai</i> point (RN6). There is no limit as to how many times you do this; the more the better.
3	Pinching the sides of the torso	偃臥，直兩手，捻左右脅。除大便難、腹痛、腹中寒。 Lie on your back with your arms straight. Then pinch your left and right sides. This gets rid of difficulties

		with bowel movement, abdominal pain and cold in the abdomen.
4	Massaging the eyes	咽二七唾之，以熱指摩目二七，令人目不暝。 Swallow the saliva twice seven times, and rubbing your fingers together with your saliva to make them hot, massage your eyes. This prevents poor eyesight.
5	Massaging the face	摩手掌令熱，以摩面從上下二七止。去疝氣，令面有光。 Rub your palms to make them hot and use them to massage your face from top to bottom fourteen times; then stop. This gets rid of <i>gan-qi</i> and makes your face shine.
6	Massaging the whole body	摩手令熱，摩身體從上至下名曰乾浴。令人勝風寒時氣，寒熱頭痛，百病皆愈。 Rub your hands to make them hot and massage your body from top to bottom. This is called dry shower. It helps you overcome wind cold of seasonal <i>qi</i> , and headache associated with cold-fever, and the hundred diseases will all be cured.

Table 4. 19 Self-massage techniques in *Bingyuan* with examples

Self-massage techniques are applied mostly in cases of Wind Disorder, Disorder of Deficiency-exhaustion, Disorder of Abdominal Pain, Disorder of Bowel Movements, Disorder of *Gu*-poisons, Seasonal Disorder and Eye Disorder, and are sometimes combined with other techniques, such as breathing exercises, visualisation and incantation.

4.8.4 Visualisation

There are a variety of visualisation techniques in *Bingyuan*, indicated by different technical terms such as,

1. *xiang* 想 (to imagine, to think)
2. *nie* 念 (literally means to recite, but it could also mean to concentrate)
3. *si* 思 (literally means to think or to concentrate; it could also refer to a kind of visualisation or meditation)
4. *cun* 存 (literally means to be, to be present or to exist; it could also

mean to visualise or to actualise)

5. *neishi* 內視 (to look inside)

6. *cunshi* 存視 (to visualise and to look)

7. *cunnian* 存念 (to actualise, to visualise)

The chart below illustrates, with examples, visualisation techniques found in

Bingyuan:

No.	Technical Term	Examples
1	<i>xiang</i> 想	瞑心，從頭上引氣，想以達足之十趾及足掌心，可三七引，候掌心似受氣止。 Quieten your mind. Pull your <i>qi</i> from your head, imagining it reaching your ten toes and the soles of your feet. Pull it thrice seven times until the soles of your feet seem to have received the <i>qi</i> .
2	<i>nie</i> 念	每引氣，心心念送之，從腳趾頭使氣出。 Every time you pull <i>qi</i> , concentrate your mind and heart, and send the <i>qi</i> out through your toes.
3	<i>si</i> 思	從膝以下有病，當思齊下有赤光，內外連沒身也；從膝以上至腰有病，當思脾黃光；從腰以上至頭有病，當思心內赤光；病在皮膚寒熱者，當思肝內青綠光。皆當思其光，內外連而沒己身，閉氣，收光以照之。 If you have an illness below your knees, visualise a red light below your navel connecting the inner and the outer so that the body seems to have disappeared altogether. If you have an illness between your knees and your waist, visualise a yellow light in your spleen. If you have an illness between your waist and your head, visualise a red light in your heart. If the illness makes your skin cold or hot, visualise a green light in your liver. Visualise these lights as connecting inner and outer so that the body seems to have disappeared altogether. Hold your <i>qi</i> , gathering the lights to illuminate the organs.
4	<i>cun</i> 存	當存作大雷電，隆晃走入腹中，為之不止，病自除。 Visualise tremendous thunder and lightning, booming and roaring, entering your abdomen. If you continue without a break, the disease will remove itself.
5	<i>neishi</i> 內視	治百病邪蠱，當正偃臥，閉目閉氣，內視丹田，以鼻徐徐內氣，令腹極滿，徐徐以口吐之，勿令有聲，令入多出少，以微為之。 For curing a hundred diseases, evil ghosts, venoms and poisons, you should lie on your back. Close your eyes

		and hold your <i>qi</i> , looking inside to your <i>dantian</i> (cinnabar field). Inhale <i>qi</i> slowly through your nose and completely fill your abdomen; then, slowly exhale the <i>qi</i> through your mouth. Making no sound, ensure more <i>qi</i> comes in than goes out. Do it little by little.
6	<i>cunshi</i> 存視	存視五臟，各如其形色，又存胃中，令鮮明潔白如素。為之倦極，汗出乃止，以粉粉身，摩捋形體。汗不出而倦者，亦可止。 Visualise the five <i>zang</i> , each with its own shape and colour. Then visualise your stomach as being bright, clear, pure and white like silk. Do this until you are exhausted; stop when you begin to sweat. Then, having dusted your body with powder, massage and rub it in. You can stop when tired even if you are not yet sweating.
7	<i>cunnian</i> 存念	存念心氣赤，肝氣青，肺氣白，脾氣黃，腎氣黑，出周其身，又兼辟邪鬼。 Visualise your heart <i>qi</i> as red, your liver <i>qi</i> as green, your lung <i>qi</i> as white, your spleen <i>qi</i> as yellow and your kidney <i>qi</i> as black. They emerge, circulating in the body. This can also prevent deviant ghosts.

Table 4. 20 Technical terms for visualisation techniques in *Bingyuan* with examples

Many of the visualisation techniques can also be found in Daoist texts, and could have been part of Daoist religious practice. For example, two Daoist deities are invoked to cure a sudden pain in the left ribs:⁶¹⁷

念肝為青龍，左目中魂神，將五營兵千乘萬騎、從甲寅直符吏，入左脇下取病去。

Visualise your liver as a green dragon; your *hun* spirit in the left eye commands soldiers of five camps, thousands and ten thousands of them riding with chariots, led by the officers of *jiayin* (one of the *yang* spirit) and *zhifu* (spirit of the six *yin*), enter below the left ribs and take away the disorder.

⁶¹⁷ Ding Guangdi explains that the Daoists use incantation and talisman to invite *jiayin*, one of the six *yang* gods, who is capable of getting rid of ghosts. Similarly, *zhifu* is one of the six *yin* gods. Ding, *Zhubing yuanhou lun jiaozhu*, p. 154.

This is an example of the medicalisation of a 'religious' *daoyin* exercise, appropriated by the Sui government to be used as a medical treatment.

4.8.5 Incantation

Three incantation techniques can be found in *Bingyuan*. The following, for blurred vision, is combined with a self-massage technique:

雞鳴欲起，先屈左手噉鹽指，以指相摩，呪曰：“西王母女，名曰益愈，賜我目，受之於口。”即精摩形。常雞鳴二七著唾，除目茫茫，致其精光，徹視萬里，遍見四方。

... first bend your left index finger and rub it against the other index finger, making this incantation, 'Queen Mother of the West whose name is *yiyu* (beneficial and recovery), grant me eyes. I receive you in my mouth.' Thus the essence massages the body. Whenever the cock crows, rub your eyes with saliva twice seven times. This gets rid of blurred vision; your eyes will bring forth the light of your spirit so that you will be able to see ten thousands of miles and in all four directions.

Another incantation, for 'Symptoms of Warm Diseases', is to be performed in silence:

常以雞鳴時，存心念四海神名三遍，辟百邪止鬼，令人不病。東海神名阿明 南海神名祝融 西海神名巨乘 北海神名禺強。

Regularly, when the cock crows, visualise and recite in your heart the names of the spirits of the four seas three times. It will avoid a hundred deviants and ward off ghosts, and will prevent people becoming ill. The name of the spirit of the eastern sea is *A Ming*; the name of the spirit of the southern sea is *Zhu Rong*; the name of the spirit of the western sea is *Ju Chen*; the name of the spirit of the northern sea is *Yu Qiang*.

The third incantation appears in three disease entries: 'Symptom of White

Hair’, ‘Symptoms of falling hair and beard, and baldness’ and ‘Symptom of toothache’. According to the different sources consulted by *Bingyuan’s* compilers, the same incantation could cure a variety of physical complaints.

In ‘Symptom of White Hair’, a variant from a different text is mentioned:

常向本命日，櫛髮之始，叩齒九通，陰咒曰：太帝散靈，五老返真，泥丸玄華，保精長存。左拘隱月，右引日根；六合清煉，百神受恩。咒畢，咽唾三過。常數行之，使人齒不痛，髮牢不白。一云頭腦不痛。

On your birthday, start [the day] by combing your hair. Clack your teeth together and quietly make an incantation, saying ‘O Great Thearch of *Sanlin* (Scattered Souls), five elders of *Fangzhen* (Returning Truth). May the muddy pellet, and *Xuanhua* (the spirit of hair), protect and preserve the long-lasting essence. Seize the hidden moon on the left, and pull the root of the Sun on the right. Cleanse and refine the six harmonies. May the hundred gods bestow mercy’. When you have finished the incantation, swallow your saliva three times. If you then practise this regularly, you will have no toothache, your hair will be strong, and it will not go white. One version says: there will be no headache.

In ‘Symptoms of falling hair and beard, and baldness’, the same incantation is given but with a slightly different objective:

。 。 。能常行之，髮不落而生。

If you practise this regularly, your hair will not fall out, but will grow.

Interestingly, after the incantation, the compilers quote another remedy for falling hair, that can be carried out with the assistance of a servant:

當數易櫛，櫛之取多，不得使痛。亦可令待者櫛。取多，血液不滯，髮根常牢。

You should change your comb frequently and comb your hair as many times as possible without causing pain. You can also ask the servants to comb your hair as often as possible. The blood will not become

stagnant and the roots of your hair will always be firm.

The luxury of having servants comb your hair conjures up an image of literate elites from genteel families who were able to pay attention to their health and physical well-being. We can imagine them performing these incantations, invoking heavenly deities such as Queen Mother of the West, in order to cure sickness and extend their lifespan.

Incantations of Daoist deities, such as the Queen Mother of the West, bear witness to the appropriation of religious practices by the state into the Sui's official medical system.

4.9 Comparison of *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan* with those in *Yinshu* and *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*

Daoyin exercises in *Yinshu* 引書, an excavated medical manuscript from the Han period, and in *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經, a Daoist text likely to have been compiled after *Bingyuan* during the Tang period, will now be examined and compared with the *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*. The comparison between *Yinshu* and *Bingyuan* offers an opportunity to see how some of these exercises were transmitted and preserved between the Han and Sui periods. Comparing *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* and *Bingyuan*, on the other hand, demonstrates how many *daoyin* exercises were appropriated by Daoists, thus creating an overlapping and shared knowledge base, which was adopted and adapted for different purposes. Robert Campany's 'repertoires of resources' and Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities'

help us to see how *daoyin* circulated among different groups of people.

4.9.1 *Yinshu* 引書 (The Book of Pulling)

Written on bamboo slips, *Yinshu* was buried, among other mortuary texts, in a tomb in Hubei around 186 BCE. This excavated manuscript is the earliest known systematised description of therapeutic exercise in China and possibly anywhere in the world, offering a comprehensive step-by-step guide to *daoyin* for the educated Han social elite. One of the three main sections of the text contains 41 sets of exercises, of which 37 are perfectly preserved.⁶¹⁸ This section can be further divided into two parts. The first part, headed by black dots on the slips, describes and names different exercises. For example:

- 舉脢交股更上更下三十曰交股 ● 伸脢屈指三十曰尺蠖

Raise the lower leg to cross the thigh, alternately raise and lower again thirty times. This is called 'Crossing the Thigh'. Extend the lower leg curling the toes thirty times. This is called the Inch Worm.

- 以足摩脢陰陽各三十而更 ● 正伸兩足三十曰引陽筋

Massage the lower leg with the foot, thirty times on the Yin aspect and thirty times on the Yang aspect, alternating. Extend the two feet out straight thirty times. This is called 'Pulling the Yang Muscles'.

The second part provides *daoyin* exercises for individual illnesses; for example:

- 引內瘴危坐□尻左手撫項右手撫左手上扼（？）俯極因徐縱而精响之端仰而已定又復之五而.....左右皆十而已

Pulling inner exhaustion. Sit tall (on the haunches), X the buttocks, with

⁶¹⁸ Lo, *How to do the Gibbon Walk*, Introduction to the Translation.

the left hand stroke the neck, with the right hand stroking the left hand, raise (the yoke). Bend forward as far as possible, then slow down, loosen up and concentrate exclusively on exhaling warm breath. Straighten up, raise the head and stop. Settle down, then repeat five times. $\Delta\Delta\Delta$ to the left and the right. Do it altogether ten times and stop.⁶¹⁹

Being part of the burial goods, this text was essentially for the use of the dead. Lo notes that,

... the symptoms, although roughly grouped as ailments of the ankle or back, are randomly ordered and do not follow the neat head to toe format we have seen in other Chu texts. And unlike the *Wushier bingfang* which we saw provided contents' lists matching signs of illness to specific sets of remedies, *Yinshu* lacks an effective searching device.⁶²⁰

This lack of a searching device makes the text hard to use as a manual at a moment of need. There is no easy way to locate a particular illness, nor to apply the recommended exercise. However, the *daoyin* exercises in *Yinshu* would have been conceived by those with a certain level of expertise.

The practice of clacking teeth, often associated with later Daoist practice, is advocated in *Yinshu* for the prevention of tooth decay:

黨以涿齒，令人不齩。其齩也，益涿之。

On waking, clack your teeth to prevent tooth decay; if there is tooth

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 38–40.

⁶²⁰ Vivienne Lo, 'On the nature and purpose of Early Chinese medical writing: a study of the structure of Zhangjiashan 張家山 Yinshu 引書', in *The Medical View of Chinese History*, ed. by J. Li, (Lianjing Press: Academica Sinica, 2008), pp. 29–43 (p. 40).

decay, clack your teeth even more.

In *Bingyuan*, clacking teeth is also recommended for toothache:

東向坐，不息四通，上下琢齒三十六下。治齒痛。

Sit facing east, hold your breath four times, and clack together your teeth, up and down, thirty-six times. This cures toothache.

This technique, appropriated by Daoists, later became a method of expelling ghosts, and as such, it also appears in *Bingyuan*:

《養生方》云：《上清真人訣》曰：夜行常琢齒，殺鬼邪。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'The Formula of the Perfected of the Great Clarity says, 'When walking in the night, always clack your teeth together. This kills ghost deviants'.

An exercise for 'Pulling Pain in the Eye', instructed in *Yinshu*, is to 'rub the two hands together until the fingers are hot, and press on both eyes, stopping after ten times.'⁶²¹ This closely resembles the recommendation, for curing 'Poor Vision' in *Bingyuan*, i.e. 'rub both hands together to make them hot, and press them against your eyes. Do this three times.'⁶²²

Yinshu instructs those suffering from back pain to 'lean forwards and backwards with the feet apart, touching the hands to the floor. Stop after ten times.'⁶²³ *Bingyuan*'s similar strategy for 'Symptoms of Lumbar Pain, Inability to Bend Forwards or Backwards', is to 'stretch out both legs, grab your toes, five on each foot, with both hands. Do this seven times.'⁶²⁴

⁶²¹ *Yinshu*, strip no.91; Lo, *How to do the Gibbon Walk*, p. 98.

⁶²² *Bingyuan*, j.28.12, p. 785.

⁶²³ *Yinshu*, strip no.50; Lo, p. 60.

⁶²⁴ *Bingyuan*, j.5.2, p. 149.

For throat-*bi* (blockage), *Yinshu* suggests one should ‘stroke the chest, lift the chin, enclosing the top teeth within the bottom, vigorously look up three times and stop.’⁶²⁵ *Bingyuan* advises one to ‘hold the chin, pull it out and extend the posture to its limit for a while, twice seven times’, for Symptoms of Throat-*bi*.⁶²⁶

From these examples, we can surmise that some of the *daoyin* exercises were passed down from the Han to the Sui. Adopted and adapted by different authors and compilers, they eventually found their way into the state-sponsored medical text of the Sui court.

4.9.2 *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* 太清導引養生經 (Great Clarity Scripture on Therapeutic Exercises and Nourishing Life)

Of all the *daoyin*-related texts in the Daoist Canon and other Daoist compendiums, *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* has the most comprehensive collection of *daoyin* exercises, most of which can be dated to before the Sui dynasty.⁶²⁷ As Despeux suggests, the text is most likely to have been a Tang compilation summarising and organising various earlier *daoyin* texts.⁶²⁸ Ding Guangdi organises the text into the following ten sections:

1. The *daoyin* method of Master Redpine (*Chisong zi daoyin fa* 赤松子導引法)

⁶²⁵ *Yinshu*, strip no.83; Lo, p. 94.

⁶²⁶ *Bingyuan*, j.30.1, p. 843.

⁶²⁷ Despeux, *Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition*, pp. 230–1; the full translation of *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* can be found in Appendix 4.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*

2. The *daoyin* and *yangsheng* method of Master Ning (*Ning xiansheng daoyin yangsheng fa* 寧先生導引養生法)
3. The lying down and pulling method of *Pengzu*, the ancient transcendence (*Pengzu guxian woyin fa* 彭祖穀仙臥引法)
4. The *daoyin* method of the Eight Spirits of Wang Ziqiao (*Wang Ziqiao bashen daoyin fa* 王子喬八神導引法)
5. The *daoyin* chart of Wang Qiao (*Wang Qiao Daoyin tu* 王喬導引圖)
6. Pengzu's *daoyin* chart (*Pengzu Daoyin tu* 彭祖導引圖)
7. Formula for cleansing the *qi* (*Taoqi jue* 淘氣訣) and Secret formula for swallowing *qi* (*Yanqi jue* 咽氣訣)
8. *Daoyin*, ingesting *qi* and contemplation (*Daoyin fuqi cunsi* 導引服氣存思)
9. Variations of *daoyin* exercises in different texts (*Daoyin geshu yitong shi* 導引各書異同事)
10. Master Redpine's method of sitting and pulling (*Chisongzi zuoyin fa* 赤松子坐引法)

In *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, various sets of *daoyin* exercises are named after legendary figures of antiquity such as Master Redpine, Master Ning, Wang Ziqiao and Pengzu. Despeux suggests the possibility that a number of different schools existed within the broader tradition of *daoyin*.⁶²⁹ In *Bingyuan*, only Master Redpine of the ancient adepts is mentioned.⁶³⁰ One of two quotations from Master Redpine in *Bingyuan* can be found in the section 'The *Daoyin* Method of the Eight Spirits of Wang Ziqiao' illustrating the fact that different source materials were consulted by the compilers of the two texts.

⁶²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 230.

⁶³⁰ *Bingyuan*, j.1.21, p. 28 and j.5.1, p. 156.

According to Ding's calculations, 34 out of 55 *daoyin* exercises from 'The *Daoyin* and *Yangsheng* Method of Master Ning' section can be found in *Bingyuan*.⁶³¹ Similarly, 8 out of 10 from 'The Lying Down and Pulling Method of *Pengzu*', 27 out of 34 from 'The *Daoyin* Method of the Eight Spirits of Wang Ziqiao', 6 out of 27 from '*Daoyin*, Ingesting *Qi* and Contemplation' and 9 out of 19 from the 'Variations of *Daoyin* Exercises in Different Texts' section can all be identified in *Bingyuan*. Thus, as many as 84 *daoyin* exercises are common to both texts. Out of over 200 different *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*, about 40%, therefore, are identical to those found in *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*.⁶³²

Although many *daoyin* exercises can be found in both *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing* and *Bingyuan*, it is most likely that the compilers of these two texts extracted material from other sources, editing and reorganising it to suit their own purposes. The aims and objectives of *daoyin* within a Daoist text would have differed considerably from those found within this new-style medical text, despite the identical nature of the exercises. In *Bingyuan*, in particular, all *daoyin* exercises would have gone through a further reconfiguration in order to match the new classification scheme of diseases, making it hard to get a sense of the original source material. The format of *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*, on the other hand, would have been much closer to the original source material.

⁶³¹ Ding Guangdi, *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing/Yangxing yanming lu* 太清导引养生经/养性延命录 (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1993), preface.

⁶³² Ding Guangdi identifies 214 different *daoyin* exercises in *Bingyuan*. Ding, *Zhubing yuanhou lun yangshengfang daoyinfa yanjiu*, p. 2.

4.10 Conclusion

One of the most extraordinary features of *Bingyuan* is its rich collection of *daoyin* exercises, systematically re-organised according to newly-devised disease categories. The text offers not only a unique perspective on the range and diversity of therapeutic exercise in 6th and 7th century China, but also reveals the kind of exercises ‘selected’ by the imperial officials of the Sui court and grouped together by them under the title of ‘*Yangsheng* Recipes and *Daoyin* Methods’. A new medicalisation of *daoyin* took place during the process of compiling this nosological text, which was completed under Yangdi’s decree at a time when a large number of *daoyin* practitioners was employed at the Sui court, including 20 *Anmo* Erudites and 120 *Anmo* Masters at the Imperial Medical Academy. The inclusion of therapeutic exercise in this official medical text created a more standardised and formalised medium for transmitting the knowledge of *daoyin*. This would have facilitated its teaching at the *anmo* department, where a standardised textbook was necessary. At the same time, the schematic use of *daoyin* applied to disorder categories increased its accessibility to doctors, enabling them to prescribe the exercises in a more professional setting and with greater authority. With a standardised *yangsheng* and *daoyin* textbook, and plenty of *daoyin* experts at the Sui court, it would seem that Yangdi was ready to extend his radical medical reform to the local commanderies. Had this happened, it would have had a profound impact on the development of Chinese medicine. However, the dynasty was already beginning to decline. Against a backdrop of social and economic strain and a decrease in population, a multitude of rebellions erupted,

eventually causing it to collapse.⁶³³ In the end, Yangdi escaped to the south but was killed by a group of his most favoured court officials, including one of his principal physicians (*yizheng* 醫正), Zhang Kai 張愷. Under the Tang regime, the number of *daoyin* practitioners at the imperial court was drastically reduced and Yangdi's medical reform came to an abrupt end. Yet, the innovative medical endeavours initiated by Yangdi, following in the footsteps of his father Wendi, leading to both the establishment of the Imperial Medical Academy and the compilation of *Bingyuan*, are among the greatest achievements in Chinese medical history.

⁶³³ Xiong, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty*, pp. 51–71.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this chapter, I will summarise the ideas and arguments from chapters 2, 3 and 4 before offering final answers to the three questions raised at the beginning of this thesis. I will pay particular attention to the third question by assessing the significance of the Sui's medical initiatives for our understanding of the development of China's imperial history, noting the contrast between political power structures in medieval Europe and in China of the same period.

5.1 Summaries of the core chapters

To give an overview of the history of therapeutic exercise before the Sui, I have, in chapter 2, analysed the development of *daoyin* from the earliest recorded instance of the term, and the earliest extant textual evidence of a breathing technique relating to *daoyin*, dating from the late Warring States period, to its broader appeal among literate elites and religious communities during the Six Dynasties, all before the unification of Sui China. Over this thousand-year period, a diverse *yangsheng* culture emerged, reflected in various genres of written sources, and in accounts of people from different strata of society who, for their own objectives and needs, took up various bodily practices such as *daoyin*, and reinvented them for their purposes. By applying the ideas of Anderson's 'imagined communities' and Company's 'repertoires of resources', I have identified and 'labelled' various actors such as *wu*, *xian*, *fangshi*, *yi*, Daoists, Buddhists and literate elites who all appear

to have engaged themselves in a variety of bodily self-cultivation practices. Such labels often relate to the sources in which these actors appear or are described and are not necessarily a reflection of 'historical reality'. Nor do these categories have rigid boundaries.

Although discrete sets of *daoyin* exercises were attributed to particular legendary figures, there is no evidence to suggest the existence of any 'schools' or institutions linked to the 'transmissions' of these ancient masters. Attribution to a well-known cultural figure was a common literary device for lending authority and credibility to the writing. There was little formal teaching of *daoyin* apart from in Daoist communities, such as the *Shangqing* School in the south, where *daoyin* was taught as 'auxiliary and preparatory exercises'. The formal teaching of *daoyin*, with examinations and qualifications, began only with Wendi's medical reform, as part of the Sui's state-sponsored medical education curricula.

During the Six Dynasties, various groups of people took up *daoyin* exercises. These include *fangshi*, such as those who were summoned to Cao Cao's court, and members of genteel families, who had access to medical and *yangsheng* knowledge and practised *daoyin* for their own physical health and well-being, as well as passing such knowledge on to family members. Daoist religious observances were intertwined with *yangsheng* practices, including *daoyin*, and Buddhists also adopted and adapted indigenous *yangsheng* practices as part of their own spiritual cultivation. There was a particularly enriching exchange during a period of religious suppression in the north,

when many Buddhists and Daoists escaped to the mountains. There they learned various bodily exercises from each other in order to survive, and to cope with the scarcity of food.

Between the Han and the Sui periods, different kinds of bodily exercises were gathered under specific labels, such as *anmo* 按摩, *tuna* 吐納, *xingqi* 行氣, *taixi* 胎息, *taishi* 胎食, and *cunxiang* 存想. Recorded in various sources, they were collated under the *daoyin* rubric in the official Sui medical text – *Bingyuan*.

Many of these self-cultivation techniques can also be found in the Daoist Canon, edited in 1445, which contains a rich collection of *daoyin*-related texts. The notion of *daoyin* as inherently Daoist has been widespread, particularly in the west. Ever since it was first introduced to Europe by Jesuits and missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries, *daoyin* was perceived as a form of ‘Daoist Gymnastics’. This perception has persisted to the present day.

In chapter 3, I have looked closely at the institutionalisation of *daoyin* at the Sui court against the backdrop of the numerous ambitious projects and innovative reforms initiated by the two Sui emperors, Wendi and Yangdi, as part of their efforts to unify China under a single centralised regime. The building of two capital cities, Daxingcheng and Luoyang, created a centralised political power based in the north. The Grand Canal, the longest and grandest navigation system ever undertaken in premodern history, was a physical manifestation of the Sui’s unification, bringing tax and resources efficiently to

the two Sui capitals. Wendi's comprehensive institutional reform, comprising Five Departments, Six Boards and Eleven Courts, created a 'more efficient, better delineated, synthetic system that survived the Sui itself to become the foundation of the Tang bureaucratic structure.'⁶³⁴ The new imperial examination system for recruiting civil servants, another great legacy of the Sui, lasted until 1905, providing opportunities for the most skilled and talented people to work at the imperial court and in local government. Such methods of mobilising and centralising human resources strengthened the imperial power of the Sui emperors and enabled them to rule over a large population. The nationwide implementation of the equal-field system, initiated by Wendi, brought enormous wealth to the state through taxation, the land of this newly-unified dynasty being directly controlled by the Sui government. The remarkable religious freedom of this period was a result of reform by the two Sui emperors, who were keen to confirm their political legitimacy in the eyes of the populace and to claim their absolute power in both sacred and secular realms. The emphasis on sustaining Han culture was another important ingredient in the creation and maintenance of a single unified empire, and the Sui's medical reforms are excellent examples of how 'ethnically-diverse' northern emperors appropriated the imperial culture of the Han, through supporting and advocating the medical knowledge and practices associated with Han China.

As part of his medical reform, Wendi established, for the first time in Chinese history, three specialised medical departments at the state-sponsored medical

⁶³⁴ Xiong, Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty, p. 107.

education institution, one of which was Therapeutic Exercise. The inclusion of *daoyin* in the Sui's imperial medical curricula suggests that Wendi and his advisors recognised *daoyin* had been an integral part of medical knowledge and practices, as recorded in Han imperial writings, and in various *yangsheng* texts written during the Six Dynasties. Yangdi, with his extraordinary vision of medicine and health, went even further, making *daoyin* the most important therapy at his imperial court. In addition to one hundred and twenty *daoyin* practitioners employed at the Palace Medical Service, another one hundred and twenty *daoyin* practitioners plus twenty *Anmo* Erudites were appointed to the medical education institution within the Imperial Medical Office. The disproportionately large number of *daoyin* practitioners at his court was testimony to his radical approach in creating an official state medicine. Although we do not have evidence to suggest Yangdi's initiative extended beyond the Sui's capitals, it is reasonable to deduce that his intention was to transform current medical knowledge and practices by creating a new medical discourse, which would ultimately affect everyone within Sui China and beyond. This new medical discourse was realised in one of the medical texts Yangdi ordered to be produced.

In chapter 3, I have identified various groups of people – physicians and medical officials, literate elites, Daoists and Buddhists, who were conversant with, and played an important part in, the development of *daoyin* during the Sui period. Some of them, such as Sun Simiao, Wang Yuanzhi and Zhiyi had direct contact with the Sui emperors. From two of Sun Simiao's medical texts – *Qianjin yaofang* and *Qianjin yifang*, written in the early Tang period, we can

infer that by the early Tang period, *daoyin* had been pushed from its previous prominent position under the Sui to the periphery of instituted medical concerns.

According to Fan Ka-wai, a 'southernisation' of medicine manifested in the state medicine of the Sui and Tang periods. This suggests that emperors at both Sui and Tang courts endorsed and advocated southern medical practices which they would have perceived as 'authentic' Han medicine. This kind of medical practice was firmly rooted in a broader *yangsheng* culture, with the emphasis on individuals adopting bodily practices such as *daoyin*. However, very few southern physicians were employed at the Sui court until after the demise of the southern Chen regime in 589, resulting in an increase in the number of southern physicians moving to the north. Also, the employment of a great many southern physicians during Yangdi's reign did not immediately *cause* the expansion of *daoyin* at the imperial court or the inclusion of *daoyin* materials in *Bingyuan*. This was, rather, a result of the top-down policy directly controlled by Yangdi.

In chapter 4, a brief textual history of *Bingyuan* establishes that the Northern Song edition, revised under the decree of Emperor Renzong, became the basis of all later editions. The compilers of this newly-revised Northern Song edition designated Chao Yuanfang as the author of *Bingyuan* in order to distinguish it from the older edition they were working from. All bibliographies from the Northern Song onwards name Chao Yuanfang as the author of *Bingyuan*.

According to the compilers of *Bingyuan*, most of the *daoyin* exercises were quoted from *Yangsheng fang daoyin fa*. However, rather than referring to one particular text, this was an editorial device to aggregate all *daoyin* instructions in one place. It is certain that the compilers of *Bingyuan* had many *yangsheng* texts available to them in the Imperial Library. Some were experts in *daoyin* as indicated in their commentaries to the exercises.

The majority of exercises in *Bingyuan* were for treating chronic, non-infectious diseases, or for pain relief. More than 200 different *daoyin* exercises are found in 50 out of 71 categories of medical disorders in *Bingyuan*. Of these 50, 30 have *daoyin* instructions appearing in their first entry, often serving as an introduction to the whole disorder category. This suggests that a considerable number of illnesses could potentially be treated by *daoyin*.

5.2 The three research questions

Three research questions were raised at the start of the thesis:

1) How and why did *daoyin* become an important component of state medicine during the Sui period?

This is the question which I answered in chapter 3. The ‘how’ part of the question was dealt with in 3.3 The Medical System under the Sui Government, where I delineated the different medical reforms initiated by the two Sui emperors. A careful comparison of sources in *Suishu* and *Tang*

liudian made it clear that the information given in *Suishu* is likely to be a depiction of the state medical service established in the beginning of the Sui period by Wendi, whilst information given in *Tang liudian* describes the period towards the end of the Sui, when the Tang emperor assumed imperial power. Analysis of the two sets of data led to the conclusion that it was during Yangdi's reign that a disproportionately large number of *daoyin* practitioners were employed at the Sui court.

Once I was able to see Yangdi's direct involvement in his medical reform, it became clear 'why' this might have happened. One of the factors is Yangdi's personal 'southernisation'. Having spent most of his adult life in the south, his access to books on a wide variety of subjects would have enabled him to gain knowledge in medicine and *yangsheng*, both of which were intertwined with southern religious communities such as the *Shangqing* School and the *Tiantai* School, the two religious sects with which he had a deep association. Yangdi also had an enthusiasm for occultism and would actively seek out people with unusual abilities, bringing them to his court. All these influences could have contributed to his radical vision of creating a new state medical service with *daoyin* as the main treatment. Although *daoyin* had been an integral part of medical knowledge and practice since the Han, it had never been the 'centre' of medical practice in early and medieval China. Had Yangdi's medical reform survived, the history of medicine in China would have been a very different one!

Having scrutinised the personal traits of the two Sui emperors, it is easy to see how they exercised their power differently in order to manage a vast number of people in the newly-unified Sui China. Being diligent and hardworking, decisions taken under Wendi's medical reform would have been reached through consultation with medical officials at his imperial court. Yangdi, on the other hand, notoriously extravagant and averse to criticism, would have made many of his decisions based on personal conviction, with little or no consultation with the court medical officials.

2) Why was *daoyin* included in *Bingyuan*?

Being a text on nosology, *Bingyuan* could simply have listed individual diseases under different categories, without the inclusion of any therapy, let alone *yangsheng* and/or *daoyin* instructions. Their insertion was, rather, carried out on Yangdi's order. Yangdi achieved two medical innovations in this state-sponsored medical text – the production of the first ever encyclopaedic medical text on nosology in China and, possibly, in the world, and the creation of a new medical discourse elevating *daoyin* to the position of the main medical therapy of the state medical service.

Daoyin was included in *Bingyuan* in order to create a new medical discourse and thereby put Yangdi's vision of medicine and health into practice. The new set of nomenclature of medical disorders gave doctors at court greater expertise and easy access to various *yangsheng* and *daoyin* instructions, enabling them both to announce what illness a patient had, and decide which

yangsheng instructions and/or *daoyin* exercises could be prescribed for the patient. Foucault's critique on state control of the body is useful to us here. The new expertise of doctors mediated between state and individuals, giving central government access to and control over both medical practices and personal health regimes, sometimes often presented as the act of a benevolent ruler.

Bingyuan would have also been used for a pedagogical purpose written as it was from a doctor's perspective by medical officials at Yangdi's court, at a time when the department of *Anmo* was at its biggest. A standardised textbook on *daoyin* would have been required as a teaching aid and for examination purposes.

The standardisation of *daoyin* by the state had a regulatory function. It ensured the subordinate position of other healing practices exercised by Daoists, Buddhists or members of local cults. As *daoyin* was already popular as part of a regimen and as a household treatment among the elites, and among various religious communities as part of spiritual and religious training, the state was able to appropriate certain techniques, and patronise certain people, making exclusive claims to authority on *daoyin*. This level of state intervention in medicine and health was unprecedented. State intervention in medicine and the individual's health, envisioned by Yangdi, brings to mind Foucault's observation of the reach of state power into the regimen of asylums, prisons and clinics of modern Europe, through particular forms of 'professional' and 'scientific' medical discourse.

3) In the context of the process of unification during the Sui, what is the larger significance of these initiatives for our understanding of the unique continuities in the development of China's imperial history?

Although the Sui dynasty lasted for only 38 years, much of its sophisticated political and institutional system was retained, with minor readjustments, by succeeding Tang emperors. This created long-term institutional stability, despite the demise of the Sui, with the centralised state as the dominant form of political organisation in China. In contrast to the prolonged phase of political fragmentation in Europe, Walter Scheidel argues that,

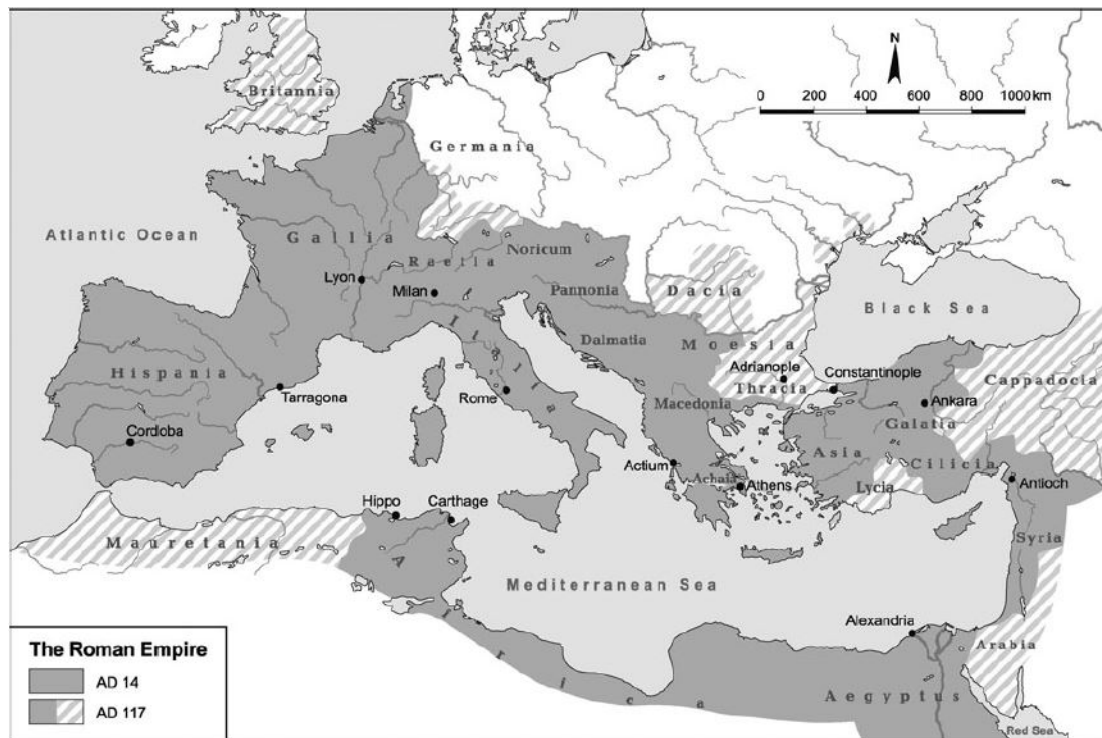
In sixth-century CE China, by contrast, imperial reunification restored the bureaucratic state that largely succeeded, albeit with substantial interruptions, in maintaining a core-wide empire under Chinese or foreign leadership until 1911 CE. In some ways, the People's Republic today is merely the most recent reincarnation of this entity.⁶³⁵

While investigating the Roman and Qin-Han empires (Map 5.1 and 5.2), Scheidel discovered many similarities between the late Roman Empire in the fourth to sixth centuries CE and the Han dynasty between the second BCE and the second CE.⁶³⁶ The decline of both states was also similar, with the western part of the Roman Empire and the northern part of China being taken over by 'barbarians' - Goths, Franks, Vandals and Lombards in the West and the 'Sixteen Kingdoms' in China. 'Traditionalist' regimes, of Byzantium in the

⁶³⁵ Walter Scheidel, 'Fiscal Regimes and the ›First Great Divergence‹ between Eastern and Western Eurasia', in *Tributary Empires in Global History*, ed. by Peter Fibiger Bang and C. A. Bayly (Basingstoke, 2011), pp. 193–204 (p. 194).

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*

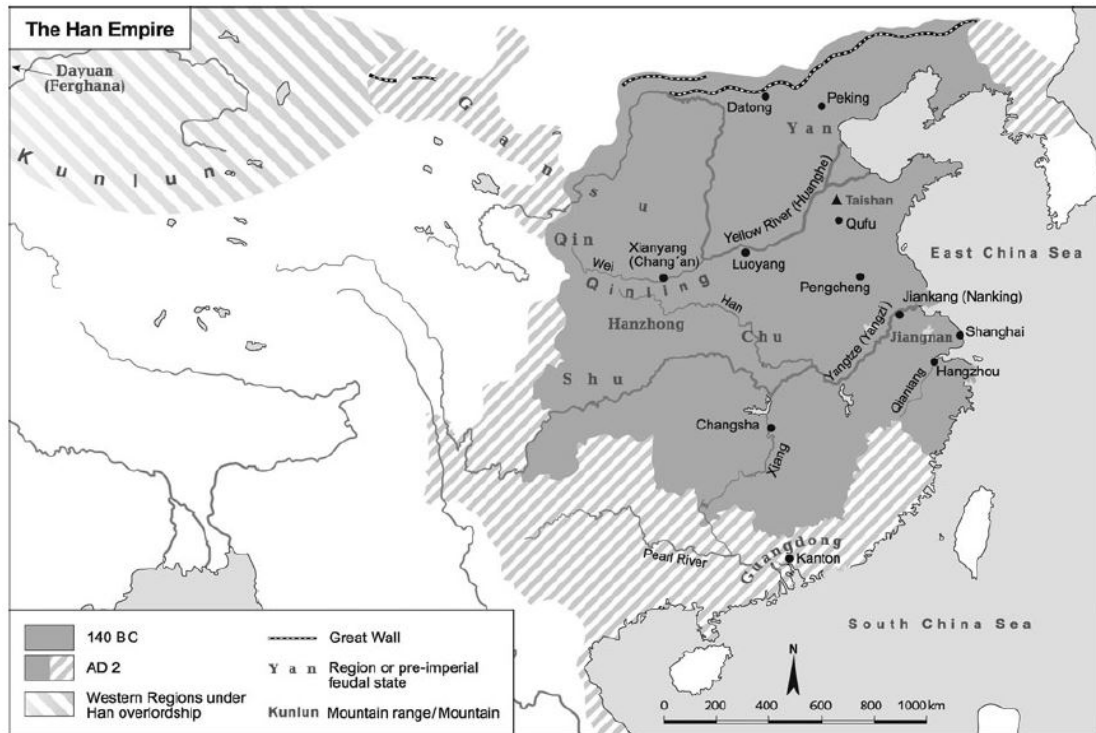
eastern part of the Roman Empire and the Southern dynasties in China, survived. However, from the late sixth century onwards, state formation, in China and Western Eurasia respectively, followed two different trajectories, ‘the Great Divergence’, according to Scheidel.⁶³⁷ Antonello Palumbo also asserts that ‘while the Chinese sphere then recovered a political, cultural and territorial unity that it was to keep until modern times, the Roman Empire never came back, as neither Byzantium nor the Islamic caliphates were able to reinstate comparable polities in western Eurasia.’⁶³⁸



Map 5. 1 The Roman Empire (c.200 CE) (Source: Scheidel, *Rome and China*, p.IX)

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

⁶³⁸ Antonello Palumbo, ‘Exemption not Granted: The Confrontation between Buddhism and the Chinese State in Late Antiquity and the ‘First Great Divergence’ between China and Western Eurasia.’, *Medieval Worlds: Religious Exemption in Pre-Modern Eurasia, c. 300–1300 CE* 6 (2017), pp. 118–55 (p. 120).



Map 5. 2 The Han Empire (c. 2 CE) (Source: Scheidel, Rome and China, p.X)

Building on Scheidel's idea of the 'First Great Divergence', which marks the contrasting trends in Chinese and western Eurasian state formation, Palumbo sees the Chinese state's successful 'confrontation' with Buddhism as key to its extraordinary endurance. He attributes the prevention of the emergence of a Buddhist equivalent to the Catholic 'church' in China to, in particular, the four Buddhist persecutions between 446 and 955.⁶³⁹

Although Wendi and Yangdi supported religious freedom and gave imperial patronage to both Buddhism and Daoism, their underlying motivation was to legitimise and increase their imperial power. Wendi, modelling himself on the Indian King Aśoka, aspired to be a cakravartin, a 'wheel-turning' king, fusing political and cosmic concepts of rulership and religious power. This built on

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

the older concept of the Mandate of Heaven (*tianming* 天命)⁶⁴⁰ where the emperor could assume the authority of an all-seeing Heaven, provided he ruled benignly and performed appropriate imperial rituals. The figure of the cakravartin as an earthly counterpart of the Buddha extended the reach of the Chinese emperor across lifetimes, and effectively turned Wendi into the most powerful person in Sui China. In dealing with court-clergy relations, Yangdi was more explicit than his father Wendi, in imposing political oversight on religious authority. In 606 he issued an edict stating that both Buddhist monks and Daoist adepts should bow to him.⁶⁴¹ Who should bow to whom had been a long term issue between the Chinese state and Buddhist authority in China, as had the celibacy of monks and their obligation to 'leave the family' (*chujia* 出家), all of which ran counter to Chinese tradition.⁶⁴² Another edict, issued in 609, reduced the number of Buddhist monasteries in the capital, possibly in order to draw labour from the religious communities for his costly building projects and for his military campaign against Koguryō in what is now Korea.⁶⁴³ Thus, during the reign of Yangdi, religious authority was consciously subordinated to imperial sovereignty as a key part of state building.

Wendi and Yangdi's medical reforms had the effect of medicalising certain religious practices. The department of 'Incantation and Interdiction' within the Imperial Medical Office was based entirely on the adaptation of Buddhist and

⁶⁴⁰ As the principle source of legitimate authority, The Mandate of Heaven is a concept which was used to justify later changes of dynasty for the rest of imperial history. See A. C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical argument in ancient China* (La Salle: Open Court, 1989), pp. 115–7.

⁶⁴¹ *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, j. 39, p. 361c08 in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, T 49, no. 2035.

⁶⁴² See Thomas Jülch, 'On Whether or not Buddhist Monks should Bow to the Emperor: Yancong's (557–610) "Futian lun" (Treatise on the Fields of Blessedness)', *Monumenta Serica* 60 (2012), 1–43.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid*; Xiong, pp. 167–71.

Daoist rituals for medical purposes. The appropriation of Buddhist forms of *daoyin* can be seen in *Bingyuan*, where some exercises are to be performed in a lotus position, or when kneeling with one knee up. Daoist practices, such as visualisations on the officers of *jiayin* 甲寅 and *zhifu* 直符, and incantations to the Queen Mother of the West and the Spirits of the Four Seas, were also included in *Bingyuan*. Exercises such as *wogu* 握固, folding your fingers around your thumbs, and *shu liquan* 漱醴泉, washing your mouth with ‘the sweet spring’, i.e. saliva, had strong connotations with Daoist ritual.

However, the institutionalisation of *daoyin* by the Sui government was more than just a medicalisation of religious practices. *Daoyin*, far from being exclusive to religious communities, was already popular in a variety of social milieux. *Yangsheng* and *daoyin*-related texts, such as *Yangsheng yaoji*, most of which had been written for members of southern genteel families of the fourth century, continued to circulate among literate elites during the Sui period. *Daoyin* practitioners were not necessarily religious practitioners. As Campany reminds us, ‘...even in a pluralistic context such as medieval China - most people felt no particular allegiance to one religion over others, or felt no constraints on the resources on which they might legitimately draw.’⁶⁴⁴

The institutionalisation of *daoyin* was largely about the recognition and endorsement of *daoyin* as having been an integral part of medical and healing traditions since the Han dynasty. Elena Valussi’s analysis of Sun Simiao’s *yangxing* chapter of *Qianjin yaofang* resonates strongly to this present study.

⁶⁴⁴ Campany, *Religious Repertoires and Contestation*, pp. 108–9.

Just as 'Sun Simao was not at all writing a Taoist section to his medical compendium, but rather, referring to very well-known and widely spread practices in his own time',⁶⁴⁵ the Sui government was not only appropriating religious practices into the state medical system, but also incorporating medical and healing traditions which were already widely practised, particularly in the south.

This study can thus be seen as a vignette illustrating the ability of the two Sui emperors to create an enduring institutional mechanism which outlived their dynasty, because as it was a political system not ideologically bound to the individual rulers themselves. The official hierarchy established by Wendi and Yangdi proved to be successful in obtaining continuity of political power in China for many centuries.

The institutionalisation and standardisation of *daoyin*, begun during the Sui, inevitably enabled the state to exert more control over individual groups and practitioners, and can be seen as part of a long-lasting imperial political tradition in China. Although many *daoyin* specialists at Yangdi's court were made redundant after the change of regime, the department itself carried on as an integral part of the medical education institution during the Tang period. The fact that succeeding Tang emperors dismantled many of Yangdi's initiatives suggests that a degree of scepticism needs to be applied to the argument that *daoyin* was used as a means of imperial control. At least the Tang emperors did not see it as an effective way of managing the health of a

⁶⁴⁵ Valussi, *The Chapter on 'Nourishing Inner Nature' in Sun Simiao's Qianjin yaofang*, p. 2.

vast population. Yangdi's elevation of *daoyin* was a significant, and, one might argue, beneficial effect, rather than a cause, of the on-going process of imperial unification in China. *Bingyuan*, in which we get a glimpse of his bold vision, lives on. That glimpse may offer, as it did then, an inspiration to change the prevalent medical paradigm to one where non-drug-based treatment takes on a primary role, a role which enables people better to take charge of their own health and well-being.

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Appendix 1: Preface for Mr. Chao's Overall Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders by Song Shou

翰林學士兼侍讀學士玉清昭應宮判官中散大夫尚書左司郎中知製誥史館修撰
判館事上護軍 常山郡 開國侯 食邑一千二百戶 賜紫金魚袋臣宋綬奉敕撰

Compiled and composed by the *Hanlin* Academician, who was Attendant Academician, Administrative Assistant for the *Yuqing Zhaoyin* Palace, Grand Master of Palace Leisure, Senior Civil servant at the Department of State Affairs and the High officer who drafted imperial orders.

Written by the State Official, Song Shou, who received the imperial decree and was granted a purple and gold fish bag, given land comprising one thousand and two hundred households, made a marquis of the founding state from the region of *Changshan*, a senior military protector and a supervisor of the Institute for the Advancement of Literature.

臣聞人之生也，陶六氣之和，而過則為沴；醫之作也，求百病之本，而善則能全。

I heard that a person's life is for cultivating the harmony of the six *qi*. It is detrimental if they are in excess. What a doctor does is to seek out the roots of all diseases and the good doctors will make [their patients] able and whole.

若乃分三部九候之殊，別五聲五色之變，揆盈虛於表裡，審躁靜於性韻，達其消息，謹其攻療，茲所以輔含靈之命，裨有邦之治也。

Such doctors can differentiate the three positions and nine indicators of pulse. They can distinguish alterations in the five sounds and the five colours [of the patient]. They consider the fullness and the deficiency [of *qi*] in the exterior and the interior [of patient's body], determine whether the patient's character and temperament is impatient or calm; they are able to ascertain all the information and cautiously combat [the diseases] in order to treat [their patients]. Therefore, they can assist lives in which the spirits live and benefit the governing of the country.

國家丕冒萬宇，交修庶職。執技服於官守，寬疾存乎政典。皇上秉靈圖而迪成憲，奉母儀而隆至化。

Our country is prosperous, and the benevolence of our emperor reaches all corners of the world. Many officials and professionals have been appointed. The skilled serve in official positions, treating people who are ill kindly. This has been recorded in the governmental codes. The emperor holds the map of spirits (the position of the Heavenly son) and makes laws by following the existing rules. He promotes the observances of filial piety towards mothers and thus [the country] has become prosperous and transformed.

明燭幽隱，惠綏動植。憫斯民之疾苦，佇嘉醫之拯濟。

He is like a candle casting light into the dark hidden corners. People are moved by his benevolence and are at peace. He has sympathy for the illnesses and sufferings of his people, and he is waiting for good doctors who can save lives and bring health to his people.

且念幅員之遼邈，閭巷之窮厄，肄業之士，罕盡精良；傳方之家，頗承疑舛。

Even though the territory of our country extends a great distance, there is much poverty and misfortune in villages and alleyways. Those who study in this profession (medicine) have rarely become top professionals. Many of their recipes which have been passed down from generation to generation, are suspicious and doubtful.

四種之書或闕，七年之習未周，以彼粗工，肆其億度，夭害生理，可不哀哉！

They have not studied and mastered the four types of books [of medicine] and have not yet completed their seven years training. They use their rudimentary skills with guesswork and subjective judgment, causing premature death and injuries to sentient beings. How can this not be lamented?

是形慳怛，或懷重慎，以為昔之上手，效應參神，前五日而逆知，經三折而取信，得非究源之微妙，用意之詳密乎？

For this reason, the emperor is deeply sad and worried; his heart is heavy. The famous doctors of antiquity were able to cure people so effectively that it was as if they were being helped by the spirits. They were able to predict illnesses five days in advance. Did they not obtain their reputation by numerous trials and experiments, so that they could understand the subtlety of the origins of every illness as well as becoming cautious and thorough in their thinking and methods?

蓋診候之教，肇自軒祖；中古以降，論著彌繁。思索其精，博利族眾，乃下明詔，疇咨舊聞，上稽聖經，旁摭奇道，發延閣之秘蘊，敕中尚而讎對。

The teaching of diagnosing symptoms begins with the Yellow Emperor. Since medieval times, all kinds of books have been written [on medicine]. The emperor thinks very hard and tries to understand the essence [of their content] which greatly benefits his many clans and people. Therefore, the emperor issued a decree: to investigate and interview old anecdotes, to examine Holy Scriptures, to gather unusual treatments, to discover the secrets hidden in the imperial library and to instruct the officials at the Central Service to proofread and edit these texts.

《諸病源候論》者，隋大業中太醫巢元方等奉詔所作也。會粹群說，沈研精理，形脈之証，罔不該集。

Zhubing yuanhou lun (Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders) was written by Chao Yuanfan, the imperial physician during the Daiye of Sui (605–618 C.E.), together with the others who received the imperial decree to do the work. They collected the best materials from various schools, immersed themselves in the study of the essence and theories [from these schools]. Even from the dialectic discourse of form and *mai*, they collected everything without exception.

明居處、愛欲、風濕之所感，示針、橋引、湯熨之所宜。誠術藝之楷模，而診察之津涉。監署課試，固常用此。乃命與《難經》《素問》圖鏤方版，傳布海內。

They considered the influence of places where people live, whether people are being licentious or are susceptible to wind and damp, and they suggested the appropriate treatments such as needles, massage, *daoyin*, decoction and hot packs. This text is truly the best model for the techniques and art of medicine and an introduction to diagnosing and examining patients. The examination board always uses it in examinations. Therefore, the emperor made a decree for this text to be printed along with *Nanjing* (the Book of Difficulties) and *Suwen* (the Plain Question), distributing them widely within the country.

洪惟祖宗之訓，務惟存育之惠。補《農經》之闕漏，班禁方於遐邇。逮今搜采，益窮元本，方論之要殫矣，師藥之功備矣。

The teachings of our ancestors are simply immense and we must preserve them and educate our offspring so that they can benefit. We edited the mistakes and the missing parts of *Nongjing* (The Pharmaceutical Classic of *Shengnong*) issuing the secret recipes far and wide. Seizing the opportunity today, we strive to search and collect the original texts of all the essential treaties on recipes which are the great achievement of the masters of medicine.

將使後學優而柔之，視色毫而靡愆，應心手而胥驗。大哉！昧百草而救枉者，古皇之盛德；憂一夫之失所者，二帝之用心。弭茲札瘥，躋之仁壽，上聖愛人之旨，不其篤歟。

This will make those who study them excellent and modest. They will be able to observe the complexion minutely without mistake; their heart and hands will co-ordinate with each other that works every time. How great this is going to be! Tasting a hundred herbs and saving those who were mistreated were the great virtues of the ancient emperor (i.e. *Shengnong*). Both emperors (i.e. *Shengnong* and Emperor Renzong of Song 1010–1063 C.E.), who lamented the loss of even a single person, had the intention of preventing death and illnesses so that people can live long and be humane. This is the decree from the emperor who loves his people. How can it not be sincere?

翰林醫官副使 趙拱等 參校既終，繕錄以獻，爰俾近著，為之題辭。顧惟空疏，

莫探秘蹟。徒以述善誘之深意，用勸方來；揚勤恤之至仁，式昭大庇云爾。謹序。

The *Hanlin* medical officer, Vice Commissioner Zhao Gong and the others have finished their revision and proofreading of this text, and have submitted its transcription to the emperor. I am writing the preface for this new work. However, being able to look into this work only superficially, I could not explore its secrets and mystery. My deep intention in writing this is to entice and encourage future generations to use it for advice. I praise the utmost benevolence of the emperor who constantly has sympathy towards his people and shows his great protection to his people. With sincerity, I have written this preface.

**Appendix 2: The Seventy-one Medical Disorders in *Zhubing yuanhou lun*
based on Ding Guangdi's Edition**

1	風病	Wind Disorder
2	虛勞病	Disorder of Deficiency Exhaustion
3	腰背病	Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions
4	消渴病	Disorder of Dispersion-thirst
5	解散病	Disorder of Resolving Powder
6	傷寒病	Disorder of Cold-damage
7	時氣病	Seasonal Disorder
8	熱病	Hot Disorder
9	溫病	Warm Disorder
10	疫癘病	Epidemic Pestilential Disorder
11	瘧病	Disorder of Intermittent Fever
12	黃病	Yellow Disorder
13	冷熱病	Cold and Hot Disorder
14	氣病	Disorder of <i>Qi</i>
15	腳氣病	Disorder of <i>Leg-qi</i>
16	咳嗽病	Cough Disorder
17	淋病	Strangury Disorder
18	小便病	Urinary Disorder
19	大便病	Disorder of Bowel Movements
20	五臟六腑病	Disorder of Five <i>Zang</i> and Six <i>Fu</i>
21	心痛病	Disorder of Heart Pain
22	腹痛病	Disorder of Abdominal Pain
23	心腹痛病	Disorder of Pain in the Heart Region
24	痢病	Dysentery Disorder
25	濕匿病	Disorder of <i>Damp-hidden</i>
26	九蟲病	Disorder of Nine Worms
27	積聚病	Disorder of Aggregation and Accumulation
28	癥瘕病	Disorder of Abdominal Mass
29	疝病	Disorder of Bulging Disorder
30	痰飲病	Phlegm-rheum Disorder
31	癥病	Disorder of Ensconced Lumps
32	否噎病	Disorder of Block and Choke
33	脾胃病	Disorder of Spleen and Stomach
34	嘔噦病	Retching Disorder
35	宿食不消病	Disorder of Indigestion
36	水腫病	Disorder of Water Swelling
37	霍亂病	Disorder of Sudden Turmoil
38	中惡病	Disorder of Malignity Stroke
39	尸病	Disorder of Corpse
40	注病	Disorder of Residence

41	蠱毒病	Disorder of <i>Gu</i> Poison
42	血病	Blood Disorder
43	毛髮病	Hair Disorder
44	面體病	Disorder of Face and Body
45	目病	Eye Disorder
46	鼻病	Nose Disorder
47	耳病	Ear Disorder
48	牙齒病	Teeth Disorder
49	唇口病	Disorder of Lips and Mouth
50	咽喉心胸病	Disorder of Throat, Heart and Chest
51	四肢病	Disorder of Limbs
52	癭瘤等病	Disorder of Goitres and Tumors of the Neck
53	丹毒病	Disorder of Cinnabar Poison
54	腫病	Disorder of Swelling
55	丁瘡病	Disorder of Clove Sore
56	癰疽病	Disorder of Abscess and Swelling
57	癩病	Disorder of Chronic Sore
58	痔病	Disorder of Haemorrhoid
59	瘡病	Disorder of Sore
60	傷瘡病	Disorder of Wound
61	獸毒病	Disorder of Animal Poison
62	蛇毒病	Disorder of Snake Poison
63	雜毒病	Disorder of Miscellaneous Poison
64	金瘡病	Disorder of Incised Wound
65	腕傷病	Disorder of Injury of Wrist
66	婦人雜病	Women's Miscellaneous Disorder
67	婦人妊娠病	Disorder during Pregnancy
68	婦人將產病	Disorder before Delivery
69	婦人難產病	Disorder of Difficult Delivery
70	婦人產後病	Disorder after Delivery
71	小兒雜病	Children's Miscellaneous Disorder

Appendix 3: Translation of 110 Disease Entries Containing *Daoyin* Exercises in *Zhubing yuanhou lun*

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1 卷一風病第十三候、風偏枯候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 13: Symptom of lateral withering associated with wind

風偏枯者，由血氣偏虛，則腠理開，受於風濕，風濕客於半身，在分腠之間，使血氣凝滯，不能潤養，久不瘥，真氣去，邪氣獨留，則成偏枯。

Lateral withering associated with wind is a result of blood and *qi* becoming deficient and thus causing the pores to open. Wind and damp are admitted and lodged on one side of the body, and also between the pores. This congeals the blood and makes the *qi* uneven, preventing either one from being moistened and nourished. If this remains untreated for a long time, the vital *qi* will disappear, leaving only the deviant *qi*, resulting in lateral withering.

其狀半身不隨，肌肉偏枯，小而痛，言不變，智不亂是也。邪初在分腠之間，宜溫臥取汗，益其不足，損其有餘，乃可復也。

The signs are: lack of movement on one side of the body, and lateral withering of muscles and flesh. [The area] may be small but painful. One's speech is not affected since the mind has not been disturbed. When the deviances first appear between the pores, it is better to stay in a warm bed and sweat. Increase wherever there is deficiency and decrease wherever there is excess. Then, one can be healed.

診其胃脈沉大，心脈小牢急，皆為偏枯。男子則發左，女子則發右。若不啞，舌轉者可治，三十日起。其年未滿二十者，三歲死。

If, when diagnosing the stomach pulse, it is sinking and big, and if, when [diagnosing] the heart pulse, it is small, firm and speedy, these are both [signs of] lateral withering. It will appear on the left in men and on the right in women. As speech is not lost and the tongue can still move, one can be cured and recover in thirty days. If one has not yet reached twenty, one will die within three years.

又左手尺中神門以後脈足太陽經虛者，則病惡風偏枯，此由愁思所致，憂慮所為。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Moreover, if the *foot taiyang* pulse, which is below *shenmeng* in the *chi* [area] of the left hand, is weak, this indicates illness of lateral withering associated with aversion wind, which is the result of worry and anxiety. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：正倚壁，不息行氣，從頭至足止。愈疽、疔、大風、偏枯、諸風痺。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lean upright against the wall. Holding your breath, move the *qi* from your head to your toes. This cures *ju*-abscess, *shan* (hernia), *dafeng* (leprosy), withering on one side of the body and various *bi* (obstructions) associated with wind.'

又云：仰兩足指，五息止。引腰背痺、偏枯，令人耳聞聲。常行，眼耳諸根，無有罣礙。

Again, it says, 'Lift your toes; stop after five breaths. This pulls the *bi* from your lumbar and dorsal regions, and improves your hearing. Practise regularly so that your eyes, ears and all the other senses are not obstructed.'

又云：以背正倚，展兩足及指，暝心，從頭上引氣，想以達足之十趾及足掌心，可三七引，候掌心似受氣止。蓋謂上引泥丸，下達涌泉是也。

Again, it says, 'With your back straight and supported, stretch both legs and toes. Quieten your mind. Pull your *qi* from your head, imagining it reaching your ten toes and the soles of your feet. Pull it thrice seven times until the soles of your feet seem to have received the *qi*. This is called pulling up [the *qi*] to *niwang* and reaching down to *yongchuan* (Kl. 1).'

又云：正住倚壁，不息行氣，從口趣令氣至頭始止，治疽、痺、大風偏枯。

Again, it says, 'Stand straight and lean against the wall. Holding your breath, move the *qi* from your mouth into your head. This cures ulcers, *bi*, *dafeng* and withering on one side.'

又云：一足踏地，足不動，一足向側相，轉身欹勢，並手盡急回，左右迭互二七，去脊風冷、偏枯不通潤。

Again, it says, 'Keeping one foot still on the ground, point the other foot to the side. Turn your body, together with your arms, to one side and bring them back quickly. Alternate between left and right sides twice seven times. This gets rid of *wind-cold* in the spine, and withering on the one side which is not freely moving or lubricated.'

2 卷一風病第十四候、風四肢拘攣不得屈伸候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 14: Symptoms of spasm in the limbs and inability to bend or stretch, associated with wind

此由體虛腠理開，風邪在於筋故也。春遇痺，為筋痺，則筋屈，邪客關機，則使筋攣。

This is caused by a deficiency in the body, whereby the pores are opened, and the wind deviance remains in the tendons. When *bi* is encountered in the spring, it becomes *tendon-bi*. The tendons are contracted. The deviance lodges in the gates (between the joints), causing spasms in the tendons.

邪客於足太陽之絡，令人肩背拘急也。足厥陰，肝之經也。肝通主諸筋，王在春。其經絡虛，遇風邪則傷於筋，使四肢拘攣，不得屈伸。

When the deviance is lodged in the network of the *foot taiyang*, it restricts and tightens one's shoulder and back. *Foot jueyin* is the channel of the liver, which communicates with and governs all the tendons. Its dominant season is spring. When the liver's channels and network vessels are deficient, the wind deviance will be encountered. It damages the tendons, causing spasms in the limbs, which then cannot be bent or stretched.

診其脈，急細如弦者，筋急足攣也。若筋屈不已，又遇於邪，則移變入肝。其病狀，夜臥則驚，小便數。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the [liver] pulse, it is speedy and as thin as string, the tendons will be tight and there will be spasms in the legs. If the contraction of the patient's tendons has not been resolved, s/he will again encounter the deviance, which will then move to the liver. The symptoms of this disorder are nightmares and frequent urination. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：手前後遞互拓，極勢三七，手掌向下，頭低面心，氣向下至涌泉、倉門，卻努一時取勢，散氣，放縱。身氣平，頭動，膊前後欹側，柔膊二七。去膊井冷血。筋急，漸漸如消。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Extend your arms forwards and backwards alternately [palms pushing outwards] as much as you can, thrice seven times. With palms facing down and head bowed towards the heart, lower your *qi* to the *yongquang* (the soles of your feet, KI. 1) points and to *cangmen* (the opening of the stomach; the left side of your ribs, LIV.13). Try to hold the position for a while, then disperse the *qi* and relax. The *qi* in your body has calmed. Move your head; move your shoulders forwards and backwards and lean to the sides; rotate your shoulders twice seven times. This gets rid of cold blood at *boujing* (GB.21) point. Tightness in the tendons will gradually disappear.'

又云：兩手抱左膝，伸腰，鼻內氣七息，展右足，除難屈伸拜起，脛中痛萎。

Again, it says, 'Holding your left knee with both hands, lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose for seven breaths, and stretch your right foot. This gets rid of problems of bending, stretching, bowing and rising, as well as pains and atrophy in the calves.'

又云：兩手抱右膝著膺，除下重難屈伸。

Again, it says, 'With both hands hold your right knee against your chest. This gets rid of problems and difficulties in contracting and stretching.'

又云：踞坐，伸右腳，兩手抱左膝頭，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展右足著外。除難屈伸拜起，脛中疼痺。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground with your knees up. Extending your right leg, hold your left knee with both hands, and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale fully through your nose for seven breaths. Stretch out your right foot. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and *bi* in the calves.'

又云：立身，上下正直，一手上拓，仰手如似推物勢，一手向下如捺物，極勢，上下來去，換易四七。去膊內風，兩膊井內冷血，兩掖筋脈攣急。

Again, it says, 'Stand upright, with both upper and lower body straight. One hand faces up and pushes as if pushing an object while the other hand faces down and presses down as if pressing an object. Use your full strength. Alternate the hands from top to bottom four times seven times. This gets rid of wind in the shoulders, cold blood in the *boujing* (GB.21) point, and spasm and tightness in the tendon channels under the armpits.'

又云：踞坐，伸左腳，兩手抱右膝，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展左足著外。除難屈伸拜起，脛中疼痺。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground with your knees up. Extend your left leg, hold your right knee with both hands and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale fully through your nose for seven breaths, extending your left foot outwards. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and *bi* (obstructions) in the calves.'

3 卷一風病第十五候、風身體手足不隨候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 15: Symptom of an inability to move the body and limbs, associated with wind

風身體手足不隨者，由體虛腠理開，風氣傷於脾胃之經絡也。

The inability to move the body and limbs, associated with wind, is the result of the body becoming deficient, thus causing the pores to open. The *wind-qi* injures the channels and networks of the spleen and the stomach.

足太陰為脾之經，脾與胃合。足陽明為胃之經，胃為水穀之海也。

The *foot greater yin* is the channel of the spleen, which is connected to the stomach. The *foot bright yang* is the channel of the stomach, which is the sea of water and grain.

脾候身之肌肉，主為胃消行水穀之氣，以養身體四肢。

The spleen governs muscles and flesh. It controls digestion and the movement of the *qi* of water and grain in the stomach in order to nourish the body and the limbs.

脾氣弱，即肌肉虛，受風邪所侵，故不能為胃通行水穀之氣，致四肢肌肉無所稟受；而風邪在經絡，搏於陽經，氣行則遲，機關緩縱，故令身體手足不隨也。

When the spleen-*qi* is weak, the muscles and the flesh weaken (become lacking in tone), and if they are invaded by the wind-deviance, [the spleen-*qi*] cannot help the stomach to move and transport the *qi* of water and grain; then the limbs, muscles and flesh cannot receive [their nourishment]. Furthermore, the wind deviance in the channels and network is attacking the yang channels. As a result, *qi* moves slowly and the gates (between the joints) grow sluggish and are impaired. This causes the inability to move the body and limbs.

診脾脈緩者，為風痿，四肢不用。

If, when diagnosing the spleen pulse, it is found to be slow, it will be wind which is causing atrophy and malfunctioning of the limbs.

又心脈、腎脈俱至，則難以言，九竅不通，四肢不舉。腎脈來多，即死也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Also, if the heart and the kidney pulses are both speedy, there will be difficulties in speaking. The nine orifices will be blocked and the limbs will not be able to be raised. If the kidney pulse is very rapid, death will occur. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：極力左右振兩臀，不息九通，愈臀痛勞倦，風氣不隨。振兩臀者，更互踉蹌，猶言厥，九通中間，偃伏皆為之，名蝦蟇行氣，久行不已，愈臀痛勞倦，風氣不隨，不覺痛癢，作種種形狀。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Shake your buttocks vigorously to left and right, while holding your breath. Do this nine times. This cures buttock pain, exhaustion and tiredness, and lack of movement associated with wind-qi. Shake your buttocks by kicking your legs alternately, nine times on each side. Do this both while lying on your back and while lying face down. This is called the moving qi of a toad. If you practise this for a long time without stopping, it will cure buttock pain, exhaustion and tiredness, lack of movement associated with wind-qi, numbness, itchiness and various similar conditions.'

又云：偃臥，合兩膝，布兩足，伸腰，口內氣，振腹自極七息。除壯熱疼痛，兩脛不隨。

Again it says, 'Lying on your back with knees together, spread out your feet and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale through your mouth and shake your abdomen as much as you can. Take seven breaths. This gets rid of high temperature with pain and lack of movement in the calves.'

又云：治四肢疼悶及不隨，腹內積氣，床席必須平穩，正身仰臥，緩解衣帶，枕高三寸，握固。握固者，以兩手各自以四指把手拇指，舒臂，令去身各五寸，兩腳豎指，相去五寸，安心定意，調和氣息，莫思余事，專意念氣，徐徐漱醴泉。漱醴泉者，以舌舐略唇口牙齒，然後咽唾，徐徐以口吐氣，鼻引氣入喉。須微微緩作，不可卒急強作，待好調和。引氣、吐氣，勿令自聞出入之聲。每引氣，心心念送之，從腳趾頭使氣出。引氣五息、六息，一出之，為一息；一息數至十息，漸漸增益，得至百息、二百息，病即除愈。不用食生菜及魚肥肉。大飽食後，喜怒憂恚，悉不得輒行氣。惟須向曉清靜時行氣，大佳，能愈萬病。

For curing pain, stiffness, lack of movement in your limbs and qi stagnation in your abdomen, lie straight on your back on a bed which needs to be flat and stable. Loosen your clothes and have a pillow three *cun* (inches) high. Do *wogu*. To do *wogu*: with both hands, hold each thumb with four fingers. Extend your arms five *cun* away from your body on each side, and raise your toes, with your feet five *cun* away from each other. Quieten your heart and calm your mind; adjust and harmonise your qi and your breath. Do not think about other things but focus your intention and concentrate on the qi. Slowly and gradually, wash your mouth with the sweet spring (saliva). To wash your mouth with the sweet spring: lick your lips, mouth and teeth, then swallow [the saliva]. Slowly and gradually, spit out qi from your mouth and pull qi into your throat through your nose. You should do this gently and slowly. Do not hurry or use too much force. Wait until you are attuned and in harmony. While pulling and spitting out qi, do not allow the sound of incoming and outgoing to be heard. Every time you pull qi, concentrate your mind and heart, and send the qi out through your toes. Pull in the qi over the course of five or six in-breaths and exhale once. This is one breath. Count from one breath to ten

breaths. Gradually, increase it to one hundred breaths, then to two hundred breaths. Your illness will be eliminated and you will be cured. Do not eat raw vegetables, fish or fatty meat. It is not suitable to move your *qi* after a big meal or when you are full of emotions such as joy, anger, sadness or resentment. Practise moving your *qi* only at dawn when it is clear and quiet. It is the best way and will cure ten thousand diseases.'

4 卷一風病第十七候、風痺手足不隨候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 17: Symptoms of *bi* and the lack of movement in the limbs associated with wind

風寒濕三氣合而為痺。風多者為風痺。風痺之狀，肌膚盡痛。諸陽之經，盡起於手足，而循行於身體。

The combination of these three *qi* - wind, cold and damp, creates *bi*. When wind predominates, it creates wind-*bi*. The signs of wind-*bi* are that muscles and skin become extremely painful. All the *yang* channels begin in the hands and the feet, and run their courses through the body.

風寒之客肌膚，初始為痺，後傷陽經，隨其虛處而停滯，與血氣相搏，血氣行則遲緩，使機關弛縱，故風痺而復手足不隨也。

Wind-damp is lodged in the muscles and skin. At the outset, it creates *bi*, injuring the *yang* channels and following them to where there is a deficiency. It then stops and becomes stagnant. It attacks both blood and *qi*, so that they become sluggish, and the gateways (between the joints) are no longer under control. Hence, it causes recurrence of wind-*bi* and a lack of movement in the limbs.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：左右拱兩臂，不息九通。治臂足痛，勞倦風痺不隨。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Make an arch with left and right arms and hold your breath. Do this nine times. It cures pains in the arms and legs, exhaustion and tiredness, and lack of movement associated with *wind-bi*.'

5 卷一風病第十九候、偏風候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 19: Symptom of lopsidedness associated with wind

偏風者，風邪偏客於身一邊也。人體有偏虛者，風邪乘虛而傷之，故為偏風也。其狀，或不知痛癢，或緩縱，或痺痛是也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Lopsidedness associated with wind is when the wind deviance is lodged on one side of the body. When the body is deficient on one side, the wind deviance takes advantage of this and causes injury; hence a lopsidedness associated with wind. The signs are: an inability to feel pain, itchiness, being sluggish and lacking control, or having *bi* pain. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：一手長舒，令掌仰，一手捉頰，挽之向外，一時極勢二七。左右亦然。手不動，兩向側極勢，急挽之，二七。去頸骨急強，頭風腦旋，喉痺，膊內冷注，偏風。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Stretch one arm out fully, palm facing up. The other hand holds your chin and pulls it out. Extend the posture to its limit for a while, twice seven times, doing the same on both left and right. Then, keeping the hand in place, try to turn your head to both sides as much as possible whilst holding [your chin] tightly twice seven times. This gets rid of tension and stiffness in the neck, *head-wind*, dizziness, *throat-bi*, shoulders filled with cold, and lopsidedness associated with wind.'

又云：一足踰地，一手向後長舒努之，一手捉湧泉急挽，足努、手挽，一時極勢。左右易，俱二七。治上下偏風、陰氣不和。

Again, it says, 'Stand on one foot, one hand stretching behind you as far as possible. The other hand holds the sole of your foot firmly on the *yongquan* 湧泉 (KI. 1) point. With strength, pull your foot [upwards] and your hand [backwards]; hold the extreme posture as long as you can. Alternate between left and right twice seven times. This cures lopsidedness in the upper or lower body associated with wind and disharmony of the *yin-qi*.'

6 卷一風病第二一候、風不仁候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 21: Symptom of the loss of sensation associated with wind

風不仁者，由榮氣虛，衛氣實，風寒入於肌肉，使血氣行不宣流。其狀，搔之皮膚如隔衣是也。

Loss of sensation associated with wind results from a deficiency in the flourishing *qi* and an excess of defensive *qi*. Wind and cold enter the muscles and flesh impeding the flow and distribution of blood and *qi*. The condition is that scratching the skin feels as if it is being done through clothes.

診其寸口脈緩，則皮膚不仁。不仁，脈虛數者生，牢急疾者死。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

A diagnosis of a slow pulse on the *cun*-opening indicates a loss of sensation in the skin. Despite having no sensations, if the pulse is feeble and rapid, [the patient] will live; if, however, it is firm and swift, the patient will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：赤松子曰：偃臥，展兩脛、兩手，足外踵，指相向，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除死肌、不仁、足寒。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods records, 'The Redpine Master says, "Lie on your back; stretch both calves and arms, heels facing outwards and toes facing each other. Inhale *qi* fully through your nose and take seven breaths'. This relieves dead muscle, loss of sensation and cold feet. "'

又云：展兩足上，除不仁、脛寒之疾也。

Again, it says, 'Stretch both legs upwards. This relieves loss of sensation, and illnesses associated with cold in the calves.'

7 卷一第二十二候、風濕痺候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, Section 22: Symptoms of wind-damp-bi

風濕痺病之狀，或皮膚頑厚，或肌肉酸痛。風寒濕三氣雜至，合而成痺。其風濕氣多而寒氣少者，為風濕痺也。

Conditions of *wind-damp-bi* illness are that the skin becomes unresponsive and tough or the muscles have aches and pains. When the three *qi* of wind, cold and damp arrive randomly, together they create *bi*. When there is more *wind-damp-qi* and less *cold-qi*, they form *wind-damp-bi*.

由血氣虛，則受風濕，而成此病。久不瘥，入於經絡，搏於陽經，亦變令身體手足不隨。

If blood and *qi* are deficient and one is subjected to wind and damp, it leads to this kind of disorder. If left untreated for a long time, having entered the channels and branch network, they attack the *yang* channels, restricting movement in the body and limbs.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：任臂，不息十二通。愈足濕痺不任行，腰脊痺痛。又正臥，疊兩手著背下，伸兩腳，不息十二通，愈足濕痺，不任行，腰脊痛痺。有偏患者，患左壓右足，患右壓左足。久行，手亦如足用行，滿十方止。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Move your arms freely while holding your breath. Do this twelve times. This relieves *damp-bi* in your legs, an inability to walk freely and *bi*-pain in your lower back. Then, lie down straight, fold both hands underneath your back, and stretch both legs while holding your breath. Do this twelve times. This cures *damp-bi* in your feet, an inability to walk freely, and *bi*-pain in your lower back. Patients who have problems on their left should press their right leg [into the ground]; for problems on their right, they should press their left leg [into the ground]. Practise this over a long period of time. [Press] your arms also in the same way as your legs. Stop once you have done it ten times.'

又云：以手摩腹，從足至頭，正臥，蹠臂導引，以手持引足住，任臂，閉氣不息十二通，以治痺濕不可任，腰脊痛。

Again, it says, 'Massage your abdomen with your hands. Lie straight, stretched out from feet to head; curl your arms for 'guiding and pulling', and pull your feet with your hands. Hold for a while. Relax your arms, and hold the *qi* without breathing. Repeat twelve times. This cures *bi-damp*, an inability to move freely and pain in your lower back.'

8 卷一風病第二十四候、風痺候

Juan 1 Wind Disorder, section 24: Symptoms of wind-bi

痺者，風寒濕三氣雜至，合而成痺。其狀：肌肉頑濃，或疼痛。由人體虛，腠理開，故受風邪也。

Bi is when the three *qi* of wind, cold and damp arrive randomly, and together create *bi*. The conditions are: the muscles and flesh become stiff and thicken, or have aches and pains. Because the body is deficient and the pores are open, one is subjected to the *wind-deviance*.

病在陽曰風，在陰曰痺；陰陽俱病，曰風痺。其以春遇痺為筋痺，則筋屈。筋痺不已，又遇邪者，則移入肝。

If the disease is in the *yang*, it is called *wind*. If it is in the *yin*, it is called *bi*. If it is in both *yin* and *yang*, it is called *wind-bi*. *Bi* encountered in the spring is *sinew-bi*, which makes the sinews contort. If *sinew-bi* is not resolved and encounters further deviances, it then moves into the liver.

其狀：夜臥則驚，飲多，小便數。夏遇痺者為脈痺，則血凝不流，令人萎黃。

The conditions are: being startled out of sleep at night, drinking a lot, and urinating frequently. *Bi* encountered in the summer is *vessel-bi*, which makes the blood congeal and unable to flow, causing one's complexion to be withered and yellow.

脈痺不已，又遇邪者，則移入心。其狀：心下鼓，氣暴上逆，喘不通，噤乾喜噫。長夏遇痺者為肌痺，在肉則不仁。

If *vessel-bi* is not resolved and encounters further deviances, it then moves into the heart. The conditions are: a drum-like pulsation below the heart, *qi* rushing up in reversal, panting and obstructed breathing, dry throat, and a need to swallow. *Bi* encountered in late summer is *muscle-bi*. If it is in the flesh, there will be no sensitivity.

肌痺不已，復遇邪者，則移入脾。其狀：四肢懈惰，發欬嘔汁。

If *muscle-bi* is not resolved and encounters further deviances, it then moves into the spleen. The conditions are: weakness and slackness in the limbs, and coughing and vomiting.

秋遇痺者為皮痺，則皮膚無所知。皮痺不已，又遇邪者，則移入於肺，其狀，氣奔痛。

Bi encountered in the autumn is *skin-bi*, where the skin loses sensation. If *skin-bi* is not resolved and encounters further deviances, it then moves into the lungs. The condition is that the *qi* rushes with pain.

冬遇痺者為骨痺，則骨重不可舉，不隨而痛。骨痺不已，又遇邪者，則移入於腎，其狀喜脹。

Bi encountered in the winter is *bone-bi*, where the bones become heavy and unable to lift; they lack movement and are painful. If *bone-bi* is not resolved, and encounters further deviances, it then moves into the kidneys. The condition is a tendency to swelling.

診其脈大而澀者，為痺；脈來急者，為痺。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附受於後。

If, when diagnosing a pulse, it is large and rough, it is *bi*. If the pulse comes swiftly, it is *bi*. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：因汗入水，即成骨痺。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Going into the water when you are sweating creates *bone-bi*.'

又云：忍尿不便，膝冷成痺。

Again, it says, 'Withholding your urine, and not letting it pass through, makes your knees cold, and this creates *bi*.'

又云：大汗勿偏脫衣，喜偏風半身不隨。

Again, it says, 'Do not take off your clothes after profuse sweating; otherwise, you are likely to get lopsidedness associated with wind, with half your body unable to move.'

《養生經要集》云：大汗急傅粉，著汗濕衣，令人得瘡，大小便不利。

The Yangsheng Classics Compendium says, 'Apply powder to yourself immediately after profuse sweating; otherwise, the sweat sticks to your clothes and makes them wet. You will get ulcers, and have difficulty in urinating and having bowel movements.'

《養生方·導引法》云：一曰以右踵拘左足拇趾，除風痺；二曰以左踵拘右足拇趾，除厥痺；三曰兩手更引足趺，置膝上，除體痺。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'First: hook your right heel on to your left big toe. This gets rid of *wind-bi*. Second: hook your left heel on to your right big toe. This gets rid of *jue-bi* 厥痺. Third: with both hands, pull one foot and place the instep above your knee. Repeat with the other foot. This gets rid of all the *bi* (blockage) in the body.'

又云：偃臥，合兩膝頭，翻兩足，伸腰，口內氣，脹腹自極七息。除痺痛熱痛、

兩脛不隨。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, bring both knees together and spread out your feet. Lengthen your lumbar and inhale *qi* through your mouth until your abdomen is fully extended. Take seven breaths. This gets rid of *bi* pain, heat pain and inflexible calves.'

又云：踞坐，伸腰，以兩手引兩踵，以鼻內氣，自極七息，引兩手布兩膝。除痺嘔。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground with your knees up and lengthen your lumbar. Using both hands, pull your heels. Inhale *qi* fully through your nose; take seven breaths. Pull with both arms covering both knees. This gets rid of *bi* pain and vomiting.'

又云：偃臥，端展兩手足臂，以鼻內氣，自極七息，搖足三十而止。除胸足寒、周身痺，厥逆。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, stretch and spread out both legs and arms. Inhale *qi* fully through your nose. Take seven breaths; shake your legs thirty times and then stop. This removes cold from chest and your feet, the whole *body-bi* and *jue-reversal*.'

又云：正倚壁，不息行氣，從頭至足止。愈大風、偏枯、諸痺。

Again, it says, 'Lean upright against the wall. Holding your breath, move the *qi* from your head to your toes. This cures *dafeng* 大風 (leprosy), withering on one side of the body, and various *bi*-conditions.'

又云：左右手夾據地，以仰引腰五息止，去痿痺，利九竅。

Again, it says, 'Press your left and right hands against the ground so that you can raise and pull up your lumbar. Stop after five breaths. This gets rid of *wilting-bi* 痿痺 and improves your nine orifices.'

又云：仰兩足指，五息止。引腰背痺、偏枯；令人耳聞聲。久行，眼耳諸根無有罣礙。

Again, it says, 'Lift your toes and stop after five breaths. This pulls *bi* (impediment) from your lumbar and dorsal regions, gets rid of withering on one side of the body, and improves your hearing. Practise regularly so that your eyes, ears and all the other senses are not obstructed.'

又云：踞坐，伸右腳，兩手抱左膝頭，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展右足著外。除難屈伸拜起、脛中疼痛痺。

Again, it says, 'Sitting on the ground with your knees up, extend your right leg while both hands hold your left knee. Lengthen your lumbar, and inhale *qi* fully

through your nose for seven breaths. Stretch your right foot to the side. This gets rid of problems with bending, stretching, bowing and rising, as well as aches, pains and *bi* in your calves.'

又云：左右拱兩臂，不息九通。治臂足痛、勞倦、風痺不隨。

Again, it says, 'Make an arch with left and right arms and hold your breath. Do this nine times. It cures pains in the arms and legs, exhaustion and tiredness, and lack of movement associated with *wind-bi*.'

又云：凡人常覺脊背皆倔強而悶，不問時節，縮咽膊內，仰面努膊并向上，頭左右兩向掣之，左右三七，一住，待血行氣動定，然始更用。初緩後急，不得先急後緩。若無病患，常欲得日起、午時、日沒三辰如用，辰別二七。除寒熱病，脊腰頸項痛、風痺、口内生瘡、牙齒風、頭眩盡除。

Again, it says, 'Whenever you feel congestion and stiffness in your back, regardless of the season, tuck your neck between your shoulder blades. Raise your head and try to make the *boujin* points face upwards. Then move your head to left and right, thrice seven times. Stay still for a while. Wait until the circulating blood and the moving *qi* settles, then continue to practise it again. Start slowly and speed up at the end. You must not speed up in the beginning and slow down at the end. If you don't have any illness, it is desirable to practise it three times a day – at sunrise, noon and sunset; each time, practise it twice seven times. It gets rid of illnesses associated with cold and heat, pain in your spine, lower back and your neck, *wind-bi*, ulcers in your mouth, *teeth-wind* and dizziness.'

9 卷二風病第三十六候、風冷候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 36: Symptoms of wind-cold

風冷者，由臟腑虛，血氣不足，受風冷之氣。血氣得溫則宜流，冷則凝澀，然風之傷人，有冷有熱。若挾冷者，冷折於氣血，使人面青心悶，嘔逆吐沫，四肢痛冷，故謂之風冷。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Wind-cold is a result of the *zang* (*yin* organs) and *fu* (*yang* organs) being deficient; the insufficient blood and *qi* receive the *qi* of *wind-cold*. When there is warmth, blood and *qi* flow smoothly. When there is cold, they become congealed and choppy. Wind that causes damage to a person can be cold or hot. If the wind carries cold, it will fracture the *qi* and blood, and cause one's face to be green and one's heart to be oppressed. The person will vomit and have foam in their mouth. Their four limbs will be painful and cold. Hence, it is called *wind-cold*. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：一足踏地，足不動，一足向側，如丁字樣，轉身倚勢，並手盡急回，左右迭互二七。去脊風冷、偏枯不通潤。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Keep one foot still on the ground and place the other foot facing to the side like the shape of *ding* 丁. Turn your body together with your arms, to one side and bring them back quickly. Alternate between left and right sides twice seven times. This gets rid of *wind-cold* in the spine, and withering on the one side which is not freely moving or lubricated.'

又云：蹲坐，身正頭平，叉手安頰下，頭不動，兩肘向上振搖，上下來去七七。亦持手三七，放縱身心。去乳房風冷腫悶、魚寸不調、日日損。

Again, it says, 'Squat on the ground, body straight and head level. Interlace your fingers and place them below your chin, keeping your head still. Shake your elbows moving them upwards and then down seven times seven. Repeat, clasping your hands, thrice seven times. Relax your body and mind. This gets rid of *wind-cold*, which causes the breasts to become swollen and congested, and imbalance in *yucun* point. These symptoms will decrease day by day.'

又云：坐，兩足長舒，自縱身，內氣向下，使心內柔和適散，然始屈一足，安膝下，長舒一足，仰足趾向上使急，仰眠，頭不至席，兩手急努前，頭向上努挽，一時各各取勢，來去二七，迭互亦然。去腳疼，腰髀冷、血冷、風痺、日日漸損。

Again, it says, 'Sit, extend both legs and relax your body. Inhale *qi* downwards so there is gentleness and harmony in your heart, and you are comfortable and relaxed. Then, bend one leg and place it under the knee of the other leg. Extend the other leg fully and raise its toes upwards firmly. Bend your head

backward without reaching the mat. Firmly and vigorously move both arms forward. The head pulls up forcefully facing upward. Hold each posture for a while, going back and forth twice seven times, and alternating. This gets rid of leg pain, cold in the lumbar and shoulders, cold in the blood, and *wind-bi*. All these symptoms will decrease day by day.'

又云：長舒足，肚腹著席，安徐看氣向下，知有去處，然始著兩手掌拓席，努使臂直，散脊背氣向下，漸漸盡勢，來去二七。除臟腑內宿冷，脈急，腰髀風冷。

Again, it says, 'Extend your legs fully while lying on your abdomen. Quietly and slowly, observe the *qi* moving downwards, registering where it goes. Then begin to press your palms against the mat, straightening your arms with effort. Disperse the *qi* in your spine and back, and move it downwards, gradually and slowly reaching the end of the posture. Move back and forth twice seven times. This gets rid of long-standing cold in the *zang* (*yin* organs) and the *fu* (*yang* organs), fast pulse and *wind-cold* in the lumbar and the shoulders.'

又云：欲以閉氣出汗，拳手屈膝側臥，閉氣自極，欲息氣定，復閉氣，如此汗出乃止。復轉臥，以下居上，復閉氣如前，汗大出乃止。此主治身中有風寒。欲治股脛手臂痛法：屈一脛一臂，伸所病者，正偃臥，以鼻引氣，令腹滿，以意推之，想氣行至上，溫熱，即愈。

Again, it says, 'If you want to hold your *qi* in order to sweat, make your hands into fists, bend your knees and lie on your side. Hold your *qi* as much as you can. If you want your breath and *qi* to be calm, repeatedly hold your *qi* until you start to sweat, then stop. Turn and lie down again so that your lower side is now on top. Hold your *qi* again like before; stop when you start to sweat profusely. This mainly cures *wind-cold* in the body. If you want to cure pains in your thighs, shins, hands and arms, the method would be to bend both leg and arm, then stretch out the ones you have problems with. Lie straight on your back, inhale *qi* through your nose and fill your abdomen. Push it with intention; visualise the *qi* moving, reaching the top. When the areas become warm and hot, they will then be cured.'

又云：肚腹著席，長舒一足向後，急努足指，一手舒向前盡勢，將一手向背上挽足倒極勢，頭仰蹙背，使急。先用手足斜長舒者，兩向自相挽急，始屈手足共頭，一時取勢。常記動手足，先後交番，上下來去二七，左右亦然。去背項腰膝髀并風冷疼悶、脊裡倔強。

Again, it says, 'Lie on your abdomen and stretch one leg backwards fully, extending your toes with effort. One hand stretches forward as much as possible while the other hand takes hold of a leg, folding it backwards above your back as much as possible. Raise your head and contract your back tightly. First, completely extend one hand and leg diagonally; then pull the other two towards each other. Start bending your hand and leg together, as well as your head; hold the posture for a while. Keep moving your hands and legs up and down, and back and forth, twice seven times, alternating between left and right. This gets rid of pain and compressing *wind-cold* in the back,

neck, lumbar, knees and shoulder-blades, and stiffness in the spine.’

又云：正坐，兩手向後捉腕，反向拓席，盡勢，使腹弦上下，七，左右換手亦然。損腹肚冷風宿氣積，胃口冷，食飲進退，吐逆不下。

Again, it says, ‘Sit straight with both hands behind, one holding the wrist of the other. Press the hands in the opposite direction against the mat as much as possible. Make your abdomen move up and down like a string. Do this seven times alternating between left and right hands. This decreases accumulated long standing *qi* of cold-wind in the abdomen, poor appetite, problems with incontinence (inability to hold your food and drink), and vomiting.’

又云：凡學將息人，先須正坐，並膝頭、足；初坐，先足趾相對，足跟外扒。坐上，欲安穩，須兩足跟向內相對，足指外扒，坐上。覺悶痛，漸漸舉身似款便，坐上。待共兩坐相似不痛，始雙豎足跟向上，坐上，足趾並反向外。每坐常學。去膀胱內冷，膝冷，兩足冷疼，上氣、腰痛，盡自消適。

Again, it says, ‘Those who want to learn to breathe must first sit straight with knees and feet together. When you start sitting, first bring your toes facing towards each other while your heels face outward, and sit up. If you want to be [more] secure and stable, you should bring your heels in to face each other while your toes face outward, and sit up. When you feel constraint and pain, slowly raise your body as though going to the toilet, and sit up. When these two sitting positions become similar and cause no pain, start raising both heels and sit up with toes facing backwards in the opposite direction. You can practise this every time you sit. This gets rid of cold in the bladder, cold in the knees, pain and cold in both feet, *qi* rising and pain in the lumbar region. All these will go and automatically disappear.’

又云：長舒一足，一腳屈，兩手挽膝三里，努膝向前，身卻挽，一時取勢，氣內散消，如似骨解。迭互換足，各別三七，漸漸去膊脊冷風冷血，筋急。

Again, it says, ‘Extend one leg fully, bend the [other] leg and hold the *Sanli* point on the knee with both hands. Move your knee forward forcefully while pulling your body [backwards]. Hold this position for a while. The *qi* will be dispersed and disappear as if the bones had become loose. Alternate between legs, each doing thrice seven times individually. This gradually gets rid of *cold-wind* and cold blood in the shoulders and spine, and tight sinews.’

又云：兩手向後，倒挽兩足，極勢。頭仰，足指向外努之，緩急來去七，始手向前直舒，足自搖，膝不動，手足各二七。去脊腰悶風冷。

Again, it says, ‘Put both of your hands behind and hold both your feet upside down as much as possible. Raise your head and with effort, turn your toes outwards; move back and forth slowly and then quickly seven times. Then start moving your hands to the front and stretching them out. Your legs are shaking themselves but your knees are not moving. Move your hands and feet individually twice seven times. This gets rid of *wind-cold* and compression in your spine and the lumbar region.’

又云：身平正，舒兩手向後，極勢，屈肘向後空捺，四七。轉腰，垂手向下，手掌四面轉之。去臂內筋急。

It says again, 'Straighten your body upright and stretch both of your hands behind as much as possible. Bend your elbows and push them backwards four times seven times. Turn your waist, hang your hands down and turn your palms to the four sides. This gets rid of tension in the sinews of the arms.'

又云：兩手長舒，令掌向下，手高舉與膊齊，極勢，使膊悶痛，然始上下搖之二七。手下至髀還，上下緩急。輕手前後散振，雙手前拓，努手合掌向下，七。去膊內風冷疼，日消散。

Again, it says, 'Extend both arms fully with palms facing down. Raise your arms until they are in line with your shoulders; stretch them fully until you feel compressing pain in your shoulders. Then, start moving your arms up and down twice seven times, bringing your hands down as far as your thighs then back again, moving up and down, slowly and quickly. Shake your hands gently and randomly in front and behind. Bring your hands to the front, palms together, and with effort bring them down seven times. This gets rid of *wind-cold* and pain in the shoulders. It will be dispersed, and disappear within days.'

又云：兩手掌倒拓兩膊井前，極勢，上下傍兩掖，急努振搖，來去三七，竟。手不移處，努向兩肘向上急熱，上下振搖二七，欲得拳兩手七，因相將三七。去項膊筋脈急勞。一手屈拳向後左，一手捉肘頭，向內挽之，上下一時盡勢。屈手散放，舒指三，方轉手，皆極勢四七。調肘膊骨筋急強。兩手拓，向上極勢，上下來去三七。手不動，將兩肘向上，極勢七。不動手肘臂，側身極勢，左右迴三七。去頸骨冷氣風急。前一十二件有此法，能使氣人行之，須在疾中可量。

Again, it says, 'Press both of your palms on the two *Boujin* points from the front. Hold the full posture as much as possible. Vigorously and firmly shake [your arms] up and down next to both armpits; go back and forth thrice seven times, then stop. Your hands stay where they are, not moving. With effort, bring the two elbows up quickly and vigorously, shaking them up and down twice seven times. You could make both of your hands into fists and do this seven times, upon which you will do them altogether thrice seven times. This gets rid of tension and over-exertion in your neck, shoulders and the vessels of the sinews. Bend one arm, make the hand into a fist and bring it to the left side of your back; the other hand takes hold of the elbow, pulling it inwards. Go back and forth and hold the postures as much as you can for a while. Relax and release the bent arm, move your fingers three times, and then turn your arm. Do the posture as much as you can four times seven times. This regulates tightness and stiffness in the bones and in the sinews of the elbows and shoulders.'

Push both arms up as much as you can; go up and down, back and forth

thrice seven times. Without moving your arms, bring both elbows up as much as you can seven times. Without moving your elbows or your arms, turn your body to the sides as much as you can, left, right and back thrice seven times. This gets rid of *cold-qi* and *wind-tightness* in the bones of the neck. The previous twelve items all use this method, which can make the *qi* move. You should be able to measure [the effect] when you are ill.'

10 卷二風病第三十八候、風氣候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 38: Symptoms of *wind-qi*

風氣者，由氣虛受風故也。肺主氣，氣之所行，循經絡，榮臟腑，而氣虛則受風。風之傷氣，有冷有熱，冷則厥逆，熱則煩惋。其因風所為，故名風氣。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Wind-qi is caused when deficient *qi* is subjected to wind. Lungs govern *qi* which moves by following the channels and branch network. This nourishes the *zang* (*yin* organs) and the *fu* (*yang* organs). Therefore, when *qi* is deficient, it is affected by wind, which injures the *qi* by means of cold and heat. If the wind is cold, the *qi* becomes *jue* and reverses. If it is hot, the *qi* becomes irritated and heavy with sorrow. Conditions caused by wind are called *wind-qi*. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：一手前拓使急，一手發乳房，向後急挽之，不得努用力氣，心開下散，迭互相換手，三七，始將兩手攀膝頭，急促，身向後極勢，三七。去腕悶疼，風府、雲門氣散。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Push one hand forwards quickly, starting from your breast; push the other hand backwards quickly. You should not exert too much force. Your heart is opened and [the *qi*] goes downwards and disperses. Alternate hands, thrice seven times. Then, gripping your knees tightly with both hands, bring your body backwards as much as possible, thrice seven times. This gets rid of pain and compression in your wrists, and disperse the *qi* in the *Fongfu* (wind mansion) and *Yunmeng* (cloud gate) points.' Push one hand forwards quickly, starting from your breast; push the other hand backwards quickly. You should not exert too much force. Your heart is opened and [the *qi*] goes downwards and disperses. Alternate hands, thrice seven times. Then, gripping your knees tightly with both hands, bring your body backwards as much as possible, thrice seven times. This gets rid of pain and compression in your wrists, and disperse the *qi* in the *fongfu* and *yunmeng* points.

11 卷二風病第四十一候、頭面風候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 41: Symptoms of head-and-face-wind

頭面風者，是體虛，諸陽經脈為風所乘也。諸陽經脈，上走於頭面，運動勞役，陽氣發泄，腠理開而受風，謂之首風。病狀，頭面多汗，惡風，病甚則頭痛。又，新沐中風，則為首風。又，新沐頭未乾，不可以臥，使頭重身熱，反得風則煩悶。

Head-and-face-wind is when the body is weak and all the *yang* channels have been taken advantage of by wind. All *yang* channels go up to the head and face. When one exercises or does physical work, *yang qi* is generated and discharged, and the pores are opened. Hence, one is vulnerable to wind. This is called *head-wind*. The condition of the illness is: profuse sweating on the head and face, and a dislike of wind. One has a headache when the illness gets worse. Also, being struck by wind just after a bath can cause *head-wind*. Moreover, if someone has just had a shower and their head is not yet dry, they should not lie down; doing so will make their head heavy and their body hot. As a result, they will get wind, and become irritable and heavy-hearted.

診其脈，寸口陰陽表裏互相乘。如風在首，久不瘥，則風入腦，變為頭眩。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

In diagnosing the pulse, the *yin* and *yang* which are on the outside and inside of the *cun-opening* exchange places. If wind stays at the head and is left untreated for a long time, it will then enter the brain and cause head spin. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：飽食仰臥，久成氣病頭風。又云：飽食沐髮，作頭風。又云：夏不用露面臥，露下墮面上，令面皮濃，喜成癬。一云作面風。又云：人常須日已沒食訖，食訖即更不須飲酒，終天不乾嘔。諸熱食膩物，不飲冷醋漿，喜失聲失咽。熱食枕手臥，久成頭風目澀。

'The *Yangsheng* Recipes' says, 'Lying down on your back after a full meal, over a long period of time, creates a *qi* illness of *head-wind*'. Again, it says, 'Taking a bath after a full meal causes *head-wind*'. Again, it says, 'In the summer, do not expose your face while lying down. Exposing your face makes your skin thick and you are likely to get *xian* (skin complaints). It is called *head-wind*'. Again, it says, 'You should always finish eating before sunset. You should not drink alcohol after a meal. In this way, you will never in your life suffer from dry retching. Do not drink cold vinegar while having hot and oily food, or you are likely to lose your voice and be unable to swallow. If you lie down with a bent arm as a pillow after having hot food, over a long period of time, you will get *head-wind* and dry eyes.'

《養生方·導引法》云：一手拓頤，向上極勢，一手向後長舒急努，四方顯手掌，一時俱極勢，四七。左右換手皆然。拓頤，手兩向共頭欹側，轉身二七。去臂

膊風、頭風，眠睡。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Push your chin up with one hand as much as possible. Extend your other arm fully and forcefully behind, palm facing the four directions. Hold the full posture for a while, four times seven times. Change left and right hands and repeat. Push your chin up, move both hands and head to one side, and turn your body twice seven times. This gets rid of wind in the arms and shoulders, *head-wind* and over-sleeping.'

又云：解髮，東向坐，握固不息一通，舉手左右導引，手掩兩耳。以手復捋頭五，通脈也。治頭風，令髮不白。

Again, it says, 'Loosen your hair and sit facing east; do *wogu* and hold your breath while raising your arms, guiding and pulling between left and right. Then cover both ears with your hands. Then use your hands to comb your hair repeatedly five times. This opens the vessels/*mai*, cures *head-wind* and stops your hair from going white.'

又云：端坐伸腰，左右傾側，閉目，以鼻內氣，自極七息止。除頭風。

Again, it says, 'Sit straight and lengthen your lumbar. Lean to the sides, to left and right, with your eyes closed. Inhale *qi* fully through your nose. Stop after seven breaths. This gets rid of *head-wind*.'

又云：頭痛，以鼻內氣，徐吐出氣，三十過休。

Again, it says, 'For headache: Inhale *qi* through your nose and slowly exhale. Rest after thirty times.'

又云：抱兩膝，自棄於地，不息八通。治胸中上至頭諸病，耳目鼻喉痛。

Again, it says, 'Embrace both knees and let them drop to the ground. Hold your breath and do this eight times. It cures various disorder from the chest up to the head, and pains in your ears, eyes, nose and throat.'

又云：欲治頭痛，偃臥閉氣，令鼻極乃息，汗出乃止。

Again, it says, 'If you want to cure headache, lie on your back and hold your *qi*, drawing as much as possible into your nose; then breathe. Stop after you begin to sweat.'

又云：叉兩手頭後，極勢，振搖二七，手掌翻覆安之七，頭欲得向後仰之，一時一勢，欲得欹斜四角，急挽之，三七。去頭掖膊肘風。

Again, it says, 'Interlacing your fingers, put your hands behind your head as much as you can. Shake and rock [your head] twice seven times. Reverse the position of your hands and repeat seven times. Move your head backwards and upwards and hold the posture for a while. Holding your head firmly with

your hands, lean your head diagonally to four sides. Do this thrice seven times. It gets rid of wind in the head, armpits, shoulders and elbows.'

12 卷二風病第四十二候、風頭眩候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 42: Symptom of *head-spin* associated with wind

風頭眩者，由血氣虛，風邪入腦，而引目系故也。五臟六腑之精氣，皆上注於目，血氣與脈並於上系，上屬於腦，後出於項中。逢身之虛，則為風邪所傷，入腦則腦轉而目系急，目系急故成眩也。

Head-spin associated with wind is when blood and *qi* are deficient and the wind deviance enters the brain, causing a pull on the network connected to the eyes. The essence and the *qi* of the five *zang* (*yin* organs) and the six *fu* (*yang* organs) all rise up to the eyes. Blood, *qi* and *mai* congregate at the upper network, which belongs to the brain. They then come out from the back at the nape. When the body is weak, it can be injured by the wind deviance which enters the brain, making it spin. This causes the eye network to tighten, resulting in dizziness.

診其脈，洪大而長者，風眩。又得陽維浮者，暫起目眩也。風眩久不瘥，則變為癲疾。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is flooding and long, it is *wind-dizziness*. Also, if the *yang* pulse is floating, there will be a temporary dizziness in the eyes. *Wind-dizziness* left untreated for a long time becomes mental illness. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：以兩手抱右膝，著膺，除風眩。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Method says, 'With both hands, hold your right knee against your chest. This gets rid of dizziness associated with wind.'

又云：以兩手承轆轤倒懸，令腳反在其上元。愈頭眩風癲。坐地，舒兩腳，以繩絆之，大繩絆訖，拖轆轤上來下去，以兩手挽繩，使腳上頭下，使離地，自極十二通。愈頭眩風癲。久行，身臥空中，而不墮落。

Again, it says, 'Hang upside down with both hands holding a well-pulley, your feet uppermost. This cures dizziness and madness induced by wind. Sit on the ground, both legs extended, and tie them to the rope [of the well-pulley]. Then use the well-pulley to pull [yourself] up and down. Hold the rope with both hands, keeping your legs up and your head down, away from the ground. Hold this for as long as you can and repeat it twelve times. This cures dizziness and madness induced by wind. If you do it for a long time, your body will be able to stay suspended and not fall down.'

又云：一手長舒，令掌仰；一手捉頤，挽之向外。一時極勢，二七。左右亦然。手不動，兩向側，極勢，急挽之，二七。去頸骨急強、頭風腦旋、喉痺，膊內冷注、偏風。

Again, it says, 'Stretch one arm fully with your palm facing up. The other hand holds your chin and pulls it out. Extend the posture to its limit for a while, twice seven times, doing the same on both left and right. Then, keeping the hand in place, try to turn your head to both sides as much as possible whilst holding [your chin] tightly, twice seven times. This gets rid of stiffness in the cervical spine, head-wind, dizziness, *throat-bi*, and *pouring-coldness* in the shoulders.'

又云：凡人常覺脊背倔強，不問時節，縮咽膊內，仰面，努膊并向上，頭左右兩向挪之，左右三七，一住，待血行氣動住，然始更用，初緩後急，不得先急後緩。若無病患，常欲得旦起、午時、日沒三辰，如用，辰別二七。除寒熱病，脊腰頸項痛、風痺、口內生瘡、牙齒風、頭眩，眾病盡除。

Also, it says, 'Whenever you feel congestion and stiffness in your back, regardless of the season, tuck your neck between your shoulder blades. Raise your head and try to make the *boujin* points face upwards. Then move your head to left and right, three times seven times. Stay still for a while. Wait until the circulating blood and the moving *qi* settles; then repeat. Start slowly and become faster at the end rather than starting quickly and then slowing down at the end. If you don't have any illness, it is desirable to practice this three times a day – at sunrise, noon and sunset; each time for twice seven times. It gets rid of illnesses associated with cold and heat, pain in your spine, lower back and neck, *wind-bi*, mouth ulcers, *teeth-wind* and dizziness; it gets rid of many disorders.'

又云：坐地，交叉兩腳，以兩手從曲腳中入，低頭，叉手項上。治久寒不能自溫，耳不聞聲。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground, legs crossed. Tuck your arms in your bent legs. Lower your head, interlace your fingers and put them on your neck. This cures chronic coldness, the inability to keep warm and loss of hearing.'

又云：腳著項上，不息十二通，愈大寒不覺暖熱，久頑冷患，耳聾目眩病。久行即成法，法身五六，不能變也。

Again, it says, 'Bring one leg to your neck; hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It stops you feeling excessively cold and being unable to feel warm. If you are consistently feeling cold for a long time, your ears become deaf and your eyes get dizzy. If you practise the exercise for a long time, you will become a 'dharma'. With a dharma body, you will not be affected.'

又云：低頭，不息六通。治耳聾、目癩眩、咽喉不利。

Again, it says, 'Lower your head and hold your breath. Do this six times. It cures deafness, delirious spinning eyes and blockage in the throat.'

又云：伏，前，側牢，不息六通。愈耳聾目眩。隨左右聾伏，並兩膝，耳著地，牢，強意多用力至大極。愈耳聾目眩病。久行不已，耳聞十方，亦能倒頭，則不眩也。八件有此術，亦在病疾難為。

Again, it says, 'Lie face down in a prone position, arms pinned to your sides, and hold your breath. Do this six times. It cures deafness and eye dizziness. If you do this for a long time without a break, you can hear [sounds] from the ten directions. You can also do the head stand without getting dizzy. These eight exercises require certain skills and are difficult to do when one is already ill.'

13 卷二風病第四十三候、風癲候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 43: Symptoms of *wind-madness*

風癲者，由血氣虛，邪入於陰經故也。人有血氣少，則心虛而精神離散，魂魄妄行，因為風邪所傷，故邪入於陰，則為癲疾。又人在胎，其母卒大驚，精氣并居，令子發癲。其發則仆地，吐涎沫，無所覺是也。原其癲病，皆由風邪故也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Wind-madness is caused when deficient blood and *qi* allow the deviance to enter the *yin* channel. If one's blood and *qi* are depleted, the heart becomes deficient; essence and spirit become separated and scattered. *Hun* and *po* move recklessly. As a result of wind deviant injury, the deviance enters into the *yin* and thus causes madness. Moreover, when the mother dies of shock while a child is in the womb, both the spirit and *qi* have already dwelled there, causing the child to develop madness. When triggered, [the person] collapses unconscious on to the ground, spitting foam at the mouth. The cause of the disease of madness is all to do with the wind deviance. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：夫人見十步直墻，勿順墻而臥，風利吹人，必發癲癩及體重。人臥春夏向東，秋冬向西，此是常法。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'When you see a straight wall ten steps wide, do not lie on it. If the wind blows towards you, it will trigger a seizure and make your body heavy. When lying down, you should always face east in the spring and summer, and west in the autumn and winter. This is a common rule.'

《養生方·導引法》云：還向反望，不息七通。治欬逆、胸中病、寒熱癲疾、喉不利、咽乾咽塞。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Turn and look back, and hold your breath. Do this seven times. It cures cough counter flow, disorder in the chest, illness of madness associated with cold and heat, obstruction, dryness, and cold in the throat.'

又云：以兩手承轆轤倒懸，令腳反在上元。愈頭眩風癲。坐地，舒兩腳，以繩絆之，以大繩絆訖，拖轆轤上來下去，以兩手挽繩，使腳上頭下，使離地，自極十二通。愈頭眩風癲。久行，身臥空中，而不墜落。

Again, it says, 'Hang upside down with both hands holding a well-pulley, your feet uppermost. This cures dizziness and madness induced by wind. Sit on the ground, both legs extended, and tie them to the rope [of the well-pulley]. Then use the well-pulley to pull [yourself] up and down. Hold the rope with both hands, keeping your legs up and your head down, away from the ground. Hold this for as long as you can and repeat it twelve times. This cures

dizziness and madness induced by wind. If you do it for a long time, your body will be able to stay suspended and not fall down.'

14 卷二風病第四十六候、風邪候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 46: Symptoms of wind deviance

風邪者，謂風氣傷於人也。人以身內血氣為正，外風氣為邪。若其居處失宜，飲食不節，致腑臟內損，血氣外虛，則為風邪所傷。故病有五邪：一曰中風，二曰傷暑，三曰飲食勞倦，四曰中寒，五曰中濕。其為病不同。風邪者，發則不自覺知，狂惑妄言，悲喜無度是也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Wind deviance is when someone is injured by wind *qi*. The blood and *qi* within the body are correct; it is the wind *qi* outside which is deviance. If one dwells in an unsuitable environment, and takes food and drink immoderately, internally this will cause damage to the *fu* and *zang*, and externally, the blood and *qi* will be deficient. These are damages associated with *wind-deviance*. There are five deviances which cause different illnesses according to whether one is: 1. struck by wind, 2. injured by summer-heat, 3. exhausted and fatigued from eating and drinking, 4. struck by cold, or 5. struck by damp.

When wind deviance occurs, one is not even aware of it. One is mad and confused, talks incoherently, and is unable to control the emotions of sadness and happiness. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：脾主土，土暖如人肉，始得發汗，去風冷邪氣。若腹內有氣脹，先須暖足，摩臍上下并氣海，不限遍數，多為佳。如得左迴右轉，三七。和氣如用，要用身內一百一十三法，迴轉三百六十骨節，動脈搖筋，氣血布澤，二十四氣和潤，臟腑均調。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Spleen governs earth which is warm like a person's flesh. If one starts to sweat, this gets rid of deviant *qi* associated with wind and cold. If the abdomen is bloated with *qi*, you should first warm your feet and massage your navel above and below, including the *qihai* point (RN6). There is no limit as to how many times you do this; the more the better. You can do it clockwise and anti-clockwise, thrice seven times. There are one hundred and thirteen methods for harmonising the *qi* in your body. If you twist and turn the three hundred and sixty joints, moving and shaking the channels and sinews so the *qi* and blood spread smoothly, the twenty-four *qi* will be harmonised and moistened, and the *zang* and *fu* will be in balance and adjusted.'

和氣在用，頭動轉搖，振手氣向上，心氣則下，分明知去知來。莫問平手、歛腰，轉身、摩氣，屈蹙迴動，盡，心氣放散，送至涌泉，一一不失氣之行度，用之有益。不解用者，疑如氣亂。

'To harmonise *qi*, turn and shake your head. When you shake your arms, the *qi* goes up and the *qi* in your heart goes down. Distinguish clearly which one is coming and going. There is no specified way of loosening your arms; just

bend your waist, turn your body and massage your *qi* (the *qihai* point?) or bend, contract and move round. When you have finished, release and relax your heart *qi*, and send it to *yongquan* (KI. 1) points, not losing track of the movement of the *qi*. It is beneficial to be able to do this. Those who do the exercise without understanding might suspect their *qi* is in chaos.'

15 卷二風病第四十七候、鬼邪候

Juan 2 Wind Disorder, section 47: Symptoms of ghost deviance

凡邪氣鬼物所為病也，其狀不同。或言語錯謬，或啼哭驚走，或癡狂昏亂，或喜怒哀笑，或大怖懼如人來逐，或歌謠詠嘯，或不肯語。

All illnesses caused by the deviant *qi* of ghostly entities have different conditions. Sometimes, one talks erroneously and absurdly, cries and whines while walking, and is afraid. One might be mad and hysterical, distracted or confused, or angry when happy, and laughing when sad. One might become extremely scared and frightened as though being chased by somebody, or sing songs and recite loudly, or be reluctant to say a word.

持針置髮中，入病者門，取坵岸水，以三尺新白布覆之，橫刀膝上，呼病者前，矜莊觀視病者語言顏色。應對不精明，乃以含水嚔之。

Take hold of a needle and place it in the hair before entering the door of the patient. Having collected some water from the bank, cover it with a new white cloth three *chi* (about 100cm) long, and place a knife horizontally above your knees. Beckon the patient to come forward, observing and watching intently their speech and complexion. If they can not respond clearly and accurately, take the water [in your mouth] and spit it [towards the patient].

勿令病者起，復低頭視，滿三嚔後熟拭之。

Do not make the patient get up. Again, lower your head and watch [the patient]. After spitting three times fully, wipe them with a hot towel.

若病困劣昏冥，無令強起，就視之，昏冥遂不知人，不肯語，以指彈其額，近髮際，曰：欲愈乎？猶不肯語，便彈之二七，曰：愈。愈即就鬼，受以情實。

If the illness is difficult and severe, [the patient] confused and depressed, then, do not force them to get up; just observe them. If they are confused, depressed, unable to recognise anyone and unwilling to speak, flick your finger against their forehead, close to the hairline. Say, 'Do you want to get well?' If they are still unwilling to speak, flick [your finger] twice seven times [on their forehead] and say, 'Cured'. [The patient] is cured when the ghost receives the fact of the matter.

若脈來遲伏，或如雞啄，或去，此邪物也。若脈來弱，絛絛遲伏，或綿綿不知度數，而顏色不變，此邪病也。脈來乍大乍小，乍短乍長，為禍脈。

If the pulse is slow and hidden, or feels like it is being pecked by a chicken, or is absent, it indicates a deviant entity. If the pulse comes weakly, like cotton, is slow and hidden, or cotton-like in that you cannot tell its rhythm, but the complexion nevertheless is normal, it is a disease caused by deviances. If the pulse suddenly becomes big, then small, short, then long, it is a pulse of misfortune.

兩手脈浮之細微，繇繇不可知，俱有陰脈，亦細繇繇，此為陰蹻、陽蹻之脈也。此家曾有病痲風死，苦恍惚，亡人為禍也。

If the pulses on both hands are floating, wiry and faint, or cotton-like in that it cannot be felt, and all the *yin* pulses are wiry and cotton-like, these are the pulses of *yin-qiao* and *yang-qiao*. Somebody in this family has died from an illness of prickly-heat associated with wind and so [the family members] suffer from distress and confusion. It is the dead which cause this misfortune.

脈來洪大弱者，社崇。脈來沉沉澀澀，四肢重，土崇。脈來如飄風，從陰趨陽，風邪也。一來調，一來速，鬼邪也。脈有表無裏，邪之崇上得鬼病也。何謂表裏？寸尺為表，關為裏；兩頭有脈，關中絕不至也。

A pulse that surges, large and weak, is *shesui* (haunted by the local earth god 社崇). A pulse that comes sunken and choppy, with the four limbs heavy, is *tusui* (haunted by the spirits of the soil 土崇). A pulse that comes like a blowing wind which follows yin and yang is *wind-deviance*. One that comes sometimes regularly and sometimes fast, is [the pulse of] *ghost-deviance*. A pulse has exterior but not interior. The deviance of *Sui* causes ghost disease. What are the interior and the exterior? *Cun* and *chi* are the exteriors and *guan* is the interior. There are pulses at two ends but nothing arrives in the *guan*.

尺脈上不至關，為陰絕；寸脈下不至關，為陽絕。陰絕而陽微，死不治也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When the *chi* pulse reaches *guan*, it is *yin* expiry; when the *cun* pulse does not reach *guan*, it is *yang* expiry. When there is *yin* expiry and *yang* is faint, there is no cure but death. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：《上清真人訣》曰：夜行常琢齒，殺鬼邪。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, '*The Formula of the Perfected of the Great Clarity* says, 'When walking in the night, always clack your teeth together. This kills ghost deviances'.

又云：封君達常乘青牛，魯女生常乘駁牛；孟子綽常乘駁馬；尹公度常乘青騾。時人莫知其名字為誰，故曰：欲得不死，當問青牛道士。

Again, it says, 'Feng Changda always rode the green ox; Lu Nushen always rode the motley ox; Meng Zichuo always rode the motley horse; Yi Gongdu always rode the green mule. People at that time did not know whose name belongs to who, so they said,' If you do not want to die, you should ask the green ox Daoist.

欲得此色，駁牛為上，青牛次之，駁馬又次之。三色者，順生之氣也。

If you want to obtain these colours, the motley ox is the best, then the green ox, then the motley horse. These three colours follow the *qi* of life.

故云青牛者，乃柏木之精；駁牛者，古之神示之先；駁馬者，乃神龍之祖也。云道士乘此以行於路，百物之惡精、疫氣之癘鬼，長攝之焉。

Thus, it says, 'The green ox is the essence of cypress trees. The motley ox precedes the spirits of the ancients. The motley horse is the ancestor of the divine dragons. The Daoists are said to ride them on the road. The wicked spirits of all things and the pernicious ghosts of plague *qi* are all scared of them.

《養生方·導引法》云：仙經治百病之道，叩齒二七過，輒咽氣二七過。如此三百通乃止。為之二十日，邪氣悉去；六十日，小病愈；百日，大病除，三蠱伏尸皆去；面體光澤。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'The way The Scriptures of Transcendence cure all disorders is to clack together your teeth two times seven times, then swallow your *qi* twice seven times. Do this three hundred times and then stop. Once you have done this for twenty days, the deviant *qi* will be gone. It takes sixty days for a small disease to be cured. It takes a hundred days for a serious disease to be eradicated; the *sangu* 三蠱 (three venoms) and the *fushi* 伏尸 (the hidden corpse) will be gone. Your face and body will be radiant and lustrous.'

又，《無生經》曰：治百病、邪鬼、蠱毒，當正偃臥，閉目閉氣，內視丹田，以鼻徐徐內氣，令腹極滿，徐徐以口吐之，勿令有聲，令人多出少，以微為之。

Again, *The Scripture of Non-Existence* says, 'To cure a hundred diseases, evil ghosts, venoms and poisons, you should lie on your back. Close your eyes and hold your *qi*, look inside to your *dantian* 丹田 (cinnabar field). Inhale *qi* slowly through your nose and completely fill your abdomen; then, slowly exhale *qi* through your mouth. Making no sound, ensure more *qi* comes in and less goes out. Do it little by little.'

故存視五臟，各如其形色，又存胃中，令鮮明潔白如素。為之倦極，汗出乃止，以粉粉身，摩捋形體。汗不出而倦者，亦可止。明日復為之。又當存作大雷電，隆隆鬼鬼，走入腹中；為之不止，病自除矣。

'Visualise the five *zang*, each with its own shape and colour. Then visualise your stomach as being bright, clear, pure and white like silk. Do this until you are exhausted; stop when you begin to sweat. Then, having dusted your body with powder, massage and rub it in. You can stop when tired even if you are not yet sweating. Repeat this the following day. Then, visualise tremendous thunder and lightning, booming and roaring, entering your abdomen. If you continue without a break, the disease will remove itself.'

16 卷三虛勞病第一候、虛勞候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 1: Symptoms of deficiency-exhaustion

夫虛勞者，五勞、六極、七傷是也。五勞者：一曰志勞，二曰思勞，三曰心勞，四曰憂勞，五曰瘦勞。

Deficiency-exhaustion refers to the five exhaustions, the six extremes and the seven damages. The five exhaustions are the exhaustion of will, the exhaustion of thinking, the exhaustion of mind, the exhaustion of melancholy and the exhaustion of depression.

又，肺勞者，短氣而面腫，鼻不聞香臭。肝勞者，面目乾黑，口苦，精神不守，恐畏不能獨臥，目視不明。

Furthermore, the *qi* of those who have lung exhaustion is short, and their face swells up. They can smell neither fragrant nor smelly things. The face and eyes of those who have liver exhaustion are dry and black, and there is a bitter taste in their mouth. They can preserve neither their essence nor their spirit. They are scared of sleeping alone and cannot see clearly.

心勞者，忽忽喜忘，大便苦難，或時鴨瀉，口内生瘡。

Those who have heart exhaustion are distracted and tend to be forgetful. They have difficult bowel movements. Sometimes, they have diarrhoea and mouth ulcers.

脾勞者，舌本苦直，不得咽唾。

Those who have spleen exhaustion, the root of their tongue suffers from stiffness and they cannot swallow their saliva.

腎勞者，背難以俛仰，小便不利，色赤黃而有餘瀝，莖內痛，陰濕，囊生瘡，小腹滿急。

Those who have kidney exhaustion find it hard to bend or raise their back; they have problems urinating. The colour of their urine is dark yellow and it dribbles. In the penis, there is pain; in the vagina, there is discharge. They grow ulcers in their testicles, and have bloatedness and contraction in their lower abdomen.

六極者，一曰氣極，令人內虛，五臟不足，邪氣多，正氣少，不欲言。

There are six extremes. The first one is the extreme of *qi*. The person is depleted within and has deficiency in their five *zang*. There are more deviant *qi* and less upright *qi* and a lack of desire to speak.

二曰血極，令人無顏色，眉髮墮落，忽忽喜忘。

The second one is the extreme of blood. The person lacks colour, and their eyebrows and hair fall out. They are distracted and often forgetful.

三曰筋極，令人數轉筋，十指爪甲皆痛，苦倦不能久立。

The third one is the extreme of sinew. The person has frequent spasms, and pain in their ten fingers and nails. They are often tired and cannot stand for a long time.

四曰骨極，令人瘦削，齒苦痛，手足煩疼，不可以立，不欲行動。

The fourth one is the extreme of bone. The person has aching and sore limbs. They suffer from toothache, and are vexed by pains in their arms and legs. They cannot stand up and do not want to move around.

五曰肌極，令人羸瘦，無潤澤，飲食不為肌膚。

The fifth one is the extreme of muscles. The person is thin and emaciated. They lack moisture and lustre [in their complexion]. They eat and drink without building any muscle or flesh.

六曰精極，令人少氣噲噲然，內虛，五臟氣不足，髮毛落，悲傷喜忘。

The sixth one is the extreme of essence. The person has a shortage of *qi* and is unable to catch their breath. They are depleted within and have *qi* deficiency in the five *zang*. Their hair falls out; they are sad and tend to be forgetful.

七傷者，一曰陰寒，二曰陰萎，三曰裏急，四曰精連連，五曰精少、陰下濕，六曰精清，七曰小便苦數，臨事不卒。

There are seven damages. First: *yin*-coldness (genital-coldness); second: *yin*-withering (impotence); third: abdominal urgency; fourth: continual seminal emissions; fifth: scanty semen, genital dampness; sixth: cold semen; seventh: frequent urination and impotence.

又，一曰大飽傷脾，脾傷，善噫，欲臥，面黃。

Moreover, first: over-eating damages the spleen. When the spleen is damaged, the person tends to belch, wants to sleep a lot and has a yellow complexion.

二曰大怒氣逆傷肝，肝傷，少血目闇。

Second: great anger and *qi*-reversal damage the liver. When the liver becomes damaged, there is a shortage of blood, and blurred vision.

三曰強力舉重，久坐濕地傷腎，腎傷，少精，腰背痛，厥逆下冷。

Third: using excessive force to lift heavy objects, or sitting on a damp place for too long, damage the kidneys. When the kidneys become damaged, the person has a shortage of essence, pain in their lower back, and reversal cold in the lower extremities.

四曰形寒飲傷肺，肺傷，少氣，咳嗽鼻鳴。

Fourth: drinking something cold when the body is already cold damages the lung. When the lung is damaged, the person has shortness of breath, coughs, and nasal noise.

五曰憂愁思慮傷心，心傷，苦驚，喜忘善怒。

Fifth: worries, anxieties, and excessive thoughts and pre-occupations damage the heart. When the heart is damaged, the person suffers from fear. They are often forgetful, and have a quick temper.

六曰風雨寒暑傷形，形傷，髮膚枯夭。

Sixth: wind, rain, cold and heat damage the body. When the body becomes damaged, the hair and skin wither and die.

七曰大恐懼，不節傷志，志傷，恍惚不樂。

Seventh: great fear and uncontrollable dread damage the mind. When the mind is damaged, the person is distracted, absent-minded and unhappy.

男子平人，脈大為勞，極虛亦為勞。

If the pulse of an ordinary man is big, it indicates exhaustion. If his pulse is extremely weak, this also indicates exhaustion.

男子勞之為病，其脈浮大，手足煩，春夏劇，秋冬瘥，陰寒精自出，痠痺。

If a man has an illness of exhaustion, his pulse becomes floating and big, and his arms and legs are restless. It gets worse in the spring and summer, better in the autumn and winter. His genitals are cold and he has spontaneous seminal emissions, and aches [and pains in his limbs].

寸口脈浮而遲，浮即為虛，遲即為勞，虛則衛氣不足，勞則榮氣竭。

If the pulse on the *cun*-opening is floating and slow, the former indicates depletion and the latter, exhaustion. Where there is depletion, defensive *qi* becomes insufficient; where there is over-exertion, flourishing *qi* is exhausted.

脈直上者，遲逆虛也。脈澀無陽，是腎氣少；寸關澀，無血氣，逆冷，是大虛。

If the pulse beats straight up, slow and counter flowing, there is deficiency. If the pulse is not smooth, there is no *yang*, and a shortage of kidney *qi*. If the

pulses on the *cun* and the *guan* are not smooth, there is a lack of blood and *qi*, and a reversal cold. It is a severe deficiency.

脈浮微緩，皆為虛；緩而大者，勞也。脈微濡相搏。為五勞；微弱相搏，虛損，為七傷。

If the pulse is floating, faint and moderate, these are all indications of deficiency. If it is moderate and big, it is exhaustion. If the pulse is faint, and it is hard to distinguish one from another, it is an indication of the five exhaustions. If the pulse is simultaneously faint and weak, there is deficiency and detriment, which is an indication of the seven damages.

其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：唯欲嘿氣養神，閉氣使極，吐氣使微。又不得多言語、大呼喚，令神勞損。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'If you want to pacify your *qi* and nourish your spirit, hold your breath as much as you can and then spit the *qi* out as little as possible. Also, neither talk a lot nor shout loudly; it causes exhaustion and debilitation of your spirit.

亦云：不可泣淚，及多唾洩。此皆為損液漏津，使喉澀大渴。

Again, it says, 'Neither sob nor weep, nor have too much saliva and mucus. They all cause diminishment of the fluids, and leaking of the liquids. They make your throat constrict and create great thirst.

又云：雞鳴時，叩齒三十六通訖，舐唇漱口，舌聊上齒表，咽之三過。殺蟲，補虛勞，令人強壯。

Again, it says, 'When the cock crows, knock your teeth thirty-six times, then stop. Lick your lips and rinse your mouth [with your saliva]. Use your tongue to lick the outside of your top teeth, and then swallow three times. This kills parasites, nourishes [your body against] deficiency and exhaustion. It makes you strong and robust.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手拓兩頰，手不動，摟肘使急，腰內亦然，住定。放兩肘頭向外，肘膊腰氣散，盡勢，大悶始起，來去七通，去肘臂勞。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Firmly hold your cheeks with both hands; hold your elbows tightly together and keep your lumbar region firm too. Hold for a while. Then move your elbows outwards; disperse the *qi* from your elbows, shoulders and lumbar region, holding the position to

its limit until you feel the sensation of compression beginning to increase. Repeat seven times. This gets rid of exhaustion in the elbows and arms.'

又云：兩手抱兩乳，急努，前後振搖，極勢二七。手不動，搖兩肘頭上下來去三七。去兩肘內勞損，散心向下，眾血脈遍身流布，無有壅滯。

Again, it says, 'Hold your breasts with both hands, shaking them back and forth quickly and forcefully, as much as you can, twice seven times. Without moving your hands, shake your elbows up and down, thrice seven times. This gets rid of exhaustion in the elbows and helps to disperse the *heart-qi* downward. Your blood is circulating throughout your body without obstruction and stagnation.'

又云：兩足跟相對，坐上，兩足指向外扒；兩膝頭拄席，兩向外扒使急；始長舒兩手，兩向取勢，一一皆急三七。去五勞、腰脊膝疼、傷冷脾痺。

Again, it says, 'With both heels facing each other, sit on them, toes spread outwards. Kneel on a mat and spread your knees outwards as much as possible. Then start to stretch out your arms in both directions. Extend them firmly each time and do this thrice seven times. It gets rid of the five exhaustions, pains in your lumbar region, spine and knees, cold damage and *spleen-bi*.'

又云：跪一足，坐上，兩手髀內捲足，努踞向下。身外扒，一時取勢，向心來去二七。左右亦然。去五勞、足臂疼悶、膝冷陰冷。

Again, it says, 'Kneel with one leg and sit on it. Curl both of your arms around the inner thigh, holding your foot, and push your heel down as much as you can. Stretch your body upwards and hold the posture for a while. Bring [your leg] towards your heart, back and forth, twice seven times. Alternate between left and right. This gets rid of the five exhaustions, pains in your legs and arms, cold knees and genital cold.'

又云：坐抱兩膝，下去三里二寸，急抱向身極勢，足兩向身，起，欲似胡牀，住勢，還坐。上下來去三七。去腰足臂內虛勞、膀胱冷。

Again, it says, 'Sit and hold both knees, two inches below the *sanli* points (st.36). Hold them tightly against your body as much as you can. Raise your legs up towards your body, trying to look like a *hu*-chair. Hold for a while and then return to the sitting position. Do this back and forth thrice times seven times. This gets rid of *deficiency-exhaustion* in your lumbar region, legs and arms and cold in your bladder.'

又云：外轉兩腳，平躡而坐，意努動膝節，令骨中鼓，挽向外十度，非轉也。

Again, it says, 'Turn both your legs outwards and sit with [your feet] placed firmly on the ground. With intention and a lot of force, move the joints of your knees and make the bones crack like a drum. Bring your knees out ten degrees without turning them.'

又云：兩足相踰，向陰端急蹙，將兩手捧膝頭，兩向極勢，捺之二七，竟；身側兩向取勢二七，前後努腰七。去心勞、痔病、膝冷。

Again, it says, 'With the soles of your feet facing each other, draw them close to your private parts. Holding your knees up with both hands, move them to either side as much as you can, pressing them down twice seven times, then stop. Lean your body from side to side to obtain both positions, twice seven times. Move your waist vigorously back and forth seven times. This gets rid of heart-exhaustion, hemorrhoids and cold knees.'

調和未損盡時，須言語不瞋喜，偏踰，兩手抱膝頭，兩向極勢，挽之三七，左右亦然。頭須左右仰扒。去背急臂勞。

In order to regulate and harmonise the condition before it deteriorates completely, do not have too much anger or exhilaration when you speak. Sit in a half lotus position; hold a knee in each hand. Push your knees outwards in both directions as much as you can, then pull them. Do this thrice seven times. Do the same with your left and right legs. Extend your head up to the left and to the right. This gets rid of a stiff back and over-strained arms.'

又云：兩足相踰，令足掌合也；蹙足極勢，兩手長舒，掌相向腦項之後，兼至膊，相挽向頭膊，手向席，來去七；仰手，合手七。始兩手角上極勢，腰正，足不動。去五勞七傷，臍下冷暖不和。數用之，常和調適。

Again, it says, 'Place the soles of your feet together and move your feet as close to yourself as possible. Stretch out both arms, bringing your palms to the back of your neck and shoulders. Pull your head and shoulders towards the mat. Repeat seven times. Raise your arms and bring them together, seven times. First, push both arms up as much as possible. Lengthen your lumbar and keep your feet still. This gets rid of the five exhaustions, the seven damages, and irregular hot and cold below your navel. Practising this often harmonises and regulates your body.'

又云：一足踰地，一足屈膝，兩手抱犢鼻下，急挽向身極勢。左右換易四七。去五勞、三里氣不下。

Again, it says, 'Keep one foot on the ground and bend the other knee, holding just below the *dubi* 犢鼻 point (calf's nose, st. 35) with both hands. Pull it towards you as much as you can. Alternate between left and right four times seven times. This gets rid of the five exhaustions, and *qi* being unable to pass the *sanli* 三里 point (st.36).'

又云：蛇行氣，曲臥，以正身復起，踞，閉目隨氣所在，不息。少食裁通腸，服氣為食，以舐為漿，春出冬藏，不財不養。以治五勞七傷。

Again, it says, 'The moving *qi* of a snake: lie down on your side with your body bent; then, straighten your body and sit up. Sit with your knees up and eyes closed; follow your *qi* wherever it goes while holding your breath. Eat less to

keep your intestines clear. Ingest *qi* as food and lick [your lips and teeth] to make fluid. In spring, go out; in winter, hide away. Do not seek fortune and pampering. This will cure the five exhaustions and the seven damages. ’

又云：蝦蟇行氣，正坐，動搖兩臂，不息十二通。以治五勞、七傷、水腫之病也。

Again, it says, ‘The moving *qi* of a toad: sit up straight, shake both arms, and hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It cures the five exhaustions, the seven damages and illnesses of water-swelling.’

又云：外轉兩足，十遍引。去心腹諸勞。內轉兩足，十遍引，去心五息止。去身一切諸勞疾疹。

Again, it says, ‘Rotate both legs outwards and pull the *qi* ten times. This gets rid of various exhaustions of the heart and the abdomen. Rotate your legs inwards and pull the *qi* ten times. This gets rid of various disorder of exhaustion.’

17 卷三虛勞病第二候、虛勞羸瘦候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 2: Symptom of emaciation associated with the deficiency-exhaustion

夫血氣者，所以榮養其身也。虛勞之人，精髓萎竭，血氣虛弱，不能充盛肌膚，此故羸瘦也。

Blood and *qi* replenish and nourish the body. The essence-marrow of those who suffer from *deficiency-exhaustion* is withered and exhausted. Their blood and *qi* are deficient and weak, and unable to replenish and strengthen their muscles and skin. Hence, they become emaciated.

其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：朝朝服玉泉，使人丁壯，有顏色，去蟲而牢齒也。玉泉，口中唾也。朝未起，早漱口中唾，滿口乃吞之，輒琢齒二七過，如此者三，乃止，名曰練精。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Every morning swallow your jade spring (saliva). This makes you strong and robust. It brings colour to your complexion, gets rid of parasites and can strengthen your teeth. The jade spring is the saliva in your mouth. Before getting up in the morning, rinse your mouth with your saliva. Swallow the saliva when you have a mouthful of it. Then clack together your teeth twice seven times. Do the whole exercise three times, then stop. This is called practising the essence.'

又云：咽之三過，乃止。補養虛勞，令人強壯。

Again, it says, 'Swallow [your saliva] three times and then stop. This treats, through nourishment, *deficiency-exhaustion* and makes you strong and robust.'

18 卷三虛勞病第六候、虛勞寒冷候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 6: Symptom of cold associated with deficiency-exhaustion

虛勞之人，血氣虛竭，陰陽不守，臟腑俱衰，故內生寒冷也。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The blood and *qi* of those who have *deficiency-exhaustion* are deficient and completely exhausted. They cannot preserve their *yin* or *yang*; their *zang* and *fu* are completely debilitated, thus creating internal coldness. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：坐地交叉兩腳，以兩手從曲腳中入；低頭，叉手項上。治久寒不能自溫，耳不聞聲。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit on the floor and cross your legs. Tuck your arms in your bent legs. Lower your head, interlace your fingers and put them on your head. This cures chronic coldness, the inability to keep warm and loss of hearing.'

19 卷三虛勞病第十四候、虛勞少氣候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 14: Symptom of shortage of *qi* associated with deficiency-exhaustion

虛勞傷於肺，故少氣。肺主氣，氣為陽，此為陽氣不足故也。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

When deficiency-exhaustion causes damage to the lungs, there is a shortage of *qi*. The lungs govern *qi*, which is yang. Hence, the condition is a result of insufficient yang *qi*. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：人能終日不涕唾，隨有漱漏咽之。若恆含棗核而咽之，令人受氣生津液，此大要也。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'You should not have a running nose or saliva leaking from your mouth constantly. Rinse and swallow them whenever they leak out. If you regularly keep a date stone in your mouth and swallow [the saliva it produces], it will cause you to receive *qi* and generate fluids. This is of great importance.'

20 卷三虛勞病第十七候、虛勞裡急候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 17: Symptom of abdominal cramp associated with deficiency-exhaustion

虛勞則腎氣不足，傷於衝脈。衝脈為陰脈之海，起於關元，關元穴在臍下，隨腹直上至咽喉。勞傷內損，故腹裏拘急也。

When there is *deficiency-exhaustion*, the kidney-qi is insufficient. This damages the penetrating vessel, which is the sea of *yin* vessels, beginning at the *pass-origin*. The *pass-origin* point is below the navel. The vessel travels through the abdomen and goes straight up to the throat. Exhaustion causes injury and internal damage, and, as a result, tightness and pain in the abdomen.

上部之脈微細，而臥引裏急，裏急心膈上有熱者，口乾渴。

When the pulse on the upper part is faint and thready, the person will have abdominal pain when lying down. If they have abdominal pain, and heat above their diaphragm, they will have a dry mouth and be thirsty.

寸口脈陽絃下急，陰絃裏急，絃為胃氣虛，食難已飽，飽則急痛不得息。

If the *yang* pulse on the *cun*-opening is diagnosed as being wiry, this is lower abdominal cramp. If the *yin* pulse is wiry, there is abdominal cramp. A wiry pulse indicates a deficiency of stomach *qi*. When eating, it is better not to be too full. Eating too much causes acute pain and difficulty in breathing.

寸微關實、尺絃緊者，少腹腰背下苦拘急痛外，如不喜寒，身愞愞也。

If the *cun*-pulse is faint, the *guan*-pulse replete, and the *chi*-pulse wiry and tight, the person will suffer from tightness and pain in their lower abdomen and lower back. They dislike being cold and their body is in chaos.

其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：正偃臥，以口徐徐內氣，以鼻出之。除裏急，飽食。後小嚥氣數十，令溫中；若氣寒者，使人乾嘔腹痛，從口內氣七十所，咽，即大填腹內，小嚥氣數十；兩手相摩，令極熱，以摩腹，令氣下。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lie straight on your back; inhale *qi* slowly through your mouth and exhale *qi* through your nose. This gets rid of abdominal pain. After a full meal, swallow a small amount of *qi* several tens of times. This makes you warm inside. If you are cold and retch without vomiting, you will have an abdominal pain. Inhale *qi* through your

mouth seventy times and fill your abdomen. Swallow a small amount of *qi* several tens of times. Rub your hands together and make them really warm; then massage your abdomen. This causes *qi* to go down.'

21 卷三虛勞病第三十七候、虛勞體痛候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 37: Symptom of body pain associated with deficiency-exhaustion

勞傷之人，陰陽俱虛，經絡脈澀，血氣不利。若遇風邪與正氣相搏，逢寒則身體痛，值熱則皮膚癢。

In people who are injured due to exhaustion, both *yin* and *yang* are deficient, their channels and the branched vessels are rough, and neither their blood nor *qi* are smooth. If the wind deviance is encountered, and strikes against the upright *qi* when it is cold, the body will be in pain; if this happens when it is hot, the skin will become itchy.

診其脈，緊濡相搏，主體節痛。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, a tight pulse and soggy pulse strike against each other, this indicates pain in the body and joints. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：雙手舒指向上，手掌從面向南，四方迴之，屈肘上下盡勢四七，始放手向下垂之，向後雙振，輕散氣二七，上下動兩膊二七。去身內、臂、肋疼悶。漸用之，則永除。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Extend both arms with fingers facing upwards; face south and turn your palms to face the four directions. Bend your elbows, and move them up and down as much as you can, four times seven times. Then, start to bring your arms down and shake them both behind you, gently dispersing the *qi*. Do this twice seven times. Move both shoulders up and down twice seven times. This gets rid of pains and stiffness in the body, arms and ribs. Practise this little by little; all these will be eliminated forever.'

又云：大蹠坐，以兩手捉足五指，自極，低頭不息九通。治頸、脊、腰、腳痛，勞疾。

Again, it says, 'Sit with legs wide open, and using both hands, take hold of your five toes as much as possible. Lower your head and hold your breath. Do this nine times. This cures pains in the neck, spine, lumbar and legs, as well as disorder resulting from over-exertion.'

又云：偃臥，展兩足指右向，直兩手身旁，鼻內氣七息。除骨痛。

Again, it says, 'Lie on your back, stretch your toes to the right, and straighten both arms by your sides. Inhale *qi* through your nose and take seven breaths. This gets rid of pains in the bones.'

又云：端坐，伸腰，舉右手，仰其掌，卻左臂，覆左手。以鼻內氣自極七息，息間，稍頓左手。除兩臂背痛。

Again, it says, 'Sit straight, lengthening your lumbar, and raise your right hand with the palm facing up. Bring your left arm behind you, left hand facing down. Inhale *qi* through your nose fully and take seven breaths. Between breaths, gently shake your left hand. This gets rid of pains in both arms and back.'

又云：胡跪，身向下，頭去地五寸，始舉頭，面向上，將兩手一時抽出，先左手向身前長舒，一手向身後長舒，前後極勢二七。左右亦然。去臂骨脊筋陰陽不和、痛悶^巧痛。

Again, it says, 'Kneel with your left knee up, and your right knee against the ground. Lower your body with your head five *cun* from the ground. Begin to raise your head, facing up while flinging out both arms. First, stretch out your left arm in front of you and stretch out the other arm behind you. Do this as much as you can with arms in front and behind, twice seven times, alternating between left and right. This gets rid of disharmony of *yin* and *yang* in the arms, bones, spine and sinews, and oppressive pain.'

又云：坐一足上，一足橫鋪安膝下押之；一手捺上膝向下，急；一手反向取勢長舒，頭仰向前，共兩手一時取勢，捺搖二七。左右迭互亦然。去髀、胸、項、掖脈血遲澀、攣痛悶疼。雙足互跪安穩，始抽一足向前，極勢，頭面過前兩足指，上下來去三七。左右換足亦然。去臂、腰、背、髀、膝內疼悶不和，五臟六腑氣津調適。一足屈如向前，使膀胱著膝上，一足舒向後，盡勢，足指急努，兩手向後，形狀欲似飛仙虛空，頭昂，一時取勢二七，足左右換易一寸，去遍身不和。

Again, it says, 'Sit on one leg, spread the other leg sideways and press down below your knee. One hand presses down firmly upon your knee. The other arm stretches in the opposite direction. Raise your head forward and stretch both arms at the same time, pressing and moving twice seven times, alternating between left and right. This gets rid of slow and irregular blood pulse, spasm, and pains and stiffness in the thighbones, chest, neck and below the armpits. Change legs, kneeling securely and steadily. Then begin to stretch out one leg to the front as much as you can; your head and face move forward over your two toes, back and forth thrice seven times, alternating between left and right legs. This gets rid of disharmony, pains and stiffness in the arms, lumbar, back, thigh bones and knees. It regulates and adjusts the *qi* and the fluids in the five *zang* (*yang* organ) and six *fu* (*yin* organ). Bend one leg forward, bringing your bladder towards your knee. The other leg stretches behind as much as possible, toes stretched firmly with effort. Bring both arms behind, resembling a transcendent flying into the void, and raise your head. Adopt postures simultaneously. Do this twice seven times, changing legs once between left and right. This gets rid of disharmony throughout the body.'

又云：長舒兩足，足指努向上；兩手長舒，手掌相向，手指直舒；仰頭努脊，一時極勢；滿三通。動足相去一尺，手不移處，手掌向外七通。須臾，動足二

尺，手向下拓席，極勢，三通。去遍身內筋節勞虛、骨髓疼悶。長舒兩足，向身角上，兩手捉兩足指急搦心，不用力，心氣并在足下，手足一時努縱，極勢，三七。去踹、臂、腰疼。解谿蹙氣，日日漸損。

Again, it says, ' Stretch out both legs and extend your toes with efforts. Stretch out both arms, palms facing each other, fingers straight. Raise your head and squeeze the spine firmly. Hold to its full extent for a while. Do this fully three times. Move your legs apart the length of one *chi* long. Face your palms outward, keeping your arms still. Do this seven times. After a pause, move your legs two *chi* apart and press your hands down against the mat as much as you can. Do this three times. It gets rid of *deficiency-exhaustion* in the sinews and joints throughout the body, and pain and congestion in the bone marrow. Stretch out both legs and take hold of your toes and the soles of your feet firmly, without using too much force. The *qi* of the heart goes down to the feet. Relax your arms and legs completely at the same time. Do this thrice seven times. This gets rid of pain in the arms and lumbar, and the tangled *qi* in the *jixi* point (ST.41). The conditions will decrease day by day.'

22 卷三虛勞病第三十九候、虛勞口乾燥候

Juan 3 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 39: Symptom of dry mouth associated with deficiency-exhaustion

此由勞損血氣，陰陽斷隔，冷熱不通，上焦生熱，令口乾燥也。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

This is caused by blood and *qi* being damaged due to over-exertion, the *yin* and *yang* being broken apart and separated, hot and cold being unable to move freely, and production of heat by the upper burner, causing the mouth to be dry. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：東向坐，仰頭不息五通，以舌撩口中，漱滿二七，咽。愈口乾。若引腎水發醴泉，來至咽喉。醴泉甘美，能除口苦，恆香潔，食甘味和正。久行不已，味如甘露，無有飢渴。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit facing east, raise your head and hold your breath. Do this five times. Move your tongue around in your mouth until your mouth is full of saliva. Do this twice seven times and swallow it. This cures dry mouth. If you can draw water from the kidneys to generate the sweet spring (saliva), bringing it to the throat, this sweet spring is pleasant to the taste and can get rid of bitterness in your mouth, so that your mouth is always clean and has a good smell. Food will taste good and balanced. If you practise this for a long period of time, everything tastes like sweet dew and you will not be hungry or thirsty.'

又云：東向坐，仰頭不息五通，以舌撩口，漱滿二七，咽。治口苦乾燥。

Again, it says, 'Sit facing east, raise your head and hold your breath. Do this five times. Move your tongue around in your mouth until your mouth is full of saliva. Do this twice seven times and swallow it. This cures bitterness and dryness in your mouth.'

23 卷四虛勞病第六十五候、虛勞膝冷候

Juan 4 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 65: Symptoms of cold knees associated with deficiency-exhaustion

腎弱髓虛，為風冷所搏故也。腎居下焦，主腰腳，其氣榮潤骨髓。今腎虛受風寒，故令膝冷也。久不已，則腳酸疼屈弱。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When the kidneys are weak and the marrow is deficient, it is due to an attack of wind and cold. The kidneys, dwelling where the lower burner is, govern the pelvis and legs. Their *qi* nourishes and gives moisture to the bone marrow. Now, if the kidneys are deficient and wind and cold have invaded, this will cause the knees to be cold. If, over a long period of time, it is not stopped, the legs will become painful and sore, bent and weak. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手反向拓席，一足跪，坐上，一足屈如，仰面，看氣道眾處散適，極勢振四七。左右亦然。始兩足向前雙躡，極勢二七。去胸腹病，膝冷臍悶。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Press your hands against the mat behind, kneel on one leg and sit on it, while the other leg is bent. Raise your face and observe the pathways of *qi* spreading accordingly in many places. Hold the extreme posture and shake four times seven times. Do this on both left and right sides. Then bring both feet to the front and stamp them together on the ground as hard as you can, twice seven times. This gets rid of illnesses in the chest and lower abdomen, cold knees and tightness in the navel.

又云：互跪，調和心氣向下至足，意想氣索索然，流布得所，始漸漸平身，舒手傍肋，如似手掌內氣出氣不止，面覺急悶，即起背至地，來去二七，微減去膝頭冷，膀胱宿病，腰脊強，臍下冷悶。

Again, it says, 'Kneel with one knee up and the other against the ground. Adjust and harmonise the heart *qi* moving down towards the feet. With intention, imagine the *qi* flowing and spreading to all places, making a ruffling sound. Then slowly stand up, stretch your arms and put them by your ribs. You will feel as though your palms are inhaling and exhaling *qi* continuously. When you feel tightness and compression in your face, bend your back down to the ground; do this backwards and forwards twice seven times. It gradually gets rid of cold in the knees, chronic disorder in the bladder, stiffness in the lumbar and spine, and cold and compression below the navel.'

又云：舒兩足坐，散氣向涌泉，可三通，氣徹到，始收右足屈捲，將兩手急捉腳涌泉，挽。足躡手，挽，一時取勢。手足用力，送氣向下，三七，不失氣之行度。數尋，去腎內冷氣、膝冷腳疼。

Again, it says, 'Sit with your legs stretched; spread your *qi* to *yongquan* (KI. 1) points. You can do this three times until the *qi* arrives to *yongquan* points thoroughly. Then you start to bend and curl your right leg, grabbing your foot firmly with both hands at *yongquan* point. While grabbing it, stamp your foot onto your hands. Hold this position for a while, exerting strengths with your hands and foot while sending the *qi* down. Do this thrice 7 times; do not lose sight of where the *qi* moves. If you practice this many times, it will get rid of cold *qi* in the kidneys, cold knees and pains in the legs.

又云：跪一足，坐上，兩手髀內捲足，努踹向下，身外扒，一時取勢，向心來去二七。左右亦然。去痔、五勞、足臂疼悶、膝冷陰疼。

Again, it says, 'Kneel with one leg and sit on it. Firmly clasp the inner thigh of the other leg. Stretch your body upwards and hold this posture for a while. Then, bring your body back towards your heart, going back and forth twice seven times and on both left and right sides. This gets rid of the five over-exertions, pains in the legs and arms, cold knees and pains in the genitals.'

又云：臥展兩脛，足十指相柱，伸兩手身旁，鼻內氣七息。除兩脛冷，腿骨中痛。

Again, it says, 'Lie down, both legs extended with the ten toes stretched like columns. Stretch out both arms either side; inhale *qi* through your nose and take seven breaths. This gets rid of cold in both legs and pains in the leg bones.'

又云：偃臥，展兩脛兩手，足外踵，指相向，以鼻內氣，自極七息，除兩膝寒、脛骨疼、轉筋。

Again, it says, 'Lie on your back, spreading out both legs and arms, heels facing out, toes facing each other. Inhale *qi* through your nose and take seven breaths. This gets rid of cold in both knees, pain in the shinbones, and cramp in the sinews.'

又云：兩足指向下柱席，兩涌泉相拓，坐兩足跟頭，兩膝頭外扒，手身前向下盡勢，七通。去勞損陰疼膝冷、脾瘦腎乾。

Again, it says, 'Face your toes downwards against the mat like columns and push both *yongquan* (KI. 1) points against each other. Sit on both heels and turn both knees out. Bring your arms to the front of your body and press them downward as much as you can. Do this seven times. It gets rid of damage associated with over-exertion, genital pains, cold knees, emaciated spleen and desiccated kidneys.'

又云：兩手抱兩膝，極勢，來去搖之七七，仰頭向後。去膝冷。

Again, it says, 'Hold your knees with both arms as tightly as possible. Rock your body backwards and forwards seven times seven times. Raise your head backwards. This gets rid of cold knees.'

又云：偃臥，展兩脛，兩足指左向，直兩手身旁，鼻內氣七息。除死肌及脛寒。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, spread out your calves with your toes facing to the left, and straighten both arms by your side. Inhale *qi* through your nose and take seven breaths. This gets rid of dead muscles and cold in the calves.'

又云：立，兩手搦腰遍，使身正，放縱，氣下使得所，前後振搖七七，足並頭兩向，振搖二七，頭上下搖之七，縮咽舉兩膊，仰柔脊，冷氣散，令臟腑氣向涌泉通徹。

Again, it says, 'Stand up, take hold of your waist with both hands and straighten your body. Relax and bring the *qi* down below your waist. Rock your body back and forth seven times seven times. Move your head and feet both up and down. Do this twice seven times. Move your head up and down seven times. Contract your throat and raise both shoulders, leaning backwards to soften your spine. The cold *qi* will disperse and all the *qi* of the *zang* and *fu* will reach *yongquan* (KI. 1) points.'

又云：互跪，兩手向後，手掌合地，出氣向下。始，漸漸向下，覺腰脊大悶，還上，來去二七。身正，左右散氣，轉腰三七，去臍下冷悶、膝頭冷、解谿內病。

Again, it says, 'Kneeling with one knee up, and the other knee against the ground, bring your arms behind you, palms against the ground, and emit the *qi* downwards. Start by slowly bringing the *qi* down until you sense great compression in your lower back (lumbar vertebrae), and then return to the upright position. Do this backwards and forwards twice seven times. Straighten your body, disperse your *qi* to the left and the right by turning your waist thrice seven times. This gets rid of cold and stifling sensations below the navel, cold knees and pain in *jiexi* points (ST.41).'

24 卷四虛勞病第七十候、虛勞陰痛候

Juan 4 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 70: Symptoms of genital pain associated with deficiency-exhaustion

腎氣虛損，為風邪所侵，邪氣流入於腎經，與陰氣相擊，真邪交爭，故令陰痛。但冷者唯痛，挾熱則腫。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Deficient and damaged kidney *qi* is caused by the invasion of wind-deviances. This deviant *qi* flows into the kidney channel and strikes against the yin *qi*. The true and deviant *qi* fight against each other, causing pain in the genitals. When the wind deviance is cold, there is pain; when it is hot, there can be swelling. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩足指向下柱席，兩涌泉相拓，坐兩足跟頭，兩膝頭外扒，手身前向下盡勢，七通。去勞損、陰痛、膝冷。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Press your toes down on the mat like two columns, with both *Yongquan* (KI. 1) points pushing against each other. Sit on your heels and turn both knees out. Bring your arms to the front of your body and move them down as much as you can. Do this seven times. This gets rid of damage associated with over-exertion, genital pain, and cold knees.'

25 卷四虛勞病第七十三候、虛勞陰下癢濕候

Juan 4 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 73: Symptoms of itchy and damp genitals associated with deficiency-exhaustion

大虛勞損，腎氣不足，故陰冷，汗液自泄，風邪乘之，則癢癢。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When there is damage caused by severe *deficiency-exhaustion*, the kidney *qi* is depleted. Thus, there will be cold in the genitals, discharge of sweat and fluids, and itchiness associated with the wind deviance taking the advantage. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，令兩手布膝頭，取踵置尻下，以口內氣，腹脹自極，以鼻出氣，七息。除陰下濕，少腹裏痛、膝冷不隨。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lie on your back, covering your knees with both hands, and placing your heels under your buttocks. Inhale *qi* through your mouth until the lower abdomen becomes fully bloated. Exhale *qi* through your nose and take seven breaths. This gets rid of dampness in the genitals, pains in the lower abdomen and cold, inflexible knees.'

26 卷四虛勞病第七十五候、風虛勞候

Juan 4 Disorder of deficiency-exhaustion, section 75: Symptom of deficiency-exhaustion associated with wind

風虛者，百病之長。勞傷之人，血氣虛弱，其膚腠虛疏，風邪易侵。或遊易皮膚，或沉滯藏府，隨其所感，而眾病生焉。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Deficiency associated with wind is the most prevalent of all disorders. The blood and *qi* of those injured by exhaustion, are deficient and weak, their skin and pores become deficient and loose, and the wind deviance can invade easily. The deviance either moves around in the skin, or submerges and becomes stagnant in the *zang* and *fu* organs. It is led to wherever it resonates, generating numerous disorders. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：屈一足，指向地努之，使急，一手倒挽足解溪，向心極勢，腰、足解溪、頭如似骨解、氣散，一手向後拓席，一時盡勢三七。左右換手亦然。去手足腰髀風熱急悶。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Bend one leg, pointing your toes strongly towards the ground. Take hold of the *jiexi* point (ST.41) of your leg with one hand, and bring it towards your heart, exerting as much effort as possible. Your lumbar vertebrae, the *jiexi* point of your leg, and your head will be released and the *qi* will disperse. Press your other hand on the mat behind your back and hold this position for a while. Do this thrice seven times, alternating between left and hands. This gets rid of tightness, and compression in the arms, legs, lumbar and shoulders associated with *wind-heat*.'

又云：抑頭卻背，一時極勢，手向下至膝頭，直腰，面身正。還上，來去三七。始正身，縱手向下，左右動腰二七，上下挽背脊七。漸去背脊、臂髀、腰冷不和。

Again, it says, 'Raise your head and contract your back, holding the extreme posture as long as you can. Bring your hands on to your knees, and straighten your lumbar with your body pointing straight ahead. Return to the upright position. Go back and forth thrice seven times. Start the exercise by lengthening your body, relaxing your arms and bringing them downwards. Move your waist to the left and right twice seven times; flex and extend your spine seven times. This gradually gets rid of cold and disharmony in your spine, arms, shoulders and lumbar.'

頭向下努，手長舒向背上高舉，手向上，共頭，漸漸五寸，一時極勢，手還收向心前、向背後，去來和諧，氣共力調，不欲氣強於力，不欲力強於氣，二七。去胸背前後筋脈不和、氣血不調。

Exert effort and bring your head down; stretch your arms and raise them high up above your back. Arms up, make an arch above your head, gradually to five *cun*; hold the posture as much as you can for a while; bring your arms down to the front facing your heart and then to the back facing your back. You move them backwards and forwards harmoniously, gathering your *qi* and regulating your force. Do not desire *qi* to force upon force and do not desire force to force upon *qi*. Do this twice seven times. This will get rid of disharmony of the channels of the tendons at the chest and the back, disharmony of the *qi* and the blood.

又云：伸左脛，屈右膝內壓之，五息止。引肺氣，去風虛，令人目明。依經為之，引肺中氣，去風虛病，令人目明，夜中見色，與晝無異。

Again, it says, 'Stretch your left leg/calf, bend your right knee and press it inside, take five breaths and stop. It pulls *qi* of the lungs, gets rid of wind-deficiency and makes your eyes bright. Follow the scripture and practice it; it pulls *qi* in the lungs; gets rid of disorder of *wind-deficient* and makes your eyes bright. You can see colours in the night as well as you can in daylight.

27 卷五腰背病第一候、腰痛候

Juan 5 Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions, section 1: Symptom of lower back pain

腎主腰腳。腎經虛損，風冷乘之，故腰痛也。又，邪客於足太陰之絡，令人腰痛引少腹，不可以仰息。

The kidneys govern the lumbar and legs. When the kidney channel is deficient and injured, wind and cold can take advantage, thereby causing pain in the lumbar. Also, if the deviance lodges in the branch network of the foot *greater yin*, it causes pain in the lumbar and a tightening of the lower abdomen, as well as an inability to breathe when raising the head.

診其尺脈沉，主腰背痛。寸口脈弱，腰背痛。尺寸俱浮，直上直下，此為督脈腰強痛。

If, when diagnosing, the *chi* pulse is sinking, it mainly indicates pain in the lumbar and back. A weak pulse at the *cun*-opening indicates pain in the lumbar and dorsal regions. If both *chi* and *cun* pulses are floating, going straight up and down, this indicates stiffness and pain in the lumbar and the governing channel (*du mai*).

凡腰痛有五：一曰少陰，少陰申/腎也，七月萬物陽氣傷，是以腰痛。二曰風痺，風寒著腰，是以痛。三曰腎虛，役用傷腎，是以痛。四曰腎腰，墜墮傷腰，是以痛。五曰寢臥濕地，是以痛。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

There are five types of pain in the lumbar: 1. *Lesser yin*: refers to the *lesser yin* of the kidneys. If the *yang qi* in living things is injured in the seventh month, it will cause pain in the lumbar. 2. *Wind-bi*: when wind and cold attach to the lumbar, there will be pain. 3. Kidney deficiency: when [the lumbar is] overused, this will injure the kidneys, and there will be pain. 4. *Kui* lumbar: when the lumbar is injured because of a fall, there will be pain. 5. Lying or sleeping on damp ground will result in pain. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：飯了勿即臥，久成氣病，令腰疼痛。又曰：大便勿強努，令人腰疼目澀。又云：笑多，即腎轉腰痛。又云：人汗次，勿企牀懸腳，久成血痺，兩足重及腰痛。

The Yangsheng recipes says, 'Do not lie down immediately after eating. If you do, after a long period of time, you will have *qi* disorder which causes pain in your lumbar. Again, it says, 'Do not use too much force when having a bowel movement, otherwise, it will cause pain in the lumbar region and sore eyes'. Again, it says, 'Laughing too much will cause the kidneys to turn, and pain in the lumbar.' Again, it says, 'When sweating, do not dangle your legs out of bed. Otherwise, after a long period of time, you will have *blood-bi*, heavy legs and pain in the lumbar.'

《養生方·導引法》云：一手向上極勢，手掌四方轉迴，一手向下努之，合手掌努指，側身欹形，轉身向似看，手掌向上，心氣向下，散適，知氣下緣上，始極勢，左右上下四七亦然。去膊井、肋、腰脊痛悶。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'one arm faces up, extreme posture; turn your palms to four directions. One arm faces downwards exerting effort. Hold your palms together; exert efforts with your fingers. Lean and turn your body to a side as if looking around. Palms faces upwards; heart *qi* goes downwards; relax and be comfortable. Be aware of your *qi* being down and following up. Start with extreme posture, back and forth, up and down, do it like this four times seven times. It will get rid of pain and stifling sensation in the *boujing* (GB.21) point, ribs, lumbar and spine.

又云：平跪，長伸兩手，拓席向前，待腰脊須轉，遍身骨解氣散，長引腰極勢，然始卻跪使急，如似脊內冷氣出許，令臂搏痛，痛欲似悶痛，還坐，來去二七。去五臟不和、背痛悶。

Again, it says, 'Kneel on both knees, stretch out both arms; press them against the mat at the front. Wait for the lumbar and the spine which need to be turned, so that the bones are loosen and the *qi* are spreading throughout the body. Lengthen and pull your lumbar, extreme posture; then, you begin to kneel down and you do this quickly and firmly, as though some cold *qi* coming out from inside the spine, causeing pain in the arms and shoulders. It is as if having pain with stifling sensation. Return to the sitting position; do this back and forth twice seven times. It will get rid of disharmony of the five *zang*, pain and stifling sensation of the back.

又云：凡人常覺脊強，不問時節，縮咽膊內，仰面努搏井向上也。頭左右兩向挪之，左右三七，一住，待血行氣動定，然始更用，初緩後急，不得先急後緩。

Again, it says, 'Whenever there is stiffness in your spine, regardless of the seasons, tuck your throat between the shoulder blades. Raise your head and try to make the *boujin* points facing upwards. Then move your head between left and right, both directions, left and right three times seven times, stay for a while. Wait until the circulating blood and the moving *qi* settled; then you continue to practice it again. Start slowly and become faster at the end. You must not get fast in the beginning and slow at the end.

若無病人，常欲得旦起、午時、日沒三辰如用，辰別三七。除寒熱，脊、腰、頸痛。

If you don't have any illness, it is desirable to practice it three times a day – at sunrise, at noon and at sunset; each time, you do it three times seven times. It will get rid of illnesses associated with cold and heat, pain in your spine, lumbar and neck.

又云：長舒兩足，足指努向上，兩手長舒，手掌相向，手指直舒，仰頭努脊，一時極勢，滿三通。動足相去一尺，手不移處，手掌向外七通。更動足二尺，

手向下拓席，極勢，三通。去遍身內筋脈虛勞，骨髓痛悶。

Again, it says, 'Stretch out both legs and bring your toes up exerting efforts. Stretch out both arms, palms facing each other, fingers straight. Raise your head and straighten the spine firmly. Hold for a while with extreme posture and do this three times. Move your legs one *chi* apart. Move your palms to face outward while the arms are not moving; do this seven times. Then, move your legs two *chi* apart and press down against the mat with your hands, extreme posture; do this three times. It will get rid of deficiency over-exertion in the sinew and joints throughout the body, pain and stifling sensation of the bone marrow.

長舒兩足，向身角上，兩手捉兩足指急搦，心不用力，心氣並在足下，手足一時努縱，極勢三七。去喘、臂、腰疼，解豁蹙氣、日日漸損。

Stretch out both legs and grab your toes and the soles of your feet firmly but not using too much force. The *qi* of the heart goes down to the feet. Relax your arms and legs at the same time, extreme posture, three times seven times. This will get rid of pain in the heels, arms, lumber, and the tangled *qi* in the *jiexi* point (ST.41); the conditions will decrease day by day.

又云：凡學將息人，先須正坐，並膝頭足，初坐，先足指指向對，足跟外扒，坐上少欲安穩，須兩足跟向內相對，坐上，足指外扒，覺悶痛，漸漸舉身似款便，坐坐上，待共兩坐相似，不痛，始雙豎足跟向上，坐上足指並反而向外，每坐常學。去膀胱內冷，面冷風、膝冷、足疼、上氣、腰痛，盡自消適也。

Those who want to learn to breathe must first sit straight with knees and feet together. When you start sitting, first, bring your toes face towards each other and your heels face outward, and sit up. If you want to be [more] secure and stable; you should bring your heels in so they face each other and your toes face outward, and sit up. When you feel stifling and pain; slowly raise your body as though going to the toilet; and sit up. Wait until these two sitting positions become similar and cause no pain; you start bringing both heels upward; sit up, toes facing backward to the opposite directions. You can practice this every time you sit. It gets rid of cold in the bladder, cold in the knees, pain and cold in both feet, *qi* rising, pain in the lumber; all these will go and disappear automatically.

28 卷五腰背病第二候、腰痛不得俛仰候

Juan 5 Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions, section 2: Symptoms of lumbar pain, inability to bend forwards or backwards

腎主腰腳，而三陰三陽、十二經、八脈，有貫腎絡於腰脊者。

The kidneys govern the lumbar and legs. The three *yin* and the three *yang*, the twelve channels, and the eight vessels, connect to the branches of the kidneys at the lumbar vertebrae.

勞損於腎，動傷經絡，又為風冷所侵，血氣擊搏，故腰痛也。陽病者，不能俛；陰病者，不能仰，陰陽俱受邪氣者，故令腰痛而不能俛仰。

Where there is kidney damage associated with over-exertion, or injury in the channels and their branches caused by movement, while at the same time, wind and cold invade, attacking and fighting the blood and *qi*, this causes pain in the lumbar. Those with a *yang* disease cannot bend forward, while those with a *yin* disease, cannot raise their heads (bend backward). If both *yin* and *yang* receive deviant *qi*, this will cause pain in the lumbar, and an inability to bend forward or backward.

《養生方·導引法》云：伸兩腳，兩手指著足五指上。愈腰折不能低著，唾血、久疼愈。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Stretch out both legs; attach your fingers to your toes, five on each foot. It will cure collapsed lumbar with the inability to bend down and spitting blood. Any long term pain will be healed.

又云：長伸兩腳，以兩手捉足五指七通。愈折腰不能低仰也。

Again, it says, 'Stretch out both legs long; grab your toes, five on each foot, with both hands and do this seven times. It will cure collapsed lumbar with the inability to bend downward and rise upward.

29 卷五腰背病第十候、脇痛候

Juan 5 Disorder of Lumbar and Dorsal Regions, section 10: Symptoms of pain in the ribs

邪客於足少陽之絡，令人脇痛，咳，汗出。陰氣擊於肝，寒氣客於脈中，則血泣脈急，引脇與小腹。診其脈弦而急，脇下如刀刺，狀如飛尸，至困不死。左手脈大，右手脈小，病右脇下痛。寸口脈雙弦，則脇下拘急，其人漚漚而寒。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When a deviance lodges at the branched channel of *foot lesser yang*, it will cause pain in the ribs, coughing, and sweating. When the *yin qi* is being attacked in the liver and cold *qi* lodges in the channel, the blood will become rough and the pulse will become rapid with pulling sensations in the ribs and lower abdomen.

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is stringy and rapid, the patient will feel as if they have been stabbed by a knife below their ribs. The condition is like 'flying corpse', although the patient will not die, even if it is severe. If the left-hand pulse is big, while the right-hand pulse is small, there will be a disorder with pain below the right ribs. If both pulses at the *cun*-openings are stringy, there will be tension and tightness below the ribs, and the patient will have an aversion to cold. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：卒左脇痛，念肝為青龍，左目中魂神，將五營兵千乘萬騎，從甲寅直符吏，入右脇下取病去。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'When there is a sudden pain in your left ribs, visualise your liver as a green dragon; your *hun* spirit in the left eye commands soldiers of five camps, thousands and ten thousands of them riding with chariots, led by the officers of *jiayin* (one of the *yang* spirit) and *zhifu* (spirit of the six *yin*), enter below the left ribs and take away the disorder.

又云：右脇痛，念肺為白虎，右目中魄神，將五營兵千乘萬騎，從甲申、直符吏，入右脇下取病去。脇側臥，伸臂直腳，以鼻內氣，以口出之，除脇皮膚痛，七息止。

Again, it says, 'When there is a pain in your right ribs, visualise your lungs as a white tiger; your *po* spirit in the right eye commands soldiers of five camps, thousands and ten thousands of them riding with chariots, led by the officers of *jiashen* (one of the *yang* spirit) and *zhifu* (spirit of the six *yin*), enter below the right ribs and take away the disorder. Lie on one side of your ribs, arms stretched, legs straight; inhale *qi* with your nose, exhale with your mouth. It will get rid of pain on the skin and ribs. Take seven breaths and stop.

又云：端坐伸腰，右顧視目，口內氣，咽之三十。除左脇痛，開目。

Again, it says, 'Sit straight; lengthen your lumbar; look to the right; inhale *qi* with your mouth; swallow it thirty times. It will get rid of pain in the left ribs and good for the eyes.

又云：舉手交項上，相握自極。治脇下痛。坐地，交兩手著不周遍握，當挽。久行，實身如金剛，令息調長，如風雲，如雷。

Again, it says, 'Raise your hands and cross them on your neck; hold them together as much as possible. It will cure pain below the ribs. Sit on the ground; interlace your fingers loosely so that they are not held tightly, but should just hold them together. If you practice this for a long period of time, your body will be solid like a diamond. It will regulate your breaths so they become long like wind and cloud, like thunder.

30 卷五消渴病第一候、消渴候

Juan 5 Disorder of debilitating-thirst, section 1: Symptoms of debilitating-thirst

夫消渴者，渴不止，小便多是也。由少服五石諸丸散，積經年歲，石勢結於腎中，使人下焦虛熱。及至年衰，血氣減少，不復能制於石。

Those who have *debilitating-thirst* are unable to relieve thirst, and urinate frequently. This could be caused by an accumulation of pills and powders from the five stones, taken over many years. The effect of the stones, concentrated in the kidneys, is to cause deficient heat in the lower burner. When the person is old and decrepit, their blood and *qi* diminish, no longer able to control the effect of the stones.

石勢獨盛，則腎為之燥，故引（飲）水而不小便也。其病變多發癰疽，此坐熱氣，留於經絡不引，血氣壅澀，故成癰膿。

When the effect of the stones is intensified, the kidneys become dry, so that, despite drinking water, there will be no urine. This kind of disorder can undergo many changes, and eventually develop into an abscess, or an ulcer. This is caused by hot *qi* remaining in the channels or the branch network and not leaving, so that the blood and *qi* become congested and obstructed, developing into an abscess with pus.

診其脈，數大者生，細小浮者死。又沉小者生，實牢大者死。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is frequent and big, the patient will live; if it is thin, small and floating, the patient will die. Also, if it is sinking and small, the patient will live; if it is solid, firm and big, the patient will die.

有病口甘者，名為何，何以得之。此五氣之溢也，名曰脾瘴。夫五味入於口，藏於胃，脾為之行其精氣。溢在脾，令人口甘，此肥美之所發。此人必數食甘美而多肥，肥者令人內熱，甘者令人中滿，故其氣上溢，轉為消渴。

What is the illness which causes a sweet taste in the mouth called and how does one get it? It is due to the overflowing of the five *qi*, and is called pure heat of the spleen. The five tastes enter the mouth, and are stored in the stomach; the spleen makes their essential *qi* move. If they are overflowing in the spleen, this will cause a sweet taste in the mouth. If happens when [the diet] is too rich and fatty. The person must have had a lot of sweet, rich and fatty food. The fat causes inner heat, while the sweetness causes fullness in the body. Hence, the *qi* rises and overflows, and then turns into *debilitating-thirst*.

厥陰之病，消渴重，心中疼，饑而不欲食，甚則欲吐蚘。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The disease of reverting yin manifests in severe *debilitating-thirst*, pain in the heart, hunger without appetite, and, if serious, a desire to vomit. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生法》云：人睡臥，勿張口，久成消渴及失血色。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Do not open your mouth when lying down to sleep. If you do this for a long period of time, you will develop *debilitating-thirst* and lose the colour of your blood.'

《養生方·導引法》赤松子云：臥，閉目不息十二通，治飲食不消。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Master Redpine says, 'Lie down, close your eyes, hold your breath twelve times. It cures indigestion of food and drink.'

法云：解衣惔臥，伸腰臍少腹，五息止。引腎氣，去消渴，利陰陽。解衣者，無使罣礙。惔臥者，無外想，使氣易行。伸腰者，使腎無逼蹙。

The Method says, 'Loosen your clothes; lie down quietly; lengthen your lumbar; fill your lower abdomen so that it is bloated; take five breaths and stop. It pulls the kidney-qi, gets rid of *debilitating-thirst*, benefits *yin* and *yang*. Loosen your clothes so that there will be no obstructions. Lie down quietly so that there will be no external thoughts and the *qi* can move freely. Lengthen your lumbar so that there will be no pressure in the kidneys.

臍者，大努使氣滿小腹者，即攝腹牽氣使上，息即為之。引腎者，引水來咽喉，潤上部，去消渴枯槁病。利陰陽者，饒氣力也。此中數虛，要與時節而為避，初食後，大饑時，此二時不得導引，傷人。

Fill up your lower abdomen and exert your strength so that the *qi* is filled in the lower abdomen. Then hold in your lower abdomen and pull the *qi* up. You do this with your breaths. Pulling the kidneys is to pull the water to the throat. It moistens your upper part, gets rid of disease of *debilitating-thirst* and withering. It benefits *yin* and *yang*, enriches *qi* and strengths. This helps supplementing deficiency; however, there are times which are best to be avoided: immediately after a meal and when you are very hungry. You should not practise *daoyin* at both times. It damages the person.

亦避惡日，時節不和時亦避。導已，先行一百二十步，多者千步，然後食之。法不使大冷大熱，五味調和。陳穢宿食，蟲蝎餘殘，不得食。少眇著口中，數嚼少湍咽。食已，亦勿眠。此名穀藥，并與氣和，即真良藥。

You should also avoid days when there are bad weather as well as avoiding a period of disharmony of the reason. After you have finished *daoyin*, you first walk one hundred and twenty steps or as many as a thousand, then you take

food. The way [of eating] is not to have it too cold or too hot, but to blend and mix the five flavours. You must not eat rotten, smelly stale food, those leftover which have been eaten by insects or scorpions. Have a smaller amount in your mouth; chew it many times and swallow it slowly. Do not go to sleep after meal. This is called medicine of the grains. When in harmony with *qi*, it truly is a fine medicine.

31 卷七傷寒病第一候、傷寒候

Juan 7 Disorder of Cold-damage, section 1: Symptoms of cold-damage

經言：春氣溫和，夏氣暑熱，秋氣清涼，冬氣冰寒，此則四時正氣之序也。

The Classics says, 'Spring *qi* is mild and gentle; summer *qi* is hot, with the quality of summer heat; autumn *qi* is cool and refreshing; winter *qi* is icy and cold. This is the sequence of the upright *qi* of the four seasons.

冬時嚴寒，萬類深藏，君子固密，則不傷於寒。

In the winter when it is bitterly cold, living creatures hide themselves well away deeply, and the gentlemen keep themselves secure and concealed, lest they be injured by the cold.

夫觸冒之者，乃為傷寒耳。其傷於四時之氣，皆能為病，而以傷寒為毒者，以其最為殺厲之氣也。

Those affected and attacked by cold have cold-damage. Being injured by the *qi* of any of the four seasons can cause illness. However, harm caused by cold-damage is the most lethal.

即病者，為傷寒；不即病者，其寒毒藏於肌骨中；至春變為溫病；夏變為暑病。

If the person becomes ill immediately, it is cold-damage. If the person does not become ill immediately, the cold's poison is hidden in the muscles and bones. When spring comes, it changes into a warm disease; in summer, it becomes a summer heat disease.

暑病者，熱重於溫也。是以辛苦之人，春夏必有溫病者，皆由其冬時觸冒之所致，非時行之氣也。其時行者，是春時應暖而反寒，夏時應熱而反冷，秋時應涼而反熱，冬時應寒而反溫，非其時而有其氣。是以一歲之中，病無少長，多相似者，此則時行之氣也。

The heat of summer heat disease makes it more severe than warm disease. People who work hard physically get warm and hot disorder in spring and in summer, which are caused by exposure to cold during winter rather than by seasonal *qi*. Seasonal disease is caused by bitter cold in spring when it is supposed to be warm, by cold in summer when it is supposed to be hot, by heat in autumn when it is supposed to be cool, by warmth in winter when it is supposed to be bitterly cold, by having the *qi* at an inappropriate time. Therefore, if during the year, patients, young or old, get a similar illness, it would be caused by seasonal *qi*.

夫傷寒病者，起自風寒，入於腠理，與精氣交爭，榮衛否隔，周行不通。

Cold-damage disease begins with wind and cold entering the pores, and fighting with the essence and *qi* inside. This causes the flourishing and defensive *qi* to be blocked and divided, and unable to circulate.

病一日至二日，氣在孔竅皮膚之間，故病者頭痛惡寒，腰背強重，此邪氣在表，洗浴發汗即愈。病三日以上，氣浮在上部，胸心填塞，故頭痛、胸中滿悶，當吐之則愈。病五日以上，氣深結在臟，故腹脹身重，骨節煩疼，當下之則愈。

For the first day or two of being ill, the *qi* is between the pores and the skin, and so the patient has a headache and an aversion to cold. Their lumbar and dorsal regions are stiff and feel heavy. Because this deviant *qi* is on the surface, it can be cured by having a wash or a bath to sweat it out. If the illness has been there for three days or longer, the *qi* floats in the upper part of the body, making the chest and heart full and stuffy, and causing headaches and a stifling sensation in the chest. This should be cured by vomiting. If the illness has been there for more than five days, the *qi* is deep and knotted in the *zang*, causing the abdomen to be bloated, the body to be heavy, and the bones and joints to become distressingly painful. This should be cured by purgation.

夫熱病者，皆傷寒之類也。或愈或死，其死皆以六七日間，其愈皆以十日以上，何也？巨陽者，諸陽之屬也，其脈連於風府，故為諸陽主氣。

The hot disorders are all types of cold-damage. If not cured, they cause death. Either death occurs between the 6th and 7th day, or they can be cured after ten days. Why is this? All *yang* channels are connected to the giant/greater yang; their branch network connects to *fengfu* (GV16); thus all *yang* channels govern *qi*.

人之傷於寒也，則為病熱，熱雖甚不死；其兩感於寒而病者，必死。兩感於寒者，其脈應與其病形何如？兩傷於寒者，病一日，則巨陽與少陰俱病，則頭痛、口乾煩滿。

When a person is injured by cold, there will be an illness with heat. The person will not die, despite having a high temperature. If the person is attacked by cold in both [*yin* and *yang* channels], they will die. What kind of pulse corresponds to the condition of the illness when both [*yin* and *yang* channels] are injured by cold? When [*yin* and *yang*] channels are both injured by cold, on the first day of sickness, the *greater yang* and the *lesser yin* become sick, causing headache, dry mouth and feelings of vexation and fullness.

二日，則陽明與太陰俱病，則腹滿、身熱、不食、譫言。三日，則少陽與厥陰俱病，則耳聾、囊縮、厥逆，水漿不入，則不知人，六日而死。

On the second day, both *bright yang* and *great yin* become sick, causing bloated abdomen, fever in the body, loss of appetite and delirium. On the third day, both *lesser yang* and *reverting yin* become sick, causing deafness,

contracted testicles, *jue*-reversal, and an inability to take in water and broth. The patient is unable to recognise people, and will die within six days.

夫五臟已傷，六腑不通，榮衛不行，如是之後，三日乃死何也？陽明者，十二經脈之長也。其氣血盛，故不知人，三日其氣乃盡，故死。

When the five *zang* (*yin* organs) are already damaged and the six *fu* (bowels) are blocked, the flourishing and defensive *qi* cannot move. If this is the case, why is there death within three days? *Bright yang* channel is the chief of the twelve channels. Its *qi* and blood are vigorous. Therefore it can cause an inability to recognise people. Its *qi* will be exhausted within three days, leading to death.

其不兩傷於寒者，一日巨陽受之，故頭項痛，腰脊強。二日陽明受之，陽明主肉，其脈夾鼻絡於目，故身熱而鼻乾，不得臥也。

If the person is not injured at both [*yin* and *yang* channels] by cold on the first day, their *greater yang* receives the cold, causing headache, neck ache, and stiffness in the lumbar and back. On the second day, the *bright yang* channel, which governs flesh, receives the cold. Its channel forks at the nose and its branch network reaches the eyes, causing a high temperature, a dry nose, and an inability to lie down.

三日少陽受之，少陽主骨，其脈循脅絡於耳，故胸脅痛耳聾。三陽經絡皆受病，而未入通於臟也，故可汗而已。

On the third day, the *lesser yang* channel, which governs bones, receives the cold, which moves along the channel on the sides of the body, and into the branch network reaching the ears, and causing pain in the chest and ribs, and deafness. If the three *yang* channels and their branch network are all sick but the sickness has not entered the *zang*, they can be cured by sweating.

四日太陰受之，太陰脈布於胃，絡於嗌，故腹滿而嗌乾。

On the fourth day, the *great yin* receives the cold. The *great yin* channel covers the stomach, with its branch network reaching the throat. As a result, there will be bloated abdomen and a dry throat.

五日少陰受之，少陰脈貫腎絡肺，系舌本，故口熱舌乾而渴。

On the fifth day, the *lesser yin* receives the cold. The *lesser yin* channel passes through the kidneys, with its branch network reaching the lungs, and connecting to the root of the tongue. As a result, the mouth is hot, the tongue is dry and the person is thirsty.

六日厥陰受之，厥陰脈循陰器而絡於肝，故煩滿而囊縮。三陰三陽，五臟六腑皆病，榮衛不行，五臟不通則死矣。

On the sixth day, the *reversal yin* receives the cold. The *reversal yin* channel goes round the genitals, with its branch network reaching the liver, resulting in vexation, restlessness, and contracted testicles. The three *yin*, the three *yang*, the five *zang* and the six *fu* all become sick, and the flourishing and defensive *qi* cannot move. The five *zang* are blocked, hence, there will be death.

其不兩感於寒者，七日巨陽病衰，頭痛少愈。

If neither [*yin* nor *yang* channels] are affected by the cold, on the seventh day, the illness of the *greater yang* begins to recede. The headache gets better.

八日陽明病衰，身熱少愈。

On the eighth day, the illness of the *bright yang* begins to recede. The body's temperature becomes lower.

九日少陽病衰，耳聾微聞。

On the ninth day, the illness of *lesser yang* begins to recede. Deafness improves to partial hearing.

十日太陰病衰，腹減如故，則思飲食。

On the tenth day, the illness of great *yin* begins to recede. The abdomen becomes smaller, as it was before. Hence, they have an appetite.

十一日少陰病衰，渴止[不滿]，舌乾乃已。

On the eleventh day, the illness of *lesser yin* begins to recede. Thirst stops, and the tongue is no longer dry.

十二日厥陰病衰，囊從少腹微下。大氣皆去，病日已矣。

On the twelfth day, the illness of *reversal yin* begins to recede. The testicles relax and the lower abdomen loosens and becomes lower. All [deviant] *qi* has gone and the patient has recovered.

治之奈何？治之各通其臟脈，病日衰。其病未滿三日者，可汗而已，其病三日過者，可泄之而已。太陽病，頭痛至七日以上，並自當愈，其經竟故也。

How can patients be cured? In order to cure them, the channels to the *zang* must be cleared, and then their illness will recede day by day. If the illness has been absent for three days, they can sweat it out. If the illness has been gone over three days, they can be purged. With the illness of *great yang*, once the headache has lasted for seven days or more, it will be cured automatically, because [the deviant *qi*] will have reached the end of the channel.

若欲作再經者，當針補陽明，使經不傳則愈矣。

If it moves to another channel, you should use needles to nourish the *bright yang* channel. This will prevent it from moving on to the other channel, and the patient will be cured.

相病之法，視色聽聲，觀病之所。候脈要訣，豈不微乎。脈洪大者，有熱，此傷寒病也。夫傷寒脈洪浮，秋佳春成病。

In order to diagnose the illness, one should look at the complexion and listen to the sound of the patient, and observe where the illness is. Is not the important secret of diagnosing pulses such a subtle thing? If the pulse is flood-like and big, there is heat; indicating an illness of cold-damage. The pulse of cold-damage is flood-like and floating. In autumn, this is good, but in spring, it indicates illness.

寸口脈緊者，傷寒頭痛。脈來洪大，傷寒病。少陰病，惡寒身拳而利，手足四逆者，不治；其人吐利，躁逆者死。

A tight pulse at the *cun*-opening indicates cold-damage and headache. A big and flood-like pulse indicates cold-damage. If the illness is at the *lesser yin*, there will be an aversion to cold, the body will curl up and the person will have diarrhoea. [The *qi*] in the four limbs is in reversal. This cannot be cured. The person will vomit and have diarrhoea, have vexation and reversal *qi*, and will then die.

利止而眩，時時自冒者死。四逆，惡寒而身拳，其脈不至，其人不煩而躁者死。病六日，其息高者死。傷寒熱盛，脈浮大者生，沉小者死。

If the diarrhoea has stopped but there is dizziness, and if from time to time they become disorientated and confused, the person will die. If the *qi* is in reversal in the four limbs, the person will have an aversion to wind, causing their body to curl up. If their pulse does not seem to arrive, and even though the person does not feel irritable, they are restless in their body, they will die. If the illness has been there for six days, and the breath is shallow, they will die. If cold-damage causes exuberant heat, and if their pulse is floating and big, they will live; if their pulse is sinking and small, they will die.

頭痛，脈短澹者死；浮滑者生。

If the patient has a headache, together with a short and rough/choppy pulse, they will die; if their pulse is floating and slippery, they will live.

未得汗，脈盛大者生；細小者死。診人灑灑大熱，其脈細小者，死不治。傷寒熱病，脈盛躁不得汗者，此陽之極，十死不治。

If the patient has not yet begun to sweat, and their pulse is big and exuberant, they will live. If their pulse is fine and small, they will die. If, when diagnosing, the patient sweats profusely and has a high temperature, with a fine and small pulse, they will not be cured but will die. If they suffer from the disease of cold-damage with a high temperature, if their pulse is exuberant and agitated, and

if they do not sweat, these are [signs of the] extreme *yang*; they will definitely not be cured but will die.

未得汗，脈躁疾，得汗生；不得汗難瘥。頭痛脈反濇，此為逆，不治；脈浮大而易治；細微為難治。

If the patient has not yet begun to sweat and their pulse is agitated and racing, they will live if they are able to sweat. If they are unable to sweat, recovery will be difficult. If the patient has a headache together with a rougher than normal pulse, this indicates a critical state and they cannot be cured. If the pulse is floating and big, they can be cured easily. But if it is thin and faint, it will be hard to cure them.

發汗若吐下者、若亡血無津液者，而陰陽自和必愈。

When making the patient sweat, if there is vomiting and diarrhoea, or a loss of blood and a depletion of liquids, the patient will definitely be cured if their *yin* and *yang* can harmonize themselves.

夫下後發汗，其人小便不利，此亡津液，勿治，其小便利，必自愈。

When a sweat breaks out after having diarrhoea, there could be a problem with urination because of the depletion of liquid. There is no need to treat the person. Once the person can urinate without difficulty, they will automatically be cured.

陽已虛，尺中弱者，不可發其汗也。咽乾者，不可發其汗也。

If the *yang* is already deficient, and the pulse in the *chi* area is weak, do not induce sweating. Nor should sweating be induced if the throat is dry.

傷寒病，脈弦細，頭痛而發熱，此為屬少陽。少陽不可發汗，發汗則誠語，為屬胃。胃和則愈，不和則煩而悸。

In Disorder of Cold-damage, if the pulse is wiry and thin, and if the patient has a headache and temperature, it belongs to the disorder of *lesser yang*. In disorder of *lesser yang*, do not induce sweating. If they sweat, their speech which connects to the stomach will become nonsensical. If the stomach is in harmony, the patient will recover; if the stomach is not in harmony, the patient will have vexation with palpitation.

少陰病，脈細沉而微，病在裏，不可發其汗。少陰病，脈微，亦不可發汗，無陽故也。陽已虛，尺中弱濇者，復不可下。

If the pulse of *lesser yin* disease is thin, sinking and faint, the disease is on the inside, In this case, do not induce sweating. Nor should sweating be induced if the pulse of the *lesser yin* disease is faint, because there is no yang. The yang has become deficient; the pulse in the *chi* area is weak and rough. Nor should diarrhoea be induced.

太陽病，發熱而惡寒，熱多而寒少，脈微弱，則無陽，不可發其汗；脈浮，可發其汗。發熱自汗出而不惡寒，關上脈細數，不可吐。

With the *greater yang* disease, the patient has a high temperature and an aversion to cold. Most of the time they feel hot, occasionally they feel cold, and their pulse is faint and weak; therefore, there is no yang. Do not make them sweat. If their pulse is floating, you can make them sweat. If the patient has a high temperature and is sweating, but without an aversion to cold, and their pulse on the *guan* area is thin and rapid, do not induce vomiting.

若諸四逆厥者，不可吐，虛家亦然。寒多熱少，可吐者，此謂痰多也。治瘧亦如之。頭項不強痛，其寸脈微浮，胸中痞牢，氣上衝喉咽不得息，可吐之。

If there is *qi* reversal in the four limbs, or if the person is deficient, do not make them vomit. If the patient feels cold but has no temperature, it is fine to make them vomit. This means that they will produce a lot of phlegm. It is same as treating *nue* (intermittent fever, malaria). If neither head nor neck are stiff or painful, if the *cun*-pulse is faint and floating, if the patient feels depression, and tightness in their chest, if their *qi* rises and rushes to the top of the throat so that they cannot breath, it is fine to make them vomit.

治傷寒欲下之，切其脈牢，牢實之脈，或不能悉解，宜摸視手掌，澱澱汗濕者，便可下矣。

If you want to use purgation (cause diarrhoea) to cure cold-damage, you will have detected a constrained and full pulse. If you cannot conclusively detect the pulse, you should touch and examine their palms. If they are sweaty and damp, you can use purgation.

若掌不汗，病雖宜下，且當消息，溫暖身體，都皆津液通，掌亦自汗，下之即了矣。

If the palms are not sweaty, even if purging is appropriate for the disease, you should observe their condition carefully and wait until the body is warm, the body fluids flow smoothly, and the palms sweat automatically; then purgation will cure the disease.

太陰之為病，腹滿吐食，不可下，下之益甚，時腹自痛。下之，胸下結牢，脈浮，可發其汗。陽明病，心下牢滿，不可下，下之遂利，殺人，不可不審，不可脫爾，禍福正在於此。

If, when the illness is in the *greater yin*, the patient has a bloated abdomen and they vomit, do not use purgation. Purgation will make it worse, causing intermittent abdominal pain. If you have purged, there will be knotted tightness below the chest, the pulse will be floating, and you can make them sweat. For *bright yang* disorder, do not use purgation when there is tightness and fullness below the centre (stomach). Purgation causes diarrhoea, which can kill the person; therefore one should be cautious and not careless. The patient's fortune or misfortune depend on this.

太陽與少陽並病，心下牢，頭項強眩，不可下。三陽合病，腹滿身重，大小便調，其脈浮牢而數，渴欲飲水，此不可下。

If the *greater yang* and *lesser yang* channels become ill, there will be tightness in the body, dizziness and a stiff neck. Do not use purgation. If the three *yang* channels become ill, there will be a bloated abdomen and heavy body. If the patient has normal bowel movements and urination, but their pulse is floating, tight and frequent, and they feel thirst and a need to drink water, in this situation do not use purgation.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：端坐生腰，徐徐以鼻內氣，以右手持鼻，徐徐閉目吐氣。治傷寒頭痛洗洗，皆當以汗出為度。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit up straight, lengthen your lumbar and slowly inhale *qi* through your nose. Holding your nose with your right hand, slowly exhale *qi* with your eyes closed. This cures cold-damage and headaches. You should do this exercise until you begin to sweat.'

又云：舉左手，頓左足，仰掌，鼻內氣四十息止，除身熱背痛。

Again, it says, 'Raise your left arm, your palm facing up, and stamp the ground with your left foot. Inhale *qi* through your nose; stop after forty breaths. This gets rid of fever in the body and back pain.'

32 卷九時氣病第一候、時氣候

Juan 9 Seasonal Disorder, Section 1 - Symptoms of Seasonal Disorders

時行病者，是春時應暖而反寒，夏時應熱而反冷，秋時應涼而反熱，冬時應寒而反溫，此非其時而有其氣，是以一歲之中，病無長少，率相似者，此則時行之氣也。

Seasonal disorder is caused by having the *qi* at an inappropriate time: by bitter cold in spring when it is supposed to be warm, by cold in summer when it is supposed to be hot, by heat in autumn when it is supposed to be cool, and by warmth in winter when it is supposed to be bitterly cold. Therefore, if during the year, patients, young or old, get a similar illness, it will be caused by the *qi* of the seasonal cycle.

從立春節後，其中無暴大寒，不冰雪，而人有壯熱為病者，此則屬春時陽氣，發於冬時，伏寒變為溫病也。

If, after the beginning of a spring with no severe cold, ice or snowy weather, people become ill with a high temperature, this belongs to the illness, caused by *yang qi* in spring, previously developed in winter. The dormant cold turns into warm disease.

從春分以後至秋分節前，天有暴寒者，皆為時行寒疫也。一名時行傷寒。此是節後有寒傷於人，非觸冒之過也。

If there is severely cold weather between the spring and autumn equinoxes, the cold will cause a seasonal epidemic. This is known as seasonal cold-damage. Ill-effects from cold after the spring equinox are not caused by previous exposure to cold.

若三月、四月有暴寒，其時陽氣尚弱，為寒所折，病熱猶小輕也；五月、六月陽氣已盛，為寒所折，病熱則重也；七月、八月陽氣已衰，為寒所折，病熱亦小微也。其病與溫及暑病相似，但治有殊耳。

If there is severe cold between the third and fourth month, at a time when *yang qi* is still weak, and it is fractured by cold, the person will have an illness with a low temperature. If between the fifth and sixth month, when the *yang qi* has flourished, it is fractured by cold, the person will have an illness with a high temperature. If between the seventh and eighth month, when the *yang qi* has declined, it is fractured by cold, the person will have an illness with a small temperature. This kind of disease is similar to warm and summer-heat disease, but is treated differently.

然得時病，一日在皮毛，當摩膏火灸愈。不解者，二日在膚，法針，服行解散汗出愈。不解，三日在肌，復發汗，若大汗即愈；不解，止勿復發汗也。

On the first day of getting a seasonal disorder, the illness is on the surface of the skin and hair. Rub some ointment on the patient and use moxibustion to

cure them. If this does not work, on the second day, the illness will be on a deeper level within the skin, then use needles and let the patient take sweat-inducing powder. When the sweat comes out, they will be cured. If this does not work, on the third day, the illness will go into the muscles. Make the patient sweat again. They will be cured if they sweat a lot. If this does not work, stop making them sweat repeatedly.

四日在胸，服藜蘆丸微吐愈；若病固，藜蘆丸不吐者，服赤豆瓜蒂散，吐已解，視病者尚未了了者，復一法針之當解。

On the fourth day, the illness will be at the chest. Give the patient *lilu* pills in order to make them vomit lightly, and they will be cured. If the illness persists, and the *lilu* pills do not induce vomiting, the patient should take powder made out of red beans and melon stems. This will make the patient vomit and should solve the problem. However, if you observe that the patient has still not completely recovered, use needles again. This should solve the problem.

不愈者，六日熱已入胃，乃與雞子湯下之愈。百無不如意，但當諦視節度與病耳。

If the patient has not been cured, on the sixth day, the heat will have entered the stomach. You will need to use chicken's egg decoction to induce purgation in order to cure them. It works a hundred times out of a hundred. However, you should examine carefully, measure properly and administer it according to the illness.

食不消病，亦如時行病，俱發熱頭痛。食病，當速下之；時行病，當待六七日下之。

The illness of indigestion resembles a seasonal disorder, in that both have high temperature and headache. Whilst dietary related illness requires fast purgation, with seasonal disorder you should wait for six or seven days before using purgation.

時行病始得，一日在皮，二日在膚，三日在肌，四日在胸，五日入胃，入胃乃可下也。

When seasonal disorder first starts, the illness is on the surface of the skin on the first day, in the deeper level of the skin on the second day, within the muscles on the third day, within the chest on the fourth day and in the stomach on the fifth day. Once it has entered the stomach, you can use purgation.

熱在胃外而下之，熱承虛便入胃，然病要當復下之。不得下，胃中餘熱致此為病，二死一生。此輩不愈，胃虛熱入胃爛。微者赤斑出，五死一生；劇者黑斑出，十死一生。病人有強弱相倍(背)也。

If purgation is applied when heat is outside the stomach, the heat will take advantage of any deficiency to enter the stomach. Such an illness will require further purgation. If the purgation is unsuccessful, left-over heat in the stomach will cause illness such that two out of three will die and one will live. If this kind of illness is not cured, heat enters the deficient stomach, causing it to break down. Red spots appear when the condition is mild; five will die and one will live. Black spots appear when it is severe; ten will die and one will live, depending on whether the patient has a strong or weak constitution.

若得病無熱，但狂言煩躁不安，精神語言與人不相主當者，勿以火迫，但以豬苓散一方寸匕，水和服之，當以新汲井水，強令飲一升，若升半水，可至二升益佳，以指刺喉中吐之，隨手愈。

The patient may have the illness without a temperature, but talks madly and feels fidgety and restless. Their mental state and speech differ from their normal selves. In this case, do not use moxibustion to confront the illness, but ask the patient to take an inch square spoon of *zhuling* powder mixed with water. You should use water freshly drawn from the well. Make the patient drink one *sheng* of water, one and a half *sheng* of water, or, even better, two *sheng* of water. Poke a finger into their throat in order to induce vomiting. The illness can be cured easily.

不時吐者，此病皆多不瘥，勿以餘藥治也。不相主當必危。

If vomiting cannot be triggered, it is unlikely that this kind of illness will get better. In this case, do not continue to use the drug. If the patient does not appear to be themselves, they will be in danger.

若此病不時以豬苓散吐解之者，其殆速死。亦可先以法針之，尤佳。以病者過日，不以時下之，熱不得泄，亦胃爛矣。

If, such disease is not treated immediately with *zhuling* powder by vomiting in order to resolve it, the patient will be in danger of a quick death. It would be better if you could also apply acupuncture using the right method first. If the patient has been ill for several days and you do not apply purgation in time, the heat cannot be discharged and the stomach will break down.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：清旦初起，以左右手交互從頭上挽兩耳，舉，又引鬢髮，即面氣流通，令頭不白，耳不聾。又，摩手掌令熱，以摩面從上下二七止。去疢氣，令面有光。又，摩手令熱，摩身體從上至下名曰乾浴。令人勝風寒時氣，寒熱頭痛，百病皆愈。

The Yangsheng Recipes and the Daoyin Methods says, 'When you first get up in the morning, cross your left and right arms above your head and take hold of both ears alternately in order to pull them up. Then, pull the hair on your temples; immediately, the *qi* on your face will be flowing and circulating, which stops the hair from going white and the ears from becoming deaf. Again, rub your palms to make them hot and use them to massage your face from top to bottom fourteen times; then stop. This gets rid of *gan-qi* and makes your face shine. Again, rub your hands to make them hot and massage your body from top to bottom. This is called dry shower. It helps you overcome wind cold of seasonal *qi*, and headache associated with cold-fever, and the hundred diseases will all be cured.'

33 卷十溫病第一候、溫病候

Juan 10 Warm Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Warm Disorder

經言春氣溫和，夏氣暑熱，秋氣清涼，冬氣冰寒，此四時正氣之序也。

The Classics says, 'Spring *qi* is mild and gentle; summer *qi* is hot, with the quality of summer heat; autumn *qi* is clear and cool; winter *qi* is icy and cold. This is the sequence of the upright *qi* of the four seasons.

冬時嚴寒，萬類深藏，君子固密，則不傷於寒。

In the winter when it is bitterly cold, living creatures hide themselves well away deeply, and gentlemen keep themselves secure and concealed, lest they be injured by the cold.

觸冒之者，乃為傷寒耳。其傷於四時之氣，皆能為病，而以傷寒為毒者，以其最為殺厲之氣焉。

Those who are exposed to cold have cold-damage. Being injured by the *qi* of any of the four seasons can cause illness. However, harm caused by cold-damage (being injured by the cold) is the most lethal.

即病者為傷寒；不即病者，為寒毒藏於肌骨中，至春變為溫病。是以辛苦之人，春夏必有溫病者，皆由其冬時觸冒之所致也。

If the person becomes ill immediately, it is cold-damage. If the person does not become ill immediately, the cold's poison is hidden in the muscles and bones. When spring comes, it changes into a warm disease. People who work hard physically get warm disorder in spring and in summer, which are caused by exposure to cold during winter.

凡病傷寒而成溫者，先夏至日者為病溫，後夏至日者為病暑。其冬復有非節之暖，名為冬溫之毒，與傷寒大異也。

All cold-damage disease turns into warm disease before the summer solstice and into summer disease after the summer solstice. Unseasonal warmth in winter is called the poison of winter warmth. This is very different from cold damage.

有病溫者，汗出輒復熱，而脈躁疾，不為汗衰，狂言不能食，病名為何？曰：病名陰陽交，陰陽交者死也。人所以汗出者，皆生於穀，穀生於精，今邪氣交爭於骨肉之間而得汗者，是邪卻而精勝，則當食而不復熱。

When those with warm disease sweat, their temperature increases again immediately. Their illness shows an agitated pulse and is not weakened by sweating. They talk madly and cannot eat. What is this kind of illness called? It says, 'The name of the illness is intersecting *yin-yang*. Those with intersecting *yin-yang* will die.' People sweat, because sweat comes from

grains and grains come from the essence. When the deviant *qi* fights between bone and flesh, this causes sweating. When the deviance recedes, the essence has triumphed. If the patient eats, their high temperature will not return.

復熱者，邪氣也，汗者，精氣也。今汗出而輒復熱者，是邪勝也。汗出而脈尚躁盛者死。今脈不與汗相應，此不稱其病也，其死明矣。狂言者是失志，失志者死。今見三死，不見一生，雖愈必死。

A recurring temperature is caused by deviant *qi*. Sweat is the *qi* of the essence. A temperature immediately after sweating indicates that the deviance has triumphed. The patient will die, despite sweating, if their pulse is still agitated and exuberant. If the pulse does not correspond with the sweating, it indicates that the illness has not yet been overcome. Death is a certainty. Talking madly indicates a loss of mind. Those who have lost their mind will die. I have seen three die of this but not survive. The patient will die even if they are being treated.

凡皮膚熱甚，脈盛躁者，病溫也。其脈盛而滑者，汗且出也。凡溫病人，二三日，身軀熱，腹滿，頭痛，食欲如故，脈直疾，八日死。四、五日，頭痛，腹滿而吐，脈來細強，十二日死，此病不治。

Those with heat in their skin, together with an agitated and exuberant pulse have a warm disease. If their pulse is exuberant but slippery, you can induce sweating. The body of those suffering from warm disease, may after two, or three days, become hot. They may have a bloated abdomen, and a headache, but have a normal appetite, with a straight and fast pulse. They will die on the eighth day. On the fourth or fifth day, the patient may have a headache, a bloated abdomen and vomiting with a pulse coming thinly/finely but powerfully. This kind of disease cannot be cured and they will die on the 12th day.

八、九日，頭不疼，身不痛，目不赤，色不變，而反利，脈來牒牒，按不彈手，時大，心下堅，十七日死。病三、四日以下不得汗，脈大疾者生；脈細小難得者，死不治也。下利，腹中痛甚者，死不治。

On the eighth or ninth day, there may be no headache, no body pain, no redness of the eyes, no change in the complexion, but there is diarrhoea, and the pulse comes hurriedly. The pulse, when pressed, does not make the fingers spring, and it is big at times. It feels solid below the heart (in the stomach). The patient will die on the 17th day. If the illness has been running for only three, or four days, and you cannot make them sweat, if their pulse is big and fast, they will live, but if their pulse is thin, small or hard to feel, they will not be cured and will die, if they have diarrhoea, and a severe pain in their abdomen, they cannot be cured, but will die.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，存神攘辟，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. As for the visualisations of the spirits in order to give way and to avoid [bad influences], they are attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：常以雞鳴時，存心念四海神名三遍，辟百邪止鬼，令人不病。東海神名阿明 南海神名祝融 西海神名巨乘 北海神名禺強。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Regularly, when the cock crows, visualise and recite in your heart the names of the spirits of the four seas three times. This wards off a hundred deviances, gets rid of ghosts, and prevents people from becoming ill. The name of the spirit of the eastern sea is *Aming*; the name of the spirit of the southern sea is *Zhurong*; the name of the spirit of the western sea is *Juchen*; the name of the spirit of the northern sea is *Yuqiang*.'

又云：存念心氣赤，肝氣青，肺氣白，脾氣黃，腎氣黑，出周其身，又兼辟邪鬼。欲辟卻眾邪百鬼，常存心為炎火如斗，煌煌光明，則百邪不敢干之。可以入溫疫之中。

Again, it says, 'Visualise your heart *qi* as red, your liver *qi* as green, your lung *qi* as white, your spleen *qi* as yellow and your kidney *qi* as black. They emerge, circulating in the body. This can also prevent deviant ghosts. If you wish to avoid numerous deviances and ward off a hundred ghosts, visualise your heart as a blazing fire, shaped like the Dipper, shining and illuminating. In this way, the hundred deviances will not dare to interfere. You will be immune to epidemics.'

34 卷十疫癘病第一候、疫癘病候第一候

Juan 10 Epidemic Pestilence Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Epidemic Pestilence Disorder

其病與時氣、溫、熱等病相類，皆由一歲之內，節氣不和，寒暑乖候，或有暴風疾雨，霧露不散，則民多疾疫。病無長少，率皆相似，如有鬼厲之氣，故云疫癘病。

This disease is similar to the seasonal, warm and hot disorder which are all caused by the disharmony of the solar terms, abnormal climate of cold and summer heat, or having stormy wind and torrential rain, the mist and dew cannot disperse; thus people often become ill with an epidemic plague. Regardless of being young or old, the disease is very much alike as if having a harmful ghostly *qi*; thus, it is called the disease of epidemic pestilence.

《養生方》云：封君達常乘青牛，魯女生常乘駁牛，孟子綽常乘駁馬，尹公度常乘青驪。時人莫知其名字為誰，故曰：欲得不死，當問青牛道士。

The Yangsheng recipes says, 'Feng Changda always rode the green ox; Lu Nushen always rode the motley ox; Meng Zichuo always rode the motley horse; Yi Gongdu always rode the green mule. People at that time did not know whose name belongs to who, so they said, 'if you do not want to die, you should ask the Green Ox daoist.'

欲得此色，駁牛為上，青牛次之，駁馬又次之。三色者，順生之氣也。云古之青牛者，乃柏木之精也；駁牛者，古之神宗之先也；駁馬者，乃神龍之祖也。云道士乘此以行於路，百物之惡精，疫氣之厲鬼，將長揖之焉。

'If you want to get this colour, the motley ox is the best, then the green ox, then the motley horse. These three colours follow the *qi* of life. Thus, it says, 'the ancient green ox is the essence of cypress trees; the motley ox is before the spirits of the ancients. The motley horse is the ancestor of the divine dragons. It says that the Daoists ride them to walk on the path. The wicked spirits of all things and the pernicious ghosts of plague *qi* are all scared of them.'

《養生方·導引法》云：延年之道，存念心氣赤，肝氣青，肺氣白，脾氣黃，腎氣黑，出周其身，又兼辟邪鬼。欲辟卻眾邪百鬼，常存心為炎火如斗，煌煌光明，則百邪不敢干之。可以入溫疫之中。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'The way to extend your lifespan is to visualise your heart-qi as red, your liver qi as green, your lung qi as white, your spleen qi as yellow and your kidney qi as black. They emerge and circulate in your body. This can also prevent deviant ghosts. If you wish to avoid numerous deviances and ward off a hundred ghosts, visualise your heart as a blazing fire, shaped like the Dipper, shining and illuminating. In this way, the hundred deviances will not dare to interfere. You will be immune to epidemics.'

35 卷十二冷熱病第一候、病熱候

Juan 12 Cold and Hot Disorder, section 1 Symptoms of Hot Disorder

夫患熱者，皆由血氣有虛實。邪在脾胃，陽氣有餘，陰氣不足，則風邪不得宣散，因而生熱，熱搏於腑臟，故為病熱也。

Hot disease is caused by blood and *qi* being either deficient or in excess. The deviance is in the spleen and stomach. When the *yang qi* is in excess and the *yin qi* is insufficient, the deviant wind cannot be dispersed; as a result, it produces heat. The heat fights/attacks at the *fu* (the yang organs) and *zang* (the yin organs), thus becomes a hot disease.

診其脈，關上浮而數，胃中有熱；滑而疾者，亦為有熱；弱者無胃氣，是為虛熱。跗陽脈數者，胃中有熱，熱則消穀引食。跗陽脈粗而浮者，其病難治。若病者苦發熱，身體疼痛，此為表有病，其脈自當浮，今脈反沉而遲，故知難瘥；其人不即得愈，必當死，以其病與脈相反故也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the *guan* pulse, it is floating and rapid, there will be heat in the stomach. If the pulse is slippery and racing, there will also be heat. If the pulse is weak, there will be no stomach *qi*, it will be deficient heat. If the *fuyang* pulse is rapid, there will be heat in the stomach. The heat will increase the digestion of the grains, inducing appetite. If the *fuyang* pulse is rough and floating, the disease will be hard to cure. If the patient suffers from having a temperature, pain in their body. There is an exterior disease and its pulse should then be floating. However, if the pulse is sinking and slow instead, you know that the patient will be hard to recover. If the patient cannot recover soon, they will die. This is because the disease is in opposition to the pulse.

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，合兩膝，布兩足而伸腰，口內氣，振腹自極七息。除壯熱疼痛，通兩脛不隨。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Lie on your back with both knees together. Spread your feet, lengthen your lumbar, inhale qi through your mouth and shake your lower abdomen as much as you can. Do this for seven breaths. It gets rid of high temperature accompanied by pain as well as releasing any constriction in your calves.'

又云：覆臥去枕，立兩足，以鼻內氣四十所，復以鼻出之。極令微氣入鼻中，勿令鼻知。除身中熱、背痛。

Again, it says, 'Lie on your front, removing your pillow, with your toes standing on the ground. Inhale *qi* through your nose forty times then exhale through your nose. Inhale *qi* through your nose so gently that your nose is not aware

of it. This eliminates heat in the body, and back pain.'

又云：兩手卻據，仰頭向日，以口內氣，因而咽之數十。除熱、身中傷、死肌。

Again, it says, 'Press both hands behind you against the ground, raise your head and face the Sun. Inhale *qi* through your mouth and swallow it. Do this more than ten times. It gets rid of fever, injury in the body and dead muscles.'

36 卷十二冷熱病第三候、病冷候

Juan 12 Cold and Hot Disorder, Section 3 Symptoms of cold Disorder

夫虛邪在於內，與衛氣相搏，陰勝者則為寒。真氣去，去則虛，虛則內生寒。視其五官，色白為有寒。診其脈，遲則為寒；緊則為寒；澀遲為寒；微者為寒；遲而緩為寒；微而緊為寒；寸口虛為寒。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When there is deficiency, deviances remain within, fighting against the defensive *qi*. When *yin qi* dominates, [the body] becomes cold. As a result, true *qi* is diminished and when this happens, there is deficiency. When there is deficiency, there is cold inside. When examining the five facial features (ears, eyes, mouth, nose and tongue), a white colour indicates cold. If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is slow, tight, unsmooth and slow, faint, slow and moderate, faint and tight, or feeble at the *cun*-opening, it indicates symptoms of cold.

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：一足向下踰地，一足長舒向前，極勢，手掌四方取勢，左右換易四七。去腸冷、腰脊急悶、骨疼，令使血氣上下布潤。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'One foot is on the ground while the other leg stretches out to its full extent in front. Move your palms in the four directions, alternating between left and right four times seven times. This gets rid of cold in the intestines, tightness and compression in your lower back, and bone pain. It causes blood and *qi* to circulate and moisten the body.'

又云：兩足相合，兩手仰捉兩腳，向上急挽，頭向後振，極勢三七。欲得努足，手兩向舒張，身手足極勢二七。去竅中生百病、下部虛冷。

Again, it says, 'Bringing both feet together, take hold of your legs with both hands and raise them firmly, your head moving towards your back. Do this as much as you can thrice seven times. Holding both feet firmly, stretch out both arms in opposite directions. Do this extreme position of the body, arms and legs, twice seven times. It gets rid of a hundred diseases generated in the orifices, and deficiency and cold in the lower body.'

又云：叉跌，兩手反向拓席，漸漸向後，努齊腹向前散氣，待大急還放，來去二七。去齊下冷、腳疼、五臟六腑不和。

Again, it says, 'Sit cross legged, pressing both hands behind you against the mat, with fingers pointing away from your body. Gradually lean your body back while strongly pushing your navel and lower abdomen forward to disperse the *qi*. Wait until it is big, then swiftly return and release. Do this to

and fro seven times. It gets rid of cold below the navel, pain in the legs and disharmony in the five *zang* and the six *fu*.’

又云：兩手向後拓腰，蹙膊極勢，左右轉身來去三七。去腹肚齊冷，兩膊急，胸掖不和。

Again, it says, ‘Press both hands against your lumbar. Draw your shoulder blades as close together as possible. Turn your body to left and right, to and fro, thrice seven times. This gets rid of cold in the navel and lower abdomen, tightness in both shoulders and disharmony in the chest and armpits.’

又云：互跪，兩手向後，手掌合地，出氣向下。始漸漸向下，覺腰脊大悶還上，來去二七。身正，左右散氣，轉腰三七。去齊下冷悶、解谿內疼痛。

Again, it says, ‘Kneel with one knee up and the other knee against the ground. Bring both arms behind you, palms against the ground, and emit *qi* downwards. At first, slowly bring the *qi* down until you feel great compression in your lower back, then return to the upright position. Do this to and fro twice seven times. Straighten your body, disperse your *qi* to left and right by turning your waist thrice seven times. This gets rid of cold compression below the navel and pain in the *jiexi* points (ST.41).’

37 卷十二冷熱病第七候、寒熱厥候

Juan 12 Cold and Hot Disorder, Section 7 Symptoms of *jue* associated with cold and heat

夫厥者，逆也。謂陰陽二氣卒有衰絕，逆於常度。若陽氣衰於下，則為寒厥；陰氣衰於下，則為熱厥。

Jue is a reversal. It means that when both *yin* and *yang qi* are suddenly depleted and exhausted, there is a reverse situation from normal. If *yang qi* is depleted in the lower body, it is cold *jue*. If *yin qi* is depleted in the lower body, it is hot *jue*.

熱厥之為熱也，必起於足下者。陽氣起於足五指之表，陰脈者，集於足下而聚於足心故也。故陽氣勝則足下熱。熱厥者，酒入於胃，是絡脈滿而經脈虛。脾主為胃行其津液，陰氣虛則陽氣入，陽氣入則胃不和，胃不和則精氣竭，精氣竭則不營其四肢。

Hot-jue produces heat and always starts from the soles of the feet. *Yang qi* begins on the surface of the five toes of the foot, while the *yin* vessels gather at the soles and congregate in the centre of the foot. Therefore, if *yang qi* dominates, the feet become hot. *Hot-jue* is caused by alcohol entering the stomach, making the branch channels full and the main channels deficient. Spleen governs the transportation of fluids in the stomach. When *yin qi* is deficient, *yang qi* enters. When *yang qi* enters, the stomach is not in harmony. When the stomach is not in harmony, the essential *qi* becomes exhausted. When the essential *qi* becomes exhausted, it cannot nourish the four limbs.

此人必數醉若飽已入房，氣聚於脾中未得散，酒氣與穀氣相并，熱起於內，故遍於身，內熱則尿赤。夫酒氣盛而悍，腎氣有衰，陽氣獨勝，故手腳為之熱。

Such a person would frequently have sex after getting drunk and having a big meal. The *qi*, not yet dispersed, gathers in the spleen; *qi* from the alcohol combines with *qi* from the grains, which generates heat inside. As a result, heat spreads all over the body. When there is heat inside, the urine becomes red. When the alcohol *qi* is abundant and becomes aggressive, and kidney *qi* is deficient, *yang qi* alone dominates, causing the arms and legs to be hot.

寒厥之為寒，必從五指始，上於膝下。陰氣起於五指之裏，集於膝下，聚於膝上，故陰氣勝則五指至膝上寒。

Cold-jue produces cold and always starts from the five toes, going up to below the knees. *Yin qi* begins inside the five toes, gathering below the knees and congregating above the knees. Therefore, if *yin qi* dominates, there will be cold from the five toes to above the knee.

其寒也，不從外，皆從內寒。寒厥何失而然？前陰者，宗筋之所聚，太陰陽明之所合也，春夏則陽氣多而陰氣衰，秋冬則陰氣盛而陽氣衰。此人者，質壯，

以秋冬奪其所用，下氣上爭，未能復，精氣溢下，邪氣因從之而上，氣因於中，陽氣衰，不能滲榮其經絡，故陽氣日損，陰氣獨在，故手足為之寒。

This cold does not come from outside but from inside. What kind of failure causes *cold-jue*? The front *yin* is where all tendon channels gather and where *taiyin* and *yangming* come together. In spring and summer, there is a lot of *yang qi*, while *yin qi* is in decline. In autumn and winter, *yin qi* is in abundance, while *yang qi* is in decline. Despite having a strong constitution, one's essence can be drained by autumn and winter. The *qi* from the lower part struggles at the upper part of the body, unable to return. As the essential *qi* flows out from below, deviant *qi* enters, travels up and dwells inside. *Yang qi* is in decline, unable to nourish its channels and their branches; thus *yang qi* decreases day by day and *yin qi* alone remains. As a result, the hands and feet become cold.

夫厥者，或令人腹滿，或令人暴不知人，或半日遠至一日乃知人者，此由陰氣盛於上，則下氣重上，而邪氣逆，逆則陽氣亂，亂則不知人。太陽之厥，踵首頭重，足不能行，發為胸仆。

When *jue* occurs, the lower abdomen becomes bloated, and the person remains unable to recognise anyone for half a day or even a whole day. This is caused by an abundance of *yin qi* in the upper part of the body; *qi* from the lower part also rises to the upper part, causing a reversal of deviant *qi*. Where there is a reversal, *yang qi* becomes chaotic. When it is chaotic, the patient cannot recognise people. When there is *jue* in the *taiyang* channel, both heels and head become heavy, and they cannot walk; they lose consciousness and collapse.

陽明之厥，則癲疾欲走呼，腹滿不能臥，臥則面赤而熱，妄見妄言。少陽之厥，則暴聾頰腫，胸熱脅痛，不可以運。太陰之厥，腹滿脹，後不利，不欲食，食之則嘔，不得臥也。少陰之厥者，則舌乾尿赤，腹滿心痛。厥陰之厥者，少腹腫痛，脹，溼澀不利，好臥屈膝，陰縮腫，脛內熱。

When there is *jue* in the *yangming* channel, there will be a mental disorder; the patient wants to walk about and shout, their belly is full, and they cannot lie down. If they do lie down, their face becomes red and hot. They will have hallucinations and speak nonsense. When there is *jue* in the *shaoyang* channel, the patient suddenly becomes deaf and their cheeks swell up. There is heat in their chest and pain in their ribs, and they cannot move. When there is *jue* in the *taiyin* channel, their abdomen is full and bloated, causing problems with bowel movements. They lose their appetite. If they eat, they will vomit, and they cannot lie down. When there is *jue* in the *shaoyin* channel, the tongue is dry, the urine is red, the lower abdomen is full and they have heart pain. When there is *jue* in the *jueyin* channel, the lower abdomen swells up and is painful. It is bloated, causing problems of urination. They prefer to bend the knees when lying down, the genitals are either shrunken or swollen, and there is heat in their inner lower legs.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：正偃臥，展兩足，鼻內氣，自極七息，搖足三十過止。除足寒厥逆也。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lie on your back, stretch out both legs, and inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Take seven breaths. Shake your legs thirty times; then stop. This gets rid of cold and *jue ni*/reversal flow in your legs.'

38 卷十三氣病第一候、上氣候

Juan 13 Qi Disorder, Section 1: Symptoms of upper-qi

夫百病皆生於氣，故怒則氣上，喜則氣緩，悲則氣消，恐則氣下，寒則氣收聚，熱則腠理開而氣泄，憂則氣亂，勞則氣耗，思則氣結，九氣不同。

All disorders are produced by *qi*. Hence, anger makes *qi* rise, joy makes *qi* slow down, sorrow dissipates *qi*, fear makes *qi* descend, cold makes *qi* gather, and heat opens the pores, letting *qi* leak out. Worry makes *qi* chaotic, over-exertion exhausts *qi*. Too much thinking knots *qi*. These are the nine different *qi*.

怒則氣逆，甚則嘔血，及食而氣逆上也。喜則氣和，榮衛行通利，故氣緩焉。悲則心系急，肺布葉舉，使上焦不通，榮衛不散，熱氣在內，故氣消也。

Anger reverses *qi*; in extreme cases, there will be vomiting of blood and food, as the *qi* reverses and rises. Joy harmonizes *qi*; flourishing and defensive *qi* moves slowly and smoothly, without obstruction. When there is sadness, the heart network tightens, the lungs expand and rise, causing the upper *jiao* to be blocked, flourishing and defensive *qi* cannot disperse, and hot *qi* stays inside. Thus *qi* disappears.

恐則精卻，精卻則上焦閉，閉則氣還，還則下焦脹，故氣不行。寒則經絡凝澀，故氣收聚也。熱則腠理開，榮衛通，故汗大泄也。憂則心無所寄，神無所歸，慮無所定，故氣亂矣。勞則喘且汗，外內皆越，故氣耗矣。思則身心有所止，氣留不行，故氣結矣。

When there is fear, essence declines. When essence declines, the upper heater/burner is closed, and *qi* returns. When *qi* returns, the lower heater/burner becomes bloated, and the *qi* is stuck. If there is cold, the channels and their branches congeal and are impeded, and then *qi* gathers and becomes restricted.

Heat opens the pores, and when flourishing and defensive *qi* are flowing smoothly, a great sweat breaks out. When there is worry, the heart has nothing to rely on, the spirit has nowhere to return to, the thoughts have nothing to fix on; thus *qi* becomes chaotic.

When there is over-exertion, there is panting and sweating. Because both inner and outer are in excess, *qi* becomes exhausted. Too many thoughts restrict both body and heart; the *qi* remains, not moving, thus becoming knotted.

診寸口脈伏，胸中逆氣，是諸氣上冲胸中。故上氣、面腫、膊息，其脈浮大，不治。上氣，脈躁而喘者，屬肺；肺脹欲作風水，發汗愈。脈洪則為氣。其脈虛寧伏匿者生，牢強者死。

If, when diagnosing the pulse at the *cun*-opening, it is hidden, there is a reversal of *qi* in the chest. All *qi* has rushed up into the chest; thus, there is rising *qi*. The face becomes swollen and the shoulders move with the breath. If the pulse is floating and big, there will be no cure. Rising *qi* is indicated by an irritated pulse and shortness of breath. This is a disorder of the lungs, which are swollen, producing wind and water. It can be cured by sweating. An overflowing pulse indicates a *qi* disorder; if the pulse is feeble, calm and concealed, there will be a cure, but if the pulse is firm and strong, there will be death.

喘息低仰，其脈滑，手足溫者，生也；澀而四末寒者，死也。上氣脈數者死，謂其形損故也。其湯燙針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If the breath is short while bending and stretching, and the pulse is slippery, but the hands and feet are warm, the patient will live. If the pulse is not smooth, and the extremities are cold, the patient will die. If there is rising *qi* with a rapid pulse, there will be death, because the form (body) has been damaged. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：飲水勿急咽，久成氣病。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'When drinking, do not swallow quickly. Otherwise, after a long period of time, you will develop a *qi* disorder.'

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手向後，合手拓腰向上，急勢，振搖臂肘，來去七始得。手不移，直向上向下，盡勢，來去二七，去脊、心、肺氣，壅悶消散。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Bringing both hands together behind your back, press them against your lower back, with fingers pointing up as much as possible. Shake and swing your arms and elbows backwards and forwards at least seven times. Without changing your hand position, move your arms directly up and down, to and fro, as much as you can, twice seven times. This gets rid of *qi* in the spine, heart and lungs; any congestion and compression will vanish and disperse.'

又云：凡學將息人，先須正坐，並膝頭、足；初坐，先足指相對，足跟外扒。坐上，少欲安穩，須兩足跟向內相對。坐上，足指外扒，覺悶痛，漸漸舉身似款便，坐上。待共兩坐相似，不痛，始雙豎腳跟向上，坐上，足指並反向外。每坐常學。去膀胱內冷、膝風冷，足疼、上氣、腰痛，盡自消適也。

Again, it says, 'Those who want to learn to breathe must first sit straight with knees and feet together. When you start sitting, first face your toes towards each other while your heels face outward, and sit up. If you want to be [more] secure and stable, you should bring your heels in to face each other while your toes face outward, and sit up. When you feel compression and pain, slowly raise your body as though going to the toilet, and sit up. When these

two sitting positions feel similar and cause no pain, start raising both heels and sit up with your toes facing backward in the opposite direction. You can practise this every time you sit. It gets rid of cold in the bladder, wind-cold in the knees, pain in the feet, *qi* rising, and pain in the lumbar. All these will disappear completely of their own accord.'

又云：兩足兩指相向，五息止。引心肺，去咳逆，上氣。極用力，令兩足相向，意止引肺中氣出，病人行肺內外，展轉屈伸，隨適，無有違逆。

Again, it says, 'Face the toes of both feet towards each other; stop after five breaths. This pulls the heart and the lungs, and gets rid of the counterflow of coughing, and rising *qi*. Force your two feet to face each other, and use intent and focus to pull the *qi* out of your lungs. The patient moves: stretching, turning, bending and lengthening, affecting the inside and outside of their lungs, following their inclination without hindrance and resistance.'

39 卷十三氣病第二候、卒上氣候

Juan 13 Qi Disorder, section 2: Symptoms of sudden upper-qi

肺主於氣。若肺氣虛實不調，或暴為風邪所乘，則腑臟不利，經絡否澀，氣不宣和，則卒上氣也。又因有所怒，則氣卒逆上，甚則變嘔血，氣血俱傷。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Lungs govern *qi*. If lung-*qi* is unregulated, either deficient or in excess, the wind deviance seizes its opportunity, causing harm to the *zang* and *fu*. Because the channels and their branch network are blocked and become sluggish, their flow is impeded, and the *qi* cannot spread out evenly. Hence it rises suddenly. Anger also causes *qi* to rise up suddenly in reversal. In severe cases, with vomiting of blood, both *qi* and blood are injured. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手交叉頤下，自極，致補氣；治暴氣咳。以兩手交頤下，各把兩頤脈，以頤句交中，急牽來著喉骨，自極三通，致補氣充足，治暴氣上氣，寫/馬喉等病，令氣調長，音聲弘亮。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Cross your hands and place them below your chin, pressing them against your chin as much as you can. This replenishes *qi*, and cures violent cough. Cross your hands beneath your chin, pressing the vessels on both sides of your chin. Hold your jaw firmly in your crossed hands, bringing it forcefully towards your throat bone. Do this as much as you can, three times. It replenishes *qi*, making it full and abundant, cures violent *qi* and rising *qi*, *xiehou* (horse throat), and other disorders. It will adjust the breath, lengthening it; the voice becomes bright and clear.'

40 卷十三氣病第九候、結氣候

Juan 13 Qi Disorder, section 9 Symptoms of knotted-qi

結氣病者，憂思所生也。心有所存，神有所止，氣留而不行，故結於內。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Knotted-qi disorder is produced by worry and too much thinking. When the heart is preoccupied, and the *shen* (spirit) has been seized, *qi* is stagnant and unmoving, and becomes knotted inside. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：哭泣悲來，新哭訖，不用即食，久成氣病。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, “Crying brings sadness. Do not eat immediately after crying. Otherwise, after a long period, there will be a *qi*-disorder.’

《養生方·導引法》云：坐，伸腰，舉左手，仰其掌，卻右臂，覆右手，以鼻內氣，自極七息。息間，稍頓右手。除兩臂背痛、結氣。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, ‘Sit, lengthen your lumbar, and raise your left arm with the palm facing up. Bring your right arm behind you, your hand pressing down. Inhale *qi* through your nose. Do this as much as you can for seven breaths. Between breaths, press down your right hand. This gets rid of pains in both arms and in the back, and knotted *qi*.’

又云：端坐，伸腰，舉左手，仰掌，以右手承右脅，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除結氣。

Again, it says, ‘Sit upright, lengthen your lumbar, raise your left arm with palm facing up, while supporting your left side with your right hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Do this for seven breaths. It gets rid of the knotted *qi*.’

又云：兩手拓肘頭，拄席，努肚上極勢，待大悶始下，來去上下五七。去脊背體內疼、骨節急強、肚腸宿氣。行忌太飽，不得用肚編也。

Again, it says, ‘With your hands behind you, hold your elbows and lean back so that your elbows are against the mat. Force your belly up as much as possible. Wait until there is a strong feeling of compression before beginning to bring it down. Do this backwards and forwards, up and down, five times seven times. It gets rid of pain in the body, back and spine, tightness and stiffness in your joints, and stale *qi* in the belly and guts. Do not practise this after a big meal nor while wearing a belt.’

41 卷十三氣病第十五候、逆氣候

Juan 13 Qi Disorder, section 15: Symptoms of reversed qi

夫逆氣者，因怒則氣逆，甚則嘔血，及食而氣逆上。

Anger causes *qi* to reverse, resulting in *reversed qi*; in extreme circumstances, with vomiting of blood and food, *qi* rises in reversal.

人有逆氣，不得臥而息有音者；有起居如故，而息有音者；有得臥，行而喘者；有不能臥、不能行而喘者；有不能臥，臥而喘者，皆有所起。

When people suffer from reversed *qi*, they are unable to lie down and their breathing is noisy. Some of them carry on with their lives as before, except for noisy breathing. Some are able to lie down but they get out of breath while walking; others can neither walk nor lie down, and are also short of breaths. Some cannot lie down, or get out of breath if they do. All these have different causes.

其不得臥而息有音者，是陽明之逆。足三陽者下行，今逆而上行，故息有音。陽明者，為胃脈也；胃者，六腑之海，其氣亦下行，陽明逆，氣不得從其道，故不得臥。夫胃不和則臥不安，此之謂也。

Those with noisy breathing who are unable to lie down have a reverse condition in their *yangming* channel. The three *foot yang* channels are supposed to be moving downwards, but with reversal, *qi* moves up, hence breathing becomes noisy. *Yangming* is the channel of the stomach, which is the sea of the six *fu*. Its *qi* moves downwards. If the *yangming qi* is in reversal, it cannot follow its path, which prevents the person from lying down. Therefore, if the stomach is not in harmony, there will be restlessness when lying down.

夫起居如故，而息有音者，此肺之絡脈逆，絡脈之氣不得隨經上下，故留經而不行。此絡脈之疾人，故起居如故而息有音。

Those who are able to carry on with their lives as before, but have noisy breathing, have a reversal condition in the branch channel of their lungs. The *qi* in the branch channel cannot flow up or down into the channel but stays in the channel, unable to move. So, those with this kind of disorder in their branch channel can carry on with their lives as before, except for having noisy breathing.

不得臥，臥而喘者，是水氣之客。夫水者，循津液而流也；腎者水臟，主津液，津液主臥而喘。診其脈，趺陽脈太過，則令人逆氣，背痛溫溫然。寸口脈伏，胸中有逆氣。關上脈細，其人逆氣，腹痛脹滿。

Those who are unable to lie down, or who get out of breath lying down have *water-qi* lodged in their lungs. Water flows with the body fluids. The kidney is

the water organ which governs the body fluids. The body fluids govern the condition of being out of breath while lying down. If, when diagnosing the pulse, the *fuyang* pulse is too strong, it indicates reversed *qi* and constant back pain. If the pulse at the *cun*-opening is concealed, there will be reversed *qi* in the chest. If the pulse on the *guan* is thin, there will be reversed *qi* with painful and bloated stomach.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，以左足踵拘右足拇指，鼻內氣，自極七息，除癖逆氣。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lying on your back, hook your left heel on to your right toe, inhale *qi* through your nose as much as possible and take seven breaths. This gets rid of fluid retention and *reversed qi*.'

42 卷十三腳氣病第一候、腳氣緩弱候

Juan 13 Disorder of Leg-qi, section 1: Symptoms of slow and weak leg-qi

凡腳氣病，皆由感風毒所致。得此病，多不即覺，或先無他疾，而忽得之；或因眾病後得之。初甚微，飲食嬉戲，氣力如故，當熟察之。

All disorders of *leg-qi* are caused by contracting wind poison. Most people who have this kind of disorder are not aware of it. They could suddenly get it without having any other disorder; or they get it after having various illnesses. Its condition is very mild at the beginning; the person can still eat, drink, play and have fun; their strength is the same as it was before. Therefore, it is important to examine the patient carefully.

其狀：自膝至腳有不仁，或若痺，或淫淫如蟲所緣，或腳指及膝脛洒洒爾，或腳屈弱不能行，或微腫，或酷冷，或痛疼，或緩從不隨，或攣急；

The condition can be: numbness between the knees and feet, or a sensation of having *bi* (blockage), or feeling of insects crawling. Or, the patient may feel cold between the toes and calves. Their legs may be bent and weak so that they are unable to walk. There may be a mild swelling, cold, and aching pain in the legs. Or the legs move slowly and are unable to co-ordinate. There may be spasm and tightness in the legs.

或至困能飲食者，或有不能者，或見飲食而嘔吐，惡聞食臭；或有物如指，發於臑腸，逕上冲心，氣上者；或舉體轉筋，或壯熱、頭痛；或胸頭衝悸，寢處不欲見明；或腹內苦痛而兼下者；或言語錯亂，有善忘誤者；或眼濁，精神昏憤者。

Some can still eat even if they have the restriction with their movements but some cannot eat. Some would vomit when they see any food or drink; they dislike the smell of food and all food are smelly to them. There may be an object like a finger, issuing out from the calves (can be referred as BL56) rushing up to the heart causing an up-rising *qi*. Some have their bodies raised and have twisted tendons; some have high temperature and headache, or have palpitation. Some stays in bed to avoid light; some have pain in the abdomen and also diarrhea; some speak unintelligibly and nonsensically. Some are forgetful and make mistakes easily; some have blurred vision; some are confused and troubled in their spirit.

此皆病之證也，若治之緩，便上入腹。入腹或腫，或不腫，胸脅滿，氣上便殺人。急者不全日，緩者或一、二、三日。初得此病，便宜速治之，不同常病。

All these are the patterns of this disease. If there is a delay for the treatment, the disease will move up to the abdomen, and when it has gone to the abdomen, there may be a swelling or if the abdomen is not swelling, their chest the ribs will be full. Once the *qi* goes up, it will kill the person. If it is acute, it will kill the person in less than a day; if not, it will kill the person in a

day or two or on the third day. As soon as one has this disorder, they need to be treated immediately. This is not like any other common disorder.

病既入臟，其脈有三品，內外証候相似，但脈異耳。若病患脈得浮大而緩，宜服續命湯兩劑。若風盛，宜作越婢湯加朮四兩。若脈轉快而緊，宜服竹瀝湯。脈微而弱，宜服風引湯二三劑。此皆多是因虛而得。若大虛乏氣短，可以間作補湯，隨病體之冷熱而用。若未愈，更作竹瀝湯。

When the disease has entered the *zang* organs, it exhibits three types of pulses. Although the internal and external signs and symptoms can be similar, the pulses are different. If the patient has a floating, big and slow pulse, it is better if they take two doses of the *xuming* (continuing life) decoction. If wind is dominant, it is better to take *yuebi* decoction, adding four *liang* of *atractylodes*. If the pulse changes, to become fast and tight, it is better to take *zhuli* decoction. If the pulse is feeble and weak, it is better to take two or three dosages of *fengyin* (wind pulling) decoction. These [pulses] are mostly owing to deficiency. If the patient has a great deficiency, lacking or short of *qi*, a nourishing/supplementary decoction can be taken in between dose. It should be taken according to whether the diseased body is cold or hot. If the patient has not yet recovered, change to having *zhuli* decoction.

若病患脈浮大而緊快，此是三品之最惡脈。脈或沉細而快者，此脈正與浮大而緊者同是惡脈。浮大者，病在外；沉細者，病在內，治亦不異，當消息以意耳。其形或尚可，而手腳未及至弱，數日之內，上氣便死。如此之脈，急服竹瀝湯，日一劑，湯勢恆令相及，勿令半日之內空無湯也。若服竹瀝湯得下者必佳。此湯竹汁多，服之，皆須熱服。

A floating, big, tight and fast pulse is the worst pulse of the three. A sinking, thin and fast pulse is as bad as the floating, big and tight pulse. A floating and big pulse indicates that the disease is located on the exterior; a sinking and thin pulse indicates that the disease is located at the interior. Although there is no difference in treatment, one should be attentive to the development of the disease. Even if the pulse/patient seems fine, and the arms and legs of the patient have not completely weakened, within a few days, their *qi* could rise and they could die. If the patient has such pulse, *zhuli* (bamboo juice) decoction 竹瀝湯 should be taken immediately, and then once a day. Make sure that the strength of the decoction is maintained consistently and that the patient does not go without the decoction for even half a day. It would be ideal if the patient could purge after taking *zhili* decoction. This decoction has a lot of bamboo juice; it should be taken hot.

不熱，輒停在胸膈，更為人患。若已服數劑，病及脈勢未折，而若脹滿者，可以大鯨甲湯下之。湯熱盡而不得下，可以丸藥助令得下；下後更服竹瀝湯，趣令脈勢折，氣息料理乃佳。

If it is not hot, it can be stuck at the diaphragm, causing great discomfort to the patient. If the dynamic of the pulse has not changed, despite having taken several dosages, and if there is bloatedness, it is better to purge with *dabiejia*

decoction (大鱉甲湯 big turtle shell). If the strength of the decoction diminished and purgation has not been achieved, medicinal pills can be taken to encourage/force purgation. After purgation, resume *zhili* decoction, which will hasten the decline of the dynamic of the pulse. It will be good if the patient's breath becomes normal.

江東、嶺南，土地卑下，風濕之氣，易傷於人。初得此病，多從下上，所以腳先屈弱，然後毒氣循經絡，漸入腑臟，腑臟受邪，氣便喘滿。以其病從腳起，故名腳氣。

In the Jiangdong and Lingnan regions, because the soil is poor and degraded, wind and damp *qi* can easily cause harm to people. When someone first contracts this disease, it usually starts at the bottom and then rises; hence, the legs become floppy and weak first. Then the poisonous *qi*, following the channels and branch network, gradually enters the *zang* and *fu*. The encounter of *zang* and *fu* with the deviance causes panting and fullness. Since the disease starts from the leg, it is called *leg-qi*.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *Yangsheng* supplementation and *Daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：坐，兩足長舒，自縱身，內氣向下，使心內柔和適散；然後屈一足，安膝下，長舒一足，仰足指向上使急；仰眠，頭不至席，兩手急努向前，頭向上努挽。一時各各取勢，來去二七，遞互亦然。去腳疼、腰髀冷、血冷、風痺、日日漸損。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit, stretch out both legs and relax your body. Inhale *qi* and bring it downwards, making your heart soft and peaceful. Be comfortable and relaxed. Then bend one of your legs and place your foot under the knee, while the other leg is stretched out, toes firmly raised. Lean your head backwards, without reaching the mat, while forcefully bringing both arms forward as your face faces up. Spend some time in this position. Do it backwards and forwards twice seven times, alternating legs. This gets rid of pain in the legs, cold in the lower back and shoulders, cold blood, and *wind-bi*/blockage. These will gradually lessen day by day.'

又云：覆臥，傍視，立兩踵，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除腳中弦痛、轉筋、腳酸疼，腳痺弱。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your stomach, look to one side, make both heels stand upright and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as possible and take seven breaths. This gets rid of string-like pain in the legs, twisted tendons, aching pain in the legs, and blocked and weak legs.'

又云：舒兩足坐，散氣向涌泉，可三通。氣徹到始收；右足屈卷，將兩手急捉腳涌泉，挽。足踏手挽，一時取勢。手足用力，送氣向下，三七，不失氣。數尋。去腎內冷氣、膝冷，腳疼也。

Again, it says, 'Sit with your legs outstretched; spread your *qi* to the *Yongquan* (KI. 1) points. Do this three times until all the *qi* has reached there. Then start to bend and curl your right leg, holding your foot firmly with both hands at the *Yongquan* points. While holding it, press your foot on to your hands. Hold this position for a while, exerting effort with your hands and foot while sending the *qi* down. Do this thrice seven times; do not lose sight of where the *qi* moves. If you practise this many times, it gets rid of cold *qi* in the kidneys, cold knees and pains in the legs.'

又云：一足屈之，足指仰，使急；一足安膝頭。散心，兩足跟出氣向下。一手拓膝頭向下急捺，一手向後拓席。一時極勢，左右亦然，二七。去膝脾疼急。

Again, it says, 'Bend one leg, and raise the toes firmly. Place the foot of that leg on the other knee, and relax your heart while the *qi* goes down and out from both heels. Press the knee down firmly while your other hand presses against the mat behind you. Hold the position at its full extent for a while. Do this on both left and right, twice seven times. It gets rid of tight pain in the knees and thighs.'

又云：一足踏地，一足向後，將足解溪安踰上。急努兩手，偏相向後，側身如轉，極勢二七，左右亦然。去足疼痛痺急、腰痛也。

Again, it says, 'Stand on the ground with one foot behind the other. Place one foot on top of the other, pressing on the *jiexi* point (ST.41) of the foot. Forcefully turn both arms to the back while your body turns to the side. Hold the full extent of the position twice seven times, alternating between left and right. This gets rid of blocked, tight pain in the legs and pain in the lumbar region.'

43 卷十四欬嗽第十候、欬逆候

Juan 14 Cough-related Disorder, section 10: Symptoms of reversed Cough

欬逆者，是欬嗽而氣逆上也。氣為陽，流行腑臟，宣發腠理，而氣肺之所主也。欬病由肺虛感微寒所成，寒搏於氣，氣不得宣，胃逆聚還肺，肺則脹滿，氣遂不下，故為欬逆。其狀，欬而胸滿氣逆，膊背痛，汗出，尻、陰股、膝、臑、跗足皆痛。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

A cough which causes *qi* to rise in reversal is reversed cough. *Qi* is yang which flows to and moves within the *fu* and the *zang*, and then disperses through the pores. *Qi* is governed by the lungs. Cough disorder are caused by a deficiency of the lungs which allows the body to catch cold easily. Cold fights against the *qi*, preventing its dispersal. The stomach *qi* gathers in reversal, returning to the lungs. When the lungs are full and bloated, the *qi* cannot go down. It becomes reversed cough. Its conditions can be: coughing, a full chest with reversed *qi*, pain in the shoulders and back, sweating, and pain in the buttocks, inner thighs, knees, calves and feet.

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：先以鼻內氣，乃閉口，還復以鼻內氣，咳則愈。向晨，去枕正偃臥，伸臂脛，瞑目閉口無息，極脹腹兩足再息，頃間，吸腹仰兩足，倍拳，欲自微息定，復為之。春三、夏五、秋七、冬九。蕩滌五臟，津潤六腑。所病皆愈。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'First inhale *qi* through your nose, then close your mouth. Repeat, inhaling *qi* through your nose. The cough will be cured. In the morning, remove your pillow and lie on your back, lengthening your arms and legs. Close your eyes and mouth while holding your breath. When your abdomen and legs become bloated, take another breath. After a short pause, inhale into the abdomen. Raise both legs, and make your hands into fists, keeping your breathing gentle and stable. Repeat three times in the spring, five times in the summer, seven times in the autumn and nine times in the winter. This cleans the five *zang* and moistens the six *fu*, and all disorders will be cured.'

又云：還向反望、倒望，不息七通。治欬逆、胸中病、寒熱也。

Again, it says, 'Turn round and look in the opposite direction, looking upside down. Hold your breath. Do this seven times. It cures reversed cough, disorders in the chest, and cold and heat disorders.'

44 卷十四淋病第一候、諸淋候

Juan 14 Strangury Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of various strangury disorders

諸淋者，由腎虛膀胱熱故也。膀胱與腎為表裏，俱主水。水入小腸，下於胞，行於陰，為溲便也。

Strangury disorders (painful urinary dribbling) are caused by a deficiency in the kidneys and inflammation of the bladder. The bladder is on the outside and the kidneys are on the inside. Both govern water [in the body] which goes through the small intestine, down to the bladder, and then moves to the genitals where it becomes urine.

腎氣通於陰，陰，津液下流之道也。若飲食不節，喜怒不時，虛實不調，則腑臟不和，致腎虛而膀胱熱也。膀胱，津液之府，熱則津液內溢而流於睪，水道不通，水不上不下，停積於胞，腎虛則小便數，膀胱熱則水下澀。數而且澀，則淋瀝不宣，故謂之為淋。其狀，小便出少起數，小腹弦急，痛引於齊。

The kidney *qi* connects with the genitals which are the conduit for the downward flow of fluids. An uncontrolled diet, inappropriate joy or anger, or unregulated deficiency or excess, leads to disharmony of the *fu* and *zang*. This causes the kidney to be deficient and the bladder to become hot. When the bladder, which stores fluids, is hot, those fluids overflow down to the urethra. If water is blocked, unable to go up or down, it gets stuck in the bladder. If the kidneys are deficient, there will be frequent urination. If the bladder is hot, there will be limited urination. Both frequent and limited urination can become uncontrollable dribbling urination, which is called *lin*. Despite very little urine, there is a frequent urge to urinate. The lower abdomen is pulled like a string, which causes pain in the navel.

又有石淋、勞淋、血淋、氣淋、膏淋。諸淋形証，各隨名具說於後章，而以一方法治之者，故謂之諸淋也。

There is also *stone-lin*, *exhaustion-lin*, *blood-lin*, *qi-lin* and *greased-lin* (turbid painful urinary dribbling with oily discharge). The various strangury disorders have different forms and patterns, each of which will be explained in the following chapter. Because they can be cured by the same one method, they are grouped together as strangury disorders.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，令兩手布膝頭，邪踵置尻下，口內氣，振腹自極，鼻出氣七息。去淋、數小便。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lying on your back, place your heels, at an angle, below your buttocks, and cover your knees with both hands. Inhale *qi* through your mouth, while shaking your abdomen as much as possible. Exhale *qi* through your nose; take seven breaths. This gets rid of *lin* and frequent urination.'

又云：蹲踞，高一尺許，以兩手從外屈膝內入，至足趺上，急手握足五指，極力一通，令內曲入，利腰髀，治淋。

Again, it says, 'Squat down to a height of about 1 *chi*. From the outside, put your arms through your bent knees, reaching the insteps of your feet. Hold all five toes tightly, and force greater bending on the inside. Do this once. It benefits the lumbar and the hips, and cures *lin*.'

45 卷十四淋病第二候、石淋候

Juan 14 Strangury Disorder, section 2: Symptoms of stone-strangury

石淋者，淋而出石也。腎主水，水結則化為石，故腎客沙石。腎虛為熱所乘，熱則成淋。其病之狀，小便則莖裏痛，尿不能卒出，痛引少腹，膀胱裏急，沙石從小便道出。甚者塞痛，令悶絕。

Stone-lin is when stones are passed, with painful urination. Kidneys govern water, which can solidify and become stones. Hence sand and stones are lodged in the kidneys. Heat takes advantage of deficient kidneys, resulting in *lin* (painful urinary dribbling). The conditions of the disease are: pain in the penis while urinating, difficulty in urinating, pain pulling the lower abdomen, a sensation of urgency in the bladder, and the sand and stones being passed in the urine. If the condition is severe, there is pain and blockage, causing sensations of oppression and frustration.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，令兩手布膝頭，邪踵置尻下，口內氣，振腹自極，鼻出氣七息，去石淋、莖中痛。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lying on your back, place your heels, at an angle, below your buttocks, and cover your knees with both hands. Inhale *qi* through your mouth, while shaking your abdomen as much as possible. Exhale *qi* through your nose; take seven breaths. This gets rid of *stone-lin* and pain in the penis.'

46 卷十四淋病第三候、氣淋候

Juan 14 Strangury Disorder, section 3: Symptoms of *qi*-strangury

氣淋者，腎虛膀胱熱，氣脹所為也。膀胱與腎為表裏，膀胱熱，熱氣流入於胞，熱則生實，令胞內氣脹，則小腹滿，腎虛不能制其小便，故成淋。其狀，膀胱小腹皆滿，尿澀，常有餘瀝是也。亦曰氣癰。診其少陰脈數者，男子則氣淋。

Qi-lin is caused by deficiency in the kidneys, heat in the bladder and bloated *qi*. The bladder is on the outside and the kidneys are on the inside. When the bladder is hot, hot *qi* flows into the uterus. Heat causing excess, the *qi* in the uterus becomes bloated and the lower abdomen becomes full. When the kidneys are deficient, unable to control urination, this results in strangury disease. The conditions are: fullness in both bladder and lower abdomen, difficult urination, and frequent dribbling. This is also called *qi-long*. If when diagnosing the pulse in men, the *lesser-yin* pulse is rapid, this indicates *qi-lin*.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：以兩足踵布膝，除癰。

又云：偃臥，以兩手布膝頭，取踵置尻下，以口內氣，腹脹自極，以鼻出氣七息，除氣癰，數小便，莖中痛，陰以下濕，小腹痛，膝不隨也。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Use each heel to cover the other knee. This gets rid of *lon* 癰 (dribbling urinary block).'

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, place your heels, at an angle, below your buttocks, and cover your knees with both hands. Inhale *qi* through your mouth, while shaking your abdomen as much as possible. Exhale *qi* through your nose; take seven breaths. This gets rid of *lon-qi* (dribbling urinary blocked-*qi*) and frequent urination, pain in the penis, damp in the genital area, abdominal pain and stiff knees.'

47 卷十四小便病第二候、小便數候

Juan 14 Urinary Disorder, section 2: Symptoms of frequent urination

小便數者，膀胱與腎俱虛，而有客熱乘之故也。腎與膀胱為表裏，俱主水，腎氣下通於陰。此二經既虛，致受於客熱。虛則不能制水，故令數小便熱則水行澀，澀則小便不快，故令數起也。

Frequent urination happens when both bladder and kidneys are deficient; heat lodges there and takes advantage. The bladder is on the outside and the kidneys are on the inside. Both govern water. The kidney *qi* goes down and connects with the genitals. Hence, if both these channels are deficient, heat lodges within them. When they are deficient, they cannot control the water. This causes frequent urination. Heat makes water move unevenly, causing uncomfortable and frequent urination.

診其跗陽脈數，胃中熱，即消穀引食，大便必堅，小便即數。

If, when diagnosing the pulse at *fuyang* (BL59), it is rapid, there is heat in the stomach. Grains are digested quickly, food is craved, stools are hard and urination frequent.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：以兩踵布膝，除數尿。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Use each heel to cover the other knee. This gets rid of frequent urination.'

又云：偃臥，令兩手布膝頭，斜踵置尻下，口內氣，振腹自極，鼻出氣七息。去小便數。

Again, it says, 'Lie down with your knees up. Covering your knees with your hands, place your heels, at an angle, below your buttocks. Inhale *qi* through your mouth, shaking your abdomen as much as possible. Exhale *qi* through your nose; take seven breaths. This gets rid of frequent urination.'

48 卷十四小便病第六候、遺尿候

Juan 14 Urinary Disorder, section 6: Symptoms of bed wetting

遺尿者，此由膀胱虛冷，不能約於水故也。膀胱為足太陽，腎為足少陰，二經為表裏。

Bed-wetting is caused by the bladder being deficient, cold, and unable to control water. The bladder is the *foot greater yang* channel, and the kidney is the *foot lesser yin channel*. One channel is exterior and the other interior.

腎主水，腎氣下通於陰。小便者，水液之餘也。膀胱為津液之腑，腑既虛冷，陽氣衰弱，不能約於水，故令遺尿也。

The kidney channel governs water. Kidney *qi* goes down and connects with the genitals. Urine is the residue of watery liquid. The bladder is the *fu* of the fluids. When the *fu* is cold and deficient, yang *qi* is debilitated and weak, and unable to control water, resulting in bed-wetting.

診其脈來過寸口，入魚際，遺尿。肝脈微滑，遺尿。左手關上脈沉為陰，陰絕者，無肝脈也，苦遺尿。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it expands over the *cun*-opening into the *yuji* point (Lu10), this is the pulse for bed-wetting. If the liver pulse is small and slippery, this is the pulse for bed-wetting. If the pulse on the guan area of the left hand is sinking, it is the pulse of the yin channel. If the yin channel is severed, there will be no liver pulse. The person will suffer bed-wetting.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：蹲踞高一尺許，以兩手從外屈膝內入，至足趺上，急手握足五指，極力一通，令內曲入，利腰髓，治遺尿。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Squat down to a height of about 1 *chi* (30.3cm). From outside, put your arms through your bent knees, reaching the insteps of your feet. Hold all five toes tightly, and force greater bending on the inside. Do this once. It benefits the lumbar and the hips, and cures bed-wetting.'

49 卷十四大便病第一候、大便難候

Juan 14 Disorder of Bowel Movements, section 1: Symptoms of Difficulties in Bowel Movements

大便難者，由五臟不調，陰陽偏有虛實，謂三焦不和，則冷熱并結故也。

Difficulties in bowel movements are caused by the disharmony of the five *zang*, the yin or the yang *qi* deviates to being deficient or excess. This is called the disharmony of the triple burners causing hot and cold *qi* to become knotted.

胃為水穀之海，水穀之精，化為榮衛，其糟粕行之於大腸以出也。五臟三焦既不調和，冷熱壅滯，結在腸胃之間。其腸胃本實，而又為冷熱之氣所并，結聚不宣，故令大便難也。

Stomach is the sea of water and grains. The essence of water and grains transforms to become the flourishing and defensive *qi* and the dross goes to the large intestines to be excreted. The irregularity and disharmony of the five *zang* and the triple burners cause the hot and cold *qi* to be blocked, obstructed, and knotted up in the stomach and intestines. The stomach and intestines are already solid thus when the hot and cold *qi* are also knotted and accumulated there, unable to dissipate, as a result, causing difficulties in bowel movements.

又云：邪在腎，亦令大便難。所以爾者，腎臟受邪，虛而不能制小便，則小便利，津液枯燥，腸胃乾澀，故大便難。

Again, it says, 'If the deviance is at the kidneys, it will also cause difficulties in bowel movements. This is because when the kidneys receive deviances and become deficient. They are unable to control the urination and causes frequent urination. The fluid in the body dries up, the stomach and intestines become desiccated and sluggish, thus causing the difficulties in bowel movements.'

又，渴利之家，大便也難，所以爾者，為津液枯竭，致令腸胃乾燥。

Again, those who get thirsty and have frequent urination would also have difficulties in bowel movements. This is because when the fluid in the body dries up would cause the stomach and intestines to become desiccated.

診其左手寸口人迎以前脈，手少陰經也。脈沉為陰，陰實者，病苦閉，大便不利，腹滿四支重，身熱苦胃脹。右手關上脈陰實者，脾實也，苦腸中伏伏如牢狀，大便難。脈緊而滑直，大便亦難。

If, when diagnosing the pulse at the *cun*-opening on the left hand, the *renyin* point, which is the channel of the lesser yin of the hand, the sinking pulse indicates *yin*. If it is a full *yin*, it would indicate constipation, bloated abdomen, heavy limbs, body heat and the person suffering from bloated stomach. If the

pulse on the *guan* point on the right hand is full *yin*, it indicates the person suffers from stuff being hidden and becomes harden in the intestines. This causes difficulties in the bowel movements. If the pulse is tight, slippery and straight, it also indicates difficulties in bowel movements.

跗陽脈微弦，法當腹滿，不滿者，必大便難而腳痛，此虛寒從上向下也。

If the *fuyang* pulse is faint and string like, the abdomen naturally is bloated. If not, there is certainly a difficulty in bowel movements and leg pain. This is because the deficient cold moves from the top to the bottom.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The correct prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instruction are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，直兩手，捻左右脅。除大便難、腹痛、腹中寒。口內氣，鼻出氣，溫氣咽之數十，病愈。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Lie on your back with your arms straight. Then pinch your left and right sides. This gets rid of difficulties with bowel movement, abdominal pain and cold in the abdomen. Inhale *qi* through your mouth and exhale through your nose. Swallow the warm *qi* several tens of times. This cures the above diseases.'

50 卷十四大便病第二候、大便不通候

Juan 14 Disorder of bowel movements, section 2: Symptom of Constipation

大便不通者，由三焦五臟不和，冷熱之氣不調，熱氣偏入腸胃，津液竭燥，故令糟粕否結，壅塞不通也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Constipation is caused by the disharmony between the triple burner and the five *zang*, and the irregularities of cold and hot *qi*. The hot *qi* enters into the intestines and stomach causing the fluids to be drained and dried up. As a result, the waste gets clogged and blocked up, causing constipation. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：龜行氣，伏衣被中，覆口鼻頭面，正臥，不息九通，微鼻出氣。治閉塞不通。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'The moving qi of a tortoise: Cover your mouth, nose and face with your bedding. Lie straight and hold your breath. Do this nine times, exhaling qi gently through your nose. It cures blockages and constipation.'

51 卷十四大便病第五候、大小便難候

Juan 14 Disorder of bowel movements, section 5: Symptoms of difficulties in bowel movements and urination

大小便難者，由冷熱不調，大小腸有遊氣，遊氣在於腸間，搏於糟粕，澀便不通流，故大小便難也。

Difficulties in bowel movements and urination are caused by the irregularities of hot and cold [qi]. There is a meandering qi in the large and small intestines. The meandering qi is among the intestines, fighting with the waste residue, causing the urine and faeces to be blocked up and impassable. Thus, there are difficulties in bowel movements and urination.

診其尺脈滑而浮大，此為陽干於陰，其人苦小腹痛滿，不能尿，尿即陰中痛，大便亦然。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the chi pulse, it is floating and big, the yang is drier than the yin, the person suffers from painful and bloated lower abdomen, the inability to urinate, pain in the penis/virginia when urinate as well as when having a bowel movement. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：正坐，以兩手交背後，名曰帶便。愈不能大便，利腹，愈虛羸。反叉兩手著背上，推上使當心許，蹠坐，反到九通。愈不能大小便，利腹，愈虛羸也。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Sit up straight, put your hands behind your back and interlace your fingers. This is called *dai-bian* 帶便. It cures the inability to have a bowel movement, benefits the abdomen and cures deficiency and emaciation. Interlace your fingers, turn them round and put them on your back. Push them up to where the heart is. Sit with your legs wide open; lean backwards nine times. This cures the inability to have a bowel movement, benefits the abdomen, and cures deficiency and emaciation.'

52 卷十五五臟六腑病第一候、肝病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 Zang and 6 Fu, section 1: Symptoms of Liver Disorder

肝象木，王於春；其脈弦，其神魂，其目在候，其華在爪，其充在筋，其聲呼，其臭臊，其味酸，其液泣，其色青，其藏血；足厥陰其經也。與膽合，膽為腑而主表，肝為臟而主裏。

Liver is signified by wood. Its prime season is spring, its pulse is string-like, its spirit is the cloud soul (the ethereal soul), its symptoms are in the eyes, its positive appearance is shown in the nails, its abundance is in the sinews, its sound is in shouting, its smell is rancid, its taste is sour, its fluid is the tears, its complexion is green, it stores blood, and its channel is the foot *jueyin*. It pairs with the bladder. Bladder is *fu* (the yin organ) and governs the exterior. Liver is *zang* (the yang organ) and governs the interior.

肝氣盛，為血有餘，則病目赤，兩脅下痛引小腹，善怒。氣逆則頭眩，耳聾不聰，頰腫，是肝氣之實也，則宜瀉之。肝氣不足，則病目不明，兩脅拘急，筋攣，不得太息，爪甲枯，面青，善悲恐，如人將捕之，是肝氣之虛也，則宜補之。

When the liver *qi* is overly abundant, there is an excess of blood. There will be an illness with red eyes, pain below both sides pulling the lower abdomen, and easily-triggered anger. When the [liver] *qi* goes up in reversal, there is dizziness, deafness or difficulty in hearing, and swollen cheeks. It is better to purge excess liver *qi*. If the liver *qi* is deficient, there will be an illness with poor eyesight, restriction and tightness in both sides, cramped muscles, difficulties with deep breathing, dried nails, a green complexion, easily-triggered sadness, and fright as if they were being pursued. It is better to replenish deficient liver *qi*.

於四時：病在肝，愈於夏；夏不愈，甚於秋；秋不死，待於冬；起於春。於日：愈在丙丁；丙丁不愈，加於庚辛；庚辛不死，待於壬癸；起於甲乙。於時：平旦慧，下晡甚，夜半靜。禁當風。

In relation to the four seasons: if an illness is in the liver, it should be cured in the summer. If it is not cured in the summer, it becomes worse in the autumn. If the person does not die in the autumn, the illness will persist through the winter, then the person will recover the following spring. In relation to the days: the illness should be cured during the *bing* and *ding* days. If the illness is not cured during the *bing* and *ding* days, it becomes worse during the *geng* and *xin* days. If the person does not die in the *geng* and *xin* days, the illness will persist through the *ren* and *kui* days, then the person will recover the following *bing* and *ding* days. In relation to the time: the illness gets better in the morning, gets worse in the afternoon and is stable during the night. The patient must not be exposed to wind.

肝部，左手關上是也。平肝脈來，綽綽如按琴瑟之弦，如揭長竿末梢，曰肝平。

The liver is diagnosed on the *guan* point of the left hand. The pulse of a normal liver is full and even, like pressing the strings of the *qin* and *se* musical instruments which play in perfect harmony, or like holding the end of a long pole. This is called a normal pulse.

春以胃氣為本。春，肝木王，其脈弦細而長，是平脈也。

Spring governs the stomach *qi*. The liver, with the quality of wood, is dominant in the spring and its pulse is string-like, thin and long. This is a normal pulse.

反得微瀋而短者，是肺之乘肝，金之克木，大逆，十死不治；反得浮大而洪者，是心乘肝，子之扶母，雖病當愈；反得沉濡滑者，是腎乘肝，母之歸子，雖病當愈；

If, however, the pulse is faint, rough and short, this means that the lung has overridden the liver, just as metal restrains wood. It is a big reversal of the norm. Ten out of ten will not be cured but will die.

Or, if the pulse is floating, big and flood-like, this means that the heart has overridden the liver, like a child helping its mother. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will be cured. Or, if the pulse is sinking, soggy and slippery, this means that the kidney has overridden the liver, like a mother returning to her child. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will be cured.

反得大而緩者，是脾之乘肝，為土之陵木，土之畏木，雖病不死。病肝脈來，盛實而滑，如循長竿，曰肝病；死肝脈來，急益勁，如新張弓弦，曰肝死；真肝脈至，中外急，如循刀刃躑躑然，如新張弓弦。色青白不澤，毛折乃死。

Or, if the pulse is big and slow, this means that the spleen has overridden the liver, just as earth invades wood and is fearful of it. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will not die. The pulse of a sick liver is abundant, excessive, and slippery, as though tracing a long pole. This indicates a sick liver. The pulse of a dead liver arrives hurriedly, with increasing power, as though pulling a new bow. This indicates a dead liver. The decaying pulse of the liver arrives hurriedly, both within and without, like the firm pressure of a knife blade, or like pulling a new bow. The person's complexion is green, white and without luster, and their hair breaks off. The person will die.

《養生方》云：春三月，此謂發陳，天地俱生，萬物以榮。夜臥早起，闊步於庭。被髮緩形，以使春志生。生而勿殺，與而勿奪，賞而勿罰，此春氣之應也；養生之道也。逆之則傷於肝，夏變為寒，則奉長生者少。

The *Yangsheng recipes* says, 'The three months of spring are said to be the time of growth. Both Heaven and Earth give birth to all things which flourish. Go to sleep at night and get up early. Walk with big steps in the courtyard.

Loosen your hair and relax your body so that the energy of spring grows in your mind. Let things grow and do not kill them; give and do not take away forcibly; give rewards and not punishment. This is how you respond to the spring *qi*. This is the way of nourishing life. Going against it will damage the liver, summers turn cold, and few people are able to live a long life.

《養生方·導引法》云：肝臟病者，愁憂不樂，悲思嗔怒，頭旋眼痛，呵氣出而愈。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Those who suffer from liver disease feel worried, sad and unhappy. They have anxious thoughts, or get annoyed and angry. They feel dizzy and have pain in their eyes. Exhale *qi* while making a 'he' sound; the symptoms will be cured.'

53 卷十五五臟六腑病第二候、心病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 Zang and 6 Fu, section 2: Symptoms of Heart Disorder

心象火，王於夏。其脈如鉤而洪大，其候舌，其聲音，其臭焦，其味苦，其液汗，其養血，其色赤，其藏神；手少陰其經也。與小腸合，小腸為腑而主表，心為臟而主裏。

Heart is signified by fire; its dominant season is summer, its pulse is flood-like and big like a hook, its symptoms are in the tongue, its sound is in the speech, its smell is smelly and burned, its taste is sour, its fluid is the sweat, it nourishes the blood, its colour is red, it stores the spirit and its channel is the hand lesser yin. It pairs with the small intestine. The small intestine is *fu* organ (the *yin* organ) and governs the exterior. Heart is *zang* (the *yang* organ) and governs the interior.

心氣盛，為神有餘，則病胸內痛，脅支滿，脅下痛，膺、背、膊胛間痛，兩臂內痛，喜笑不休，是心氣之實也，則宜瀉之。心氣不足，則胸腹大，脅下與腰背相引痛，驚悸，恍惚，少顏色，舌本強，善憂悲，是為心氣之虛也，則宜補之。

When the heart *qi* is overly abundant, there is an excess of spirit, there will be an illness with pain in the chest, bloated ribs, pain below the ribs, the chest, the back, between the shoulder blades and in both arms, unable to stop laughing with joy. These indicate the excess of heart *qi* and should be discharged. If the heart *qi* is in deficient, the chest and abdomen become enlarged, pulling with pain between the ribs below and the lumbar. The person feels frightened with palpitation, becomes absent-minded, looks pale with stiffness at the root of their tongue and easily feel sad or worries. These are caused by the deficiency of the heart *qi* which needs to be nourished.

於四時：病在心，愈於長夏；長夏不愈，甚於冬；冬不死，待於春；起於夏。於日；愈在戊己；戊己不愈，加於壬癸；壬癸不死，待於甲乙；起於丙丁。於時：日中慧，夜半甚，平旦靜。禁溫衣熱食。

In relation to the four seasons: if an illness is in the heart, it should be cured in the late summer. If it is not cured in the late summer, it becomes worse in the winter. If the person does not die in the winter, the illness will persist through the spring, then the person will recover the following summer. In relation to the days: the illness should be cured during the *wu* and *ji* days. If the illness is not cured during the *wu* and *ji* days, it becomes worse during the *ren* and *kwei* days. If the person does not die in the *ren* and *kwei* days, the illness will persist through the *jia* and *yi* days, then the person will recover the following *bing* and *ding* days. In relation to the time: the illness gets better at midday, gets worse at midnight and is stable at dawn. The patient must not eat hot food while wearing warm clothes.

心部，在左手寸口是也。平心脈來，累累如連珠，如循琅，曰心平。夏以胃氣為本。夏，心火王，其脈浮，洪大而散，名曰平脈也。

The heart is diagnosed on the *cun*-opening point of the left hand. The pulse of a normal heart arrives one after another like a string of pearls. This is called a normal pulse. Summer governs the stomach *qi*. The heart, with the quality of fire, is dominant in the summer and its pulse is floating, flood-like and scattered. This is a normal pulse.

反得沉濡滑者，腎之乘心，水之克火，為大逆，十死不治；反得弦而長，是肝乘心，母歸子，雖病當愈；反得大而緩，是脾乘心，子之扶母，雖病當愈；反得微瀆而短，是肺之乘心，金之陵火，為微邪，雖病不死。

If, however, the pulse is sinking, soggy and slippery, this means that the kidney has overridden the heart, just as water restrains fire. It is a big reversal of the norm. Ten out of ten will not be cured but will die. Or, if the pulse is string-like and long, this means that the liver has overridden the heart, like a mother returning to her child. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will be cured. Or, if the pulse is big and slow, this means that the spleen has overridden the heart, like a child helping its mother. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will be cured. Or, if the pulse is faint, rough and short, this means that the lungs have overridden the heart, just as metal invades fire, resulting in having a weak deviance. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will not die.

病心脈來，喘喘連屬，其中微曲，曰心病；死心脈來，前曲後倨，如操帶鉤，曰心死；真心脈至，堅而搏，如循薏苡累累然。其色赤黑不澤，毛折乃死。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The pulse of a sick heart arrives one after another like a person who is out of breath and is faint and bent within. This indicates a sick heart. The pulse of a dead heart comes first bent and then stiff, like holding a belt with a hook. This indicates a dead heart. The pulse of a true heart arrives solidly and attackingly, like clusters of job tear's kernals. The person's complexion is red, dark and without luster, and their hair breaks off. The person will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：夏三月，此謂蕃莠。天地氣交，萬物英實。夜臥早起，無厭於日。使志無怒，使華英成秀，使氣得泄，若所愛在外。此夏氣之應，養長之道也。逆之則傷心，秋為痲癩。

The *Yangsheng recipes* says, 'The three months of summer are said to be the time of flourishing and prosper. The *qi* of Heaven and Earth intersect, all things become mature and bear fruit. Go to sleep at night and get up early. Do not get lazy during the day and get angry with your will/ambition. The prosperity and maturity turn into refined beauty, causing the *qi* to be discharged as if what is to be loved is outside. This is how you respond to the

summer *qi*. This is the way of nourishing longevity. Going against it will damage the heart, and malaria-like disorder in the autumn.

《養生方·導引法》云：心臟病者，體有冷熱。若冷，呼氣出；若熱，吹氣出。

The Yangsheng Recipes and the Daoyin Methods says, 'Those who suffer from heart disease experience their bodies as cold or hot. If you feel cold, exhale *qi* while making a 'hu' sound; if you feel hot, exhale *qi* while making a 'chu' sound'

又云：左脅側臥，口內氣，申臂直腳，以鼻出之。周而復始，除心下不便也。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your left side, inhale *qi* through your mouth. Lengthen your arms and straighten your legs, and exhale through your nose. Start again when you have done the whole cycle. This gets rid of discomfort below the heart area.'

54 卷十五五臟六腑病第三候、脾病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 opening and 6 Fu, section 3: Symptoms of Spleen Disorder

脾象土，王於長夏。其脈緩，其形口，其聲歌，其臭香，其味甘，其液涎，其養形肉，其色黃而藏意；足太陰其經也。與胃合，胃為腑主表，脾為臟主裏。

Spleen is signified by earth. Its dominant season is late summer, its pulse is slow, its shape is the mouth, its symptoms are in the tongue, its sound is in singing, its smell is aromatic, its taste is sweet, its fluid is saliva, it nourishes the flesh, its colour is yellow, it stores intention and its channel is the foot greater yin. It is paired with the stomach, which is *fu*, governing the exterior. The spleen is *zang*, governing the interior.

脾氣盛，為形有餘，則病腹脹，溲不利，身重苦飢，足萎不收，行善痠，腳下痛，是為脾氣之實也，則宜瀉之；脾氣不足，則四肢不用，後泄，食不化，嘔逆，腹脹，腸鳴，是為脾氣之虛也，則宜補之。

Overly abundant spleen *qi* causes excess in the body. There could be an illness characterized by a bloated abdomen, difficult urination, heavy weight, constant hunger, withered and bandy legs, trembling while walking or pain in the lower leg. All these, which should be discharged, indicate an excess of spleen *qi*. If the spleen *qi* is deficient, the four limbs will not be able to function, there will be diarrhoea after food, indigestion, a bloated abdomen, and noises in the intestines. These are caused by a deficiency of spleen *qi* which needs to be nourished.

於四時：病在脾，愈在秋；秋不愈，甚於春，春不死，待於夏；起於長夏。於日：愈於庚辛；庚辛不愈，加於甲乙；甲乙不死，待於丙丁；起於戊己。於時：日慧，平旦甚，下晡靜。

In relation to the four seasons: an illness in the spleen should be cured in the autumn. If it is not cured in the autumn, it becomes worse the following spring. If the person does not die in the spring, the illness will persist through the summer, followed by recovery in late summer. In relation to the days: the illness should be cured during the *geng* and *xin* days. If the illness is not cured during the *geng* and *xin* days, it will become worse during the *jia* and *yi* days. If the person does not die in the *jia* and *yi* days, the illness will persist through the *bing* and *ding* days, followed by recovery on the following *wu* and *ji* days. In relation to the time: the illness gets better during the day, worse at dawn and is stable during the afternoon.

脾欲緩，急食甘以緩之；用苦以瀉之；甘以補之。禁溫食、飽食、濕地、濡衣。

It is better for the spleen to be slow. To slow it down, eat something sweet at once. Take bitter food for purging and sweet food for nourishing. Eat neither warm food nor too much food. Avoid sitting on wet ground and wearing wet clothes.

脾部，在右手關上是也。平脾脈來，和柔相離，如雞踐地，曰脾平。長夏以胃氣為本。六月，脾土王，其脈大，阿阿而緩，名曰平脈也。

The spleen is diagnosed on the *guan* point of the right hand. The pulse of a normal spleen arrives harmoniously and gently with regular intervals, like a chicken walking on the ground. This is called a normal spleen pulse. Late summer governs the stomach *qi*. The spleen, whose quality is earth, is dominant in June. Its normal pulse is big and slow.

反得弦而急，是肝之乘脾，木之克土，為大逆，十死不治；反得微澀而短，是肺之乘脾，子之扶母，不治自愈；反得浮而洪者，是心乘脾，母之歸子，當瘥不死；反得沉濡而滑者，是腎之乘脾，水之陵，土，為微邪，當瘥。

If, however, the pulse is string-like and rapid, this means that the liver has overridden the spleen, just as wood restrains earth. It is a big reversal of the norm. Ten out of ten will not be cured but will die. A faint, rough and short pulse means that the lung has overridden the spleen, like a child helping its mother. In this case, the person will recover without treatment. A floating and flood-like pulse means that the heart has overridden the spleen, like a mother returning to her child. In this case, the person will be cured and will not die. A sinking, soggy and slippery pulse means that the kidneys have overridden the spleen, just as water invades earth, resulting in a weak deviance. The patient will be cured.

脾脈長長而弱，來疏去，再至曰平，三至曰離經，四至曰奪精，五至曰死，六至曰命盡。病脾脈來，實而盛數，如雞舉足，曰脾病；死脾脈來，堅銳如鳥之喙，如鳥之距，如屋之漏，如水之溜，曰脾死；真脾脈至，弱而乍數乍疏。其色青黃不澤，毛折乃死。

A normal spleen pulse should be long, coming feebly and going loosely, repeating once. If it comes like this three times, this indicates the separation of the channel. If it comes like this four times, this indicates the seizing of the essence. Five times, indicates death; six times a complete extinction of life. The pulse of a sick spleen comes fully, plentifully and rapidly, like a chicken raising its legs. They indicate a sick spleen. The pulse of a dead spleen comes hard and sharp, like a bird's beak, a bird's claw, or drips in a leaking house. They indicate a dead heart. The decaying pulse of the spleen arrives feebly, with a sudden rapid pulse followed by a sudden loose pulse. The complexion is blue, yellow and without lustre, and their hair breaks off. The person will die.

《養生方·導引法》云：脾臟病者，體面上游風習習，痛，身體癢，煩悶疼痛，用嘻氣出。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Those who suffer from spleen disease have pain and sensations of wind passing over the

surface of their flesh. They feel vexed and oppressed, and itchy with aches and pains. Exhale *qi* while making a 'xi' sound.'

55 卷十五五臟六腑病第四候、肺病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 Zang and 6 Fu, section 4: Symptoms of Lung Disorder

肺象金，王於秋。其脈如毛而浮，其候鼻，其聲哭，其臭腥，其味辛，其液涕，其養皮毛，其藏氣，其色白，其神魄；手太陰其經。與大腸合，大腸為腑主表，肺為臟主裏。

Lung is signified by metal. Its dominant season is autumn, its pulse is fir-like and floating, its symptoms are in the nose, its sound is in crying, its smell is fishy/putrid, its taste is acrid, its fluid is mucus, it nourishes skin and hair, it stores *qi*, its colour is white, its spirit is the corporeal soul, and its channel is the hand greater yin. It is paired with the large intestines which are *fu* organ (the *yin* organ) governing the exterior. The lung is *zang* (the *yang* organ), governing the interior.

肺氣盛，為氣有餘，則病喘欬上氣，肩背痛，汗出，尻、陰、股、膝、踠、脛、足皆痛，是為肺氣之實也，則宜瀉之；肺氣不足，則少氣不能報息，耳聾，啞乾，是為肺氣之虛也，則宜補之。

Overly abundant lung *qi* causes excess in the body. There could be an illness characterized by panting, a cough, rising *qi*, lumbar and back pain, sweating, and pains in the coccyx, genitals, buttocks, knees, ankles, lower legs and feet. These indicate the excess of lung *qi* and should be purged. If the lung *qi* is deficient, there will be short of breaths, an inability to breathe, deafness, and dry throat. These indicate the deficiency of the lung *qi* which needs to be nourished.

於四時：病在肺，愈在冬；冬不愈，甚於夏；夏不死，持於長夏；起於秋。於日：愈在壬癸；壬癸不愈，加於丙丁；丙丁不死，持於戊己；起於庚辛。於時：下晡慧，夜半靜，日中甚。肺欲收，急食酸以收之，用酸補之，辛瀉之。禁寒飲食、寒衣。

In relation to the four seasons: an illness in the lungs should be cured in the winter. If it is not cured in the winter, it becomes worse the following summer. If the person does not die in the summer, the illness will persist through the late summer, followed by recovery in the autumn. In relation to the days: the illness should be cured during the *ren* and *kuei* days. If the illness is not cured during the *ren* and *kuei* days, it will become worse during the *bing* and *ding* days. If the person does not die in the *bing* and *ding* days, the illness will persist through the *wu* and *ji* days, followed by recovery on the following *gen* and *xin* days. In relation to the time: the illness gets better in the afternoon, is stable during the night and gets worse at midday. It is better for the lungs to be constrained. To constrain them, take something sour at once. Take sour food for nourishing and acrid food for purgation. Neither eat nor drink cold food, nor wear inadequate clothes.

肺部，在右手關前寸口是也。平肺脈來，厭厭轟轟，如落榆莢，曰肺平。秋以胃氣為本。秋，肺金王，其脈浮濇而短，是曰平脈也。

The lung is diagnosed on the *cun*-opening before the *guan* point of the right hand. The pulse of a normal lung arrives calmly and softly, like fallen elm-pods. This is called a normal lung pulse. Autumn governs the stomach *qi*. The lung, whose quality is metal, is dominant in the autumn. Its normal pulse is floating, rough and short.

反得浮大而洪者，是心之乘肺，火之剋金，為大逆，十死不治也；反得沉濡而滑者，是腎之乘肺，子之扶母，病不治自愈；反得緩大而長阿阿者，是脾之乘肺，母之歸子，雖病當愈；反得弦而長者，是肝之乘肺，木之陵金，為微邪，雖病當愈。肺脈來汎汎而輕，如微風吹鳥背上毛。再至曰平，三至曰離經，四至曰奪精，五至曰死，六至曰命盡。病肺脈來，上下如循雞羽，曰肺病。

If, however, the pulse is floating, big and flood-like, this means that the heart has overridden the lung, just as fire restrains metal. It is a big reversal of the norm. Ten out of ten will not be cured but will die. A sinking, soggy and slippery pulse means that the kidney has overridden the lung, like a child helping its mother. In this case, the person will recover without treatment. A slow, big and long pulse means that the spleen has overridden the lung, like a mother returning to her child. In this case, even if there is an illness, the person will be cured. A string-like and long pulse means that the liver have overridden the lung, just as wood invades metal, resulting in a weak deviance. Even if there is an illness, the person will be cured. A lung pulse should be soft and light, like a gentle wind blowing the feather on the back of a bird. If it comes like this again, it is a normal pulse. If it arrives like this three times, this indicates the separation of the channel. If it comes like this four times, this indicates the seizing of the essence. Five times indicates death; six times a complete extinction of life. The pulse of a sick lung goes up and down like touching a chicken feather. This indicates a lung disease.

肺病，其色白，身體但寒無熱，時時欲咳，其脈微遲，為可治。死肺脈來，如物之浮，如風吹毛，曰肺死。秋胃微毛曰平，胃氣少毛多曰肺病，但如毛無胃氣曰死。毛有弦曰春病，弦甚曰今病。真肺脈至，大而虛，如毛羽中人膚。其色赤白不澤，毛折乃死。

The complexion of someone with a lung disease is white. The body is cold, without heat. There is a constant coughing. If the pulse is faint and slow, the person can be cured. The pulse of a dead lung comes like a floating object, or a hair blown by the wind. This indicates that the lung is dead. In autumn, a normal pulse is faint and hair-like with stomach *qi*. A more hair-like pulse with less stomach *qi* indicates a lung disease. A hair-like pulse with no stomach *qi* indicates death. A hairy and string-like pulse indicates a spring disease. An exceedingly string-like pulse indicates a current disease. The decaying pulse of the lungs comes big but empty like a feather touching the skin. The complexion is red, white and without lustre, and their hair breaks off. The person will die.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：多語則氣爭，肺脹口燥。

The *Yangsheng recipes* says, 'Too much talking causes contending *qi*, bloated lung and dry mouth.'

又云：秋三月，此為容平。天氣以急，地氣以明。早臥早起，與雞俱興。使志安寧，以緩秋形。收斂神氣，使秋氣平。無外其志，使肺氣清。此秋氣之應也，養收之道也。逆之則傷肺，冬為飧泄。

Again, it says, 'The three months of autumn should be a time of serenity and peace. The heavenly *qi* is swift and the earthly *qi* is bright. Go to bed early and get up early, rising with the roosters. Make your will tranquil and peaceful in order to soften the damage caused by autumn. Withdraw the spirit *qi* in order to make the autumn *qi* calm. Not externalising your will makes the lung *qi* pure. This is how to respond to autumn *qi*. This is the way of nourishing and withdrawal. Going against it will damage the lung, and cause diarrhoea during the winter.'

《養生方·導引法》云：肺臟病者，體胸背痛滿，四肢煩悶，用噓氣出。

The *Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods* says, 'Those who suffer from lung disease have a lot of pain in their chest and back, and a feeling of discomfort and compression in their four limbs. Exhale *qi* while making a 'xu' sound.'

又云：以兩手據地覆之，口內氣，鼻出之，除胸中、肺中病也。

Again, it says, 'Press your hands against the ground, inhale *qi* through your mouth and exhale through your nose. This gets rid of diseases in your chest and in your lungs.'

56 卷十五五臟六腑病第五候、腎病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 Zang and 6 Fu, section 5: Symptoms of Kidneys Disorder

腎象水，王於冬。其脈如石而沉，其候耳，其聲呻，其臭腐，其味鹹，其液唾，其養骨，其色黑，其神志；足少陰其經也。與膀胱合，膀胱為腑主表，腎為臟主裏。

Kidney is signified by water. Its dominant season is winter, its pulse is sinking like a stone, its symptoms are in the ears, its sound is in groaning, its smell is rotten, its taste is salty, its fluid is the saliva, it nourishes bones, its colour is black, its spirit is the will, and its channel is the foot lesser *yin*. It is paired with the bladder which is a *fu* organ, governing the exterior. The kidney is a *zang* organ, governing the interior.

腎氣盛，為志有餘，則病腹脹，飧泄，體腫，喘欬，汗出，憎風，面目黑，小便黃，是為腎氣之實也，則宜瀉之；腎氣不足，則厥，腰背冷，胸內痛，耳鳴苦聾，是為腎氣之虛也，則宜補之。

Overly abundant kidney *qi* causes excess of the will. There could be an illness characterized by a bloated abdomen, diarrhoea, swollen body, panting and coughing, sweating, aversion to wind, dark complexion on the face and eyes, and yellow urine. All these indicate an excess of kidney *qi* which is better to be discharged/purged. If the kidney *qi* is deficient, there will be a reversal [of the *qi*], cold on the lumbar and back, pain in the chest, tinnitus and hard of hearing. These are caused by a deficiency of kidney *qi* which is better to be nourished.

於四時：病在腎，愈在春；春不愈，甚於長夏；長夏不死，待於秋；起於冬。於日：愈於甲乙；甲乙不愈，加於戊己；戊己不死，待於庚辛；起於壬癸。於時：夜半慧，日乘四季甚，下晡靜。

In relation to the four seasons: an illness in the kidney should be cured in the spring. If it is not cured in the spring, it becomes worse in the late summer. If the person does not die in the late summer, the illness will persist through the autumn, followed by recovery in winter. In relation to the days: the illness should be cured during the *jia* and *yi* days. If the illness is not cured during the *jia* and *yi* days, it will become worse during the *wu* and *ji* days. If the person does not die in the *wu* and *ji* days, the illness will persist through the *geng* and *xin* days, followed by recovery on the following *ren* and *kuei* days. In relation to the time: the illness gets better during the night, worse during the day and is stable in the afternoon.

腎欲堅，急食苦以堅之，鹹以瀉之，苦以補之。無犯塵垢，無衣炙衣。

It is better for the kidney to be strong. To strengthen it, eat something bitter at once. Take salty food for purging and bitter food for nourishing. Do not expose to the dust and not to wear heated clothes.

腎部，在左手關後尺中是也。平腎脈來，喘喘累累如鉤，按之而堅，曰腎平。冬以胃氣為本。冬，腎水王，其脈沉濡而滑，名曰平脈也。

The kidney is diagnosed on the *chi* point below the *guan* point of the left hand. The pulse of a normal kidney arrives consistently and bending like hooks. It is hard when pressing. This is called a normal kidney pulse. Winter governs the stomach *qi*. The kidney, with the quality of water, is dominant in the winter. Its normal pulse is sinking, soggy and slippery.

反得浮大而緩者，是脾之乘腎，土之剋水，為大逆，十死不治；反得浮瀆而短者，是肺之乘腎，母之歸子，為虛邪，雖病易治；反得弦細長者，是肝之乘腎，子之扶母，為實邪，雖病自愈；反得浮大而洪者，是心之乘腎，火之陵水，為微邪，雖病，治之不死也。

If, however, the pulse is floating, big and slow, this means that the spleen has overridden the kidney, just as earth restrains water. It is a big reversal of the norm. Ten out of ten will not be cured but will die. A floating, rough and short pulse means that the lung has overridden the kidney, like a mother returning to her child. In this case, it is a weak deviance, and the illness can be easily cured. A string-like, thin and long pulse means that the liver has overridden the kidney, like a child helping its mother. In this case, it is a replete deviance and the illness will recover in its own accord. A floating, big and flood-like pulse means that the heart has overridden the kidney, just as fire invades water, resulting in a weak deviance. The illness will be cured and the patient will not die.

病腎脈來，如引葛，按之益堅，曰腎病。腎風水，其脈大緊，身無痛，形不瘦，不能食，善驚，驚以心萎者死。

The pulse of a sick kidney comes as tough as pulling ivy and gets even tougher when pressing it. They indicate a kidney disease. The kidney relates to wind and water, its pulse is big and tight. There is no pain in the body and they have not lost weight though they cannot eat. They are easily frightened and if their heart withers when they get too frightened, they will die.

死腎脈來，發如奪索，辟辟如彈石，曰腎死。冬胃微石曰平，胃少石多曰腎病，但石無胃曰死，石而有鉤曰夏病，鉤甚曰今病。藏真下於腎，腎藏骨髓之氣。

The pulse of a dead kidney comes swiftly like a rope being taken away forcefully, and as hard as a marble. They indicate a dead kidney. In winter, a normal pulse is slightly stony with stomach *qi*. A more stony pulse with less stomach *qi* indicates a kidney disease. A stony pulse with no stomach *qi* indicates death. A stony and hook-like pulse indicates a summer disease. An exceedingly hook-like pulse indicates a current disease. The *qi* of the five *zang* is stored in the kidney where the bone marrow is stored.

真腎脈至，搏而絕，如彈石辟辟然。其色黃黑不澤，毛折乃死。諸真藏脈見者，皆死不治。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The decaying pulse of the kidneys comes firmly and abruptly, as hard as a marble. The complexion is yellow, dark and without lustre, and the hair breaks off. The person will die. When the decaying pulse of the *zang* is seen, there is death, and no cure. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：冬三月，此為閉藏。水冰地坼，無擾乎陽。早臥晚起，必待日光。使志若伏匿，若有私意，若已有得。去寒就溫，無泄皮膚，使氣亟奪。此冬氣之應也，養藏之道也。逆之則傷腎，春為萎厥。

The Yangsheng recipes says, 'The three months of winter are to be closed and concealed. Water turns ice and the ground cracks. Do not disturb the *yang qi*. Go to bed early and get up late. It is necessary to wait for the sunlight. Hide and hold back your will as if having a private thought or already acquiring something. Get rid of cold and move towards warmth but not to the point of sweating, causing the *qi* to be taken away. This is how to respond to winter *qi*, the way to nourish and conceal. Going against it will injure the kidneys and cause withering and reversal.

《養生方·導引法》云：腎臟病者，咽喉窒塞，腹滿耳聾，用呬氣出。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Those who suffer from kidney disease have blocked and obstructed throats, bloated abdomens, and deafness in their ears. Exhale *qi* while making a 's' sound.'

又云：兩足交坐，兩手提兩足解溪，挽之，極勢，頭仰，來去七。去腎氣壅塞。

Again, it says, 'Sitting with both legs crossed, hold the two *jiexi* points (ST.41) of your feet with both hands and pull. Take the posture to its limit, facing upwards. Continue this back and forth seven times. It gets rid of obstructed and blocked kidney *qi*.'

57 卷十五五臟六腑病第十候、膀胱病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 Zang and 6 Fu, section 10: Symptoms of Bladder Disease

膀胱象水，王於冬。足太陽其經也，腎之腑也。五穀五味之津液悉歸於膀胱，氣化分入血脈，以成骨髓也；而津液之餘者，入胞則為小便。

Bladder is signified by water. Its prime season is winter. Its channel is the foot greater *yang*. It is the *fu* organ of the kidney. The fluids of the five grains and flavours are all received by the bladder in order to be transformed into *qi* before separating and entering the blood and channels, and becoming bone marrow. The rest of the liquids enter the urethra and become urine.

其氣盛為有餘，則病熱，胞瀯，小便不通，小腹偏腫痛，是為膀胱氣之實也，則宜瀉之。膀胱氣不足，則寒氣客之，胞滑，小便數而多也，面色黑，是膀胱氣之虛也，則宜補之。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When overly abundant bladder *qi* causes excess in the body, there will be an illness characterized by a high temperature, a sluggish bladder/urethra, difficult urination, and the tendency to have a swollen and painful lower abdomen. These all indicate an excess of bladder *qi*, which is better to purge. If the bladder *qi* is deficient, cold *qi* will lodge there, causing slippery bladder/urethra, frequent and copious urination, and a darkening of the complexion. These all indicate a deficiency of bladder *qi*, which it is better to nourish. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：蹲坐，欹身，弩兩手向前，仰掌，極勢，左右轉身腰三七。去膀胱內冷血風、骨節急強。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Squat on the ground and lean your body to one side. Forcefully bring your arms to the front with palms facing up, holding the posture to its full extent. Turn your body to the left and right three times seven times. This gets rid of cold blood in the bladder caused by wind, and tightness and stiffness in the bones and joints.'

又云：互跪，調和心氣，向下至足，意裏想氣索索然，流布得所，始漸漸平身，舒手傍肋，如似手掌內氣出氣不止，而覺急悶，即起；脊至地，來去二七。微減膝頭冷、膀胱宿病、腰脊強、齊下冷悶。

Again, it says, 'Kneel with one knee up and the other against the ground. Adjust and harmonise the heart *qi* as it moves down towards the feet. Using your intention, imagine the *qi* flowing and spreading to all places, making a ruffling sound. Then slowly stand up, stretch your arms and put them by your ribs. You will feel as though your palms are inhaling and exhaling *qi* without stopping. When you feel tightness and compression in your face, bend your back down to the ground. Do this to and fro twice seven times. It will gradually

get rid of cold in the knees, chronic illnesses in the bladder, stiffness in the lumbar region, and cold and compression below the navel.'

58 卷十五五臟六腑病第十二候、五臟橫病候

Juan 15 Disorder of 5 Zang and 6 Fu, section 5: Symptoms of Transverse Disease of the Five Zang

夫五臟者，肝象木，心象火，脾象土，肺象金，腎象水。其氣更休更王，互虛互實。自相乘剋，內生於病，此為正經自病，非外邪傷之也。

Regarding the five *zang*: liver is signified by wood, heart by fire, Spleen by earth, lung by metal and kidney by water. Their *qi* alternates between being dormant and being dominant. At different times, some of them become deficient whilst some become excess. They themselves take advantage of one another, and destroy/take over one another, thus causing illness from within. This is a self-inflicting illness, rather than damage by external deviances.

若寒溫失節，將適乖理，血氣虛弱，為風濕陰陽毒氣所乘，則非正經自生，是外邪所傷，故名橫病也。其病之狀，隨邪所傷之臟而形證見焉。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

However, if, against the normal order, there is an irregularity in cold and warm weather, the blood and *qi* become deficient and weak, and are taken advantage of by wind, damp, pernicious *yin* or *yang qi*. The illness is not created from within but by damage from external deviances. This is called transverse disease. The condition of the disease can be observed and verified, depending on which organ is being injured by the deviances. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：從膝以下有病，當思齊下有赤光，內外連沒身也；從膝以上至腰有病，當思脾黃光；從腰以上至頭有病，當思心內赤光；病在皮膚寒熱者，當思肝內青綠光。皆當思其光，內外連而沒已身，閉氣，收光以照之。此消疾卻邪甚驗。篤信，精思行之，病無不愈。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'If you have an illness below your knees, visualise a red light below your navel connecting the inner and the outer so that the body seems to have disappeared altogether. If you have an illness between your knees and your waist, visualise a yellow light in your spleen. If you have an illness between your waist and your head, visualise a red light in your heart. If the illness makes your skin cold or hot, visualise a green light in your liver. Visualise these lights as connecting inner and outer so that the body seems to have disappeared altogether. Hold your *qi*, gathering the lights to illuminate the organs. This is a very effective way of getting rid of illnesses and warding off deviances. If you sincerely believe in this and practise it with focused visualisation, all disorders will be cured.'

59 卷十六腹痛病第一候、腹痛候

Juan 16 Disorder of Abdominal Pain, section 1: Symptoms of Abdominal Pain

腹痛者，由腑臟虛，寒冷之氣，客於腸胃、募原之間，結聚不散，正氣與邪氣交爭相擊，故痛。其有陰氣搏於陰經者，則腹痛而腸鳴，謂之寒中。是陽氣不足，陰氣有餘者也。

Abdominal pain is a result of *zang* and *fu* organs becoming deficient. Cold *qi* is lodged between the intestines and stomach, or between the pleural cavity (part of thorax containing lungs) and the diaphragm, where it knots up and accumulates, unable to disperse. Upright and deviant *qi* are fighting against each other, thus causing pain. If yin *qi* is attacked in the *yin* channels, there will be abdominal pain and noise from the intestines, known as 'Cold in the Centre'. This is due to insufficient *yang qi* and excess *yin qi*.

診其寸口脈沉而緊，則腹痛。尺脈緊，臍下痛。脈沉遲，腹痛。脈來觸觸者，少腹痛。

If, when diagnosing the pulse on the *cun*-opening, it is sinking and tight, there is abdominal pain. A tight *chi* pulse means pain below the navel. If the pulse is sinking and slow, there is abdominal pain. If the pulse arrives sharply, there is lower abdominal pain.

脈陰弦，則腹痛。凡腹急痛，此裏之有病，其脈當沉。若細而反浮大，故當愈矣。其人不即愈者，必當死，以其病與脈相反故也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If the *yin* pulse is string-like, there is an abdominal pain. All acute abdominal pain indicates illness within. The pulse should be sinking. If, instead, the pulse is thin, floating and big, the person will be cured. If not, the person will die because of the contradiction between pulse and illness. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：治股、脛、手臂痛法：屈一脛、臂中所痛者，正偃臥，口鼻閉氣，腹痛，以意推之，想氣往至痛上，俱熱即愈。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Method of curing pain in the thighs, the calves and the arms: bend the leg or the arm which has the pain. Lying straight on your back, close your mouth and nose while holding the *qi*. If there is pain in your abdomen, push it with your intention, imagining the *qi* going up to where the pain is. When thoroughly hot, you will be cured.'

又云：偃臥，展兩脛、兩手，仰足指，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除腹中弦急切痛。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, stretch both legs and arms, and raise your toes. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can and take seven breaths. This gets rid of stabbing pain, and tightness and cramps in the abdomen.'

又云：正偃臥，以口徐徐內氣，以鼻出之。除裏急。飽食後咽氣數十，令溫中；若氣寒者，使人乾嘔腹痛。口內氣七十所，大振腹；咽氣數十，兩手相摩，令熱，以摩腹，令氣下。

Again, it says, 'Lying straight on your back, slowly inhale *qi* through your mouth, and exhale *qi* through your nose. This gets rid of spasms in the abdomen. After a full meal, swallow *qi* several tens of times. This makes you warm inside. Cold *qi* causes retching without vomiting, and abdominal pain. Inhale *qi* through your mouth roughly seventy times, and shake your abdomen vigorously. Swallow your *qi* several tens of times. Rub your hands together, making them hot, and massage your abdomen. This causes *qi* go down.'

又云：偃臥，仰兩足、兩手，鼻內氣七息。除腹中弦切痛。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, stretch both of your legs and arms. Inhale *qi* through your nose and take seven breaths. This gets rid of severe stabbing pains in the abdomen.'

60 卷十六腹痛病第三候、腹脹候

Juan 16 Disorder of Abdominal Pain, section 3: Symptoms of Abdominal Distention

腹脹者，由陽氣外虛，陰氣內積故也。陽氣外虛，受風冷邪氣；風冷，陰氣也。冷積於腑臟之間不散，與脾氣相擁，虛則脹，故腹滿而氣微喘。

Abdominal distention is the result of an external deficiency of *yang qi*, and an internal accumulation of *yin qi*. When there is an external deficiency of *yang qi*, it admits cold wind and deviant *qi*. Cold wind is *yin qi*. When it encounters cold, it accumulates among the *zang* and *fu* organs, unable to disperse. It blocks the spleen *qi*, which becomes deficient, resulting in distention. Hence, the abdomen becomes bloated and the breath becomes shallow and laboured.

診其脈，右手寸口氣口以前，手陽明經也，脈浮為陽，按之牢強，謂之為實。陽實者，病腹滿，氣喘嗽。

If, when diagnosing the pulse on the *cun*-opening of the right arm, which is the *yang* brightness channel of the hand, a floating pulse indicates *yang*. If it is firm and strong when pressed, this is called repletion. A replete *yang* [pulse] indicates an illness with abdominal distention, breathlessness and coughs.

右手關上脈，足太陰經也，陰實者，病腹脹滿，煩擾不得臥也；關脈實，即腹滿響；關上脈浮而大，風在胃內，腹脹急，心內澹澹，食欲嘔逆；關脈浮，腹滿不欲食，脈浮為是虛滿。

The pulse on the *guan* point of the right arm is the foot great *yin* channel. A replete *yin* [pulse] indicates an illness with abdominal distention, irritability, anxiety and insomnia. If the *guan* pulse is replete, the abdomen will be bloated and noisy. If the *guan* pulse is floating and big, there will be wind in the stomach, acute abdominal distention, extreme anxiety and a desire to vomit after eating. If the *guan* pulse is floating, there will be abdominal distention and loss of appetite. Its floating pulse indicates a deficient but full [spleen channel].

左手尺中神門以後脈，足少陰經。沉者為陰，陰實者，病苦小腹滿。左手尺中陰實者，腎實也，苦腹脹善鳴。

The pulse below *shenmeng* in the *chi* point of the left arm is the foot lesser *yang* channel. A sinking pulse indicates *yin*; both *yin* and replete, indicates an illness with a bloated lower abdomen. If the pulse of the *chi* point of the left arm is *yin* and replete, the stomach [channel] is replete. There will be abdominal distention, often accompanied by gurgling noises.

左手關後尺中脈浮為陽，陽實者，膀胱實也，苦少腹滿，引腰痛。脈來外澀者，為奔腹脹滿也，病苦腹滿而喘。

A floating pulse, below the *guan* point, in the *chi* point of the left arm, indicates *yang*. If both *yang* and replete, the bladder [channel] becomes replete. There will be lower abdominal distention, inducing lumbar pain. If the pulse outside the *chi* point is rough, there will be abdominal distention and bloating, indicating an illness with abdominal bloating and breathlessness.

脈反滑利而沉，皆為逆，死不治。腹脹脈浮者生，虛小者死。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, instead, the pulse is slippery, smooth and sinking, these are signs of reversal and there will be death, and no cure. Those with abdominal distention and a floating pulse will live; those with an empty and small pulse will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：蹲坐，住心，捲兩手，發心向下，左右手搖臂，遞互欹身，盡膊勢，捲頭築肚，兩手衝脈至臍下，來去三七。漸去腹脹肚急悶，食不消化。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Squat on the ground and settle your heart/mind. Curl your arms and direct them downwards from the heart. Shake both left and right arms, and lean your body from side to side, taking your shoulders as far as possible. Turn your head toward your belly as if pounding it, while both arms follow the *chong* (penetrating) vessel down to below the navel, back and forth, thrice seven times. This gradually gets rid of a bloated abdomen, tightness and compression in the belly, and indigestion.'

又云：腹中苦脹，有寒，以口呼出氣，三十過止。

Again, it says, 'When you are suffering from bloatedness and cold in the abdomen, exhale *qi* through your mouth while making the sound of 'hu'; stop after thirty times.'

又云：若腹中滿，食飲苦飽，端坐伸腰，以口內氣數十，滿吐之，以便為故，不便復為之。有寒氣，腹中不安，亦行之。

Again, it says, 'If you are full in your abdomen, suffering fullness after eating and drinking, sit straight and lengthen your lumbar, and inhale *qi* through your mouth several tens of times. Exhale when full. You will relieve yourself as a result; if not, do it again. You can also do this if there is cold *qi* and a feeling of uneasiness in your abdomen.'

又云：端坐，伸腰，口內氣數十。除腹滿、食飲過飽、寒熱、腹中痛病。

Again, it says, 'Sit straight and lengthen your lumbar, inhaling *qi* through your mouth several tens of times. This gets rid of abdominal fullness, over-eating and drinking, and painful cold or hot disorder in the abdomen.'

又云：兩手向身側一向，偏相極勢；發頂足，氣散下，欲似爛物解散。手掌指直舒，左右相皆然，去來三七；始正身，前後轉動膊腰七。去腹肚脹，膀胱、腰脊臂冷，血脈急強，悸也。

Again, it says, 'Take both arms to one side of your body as much as possible. Issue the *qi* from your head, and disperse it down to your feet. The *qi* is dissolving and dispersing like matter which has rotted and disintegrated. Stretch out your fingers. Do the same on both left and right, forwards and backwards, thrice seven times. First, straighten your body, then turn, moving your shoulders and your waist forwards and backwards seven times. This gets rid of a bloated abdomen, cold in the bladder, lumbar region and arms, tightness and constriction in the blood and *mai*, and feeling fearful.'

又云：苦腹內滿，飲食善飽，端坐伸腰，以口內氣數十，以便為故，不便復為。

Again, it says, 'If you suffer from bloatedness in your abdomen, getting full easily from eating and drinking, sit straight and lengthen your lumbar, and inhale *qi* through your mouth several tens of times. You will relieve yourself as a result; if not, do it again.'

又云：脾主土，土暖如人肉，始得發汗，去風冷邪氣。若腹內有氣脹，先須暖足，摩臍上下並氣海，不限遍數，多為佳。始得左回右轉三七。和氣如用，要用身內一百一十三法，迴轉三百六十骨節，動脈搖筋，氣血布澤，二十四氣和潤，臟腑均調。

Again, it says, 'The spleen governs earth, which is warm like a person's flesh. If one starts to sweat, it will get rid of deviant *qi* caused by wind and cold. If your abdomen is bloated with *qi*, first warm your feet and then massage your navel above and below including the *qihai* point. There is no limit as to how many times you do this; the more the better. You can do it clockwise and anti-clockwise, thrice seven times. For harmonising your *qi*, you should use one hundred and thirteen methods, twisting and turning the three hundred and sixty joints, moving and shaking the channels and sinews to spread the *qi* and blood smoothly, in order to harmonize and moisten the twenty-four *qi* and to balance and adjust the *zang* and *fu*.

和氣在用，頭動轉搖，振手氣向上，心氣則下，分明知去知來。莫問平手、敬腰，轉身、摩氣，屈蹙迴動，盡，心氣放散，送至涌泉，一一不失氣之行度，用之有益。不解用者，疑如氣亂。

For harmonising *qi*, move your head, turning and shaking it. When you shake your arms, the *qi* goes up and the *qi* in your heart goes down. Distinguish clearly which one is coming and going. There is no specified way of loosening your arms; just bend your waist, turn your body and massage your *qi* (the *qihai* point?) or bend, contract and move round. When you have finished, release and relax your heart *qi*, sending it to *Yongquan* (Kl. 1) points, at all times keeping track of the movement of the *qi*. It is beneficial to be able to do

this. Those who do the exercise without understanding might suspect their *qi* is in chaos.'

61 卷十六心腹痛病第一候、心腹痛候

Juan 16 Disorder of Heart and Abdominal Pain, section 1: Symptoms of Heart and Abdominal Pain

心腹痛者，由腑臟虛弱，風寒客於其間故也。邪氣發作，與正氣相擊，上衝於心則心痛，下攻於腹則腹痛，上下相攻，故心腹絞痛，氣不得息。

Heart and abdominal pain is caused by deficient and weak *zang* and *fu* organs, leading to chilled wind lodging between them. Deviant *qi* sets off to fight upright *qi*. If it rushes up to the heart, there will be heart pain. If it attacks down in the abdomen, there will be abdominal pain. When the *qi* attacks both above and below, it causes sharp pain in both heart and abdomen, and breathlessness.

診其脈，左手寸口人迎以前脈，手厥陰經也，沉者為陰，陰虛者，病苦心腹痛，難以言，心如寒狀，心腹疔痛，不得息。脈細小者生，大堅疾者死。心腹痛，脈沉細小者生，浮大而疾者死。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If when diagnosing the pulse, a sinking pulse before the *renying* point (ST9) on the *cun*-opening of the left arm, which is the reverting *yin* channel of the hand, this indicates *yin*. If it is both *yin* and empty, the person is suffering from an illness with heart and abdominal pain, difficulty in speaking, sensations of cold in the heart, excruciating pain in both heart and abdomen, and breathlessness. If the pulse is thin and small, the person will live; if it is floating and big, the person will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：行大道，常度日月星辰。清淨以雞鳴，安身臥，嗽口三咽之。調五臟，殺蠱蟲，治心腹痛，令人長生。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'To practise the great *dao*, always contemplate upon the sun, moon and stars. When the cock crows, keeping yourself peaceful and pure, lie down comfortably, rinse your mouth with your saliva and swallow it three times. This will regulate the five *zang*, kill *gu* (poisonous) worms, cure heart and abdominal pain, and make you live long.'

62 卷十六心腹痛病第四候、心腹脹候

Juan 16 Disorder of Heart and Abdominal Pain, section 4: Symptoms of Heart and Abdominal Distension

心腹脹者，臟虛而邪氣客之，乘於心脾故也。足太陰脾之經也，脾虛則脹；足少陰腎之經也，其脈起於足小指之下，循行上絡膀胱，其直者，從腎上入肺；其支者，從肺出絡於心。

Heart and abdominal distention is caused by deficient *zang* organs, leading to deviant *qi* taking the advantage of the heart and spleen [channels], and lodging there. The greater *yin* channel is the channel of the spleen. When the spleen is deficient, there is distention. The lesser *yin* channel is the channel of the kidneys. This channel starts from underneath the little toes, travelling upwards to the branch network of the bladder. Moving vertically, it enters the lungs from the top of the kidneys. Its branches exit the lungs and go to the heart.

臟虛，邪氣客於二經，與正氣相搏，積聚在內，氣并於脾，脾虛則脹，故令心腹煩滿，氣急而脹也。

When the *zang* organs become deficient, deviant *qi* lodges in both channels, fighting against upright *qi*. Gather and accumulating inside, their *qi* invades the spleen. When the spleen becomes deficient, there is distention; both heart and abdomen become agitated and bloated. The *qi* becomes speedy, causing distention.

診其脈，遲而滑者，脹滿也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, there is a slow and slippery pulse, this indicates distention and bloating. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：伸右脛，屈左膝，內壓之，五息。引脾，去心腹寒熱，胸臆邪脹。依經為之，引脾中熱氣出，去心腹中寒熱，胸臆中邪氣脹滿。久行，無有寒熱、時節之所中傷，名為真人之方。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Stretch your right leg and bend your left knee, pressing it in towards you. Take five breaths. This pulls the spleen, gets rid of heat or cold in the heart and abdomen, and bloated chest with deviant *qi*. Practise it according to the Classics in order to pull the hot *qi* out from the spleen. It gets rid of heat or cold in the heart and abdomen, and bloated and full chest with deviant *qi*. If you practise this over a long period of time, you will not be injured during the seasons by heat or cold. This is called the method of the perfected.'

63 卷十七痢病第十五候、冷熱痢候

Juan 17 Dysentery Disorder, section 15: Symptoms of Hot and Cold Diarrhoea/Dysentery

夫冷熱痢者，由腸胃虛弱，宿有寒，而為寒熱所傷，冷熱相乘，其痢乍黃乍白是也。若熱搏於血，血滲腸間，則變為血痢也。而冷伏腸內，搏津液，則變凝白，則成白滯，亦變赤白痢也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The hot and cold diarrhoea is caused by the intestines and stomach being deficient and weak with a long standing coldness, thus being damaged by cold and heat as they take over from each other causing the diarrhoea to become yellow in one moment and white the next. If the heat fights against the blood and causing the blood seeping in between the intestines, it becomes blood- diarrhoea. When the cold is hiding in the intestines, it fights against the fluid which becomes congealed and white, and turns into a white discharge. It also turns into red and white diarrhoea. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：泄下有寒者，微引氣，以息內腹，徐吹息。以鼻引氣，氣足復前即愈。其有熱者，微呼以去之。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'If you suffer from diarrhoea and are cold, pull *qi* gently so the breath goes into the abdomen. Slowly breathe out with '*chui*'. Pull *qi* through your nose when the *qi* is plentiful and repeat the exercise. You will be cured. If there is heat, gently exhale with '*hu*'.'

64 卷十八九蟲病第二候、三蟲候

Juan 18 Disorder of Nine worms, section 2: Symptoms of Three Worms

三蟲者，長蟲、赤蟲、蟯蟲也。為三蟲，猶是九蟲之數也。長蟲，虵蟲也，長一尺，動則吐清水，出則心痛，貫心則死。赤蟲，狀如生肉，動則腸鳴。蟯蟲至細微，形如菜蟲也，居胴腸間，多則為痔，極則為癩，因人瘡處，以生諸癰、疽、癬、癩、癩、癩、疥、齧蟲，無所不為。

The three worms are long worms, red worms and thread worms. These three types of worms are part of the nine worms. The long worms are the giant roundworms (*Ascaris lumbricoides*), which are one chi long. When they move, it causes vomiting with clear liquid. When they come out, it causes heart pain. If they go through the heart, the person will die. The red worms look like raw meat. When they move, it causes noises in the intestines. The thread worms are very tiny and minute, shaped like caterpillars. They reside among the intestines. Too many of them will cause haemorrhoid. In an extreme case, they will cause scabies. Depending on where the ulcer occurs, there will be various abscess, ulcers, dermatophytosis, fistula, sores, scabies and tooth decay growing because these worms will not be stopped at anything.

此既是九蟲內之三者，而今別立名，當以其三種偏發動成病，故謂之三蟲也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

These are the three out of the nine worms which presently is given a separate name of disease. This is because that these three types of worms often trigger disorder and so it is called the three worms. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：以兩手著頭相叉，長引氣，即吐之。坐地，緩舒兩腳，以兩手從外抱膝中，疾低頭，入兩膝間，兩手交叉頭上，十二通，愈三尸也。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Interlace your fingers and place them on your head, drawing in long *qi* and then spitting it out. Sitting on the ground, gently stretch out both legs. With your arms, embrace your knees from the outside. Lower your head and bring it between both knees, your fingers interlaced on your head. Do this twelve times. It will cure the 'three corpses'.'

又云：叩齒二七過，輒咽氣二七過，如此三百通乃止。為之二十日，邪氣悉去；六十日，小病愈；百日，大病除，三蟲伏尸皆去，面體光澤也。

Again, it says, 'Clack together your teeth twice seven times and then swallow your *qi* twice seven times. Do this three hundred times and then stop. After doing it for twenty days, the deviant *qi* will be gone. After sixty days, a minor

disease will be cured. After one hundred days, a serious disease will be eradicated; the *sangu* (three venoms) and the *fushi* (the hidden corpse) will be gone. Both face and body will be radiant and lustrous.'

65 卷十九積聚病第一候、積聚候

Juan 19 Disorder of Aggregation and Accumulation, section 1: Symptoms of Aggregation and Accumulation

積聚者，由陰陽不和，腑臟虛弱，受於風邪，搏於腑臟之氣所為也。腑者，陽也。臟者，陰也。陽浮而動，陰沉而伏。積者陰氣，五臟所生，始發不離其部，故上下有所窮已；聚者陽氣，六腑所成，故無根本，上下無所留止，其痛無有常處。諸臟受邪，初未能為積聚，留滯不去，乃成積聚。

Jiju (aggregation and accumulation) is caused by *yin* and *yang* being in disharmony, and by *zang* and *fu* being deficient and weak. Consequently, the wind deviance is encountered, which attacks the *qi* of *zang* and *fu*. *Fu* organs are *yang* whilst *zang* organs are *yin*. *Yang* floats and is in motion whilst *yin* sinks and hides. *Ji* (aggregation) here refers to *yin qi*, produced by the five *zang*. It does not move away from its place of origin, hence there is a well-defined boundary above and below. *Ju* (accumulation) here refers to *yang qi*, developed by the six *fu*; hence there is no root or foundation. Because it does not stay at a fixed location, its pain is not located at one particular place. The initial encounter between the various *zang* organs and the deviance cannot cause aggregation or accumulation. However, there will be aggregation or accumulation if the deviance gets stuck and does not go away.

肝之積，名曰肥氣。在左脅下，如覆杯，有頭足，久不愈，令人發瘡，連歲月不已。以季夏戊己得之，何以言之？肺病當傳肝，肝當傳脾，脾季夏適王，王者不受邪，肝復欲還肺，肺不肯受，故留結為積，故知之肥氣季夏得之也。

Aggregation of the liver is called 'fat qi'. It is located below the left ribs and resembles an inverted cup with a well-defined shape. If not cured after a long period of time, it will cause *jie nue* (intermittent fever, malaria), lasting for months or years. People get it on the *wu* and *ji* days during the last month of summer. Why say this? Because the lungs pass the disease on to the liver, which in turn passes it on to the spleen. However, the spleen is at its most dominant during the last month of summer, and whatever is in a dominant position is not affected by the deviance. So the liver tries to pass it back, but the lungs will not take it. As a result, it stays and conglomerates, causing aggregation. This is how we know that people get 'fat qi' in the last month of summer.

心之積，名曰伏梁。起臍上，大如臂，上至心下，久不愈，令人病煩心。以秋庚辛得之，何以言之？腎病當傳心，心當傳肺，肺秋適王，王者不受邪，心欲復還腎，腎不肯受，故留結為積，故知伏梁以秋得之也。

Aggregation of the heart is called 'hidden beams' and rises from above the navel, to just below the heart. It is as big as an arm. If not cured after a long period of time, it will cause agitation in the heart. People get it on the *gen* and *xin* days during autumn. Why say this? Because the kidney passes the disease on to the heart, which in turn passes it on to the lungs. However, the lungs are at their most dominant in autumn, and whatever is in a dominant

position will not be affected by the deviance. So the heart tries to pass it back to the kidney, but the kidney will not take it. As a result, it stays and conglomerates, causing aggregation. This is how we know that people get 'hidden beams' in autumn.

脾之積，名曰否氣。在胃脘，覆大如盤，久不愈，令人四肢不收，發黃疸，飲食不為肌膚。以冬壬癸得之，何以言之？肝病當傳脾，脾當傳腎，腎冬適王，王者不受邪，脾欲復遠肝，肝不肯受，故留結為積，故知否氣以冬得之也。

Aggregation of the spleen is called '*blocked qi*'. It is located in the stomach, as big as an inverted plate. If not cured after a long period of time, it will cause immobility of the limbs, and jaundice, and food will fail to build flesh and skin. People get it on the *ren* and *kuei* days in winter. Why say this? Because the liver passes the disease on to the spleen, which in turn passes it on to the kidney. However, the kidney is at its most dominant in autumn, and whatever is in its dominant season will not be affected by the deviance. So the spleen tries to pass it back to the liver, but the liver will not take it. As a result, it stays and conglomerates, causing aggregation. This is how we know that people get '*blocked qi*' in winter.

肺之積，名曰息賁。在右肋下，覆大如杯，久不愈，令人洒淅寒熱，喘嗽發肺癰。以春甲乙得之，何以言之？心病當傳肺，肺當傳肝，肝以春適王，王者不受邪，肺欲復還心，心不肯受，故留結為積，故知息賁以春得之。

Aggregation of the lungs is called '*rest and run*'. It is located under the right ribs, as big as an inverted cup. If not cured after a long period of time, it will cause cold with a temperature, panting and coughing, and boils in the lungs. People get it on the *jia* and *yi* days in spring. Why say this? Because the heart passes the disease on to the lungs, which in turn pass it on to the liver. However, the liver is at its most dominant in spring, and whatever is in its dominant season will not be affected by the deviance. So the lungs try to pass it back to the heart, but the heart will not take it. As a result, it stays and conglomerates, causing aggregation. This is how we know that people get '*rest and run*' in spring.

腎之積，名曰賁豚。發於少腹，上至心下，若賁走之狀，上下無時。久不愈，令人喘逆，骨萎少氣。以夏丙丁得之，何以言之？脾病當傳腎，腎當傳心，心夏適王，王者不受邪，腎欲復還脾，脾不肯受，故留結為積，故知賁豚以夏得之。此為五積也。

Aggregation of the kidney is called '*running piglet*'. It starts in the lower abdomen and reaches to just below the heart. It is shaped like a running piglet and can occur at any time. If not cured after a long period of time, it will cause panting, counter flow, withered bones and shortness of breath. People get it on the *bing* and *ding* days in summer. Why say this? Because the spleen passes the disease on to the kidney, which in turn passes it on to the heart. However, the heart is at its most dominant in summer, and whatever is in its dominant season will not be affected by the deviance. So the kidney tries to pass it back to the spleen, but the spleen will not take it. As a result, it stays

and conglomerates, causing aggregation. This is how we know that people get 'running piglet' in summer. These are the five aggregations.

診其脈，駢而緊，積聚。脈浮而牢，積聚。脈橫者，脅下有積聚。脈來小沉實者，胃中有積聚，不下食，食即吐出。脈來細沉附骨者，積也。脈出在左，積在左；脈出在右，積在右；脈兩出，積在中央，以部處之。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is galloping and tight, there is aggregation and accumulation. A floating and firm pulse indicates aggregation and accumulation. A horizontal pulse indicates aggregation and accumulation below the ribs. A small, sinking and solid pulse indicates aggregation and accumulation in the stomach, an inability to take food, or vomiting immediately after eating. A pulse which is thin, sinking and attached to the bone indicates aggregation. If the pulses emerge on the left hand, the aggregation is on the left. If the pulses emerge on the right hand, the aggregation is on the right. If the pulses emerge on both hands, the aggregation is in the middle. The aggregation is dealt with according to its location.

診得肺積脈，浮而毛，按之辟易。脅下氣逆，背相引痛，少氣，善忘，目暝，皮膚寒，秋愈夏劇。主皮中時痛，如蟲緣狀，其甚如針刺之狀，時癢，色白也。

If the diagnosed pulse is floating, feather-like or easily missed when pressing, this indicates aggregation of the lungs. There is a counter flow of *qi* below the ribs, pain pulling in the back, shortness of breath, forgetfulness, poor vision, and cold skin. It gets better in autumn and worsens in summer. [The lungs] govern the skin; hence there is sometimes pain there, as if there were insects crawling on the skin. If the condition gets worse, it feels like one is being pricked by needles. Sometimes, there is itchiness. The complexion is white.

診得心積脈，沉而芤，時上下無常處。病悸，腹中熱，面赤，咽乾，心煩，掌中熱，甚即唾血。主身癢癢，主血厥，夏瘥冬劇。色赤也。

If the diagnosed pulse is sinking and hollow, and in no fixed place, this indicates aggregation of the heart. There is an illness with palpitations, heat in the abdomen, a red face, a dry throat, agitation in the heart, and heat in the palms. If the condition gets worse, there is spitting of blood. [The heart] governs the body, hence there are sometimes spasms in the body. And it governs blood, hence there is a reversal of blood. The disease gets better in summer and worse in winter. The complexion is red.

診得脾積脈，浮大而長。饑則減，飽則見，臍起與穀爭，累累如桃李，起見於外。腹滿，嘔，泄，腸鳴，四肢重，足脛腫，厥不能臥。主肌肉損，季夏瘥春劇，色黃也。

If the diagnosed pulse is floating and long, this indicates aggregation of the spleen. The aggregation diminishes when the person is hungry and appears when the person is full. When the stomach is full, the aggregation fights with the food, and both get bundled up like peaches or plums. It is visible externally. There are a bloated abdomen, vomiting, diarrhoea, a gurgling

sound from the intestines, a heavy sensation in the four limbs, swelling and cold in the feet and calves, and an inability to lie down. [The spleen] governs the muscles, hence there is muscle loss. The disease gets better in autumn and worse in spring. The complexion is yellow.

診得肝積脈，弦而細。兩脅下痛，邪走心下，足脛寒，脅痛引小腹，男子積疝也，女子病淋也。身無膏澤，喜轉筋，爪甲枯黑，春瘥秋劇，色青也。

If the diagnosed pulse is stringy and thin, this indicates aggregation of the liver. There is pain below the ribs on both sides. The deviance moves below the heart, the feet and calves are cold, and pain in the ribs pulls the lower abdomen. Men get the aggregation in the form of a hernia, whilst women get urinary problems. There is no moisture or lustre in the body, spasms are likely, and the nails are withered and blackened. The disease gets better in spring and worse in autumn. The complexion is green.

診得腎積脈，沉而急。苦脊與腰相引痛，饑則見，飽則減。病腰痛，小腹裏急，口乾，咽腫傷爛，目茫茫，骨中寒，主髓厥，喜忘，冬瘥夏劇，色黑也。

If the diagnosed pulse is sinking and rapid, this indicates aggregation of the kidney. There is pain pulling between the spine and the lumbar. The aggregation appears when the person is hungry and diminishes when the person is full. It is an illness with lumbar pain, acute pain in the lower abdomen, a dry mouth, a swollen or ulcerated throat, blurred vision, and cold in the bones. [The kidney] governs bone marrow, hence there is a reversal of bone marrow, and forgetfulness. The disease gets better in winter and worse in summer. The complexion is black.

診得心腹積聚，其脈牢強急者生，脈虛弱急者死。又積聚之脈，實強者生，沉者死。

When the diagnosed pulse indicates aggregation and accumulation of the heart and abdomen, and if that pulse is firm, strong and rapid, the person will live. If the pulse is vacant, weak and rapid, the person will die. If the aggregation and accumulation pulse is solid and strong, the person will live. If it is sinking, the person will die.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：以左足踐右足上。除心下積。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Press your left foot on your right foot. This gets rid of accumulations below the heart.'

又云：病心下積聚，端坐伸腰，向日仰頭，徐以口內氣，因而咽之，三十過而止，開目作。

Again, it says, 'For disorder of aggregation and accumulation below the heart region: sit upright, lengthen your lumbar, and raise your head to face the sun. Slowly inhale *qi* through your mouth and then swallow it. Stop after 30 times. Do this with your eyes open.'

又云：左脅側臥，申臂直腳，以口內氣，鼻吐之，週而復始。除積聚、心下不便。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your left side, lengthen your arms and straighten your legs. Inhale *qi* through your mouth and exhale through your nose. After completing one cycle, start again. This gets rid of the aggregation and accumulation, and any discomfort below the heart.'

又云：以左手按右脅，舉右手極形。除積及老血。

Again, it says, 'While pressing your ribs on the right with your left hand, raise your right arm. Do it to its full extent. This gets rid of accumulation and old blood.'

又云：閉口微息，正坐向王氣，張鼻取氣，逼置臍下，小口微出氣，十二通。以除結聚。低頭不息十二通，以消飲食，令身輕強。行之冬月，令人不寒。

Again, it says, 'Sitting upright facing the dominant direction of *qi*, close your mouth and breathe gently. Open your nostrils to draw in *qi* and forcefully place it below the navel. Open your mouth slightly and exhale gently. Do this twelve times. This gets rid of any knotting and accumulation. Lower your head and hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It helps digestion and makes the body light but strong. If you practise it during the winter months, you will not be cold.'

又云：端坐伸腰，直上，展兩臂，仰兩手掌，以 *bi* 閉之，自極七息，名曰蜀上喬。除脅下積聚。

Again, it says, 'Sit straight, extending upwards, lengthen your lumbar, and stretch both arms with palms facing up. Inhale *qi* through your nose, holding it as much as you can. Take seven breaths. This is called *Shu Shangqiao* and gets rid of aggregation and accumulation below the ribs.'

又云：向晨，去枕，正偃臥，伸臂脛，瞑目閉口不息，極張腹、兩足，再息，頃間吸腹仰兩足，倍拳，欲自微息定，復為之春三、夏五、秋七、冬九。蕩滌五臟，津潤六腑，所病皆愈。腹有疾積聚者，張吸其腹，熱乃止，癥瘕散破，即愈矣。

Again, it says, 'In the morning, remove your pillow and lie on your back, lengthening your arms and legs. Close your eyes and mouth while holding

your breath. When your abdomen and the legs become full, take another breath. After a short pause, inhale into your abdomen. Raise both legs and make your hands into fists, while keeping your breathing gentle and stable. Repeat three times in the spring, five times in the summer, seven times in the autumn and nine times in the winter. The five *zang* will be cleansed, the six *fu* moistened and all diseases will be cured. If you have an illness of aggregation and accumulation in your abdomen, expand your abdomen by inhaling; stop when it is hot. When the matter in your abdomen has disintegrated and been broken up, you will be cured.'

66 卷十九癥瘕病第二候、癥瘕候

Juan 19 Disorder of Abdominal Mass, section 2: Symptoms of Abdominal Mass

癥瘕者，皆由寒溫不調，飲食不化，與臟氣相搏結所生也。其病不動者，直名為癥。若病雖有結瘕，而可推移者，名為瘕。瘕者，假也，謂虛假可動也。

Zheng and *Xia* (Abdominal mass) are caused by unregulated cold and warmth. They are generated when undigested food and drink fight against and knot up with *zang qi* (*qi* of the *yin* organs). If the illness is stationary, it is simply called *zheng* (abdominal mass), but if the illness can be pushed and moved, even if there are knots, it is called *xia* (false abdominal mass). *Xia* means false. It is called as such because it is deceptive and can be moved.

候其人發語聲嘶，中聲濁而後語乏氣拖舌，語而不出。此人食結在腹，病寒，口裏常水出，四體灑灑常如發瘧，飲食不能，常自悶悶而痛，此食癥病也。

These are the symptoms. When the person begins to speak, there is a loss of voice, or the sound becomes slurred as *qi* is depleted towards the end of the sentence, or the words do not come out at all. This person has food knotted up in their abdomen. The illness causes cold, and saliva is frequently emitted from the mouth. The four limbs are cold, as if they have been rained on, and there are frequent outbreaks of *nue* (malaria). The person can neither drink nor eat, and often feels some kind of stifling pain. This is an illness of an abdominal mass of food.

診其脈，沉而中散者，寒食癥也。脈弦緊而細，瘕也。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is sinking and scattered in the middle, this indicates an abdominal mass of food, and cold. If the pulse is stringy, tight and thin, it is an abdominal mass.

若在心下，則寸口脈弦緊；在胃脘，則關上弦緊；在臍下，則尺中弦緊。

If the abdominal mass is located below the heart, the *cun*-opening pulse is stringy and tight. If it is at the stomach-duct, the pulse is stringy and tight on the *guan* point. If it is below the navel, the pulse is stringy and tight in the *chi* point.

脈癥法，左手脈橫，癥在左；右手脈橫，瘕在右。

This is the method of [detecting] abdominal mass pulse: If the pulse on the left hand is horizontal, the abdominal mass is on the left. If the pulse on the right hand is horizontal, the abdominal mass is on the right.

脈頭大在上，頭小在下。脈來遲而牢者，為病癥也。腎脈小急，肝脈小急，心脈小急，不鼓，皆為瘕。

If each initial pulse is big, the abdominal mass is at the upper part. If each initial pulse is small, the abdominal mass is at the lower part. If there is a delay in the pulse and it is firm, it is an illness of [real] abdominal mass. A small and rapid kidney pulse, a small and rapid liver pulse, or a small and rapid heart pulse which is unresponsive, all indicate false abdominal mass.

寸口脈結者，癥瘕。脈弦而伏，腹中有癥，不可轉動，必死，不治故也。

If the *cun*-opening pulse is knotted, it can be either real or false abdominal mass. If the pulse is stringy and hidden, there is a real abdominal mass which cannot be turned or moved. The person will definitely die, because nothing will cure it.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：飲食大走，腸胃傷，久成癥瘕，時時結痛。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Walking quickly after food injures the intestines and stomach. If done for a long period of time, abdominal mass will be developed and from time to time, there will be a knotted pain.'

《養生方·導引法》云：向晨，去枕，正偃臥，伸臂脛，瞑目閉口無息，極張腹、兩足再息。頃間吸腹仰兩足，倍拳，欲自微息定，復為之。春三、夏五、秋七、冬九。蕩滌五臟，津潤六腑，所病皆愈。腹有疾積聚者，張吸其腹，熱乃止。癥瘕散破即愈矣。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'In the morning, remove your pillow and lie on your back, lengthening your arms and legs. Close your eyes and mouth while holding your breath. When your abdomen and the legs become full, take another breath. After a short pause, inhale into your abdomen. Raise both legs and make your hands into fists, while keeping your breathing gentle and stable. Repeat three times in the spring, five times in the summer, seven times in the autumn and nine times in the winter. The five *zang* will be cleansed, the six *fu* moistened and all diseases will be cured. If you have an illness of aggregation and accumulation in your abdomen, expand your abdomen by inhaling; stop when it is hot. When the matter in your abdomen has disintegrated and been broken up, you will be cured.'

67 卷二十疝病第二候、寒疝候

Juan 20 Bulging Disorder, section 2: Symptoms of Bulging disorder associated with Cold

寒疝者，陰氣積於內，則衛氣不行，衛氣不行，則寒氣盛也。故令惡寒不欲食，手足厥冷，繞臍痛，白汗出，遇寒即發，故云寒疝也。其脈弦緊者是也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Bulging disorder (hernia) associated with cold occurs when *yin qi* accumulates within, preventing defensive *qi* from moving. When defensive *qi* cannot move, cold *qi* becomes abundant, causing aversion to cold, loss of appetite, cold limbs, pain coiled around the navel, and sweating. Encountering cold triggers these symptoms. Hence, it is called bulging disorder associated with cold. Its pulse is tight like a string. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：蹲踞，以兩手舉足，蹲極橫。治氣衝腫痛，寒疝入上下。致腎氣法：蹲踞，以兩手捉趾令離地，低跟極橫挽，自然一通，愈榮衛中痛。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Squat, lift your feet with both hands, and spread your legs as wide as possible to either side. This cures rushing-*qi*, swelling with pain, and bulging disorder associated with cold entering above or below. Method for drawing kidney *qi*: Squat, take hold of your toes with your hands and lift them from the ground; lower your heels horizontally to the sides as much as possible. Do this once according to your natural capacity. It cures pain in the flourishing/nourishing and defensive [channels].'

68 卷二十疝病第十一候、疝瘕候

Juan 20 Bulging Disorder, section 11: Symptoms of Deceptive Bulging Disorder

疝者，痛也；瘕者，假也。其病雖有結瘕，而虛假可推移，故謂之疝瘕也。

Bulging means there will be pain; *xia* 瘕 means false. Even though the illness is knotted up as an abdominal mass, it can be pushed and moved around because it is false and deceptive. It is, therefore called deceptive bulging disorder.

由寒邪與臟腑相搏所成。其病，腹內急痛，腰背相引痛，亦引小腹痛。

It is produced by the cold deviance fighting against the *zang* and the *fu*. With this illness, there is severe abdominal pain, pain pulling between the lumbar and the back. The pulling also causes pain in the lower abdomen.

脈沉細而滑者，曰疝瘕；緊急而滑者，曰疝瘕。方云：乾脯曝之不燥者，食之成疝瘕。

A sinking, thin and slippery pulse indicates deceptive bulging disorder. A tight, rapid and slippery pulse indicates deceptive bulging disorder. The Recipe says, 'If you eat dry meat which has been exposed to the sun but not completely dried, you will develop deceptive bulging disorder.'

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：挽兩足指，五息止，引腹中氣。去疝瘕，利孔竅。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Take hold of your toes; stop after five breaths, pulling the *qi* in the abdomen. This gets rid of intermittent bulging disorder and benefits the orifices.'

又云：坐，舒兩腳，以兩手捉大拇指，使足上頭下，極挽，五息止，引腹中氣遍行身體。去疝瘕病，利諸孔竅，往來易行。久行精爽，聰明脩長。

Again, it says, 'Sit, stretch out both legs, and take hold of your big toes with both hands. Raise your feet and lower your head, pulling the big toes to their limit. Stop after five breaths. Pull the *qi* inside your abdomen so that it circulates round your body. This gets rid of intermittent bulging disorder and abdominal mass, benefits the orifices, and improves easy movements. If you practise it over a long period of time, your essence will be clear, your hearing sharp and your vision clear for a long time.'

69 卷二十痰飲病第一候、痰飲候

Juan 20 Phlegm-rheum Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Phlegm-rheum

痰飲者，由氣脈閉塞，津液不通，水飲氣停在胸膈，結而成痰。又其人素盛今瘦，水走腸間，漉漉有聲，謂之痰飲。

Phlegm-rheum is caused by blocked channels of *qi*, through which bodily fluids cannot pass. The *qi* of watery rheum stays in the chest and becomes a knot, which turns into phlegm. The person who was previously robust has now lost weight. When water moves inside the intestines, it makes watery sounds. This is called phlegm-rheum.

其為病也，胸脅脹滿，水穀不消，結在腹內兩肋，水入腸胃，動作有聲，體重多唾，短氣好眠，胸背痛，甚則上氣欬逆，倚息，短氣不能臥，其形如腫是也。

In such disorder, the upper part of the body is bloated, and water and grains are not digested, but are knotted up in the abdomen around both ribs. When water enters the intestines and stomach, it makes a noise while moving. There is an increase in weight and saliva. The breath is shallow and the person sleeps a lot. They have pain in the chest and back. When the condition worsens, their *qi* goes up and they have reversal cough, their shallow breathing prevents them from lying down, and their body looks swollen.

脈偏弦為痰，浮而滑為飲。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If the pulse tends to be string like, it is phlegm; if it is floating and slippery, it is rheum. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：左右側臥，不息十二通，治痰飲不消。右有飲病，右側臥；左有飲病，左側臥。又有不消，以氣排之，左右各十有二息。治痰飲也。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Lie on your left and right sides, and hold your breath twelve times. This cures phlegm-rheum and indigestion. If you have rheum disorder on your right, lie down on your right side; if you have rheum disorder on your left, lie down on your left side. If you also have indigestion, use your *qi* to expel it. Take twelve breaths on both left and right. This cures phlegm-rheum.'

70 卷二十痰飲病第十三候、諸飲候

Juan 20 Phlegm-rheum Disorder, section 13: Symptoms of Various Rheum Disorders

諸飲者，皆由榮衛氣否澀，三焦不調，而因飲水多，停積而成痰飲。其為病也，或兩脅脹滿，或心胸煩悶，或眼暗口乾，或嘔逆短氣，諸候非一，故云諸飲。

The various rheum disorders are all caused by the flourishing and defensive *qi* being blocked and becoming sluggish, while the triple burners are unregulated. When a lot of water is drunk, it stays and accumulates [in the body] and turns into phlegm-rheum. Such disorder can cause bloatedness at the ribs, a feeling of agitation and stifling in the heart and chest, dimmed vision, a dry mouth, vomiting, or shortness of breath. Because the various disorders do not have the same symptoms, they are called various rheum disorders.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：行左之右之側臥，閉目，氣不息十二通，治諸飲不消。右有飲病，右不息，排下消之。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Lie on your left or right side accordingly, and close your eyes. Hold your breath twelve times. This cures various rheum disorders and indigestion. If you have a rheum disorder on your right, lie on your right side, hold your breath and discharge it downwards.'

又云：驚行氣，低頭倚壁，不息十二通，以意排之，痰飲宿食從下部出，自愈。驚行氣者，身直頸曲，排氣下行而一通，愈宿食。久行自然能出，不須孔塞也。

Again, it says, 'Moving *qi* of a wild duck: Draw your head down towards your shoulders. Hold your breath twelve times. Use your intention to discharge accumulated food and drink, getting them out, and expelling them from below. You will automatically be cured. To do moving *qi* of a wild duck, straighten your body, bend your neck and discharge the *qi* by moving it down. Do this twelve times. It cures disorder caused by food accumulated overnight. If you practise this over a long period of time, evacuation will occur naturally, without blockage.'

71 卷二十癰病第一候、癰候

Juan 20 Disorder of Entrenched Lumps, section 1: Symptoms of Entrenched Lumps

夫五臟調和，則榮衛氣理，榮衛氣理，則津液通流，雖復多飲水漿，不能為病。若攝養乖方，則三焦否隔。

When the five *zang* are regulated and in harmony, the flourishing and defensive *qi* are in order. When the flourishing and defensive *qi* are in order, the bodily fluids flow freely. Even drinking a lot of water or liquid will not lead to illness. But without proper care and nourishment, the triple heaters will be blocked and separated.

三焦否隔，則腸胃不能宣行，因飲水漿過多，便令停滯不散，更遇寒氣，積聚而成癰。癰者，謂僻側在於兩脅之間，有時而痛是也。

If the triple heaters are blocked and separated, the intestines and stomach will not function properly. Then drinking too much water or liquid which remains stationary cause stagnation, and the inability to disperse. If cold *qi* is subsequently encountered, [the water or liquids] will aggregate and accumulate, becoming entrenched lumps. These are often located between the two sets of ribs and sometimes there is pain.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：臥覺，勿飲水更眠，令人作水癰。

The *Yangsheng Recipes* says, 'Upon waking, do not drink water and go back to sleep. This will cause entrenched watery lumps.

又云：飲水勿急咽，久成水癰。

Again, it says, 'When drinking water, do not swallow it quickly. If you do this over a long period of time, you will have entrenched watery lumps.

《養生方·導引法》云：舉兩膝，夾兩頰邊，兩手據地蹲坐，故久行之，愈伏梁。伏梁者，宿食不消成癰，腹中如杯如盤。宿癰者，宿水宿氣癰數生癰。久行，腸化為筋，骨變為實。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Raise both knees and press them against the sides of your cheeks. Press your hands against the ground, while squatting. If you practise this over a long period of time, it will cure *fuliang*. *Fuliang* is an illness caused by food accumulated overnight without being digested. This turns into hidden lumps, like having cups and

plates in the abdomen. A chronic abscess is caused by long standing water and *qi* forming numerous hidden lumps which become abscesses. If you practise this over a long period of time, your intestines will become like sinews and your bones will become solid.'

72 卷二十否噎病第二候、諸否候

Juan 20 Disorder of Block and Choke, section 2: Symptoms of Various Blocks Disorders

諸否者，榮衛不和，陰陽隔絕，腑臟否塞而不宣通，故謂之否。但方有八否、五否或六否，以其名狀非一，故云諸否。其病之候，但腹內氣結脹滿，閉塞不通，有時壯熱，與前八否之勢不殊，故云諸否。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Various blocks disorder occur when the flourishing and defensive *qi* are not in harmony, *yin* and *yang* are separated and disconnected, and the *zang* and *fu* are blocked and congested, and hence unable to disperse and release. This is called blockage. Various recipes mention eight blocks, five blocks or six blocks. Because the symptoms are not the same, it is called various blocks disorder. The symptoms of these disorder are bloated and knotted *qi* in the abdomen, which is completely blocked up and unmoving, and, sometimes, a temperature. The symptoms are not different from those of the eight blocks disorder, hence it is called various blocks disorder. The orthodox prescription for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones is given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：正坐努腰，胸仰舉頭，將兩手指相對，向前捺席使急，身如共頭胸向下，欲至席還起，上下來去二七。去胸肋否、臟冷、臄疼悶、腰脊悶也。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Sitting upright, strongly lengthen your lumbar. Raise your chest, your head facing upwards, and bring the fingers of both hands to face each other. Then, face them forward and press them firmly against the mat, while your body, head and chest go down together to the mat before sitting back up. Do this up and down, forwards and backwards, twice seven times. It gets rid of blockages in the chest and ribs, cold in the *zang* organs, aches and compression in the arms, and compression in the lumbar region.'

73 卷二十一脾胃病第二候、脾胃氣不和不能飲食候

Juan 21 Disorder of Spleen and Stomach, section 2: Symptoms of Disharmony of Spleen and Stomach Qi and the Inability to Eat and Drink

脾者，臟也。胃者，腑也。脾胃二氣，相為表裏。胃受穀而脾磨之，二氣平調，則穀化而能食。若虛實不等，水穀不消，故令腹內虛脹，或泄，不能飲食，所以謂之脾胃氣不和不能飲食也。

The spleen is a *zang* organ. The stomach is a *fu* organ. The spleen *qi* is on the inside whilst the stomach *qi* is on the outside. The stomach receives grains which the spleen digest. When both *qi* are steady and regulated, the grains are transformed. The person is able to eat. If there is a deficiency or excess, causing disparity, the water and grains are not digested, resulting in a bloated abdomen, or diarrhoea. The person is unable to eat. Hence this is called the disharmony of spleen and stomach *qi* and the inability to eat and drink.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：欬身，兩手一向偏側，急努身舒頭，共手競扒相牽，漸漸一時盡勢。氣共力皆和，來去左右亦然，各三七。項前後兩角緩舒手，如是似向外扒，放縱身心，搖三七，遞互亦然。去太倉不和、臂腰虛悶也。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Lean, turning your body to one side, and bringing both arms to the side. With great effort, extend your head. Hold your hands tightly together with the fingers bending like claws, as if competing against one another. Gradually extend the posture to its limit and hold it for a while. Your qi and your strength are both in harmony. Do this to both left and right, back and forth thrice seven times. Relax, and then stretch your arms out from both sides of your neck as if forcing them apart. Relax your body and heart/mind while turning thrice seven times, alternating between left and right. This gets rid of disharmony of the stomach, and deficiency and compression in the arms and lumbar region.'

74 卷二十一嘔噦病第四候、嘔吐候

Juan 21 Retching Disorder, section 4: Symptoms of Retching and Vomiting

嘔吐者，皆由脾胃虛弱，受於風邪所為也。若風邪在胃，則嘔；膈間有停飲，胃內有久寒，則嘔而吐。其狀：長大息，心裡澹澹然，或煩滿而大便難，或溏泄，並其候也。

Retching and vomiting are caused by deficiency and weakness in the spleen and stomach, which are then vulnerable to the wind deviance. If the wind deviance is in the stomach, there will be retching. If rheum has collected around the diaphragm, and there is chronic coldness in the stomach, there will be retching and vomiting. The conditions include: sighing heavily, anxiety or irritability, and difficulties with bowel movement or loose stools. All of these can be symptoms.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：八月勿食薑，一云被霜瓜，向冬發寒熱及溫病，食欲吐，或心中停飲不消，或為反胃。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Do not eat ginger during the eighth month. One version says, [Avoid] frozen melons. Otherwise, when it comes to winter, cold-, heat- or warm-related disorder will break out. There is a desire to vomit after food, or rheum remains inside, causing indigestion or retching.

《養生方·導引法》云：正坐，兩手向後捉腕，反向拓席，盡勢，使腹絃絃，上下七，左右換手亦然。除腹肚冷風、宿氣積、胃口冷、食飲進退吐逆不下。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Sit straight with both hands behind, one hand holding the [other] wrist. Press your hand against the mat as much as possible. Make your abdomen move up and down like a string, seven times. Change hands between left and right and repeat. This decreases the accumulated long standing *qi* of cold-wind in the abdomen, poor appetite, problems with the inability to hold your food and drink.'

又云：偃臥，展兩脛、兩手，左右躄兩足踵，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除腹中病，食苦嘔。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your back, stretch out both legs and both arms, and raise both left and right heels. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as possible, and take seven breaths. This gets rid of disorder in the abdomen, and the problem of vomiting after eating.'

又云：坐，直舒兩腳，以兩手挽兩足，自極十二通。愈腸胃不能受食，吐逆。以兩手直叉兩腳底，兩腳痛，舒。以頭抵膝上，自極十二通。愈腸胃不能受食，吐逆。

Again, it says, 'Sit, stretch out both legs straight, and grasp your feet with both hands as much as you can. Do this twelve times. It cures the inability of the intestines and stomach to take food, and vomiting. Cross your hands over the soles of your feet to release pain in your legs. Bring your head above your knees as much as you can. Do this twelve times. It cures the inability of the intestines and stomach to take food, and vomiting.'

75 卷二十一宿食不消病第一候、宿食不消候

Juan 21 Indigestion Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Indigestion

宿食不消，由臟氣虛弱，寒氣在於脾胃之間，故使也。宿穀未消，新穀又入，脾氣既弱，故不能磨之，則經宿而不消也。令人腹脹氣急，噫氣醋臭，時復憎寒壯熱是也，或頭痛如瘧之狀。

Indigestion is caused by deficient and weak *zang qi*, which allows cold *qi* to stay between the spleen and the stomach. New food enters before the old food has been digested. Because the spleen *qi* is weak, it cannot process the food, and so it is not digested overnight. This causes a bloated abdomen, panting, and belching accompanied by a vinegary stink. Frequently there is an aversion to cold and a high temperature, and a headache similar to that of *nue* (malaria).

寸口脈浮大，按之反澀，尺脈亦微而澀者，則宿食不消也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If the *cun*-opening pulse is floating and big, but turns rough when pressed, and if the *chi* pulse is also faint and rough, this indicates indigestion. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：凡食訖，覺腹內過飽，腸內先有宿氣，常須食前後，兩手擦膝，左右欹身，肚腹向前，努腰就肚，左三七，右二七，轉身按腰脊極勢。去太倉腹內宿氣不化、脾痺腸瘦、臟腑不和。得令腹脹滿，日日消除。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Whenever you have eaten and feel extremely full, there is already accumulated *qi* in the intestines. You should often do this before and after a meal: Place your hands on your knees and lean your body to left and to right, while pushing your belly forward, extending it by exerting an effort in your lumbar. Do this to the left thrice seven times and to the right twice seven times while turning your body and pushing your lumbar as much as possible. This gets rid of long-standing, undigested *qi* in the stomach and abdomen, spleen *bi* (blockage), emaciated intestines, and disharmony of the *zang* and the *fu*. The fullness and bloatedness in the abdomen will diminish day by day.'

又云：閉口微息，正坐向王氣，張鼻取氣，逼置齊下，小口微出氣十二通，以除結聚，低頭不息十二通，以消飲食，令身輕強，行之，冬月不寒。

Again, it says, 'Sitting upright facing the dominant direction of *qi*, close your mouth and breathe gently. Open your nostrils to obtain *qi* and forcefully place it below the navel. Open your mouth slightly and exhale gently twelve times. This gets rid of 'binding and gathering'. Lower your head and hold your breath twelve times. This helps digestion and causes the body to become light but strong. If you practise it during the winter months, you will not be cold.'

又云：端坐伸腰，舉左手，仰掌，以右手承右脅，以鼻內氣，自極七息，除胃中寒食不消。

Again, it says, 'Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar, and raise your left arm with the palm facing up, while supporting your right side with your right hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Do this for seven breaths. It gets rid of indigestion and cold in the stomach.'

又云：端坐伸腰，舉右手，仰掌，以左手承左脅。以鼻內氣，自極七息。所除胃寒，食不變，則愈。

Again, it says, 'Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar, and raise your right arm, with the palm facing up while supporting your left side with your left hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of cold in the stomach, and the inability to digest properly. They will be cured.'

又云：驚行氣，低頭倚壁，不息十二通。以意排之，痰飲宿食從下部出，自愈。行氣者，身直頸曲，排氣下行十二通，愈宿食。

Again, it says, 'Moving *qi* of a wild duck: Lower your head, drawing it down towards your shoulders, and hold your breath twelve times. With intention, get rid of accumulated food and drink, by forcing them out, expelling them from below. You will automatically be cured. To do moving *qi* of a wild duck: straighten your body, bend your neck and discharge the *qi* by moving it down twelve times. This cures disorder resulting from food accumulated overnight.'

又云：雁行氣，低臂推膝踞，以繩自縛拘左，低頭倚臂，不息十二通。消食輕身，益精神，惡氣不入，去萬邪。一本云：正坐，仰天，呼吸天精，解酒食飲飽。出氣吐之數十，須臾立飢且醒。夏月行之，令人清涼。

Again, it says, 'The moving *qi* of a wild goose: Lowering your arms, push them against your knees while squatting. Tie your left arm with a rope, lower your head, drawing it down towards your shoulders. Hold your breath twelve times. This helps the digestion of food, making your body light. It increases your essence and vital spirit, and gets rid of all deviance agents so that malign *qi* cannot enter. One version says, 'Sitting straight, face to the sky, exhale and inhale the heavenly essence. This will dissolve excesses of wine and food. Exhale *qi* and spit it out through your mouth several tens of times. After a while, you will suddenly feel hungry and awake. Practising this during the summer will make you feel calm and cool.'

76 卷二十一宿食不消病第二候、食傷飽候

Juan 21 Indigestion Disorder, section 20: Symptoms of Overeating

夫食過於飽，則脾不能磨消，令氣急煩悶，睡臥不安。寸口脈盛而緊者，傷於食。脈緩大而實者，傷於食也。

In over-eating, the spleen is unable to process and digest. This causes fast breathing, irritability, a stifling sensation, and disturbed sleep. An exuberant but also tight *cun*-opening pulse indicates an injury caused by food. A slow, big and solid pulse also indicates an injury caused by food.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：若腹中滿，食飲苦飽，端坐伸腰，以口內氣數十，滿，吐之，以便為故，不便復為之。有寒氣，腹中不安，亦行之。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'If you feel full in your abdomen and suffer from over eating and drinking, sit straight, lengthen your lumbar and inhale *qi* through your mouth several tens of times. Exhale when full. You will relieve yourself as a result; if not, do it again. You can also do this if there is cold *qi* and a feeling of uneasiness in your abdomen.'

又云：端坐伸腰，口內氣數十。除腹中滿、食飲過飽、寒熱、腹中痛病。

Again, it says, 'Sitting straight, lengthen your lumbar, and inhale *qi* through your mouth for several tens of times. This gets rid of abdominal fullness, over-eating and drinking, and painful cold or hot disorder in the abdomen.'

77. 卷二十一水腫病第一候、水腫候

Juan 21 Disorder of Water Swelling, section 1: Symptoms of Water Swelling

腎者主水，脾胃俱主土，土性克水。脾與胃合，相為表裏。胃為水穀之海，今胃虛不能傳化水氣，使水氣滲溢經絡，浸漬腑臟。脾得水濕之氣，加之則病，脾病則不能制水，故水氣獨歸於腎。

The kidney governs water. Both the spleen and stomach govern earth, whose characteristic is to restrain water. The spleen is connected to the stomach, one being on the outside and the other on the inside. The stomach is the sea of water and grain. When the stomach is deficient, it cannot transport and transform water and *qi*. This causes them to overflow and seep into the channels and their branch network, pervading and saturating *zang* and *fu*. When the spleen receives too much watery and damp *qi*, it causes an illness. If the spleen is ill, it cannot control water. Therefore, water and *qi* return to the kidneys.

三焦不瀉，經脈閉塞，故水氣溢於皮膚而令腫也。其狀：目裡上微腫，如新臥起之狀，頸脈動，時欬，股間冷，以手按腫處，隨手而起，如物裡水之狀，口苦舌乾，不得正偃，偃則欬清水；不得臥，臥則驚，驚則欬甚；小便黃澀是也。

When the triple burners are not discharging, and the channels are closed up and blocked, water and *qi* overflow to the skin, causing swelling. The conditions are: a slight swelling around the eyes, as when rising from bed, movement of the neck channels, frequent coughs, and cold between the buttocks. When the swelling is pressed, it rises with the hand, like an object with water inside. The mouth tastes bitter, the tongue is dry, and it is difficult to lie straight. Clear liquid is coughed out when lying down. There is either insomnia, or sleep disturbed by fear, which exacerbates the cough. The urine is yellow and there is difficulty in urinating.

水病有五不可治：第一唇黑傷肝，第二缺盆平傷心，第三臍出傷脾，第四足下平滿傷腎，第五背平傷肺。凡此五傷，必不可治。脈沉者水也。脈洪大者可治，微細者死。

There are five kinds of incurable water disorder: The first is having black lips with an injured liver. The second is being flat at the *quepen* point (ST12) with an injured heart. The third is having a protruding navel with an injured spleen. The fourth is having flat feet with an injured kidney. The fifth is having a flat/rigid back with injured lungs. None of these five injuries can be cured. A sinking pulse indicates a water [disease]. If the pulse is flood-like and big, the person can be cured. If it is faint and thin, the person will die.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：十一月，勿食經夏自死肉脯，內動於腎，喜成水病。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'On the eleventh month, do not eat dry meat from the animals which were dead naturally in the summer, as it affects the kidney inside and can easily turn into a water disease.'

又云：人臥，勿以腳懸踰高處，不久遂致成腎水也。

Again, it says, 'When lying down, do not suspend your leg to a raised position. Before long, it will cause *kidney-water* disorder.'

《養生方·導引法》云：蝦蟇行氣，正坐，動搖兩臂，不息十二通。以治五勞、水腫之病。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'The moving *qi* of a toad: sit up straight, shaking both arms while holding your breath. Do this twelve times. This cures the five exhaustions and illnesses of water-swelling.'

78 卷二十二霍亂病第二十二候、轉筋候

Juan 22 Sudden Turmoil Disorder, section 22: Symptoms of Twisted Sinews

轉筋者，由榮衛氣虛，風冷氣搏於筋故也。手足之三陰三陽之筋，皆起於手足指，而並絡於身。若血氣不足，陰陽虛者，風冷邪氣中於筋，隨邪所中之筋，筋則轉。轉者，謂其轉動也。

Twisted sinews occur when flourishing and defensive *qi* become deficient and, as a result, wind and cold *qi* attack the sinews. The three *yin* and three *yang* channels of the sinews all begin in the fingers and toes, and their branch network connects the body. If blood and *qi* are insufficient, the *yin* and *yang* [channels] become deficient, and the deviance wind and cold *qi* attack the sinews. Sinews which have been attacked by the deviance become twisted. Twisting means turning and moving.

經云：足太陽下，血氣皆少，則喜轉筋，喜踵下痛者，是血氣少則易虛，虛而風冷乘之故也。

The scripture says, 'If blood and *qi* decrease in the lower section of the *foot taiyang*, it is likely to cause twisted sinews. There is pain at the heels, because when blood and *qi* decrease, they are likely to become deficient, which is when wind and cold can take an advantage.

診其左手關上，肝脈也。沉為陰，陰實者，肝實也，苦肉動轉筋。左手尺中名神門以後脈，足少陰經也，浮為陽，陽虛者，病苦轉筋。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the *quan* point on the left arm where the liver pulse is, it is sinking, this indicates *yin*. When *yin* is solid, the liver is solid. When the muscle moves, the person suffers from twisted sinews. A floating foot *taiyang* pulse located next to *shenmeng* in the *chi* [area] on the left hand, indicates *yang*. Deficient *yang* result in suffering an illness with twisted sinews.

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：偃臥，展兩脛兩手，足外踵，指相向，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除兩膝寒、脛骨疼、轉筋。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Lying on your back, spread out both legs and arms, heels facing out, toes facing towards each other. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can and take seven breaths. This gets rid of cold in both knees, pain in the shinbones, and twisted tendons.'

又法：覆臥，傍視，立兩踵，伸腰，鼻內氣。去轉筋。

Another method: 'Lying on your stomach and looking to one side, make both heels stand upright, lengthen your lumbar and inhale *qi* through your nose. This gets rid of twisted tendons.'

又云：張脛兩足指，號五息止，令人不轉筋。極自用力張腳，痛挽兩足指，號言寬大，去筋節急攣蹇痛。久行，身開張。

Again, it says, 'Stretch out both legs and toes, shout for five breaths and stop. This prevents you from having twisted tendons. Forcefully stretch out your legs, firmly grasp your toes, and shout very loudly. This gets rid of severe pain and spasms in the tendons and joints. If you practise this for a long period of time, your body will be free and expanded.'

又云：覆臥，傍視，立兩踵，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息已。除腳中弦痛、轉筋、腳酸疼。一本云：治腳弱。

Again, it says, 'Lying on your stomach and looking to one side, make both heels stand upright, and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as possible. Take seven breaths. This gets rid of string-like pain in the legs, twisted tendons, and aching pain in the legs. Another version says that this cures weak legs.'

79 卷二十二霍亂病第二十三候、筋急候

Juan 22 Sudden Turmoil Disorder, section 23: Symptom of Tense Sinews

凡筋中於風熱則弛縱，中於風冷則攣急。十二經筋皆起於手足指，循絡於身也。

When attacked by wind and heat, sinews become slack and loose. When sinews are attacked by wind and cold, cramps and tight pain result. All twelve channels of the sinews begin in the fingers and toes, moving through the whole body by means of their branch network.

體虛弱，若中風寒，隨邪所中之筋則攣急，不可屈伸。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If the body is attacked by wind and cold when it is deficient and weak, the accompanying deviance strikes in the sinews will cause cramps, acute pain, and an inability to bend or stretch. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手抱足。頭不動，足向口面，受氣，眾節氣散，來往三七。欲得捉足，左右側身，各各急挽，腰不動。去四肢腰上下髓內冷、血脈冷、筋急。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Hold your feet with both hands while keeping your head still. Raising your feet to face your mouth, receive *qi* and bring it to all the joints before it disperses. Do this up and down thrice seven times. Taking hold of your feet, turn your body to left or right. Each time, hold them firmly while keeping your lumbar still. This gets rid of cold in the bone marrow above and below the lumbar region, in the four limbs, cold in the blood vessels, and tight sinews.'

又云：一足向前互跪，押踹極勢；一手向前，長努拓勢；一足向後屈，一手搦解豁，急挽盡勢；膝頭擣席使急，面頭漸舉，氣融散流向下，左右換易四七。去腰、伏菟、掖下悶疼，髓筋急。

Again, it says, 'Kneel with one knee up, the other knee against the ground, exerting pressure on the lower leg as much as possible. Raise one arm to the front, palm facing up, and forcefully extend this posture. Then, bending your other leg, grasp the *jiexi* point (ST.41) with your hand and bring your leg up as much as you can, while keeping the knee firmly against the mat. Gradually raise your face so that the *qi* melts and flows down as it disperses. Change, alternating between left and right legs. Do this four times seven times. It gets rid of pain and compression in the lumbar region, in the *futu* area (the thighs) and below your armpits, and tightness in the sinews and in the bone marrow.'

又云：長舒一足，一腳屈，兩手抱膝三里，努膝向前，身卻挽，一時取勢，氣內散消，如似骨解，遞互換足，各別三七。漸漸去膊脊冷風，冷血筋急。

Again, it says, 'Extending one leg fully, bend the [other] leg and hold the *Sanli* point on the knee with both hands. Strongly move your knee forward while your body resists [backwards]. Hold the posture for a while. The *qi* will disperse and disappear as if the bones had become loose. Alternate between legs, each doing thrice seven times. This gradually gets rid of *cold-wind* and cold blood in the shoulders and spine, and tight tendons.'

又云：張脛兩足指，號五息止。令人不轉筋。極自用力張腳，痛挽兩足指，號言寬大。去筋節急攣蹇痛。久行，身開張。

Again, it says, 'Stretch out both legs and toes, shout for five breaths and stop. This prevents you from having twisted tendons. Forcefully stretch out your legs, firmly grasp your toes, and shout very loudly. This gets rid of severe pain and spasms in the tendons and joints. If you practise this for a long period of time, your body will be free and expanded.'

又云：雙手反向拓腰，仰頭向後努急，手拓處不動，展兩肘頭相向，極勢三七。去兩臂膊筋急冷血，咽骨掘弱。

Again, it says, 'Press both hands, one on each side, against your lumbar, raise your head and lean backwards strongly. Without moving your hands, stretch both your elbows so that they face each other as much as possible. Do this thrice seven times. It gets rid of tense sinews in both arms and shoulders, cold blood, and weakness in the throat bone.'

又云：一手拓前極勢長努，一手向後長舒盡勢，身似大形，左右迭互換手亦二七，腰脊不動。去身內八節骨肉冷血，筋髓虛，頸項膊急。

Again, it says, 'Strongly push one arm out in front as much as you can, while stretching the other arm out to the back as much as you can. The body forms the shape of '大'. Alternate between left and right, changing your arms altogether twice seven times while not moving your lumbar region. This gets rid of cold blood in the flesh, bones and the eight joints of the body, deficiency of the sinews and bone marrow, and tightness in the neck and shoulders.'

又云：一足躡地，一手向前長舒，一足向後極勢，長舒一手一足，一時盡意，急振二七。左右亦然。去髓疼筋急，百脈不和。

Again, it says, 'Keeping one foot on the ground, stretch one arm out in front and position the other leg behind as much as you can. Stretch and lengthen the arm and leg. Hold the extreme posture for a while, then shake quickly. Alternate sides twice seven times. This gets rid of pain in the bone marrow and tense sinews, and disharmony of the hundred vessels.'

又云：兩手掌倒拓兩膊並前極勢，上下傍兩掖，急努振搖，來去三七竟，手不移處，努兩肘向上急勢，上下振搖二七、欲得卷兩手七，自相將三七。去項膊筋脈急勞。一手屈卷向後左，一手捉肘頭向內挽之，上下一時盡勢，屈手散放，舒指三，方轉手，皆極勢四七。調肘膊骨筋急強。

Again, it says, 'Press both of your palms on the two *boujin* points from the front. Hold the full posture as much as possible. Vigorously and firmly shake [your arms] up and down next to both armpits; go back and forth thrice seven times, then stop. Your hands stay where they are, not moving. With effort, bring your two elbows up quickly and vigorously, shaking them up and down twice seven times. You could make both of your hands into fists and do this seven times, upon which you will do them altogether thrice seven times. This gets rid of tension and over-exertion in your neck, shoulders and the vessels of the sinews. Bend one arm, make the hand into a fist and bring it to the left side of your back while the other hand takes hold of your elbow, pulling it inwards. Go back and forth, holding the postures as much as you can for a while. Relax and release the bent arm, move your fingers three times, and then turn your arm. Do the posture as much as you can four times seven times. This regulates tightness and stiffness in the bones and in the sinews of the elbows and shoulders. '

兩手拓向上極勢，上下來往三七，手不動，將兩肘向上極勢七，不動手肘臂，側身極勢，左右迴三七。去頸骨冷氣風急。

'Push both arms up as much as you can; go up and down, and back and forth thrice seven times. Without moving your arms, bring both elbows up as much as you can seven times. Without moving your elbows or your arms, turn your body to the sides as much as you can, left, right and back, thrice seven times. This gets rid of *cold-qi* and *wind-tightness* in the bones of the neck.'

80 卷二十三中惡病第八候、卒魘候

Juan 23 Disorder of Malignity Strike, section 8: Symptoms of Sudden Nightmares

卒魘者，屈也，謂夢裡為鬼邪之所魘屈。人臥不悟，皆是魂魄外游，為他邪所執錄，欲還未得，致成魘也。

Sudden nightmare is a surrender. It means that a frightened person surrenders to the ghost deviance while dreaming. While a person sleeps and is not conscious, their *hun* (the cloud soul) and *po* (the white soul) wander outside, and can be controlled and captured by other deviances. They wish to return but are unable to do so. This causes nightmares.

忌火照，火照則神魂遂不復入，乃至於死。而人有於燈光前魘者，是本由明出，是以不忌火也。

Avoid shining a light on them. This will prevent the spirit and the cloud soul from returning and entering [the body], and the person could die. However, some people have nightmares whilst having lights in front of them. Because it is happening while it is bright, it is not necessary to avoid light.

又云：人魘，忽然明喚之，魘死不疑。暗喚之好。唯得遠喚，亦不得近而急喚，亦喜失魂魄也。

Again, it says, 'If a person having a nightmare is called, and there is a sudden bright light, they will undoubtedly be frightened to death. It is better to call them in the dark, and only from a distance. Do not call them urgently from close by. This can easily cause them to lose their *hun* (the cloud soul) and *po* (the white soul).

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：拘魂門，制魄戶，名曰握固法。屈大拇指，著四小指內抱之，積習不止，眠時亦不復開，令人不魘魅。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Restrict the gate of the cloud soul and control the door of the white soul. This is called the method of *wogu* (grasping with sturdiness). Bend your thumb and enclose it with the other four fingers. Practise this accumulatively without stopping. If you do not open them even when you are asleep, you will not encounter ghosts and phantoms.'

81 卷二十三尸病第七候、伏尸候

Juan 23 Corpse Disorder, section 7: Symptoms of Hidden Corpse

伏尸者，謂其病隱伏在人五臟內，積年不除。未發之時，身體平調，都如無患；若發動，則心腹刺痛，脹滿喘急。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Hidden corpse occurs when a disease which has accumulated over the years and not been eradicated, is hidden in a person's five *zang*. Before the disease breaks out, the body seems normal and regulated. It looks as though there is nothing wrong. If it breaks out, there will be stabbing pains in the heart and abdomen, bloatedness, and panting.

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：叩齒二七過，輒咽氣二七過，如此三百通乃止。為之二十日，邪氣悉去；六十日，小病愈；百日，大病除，伏尸皆去，面體光澤。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Clack together your teeth twice seven times and then swallow your *qi* twice seven times. Do this three hundred times and then stop. After doing it for twenty days, the deviant *qi* will be gone. After sixty days, a minor disease will be cured. After one hundred days, a serious disease will be eradicated; the *fushi* (the hidden corpse) will be gone. Both face and body will be radiant and lustrous.'

82 卷二十四注病第二候、風注候

Juan 24 Disorder of Residence, section 2: Symptoms of Wind Residence

注之言住也，言其連滯停住也。風注之狀，皮膚游易往來，痛無常處是也。由體虛受風邪，邪氣客於榮衛，隨氣行游，故謂風注。其湯燙針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The meaning of *zhu* is to reside, implying that the [disease] lingers and stagnates, comes to a halt, and takes residence. The condition of 'wind residence' is a sensation of movement passing up and down over the skin, with no particular location for pain. This is because the body is deficient, and subject to the wind deviance. The deviant *qi*, lodging in the flourishing and defensive channels, moves and wanders with the *qi* [of the body]. This is called 'wind residence'. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手交拓兩膊頭面，兩肘頭仰上極勢，身平頭仰，同時取勢，肘頭上下三七搖之。去膊肘風注，咽項急，血脈不通。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Crossing your arms in front, grasp your shoulders. Raise your elbows as much as you can, keeping your body level, and look up. Adopt the various positions simultaneously. Shake your elbows up and down thrice seven times. This gets rid of wind stagnation in the shoulders and elbows, tightness in the throat and neck, and blocked blood vessels.'

83 卷二十四注病第十二候、冷注候

Juan 24 Disorder of Residence, section 12: Symptoms of Cold Residence

注者住也，言其病連滯停住，死又注易傍人也。陰陽偏虛，為冷邪所傷，留連腑臟，停滯經絡，內外貫注，得冷則發，腹內時時痛，骨節酸疼，故謂之冷注。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The meaning of *zhu* is to reside, implying that the disease lingers and stagnates, comes to a halt, and takes residence. Even if the person dies, it can transfer to somebody else. The *yin* and *yang* become deficient, and are injured by the cold deviance, which lingers in the *zang* and *fu*, and, stuck, obstructs the channels and the branch network. Both the inside and outside of the body are completely filled with [the deviance]. It breaks out as soon as there is cold. From time to time, there is pain in the abdomen, and aching pain in the bones and joints. Hence this is called 'cold residence'.

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：一手長舒，令掌仰，一手捉頰，挽之向外，一時極勢二七。左右亦然。手不動，兩向側極勢，急挽之二七。去頸骨急強，頭風腦旋，喉痺，膊內冷注。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Stretch one arm out fully, palm facing up. The other hand holds your chin and pulls it out. Extend the posture to its limit for a while, twice seven times, doing the same on both left and right. Then, keeping the hand in place, try to turn your head to both sides as much as possible whilst holding [your chin] tightly. Do this twice seven times. It gets rid of tension and stiffness in the neck, *head-wind*, dizziness, *throat-bi* (impediments), and shoulders filled with cold.'

84 卷二十五蠱毒病第一候、蠱毒候

Juan 25 Disorder of Gu-poisons, section 1: Symptoms of Gu-poisons

凡蠱毒有數種，皆是變惑之氣。

There are many types of *gu* poison, all of which involve the change and confusion of *qi*.

人有故造作之，多取蟲蛇之類，以器皿盛貯，任其自相噉食，唯有一物獨在者，即謂之為蠱。便能變惑，隨逐酒食，為人患禍。患禍於佗，則蠱主吉利，所以不羈之徒而蓄事之。

There are people who deliberately create *gu*. They usually catch creatures like worms and snakes, trap them in a vessel, and leave them free to eat each other. Whatever is left is called *gu*. It causes alteration and confusion. Drawn by liquor and food, it afflicts people with misfortune. The affliction of others brings fortune to the creator of *gu*. Therefore, they are kept for this purpose by those not restrained by the law.

又有飛蠱，去來無由，漸狀如鬼氣者，得之卒重。凡中蠱病，多趨於死。以其毒害勢甚，故云蠱毒。

There is also a flying *gu*, which comes and goes without trace. Its hidden shape resembles ghost *qi*. Anyone afflicted by it will suddenly contract a severe illness. Anyone struck by the *gu* illness tends to die, because the extent of its poisonousness and harmfulness is so severe. Hence it is called *gu* poison.

著蠱毒，面色青黃者，是蛇蠱，其脈洪壯。病發之時，腹內熱悶，胃脅支滿，舌本脹強，不喜言語，身體恆痛；又心腹似如蟲行，顏色赤，唇口乾燥。經年不治，肝鬲爛而死。

If a person contracting a *gu* poison has a greenish-yellow facial complexion, it is the snake *gu*. Its pulse is flood-like and strong. When the illness breaks out, there is heat and a stifling sensation in the stomach, fullness in the chest and at the sides, swelling and stiffness at the root of the tongue, an aversion to speaking, and constant pain in the body. Also, there is a sensation like that of insects crawling in the heart and abdomen, a reddish complexion, and dry lips and mouth. If this is not cured within a year, the interior organs will break down, and the person will die.

其面色赤黃者，是蜥蜴蠱，其脈浮滑而短。病發之時，腰背微滿，手腳唇口，悉皆習習。而喉脈急，舌上生瘡。二百日不治，噉人心肝盡爛，下膿血，羸瘦，顏色枯黑而死。

If a person has a reddish-yellow facial complexion, this is the lizard *gu*. Its pulse is floating, slippery and short. When the illness breaks out, there is a sensation of fullness at the lumbar and dorsal regions, and a sensation like

that of flying insects on the arms, legs, lips and mouth. The pulse at the throat is tight. Sores grow on the tongue. If this is not cured within two hundred days, the *gu* will eat the person's heart and liver, which will break down completely. There will be a discharge of pus and blood. The person will be emaciated, with a withered, dark complexion, and will die.

其面色青白，又云：其脈沉濡。病發時咽喉塞，不欲聞人語，腹內鳴喚，或下或上，天陰雨轉劇，皮內如蟲行，手腳煩熱，嗜醋食，欬唾膿血，顏色乍白乍青，腹內脹滿，狀如蝦蟆。

If a person has a greenish white facial complexion, ... [missing words here]. Its pulse is sinking and soggy. When the illness breaks out, there is a blockage in the throat, an aversion to hearing people talk, and a noticeable noise from the abdomen, sometimes from higher up and sometimes from lower down. The condition worsens when the weather turns cloudy and it rains. There is a sensation like that of insects crawling under the skin, and the arms and legs are uncomfortably hot. The person likes vinegary food. When coughing, pus and blood are spat out. The complexion of the person fluctuates between white and greenish-blue. The abdomen is bloated and shaped like a toad.

若成蟲，吐出如科斗形，是蝦蟆蠱。經年不治，噉人脾胃盡，唇口裂而死。

If the *gu* develops into an creature, whose shape resembles a tadpole when spat out, this is the toad *gu*. If this is not cured within a year, the *gu* will eat up the spleen and stomach. The lips and mouth will crack, and the person will die.

其脈緩而散者，病發之時，身體乍冷乍熱，手腳煩疼，無時節吐逆，小便赤黃，腹內悶，胸痛，顏色多青，毒或吐出，似蜚蠊有足翅，是蜚蠊蠱。經年不治，噉人血脈，枯盡而死。

Its pulse is slow and scattered. When the illness breaks out, the body gets hot and cold rapidly. The arms and legs become agitated and painful. The person can vomit at any time, and their urine is reddish-yellow. There is a stifling sensation in the abdomen, chest pain, and a mostly greenish complexion. If the poison is thrown up, it resembles a dung beetle with legs and wings. If this person is not cured within a year, the *gu* will eat his blood and channels, and he will become exhausted and die.

欲知是蠱與非，當令病人唾水內，沉者是蠱，浮者非蠱。

To know whether an illness is *gu* or not, ask the patient to spit into water. If the spittle sinks, it is *gu*; if it floats, it is not *gu*.

又云：旦起取井花水，未食前，當令病人唾水內，唾如柱腳，直下沉者，是蠱毒。沉散不至下者，草毒。

Again, it says, 'When you get up in the morning, fetch the first-drawn water

from the well. Ask the patient to spit into the water before eating. If the spittle resembles the foot of a pillar and sinks straight down, this is *gu* poison. If the spittle sinks and scatters without reaching the bottom, this is grass poison.'

又云：含大豆，若是蠱豆脹皮脫；若非蠱，豆不爛脫。

Again, it says, 'Keep a bean in the mouth. If the bean swells and the skin comes off, it is *gu*; if the bean does not disintegrate and the skin comes off, it is not *gu*.'

又云：以鵠皮置病人臥下，勿令病人知，若病劇者，是蠱也。

Again, it says, 'Place the skin of a swan under the patient's bed, without letting the patient be aware of it. If the illness worsens, this is *gu*.'

又云：取新生雞子煮熟，去皮，留黃白，令完全，日晚口含，以齒微微穩之，勿令破，作兩炊時，夜吐一瓦上，著霜露內，旦看大青，是蠱毒也。

Again, it says, 'Cook a newly-laid egg, remove the shell, keep the yellow and white part, and make sure that it is intact. Keep it in the mouth during the evening. Bite it slightly with the teeth, but do not break it. After a period of cooking two meals, spit it onto a tile at night, allowing it to be exposed to frost and dew. Look at it in the morning. If it is bright green, this is *gu* poison.'

昔有人食新變鯉魚中毒，病心腹痛，心下鞭，發熱煩冤，欲得水洗沃，身體搖動，如魚得水狀。有人診云：是蠱。其家云：野間相承無此毒。不作蠱治，遂死。

Once, a person who ate a recently mutated carp was poisoned. He had an illness with pain in the heart and abdomen, a hard feeling below the heart, and high temperatures with feelings of agitation and anxiety. He was desperate to wash himself, and his body quivered like a fish in water. Somebody, diagnosing him, said, "This is *gu*." His family said: "There has been no such poison in this area for many generations." So, they did not treat him as having *gu* poison, and, as a result, he died.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手著頭相叉，長引氣，即吐之。坐地，緩舒兩腳，以兩手從外抱膝中，疾低頭入兩膝間，兩手交叉頭上十二通，愈蠱毒及三尸毒，腰中大氣。

The Yangsheng recipes and the Daoyin methods says, 'Interlacing your fingers and placing them on your head, draw in long *qi* and then spit it out. Sitting on the ground, gently stretch out both legs. Embrace your knees with your arms from the outside. Lower your head and bring it between both knees, your fingers interlaced on your head. Do this twelve times. It cures *gu* poison, poisons of the 'three corpse' and great *qi* in the lumbar region.'

又云：行大道，常度日月星辰，清淨，以雞鳴，安身臥，嗽口三咽之。調五臟，殺蠱蟲，治心腹痛，令人長生。

Again, it says, 'To practise the great *dao*, always contemplate upon the sun, moon and the stars. When the cock crows, keeping yourself peaceful and pure, lie down comfortably, rinse your mouth with your saliva and swallow it three times. This regulates the five *zang*, kills *gu*/poisonous worms, cures pain in the heart and abdomen, and makes you live long.'

又云：《無生經》曰：治百病邪蠱，當正偃臥，閉目閉氣，內視丹田，以鼻徐徐內氣，令腹極滿，徐徐以口吐之，勿令有聲，令人多出少，以微為之。故存視五臟，各如其形色；又存胃中，令鮮明潔白如素。為之倦極，汗出乃止，以粉粉身，摩捋形體。汗不出而倦者，亦可止。明日復為之。又當存作大雷電，隆隆走入腹中，為之不止，病自除。

Again, it says, '*The Scripture of Non-Existence* says, 'For curing a hundred diseases, evil ghosts, venoms and poisons, you should lie on your back. Close your eyes and hold your *qi*, looking inside to your *dantian* (cinnabar field). Inhale *qi* slowly through your nose and completely fill your abdomen; then, slowly exhale the *qi* through your mouth. Making no sound, ensure more *qi* comes in than goes out. Do it little by little. Visualise the five *zang*, each with its own shape and colour. Then visualise your stomach as bright, clear, pure and white like silk. Do this until you are exhausted; stop when you begin to sweat. Then, having dusted your body with powder, massage and rub it in. You can stop when tired even if you are not yet sweating. Repeat this the following day. Then, visualise tremendous thunder and lightning, booming and roaring, entering your abdomen. If you continue without a break, the disease will remove itself.'

85 卷二十七血病第四候、唾血候

Juan 27 Blood Disorder, section 4: Symptoms of Spitting Blood

唾血者，由傷損肺所為。肺者，為五臟上蓋，易為傷損，若為熱氣所加，則唾血。唾上如紅縷者，此傷肺也；脅下痛，唾鮮血者，此傷肝。

Spitting blood is caused by injured and damaged lungs. The lungs at the top cover the five *zang*, and can easily be injured and damaged. If the *qi*'s heat increases, this will cause spitting blood. Red threads in saliva indicate injured lungs. Pain below the ribs and spitting fresh blood also indicate injured lungs.

關上脈微芤，則唾血。脈沉弱者生，牢實者死。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If the *guan* pulse is faint and hollow, there will be spitting blood. If the pulse is sinking and weak, the person will live. If the pulse is firm and solid, the person will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：伸兩腳，兩手指著足五指上，愈腰折不能低著。若唾血，久疼，為之愈。長伸兩腳，以兩手捉足五指七遍。愈腰折不能低仰，若唾血、久疼、血病。久行，身則可卷轉也。

The Yangsheng recipes: the Daoyin methods says, 'Stretch out both legs and attach your fingers to the five toes on each foot. This cures a collapsed lumbar, the inability to bend down, and spitting blood. Any long-term pain will be healed. Extend both legs fully, and grasp the five toes on each foot with both hands. Do this seven times. It cures a collapsed lumbar, and the inability to bend down and come up.'

86 卷二十七毛髮病第一候、鬚髮禿落候

Juan 27 Disorder of Hair, section 1: Symptoms of Falling Hair and Beard, and Baldness

足少陽，膽之經也，其榮在鬚；足少陰，腎之經也，其華在髮。衝任之脈，為十二經之海，謂之血海，其別絡上唇口。若血盛則榮於鬚髮，故鬚髮美；若血氣衰弱，經脈虛竭，不能榮潤，故鬚髮禿落。

The *foot lesser yang* is the gall bladder channel. Its abundance manifests in the beard. The *foot lesser yin* is the kidney channel. Its abundance manifests in the hair. The penetrating and controlling channels are the sea of the twelve channels, which are called the sea of blood. Their branch network extends up to the lips and mouth. If blood is plentiful, its abundance manifests in beard and hair. Hence the person will have a beautiful beard and hair. If blood and *qi* are weak and in decline, the channels will be deficient and depleted, and unable to give nourishment and moisture. Consequently beard and hair fall out, and one becomes bald.

其湯髮針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：熱食汗出，勿傷風，令髮墮落。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Where sweat comes out after eating hot food, do not be injured by wind. It causes hair to fall.'

又云：欲理髮，向王地，既櫛髮之始，叩齒九通，而微咒曰：“太帝散靈，五老返真，泥丸玄華，保精長存。左拘隱月，右引日根，六合清煉，百神受恩。”咒畢，咽唾三過。能常行之，髮不落而生。

Again, it says, 'When you want to brush your hair, face east and start combing it. Clack your teeth together, and quietly make an incantation, 'O Great Thearch of *Sanlin* (Scattered Souls), five elders of *Fangzhen* (Returning Truth). The muddy pellet and *Xuanhua* (the spirit of hair), protect and preserve the long-lasting essence. Seize the hidden moon on the left, and pull the root of the Sun on the left. Cleanse and refine the six harmonies. May the hundred gods bestow mercy.' When you have finished the incantation, swallow your saliva three times. If you can practise this regularly, your hair will not fall out, but will grow. You should change your comb frequently and comb your hair as many times as possible without causing pain. You can also ask the servants to comb your hair as often as possible. The blood will not become stagnant and the roots of your hair will always be firm.'

又云：當數易櫛，櫛之取多，不得使痛。亦可令侍者櫛。取多，血液不滯，髮根常牢。

Again, it says, 'You should change your comb frequently and comb your hair as many times as possible without causing pain. You can also ask the servants to comb your hair as often as possible. The blood will not become stagnant and the roots of your hair will always be firm.'

87. 卷二十七毛髮病第三候、白髮候

Juan 27 Hair Disorder, section 3: Symptom of White Hair

足少陰腎之經也，腎主骨髓，其華在髮。若血氣盛，則腎氣強，腎氣強，則骨髓充滿，故髮潤而黑；若血氣虛，則腎氣弱，腎氣弱，則骨髓枯竭，故髮變白也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

Leg lesser yin is the kidney channel. Kidney governs bone marrow, and its abundance manifests in hair. If blood and *qi* are in abundance, kidney *qi* becomes strong. When kidney *qi* is strong, bone marrow fills up, and the hair becomes moist and black. If blood and *qi* are deficient, kidney *qi* becomes weak. When kidney *qi* is weak, bone marrow becomes withered and depleted, and the hair becomes white. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：正月十日沐髮，髮白更黑。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Washing your hair on the tenth day of the first month will turn white hair back to black.'

又云：千過梳頭，頭不白。

Again, it says, 'Combing your hair more than a thousand times will prevent your hair from going white.'

又云：正月一日，取五香煮作湯，沐頭不白。

Again, it says, 'On the first day of the first month, make a decoction by cooking with the five spices. Washing your hair with it will prevent your hair from going white.'

又云：十日沐浴，頭不白。

Again, it says, 'Washing your hair and taking a bath on the tenth day will prevent your hair from going white.'

又云：十四日沐浴，令齒牢髮黑。

Again, it says, 'Washing your hair and taking a bath on the fourteenth day will produce firm teeth and black hair.'

又云：常向本命日，櫛髮之始，叩齒九通，陰咒曰：太帝散靈，五老返真，泥丸玄華，保精長存。左拘隱月，右引日根；六合清煉，百神受恩。咒畢，咽唾三過。常數行之，使人齒不痛，髮牢不白。一云頭腦不痛。

Again, it says, 'On your birthday, start [the day] by combing your hair. Clack your teeth together and quietly make an incantation, saying 'O Great Thearch

of *Sanlin* (Scattered Souls), five elders of *Fangzhen* (Returning Truth). May the muddy pellet, and *Xuanhua* (the spirit of hair), protect and preserve the long-lasting essence. Seize the hidden moon on the left, and pull the root of the Sun on the right. Cleanse and refine the six harmonies. May the hundred gods bestow mercy'. When you have finished the incantation, swallow your saliva three times. If you practise this regularly, you will have no toothache, your hair will be strong, and it will not go white. One version says: there will be no headache.'

《養生方·導引法》云：解髮，東向坐，握固，不息一通。舉手左右導引，手掩兩耳。以手複捋頭五，通脈也。治頭風，令髮不白。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Loosen your hair and sit facing east; do *wogu*, holding your breath while raising your arms, guiding and pulling between left and right. Then cover both ears with your hands. Then use your hands to comb your hair repeatedly five times. This opens the vessels/*mai*, cures *head-wind* and stops your hair from going white.'

又云：清旦初起，左右手交互，從頭上挽兩耳，舉；又引須髮，即面氣流通。令頭不白，耳不聾。

Again, it says, 'When you first get up in the morning, cross your left and right arms above your head and take hold of both ears alternately in order to pull them up. Then, pull the hair on your temples; immediately, the *qi* on your face will be flowing and circulating, which stops the hair from going white and the ears from becoming deaf.'

又云：坐地，直兩腳，以兩手指腳脛，以頭至地。調脊諸椎，利髮根，令長美。坐舒兩腳，相去一尺，以扼腳兩脛，以頂至地十二通。調身脊無患害，致精氣潤澤。髮根長美者，令青黑柔濡滑澤，髮恆不白。

Again, it says, 'Sitting on the ground, stretch out both legs, place your fingers on your ankles, and lower your head to the ground. This regulates your spine and all the vertebrae, and benefits the roots of your hair so that it grows beautifully. Sit comfortably and stretch out both legs one *chi* apart. Take hold of your ankles and bring your head towards the ground. Do this twelve times. It regulates your spine so that it does not suffer any injury and moisturizes the essential *qi*. The roots of your hair grow beautifully, making the hair smooth and slippery, moist and soft, and black with a green tinge. Your hair will never go white.'

又云：伏，解髮東向，握固，不息一通，舉手左右導引，掩兩耳。令髮黑不白。伏者，雙膝著地，額直至地，解髮，破髻，舒頭，長敷在地。向東者，向長生之術。握固，兩手如嬰兒握，不令氣出。不息，不使息出，極悶已，三噓而長細引。一通者，一為之，令此身囊之中滿其氣。引之者，引此舊身內惡邪伏氣，隨引而出，故名導引。舉左右手各一通，掩兩耳，塞鼻孔三通，除白髮患也。

Again, it says, 'Lie face down, loosen your hair, and face in an easterly direction. Do *wogu*. Hold your breath once and raise your arms, guiding and pulling them, first to the left and then to the right, thereby covering both ears. This makes your hair black and prevents it from going white. To lie face down, press both knees to the ground with your forehead resting on the ground. Loosen your hair, untie the pins, and spread your long hair so that it covers the ground. To face east is to practise the art of longevity. To do *wogu*, clench your hands like a baby so that your *qi* will not escape. To hold your breath, stop your exhalation as long as you can, and pull the *qi* out long and thin, with the sound of 'xu', three times. To do it once, fill your body with *qi*. To pull, pull the deviant *qi* hidden in your ageing body. It follows the pulling and comes out. Thus, it is called *daoyin* (guiding and pulling). Raise your left and right arms and cover both ears alternately. Block your nostrils three times. This gets rid of problems of white hair.'

又云：蹲踞，以兩手舉足五趾，低頭自極，則五臟氣偏至。治耳不聞、目不明。久為之，則令髮白復黑。

Again, it says, 'Squatting, use both hands to raise the five toes of each foot. Lower your head as much as you can so that the *qi* of the five *zang* will arrive altogether. This cures problems with hearing and vision. If you practise it for a long period of time, it will make your white hair return to black.'

又云：思心氣上下四布，正赤，通天地，自身大且長。令人氣力增益，髮白更黑，齒落再生。

Again, it says, 'Visualise your heart-*qi* as totally red, spreading up and down throughout your body, and connecting to heaven and earth. Your body becomes big and tall. [This] increases your *qi* and strength, white hair will turn black, and a fallen tooth will grow back again.'

88 卷二十八目病第七候、目風淚出候

Juan 28 Eye Disorder, section 7: Symptom of Tears from the Eyes associated with Wind

目為肝之外候，若被風邪傷肝，肝氣不足，故令目淚出。

Eyes are the external signs of liver. If liver is injured by the wind deviance, liver *qi* will be insufficient, causing tears to be emitted from the eyes.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：踞坐，伸右腳，兩手抱左膝頭，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展右足著外。除難屈伸拜起，去脛中痛痺、風目耳聾。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sitting on the ground with your knees up, extend your right leg while both hands hold your left knee. Lengthen your lumbar, and inhale *qi* fully through your nose for seven breaths. Stretch your right foot to the side. This gets rid of problems with bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pain and *bi* (impediments) in the calves, poor vision and deafness associated with wind.'

又云：踞，伸左腳，兩手抱右膝頭，伸腰，以鼻內氣，自極七息，展左足著外。除難屈伸拜起，去脛中疼。一本云，除風目暗、耳聾。

Again, it says, 'Sit on the ground with your knees up. Extend your left leg, hold your right knee with both hands and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale fully through your nose for seven breaths, extending your left foot outwards. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, bowing and rising, pains and *bi* 痺 (obstructions) in the calves. One version says that this gets rid of poor vision and deafness associated with wind.'

又云：以鼻內氣，左手持鼻，除目暗泣出。鼻內氣，口閉，自極七息。除兩脅下積血氣。

Again, it says, 'Inhale *qi* through your nose and then hold your nose with your left hand. This gets rid of poor vision and lachrymal discharge. Inhale *qi* through your nose and close your mouth for as long as possible. Take seven breaths. This gets rid of stagnant blood and *qi* under the ribs.'

又云：端坐，伸腰，徐徐以鼻內氣，以右手持鼻，徐徐閉目吐氣。除目暗、淚苦出、鼻中息肉、耳聾；亦能除傷寒頭痛洗洗，皆當以汗出為度。

Again, it says, 'Sit upright and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* slowly through your nose and then hold your nose with your right hand. This gets rid of poor

vision, lachrymal discharge, painful tears, abnormal growths in the nose, and deafness. It also gets rid of cold-damage, head-cold and migraine. You should do this until you sweat.'

89 卷二十八目病第十二候、目暗不明候

Juan 28 Eye Disorder, section 12: Symptom of Poor Vision

夫目者，五臟六腑陰陽精氣，皆上注於目。若為血氣充實，則視瞻分明；血氣虛竭，則風邪所侵，令目暗不明。

The eyes are the essence and *qi* of the five *zang* (*yin* organs) and the six *fu* (*yang* organs). These all rise up to the eyes. When blood and *qi* become full and replete, one can see clearly. When Blood and *qi* are deficient and exhausted, the wind deviance invades, causing poor vision.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：恣樂傷魂，魂通於目，損於肝，則目暗。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Over-indulging in pleasure injures *hun* (the cloud soul), which is connected to the eyes. It damages liver, causing poor vision.

《養生方·導引法》云：蹲踞，以兩手舉足五趾，低頭自極，則五臟氣遍至。治耳不聞人語聲，目不明。久為之，則令髮白復黑。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Squatting, use both hands to raise the five toes of each foot. Lower your head as much as you can so that the *qi* of the five *zang* will arrive altogether. This cures deafness and blindness. If you practise it for a long period of time, it will make your white hair return to black.'

又云：仰兩足指，五息止。引腰背痺，偏枯，令人耳聞聲。久行，眼耳諸根，無有罣礙。

Again, it says, 'Lift your toes; stop after five breaths. This pulls the *bi* (obstructions) from your lumbar and dorsal regions, and improves your hearing. Practise regularly so that your eyes, ears and all the other senses are not obstructed.'

又云：伸左脛，屈右膝內壓之，五息止。引肺氣，去風虛，令人目明。依經為之，引肺中氣，去風虛病，令人目明，夜中見色，與晝無異。

Again, it says, 'Extending your left leg, bend your right knee and press it inwards. Take five breaths and stop. This pulls the lung *qi*, gets rid of wind-deficiency and makes your eyes bright. Follow the scripture and practise it; it pulls the lung *qi*, gets rid of disorder of wind-deficiency and makes your eyes bright. You can see colours at night as well as in daylight.'

又云：雞鳴，以兩手相摩令熱，以熨目，三行，以指抑目，左右有神光。令目明，不病痛。

Again, it says, 'When the cock crows, rub both hands together to make them hot, and press them against your eyes. Do this three times. By pressing your eyes with your fingers, your left and right eyes will have the light of your spirit. This makes your eyes bright, and you will not suffer pain and illnesses.'

又云：東向坐，不息再通，以兩手中指口唾之二七，相摩拭目。令人目明。以甘泉漱之，洗目，去其翳垢，令目清明。上以內氣洗身中，令內睛潔，此以外洗，去其塵障。

Again, it says, 'Sit facing east, and hold your breath twice. Putting the middle fingers of both hands in your mouth, spit twice seven times. Rub your hands together and wipe your eyes [with the saliva]. This makes your eyes bright. Gargle with your saliva and use it to wash your eyes. This gets rid of any obstruction and impurity in your eyes, making them clear and bright. As above, inhale *qi* to clean the body inside, making the eyes pure on the inside. Then use [the saliva] to wash your eyes on the outside, which gets rid of dirt and obstructions.'

又云：臥，引為三，以手爪項邊脈五通，令人目明。臥正偃，頭下卻亢引三通，以兩手指爪項邊大脈為五通。除目暗患。久行，令人眼夜能見色。為久不已，通見十方，無有劑限。

Again, it says, 'Lie down and perform *daoyin* three times: with your fingers, pinch the *mai*/vessel at the side of your neck five times. This will brighten your eyesight. Lie straight on your back, and raise your head, pulling it up three times. With your fingers, take hold of the big vessels on either side of your neck. Do this five times. It gets rid of poor eyesight. If you practice this over a long period of time, you will be able to see even at night. If you practise without stopping, you will be able to see the ten directions without limitations.'

90 卷二十八目病第十五候、目茫茫候

Juan 28 Eye Disorder, section 15: Symptom of Blurred Vision

夫目是五臟六腑之精華，宗脈之所聚，肝之外候也。腑臟虛損，為風邪痰熱所乘，氣傳於肝，上衝於目，故令視瞻不分明，謂之茫茫也。

The eyes are the essence of the five *zang* (*yin* organs) and the six *fu* (*yang* organs). They are where all channels gather, and they are the external signs of liver. When the *zang* and *fu* are deficient and damaged, the wind deviance and phlegm-heat take the opportunity to transport [deviance] *qi* to the liver, and rush up to the eyes, causing lack of clear vision. This is called blurred vision.

凡目病，若肝氣不足，兼胸膈風痰勞熱，則目不能遠視，視物則茫茫漠漠也。若心氣虛，亦令目茫茫，或惡見火光，視見蜚蠊黃黑也。

In the case of all eye disorder, if liver *qi* is insufficient, and if there is phlegm associated with wind and heat, which are themselves caused by over-exertion in the diaphragm, the eyes will not be able to see far away. Things will appear blurry and fuzzy. If the heart *qi* is deficient, this also causes blurred vision, an aversion to light, or seeing something resembling yellow or black flies.

診其左手尺中脈，沉為陰，陰實者目視茫茫。其脈浮大而緩者，此為逆，必死。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the pulse at the *chi* point on the left hand, it is sinking, it indicates *yin*. A *yin* and solid pulse indicates blurred vision. A floating, big, and slow pulse indicates a reversal, and the person will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：雞鳴欲起，先屈左手噉鹽指，以指相摩，呪曰：“西王母女，名曰益愈，賜我目，受之於口。”即精摩形。常雞鳴二七著唾，除目茫茫，致其精光，徹視萬里，遍見四方。咽二七唾之，以熱指摩目二七，令人目不瞑。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'When the cock crows and you wish to get up, first bend your left index finger and rub it against the other index finger, making this incantation, 'Queen Mother of the West whose name is *yiyu* (beneficial and recovery), grant me eyes. I receive you in my mouth.' Thus the essence massages the body. Whenever the cock crows, rub your eyes with saliva twice seven times. This gets rid of blurred vision; your eyes will bring forth the light of your spirit so that you will be able to see ten thousands of miles and in all four directions. Swallow the saliva twice seven times, and rubbing your fingers together with your saliva to make them hot, massage your eyes. This prevents poor eyesight.'

91 卷二十九鼻病第五候、鼻鼈候

Juan 29 Nose Disorder, section 5: Symptom of Blocked Nose

肺主氣，其經手太陰之脈也，其氣通鼻。若肺臟調和，則鼻氣通利，而知香臭。若風冷傷於臟腑，而邪氣乘於太陰之經，其氣蘊積於鼻者，則津液壅塞，鼻氣不宣調，故不知香臭，而為鼈也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The lungs govern *qi*, its channel is the *hand greater yin*, and its *qi* is connected to the nose. If the lungs are regulated and in harmony, nose *qi* flows smoothly and without obstruction. Hence a person can distinguish between aromatic and smelly. If *wind-cold* injures the *zang* and *fu*, the deviant *qi* takes advantage of the *great yin* channel. The [deviance] *qi* accrues and builds up in the nose, clogging and blocking up bodily fluids. If nose *qi* cannot flow smoothly and regularly, a person will be unable to distinguish between aromatic and smelly. The nose becomes blocked. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：東向坐，不息三通，手捻鼻兩孔，治鼻中患。交腳蹠坐，治鼻中患，通腳癰瘡，去其涕唾，令鼻道通，得聞香臭。久行不已，徹聞十方。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit facing east, and hold your breath three times, pinching both nostrils with your fingers. This cures nasal problems. Sitting with legs crossed cures nasal problems, unblocking the *qi* in the lungs, as well as ulcers and boils. It gets rid of nasal mucus and clears the nasal passages, enabling you to smell both fragrant and noxious smells. If you practise this ceaselessly over a long period of time, you will be able to hear from the ten directions.'

92 卷二十九鼻病第六候、鼻生瘡候

Juan 29 Nose Disorder, section 6: Symptom of Sores Grown in the Nose

鼻是肺之候，肺氣通於鼻。其臟有熱，氣衝於鼻，故生瘡也。

The nose is the external sign of lungs. Lung *qi* is connected to the nose. When there is heat in the lung organ, the *qi* rushes up to the nose, producing a sore.

其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方導引法》云：踞坐，合兩膝，張兩足，不息五通。治鼻瘡。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sitting on the ground with your knees up, bring both knees together while your feet are apart. Hold your breath five times. This cures nasal sores.'

93 卷二十九鼻病第七候、鼻息肉候

Juan 29 Nose Disorder, section 7: Symptom of Surplus Growth in the Nose

肺氣通於鼻。肺臟為風冷所乘，則鼻氣不和，津液壅塞，而為鼻鼈。冷搏於血氣，停結鼻內，故變生息肉。

Lung *qi* is connected to the nose. When *wind-cold* has taken advantage of the lung organ, nose *qi* will not be in harmony. Bodily fluids will be clogged and blocked up, causing a blocked nose. Cold fights against blood and *qi*. They remain knotted up in the nose, turning into a surplus growth.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：端坐伸腰，徐徐以鼻內氣，以右手捻鼻，徐徐閉目吐氣。除目闇，淚苦出，鼻中息肉，耳聾；亦能除傷寒頭痛洗洗，皆當以汗出為度。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit upright and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* slowly through your nose while pinching your nose with your right hand. This gets rid of poor vision, lachrymal discharge, abnormal growth in the nose, and deafness. It can also get rid of *cold-damage*, *head-cold* and migraine. You should do this until you sweat.'

又云：東向坐，不息三通，以手捻鼻兩孔。治鼻中息肉。

Again, it says, 'Sit facing east, and hold your breath three times while pinching both nostrils with your fingers. This cures abnormal growths in your nose.'

94 卷二十九耳病第一候、耳聾候

Juan 29 Ear Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Deafness

腎為足少陰之經而藏精，氣通於耳。耳，宗脈之所聚也。若精氣調和，則腎臟強盛，耳聞五音。若勞傷血氣，兼受風邪，損於腎臟而精脫，精脫者，則耳聾。

Kidney, the *foot lesser yin* channel, stores essence. Its *qi* is connected to the ears, where all channels gather. If essence and *qi* are regulated and in harmony, the kidney organ becomes strong and powerful, and the ears are able to hear the five sounds. If blood and *qi*, injured by over-exertion, also encounter the wind deviance, this damages the kidney organ and depletes its essence. Those with depleted essence become deaf.

然五臟六腑、十二經脈，有絡於耳者，其陰陽經氣有相並時，並則有臟氣逆，名之為厥，厥氣相搏，入於耳之脈，則令聾。

The branch network of the twelve channels of the five *zang* and the six *fu* is connected to the ears. Sometimes, their *yin* and *yang qi* merge, causing reversals of *zang qi*. This is called *jue*. *Jue qi* fight against each other and enter the ear channel, causing deafness.

其腎病精脫耳聾者，候頰顴，其色黑。手少陽之脈動，而氣厥逆，而耳聾者，其候耳內輝輝焯焯也。手太陽厥而聾者，其候聾而耳內氣滿。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

When observing the cheeks of those who suffer from kidney disease, with depleted essence and deafness, the complexion is dark. In the case of those with movement of *hand lesser yang* channel and *jue*-reversal *qi* which cause deafness, sometimes, the hearing is clear but at other time it is not. When deafness is associated with *jue* (reversal) of *hand great yang* [channel], the symptoms are deafness and *qi* filling the ears. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：勿塞故井及水瀆，令人耳聾目盲。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Do not block off old wells and waterways. This makes people deaf and blind.'

《養生方·導引法》云：坐地，交叉兩腳，以兩手從曲腳中入，低頭叉手項上。治久寒不自溫、耳不聞聲。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit on the ground, legs crossed. Tuck your arms in your bent legs. Lower your head, interlace your fingers and put them on your neck. This cures chronic coldness, the inability to keep warm and loss of hearing.'

又云：腳著項上，不息十二通。必愈大寒不覺暖熱、久頑冷患、耳聾目眩。久行即成法，法身五六，不能變。

Again, it says, 'Bring one leg to your neck, and hold your breath twelve times. This prevents you from being so cold and unable to feel warm. If you are constantly feeling cold for a long period, your ears become deaf and your eyes get blurry. If you practise this exercise for a long time, you will become a 'dharma'. With a dharma body, you will not be affected.'

95 卷二十九牙齒病第三候、齒痛候

Juan 29 Teeth Disorder, section 3: Symptom of Toothache

手陽明之支脈入於齒，齒是骨所終，髓之所養。若風冷客於經絡，傷髓冷氣入齒根，則齒痛。若蟲食齒而痛者，齒根有孔，蟲在其間，此則針灸不瘥，敷藥蟲死，痛乃止。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The branch network of the *hand yang brightness* channel enters the teeth. Bones terminate in the teeth, which are nourished by the marrow. If *wind-cold* is lodged in the channel and its branch network, it will injure the marrow. Cold *qi* enters the roots of the teeth, thus causing toothache. Creatures feeding on, and living among the teeth cause pain and holes at their roots. This cannot be cured with acupuncture or moxibustion. Drug should be applied locally, then the creatures will die and the pain will stop. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：常向本命日，櫛發之始，叩齒九通，陰呪曰：太帝散靈，五老反真；泥丸玄華，保精長存；左拘隱月，右引日根；六合清練，百神受恩。呪畢，咽唾三過。常數行之，使齒不痛，髮牢不白，頭腦不痛。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'On your birthday, start [the day] by combing your hair. Clack your teeth together and quietly make an incantation, saying 'O Great Thearch of *Sanlin* (Scattered Souls), five elders of *Fangzhen* (Returning Truth). May the muddy pellet, and *Xuanhua* (the spirit of hair), protect and preserve the long-lasting essence. Seize the hidden moon on the left, and pull the root of the Sun on the left. Cleanse and refine the six harmonies. May the hundred gods bestow mercy'. When you have finished the incantation, swallow your saliva three times. If you practise this regularly, you will have no toothache, your hair will be strong and it will not go white. There will be no headache.'

《養生方·導引法》云：東向坐，不息四通，琢齒二七。治齒痛病。大張口，琢齒二七，一通二七。又解，四通中間，其二七大勢，以意消息，瘥病而已，不復疼痛。解病，鮮白不梨，亦不疎離。久行不已，能破金剛。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sit facing east, hold your breath four times, and clack together your teeth twice seven times. This cures toothache. Opening your mouth wide, clack together your teeth twice seven times, while holding your breath. Alternatively, in between holding your breath four times, clack together your teeth twice seven times. This is only a rough number. You can do it according to your own needs, the purpose being to cure the disease, so that pain will not return. To eliminate the disease, do it until your teeth become shining white and not black; nor are they loose. If you practise this for a long period of time, your teeth will be strong enough to break diamonds.'

又云：東向坐，不息四通，上下琢齒三十六下。治齒痛。

Again, it says, ' Sit facing east, hold your breath four times, and clack together your teeth, up and down, thirty-six times. This cures toothache.'

96 卷二十九牙齒病第四候、風齒候

Juan 29 Teeth Disorder, section 4: Symptom of Toothache causes by Wind

手陽明之支脈入於齒。頭面有風，陽明之脈虛，風乘虛隨脈流入於齒者，則令齒有風，微腫而根浮也。

The branch network of the *hand yang brightness* (the large intestine) channel enters the teeth. When the wind [deviance] is around the head and face while the *yang brightness* channel is deficient, it takes advantage by following the channel and flowing into the teeth. Wind in the teeth causes slight swelling and loose roots.

其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：凡人常覺脊背皆崛強而悶，不問時節，縮咽膊內，仰面努膊井向上，頭左右兩向挪之，左右三七，一住，待血行氣動定，然始更用。初緩後急，不得先急後緩。若無病人，常欲得旦起、午時、日沒三辰，如用，辰別三七。除寒熱病，脊、腰、頭、頸、項痛，風痺。口內生瘡，牙齒風，頭眩，終盡除也。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Whenever you feel congestion and stiffness in your back, regardless of the season, tuck your throat between your shoulders. Raise your head and try to make the *boujin* points face upwards. Then move your head from left to right thrice seven times. Stay still for a while. Wait until the circulating blood and the moving *qi* has settled, then practise it again. Start slowly and speed up at the end. Do not speed up in the beginning and slow down at the end. If you do not have any illness, it is desirable to practise this three times a day – at sunrise, noon and sunset, each time doing it thrice seven times. It gets rid of illnesses associated with cold and heat, pain in your spine, lower back, head and neck, *wind-bi*, ulcers in your mouth, *teeth-wind* and dizziness. Many of them will be eradicated completely.'

97 卷三十唇口病第一候、口舌瘡候

Juan 30 Disorder of Lips and Mouth, section 1: Symptom of Sores in the Mouth and on the Tongue

手少陰，心之經也，心氣通於舌。足太陰，脾之經也，脾氣通於口。腑臟熱盛，熱乘心脾，氣衝於口與舌，故令口舌生瘡也。

The *Hand lesser yin* is the heart channel. Heart *qi* is connected to the tongue. *Foot greater yin* is the spleen channel. Spleen *qi* is connected to the mouth. When there is an abundance of heat in the *fu* organs, the heat takes advantage of the heart and spleen [channels]. Its *qi* rushes to the mouth and tongue, causing sores in the mouth and on the tongue.

診其脈，浮則為陽，陽數者，口生瘡。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is floating, this indicates yang. Those with an excess of *yang* will have sores growing in their mouth. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：凡人常覺脊背崛強，不問時節，縮咽膊內，仰面努膊井向上，頭左右兩向掇之，左右三七，一住，待血氣行動定，然始更用。初緩後急，不得先急後緩。若無病人，常欲得旦起、午時、日沒三辰，如用，辰別二七。除寒熱病，脊腰頸項痛，風痺。口内生瘡，牙齒風，頭眩，終盡除也。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Whenever you feel congestion and stiffness in your back, regardless of the season, tuck your neck between your shoulder blades. Raise your head and try to make the *boujin* points face upwards. Then move your head to left and right, thrice seven times. Stay still for a while. Wait until the circulating blood and the moving *qi* settles, then continue to practise it again. Start slowly and speed up at the end. You must not speed up in the beginning and slow down at the end. If you don't have any illness, it is desirable to practise it three times a day – at sunrise, noon and sunset; each time, doing it twice seven times. It gets rid of illnesses associated with cold and heat, pain in your spine, lower back and your neck, *wind-bi*, ulcers in your mouth, *teeth-wind* and dizziness. Many of them will be eradicated completely.'

98 卷三十咽喉病第一候、喉痺候

Juan 30 Throat Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of Throat-*bi*

喉痺者，喉裏腫塞痺痛，水漿不得入也。人陰陽之氣出於肺，循喉嚨而上下也。風毒客於喉間，氣結蘊積而生熱，故喉腫塞而痺痛。

Those with throat-*bi* have swelling, blockages and obstruction, and pain in the throat. Neither water nor broth can be taken. A person's *yin* and *yang qi* comes out of the lungs, and goes up and down through the throat. When wind poison is lodged in the throat, the [deviance] *qi* knots up and accumulates, generating heat. Hence the throat becomes swollen and blocked, causing *bi*-pain.

脈沉者為陰，浮者為陽，若右手關上脈陰陽俱實者，是喉痺之候也。亦令人壯熱而惡寒，七八日不治，則死。

A sinking pulse indicates *yin*, and a floating pulse indicates *yang*. If the pulse on the *guan* point of the right hand indicates that both *yin* and *yang* are excessive, this is a sign of *throat-bi*. It causes a person to have a high temperature and an aversion to cold. If not cured within seven or eight days, the person will die.

其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：兩手拓兩頰，手不動，摟肘使急，腰內亦然，住定。放兩肘頭向外，肘膊腰氣散盡勢，大悶始起，來去七通。去喉痺。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Firmly hold your cheeks with both hands while holding your elbows tightly together and keeping your lumbar region firm. Hold for a while. Then move your elbows outwards, dispersing the *qi* from your elbows, shoulders and lumbar region. Hold the position to its limit until you feel the sensation of stifling beginning to rise. Repeat seven times. This gets rid of throat-*bi*.'

又云：一手長舒，令掌仰，一手捉頰，挽之向外，一時極勢二七。左右亦然。手不動，兩向側極勢，急挽之二七。去頸骨急強，頭風腦旋，喉痺，膊內冷注偏風。

Again, it says, 'Stretch one arm fully with your palm facing up. The other hand holds your chin and pulls it out. Extend the posture to its limit for a while, twice seven times, doing the same on both left and right. Then, keeping your hand in place, try to turn your head to both sides as much as possible whilst holding [your chin] tightly, twice seven times. This gets rid of stiffness in the cervical spine, head-wind, dizziness, *throat-bi*, and *pouring-coldness* in the shoulders.'

99 卷三十咽喉病第十一候、胸痺候

Juan 30 Throat Disorder, section 11: Symptoms of Chest-bi

寒氣客於五臟六腑，因虛而發，上衝胸間，則胸痺。胸痺之候，胸中悞悞如滿，噎塞不利，習習如癢，喉裏澀，唾燥。甚者，心裏強否急痛，肌肉苦痺，絞急如刺，不得俯仰，胸前皮皆痛，手不能犯，胸滿短氣，欬唾引痛，煩癖，白汗出，或徹背脊。其脈浮而微者是也。不治，數日殺人。

If, when cold *qi* is lodged in the five *zang* and six *fu*, there is a deficiency, it sets off and rushes up to the chest, causing *chest-bi*. The symptoms of *chest-bi* are a feeling of constriction, as if bloated in the chest, blockage in the throat, itchiness, like the crawling of insects, a dry throat and parched saliva. If the condition worsens, there will be a sensation of strong, blocked, acute pain in the heart, blockage in the muscles causing wringing and acute [pain] as if being pricked, an inability to bend forward and backward, pain on the skin of the front of the chest, too painful for hands to touch, a bloated chest, shortness of breath, pain when coughing and spitting, a stifling sensation, outbreaks of sweating [due to deficiency] and pain all over the back. Its pulse is floating and faint. If this is not cured, it will kill the patient within a few days.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：以右足踐左足上。除胸痺、食熱嘔。

The Yangsheng recipes says, 'Press your left foot on top of your right foot. This will get rid of *bi* in the chest and vomiting when eating hot food.'

100 卷三十一瘰癧等病第十一候、嗜眠候

**Juan 31 Disorder of Goiters and Tumors of the Neck, section 11:
Symptom of Excessive sleeping**

嗜眠者，由人有腸胃大，皮膚澀者，則令分肉不開解，其氣行、則於陰而遲留，其陽氣不精神明爽昏塞，故令嗜眠。

Excessive-sleeping is caused by a person having a larger stomach and intestines than usual. The skin dries up causing the flesh to be tight and shrivelled. The *qi* moving in the *yin* [channels] becomes slow and remains there. When *yang qi* lacks vitality, clarity and brightness, it becomes muddled and blocked, causing excess sleeping.

其湯熨針石，別有正方補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》：踞踞，交兩手內屈腳中入，且兩手急引之，愈久寐，精氣不明。交腳踞踞。凡故言踞踞，以兩手從內屈腳中入，左手從右趺腕上入左足，隨孔下；右手從左足腕上入右足，隨孔下；出抱兩腳，急把兩手極引二通。愈久寐，精神不明。久行則不睡，長精明。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sitting on the ground with knees up, cross your arms through your bent legs, pulling your legs firmly with both hands. This cures excessive sleeping, and a lack of clarity in your essential *qi*. Sit on the ground with your legs crossed, knees going to the side in the shape of *boji* (a dust pen). Thus it is called dust pen squatting. Tuck your hands in your bent legs. Reach past your right instep to your left foot with your left hand, following the gap and moving down. Reach past your left instep to your right foot with your right hand, following the gap and moving down. Take hold of your feet firmly in both hands and pull them as much as you can twice. This cures excessive sleeping, and a lack of clarity with your essence and spirit. If you practise this for a long period of time, you will not need to sleep, and your essence will become bright.'

又云：一手拓頰，向上極勢；一手向後長舒急努，四方顯手掌，一時俱極勢四七。左右換手皆然。拓頰手兩向共頭，敬側轉身二七。去臂膊風，眠睡。尋用，永吉日康。

Again, it says, 'Push your chin up with one hand as much as possible. Extend your other arm fully and forcefully behind, your palm facing the four directions.' Hold the full posture for a while, four times seven times. Change

left and right hands and repeat. Push your chin up, move both hands and head to one side, and turn your body twice seven times. This gets rid of wind in the arms and shoulders, *head-wind*, and over-sleeping. If you make good use of this, you will always be healthy.

101 卷三十一瘰癧等病第十三候、體臭候

**Juan 31 Disorder of Goiters and Tumors of the Neck, section 13:
Symptom of Strong Body Odour**

人有體氣不和，使精液雜穢，故令身體臭也。

When the body *qi* is not in harmony, bodily fluids become mixed and filthy, causing strong body odour.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：以手掩口鼻，臨日微氣，久許時，手中生液，速以手摩面目。常行之，使人體香。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'Cover your mouth and nose with your hands, look down and breathe gently. After a while, there will be moisture in your hands. Quickly massage your face and eyes with your hands. If you practise this for a long period of time, your body will have a sweet smell.'

102 卷三十二癰疽病第十五候、疽候

Juan 32 Disorder of Swelling and Abscess, section 15: Symptoms of Abscess

疽者，五臟不調所生也。五臟主裏，氣行經絡而沉。若喜怒不測，飲食不節，陰陽不和，則五臟不調。

Abscesses are generated when the five *zang* are not regulated. The five *zang* govern the interior. Their *qi* moves in the channels and the branch network, and sinks [deep inside]. If emotions, such as joy and anger, are not kept in check, if diet is not controlled, and if *yin* and *yang* are not in harmony, the five *zang* will not be regulated.

榮衛虛者，腠理則開，寒客經絡之間，經絡為寒所折，則榮衛稽留於脉。榮者，血也；衛者，氣也；榮血得寒則澀而不行，衛氣從之，與寒相搏，亦壅遏不通。

If flourishing and defensive *qi* are deficient, the pores open. Cold lodges between the channels and the branch network and fracture them, allowing flourishing and defensive *qi* to accumulate and stay in the channels. The flourishing system refers to blood and the defensive system refers to *qi*. When the flourishing blood gets cold, it becomes sluggish and unable to move. Defensive *qi* follows it, fighting against the cold, causing obstruction and blockages.

氣者，陽也；陽氣蘊積，則生於熱，寒熱不散，故積聚成疽。臟氣沉行，主裏，故疽腫深厚，其上皮強如牛領之皮。久則熱勝於寒，熱氣淳盛，蘊結傷肉也。

Qi is *yang*. When *yang qi* coalesces and accumulates, heat is generated. Cold and heat do not disperse, but aggregate and accumulate, and become *ju*-abscess. The *zang qi*, whose tendency is to sink, governs the interior, hence the swelling of the abscess is deep and solid. The outer skin toughens like the skin of a bull's neck. If this persists for a long time, heat will triumph over cold. When *hot qi* accumulates and knots up, it becomes profuse and abundant, and injures the flesh.

血肉腐壞，化而為膿，乃至傷骨爛筋，不可治而死也。又，少苦消渴，年

至四十已上，多發癰疽。所以然者，體虛熱而榮衛否澀故也。

Blood and flesh become rotten, and change into pus, to such an extent that bones are damaged and sinews rot. The person cannot be cured, and will die. Moreover, if a person over the age of 40 suffers from *debilitating-thirst*, it is likely that *yong-* or *ju-*abscess will erupt, the reason being that there is a heat causing deficiency in the body. Flourishing and defensive [*qi*] are blocked and become sluggish.

又有膈痰而渴者，年盛必作黃疸。此由脾胃虛熱故也，年衰亦發癰疽，腑臟虛熱，血氣否澀故也。又，腫一寸至二寸，癰也；二寸至五寸，癰也；五寸至一尺，癰疽也；一尺至三尺者，名曰竟體癰，癰成九竅皆出。諸氣憤鬱，不遂志欲者，血氣畜積，多發此疾。

Moreover, if a person has phlegm around the diaphragm which causes thirst, jaundice will undoubtedly occur when they are in their prime. This is caused by deficient heat in the spleen and stomach. *Yong-* and *ju-*abscess are also likely to erupt in old age because the *zang* and *fu* are deficient, causing blood and *qi* to become blocked and sluggish. Moreover, if the swelling is between one and two *cun*, it is a *jie-*abscess, between two and five *cun*, it is a *yong-*abscess, between five *cun* and one *chi*, it is a *yongju-*abscess, between one and three *chi*, it is called *jingtiyong-*abscess. The swelling turns into pus, which emerges from the nine orifices. The blood and *qi* of those with aggravated or depressed *qi*, who are unable to follow their will and desire, lodges and accumulates, making such an illness likely to occur.

診其脉，弦洪相薄，外急內熱，欲發癰疽。脈來細而沉，時直者，身有癰腫。若腹中有伏梁，脉肺肝俱到，即發癰疽；四支沉重，肺脉多即死。凡癰疽脉，洪龐難治，脉微澀者易愈。

If, when diagnosing the pulse, it is stringy, but also flood-like, opposing itself, rapid on the outside and hot on the inside, it is likely that *Yong-* or *ju-*abscess will erupt. If the pulse is thin and sinking, but sometimes steady, there will be swelling with *yong-*abscess. If there are 'hidden beams' in the abdomen, both the lung and liver pulses arrive together, *yong-* and *ju-*abscess will break out immediately. If the four limbs are heavy, and the lung pulse is voluminous, the person will die immediately. In

the case of all *yong-* and *ju-*abscess pulses, if the pulse is flood-like and rough, it will be hard to cure, but if the pulse is only slightly rough, recovery will be easy.

諸浮數之脉，應當發熱，而反洗淅惡寒，若有痛處，當有癰也。此或附骨有膿也。身有五部：伏菟一，腓二，背三，五臟之俞四，項五。五部有疽者死。

Floating and rapid pulses usually indicate a high temperature; but in these cases, the person is cold and has an aversion to cold. If there is pain, there will be *yong-*abscess, or pus attached to the bones. There are five areas in the body where, if there is a *ju-*abscess, the person will die: 1. Futu (ST. 32), 2. The calf, 3. The Back, 4. The *shu* points of the five *zang*, 5. The neck.

又，疽發於嗑中，名曰猛疽。猛疽不治，化為膿，膿不瀉，塞咽，半日死。其化作膿，瀉之則已。發於頸，名曰夭疽，其腫大以赤黑。不急治，則熱氣下入淵掖，前傷任脉，內熏肝肺；熏肝肺，十餘日而死矣。

Moreover, a *ju-*abscess erupting in the throat is called *mengju* (ferocious *ju-*abscess). If the ferocious *ju-*abscess is not treated, it will turn into pus. If the pus is not discharged, it will obstruct the throat, and the person will die within half a day. When the abscess turns into pus, the problem will be solved by discharging it. A *ju-*abscess erupting in the neck is called *yaoju* (deadly *ju-*abscess). It swells and has a dark red colour. If not treated immediately, the hot *qi* will descend into the *yuanye* point (GB22), damaging the *ren* channel at the front, and scorching the liver and lungs. The person will die after ten days.

陽氣大發，消腦留項，名曰腦鑠，其色不樂，項痛而刺以鍼。煩心者，死不可治。發於膊及臑，名曰疵疽，其狀赤黑，急治之。此令人汗出至足，不害五臟。癰發四五日，燉炳之也。

If *yang qi* proliferates, dissipating in the brain and remaining in the neck, it is called *naoshuo*. Its colour is dull and there is pain in the neck as though one is being pricked by needles. If the person suffers from agitation in the heart, there is no cure and the person will die. A *ju-*abscess erupting in the shoulders and biceps is called *ciju* (blemish *ju-*abscess). It has a dark red colour and should be treated immediately. Induce sweating all the way down to the feet so as not to damage the five *zang*. If a *yong-*abscess has erupted for four or five days, apply moxibustion on the affected area.

發於掖下，赤堅者，名曰米疽也。堅而不潰者，為馬刀也。發於胸，名曰井疽也。其狀如大豆，三四日起，不早治，下入腹中不治，十日死。

A *ju*-abscess erupting below the armpit is called *miju* (rice *ju*-abscess). It is red and hard. If the hard *ju*-abscess cannot be broken down, it is called *madao* (horse knife). A *ju*-abscess erupting in the chest is called *jingju* (well *ju*-abscess). It is shaped like a soybean, and emerges after three or four days. If not treated early, it enters the abdomen and cannot be cured. The person will die within ten days.

發於膺，名曰甘疽。其狀如穀實、瓠瓜，常苦寒熱。急治之，去其寒熱。不治，十歲死，死後出膿。發於股陽，名曰兌疽。其狀不甚變，而膿附骨，不急治，四十日死。

A *ju*-abscess erupting in the breasts is called *gangju* (sweat *ju*-abscess). It is shaped like the fruit of the paper mulberry tree, or, the bottle gourd, and the person often suffers from cold or heat. This should be treated immediately in order to get rid of the cold or heat. If untreated, the person will die within ten years and pus will emerge after death. A *ju*-abscess erupting on the outside of the thighs is called *duiju*. Its shape remains consistent while pus is attached to the bones. If not treated immediately, the person will die within 40 days.

發於脇，名曰改訾。改訾者，女子之病也。又云：癰發女子陰傍，名曰改訾疽。久不治，其中生息肉，如赤小豆麻黍也。發於尻，名曰兌疽。其狀赤堅大。急治之。不治，四十日死。若發尻尾，名曰兌疽。若不急治，便通洞一身，十日死。

A *ju*-abscess erupting at the sides/flanks is called *gaizi*. *Gaizi* is a woman's disease. Again, it says, 'If a *yong*-abscess erupts next to the vagina, it is called *gaizi ju*-abscess. Inside, there is an abnormal growth (polyp), like a small red bean, hemp or broomcorn millet. A *ju*-abscess erupting in the buttocks is called *duiju*. It is red, hard and big, and should be treated immediately. If untreated, the person will die within 40 days. If it erupts at the base of the coccyx, it is called *duiju*. If not treated immediately, it will spread throughout the whole body, and the person will die within 10 days.

發於股陰，名曰赤菴。不急治之，六日死。在兩股內者，不治，六十日當

死。發於膝，名曰疵疽。其狀大，癰色不變，寒熱而堅，勿石，石之則死。須其色黑柔，乃石之，生也。

A *ju*-abscess erupting on the inside of the thighs is called *chiji*. If not treated immediately, the person will die within six days. If a *ju*-abscess erupts between the buttocks, and is not treated immediately, the person will die within sixty days. A *ju*-abscess erupting on the knees is called *ciju* (Blemish *ju*-abscess). It is large and the colour of the abscess does not change. The person suffers from cold or heat and the abscess is hard. However do not break it. Breaking it will cause death. Only if the colour is black and the abscess is soft, can it be broken; the person will live.

發於脛，名曰兔齧疽。其狀赤至骨。急治之，不治，害人也。發於踝，名曰走緩。色不變。數灸而止其寒熱，不死。發於足上下，名曰四淫。不急治之，百日死。

A *ju*-abscess erupting on the knees is called *tunie ju* (Rabbit gnawing *ju*-abscess). It is red all the way to the bone and should be treated immediately. If untreated, it will harm the person. A *ju*-abscess erupting in the ankles is called *Zouhuan* (Walk sluggishly). The colour does not change. Apply moxibustion several times to stop the illnesses of cold and heat. The person will not die. A *ju*-abscess erupting in the upper or lower part of the foot is called *siyin* (Four excesses). If not treated immediately, the person will die within a hundred days.

發於足傍，名曰癘疽。其狀不大，初從小指發，急治之。其狀黑者，不可消，百日死也。發於足趾，名曰脫疽。其狀赤黑，死；不赤黑，不死。治之不衰，急斬去之，活也；不斬者，死矣。

A *ju*-abscess erupting at the side of the foot is called *liju* (Pestilences *ju*-abscess). It is small and begins at the toes. This should be treated immediately. If the abscess is black in colour and does not go away, the person will die within a hundred days. A *ju*-abscess erupting in the toes is called *tuoju* (Shedding *ju*-abscess). If it is reddish black, the person will die. If it is not reddish black, the person will not die. If it does not get better after treatment, the toes should be amputated to save the person, who will otherwise die.

赤疽發額，不瀉，十餘日死。其五日可刺也。其膿赤多血，死；未有膿，可治。人年二十五、三十一、六十、九十五，百神皆在額，不可見血，見血者死。赤疽發，身腫，牢核而身熱，不可以坐，不可以行，不可以屈伸。成膿，刺之即已。

If a red *ju*-abscess erupts at the forehead, and is not discharging, the person will die after ten days. One can prick it on the fifth day. If the pus is red with a lot of blood, the person will die. If there is no pus, it can be cured. Those who are 25, 31, 60 or 95 years old have a hundred gods at their foreheads which must not see blood. If they do, they will die. If a red *ju*-abscess erupts on the body, which becomes swollen, the centre of the abscess will be hard and the body temperature high. The person cannot sit, walk, bend or stretch. Prick it when it forms pus, and it will go.

赤疽發胸，可治；赤疽發髀樞，六月內可治；不治，出歲死。赤疽發陰股，牢者死，濡者可治。赤疽發掌中，可治。赤疽發脛，死不可治。

A red *ju*-abscess erupting at the chest can be treated. A red *ju*-abscess erupting at the thigh joints should be treated within six months, otherwise the person will die within a year. If a red *ju*-abscess erupts on the inside of the thigh, the person will die if it is firm. If it is spongy, it can be treated. A red *ju*-abscess erupting in the palm can be treated. A red *ju*-abscess erupting in the lower part of the leg cannot be cured, and will die.

白疽發膊若肘後，癢，目痛傷精，及身熱多汗，五六處死。黑疽發腫，居背大骨上，八日可刺也。過時不刺為骨疽。骨疽膿出不可止者，出碎骨。六十日死。

If a white *ju*-abscess erupts in the shoulder, or below the elbows, and is itchy, with painful eyes that damage the essence, a high temperature and profuse sweating, and the abscess is found in five or six places, the person will die. A black *ju*-abscess swelling up on the spine can be pricked on the eighth day. If it is not pricked in time, it can turn into *ju*-abscess of the bone. If the pus emerging from the *ju*-abscess of the bone cannot be stopped and bone fragments also emerge, the person will die within 60 days.

黑疽發淵掖，死。黑疽發耳中，如米，此名文疽，死。黑疽發膊，死。黑疽發缺盆中，名曰伏癰，死。黑疽發肘上下，不死可治。黑疽發腓腸，死。

黑疽發膝臏，牢者死，濡者可治。

If a black *ju*-abscess erupts at the armpit, the person will die. If black *ju*-abscess the size of a grain of rice erupts in the ears, it is called *wenju*, and the person will die. If a black *ju*-abscess erupts on the shoulders, the person will die. If a black *ju*-abscess the size of a grain of rice erupts in the *Qupen* (ST12), this is called *wenju*, and the person will die. If a black *ju*-abscess erupts above or below the elbow, the person can be cured and will not die. If a black *ju*-abscess erupts on the calf, the person will die. If a black *ju*-abscess erupts on the knee, and is firm, the person will die; if it is spongy, the person can be cured.

黑疽發趺上，牢者死。倉疽發身，先癢後痛。此故傷寒，寒氣入臟，篤，發為倉疽。九日可治，九十日死。

If a black *ju*-abscess erupts on the instep, and is firm, the person will die. When a green *ju*-abscess erupts in the body, the person feels itchy at first and pain afterwards. This is caused by cold damage. Cold *qi* enters the *zang* organs and erupts as a green *ju*-abscess. The person can be treated within nine days; otherwise the person will die within 90 days.

釘疽發兩髀，此起有所逐，惡血結留內外，榮衛不通，發為釘疽。三日身腫，痛甚，口噤如瘧狀。十一日可刺。不治，二十日死。疽起於肉上，如釘蓋，下有腳至骨，名釘疽也。

A *ding* (nail) *ju*-abscess erupts on both shoulders, when a person is already ill. Stagnant blood remains both in and out, and flourishing and defensive *qi* are blocked, causing *ding ju*-abscess to erupt. The body swells up, with excruciating pain, in the first three days. The person cannot talk, as though having a spasm. Within 11 days, it is possible to prick it. If this does not work, the person will die within 20 days. The *ju*-abscess erupts in the flesh like the head of a nail, whilst beneath, the rest of it goes all the way to the bone. This is called *ding ju*-abscess.

鋒疽發背，起心俞若髀髑。二十日不瀉，死。其八日可刺也。其色赤黑。膿見青者，死不治。人年六歲、十八、二十四、四十、五十六、六十七、七十二、九十八，神皆在髀，不可見血，見血必死。陰疽發髀若陰股，始發，腰強，內不能自止，數飲不能多，五日牢痛。如此不治，三歲死。

A *feng* (spear head) *ju*-abscess erupts on the back, starting at the *xinyu* point (BL15) or at the shoulder blade. If it is not discharging within 20 days, the person will die. It is possible to prick it around the eighth day. The colour is reddish black. If the pus is green, the person cannot be cured and will die. Those who are 6, 18, 24, 40, 56, 67, 72 or 98 years old have all the gods on their shoulders, which must not see blood. Otherwise, the person will die. If a *ying ju*-abscess erupts at the outer or inner thighs, initially the lumbar will stiffen and will be unable to move easily by itself. There will be a tendency to drink a lot, but one should not drink too much. On the fifth day, the pain intensifies. If not treated in time, the person will die within three years.

刺疽發，起肺俞若肝俞，不瀉，一十日死；其八日可刺也。發而赤，其上肉如椒子者，死不可治。人年十九、二十五、三十三、四十九、五十七、六十、七十三、八十一、九十七，神皆在背，不可見血，見血者死。脉疽發環項，始病，身隨而熱，不欲動，悒悒或不能食。此有所大畏恐怖而不精上氣嗽。其發引耳，不可以動。二十日可刺，如不刺，八十日死。

When a *ci* (pricking) *ju*-abscess erupts at the *shu* point of the lung or liver, and is not discharging, the person will die within ten days. It is possible to prick it around the eighth day. If it is red when it erupts and if its flesh resembles chilli seeds, the person cannot be cured and will die. Those who are 19, 25, 33, 49, 57, 60, 73, 81 or 97 years old have all the gods at their backs, which must not see blood. Otherwise, the person will die. When a *mai* (channel) *ju*-abscess erupts at the neck, at the beginning of the illness body temperature rises. There is no urge to move, but lethargy and an inability to eat. This is because the person is frightened and terrified. Their mind is dull, their *qi* rises and they have a cough, whose outbreak affects the ears, and prevents them from moving. It is possible to prick it within 20 days, otherwise the person will die within 80 days.

龍疽發背，起胃俞若腎俞。二十日不瀉，死；九日可刺。其上赤下黑，若青黑者，死；發血膿者，不死。首疽發背，發熱八十日，大熱汗頭，引身盡。如嗽，身熱同同如沸者，皮澤頗腫處淺刺之；不刺，入腹中，二十日死。

If a *long* (dragon) *ju*-abscess erupts in the back from the *shu* point of the

stomach or kidney, and is not discharging within 20 days, the person will die. It is possible to prick it around the ninth day. If the top of the abscess is red and the bottom is black or bluish black, the person will die. If there is blood in the pus, the person will not die.

A *shou* (head) *ju*-abscess erupting in the back will bring about a temperature lasting 8 to 10 days. The person will be very hot, sweating on the head and all over the body. They will have a cough, and the body will be boiling hot. Choose a place where the skin is swollen and prick it not too deeply. If it is not pricked, the *ju*-abscess will enter the abdomen, and the person will die within 20 days.

俠榮疽發脅，若起兩肘頭。二十五日不瀉，死；其九日可刺。發赤白間，其膿多白而無赤，可治也。人年一十六、二十六、三十二、四十八、五十八、六十四、八十、九十六，神皆在脅，不可見血，見血者死。

If a *xiarong ju*-abscess erupts on the arms at the two elbows, and is not discharging within 25 days, the person will die. It is possible to prick it around the ninth day. If it is between red and white when it erupts and if its pus is more white than red, the person can be cured. Those who are 16, 26, 32, 48, 58, 64, 80 or 96 years old have all the gods at their arms, which must not see blood. Otherwise, the person will die.

勇疽發股，起太陰若伏兔。二十五日不瀉，死；其十日可刺。勇疽發，清膿赤黑，死；白者，尚可治。人年十一、十五、二十、三十一、三十二、四十六、五十九、六十三、七十五、九十一，神皆在尻尾，不可見血，見血者死。

If a *yong ju*-abscess erupts at the buttocks from the greater *yin* or *futu* point, and is not discharged within 25 days, the person will die. It is possible to prick it around the tenth day. If the pus is clear and reddish black in colour, the person will die. If it is white, the person can be cured. Those who are 11, 15, 20, 31, 32, 46, 59, 63, 75 or 91 years old have all the gods at their coccyx, which must not see blood. Otherwise, the person will die.

標叔疽發背，熱同同，耳聾，後六十日腫如裹水狀，如此可刺之。但出水，後乃有血，血出即除也。人年五十七、六十五、七十三、八十一、九十七，神皆在背，不可見血，見血者死。

A *biaoshu ju*-abscess erupting in the back makes the person as hot as steam, and deaf. After 60 days, it swells like a water sac. It is possible to prick it. Water comes out first, then there is blood. Once the blood is out, the problem is cleared. Those who are 57, 65, 73, 81 or 97 years old have all the gods at their back, which must not see blood. Otherwise, the person will die.

癰疽發足趺若足下。三十日不瀉，死；其十二日可刺。癰疽發赤白膿而不大多；其上癢，赤黑，死不可治。人年十三、二十九、三十五、六十一、七十三、九十三，神皆在足，不可見血，見血者死。

If a *pan ju*-abscess erupts at the instep of the foot, or at the sole of the foot, and is not discharged within 30 days, the person will die. It is possible to prick it around the twelfth day. If the pus is clear and reddish black in colour, the person will die. If a *pan ju*-abscess erupts with even a small amount of red and white pus, and is itchy and reddish black in colour, the person cannot be cured and will die. Those who are 13, 29, 35, 61, 73 or 93 years old have all the gods at their feet, which must not see blood. Otherwise, the person will die.

衝疽發在小腹，痛而戰寒熱冒，五日愒愒，六日而變。可刺之。不刺之，五十日死。敦疽發兩手五指頭，若足五指頭，十八日不瀉，死；其四日可刺。其發而黑，癰不甚，未過節，可治也。

A *chong ju*-abscess erupting in the lower abdomen causes pain and a reaction against the cold. This causes profuse heat. On the fifth day, the person becomes agitated and distressed. On the sixth day, there is a change in the condition, and it is possible to prick it. If this is not done, the person will die within 50 days. If a *dun ju*-abscess erupts in the five fingers of both hands, or in the toes, and is not discharged within 18 days, the person will die. It is possible to prick it around the fourth day. If, on erupting, it becomes black but the swelling is not severe, or over the finger joints, the person will be cured.

疥疽發掖下若兩臂、兩掌中，振寒，熱而嗑乾者，飲多即嘔，煩心愒愒，或卒疹者，如此可汗，不汗者死。筋疽發背，俠脊兩邊大筋，其色蒼，八日可刺也。

A *jie ju*-abscess erupting under the armpits and in the palms makes the

person tremble with cold. They have a temperature and a dry throat, and vomit when they drink too much. They feel agitated and depressed. If there is a sudden swelling, make them sweat. Otherwise, they will die. A muscle *ju*-abscess erupting on the back, on the big muscles on either side of the spine makes the complexion green. It is possible to prick the abscess on the eighth day.

陳乾疽發臂，三四日痛不可動，五十日身熱而赤，六十日可刺之。如刺之無血，三四日病已。蚤疽發手足五指頭，起節色不變，十日之內可刺也。過時不刺，後為食。癰在掖，三歲死。

When a *chengan* (old and dry) *ju*-abscess erupts on the arms, it is painful for three or four days and the person can barely move their arms. Within 5 to 10 days, the person has a temperature and a red complexion. It is possible to prick the abscess within 6 to 10 days. If there is no blood when pricking it, the person will be cured in three or four days. A *zao* (flea) *ju*-abscess erupting on the fingers and toes grows on the joints without changing colour. It is possible to prick it within 10 days. If not pricked in time, it will rot later. If a *yong*-abscess appears under the armpit, the person will die in three years.

其湯熨針石，別有正方補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

養生方云：銅器蓋食，汗入食，食之令人發惡瘡內疽。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'If you cover food with a brass vessel, the steam will enter the food, and if you eat the food, a malign ulcer and *ju*-abscess will erupt inside you.'

又云：鯽魚膾合豬肝肺，食之發疽。

Again, it says, 'If you mix the flesh of chopped carp with pig's liver or lungs, and eat them together, you will have *ju*-abscess.'

又云：烏雞肉合鯉魚肉食，發疽。

Again, it says, 'If you mix black chicken meat with carp flesh, and eat them together, you will have *ju*-abscess.'

又云：魚腹內有白如膏，合烏雞肉食之，亦發疽也。

Again, it says, 'If you eat a paste-white fish belly with black chicken meat, you will also have *ju*-abscess.'

又云：魚金鰓，食發疽也。

Again, it says, 'If you eat fish with golden gills, you will have *ju*-abscess.'

又云：已醉，強飽食，不幸發疽。

Again, it says, 'If you force yourself to eat when you are already full, and drunk, you will have the misfortune to have *ju*-abscess.'

《養生方·導引法》云：正倚壁，不息行氣，從頭至足止。愈疽。行氣者，鼻內息，五入方一吐，為一通。滿十二通愈。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lean upright against the wall. Holding your breath, move the *qi* from your head to your toes. This cures ulcers. To move the *qi*: inhale through your nose five times and exhale once; this is one cycle. When you have done twelve cycles, you will be cured.'

又云：正坐倚壁，不息行氣，從口趣令氣至頭而止。治疽痺，氣不足。

Again, it says, 'Sit straight, leaning against the wall. Holding your breath, move the *qi* from your mouth to your head. This cures ulcers, *bi* (impediment) and insufficient *qi*.'

103 卷三十四癰疽第三十四候三十四、癰癰癰候

Juan 34 Disorder of Chronic Sores, section 34: Symptoms of Scrofulous Lumps and Swelling

此由風邪毒氣客於肌肉，隨虛處而停，結為癰癰。或如梅、李、棗核等大小，兩三相連，在皮間，而時發寒熱是也。久則變膿，潰成癰也。

This is caused by the noxious *qi* of the wind deviance lodging in the muscle. It is drawn to wherever there is deficiency, and remains there, getting bundled up, and turning into a scrofulous lump. The lump can be as big as the stone of a prune, a plum, or a date, and two or three of them can join together between layers of skin. Fevers and chills often break out. If the condition lasts for a long period of time, pus develops, and the ulceration turns into sores.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：踞踞，以兩手從內曲腳中入，據地，曲腳加其上，舉尻。其可用行氣。愈癰癰、乳痛。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sitting with your knees up and wide open, put your arms through your bent legs, and press your hands against the ground. Increasing the force through your arms, raise your buttocks. This exercise can be used for moving the *qi*, and cures painful urinary dribbling and pain in the nipples/breasts.'

104 卷三十四癩病第三十五候、癩癩候

Juan 34 Disorder of Chronic Sores, section 35: Symptoms of Sores in the Sexual Organs

癩病之狀，陰核腫大，有時小歇，歇時終大於常。勞冷陰雨便發，發則脹大，使人腰背攣急，身體惡寒，骨節沉重。

A condition of sores in the sexual organs is swollen testicles. Sometimes, the condition is less, but even when it is less, the testicles are larger than normal. Sores are often triggered by exhaustion, cold, cloudy weather and rain. When they break out, they become bloated and big, causing spasms and pain in the lumber and dorsal regions, an aversion to cold, and a sinking, heavy sensation in the bones and joints.

此病由於損腎也。足少陰之經，腎之脈也，其氣下通於陰；陰，宗脈之所聚，積陰之氣也。勞傷舉重，傷於少陰之經，其氣下衝於陰，氣脹不通，故成疾也。

This disease is caused by an injury to the kidney. The *foot lesser yin* channel is the kidney channel. Its *qi* connects to the sexual organ, below, which is the gathering point of all channels where *yin qi* accumulates. Lifting heavy goods when already injured by over-exertion will cause injury to the *lesser yin* channel. Its *qi* rushes down to the sexual organ, causing illness.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：正偃臥，直兩手、兩足，念胞所在，令赤如油囊裹丹。除陰下濕、小便難、癩、少腹重不便。腹中熱，但口內氣，鼻出之，數十，不須小咽氣。即腹中有熱者，七息已溫熱，咽之十數。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Lying straight on your back, lengthen both legs, and pinch the area of the uterus with both hands, making it red like a cinnabar inside an oily sac. This gets rid of damp in the nether regions, difficulty in passing urine, and swelling in the lower abdomen without being able to urinate. To bring heat to the lower abdomen: Inhale *qi* through your mouth, and exhale through your nose. Do this several tens of times. It is not necessary to take little gulps of *qi*. If the lower abdomen is not hot, taking seven breaths will warm the *qi*; then, swallow it ten times.'

105 卷三十四痔病第一候、諸痔候

Juan 34 Haemorrhoid Disorder, section 1: Symptoms of various Haemorrhoid Disorder

諸痔者，謂牡痔、牝痔、脈痔、腸痔、血痔也。其形証各條如後章。又有酒痔，肛邊生瘡，亦有血出。又有氣痔，大便難而血出，肛亦出外，良久不肯入。

The various haemorrhoid disorder are *mu* (male-shaped)-haemorrhoid, *pin* (female-shaped)-haemorrhoid, vessel-haemorrhoid, intestine-haemorrhoid and blood-haemorrhoid. The forms and symptoms of each are described in later chapters. In addition, there is wine-haemorrhoid, with anal sores, and blood discharge, and *qi*-haemorrhoid, with difficult bowel movement, blood discharge, and rectal prolapse which remains outside for a long time.

諸痔皆由傷風，房室不慎，醉飽合陰陽，致勞擾血氣，而經脈流溢，滲漏腸間，衝發下部。有一方而治之者，名為諸痔，非為諸病共成一痔。痔久不瘥，變為瘻了。

These various haemorrhoid disorder are injuries caused by wind, or by being careless in sex. The over-exertion of having sex when drunk and overeating disturbs blood and *qi*. The channels overflow, seeping and leaking between the intestines, then breaking out in a rush at the lower part of the body. The various types of haemorrhoid which can be cured by the same recipe are called various haemorrhoid disorder. It is not that all these disorders are just one particular type of haemorrhoid. If, after a long period of time, the haemorrhoid is not cured, it will become ulcerated.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：忍大便不出，久作氣痔。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'If you try to restrain yourself from having a bowel movement, after a long period of time you will have *qi*-haemorrhoid.'

《養生方·導引法》云：一足踏地，一足屈膝，兩手抱犢鼻下，急挽向身，極勢。左右換易四七。去痔、五勞、三里氣不下。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Keep one foot on the ground and bend the other knee, holding with both hands just below the *dubi* point (calf's nose, ST. 35). Pull it towards you as much as you can. Alternate between left and right four times seven times. This gets rid of haemorrhoids, five exhaustions, and [problems with] *qi* not being able to pass the *sanli* point (ST.36).'

又云：踞坐，合兩膝，張兩足，不息兩通。治五痔。

Again, it says, 'Sitting on the ground with your knees up, bring both knees together and feet apart. Hold your breath twice. This cures five types of hemorrhoids.'

又云：兩手抱足，頭不動，足向口面受氣，眾節氣散，來去三七。欲得捉足，左右側身，各各急挽，腰不動。去四肢、腰上下髓內冷，血脈冷，筋急悶，痔。

Again, it says, 'Hold your feet with both hands and keep your head still. Raise your feet to face your mouth, receive *qi*, and bring it to all the joints before it disperses. Do this up and down thrice seven times. Taking hold of your feet, turn your body to left or right. Each time, hold them firmly while keeping your lumbar still. This gets rid of cold in the bone marrow above and below the lumbar region, in the four limbs, cold in the blood vessels, tight sinews and hemorrhoids.'

又云：兩足相踏，向陰端急蹙，將兩手捧膝頭，兩向極勢，捺之，二七竟；身側兩向取勢，二七；前後努腰七。去心勞、痔病。

Again, it says, 'Face the soles of your feet towards each other, drawing them close to the nether regions. Holding your knees up with both hands, move them to either side as much as you can, pressing them down twice seven times, then stop. Lean your body from side to side to obtain both positions, twice seven times. Move your waist vigorously back and forth seven times. This gets rid of heart-exhaustion and hemorrhoids.'

106 卷三十五瘡病第三候、諸惡瘡候

Juan 35 Disorder of Sores, section 3: Symptoms of various Malign Sores

諸瘡生身體，皆是體虛受風熱，風熱與血氣相搏，故發瘡。若風熱挾濕毒之氣者，則瘡癢痛焮腫，而瘡多汁，身體壯熱，謂之惡瘡也。

The various sores produced in the body are all caused by deficiencies in the body, which then receive wind and heat. Wind and heat attack blood and *qi*, thus triggering sores. If wind and heat carry the *qi* of damp poison, there will be an itchy, painful, hot and swollen sore, producing a lot of pus, and a high body temperature. These are called malignant sores.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：銅器蓋食，汗入食，發惡瘡、內疽也。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'If you enclose food in copper ware, the moisture enters the food, causing malignant sores and internal *ju*-abscess.'

又云：醉而交接，或致惡瘡。

Again, it says, 'Having sex when drunk will also cause malignant sores.'

又云：飲酒熱未解，以冷水洗面，令人面發惡瘡；輕者皴皯。

Again, it says, 'If you wash your face with cold water after you have been drinking and before the heat dissipates, malign sores will break out on your face. If it is mild, there will be pimples.'

又云：五月五日，取棗葉三升，并華水搗取汁，浴，永不生惡瘡。

Again, it says, 'On the fifth day of the fifth month, take three *sheng* of jujube leaves and the first drawing of well water in the morning. Pound them together and use the juice in a bath. The malignant sores will never develop.'

又云：井華水和粉洗足，不病惡瘡。

Again, it says, 'If you wash your feet with the first drawing of well water in the morning, and powder them, you will not have the disease of malignant sores.'

又云：五月一日、八月二日、九月九日、十月七日、十一月四日、十二月十三日，沐浴，除惡瘡。

Again, it says, 'Wash your hair and take a bath on the first of the fifth month, the second of the eighth month, the ninth of the ninth month, the seven of the tenth month, the fourth of the eleventh month, and the thirteenth of the twelve month. This will get rid of malign sores.'

《養生方·導引法》云：龍行氣，低頭下視，不息十二通。愈風疥、惡瘡，熱不能入咽。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'The moving *qi* of a dragon: Lower your head and look down. Hold your breath twelve times. This cures wind-induced scabies and malign sores, and prevents heat from entering the throat.'

107 卷三十五瘡第二十候、疥候

Juan 35 Disorder of Sores, section 20: Symptoms of Scabies

疥者，有數種：有大疥，有馬疥，有水疥，有乾疥，有濕疥。多生手足，乃至遍體。大疥者，作瘡，有膿汁，赤癢痛是也。

There are many kinds of scabies: great scabies, horse scabies, water scabies, dry scabies, and damp scabies. They grow mostly in the hands and feet, and then spread to the whole body. Great scabies are red, itchy and painful sores with pus.

馬疥者，皮肉隱嶙起，作根墟，搔之不知痛。此二者則重。水疥者，瘰如小瘰漿，摘破有水出。此一種小輕。

Horse scabies occur when the skin and flesh erupt from their hiding place. Their roots are deep and no pain is felt when scratching them. These two types of scabies are serious. Water scabies are scrofula with pustules. Watery liquid comes out when you break them open. This type is mild.

乾疥者，但癢，搔之皮起，作乾痂。濕疥者，小瘡，皮薄，常有汁出。並皆有蟲，人往往以針頭挑得，狀如水內痂蟲。此悉由皮膚受風邪熱氣所致也。

Dry scabies are [indicated] when there is itchiness, and the skin rises up when scratched, becoming dry scabs. Damp scabies are small ulcers with thin skins and the pus often comes out. There are also parasites. People often pick them using a needle head. They are shaped like *guo*-parasites in water. They are caused by skin absorbing hot *qi* and wind deviance.

按九蟲論云：蟻蟲多所，變化多端，或作痂、疥、痔、癩，無所不為。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

According to the Treatise of the Nine Parasites, 'Parasitic worms are found in many places. They change and mutate all the time, causing *guo*-ulcer, scabies, hemorrhoids, and ulceration. There is nothing they cannot do. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：龍行氣，低頭下視，不息十二通。愈風疥、惡瘡、熱不能入咽。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'The moving *qi* of a dragon: Lower your head and look down. Hold your breath twelve times. This cures wind-induced scabs and boils/ulcers, and prevents heat from entering the throat.'

108 卷三十六腕傷病第三候、卒被損瘀血候

Juan 36 Disorder of Wrist Injury, section 3: Symptoms of Blood Clot cause by sudden injury

夫有瘀血者，其人喜忘，不欲聞物聲。病人胸滿，唇萎舌青，口燥，但欲漱水不欲咽，無熱，脈微大來遲，腹不滿，其人言我腹滿，為有瘀血。汗當出不出，內結亦為瘀。

Whenever there is a blood clot, the person tends to be forgetful, and is averse to hearing any sounds. The patient has a bloated chest, drooping lips, a blue tongue, and a dry mouth. The person wants to rinse their mouth with water but does not want to swallow it. There is no temperature. The pulse is faint, big and delayed. The abdomen is not bloated but has the appearance of being so to others. These indicate a blood clot. The sweat should come out but it cannot; it gets bundled up and becomes a clot.

病人胸滿，口乾，膊痛，渴，無寒熱，為有瘀血。腹滿，口燥不渴，唾如漿狀，此有留血爾。

The patient has a bloated chest, a dry mouth, shoulder pain, thirst, and no sensation of cold or heat. These indicate a blood clot. The patient has a bloated abdomen, a dry mouth but is not thirsty, and their saliva is paste-like. These indicate blood stagnation.

從高頓仆，內有血，腹脹滿。其脈牢強者生，小弱者死。得答掠，內有結血。脈實大者生，虛小者死。其湯熨針石，別有正方。補養宣導，今附於後。

If a person falls from a high place, they will bleed internally and the abdomen become bloated. If the pulse is constrained and strong, the person will live; if it is small and weak, they will die. If a person is flogged, it will cause blood to clot internally. If the pulse is solid and big, the person will live; if it is deficient and small, the person will die. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：端坐，伸腰，舉左手仰掌，以右手承右脅，以鼻內氣，自極七息。除瘀血、結氣。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar and raise your left arm with the palm facing up, while supporting your right side with your right hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Do this for seven breaths. It gets rid of hematoma and knotted *qi*.'

又云：鼻內氣，口閉，自極七息。除兩脅下積血氣。

Again, it says, 'Inhale *qi* through your nose and close your mouth for as long as possible. Take seven breaths. This gets rid of accumulated blood and *qi* under the ribs.'

又云：端坐，伸腰，舉左手，右手承右脅，鼻內氣七息。除瘀血。

Again, it says, 'Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar and raise your left arm, with the palm facing up, while supporting your right side with your right hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Do this for seven breaths. It gets rid of a blood clot.'

又云：端坐，右手持腰，鼻內氣七息，左右戾頭各三十止。除體瘀血，項頸痛。

Again, it says, 'Sit upright, supporting your lumbar with your right hand, and inhale *qi* through your nose. Take seven breaths. Bend your head to left and right thirty times on each side and then stop. This gets rid of a blood clot, neck pain and headache.'

又云：雙手搦腰，手指相對向，盡勢，前後振搖二七。又，將手大指向後，極勢，振搖二七。不移手，上下對，與氣下盡勢，來去三七。去雲門、腰掖血氣閉塞。

Again, it says, 'Take hold of your waist with both hands, fingers facing each other, as forcefully as possible. Move and shake your body backwards and forwards twice seven times. Then, placing your thumbs behind as much as possible, move and shake your body twice seven times. Then, keeping your hands still, move and shake your body up and down, bringing the *qi* downward as much as possible, thrice seven times. This gets rid of stagnant blood and *qi* in the lumbar region, the armpits and at *yunmen* point (cloud gate, Lu2).'

109 卷三十八婦人雜病第五十一候、無子候

Juan 38 Women's Miscellaneous Disorder, section 51: Symptom of Infertility

婦人無子者，其事有三也。一者墳墓不祀，二者夫婦年命相剋，三者夫病婦疹，皆使無子。其若是墳墓不祀，年命相剋，此二者，非藥能益。

There are three reasons why a married woman is childless. One, the [ancestors'] tombs have not been worshipped; two, the horoscopes of husband and wife contradict each other; three, the husband has an illness, or the wife has some kind of rash. All these can cause infertility. If it is due to the fact that the [ancestors'] tombs have not been worshipped or the horoscopes of husband and wife contradict each other, no drug will be effective.

若夫病婦疹，須將藥餌，故得有效也。然婦人挾疾無子，皆由勞傷血氣，冷熱不調，而受風寒，客於子宮，致使胞內生病，或月經澀閉，或崩血帶下，致陰陽之氣不和，經血之行乖候，故無子也。

If the husband has an illness or the wife has some kind of rash, they should take drugs. This will be effective. The reason a woman harbours illness and is infertile is because her blood and *qi* are injured by over-exertion. There are irregularities of hot and cold [*qi*]. Wind and cold invade and lodge in the womb, causing illness to develop in the uterus. There is neither scanty or no menstruation, or a very heavy discharge of blood. When *yin* and *yang qi* are not in harmony, the monthly cycle becomes irregular, causing infertility.

診其右手關後尺脈，浮則為陽，陽脈絕，無子也。又，脈微澀，中年得此，為絕產也。少陰脈如浮緊，則絕產。惡寒，脈尺寸俱微弱，則絕嗣不產也。其湯熨針石，別有正方，補益吐納，今附於後。

If, when diagnosing, the *chi* pulse below the *guan* point on the right hand is floating, it indicates yang; and if the *yang* pulse is exhausted, there is infertility. Moreover, if a middle aged woman has a faint and rough pulse, it indicates menopause. If the lesser *yin* pulse is floating and tight, it indicates menopause. If the woman has an aversion to cold, and both her *chi* and *cun* pulses are faint and weak, these indicate the cessation of offspring. There will be no more births. The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The breathing instructions for supplementation and its benefits are now attached here below.

《養生方》云：吸月精，凡月初出時、月中時、月入時，向月正立，不息八通。仰頭吸月光精，八咽之，令人陰氣長。婦人吸之，陰氣益盛，子道通。陰氣長，益精髓腦。少小者婦人，至四十九以上，還生子。斷緒者，即有子。久行不已，即成仙矣。

The Yangsheng Recipes says, 'When the moon first appears, when it is in mid cycle, and when it is going down, stand straight, facing the moon, and hold your breath eight times. Raise your head, inhaling the essence of the

moonlight, and swallow it eight times. This promotes the growth of the *yin-qi*. When a woman inhales it, her *yin* essence will benefit and flourish, and the birth canal will be clear (to ensure a smooth childbirth). The *yin-qi* will grow, benefitting the essence, the marrow and the brain. Young ladies to women over 49 years old can still give birth. Even those who have not have children for years will become pregnant. If you practise this for a long period of time, you will become a transcendent.'

110 卷四十婦人雜病第一三三候、乳結核候

Juan 38 Women's Miscellaneous Disorder, section 133: Symptoms of Breast Lumps

足陽明之經脈，有從缺盆下於乳者，其經虛，風冷乘之，冷折於血，則結腫。夫腫熱則變敗血為膿，冷則核不消。又重疲勞，動氣而生熱，亦焮烺。

The foot *yangming* channel goes from the *quepeng* point (ST12) down to the breasts. When the channel is deficient, wind and cold can take advantage, and cold can damage the blood. As a result, it is knotted up and becomes swollen. When the swelling is hot, it becomes bad blood and turns into pus. When there is cold, the lump cannot be shrunk. If the person gets tired and exhausted repeatedly, their *qi* moves, and generates heat, as well as causing inflammation and disintegration.

其湯熨針石，別有正方，補養宣導，今附於後。

The orthodox prescriptions for decoction, hot pack, needles and stones are given elsewhere. The *yangsheng* supplementation and *daoyin* instructions are now attached here below.

《養生方·導引法》云：踞踞，以兩手從曲腳內入，據地，曲腳加其上，舉尻。其可用行氣。愈癰癰，乳痛。交兩腳，以兩手從曲腳極掙，舉十二通，愈癰癰乳痛也。

The Yangsheng Recipes: the Daoyin Methods says, 'Sitting with your knees up and wide open, put your arms through your bent legs and press your hands against the ground. Increasing the force through your arms, raise your buttocks. This exercise can be used for moving the *qi* and cures painful urinary dribbling and pain in the nipples/breasts. Crossing both legs, put your arms through your bent legs as much as possible and raise your buttocks twelve times. This cures scrofulous lumps and pain in the nipples.'

Appendix 4: Translation of *Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing*

慎修內法 The Inner Method of Assiduous Cultivation

赤松子者，神農時雨師也。能隨風上下，至高辛氏時猶存。

Master Redpine, a rain master at the time of Shengnong, could follow the wind up and down and was still alive at the time of Gaoxing.

常以朝起，布席東向，先以兩手叉頭上，挽頭至地，五噓（吸）五息，止脹氣。

Every morning when you get up, spread out a mat facing east. First, interlock the fingers of both hands. Put them on your head, and pull it down to the ground while inhaling five breaths. Do this five times. This gets rid of bloated *qi*.

次以臥，右手掩腦，左肘肘地，極復以左手掩腦，右肘肘地，極五息止，引筋骨。

Next, lie down, cover the top of your head with your right hand and push your left elbow into the ground as much as you can. Repeat, with your left hand covering your head and your right elbow pushing into the ground. Do this as much as you can and stop after five breaths. This pulls sinews and bones.

次以兩手據右膝，上至腰睡（胯），極，起頭，五息止，引腰。

Next, holding your right knee with both hands, pull it up as much as you can towards your waist while moving your head forward. Stop after five breaths. This stretches your lumbar region.

次以左手據腰、左膝，右手極上引，以復，右手據腰、右膝，左手極上引，皆五息止，引心腹。

Then, holding your waist with your left hand, with your right hand, pull your left knee up as much as possible, then release. Holding your waist with your right hand, with your left hand, pull your right knee up as much as possible. Take five breaths on each side and then stop. This pulls the [*qi* of] the heart region (right under your rib cage).

次以左手據腰，右手極上引，以復，右手據腰，左手極上引，五息止，引腹中。

Then, holding your waist with your left hand, pull your right arm up as much as possible, and return/release. Holding your waist with your right hand, pull your left arm up as much as possible. Stop after five breaths. This pulls the [*qi*] in the lower abdomen.

次以叉手胸脅前，左右搖頭不息，自極止。引面耳邪氣，不復得入。

Then, interlace your fingers in front of your chest, and shake your head from side to side while holding your breath. Stop when you have reached your limit. This pulls the deviant *qi* from your face and ears; it can no longer enter.

次以兩手叉腰下，左右自搖，自極止，通血脈。

Then, placing your hands below your waist, shake to left and right as much as you can and then stop. This helps the flow of the blood vessel.

次以兩手相叉，極左右，引肩中。

Then, interlacing your fingers, move arms to left and right as much as you can. This pulls the [*qi*] in the shoulders.

次以兩手相叉，反於頭上，左右自調，引肺肝中。

Then, interlace your fingers and place them, palms uppermost, above your head. Pull them left and right. This pulls from your lungs and liver.

次以兩手叉胸前，左右極引，除皮膚中煩氣。

Then, interlacing your fingers in front of your chest, pull to left and right as much as possible. This gets rid of the troubled *qi* in your skin.

次以兩手（相）叉，左右舉肩。引皮膚。

Then, interlacing your fingers, raise your shoulders to left and right. This pulls the skin.

立，左右搖兩脛，引除腳氣。

Stand up and shake both of your calves, alternating between left and right. This pulls and gets rid of *leg-qi*.

右赤松子導引法，除百病，延年益壽，此自當日日習行之，久久有益。

The preceding is the *daoyin* method of Master Redpine. It gets rid of a hundred diseases, extends your years and prolongs your lifespan. You should practise it every day. The longer you do, the more benefit you will have.

寧先生者，黃帝時人。為陶正，能積火自燒，而隨煙上下，衣常不灼。

Mr. Ning was an official responsible for making pottery during the time of the Yellow Emperor. He was able to accumulate fire, ignite himself and follow the smoke up and down often without his clothes getting burned.

常以子後午前，解髮東向，握固不息一通，舉手左右導引，手掩兩耳，令髮黑不白。

Habitually, after midnight and before noon, loosening your hair and facing east, do *wogu* (hold your thumbs with the other four fingers) while holding your breath once (for one cycle). Raise your arms, guiding and pulling them, first to the left and then to the right thereby covering both ears. This prevents your hair from turning white and keeps it black.

臥，引為三，以手指捏項邊脈三通，令人目明。

Lie down and perform *daoyin*/pull three times: with your fingers, pinch the *mai*/vessel at the side of your neck three times. This makes your eyes bright.

東向坐，不息再通，以兩手中指點口中，唾之二七，相摩拭目，令人目明。

Sit facing east, and hold your breath twice. Put the middle fingers of both hands in your mouth, bring out the saliva on your fingers, rub them together, and wipe your eyes [with the saliva]. Do this twice seven times. This makes your eyes bright.

東向坐，不息三通，以手捻鼻兩孔，治鼻宿息肉愈。

Sit facing east, and hold your breath three times while pinching both nostrils with your fingers. This cures extra growth/polyp in your nose.

東向坐，不息四通，啄齒無通數。

Sit facing east, and hold your breath four times while clacking your teeth together numerous times.

伏前側臥，不息六通，愈耳聾目眩。

Lying on your front with your sides in contact with the ground and hold your breath six times. This cures deafness and blurred vision.

還臥，不息七通，愈胸中痛咳。

Return to lying on your back and hold your breath seven times. This cures painful cough in the chest.

抱兩膝自企於地，不息八通，愈胸以上至頭頸、耳、目、咽、鼻邪熱。

Hold both knees and drop them to the ground while holding your breath. Do this eight times. This cures deviant heat between the chest and the head, including neck, ears, eyes, throat and nose.

去枕，握固不息，自企於地，不息九通，東首，令人氣上下通徹[微]，鼻內氣，愈羸。不能從陰陽法，大陰勿行之。

Remove the pillow, and do *wogu* while holding your breath. Relax your body into the ground. Hold your breath nine times while facing east. This causes the *qi* to move up and down without obstruction. Inhale *qi* through your nose. This cures emaciation and inability to follow the method of *yin* and *yang*. Do not practise this when there is great *yin*.

蝦蟆行氣法：正坐，自動搖兩臂，不息十二通，愈勞大佳。

Method of the moving *qi* of a toad: sitting straight, shake both arms (as though they are doing it themselves) while holding your breath. Do this twelve times. This is good for curing exhaustion.

左右側臥，不息十二通，治痰飲不消。右有飲病，右側臥；左有飲病，左側臥。有不消，氣排之。

Lying on your left or right side, hold your breath twelve times. This cures phlegm-rheum and indigestion. If you have a rheum disorder on your right, lie on your right side; if you have a rheum disorder on your left, lie on your left side. If you have indigestion, expel it with *qi*.

日初出、日中、日入，此三時向日正立，不息九通，仰頭吸日精光，九咽之，益精百倍。

During the three periods of sunrise, noon and sunset, stand directly facing the Sun and hold your breath nine times. Raise your head and inhale the essential light of the Sun. Swallow it nine times. This increases your essence a hundred fold.

入火，垂兩臂，不息，即不傷火法。

Entering fire with both arms dropped while holding your breath is the method of not being injured by fire.

向南方蹲踞，以兩手從屈膝中入，掌足五指令內曲，利腰尻完，治淋遺溺愈。

Facing south, squat. Put both arms through your bent knees, palms on the five toes of each foot, and bend further on the inside. This benefits your lumbar and buttocks, cures *lin* (painful urinary dribbling) disorders and relives enuresis/incontinence.

箕踞，交兩腳，手內並腳中，又叉兩手，極引之，愈寤寐精氣不泄。

Sit with your knees up. Cross your legs while bringing your hands around through your legs. Then, interlace your fingers and pull them as much as you can. This cures insomnia and prevents your essential *qi* from leaking.

兩手交叉頤下，自極，利肺氣，治暴氣咳。

Interlacing your fingers, push them up below your chin as much as you can. This benefits the lung *qi* and cures violent cough.

舉兩腳夾兩頰邊，兩手據地，服(伏)療宿壅。

Raise both legs and press them on the sides of your cheeks. Press your hands against the ground while you are facing to the ground. This cures long-standing abscess.

舉右手，展左手，坐，右腳上掩左腳，愈尻完痛。

Raise your right arm, stretch out your left arm, and sit with your right at the front, covering your left foot. This cures pains in the buttocks.

舉手交頸上相握自極，治脅下痛。

Raise your arms and clasp your hands behind your neck while holding them tightly together as much as you can. This cures pain below your ribs.

舒左手，右手在下握左手拇指自極; 舒右手，左手在下握右手拇指自極，皆治骨節酸疼。

Stretching out your left hand, place your right hand underneath it and hold your left thumb as tightly as you can. Then, stretching out your right hand, place your left hand underneath it and hold your right thumb as tightly as you can. These exercises cure aches and pain in the bones and joints.

掩 [伸] 兩腳，兩手指著足五指上，愈腰折不能低仰。若血久瘀，為之即愈。

Cover/Stretch out both legs and attach your fingers to the five toes on each foot. This cures collapsed lumbar, the inability to bend up or down. If you have had hematoma for a long time, it will be cured once you do this exercise.

豎足五指，愈腰脊痛不能反顧視者。

Raise the five toes on each foot. This cures pain in your lumbar region, and the inability to look behind you.

以右手從頭上來下，又挽下手，愈頸不能反顧視。

Raise your right arm above your head and bring it down again, [behind your back], taking hold of the other hand. This cures the inability to turn your neck and look behind you.

坐地，掩左手，以右手指肩挽之，傾側，愈膝腰及小便不通。

Sitting on the ground, cover your left arm by taking hold of your [left] shoulder with your right hands, and lean to the side. This cures problems in your knees and lumbar region as well as urinary problems.

東向坐，向日，左手揖月，舉身望北斗，心服月氣，始得眾惡不入理。

Sit facing east, face to the Sun. Salute the moon with your left arm, raise your body and look at the Northern Dipper. Ingest the moon-*qi* with your heart, thus preventing numerous deviants from entering.

頭仰苦難，牽右手反折，各左右自極張弓，兼補五藏不足氣則至。

If you have great difficulty in raising your head, pull and bend backward your right hand. Do this to both left and right hands as much as you can, like pulling a bow. This also encourages *qi*, replenishing the inefficient *qi* of the five *zang*.

抱兩膝著胸，自極，此常令丹田氣還補腦。

Hold both knees against your chest as much as you can. This always brings the *qi* from the *dantian*, returns to, and replenishes the brain.

坐地，直兩腳，以手捻腳脛，以頭至地，調脊諸椎，利髮根，令長美。

Sit on the ground with both legs straight, grip your lower legs and bring your head towards the ground. This adjusts the vertebrae of the spine and benefits the roots of your hair, making your hair long and beautiful.

坐地，交叉兩腳，以兩手從曲腳中入，低頭，叉項上，治久寒不能自溫。[耳不聞聲] 耳不聞勿正，倍聲。

Sit on the ground with both legs crossed, put your arms through your bent legs, lower your head and interlace your fingers behind your neck. This cures longstanding cold, an inability to warm yourself, and an inability to hear without the sound being amplified.

不息行氣從頭至足心，愈疽痂、大風偏枯諸痺。

Holding your breath, move the *qi* from your head to the soles of your feet. This cures ulcers, scab, leprosy, lateral withering and various *bi* disorders.

極力右振兩臂，不息九通，愈臂痛勞倦、風氣不隨。

Shake both arms to the right as forcefully as possible while holding your breath. Do this nine times. This cures arm pain associated with over-exertion and fatigue, and lack of movement associated with *wind-qi*.

龜鱉行氣法：The method of moving *qi* of a tortoise

以衣覆口鼻，不息九通，正臥，微鼻出內氣，愈鼻塞不通。

Cover your mouth and nose with your clothes and hold your breath nine times. Lie straight, slowly inhale and exhale *qi* through your nose. This cures blocked nose.

東向坐，仰頭不息五通，以舌撩口中，沫滿，二七咽，愈口乾舌苦。

Sit facing east, raise your head and hold your breath five times. Lick your tongue around the inside of your mouth until it is full of saliva, then swallow it. Do this twice seven times. It cures dry mouth and bitterness on the tongue.

雁行氣法：The method of moving *qi* of a wild goose

低頭倚臂，不息十二通，以意排留飲宿食從下部出，自愈。

Lower your head, drawing it towards your shoulders, and hold your breath twelve times. Use your intention to get rid of accumulated food and drink, expelling them from below. You will automatically be cured.

龍行氣法：The method of moving *qi* of a dragon

低頭下視，不息十二通，愈風疥惡瘡，熱不能入咽。

Lower your head and look down. Hold your breath twelve times. This relieves scabs and boils/ulcers associated with wind. This also prevents heat from entering the throat.

可候病者以向陽，明以達臥，以手摩腹至足，以手持引足，低臂十二，不息十二通，愈腳足溫痺不任行、腰脊痛。

If you are looking after a sick person, you can make them face the sun so that sunlight reaches them while they are lying down. With your hands, massage from the lower abdomen reaching to your feet; then with your hands, pull the feet while lowering your arms. Hold the breath twelve times. This cures warm-*bi*, the inability to move your legs and feet, and pain in your hips and back.

以兩手著項相叉，治毒不愈，腹中大氣即吐之。

Interlace your fingers and place them on your neck. This cures deadly poisons. If there is too much *qi* in your belly, exhale it.

月初出、月中，月入時，向月正立，不息八通，仰頭吸月光精，八咽之，令陰氣長，婦人吸之，陰精益盛，子道通。

When the moon first appears, when it is in mid-cycle and when it is going down, stand straight, facing the moon; hold your breath eight times. Raise your head and inhale the essence of the moonlight. Swallow it eight times. This promotes the growth of the *yin-qi*, the yin essence benefits and flourishes, and the birth canal is clear (to ensure a smooth childbirth).

入水，舉兩手臂，不息，不沒法：Method of entering the water while raising both arms and holding the breath without sinking

向北方箕踞，以手挽足五指，愈伏兔痿尻筋急。

Face north, sit with your legs stretched out, and take hold of the five toes of each foot with your hands. This cures atrophy of the thighs, and tight tendons/sinews in the buttocks.

箕踞，以兩手從曲腳入，據地曲腳，加其手，舉尻，其可用行氣，愈淋瀝乳痛。

Sitting with your legs stretched out, take both hands through your legs bending them and press your hands on the ground. Increase the strength in your arms and raise your buttocks. This exercise can be used for moving the *qi*, and cures painful urinary dribbling and pain of the nipples/breasts.

舉腳交叉項，以兩手據地，舉尻持，任息極，交腳項上，愈腹中愁滿，去三蟲，利五藏，快神氣。

Raise your legs and cross them behind your neck. Press your hands on the ground and raise your buttocks. Maintaining the posture, breathe as many times as you want for as long as you can while your legs are crossed behind your neck. This cures worry and anxiety in the abdomen, gets rid of three kinds of worms, benefits the five *zang* and quickens the spirit *qi*.

蹲踞，以兩手舉足，蹲極橫，治氣衝腫痛，寒疾[疝]入上下，致腎氣。

Squat, then lift up your feet with both hands. Squat with your knees open to the sides as much as possible. This cures rushing *qi*, and swelling and pain, cold diseases entering above and below, reaching kidney-*qi*.

蹲踞，以兩手舉足五指，低頭自極，則五藏氣總至，治耳不聞，目不明，久為之，則令人髮白復黑。

Squat, using both hands to raise the five toes of each foot. Lower your head as much as you can so that the *qi* of the five *zang* will arrive all together. This

cures deafness and blindness. If you practise this for a long period of time, it will make your white hair return to black.

正偃卧，捲手，兩即握不息，順腳跟，據床，治陰結、筋脈麻痺纒。

Lie down straight, curling your hands into tight fists. Hold your breath and bring your hands to your heels, holding onto the bed. This cures knotted-*yin/yin-binding*, numbness, atrophy or lumps in the tendon vessels.

以兩手還踞，著腋下，治胸中滿眩，手枯。

Bring both hands back, to below your armpits. This cures dizzy sensations in your chest, and withered hands.

反兩手據膝上，仰頭，像鰲取氣，致大黃元氣至丹田，令腰脊不知痛。

Put both hands on your knees, palms facing up. Raise your head like a turtle taking air/qi, and send the primordial *qi* of great yellow to dantian (cinnabar field), thus, removing pain from your lumbar region.

手大拇指急捻鼻孔，不息，即氣上行，致泥丸腦中，令陰陽從，數至不倦。

Pinch your nostrils tightly with your thumbs and hold your breath, causing the *qi* to move up to Muddy Pellet in the brain. There can be frequent intercourse without tiring.

以左手急捉髮，右手還項中，所謂血脈氣各流其根，閉巨陽之氣，使陰不溢，信明皆利陰陽之道也。

Pull your hair tightly with your left hand, while bringing your right hand to the centre of your neck. It is what is called the blood, the *qi* each flow to its root. Close the *qi* of the Great *Yang* so that the yin will not over-spill. Both trust and clarity will benefit the way of *Yin* and *Yang*.

正坐，以兩手交背後，名曰帶縛，愈不能大便，利腹，愈虛羸。

Sitting up straight, cross and hold your arms behind your back. This is called the belt tying (the sash tie). It cures the inability to have bowel movements, benefits your abdomen, and cures exhaustion and emaciation.

坐地，以兩手交叉其下，愈陰滿。

Kneel on the floor and interlace your hands underneath your shins. This relieves excessive *yin*.

以兩手捉繩，輻轡倒懸，令腳反在其上見，愈頭眩風癩。

Holding a rope with both hands, use the pulley to hang and suspend yourself upside down, with your legs uppermost. This relieves head dizziness and mental derangement associated with wind.

以兩手牽，反著背上，挽繩自懸，愈中不專精、食不得下。

Hold the rope with both hands behind your back, and suspend yourself in mid-air. This relieves a lack of concentrated essence, and the inability to digest properly.

以一手上牽繩，下手自持腳，愈久尻痔及有腫。

With one hand hold a rope at the top, and with the other hand hold your feet below. This cures long-term haemorrhoids and swelling of the buttocks.

坐地直舒兩腳，以兩手叉，挽兩足自極，愈腸不能受食，吐逆。

Sit on the ground and stretch out both legs. Interlacing your fingers, take hold of both feet as much as you can. This cures problems with the intestines not being able to process food, and vomiting.

寧先生曰：夫欲導引行氣，以除百病，令人不老者，常心念有一還丹，以還丹田。夫生人者丹，救人者還，全則延年，去則衰朽。

Mr. Ning says, 'Those who desire to practise *daoyin* and move their *qi* in order to eradicate all one hundred diseases and prevent aging should always visualise in their heart that there is a returned cinnabar/reversal elixir for it to be returned to the cinnabar field. Those who are alive are the Cinnabar; those who have been lived are the Returned. If it is complete, life will be extended. If it is gone, life will be in decline and decay.

所以導引者，令人支體骨節中諸邪氣皆去，正氣存處。有能精誠勤習、履行，動作言語之間，晝夜行之，則骨節堅強，以愈百病。

Therefore, *daoyin* can eliminate all wayward *qi* from the limbs and joints. The proper/upright *qi* remains. If you can practise diligently with concentration and sincerity, even while you are working or talking, and if you do them in the morning as well as at night, then, your bones and joints will become firm and strong, and the hundred diseases will all be cured.

若卒得中風病，宿固萎退不隨，耳聾不聞，頭癲疾，咳逆上氣，腰脊苦痛，皆可按圖視像，隨疾所在，行氣導引，以意排除去之。

If you suddenly have a wind strike disorder or you have a condition which is chronic and persistent, unable to move, your ears unable to hear, illness of madness, cough of counter flow and of ascending *qi*, great pain in the lower back, all of these problems, you can see the images on the picture, and follow

them to the location of the illnesses, move the *qi*, guiding and pulling it, using your intention to get rid of the illnesses.

行氣者，則可補於裏，導引者，則可治於四肢。自然之道，但能勤行，與天地相保。

By moving *qi*, you can nourish the interior; by practising *daoyin* exercises, you can heal the four limbs. Thus, following the *dao* of spontaneity, the natural way as diligently as you can, you can last as long as Heaven and Earth.

彭祖穀仙臥引法：The lying down and pulling method of *Pengzu*, the ancient transcendence

彭祖者，殷大夫。歷夏至商，號年七百，常食桂得道。

Pengzu was a high official of the *Yin* dynasty, who lived through the Xia and the Shang dynasties. He, who often ate cinnamon and had attained *Dao*, has lived to seven hundred years.

居常解衣憒臥，伸腰，填小腹，五息止，引腎去消渴利陰陽。

In your residence, make it a habit to loosen your clothes and lie down on your back. Lengthen your lumbar, fill up your lower abdomen for five breaths and then stop. This pulls the kidneys, gets rid of dispersion-thirst and benefits *yin* and *yang*.

2. 又云：申左腳，屈右膝，內壓之，五息止，引脾，去心腹寒熱、胸臆邪脹。

Again, it says, ‘Stretch out your left leg while bending your right knee and pressing it against you. Take five breaths and stop. This pulls the spleen, gets rid of cold and heat in the heart region, bloated chest caused by deviant agencies.

3. 挽兩足指，五息止，引腹中，去疝癥，利九竅。

Hold the toes of both feet, take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the central abdomen, eliminates hernia and abnormal tumours, and benefits the nine orifices.

4. 仰兩足指，五息止，引腰脊痺偏枯，令人耳聲。

Raise your toes, take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the *bi* and the lateral withering on your lower back, and improves your hearing.

5. 兩足內相向，五息止，引心肺，去咳逆上氣。

Turn both feet to face each other, take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the heart and lungs, eliminates reversal coughs and rising *qi*.

6. 踵內相向，五息止，短股，除五絡之氣，利腸胃，去邪氣。

Turn your heels to face each other, (Inwardly) take five breaths, and stop. Shortening the thighs eliminates *qi* in the five branch channels, benefits the intestines and stomach, and eliminates deviant *qi*.

7. 掩[伸]左脛，屈右膝，內壓之，五息止，引肺，去風虛，令人明目。

Stretch out/cover your left leg, bend your right knee, and press it (against you left shin, covering it). Take five breaths, and stop. This pulls the lungs and eliminates/disperses deficiency associated with wind, and improves one's eyesight.

8. 張脛兩足指，號五息止，令人不轉筋。

Stretch the legs and toes of both feet while making some loud noises, Count, taking five breaths, and then stop. This prevents cramps in the tendons.

9. [仰臥，] 兩手牽膝置心上，五息止，愈腰痛。

[Lie on your back], taking hold of your knees with both hands, pull them to your chest so they are right above your heart, take five breaths, and stop. This cures lumbar pain.

10. 外轉兩足十通，內轉兩足十通止，復諸勞。

Circle both feet outwards ten times and inwards ten times. You will recover from various exhaustions.

右彭祖穀仙臥引，除百病，延年益壽要術。凡十節，五十息，五五(十)二百五十息。欲導引，常夜半至雞鳴，平旦為之，禁飽食沐浴。

The preceding was the lying down and pulling [method] of Pengzu, the grain/ancient transcendent. It eliminates a hundred diseases, and is an important technique for increasing one's longevity. Each ten sections, take 50 breaths; do them five times, taking 250 breaths in total. When you want to practise *daoyin*, always do the practices between midnight and when the cock crows at dawn. You should refrain from eating too much and from washing theour hair and bathing.

[四章 王子喬八神導引法，延年益壽除百病 凡三十四事]
王子喬八神導引法，延年益壽除百病。

Daoyin method of the Eight Spirits of Wangziquiao: for Extending one's lifespan, increasing one's longevity and eliminating a hundred diseases

法曰：枕當高四寸，足相去各五寸，手去身各三寸，解衣被髮，正偃臥，勿有所念，定意，乃以鼻徐內氣，以口出之，各致其藏所，竟而復始。欲休，先極之而止，勿強長息，久習，乃自長矣。

The Method says, ' The pillow needs to be four *cun* high, the feet five *cun* apart, the arms three *cun* away from the body. Loosen your clothes and spread out your hair; lie straight on your back and do not have any thoughts. Focus your mind, then inhale *qi* slowly through your nose and exhale through your mouth, each reaching to where it stores. Start again when it comes to an end. If you wish to stop, do it as much as you can first, and then stop, without forcing yourself to take long deep breaths. If you practise it for a long period of time, it will lengthen automatically.

氣之往來，勿令耳聞鼻知，微而專之，長遂推之，伏兔股肱，以省為貴。若存若亡，為之百遍，動腹鳴氣，有外聲足則得成功。成功之士，何疾而已？

When inhaling and exhaling, do not let your ears hear the breath or your nose be aware of it. Do it in small quantities and with concentration. Extend it, making it long, and push it to the area near *Futu* (St.32) to the thighs. The most important thing is to conserve the *qi* as though it is both there and not there. Do this a hundred times, causing your abdomen to move, until the *qi* makes a sound. When you can hear the sound from outside, then you have succeeded. For those who have succeeded, how could there be any illnesses?

喉嚨如白銀環，一十二重繫膈，下去得肺，其色白澤，前兩葉高，後兩葉卑，心繫其下，上大下銳，率率赤如蓮華未開，倒懸著肺也。

The throat is like twelve layers of white silver rings which connect to the chest. It goes down to reach the lungs, whose colour is white and glossy. The two leaves at the front are higher and the two leaves at the back are lower. The heart fits below them. Its top is big and its bottom is narrow. This great leader is red like a lotus not yet bloomed, suspended upside down, attached to the lungs.

肝繫其下，色正青，如鳧翕頭也。六葉抱胃，前兩葉高，後四葉卑，膽繫其下，如綠緋囊。

The liver fits below it and its colour is exactly green, like the head of a male duck. Its six leaves embrace the stomach. The two leaves at the front are higher and the four leaves at the back are lower. The gall bladder fits below it like a green silky sack.

脾在中央，亦抱(胃)正黃如金鑠鑠然也。腎如兩伏鼠，夾脊直臍肘而居，欲得其居高也。其色正黑，肥肪絡之，白黑昭然。

The spleen is in the middle; it also embraces the stomach, which is exactly yellow like molten gold. The kidneys are like two crouching mice that press up against the spine, parallel to the navel and the elbow. If you want to find their abode, they are somewhere higher. Their colour is exactly black; they are encased by fat. The white and black are clearly distinguished.

胃如素囊，念其屈折右曲，無污穢之患。肝藏魂，肺藏魄，心藏神，脾藏意，腎藏精，此名曰神舍。神舍修則百脈調，邪病無所居矣。

The stomach is like a white sack. If you visualise it being bent to the right, then you will not suffer from impurity and pollution. The liver stores *hun*, the lungs store *po*, the heart stores *shen*, the spleen stores *yi*, the will; the kidneys store *jing*, the essence. They are called the dwelling places of the spirits. When you repair the spirit huts, the dwelling places of the spirits are being cultivated, and the hundred mai/vessels are regulated. There will be nowhere for diseases caused by deviancy to dwell.

小腸者，長九尺，法九州也。（一云九土，腸者，長二丈四尺。）

The small intestines are nine *chi* long; they govern the nine states (One other text also says nine earths. The intestines are 2 *zhang* and 4 *chi* long.)

諸欲導引，虛者閉目，實者開目，以所苦行氣不用第，七息止。徐徐往來，度二百步所，卻坐，小咽氣五六，不差，復如法引，以愈為效。

Those with deficiency, who wish to practise *daoyin* should close their eyes. Those with excessiveness should open their eyes. It is not necessary to exert yourself when moving *qi*. Stop after seven breaths. Breathe in and out slowly while taking a walk up and down for 200 steps. Return to sitting, and swallow the *qi* five or six times. If not cured, pull repeatedly according to the same method until you are cured.

諸有所苦，正偃臥，被髮如法，徐以口納氣填腹，自極，息欲絕，徐以鼻出氣，數十所，虛者補之，實者瀉之，閉口溫氣咽之，三十所，腹中轉鳴，乃止，往來二百步，不愈，復為之。病在喉中、胸中者，枕高七寸。病在心下者，枕高四寸。病在臍下者，去枕。

If you have some kind of pain, lie straight on your back, loosen your hair according to the method, slowly inhale *qi* through your mouth, and fill up your abdomen to its limit. When inhalation has reached its limit, and is nearly complete, exhale *qi* through your nose. Do this ten times or so. Those with deficiency will tonify their *qi*; those with excessiveness will drain their *qi*. Close your mouth to warm up the *qi*, and then swallow it. Do this thirty times. Stop when there is noise/gurgling in your abdomen. Take 200 steps up and down. If you are still not cured, do it again. If the illness is in the throat, or in the chest, your pillow needs to be seven *cun* high. If the illness is below the heart, your pillow needs to be four *cun* high. If the illness is below the navel, get rid of the pillow.

以口納氣，鼻出氣者，名曰補；閉口溫氣咽之者，名曰瀉。

Inhale *qi* through your mouth; exhale *qi* through your nose. This is called supplementation. Close your mouth to warm the *qi*, and then swallow it. This is called draining.

閉氣治諸病法：

Method of holding your *qi* for curing various diseases:

欲引頭病者，仰頭。

If you want to pull/draw out disorders of the head, raise your head.

欲引腰腳病者，仰足十指。

If you want to pull/draw out disorders of the lower back and legs, raise your ten toes.

欲引胸中病者，挽足十指。

If you want to pull/draw out disorders of the chest, hold the ten toes of your feet.

引臂病者，掩臂。

If you want to pull/draw out disorders of the arms, cover your arms.

欲去腹中寒熱諸不快，若中寒身熱，皆閉氣張腹，欲息者，徐以鼻息，已，復為，至愈乃止。

If you want to get rid of cold, heat, or various discomforts in the abdomen, or if you are cold inside, or your body is hot, you can hold all the *qi* and expand your abdomen. If you want to breathe, breathe slowly through your nose, pause, and do it again until you are cured, then stop.

一、平坐，生腰腳兩臂，覆手據地，口徐納氣，以鼻吐之，除胸中肺中痛，咽氣令溫，閉目也。

1. Sit (Kneel with either heels or big toes touching), lengthen your lumbar, legs and arms, and press your hands against the ground. Inhale *qi* through your mouth softly and slowly. This eliminates pain in the lungs and chest. Swallow *qi*, making it warm, with close your eyes.

二、端坐生腰，以鼻納氣，閉之，自[極]。前後擔/搖頭各三十。除頭虛空耗轉地，閉目搖之。

2. Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose, hold it as much as you can, and shake your head backwards and forwards each way thirty times. This gets rid of light-headedness, feeling dizzy, as if the ground is spinning. Shake your head while closing your eyes.

三、端坐生腰，以左脅側臥，以口納氣，以鼻吐之，除積聚心下不快。

3. Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar and lean to the left until lying down on your side. Inhale *qi* through your mouth; exhale *qi* through your nose. This gets rid of aggregation and accumulation, and discomfort below the heart.

四、端坐生腰，徐以鼻納氣，以右手持鼻，除目晦淚苦出，去鼻中息肉，耳聾亦然，除傷寒、頭寒、頭痛光光(洗洗)，皆當以汗出為度。

4. Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* slowly through your nose, while holding your nose with your right hand. This expels lachrymal discharge, and painful tears. It eliminates abnormal growths in the nose, and gets rid of deafness, cold-damage, head-cold, and migraine. Do this until you sweat.

五、正偃臥，以口徐納氣，以鼻出之，除裏急，飽食後小咽。咽氣數十，令溫。寒者，使人乾嘔腹痛。從口納氣七十所，大填腹。

5. Lie straight on your back, inhale *qi* through your mouth gently, and exhale through your nose. This gets rid of sensation of tightness inside after a full meal. Swallow small amounts of *qi*. Do this several tens of times, making the *qi* warm. Cold causes vomiting and abdominal pain. Inhale *qi* through your mouth. Do this 70 times, filling up your stomach.

六、右脅側臥，以鼻納氣，以口小咽氣數十，兩手相摩熱，以摩腹，令其氣下出之，除脅皮膚痛，七息止。

Lying down on your right side, inhale *qi* through your nose. Swallow small amounts of *qi*. Do this several tens of times. Rub both hands, making them hot. Massage your stomach, making the *qi* go down and out. This gets rid of pain in the skin on your sides. Stop after seven breaths.

七、端坐生腰，直，上展兩臂，仰兩手掌，以鼻納氣，閉之自極七，[中痛]息，名曰蜀王臺，除脅下積聚。

7. Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar. Straightening your body, stretch up both arms, palms facing up. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Do this seven times. This method is called *Zhu Wang Tai*. It eliminates aggregation and accumulation below your ribs.

八、覆臥去枕，立兩足，以鼻納氣四四所，復以鼻出之，極令微氣入鼻中，勿令鼻知，除身中熱背痛。

8. Lying on your belly, remove your pillow, and making your feet stand up. Inhale *qi* through your nose four times four times, then exhale also through your nose as much as you can. Make the *qi* enter your nose bit by bit so that your nose does not feel it. This gets rid of heat in the body, and back pain.

九、端坐生腰，舉左手，仰其掌，卻右手，除兩臂皆痛結氣也。

9. Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar. Raise your left arm, palm facing up, while bringing your right arm behind you. This gets rid of pain and knotted *qi* in both arms.

十、端坐，兩手相叉抱膝，閉氣鼓腹二七或三七，氣滿即吐，即氣皆通暢，行之十年，老有少容。

10. Sitting upright, interlace your fingers and hold your knees. Hold your breath, making your belly expand like a drum. Do this twice seven times or thrice seven times. Spit the *qi* out when your belly is full of *qi*. Your *qi* will flow smoothly without obstruction. If you practise this for ten years, you will have young continence when you are old.

十一、端坐生腰，左右傾，閉目，以鼻納氣，自極，七息止。除頭風。

11. Sitting upright, lengthen your lumbar, and lean to the left and right. Closing your eyes, inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can. Take seven breaths and stop. This gets rid of *head-wind*.

十二、若腹中痛，食飲昔飽，坐，生腰，以口納氣數十，以便為故，不便復為之，有寒氣，腹中不安，亦行之。

12. If there is pain in your lower abdomen from having too much food and drink the previous day, sit, lengthen your lumbar, and inhale *qi* through your mouth. Take several tens of times. You will be relieved as a result; if not, do it again. You can also do this if there is cold *qi* and a feeling of uneasiness in your abdomen.

十三、端坐，使兩手如張弓滿射，可治四支煩悶、背急，每日或時為之。

13. Sitting upright, stretch out both arms as if pulling a bow. This can cure vexation/agitation and compression in the four limbs and tightness in the back. Do this every day or as needed.

十四、端坐生腰，舉右手，仰掌，以左手承左脅，以鼻納氣，自極，七息，除胃寒食不變則愈。

14. Sitting upright, and lengthening your lumbar, raise your right arm, palm facing up, while support your left side with your left hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of cold in the stomach, and the inability to digest food properly. You will be cured.

十五、端坐生腰，舉左手，仰掌，以右手承右脅，以鼻內氣，自極，七息，除瘀血結氣。

15. Sitting upright, and lengthening your lumbar, raise your left arm, palm facing up, while supporting your right side with your right hand. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of hematoma and *knotted-qi*.

十六、兩手卻據，仰頭，自以口納氣，因而咽之，數十，除熱身、中傷、死肌。

16. Pressing both hands down behind you, raise your head, and inhale *qi* through your mouth. Swallow it several tens of times. This gets rid of heat in the body, internal injury and dead/debilitated muscle.

十七、正偃臥，端展足臂，以鼻納氣，自極，七息，搖足三十而止，除胸足中寒，周身痺厥逆。

17. Lying straight on your back, extend your legs and arms. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. Shake your legs thirty times and then stop. This gets rid of cold in both chest and feet, *bi* (blockage), and *jue-reversal* of the entire body.

十八、偃臥屈膝，令兩膝頭內向相對，手翻兩足，生腰，以口納氣，厥逆填腹，自極，七息，除痺疼熱痛，兩腳不隨。

18. Lying on your back, bend your knees so that they face towards each other. Turn both feet out with your hands, lengthening your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your mouth, filling your lower abdomen as much as you can. Take seven breaths. This gets rid of *jue* reversal, *bi* pain, heat pain, and inflexibility in the legs.

十九、覺身體昏沉不通暢，即導引，兩手抱頭，宛轉上下，名為開脅。

19. When you feel your body is sluggish and not functioning smoothly, practise *daoyin* immediately. Holding your head with both hands, turn and move it up and down. This is called 'opening the ribs'.

二十、踞伸右腳，兩手抱左膝頭，生腰，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除難屈伸拜起、腦中痛、瘀痺。

20. Squatting, stretch out your right leg, while holding your left knee with both hands, and lengthening your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, kneeling and rising, headache, hematoma and *bi* (blockage).

二十一、踞伸左足，兩手抱右膝，生腰，以鼻納氣，自極七息，展左足著外，除難屈伸拜起，腦中疼，一本除風目晦耳聾。

21. Squatting, stretch out your left leg, while holding your right knee with both hands, and lengthening your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths, while stretching out your left leg to the side. This gets rid of difficulties in bending, stretching, kneeling and rising, and headache. One text says that it eliminates poor eyesight and deafness associated with wind.

二十二、正偃臥，直兩足，兩手捻胞所在，令赤如油裏丹，除陰下濕，小便難頽，小腹重不便。腹中熱，但口納氣，鼻出之，數十，不須小咽氣。即腹中不熱者，七息已溫氣，咽之十所。

22. Lying straight on your back, lengthen both legs, and pinch the area of the uterus with both hands, making it red like a cinnabar inside an oily sac. This gets rid of damp in the nether regions, difficulty in passing urine, and swelling in the lower abdomen, without being able to urinate. To bring heat to the lower abdomen, inhale *qi* through your mouth, and exhale through your nose. Do this several tens of times. It is not necessary to take small gulps of *qi*. If the lower abdomen is not hot, take seven breaths to warm the *qi*. Swallow it ten times.

二十三、踞，兩手抱兩膝頭，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除腰痺背痛。

23. Sitting on the ground, hold both knees with your hands. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of blockage in the lower back, and back pain.

二十四、覆臥，傍視兩踵，生腰，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除腳中弦痛、轉筋、腳酸疼。

24. Lying on your belly, look to the side towards both heels, and lengthen your lumbar. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of string-like pain in the legs, twisted tendons, and aching pains in the legs.

二十五、偃臥，展兩手，外踵指相向，亦鼻納氣，自極七息，除兩膝寒脛骨疼。

25. Lying on your back, stretch out both arms, heels pointing outwards and toes facing each other. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of cold in the knees, and pain in the shinbones.

二十六、偃臥，展兩腳兩手，兩踵相向，亦鼻納氣，自極七息，除死肌不仰、足脛寒。

25. Lying on your back, stretch out both arms and legs with the heels facing each other. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of dead muscles, the inability to raise legs, and cold in the shins.

二十七、偃臥，展兩手兩腳，左傍兩足腫，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除胃中食苦嘔。

27. Lying on your back, stretch out both arms and legs, both heels facing left. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of diseases in the abdomen, and the problem of vomiting after eating.

二十八、踞，生腰，以兩手引兩踵，以鼻納氣，自極七息，布兩膝頭，除痺嘔也。

28. Squatting, lengthen your lumbar, and pull both heels with your hands. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths, while covering both knees. This gets rid of blockage and vomiting.

二十九、偃臥，展兩手兩腳，仰足指，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除腹中弦急切痛。

29. Lying on your back, stretch out both arms and legs while raising your toes. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of string-like tightness and acute pain in the abdomen.

三十、偃臥，左足踵拘右足拇指，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除厥逆疾。(人腳錯踵，不拘拇指，依文用之)。

30. Lying on your back, hook your left heel on to your right toe. Inhale *qi* with your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of *jue-reversal* disorder, swelling of the legs. (People make mistakes by using the wrong heel or not hooking to the toe. Practise this according to the text.)

三十一、偃臥，以右足踵拘左足拇指，以鼻納氣，自極七息，除周身痺。

31. Lying on your back, hook your right heel on to your left big toe. Inhale *qi* through your nose as much as you can for seven breaths. This gets rid of blockages all over the body.

三十二、病在左端，坐，生腰，左視目，以口徐納氣而咽之數十一所，閉目目上入。

32. If the disease is on the left, sit, lengthening your lumbar, and look to the left. Inhale *qi* slowly/gently through your mouth and swallow it. Do this eleven times. Close your eyes and roll the eyes upwards where the *qi* enters.

三十三、病在心下若積聚，端坐，生腰，仰向日，仰頭，徐以口納氣，因而咽之，三十所而止，開目。

33. If the disease is below the heart, as though it has gathered and accumulated there, sit upright, lengthening your lumbar, and raise your head to face at the sun. Then raise your head further. Inhale *qi* slowly through your mouth and swallow it thirty times. Stop, and open your eyes.

三十四、病在右端，坐，生腰，右視目，以口徐納氣而咽之數十所，開目。

34. If the disease is on the right, sit, lengthening your lumbar, and gaze to the right. Inhale *qi* slowly through your mouth and swallow it. Do this several tens of times, and open your eyes.

王喬導引圖 一 在彭祖中

七日伸左腳，屈右膝，內厭之，五息止，引脾氣，去心腹寒熱、胸臆邪脹。

The *daoyin* chart of Wang Qiao, enclosed in the Pengzhu

Do this for seven days: stretching out your left leg, bend your right knee and press it against yourself. Stop after five breaths. This pulls/relieves the *spleen-qi*, and gets rid of cold and heat in the heart region, and bloated chest caused by deviant agencies.

彭祖導引圖

Penzu's *daoyin* chart

導引，服，解髮，東向坐，握固不息，一通，舉手左右導引，以手掩兩耳，以指掐兩脈邊，五通。令人目明，髮黑不白，治頭風。

Perform *daoyin* (guiding and pulling) exercise, ingest *qi*, and loosen your hair. Sitting facing east, do *wogu*, and hold your breath. Do this once. Raise your arms, guiding and pulling them, left and right. Then cover both ears with your hands, and pinch the sides of both vessels with your fingers. Do this five times. It makes your eyes bright, and your hair become black, not turning white; it cures *head-wind*.

淘氣訣

Formula for cleansing the *qi*

訣曰：凡人五藏，亦各有氣。夜臥閉息，覺後，欲服氣者，先則淘轉，令宿食，故氣得出，然後調服。其法，閉目，握固，仰倚兩拳於乳間，兩膝，舉背及尻，內閉氣，鼓氣海中氣，便[使]自內出，幹而轉之，呵而出之，一九或二九止，是淘氣。畢則調之。

The Formula/Instruction says, 'Everyone has five *zang* and each *zang* has its own *qi*. When lying down at night, hold your breath. After sleep, if you wish to ingest *qi*, should first cleanse and turn the *qi* so that the food from the night

before can be properly digested. After *qi* comes out, you can then adjust and ingest *qi*. The method is: closing your eyes, do *wogu*, raising and pressing both fists between the breasts. Bringing both knees up, raise your back and buttocks, and hold your *qi* in, expanding the *qihai*/dantian region with the *qi*. Then the *qi* will come out from within, twisting and turning like a spiral. Bring the *qi* out with the sound of 'he'. Do this nine times or twice nine times, and then stop. This is for cleaning your *qi*. Once you finish, your *qi* will be regulated.

導引，服，東向坐，不息四通，啄齒二七，愈齩齒痛。或曰治蚘不齩。

Daoyin, ingesting *qi*: sitting facing east, hold your breaths. Do this four times. Clack your teeth together twice seven times. This cures decay tooth and toothache. It is also said to cure *han* (worms, microscopic molluscs) preventing rotten teeth.

咽氣訣

Secret formula for swallowing *qi*

夫人皆稟天地元氣而活之，每咽吐納，則內氣與外氣相應，自氣海中隨吐而上，直至喉中，但候吐極際，則輟口，連鼓而咽之，郁然有聲，汨汨然。

All people are endowed with primordial *qi* of heaven and earth in order to be alive. Every time they swallow, and breathe in and out, their internal *qi* responds to their external *qi*. The *qi* follows the exhalation from *qihai*/dantian, going up and straight into the throat. Close your mouth as soon as the exhalation is complete. Shape your mouth like a drum, and swallow the *qi*, making a loud sound like the continuous rushing of water.

後左邊而下，至經二十四節，如水歷坎，聞之分明也。女人則從右邊而下，如此則內氣相固，皎然別也。[次]以意送之，手摩之，令速入氣海。氣海在臍下三寸是也，亦謂下丹田。初服氣人，上焦未通，以此摩而助之，務令速下。

[For men], The *qi* goes down from the left, passing 24 knots, like water passing over uneven surfaces, clearly audible. For women, follow the right side. The *qi* goes down from the right side. In this way, the internal *qi* is secure and can be clearly distinguished. Then, send *qi* with intention, massaging it with your hands so it quickly enters to *qihai*. *Qihai* is located 3 cun below the navel; it is also called the lower dantian. Those who just begin to ingest *qi*, their upper heater is not opened up; therefore, using this kind of massage will help the *qi* to go down quickly.

若氣已流通，不摩而自下，一閉口而連咽，止二咽，號雲行。一濕咽，取口中津液相和咽之，謂之雨施。服氣入內，氣未流行，每一咽則施之，不可遽行至連咽，三年行之，乃以功成也。

If the *qi* is already flowing and unhindered, it will go down itself without the need for massage. Close your mouth and swallow it successively. Then

swallow twice and stop. This is called cloud movement, or damp swallowing. Take and mix the fluids in your mouth, and then swallow them. This is called rain-giving. When you ingest the *qi* and the *qi* is not yet flowing through, separate each swallow. Do not do this suddenly, swallowing several times consecutively. If you practise this for three years, you will succeed.

導引，服，正住倚壁，不息，行氣從頭至足止，愈疽痂、大風偏枯諸痹。或曰行氣從足起，令上氣至頭止。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: Standing upright against the wall, hold your breath and move the *qi* from head to foot, then stop. This cures ulcers and scabs, great wind, one-sided paralysis, and various kinds of *bi* syndrome. Some also say to move the *qi* from your feet, bringing it up to your head, then stop.

導引服氣，先偃臥，閉口鼓腮腹，令氣滿口，咽，咽時作意感向後，日夕為之，妙也。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: First lie on your back, and close your mouth. Make your cheeks and stomach swell up like drums, by filling your mouth with *qi* and then swallowing it. When you swallow, use your intention to cause the *qi* to move towards your back. Do this every morning and evening; it works wonders.

導引，服，踞地壁角中，兩手抱膝，低頭，不息九通，愈頸痛腰腳。一日治勞，他同。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: Squatting on the ground at the corner of a wall, embrace your knees with both arms. Lower your head and hold your breath. Do this nine times. It cures pains in your neck, legs and lumbar. Some say it also cures over-exertion. The rest of the description is the same.

導引，服，左右伸兩臂，不息九通，愈臂痛勞風氣不隨、塞閉。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: Stretch both arms to left and right, and hold your breath. Do this nine times. It cures pain in the arms, over-exertion associated with wind, un-coordinated *qi*, and being blocked or closed.

導引，服，正坐，仰天呼出酒食醉飽之氣，即飢醒，宜夏月行之，令人溫凍不躁。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: Sitting upright, look up to the sky and exhale the *qi* of the wine that made you drunk and the food that made you full. Then you will be sober and feel hungry. It is best to practise this during the summer months so you are warm and cool but not agitated by heat.

導引，服，正坐，張鼻服氣，排至臍下，小口微排，不息，以除結（聚），宜夏月喜熱。

Daoyin and ingesting qi: Sitting upright, open your nostrils to ingest *qi*, and bring it below the navel. The nostrils have small openings, so draw in the *qi* gently and then hold your breath. This gets rid of any accumulation in the body. It is best to practise this during the summer months when it is likely to be hot.

導引，服，小低頭，微息，但抱手左右，不息十二通，消食，令人輕身，益精神，配氣不得入，或導引服寫行氣，皆低頭抱踞，以繩自縛，低頭不息十通，消食輕身。

Daoyin and ingesting qi: Lowering your head a little, breathe gently, embracing your left and right arms. Then hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It helps the digestion of food and makes your body light. It increases your essence and your spirit, and the matching *qi* cannot enter. Another way to do *daoyin* and ingest *qi*, which is written as 'moving *qi*' is to lower your head and squat to embrace your knees. Tie yourself with a rope, head lowered, and hold your breath. Do this ten times. It helps to digest food and makes your body light.

導引，常以兩手如拓千斤之石，左右互相為之，終身無疾。

Daoyin: Regularly raise both arms as if pushing a thousand-pound rock. Alternate between left and right arms. You will have no illness until you die.

導引，兩手據地，縮身曲脊，向上三舉之。此勢每日為之，補益延年。當為之時，勿當風，仍須閉氣，每一服了，吐氣莫令耳聞。若勞倦，以呿吐之。臟中病若冷，則吹氣，若熱，呼氣出之矣。

Daoyin: Placing both hands on the ground, contract your body, bend your spine and raise your body three times. Doing this posture every day will tonify, increase and extend your life. When you practise this, do not face against the wind. You should also hold your breath. Every time you ingest *qi*, let your ears not hear the sound of the exhalation. If you are tired or exhausted, exhale with the sound of *si*. If you have a cold-related illness in your organ (*zang*), exhale with the sound of '*chui*'; if you have a heat-related illness in your organ (*zang*), exhale with the sound of *hu*.

導引，服蛇行，閉氣偃臥，正直復起踞，隨王相所在，向之不息，少食通暢，服氣為糧，以唾為漿，春出冬藏，華池玉漿，甜如飴，子勉行之，勿生疑。一本春生夏養，冬合內藏，閉目前光，他同。

Daoyin and ingesting qi with the movement of a snake: Holding your breath, lie straight on your back. Then, getting up to a squatting position, determine where the dominant direction is and face it, holding your breath. Consume

less, so that everything flows easily and smoothly. The ingested *qi* is the food, the saliva is the thick fluid; they emerge in spring and are stored away in winter. They are the flowery pond and the jade liquor, as sweet as rice candy. Practise this diligently and without doubts. Another version says, 'They are born in the spring, nourished in the summer, and stored within together in the winter. Close your eyes and see the light in front of you. Everything else is the same.

導引，思氣者，呵屬心，心主舌。口乾澀氣不通，及諸邪氣，呵以治之。如大熱，大開口，小熱小開口，亦須作意量宜治之，過度則必損。

For *daoyin* and contemplation of the *qi*: *He* is associated with the heart, which governs the tongue. If the mouth is dry, the *qi* is blocked and there are various deviant *qi*, use *He* to cure them. If there is great heat, open the mouth wide. If there is little heat, open the mouth a little. Also, you should pay attention to measuring the exercise appropriately. If you overdo it, it will cause damage.

導引，思氣者，呼屬脾，脾主中宮土。如氣微熱，腹肚脹滿，氣悶不洩，以呼治之。

Daoyin and contemplation of the *qi*: *Hu* is associated with spleen, which governs the earth in the central palace. If your *qi* is slightly hot, your abdomen or belly bloated and full, your *qi* blocked and unable to be discharged, use *hu* to cure it.

導引，思氣者，噓屬肝，肝主目，目溫赤，噓以治之。

For *daoyin* and contemplation of the *qi*: *Xu* is associated with liver, which governs the eyes. If your eyes are warm and red, use *xu* to cure them.

導引，思氣者，吹屬腎，腎主耳，腰膝冷，陽道衰，吹以治之。

For *daoyin* and contemplation of the *qi*: *Chui* is associated with kidney, which governs the ears. If your eyes are warm and red, use *xu* to cure them. If you have cold in your lower back and knees, or the yang passage (sexual performance) is in decline, use *chui* to cure it.

導引，思氣者，呬屬肺，肺主鼻，鼻有寒熱不和，呬以治之。

For *daoyin* and contemplation of *qi*: *Si* is associated with lungs, which govern the nose. If there is an imbalance of cold and heat in your nose, use *si* to cure it.

[導引，思氣者，噓屬三焦，三焦不和，噓以理之。] 呵、呬、呼、噓、吹、噓，是五藏各主一氣，[餘一氣屬三焦。五臟六腑三焦]，[冷熱不調]及勞極，依理之，立差。

[*Daoyin* and contemplation of the *qi*: *Xi* is associated with the triple heaters, and if there is an imbalance in your triple heaters, use *xi* to cure it.] *He, si, hu, xu, chui, xi* relate to the five organs, each governs one *qi*. When there is fatigue and over-exertion, follow this principle, you will be cured immediately.

導引之法，臥床當令高，無令地氣上衝，鬼氣有干。

The *daoyin* method: your bed should be high so that the ground *qi* cannot rush up and be invaded by the ghost *qi*.

導引之法，無令躁暴者，一身之賊。

The *daoyin* method: you must not be impatient and hot-tempered. These characteristics of impatience and hot temper are the robbers of your body.

導引之法，無令向北，反神有犯。每事不言，亥 water 子 wood 日不向北唾，滅損年命。

The *daoyin* method: you must not face north; otherwise, you will be against the spirits and violation. Do not talk about everything. On the days of *Hai* and *Zi*, you must not spit to the north, or your lifespan will be diminished and injured.

導引，服，思司命兩人，更回左右，旋思常見。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the two commanders of destiny (the spirits who control lives), moving between left and right. You often see them when you turn your thoughts to them.

導引，服，思神光黃且明，月在己邊，晝夜常見。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the light of the spirits as yellow and bright. The moon is already on your side, and you can always see it on your side day and night.

導引，服，思五臟形氣色串，周流身匝。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the forms of the five *zang*, with their *qi* and colors, circulating throughout the body.

導引，服，思五藏色神在所處，自此以下，人形皆五。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the colours of the five *zang* where the spirits reside. From this point on, think about them as five human forms.

導引，服，思五藏化為龍魚。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the five *zang* transforming into Dragon-become-fish.

導引，服，思精臍中，腎氣正赤白，從背上頭下迎身，名曰還精。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the essence in the navel, the kidney *qi*, as perfectly red and white, coming up from the back to the head, and then down to greet the body. This is called returning the essence.

導引，服，思心為火如斗，辟惡氣。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise the heart as fire, like a dipper (with a shape of a funnel). This expels malign *qi*.

導引，服，思飛，分身飛行，常念有人若己在前後，久可得與語，南北在所問。

Daoyin and ingesting *qi*: visualise flying, flying with multiple bodies. Always visualise someone in front or behind; after some time, you will be able to speak with them, asking them where north or south is.

右抄集《宵先生導引圖》異同事，《道林導引要旨》。

The preceding passages are copied from 'Daoyin chart of Mr. Ning'. The same variations also appear in the 'Important principles of daoyin by Daolin'.

低頭，以兩手抱兩足，不息十二通，主消穀，令人身輕，益精氣，諸邪惡百病不得入。

Lowering your head, embrace both legs with your arms, and hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It helps to digest grains, makes your body lighter, and increases your essential *qi*. A hundred diseases, and various deviant evils are unable to enter.

踞坐，合兩膝，張兩足，不息五通，治鼻口熱瘡及五痔。

Sitting on the ground with knees up, bring both knees together, open both feet, and hold your breath. Do this five times. It cures ulcers in your nose and mouth associated with heat, and five types of haemorrhoid.

累膝坐，以兩手據兩膝上，伸腰極，起頭引之，不息三通，治膚。

Sitting with your knees overlapping each other, place your hands on your knees, and lengthen your lumbar as much as you can. Raise your head in order to pull your lumbar, and hold your breath. Do this three times. It cures skin complaints.

交趺坐，叉兩手著頭上，挽頭結下著地，不息五通，令人氣力自益。

Sitting cross legged, interlace your fingers and place them on your head. Holding your head, draw it down to touch the ground, and hold your breath. Do this five times. It automatically increases your energy and strength.

長跪坐，曲手以抱兩乳下，左右膝搖不息，令人延年益壽，住年不老。

Kneeling with both knees on the ground and your body straight, bend your arms and embrace [yourself] below your breasts. Shake both left and right knees while holding your breath. This will increase your longevity; you will live year after year without getting old.

以兩手抱兩膝著胸前，不息三通，治腰痛腎疝及背脊中疼痛。

Clasp both knees in front of your chest with both arms and hold your breath. Do this three times. It cures pain in the lumbar region, hernia in the kidney [channel], and aches and pains in your back and spine.

大箕坐，以兩手捉兩足，五指，自極低頭至地，不息十二通，治頸項腰背痛，又令人耳目聰明。

Sitting with legs spread out, grasp your feet with your hands, your five fingers on your five toes. Lower your head to the ground as much as you can, and hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It cures pain in your neck, lumbar and dorsal regions. It can also make your ears sharp and your eyes bright.

交趺坐，以兩手交叉著頭下，自極，，不息六通，治腰痛不能反顧仰頭。

Sitting cross-legged, interlace your hands and place them below the base of your head as much as you can. Hold your breath. Do this six times. It cures pain in the lumbar region, and the inability to turn back or raise your head.

以手摩腹，以手持足距塵，不息十二通，治膝痺不任行步及腰背痛。

Massaging your abdomen with your hand, hold your foot away from the dust with your hand, and hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It cures *bi* of the knees, the inability to move and walk freely, and pain in the lumbar and dorsal regions.

伸兩腳以兩手指著足指上，治腰痛如折及歆血、瘀血。

Extending both legs, bring your fingers to touch your toes. This cures pain in the lumbar region as though being snapped, haematoma, and stasis of the blood.

屈兩腳，坐臥住足五指，治腰背痛。

Either sitting or lying down, bend both legs and raise your toes. This cures pain in your lumbar and dorsal regions.

臥，以手摩腹至足，以手持引之，不息十二通，治腳痺濕及腰背痛。

Lying down, massage from your abdomen to your feet, holding and pulling with your hand. Hold your breath. Do this twelve times. It cures *bi* and dampness in the legs, and pain in the lumbar and dorsal regions.

左手急引髮，右手急捏項中，利陰陽之勢。

Pull your hair firmly with your left hand, while firmly pinching your nape with your right hand. This will benefit the power of *yin* and *yang*.

正坐，以兩手交背後，治虛羸大小便。

Sitting upright, place your arms behind your back and interlace your fingers. This cures deficiency and emaciation, and problems with bowel movements and urination.

以一手攀上懸繩，一手自持腳，治痔及腫。

Grab a hanging rope at the top with one hand, while holding your feet with the other hand. This cures hemorrhoids and swelling.

伏蹲踞，以兩手抱兩膝，低頭不息九通，治頸痛，勞極，腰痛，百節蹉錯。

Squatting with your body bent forward and crouching down, hold both knees with your hands, lower your head, and hold your breath. Do this nine times. It cures neck pain, extreme fatigue, lumbar pain, and twisting and dislocation of a hundred joints.

正坐仰天，呼出飲食醉飽之氣，立消也。夏天為之，令人自然涼，不熱。

Sitting upright, lift your face to the sky, and exhale the *qi* of fullness from feasting and drinking. It will disappear immediately. If you do this in summer, you will naturally cool down and not get hot.

以兩手大指捻鼻孔，不息，令人陰陽不倦。

Using both thumbs, pinch your nostrils and hold your breath. This stops you from getting tired during sexual activity.

外轉兩足十過，內轉兩足十過，補虛損益氣。

Turn both feet outwards ten times and then inwards ten times. This nourishes when there is deficiency or damage, and replenishes *qi*.

赤松子坐引之道，能常為之，令人耳目聰明，延年益壽，百病不生。

If you regularly practise Master's Redpine's way of sitting and pulling, it makes your ears sharp and your eyes bright, extends your lifespan, and increases your longevity, preventing all diseases from arising.

其先長跪，兩手向前，各分開，以指外向。

First, kneel upright, bringing both arms to the front. Then separate them, fingers facing out.

次復長跪，兩手夾叉腰左右。

Then, return to the kneeling position, your hands pressing and resting on the left and right sides of your waist.

次復長跪，以右手反腰，左手高頭而止。

Then, return to the upright kneeling position, your right hand on your waist with the thumb facing forwards. Raise your left arm until it goes higher than your head, then stop.

次復長跪，以右手伸後去，左手叉腰前。

Then, return to the upright kneeling position, stretch your right arm behind, and rest your left hand on your waist.

次復緩形長跪，左右手更伸向前，更屈，從後叉腰。

Then, return, moving slowly to the upright kneeling position. Stretch out left and right arms alternately, one stretching while the other bends, then rest them behind your waist.

次復長跪，高舉兩手。

Then, return to the upright kneeling position and raise both arms high.

次復長跪，伸兩手著背後。

Then, return to the upright kneeling position and stretch both arms behind you.

次復平坐，以膝相張，兩足向外，兩手叉腰。

Then, return to the sitting position, knees open, feet pointing outwards and rest both hands on your waist.

為此法訖，當立，以手摩身令遍。勿大寒大熱，風燥醉飽時作之。

When you have finished doing this method, stand up, and massage your body all over with your hands. Do not do this when it is too cold, too hot or too windy, when you are drunk, or have had a big meal.

Appendix 5: Translation of Sun Simiao's *Anmo* Technique of Indian Brahmins' Method from *Qianjin yaofang*

天竺國按摩。此是婆羅門法。

The *anmo* technique from India. This is the Brahmins' method.

兩手相捉紐捩。如洗手法。

Hold your hands and wring them together, as though washing them.

兩手淺相叉。翻覆向胸。

Interlace your fingers loosely and turn them, facing your chest.

兩手相捉共按髀/脛。左右同。

Hold your hands together and press them on your thigh. Do the same on both left and right sides.

兩手相重按髀。徐徐捩身。左右同。

Press hard on your thigh with both hands while gradually twisting your body. Do the same on both left and right sides.

以手如挽五石力弓。左右同。

Pull your hands apart as if drawing a bow which is as heavy as five stones. Do the same on both left and right sides.

作拳向前築。左右同。

Make a fist and push it forwards. Do the same on both left and right sides.

如拓石法。左右同。

This one is like pushing stones. Do the same on both left and right sides.

作拳却頓此是開胸。左右同。

Make a fist, and then flex and extend the arm. This is to open the chest. Do the same on both left and right sides.

大坐斜身偏欹如排山。左右同。

Sit in the lotus position, lean your body to one side as if pushing a mountain aside. Do the same on both left and right sides.

兩手抱頭宛轉^轉上。此是抽脇。

Holding your head with both hands, twist and turn it towards your thigh. This is to stretch your sides.

兩手據地縮身曲脊。向上三舉。

Press the ground with both hands, and contract your body while bending your spine. Raise your body up three times.

以手反搥背上。左右同。

Pound your back with the back of your hands. Do the same on both left and right sides.

大坐伸兩腳。即以一腳向前虛擣。左右同。

Starting in the lotus position, stretch out both legs. Kick one of your legs forward in the air. Do the same on both left and right sides.

兩手拒地迴顧。此是虎視法。左右同。

Pressing the ground with both hands, look behind you. This is tiger looking method. Do the same on both left and right sides.

立地反拗身三舉。

Feet on the ground, bend your body backwards and raise your body three times.

兩手急相叉。以腳踏手中。左右同。

Interlace your fingers firmly, then press your foot on your hands. Do the same on both left and right sides.

起立以脚前後虛踏。左右同。

Standing, bring one of your legs forwards and backwards as if stamping in the air. Do the same on both left and right sides.

大坐伸兩腳，用當相手勾所申脚著膝中以手按之。左右同。

Starting in the lotus position, stretch out both legs. With the opposite hand, hook one leg and hold it inside the knee, while

pressing the knee with the other hand. Do the same on both left and right sides.

右十八勢。但是老人日別能依此三徧者。一月後百病除。行及奔馬。補益延年能食。眼明輕健。不復疲乏。

These are the 18 postures. If old people can practise them three times a day, all diseases will be gone in a month. They will move like a galloping horse. They will be nourished, their life span will increase and their digestion improved. Their vision will be bright, their body become light and healthy, and they will no longer be tired or exhausted.

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Shesheng zuanlu 攝生纂錄, DZ 578

Sheyang zhenzhong fang 攝養枕中方, YJQQ j. 33

Shenxian shiqi jingui miaolu 神仙食氣金櫃妙錄, DZ 836

Songshan Taiwu xiansheng qijing 嵩山太無先生氣經, DZ824

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Taiqing daoyin yangsheng jing 太清導引養生經, DZ818; YJQQ j. 34

Taiqing fuqi koujue 太清服氣口訣, DZ822

Taiqing tiaoshi jing 太清調氣經, DZ820

Taixi jingwei lun 胎息精微論, DZ829

Tianyinzi 天隱子, DZ1026

Yanling xiansheng ji xinjiu fuqi jing 延陵先生集新舊服氣經 DZ825; YJQQ j. 58, 59, and 61

Yangxing yanming lu 養性延命錄, DZ838; YJQQ j. 32

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