

Promotor Prof. dr. Bart Dessen
Vakgroep Talen en Culturen

Decaan Prof. dr. Freddy Mortier
Rector Prof. dr. Paul Van Cauwenberge

Kaftinformatie: Zhao Xianke's vision of the body. (YG 1.12b)

ISBN: 9789070830854

Alle rechten voorbehouden. Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd, opgeslagen in een geautomatiseerd gegevensbestand, of openbaar gemaakt, in enige vorm of op enige wijze, hetzij elektronisch, mechanisch, door fotokopieën, opnamen, of enige andere manier, zonder voorafgaande toestemming van de uitgever.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.



Faculteit Letteren & Wijsbegeerte

Leslie de Vries

The Gate of Life

*Before Heaven and Curative Medicine
in Zhao Xianke's Yiguan*

Proefschrift voorgedragen tot het behalen van de graad van
Doctor in de Oosterse Talen en Culturen

2012

For Weiwei & William

Contents

<i>Illustrations</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xv</i>
Introduction	1
Song-Ming medical learning	6
The Supreme Ultimate	14
A study of Before Heaven	25
Outline of chapters	35
I. Text and Context	39
1. Zhao Xianke's Yiguan	
Introduction	41
A wenbu physician	43
Ningbo, and beyond	54
Editions of Yiguan	64
Structure and contents	70
II. Theoretic Foundations	77
2. A new vision of the body	
Introduction	79
“If the Ruler is not Bright the Twelve Officials are in Danger” (but which ruler?)	82
The bodily landscape of forms	91
The gate of life	100
Imagining the formless	109
Conclusion: The genuine ruler of the body	116
3. Yinyang and the five agents	
Introduction	119
The creative power of yang	122
Root yin and root yang	133
Five, six, or twenty-five agents?	140
Turning relationships upside down	155
Conclusion: Formless water and fire	165
III. Therapeutic Strategies	167
4. Two Pills	
Introduction	169
The Wang Bing principles	173
Six or eight ingredients?	183

Variations on a theme	196
Conclusion: recipes and the formless ruler	203
5. Kidney yin depletion	
Introduction	205
Kidneys and lungs	207
Phlegm and blood-fluid	214
Yin essence and the apertures of the body	219
The digestive system	230
Conclusion: A variety of pathological manifestations	241
6. Other strategies	
Introduction	243
Host and guests	245
‘Depressed’ fire	256
Before Heaven inside After Heaven	269
Spleen or kidneys?	277
Conclusion: Various methods for supporting the “one that pervades everything”	285
Discussions	287
Three Teachings	288
The Diagram of After Heaven	299
Medical tradition	309
Conclusion	317
<i>Appendix 1: Preventive medicine</i>	323
<i>Appendix 2: Materia medica and recipes</i>	329
<i>Reference material</i>	337

Illustrations

Figures

1. Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate	15
2. Sun Yikui's Diagram of Supreme Ultimate	21
3. Zhang Jiebin's Diagram of Supreme Emptiness	23
4. Diagram of Before Heaven	26
5. Diagram of After Heaven	26
6. Yin County and Yiwulü	49
7. The gate of life between the 7th and the 14th vertebra	88
8. Zhang Jiebin's Diagram of the Inner Landscape	98
9. Pacing-horse lamps	106
10. Zhao Xianke's Diagram of Supreme Ultimate	109
11. Close-up of the kidney region	112
12. 中 in the body	114
13. Zhao Xianke's vision of the body	114
14. Productive and controlling relationships	121
15. From <i>pi</i> to <i>tai</i>	126
16. Waxing and waning	127
17. From <i>tai</i> to <i>jing</i>	153
18. Two methods of supplementing earth	161
19. From <i>qian</i> to <i>zhen</i>	190
20. The kidney conduit	208
21. <i>Qian</i> and <i>kun</i> water	302
22. Before Heavenly and After Heavenly productive relations	303
23. <i>Zhen</i> versus <i>dui</i>	305

Tables

1. Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate	112
2. The five agents and their corresponding <i>zang</i> -viscera	120
3. Birth and death of the five agents	141
4. Water and fire inside the other agents	143
5. Reversed relationships	156
6. The productive relationship between fire and earth	161
7. Heat effusion: causes and treatment strategies	171
8. Wasting thirst	231

Abbreviations¹

CYP YG	Chen Yongping's modern edition of <i>Yiguan</i>
DDJ	<i>Daode jing</i>
DZ	<i>Daozang</i>
GJS YG	Guo Junshuang's modern edition of <i>Yiguan</i>
GR	<i>Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise</i>
HYDCD	<i>Hanyu dacidian</i>
Li ZYDCD	<i>Zhongyi dacidian</i> , edited by Li Jingwei et al.
LLL YG	Lü Liuliang's comments on <i>Yiguan</i>
LS	<i>Huangdi neijing lingshu</i>
NJ	<i>Nanjing</i>
SKQS	<i>Siku quanshu</i>
SW	<i>Huangdi neijing suwen</i>
T.	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i>
TCM	Traditional Chinese Medicine
WB YG	Wang Bing's comments on SW
Xie ZYDCD	<i>Zhongyi dacidian</i> , edited by Xie Guan
YG	<i>Yiguan</i>
YTT YG	Yan Tingting's modern edition of <i>Yiguan</i>
ZGYJTK	<i>Zhongguo yiji tongkao</i>
ZHDJDCD	<i>Zhonghua daojiao dacidian</i>
ZHYD	<i>Zhonghua yidian</i>
ZWDS	<i>Zangwai daoshu</i>
ZYTSML	<i>Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu</i>
ZYWXCD	<i>Zhongyi wenxian cidian</i>

¹ Bibliographic information on abbreviated titles can be found in "Reference Material," pp. 337 ff.

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my utmost gratitude to Bart Dessein, my doctoral supervisor. Bart offered me the possibility to explore Zhao Xianke's medical system. His critical questions guided me throughout the entire research. Over the years, Bart was always available for advice. He had the incredible patience to read, and reread the many earlier drafts of the present text. He further provided me with the opportunities and responsibilities necessary to gain experience, not only as a scholar but also as a teacher.

I am most indebted to Dan Vercammen for introducing me to the research of Chinese medicine and for initiating me in Daoist internal alchemy. Dan was the one who drew my attention to Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan*. He assumed that *Yiguan* contained a treasure trove of information about the interaction between late Ming cosmology and medicine. His assumptions proved to be right.

I especially want to thank Catherine Despeux and Ann Heirman, both members of my DBC (doctoraatsbegeleidingscommissie). They periodically gave feedback on the progression of my work. Catherine stimulated me by emphasising the importance of my research, as the relation between medicine and religion/philosophy in the late Ming dynasty had hardly been studied before. I was fortunate to gain from her incredible insights and broad expertise in the fields of medicine and Daoism in China. When my focus was drifting, Catherine drove it back to a research fully centred on the analysis of the contents of Zhao Xianke's text. Ann contributed with her critical notes during the DBC meetings. Furthermore, as an assistant to her courses of Classical Chinese, we closely collaborated on a day-to-day basis. I often mirrored myself to Ann's analytical approach to all problems related to teaching and research. This proved to be a great help to structure my thoughts, and eventually to put them on paper.

I am so much obliged to Tom De Rauw for scrutinising the entire final draft of my thesis. I further owe my gratitude to Klaus Pinte and Chiu "Melody" Tzu-lung for helping me out with Buddhist terminology. I thank Mathieu Torck for discussing methodological issues related to the research of Chinese medical history. Silke Geffcken was the first person around when I needed help to solve (academic) problems. Mieke Matthyssen shared my curiosity about the meaning of premodern philosophical concepts in contemporary China. Andreas Niehaus engaged me in his project on Ekiken Kaibara. I learned a lot from Christian Uhl. While assisting Christian in the methodology courses for Japanology students, he showed me what good research should be all about. Other colleagues that inspired me while I was a

doctoral researcher and assistant lecturer at the Vakgroep Talen en Culturen van Zuid- en Oost-Azië at Ghent University are Ellen Van Goethem, Evelien Vandenhautte, Gudrun Pinte, Ono Jun'ichi, Li Man, Claire Maes, Stefanie Rotsaert, Julia Schneider, Chang Chin-Yin, and Tine Walravens. Special thanks go to Brigitte Van Wambeke, the secretary and wise woman of the department, for showing me the bigger picture when I got lost in the throes of it all. Gitte Callaert helped with the adaptation of my text to the faculty stylesheet and with the cover design. I further wish to thank the many students whose questions contributed to shape my own ideas. Guiding the MA research of Lander Platteeuw, Ady Van den Stock and Lien Chan Sook Wouters was really exiting.

Although Ghent provided a stimulating intellectual environment, my research topic posed some specific practical demands that could not be fulfilled by her alone. I found a great number of sources in the library of the Needham Research Institute in Cambridge. I wish to thank John Moffett for his enthusiasm, hospitality, and meticulous librarianship. In Hangzhou, Kong Linghong, the director of the Center of Daoist Studies at Zhejiang University, and Fang Chunyang, the editor in chief of *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi*, advised me during the initial stage of my research. The Hanban Scholarship of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China allowed me to study for one month under the guidance of Zheng Jinsheng at the Research Center for the History of Chinese Medicine and Chinese Medical Literature of the Chinese Academy for Chinese Medical Sciences (CACMS). In Beijing, I further wish to thank Liao Yuqun, the director of the Institute for the History of Natural Sciences, Hu Fuchen, researcher at the Academy for Social Sciences, and Els Van den Heuvel, at that time writing an MA thesis on TCM. Els opened the door to the world of digital Chinese medical sources. The library staff of the Shanghai Library, the Shanghai University of TCM, the Nanjing Library, the Library of the Nanjing University of TCM, the Zhejiang University Library, the Zhejiang Provincial Library, and the Tianyi Ge Library were all extremely helpful.

The Socrates Teaching Staff Exchange programme offered me the opportunity to present my research to staff members and students of the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität of Heidelberg, the Eberhard-Karls-Universität of Tübingen, the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, and the University of Bucharest. I lectured on *Yiguan* at the Philosophy Department of Zhejiang University within the framework of the Bilateral Agreement between Ghent University and Zhejiang University. Parts of my work were presented at the "International Conference on Daoism in Mt. Tiantai and Zhejiang" (Tiantai, 2005), "ICTAM VI: Sense and Substance in Traditional Asian Medicine" (Austin, 2006), "VIIth Biennial Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies" (Ljubljana, 2006), "Daoism in Action" (Hong Kong, 2007), and the "12th International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia" (Baltimore,

2008), “VIIIth Biennial Conference of the European Association of Chinese Studies” (Lund, 2008), and the “XLVIIste Dagen der Belgische Oriëntalisten” (Gent, 2009). I am grateful to the many people that gave feedback on my lectures and presentations.

I owe a special thank to Elisabeth Hsu and Volker Scheid, two leading researchers in the field of medical anthropology. Elisabeth Hsu’s *The Transmission of Chinese Medicine* was the first anthropological study on Chinese medicine I ever read. Although I am trained in “classical” Sinology, her approach triggered me to take up an academic project myself. I met Elisabeth in the early days of my research. She was always very generous in sharing her ideas. I am also grateful to Elisabeth for showing me how research eventually results in a book manuscript. I crossed Volker Scheid’s path several times during the last couple of years. Combining academic research with clinical practice, he embodies the ideal of the scholar physician. Volker sent me draft versions of some of his most interesting papers. I feel honoured that he asked my advice on the medical system of Zhao Xianke.

Two dear friends were always available. Peter Van Lierde sacrificed many hours to conscientiously read draft versions of the six chapters of my thesis. His feedback on structure and language often evolved into long discussions on content. Many times Peter stimulated me to restate my arguments. With Vincent Henrotin I had uncountable conversations about different issues related to my research. His curiosity and inspiring thoughts challenged my own thinking about Zhao Xianke.

It took me slightly longer than expected to finish my dissertation. The last couple of years were marked by many stops in the flow of research and writing. Important moments were the birth of our son William and our decision to move back to China. Though not always understanding why I had to do what I was doing, Weiwei and William endured the many lonely hours I had to spend in front of the computer screen. They unconditionally shared with me the joy of small things in daily life. They deserve some extra time from me right now that my thesis has seen completion. My parents and my sister were always available for emotional (and financial) support. They thought my time as a student would never come to an end. My parents-in-law made Hangzhou into such a warm second home. I wish to thank my family and the many friends that encouraged me, especially during the final months of writing.

Although numerous people contributed to the birth of this text, I am solely responsible for any and all shortcomings. I welcome future readers to adjust my mistakes.

Leslie de Vries

Antwerp, August 23, 2012

Introduction²

At the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), questions were raised about the clinical strategy of ‘nourishing *yin* in order to bring fire down’ (*zi yin jiang huo* 滋陰降火), popular among the many followers of the great Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) physician Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1281-1358). Although a majority of scholar physicians regarded *yin* depletion (*yin xu* 陰虛) to be the main cause of errant upward movements of internal fire, some of them had different understandings about *yin*, and how it should be supplemented. Physicians that opposed Zhu’s methods especially warned against the harm caused by recipes composed of ingredients which have *yin* fostering properties, characterised by a bitter ‘flavour’ (*wei* 味) and cold ‘thermic qualities’ (*qi* 氣).³ In their opinion, these recipes, more than nourishing *yin*, weakened internal fire, associated with the kidneys. These physicians pointed out that kidney fire, called ‘minister fire’ (*xianghuo* 相火), is the very root of life. Instead of using aggressive methods that damage the root of life, they proposed an alternative method, ‘supplementing’ (*bu* 補) both water and fire in the kidneys region. According to these late Ming physicians, errant upward movements of ‘minister fire’ could be guided back to the kidneys region by supplementing the kidneys with ‘warming’ (*wen* 溫) ingredients. Hence, in medical history, they became

² I transcribe Chinese characters in *pinyin*. Exceptions are personal names of authors who apply a different system to refer to themselves. In quoted material, spelling and transcription is left unchanged. I generally use complex characters (*fantizi* 繁體字) to refer to authors, texts, concepts, and in quoted material. Simplified characters (*jiantizi* 简体字) are used in references to authors and texts that apply *jiantizi*, and in quotes from modern sources published in the People’s Republic of China.

³ *Materia medica* are primarily differentiated according to their flavours and thermic qualities. The five flavours are pungent (*xin* 辛), sweet (*gan* 甘), sour (*suan* 酸), bitter (*ku* 苦), and salty (*xian* 鹹). The four thermic qualities are hot (*re* 熱), warm (*wen* 溫), cool (*liang* 涼), and cold (*han* 寒). According to tradition, this differentiation is attributed to the Divine Farmer (Shennong 神農). (YG 1.16a) On pharmacology, as “science of drug properties and reactions in the body,” see Unschuld 1985: 179-188.

known as representatives of the *wenbu xuepai* 溫補學派 (Supplementing with Warmth Current of [Medical] Learning)].⁴

Xue Ji 薛己 (1487-1559) is considered to be the first *wenbu* physician. However, profound cosmological foundations legitimising the strategy of ‘warming and supplementing’ only feature in the texts of a ‘second generation’ of *wenbu* physicians. Even though these ‘second generation’ physicians all lived in the same geographical region and historical time, they probably did not know each other.⁵ Yet, their theories show striking parallels. All second generation *wenbu* physicians emphasised the importance of the ‘gate of life’ (*mingmen* 命門), which they all identified as the origin of minister fire in the body. In their explanations on the gate of life, they further referred to philosophical concepts such as Supreme Ultimate (*taiji* 太極) and Before Heaven (*xiantian* 先天), which were prevalent in Song-Ming Neo-Confucian writings. However, *wenbu* physicians did not exclusively use these concepts in a Neo-Confucian way. Their medical writings reveal a strong influence of ideas on Three Teachings Unity (*sanjiao he yi* 三教合一), which were popular among the elites of the late Ming dynasty.⁶ Apart from Neo-Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, the other two canonised religious/philosophical traditions of China, contributed to the *wenbu* understanding of the microcosm of the human body.

Zhao Xianke 趙獻可 (16th - 17th C.) was one of the major second generation *wenbu* physicians. He emphasised that fire of the gate of life should be equated with the Before Heavenly in the body. In his opinion, this fire is the “one” (*yi* 一) of which Confucius in his *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語) said that it “pervades (*guan* 貫) [everything he

⁴ Instead of translating *xuepai* as “school,” I follow Volker Scheid’s translation of “scholarly current” or “current of [medical] learning.” (2004; 2007)

⁵ None of these physicians had a physical master-disciple relationship with Xue Ji, and they presumably all got their knowledge about his medicine through book reading. I refer to them as ‘second generation’ in the sense that they were the first to follow Xue Ji’s strategies of “warming and supplementing.” Volker Scheid advised me to investigate the *家譜 Jiapu* (Family Histories) of late Ming *wenbu* physicians in order to find out possible family ties. Unfortunately, I was unable to trace their *Jiapu* or other relevant primary source material. Despite the fact there are important congruences in the theories of Sun Yikui, Zhang Jiebin, and Zhao Xianke, they do not refer to each others texts. Li Zhongzi was familiar with Zhang Jiebin’s writings, as he, for instance, clearly refers to *Leijing* in his “Essay on Reading the *Inner Classic*” (*Du Neijing lun* 讀內經論). (*Yizong bidu* 79) Therefore, he can be considered as being ‘third generation’. However, the use of terms like ‘generation’ (*dai* 代) and *xuepai* is artificial because none of these physicians used them to position themselves in relation to Xue Ji.

⁶ Although the phrase “*sanjiao he yi*” was first used in Yuan dynasty, “the association of the three belonging to a common category had come into being prior to the Tang dynasty.” (Brook 1993: 15-16) The first emperor of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398, r. 1368-1398), strongly emphasised the importance of Three Teachings Unity. (Langlois and Sun 1983; Taylor 1983) On Three Teachings Unity in late Ming elite *milieus*, see Berling 1980; Ch’ien 1986; Engelfriet 2000; and Liu 1970.

was talking about].”⁷ The pronunciation of ‘medicine’ (yi 醫), being a homophone of ‘one’ (yi), further inspired Zhao Xianke to title his main medical writing *Yiguan* 醫貫 (“Medicine Pervaded [by One]”).⁸ Yet, like other *wenbu* physicians, Zhao did not only refer to the Confucian *Analects*. He considered this one fire to be essential in the practice of all the Three Teachings. In a preface to *Yiguan*, Xue Sanxing 薛三省 (1558-1634) summarised these ideas on unity, as follows:

醫巫閭子曰余所重先天之火者非第火也人之所以立命也仙煉之為丹釋傳之為燈儒明之為德者皆是物也一以貫之也故命其名曰醫貫
Yiwulüzi [i.e. Zhao Xianke] said: “The Before Heavenly fire which I highlight is not just fire. It is that by which people establish their life. What [Daoist] alchemists (*xian*)⁹ refine into elixir (*lian zhi wei dan*), Buddhists transmit as the lamp, and Confucians make bright as virtue is all this thing. With one I pervade [everything] (*Yi yi guan zhi*).” Hence, he titled [his text]: “*Yiguan*.”¹⁰

Although Zhao Xianke was the author of one of the main *wenbu* medical texts, unlike several other famous Late Ming *wenbu* physicians, such as Sun Yikui 孫一奎 (ca. 1522-1619), Zhang Jiebin 張介賓 (1563-1640), and Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1599-1655), whose lives are all well documented, almost nothing is known about Zhao’s life. What we do know is that he was born in Yin County (鄞縣, now Ningbo) in the late 16th century. Like many other second generation *wenbu* physicians, Zhao was an expert in the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經).¹¹ He also must have travelled throughout the Ming empire and he had a son who practiced medicine as well. Although Zhao Xianke is

⁷ “*Yiguan*” (一貫) is derived from Confucius’ phrase “*yi yi guan zhi*” (一以貫之), which in Legge’s classical translation reads: “my doctrine is that of an all-pervading unity” (*wu dao yi yi guan zhi* 吾道一以貫之). (*Lunyu* 4, verse 15, as reprinted and translated in Legge 1971: 169)

⁸ The one that pervades everything is according to Zhao Xianke the formlessness of Before Heaven. The character “貫” depicts a thread by which coins of cash are strung together. An alternative translation of *Yiguan* could be: *The Leitmotif in Medicine* or *The Principle of Medicine*. There is another text with an identical title: *Mr. Wan’s Yiguan* (Wan-shi Yiguan 萬氏醫貫, 1567). For a study of this text, see Volkmar 2007.

⁹ *Xian* is commonly translated as “immortal” or “transcendental”. In *wenbu* texts the terms ‘alchemist’ (*xianjia* 仙家) and ‘Daoist’ (*daojia* 道家) are used interchangeably. Isabelle Robinet describes inner alchemy (*neidan* 內丹) as “a method of finding illumination by returning to the fundamental order of the cosmos. This goes closely together with a regeneration of the individual, both—individual and cosmos—being axiomatically understood as connected and originally, from beginning to end, nothing but one.” (Robinet 1989: 299)

¹⁰ CYP YG, “Yiwulüzi Yiguan xu” 10.

¹¹ A discussion and anthology of passages with references to the *Changes* in *wenbu* medical texts can be found in He Shaochu 1998: 15-19, 199-362. For a critical reflection on the relevances of the *Changes* in Chinese medical history, see Liao Yuqun 2006: 102-108. For a contemporary account on the relation between medicine and the *Changes*, see Farquhar 1996.

remembered for being a prolific writer of medical texts, only one of his writings, *Yiguan*, is transmitted in printed form to our times.¹²

The medical system explained in *Yiguan* shows strong similarities with that of other *wenbu* physicians. However, Zhao Xianke's text is unique in many ways. In *Yiguan*, the Before Heavenly of the gate of life is placed on the highest hierarchical level in the body. According to Zhao, the gate of life, and not the heart (*xin* 心), is the genuine ruler of the body. This new view on the human body, which is not found in other *wenbu* texts, is based on a radical distinction between the 'forms' (*you xing* 有形) and the 'formless' (*wu xing* 無形), and allowed him to further reflect on *yinyang* 陰陽 and five agents (*wuxing* 五行) relationships in unconventional ways. Although Zhao Xianke was aware that others might judge his views on cosmology and the body as being too radical, he emphasised that his clinical practices belonged to a tradition going back to the father of recipe medicine, Zhang Ji 張機 (150-219) of the Han dynasty. Zhao's favoured recipes were *bawei wan* 八味丸 (Pill with Eight Ingredients), *liuwei wan* 六味丸 (Pill with Six Ingredients), *buzhong yiqi tang* 補中益氣湯 (Supplementing the Centre and Increasing *qi* Decoction), and *xiaoyao san* 逍遙散 (Wandering Free Powder), which were commonly used by many preceding generations of physicians.¹³

As to Zhao Xianke's *opus magnum*, it may be remarked that it is composed in a rather systematic way. The text consists of six volumes (*juan* 卷, "scrolls"). In the three chapters of the first *juan*, Zhao explains his fundamental theoretical ideas on the gate of life, *yinyang*, and the five agents. The second *juan* discusses the relationship between *qi* of the body itself (*zhu qi* 主氣; 'host *qi*') and external (evil) 'guest *qi*' (*ke qi* 客氣). If the former is weak, the latter may invade the body, and cause disease. *Juan* 4 and 5 collect various chapters on disorders caused by a depletion of the Before Heavenly of the body, and on *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*, the main recipes used to treat such a depletion. *Juan* 6 is mainly devoted to After Heavenly *qi* associated with the spleen-stomach function (*pi wei* 脾胃). Deviating in style from the other five volumes, *juan* three is one long excursus on symptoms such as 'blood ejection' (*tu xue* 吐血)¹⁴ and 'nose bleedings' (*nü xue* 衄血), limited to only one encompassing chapter.¹⁵

¹² Another text attributed to Zhao Xianke is *Handan yigao* 邯鄲遺稿 (Posthumous Manuscript from Handan). This text is transmitted in manuscript form, and was published for the first time in 1984. (See also p. 64)

¹³ I discuss these recipes in Part III.

¹⁴ I follow Wiseman's translation of "*tu xue*" as "blood ejection". (1990: 280) Tu (ejection) refers to both "vomiting and expectoration" of blood originating from the digestive or the respiratory tract. (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 29)

¹⁵ YG 3. For the chapters of YG, see also Chapter 1 (p. 70 ff.).

Although research on Chinese medical literature becomes increasingly popular, Zhao Xianke's medical system has largely remained unscrutinised.¹⁶ In this thesis, based on a thorough textual analysis of *Yiguan*, and further compared and contrasted to other *wenbu* texts, I will show how late Ming dynasty religious/philosophical ideas were integrated into Zhao Xianke's *wenbu* theoretical system forming an innovative approach to medicine. An understanding of this religious/philosophical dimension is crucial for discussing how Zhao's specific views on cosmogony legitimised a particular use of recipes.¹⁷

Before discussing Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan* in further detail, in the following sections of my introduction, I will situate *wenbu* medicine in the broader medical and intellectual context of the Song-Ming period. I will describe the specific features of scholarly medical learning as it developed during this period. Furthermore, I will discuss the introduction of the Neo-Confucian concept of Supreme Ultimate into medicine. A separate section is devoted to Before Heaven, a key concept which second generation *wenbu* physicians closely associated with Supreme Ultimate. How Before Heaven is understood in *Yiguan*, and how this concept legitimises 'warming and supplementing' curative methods, is the central theme in my dissertation.

¹⁶ For a state of the field (till the end of the 20th century), see Hinrichs 1998. For recent studies on Ming dynasty physicians, see, for instance, Chao 2009, Grant 2003; Nappi 2009; Volkmar 2007 and Zeitlin 2007. Zhao Xianke is shortly discussed in a number of articles and general histories of Chinese medicine, in both Chinese and Western languages. I will refer to some of these works in the following parts of my dissertation. For more comprehensive studies in Chinese, see Jiang Huizhu 2005 and Xu Qi 1989. (I wish to thank Catherine Despeux for providing me a copy of Xu Qi's monograph on Zhao Xianke.) For modern editions of *Yiguan* (in simplified characters and with interpunction) with accompanying introductory chapters on Zhao Xianke's medicine, see, for instance, CYP YG, GJS YG and YTT YG.

¹⁷ For preliminary studies on the influence of late Ming dynasty philosophy and religion on Zhao Xianke's (and other *wenbu* physicians') ideas on the gate of life, see Chang Chia-feng 1998 and Engelfriet 2000. On cosmology and the human body in the works of the *wenbu* physician Zhang Jiebin, see Hsu 1999, 2000; Klein 1986 and Wu 2010. Elisabeth Hsu made an exhaustive comparison between the chapters on *zangxiang* 藏象 ('organ clusters' / 'hidden and apparent') in Zhang Jiebin's and Li Zhongzi's commentated anthologies of the *Inner Classic* and the selection of passages in 20th century TCM textbooks. She found that although the structure of Zhang's and Li's works largely influenced the composition of present-day textbooks, the interpretation of essential concepts differs tremendously. Zhang's and Li's explanations should be situated in a Ming dynasty cosmological explanatory framework. Referring to Morris' 'historical sociology', Foucault's 'archaeology' and 'genealogy' of knowledge, and (especially) Koselleck's 'conceptual history' (*Begriffsgeschichte*), Hsu further theorised her findings in the book chapter "The Biological in the Cultural: the Five Agents and the Body Ecologic in Chinese Medicine." (2007b) This approach has largely inspired own analysis of cosmology and curative strategies in Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan*. On the importance of contextualising through anthropological informed historical research in order to overcome the dichotomy between East and West, which is prevalent in culturalist-essentialist and evolutionary approaches to (Early) Chinese cosmology, see also Puett 2002: 24-25.

Song-Ming medical learning

Zhao Xianke never indicated that he belonged to a ‘warming and supplementing,’ or any other current of scholarly medicine.¹⁸ Yet, throughout *Yiguan*, he acknowledges that his therapeutic strategies are based on these of Xue Ji. Zhao did not consider Xue to be an innovator, but praises him for understanding the genuine logic of composing and administering recipes, as they were designed by Zhang Ji in ancient times. Doing so, Zhao places Xue, and himself, in a tradition going back to the medical classics, such as the writings of Zhang Ji and the *Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, hereafter *Inner Classic*)¹⁹. Frequently citing the classics, Zhao highlights that the essence of his therapeutics is contained in the founding texts of scholarly medicine. However, in *Yiguan*, many other texts, most of them written in the Song-Ming period, are referred to as well. Therefore, I will primarily explain Zhao Xianke’s medical system in the context of the major changes that took place in medical theory during the Northern Song dynasty (960-1127) and further developments in the following Jin (1115-1234), Yuan, and Ming dynasties.

After a period of division, the Chinese empire was unified in 960 under the Song emperor Taizu 太祖 (r.960-976). The new Song dynasty was marked by a thriving economy and cultural flourishing. Innovations in agricultural techniques between

¹⁸ Scholarly medicine is one of the many healing systems of China. Although there are differences between European, Indian, and Chinese traditions, Don Bates lists three characteristics which practitioners of scholarly medicine have in common:

First, all these scholarly healers (with the exception of the Hippocratics) rest their claims to healing power largely on knowledge which is grounded in the study of written texts. They are not shamans, craftsman, wise women, bonesetters nor folk healers. For the most part they do not claim to get medical knowledge through direct revelation, mystical experience, simple trial and error, nor even through mere apprenticeship, however, much apprenticeship may also be involved. They are scholars of literate traditions. Second, such learning is at least partly theoretical, and, as such, operates at the interface between human beings and the universe. Like religion, medical theory (or doctrine) is cosmic in its orientation.

Third, however theoretical or abstract, learned medical knowing must confront experience, in fact some of the most profoundly important experiences – health, illness, disease, pain, suffering, birth, death. Therapy involves interacting with the world. (Bates 1995b: 2-3)

For other, non-scholarly, forms of healing in China, see, for instance, Davis 2001; Leung 2003a: 383-386, 396-398; Strickmann 2002; and Unschuld 1985: 117-153.

¹⁹ The received text of the *Inner Classic* is divided into two parts, each consisting of 81 chapters: “Plain Questions” (Suwen 素問, SW) and the “Numinous Pivot” (Lingshu 靈樞, LS). For an annotated translation of the SW, see Unschuld and Tessenow 2011.

the eighth and eleventh centuries resulted in a demographic explosion.²⁰ The pressure of population increase stimulated migration to the south, where local cities became vibrant trading centres. In contrast to the cosmopolitan Tang dynasty, the Song was intellectually turning inward. Confucianism, of which the orthodox tradition was believed to have been lost during preceding dynasties, reemerged after a period of Buddhist domination. Yet, in order to compete with Buddhism, richer in metaphysical content, Confucianism borrowed many cosmological concepts from Daoism and Buddhism. This enriched Confucianism, which in Chinese is known as *lixue* 理學 (Study of the Principle) or *daoxue* 道學 (Study of the Way), is in Western literature commonly referred to as Neo-Confucianism. Similarly to Daoism and Buddhism, the emphasis in Neo-Confucianism was now also placed on the individual attainment of sagehood.²¹ Thanks to the advancements in printing technology, Neo-Confucian texts, and specialist knowledge of all kinds, were broadly spread throughout the empire and abroad. The widely available Neo-Confucian texts became the primary study material for the bureaucratic exams. The examination system, which was already established in the Sui dynasty, now became fully effective for recruiting government officials. During the Song, aristocratic families, which had assisted the emperors in previous times, were replaced by successful exam candidates, which mostly hailed from gentry family backgrounds.²²

Population increase and the establishment of larger trade centres in the south also had a negative impact. Epidemics of infectious diseases ravaged the empire.²³ Disease was not only taken care of by the diverse field of medical experts, emperors as well took personal interest in medicine, often as a way to promote their Confucian benevolence. By imperial command, dispensaries were established for providing basic healthcare to the people. Emperors did not only put effort in fostering direct healthcare, they also invested in the standardisation and spread of medical knowledge. Encyclopaedic texts on formularies, such as the *Imperial Grace Formulary of the Great Peace and Prosperity Reign Period* (Taiping shenghui fang 太平聖惠方, 922), were composed on command of emperor Taizu.²⁴ In these texts the number of *materia medica* by far surpassed the number of those featuring in the *Shennong bencao jing* 神農

²⁰ The population increased from approximately 50 to 60 million in the Tang dynasty to more than 100 million at the end of the Northern Song. (Goldschmidt 2005: 55-56)

²¹ On becoming a Sage (*shengren* 聖人) in the Neo-Confucian context, see Angle 2009: 16-19.

²² Goldschmidt 2005: 57.

²³ As Goldschmidt puts it: “These demographic changes created a new epidemiological frontier as the increasing (and increasingly Southern) population encountered organisms less beneficial than rice.” (2005: 56)

²⁴ Goldschmidt 2005: 62-63. For an elaborate study of medical texts by Song emperors, see Hinrichs 2007.

本草經 (Classic on *Materia Medica* of the Divine Farmer).²⁵ Although *acumoxa loci* were standardised as well, needling, the main technique to which *Inner Classic* theory applied, became less prominent in Song dynasty and later scholarly medicine.²⁶ Recipes dominated scholarly medical therapeutics. Nonetheless, theories of the ways of *qi* through the *jingluo* 經絡 (channels) system in the body, before mainly used in needling, were applied to recipe medicine as well. The rise in importance of Zhang Ji's *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Discussions on Harming Cold [Cold Damage]) is held responsible for facilitating the syncretisation of the needling tradition associated with the Yellow Emperor and the *materia medica* associated with the Divine Farmer. In Zhang Ji's Han dynasty text, which had had no significant influence on pre-Song medicine, diseases were explained in the context of climatology, and the practical application of recipes was put into a larger cosmological framework, as would also be done from the Song dynasty onwards.²⁷

During the Song dynasty, imperial editorial teams also standardised the medical classics. An important example is the "Plain Questions" (*Suwen* 素問; hereafter SW) part of the *Inner Classic*, which assumed its current structure in the 11th century.²⁸ Seven chapters of this text, which describe a system of 'five circulatory movements and six seasonal influences' (*wuyun liuqi* 五運六氣), were according to tradition included in the text by the Tang dynasty editor and commentator Wang Bing 王冰 (8th C.), and innovated aetiopathogeny, physiology, and therapeutics from the Northern Song dynasty onwards.²⁹ Since no tangible traces of the *wuyun liuqi* system can be identified in other pre-Song medical writings, Catherine Despeux suggests that the seven chapters are in fact from a later date.³⁰ The chapters describe a cosmological system, which most likely originated from a Daoist *milieu*, that makes use of a complex and rigid calendric calculation method in which the cyclic alternation of the five agents and climatological conditions are combined to predict

²⁵ For a general overview of the *bencao* tradition, see Unschuld 1986a.

²⁶ Wang Weiyi's 王惟一 (c. 987-1068) *Tongren shuxue zhenjiu tujing* 銅人腧穴針灸圖經 (Classic with Diagrams of the Acumoxa Cavities on the Bronze Figure Used for Acumoxa, 1026) was compiled on the command of emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1022-1063) of the Northern Song in order to standardise the locations used in *acumoxa*. Also bronze models were cast on which the *jingluo* were carved, and small holes were pierced, to serve the practice of students of *acu-moxa*. For more information on this text and the bronze models casts for training and examining students in needling, see Lu and Needham 1980: 131-135; Goldschmidt 2001: 85-91; 2005: 64-69; 2009: 30-37. On the decline of needling and the transmission of these techniques through Daoist channels, see, for instance, Leung 2003a: 383-384.

²⁷ See, for instance, Unschuld 1985: 168.

²⁸ Unschuld 2003: 59-62. On the Wang Bing edition of 762, see Unschuld 2003: 39-58.

²⁹ Despeux 2001.

³⁰ Despeux 2001: 147-157. For an analysis of *wulun liuqi* in SW 66-71, 74, the chapters in which this system is explained, see Unschuld's "The Doctrine of the Five Periods and Six Qi in the *Huang Di nei jing su wen*," appended to his study on the contents of the SW. (2003: 385- 493).

outbreaks of disease among the population in a specific year.³¹ The five circulatory movements refer to the five agents: wood (*mu* 木), fire (*huo* 火), earth (*tu* 土), metal (*jin* 金), and water (*shui* 水), and are further associated with the ten ‘heavenly stems’ (*tiangan* 天干); The six seasonal influences refer to the climatic conditions: wind (*feng* 風), heat (*re* 熱), dampness (*shi* 濕), fire (*huo* 火), dryness (*zao* 燥), and cold (*han* 寒), and are associated with the twelve ‘earthly branches’ (*dizhi* 地支).³² Each yearly variation is expressed by a combination of one of the five circulatory movements and one of the six seasonal influences, respectively represented by one of the heavenly stems and one of the earthly branches.³³ In order to adapt traditional ideas on the five agents to the six seasonal influences, the fire agent was split into two: namely ‘sovereign fire’ (*junhuo* 君火) and ‘minister fire’ (*xianghuo* 相火); the former to be associated with ‘heat’, the latter with ‘fire’.³⁴

In contrast to the system of *wuyun liuqi*, Neo-Confucian cosmology had no significant impact on medical theory during the Northern Song dynasty. Yet, the way in which Neo-Confucian knowledge became transmitted influenced the further development of scholarly medicine. Angela Leung discerns a clear divergence between the scholarly traditions and non-scholarly traditions in China, taking place during the Song dynasty.³⁵ Leung points out that whereas traditional master-disciple relationships and hereditary transmission inside the family persisted, new frameworks of transmission of medical knowledge, which drew inspiration from the emergence of different schools of Neo-Confucian thought, came into existence. Physical connections became less important, as through the evolution in printing technology, books widely circulated, and medical literature became readily available.³⁶ Although there are legendary stories concerning the mystical reception

³¹ On the Daoist roots of this system, see Despeux 2003: 134.

³² The ten heavenly stems were used to refer to each day of the ten-day period (*xun* 旬). The system of ten was coupled to the twelve earthly branches in order to generate a sexagenary cycle. “The Chinese sexagesimal cycle can be thought of in the image of two enmeshed cogwheels, one having twelve and the other ten teeth, so that not until sixty combinations have been made will the cycle repeat.” (Needham 1959: 397) From the Han dynasty onwards the combination of stems and branches was also used for naming years. The ten heavenly stems are: (1) *jia* 甲, (2) *yi* 乙, (3) *bing* 丙, (4) *ding* 丁, (5) *wu* 戊, (6) *ji* 己, (7) *geng* 庚, (8) *xin* 辛, (9) *ren* 壬, (10) *gui* 癸; The twelve earthly branches are (1) *zi* 子, (2) *chou* 丑, (3) *yin* 寅, (4) *mao* 卯, (5) *chen* 辰, (6) *si* 巳, (7) *wu* 午, (8) *wei* 未, (9) *shen* 申, (10) *you* 酉, (11) *xu* 戌, (12) *hai* 亥. See, for instance, Cullen 1996: 9-10.

³³ The odd numbers of stems and branches are associated with *yang*, the even numbers with *yin*. The associations with the five agents in *wuyun liuqi* theory is slightly more complex, see, for instance, Unschuld 2003: 399-408. I will further explain associations between the stems, the agents, and *yinyang* aspects as they appear in *Yiguan* on p. 141 (Table 3.).

³⁴ Despeux 2001: 122.

³⁵ For an anthropological study about how differences in transmission influence the way medical concepts are understood, see Hsu 1999.

³⁶ Leung 2003a: 394. On commercial publishing from the Song to the Ming, see Chia 2003.

of medical knowledge by the influential Jin-dynasty scholar physicians Liu Wansu and Zhang Yuansu 張元素 (1151-1234), Leung points out that Liu and Zhang are typical examples of physicians who obtained their knowledge exclusively through book reading.³⁷ Although these self-taught physicians had disciples, most of their later followers gained their knowledge, again, by reading books. Yiyi Wu points out that “schools” of medical thought should be conceived of more as loose “groups” of physicians who referred to the same texts and ideas.³⁸ Volker Scheid prefers to call these groups “currents of learning,” in a literal translation of the term *xuepai* 學派. He justifies this choice by pointing out that, etymologically, *pai* 派 are networks of subterranean water channels. “Currents can branch off from each other but also converge again at a later point in time. They can form crisscrossing networks that carry practices and establish without, at any time, invoking linearity or fixity.”³⁹

Knowledge and books circulated not only in the professional networks of physicians, there was also an exchange between officials and elite physicians, and the boundary between both social groups was easily crossed. Apart from the Neo-Confucian classics, the bureaucratic elite showed an interest in other fields of learning as well. Many of them had a profound knowledge of medical literature. As the number of exam candidates far exceeded the available official positions, a social group of scholars highly trained in the Classics had to seek out other career opportunities. Some of them thus became physicians. Congruently, physicians mirrored themselves on the model of the Neo-Confucian scholar, not only in the way of knowledge transmission, but also in their emphasis on the embodiment of Confucian virtues. From the reign of emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135, r. 1100-1126) onwards, these physicians were called *ruyi* 儒醫 (Confucian physicians, or more neutral ‘scholar physicians’), a term which became more popular during the following Yuan and Ming dynasties and which is still in use today.⁴⁰

Although medical “currents of learning” paralleling the Neo-Confucian way of knowledge transmission originated in the Song dynasty, during the following Jin-Yuan period, four specific currents that were founded by the physicians Liu Wansu

³⁷ Leung 2003a: 391-392

³⁸ Yiyi Wu 1993-94.

³⁹ Scheid 2007: 12-13. Furthermore, a synchronical and diachronic aspect is important to understand “currents of learning.” Synchronically, current refers to “groups of practitioners whose members are related to each other by personal association, actual or fictive kinship ties, retrospective histories, or affiliation on the basis of having read or adopted the texts or case records of a deceased physician, and who share ideas, techniques, geographical proximity, stylistic similarities, aesthetic preferences, or any combinations of these. [...] Diachronically, the real or imagined genealogies that tie the members of a current together frequently cut across the questionable periodization imposed on their subjects by historians and thereby help to relativize them.” (Scheid 2007: 13)

⁴⁰ For the emergence of the term *ruyi* in the Song dynasty, see Goldschmidt 2009: 56-57.

劉完素 (1110-1209), Zhang Congzheng 張從正 (1156-1228), Li Gao 李杲 (1180-1251), and Zhu Zhenheng respectively became very influential. These Four Masters of Jin-Yuan period devised new therapeutic methods (*xinfa* 新法), often as a reaction against the multitude of recipes compiled in encyclopaedic books on recipes during the Song dynasty (*gufang* 古方, “old recipes”). Yet, their clinical strategies were all related to the cosmological ideas of *wuyun liuqi* that had changed medical theory during the preceding Song dynasty.⁴¹

Liu Wansu, Zhang Congzheng, and Li Gao came from the North, and were active during the Jin period. Liu Wansu emphasised the importance of cooling down fire in the body. Zhang Congzheng propagated draining methods, such as inducing vomiting, purgation, and causing sweat, to expel external evil that had invaded the body. In contrast to Zhang Congzheng, Li Gao strongly advised not to expel evil but to invigorate *yangqi* in the body, mainly by supplementing the central spleen-stomach function with warming ingredients. In contrast to these three Northern Masters, the Yuan dynasty physician Zhu Zhenheng hailed from Yiwu (Zhejiang province) in the south, but he continued and systematised the medicine that had developed in the north. By highlighting the importance of cooling down fire, Zhu placed himself in the tradition of Liu Wansu, and following Li Gao, he advocated the importance of supplementing. Yet, his emphasis was not on *yangqi* but on invigorating *yin* with cold and bitter.

During the Ming, physicians from the Jiangnan region (large parts of present-day Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Anhui) dominated medical theoretical discourse.⁴² Most of these physicians further elaborated on the ideas of Zhu Zhenheng. Yet, at the end of the Ming dynasty, *wenbu* physicians challenged Zhu’s method of supplementing *yin*, and proposed the alternative strategy of ‘warming and supplementing’ *yin*. In their opinion, the excessive use of cold and bitter *materia medica* harmed the creative power of minister fire, associated with the gate of life.

The earliest references to the gate of life can be found in the *Inner Classic* and the *Classic of Difficult Issues (Nanjing 難經, hereafter NJ)*⁴³, the Han dynasty founding texts of Chinese scholarly medicine.⁴⁴ The *Inner Classic* mentions the gate of life three times, mainly in association with the eyes.⁴⁵ However, it were the ideas on the gate of life in NJ 36, where the left kidney was referred to as the “kidney” and the right one as the “gate of life,” that had a major influence on Song and post-Song medical

⁴¹ Cf. Leung 2003a: 377-378.

⁴² For interesting account on medicine in the Deep South of the Chinese Empire, see Bretelle-Estabet 2010.

⁴³ For an annotated translation and study, see Unschuld 1986b.

⁴⁴ For an elaborate discussion on locations and functions associated with the gate of life throughout the history of Chinese medicine, see Chang Chia-feng 1998.

⁴⁵ SW 6: 2.16b; LS 5: 2.1b; LS 52: 8.10b.

theory.⁴⁶ As discussed above, under the influence of the *wuyun liuqi* system, during the Song, fire was separated out into two agents. In order to correlate the two fires to the *zang* visceral system, ‘sovereign fire’ was associated with the heart, and ‘minister fire’ with the gate of life, or the “right kidney” mentioned in the NJ. As Catherine Despeux points out, this was the most important innovation in Song dynasty physiological theory: “Now, the separation of fire into sovereign fire (*junhuo*), associated with the heart, and minister fire, associated with the right kidney (or with the gate of life), which appears in the system of the five circulatory phases and the six influences, makes it possible, without rejecting the traditional correlations between the Five Phases and the five viscera, to connect the kidneys not only with water but also with fire.”⁴⁷

Despeux further highlights parallels with internal alchemical texts of the Song period, in which sovereign fire and minister fire, the latter in these texts most commonly referred to as *chenhuo* (臣火), were also used in descriptions of physiological processes. However, important differences exist in the way fire was perceived in medicine and in internal alchemy. Some Song texts on internal alchemy distinguish three fires instead of two, of which the third fire, ‘people fire’ (*minhuo* 民火), is mostly associated with the urinary bladder. More important, Despeux emphasises that the correlations of the five agents, and water and fire in particular, with the viscera were in internal alchemy medicine understood in a completely different way than was the case in medicine.⁴⁸ She refers to two specific processes used in internal alchemical practice: the “union of opposites” (uniting water and fire; *yinyang*) and the “reversal of the cycle of the creation of the Five Phases.” Through the “reversal of the cycle of the creation of the Five Phases” metal is, for instance, extracted from water in the kidneys.⁴⁹ Despeux adds that “when Liu Wenshu [11th C.] declares in the *Suwen rushi yunqi lun’ao* that ‘the kidneys do not correspond to metal and water, but the right kidney corresponds to the gate of life and to fire’, he is launching a direct attack against the ideas of internal alchemy, and is deliberately distancing himself from them.”⁵⁰

Even though Liu Wenshu distanced himself from internal alchemy, later physicians, such as the great Jin dynasty physician Liu Wansu, would again refer to

⁴⁶ NJ 36: 382.

⁴⁷ Despeux 2001: 150.

⁴⁸ Despeux 2001: 151.

⁴⁹ In the conventional productive cycle between agents, metal produces water. Accordingly, metal is the mother of water. However, in the alchemical process, the cycle can be reversed, and the mother (metal) can be extracted from the child (water). In this sense, water produces metal. Zhao Xianke refers to this principle in his explanation of the relations between the agents. See Chapter 3.

⁵⁰ Despeux 2001: 151.

Daoist internal alchemical sources in order to support their explanations of fire associated with the kidneys. Liu Wansu, for instance, first refers to “alchemical classics” (*xianjing* 仙經) explaining that the heart is associated with sovereign fire and the kidneys with minister fire, and consequently points out that the left kidney belongs to water and the right one to fire.⁵¹ Later, in the Ming dynasty, Yu Tuan 虞搏 (1438-1517) dissociated the gate of life from the right kidney, and, instead, located it in between the two kidneys. He motivated his relocation by referring to the trigram *kan* ☵ (water) and “the one spark of brightness in between the two kidneys, as mentioned in a Daoist text” (道書所謂兩腎中間一點明是也).⁵² These ideas, which are related to the alchemical extraction of fire from water in the alchemic process can also be found in the texts of *wenbu* physicians.⁵³ Also references to the alchemic process of the “reversal of the cycle of the creation of the Five Phases,” and the extraction of metal from the water of the kidneys, from which Liu Wenshu distanced himself, influenced *wenbu* theory, as I will show in Chapter 3.

In their explanations of the gate of life, *wenbu* physicians did not only refer to Daoist alchemy, as was popular among the elite of the late Ming period, their texts reveal a strong tendency towards Three Teachings Unity. Yet, at second glance, important philosophical concepts associated with Neo-Confucianism, which they used in the context of the gate of life, seem to have much in common with a Daoist internal alchemical understanding. On this point, *wenbu* theory differs tremendously from that of Zhu Zhenheng.

⁵¹ *Suwen xuanji yuanbing shi* 41b-a. Cf. *Suwen xuanji yuanbing shi* 39a and 44a. For alchemical influences on Liu Wansu’s medicine, see Gai Jianmin 2001: 164-166. Also later physicians, such as Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593), referred to alchemy in their explanation on minister fire. See, for instance, his explanation on ‘human qi’ (*renqi* 人氣) in *Bencao gangmu*. (52.31b-32b)

⁵² In his *Cangsheng siming* 蒼生司命 (Managing Destiny for the Common People, 1515), Yu Tuan does not explain which text is quoted, but only refers to a “Daoist text.” (*Cangsheng siming*: 15) I found the phrase quoted in *Cangsheng siming* in *Chunyang Lü Zhenren xuanpin ge* 純陽呂真人玄牝歌 (Pure Yang Authentic Man Lü’s Song on the Mysterious Female), a poem attributed to Lü Dongbin 呂東賓, included in Xuanquanzi’s 玄全子 collection *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 諸真內丹集要 (Collected Essentials on Inner Alchemy by Various Authentic [Persons], DZ 1258): 1.4a-b. This poem also influenced Li Zhongzi’s ideas on Before Heaven, as I will show below.

⁵³ After examining the three main stages in the alchemical process, Robinet points out: “In inner alchemy the one and only thing of importance is the spark of true eternal Yang. [...] It is essential in alchemical practices to isolate this spark of true eternal Yang and make it return to the ancestral breath.” (1989: 321)

The Supreme Ultimate

Although the concept of Supreme Ultimate is already mentioned in the *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳 (Commentary on the Appended Phrases), attached to the *Classic of Changes*, dating back to the late Warring States period (475 - 221 BCE), it found its entrance into mainstream philosophical thinking during the Song dynasty, after Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073) wrote a short text explaining a diagram about Supreme Ultimate: *Taiji tushuo* 太極圖說 (Explanation on the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate). According to tradition, Zhou Dunyi received this diagram, which most likely originated as a symbolic representation of physiological processes used in the context of Daoist internal alchemical practices, from the Daoist master Chen Tuan 陳搏 (871-989?).⁵⁴ Neo-Confucians did not primarily focus on the Diagram as referring to the physiology of the body. As Catherine Despeux puts it, “Zhou Dunyi and the Neo-Confucians turned it into a general cosmological model when they transposed it into a different context.”⁵⁵ In this new Neo-Confucian context, Supreme Ultimate is the principle that lies at the origin of, and which is present in, everything which exists in the cosmos. Zhou Dunyi’s *Taiji tushuo* became the cornerstone of Neo-Confucian cosmology, and as it features as the first text in *Reflections on Things at Hand* (*Jinsi lu* 近思錄), the essential commentated anthology of Neo-Confucian texts, arranged by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) and Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181).⁵⁶ The *Explanation of the Diagram* only consists of an explanation, and does not include a depiction of the diagram itself. Yet, representations, similar to the one shown below (Fig. 1) circulated among the Song Neo-Confucian elite.

⁵⁴ On Chen Tuan, see Knaut 1981, the articles in 2.1 issue of *Taoist Resources*, exclusively devoted to the Chen Tuan, and Kohn 2001.

⁵⁵ Despeux 2005: 39-40.

⁵⁶ *Jinsi lu* 1.1a-5b. For a translation of the *Taiji tushuo* as it appears in *Jinsi lun*, see Chan 1967: 5-7. For other translations, see, for example, Cheng 1997: 416-417; Fung 1953: 435-438.

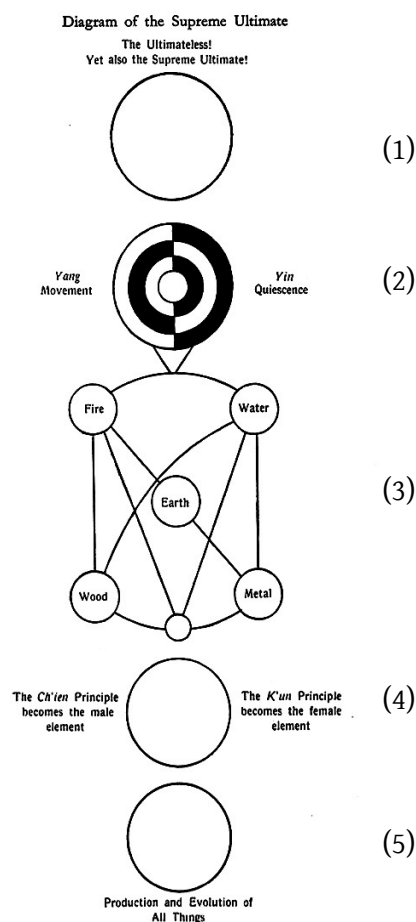


Figure 1. Diagram of Supreme Ultimate
(Fung Yu-lan 1953: 439)

The text of Zhou Dunyi's *Explanation of the Diagram* can be divided in two parts. The first part describes the diagram itself. In its orthodox Neo-Confucian interpretation, the diagram should be read from the top to the bottom, and consists of circles that depict a cosmogonic process starting from the top.⁵⁷ The opening phrase, “Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate” (*wuji er taiji* 無極而太極), is linked

⁵⁷ Later Ming dynasty scholars, such as Huang Zongyan's 黃宗炎 (1616-1686), suggested that the original name of the diagram which Zhou Dunyi received from Chen Tuan was *Wuji tu* 無極圖 (Diagram of Without Ultimate). Furthermore, the original diagram should be reversely read from bottom to top, conform to “creating the elixir (of immortality) through opposition (to Nature).” Fung Yu-lan 1953: 441-442. See also *Zhouyi xiangqi: Tuxue bianhuo* 32a-34b.

to the upper circle (1).⁵⁸ The One, or Supreme Ultimate, which gives birth to *yinyang*, is represented by the second circle (2). From this circle the five agents are generated, as depicted by five interconnected smaller circles (3). These culminate again in a smaller circle, generating the male and female (4). In turn, male and female generate everything that exists in the cosmos, the Myriad Things (*wanwu* 萬物), represented by the bottom circle (5). In the second part of the *Taiji tushuo*, Zhou Dunyi discusses the importance of the concept Supreme Ultimate in the moral context of Neo-Confucian self-cultivation. In this way, he links metaphysics, borrowed from Daoism, to Confucian morality.

⁵⁸ There was a fierce debate between Zhu Xi and Lu Jiuyuan 陸九淵 (*hao Xiangshan* 象山, 1139-1193) about the interpretation of Zhou Dunyi's first sentence "*wuji er taiji*" (無極而太極). The discussion centred on the interpretation of the conjunctive particle "而" (*er*; and [being the same thing], or and [afterwards]). (Cheng 1997: 417) Lu Jiuyuan understood it in a Daoist sequential sense (*wuji* "and thereafter" *taiji*). Accordingly, he denounced the concept *wuji* because it originated from Daoism. Zhu Xi, on the other hand, considered *wuji* to be identical to *taiji* ("and at the same time"), as "he made it very clear that there is no sequence between the Ultimate of Nonbeing (*wu-chi* 無極) and the Great Ultimate. They are simply one thing, *wu-chi* in the sense of being colorless and odorless and *t'ai-chi* in the sense of the operation of *yin* 陰 (passive cosmic force) and *yang* 陽 (active cosmic force) to the limit." (Chan 1987: 86) Even though Zhu Xi gave *wuji* a place in Neo-Confucian orthodox thought, Wang-tsit Chan highlights that this concept remained a difficult issue: "Chu Hsi always saw the Great Ultimate, or principle in its ultimate state, as embodying *yin* and *yang*, that is, the operation of myriad things. He directly opposed the Great Ultimate to the Buddhist Emptiness which is devoid of things." (1987: 115)

Chu Hsi desperately explained that *wu-chi* simply means that the Great Ultimate has "neither sound nor smell," as the operation of Heaven is described in the *Doctrine of the Mean*. By that, he said, is meant that "the Great Ultimate" has neither spatial restriction nor physical form or body. There is no spot where it may be placed." If so, why did Chou Tun-i not just describe it in these terms but instead used a Taoist term to mislead people? Chu Hsi's answer was that Master Chou was afraid that people might regard the Great Ultimate as a concrete object and wanted to remind them that it has no physical aspects. If Chou had such an intention, he did not indicate it anywhere. The truth is that the concept of Great Ultimate is indispensable to Chu's remolding of the Neo-Confucian philosophy and he could not help taking advance of the *Treatise* in spite of its beginning sentence. (Chan 1987: 115-116)

On the discussion between Zhu and Lu, see also Cheng 1997: 475-477 and Huang 1995: 7-8. On the interpretation of "*wuji er taiji*" in Daoist sources between Song and Ming, see Robinet 1990: 389-394. Even though "the relationship between *Wuji* and *Taiji* is subtle, and the texts seem to contradict one another," (391) "the majority of Taoists thus clearly opt for the adversative *er*: "*Wuji and however Taiji*" [emphasis by Robinet], *Wuji* and *Taiji* as distinct but at the same time and nonetheless coexisting and coinciding. In contrast to Zhu Xi, the existence of Emptiness is affirmed, but inasmuch as it is not separated from *Taiji*." (394)

Zhou Dunyi's cosmological system, as explained in the *Taiji tushuo*, appears to have no significant impact on medical theory of the Song and Jin dynasties.⁵⁹ Only during the subsequent Yuan dynasty, after Zhu Xi's writings had to be studied for passing public examinations, ideas on Supreme Ultimate became widely spread amongst literati. The first medical text in which passages from Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tushuo* can be found is Zhu Zhenheng's *Gezhi yulun* 格致餘論 (Additional Essays on Investigating [Things] in order to Attain [Knowledge], 1347). Zhu was not only a physician, but also a Neo-Confucian master in the orthodox tradition of Zhu Xi, to whom he was related by blood.⁶⁰ Zhu Zhenheng starts his influential "Essay on Minister Fire" (Xianghuo lun 相火論) with the following phrases borrowed from *Taiji tushuo*:

太極動而生陽靜而生陰陽動而變陰靜而合而生水火木金土各一其性

The Supreme Ultimate moves, and generates yang; comes to rest, and generates yin. Yang moves, and develops. Yin comes to rest, and unites. Thereupon, it generates water, fire, wood, metal, and earth, each with its specific characteristic.⁶¹

Hence, Zhu Zhenheng omits the first phrase of the *Taiji tushuo* "Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate" (*wuji er taiji*), explaining the top circle, and starts his "Essay on Minister Fire" by highlighting the importance of Supreme Ultimate as 'one', first generating 'two' (*yinyang*), and afterwards 'five' (*wuxing*). After this short reference to the Neo-Confucian cosmology in Zhou Dunyi's *Taiji tushuo*, Zhu continues by splitting up the fire agents, as is done in the medical cosmology of 'five circulatory movements and six seasonal influences' (*wuyun liuqi*): "Only fire has two: 'sovereign fire' which is 'human fire'; and 'minister fire' which is 'heavenly fire'" (惟火有二曰君火人火也曰相火天火也).⁶²

Zhu Zhenheng mainly emphasises the importance of movement associated with fire, which is the creative force in the cosmos and in the human body: "When heaven is without this fire, it cannot generate the things. When a human being is without

⁵⁹ This is in contrast to the cosmological system of the five movements and the six circulations, as Despeux pointed out. In pre-Yuan medical texts, the term *taiji* mainly features in names of persons, recipes, and texts associated with Daoism. (Despeux 2001: 134-135) There are, to my knowledge, only two examples in pre-Yuan medical texts in which *taiji* is used in cosmological way: Wang Bing's comments on the "Plain Questions" (WB SW 1: 1.7a) and the Southern Song *Taiyi ju zhuke chengwenge* (1.25b, *et passim*).

⁶⁰ Fang Chunyang 2005; Furth 2006.

⁶¹ *Gezhi yulun* 56a-57b. Compare to *Taiji tushuo* 1.2a-3b.

⁶² *Gezhi yulun* 56a-57b. For the letters and numbers in between brackets, see Figure 1.

this fire, she/he cannot have life” (天非此火不能生物人非此火不能有生).⁶³ However, ‘minister fire’, which Zhu associates with both the liver and kidneys, is easily aroused by the ‘sovereign fire’ of the heart. This leads to an exhaustion of *yin* in the body, and consequently causes disorders. Although Zhu advocates the use of cold and bitter *materia medica* as therapeutical strategy to supplement *yin*, and to make ‘minister fire’ descend, the main preventive measure should be controlling errant movements of the heart (and, thus, of ‘sovereign fire’ associated with the heart). Ideally, this is attained by fostering tranquility, and through moral behaviour:

周子又曰聖人定之以中正仁義而主靜朱子曰必使道心常為一身之主而人心每聽命焉此善處乎火者人心聽命乎道心而又能主之以靜彼五火之動皆中節相火惟有裨補造化以為生生不息之運用耳
Master Zhou [Dunyi] further said: “The sage stabilises [the myriad affairs (*wan shi*)]⁶⁴ with centrality and correctness (*zhong zheng*), humanity and righteousness (*ren yi*), and concentrates on tranquility (*zhu jing*).”⁶⁵ Master Zhu [Xi] said: “Make sure that the Heart of the Way (*dao xin*) always is the ruler of the whole body, and that the human heart (*ren xin*) each time listens to its mandate.”⁶⁶ This is to be proficient in managing fire. The human heart listens to the mandate of the Heart of the Way, and when it further can be controlled by tranquility, the movement of the five fires⁶⁷ can be regulated (*zhongjie*). Minister fire then only benefits creation and transformation (*zaohua*), and has its use of endless generation (*shengsheng buxi*).⁶⁸

Hence, in his “Essay on Minister Fire,” Zhu not only refers to Zhou Dunyi’s cosmological concept of Supreme Ultimate in the medical context, he also highlights the importance of Neo-Confucian moral practice, explained in the second part of *Taiji tushuo*, as a means to pacify reckless movements of minister fire.⁶⁹ Thus, by applying

⁶³ *Gezhi yulun* 57b.

⁶⁴ The demonstrative pronoun “之” (*zhi*) refers to the preceding sentence in *Taiji tushuo*: “The five moral principles of his nature are aroused by, and react to, the external world and engage in activity; good and evil are distinguished; and the human affairs take place” (五性感動而善惡分萬事出矣). (*Jinsi lu* 1.4a, as translated in Chan 1967: 6)

⁶⁵ See also “*Taiji tushuo*” as contained in *Jinsi lu* 1.4a, compare and contrast with Chan 1967: 6.

⁶⁶ See also *Yuzuan Zhu Xi quanshu* 56.9b.

⁶⁷ The five fires refers to the *yang* aspects of the five *zang* viscera. (Li ZYDCD 218)

⁶⁸ *Gezhi yulun* 58a-b.

⁶⁹ In the chapter “Fangzhong buyi lun” 方中補益論 (Essay on Supplementing in the Bedchamber), Zhu Zhenheng further explains this as “correcting the heart” (*zhengxin* 正心), “restraining the heart” (*shouxin* 收心), and “nourishing the heart” (*yangxin* 養心). (*Gezhi yulun* 56b.) Compare also with the importance of “restraining the heart” and “nourishing the heart” in “Yang you yu yin bu zu lun” 陽有余陰不足論 (Essay on *Yang* is in Surplus and *Yin* is Insufficient). (*Gezhi yulun* 3b)

Neo-Confucian principles to medicine, Zhu truly can be characterised as “The Physician as Philosopher of the [Neo-Confucian] Way.”⁷⁰

Yet, the importance of the cosmological concept of Supreme Ultimate in the works of Zhu Zhenheng should not be overestimated. Except for *Gezhi yulun*, wherein the Supreme Ultimate is only mentioned twice, this concept features in none of his other medical writings.⁷¹ Zhu’s integration of Zhou Dunyi’s philosophy in medicine, in combination with a his grand synthesis of Jin-Yuan medical thought, appealing to so many later generations of scholar physicians, is only highlighted for the first time in his biography, “Biography of Mister Danxi” (Danxi-weng zhuan 丹溪翁傳) attached to *Danxi xinfa* 丹溪心法 (Heart Method of Danxi, 1481), a text compiled by Ming dynasty followers:

乃以三家之論去其短而用其長又復參之以太極之理易禮記通書正蒙諸書之義貫穿內經之言以尋其指歸而謂內經之言火蓋與太極動而生陽五性感動之說有合其言陰道虛則又與禮記之養陰意同因作相火及陽有餘陰不足二論以發揮之

[Zhu Zhenheng] rid the theories of the three experts [of the Jin-Yuan period]⁷² of their shortcomings, and used their advantages. He further combined this with the principle of Supreme Ultimate, and the meanings in the *Yi[jing]*, the *Liji*, *Tongshu*, and *Zhengmeng*. He penetrated the sayings of the *Inner Classic*, to search for their intention (*zhi gui*). He then said that what the *Inner Classic* explains about fire is similar to explanations as “the Supreme Ultimate moves, and produces *yang*” and “the movement of the five natures.” What [the *Inner Classic*] says about “the way of *yin* is depleted” is further identical in meaning to “nourishing *yin*” in the *Liji*.⁷³ Hence, [Zhu Zhenheng] composed the two essays of “Minister Fire” and “*Yang* is Excessive and *Yin* is Deficient” in order to elaborate on this.⁷⁴

Although Zhu’s ideas on ‘minister fire’ and ‘*yin* deficiency’ were echoed in elite medical discourse of the Ming dynasty, and many Ming dynasty physicians, such as the great Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593), quoted his “Essay on Ministerial Fire” explaining ‘sovereign’ and ‘minister fire’ in relation to the Neo-Confucian concept of the Supreme Ultimate, actual depictions of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate did

⁷⁰ Furth 2006.

⁷¹ “Supreme Ultimate” is mentioned once in “*Xianghuo lun*” (*Gezhi yulun* 56b), and once at the end of “*Chini lun*” (*Gezhi yulun* 65a).

⁷² Liu Wansu, Li Gao, and Zhu Zhenheng.

⁷³ SW 29: 8.24a; *Liji zhushu* 13.22a.

⁷⁴ *Danxi xinfa* 342.

not feature in medical texts prior to the late sixteenth century.⁷⁵ It were late Ming *wenbu* physicians, such as Sun Yikui, Zhang Jiebin, and Zhao Xianke, who not only depicted the diagram in their main theoretical texts, but also elaborated in a unprecedented way on the importance of the concept of Supreme Ultimate in medicine.

The earliest depiction of a diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, similar to that attributed to Zhou Dunyi, in a medical text is found in Sun Yikui's *Yizhi xuyu* 醫旨緒餘 (Additional Instructions on Medicine, 1573). Sun's inclusion of the Diagram was not merely a Neo-Confucian embellishment in the text.⁷⁶ In his opinion, the understanding of the concept of Supreme Ultimate, depicted by the diagram, opened up the road to medical knowledge:

生生子曰天地萬物本為一體所謂一體者太極之理在焉故朱子曰太極只是天地萬物之理[...]醫之為教正示人節宣天地之氣而使之無過不及攻是業者不能尋繹太極之妙豈知本之學哉故具太極圖抄於首簡

Shengshengzi [i.e. Sun Yikui] says: "Heaven-and-Earth and the Myriad things are originally one body (*yi ti*). What is called 'one body' means that the principle (*li*) of Supreme Ultimate is contained in it." Hence, Master Zhu [Xi] said: "Supreme Ultimate is nothing else than the principle of Heaven-and-Earth and the Myriad Things." [...] [Therefore,] medicine as a teaching exactly shows people how to regulate (*jiexuan*) the *qi* of Heaven-and-Earth, and makes them be without excesses (*wu guo*) or shortcomings (*bu ji*). If you want to be engaged in this profession [of medicine], but are unable to investigate the marvels of the Supreme Ultimate, how would you know its fundamental teachings? Hence, I copied the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate in this opening section."⁷⁷

⁷⁵ For Li Shizhen's explanation on fire and *taiji*, see *Bencao gangmu* 6.3a.

⁷⁶ *Yizhi xuyu* 1.2a. Other important works of Sun Yikui are the medical encyclopaedia *Chisui xuanzhu* 赤水玄珠 (Dark Pearl in Crimson Water, 1584) and *Sun-shi Yi'an* 孙氏醫案 (Mr. Sun's Medical Records). For a study of his medical records, see Zeitlin 2007.

⁷⁷ In "Copying the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate" (*Taiji tu chaoyin* 太極圖抄引), the opening section of *Yizhi xuyu* (1.1a-b), just preceding the depiction of the Diagram of Supreme Ultimate in his text.

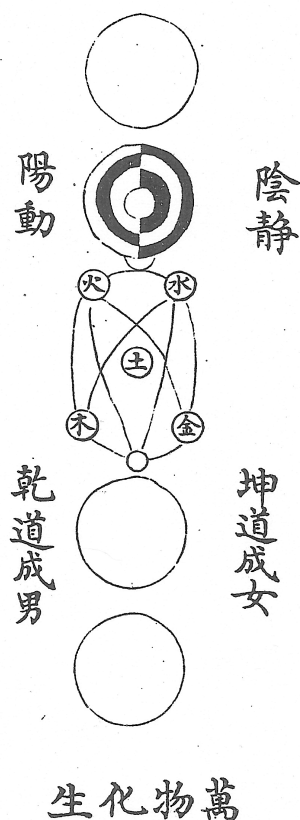


Figure 2. Sun Yikui's Diagram of Supreme Ultimate
(*Yizhi xuyu* 1.2a)

Although Sun Yikui also referred to Zhu Xi's ideas on Supreme Ultimate as principle (*li*) and body/substance (*ti*), his explanation and use of this concept in medicine differed in many ways from that of Zhu Zhenheng. After depicting the diagram, Sun includes two explanations. The first one is borrowed from Mr. Du 度氏 of Shanyang 山陽, and explains all the circles of the diagram in a rather conventional way.⁷⁸ The second explanation only elaborates on the upper circle, and is taken from the *Zhonghe ji* 中和集 (Collection on Central Harmony), an alchemical text written by Li Daochun's 李道純 (?-1306). This second explanation deserves some attention. In *Zhonghe ji*, the upper circle, explained by Zhou Dunyi as "Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate," is equated with key notions in the Three Teachings: 'circle consciousness' (*yuanjue* 圓覺) in Buddhism, 'golden cinnabar' (*jindan* 金丹) in Daoism, and 'Supreme Ultimate' in Confucianism. The achievement of these three (identical) ideals is attainable through the state of 'tranquil stability' (*jingding* 靜定).⁷⁹ Hence, by including this explanation of Supreme Ultimate, Sun not only stressed the orthodox Neo-Confucian interpretation of this concept, but rather a 'ecumenic' understanding,

⁷⁸ The complete explanation of Mr. Du of Shanyang (dates unknown) can be found in *Xingli daquan shu* 1.79a-82a.

⁷⁹ *Yizhi xuyu* 1.3a-b; see also *Zhonghe ji* (DZ 249) 1.1b-2a.

popular among the late Ming elite, but which also characterises many internal alchemical texts, such as the *Zhonghe ji*.⁸⁰

An analysis of how the Three Teachings, and Daoism in particular, feature in sixteenth-seventeenth medical texts can be found in Peter Engelfriet's preliminary study.⁸¹ After having investigated the Daoist ideas in Sun Yikui's *Chishui xuanzhu* 赤水玄珠 (Dark Pearl in Crimson Water, 1584), Engelfriet concludes:

Instead of as a Taoist, Sun Yikui here takes the stance of a late Ming syncretic Neo-Confucian scholar: accepting the intellectual, aesthetic and philosophical aspects of Taoism and Buddhism as valuable and important contributions to the study of the Way, not basically at odds with the Confucian tradition, yet insisting that their role was supporting rather than central.⁸²

Engelfriet emphasises the importance of the Supreme Ultimate associated with the gate of life in late Ming medical texts. While he acknowledges that both Supreme Ultimate and the gate of life originally had strong affinities with Daoist practices, “the conceptualization in medical literature was largely seen from the point of view of Neo-Confucianism, and where syncretic attempts were made, even though many were conscious of the fact that such concepts also appeared in Taoism, it was Neo-Confucian standards which formed the point of departure.”⁸³ In other words, Daoist concepts were only mentioned when they were supporting the main Neo-Confucian standards.

According to Engelfriet, the physician who made the “most comprehensive attempt to conform medicine to the whole system of Neo-Confucian cosmology” was Zhang Jiebin.⁸⁴ Indeed, in the opening section of *Leijing tuyi* 類經圖翼 (Supplement with Illustrations to the Classic in Categories, 1624) Zhang depicts a circle, which he titles “Diagram of Supreme Emptiness” (Taixu tu 太虛圖), and which he identifies with the “Diagram of Supreme Ultimate.”⁸⁵

⁸⁰ On the use of the word ‘ecumenic’ instead of ‘syncretic’, see Discussion: “Three Teachings.”

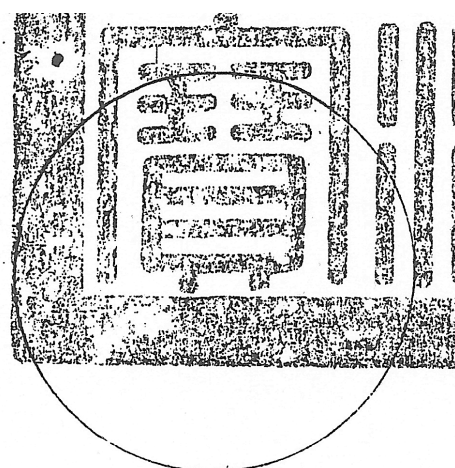
⁸¹ Engelfriet 2000.

⁸² Engelfriet 2000: 253-54.

⁸³ Engelfriet 2000: 262.

⁸⁴ Engelfriet 2000: 261-62.

⁸⁵ *Leijing* 1.1b-2b. For Supreme Emptiness in the *Inner Classic*, see SW 67: 19.4a.



太虛者太極也太
極本無極故曰太
虛天元紀大論曰
太虛寥廓肇蒼
元此之謂也

Figure 3. Zhang Jiebin's Diagram of Supreme Emptiness
(*Leijing tuyi* 1.1a)

The outset for his explanation of Supreme Ultimate is the Neo-Confucian idea of 'principle' (*li*), further associated with *qi* and *yinyang*. Supreme Ultimate is, as in Sun Yikui's *Yizhi yulun*, emphasised as being the first concept a physician has to comprehend. Although Zhang incorporates a (wrong) quotation from the *Daode jing*, references to Daoism do not dominate his explanation of the Supreme Ultimate in this particular chapter of *Leijing tuyi*.⁸⁶

Yet, in my opinion, and in contrast to that of Engelfriet, this does not mean that the impact of Daoism on Zhang Jiebin's medical theory should be minimised. Zhang's influential chapter "Distinguishing Three Burners, Pericardium, and the Gate of Life" in *Leijing fuyi* 類經附翼 (Supplement to the Classic in Categories, 1624), for instance, reflects strong Daoist internal alchemical flavours. The gate of life, here in the context of the conception of new life, is not only equated with the Supreme Ultimate,

⁸⁶ In his explanation of the Supreme Ultimate, Zhang Jiebin abundantly refers to Confucian sources. He only refers to one Daoist text, the *Laozi*: "Laozi says: "The nameless is the beginning of Heaven-and-Earth; what has a name is the mother of Heaven-and-Earth [sic]" (老子曰無名天地之始有名天地之母). (*Leijing tuyi* 1.1b; cf. DDJ 1: 1a)

but is also related to Daoist concepts, such as the “cinnabar field” (*dantian* 丹田).⁸⁷ In other parts of Zhang’s medical writings as well, many examples can be found which prove that he abundantly borrowed from alchemical literature. In the following section, I will further elaborate on how alchemical ideas influenced the conception of the origin of life in *wenbu* medical texts.

In summary, compared to Zhu Zhenheng, second generation *wenbu* physicians used the concept of Supreme Ultimate in a more systematic and elaborate way. Physicians such as Sun Yikui and Zhang Jiebin did not only depict Supreme Ultimate in the opening sections of their main theoretical medical works, but in other important theoretical parts of their texts as well. They emphasised the importance of Supreme Ultimate, especially in relation to the gate of life. This cosmological foundation further legitimised a clinical strategy which was opposite to that of Zhu Zhenheng and his followers. Instead of merely seeing Supreme Ultimate as a cosmological principle, *wenbu* physicians took the concept back to the body itself, as was done by the alchemists who according to tradition introduced this concept and its Diagram to mainstream Neo-Confucian thought. The same applies for a second concept often used in combination with Supreme Ultimate, and prominently featuring in texts of second generation *wenbu* physicians: Before Heaven.

⁸⁷ *Leijing fuyi* 3.6b. “The *dantian* are three loci in the human body that play a major role in breathing, meditation, and *neidan* [inner alchemy] practices. Located in the region of the abdomen, heart, and brain, but devoid of material counterparts, they establish a tripartite division of inner space that corresponds to other threefold motives in the Taoist pantheon and cosmology.” (Pregadio 2008a: 302) In the *wenbu* medical context, *dantian* refers to the lower Cinnabar Field, which is the “*dantian* proper and the the seat of essence.” (Pregadio 2008a: 302)

A study of Before Heaven

Before Heaven forms a pair with After Heaven (*houtian*), and refers to a previous, pristine state, before the coming into being of the (macro and micro) cosmos, and what remains of this state after the cosmos has come into existence.⁸⁸ Similarly to the concept of Supreme Ultimate, the Daoist Master Chen Tuan is named in connection to the introduction of Before Heaven into Neo-Confucian mainstream philosophy. Yet, in the case of Before Heaven, it was not Zhou Dunyi but Shao Yong 邵雍 (1012-1077) who, according to tradition, received the transmission.

In Shao Yong's writings, Before Heaven is mainly associated with the 'method of the heart' (*xinfa* 心法), and with diagrammatic charts:

先天學心法也故圖皆自中起萬化萬事生乎心也

The study of *xiantian* is the method of the heart (*xin*). Hence, the diagrams (*tu*) arise from its centre (*zhong*). The Myriad transformations and myriad things are produced by the heart.⁸⁹

The diagram commonly associated with Before Heaven is an arrangement of trigrams that symbolises a perfect order. This is reflected by the parallel positioning of Heaven (*qian* 乾; ☰) and Earth (*kun* 坤; ☷) on the north-south axis, Fire (*li* 離; ☲) and Water (*kan* 坎; ☵) on the east-west axis, etc.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Other translations for *xiantian* are “prior to Heaven,” “precelestial,” and “Former Heaven.” Fabrizio Pregadio highlights that this last translation is not preferable: “The terms [*xiantian* and *houtian*] are sometimes translated “former Heaven” and “later Heaven,” but occurrences of the phrase *xian tiandi sheng* 先天地生 (“generated before Heaven and Earth”) in the *Daode jing*, the *Zhuangzi*, and other early texts show that *xiantian* and *houtian* designate the ontologic and cosmogonic stages before and after the generation of the cosmos.” (2008a: 1094) Compare also with Robinet who translates *xiantian* as “before Heaven” and “anterior to Heaven. She points out that although the term is often found in titles of Diagrams associated with the *Classic of Changes*, “the term is taken from *Laozi* (25) and not from the *Yi jing* as could be believed, and describes that which has an eternal origin. Thus, to translate it, as has been done, by “anterior Heaven” is an error.” (1990: 385) For *xiantian* in the *Changes*, see, for instance, *Zhouyi* 1.3b.

⁸⁹ *Huangji jingshi shu*: 13.34b. Don J. Wyatt further explains: “For Shao, *xiantian* learning, if not the diagram itself, appears to have had its locus in the human mind, which itself was believed to exist even before Heaven's formation.” (1996: 205) On *xinfa* in Shao Yong's writings, see also Arrault 2000: 77-78; and Wyatt 1990: 127.

⁹⁰ The Chinese compass points to the south. In traditional diagrams the south is up. Trigrams in the diagrams are read from the inside to the outside. For instance, *zhen* ☳ is positioned in the NE in the Diagram of Before Heaven (Figure 4.) and in the E in the Diagram of After Heaven (Figure 5.). Unless otherwise indicated, the order of the trigrams is clockwise. *Gen* ☶ is followed by *zhen* ☳ in the Diagram of After Heaven (NE to E).

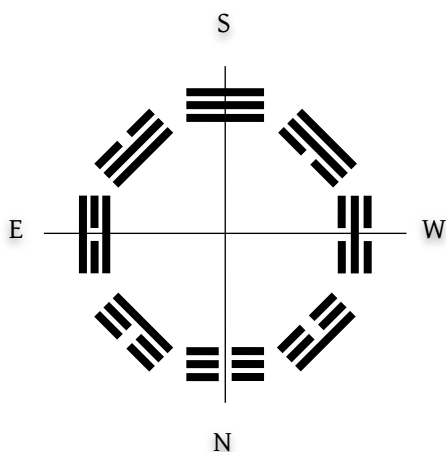


Figure 4. Diagram of Before Heaven

This Diagram of the Arrangement of the Trigrams according to Before Heaven (*Xiantian bagua tu* 先天八卦圖, hereafter Diagram of Before Heaven) forms a pair with the Diagram of the Arrangement of Trigrams associated with After Heaven (*Houtian bagua tu* 後天八卦圖, hereafter Diagram of After Heaven), the latter depicting the imperfect state of the cosmos after being created. The only pair of trigrams which are symmetrical positioned in this diagram are Water (*kan*) and Fire (*li*) on the north-south axis.

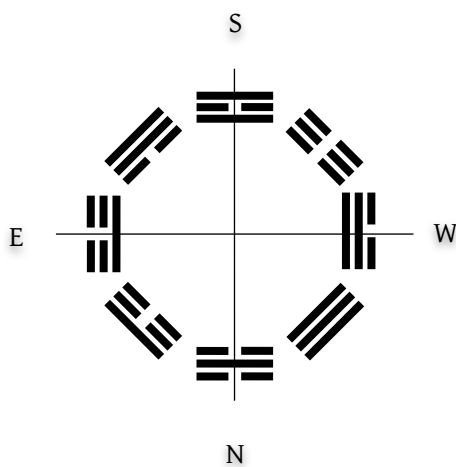


Figure 5. Diagram of After Heaven

Although the concept of Before Heaven, especially in relation to the diagrammatic chart of trigrams, would play an important role in the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy systematised by Zhu Xi, Alain Arrault points out that the specific diagrammatic ordering of trigrams associated with Before Heaven cannot be attested in Shao Yong's writings.⁹¹ Also the importance of Before Heaven as a philosophical concept should not be overestimated in Shao's philosophy. Arrault remarks:

L'expression *xiantian* n'apparaît que dans les ultimes chapitres du *Jirang ji*, autrement dit dans les dernières années de Shao. Par ailleurs, ses relations les plus proches ne l'évoquent qu'incidemment.⁹²

Before Heaven did not only feature Neo-Confucian writings, like Supreme Ultimate, it also commonly features in alchemical writings.⁹³ As I will show below, understandings of Before Heaven and After Heaven in modern TCM⁹⁴ owe much more to internal alchemy than to Neo-Confucianism.

⁹¹ Only the positions of *qian* in the south, *kun* in the north, *li* in the east, and *kan* in the west are referred to by Shao Yong. (Arrault 2000: 79)

⁹² Arrault 2000: 77.

⁹³ Arrault 2000: 77-79, 82-83; 2002: 282-286. The concept Before Heaven has a long history in Daoism. It features in Daoist texts as early as the fourth century CE. (Robinet 1990: 385) On Before Heaven and After Heaven in the internal alchemical context, see Robinet 1989: 323-324; and Pregadio and Skar 2000: 484-485.

⁹⁴ TCM is the acronym of 'Traditional Chinese Medicine', the 'modern' standardised form of Chinese medicine that is now taught at the universities of TCM in the People's Republic of China. The acronym appeared in the 1950s. On the history of TCM, see Taylor 2005. On TCM in terms of "invented tradition" and "alternative modernity," see Hsu 2007a.

In TCM, Before Heaven is used in the context of the kidneys (and the gate of life).⁹⁵ The modern textbook *Fundamental Theory of TCM* (Zhongyi jichu lilun 中医基础理论) describes the physiological functions of the kidneys as follows:

肾的主要生理功能是主藏精、主水、主纳气。由于肾脏先天之精，主生殖，为人体生命之源，故称肾为“先天之本”。肾中精气化生肾阴、肾阳，推动、协调和促进全身脏腑阴阳，故肾又称为“五脏阴阳之本”。肾藏精，主蛰，为“封藏之本”。

The most important physiological functions (*shengli gongneng*) of the kidneys are controlling the storing of essence, controlling water, and controlling the intake of *qi* (*na qi*). Because the essence of Before Heaven (*xiantian zhi jing*)⁹⁶ in the kidneys is responsible for reproduction, [the kidneys] are the source of life for the human body. Therefore, the kidneys are called “the root of Before Heaven.” The essence and *qi* [or: essential *qi*] inside the kidneys transform (*huasheng*) into kidney *yin* and kidney *yang*. They give impetus to, harmonise, and advance the *yinyang* [activities] of the *zangfu* organs in the entire body. Hence, the kidneys are further called “the root of *yinyang* of the five *zang* organs.” The kidneys store essence, and control rest. Therefore, they are the “root of closing and storing up.”⁹⁷

⁹⁵ In the the *Great Dictionary of Chinese Medicine* (*Zhongyi da cidian* 中醫大辭典), edited by Xie Guan 謝觀 (1880-1950), first published in 1921, two definitions of both After Heaven and Before Heaven are given. The first definition in both the lemmata on Before Heaven and After Heaven refers to distinctions in *qi*, as found in the chapters on the “five circulatory phases and the six seasonal influences” SW 66, 69, 70, and which are not commonly used in later medical texts: “It refers to the *qi* of the four seasons, and is accomplished in the time of After Heaven (“Great Essay on Exchange and Evolution of Qi in *Suwen*” [*Suwen Qi jiaobian dalun*, SW 69]); Hence, what is too much is Before Heaven, what is not enough is After Heaven (“Great Discussion on the Administration of the Five Constants” [*Wuchang zheng dalun*, SW 70]); When *yang* excels it is Before Heaven; when *yin* excels it is After Heaven” (“Great Essay on the Six Primordial Patterns” [*Liu yuan zhengji dalun*; SW 66])” (謂四時之氣。後天時而至也。[素問氣交變大論] 古太過者先天。不及者後天。[五常政大論] 陽勝者先天。陰勝者後天。[六元正紀大論])。 (Xie ZYDCD: 969, 1788) The second definition is similar to those found in present-day dictionaries. It reflects the distinction between Before and After Heaven as featuring in late Ming *wenbu* texts, and is conform to how it is generally understood in present-day TCM. Before Heaven is explained as follows: “At the time of being an embryo, the human body received authentic primal (*zhen yuan*) [qualities]. Hence, what is weak and strong of natural endowments of a human being is called: ‘Before Heaven’. If his/her body is weak [by natural endowment], it is denoted as ‘Before Heaven being insufficient’” (人體受胎時之真元也。故稱人稟賦之強弱曰先天。其身體弱者。則曰先天不足)。 (Xie ZYDCD: 969) After Heaven, on the other hand, refers to “the authentic primal [material] from food and beverage, which is nurturing [the body]. Hence, when a human body is weak (*xu ruo*) because the digestive system is not functioning appropriately, it is denoted as ‘After Heaven being insufficient’” (飲食所培養之真元也。古稱身體虛弱由於消化不良者。曰後天不足)。 (Xie ZYDCD: 1788)

⁹⁶ *Jing* refers to the essential fluids. It can also be translated as “semen.” Zhao Xianke uses this term to refer to both the male and female essential fluids. See p. 131.

⁹⁷ Cao Hongxin 2004: 53.

In contrast to the kidneys, the spleen is related to After Heaven:

脾的生理功能是主运化、主统血。脾胃同居中焦，是人体对饮食进行消化、吸收，并输布其精微的主要脏器。人出生之后，生命活动的延续和气血津液的化生均赖于脾胃运化的水谷精微，故称脾胃“后天之本”、“气血生化之源”。脾的生理特性是主升，喜燥恶湿。

The physiological functions of the spleen are governing transformations (*yunhua*) and governing the flow of blood inside the vessels (*tongxue*). Both spleen and stomach are located in the area of the central burner. They are the essential organic vessels (*zangqi*) through which the human body carries out digestion (*xiaohua*), absorbs (*xishou*) beverage and food, and distributes their essential substances (*jingwei*). After a human being is born, the continuation of vital activity and the production (*huasheng*) of *qi*, blood, and fluids (*jinye*) all depend on the essential substances extracted from water and grains by the spleen and the stomach. Hence, the spleen and the stomach are called the “root of After Heaven”, and the “source of production of *qi* and blood.” The specific physiological features (*shengli texing*) of the spleen is controlling rising. It likes dryness, and detests moisture.⁹⁸

Hence, translated to the microcosm of the human body in medicine, Before Heaven refers to what is inborn, and received from the parents; After Heaven refers to what is gathered by the individual after birth, after the connection with the mother through the umbilical cord is cut off, and the newborn human being starts to breathe and to absorb nutrients independently. Or, as the entry on Before Heaven in the *Great Dictionary of TCM* (Zhongyi dacidian 中医大词典), edited by Li Jingwei 李经纬 et al., explains:

指人体受父母精血所形成的胎元，是人身生命之本，与出生后饮食营养、生活调护的后天相对而言。

[Before Heaven] refers to the human body as fetus formed by the semen (*jing*) of the father and the blood (*xue*) of the mother. It is the root of the human life, and stands in contrast with After Heaven, which refers to nutrition (*yinshi yingyang*) and the harmonisation and safeguarding of life (*shenghuo tiaohu*) after being born.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Cao Hongxin 2004: 53.

⁹⁹ Li ZYDCD: 622. There is no separate lemma on *houtian* in Li ZYDCD.

Like in *Fundamental Theory of TCM*, the *Great Dictionary of TCM* continues by stating that “the root of Before Heaven is in the kidneys” (先天之本在肾).¹⁰⁰ In the lemmata which explain the kidneys as “root of Before Heaven” and the spleen as “root of After Heaven,” the *Great Dictionary of TCM* refers to *Yizong bidu* 醫宗必讀 (Essential Literature on the Medical Tradition), a text written by the *wenbu* physician Li Zhongzi.¹⁰¹ On After Heaven, the following passage from the chapter “Essay on the Kidneys as Root of Before Heaven and the Spleen as Root of After Heaven” (腎為先天本脾為後天本論) in *Yizong bidu* is quoted:

谷入于胃，洒陈于六腑而气至，和调于五脏而生血，而人以资为生者也。故曰：后天之本在脾。

The grains enter the stomach. Diffused (*xichen*) over the six *fu* viscera, their *qi* arrives. Harmonised over the five *zang* viscera, they produce blood. This is how a human being fosters his/her life. Hence, is said: “The root of After Heaven is in the spleen.”¹⁰²

The passage from Li Zhongzi’s “Essay” quoted in the context of Before Heaven is much more concise, as it is restricted to the phrase: “the root of Before Heaven is in the kidneys.”¹⁰³

Although in case of both “root of Before Heaven” and “root of After Heaven” only a small part of the relevant passage in *Yizong bidu* is quoted, the reference to this late Ming dynasty *wenbu* text in the *Great Dictionary of TCM* is no coincidence. Elisabeth Hsu has highlighted that the passages on *zangxiang* 藏象 (‘organ clusters’ / ‘hidden and apparent’) in modern readers of the *Inner Classic*, such as *Neijing jiangyi* 内经讲义 (Explaining the Meaning of the *Inner Classic*), all feature in the commentated anthologies of *wenbu* physicians Zhang Jiebin’s *Leijing* and Li Zhongzi’s *Neijing zhiyao*.¹⁰⁴ These Ming *wenbu* texts had an important influence on the contemporary understanding of *zangxiang*, or, at least, on the selection of passages from the *Inner Classic* on *zangxiang* which are considered to be essential for the contemporary practitioner. On the other hand, Hsu also pointed out that the specific religious/philosophical context for understanding these passages in the commentaries of

¹⁰⁰ Li ZYDCD 622.

¹⁰¹ Li ZYDCD 622, 674.

¹⁰² Li ZYDCD 674. Cf. *Yizong bidu* 82.

¹⁰³ Li ZYDCD 622. Cf. *Yizong bibu* 81.

¹⁰⁴ Hsu 1999: 190-193; 2000: 170-172. For the choice of translating *zangxiang* as ‘organ clusters’ in the modern TCM context, see Hsu 2000: 174-175. In the Ming dynasty, *zangxiang* referred to “processes inside and outside the human body.” As Hsu translates the explanatory passage in Zhang Jiebin’s *Leijing*: “*Xiang* are the [meaningful] patterns of the [body-]form. The depots reside inside, the form is seen from the outside; hence they are called *zangxiang*.” (1999: 181; see also *Leijing* 3.4a)

Zhang Jiebin and Li Zhongzi differs tremendously from the modern, scientific context of TCM. This is due to important epistemological differences in how the *zangxiang* are envisioned in Ming medical texts and in TCM textbooks.¹⁰⁵ As became clear from my above analysis, the origins of the distinction between Before Heaven and After Heaven in modern TCM, and their association with kidneys and liver can be traced back to *wenbu* theory. Yet, the Ming dynasty understanding of this distinction is more complex than portrayed in modern textbooks.

As is the case in modern textbooks and dictionaries, the Ming *wenbu* physician Li Zhongzi placed Before Heaven in the context of embryonal evolution. However, the passage in his *Yizong bidu* explaining the “root of Before Heaven” is much longer than what is quoted in the *Great Dictionary of TCM*. A further examination of the original passage sheds a light on the origin of Li’s understandings. After describing the evolution of the human embryo, which starts with the formation of the kidneys, Li adds the following quote: “An alchemic classic (*xian jing*) says: ‘If asked what this mysterious female is, when the human embryo is created, there are first the two kidneys’ (仙經曰借問如何是玄牝嬰兒初生先兩腎).¹⁰⁶

The alchemical classic mentioned here is a poem attributed to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓, and included in the collection *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 諸真內丹集要 (Collected Essentials on Inner Alchemy by Various Authentic [Persons]), edited by Xuanquanzi 玄全子, a disciple of the Quanzhen 全真 (Completion of Authenticity) Daoist master Ma Danyang 馬丹陽 (1123-1183).¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, verses of the same poem feature also in the explanations of the gate of life by the Ming dynasty physician Yu Tuan. In his *Cangsheng siming* 蒼生司命 (Managing Destiny for the Common People, 1515), Yu situates the gate of life in between the two kidneys as “the one spark of brightness in between the two kidneys (道書所謂兩腎中間一點明是也).”¹⁰⁸ He further links this “one spark of brightness” to “formless fire of Before Heaven, which differs from fire that has form of After Heaven” (*xiantian wuxing zhi huo yu houtian youxing zhi huo bu tong* 先天無形之火與後天有形之火不同).¹⁰⁹ *Cangsheng siming* is, as far as I could

¹⁰⁵ Hsu 2007b.

¹⁰⁶ *Yizong bidu* 81. Li ZYDCD paraphrases the preceding passages in *Yizong bidu*:

因在人体胚胎发育过程中，肾是最先形成的脏器，肾成之后，在按五行生顺序演生他脏。肾是最先形成的脏器，肾成之后，在按五行生顺序演生他脏。

Thus, during the formation process of the human embryo, the kidneys are the organs (*zangqi*) that are formed the very first. After the kidneys are formed, following the order of production of the five agents, the other organs are formed. (622, compare to *Yizong bidu* 81)

¹⁰⁷ *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 1.4b.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ *Cangsheng siming* 15.

retrace, the earliest medical text in which this distinction into Before Heaven and After Heaven is made, and placed in a Daoist (alchemical) context. As I will show in Chapter 2, these ideas had a tremendous influence on Zhao Xianke's understanding of the gate of life. Li Zhongzi's reference to Quanxuanzi's poem in the context of Before Heaven and the gate of life is not exceptional. In general, explaining the origin and essential ingredients of life, second generation *wenbu* physicians abundantly referred to alchemical sources.¹¹⁰

In TCM, Zhao Xianke and other *wenbu* physicians are remembered for being important proponents of *mingmen xueshuo* 命門學說 (Doctrine of the Gate of Life).¹¹¹ After explaining the kidneys as last viscera in the chapter on *zangxiang*, the textbook *Fundamental Theory of TCM* includes a separate explanation on the gate of life. Short passages from Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan* and other premodern medical texts are quoted in order to illustrate various ideas on the location of the gate of life and its function in the body. Yet, in its reference to premodern sources, the modern textbook is utmost fragmentary. At the end of the explanation of the gate of life, the textbook lists the following premodern physicians and the terminology they used to describe the gate of life: Chen Shiduo's 陳士鐸 (1627-1707) 'one fire' (*yi huo* 一火), Zhao Xianke's 'fire of Before Heaven' (*xiantian zhi huo* 先天之火), Zhang Jiebin's 'root of primordial *qi*' (元氣之根), and Sun Yikui's 'Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven' (*xiantian zhi taiji* 先天之太極).¹¹² These are not examples of alternative references to the gate of life. In fact, all the physicians mentioned used one or more of these designations. 'One fire', 'root of primordial *qi*', and 'Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven', for instance, all feature in *Yiguan*. On the other hand, the understandings of the gate of life by these physicians show subtle, and less subtle, differences, which are not pointed out in the textbook.¹¹³

The understanding of Before Heaven and After Heaven in TCM texts is paradoxical. Although references are made to historical legacy (for nostalgic or nationalistic reasons?), Before Heaven and After Heaven are also explained in modern "scientific" terminology.¹¹⁴ Premodern texts, such as *Yiguan*, remain readily available in modern edited reprinted form. But, because of the differences in cosmological context, the 21st century reader of the text is warned that Ming

¹¹⁰ See for, instance, Zhang Jiebin's understanding of the distinction between Before Heavenly *qi* and After Heavenly *qi* (*Leijing* 1.4a-5b), and Li Zhongzi's explanation on essence (*jing*), *qi*, and spirit (*shen*) (*Shanbu yisheng weilun* 653-566).

¹¹¹ See, for instance, Ma Boying 1994: 460-464.

¹¹² Cao Hongyin 2004: 58-59

¹¹³ These differences are not pointed out in most modern studies on the gate of life. For a more detailed and nuanced presentation, see Chang Chia-feng 1998.

¹¹⁴ In the above discussed lemmata on the "root of After Heaven" in the modern dictionary and the textbooks on TCM, explanations about *xiantian* (prenatal) and *houtian* (postnatal) borrow from premodern sources and mix them with modern scientific jargon.

dynasty philosophical/religious ideas may be confusing.¹¹⁵ In his ‘Guidance’ to a recent edition of *Yiguan*, Guo Junshuang 郭君双, for instance, advises the reader to read the abstruse parts in Zhao Xianke’s text in combination with modern (scientific) explanations in TCM textbooks:

这类论述方法对现代读者来说，可能过于玄妙。但现代学者阅读此书，关联是掌握赵氏命门医学理论指导临床诊治的意义。例如赵氏认为不可伤伐命门之火，它是人生命的根本，与肾同处于有机的整体，故为先天之本，立命之根。只有理解了他的这一学说核心，才能更好地学习赵氏在临床辩证用药方面的许多个人的独特心得。

在学习《医贯》中，建议读者还应结合中医基础理论有关肾与诸脏腑的关系，体会赵氏之论的道理所在，深化对命门的认识。

This kind of theoretical methods might be too abstruse (*guoyu xuanmiao*) for the contemporary reader. However, when the contemporary student reads this text, what is important is grasping the idea of applying Mr. Zhao’s medical theory on the gate of life in clinical diagnosis and treatment. For example, Mr. Zhao considers that the fire of the gate of life, being the root of human life, cannot be attacked. It belongs to the same organic entity as the kidneys do. Hence, it is the ‘root of Before Heaven’ (*xiantian zhi ben*), the ‘root that establishes life’ (*li ming zhi gen*). Only by understanding the core of his specific doctrine, you can better learn the unique insights of Mr. Zhao’s use of recipes in clinical diagnosis.

When studying *Yiguan*, I advice the reader to combine what in ‘Fundamental theory of TCM’ is explained about the relation between the kidneys and the *zangfu* system. By learning (*tihui*) the rationality (*daoli*) behind Mr. Zhao’s theory, you could deepen your understanding of ‘the gate of life’.¹¹⁶

The paradox between modernising medicine (i.e. making it scientific) and returning to the tradition dominates the discussion about how TCM medicine should further develop.¹¹⁷ How reading authentic texts contributes to the contemporary

¹¹⁵ At the end of the 1970ies, the TCM pioneer Jiang Chunhua (1908-1902) wrote an article on Zhao Xianke’s medical theory. Jiang accused Zhao Xianke (and other Ming scholars) of only having superficial knowledge about the Three Teachings. He also states that Zhao Xianke’s ideas on *yinyang* and the five agents, which are based on his assumptions on the formlessness of Before Heaven, contain a lot of “trash” (*zaopo* 糟粕). (1979: 37) On the teaching styles of Jiang Chunhua in the 1950ies, see Taylor 2005: 94.

¹¹⁶ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 4.

¹¹⁷ For articles expressing various opinions on the relation between TCM and premodern Chinese medical ideas, and on the future of TCM, see *Zhongguo kexue jishu xuehui xueshubu* 2007. (I wish to thank Liao Yuqun for providing me this publication.) For a very recent publication with various contributions that deal with issues related to integrating Chinese medicine into contemporary healthcare, see Scheid and MacPherson 2012.

practice of TCM is an interesting question, and relates to the tension between tradition and modernity, which I will not further discuss here.¹¹⁸ Fact is that some practitioners, not in the least in the West, are attracted to premodern cosmological ideas. After lectures and paper presentations over the last couple of years, I was often approached by practitioners of TCM who were interested in Zhao Xianke's explanation of the gate of life. Also many Chinese students of TCM, which I encountered during my research sojourns in China, complained that precisely the lack of a clear understanding of premodern cosmological backgrounds made TCM theory difficult to master. Instead of following Guo Junshuang's advice about disregarding the abstruse parts, and to read *Yiguan* in combination with modern explanations in TCM textbooks, I will primarily analyse Zhao Xianke's medical system in the context of Ming dynasty cosmology.

¹¹⁸ See also Scheid 2002: 33-44. On how different ways of transmission have an influence on the content of medical knowledge, see Hsu 1999. For an interesting account on the "struggle of survival" of *taijiquan* in a contemporary urban setting, see Vercammen 2009.

Outline of chapters

Before discussing how cosmogony rooted in Before Heaven legitimises the curative medical system promoted in Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan*, in Chapter 1, which makes up Part I ("Text and Context") of my dissertation, I will analyse the available source material on the author and his text. Primary sources about both Zhao and *Yiguan* are scarce, making it very difficult to provide a detailed account of the author's life and the early history of his text. However, based on the few available primary sources, and backed up by secondary sources, I will situate Zhao in a specific period of time and geographical space. I will also devote attention to the elite social circles of Ningbo, whose prominenti picked up Zhao's medical ideas during his life, or soon after his death, and were ultimately responsible for the publication of *Yiguan*. I will further elaborate on the different editions of *Yiguan* that were transmitted to our times. In my discussion on Before Heaven in *Yiguan*, in Part II and Part III, I will not always exactly follow the structure of *Yiguan*. Therefore, in the concluding section of Part I, I will shortly discuss the composition and structure of the text as a whole.

Part II ("Theoretic Foundations") is divided into two chapters (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3). In Chapter 2, I will discuss Zhao Xianke's fundamental ideas on the gate of life. I discuss its location between the two kidneys, and how it interacts with the formal visceral structures in the body, including the heart. Special attention is devoted to diagrams, which Zhao abundantly referred to in order to visualise his ideas on Before Heaven. In Chapter 3, I further analyse how his premises on the formlessness of Before Heaven shaped his views on *yinyang* and five agents systems of correspondences, which in medicine are used to explain the functioning of the body, diagnostics, and therapeutic strategy, etc. I will show how Zhao's understandings of *yinyang* and five agents relationships and interactions differed from conventional ideas. Throughout Part II, I will make an extensive comparison with other *wenbu* texts, and place Zhao Xianke's ideas on cosmology and physiology in the broader history of medical ideas in China. By doing so, I will not only point out similarities between individual practitioners of *wenbu* medicine, I will also highlight the unique features of the medical system explained in *Yiguan*.

In the three chapters of Part III, "Treatment Strategies," I analyse how Zhao Xianke's fundamental ideas on cosmogony and cosmology theoretically legitimise his curative strategy of warming and supplementing. Chapter 4 focuses on the two main recipes, *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*, which in *Yiguan* are advanced to balance formless water and fire, associated with the gate of life. I trace Zhao's logic of applying these recipes back to a set of principles borrowed from Wang Bing's comments on the *Inner*

Classic. Although Zhao is often regarded to have copied these principles from Xue Ji, the father of the *wenbu* medicine, I point out that Zhao's emphasis on Before Heaven, which is absent in Xue's writings, deepened and expanded *wenbu* theory. In Chapter 5, I elaborate on various pathologies caused by a depletion of the Before Heavenly, and how *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* are, according to Zhao, the appropriate curative means for treating these pathologies. In Chapter 6, I discuss the two other main clinical strategies referred to in *Yiguan*: expelling external evil and supplementing *yangqi* associated with the central function of the spleen-stomach.¹¹⁹ Also in this chapter, my focus is on the larger cosmological framework, by which Zhao Xianke explains his views on clinical strategies.

I round up my analysis of Before Heaven and curative medicine in *Yiguan* with three thematic discussions. The first discussion is on how Zhao Xianke rhetorically refers to the Three Teachings in order to support his medical theory. I will discuss why Three Teachings Unity in *Yiguan*, and other *wenbu* texts, should not be understood as an expression of late Ming syncretic Neo-Confucianism. The second discussion elaborates on the specific way in which *Changes* symbology is used in *Yiguan*. Throughout his text, Zhao Xianke amply refers to the Diagram of After Heaven. I will discuss how this diagram visualises his ideas on cosmogony, and how it is used to explain the properties of his favourite recipes. Although the application of this diagram, and many other features of *Yiguan*, are unique, Zhao Xianke did not consider himself to be an iconoclast. In the third discussion, I elaborate on how Zhao places his therapeutics of 'supplementing and warming' in an orthodox tradition rooted in classical medicine of the Han dynasty. Moreover, I will discuss how he appreciates the curative strategies associated with other important physicians of the Song-Ming period, and how his own medical system is influenced by them.

The focus in *Yiguan*, and consequently in my dissertation, is mainly on curative medicine. Although Zhao Xianke did not extensively write about disease prevention, scattered throughout his text he highlighted the importance of preventively nourishing the fire of Before Heaven. In Appendix 1, I briefly summarise these ideas on prevention. Appendix 2 includes an alphabetical enumeration of the *materia medica* and recipes mentioned throughout the main text of my dissertation, with Chinese characters, English translation, and, in case of *materia medica*, the pharmaceutical name.

Although my analysis of the medical system explained in *Yiguan* is based on a thorough reading of the text, I have decided not to include a complete annotated translation. Such a translation, based on an extensive philological study, is beyond the scope of the present project. I have chosen to distill the gist of Zhao Xianke's

¹¹⁹ See also Guo Junshuang 2005a: 4-5.

complex text. Yet, to support my analysis, I have included many passages of *Yiguan*, translated for the first time into English. These translations reflect the flavour of the text as a whole.

My dissertation is certainly not a practical handbook on Ming dynasty medicine, nor does it claim to evaluate Zhao Xianke's medical system from a clinical point of view. It is rather my hope that my focus on cosmogony and cosmology in *Yiguan* may appeal to contemporary practitioners of TCM as well, and that my research may help them to reflect on the historical contexts that have shaped the medicine they practice today.

Part I:

Text and Context

Chapter 1

Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan*

Introduction

Although not much is known about the life of Zhao Xianke, his fame rose during the second half of the 17th century when *Yiguan* started to exert a major influence on elite physicians in the larger Ningbo area. Soon afterwards, Zhao's text crossed the regional borders, and even found its way abroad. Copies of *Yiguan* feature in Japanese collections, and in the Jesuit archives in Rome.¹²⁰ Ideas which were first formulated in *Yiguan* inspired Lãn Ông 懶翁 (1720-1791), the “Father of Vietnamese medicine.”¹²¹ Today, *Yiguan* continues to attract scholars and practitioners of Chinese medicine, in both China and the West. Although many later generations of physicians criticised Zhao's clinical approach of using *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan* in a wide range of diseases as being too simplistic, *Yiguan* is still studied for its theoretical elaborations on the gate of life.

Because of a lack of primary source material, it is close to impossible to provide an accurate account of Zhao Xianke's life. In the first section of this chapter, I will put some of the scarcely available pieces of information together. Although Zhao's exact dates of birth and death are unknown, I will approximately situate him in time. Born in Yin County in the east of Zhejiang province, we may assume that he was active in his natal region for most of most of his professional life. However, he was also a

¹²⁰ For Japanese collections, see ZYTSML 28 and Mayanagi 1991: 5. (I wish to thank Mayanagi Makoto for providing me the bibliographic references to his “Synopsis to *Yiguan*,” which I accessed electronically.) The edition in the Jesuit archives is the Shulin Zhang Qipeng edition (Ming dynasty). (Chan 2002: 387-388)

¹²¹ “Lãn Ông is a nickname. His real name was Lê Hũ'ư Trác. He is also known as Hải Thu'ợng Lãn Ông (Lazy Old Man from Hải Thu'ợng). For biographical information, see Bates and Bates 2007 and Thompson 2006.

traveller, and there are indications that he spent some time in the northeastern border region of the Ming Empire. As I will show, his acquaintance with the high Ming official Xue Sancai 薛三才 (1555-1619) might explain his presence in the northeast, where *Yiguan* was probably written. In the second section, I will explain how Zhao's ideas were embraced in the circles of the anti-Qing activist and scholar Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695). Huang's friend, fellow anti-Qing activist, scholar, and physician, Lü Liuliang 呂留良 (1629-1683) published an annotated edition of *Yiguan*, which became popular at the end of the seventeenth century. From that time on, *Yiguan* was considered to be one of the representative texts of the *wenbu* scholarly current, but it also provoked controversy. Xu Dachun 徐大椿 (1693-1771), one of the foremost adversaries of *wenbu* thought authored *Yiguan bian* 醫貫砭 (Critique on *Yiguan*)¹²², a fierce critique on the contents of *Yiguan*. Nevertheless, Zhao's text remained popular, and was reprinted dozens of times. However, similar to what we know about his life, also about the history of *Yiguan* many questions remain unresolved. There is no certainty about the date of its first edition, and some even question Zhao Xianke's authorship of the text. In the third section, I will elaborate on the question of authorship and on the editions of *Yiguan*. In the last section of this chapter, I will give an overview of its structure and contents. Zhao's ideas on Before Heaven in medicine will be analysed in Part II and Part III of my dissertation.

¹²² 砭 *bian* means to "criticise" (批评), but also refers "to a stone needle used to treat diseases in antiquity" (古代治病用的石针). (HYDCD 7, 1015)

A wenbu physician

Although contemporary scholars of Chinese medical history consider Zhao Xianke to be one of the most important Ming dynasty physicians of Zhejiang province, almost no reliable primary sources on his person are available.¹²³ Based on biographical entries in *Local Histories*, prefaces to *Yiguan*, the contents of *Yiguan*, and the writings of the regional elite, I will try to shed some light on details of his life. I take the biographical entry on Zhao Xianke in the *Local History of Yin County of the Kangxi Era* (Kangxi Yin-xian zhi 康熙鄞縣誌, 1686) as point of departure:

趙獻可字養葵號醫巫閭子好學淹貫尤善於易而精於醫以養火為主嘗論命門乃人身之君養身者不知樽節致此火以至於病治病者復不知培養此火反用寒涼以滅之安望其戩著醫貫一書論議甚精俱前人未發為醫家指南盛行於世後遊秦晉者述甚多有內經抄素問注經絡攷正脈論二朱一例諸書子貞觀字如葵亦精於醫醇厚有古風治病不問貴賤未嘗計利嘗治人病夜半自往叩門候其脈症以用藥有絳雪丹書痘疹論行世

Zhao Xianke was styled (zi) Yangkui. His nickname (*hao*) was Master of Yiwülü (Master of the Dwelling of the Medical Shaman). He was fond of learning, had thorough knowledge, and was particularly proficient in the *Changes* and in medicine. Taking nourishing fire as his main strategy (*yi yang huo wei zhu*), he argued that the gate of life (*mingmen*) is the governor (*jun*) of the human body. [According to Zhao,] those who nourish the body do not know how to exercise restraint (*zunjie*), which damages this fire, and causes disease. Those who treat diseases also do not know how to foster this fire. Instead, they use cold and cool to extinguish it. How would there then be hope for survival? [Zhao] wrote a text, *Yiguan*, of which the meaning is very profound. Containing what previous generations did not discover yet, it is a guideline for the physician. [This text] became very popular. Afterwards, [Zhao] travelled to Qin and Jin, and wrote many texts, such as *Neijing chao* (Transcription of the Inner Classic), *Suwen zhu* (Comments on the Plain Questions), *Jingluo kao* (Investigation of the Conduits and Interconnections), *Zhengmai lun* (Essay on the Correct Pulses), *Er zhu yi li* (Two Zhu Are the Same)¹²⁴, etc. His son, Zhenguan, styled (zi) Rukui, was proficient in medicine

¹²³ Short entries on Zhao Xianke mainly feature in general histories of Chinese medicine and in regional histories of Ningbo. For the former, see, for instance, Unschuld 1985: 200-210; For the latter, see, for instance, Le Chengyao 1995: 336-337.

¹²⁴ It is unclear who or what these two Zhu would be. Other sources refer to this text as *Er ben yi li* 二本一例 (Two Roots Are the Same). See, for instance, ZGYJTK 2647. Instead of being the title of a text, it could be interpreted as “two books of the same category,” referring to the two previous texts: “*Jingluo kao* and *Zhengmai lun*, two books of the same category.”

as well. He was honest and sincere, and treated diseases in the old style, without asking about the social status [of his patients]. He never calculated (considered) profit when treating people's diseases. Even at midnight, he personally went to knock at the gate to make a diagnosis, and to provide medicine. His *Jiangxue danshu* (Vermillion Writing about Crimson Snow)¹²⁵ and *Douzhen lun* (Essay on Smallpox) became well known.¹²⁶

Thus, the only information revealed in the *Local History* are names, a short description of Zhao's medical doctrine, a reference to his expertise in the *Changes*, his travels, a listing of his main medical texts, and that he had a son, Zhenguan, who also was a physician, and an author of medical texts.

The information in other primary sources is even more fragmentary. While there is no doubt among scholars that Zhao Xianke was born in Yin County in the east of Zhejiang province, there is no consensus about his dates of birth and death. Most Chinese historians situate his date of birth in either the Longqing 隆慶 (1567-1572) or in the Wanli 萬曆 period (1573-1620), and his date of death in the Chongzhen 崇禎 (1628-1644) period.¹²⁷ Although some authors, such as Zheng Xiaowei 郑小伟 in his entry on "Zhao Xianke" in *Zhejiang mingyi zhenliao tese* 浙江名医诊疗特色 (Characteristics of Diagnostics and Treatment of Famous Physicians of Zhejiang Province), give exact dates, it remains unclear on which primary sources these dates are based.¹²⁸ In contrast to Chinese historians, the Japanese researcher of Chinese medical history Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠 situates Zhao's date of birth more than a decade before the Longqing period. Based on the preface to *Yiguan* written by Xue Sanxing 薛三省 (1558-1634), Mayanagi assumes that Zhao must have been an older contemporary of Sanxing and his older brother Xue Sancai.¹²⁹ After examining Xue's preface and another one written by Wen Anzhi 文安之 (1582-1659), Mayanagi further suggests that Zhao was still alive in 1617, but most likely died before 1628.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ “絳”, the first character of this title, is probably mistaken. Instead of *Vermillion Writing about Stched Snow* (*Fengxue danshu* 絳雪丹書), I translate the title of this work as *Vermillion Writing about Crimson Snow* (*Jiangxue danshu* 絳雪丹書). See also p. 72.

¹²⁶ *Kangxi Yin-xian zhi* 11b.26b-27a. Entries in later *Local Histories* are, with minor variations, almost identical to the version compiled in the Kangxi reign (1662-1722). For an entry verbatim almost identical, see the revised edition of the *Ningbo-fu zhi* 寧波府誌 (Local History of Ningbo Prefecture, 1734) of the eleventh year of the Yongzheng reign (1723-1735), revised by Cao Bingren 曹秉仁 in 1742, the sixth year of the Qianlong reign (1736-1795). (*Ningbo fuzhi* 31.21a-b)

¹²⁷ Longqing period see, for example, Chen Yongping 1996: 1; Wanli period, see, for example, Xu Qi 1989: 1. I wish to thank Catherine Despeux for providing me with a copy of Xu Qi 1989.

¹²⁸ According to Zhang Xiaowei, Zhao was born in 1573, and died at an age of 56 years (hence, in 1628 or 1629). (1995: 130)

¹²⁹ Mayanagi 1991: 1.

¹³⁰ Mayanagi 1991: 1. Wen Anzhi's preface to the Chongzhen 1 edition, see below. Wen Anzhi's "Biography" is contained in *Mingshi* 279.4b-6b.

The only precise date in relation to Zhao Xianke's life is Dingsi 丁巳, the 54th year of the sexagenary cycle. This year is mentioned in a case record included in "Essay on Liji" (Liji lun 痢疾論) in *juan* 6 of *Yiguan*:

四明徐陽泰體素豐多火善渴雖盛寒床頭必置茗椀或一夕盡數甌又時苦喘急質之余余言此屬鬱火症常令服茱萸連丸無恙也丁巳夏徐君避暑檀州酷甚朝夕坐冰盤間或飲冷香薷湯自負清暑良劑孟秋痢大作初三晝夜下百許次紅白相雜絕無渣滓腹脹悶絞痛不可言或謂宜下以大黃餘勿顧也竟用參朮姜桂漸愈猶白積不止服感應丸而痊後少嘗蟹螯復瀉下委頓仍服八味湯及補劑中重加姜桂而愈

Xu Yangtai of Siming had a corpulent constitution. Because of a large presence of fire, he drank often. Even when it was very cold, he had to place a teacup at the head side of the bed. During one night, he might empty several cups. At some time, he suffered from panting (*chuan*), and urgently asked my advice. I explained that his condition was due to depressed fire (*yu huo*).¹³¹ If he regularly would take *zhulian wan*, he would be in good health. In the year Dingsi, Mr. Xu escaped the summer heat by going to Tanzhou.¹³² His suffering was severe. Day and night, he sat on a plate filled with ice. Sometimes he drank cooled *xiangru tang* (Decoction of Mosla). Being self-confident, he considered this to be an excellent recipe to clear summer heat. However, during the first month of autumn (*mengqiu*), he suffered from a fierce outbreak of *liji* (dysentery). During the first three days and nights, he had about one-hundred bouts of diarrhoea (*xia*). Red [blood] and white [pus] were mixed together, and there were no residues at all. His abdomen was distended and felt stuffed (*men*). It was so painful that he could not express it with words. Some said that he should purge with *dahuang* (rhubarb). But, I did not take this into consideration. Eventually, I used [*ren*]shen (ginseng), [*bai*]zhu, jiang (ginger), and *gui* (cinnamon), and he gradually recovered. Only the accumulations of white [pus] did not stop. [I then] administered *ganying wan*, and he was cured. Afterwards, he ate a small amount of pincers of crab, and again he suffered from a draining diarrhoea (*xie xia*), which exhausted him. Hence, I administered *bawei tang*. To this supplementing recipe, I added a large amount of ginger and cinnamon.¹³³

Assuming that Zhao Xianke practiced medicine in the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century, Dingsi in the above case record can only refer to the year 1617.

In other editions, the name of Xu Yangtai is not mentioned as his patient at the

¹³¹ See the section on "Depressed' fire' (*yu*)" in Chapter 6.

¹³² Tanzhou is in the north of Beijing.

¹³³ YG 6.46a-47b.

beginning of this passage. Instead Xu Yangtai recounts this passage as the disciple of Zhao Xianke who recorded this case record in which he himself was the patient. At the end of the above passage in other editions, he states: “I, Xu Yangtai, disciple from Siming, humbly wrote it down as testimony” (四明弟子徐陽泰頓首書狀). Moreover, the personal pronoun referring to the first person (*yu* 余), is consistently replaced by “mister” (*xiansheng* 先生).¹³⁴ Although this case history may be an addition to *Yiguan* by his disciple, it confirms that Zhao Xianke was practicing medicine in 1617.¹³⁵

No controversy exists about Zhao Xianke's place of birth. All scholars assert that he hailed from Yin County, and assume that he mainly was active in his natal region. Yet, the primary sources do not reveal precise details about his whereabouts. In a rare anecdotal case history contained in *Yiguan*, Zhao explains how he treated himself after he had attracted a small physical problem, upon returning home by boat from neighbouring Dinghai 定海:

予一日患陰丸一個腫如鴨卵發熱以濕熱症治之不效細思之數日前從定海小船回有濕布風帆在坐下比上岸始覺以意逆之此感寒濕在腎丸也乃用六味加柴胡吳茱萸肉桂各一錢獨活五分一服而熱退再服而腫消後有患偏墜者此方多效

One day, I suffered from a swelling of my testicles. It was as [big as] a duck egg. I had ‘heat effusion’ (*fa re*)¹³⁶. After I treated it according to symptoms of dampness and heat (*shi re zheng*), there were no results. I meticulously thought it over. Several days ago, I returned on a small boat from Dinghai. There was a wet sail under the seat. I became aware of it when I went ashore. I figured it out that my testicle (*shenwan*) was influenced (affected *gan*) by cold and dampness. Thereafter, I used *liuwei*, added by each one *qian* of *chaihu*, [*shan*] *zhuyu*, and *rougui*, and one *fen* of *duhuo*. After one dose, the heat retreated. After a second dose, the swelling disappeared.

¹³⁴ See, for instance, GJS YG 140. This case history also features in *Xu mingyi lei'an*, where it follows the structure of the passage as quoted above. (11.41b-42a.)

¹³⁵ Chen Yongping points out that his disciple Xu Yangtai added this case history, and that Zhao Xianke treated him in the autumn of 1617: “From the case history that Xu Yangtai added to the final section of the text, we know that Mr. Zhao cured his disciple Xu's serious condition of dysentery [*liji*] by warming and supplementing in the autumn of Dingsi (the forty-fifth year of the Wanli period). Hence, the year of completion of this text (the first publication) appears to be not earlier than 1617” (从书末所载赵氏弟子徐阳泰补叙的一则医案，知赵氏曾于丁巳（明·万历四十五年）秋以温补治愈徐之重症痢疾，则本书成书（初刻）年代不应早于1617年。）。(Chen Yongping 1995: 3)

¹³⁶ “*Fa re*”, also translated as “fever”, refers to “abnormal bodily heat that can be detected by palpitation or that is experienced subjectively.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 278) Because “*fare*” is broader in semantical range than the English word “fever,” as it also “denotes palpable body heat or heat sensations (as yin vacuity) that are not normally described in English as fever either in colloquial or in the modern medical sense of the word,” I follow Wiseman and Feng's translation of “heat effusion.” (1998: 279, see also Li ZYDCD 552)

Afterwards, if someone suffered from ‘swelling and hanging down of either of the testes’ (*pianzhui*)¹³⁷, this recipe proved to be most effective.¹³⁸

The local history mentions that Zhao Xianke not only stayed in East Zhejiang, but that he travelled to Qin 秦 (Shaanxi 陝西) and Jin 晉 (Shanxi 山西), as well.¹³⁹ According to other sources, Zhao went as far as present-day Liaoning province.

In his preface to *Yiguan*, Xue Sanxing states that Zhao Xianke even wrote his major work in the northeast:

醫巫閭子姓趙氏名獻可別號養葵其為今稱蓋有逃名之意焉且以書成於幽州

Master of Yiwulü had the surname Zhao. His name (*ming*) was Xianke. His pseudonym (*biehao*) was Yangkui (Raising Sunflowers).¹⁴⁰ The way he is called now [Master of Yiwulü], reflects the idea of fleeing fame (*taoming*). Moreover, his book was completed in Youzhou.¹⁴¹

Although a minority of scholars, taking the name Youzhou (“Obscure Province”) literally, assume that this refers to an imaginary place, most historians point out that Youzhou is an ancient name for the northeastern province, consisting the present-day capital region, and large parts of Hebei and Liaoning.¹⁴² Moreover, Zhao’s nickname, Yiwulüzi 醫巫閭子 (Master of the Dwelling of the Medical Shaman) may also refer to this region, as Yiwulü is the name of a mountain range in Liao.¹⁴³ Although the Liao name Yiwulü can be transliterated in different ways in Chinese, the most commonly used character combinations are 醫巫閭 or 醫無閭. Sometimes Zhao’s nickname is also written with the latter combination as 醫無閭子 (Yiwulüzi; literally: “Master of the Physician without Dwelling”). Presumably, because Zhao wrote his major medical text on Mt. Yiwulü, the Qing scholar and physician Lü Liuliang, who largely based his own medical ideas on those of Zhao, alluded in his

¹³⁷ Also translated as “sagging of one testicle.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 511)

¹³⁸ YG 6.31a-b.

¹³⁹ Qin is the name of the state that in the Zhou dynasty was used for what is now Shaanxi. Jin, Shanxi. See also Guo Junshuang 2005a: 1.

¹⁴⁰ Compare to the entry on Zhao Xianke in *Kangxi Yin-xian zhi*, translated above above, in which Yangkui is not his pseudonym but his style. (11b.26b)

¹⁴¹ Preface Xue Sanxing reprinted in CYP YG 9-10. On fleeing name (fame), see also Wang Yu 1987: 17.

¹⁴² See, for instance, *Zhouli*: “The northeast is called ‘Youzhou’. Its mountain is called ‘Yiwulü’” (東北曰幽州其山鎮曰醫無閭). (*Zhouli zhushu* 33.19b). Wang Yu is sceptical, and does not believe that *Yiguan* is completed in the northeast. In his opinion *you* (obscure) should be understood metaphorically. (1987: 17)

¹⁴³ For an extensive account on Mt. Yiwulü, see Wang Guang 2003.

preface to *Yiguan* to a passage of the *Huananzi* in which Yiwulü is mentioned as the place where *xunyuqi* 洵玕琪, a rare precious jade stone can be found: “I once inspected a mountain town in Youzhou, called Yiwulü. The precious stone (*zhenqi*) *xunyuqi* comes from there” (嘗考幽州山鎮曰醫無閭洵玕琪珍器出焉).¹⁴⁴

At first sight, the connection between the Ningbo physician Zhao Xianke and Mt. Yiwulü in the northeast seems to be farfetched. However, this connection becomes more plausible when examining Zhao's relation with the Xue brothers. In his preface to *Yiguan*, Sanxing recounts that his brother Sancai was responsible for the publication of *Yiguan*:

若曰藏諸山以俟其人刻而行之者家伯兄司馬公也

Like is said, “storing (*cang*) up in the mountains in order to wait for the [right] person,”¹⁴⁵ the one who published and spread it [the text, *ke er xing zhi*] was my older brother (*boxiong*), His Excellency Minister of War (Sima Gong).¹⁴⁶

Sancai passed the metropolitan examinations, and was awarded the *jinshi* 進士 (“presented scholar”) degree in 1586. Afterwards, he held several high positions in the Ming administration. He was Grand Coordinator (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Xuan Prefecture (宣府) (ca. 1614), gained experience in the northeastern border region as viceroy for Jifu 薊府, Liaoning, and Baoding 保定, and was appointed Minister of War (*bingbu shangshu* 兵部尚書) and acting Supreme Commander (*zongdu* 總督) in Jiliao 薊遼, in 1618.¹⁴⁷ Holding this last two appointments, Sancai faced harsh difficulties. In the second decade of the 16th century, Nurhaci (1559-1626), who since the 1580ies had started to unify the Jurchen tribes, became a real threat for the Ming Empire. In 1616, Nurhaci declared himself emperor of a new dynasty, the Later Jin (Hou Jin 後金,

¹⁴⁴ Lü Liuliang's preface, reprinted in ZGYJTK 2644. Compare to *Huainanzi* 4.5a. In the preface the characters “*xunganqi* 洵玕琪.” However the commonly used characters for this jade stone are “*洵玕琪*.” Therefore, I transliterate “*xunyuqi*.” *Xunyuqi* is “the name of a jade stone. It is the jade of the Eastern Barbarians.” (HYDCD 4, 556) Duan Yucai 段玉裁 says in his comment on *Shuowen* that both *xunyucai* and *yiwulü* are loanwords from the language of the Eastern Barbarians (*dongyiyu* 東夷語). (HYDCD 4, 556)

¹⁴⁵ This phrase refers to the expression “storing up in the famous mountains” (*cang zhu mingshan* 藏諸名山), which originates from Sima Qian's 司馬遷 *Bao Ren Xiaoqing shu* 報人少卿書 (A Letter to Ren Shaoqing). The original meaning was to store books in a book house in order to pass them on to a next generation. Afterwards, the expression was used to refer to books that are of such a value that they should be passed on to the next generation. (HYDCD 9, 593)

¹⁴⁶ Preface Xue Sanxing, reprinted in CYP YG 10. In the Ming and Qing period, the title Sima, a title for the minister of war in the Zhou period, was used unofficially for executive officials of the Ministry of War. (Hucker 1985: 452)

¹⁴⁷ Struve 1998: 200. Biographical information on Xue Sancai can also be found in *Mingshi gao* (“*Liezhuan*”) 102.18a-19b. Xue Sancai's memorials are published as *Xue Gongmin gong zoushu* 薛恭敏公奏疏 (Memorials to the Throne by Duke Xue Gongmin).

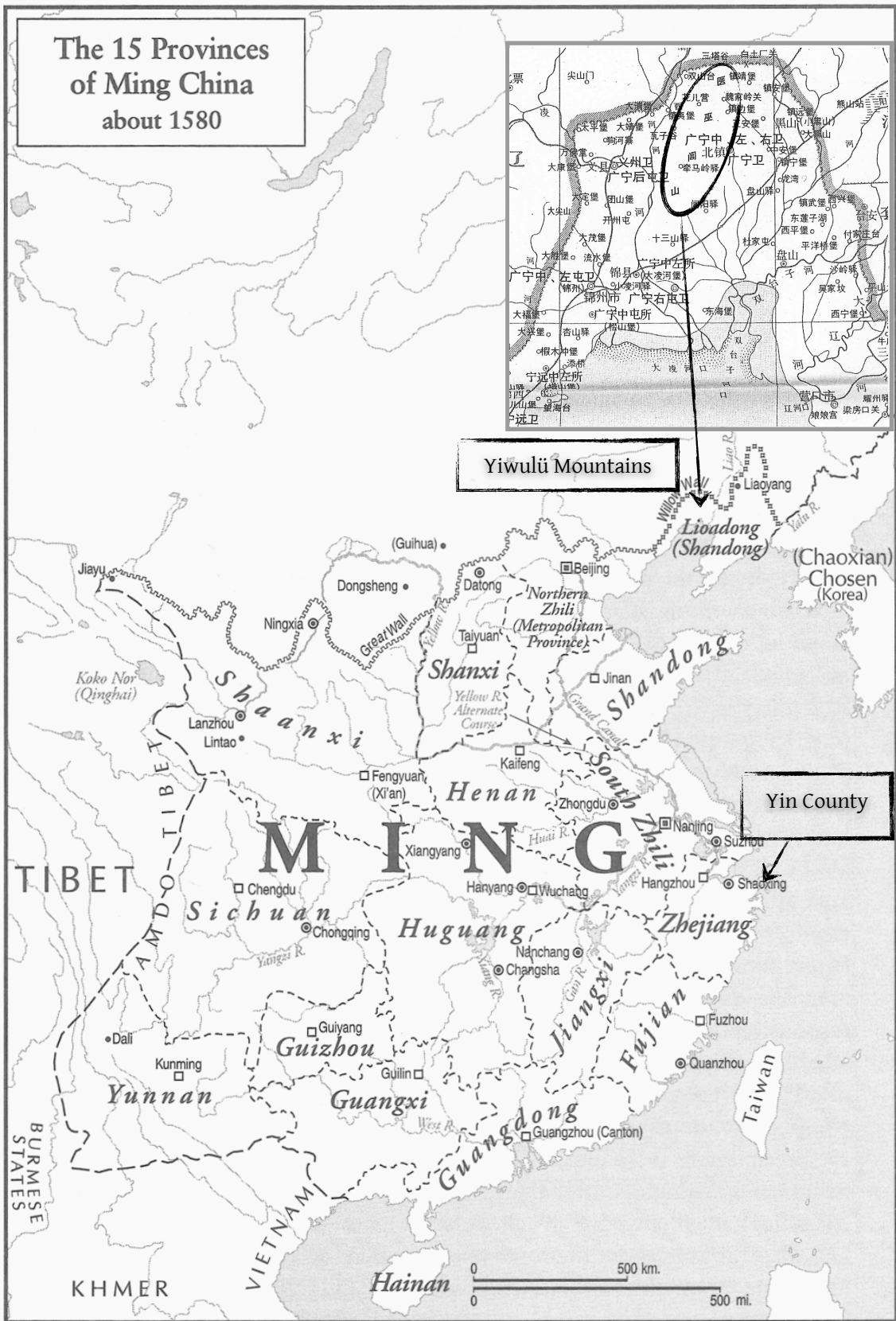


Figure 6. Yin County and Yiwulü
 (Adapted from Mote 1999: 640; detail Tan Qixiang 1982: 52)

1616-1636). In 1618, the year Sancai was appointed as Minister of War and Supreme Commander, Nurhaci formulated his famous 'Seven Grievances' (*qi da hen* 七大恨)¹⁴⁸ to the Ming emperor, occupied the trading town of Fushun (撫順), and attacked other Ming cities as well. From this year onwards, the situation escalated. The Ming army suffered great losses. In 1621, Liaodong was conquered by Manchu troops, and Nurhaci established a new capital in Liaoyang.¹⁴⁹ On grounds of illness, Sancai initially tried in vain to escape his task of resisting Nurhaci. However, his illness was not feigned, since he died in 1619, only one year after his appointment.¹⁵⁰ If the case record in which the year Dingsi (1617) is mentioned, is not a later addition to the original text, Sancai must have facilitated the publication of *Yiguan* during the last few troublesome years of his life.¹⁵¹

Many questions remain unresolved: Why was Zhao Xianke in the northeast? Did he really write *Yiguan* in Yiwulü? Why did the high official Xue Sancai put efforts in the publication of his text? We can only speculate. Regional ties may explain a relationship between Zhao from Yin and the Xue brothers, hailing from neighbouring Dinghai.¹⁵² Could it be that Sancai summoned Zhao, a physician he knew from his home region, to take care of his illness? Did Sancai, in return, facilitate the publication of *Yiguan*? Whatever Zhao's exact relation with the Xue brothers was, through them he had connections within the highest echelons of the Ming administration. Not only Sancai, but also his younger brother Sanxing, who passed the *jinshi* exams of 1601, held high positions, and was once Minister of Rites. This is reflected in the way he signs his preface to *Yiguan*:

賜進士第奉訓大夫右春坊右諭德兼翰林院侍講撰述
誥敕東宮日講官甬東友人薛三省拜撰

¹⁴⁸ “[I]ncluding the charge that his father and grandfather had been killed in a Ming attack on base in Manchuria, that Chinese settlers were infiltrating the Manchu homeland on the Manchurian plain, that the Chinese had aided two Jurchen tribes to resist his overlordship, and the like.” (Mote 2003: 789)

¹⁴⁹ Lorge 2003: 141-143; Mote 2003: 789-790.

¹⁵⁰ Struve 1998: 200.

¹⁵¹ The earliest still extant edition of *Yiguan*, on which Sancai's name is mentioned, dates from 1628. On each of the front pages of the three surviving *juan*, Zhao Xianke mentioned as author, and Xue Sancai as “revisor” (*dingzheng* 訂正). (Mayanagi 1991: 1, 6)

¹⁵² In his preface, see below, Xue Sanxing refers to Zhao Xianke as his friend from Yongdong 甬東, which is an old name for Dinghai.

Written by the granted as Metropolitan Graduate with Honours¹⁵³, Grand Master for Admonishment,¹⁵⁴ Adviser¹⁵⁵ of the Secretariat of the Heir Apparent¹⁵⁶ of the Right, and Expositor-in-waiting of the Hanlin academy¹⁵⁷. Conferred by decree to the title of Daily¹⁵⁸ Lecturer¹⁵⁹ of the Eastern Palace¹⁶⁰, his friend from Yongdong, Xue Sanxing, writing in honour.¹⁶¹

Although Zhao Xianke had contacts with these important functionaries, he is often envisioned as a wandering recluse, who avoided high positions and fame. On the title pages of a 1628 edition of *Yiguan*, Zhao's name is preceded by the epithet "retired scholar" (*yishi* 逸士).¹⁶² Lü Liuliang, as well, illustrates Zhao's reclusive character in his preface to *Yiguan*:

子之余鄉有隱君子者少穎敏工屬文淹博條貫經史而外諸子百家韜鈴星蔔靡不鉤玄提要默識而心通素善病不樂仕進專精於醫每治一病輒應手而效然不欲以醫著特諱其姓字自號曰醫無閭子

In my hometown, there was a 'reclusive gentleman' (*yin junzi*). In his youth, he was extremely intelligent, and well-versed in writing. Besides broad and systematic [knowledge of the] *Classics* and the *Histories*, there was nothing of the 'various philosophers' (*zhuzi baijia*), 'military classics' (*taoqian*),¹⁶³ and 'astrology and divination' (*xing bu*) whose mysteries he did not examine, and of which he indicate the importance. He grasped it intuitively. He fell often prey to disease. Unwilling to enter public life, he concentrated

¹⁵³ 進士第 is *jinshi jidi* 進士及第, a "[d]esignation of the few best graduates of the national civil service recruitment examinations, constituting the First Category, as contrasted to Regular Metropolitan Graduates in the Second Category and Associate Metropolitan Graduates in the Third Category of successful candidates." (Hucker 1985: 167)

¹⁵⁴ "Prestige title for civil officials," in the Ming of rank 5b. (Hucker 1985: 213)

¹⁵⁵ Lit. "Proclaimer of Virtue." "Adviser in the establishment of the Heir Apparent," in the Ming holding rank 5b. (Hucker 1985: 594)

¹⁵⁶ Lit. "Spring Quarters." The secretariat "in charge of het household of the Heir Apparent." (Hucker 1985: 188)

¹⁵⁷ "An attendant skilled in explaining classical texts." In the Ming period these were regular members of the Hanlin academy, holding rank 6a. (Hucker 1985: 422)

¹⁵⁸ Astrologer. Cf. Hucker 1985: 272.

¹⁵⁹ "An ad hoc designation for officials participating with the Emperor in a Classics Colloquium." (Hucker 1985: 140)

¹⁶⁰ "Throughout imperial history the designation of the residence of the Heir Apparent." (Hucker 1985: 522)

¹⁶¹ Reprinted in CYP YG 9-10; Xue Sanxing's preface is also reprinted in ZGYJTK 2645-46. Wang Yu points to inconsistencies in the tiles mentioned by Xue Sanxing. (1987: 17)

¹⁶² Mayanagi 1991: 6.

¹⁶³ *Taoqian* refers to the two important texts on military strategy: *Liu tao* 六韜 (Six Secret [Teachings of Military; a *tao* is a scabbard or bow case in which a text might be hidden]) and *Yuqian bian* 玉鈴篇 (Piece in a Jade Locker). The term *taoqian* is used to refer to military classics in general. See HYDCD 12, 687.

his efforts on medicine. Each time he treated a disease, and he was successful. However, he did not want to become famous because of his medicine. He especially (*te*) avoided his surname and style name (*xingzi*), and called himself (*zihao*) Master of Yiwulü.¹⁶⁴

Also in modern secondary sources, Zhao's avoidance from fame and his reclusive character are highlighted. In his preface to his annotated edition of *Yiguan* of 1994, Chen Yongping, for instance, portrays Zhao as follows:

由於他不求高官厚祿，而喜歡隱居或冶遊，又兼通醫學、易學及儒、佛、道，故被譽“江湖狀元”，人稱逸士，遊仙。

He did not pursue high offices and big salaries. Instead, he liked to live in seclusion and to wander around. He was not only versatile in the study of medicine and *Changes*, but also in Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. For these reasons, he was praised as “Number One Scholar of Rivers and Lakes” (*jianghu zhuangyuan*)¹⁶⁵. People called him a “retired scholar” and “wandering immortal” (*you xian*).¹⁶⁶

Others state that Zhao Xianke did not only treat the illnesses of the rich, but also those of commoners.¹⁶⁷ Although primary sources do not confirm this information about Zhao Xianke, in the *Local History of Yin County*, taking care of the ill “without asking about the social status [of the patient]” is attributed to his son, Zhenguan.¹⁶⁸

Zhao Xianke lived in confusing times. As scholars, such as Chen Yongping and Xu Qi emphasise, the end of the Ming dynasty was marked by a corrupted imperial government, excess and decadence for the rich, and deprivation for the poor.¹⁶⁹ While the scholarly elite and merchants were immersed in sensual pleasures, the poor suffered from cold and famine. *Wenbu* physicians assumed that illnesses of the former social groups were mainly caused by a depletion of the kidneys-gate of life because of excessive sexual behaviour, and illnesses of the latter were mainly caused by depletion of the spleen-stomach because of hunger and exhaustion. According to Chen Yongping, these social circumstances inspired Zhao to turn his back to the common strategy of using cold and cool, which would only weaken the body more.¹⁷⁰ Zhao might have treated both the rich and the poor. Yet, in *Yiguan*, the strategy of

¹⁶⁴ Preface Lü Liuliang, reprinted in ZGYJTK 2644.

¹⁶⁵ “Rivers and Lakes” refers also to itinerant experts of all trades, often entertainers and quacks (HYDCD 5, 11); “Number One Scholar” is a title conferred to the someone who obtained the highest scores in imperial examinations (HYDCD 5, 923).

¹⁶⁶ Chen Yongping 1996: 2.

¹⁶⁷ See, for instance, Xu Qi 1989: 1

¹⁶⁸ See, above, in my translation of the entry on Zhao Xianke in *Kangxi Yinxian zhi*. (11b.27a)

¹⁶⁹ Chen Yongping 1996: 2; compare to Xu Qi 1989: 5.

¹⁷⁰ Chen Yongping 1996: 2.

supplementing is meant for the decadent upper class in the first place. The conflicted strategy of using cold and cool medicine would be pernicious for them, as he clearly points out in “Essay on the Drink and Food Damage” in *juan* 6 of *Yiguan*:

醫有貪賤之醫有富貴之醫膏粱之子弟與藜藿之民不同太平之民與瘡痍之民不同鄉村閭巷頑夫壯士暴有所傷一服可愈若膏粱子弟稟受虛弱奉養柔脆概以此術施之貽害不小

Hence, there is medicine for the poor and low rank, and medicine for the rich and high rank. The boys [that eat] rich food [i.e. the good-for-nothing sons of the idle rich] are different from the population [that eat] coarse food. A population that [lives in] great peace is different from a population that is plagued by disaster. The obstinate and vigorous men of the rural villages and alleys. Even if they are violently damaged, they recover after one dose [of medicines]. As for the spoiled rich boys, endowed with poor health and brought up in a delicate and fragile way, if you administer medicine according to these techniques (*yi ci shu shi zhi*) [of using dispersing ingredients], the harm done will be considerable.¹⁷¹

In summary, although Zhao Xianke can be roughly situated in time and space, not much accurate information prevails. The lack of primary source material certainly contributes to Zhao's reputation of being a recluse. In comparison to his own deeds and doings, much more is known about the elite circles of the wider Ningbo area that embraced his ideas. During his lifetime, Zhao probably was well acquainted with the Xue brothers. After his death, a new generation of major personae of the Ningbo scene took up the thread, and spread the doctrine of the Gate of Life, as formulated in Zhao Xianke's *Yiguan*.

¹⁷¹ YG 6.16b-17a. See also p. 272.

Ningbo, and beyond

The foremost Ningbo intellectual of the seventeenth century, Huang Zongxi, stated in his *Zhang Jingyue zhuan* 張景岳傳 (Biography on Zhang Jingyue [Jiebin], 1671) that “the popular medical texts of the last twenty years [ca. 1650-1671] were Zhang Jiebin’s *Leijing* and Zhao Yangkui’s *Yiguan*. (二十年來醫家之書盛行於世者張介賓類經趙養葵醫貫).”¹⁷² Although he added that “the knowledge in *Yiguan* is not thorough (然醫貫一知半解耳)”¹⁷³, two important scholars/physicians in Huang’s immediate circle, Gao Doukui 高斗魁 (1623-1670)¹⁷⁴ and Lü Liuliang, were ardent followers of Zhao’s medical thought. The latter was eventually responsible for the further diffusion his ideas through a commentated edition of *Yiguan*.

Gao Doukui was born in Yin County, in a family of Ming dynasty scholars, which had also brought forth many respected physicians of which Gao Wu 高武 (early 16th C.) and Gao Zhizhai 高士 (2nd. half 16th C.) were most famous. Gao Doukui is considered to be first the important follower of Zhao Xianke.¹⁷⁵ However, if Mayanagi is correct in situating Zhao’s death before 1628, it is highly improbable that Gao, born in 1623, was Zhao’s direct disciple. Gao was not only a respected physician, he was also a bright scholar, an anti-Qing fighter, and a longterm friend of the Huang family. In 1650, he helped Huang Zongxi to save his younger brother Zongyan from imprisonment by the new Qing authorities.¹⁷⁶ Although Gao lost most of his economical resources after the fall of the Ming, he could keep up with the cost of living by practicing medicine, and still managed to financially support Huang Zongxi’s scholarly endeavours. Huang recognised Gao’s expertise in medicine by sending his son to study medicine under him, and Gao was the physician who attended the deathbed of his third brother Zonghui in 1663.¹⁷⁷ When Gao Doukui died in 1670, Gao’s family requested Huang Zongxi to write an epitaph. This epitaph would, as discussed below, provoke a lot of controversy.

Lü Liuliang, nicknamed Lüyishanren 呂醫山人 (Man from Mt. Lüyi), was a native of Shimen 石門 (near present-day Tongxiang 桐鄉) in the northern part of Zhejiang province. Born in 1629 in a family of the local elite, he was predestinated to have a bureaucratic career. Yet, as dynastic times were changing, Lü became an important

¹⁷² *Nanlei wen’an* 9.1a. On Huang Zongxi’s appreciation of physicians such as Zhao Xianke, Gao Doukui, and Zhang Jiebin, see Yang Xiaoming 2002.

¹⁷³ *Nanlei wen’an* 9.1a.

¹⁷⁴ His *zi* was Danzhong 旦中; his *hao* Gufeng 鼓峰 is his *hao*. (Li ZYDCD 1461)

¹⁷⁵ For a summary of Gu Doukui’s medical ideas and texts, see Xu Guangxing 1995 and Zhou Desheng 1992.

¹⁷⁶ Fisher 1984: 98-90.

¹⁷⁷ Fisher 1984: 113-115.

figure in the anti-Manchu movement. Although resistance proved to be in vain, Lü never accepted official appointments by the new rulers, to whom his talents did not go unnoticed. In 1663, Lü decided to withdraw to the countryside, where he continued his literary work, and gained fame as one of the foremost promoters of the Cheng-Zhu current of Neo-Confucian thought.¹⁷⁸ Apart from being a brilliant scholar and a radical opponent of the Qing government, Lü excelled as a physician, and also published in this field.¹⁷⁹ In 1680, he became a Buddhist monk, changed his name into Naikē 耐可, and dwelled in a small retreat in the hills nearby Nanjing for the remainder of his life. In 1733, fifty years after his death, his corpse was unearthed, and his body posthumously dismembered as a punishment for his anti-Qing activities. His children, grandchildren, and students received severe punishments too at this time. For the same reason, forty-six of his texts, including his commentated edition of *Yiguan*, were banned.¹⁸⁰

Lü Liuliang became personally acquainted with protagonists of the Ningbo intellectual scene, when he met Huang Zongxi's brother younger brother, Zongyan, through the introduction of his own third brother Yuanliang 願良 in 1641.¹⁸¹ A second meeting with Huang Zongyan in 1659 resulted in close friendship. The ties between both men were further formalised through Huang Zongyan's marriage with one of Lü's sisters. One year later, in 1660, Zongyan introduced Lü first to Gao Doukui, and a bit later also to his elder brother Zongxi. Sharing the same passion for medicine, Lü and Gao became lifelong friends. Both families became related when Lü's fourth son married Gao's daughter.¹⁸² Lü's friendship with Huang Zongxi, who he met in Hangzhou during the autumn of 1660, was much more complex. Although both gentlemen initially built up an amicable relationship, tensions rose after a book-buying dispute, and criticism of Huang Zongxi on the orthodox Cheng-Zhu thought to which Lü adhered between 1665 and 1670.¹⁸³ In 1667, their relationship further deteriorated, and shortly afterwards, in 1670, at the funeral of Gao Doukui, Lü and Huang met each other for the last time.¹⁸⁴

In his excellent study on the friendship between Lü Liuliang and Huang Zongxi,

¹⁷⁸ Fisher 1984: 87.

¹⁷⁹ For a short description of Lü Liuliang's medical texts and ideas, see Lu Wenbin 1985.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Goodrich 1943: 551.

¹⁸¹ For an excellent study on the friendship between Lü Liuliang and Huang Zongxi, see Fisher 1984.

¹⁸² Fisher 1984: 107. Although is not certain according to other sources. Lü became Gao's disciple. Li ZYDCD: 1460.

¹⁸³ Fisher 1984: 92-102.

¹⁸⁴ "Gao Danzhong muzhiming" 高旦中墓誌銘 (Epitaph for Gao Dan Zhong) is contained in Huang Zongxi's *Nanlei wen'an*. (7.1a-3b)

Tom Fisher describes Huang's epitaph for Gao Doukui, and the accompanying essay, as "lukewarm at best."¹⁸⁵ Contrary to what would be expected in an epitaph for a friend, Huang also voiced some criticism on the deceased. One of his points of criticism was related to medical practice. Even though Huang had praised Gao's medical accomplishments while he was still alive, he now stated that Gao was only one of the many respected physicians of the area, and that "he was not necessarily completely versed in medical techniques. (未必純以其術也)."¹⁸⁶ Fisher highlights that at the end of the epitaph itself, Huang uses a "curious" sentence: "His reputation will gradually erode" (身名就剝).¹⁸⁷ Furious about the contents of the epitaph, Lü could prevent the Gao family from having it engraved. The dismay was shared by other influential people in Yin County as well. Nonetheless, Huang Zongxi defended himself by theorising on the genre of epitaph writing. In his opinion, an epitaph should show a genuine image, with praise, but also with the necessary criticism.¹⁸⁸

Lü Liuliang's written reaction dates only from 1680, the year Huang Zongxi's *Nanlei wen'an* 南雷文案 (Literary Cases of Nanlei), a collection of writings containing the epitaph and the essay, was published. Fisher summarises:

"As for the *Nan-lei wen-an* you mentioned, when it was raining and I had nothing to do, I read it in its entirety," Lü recounts with studied nonchalance. Its contents are "perverse" (*kuai-chueh* 乖角) and its methods "cruel" (*chieh-po* 鏗薄). "Everything I gazed upon was like this, not just the one piece about Kao Tou-k'uei [Gao Dougui] you pointed out to me." He continues, "Kao's epitaph is certainly without reason to the extreme [, ...]" Its intention is to "irresponsibly imitate" (*wang ni* 妄擬) Ou-yang Hsiu, showing that Huang "arrogantly pretends to be a writer of antiquity."¹⁸⁹

And, further, in the context of medical knowledge:

Even though he himself possessed considerable medical knowledge (unlike Huang, who presumably did not have nearly the same degree of expertise), Lü stated that he would not dare pass judgment on Kao's skill as a physician. What Huang really seems to be criticizing, says Lü, is that Kao was completely absorbed by his practice and failed to continue as Huang's student. Such an act should be referred to simply as "disregarding his studies because of medical practice"

¹⁸⁵ Fisher 1984: 107.

¹⁸⁶ As translated by Fisher 1984: 108. See also *Nanlei wen'an* 7.2a.

¹⁸⁷ Fisher 1984: 109. See also *Nanlei wen'an* 7.3b.

¹⁸⁸ Fisher 1984: 109-110.

¹⁸⁹ Fisher 111.

and should not be hinted at through the use of “abstruse language and subtle slander” (*shen-wen ch'iao-ti* 深文巧詆).¹⁹⁰

Lü was indignant about Huang Zongxi's epitaph especially because the Huang family had heavily relied on Gao's medical practice, not only for healthcare, but also financially. Huang Zongxi's criticism might be motivated by the fact that Gao was unable to save his brother Zonghui in 1663. However, the main motivation might have been, as Lü points out, that Gao discontinued his studies with Huang. Gao's choice was also a political one. By practicing medicine, he could avoid official involvement. Like Lü, Gao remained radically opposed to the new rule. Huang Zongxi, on the other hand, was more pragmatic. At a later stage in life, he came to grips with the new government, and prepared his son Bojia 白家 (1643-1709) to take up an official career.¹⁹¹

The intriguing history about the anti-Qing veterans and scholars Huang Zongxi, Lü Liuliang, and Gao Doukui, sketched above, tells us something about the *milieu* that embraced Zhao Xianke's medical ideas in the second half of the 17th century. In Gao Doukui's epitaph, Huang states that “Danzhong [Gao Doukui] obtained the essentials [of medicine] from Zhao Yangkui [Xianke]” (旦中又從趙養葵得其指要).¹⁹² Although it is uncertain to which extent Gao received medical education from Zhao Xianke, he introduced Zhao's medical ideas to Lü Liuliang.¹⁹³ Being a respected scholar, Lü's ideas including those on medicine, reached a broad audience.¹⁹⁴

From the end of the seventeenth century onwards, Zhao Xianke's theory on the gate of life appeared in numerous other medical texts. Important examples are Chen Shiduo's (17th C.) 陳士鋒 *Shishi milu* 石室秘錄 (Secret Records of the Stone Chamber, 1687) Feng Zhaozhang's 馮兆張 (17th – 18th C.) and *Feng-shi jinnang milu* 馮氏錦囊秘錄 (Mr. Feng's Secret Recording in a Brocade Bag, 1694). Through the latter text, ideas first formulated in *Yiguan* exerted a major influence on Lǎn Ông, the father of

¹⁹⁰ Fisher 1984: 111-112.

¹⁹¹ Fisher 1984: 112-113; 116-122.

¹⁹² Huang Zongxi, *Nanlei wen'an*, 7.2a. Besides Zhao Xianke, Gao was also influenced by Zhang Jiebin. At the end of his biography on Zhang Jiebin, Huang Zongxi states that Zhao Xianke was a contemporary of Zhang Jiebin, but that the two physicians never met. (*Nanlei wen'an* 9.2b) Because of the similarities between Zhao Xianke's and Zhang Jiebin's medical thought, Volker Scheid advised me to investigate possible family ties. However, I was unable to trace their family histories (*jiapu* 家譜) or other relevant sources.

¹⁹³ Although most contemporary scholars regard Lü to be Gao's disciple, Fisher is more cautious “Lü who practiced medicine too, probably had studied with Kao.” (1984: 107)

¹⁹⁴ Also Zheng Jinsheng holds Lü Liuliang responsible for the wider disseminating of Zhao Xianke ideas, and the propagation of *wenbu* medical doctrine. (personal communication; see also, Liao Yuqun, Fu Fang and Zheng Jinsheng 1998: 373.)

Vietnamese medicine.”¹⁹⁵ Zhao's theory also features in non-medical texts. Fang Tongzhong 方中通 (1634-1698), the second son of the famous early Qing scholar Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611-1671), for instance, refers to Zhao's ideas on the formless in his comments on his father's famous encyclopaedic work, *Wuli xiaoshi* 物理小識 (Small Knowledge on the Principles of Things).¹⁹⁶

Not all physicians were enthusiastic about the ideas presented in *Yiguan*. In the 18th century, Xu Dachun, the main representative of the “back to the Classics” scholarly current of Chinese medicine, voiced strong opposition against Song-Ming medical thought, and targeted Zhao Xianke in particular.¹⁹⁷ In 1764, Xu wrote *Yiguan bian*, in which he not only fiercely attacked Zhao Xianke, but also Lü Liuliang, whom he held responsible for the popularisation of *Yiguan*:

若趙養葵醫貫之盛行於世則非趙氏之力自能如此也晚村呂氏負一時之盛名當世信其學術而並信其醫彼以為是誰敢曰非況只記數方遂傳絕學藝極高而功極易效極速而名極美有不風行天下者耶如是而殺人之術遂無底止矣嗚呼為盜之害有盡而賞盜之害無盡蓋為盜不過一身誅之則人盡知懲賞盜則教天下之人胥為盜也禍寧有窮哉余悲民命之所關甚大因擇其反經背道之尤者力為辨析名之曰醫貫砭

Zhao Yangkui's *Yiguan* became popular. Yet, this was not because of the power of Mr. Zhao alone. Mr. Lü Wancun [Liuliang] was highly esteemed during a certain period in time. Those who trusted his teachings at that time also trusted his medicine. When he considered something to be true, who would dare to say that he was wrong? Moreover, only by remembering a number of recipes, he transmitted a rare science. If something is extremely high in skill, results are extremely fast, requires a minimum of effort, and is extremely beautiful in name, what would prevent it from becoming popular? However, what if it is an art of killing people that is not put to an end! Alas! The harm of a criminal can be stopped. But, the harm of an admired criminal cannot be stopped. It only needs a single person to punish a criminal, and people will all know about the punishment. As for the admired criminal, I instruct the people of this world that he was nothing but a criminal. I wish that misfortune will come to an end! My grief related to the life of the people is great. Hence, I chose

¹⁹⁵ In their summary of Lǎn Ôn's theoretical ideas, Huard and Durand point out that he made use of *Feng-shi Jinnang milu*. (1956: 130) Many of the ideas described in their summary were borrowed by Feng Zhaozhang from *Yiguan*.

¹⁹⁶ *Wuli xiaoshi*: 3.20b; 3.23b. On Fang Yizhi, see Peterson 1979. Zhao Xianke's illustration of the gate of life is also depicted in *Daoyang quanshu* 道養全書 (Complete Writings on Daoist Cultivation), a Qing dynasty Daoist text. (Gai Jianming 2001: 239; *Daoyang quanshu* n.p.) (I wish to thank Gai Jianming for providing me a copy of the section of *Daoyang quanshu* in which this depiction appears.)

¹⁹⁷ On Xu Dachun, see Unschuld 1998.

to put efforts in analysing how he excelled in going against the Classics, and how he turned away from the Way. I called [my text]: “Yiguan bian”.¹⁹⁸

Although Xu held Lü responsible for causing harm to later generations, as Guo Junshuang points out, it is interesting to note that some of the criticism on Zhao's ideas in Xu's *Yiguan bian* is based on the very comments by Lü Liuliang.¹⁹⁹

While Lü Liuliang's own commentated edition of *Yiguan* ended up as banned text due to his anti-Qing sentiments, the popularity of Zhao Xianke's text did not remain unnoticed by the compilers of the SKQS. In the accompanying summary (*tiyao* 提要) of *Xue-shi yi'an* 薛氏醫案 (Case Records of Mr. Xue, 1559) in SKQS, criticism is voiced against Zhao's overall approach of using *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*:

厥後趙獻可作醫貫執其成法遂以八味六味通治各病甚至以六味丸治傷寒之渴膠柱鼓瑟流弊遂多

Afterwards,²⁰⁰ Zhao Xianke wrote *Yiguan*. Relying on the methods established [by Xue Ji], he cured all diseases with *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*. He even treated thirst caused by Cold Damage with *liuwei*

¹⁹⁸ *Yiguan bian* 107. See also the following passage:

呂氏因信高之故而信趙天下之人又因信呂氏選時文講性理之故而並信其醫且只記兩方可治盡天下之病愚夫又甚樂從貽害遂至於此極所以罪首禍魁高不能辭而承流揚波呂之造孽更無窮世所刻鼓峰心法高呂醫案等書一派相承辨之不勝其辨知趙氏之謬則餘者自能知之矣

Because Mr. Lü trusted Gao, he also trusted Zhao. Moreover because the people selectively believe Mr. Lü's selection of eight-part essays, and his discussion on innate nature and principle (*xingli*), they also trust his medicine. They only remember that two recipes [*liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*] are able to cure all diseases in the world. However ridiculous this is, they really are willing to follow this. The damage that is handed down accordingly reached to an extreme. Therefore, he committed a capital crime, and caused great misfortune, so great that it is forgivable! Because of spreading it, the evils done by Lü become even more infinite. Books published, such as *Gaofeng xinfa* (Heart Method of Gao Feng) and *Gao Lü yi'an* (Medical Records of Gao and Lü) are carried on one after the other. It is not worth it to point out [all the mistakes]. If you know the errors of Mr. Zhao, all the rest will also be known. (*Yiguan bian* 135)

¹⁹⁹ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 8. See, for instance, Lü's repulsion of the fundamental idea in Zhao Xianke's theory that the heart is not the ruler of the body. (pp. 86, 90)

²⁰⁰ After Zhu Ming 朱明 republished the text in the Dingmao 丁卯 year Tianqi 天啟 Dingmao (1627). (*Xueshi yi'an, tiyao* 2a)

wan. Because 'he glues the tuning pegs while playing the se [zither]' (*jiao zhu gu se*)²⁰¹, this caused a lot of malpractice.²⁰²

In contrast to Xu Dachun, the compilers of the *Siku quanshu* did not attack Song-Ming medicine in general. They were positive about Xue Ji's medical approach, but denounced Zhao's interpretations:

徐大椿做醫貫砭因併集矢於薛氏其實非己本旨不得以李斯之故歸罪荀卿也

Therefore [because of the mistakes of Zhao Xianke], Xu Dachun composed *Yiguan bian*. He also aimed his arrows at Mr. Xue. However, these ideas were originally not his. You may not blame Xun Qing [Xunzi] for the mistakes of Li Si.²⁰³

Although Zhao Xianke's elaborations on Xue Ji's ideas were considered to be too simplistic by many later generations of physicians, his *Yiguan* remained influential up till today. Ideas expressed in *Yiguan* are introduced in contemporary textbooks, and are discussed in articles in medical journals. For Chinese TCM practitioners, the text is readily available in several modern reprints. Recently, *Yiguan* is included in *Zhongyi*

²⁰¹ This is an expression borrowed the *Shi ji*. By glueing the tuning pegs of the *se*, the tuning of the instrument cannot be changed anymore. It is used to refer to stubbornly sticking to one situation, and being unable to change. (HYDCD 6, 1374)

²⁰² *Xue-shi yi'an*, *tiyao* 2a-b.

²⁰³ *Xue-shi yi'an*, *tiyao* 2b. The sentence "You may not blame Lord Xun for the mistakes of Li Si" in this context means that you cannot hold the master (Xue Ji) responsible for the wrongdoings of his student (Zhao Xianke). Li Si (280?-208 BCE) was one of the most important disciples of Xunzi (ca. 310 - ca. 211 BCE). In 247, Li Si left Xunzi to serve the king of the state Qin. During the conquering of the other states Li Si rose in power, and became the high minister and chancellor of the First Emperor. Li Si offered Xunzi a position, but Xunzi refused. At the height of his career Li Si quoted a warning of his old master: "When things reach their zenith, they begin their decline." (Knoblock 1988: 34-35) Fu summarises the fall of Li Si as follows:

After the death of Emperor Qin Shihuang, Li Si assisted a junior son of the Qin emperor to acquire the throne by illegitimate means and to become the second Qin emperor. In the second year of the second Qin emperor, Li Si himself became a victim of court intrigue and was falsely accused of plotting treason. He was executed by means of the consorted five corporal punishments, which was the cruelest form of execution. Members of the three branches of Li Si's family were also executed according to the Qin penal code. He was another eminent Legalist who became the victim of political practices advocated by the Legalists. (Fu 1996: 19-20)

The assessment of Li Si in later literature is not uniform. "It could be expected that, as one of the foremost personalities who took part in the foundation of the Qin empire and the intrigues of its last years, Li Si would be especially open to biased treatment by the historians who wrote during the Han period." (Loewe 2000: 228) For a general account on Li Si and his role in the Qin administration, see Bodde 1938.

linchuang bidu congshu 中医临床必读丛书 (Collection of Essential Readings on Chinese Medical Clinical Practice), a collection of medical texts that are considered to be of particular use for the contemporary physician. Each volume of this collection is preceded by a 'Guidance' (*daodu* 导读), in which not only information is given about the author and the essentials of the text, but also how the present-day practitioner should read and study the text. Guo Junshuang, the modern editor of *Yiguan* in this collection, explains in his 'Guidance' that not everything written in this Ming dynasty text should be taken for granted:

诚然，《医贯》是一部很有特点但也有颇多争议的书。其文辞与逻辑用今天的眼光来看，某些地方不免有欠顺畅连贯，引用文献不够准确，加之历史的局限，故也引起后世的批评。

Indeed, *Yiguan* is a text with many interesting features. But, it also contains a considerable amount of controversy. If we look at the language and logic with our contemporary eyes, some parts lack smooth consistency. Because of the inaccuracy in the quoted texts, and because of historical limitations, criticism was expressed during later generations.²⁰⁴

Guo further stresses that Zhao's teachings "were the fountainhead of the discussions on the position of the gate of life in the centuries to follow" (此说为后世数百年命门位置长期争论之滥觞).²⁰⁵ He further elaborates on the controversies that *Yiguan* aroused in the following centuries by referring to texts of later opponents, such as Xu Dachun's *Yiguan bian* and He Mengyao's 和梦瑶 (693-1764) *Yibian* 医编 (Stepping-stones for Medicine, 1751).²⁰⁶

While some scholar physicians of modern times continue to voice fierce criticism against Zhao Xianke's theories, most others, like Guo Junshuang, are rather moderate in tone.²⁰⁷ Xu's criticism is generally considered to be too exaggerated, and should be placed in its own proper historical context.²⁰⁸ The biographical entry on Zhao Xianke in *Zhongguo yixue tongshi* 中国医学通史 (General History of Medicine in China), for instance, reflects such a moderate contemporary appreciation:

徐氏之评，有过激处，《医贯》在温补派发展中的作用不容全部抹煞；但《医贯》中有很浓的唯心主义色彩，也无须讳言。如为

²⁰⁴ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 5.

²⁰⁵ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 2.

²⁰⁶ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 2. For He Mengyao's criticism on Zhao Xianke's, see, for instance, *Yi bian* 7-9.

²⁰⁷ For a fierce modern criticism on Zhao Xianke's thought, see Jiang Chunhua 1979.

²⁰⁸ For a comparison between *Yiguan* and *Yiguan bian*, see Sheng Xiesun and Lu Wenbin 1981.

先天之火，仙炼之为丹，佛传之为灯，儒名[sic]之为德，确玄奇莫测。

The criticism of Mr. Xu is too radical. The role of *Yiguan* in the development of the Warming and Supplementing Scholarly Current may not be entirely obliterated. Of course, one should not avoid mentioning the heavy idealistic (*weixin zhuyi*) flavours in *Yiguan*. The 'fire of Before Heaven', 'immortals refine it into cinnabar', 'Buddhists transmitted as the lamp', and 'Confucians name it [clarify it] as virtue' are examples of extreme obscurities, .²⁰⁹

Guo thus mainly associates the controversial parts with Zhao's theoretical understanding of the gate of life in religious terms. In order to understand Zhao's medical theory, Guo further advises the reader to consult *Yiguan* in combination with texts of other *wenbu* physicians, such as Zhang Jiebin, Sun Yikui and Li Zhongzi, as well as with modern texts on TCM theory.²¹⁰

On a clinical level, Guo Junshuang emphasises that Zhao Xianke has made a contribution to the study of recipes by discussing the principles of using four major recipes: *liuwei wan*, *bawei wan*, *buzhong yiqi tang*, and *xiaoyao san*.²¹¹ As these four major recipes are still commonly used today, Guo especially evaluates this part of Zhao's theoretical approach. Yet, he warns not to focus exclusively on these four recipes:

学习《医贯》对上述四大方的论述，并非排斥其它方剂应用。该书紧紧围绕人的生命现象作文章，对先天之本的肾命门，后天之本的脾胃予以关注，同时又有相应的方法方药来印证实用价值，所以值得学者予以关注。

When studying the theories of these four major recipes in *Yiguan*, you really cannot reject the use of other recipes. Closely centring on the human biological phenomena (*shengming xianxiang*), this book focusses on 'kidneys-gate of life' as root of Before Heaven, and 'spleen-stomach' as root of After Heaven. At the same time, the practical value can be verified with similar methods and medicines. Therefore, it deserves the attention of the scholar (*xuezhe*).²¹²

While Guo mainly stresses the difference between Before and After Heaven, reflected by the use of *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* in the former case, and *buzhong yiqi tang* in the latter, others go even further in applying Zhao Xianke's clinical approach. In the last chapter of a study on Zhao's medicine, Xu Qi gives examples of case

²⁰⁹ Li Jingwei and Lin Zhaogeng 1999: 571

²¹⁰ See also p. 33.

²¹¹ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 4.

²¹² Guo Junshuang 2005a: 5. Although these four recipes are highlighted in *Yiguan*, many other recipes feature as well.

records of six afflictions in which physicians cured a patient in the spirit of *Yiguan*: 'water swelling' (*shuizhong* 水肿), 'wasting thirst' [diabetes] (*xiaoke* 消渴), 'cough and panting' (*ke chuan* 咳喘), 'depletion heat' (*xure* 虚热), 'uterine bleeding' (*benglou* 崩漏), and 'regulating [irregular] menstruation' (*tiaojing* 调经).²¹³ However, not all of the methods described in this study are in line with Zhao's approach. Without going into clinical detail, in the case records of 'wasting thirst', for instance, the physicians include *zhimu* in their recipes. As I will show in later parts of this dissertation, Zhao restricted the use of the 'cold' *zhimu*, favoured by followers of Zhu Zhenheng, to the specific case of clearing summer heat. Curing 'wasting thirst' by including *zhimu* in his recipes, is something Zhao Xianke would never have done.²¹⁴

To sum up, after taking root in the elite *milieus* of Ningbo, Zhao Xianke's *wenbu* ideas soon reached a much larger audience. In the diffusion of his medical system, the commentated edition of *Yiguan* by the anti-Qing activist Lü Liuliang was of a major importance. Although *Yiguan* became a popular text, it also gave rise to controversy. Not all agreed with Zhao Xianke's ideas on 'the gate of life', as many found his emphasis on two recipes, *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*, too simplistic. Despite fierce criticism on the text by leading physicians such as Xu Dachun, *Yiguan* remained popular, and was read by physicians not only in China, but also abroad. Although most contemporary scholars consider the philosophical foundations in *Yiguan* to be outdated, and "too idealistic", Zhao Xianke is still valued for his theoretical elaboration on 'the gate of life', and for his discussions on some important recipes which are still commonly used today.

²¹³ Xu Qi 1989: 85-96.

²¹⁴ See, for example, p. 196.

Editions of Yiguan

Not only is there little known about Zhao Xianke's life, precise information on his writings is lacking as well. As the *Local History* mentions, Zhao was a prolific author of medical texts. Besides *Yiguan*, he wrote on the *Inner Classic* (*Neijing chao* and *Suwen zhu*), the conduits (*Jingluo kao*), pulses (*Zhengmai*), etc.²¹⁵ Unfortunately, none of these other texts survived. *Handan yigao* 邯鄲遺稿 (Posthumous Manuscript from Handan), a text on women's disorders (*fuke* 婦科), which is not mentioned in the *Local History*, is the only other preserved text attributed to Zhao Xianke.²¹⁶ The manuscript of *Handan yigao* was made accessible by the Zhejiang physician Li Zhaozi 李兆燾 in 1981, and was published in 1984 by the editorial team of the *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi* 浙江中醫雜誌 (Zhejiang Journal of Chinese Medicine).²¹⁷ According to Liu Shijue 刘时觉, this text was first titled *Taichan yilun* 胎產遺論 (Left Writings on Conception and Giving Birth), and was written in the same year as *Yiguan*, 1617.²¹⁸ Some scholars, such as Mayanagi Makato and Chen Yongping, consider that Zhao's son Zhenguan was the editor of his father's text.²¹⁹ Since the others texts mentioned in the *Local History* are not transmitted to our times, and *Handan yigao* was printed in 1984, only Zhao's *Yiguan* was of importance in later medical history.

The large number of existing editions of *Yiguan* attest to its popularity throughout history. In preparation of his own annotated edition of 1996, Chen Yongping counted about 36 existing editions of *Yiguan*, but he does not list all these works.²²⁰ Both *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* 全国中医图书联合目录 (Combined Library Catalogue of Chinese Medicine in the Whole Country, hereafter *Mulu*) and *Zhongguo yiji tongkao* 中国医籍通考 (General Survey of Chinese Medical Texts, hereafter *Tongkao*) mention smaller numbers. They do list an enumeration of the

²¹⁵ See *Kangxi Yin-xian zhi* 11.b27a, translated in the previous section.

²¹⁶ Handan was the capital of Zhao (cf. Xianke's surname) during the Warring States period. The association between Handan and women's diseases goes back to the biography of Bian Que in the *Shiji*: "When [Bian Que] was passing through Handan, he heard that the people there esteemed their women, so he became a doctor of 'below the girdle' ailments. When he passed through Luoyang, he heard that the Zhou people loved their old people, so he became a doctor of vision and hearing disorders. When he entered Xiangyang, he heard that the Qin people loved their children so he became a doctor of children's diseases. Thus he altered to accord with local customs." (150.9a, as translated in Wu 2010: 26) Yi-Li Wu points out that 'references to Bian Que as mythic ancestor of *fuke* continued to surface in late imperial texts, and the phrase 'passing through Handan' (*guo Handan*) was understood as a synonym for 'treating women's ailments.'" (Wu 2010: 26)

²¹⁷ Xu Qi 1989: 3-4.

²¹⁸ Liu Shijue 2005: 83.

²¹⁹ Chen Yongping 1996: 2; Mayanagi 1991: 2.

²²⁰ Chen Yongping 1995: 3.

various editions. Based on a survey in 113 libraries, *Mulu* mentions 26 editions, of which the earliest is dated 1617, and the latest 1979.²²¹ The list in *Tongkao* is slightly shorter: 19 editions are given.²²² Both *Mulu* and *Tongkao* include a Japanese edition, which is a reprint of the Qing dynasty Yuxiu Tang edition (毓秀堂本).²²³ Looking at the number of different editions, the popularity of *Yiguan* is comparable to that of other influential *wenbu* texts, such as Zhang Jiebin's *Leijing*.²²⁴ Major *wenbu* texts were continuously published from the late Ming dynasty on, and are still being published today.²²⁵

The earliest edition of *Yiguan*, listed in both *Mulu* and *Tongguo*, is a Buyue Lou 步月樓 edition, published in the Dingsi year, Wanli 45 (1617).²²⁶ Given the fact that Xue Sanxing received the *jinshi* title (mentioned in his preface to *Yiguan*) in 1601, and that his brother Sancai died in the year 1619, Mayanagi argues that Zhao's text must have been written between 1601 and 1619.²²⁷ He further assumes that the Buyue Lou edition of 1617 is the earliest published version of *Yiguan*. Most other scholars equally consider that *Yiguan* was first published in 1617. Yet, other dates are mentioned as well. The compilers of the SKQS, for instance, state that Zhao Xianke only wrote his *Yiguan* after Zhu Ming's *Xue-shi yi'an* was republished in the Dingmao year of the Tianqi reign (1627).²²⁸ Others situate *Yiguan* half a century later, and assume that not Zhao Xianke, but Lü Liuliang was the author of the text.

The popularity of Lü's commentated edition of the late 17th century might explain why Lü is sometimes not referred to as commentator, but as author of *Yiguan*.²²⁹ Ignoring the existence of Ming dynasty editions Wang Yu 王毓 in his article of 1987 argues that there are sound reasons to believe that Lü Liuliang was

²²¹ ZYTSML 28.

²²² ZGYJTK 2644-2647.

²²³ Number 22 in ZYTSML (28) and number 11 in ZGYJTK (2646). Mayanagi lists two Japanese editions: Nakamura Kichinosuke 中村長兵衛 edition of 1661 and the Sekitokudo 積徳堂 edition of 1670. (1991: 5)

²²⁴ ZYTSML, for instance, lists 18 editions of Zhang Jiebin's *Leijing* (6); 8 editions of Sun Yikui's *Yizhi xuyu* (28), and 54 editions of Li Zhongzi's *Yizong bidu* (704).

²²⁵ The most recent edition that I have consulted is Yan Tingting's 晏婷婷 annotated edition of 2009.

²²⁶ ZYTSML 28; ZGYJTK 2646.

²²⁷ Mayanagi 1991: 1.

²²⁸ p. 59.

²²⁹ According to L. Carrington Goodrich "shortly thereafter he became a physician and as a result of this experience wrote a book on medicine in 6 *chüan*, entitled 呂氏醫貫 *Lü-shih i-kuan*, but he gave up his practice in 1674." (Goodrich 1943: 551) The name *Yiguan* is used by other physicians as well. See, for example, Volkmar 2007 for *Wan-shi yiguan* 萬氏醫貫 (Mr. Wan's Principle of Medicine).

indeed the author of *Yiguan*.²³⁰ His main argument is based on an article of Fan Xingzhun 范行准, written in 1939, in which Lü's influence on Qing dynasty medicine is regarded more important than is generally acknowledged.²³¹ After finding a manuscript version of *Xinfang bachén* 新方八陳 (Eight Divisions of New Recipes), dated between the Jiaqing (1796-1820) and Daoguang (1821-1850) reigns, and carrying the name of Lü Liuliang, Fan did not only start to doubt the authorship of this particular text, which had hereto been attributed to Zhang Jiebin, but also the authorship of *Yiguan*.²³² Fan presumes that Lü first wrote *Yiguan* under the false name of Zhao Xianke, and later, correcting previous mistakes, edited a commented edition under his own name. Moreover, as Lü 呂 is concealed in the character 閻 of Yiwulüzi 醫無閻子, Fan suggests that the latter name might have been a pseudonym of Lü Liuliang, and not of Zhao Xianke. Fan also tries to explain why Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695), who was a close acquaintance of Lü Liuliang, mentions Zhao Xianke as author of *Yiguan* in his biography on Zhang Jiebin. Possibly, after his relationship with Lü had deteriorated, Huang was either unaware of later medical texts written by Lü, or he was purposely unwilling to mention Lü's name, thereby masking the genuine authorship of *Yiguan*.²³³

Although it is close to impossible to reconstruct the early history of *Yiguan*, Wang Yu's version seems to be farfetched, as both *Mulu* and *Tongkao* list several Ming dynasty editions of *Yiguan* (see *infra*). Moreover, in the first *juan* of *Yiguan*, Zhao Xianke metaphorically refers to two buildings in the Imperial complex: Huangji Dian 皇極殿 (Hall of Imperial Supreme) and Qianqing Gong 乾清宮 (Palace of Heavenly Purity).²³⁴ Between 1552 and 1644, the Huangji Dian was the largest building of the imperial city, where the emperor held auditions. This building was first called Fengtian Dian 奉天殿 (Hall of Offering to Heaven). In 1552, rebuilt after destruction by fire, its name was changed into Huangji Dian. The Qing rulers renamed it into Taihe Dian 太和殿 (Hall of Great Peace).²³⁵ The emperor's private chambers were located in the Qianqing Gong, some 500 meters removed from the Huangji Dian.²³⁶

²³⁰ Wang Yu claims that there are no Ming dynasty editions. He highlights that *Yiguan* is also not included in the "Recording of Books Written [in the Ming dynasty]" (Wenyi zhi 文藝誌) in the *Dynastic History of the Ming* (Ming shi 明史). (Wang Yu 1987: 27)

²³¹ Wang Yu 1987: 27. Pointing out oddities in Xue Sanxing's preface, Wang further questions the authenticity of this preface. First of all, he finds it curious that Xue did not date his preface. Second, he wonders why Sanxing mentioned that Zhao Xianke should avoid his name (*taoming*). Third, he considers Youzhou to be an imaginary place. Wang, wrongly, assumes that Youzhou only refers to the Beijing area. As discussed above, the Youzhou area included large parts of what is now Liaoning province, including the Yiwulü mountain range.

²³² Wang Yu 1987: 27. Included in *Jingyue quanshu* (50.1a-22b).

²³³ Wang Yu 1987: 27.

²³⁴ YG 1.14a-b. See also p. 89.

²³⁵ Mote 1999: 641, 1017 fn. 25.

²³⁶ Barmé 2008: 38

The reference to Huangji Dian, and not Taihe Dian, supports the view that *Yiguan* was written at the end of the Ming dynasty by Zhao Xianke, and not during the Qing.²³⁷

Although the majority of scholars does not question Zhao Xianke's authorship of *Yiguan*, the exact date of publication cannot be ascertained. Chen Yongping shows that the Buyue Lou edition, listed as earliest edition in both *Mulu* and *Tongkao*, was not published in 1617, but much later. After examining two copies of this edition, one held in the Shandong Provincial Library and the other in the Library of the Nanjing Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Chen concludes that these particular Buyue Lou editions are in fact commentated editions by Lü Liuliang, published during the Kangxi period (1662-1722). First, on the covers of both the Nanjing and Shandong copy, Lü is mentioned as commentator (“呂晚村先生評”). Second, in these copies, the character “玄” is used, which was the taboo character for “玄” (*xuan*) during the Kangxi reign. Chen Yongping remarks that Buyue Lou published books over a period spanning three hundred years, starting before the Jiaqing period in the Ming and ending after the Xianfeng 咸豐 period (1850-1861). Therefore, it is possible that there existed an earlier Buyue Lou edition published in 1617, but such an edition has not been found up to this day.²³⁸

Referring to the inclusion of the Xu Yangtai's case record, in which the Dingsi year is mentioned, Chen Yongping excludes the possibility that the present version of the text was completed before 1617.²³⁹ However, he does not consider the Kangxi Buyue Lou edition, nor any other Qing dynasty editions connected to Lü Liuliang, to be the earliest versions of *Yiguan*. Chen identifies at least two authentic Ming dynasty editions: the republished (*chongkan* 重刊) Chongzhen 1 (1628) and Shulin Zhang Qipeng 書林張起鵬, which are also listed in *Mulu*.²⁴⁰ No dates for the Shulin Zhang Qipeng edition are given. The edition of 1628, published one year before Lü Liuliang was born, is presumably the oldest surviving version of the text. However, since this 1628 edition only consists of three surviving *juan* and the Shulin Zhang Qipeng edition is missing pages, these Ming editions did not qualify as master text on which Chen Yongping based his own annotated edition, published in March 1996. Following the criteria of the *Catalogue of Rare Editions of Old Medical Texts in China* (Quanguo guji shanbenshu zonglu 全國古籍善本書總錄), Chen Yongping qualified only 10 out of 36 surviving editions as 'fine editions' (*shanben* 善本).²⁴¹ Of these ten *shanben*, he considers Lü Liuliang's commentated Tiangai Lou 天蓋樓 edition (Kangxi, 1662-1722)

²³⁷ Alternatively, one could argue that if Lü Liuliang was the author, being radically opposed to the new foreign rule, he refused to use the Qing names for these buildings.

²³⁸ Chen Yongping 1995: 3-4.

²³⁹ Chen Yongping 1995: 3.

²⁴⁰ Chen Yongping 1995: 4.

²⁴¹ Chen Yongping 1995: 4. On the qualifications which medical texts must fulfil to be considered as fine editions (*shanben*), see also Liu Xiaobing 2000: 55-63.

to be the most reliable one. Chen remarks that Lü must have seen at least three earlier editions of *Yiguan* in preparation of the Tiangai Lou edition. Tiangai Lou, standing out because of high quality of print and absence of mistakes, served as the master text for many later editions, including the Kangxi Buyue Lou edition.²⁴²

Guo Junshuang, the editor of a recent edition of *Yiguan* (2005) does not follow the arguments of Chen Yongping, and still dates the publication of *Yiguan* as 1617.²⁴³ Guo's own arrangements are primarily based on the Sanduo Zhai 三多齋 edition, cross-checked against several other Qing editions.²⁴⁴ Guo distinguishes two main branches of *Yiguan* editions. The editions of the first branch all go back to the original publication by Xue Sanxing. He specifies that the editions of the Xue Sanxing branch all contain Xue's preface. Moreover, on the front page of each *juan* "Corrections made by Xue Sancai" (薛三才訂正) is written. Guo lists Shulin Zhang Qipeng, the Shunzhi 順治 (1644-1661) edition, the Baoxu Zhai 寶旭齋, and Sanduo Zhai editions of *Yiguan* as examples of the Xue branch. Editions of the second branch are based on the commentated edition by Lü Liuliang. The majority of Qing dynasty editions, including the edition on which Xu Dachun wrote his *Yiguan bian*, belong to this branch.²⁴⁵

Although Lü Liuliang's involvement with *Yiguan* was much later than that of the Xue brothers, his commentated edition became very influential by the end of the seventeenth century. Because of its quality, Lü's Tiangai Lou edition is often used by modern editors, cross-checked against earlier Ming dynasty editions, such as that of Shulin Zhang Qipeng. As the existing Ming and Qing editions of *Yiguan* that I have seen only show minor variations, I have equally used the Tiangai Lou edition as contained in *Siku jinhuishu congkan* 四庫禁燬書叢刊 (Collectanea of Books Banned and Destroyed during the Four Treasuries Compilation) as master text for my analysis of Zhao Xianke's medical thought, cross-checked against the modern editions of Chen Yongping and Guo Junshuang.

In conclusion, it remains uncertain when *Yiguan* was first published. Since Xue Sancai died in 1619, it is possible that 1617 is the earliest date of publication. However, as Chen Yongping has shown the existing Buyue Lou editions listed in *Mulu* and *Tongkao* are certainly not Ming dynasty, but date from the Kangxi era, and are

²⁴² Chen Yongping 1996: 3-4. Chen based his own edition on the Tiangai Lou, cross-checked against the incomplete Shulin Zhang Qipeng edition of the Ming dynasty and the Renming weisheng chubanshe edition of 1959, which is based on the Qing editions of Tiangai Lou and Sanduo Zhai. For the justification on the corrections he made, and an explanations of his annotation, see Chen Yongping 1996: 4-6. Mayanagi highlights that Tiangai Lou was Lü Liuliang's publishing house. (1991: 4)

²⁴³ Guo Junshuang 2005a: 1. Also Mayanagi Makoto considers 1617 to be the oldest extant edition of the text. (1991: 1)

²⁴⁴ Including the Qing Buyue Lou, Baoxu Zhai 寶旭齋 edition, and Qing keben 清刻本.

²⁴⁵ Guo Junshuang 2005b: 7.

associated with Lü Liuliang. If the compilers of the SKQS are correct, and *Yiguan* was written after 1627, not Sancai, but Sanxing who died in 1634, must have been responsible for the first publication of *Yiguan*. Yet, the earliest surviving edition of Chongzhen 1 (1628) is a reprint. Based on the available sources, the first publication of *Yiguan* should be situated between 1617 (the case history of Xu Yangtai) and 1628 (the Chongzhen 1 reprint).

Structure and contents

In the following chapters of my thesis, I will focus on Zhao Xianke's understanding of the concept Before Heaven, and its application in curative medical practice. Because of this thematic approach, I will not always faithfully follow the structure of *Yiguan*. In order to provide the reader with a general idea about the structure and contents of the text, I here include an overview of the various *juan* of *Yiguan*, as they feature in the Tiangai Lou edition. I will also briefly comment on the stylistic characteristics of texts.

The transmitted editions of *Yiguan* are divided into six *juan*:²⁴⁶

1. "Superficial Essays on Mysterious Primordially" (Xuanyuan fulun 玄元膚論)
2. "Clearing Doubts about Host and Guest" (Zhu ke bian yi 主客辨疑)
3. "Vermilion Writing about Crimson Snow" (Jiangxue danshu 絳雪丹書)
4. "Essential Essays on Before Heaven, part 1" (Xiantian yaolun shang 先天要論上)
5. "Essential Essays on Before Heaven, part 2" (Xiantian yaolun xia 先天要論下)
6. "Essential Essays on After Heaven" (Houtian yaolun 後天要論)

With the exception of *juan* 3, which consists of a long chapter on blood symptoms, all other *juan* are divided to several chapters, the majority of which are titled "Essay" (*lun* 論).

Juan 1, "Superficial Essays on Mysterious Primordially" (Xuanyuan fulun) consists of three chapters, in which Zhao Xianke explains the foundations of his medical doctrine:

Juan 1: "Superficial Essays on Mysterious Primordially"

"Essay on the Twelve Officials of the *Inner Classic*" (Neijing shi'er guan lun 內經十二官論)

"Essay on *Yinyang*" (Yinyang lun 陰陽論)

"Essay on the Five Agents" (Wuxing lun 五行論)

The 'mysterious primordially' (*xuanyuan*) in the title of the first *juan* refers to the Before Heavenly, the formless origin of the cosmos.²⁴⁷ Applied to *Yiguan*, this concept

²⁴⁶ The only exception is the Chongzhen 1 (1628) edition, of which only three *juan* (of six *juan*) have been preserved.

²⁴⁷ "*Xuanyuan*" refers to *qi* during the state of chaos (*hundun*), before Heaven-and-Earth were divided. It also a term which in Daoism is used to the root of everything which exist in the cosmos. (HYDCD 2, 303) Hence, it is synonym for Before Heaven.

can be equated with the formless ruler or fire of the gate of life, the key concept in Zhao Xianke's medical doctrine. Because it is impossible to describe something formless in words, Zhao probably added the modifier "superficial" (*fu*, lit. "on the skin"). "Xuanyuan fulun" bears resemblance with *Xuanfu lun* 玄膚論 (Essays on the Surface of Mystery, 1567), the title of an inner alchemic work by Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-1606), written some decades before *Yiguan*.²⁴⁸ In the preface to *Xuanfu lun*, Lu explains that "*xuanfu*" refers to "an abstruse principle that is explained superficially, because its essence cannot be fully explained" (玄膚者言玄理膚淺非精詣也).²⁴⁹ Although there is no evidence that Zhao purposely referred to Lu's text, or even that Zhao was familiar with it, some similarities in the way both texts explain the concept of Before Heaven are apparent.²⁵⁰

The first essay of *juan 1*, "Essay on the Twelve Officials of the *Inner Classic*," contains one of the most elaborate explanations on the gate of life in Chinese medical literature. Zhao Xianke takes the twelve officials, representing the main bodily functions, as discussed in SW 8, as point of departure, and comes to the controversial conclusion that not the heart but the gate of life is the authentic ruler of the body. In the remaining parts of this chapter, Zhao discusses the position of this ruler in the body, its functions, and how it interacts with anatomical forms of the body. In the second and third essay of *juan 1*, he mainly describes functional implications of assumptions made on the gate of life. In the second essay, building on assumptions made in the first essay, Zhao alters conventional knowledge on *yinyang* dynamics; in the third essay, the same is done in relation to five agents theory. In both these essays, Zhao highlights the importance of 'formless water' and 'formless fire' as functional aspects of 'the gate of life'.

In *juan 2*, "Clearing Doubts about Host and Guest," Zhao Xianke discusses the importance of 'host *qi*' or 'ruler *qi*' (*zhuqi* 主氣) in diseases which are mainly attributed to an invasion of harmful external influences, or 'guest *qi*' (*keqi* 客氣). In Zhao's opinion, most of his contemporaries failed to recognise the importance of 'host *qi*', which should be further differentiated in the *qi* of spleen-stomach, belonging to After Heaven, and of kidneys-the gate of life, belonging to Before Heaven. In *juan 2*, Zhao does not discuss all external influences, but only 'wind' and 'cold'. Two other influences, 'summer heat' and 'dampness' are covered in separate essays in *juan 6*.

²⁴⁸ ZWDS 121.

²⁴⁹ *Xuanfu lun* (preface) 1a.

²⁵⁰ Although a comparison of ideas on *xiantian* in Zhao's medical and Lu's alchemical text might yield interesting results, such a comparison lies beyond the scope of my present study. For some analogies between Lu Xixing's alchemical thought and Zhao Xianke's theory on the five agents, see also p. 157.

Juan 2: "Clearing Doubts about Host and Guest"

"Essay on Wind Stroke" (Zhongfeng lun 中風論)

Attached:

"Discussing Spasms of Mouth and Eyes" (Lun kou yan huò xié 論口眼喎斜)

"Coma" (Jue 厥)

"Essay on Cold Damage" (Shanghan lun 傷寒論)

"Essay on Warmth Disease" (Wenbing lun 溫病論)

Attached:

"Discussing Yang Toxin and Yin Toxin" (Lun yangdu yindu 論陽毒陰毒)

"Essay on Depression Diseases" (Yubing lun 鬱病論)

Whereas the emphasis in "Essay on Wind Stroke" is on a violent and direct attack of external evil, in "Essay on Cold Damage," Zhao elaborates on a more gradual intrusion of evil. Especially in relation to cold, he argues that most physicians, from the moment they observe 'heat effusion' (*fa re* 發熱), blindly apply strategies to expel cold, instead of invigorating the 'host *qi*' of the body. Zhao Xianke is innovative in the way he conceives both Warmth Disease (*wenbing*) and Depression Disease (*yubing*) in terms of obstructed 'host *qi*'. Attached to his main Essays, Zhao also includes short discussions on specific symptoms: spasms and coma, associated with wind; and 'yang and yin toxin' in relation to Warmth Disease.

Juan 3 consists of one long discussion on different causes of blood symptoms, such as coughing up blood, vomiting blood, and bleeding from the nose, and on the appropriate treatment strategies.

Juan 3: "Vermilion Writing on Crimson Snow"

"Discussing Blood Disorders" (Lun xuezheng 論血症)²⁵¹

'Crimson snow' (*jiangxue*) and 'vermilion' (*dan*) in the title of *juan 3* refer to the red colour of blood.²⁵² Since the *Local History of Yin County* attributes a text titled, *Jiangxue danshu*, to Zhao Xianke's son Zhenguan, one might question whether this *juan 3* is a later insertion of Zhenguan's text in his father's *Yiguan*.²⁵³ However, there is a separate text on 'women disorders' (*fuke*), contained in *Ming Qing zhongyi linzheng xiao congshu* 明清中医临证小丛书 (Small Collection of Ming and Qing Clinical Practice in Chinese Medicine), a recent collection of Ming and Qing medical texts, that is also

²⁵¹ In GJS YG, this *juan* is titled "Essay on Blood Symptoms" (xuezheng lun 血症论). (43)

²⁵² Cinnabar (*dan*) is the mineral from which vermilion pigment is derived. Crimson snow (*jiangxue*) is a metaphor for red flowers. (HYDCD 9, 829-830) 'Cinnabar' and 'crimson snow' are also technical terms used in alchemy.

²⁵³ See also Mayanagi 1991: 2.

titled *Jiangxue danshu*.²⁵⁴ The editor of this text, Wang Yu, who earlier in his life suggested that Lü Liuliang wrote *Yiguan*, identifies Zhao Zhenguan, Xianke's son, as the author of this separate text.²⁵⁵ In the preface to Zhao Zhenguan's *Jiangxue danshu*, Wang Yu further explains the title as follows: "one night he [Zhenguan] was dreaming of crimson snow falling from the sky, hence he titled his piece: *Vermillion Writing on Crimson Snow*" (宵夢天雨絳雪因名其篇曰絳雪丹書).²⁵⁶ Seen that this recent publication of *Jiangxue danshu* is based on a manuscript version, never printed before, questions rise about the authenticity of this text. I will not further discuss the contents of this specific text attributed to Zhenguan.

Although there are some minor stylistic differences with the other *juan* of *Yiguan* – for instance, dialogues in *juan 3* make use of "a guest asked" (*keyue* 客曰), whereas in other *juan* 'someone asked' (*huoyue* 或曰) is used –, the contents of *juan 3* are in line with other parts of *Yiguan*. *Juan 3* does not only provide an extensive account on different aetiologies of blood loss through mouth and nose, it also emphasises the importance of supplementing formless water and fire associated with the gate of life, and voices a strong aversion to the use of cold and bitter *materia medica*. If *juan 3* is not written by Zhao Xianke, it is clearly written in accordance to his spirit. A cross-reference to *juan 3* in "Essay on Blood Ejection" of *juan 4*, might also suggest that Zhao Xianke indeed was the author of "Jiangxue Danshu" in *Yiguan*.²⁵⁷

In *juan 4* and 5, "Essential Essays on the Before Heavenly" (part 1 and 2), Zhao Xianke elaborates on how his theoretical assumption on Before Heaven applies to concrete clinical practice. Taken together, the 14 chapters of *juan 4* and the 10 chapters of *juan 5* make up one third of the entire *Yiguan*.

juan 4: "Essential Essays on Before Heaven, part 1"

"Pill with Eight Ingredients" (Bawei wan 八味丸)²⁵⁸

"Essay on the Use of *Zexie* in Zhang Zhongjing's Pill with Eight Ingredients" (Zhang Zhongjing bawei wan yong zexie lun 張仲景八味丸用澤瀉論)

"Essay on Water and Fire" (Shui huo lun 水火論)

"Explanation of the Pill with Six Ingredients" (Liuwei wan shuo 六味丸說)

"Explanation of the Pill with Eight Ingredients" (Bawei wan shuo 八味丸說)

"Essay on Enriching *Yin* to Bring Fire Down" (Ziyin jianghuo lun 滋陰降火論)

"Essay on Minister Fire as Dragon and Thunder" (Xianghuo longlei lun 相火龍雷論)

²⁵⁴ Wang Yu 2002 (n.p.).

²⁵⁵ Wang Yu. The text is dated Dinghai, which is in the 17th century is the year 1647.

²⁵⁶ Wang Yu 2002. (n.p.)

²⁵⁷ YG 4.26b.

²⁵⁸ This chapter is not mentioned in the "Table of Contents" (Mulu 目錄) of the Tiangai Lou edition. (Compare YG Mulu 2a with YG 4.1a) In the modern editions, this chapter is titled "Recipe of the Pill with Eight Ingredients" (Bawei wanfang 八味丸方). (CYP YG 74; GJS YG 62)

- “Essay on Heat Effusion because of Yin Depletion” (Yin xu fa re lun 陰虛發熱論)
- “Essay on Phlegm” (Tan lun 痰論)
- “Essay on Cough” (Kesou lun 咳嗽論)
- “Essay on Blood Ejection” (Tuxue lun 吐血論)
- “Essay on Panting” (Chuan lun 喘論)
- “Essay on Throat Ache” (Houlong tong lun 喉嚨痛論)
- “Essay on the Eyes” (Yanmu lun 眼目論)

juan 5: “Essential Essays on Before Heaven, part 2”

- “Essay on the Teeth” (Chi lun 齒論)
- “Essay on Mouth Sores” (Kouchuang lun 口瘡論)
- “Essay on the Ears” (Er lun 耳論)
- “Essay on Ear Sores” (Erchuang lun 耳瘡論)
- “Essay on Wasting Thirst” (Xiaoke lun 消渴論)
- “Essay on Fullness in the Centre because of Qi Depletion” (Qixu zhongman lun 氣虛中滿論)
- “Essay on Dysphagia and Occlusion” (Yege lun 噎膈論)
- “Essay on Diarrhoea and Constipation” (Xieli bing dabian butong lun 瀉利並大便不通論)
- “Essay on Urinary Obstruction and Incontinence” (Xiaobian butong bing bujin lun 小便不通並不禁論)
- “Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission” (Mengyi bing huajing lun 夢遺並滑精論)

The division into two *juan* is rather arbitrary. The first eight chapters of *juan 4* discuss the composition and applications of *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*, the two recipes most favoured by Zhao. The other essays in *juan 4* and *juan 5* discuss various pathologies caused by a depletion of formless water and formless fire. A special emphasis is put on drifting up ‘minister fire’ which may cause various disorders of the lungs, such as coughing, panting, and phlegm. Also throat-ache can often be explained by this drifting up ‘minister fire’. In the last chapter of *juan 4*, Zhao discusses the function of formless water and fire in relation to the physiology of the eyes. Other disorders situated in the orifices, for which a kidney *yin* failure may be responsible, range from teeth problems to ear sores, and are discussed in the first chapters of *juan 5*. These chapters are followed by essays in which the interaction between the kidneys-the gate of life and the digestive system are discussed. The final essay of the “Essential Essays on Before Heaven” is on involuntary and nocturnal seminal emissions.

Although in all these essays Zhao Xianke particularly highlights the involvement of kidneys-gate of life depletion, it should be noted that he refers to other aetiologies as well. For instance, Zhao often discusses conditions caused by spleen-stomach depletion. In these cases, he refers to the methods of Li Gao. Other causes that are being discussed throughout the chapters of *juan 4* and *juan 5* are “depression” (*yu*), and

the invasion of evil climatic influences. In case of ear sores, Zhao even explains intruded bugs that are causing pain can be expelled by dripping cat's urine in the affected ear.²⁵⁹ Before applying a curative treatment, the prime task of the physicians is to find the genuine cause of the disease. Zhao's main emphasis on kidneys-gate of life depletion, associated with the Before Heavenly, throughout *Yiguan* and especially in *juan* 4 and 5, is because this cause is in his opinion often overlooked by his contemporaries, or not understood at all.

In *juan* 6, "Essential Essays on After Heaven," Zhao Xianke first discusses Li Gao's famous recipe *buzhong yiqi tang*, and his ideas on supplementing the centre. Although "Supplementing the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction" is the first of six essays on the After Heavenly, he adds a different dimension on Li's ideas on supplementing the spleen-stomach function (associated with After Heaven) by pointing out that *buzhong yiqi tang* supplements the Before Heavenly inside the After Heavenly. In the second chapter, Zhao elaborates on damage caused to the spleen-stomach function by eating or drinking habits. The following two chapters are devoted to two specific external evil influences: 'summer heat' and 'dampness', which were not included as separate chapters in *juan* 2. The last two chapters of *juan* 6 give alternative views on two diseases, commonly attributed to external evil: *nüe* (often equated with malaria) and *liji* (often equated with dysentery).²⁶⁰ As in the first chapter of *juan* 6, in the other chapters as well, Li's clinical methods are valued, and supplemented by the idea that a depletion of Before Heavenly *yinqi* should not be excluded as cause of disease.

juan 6: "Essential Essays on After Heaven"

"Supplementing the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction" (Buzhong yiqi tang lun 補中益氣湯)

"Essay on Drink and Food Damage" (Shang yinshi lun 傷飲食論)

"Essay on Summer Heat Stroke and Summer Heat Damage" (Zhongshu shangshu lun 中暑傷暑論)

"Essay on Dampness" (Shi lun 濕論)

"Essay on *Nüe*" (*Nüe* lun 瘧論; 'malaria', 'intermittent fevers')

²⁵⁹ The way of retrieving cat's urine is explained as follows:

蟲入耳通將生姜擦貓鼻其尿自出取尿滴內蟲即出而愈

When a bug enters the ear, and causes pain, rub fresh ginger on the nose of cat. The urine will spontaneously come out. Catch the urine, and drip it [in the affected ear]. The bug will come out, and there is recovery. (YG 5.1b)

Lü Liuliang comments: "You should know this!" (不可不知). (LLL YG 5.1b)

²⁶⁰ *Nüe* is translated as "malarial disease" (Wiseman 1990: 180). Hsu uses the term "intermittent fevers." She points that *nüe* in many cases, but not all, corresponds to "malaria." On "culture-specific nosologies in the light of biological variation of malarial illness manifestation, see Hsu 2009.

“Essay on *Liji*” (Liji lun 痢疾論; ‘dysentery’)

The structure of the various chapters in the six *juan* of *Yiguan* is not uniform. Some chapters are long, others are short. Some are built on theoretical elaborations, some focus on a quoted passage from another medical text, others are centred on a dialogue. In most chapters, the reader finds a combination of theoretical elaborations, abundant quotes from medical texts, case histories, composition of recipes, etc. Some parts of *Yiguan* are copied from other texts without reference to the original source, which makes it difficult to ascertain what was originally written by Zhao Xianke, and what was not. Although it is not my purpose to elaborate in detail on the structural characteristics of *Yiguan*, the richness and complexity of the text will be further illustrated by the many quotes I will be included in the following chapters.

Part II

Theoretic Foundations

Chapter 2

A new vision of the body

Introduction

Zhao Xianke's main ideas on the position and function of the gate of life are explained in the first chapter of the first *juan* of *Yiguan*: "Essay on the Twelve Officials of the *Inner Classic*." The title of this chapter refers to the enumeration of twelve organic 'functionaries' or 'officials' (*guan* 官) in SW 8, "Linglan midian lun" 靈蘭秘典論 (Essay of the Secret Scripture in the Orchid [Chamber] of the Numinous [Tower])²⁶¹, in which the functions in the body are compared with those of high functionaries governing the (unified) empire.²⁶² In the translation of Paul U. Unschuld, this enumeration of officials, featuring in the first part of SW 8, reads as follows:

心者君主之官也神明出焉肺者相傳之官治節出焉肝者將軍之官謀慮出焉膽者中正之官決斷出焉膻中者臣使之官喜樂出焉脾胃者倉廩之官五味出焉大腸者傳道之官變化出焉小腸者受盛之官化物出焉腎者作強之官伎巧出焉三焦者決瀆之官水道出焉膀胱者州都之官津液藏焉氣化則能出矣凡此十二官者不得相失也

The heart is the official functioning as ruler.

Spirit brilliance originates in it.

²⁶¹ I follow Wu Kun's explanation of the title of SW 8: "The Orchid Chamber in the Numinous Tower is the place where the Yellow Emperor stored his books. "Secret classic" (*mi dian*) is a secret classical scripture (*mi mi dian ji*)" 靈台蘭室黃帝藏書之所秘典秘密典籍也). (*Huangdi neijing suwen Wu zhu* 43)

²⁶² The idea that the microcosm of the body is ruled in a similar way as the unified empire developed in the last three centuries BCE, and remained one of the most fundamental metaphors describing the organ functions throughout the history of scholarly Chinese medicine. (Sivin 1995; Unschuld 1985: 79-81; Unschuld 2003: 133-136)

The lung is the official function as chancellor and mentor.
Order and moderation originate in it.
The liver is the official functioning as general.
Planning and deliberation originate in it.
The gallbladder is the official functioning as rectifier.
Decisions and judgements originate in it.
The *dan zhong*²⁶³ is the official functioning as minister and envoy.
Joy and happiness originate in it.
The spleen and the stomach are the officials responsible for grain storage.
The five flavors originate from them.
The large intestine is the official functioning as transmitter along the Way.
Changes and transformations originate in it.
The small intestine is the official functioning as recipient of what has been perfected.
The transformation of things originates in it.
The kidneys are the official functioning as operator with force.
Technical skills and expertise originate from them.
The triple burner is the official functioning as opener of channels.
The passageways of water originate in it.
The urinary bladder is the official functioning as regional rectifier.
The body liquids are stored in it.
When *qi* is transformed, then [urine] can originate [from there].
All these twelve officials must not lose [contact with] each other.²⁶⁴

This passage, and almost the entire following parts of SW 8, are copied in the opening section of *Yiguan*.²⁶⁵ After describing these main functions in the body, SW 8 refers to the ‘brightness’ (*ming* 明) of the ‘ruler’ (*zhu* 主), and states that “if the ruler is not bright, the twelve officials are in danger” (主不明則十二官危). Based on this sentence, Zhao Xianke points out that the ‘heart’ (*xin*; one of the twelve officials) is not the highest ruler of the body.

In the first section of this chapter, I will explain how Zhao Xianke identifies the gate of life with a formless reality, in the Three Teachings referred to by various ‘empty names’ (*xu ming* 虛名), as the authentic ruler of the body. In the second section, I will summarise how, from an anatomical perspective, Zhao further contrasts the forms of the organs with formless fire of the gate of life, which drives all physiological processes related to these organs. Ideas in *Yiguan* will be compared

²⁶³ Unschuld does not translate *dan zhong*. See Tessenow and Unschuld 2008: 82. Wiseman translates as “chest center”. (1990: 52; cf. HYDCD 6, 1391)

²⁶⁴ SW 8: 3.1a-2a; as translated by Unschuld and Tessenow 2011: 155-158.

²⁶⁵ The Yellow Emperor’s initial question, his adviser Qi Bo’s first reaction, and the last passage of SW 8 do not feature in *Yiguan*. Cf. SW 8: 3.1a-2a.

to other descriptions of the anatomical body featured in earlier texts, such as Yu Tuan's 虞搏 (1438-1517) *Cangsheng siming* 蒼生司命 (Managing Destiny for the Common People, 1515) and Xu Chunfu's 徐春甫 (16th C.) *Gujin yitong daquan* 古今醫統大全 (Great Collection of Medical Tradition, Past and Present, 1556). However, in comparison to these two texts, Zhao renders a more complex vision of the gate of life, which will be discussed in the third section. In the last section of this chapter, I will show how Zhao Xianke visualises the formless authentic ruler in the body, by using various diagrams, derived from Zhou Dunyi's original *Taiji tu*, and combined with representations of the kidneys in the human body.

“If the Ruler is not Bright the Twelve Officials are in Danger” (but which ruler?)

According to Zhao Xianke, more than the description of the organic functions in SW 8, the following remark on hierarchical division and communication between the ‘ruler’ (*zhu*) and his ‘officials’ (*guan*) is of primal importance in understanding the functioning of the body:

故主明則下安以此養生則壽歿世不殆以為天下則大昌主不明則十二官危使道閉塞而不通形乃大傷以此養生則殃以為天下者其宗大危戒之戒之

Hence, if the ruler is enlightened, the subordinates are in peace. If you nourish life in this way, there will be longevity, and the time of leaving this world will not be near. If you govern the world in this way, there will be prosperity. If the ruler is not enlightened, the twelve officials will be in danger. If the ways are blocked, and do not communicate, the [forms of the] body (*xing*) will be greatly damaged. If you nourish life in this way, there will be disaster. If you govern the world in this way, the ancestral (*zong*) will be in great danger. Beware! Beware!²⁶⁶

Although various perceptions of the ruler of the body existed in earlier times, in the imperial period, scholarly physicians would all identify the heart, the ‘official of the sovereign ruler’ (*junzhu zhi guan* 君主之官) in SW 8, as ruler of the body.²⁶⁷ Zhao Xianke contests this interpretation, and suggests an alternative view, based on numeral counting:

玩內經注文即以心為主愚謂人身別有一主非心也謂之君主之官當與十二官平等不得獨尊心之官為主若以心之官為主則下文主不明則十二官危當云十一官矣此理甚明何注內經者昧此耶

When I examine the commentaries on the *Inner Classic*, they consider the heart to be the ruler. I, humbly, say that the human body still has another ruler, which is not the heart. When [the *Classic*] refers to [the heart as] “official that is the sovereign ruler” (*junzhu zhi guan*), it is positioned on an equal hierarchical level (*ping deng*) as the twelve officials. Hence, the official (*guan*) of the heart may not exclusively be venerated as ruler (*zhu*). If the official of the heart was the ruler, the following passage would not have been “if the ruler is not

²⁶⁶ SW 8: 3.2a-b. See also YG 1.1b. Compare and contrast with Unschuld and Tessenow 2011: 159.

²⁶⁷ For ideas on other organs, such as the lungs, liver, spleen, or gallbladder as ruler of the body, see Unschuld 2003: 134-136.

enlightened, the twelve officials are in danger,” but “the eleven officials!” This logic (*li*) is very clear. How come commentators did not understand this?²⁶⁸

In Zhao’s opinion, this other ruler is most essential in the functioning of the human body:

蓋此一主者氣血之根生死之關十二經之綱維醫不達此醫云乎哉
Well, this one ruler is the ‘root of *qi* and blood-fluid’ (*qixue zhi gen*), the ‘passageway of life and death’ (*shengsi zhi guan*), and ‘the regulator of the twelve conduits’ (*shi’er jing zhi gangwei*).²⁶⁹ If a physician cannot understand this, can (s)he still be called a physician?²⁷⁰

In the remaining parts of the first chapter, Zhao Xianke elaborates on the nature, form, and location of this genuine ruler of the body. His further explanation starts with some questions asked to him:

或問心既非主而君主又是一身之要然則主果何物耶何形耶何處安頓耶余曰悉乎問也若有物可指有形可見人皆得而知之矣
Someone asked: “If the heart is not the ruler, but the sovereign ruler is essential for the whole body, what then, after all, is this thing (*he wu*)? What form (*he xing*) does it have? And, in what place does it settle down (*he chu an dun*)?”
I answered: “Your questions are excellent, indeed! If it had substance (*you wu*), it could be pointed at. If it had form (*you xing*), it could be seen. People would then all be able to know it!”²⁷¹

In contrast to substance (*wu* 物) and form (*xing* 形), Zhao highlights that this ruler entirely belongs to the realm of the formless (*wu xing* 無形), which he places on a higher hierarchical level than everything which has form (*you xing* 有形). Zhao supports this idea by referring to the sages of ancient times:

惟其無形與無物也故自古聖賢因心立論而卒不能直指其實
Exactly because it is formless (*wu xing*) and without substance (*wu wu*), sages (*shengxian*) in ancient times followed their heart (*yin xin*;

²⁶⁸ YG 1.2a.

²⁶⁹ This is similar to what is said about the “moving *qi* in between the kidneys” (*shen zhong dong qi* 腎間動氣) in NJ 8: 130.

²⁷⁰ YG 1.2a.

²⁷¹ YG 1.3a.

their intuition) to establish their theories. Nevertheless, none of them could directly point to its [full] reality (*shi*).²⁷²

Zhao continues by citing examples showing how this formless reality features in the three canonised philosophical/religious traditions of imperial China: Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. For the Confucian tradition, he concentrates on the ‘all-pervasion by one’ (*yi guan*), which he traces back to concepts of ‘one’ (*yi* 一) and ‘centre’ (*zhong* 中), mentioned in the *Shujing* 書經 (Classic of Documents). In this text these concepts feature in expressions such as ‘essential one’ (*jingyi* 精一) and ‘holding the centre’ (*zhi zhong* 執中).²⁷³ Zhao further points out that Confucius passed the tradition on to his two foremost disciples: Zengzi 曾子 and Zigong 子貢,²⁷⁴ who gained their master’s teaching not by oral transmission, but by “realising it in their hearts” (*xin wu* 心悟):

若以言傳當時門人之所共聞不應復有何謂之問也

If it would have been an oral transmission, all disciples present at the time would have heard it. However, there was no further response of questions to ask what was meant.²⁷⁵

Zhao Xianke further explains that Zisi 子思, who according to tradition was Confucius’ grandson and the teacher of Mencius, also received the tradition, and explained concept of ‘centre’ in the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (Central Mean).²⁷⁶ The last Confucian master mentioned is Mencius. Zhao paraphrases the section of the *Mengzi* in which the concept of ‘vastness *qi*’ (*haoran zhi qi* 浩然之氣) features:

孟子說不動心有道而根於浩然之氣及問浩然之氣而又曰難言也

Mencius explained that there is a way of not moving the heart. This is rooted in vastness *qi*. However, when he was questioned about vastness *qi*, he further said: “This is difficult to explain.”²⁷⁷

According to Zhao Xianke, the same formless principle pervading everything in the cosmos features in Daoism and Buddhism as well. As far as Daoism is concerned, he quotes two passages of the *Daode jing*:

²⁷² YG 1.3a.

²⁷³ YG Cf. *Shangshu zhushu* 3.12b.

²⁷⁴ On the disciples of Confucius, see Chen 2007.

²⁷⁵ YG 1.3a.

²⁷⁶ YG 1.3a. For a translation and study of the *Zhongyong*, see Ames and Hall 2001.

²⁷⁷ YG 1.3b; Cf. *Mengzi* 3.3b.

谷神不死是為玄牝之門造化之根

The Spirit of the Valley does not die. This is called the Mysterious Female (*xuanpin*). The gate of the Mysterious Female is the root of creation and transformation (*zaohua zhi gen*).²⁷⁸

恍恍惚惚其中有物

Vaguely, dimly, there is something inside.²⁷⁹

Buddhist examples are taken from the *Xinjing* (Heart Sūtra), in which the concept of ‘empty centre’ (*kongzhong*; *sūnyatā*) is explained.²⁸⁰ In addition, Zhao relates to the Chan saying “all dharmas return to the one” (*wanfa gui yi* 萬法歸一), and to the logical next question: “where does the one return to?” (*yi gui he chu* 一歸何處).²⁸¹

Zhao Xianke considers concepts like ‘one,’ ‘centre,’ ‘inner nature’ (*xing* 性), ‘vastness,’ ‘mysterious female,’ and ‘empty centre’ all to be examples of ‘empty names’ (*xuming* 虛名), which describe the full reality of the formless, underlying everything in the macrocosm and the microcosm of the human body.²⁸² Like the sages of the Three Teachings, who had difficulties describing the formless, and who were forced to use these empty names, physicians encounter the same difficulties. In medicine, however, some additional and more practical concerns are involved. Since a physician’s main preoccupation is bringing relieve to the ill, (s)he has to understand how pathologies are related to the formless reality that rules the body, and which *materia medica*, or recipes, can be administered in order to influence its functioning. However, before elaborating on pathology and treatment in Zhao Xianke’s *Yiguan*, as I will do in Part III of my thesis, I will focus here on the location of the formless ruler in the body, and its attributed physiological features.

After referring to the empty words used in philosophical/religious texts, Zhao Xianke recounts an encounter with an eminent monk (*gaoseng* 高僧), who answers his questions on the nature, form, and location of the authentic ruler of the body:

²⁷⁸ As quoted in YG 1.3b, but compare to *Daode jing* in which “gate of the Mysterious Female is called the root of Heaven-and-Earth. (玄牝之門天地之根)” DDJ 6: 2b

²⁷⁹ As quoted in YG 1.3b. Cf. DDJ 21: 7b.

²⁸⁰ Cf. T.251.8.848c.

²⁸¹ YG 1.3b. This saying is borrowed from “Case 45” in Xuedou zhongxian’s 雪竇重顯(980-1052) *Songgu baize* 頌古百則 (Verse Commentaries an a Hundred Edicts), a collection of older Chan cases (J. *kōan*; Ch. *gong’an* 公案), and included in Yuanwu keqin’s 圓悟克勤 1(063-1135) *Biyuan lu* 碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Records). (T2003.48.181c) On Chan *gong’an*, see Sharf 2007. For the phrase “*wanfa gui yi*” in Daoist Thunder Rituals (*leifa* 類法) of the Song period, See Reiter 2007: 199.

²⁸² For another list with “empty names” referring to the formless as ruler of the body in *Yiguan*, see YG 1.10b-11a. (Cf. p. 107)

余一日一問高僧曰自心是佛佛在胸中也僧曰非也在胸中者是肉團心有一如心是佛又問僧曰真如心有何形狀僧曰無形余又問在何處安寄僧曰想在下邊余曰此可幾於道矣

One day, I asked an eminent monk: ‘If the own heart is the Buddha, is the Buddha then located in the chest?’

The monk said: “No! What is in the chest is the ‘meat lump heart’ (*routuan xin*; *hr̥daya*, the physical or corporal heart). However, there is [also] the ‘suchness heart’ (*zhenru xin*; *tathatā* heart, mind of true thusness)²⁸³. This is the Buddha.”

I further asked him: “What form does the ‘suchness heart’ have?”

The monk said: “It has no form.”

I further asked him: “Where does it take its peaceful residence?”

The monk said: “I think in the lower regions.”

I said: “How close this is to the Way!”²⁸⁴

Thus, in the above dialogue, the monk points out that the heart that is located in the chest, ‘the meat lump heart,’ is not the only heart in the body. In the lower regions of the trunk, there is a much more important heart: the formless ‘suchness heart’ (*zhenru xin*), or the Buddha inside the body. Chinese Buddhist ideas on the existence of more than one heart, as expressed by the eminent monk in the above dialogue, can be traced back to the Tang dynasty. The esoteric patriarch Yixing 一行 (683-727), for example, mentioned the existence of several hearts in his comments on the esoteric *Mahāvairocana sūtra*.²⁸⁵ Another famous Tang dynasty Buddhist, the Huayan and Chan master Zongmi 宗密 (780-841) mentioned four types of hearts, including the *routuan xin* and *zhenru xin*, in his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the Collected Writings on the Source of Chan).²⁸⁶

Although Zhao Xianke legitimised his claims on the existence of different hearts by referring to Buddhist ideas, the medical application of these ideas was not applauded by later physicians. Zhao’s immediate follower Lü Liuliang, for instance, who himself became a Buddhist monk at the end of his life, did not agree with Zhao’s view. On the Buddhist’s explanation of the existence of more than one heart, Lü comments:

²⁸³ Cf. Iganaki 1991: 347.

²⁸⁴ YG 1.4a.

²⁸⁵ *Da Piluzhe’na chengfo jingshu* T.1796. On Yixing and his commentary, see Keyworth 2011.

²⁸⁶ The four hearts discussed by Zongmi are (1) the corporeal mind (*routuan xin*; “the heart as one of the five *zang* viscera in the body” 身中五藏心也); (2) object-receiving mind (*yuanlü xin* 緣慮心; i.e. the mind of the eight consciousnesses); (3) the mind that accumulates and produces (*jiqi xin* 集起心; *ālayavijñāna*); (4) the true mind (*jianshi xin* 堅實心; the mind that is unchanging and untainted by defilements and that is seen as suchness). (T.2015.48.401c24-402a, translations after Gregory 1995: 124, who translates “heart” as “mind”)

此在禪門亦是弄精魂適其為笑耳

Also in the Chan school this is something delusional (*nong jinghun*)²⁸⁷.

It is just ridiculous!²⁸⁸

Whether or not Zhao Xianke's understanding of the existence of different hearts is acceptable in a Chan Buddhist way of reasoning is not the issue here. More important in respect to the discussion on the genuine ruler of the body is that the monk not only gives a legitimation for the existence of a formless "heart," but also provides a clue as to its location in the body. The lower regions, which the monk refers to, are interpreted by Zhao as the kidneys region.²⁸⁹ Zhao comes to this conclusion after linking the words of the monk to a phrase in SW 52 that mentions a small heart (*xiao xin* 小心) near the seventh vertebra, and the location of the gate of life cavity (*mingmen xue*) depicted above the seventh vertebra, counting from the bottom up, in the *Tongren tu* 銅人圖 (Diagram of the Bronze Man).²⁹⁰

²⁸⁷ The expression "弄精魂 (*nong jin hun*)" is similar to "弄精神 (*nong jingshen*," which means "to damage the spirit" (*shang shen* 傷神) or "to waste mental energy" (*fei xinsi* 費心思). (HYDCD 2, 1314)

²⁸⁸ LLL YG 1.4a.

²⁸⁹ To my knowledge, the localisation of *zhenru xin* in the lower regions of the body cannot be attested in Buddhist scriptures.

²⁹⁰ Cf. SW 52: 14.4a. *Tongren tu* refers to illustrations accompanying texts about *acumoxa* for the use of bronze cast figures. It is not clear to which illustration and text Zhao Xianke refers. Figure 7. is taken from *Tongren zhenjiu jing*, a text which differs from Wang Weiyi's *Tongren shuxue zhenjiu jing*. (Lu and Needham 1980: 135)

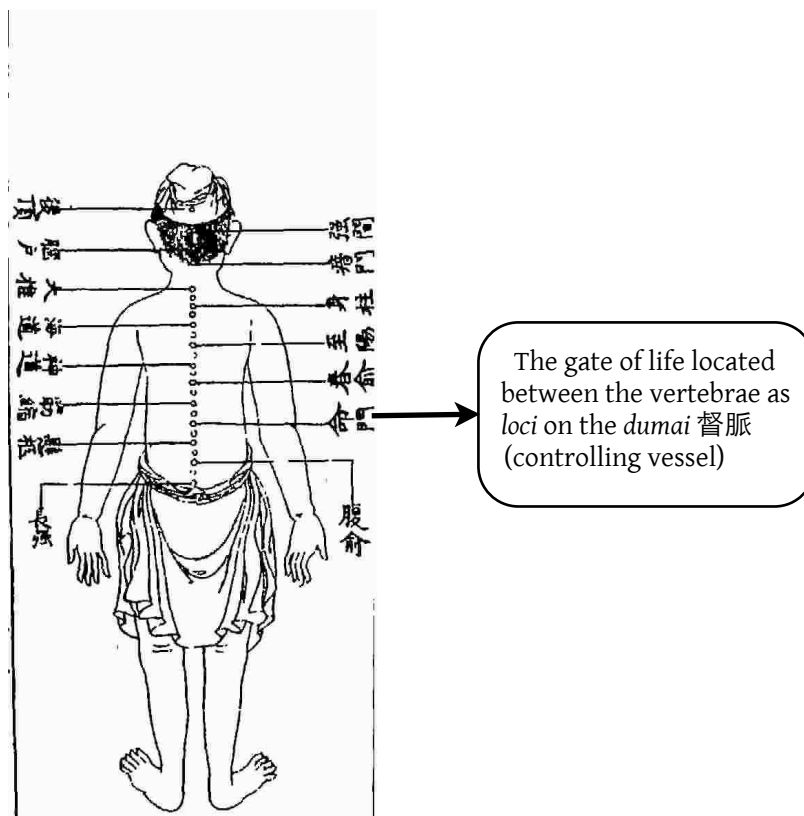


Figure 7. The gate of life in between the 7th and 14th vertebra
(Tongren zhenjiu jing 4.1a)

Before going into further detail on Zhao Xianke’s conclusions on the exact location of the genuine ruler, I will briefly discuss the implications of his disregard of the (anatomical) heart, located in the chest. For the introduction of a ruler standing on a higher level than the heart is difficult to reconcile with Confucian orthodoxy, in which the cultivation of the heart is central. In order to anticipate criticism, however, Zhao himself includes a preemptive critical reflection at the very end of the first essay in *Yiguan*:

或又問曰如上所言心為無用之物耶古之聖賢未有不以正心養心盡心為訓而先生獨欲外心以言道恐心外之道非至道也

Someone further asked: “Like you explain it here, the heart must be something useless! Amongst the sages of ancient times there was no one who taught without referring to correcting the heart (*zheng xin*), nourishing the heart (*yang xin*), and completing the heart (*jin xin*). Yet, you, Sir, want to explain the Way by leaving the heart out of the discussion. I am afraid that a Way without the heart is not the utmost Way (*xin wai zhi dao fei zhi dao*).”²⁹¹

²⁹¹ YG 1.14a.

In his defence, Zhao Xianke compares the two different hearts, the one in the chest and the other in the kidneys region, with two buildings in the imperial palace:

余曰子細玩經文自得之矣經曰神明出焉則所系亦重矣豈為無用哉
盍不觀之朝廷乎皇極殿是王者向明出治之所也乾清宮是王者向晦
晏息之所也指皇極殿而即謂之君身可乎蓋元陽君主之所以為應事
接物之用者皆從心上起經綸故以心為主至於棲真養息而為生生化
化之根者獨藏於兩腎之中故尤重於腎其實非腎而亦非心也

I said: “When you carefully examine the text of the *Classic*, you will get it spontaneously! The *Classic* says: “spirit brilliance originates in it.” Hence, the thing to which it is connected is also important. How would [the heart] be something useless! Why not see it as an imperial court? The Hall of the Imperial Supreme (Huangji Dian) is the place where the sovereign governs at daytime. The Palace of Heavenly Purity (Qianqing Gong) is the place where the king rests at night. Should the Hall of the Imperial Supreme then be identified with the ruler himself? Well, the function by which the Primordial Yang Ruler (*yuanyang junzhu*) responds to matters and receives things starts with the heart. Therefore, in statesmanship, the heart is considered to be ruler. As for where he keeps his authenticity and nourishes his breath, and what the root of all endless creation (*sheng sheng zhi gen*) is concerned, this is only stored in between the two kidneys. Hence, I particularly highlight kidneys. In fact, it is neither the kidneys nor the heart.²⁹²

Thus, the heart and the kidneys are here metaphorically described as buildings in which functions are performed. The heart is the Huangji Hall, the place where the emperor in the Ming dynasty performed his acts of government. Being one of the twelve officials in the bodily government, the heart is thus not useless at all. On the contrary, the heart is important because “brilliance of the spirit comes from it.” The kidneys are compared with the Qianqing Gong, the private quarters where the emperor rests at night. However, not the architectural structures, but the activities taking place in the buildings are primordial. In the body, all physiological functions equally depend on the formless, whose origin Zhao places in the gate of life cavity in between the kidneys. Accordingly, he stresses that the “imperial” activity in the body should not be equated with the structural forms of any of the *zangfu-viscera* (“it is neither the kidneys, nor the heart”).

Notwithstanding Zhao’s attempt to defend his unique vision on the ruler of the body, friends and foes alike disagreed with the idea that the Gate of Life occupies a

²⁹² YG 1.14a-b.

higher hierarchical position than the heart. Feng Zhaozhang, a physician who borrowed a lot from *Yiguan*, tried to reconcile Zhao's ideas with more orthodox views by stating that Zhao's formless "ruler" (*zhu*) should rather be seen as the "origin" (*ben*) of everything.²⁹³ Also Lü Liuliang, while following Zhao's clinical strategies, was not favourable to this particular understanding of the heart. In a comment on Zhao's counting of twelve officials, and his conclusion that there is a ruler hierarchically standing above the officials (including the heart), Lü refers to other chapters of the *Inner Classic* showing that Zhao's alternative counting was entirely wrong. Disregarding Zhao's preemptive self-defence, Lü even criticises Zhao for going against the Confucian orthodoxy.²⁹⁴ Adversaries of Zhao's medical ideas, of which the great Qing physician Xu Dachun is most famous, were much more hostile in their criticism.²⁹⁵ Although ideas on the heart in *Yiguan* might have sounded absurd to many physicians in Ming and later times, Zhao Xianke's whole medical system was systematically based on the assumption that there is a formless ruler governing all functions in the body.

Moving beyond the metaphor of the body as an empire governed by an emperor and his ministers behind, Zhao then provides a much more visual description of the body. He points out that if the student of medicine wants to find the "miracles of the formless" (*wuxing zhi miao* 無形之妙) (s)he should take the anatomical structures of the organs inside the torso as point of departure.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ *Feng-shi Jinnang milu zazheng daxiao hecan* 93.

²⁹⁴ LLL YG 1.2a-b.

²⁹⁵ See, for instance, *Yiguan bian* 109-110.

²⁹⁶ YG 1.4a.

The bodily landscape of forms

Visual depictions of the body have a long history in Chinese culture. Besides from aesthetic representations in art, graphical representations of the human body feature in more practical fields of knowledge as well. In her preliminary research on the visual representations of the body, Catherine Despeux discusses three such fields of practical knowledge: medicine, forensics, and Daoism. She highlights that each of these fields has its specific types of visual representations. In medicine, mainly images of the ‘conduits’ (*jingluo* 經絡), ‘acumoxa loci’ (*xuewei* 穴位), and depictions of the viscera are used; in forensics, the bones of the skeleton are depicted; and in Daoism, “it was the symbolic description of the body as the spatio-temporal locus of mutations and correspondences with the outside world and the spirit world” that was being depicted.²⁹⁷ Despeux further distinguishes three ways in which these bodies were usually represented: “the body in its entirety, bounded by an outline; the interior of the body or of body parts (the internal organs or skeleton); and symbolic representations of the body.”²⁹⁸

Under a separate subtitle “Explanation of the Diagram of the Landscapes of Forms” (*Xingjing tushuo* 形景圖說), Zhao Xianke includes an elaborate anatomical and physiological description of the viscera in the torso. Although the “diagram” (*tu*) itself is absent in *Yiguan*, the explanation seems to be written as an accompaniment to a graphical representation of the body.²⁹⁹ Visual knowledge of this particular kind was mainly obtained from dissections “carried out by official command on the bodies of war criminals,” in earlier times.³⁰⁰ Although the first recorded evidence of a dissection is found in the biography of Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE - 23 CE) in the *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書 (Dynastic History of the Former Han), the first images based on dissections transmitted to our present times date back only to the Song dynasty.³⁰¹ As a major revision of these Song images only occurred in the nineteenth century by Wang Qingren 王清任 (1768-1831), Ming dynasty anatomical knowledge, and the detailed descriptions found in *Yiguan*, must have been based on information retrieved during the Song dynasty.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ Despeux 2005: 11.

²⁹⁸ Despeux 2005: 11.

²⁹⁹ For *tu* as learning device in various fields of knowledge, see Bray, Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Métaillé 2007.

³⁰⁰ Despeux 2005: 26.

³⁰¹ Despeux 2005: 25-26; 2007: 636-637. For the biography of Wang Mang, see *Qian Hanshu* 99a.1a-99c.42b.

³⁰² Despeux 2005: 33-34.

Since the Diagram itself does not feature in *Yiguan*, I will restrict myself to an analysis of the “Explanation of the Diagram of the Landscapes of Forms.”³⁰³ In the description, the inner organs are mainly categorised into two rubrics: organs associated with the pharynx (*hou* 喉); and those associated to the larynx (*yan* 咽). The tube of the pharynx [i.e. the trachea], which is hard and located in front of the larynx, leads to the lungs (*fei* 肺). Also the heart (*xin* 心) and the pericardium (*xinbaoluo* 心包絡), located above the diaphragm (*gemo* 膈膜); and the liver (*gan* 肝) and the gall bladder (*dan* 膽), located below the diaphragm, belong to the system related to the pharynx. The duct of the larynx [i.e. the oesophagus] is soft, and located behind the oesophagus, leads to the stomach (*wei* 胃), and is further connected to the spleen (*pi* 脾), the small intestine (*xiaochang* 小腸), the revolving intestine (*huichang* 迴腸, also called: “large intestine” *dachang* 大腸), the wide intestine (*guangchang* 廣腸)³⁰⁴, and the urinary bladder (*pangguang* 膀胱), all located below the diaphragm. I will not elaborate on the detailed description of all these viscera in the “Explanation of the Diagram,” the description of the lungs may serve as an example:

喉下為肺兩葉白瑩謂之華蓋以覆諸臟虛如蜂窠下無透竅故吸之則滿呼之則虛一吸一呼本之有源無有窮也乃清濁之交運人身之橐龠肺之下為心 [...]

Under the pharynx are the two lungs. They have a white glittering, and are called the flowery canopy (*hua gai*). In this way, they cover all the organs. They are empty as a bee nest. At the bottom, they have no aperture that can be penetrated. Hence, after inhalation, they are filled, and after exhalation, they empty. The alternation between inhalation and exhalation can be traced back to an origin, which is inexhaustible. [The lungs are responsible for] the exchange

³⁰³ Feng Zhaozhang borrows Zhao Xianke’s “Explanation of the Diagram of the Landscape of Forms,” but titled it “Explanation of the Inner Landscape” (Neijing tushuo 內景圖說), to accompany visual representations of the body and the inner organs. (*Feng-shi jinnang milu zazheng daxiao hecan* 103-105) One of these representations is the “Corrected Diagram of the Inner Landscape” (Gaizheng neijing zhi tu 改正內景之圖). This diagram resembles Zhang Jiebin’s “Diagram of the Inner Landscape” (Neijing tu 內景圖). However, in Feng Zhaozhang diagram, the connections between the structures in the body are not very clear. Moreover, the gate of life is depicted in the centre of the abdomen, without being connected to the kidneys. This differs from Zhang Jiebin’s representation of the gate of life as ‘child palace’ (*zigong* 子宮). Compare *Feng-shi jinnang milu zazheng daxiao hecan* 99 with Figure 8. For a similar diagram, but earlier (1575), diagram that does not depict the gate of life, but the “cinnabar field” (*dantian*) instead (in front of the abdomen, opposite the seventh vertebra), see *Yixue rumen* 8. I will discuss Zhang Jiebin’s “Diagram of the Inner Landscape,” below.

³⁰⁴ Wisemen translates as “rectum.” (1990: 104) Strictly speaking however, *guangchang* contains both the sigmoid colon (*yizhuangjielie* 乙状结肠) and the rectum (*zhichang* 直肠). Because it is wider than both the large and the small intestine, it is called “wide intestine.” (Li ZYDCD 133)

of clear and turbid *qi* (*qing zhuo qi*), and are the bellows of the human body. Under the lungs is the heart. [...] ³⁰⁵

More important than the exact anatomical description of the individual organs, are the physiological functions they perform in the body. Whereas the duct of the pharynx is “the way of breath” (*qixi zhi lu* 氣息之路); the duct of the larynx is “the way of fluids and food” (*yinshi zhi lu* 飲食之路). The main functions of these two ducts, which serve as *pars pro toto* for their related organs, are summarised as follows:

此喉之一竅也施氣運化薰蒸流行以成脈絡者如此

This one aperture of the pharynx provides transportation and transformation of *qi* (*shi qi yun hua*). It makes it fumigate, flow around (*xunzheng liuxing*), in order to form the conduits (*mailuo*). ³⁰⁶

此咽之一竅也資生氣血轉化糟粕而出入如此

This one aperture of the larynx fosters the production of *qi* and blood (*zi sheng qi xue*), transforms (*zhuanhua*) the dregs, [and is responsible for] leaving and entering. ³⁰⁷

After the description of the two main organ systems departing from pharynx and larynx, the “Explanation of the Diagram” continues with the explanation of the triple burner (*san jiao* 三焦) and the kidneys. The triple burner has no counterpart in Western medicine, but is, together with the small intestine, large intestine, gallbladder, and urinary bladder, one of the six *fu*-organs. ³⁰⁸ As I will point out below, among physicians in the Ming dynasty, there was an ongoing discussion about the exact structural, anatomical form of the triple burner, and its connections with other functions. On a functional level, through the generation of heat, the triple burner activates the main waterways in the body. Although forming one single *fu*-organ, the triple burner can be separated in three distinct burners according to the location of activity in the trunk: the ‘upper burner’ (*shangjiao* 上焦) is located in the chest, above

³⁰⁵ YG 1.5a.

³⁰⁶ YG 1.5b.

³⁰⁷ YG 1.6b. In addition to these ways of breath and food and fluids, some attention is paid to the function of the epiglottis (*yanhui* 嚴會), which prevents fluids and food entering the way of breath. YG 1.4b-5a.

³⁰⁸ About the triple burner, Unschuld explains: “[T]he triple burner [is] a purely theoretical concept possibly paralleling ancient European notions of a *calor innatus*, an innate source of warmth responsible for changing temperatures in the human organism. That it was first mentioned in the biographical account of the lives of Bian Que and Chunyu Yi in the *Shi ji* of the early first century B.C. may suggest that the concept of the triple burner was introduced to China from a foreign culture or that it was only in the early Han era that Chinese naturalists sought explanations for the warmth or heat in the living and for the cold in the dead.” (2003: 140) See, also Despeux 1997: 35-41.

the stomach opening; the ‘central burner’ (*zhongjiao* 中焦) in the stomach region; and the ‘lower burner’ (*xiajiao* 下焦) in the lower belly area. Being the driving force behind the processes taking place in the two organ systems related to pharynx and larynx, discussed above, the importance of the triple burner is particularly emphasised in the “Explanation of the Diagram.”

The description of triple burner in the “Explanation of the Diagram” consists of three parts. First, the final phrase of LS 18, in which the triple burner is compared with activities of processing water, is quoted:

三焦者上焦如霧中焦如漚下焦如瀆

The upper burner is like mist. The central burner is like foam. The lower burner is like a drain.³⁰⁹

This is followed by a passage, which is also found in the “General Discussion on the Triple Burner” (*Sanjiao tonglun* 三焦統論) in *juan* 54 of *Shengji zonglu* 聖濟總錄 (General Record of Sagely Benefaction, 1111-1117):³¹⁰

有名無形主持諸氣以象三才故呼吸升降水谷腐熟皆待此通達

It has a name, but no form. It takes charge of all *qi*. Resembling the three powers (*san cai*), ascending and descending through exhalation and inhalation, and processing of water and grains (*shui gu fou shu*), all depend on it in order to communicate (*tong da*).³¹¹

The first two sentences are based on information on the triple burner in NJ 38.³¹² The triple burner is further associated with the cosmological concept of ‘three powers’ (*sancan* 三才), which in the microcosm of the body is the force that drives

³⁰⁹ YG 1.6b-7a; cf. LS 18: 4.14b. Although the triple burner are associated with fire, the metaphors related to moving water (stirred by fire) are also used. See also Wiseman and Feng 1998: 627.

³¹⁰ *Shengji zonglu* vol.1: 991.

³¹¹ YG 1.7a.

³¹² Cf. NJ 38: 395.

breathing and digestion.³¹³ Zhao Xianke adds to the passage found in “General Discussion,” that the triple burner “and the gate of life form inner (*li* [gate of life]) and outer aspect (*biao* [triple burner])” (與命門相為表裏). The description of the triple burner is concluded by a second quote taken from LS 18 in which the position of the burners in the body and their main activities are explained, to which Zhao adds some additional remarks.³¹⁴

The last organs described in the “Explanation of the Diagram” are the two kidneys. After stating that the kidneys are the “place where essence resides” (*jing suo she ye* 精所舍也), and describing their form, location in the body, and connections with the heart above and the spinal bone below, passing the ‘screening off cavity’ (*pingyi xue* 屏翳穴)³¹⁵, the text continues as follows:

兩腎俱屬水但一邊屬陰一邊屬陽越人謂左為腎右為命門非也

The two kidneys both belong to water. However, one side belongs to *yin*, and the other side belongs to *yang*. Yueren said that the left one is the kidney and the right one is the gate of life, but this is wrong.³¹⁶

In the last sentence of the above quoted passage, Zhao Xianke thus contradicts Yueren [i.e. Bian Que 扁鵲], who according to tradition composed the *Nanjing*. Instead of equating the gate of life with the right kidney, as mentioned in NJ 36.³¹⁷ Zhao considers the gate of life to be something formless, located in between the two kidneys. Being the origin of life, and in close collaboration with the triple burner, the gate of life is responsible for the functioning of all organs in the body. Hence, by using the “Explanation of the Diagram of the Landscape of Forms,” Zhao has reached the realm of the gate of life, the formless ruler of the body. He continues by providing

³¹³ The ‘three powers’ refer to the ‘powers’ or ‘qualities’ corresponding to three levels: Heaven, humanity, and Earth. They also are associated with the three lines of a trigram: bottom (Earth), centre (humanity), and top (Heaven). (Nielsen 2003: 194; HYDCD 1, 175) Allan explains that “*cai*” (才 or 材) “means timber or wood as raw material.” “It is the first shoots of the trees in a forest rather than wood as matter, an inanimate substance already prepared for the carpenter.” (1997: 111) Referring to the *Zhuangzi*, she further points out that “for a person, as for a tree, lack of capability—uselessness— is of more value than wasting one’s life in being used. All living things, all *wu*, have *cai* and all will die in the end, but those without use to the world are more likely to live out their natural life span.” Hence, it is important to keep the *cai* to be whole. “For the *cai* to be whole then, is for the potential—the shoots within the heart [as referred to in *Mengzi*]—to maintain their vitality so that they respond to life as a plat responds to springtime.” (Allan 1997: 112-113) In this sense, the triple burner as three *cai*, can be understood as the original material divided over the upper, central, and lower region of the body.

³¹⁴ YG 1.6b-7b.

³¹⁵ Another name for the ‘meeting *ying* cavity’ (*huiyin xue* 會陰穴), located between the genitals and the anus. (Li ZYDCD 1356)

³¹⁶ YG 1.6b.

³¹⁷ NJ 36: 382.

a detailed description of the location and functionality of the gate of life, which I will analyse in the next section. However, before doing so, it is worth to compare Zhao's "Explanation of the Diagram of the Landscape of Forms" with earlier, and similar explanations. This comparison shows that it is unlikely that the "Explanation of the Diagram" in *Yiguan* was entirely written by Zhao Xianke.

Almost identical descriptions of the inner organs of the body can be found in *Cangsheng siming* and *Gujin yitong daquan*. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Yu Tuan, a physician of Yiwu in Zhejiang province, included an "Explanation through a Diagram of the Internal Landscape" (Neijing tujie 內景圖解) in the introductory *juan* of his *Cangsheng siming*.³¹⁸ Another description of the inner organs similar to that of Zhao, titled "Landscape of Forms" (Xingjing 形景), can be found in the last *juan* of *Gujin yitong daquan*, a medical encyclopaedia compiled by Xu Chunfu.³¹⁹ Whereas the descriptions of the organs connected to the pharynx and the larynx in these two earlier Ming dynasty texts are identical to those in *Yiguan*, there are subtle differences in how the triple burner and the kidneys are explained.

In his description of the kidneys, Yu Tuan, like Zhao Xianke, highlights that the gate of life is located in between the two kidneys. He illustrates this, not only by referring to the trigram water (*kan* 坎 ☵), but also by referring to the phrase "the one spark of brightness in between the two kidneys," borrowed from an alchemical poem attributed to Lü Dongbin, as I already pointed out in the introduction.³²⁰ Yu further relates the gate of life to minister fire, and explains that this fire is the "formless fire of Before Heaven, which differs from fire that has form of After Heaven" (先天無形之火與後天有形之火不同).³²¹ On the other hand, Yu does not only associates the gate of life with formless fire, but also with the 'child palace' (*zigong* 子宮). He quotes NJ 36 in which the gate of life is described as "what men use to store up their semen, and women to attach their womb (*bao*) to" (男子以藏精女子以繫胞).³²²

The paradox of associating the gate of life with both the formal structure of the 'child palace' and the formlessness character of the one spark of *yang*, as symbolised by the central *yang* line in the trigram *kan*, is adopted by later physicians, such as

³¹⁸ *Cangsheng siming* 13-15.

³¹⁹ *Gujin yitong daquan* vol. 2: 1431.

³²⁰ *Cangsheng siming* 15, compare to *Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 1.4b. See also p. 31.

³²¹ *Cangsheng siming* 15. To my knowledge, with the exception of this passage in *Cangsheng siming* and *Yiguan*, the concept of "formless fire of Before Heaven" (*xiantian wuxing zhi huo*) does not feature in any other pre-Qing medical text. In other parts of *Cangsheng siming*, and other texts by Yu Tuan, no further mentioning is made of this "formless fire of Before heaven."

³²² *Cangsheng siming* 15. See also NJ 36: 382. Compare to Unschuld: "[I]n males it stores the essence; in females it holds the womb." (1986b: 399); and Yi-Li Wu: "In men it stores [seminal] essence; in women it binds the womb." (2010: 99)

Zhang Jiebin. In his “Distinguishing Triple Burner, Pericardium, and the Gate of Life” (Sanjiao baoluo mingmen bian 三焦心包命門辯), Zhang points out that the gate of life is not the right kidney, but the ‘child palace’. Yi-Li Wu puts it as follows: “After extensive review [of inner alchemy texts], Zhang concluded that the only explanation that could reconcile these various descriptions was that the life-gate was in fact the ‘child palace’ (*zigong*).”³²³ In his “Diagram of the Internal Landscape” in *Leijing tuyi*, (Figure 8.) he depicts the gate of life as a structural form in the body, which he identifies as ‘child palace’. Zhang further highlights that Yu Tuan was one of those Ming physicians who considered the triple burner to have form (*you xing*).³²⁴ Although Yu, similar to Zhao, mainly refers to *Shengji tonglu* in his explanation of triple burner, in contrast to Zhao, he omits the first sentence: “They have a name, but no form.” The emphasis on form by physicians, such as Yu Tuan, and also Zhang

³²³ Wu 2010: 100. Wu further points out:

The term *child palace* could be used for both men and women because “men’s essence and women’s Blood are both stored here.” Zhang also equated it to the cinnabar field, ‘where the masters of the Dao store the prenatally endowed primordial qi of the true one,’ and pointed out that it was also the same as the Blood chamber and the sea of qi. This focus on vitalities also allowed Zhang to resolve an issue that had been only awkwardly addressed in the *Inner Classic*—how to integrate the female womb into the yin-yang schema of the body. Zhang’s solution was that the child palace–cum–life-gate did not actually represent a separate organ. Instead, it was an extension of the kidney, and Zhang explained that “the child palace is the palace where the kidney stores its essence.” (Wu 2010:104, see also *Leijing tuyi* 3.8b)

In the female body “one can feel it with one’s hand;” in the male body “one can discern the sensation of gate shutting at the time of ejaculation.” (Wu 2010: 104, see also *Leijing tuyi* 3.7b) Also compare to the following passage in Zhang Jiebin’s “Distinguishing Triple Burner, Pericardium, and the Gate of Life:”

夫身形未生之初父母交會之際男之施由此門而出女之攝由此門而入及胎元既足復由此出其入皆由此門謂非先天立命之門戶乎及乎既生則三焦精炁皆藏乎此故金丹大要曰聚則精盈精盈則盛

Before the human body is conceived, at the moment father and mother have sexual intercourse, the giving of the man leaves from this gate [of life]. The absorption by the women enters from this gate. When the fetus is full-grown, it again leaves from there. Leaving and entering are all through this gate. Why should it not be called the gate from where Before Haven establishes life? And, after being born, the essence and *qi* (炁) of the triple burner is stored there. Hence, *Jindan dayao* says: “When [*qi*] gathers, essence fills up. When essence fills up, [*qi*] is abundant.” (*Leijing fuyi* 3.7b-8a; Compare to *Shangyangzi Jindan dayao*, DZ 1067, 2.1b)

³²⁴ “It is just like Yu Tianmin [i.e. Yu Tuan] said: ‘The triple burner refers to the thoracic cavity.’ To sum up: ‘its structure (*ti*) consists of a greasy membrane inside the thoracic cavity (*zhimo zai qiangzi zhi nei*), and covers the outside of the five *zang* and six *fu* viscera” (惟虞天民曰三焦者指腔子而言總曰三焦其體有脂膜在腔子之內包羅乎五臟六腑之外也). (*Leijing fuyi* 3.4b-5a)

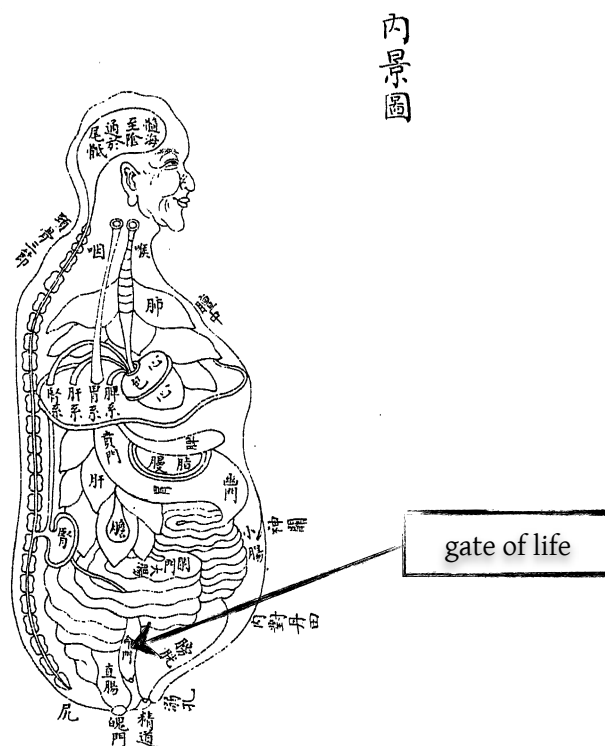


Figure 8. Zhang Jiebin's Diagram of the Inner Landscape
(*Leijing tuyi* 3.60a)

Jiebin, is absent in *Yiguan*. Zhao Xianke considered both the gate of life and triple burner to be purely formless (*wu xing*).³²⁵

In "Landscape of Forms," featuring in Xu Chunfu's *Gujin yitong daquan*, the other text almost identical to Zhao's "Explanation of the Diagram," the discussion on the triple burner also combines the passage found in *Shengji zonglu* with the description of location and function of the triple burner in LS 18.³²⁶ The gate of life, which is of such an importance in both Zhao's and Yu's explanations, is not mentioned at all in Xu's "Landscape of Forms."³²⁷ On the other hand, Xu particularly highlights the kidneys because of their importance in cultivation practices: "When those who cultivate life contemplate on the principle of the spiritual in the kidneys, the fluctuations between untimely death and longevity will largely be understood" (攝生者觀於腎之神理則天壽之消息亦思過半矣).³²⁸ "Landscape of Forms" is found in a

³²⁵ Compare also with *Leijing fuyi* 3.7a. On Zhang Jiebin's association of the Gate of Life with both the womb and the internal alchemical concept 'cinnabar field' (*dantian*), see Wu 2010: 97-105.

³²⁶ In contrast to Zhao Xianke, Xu Chunfu did not provide any additional comments, as Zhao Xianke does. Cf. *Gujin yitong daquan* vol 2.: 1431.

³²⁷ In the chapter "Mingmen maishuo" 命門脈說 (Explanation on the *Mai* of the Gate of Life), however, features an image of the Gate of Life located on the spine in between the two kidneys. *Gujin yitong daquan* vol. 1: 245.

³²⁸ *Gujin yitong daquan* vol. 2: 1431.

section of *Gujin yitong daquan* titled: “Essential Meaning of Absorbing Life” (Shesheng yaoyi 攝生要義), and deals with a whole range of cultivation practices, including gymnastics, breathing exercises, and dietetics. The purpose of including anatomical description of the inner organs in this section seems to support a practice called ‘inner contemplation’ (*neiguan* 內觀).³²⁹ In Daoist texts, as Despeux points out, similar descriptions of the body are often accompanied by more symbolic diagrams, and often have “inner territory” (*neijing* 內境) in their titles.³³⁰ Although the gate of life is not mentioned in Xu’s “Landscape of Forms,” images of the bodily landscape, derived from contemplative practices associated with Daoism, may have contributed to Zhao Xianke’s understandings of the gate of life.³³¹

³²⁹ For *neiguan* as a meditative technique, see Kohn 1989; for *neiguan* in the context of the *Huangting jing*, see Robinet 1995 [1979]: 94-95.

³³⁰ For similar anatomical depictions of the body in Daoist texts, where these depictions often accompany a symbolical representation of the body (as abstract diagrams or as mountain), see Despeux 2005: 27, 45. The terms “inner territory” (*neijing* 內境) and “inner landscape” (*neijing* 內景) are phonetically and lexically similar.

³³¹ On the Daoist origins of diagram’s such as Zhang Jiebin’s “Diagram of the Inner Landscape,” see also Wu: “Such Diagrams, which showed the general shape and relative position of internal body parts, were among the charts that adepts of inner alchemy used to envision the circulation of vital forces within in the body, and they also appear in medic discussion of human body structure.” (2010: 101) I will elaborate on Daoist influences on Zhao Xianke’s ideas on the gate of life in the next section.

The gate of life

Because of the elaborate descriptions featuring in *Yiguan*, Zhao Xianke is recognised as one of the major representatives of the doctrine of the gate of life (*mingmen xueshuo*).³³² Although he was not the first physician who located the gate of life in between the two kidneys, *Yiguan* is still quoted in TCM textbooks to illustrate this particular location of the gate of life in the body.³³³ In this section, I will provide an extensive analysis Zhao Xianke's description.

By combining his interpretation of the small heart mentioned in SW 52, the location of the gate of life cavity on the Diagram of the Bronze Man, by referring to the form of the trigram *kan*, and ideas on the Supreme Ultimate (*taiji tu* 太極圖), Zhao identifies the gate of life as the formless ruler in the body as follows:

命門即在兩腎各一寸五分之間當一身之中易所謂一陽陷於二陰之中內經曰七節之旁有小心是也名曰命門是為真君真主乃一身之太極無形可見兩腎之中是其安宅也

The gate of life is located in between the kidneys at a distance of one *cun* and five *fen* from each of them. It occupies the centre of the whole body. It is what the *Changes* refer to as “the one *yang* sunken in the centre of the two *yin*,” and the *Neijing* calls “near the seventh vertebra is a small heart.”³³⁴ Its name is “gate of life.” As authentic sovereign (*zhen jun*), or authentic ruler (*zhen zhu*), it is the Supreme Ultimate of the whole body (*yi shen zhi taiji*). Without having a visible form, it takes the centre of the two kidneys as its place of peaceful residence (*an zhai*).³³⁵

In addition to the gate of life above the seventh vertebra, counting from the bottom up, Zhao also mentions a small white and black aperture on its sides.³³⁶ These apertures represent two formless aspects of the gate of life, called ‘minister fire’ (*xianghuo* 相火) and ‘authentic water’ (*zhenshui* 真水), and are not mentioned in explanations nor depicted in visual representations of the gate of life in earlier medical texts.³³⁷

Zhao explains the small white aperture as follows:

³³² See, for instance, Sun Guangren 2002: 99.

³³³ See, for instance, Cao Hongyin 2004: 58-59; Ma Boying 1994: 460-464.

³³⁴ SW 52: 14.4a.

³³⁵ YG 1.7b-8a

³³⁶ I will elaborate on these representations in the following section.

³³⁷ Compare, for example, with Sun Yikui's “Diagram of the Gate of Life.” Sun also locates the gate of life on the spine between the two kidneys, but he does not depict two apertures. (*Yizhi xuyu* 1.2a)

其右旁有一小竅即三焦三焦者是其臣使之官稟命而行周流於五臟六腑之間而不息名曰相火

On the right side there is a small aperture. This is triple burner. Triple burner is the official of ministers and envoys. It receives the mandate (*bing ming*), and carries it out. It flows around between the five *zang*- and six *fu*-viscera, without stopping. Its name is “minister fire.”³³⁸

Hence, the white aperture is not only equated with the ‘triple burner,’ but also with the ‘minister fire.’ The gate of life issues the mandate, and triple burner, or minister fire, carries it out. This explanation differs from the description of the twelve officials in SW 8, where ‘chest centre’ (*dan zhong*) is referred to as “the official of ministers and envoys,” and triple burner as “the official functioning as Opener of the Channels.”³³⁹

Zhao’s new interpretation of the gate of life as genuine ruler of the body, and minister fire as official conducting his mandate is based on his ideas about the distinction between Before Heaven and After Heaven:

相火者言如天君無為而治宰相代天行化此先天無形之火與後天有形之心火不同

Minister fire can be explained as the Heavenly Sovereign (*tian jun*), and it rules by non-acting (*wuwei er zhi*). The chancellor (*zaixiang*) carries out the transformations, representing Heaven. This is how formless fire of Before Heaven differs from After Heavenly fire of the heart with form.³⁴⁰

Minister fire thus is the representative of the gate of life in the body. Associated with “formless fire of Before Heaven” (*xiantian wuxing zhi huo*), it should not be confused with fire of the heart; the latter entirely belongs to what has form, and therefore to After Heaven.³⁴¹ The distinction of fire into formless fire of Before Heaven and fire with form of After Heaven reveals a difference with the Song separation of fire into sovereign and minister fire. Because in Zhao Xianke’s opinion the genuine ruler of the body has no form, not the heart but the gate of life should be identified as genuine sovereign fire.

³³⁸ YG 1.8a

³³⁹ Cf. SW 8: 3.1a.

³⁴⁰ YG 1.12b.

³⁴¹ Cf. the *Cangsheng siming*: 15. Also in the poem in Xuanquanzi’s collection, quoted by both Yu Tuan and Li Zhongzi, about the one spot of fire in between the kidneys, identified as Mysterious Female (*xuanpin*), is said that it is “not located in the heart and not in the kidneys” (不在心兮不在腎). (*Zhuzhen neidan jiyao* 1.4b)

On the other side of the spine, opposite the white aperture, there is a small black aperture, called ‘authentic yin’ (*zhenyin*). This is the second formless aspect associated with the gate of life:

其左旁有一小竅乃真陰真水氣也亦無形上行夾脊至腦中為髓海泌其津液注之於脈以榮四支內注五臟六腑以應刻數亦隨相火而潛行於周身與兩腎所主後天有形之水不同

On the left side is a small aperture. This is authentic yin. It is the *qi* of authentic water, and is also formless. It goes up along the spine up to the centre of the brain, where it forms the Sea of Marrow. It excretes its fluids, and pours them into the vessels, in order to make the four limbs thrive. Internally, it pours them into the five *zang*- and six *fu*-viscera, in accordance to the time. [Authentic water] stealthily runs through the whole body, following minister fire. However, it differs from water that has form of After Heaven, controlled by the two kidneys.³⁴²

Whereas ‘minister fire’ is formless fire, ‘authentic yin’ is formless water in the body. These two formless aspects of the gate of life work in close collaboration, as ‘authentic yin’ follows the actions of ‘minister fire.’ Whereas ‘minister fire’ is the driving force of all functioning, ‘authentic yin’ nourishes everything in the body. Although it goes up through the spine, and gathers as a “sea” in the ‘brains’ (*nao*), ‘authentic yin’ is utterly formless. Its qualities may not be compared to that of After Heavenly water, which has a substance. Precisely because of their formlessness, ‘authentic yin’ and ‘minister fire’ enable Zhao to introduce a whole new way to understand *yinyang* and five agent interactions, as I will show in Chapter 3.

Although Zhao’s ideas on the gate of life, as belonging to Before Heaven and having two apertures, were quite unique, he might have been inspired by Yu Tuan’s and Xu Chunfu’s explanations of the gate of life and the kidneys. As I already mentioned in the previous section, Yu too made a differentiation between Before Heaven and After Heaven fire, something that did not occur in earlier medical texts. It is also interesting to observe that some phrases of Xu’s explanation on the kidneys, situated in the context of cultivation practices, are echoed in Zhao’s explanations on authentic yin and minister fire. For example, Xu equally refers to two apertures in connection to the kidneys be it in a slightly different way. Furthermore the sentence: “it goes up along the spine up to the centre of the brain, where it forms the Sea of Marrow,” which Zhao uses to explain ‘authentic yin’, features in no other pre-Qing medical text, that I am aware of, except for Xu’s *Gujin yitong daquan*. After discussing ‘minister fire’ and ‘authentic yin’, the two formless aspects of the gate of life, Zhao

³⁴² YG 1.8a-b.

Xianke returns to the gate of life itself. Unified as one, the gate of life is also described as formless fire:

但命門無形之火在兩腎有形之中為黃庭故曰五臟之真惟腎為根
However, the formless fire of the gate of life, located in the centre of the two kidneys with form, is the Yellow Court. Hence, “of what is authentic of the five *zang*-viscera, only the kidneys are the root.”³⁴³

Again, the last sentence in the above passage can be found in Xu’s description of the kidneys. Hence, Zhao equates the gate of life with the Daoist term of Yellow Court (*huangting* 黃庭), and refers to Xu Chunfu to explain that the ‘authenticity’ (*zhen*) of the five *zang*-viscera has its origin in the kidneys.³⁴⁴

As location in the body, Yellow Court has a long history in the Daoist tradition. Yellow Court is the key concept in ‘inner contemplation’ (*neiguan*) practices related to the *Huangting jing* (Canon of the Yellow Court 黃庭經), the essential text in Shangqing Daoism.³⁴⁵ In the Shangqing tradition, the body was inhabited by numerous spirits (*shen* 神), taking their offices in palaces in the body.³⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that the gate of life also features in the *Huangting jing* as one of the important functions/offices, but is not identical to Yellow Court.³⁴⁷ However, in later Daoism, and especially in some alchemical traditions, Yellow Court is equated with the Supreme Ultimate and the kidneys region, as Isabelle Robinet explains:

For some, Taiji is located at the center of the human body (*Daofa huiyuan* 69.3b), three inches from the navel, in the Yellow Court, at the boundary and median of the two kidneys, one of which is yin, the other yang (*Daoshu* 7.11a-13a): here alchemical notions combine with the old corporal reference points used in breathing techniques known since the *Huangting jing*. The applied logic is faultless, since in the embryo the genital organs are located between the kidneys.³⁴⁸

Since Zhao Xianke locates both formless water (‘authentic *yin*’) and formless fire (‘minister fire’) in between the kidneys, it is not surprising that he identifies Yellow

³⁴³ YG 1.8b.

³⁴⁴ Cf. *Gujin yitong daquan* vol. 2: 1431.

³⁴⁵ See Robinet 1995 [1979]: 85-93.

³⁴⁶ This was yet another way of symbolically representing the body, divergent from the medical tradition. On visualisation in the Shangqing tradition, see also Miller 2008: 56-80. For complex Daoist representations of the inner landscape of the body, see Despeux 1994.

³⁴⁷ On the gate of life in the *Huangting jing*, see Robinet 1995 [1979]: 123-125.

³⁴⁸ Robinet 1990: 401. The oldest reference to the gate of life associated with practices cultivating the embryo that I have found is in Sengyou 僧祐 (6th C.)’s *Hongming ji* 弘明集 (Collection for Spreading and Illuminating [Buddhism]). (T.2102.54.48b)

Court, where these two are united, with the gate of life, located exactly in between the two kidneys.³⁴⁹ Hence, in this context, yellow, the colour generally associated with earth (or centre), is not interpreted in the logic of After Heaven (spleen-stomach). The Daoist notion of ‘authenticity’ (*zhen*), which Zhao relates to the kidneys, or more precisely to what takes place in the centre (Yellow Court), between the two kidneys, is as such related to the Before Heavenly. Although Zhao was most likely inspired by Xu, he strongly emphasised the importance of the gate of life, a concept which Xu did not refer to in his own description of the kidneys.³⁵⁰

In a passage of *juan 3* of *Yiguan*, Zhao further equates the gate of life with ‘primordial spirit’ (*yuanshen*), ‘formless fire’ with ‘primordial *qi*’ (*yuanqi*), and ‘formless water’ with ‘primordial essence’ (*yuanjing*), and locates all of them in the space between the two kidneys.³⁵¹ Additionally, in this passage, Zhao supports his ideas by paraphrasing Xu Chunfu’s phrase “of what is authentic of the five *zang*-viscera, only the kidneys are the root:”

然此無形之水火又有一太極為之主宰則又微乎微矣此天地之正氣而人得以生者是立命之門謂之元神無形之火謂之元氣無形之水謂之元精俱寄於兩腎中間故曰五臟之中惟腎為真此真水真火真陰真陽之說也

Therefore, this formless water and fire still have one Supreme Ultimate which is their controller. This is the subtle of the subtle! It is the correct *qi* (*zhengqi*) of Heaven-and-Earth, which man obtains to live. It is the gate that establishes life (*li ming zhi men*), and is called ‘primordial spirit’. Formless fire is called ‘primordial *qi*’. Formless water is called ‘primordial essence’. All reside in the space between the kidneys. Hence, is said: “of the five *zang* only the kidneys are the authentic.” This is the explanation of authentic water and authentic fire, of authentic *yin* and authentic *yang*.³⁵²

In the above passage, Zhao does not refer to the Yellow Court in the context of the authentic associated with the kidneys, but to other concepts which are essential inner alchemical theory: ‘primordial *qi*’, ‘primordial essence’, and ‘primordial spirit’.

³⁴⁹ Although there are many ideas on the location of the Yellow Court, in some alchemical-medical contexts it is associated with the lower elixir field (*xia dantian* 下丹田) and the “spiritual chamber” (*shen shi* 神室), the space where spirit (*shen*), *qi*, and essence (*jing*) reside. (ZHDJDCD 1181)

³⁵⁰ Compare *Gujin yitong daquan* vol. 2: 1431.

³⁵¹ See also Liu Baohe 2002.

³⁵² YG 3.11b-12a.

‘Primordial *qi*’ and ‘primordial *jing*’ are equated with *ming* (life/destiny), and ‘primordial spirit’ with *xing* (inner nature).³⁵³

Although two functional aspects (authentic *yin* and minister fire) can be distinguished, the emphasis in the first essay of *Yiguan* is on their undivided origin in the gate of life. Unified as one, Zhao Xianke recognises formless fire of the gate of life as the genuine ruler of the body. As shown in the beginning of this chapter, this idea was based on an alternative counting of the twelve officials mentioned in SW 8. In his further elaborations, Zhao refers to SW 8 (but now in a reverse order, starting with the kidneys, and ending with the heart):

腎無此則無以作強而技巧不出矣

[...]

心無此則神明昏而萬事不能應矣正所謂主不明則十二官危也

When the kidneys are without this, they have nothing to operate with force, and technical skill and expertise do not originate from them.

[...]

When the heart are without this, spirit brilliance is dimmed, and the myriad matters (*wu shi*) cannot be responded to.³⁵⁴

“It” (*ci* 此) in the above passages refers to the formless fire of the gate of life.³⁵⁵ Thus, the kidneys and all the other “officials” in the body need this fire in order to fulfil their function. In this logic, the heart is once more understood as one of the twelve officials. ‘Spirit brilliance’ (*shen ming*), by which the heart performs the task of responding to all (worldly) matters, is obtained from the gate of life, thus placing the latter *de facto* on a higher hierarchical level.

The vital importance of the gate of life is further illustrated by the metaphor of the flame placed in the centre of a Mt. Ao pacing-horse lamp (Ao-shan *zouma deng* 鼇山走馬燈). A pacing-horse lamp is a zoetrope: “a light canopy hung over a lamp, and bearing vanes at the top so disposed that the ascending convection currents cause it to turn. On the sides of the cylinder there would be thin panes of paper or mica, carrying painted pictures, which, if the canopy spun round fast enough, would give

³⁵³ On *xingming*, see, for instance, Robinet 2008b. For an explanation in the Southern *jindan* tradition with references to practical applications, see Vercaemmen 2008. On the importance of *xingming* for the physician, see also p. 293.

³⁵⁴ YG 1.8b-9a.

³⁵⁵ Which operates in the body through minister fire.

an impression of movement animals or men.”³⁵⁶ When the flame of the candle gets stronger, the lantern’s canopy moves faster; When the flame is weak, the canopy will likewise circulate slower; When the flame is extinguished, the lantern stops turning.

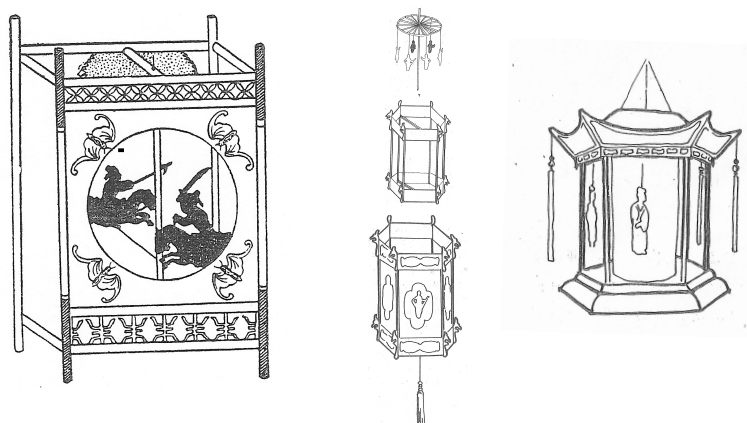


Figure 9. Pacing-horse lamps
(after Bodde 1935: 81; Gao Feng and Sun Jianjun 1997: 113-114)

³⁵⁶ Needham 1962: 123. Joseph Needham further refers to a description of the pacing-horse lamp by Dun Lichen 敦禮臣 in 1900 as translated by Derk Bodde:

Pacing-horse lamps are wheels cut out of paper, so that when they are blown by (the warm air rising from) a candle (fastened below the wheel), the carts and horse (painted on it) move and run round and round without stopping. When the candle goes out the whole thing stops. Though this is but a trifling thing, it contains in truth the whole underlying principle of completion and destruction, rise and decay, so that in the thousand ages from antiquity down to today, as recorded in the Twenty-four Histories, there is not one which is not like a ‘pacing-horse lamp’. [...]

The ‘pacing-horse lamp’, with its wheel which is controlled by a flame, and its mechanism revolved by that wheel, is in the class with the steamships and railroads of the present day. For if its (principle of operation) had been pushed and extended, so that from one abstruse principle there had been a searching further for the next abstruse principle, who knows but that during the last few hundred years there might not have been completed a mechanism of real utility? What a pity that China has so limited herself in the scope of her ingenuity, that for the creations of her brain and the perfected essence of her inventors, she has nothing better to show than a children’s toy! In the present day, when others make a step we too must make a step; when others move forward, we too must move forward. If we are amazed at the wonderful powers (of Westerners), and remain content in our own stupidity, how can we then say in self-extenuation that the flow of genius produced from the universe should be widespread among them alone, and narrow only among us? Is it not indeed something for which we should be angry with ourselves?” (Needham 1962: 124-125; cf. Bodde 1965: 80-81)

For the history, references in premodern literature, and the construction of the pacing-horse lamp, see Gao Feng and Sun Jianjun 1997: 112-114. Pictures and descriptions of present-day pacing-horse lamps can be found in Lü Pintian and Xu Wen 2002: 53-58.

By using this metaphor, Zhao describes how the formless fire of the gate of life diffuses its vitality to everything that has form in the body, including the twelve officials. The body, moreover, is considered to be “borrowed” from Heaven-and-Earth, in a similar way as explained in the *Zhuangzi*, which Zhao paraphrases: “Your body is not something you possess. It is an entrusted form given by Heaven-and-Earth” (汝身非汝所有是天地之委形也).³⁵⁷ What activates and operates this form, is the Before Heavenly, associated with the gate of life, and situated in between the two kidneys. Zhao’s ideas on the gate of life as ruler of the body have important practical implications, and should be taken into consideration in both preventive and curative healthcare:

欲世之養身者治病者的以命門為君主而加意於火之一字夫既曰立命之門火乃人身之至寶

Those who now want to cultivate the self/body or treat diseases should consider the gate of life to be the sovereign ruler, and pay attention to this one word “fire.” Because it is called “the gate through which life is established,” this fire is the utmost treasure of the human body.³⁵⁸

At the end of his detailed description, Zhao again relates the fire of the gate of life to the “empty names” used in the Three Teachings. But, in contrast to what was stated at the beginning of his essay, he now turns the causative relations between philosophy/religion and medicine the other way around: By understanding the importance of fire in medicine, not only will the meaning of empty words used in the Three Teachings become clear, but also that this fire is the primary means to achieve the soteriological goals aspired to by adepts of the Three Teachings:

明乎此不特醫學之淵源有自聖賢道統之傳亦自此不昧而所謂一貫也浩然也明德也玄牝也空中也太極也同此一火而已為聖為賢為佛為仙不過克全此火而歸之耳小子茲論闡千古之未明慎勿以為迂

If you understand this, then not only will the origins of medicine, but also the orthodox transmission (*daotong zhi chuan*) of the sages will not be obscure anymore. Moreover, what is referred to as ‘all-pervasive one’ (*yiguan*), ‘vastness’ (*haoran*), ‘bright virtue’ (*mingde*), ‘mysterious female’ (*xuanpin*), ‘empty centre’ (*kong zhong*), and ‘supreme ultimate’ (*taiji*) is all identical to this one fire!³⁵⁹ Becoming

³⁵⁷ YG 1.9b. Cf. *Zhuangzi* 22: 7.19a.

³⁵⁸ YG 1.9b. Compare also with *Leijing fuyi*, in which Zhang Jiebin regards pure *yang* as utmost treasure of the body. (3.16b) I will discuss practical implications on curative medicine in Part III. Cultivation and prevention are discussed in Appendix 1.

³⁵⁹ Hence, Zhao Xianke adds *mingde* and *taiji* to the list of ‘empty words’ that are used to describe the formless reality of Before Heaven. Cf. YG 1.3a-b.

a sage (*sheng*), a Buddha (*fo*), or an immortal (*xian*) is nothing more than completing this fire, and returning to it. This theory (*lun*) of mine clarifies what was not clear during ages. Be careful not to consider it to be abstruse (*yi wei yu*).³⁶⁰

Like Zhao Xianke, other Ming *wenbu* physicians, such as Sun Yikui and Zhang Jiebin, also reflect on the relation between triple burner, minister fire, and the gate of life, and refer to the Three Teachings in their discussions. However, the way in which they relate to the formless differs. Sun Yikui, for example, strongly opposes ideas on the formless nature of fire, and condemns physicians who equate the gate of life with the small heart mentioned in SW 52.³⁶¹ Zhang Jiebin emphasises not only that the gate of life has a distinct anatomical form, being the ‘child palace’, but also that the triple burner should be considered as an entity with a distinct form in the body.³⁶² Notwithstanding the paradoxes between form and formless, all these physicians, associate the gate of life with the one *yang* line in the trigram *kan*, and further equate it with the Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven (*xiantian taiji*). Yet, in contrast to Sun Yikui and Zhang Jiebin, also in his explanations of the Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven, and related diagrams, Zhao Xianke highlights its formless character in an utmost systematic and far-reaching way.

³⁶⁰ YG 1.10b-11a.

³⁶¹ *Yizhi xuyu* 1.12a-13b

³⁶² *Leijing fuyi* 3.7a.

Imagining the formless

Although the Yuan dynasty physician Zhu Zhenheng introduced Zhou Dunyi's Neo-Confucian ideas on the Supreme Ultimate in the scholarly medical tradition, the use of this concept in medical theory became paramount only in the late Ming dynasty. As I have highlighted in the introduction of my thesis, Sun Yikui was the first physician who depicted a Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate in a medical text. Sun, and other second generation *wenbu* physicians such as Zhang Jiebin and Zhao Xianke, not only included diagrams in their texts, but also underlined that the concept of Supreme Ultimate is essential in understanding the very basics of medicine. In contrast to Zhu Zhenheng, explanations of the Supreme Ultimate in *wenbu* texts were very much influenced by late Ming dynasty ideas on Three Teachings Unity. Moreover, second generation *wenbu* physicians all associated Supreme Ultimate with Before Heaven and the gate of life in the body. This proved to be the theoretical foundation on which they countered Zhu's clinical strategy of supplementing *yin* with cold and bitter, which in their opinion caused great harm to minister fire and the creative properties associated with the gate of life.

Similarly to Sun Yikui and Zhang Jiebin, Zhao Xianke depicts and comments on a Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate in the opening chapter of his text. Immediately following the conclusion that the fire of the gate of life is what is referred to by different "empty names" in the Three Teachings, Zhao includes the following diagram:

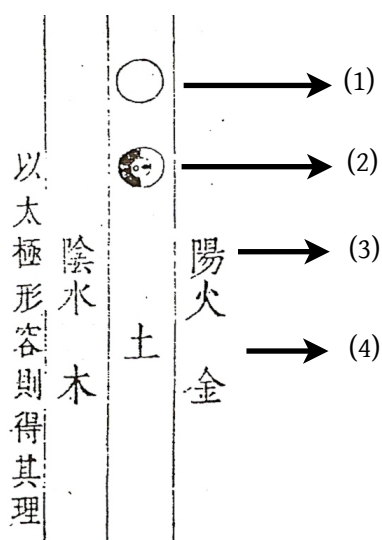


Figure 10. Zhao Xianke's Diagram of Supreme Ultimate (YG 1.11a)

Zhao's diagram, which is clearly inspired by the Diagram of Supreme Ultimate attributed to Zhou Dunyi, shows two circles, followed by the written characters for *yinyang* and each of the five agents.³⁶³ (1) The upper circle is, like in Zhou's Diagram, an empty circle. (2) The second circle differs from Zhou's original, and is neither found in the texts of Sun Yikui and Zhang Jiebin.³⁶⁴ It is divided into a black and a white half circle, with in the centre again a full circle, in which two small circles are drawn. This circle represents a schematised vision of Zhao's ideas on the kidney region. The black half circle stands for the left kidney, or *yin* water, and the white half circle shows the right kidney, or *yang* water. The circle in the centre of the two half circles represents the gate of life in between the two kidneys. The two small circles inside are the two small apertures, representing 'authentic *yin*' and 'minister fire,' which Zhao locates in the body each at a distance of 1 *cun* and five *fen* left and the right from the gate of life. (3) Under this circle, *yin* is written on the left side, and *yang* on the right side. (4) Further down, water and wood are written on the left, fire and metal on the right, and earth is positioned in between the four other agents. Zhao adds the following short sentence: "By using the form of the Supreme Ultimate, you can grasp the principle" (以太極形容則得其理).³⁶⁵

With his attempt to make something formless visible, Zhao Xianke places himself in the 'images and numbers' (*xiangshu* 象數) tradition of the *Changes*.³⁶⁶ He points out that Zhou Dunyi devised his Diagram as a teaching tool to visualise the concept of Supreme Ultimate, which features in the *Xici* of the *Changes*:

系辭曰易有太極是生兩儀周子懼人之不明而製為太極圖

The *Xici* said: "Change (*yi*) has Supreme Ultimate (*taiji*). This engenders the two symbols (*liang yi*)." Master Zhou feared that people would not understand this, and designed the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate.³⁶⁷

Zhao Xianke continues by explaining "Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate," the first phrase in Zhou Dunyi's *Explanation of the Diagram*:

³⁶³ Cf. p. 15 (Figure 1.)

³⁶⁴ Zhang Jiebin only depicts the upper circle; Sun Yikui's Diagram of Supreme Ultimate is similar to that of Zhou Dunyi. Compare to Figure 1., Figure 2. and Figure 3.

³⁶⁵ YG 1.11a.

³⁶⁶ *Xiangshu* refers to one of the two major traditions of interpreting the hexagrams of the *Changes*. "Number' [...] refers to the systematic generation of new tri- and hexagram relationships out of the originating hexagram." (Smith 1990a: 18) The other tradition is the "meaning-pattern" (*yili* 義理) tradition. Smith describes the distinction between these two traditions as follows: "[*Yili*] stresses the content of the hexagram and line statements as the key to the [*Yi*]'s meaning, while [*xiangshu*] attends primarily to the configuration and relationship of trigrams and hexagrams." (1990b: 217-218)

³⁶⁷ YG 1.11a.

無極而太極無極者未分之太極太極者已分之陰陽也

“Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate:” Without Ultimate is the Supreme Ultimate not yet separated (*wei fen*). Supreme Ultimate is *yinyang* already separated (*yi fen*).³⁶⁸

Thereafter, Zhao comments on the forms of the characters 一 (one) and 中 (centre) which symbolises “Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate.” He refers to Fu Xi, who according to tradition invented the trigrams, and drew a single line representing Supreme Ultimate; and to Zhou Dunyi, who designed a circle representing Without Supreme Ultimate:

一中分太極中字之象形正太極之形也一即伏羲之奇一而圓之即是無極既曰先天太極天尚未生盡屬無形何為伏羲畫一奇周子畫一圈又涉形跡矣曰此不得已而開示後學之意也

‘One’ (*yi* 一) and ‘centre’ (*zhong* 中) divide the Supreme Ultimate. The appearance of the character ‘centre’ (中) has exactly the form of the Supreme Ultimate. ‘One’ (一) is the one odd line of Fu Xi, but made into a circle. This then is Without Ultimate. Called the Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven (*xiantian taiji*), it is when Heaven is not engendered yet, and belongs completely to the formless. Why would Fu Xi draw one odd line and Master Zhou draw a circle? Is this also not being involved with formal traces (*xingji*)? I say: “This is the meaning of having no alternative, and to disclose it (*kai shi*) to later learners.”³⁶⁹

Hence, according to Zhao Xianke, the full empty circle (O) represents Without Ultimate in an undivided state (which is the Before Heavenly Supreme Ultimate); the character “one,” or a single line (一), and the character “centre,” a square divided by a vertical line (中), represent the Supreme Ultimate.³⁷⁰

³⁶⁸ YG 1.11b.

³⁶⁹ YG 1.11b:1-6.

³⁷⁰ In later texts, the seal script version of *zhong* (a circle separated by a vertical line in the centre) is used. See, for instance, *Yibian* 7.

Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate (無極而太極) (unified and divided into two [ti - yong])
Without Ultimate = Supreme Ultimate not divided yet (無極 = 未分之太極) O (= — of which both ends are connected)
Supreme Ultimate = already divided into <i>yinyang</i> (太極 = 已分之陰陽) represented by two characters: 一 and 中 一 = the odd line of Fu Xi 中 = the form of <i>taiji</i> (<i>wuji</i> O, by I divided into two)

Table 1. Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate

In Zhao’s opinion, the upper circle (*wuji er taiji*) initiates the cosmogonic process, and represents Before Heaven. Only after something is distinguished, the two (*yinyang*, Heaven-and-Earth, etc.) can be differentiated. The formless nature of Before Heaven, associated with the upper circle of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, was of such importance to Zhao that he saw this not only as the “ruling” principle of the universe, but also of the microcosm of the human body. Hence, “Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate” perfectly describes the gate of life in the body. Unified it is one, represented as the empty circle in his Diagram of Supreme Ultimate. However, the circle can also be divided, showing the functional aspects of the gate of life: ‘minister fire’ and ‘authentic water’. The second circle in Zhao Xianke’s Diagram of Supreme Ultimate does not only show the separation of the one into *yinyang* in the macrocosm, but also how it is visualised in the microcosm of the human body. Hence, this diagram depicts the explanation of the gate of life, discussed in the previous section.



Figure 11. Close-up of the kidney region (YG 1.12a)

Apart from this schematic Diagram of Supreme Ultimate, Zhao Xianke also depicts two more concrete images in the body. The first shows a close-up of the kidneys region:

In fact, Zhao Xianke combines a Diagram of Bronze Man (of which only the gate of life cavity in between the kidneys is shown) with the diagrammatic representations of the Supreme Ultimate. Again, he draws an analogy with the legendary emperor Fu Xi and the Song Neo-Confucian Master Zhou Dunyi, who tried to explain the fundamental formless nature by using the images — and O. Applying the cosmological concept of Supreme Ultimate to the microcosm of the body, Zhao points out that he has no alternative but to use diagrams (and ‘forms and images’ *xing xiang* 形象) in order to visualise the location of the formless ruler in the body:

人受天地之中以生亦具有太極之形在人身之中余因按古銅人圖畫一形象而人身太極之妙宛然可見是豈好事哉亦不得已也

A human being receives the centre of Heaven-and-Earth to be engendered. The form of the Supreme Ultimate (中, the centre of Heaven-and-Earth) is also contained in the centre of the human body. Based on the ancient Diagram of the Bronze Man, I draw an image of a form (*xing xiang*), and the marvels of the Supreme Ultimate of the human body become vividly visible. What a good thing this is! I also have no alternative.³⁷¹

The subscript of the diagram showing the close-up of the kidneys region reads: “The two kidneys combined [i.e. two halve circles unified in one circle] form a Supreme Ultimate in the centre of the body / Fourteen vertebra (*jie*, segments), counted down from the top; seven, counted up from the bottom” (兩腎在人身中合成一太極/自上數下十四節自下數上七節).³⁷² Hence, the second circle of Zhao’s Diagram of Supreme Ultimate (Figure 10.) and the close-up image of the kidneys region (Figure 12.) both combine the circle (O) and the one line (—). Accordingly, also the character ‘centre’ (*zhong* 中) can be envisioned in the body.³⁷³

³⁷¹ YG 1.11b.

³⁷² YG 1.12b.

³⁷³ In *Yibian*, He Mengyao depicts the seal script character which of 中, which composed of a circle with a vertical line through the centre. (7)



Figure 12. 中 in the body

In a last diagram, Zhao Xianke depicts the outline of the back of a sitting human figure. Of the interior forms of the body, he only represents the kidneys and the twenty-one vertebrae of the spine. Right in between the fourteenth vertebra counting down from the top and seventh vertebra counting up from the bottom, he draws a small circle, with on both sides two other circles (the apertures of ‘authentic water’ and ‘minister fire’). This diagram summarises his new vision of the body: the gate of life as the formless, authentic ruler of the body; or, in cosmological wordings: the “Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate” in the body.

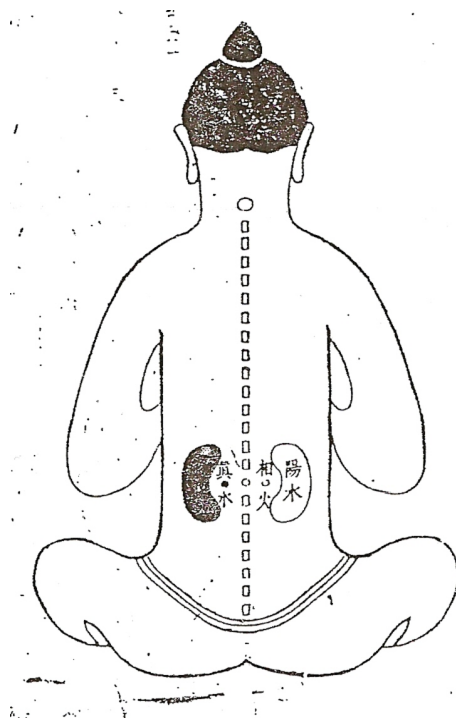


Figure 13. Zhao Xianke’s vision of the body. (YG 1.12b)

In an additional comment on these visual representations, Zhao Xianke repeats his main ideas on the gate of life, and its formless aspects ‘minister fire’ and ‘authentic yin’, almost exactly in the same wordings as his previous explanation, discussed earlier in this chapter. However, at the end of this repeated description, Zhao draws attention to the one spark of fire associated with the gate of life, which not only precedes and ignites the formation of a new embryo, but also keeps the human form(s) alive.³⁷⁴ This is precisely how Before Heaven acts as life giving force in the After Heavenly reality of the individual body. In terms of human physiology, it is also how the gate of life rules the body, and how Zhao understands its relation with the twelve officials described in SW 8:

後天百骸俱備若無一點先天火氣盡屬死灰矣故曰主不明則十二官危

When the hundred bones of After Heaven are all present, but one spark of fire *qi* of Before Heaven is missing, it all belongs to death ashes. Hence, “when the ruler is not bright, the twelve officials are in danger.”³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ I will discuss Zhao Xianke’s ideas on fire preceding water during sexual intercourse, and the formation of the embryo in Chapter 3. (p. 131)

³⁷⁵ YG 1.14a.

Conclusion: The genuine ruler of the body

In the first chapter of *Yiguan*, Zhao Xianke presents a new view of the body. Based on the primacy of the formless, he argues that not the heart (*xin*, with form and located in the chest), but the formless fire of the gate of life is the genuine ruler of the body.

Although the gate of life plays an essential role in the theories of all second generation *wenbu* physicians, Zhao Xianke's ideas are much more radical compared to these other physicians. Even immediate followers, such as Lü Liuliang, rejects Zhao's counting of the twelve officials and his conclusion that the heart stands on the same hierarchical level. Lü, moreover, argues that the inclusion of a ruler besides the heart goes against Confucian orthodoxy. Another follower, Feng Zhaozhang, points out that 'root' and 'ruler' may not be intermingled. Zhao's strict division between the formlessness of Before Heaven and the forms of After Heaven is also much more outspoken than in other *wenbu* texts. Zhang Jiebin, for instance, equates the gate of life with the 'child palace', and argues that triple burner has a form as well; In Sun Yikui's opinion, 'minister fire' is not formless. According to Zhao Xianke, however, not only the gate of life, but also 'minister fire', 'authentic water,' and triple burner, entirely belong to the formless.

In order to explain the formless, Zhao Xianke refers to the Three Teachings, and the "empty words" which are used to describe the Before Heavenly reality uniting everything in macrocosm (i.e. *yi guan*). In the microcosm of the body, Zhao equates this unity with the one fire of the gate of life. Being a physician, however, he is not only interested in philosophical discussion, but foremost in practical applications. Hence, Zhao devotes a lot of attention to the place of origin and location of this formless ruler, and its physiological functions. After a monk explained to him that apart from the heart in the chest, there is also a heart in the lower regions, Zhao combines this knowledge with the description of a 'small heart' near the seventh vertebra, mentioned in SW 52, and the depiction of the body in the Diagram of the Bronze Man. Accordingly, he locates the formless ruler in the gate of life cavity in between the two kidneys. To support his arguments, Zhao refers abundantly to 'diagrams' (*tu*), and their 'explanations' (*tushuo*). Although the "Explanation of the Diagram of the Landscapes of Forms" describes the forms of different viscera of the respiratory and digestive system in detail, in his depictions of the body, featuring in the final parts of his first chapter, Zhao only focusses on the kidneys and the spine.

Zhao Xianke equates the gate of life with the cosmological concept of Supreme Ultimate. Like Zhang Jiebin Sun Yikui, he includes a Diagram of Supreme Ultimate, inspired by Zhou Dunyi's original diagram. However, his second circle, which shows

the Supreme Ultimate already divided in *yinyang*, contains two smaller circles, symbolising the two functional aspects of the gate of life: ‘authentic *yin*’ and ‘minister fire’. In contrast to other *wenbu* physicians, Zhao’s emphasis again was on the formless. In his explanation of this diagram, he highlights that Diagrams are used to represent something which essentially has no form. In doing so, he places himself in the tradition of Fu Xi and Zhou Dunyi, who used symbols to visualise the formless reality of Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate.

Throughout the first chapter of *Yiguan*, other references to *Yijing* cosmological thinking feature as well. Echoing Yu Tuan, the gate of life in the kidneys region is also represented by the trigram *kan*. Whereas the two *yin* lines may symbolise the two kidneys (or in *Yiguan*, rather, the two *yin* aspects: minister fire and authentic *yin*), the one *yang* line is equated with “the one spark of brightness,” associated with Before Heaven. Symbolically projected on the human body, *wenbu* physicians, such as Sun Yikui, Zhang Jiebin, and Zhao Xianke, dissociate the gate of life from the right kidney, and locate it on the spine in between the kidneys. Although the trigram *kan*, Supreme Ultimate, and Before Heaven, are essential in Neo-Confucian cosmological thinking, the particular use and explanation of these concepts by *wenbu* physicians shows strong resemblances with inner alchemical ideas.

Zhao Xianke juxtaposes the formlessness of Before Heaven with the forms of After Heaven. In his opinion, the kidney region is the origin of three formless, primordial (*yuan* 元) physiological entities in the body: *yuanshen* (primordial spirit; the gate of life), *yuanjing* (primordial essence; authentic water) and *yuanqi* (primordial *qi*; minister fire). Although they form a trinity, the gate of life is the one spark from where authentic water and minister fire emerge. Accordingly, the title of the first *juan* “Superficial Essays on Mysterious Primordiality,” may refer to the mystery (*xuan* 玄) of the unity (*ti*) and functional division (*yong*), associated with the Before Heavenly Without Ultimate and Supreme Ultimate (*wuji er taiji*); and, to the mystery between ‘non-being’ and ‘being’, form and formless.³⁷⁶ These ideas are essential to Zhao’s medical theory, but can only be superficially (*fu* 膚) explained.

In this chapter, I analysed Zhao Xianke’s ideas on the gate of life as authentic ruler of the body. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on how its two formless aspects, ‘authentic water’ and ‘minister fire,’ function in the body. Their association with Before Heaven has great implications on how Zhao understands *yinyang* and the five agents.

³⁷⁶ See also Robinet 2008a: 973-974.

Chapter 3

Yinyang and the five agents

Introduction

Thinking in terms of *yinyang* and the five agents, labelled as a form of “correlative” (vs. “analytical”) thinking, emerged in China during the last centuries BCE. In imperial times, *yinyang* and five agents relationships became the abstract “correlative” tools by which the workings of both the macrocosmos and the microcosmos were explained.³⁷⁷ Although not in a fully standardised form, the system of *yinyang* and five agents also typifies the theory of the *Inner Classic*, and is applied to all aspects of medicine, including diagnostics, explanations of physiology, and treatment strategies.³⁷⁸ As Unschuld points out, the principles of *yinyang* and five agents can be considered as “natural laws.”³⁷⁹ Likewise, Zhao Xianke refers to *yinyang* as “constant rules” (*chang du* 常度), which cannot be changed by human involvement:

生死消長陰陽之常度豈人所能損益哉

Birth and death, decay and growth are the constant rules of *yinyang*.

How would this be something people could alter?³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ For elaborate discussions on *yinyang* and five agents “correlative” thinking in Chinese culture, contrasted to “analytical” thinking, see Graham 1986; and Hall and Ames 1995. For a more diachronic approach, with a strong emphasis on evolution in correlative thinking, see Henderson 1984. For a discussion on the emergence of five agents thinking in a historical perspective, see Wang 2000: 75-128. For a discussion on various approaches to correlative thinking, see Puett 2002: 16-17.

³⁷⁸ Unschuld 2003: 83-124.

³⁷⁹ Unschuld 2003: 83-84.

³⁸⁰ YG 1.5b.

Although the basics of *yinyang* (and, by extension, five agents) dynamics are easy to understand, the applications and variations are complex, and even endless:

陰陽之理變化無窮不可盡述姑舉其要者言之

The principle (*li*) of *yinyang* is endless evolution and transformation (*bian hua wu qiong*). It is impossible to completely describe it. Hence, I will raise the essentials, and explain them.³⁸¹

Similar to most other physicians, in “Essay on *Yinyang*,” Zhao Xianke refers to *yinyang* in terms of position (Heaven-and-Earth), cyclic time (seasons, months, days, etc.), differentiation between full and empty (*shi xu* 實虛), gender (male, female), and *qi* and blood-fluid (*qixue* 氣血). However, in contrast to his contemporaries, Zhao does not only consider *yinyang* to be an “(equal) pair” (*duidai zhi ti* 對待之體). He expands conventional knowledge by highlighting that the creativity of *yang* holds a hierarchical dominance over *yin*. Moreover, whereas other physicians consider blood-fluid and *qi* to be the fundamental manifestations of *yinyang* in the body, Zhao argues that their roots should be traced back to ‘authentic water’ and ‘minister fire,’ which he calls ‘root *yin*’ (*gen yin* 根陰) and ‘root *yang*’ (*gen yang* 根陽).

In the human body the five agents correspond to the primal physiological functions, represented by the five *zang*-viscera (heart, lungs, spleen, liver, and kidneys).

Agent	Zang-viscera
water	kidneys (<i>shen</i>)
wood	liver (<i>gan</i>)
fire	heart (<i>xin</i>)
earth	spleen (<i>pi</i>)
metal	lungs (<i>fei</i>)

Table 2. The five agents and their corresponding *zang*-viscera

From the Song dynasty onwards, not only water, but also fire was associated with the kidneys. In the system of ‘five circulatory movements and six seasonal influences’ (*wuyun liuqi*), ‘governor fire’ (*jun huo*) corresponds to the heart, and ‘minister fire’ to the gate of life; the latter was equated by most physicians with the

³⁸¹ YG 1.15a.

right kidney following NJ 36.³⁸² Zhao does not oppose the splitting up of fire into two. However, he points out that there are not only two fires (*yin* fire and *yang* fire), but that all agents have a *yin* and *yang* aspect. Furthermore, by explaining that all the agents can be found in each other, he expands the number of agents in a substantial way. Especially, the vital importance of formless water and fire inside the other agents is highlighted. Without water and fire, earth, metal, and wood cannot come into existence, and nor can it sustained. Zhao Xianke does not only discuss the number of agents, he also elaborates on their ‘productive’ (*sheng* 生) and ‘controlling’ (*ke* 剋) relationships.

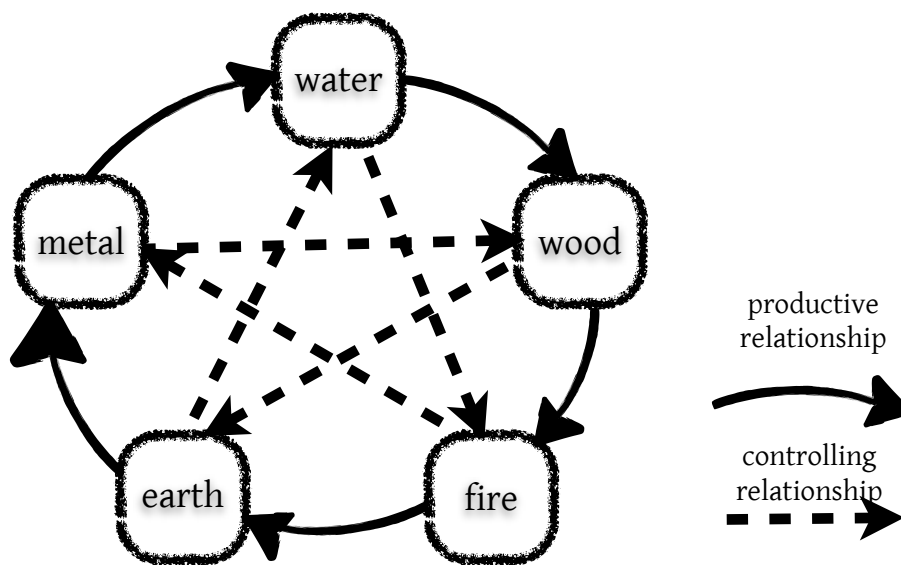


Figure 14. Productive and controlling relationships

However, instead of emphasising the conventional relationships, he “puts the normal order” between the five agents “upside down” (*diandao fuchang* 顛倒拂常). These alternative relationships are based on ideas of Before Heaven, and legitimise his therapeutic strategies of “warming and supplementing,” which I will discuss in further detail in Part III of my thesis.

³⁸² See also p. 12.

The creative power of yang

From the outset in “Essay on *Yinyang*,” Zhao Xianke emphasises that *yang* dominates *yin*. This is primarily illustrated by referring to the hexagrams ☰ (*qian* 乾, Heaven) and ☷ (*kun* 坤, Earth) of the *Changes*:

夫言陰陽者或指天地或指氣血或指乾坤此對待之體其實陽統乎陰
天包乎地血隨乎氣故聖人作易於乾則曰大哉乾元乃統天於坤則曰
至哉坤元乃順承天

Explaining *yinyang*, some point to Heaven-and-Earth, some to *qi* and blood-fluid, others to *qian* and *kun*. These [pairs all refer to *yinyang* as] mutually dependent bodies (*duidai zhi ti*). However, *yang* controls *yin*; Heaven enfolds Earth; and blood-fluid follows *qi*. Hence, when the sages composed the *Changes*, they said about *qian*: “Great is the primordality of *qian*!” “It is the controlling Heaven.” About *kun*, they said: “Utmost is the primordality of *kun*!” “It obeys Heaven.”³⁸³

The different hierarchical status between *yin* and *yang* is further explained in the practical context of medicine. Zhao gives the specific example of treating ‘blood-fluid depletion’ (*xue xu* 血虛), and points out that in contrast to popular contemporary recipes, blood supplementing (*buxue* 補血) recipes of ancient times all contain *materia medica* that supplement *qi*.³⁸⁴ Therefore, in Zhao’s opinion, ancient recipes were in accordance with the principle that *qian* (*yang*) leads *kun* (*yin*), or that “blood-fluid follows *qi*.” And, “the Ancients [in contrast to his contemporaries] were proficient in embodying the meaning of the *Changes*” (古人善體易義).³⁸⁵

Zhao Xianke’s ideas on the predominance of *yang* over *yin* are not only related to the principle that Earth follows Heaven, as stated in the *Changes*. He further refers to

³⁸³ YG 1.15a. The phrases about *qian* and *kun* are borrowed from the “Commentaries on the Decisions” (Tuanzhuan 象傳) of the *Changes*. Compare to the “Tuanzhuan” on *qian* and *kun*. The parts in between the phrases, “萬物資始” on *qian*, and “萬物資生” on *kun*, are omitted in *Yiguan*. Compare to *Zhouyi* 1.1b, 1.4a. On alternative translation, including these two middle parts could be: “Great is the primordality of *qian*! What provides the beginning of the Myriad Things is the coming into being of Heaven. Utmost is the primordality of *kun*! What provides life to the Myriad Things is its obeying of Heaven.”

³⁸⁴ Zhao does not use *siwu tang* 四物湯 (Four Substances Decoction), a popular blood supplementing recipe composed of *shu dihuang* 熟地黃, *danggui*, *shaoyao*, and *chuanxiong* 川芎. Instead, he promotes an alternative *buxue tang* 補血湯 (Supplementing Blood Decoction) consisting of *huangqi* and *danggui*. In this recipe the *qi* supplementing ingredient *huangqi* is used in a substantial larger amount than the blood supplementing *danggui*. In case of a severe loss of blood (*shi xue bao shen* 失血暴甚), he promotes *dushen tang* 獨參湯 (Only Ginseng Decoction), which does not contain any other ingredient than *qi* supplementing *renshen*. (YG 1.15b)

³⁸⁵ YG 1.15b.

the distinction between ‘what has form’ (*you xing*) and the ‘formless’ (*wu xing*) in the *Daode jing*. Inspired by the opening chapter of this Daoist text, Zhao highlights that the ‘formless’ produces ‘what has form’: “That the formless brings forth what has form is because the marvels (*miao*) of *yinyang* are rooted in nothingness (*wu*). Hence it is said: “Nothingness names the beginning of Heaven-and-Earth” (使無形生出有形蓋陰陽之妙原根於無也故曰無名天地之始).³⁸⁶ Returning to the example of ‘blood-fluid depletion’, Zhao equates blood-fluid to ‘what has form’ (*yin*), and *qi* to the ‘formless’ (*yang*): “Blood that has form cannot be rapidly engendered. The subtle (*ji wei*) *qi* is what should be urgently made firm” (有形之血不能速生幾微之氣所當急固).³⁸⁷ In other words, when the ‘formless’ (or: ‘subtle’ *qi*, *ji wei qi*) is made “firm” (*gu*), blood-fluid will be produced spontaneously.

The importance of *yang*, which is highlighted throughout the entire “Essay on *Yinyang*,” is mainly related to its creative force. According to Zhao, the creativity of *yang* is already emphasised in the founding texts of the scholarly medical tradition the *Huangdi neijing* and the *Shennong bencao jing*.³⁸⁸ When discussing the Huangdi tradition, Zhao focuses on disease prevention, and directly links the idea of “promoting *yang*” and “suppressing *yin*” (*fu yang yi yin* 扶陽抑陰), explained in SW 2, to the principles of the *Changes*:

聖人裁成天地之化輔相天地之宜每寓扶陽抑陰之微權復而先憂七日之來未濟而預有衣絮之備防未然而治未病也然生而老老而病病而死人所不能免但其間有壽夭長短之差此岐黃之道所由始

The Sage follows the pattern (*caicheng*) of transformations of Heaven-and-Earth, and assists what is appropriate between Heaven-and-Earth.³⁸⁹ Each time, he holds on to the subtle power of promoting *yang* and suppressing *yin* (*fu yang yi yin*). At *fu* [䷋], he first grieves for the coming of seven days.³⁹⁰ At *weiji* [䷋], he makes sure that he is provided with cotton waded cloths.³⁹¹ He protects himself from what is not already there, and treats what is not ill yet.³⁹² Nonetheless, when there is birth, there will be ageing. When there is ageing, there will be diseases. When there are diseases, there will be death. This is something people cannot escape from. However, there is a difference between longevity and untimely death, between long

³⁸⁶ YG 1.15b. See DDJ 1.1a.

³⁸⁷ YG 1.15b.

³⁸⁸ On the association of Huangdi with the *Inner Classic*, see Unschuld 2003: 8-16; On the Shennong tradition, see Unschuld 1985: 116; 1986a.

³⁸⁹ This phrase is borrowed from the “Commentary on the Image” (*Xiang zhuan* 象傳) on the hexagram *tai* in the *Changes*. Cf. *Zhouyi* 2.1a.

³⁹⁰ Compare and contrast to *Zhouyi* 3.3a.

³⁹¹ The origin of this sentence is unclear.

³⁹² Cf. SW 2: 1.14a.

and short. This is where the way of Qi [Bo] and Huang[di] originated from.³⁹³

According to Zhao Xianke, also in the curative application of *materia medica*, the tradition attributed to the Spiritual Farmer, the emphasis should lie on promoting the generative powers of *yang*. In medical practice, Zhao advocates the use of *materia medica* which have *yang* thermic qualities (warm and hot) and flavours (pungent and sweet), and warns against the use of *yin* thermic qualities (cold and cool; sour and bitter). The motivation for this clinical choice is inspired by the natural cycle of growth and decay:

凡辛甘者屬陽溫熱者屬陽寒涼者屬陰酸苦者屬陰陽主生陰主殺司命者欲人遠殺而就生甘溫者用之辛熱者用之使共躋乎春風生長之域一應苦寒者俱不用不特苦寒不用至於涼者亦少用蓋涼者秋氣也萬物逢秋風不長矣

Pungent and sweet belong to *yang*. Warm and hot belong to *yang*. Cold and cool belong to *yin*. Sour and bitter belong to *yin*. *Yang* controls generation. *Yin* controls destruction. Those who take charge of life (*simingzhe*) want people to keep destruction at a distance, and move towards generation. [Hence,] sweet and warm, use them. Pungent and hot, use them. Make everything rise up from the domain of birth and growth, associated with the wind of spring. From the moment something corresponds to bitter and cold, do not use them. Do not only avoid the use of bitter and cold, but also be careful with the use of cool. Well, cool is the *qi* of autumn. When the Myriad Things encounter the wind of autumn, they do not grow anymore.³⁹⁴

Only in a few cases, such as Heat Stroke (*zhong re* 中熱), *materia medica* with *yin* qualities, which are thus associated with destruction, can be used:

暫以苦寒一用中病即止終非濟生之品

I only temporarily use bitter and cold. The moment they target the disease, I stop [using them]. After all, these are not ingredients that benefit life (*ji sheng zhi pin*).³⁹⁵

³⁹³ YG 1.15b-16a. On the influence of “promoting *yang*” and “suppressing *yin*” associated with *Changes* on medicine, see Wang Yongzhen, Hu Ying, and Zhang Liying 2006. There is an ongoing discussion on the appreciation of the influence of the *Yijing* on the SW. For authors that emphasise a strong relationship between the *Changes* and medical theory, see Xiao Hanming 2003; Zhang Qicheng 1999; Yang Li 2003. For a critical evaluation, see Liao Yuqun 2006: 102-108.

³⁹⁴ YG 1.16a-1.16b.

³⁹⁵ YG 1.16a-1.16b. For a more elaborate discussion, see “Essay on Summer Heat Stroke and Summer Heat Damage.” (YG 6.21b-28a)

As logical as Zhao's promotion of *materia medica* with *yang* qualities may seem, his emphasis was not at all shared by the majority of his contemporaries, as he points out:

世之慣用寒涼者聞余言而怪矣幸思而試之其利溥哉
 When those who nowadays are accustomed to applying cold and cool
 hear my explanation, they consider it to be strange. Fortunately,
 when you consider it, and try it out, the benefits will be ample!³⁹⁶

Zhao Xianke further elaborates on the hierarchical dominance of *yang* over *yin* in terms of space and time.³⁹⁷ In a spatial context, he mainly concentrates on *yinyang* as Heaven-and-Earth. Instead of talking about static qualities, Zhao highlights the dynamics of constant interaction taking place between Heaven-and-Earth. This is illustrated by the symbolism of tri- and hexagrams of the *Changes*. Whereas the trigram ☰ (*qian* 乾), consisting of three *yang* lines, represents Heaven, the three *yin* lines of ☷ (*kun* 坤) stand for Earth. Combined, the trigrams *qian* and *kun* form two hexagrams: ☱ (*tai* 泰) and ☶ (*pi* 否). *Tai* (Heaven at the bottom; Earth on the top) symbolises the exchange taking place between bottom and top.³⁹⁸ *Pi* (Earth at the bottom; Heaven on the top), on the other hand, represents absence of exchange, or “obstructed communication,” between *yinyang*. The former hexagram is considered to be auspicious, the latter inauspicious.³⁹⁹ The interaction taking place between Heaven-and-Earth in the macrocosm can also be perceived in the microcosm of the human body. In a state of stagnation, when exchange between bottom and top does not take place in the body, symbolised by *pi* (*yang* stagnates at the top, and *yin* at the bottom), illness occurs. In this situation, the physician has to “turn *pi* into *tai*.”⁴⁰⁰ In concrete clinical practice, Zhao's focus is on the stimulation of *yangqi*: “It is not necessary to make *yin* descend. Let the clear [*yang*] rise, and the turbid [*yin*] will spontaneously descend” (不必降也升清濁自降矣).⁴⁰¹ *Materia medica* such as *shengma* and *chaihu*, which are contained in Li Gao's *buzhong yiqi tang*, for instance, have the property to make *yangqi* that has sunk to the lower regions rise, by which an inauspicious situation of *pi* in the body can be turned into *tai*.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁶ YG 1.16b.

³⁹⁷ For a collection of studies on time and space in premodern China, see Huang and Zürcher 1995.

³⁹⁸ *Tai* represents *yang* rising up from the bottom, and *yin* lowering down from the top, by which cyclic motion, and interaction, between Heaven and Earth becomes possible. (Nielsen 2003: 226.)

³⁹⁹ Nielsen 2003: 188.

⁴⁰⁰ “When the Sage looks for advice in Heaven-and-Earth, there is the way of turning *pi* into *tai*” (聖人參贊天地有轉否為泰之道). (YG 1.17b)

⁴⁰¹ YG 1.17b.

⁴⁰² YG 1.17b.



Figure 15. From *pi* to *tai*

In terms of time, *yinyang* is primarily associated with the sun and the moon, the two celestial bodies on which cyclic time calculation is based.⁴⁰³ The sun, associated with *yang*, represents the day; the moon associated with *yin*, represents the night. The waxing and waning of the moon is further used to differentiate the months. The position of the sun marks the seasons of the year. All units of time are characterised by the same cyclic progression expressed in *yinyang* modalities. A cycle begins with the birth of *yang*, *yang* grows to its extreme, after which *yin* takes over. *Yang* starts to diminish, and disappears at the extreme of *yin*. Thereafter, the cycle starts anew. Understanding the cyclic movement of time is of a primordial importance in various, if not all, medical actions: ranging from diagnostics to administering recipes.⁴⁰⁴

Regarding time, Zhao Xianke's main emphasis lies on certain key moments in the evolution of *yinyang* during a cyclic period. Although these moments also occur during the cycles of day and night, the month, etc., I will here focus on the year, in which these moments mark the seasons. Although not depicted in *Yiguan*, a diagram showing the so-called "waxing and waning" (*xiaoxi* 消息) hexagrams, can serve as a good illustration of the *yinyang* process during the year:

⁴⁰³ For a general discussion on calendric methods, see O'Neil 1975.

⁴⁰⁴ "The distinction of *yinyang* of the five *zang*-viscera to the twelve hours is on which a physician entirely depends to understand the roots (*genyuan*) of a disease, and to provide the method of treatment" (按十二時而分五藏之陰陽醫者全憑此以明得病之根原而施治療之方術). (YG 1.18a)

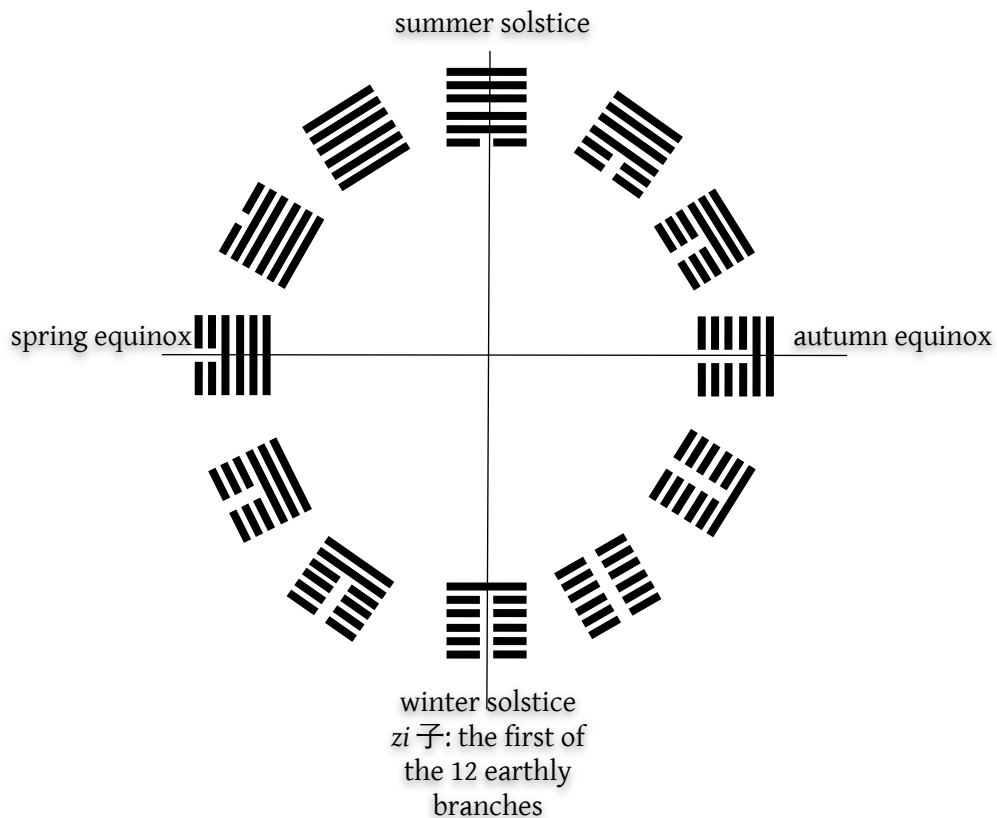


Figure 16. Waxing and waning

The above diagram starts with the hexagram *fu* (䷗), when one *yang* is born during the winter solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至). *Yang* grows, and reaches an equal share with *yin*, symbolised by the hexagram *tai* (䷊). At the spring equinox *yang* starts to dominate *yin*, symbolised by *dazhuang* 大壯 (䷡). *Yang* continues to rise till it reaches its maximum in *qian* (䷀). During the summer solstice (*xiazhi* 夏至), symbolised by the hexagrams *hou* 姤 (䷫), one *yin* is born. *Yin* and *yang*, once again reach their equal share in *pi* (䷖). At the autumn equinox, *yin* starts to dominate *yang*, symbolised by *guan* 觀 (䷓). *Yin* reaches its maximum in *kun* (䷁), after which the cycle starts all over again.

Zhao Xianke emphasises the importance of the creative power of *yang* during this process by comparing the change (*bian hua*) taking place at winter solstice with that of summer solstice:

陰極生陽絕處逢生自無而有陽極生陰從有而無陽變陰化之不同也
The ultimate of *yin* (*yin ji*) generates *yang*. On the verge of extinction (*juechu*), you encounter life: from non-being to being (*zi wu er you*).
The ultimate of *yang* generates *yin*: from being to non-being. This is

the difference between the evolution of *yang* (*yang bian*) and the transformation of *yin*.⁴⁰⁵

Thus, ‘evolution’ (*bian*), taking place during summer solstice, is seen as change from being into non-being; ‘Transformation’ (*hua*), taking place during the winter solstice, on the other hand, is change from non-being into being.⁴⁰⁶ Consequently, because it marks the beginning of the process of creation (☰: the birth of ‘one yang’, the moment when life returns), winter solstice is considered as most important:

然其尤重者獨在冬至故易曰先王以至日閉關閉關二字須看得廣觀月令云是月齋戒掩身以待陰陽之所定則不止關市之門矣

But, the particular importance only relates to winter solstice. The *Changes* says: “The Former Kings (*xian wang*) closed the gate at the day of the winter] solstice (*zhi ri*).”⁴⁰⁷ The two characters *bi guan* (closing the gate) should be seen in a broader sense, as can be observed in the “Monthly Observances” (Yueling): “This month, you should fast, and hide yourself. Wait for what has to be settled by *yinyang*.”⁴⁰⁸ This is, thus, not restricted to closing the city gates.⁴⁰⁹

Although, in a medical context, this logic is not always easily recognisable, a failure in understanding the principles of cyclic time by the physician may lead to disaster:

或問冬至一陽生當漸向暖和何為臘月大寒冰雪反盛夏至一陰生當漸向清涼何為三伏溽暑酷熱反熾亦有說乎曰此將來者進成功者退隱微之際未易以明也蓋陽復於下逼陰於上井水氣蒸而堅冰至也陰盛於下逼陽於上井水寒而雷電合也今人病面紅口渴煩燥喘咳者誰不曰火盛之極抑孰知其為腎中陰寒所逼乎以寒涼之藥進而斃者吾不知其幾矣

Someone asked: “During winter solstice (*dongzhi*) one *yang* is engendered. It should gradually become warmer. However, why is there, contrary [to what you would expect], abundance of ice and snow during “Great Cold” (*dahan*)⁴¹⁰ of the twelfth lunar month? During summer solstice (*xiazhi*), one *yin* is engendered, and it should gradually become cooler. However, why is there, contrary [to what you could expect], extreme heat during the sweltering summer

⁴⁰⁵ YG 1.18a.

⁴⁰⁶ On the difference between *bian* and *hua* as two forms of change, see also Hsu 1994.

⁴⁰⁷ This sentence features in the “Xiang” commentary on the *fu* hexagram. Cf. *Zhouyi* 3.3a.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. *Liji zhushu* 17.27a-b.

⁴⁰⁹ YG 1.18a-18b.

⁴¹⁰ “Great Cold” is one of the 24 solar terms (*jieqi*). Depending on the year, it is the 19th, 20th or 21st of January.

weather of the Dog Days (*sanfu*)⁴¹¹? Do you also have an explanation for this?”

I said: “This is because of what is about to come enters, and what has completed its task retreats. At the time when it is latent, it is not yet easy to see it clearly. When *yang* returns from below, and presses *yin* up [at winter solstice], *qi* [starts to] steam up in the water of the well, but hard ice appears [at the surface]. Or, when *yin* flourishes below, it presses *yang* up [at summer solstice]. Even though the water of the well is cold, it is combined with thunder and lightning. Now, when someone’s face is reddish, the mouth thirsty, he is vexed, and there is panting and coughing, who would not say that this is an extreme of fire abundance? But, who knows that this is something pressed [up] by *yin* coldness inside the kidneys? Occurrences of [people] getting killed by using cold or cool medicine, I do not know how many times that happened!⁴¹²

In addition to the return of *yang* in all cyclic evolution of macrocosmic time (day, month, year, and sexagenary century), Zhao Xianke discusses *yinyang* interaction during the lifecycle of birth, growth, reaching sexual maturity, ageing, and, eventually, death, which takes place in the microcosm of the human body. In this context, he first refers to *qi* (*yang*) and ‘blood-fluid’ (*yin*), and the further associations of *yang*, being ‘full’ (*shi* 實), and ‘*yin*’, being ‘empty’ (*xu* 虛). This distinction between ‘full’ and ‘empty’ is primarily related to the correspondence of (*yang*) *qi* with the sun, and (*yin*) blood with the moon. The sun represents a full (complete) body, symbolised by a full line (—) in the *Changes*. The moon (*yin*), because of its waxing and waning, is incomplete, which is symbolised by two small lines with an empty space in between (..). During the human lifecycle, *yang* is constantly seen as full, while *yin* waxes and wanes, like the moon in the sky.⁴¹³

However, *yin* should not only be associated with blood (and the menstruation cycle in the female body). In both the male and female, *yin* activity, necessary for reproduction, is restricted in time. This time of activity, however, differs for men and women:

人之初生純陽無陰賴其母厥陰乳哺而陰始生是以男子至二八而精始通六十四而精已絕女子至二七而經始行四十九而經已絕人身之陰止供三十年之受用

⁴¹¹ The hottest time of the year. (HYDCD 1, 195)

⁴¹² YG 1.18b-19a. The condition of *yin* cold in the kidneys pushing up *yang* to the surface, causing signs such as heat, thirst, and vexation, which wrongly can be interpreted indicating fullness (*shi*), is by Zhao Xianke called a “fake” (*jia* 假) *yang* condition.

⁴¹³ YG 1.20b

Shortly after a human's birth, there is pure *yang* and no *yin*. Fed by the mother's breast, (s)he depends on mothers reverting *yin* (*jueyin*)⁴¹⁴, and *yin* begins to be produced. Hence, when a man reaches the age of twice eight (= sixteen), his semen (*jing*; essence) starts to come through. At sixty four, his semen is used up. When a woman reaches the age of twice seven (= fourteen), she starts to menstruate (*jing shi xing*). At forty-seven, her menses are used up (*yi jue*). The *yin* in the human body only has a period of thirty years of use.⁴¹⁵

Hence, *yin*, here, explained in the sense of sexual maturity and reproduction is for men based on a cycle of eight, and for women based on a cycle of seven years. Reproduction can take place after *yin* has sufficiently filled up at the time of sexual maturity, reached at the age of fourteen (2x7) *sui* for women and sixteen (2x8) *sui* for men, and till age of forty-nine (7x7) for women and sixty-four (8x8) for men.⁴¹⁶

In the discussion on the difference between *yang*, being always full, and fluctuations of *yin* (like the waxing and waning of the moon), which affect fertility, Zhao stresses the importance of supplementing *yin*:

可見陽常有餘陰常不足況嗜欲者多節欲者少故自幼至老補陰之功一日不可缺

It is obvious that *yang* is always in surplus, and *yin* always insufficient.⁴¹⁷ Moreover, those who indulge in desires (*qi yu*) are many, and those who control desires (*jie yu*) are few. Hence, from youth to old age, there cannot be one day without the merit of supplementing *yin*.⁴¹⁸

Yet, instead of supplementing blood-fluid, commonly associated with *yin*, Zhao Xianke proposes a different approach. In his opinion, the association of blood-fluid with the evolution of *yin* during the lifecycle of the human body is a major misunderstanding. Instead of blood-fluid, Zhao relates this *yin* to *yin* essence (*yinjing* 陰精), stored in the kidneys. By doing so, he also stresses the importance of fire associated with the kidneys' region (*yang* stored inside *yin*):

⁴¹⁴ The nipples (*rutou* 乳頭) belong to the liver. (Li ZYDCD 1072) Feet reverting *yin* is the conduit of the liver.

⁴¹⁵ YG 1.20b.

⁴¹⁶ See also SW 1: 4b-6a; WB SW 5: 11a. See also p. 227.

⁴¹⁷ This is an allusion to Zhu Zhenheng's famous "Essay on *Yang* is in Surplus and *Yin* is Insufficient." Cf. *Gezhi yulun* 2b-5a.

⁴¹⁸ YG 1.20b.

陰中有水有火水虛者固多火衰者亦不少未有精泄已虛而元陽能獨全者況陰陽互為其根議補陰者須以陽為主蓋無陽則陰無以生也
 Inside *yin*, there are both water and fire. Of course, in most of the cases, there is a depletion of water. Yet, weakness of fire is also not that uncommon. It never happened that when there already is depletion because of leaking essence (*jing xie*), primordial *yang* can be complete (*quan*) on its own.⁴¹⁹ Moreover, *yin* and *yang* are each other's root (*hu wei qi gen*). Those who discuss supplementing *yin* should take *yang* as main lead (*yi yang wei zhu*). If there is no *yang*, *yin* has nothing to be generated from.⁴²⁰

Zhao finds inspiration for this altered understanding of *yinyang* in the body in writings of Chu Cheng 褚澄 (Southern Qi dynast, 479-502), as can be illustrated by the following passage in the first essay of *Yiguan*:

人生男女交媾之時先有火會而後精聚故曰火在水之先人生先生命門火此褚齊賢之言也發前人之所未發世謂父精母血非也男女俱以火為先男女俱有精但男子陽中有陰以火為主女子陰中有陽以精為主謂陰精陽氣則可男女合此二氣交聚然後成形成形俱屬後天矣
 When a human being is conceived, at the time that man and woman have sexual intercourse, there is a union, and afterwards essence (*jing*) accumulates. Hence, “fire exists before water. When a human being is generated, first the fire of the gate of life is generated.”⁴²¹ These are the words of Chu Qixian. He discovered what people before had not yet discovered. Everybody now says that father is essence (semen) and mother is blood (*xue*). But, this is a mistake. Man and woman both have fire first, and both have essence. However, man has *yin* inside *yang*, and takes fire as leading principle. Woman has *yang* inside *yin*, and takes essence as leading principle. You may refer to this as *yingjing* and *yangqi*. When man and woman unite these two *qi* exchange and accumulate, and thereafter form is created. The created form entirely belongs to the After Heaven.⁴²²

As already explained in the previous Chapter, Zhao Xianke considers the first “one” spark of fire to be the Before Heavenly fire of the gate of life, which not only ignites

⁴¹⁹ As oil in lanterns, formless fire needs formless water in order to burn.

⁴²⁰ YG 1.21a-b. Zhao Xianke also refers to the *Changes*, and points out that the fullness of “one” (一, *yang*) generates “two” (二, *yin*): “The two of *yin* comes from the division of one *yang*” (蓋陰之二從陽一所分). (YG 1.20b)

⁴²¹ I did not find this passage in *Chu-shi yishu*.

⁴²² YG 1.13b-14a. Although Chu Cheng was active during the 5th C., it is possible that the ideas on the gate of life attributed to Chu are of a much later date. Furth points out that his *Posthumously Published Writings* are a Song dynasty forgery. (Despeux 2001: 142; Furth 1999: 53, n.27)

life, but also makes all functioning in the body possible.

Zhao Xianke does not go into further detail on the source of these ideas. Yet, clues can be found in Zhang Jiebin's *Leijing*, who formulated ideas similar to those of Zhao. In his comments on SW 5 in *Leijing*, Zhang emphasises the importance of yang contained in the kidneys' regions, and regards the disappearance of the engendering yang as a major problem during human life: "when yang leaves, things die" (*yang qu ze wu si* 陽去則物死).⁴²³ By referring to the alchemical *Zhonghe ji*, he illustrates that yangqi is the source of life: "For the person that practices great cultivation, if dividing yin (*fen yin*) has not been ended, he/she will not be an immortal (*bu xian*). And, for all ordinary people, if dividing yang has not been ended, they will not die (*bu si*)" (大修行人分陰未盡則不仙一切常人分陽未盡則不死).⁴²⁴ Like in *Yiguan*, in *Leijing*, yin is not understood as blood-fluid, but as the authentic yin stored in the kidneys. Zhang Jiebin elaborates on these idea by frequently quoting Daoist, alchemical sources, such as the *Zhonghe ji*. Although Zhao Xianke was less explicit than Zhang in referring to Daoist sources, the understanding and emphasis on the creative powers of yang by both physicians is very similar to ideas found in inner alchemic texts.

⁴²³ *Leijing* 2.1b, 2.9a.

⁴²⁴ *Leijing* 2.9a. Cf. *Zhonghe ji* 4.5b.

Root *yin* and root *yang*

Whereas Zhao Xianke in the first part of “Essay on *Yinyang*” explained the basic principles (*li*) about *yinyang* dynamics, in the second part, he elaborates on ‘root *yin*’ and ‘root *yang*’. As already mentioned in the previous section, Zhao argues that most physicians, superficially focusing on *qi* and blood-fluid, were unable to recognise the wonders (*miao*) of the roots of *yinyang* in the body:

此皆泛言陰陽之理有根陰根陽之妙不窮其根陰陽或幾乎息矣談陰陽者俱曰氣血是矣詎知火為陽氣之根水為陰血之根

This [i.e. the content of the preceding section] extensively explained the principles (*li*) of *yinyang*. [However,] there are also the wonders (*miao*) of root *yin* and root *yang*. If you do not fully investigate these roots, *yinyang* will appear to have come to a rest (*huo ji hu xi*)⁴²⁵! This is because those who talk about *yinyang* all refer to *qi* and blood-fluid. How would they know that fire is the root of *yangqi* and water is the root of *yin* blood-fluid?⁴²⁶

Zhao Xianke compares the function of root *yin* and root *yang* in the body with that of the sun and the moon in the macrocosm. The sun represents the essence of fire, and the moon that of water. Moreover, *yinyang*, originating from one and the same origin, should be regarded as being indivisible. In this sense, they also are each other’s root:

盍觀之天地間日為火之精故氣隨之月為水之精故潮隨之然此陰陽水火又同出一根朝朝稟行夜夜復命周流而不息相偶而不離惟其同出一根而不相離也故陰陽又各互為其根陽根於陰陰根於陽無陽則陰無以生無陰則陽無以化從陽而引陰從陰而引陽各求其屬而窮其根也世人但知氣血為陰陽而不知水火為陰陽之根

Observe what happens between Heaven-and-Earth. The sun is the essence (*jing*) of fire. Hence, *qi* (vapour) follows it. The moon is the essence of water. Hence, the tide (*chao*) follows it. Moreover, *yinyang*, or water and fire, identically come from one root.⁴²⁷ Day after day, they receive their mission (*chao chao bing xing*). Night after night, they report on their duty (*ye ye fu ming*). They flow around, without stopping (*zhou liu bu xi*). They form each others pair (*xiang ou*),

⁴²⁵ This phrase is borrowed from the “*Xici zhuan*”: “If *qian* (Heaven) and *kun* (Earth) are extinct, there nothing by which change can be observed. And, if change cannot be observed, it is as if *qian* and *kun* have come to a rest” (乾坤毀則無以見易易不可見則乾坤或幾乎息矣). (*Zhouyi* 7.7a)

⁴²⁶ YG 1.21b.

⁴²⁷ This is an allusion to DDJ 1: 1.1a.

without leaving each other. Only because they come from the same root, do they not leave each other. *Yinyang* are also each others root. *Yang* is rooted in *yin*; *yin* is rooted in *yang*. Without *yang*, *yin* has nothing by which it can life (*wu yi sheng*). Without *yin*, *yang* has nothing to transform (*wu yi hua*). You can draw *yin* out of *yang* (*cong yang er yin yin*); you can draw *yang* out of *yin* (*cong yin er yin yang*).⁴²⁸ Search whereto they both belong (*qiu qi zhu*), and thoroughly investigate their roots (*qiong qi gen*). People now only know that *qi* and blood-fluid are *yinyang*. They do not know that water and fire are the roots of *yinyang*.⁴²⁹

Although some other physicians emphasise the importance of the heart, being fire, and the kidneys, being water, Zhao Xianke states that, in this context, fire and water (root *yin* and root *yang*) do not refer to physical entities (*you xing*) in the body: “Although they know that water and fire are *yinyang*, they mistakenly think that the heart and kidneys are the authenticity of water and fire (*shui huo zhi zhen*). This is why the Way is not understood, and not performed (*zi dao zhi suoyi bu ming bu xing yi*).” 能知水火為陰陽而誤認心腎為水火之真此道之所以不明不行也。⁴³⁰ Instead of relating to the forms, Zhao associates water and fire with the two formless aspects of the gate of life: minister fire and authentic water.

The parallel between formless water and fire in the body, with the moon and sun is further clarified. There are five *zang*-viscera in the body, just as there are five planets in the sky. But it is not the five planets that are the most important celestial bodies. It is the sun and moon:

試觀之天上金木水火土五星見在而日月二曜所以照臨於天地間者非真陰真陽乎

Verify this by observing the sky. The five planets Venus (*jin*), Jupiter (*mu*), Mercury (*shui*), Mars (*huo*), Saturn (*tu*)⁴³¹ are visibly existent. However, because the two illuminators (*er yao*), the sun and the moon, shine on what is between Heaven-and-Earth, are they not authentic *yin* and authentic *yang*?⁴³²

Just like sun and moon illuminate the sky authentic water and minister fire, drive all physiological activities in the body:

⁴²⁸ These phrases were first used in the context of needling techniques. (Li ZYDCD 338)

⁴²⁹ YG 1.21b-22a.

⁴³⁰ YG 1.22b.

⁴³¹ The five planets in the sky are named after, and correspond to the five agents: Venus-metal, Jupiter-wood, Mercury-water, Mars-fire, and Saturn-earth.

⁴³² YG 1.22a-b.

人身心肝脾肺腎五行俱存而所以運行於五臟六腑之間者何物乎有無形之相火行陽二十五度無形之腎水行陰二十五度而其根則原於先天太極之真此所以為真也一屬有形俱為後天而非真矣非根矣謂之根如木之根而枝葉所由以生也

All the five agents are present in the body as heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidneys. However, which thing (*he wu*) makes them move and be active in between the five *zang*- and six *fu*-viscera? Formless minister fire goes twenty five times through *yang* and formless kidney water goes twenty five times through *yin*. But, their root originates in the authenticity of the Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven. This is why they are authentic. From the moment something belongs to what has form, it is entirely After Heaven, and thus not authentic anymore, and not a root anymore! Just like a tree has roots from which the branches and leaves can be produced.⁴³³

A detailed explanation of the formlessness of water and fire, metaphorically described as roots of a tree, can be found in “Essay on Wind Stroke” of *juan 2*.⁴³⁴ In a passage in which Zhao attacks Zhu Zhenheng’s ideas on supplementing the *qi* and blood-fluid as roots of Wind Stroke, he highlights that *qi* and blood-fluid have their own roots in formless water and fire:

然所謂氣血之根本者何蓋火為陽氣之根水為陰氣之根而火與水之總根兩腎間動氣是也此五臟六腑之本十二經之源呼吸之門三焦之根又名守邪之神經曰根於中者命曰神機神去則機息根於外者名曰氣立氣止則化絕

But, what is meant by the roots of *qi* and blood-fluid? Fire is the root of *yangqi*, and water is the root of *yinqi*. Moreover, fire and water have a common root. This is the “moving *qi* in between the two kidneys” (*liang shen jian dong qi*). “It is the root (*ben*) of the five *zang* and six *fu* viscera, the source of the twelve conduits, the gate of breathing (*huxi zhi men*), and the root (*gen*) of the three burners. It is also called the “spirit that guards against evil.” The *Classic* says: “What is rooted in the centre (*gen yu zhong*) is called ‘spiritual mechanism’ (*shen ji*). If the spirit leaves, the mechanism stops. What is rooted outside is named ‘established by *qi*’ (*qi li*). If *qi* stops (*zhi*), transformation is cut off (*hua jue*).”⁴³⁵

Hence, *qi* and blood-fluid belong to the realm of After Heaven, but are rooted in formless water and fire, which are functional aspects of the Before Heavenly.

In relation to the ‘authenticity’ (*zhen*) of ‘root *yin*’ and ‘root *yang*’, Zhao Xianke

⁴³³ YG 1.22b.

⁴³⁴ p. 251.

⁴³⁵ YG 2.7a.

elaborates on the concepts of ‘fake’ (*jia* 假) *yinyang* and ‘unilateral domination’ (*pian* 偏; slanting to one side) of either *yang* or *yin*. ‘Fake’ is a key notion in understanding Zhao’s strategy of supplementing the authentic in the kidney region. In fact, ‘fake’ refers to contradictory symptoms, which appear in a depleted condition of the ‘authentic’ (*zhen*). For instance, ‘heat effusion’ (*fa re*) can often be explained as drifting fire, that is pushed up by accumulating *yin* in the kidney region. In such a situation, it would be very dangerous to cool down the ‘fake’ symptom of heat. The use of cold and bitter *materia medica* would only aggravate the disorder. More cold pushes fire even further away from the place where it belongs, in the kidney region. In Zhao’s opinion, a physician should rather focus on supplementing the depleted ‘authentic’ roots that are responsible for these ‘fake’ signs at the surface.⁴³⁶

“Unilateral domination of *yin* or *yang*” relates to the natural endowment of *qi*, which characterises a person.⁴³⁷ However, Zhao Xianke regrets that in case of illness, without taking the genuine cause into account, many refer to individual dispositions of *yinyang* qualities:

與之談醫各執其性之一偏而目為全體常試而漫為之雖與之言必不見信是則偏之為害而誤人多矣今之為醫者鑒其偏之弊而制為不寒不熱之方舉世宗之以為醫中王道

⁴³⁶ YG 1.21b-22b. *Yin* coldness in the kidneys pushing up heat, showing signs such as a reddish face and vexation, which are associated with heat, and not with the genuine cause (cold), as discussed in the previous section, is an example of a ‘fake’ *yang* condition. In these conditions, a weak pulse often indicates the genuine cause. Throughout the following parts, more examples of ‘fake’ conditions will be given.

⁴³⁷ Zhao Xianke further explains unilateral domination of *yang* and *yin* as follows:

有偏陰偏陽者此氣稟也太陽之人雖冬月身不須綿口常飲水色欲無度大便數日一行芩連樞柏大黃芒硝恬不知怪太陰之人雖暑月不離複衣食飲稍涼便覺腹痛泄瀉參朮姜桂時不絕口一有欲事呻吟不已此兩等人者各稟陰陽之一偏者也

If there is unilateral domination of *yang* or unilateral domination of *yin*, this is [related to] the natural endowment of *qi*. Although it is winter, persons that are excessively *yang* (*tai yang* greatly *yang*), do not need cotton wadded [quilts]. They do not often drink water. Their sexual desires are unlimited (*wu du*). They defecate only once in several days. They do not mind the use of [bitter and cold *materia medica*], such as *huang[qin]*, *huang[lian]*, *zhi[zi]*, [*huang*]bo, *dahuang*, and *mangxiao*. Although it is summer, persons that are greatly *yin* (*taiyin*), cannot do without layers of cold. If food and beverage only is slightly cold, their abdomen aches, and they have diarrhoea. They keep their mouth about [warming *materia medica*, such as] [*ren*]shen (ginseng), [*bai*]zhu, *jiang* (ginger), and *gui* (cinnamon). Once there is something they desire, they moan endlessly (*shenyin buyi*). These two types of persons each represent a unilateral endowment of *qi*. (YG 1.23b)

If you talk about medicine with [people, characterised by unilateral dominance of *yin* or *yang*], they will stick to what is unilaterally dominant in their own constitution (*xing zhi yi pian*), and consider this (*mu wei*) to be so for the whole body. They constantly experience [their condition], and endlessly (*man*) act upon it. Even if you try to explain them [the genuine cause of their illness], they do not trust you. In this case, the unilateral dominance forms the danger. It often misleads people! When those who practice medicine today (*jin zhi wei yi zhe*) perceive harm caused by unilateral domination, they treat it with recipes that are neither cold nor hot. Everybody follows this example, and considers it to be the Kingly Way of medicine (*yi zhong wang dao*).⁴³⁸

Regardless of an individual patient's constitution, Zhao Xianke highlights that a disease marked by cold or hot symptoms points to an unbalance, which has to be supplemented. The commonly used method is to treat excessive heat with cold, and vice versa:

豈知人之受病以偏得之感於寒則偏於寒感於熱則偏於熱以不寒不熱之劑投之何以補其偏而救其弊哉故以寒治熱以熱治寒此方士之繩墨也

But you have to know that people get ill just because of a unilateral domination! If there is an arousal by cold, there is a slanting towards cold. If there is influence by heat, there is a slanting towards heat. If they use preparations (recipes) that are neither cold nor hot, how would supplement [to match up] the slanting, and how do they rescue from harm? Hence, using cold to treat hot and hot to treat cold is the guideline (*shengmo*) of 'the recipe masters' (*fangshi*).⁴³⁹

Yet, Zhao warns against making blind use of this "guideline of recipe masters." It may be wrong to assume that someone who is characterised by *yang* features can take as many cold and bitter medicines as desired, or that someone with *yin* features can take as many hot and pungent medicines without any harm. If the unilateral dominance is due to an unbalance between formless water and fire in the deeper layers of the body, and if symptoms on the surface are 'fake' signs of *yinyang*, a prolonged intake of the wrong recipes can be dangerous:

⁴³⁸ YG 1.22b-23a.

⁴³⁹ YG 1.23a. The last sentence refers to SW 74: This phrase refers to SW 74: "The discourse states: 'treat the cold with heat; treat the heat with cold;' and the prescription gentlemen are unable to leave this marking line and alter its Way." 論言治寒以熱治熱以寒而方士不能廢繩墨而更其道也 (22.43b; as translated by Unschuld and Tessenow 2011: 638)

然而苦寒頻進而積熱彌熾辛熱比年而沉寒益滋者何耶此不知陰陽之屬也

After bitter and cold are frequently given, why does accumulated heat blaze up? After pungent and hot [are used] year by year, why does sunken cold increase even more? It is because of not knowing whether it belongs to *yin* or to *yang*.⁴⁴⁰

In order to treat the genuine root of these ‘fake’ apparitions of cold and hot, Zhao proposes the alternative of balancing formless water and fire. The main principles legitimising his concrete clinical method of applying *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* are borrowed from Wang Bing’s comments on SW 74, which I will explain in detail in Chapter 4.

In the conclusion of “Essay on *Yinyang*,” Zhao Xianke points out that *yin* and *yang* are nothing but abstract terms (*xu ming* 虛名, “empty names). *Yin* can be used to refer to both external cold *qi* and authentic water inside the body. Similarly, *yang* can be used to refer to both climatic summer heat *qi* and authentic fire inside the body. More important than being muddled by names, a physician should be able to make a clear aetiological distinction between pathological cold and heat influences related to the climate, and depletion of formless water and fire associated with the ‘authenticity’ in the kidneys. In order to treat these latter conditions, Zhao promotes the harmonisation of formless water and fire in the kidney region:

陰陽者虛名也水火者實體也寒熱者天下之淫氣也水火者人之真元也淫氣湊疾可以寒熱藥施之真元致病即以水火之真調之然不求其屬投之不入

Yinyang are empty names (*xu ming*). Water and fire are real entities (*shi ti*). Cold and heat are the excessive [climatic] *qi* of this world. Water and fire are the authentic origin of the human being. When harmful *qi* [influences] gathers, and causes diseases, cold and hot *materia medica* can be administered. When the authentic origin causes disease, balance with the authenticity of water and fire. However, if you do not investigate whereto it belongs, the clinical strategy will be in vain.⁴⁴¹

According to Zhao, the worst physicians exclusively stick to external cold and heat in their understanding of *yinyang* in the body. Others, who equate *yinyang* as fire and water with the heart and kidneys, fail to understand the importance of the formless:

⁴⁴⁰ YG 1.23a-23b.

⁴⁴¹ YG 1.24b-25b.

偏寒偏熱之士不可與言也至於高世立言之士猶誤認水火為心腎無怪乎後人之懵懵也

You cannot discuss this with gentlemen who unilaterally stick to cold and heat. As for theoreticians of ancient times, they seem to have mistakenly regarded water and fire as being the heart and kidneys. No wonder later generations are in confusion!⁴⁴²

To sum up, Zhao Xianke supplemented conventional knowledge on *yinyang* by emphasising the generative properties of *yang*, and by explaining authentic water and authentic fire as ‘root *yin*’ and ‘root *yang*’. These two features, which both relate to Zhao’s ideas on the Before Heavenly, form the theoretical foundation on which he builds his ideas on physiology. In “Essay on the Five Agents,” Zhao Xianke elaborates on how formless water and fire interact with the other agents.

⁴⁴² YG 1.25a.

Five, six, or twenty-five agents?

Like other Song-Ming physicians, Zhao Xianke did not oppose the idea that there were two forms of fire: ‘minister fire’ (*xiang huo*) and ‘governor fire’ (*jun huo*). In his opinion, however, this does not mean that there are six agents. Zhao points out that not only fire, but all agents can be differentiated into two aspects. Furthermore, he argues that all agents can be found within each other, which results in a total number of twenty-five:

諸書有云五行惟一獨火有二此言似是而非論五行俱各有二奚獨一火哉若論其至五行各有五五二十五五行各具一太極此所以成變化而行鬼神也

Various texts have the following saying: “The five agents only have one, but only fire has two.”⁴⁴³ This explanation seems to be correct, but is wrong. I argue that all five agents have two. How would this only be so in case of fire! Moreover, if I still discuss it more profoundly, then all five agents have five. Five times five is twenty-five. The five agents all have one Supreme Ultimate. This is how they accomplish evolution and transformation (*cheng bian hua*), and activate demons and spirits (*xing gui shen*).⁴⁴⁴

Zhao Xianke primarily understands the separation of each of the agents into two

⁴⁴³ Compare, for instance, with *Gezhi yulun* 56a-57b.

⁴⁴⁴ YG 1.25a-b. The last sentence is borrowed from the “Xici zhuan.” It is interesting to note that, in this text, this sentence features in the context of counting the numbers of Heaven-and-Earth:

天一地二天三地四天五地六天七地八天九地十天數五地數五五位相得而各有合天數二十有五地數三十凡天地之數五十有五此所以成變化而行鬼神也
Heaven is 1; Earth 2; Heaven 3; Earth 4; Heaven 5; Earth 6; Heaven 7; Earth 8; Heaven 9; Earth 10. There are five numbers of Heaven, and five numbers of Earth. The five positions all get their corresponding (numbers). The amount of the numbers of Heaven is 25, and the amount of the numbers of Earth is 30. Together, the amount of the numbers of Heaven and Earth is 55. This is how they accomplish evolution and transformation, and how they activate demons and spirits. (*Zhouyi* 7.5a)

The numbers of Heaven-and-Earth correspond to the River Diagram (He tu 河圖), in which the five numbers are positions in the five directions (N, S, E, W, and centre), and thus correlate with the five agents. Although Zhu Xi made a correspondence between the River Diagram and the Diagram of Before Heaven, both attributed to Fu Xi, Nielsen points out that “the integration of the [Yellow] River Diagram works better with the Diagram Succeeding Heaven [or, Diagram of After Heaven] and the basic correlations of the five agents, i.e. the numbers of the compass points. (2003: 105) The sentence “The five agents all have one Supreme Ultimate,” also features in Li Daochun’s alchemic explanation of the Diagram of Supreme Ultimate. (*Quanzhen jixuan biyao*, DZ 251, 9a-b)

in terms of *yinyang*. In his explanation, he mainly refers to the cycle of appearance and disappearance, birth and death (*sheng si* 生死). He illustrates this by referring to the *yinyang* aspects of the agents symbolised by the Heavenly Stems (*tiangan* 天干), as I have summarised in the table below:

Agent	Heavenly Stem	Function in the Body	Conduit	Time of birth and death
wood	<i>jia</i> 甲	gallbladder	feet lesser yang	<i>hai - wu</i>
	<i>yi</i> 乙	liver	feet reverting yin	<i>wu - hai</i>
fire	<i>bing</i> 丙	minister fire	hands lesser yang	<i>yin - you</i>
	<i>ding</i> 丁	heart	hands lesser yin	<i>you - yin</i>
water	<i>ren</i> 壬	bladder	feet greater yang	<i>shen - mao</i>
	<i>gui</i> 癸	kidneys	feet lesser yin	<i>mao - shen</i>
earth	<i>wu</i> 戊	stomach	feet yang brightness	<i>yin - you</i>
	<i>ji</i> 己	spleen	feet greater yin	<i>you - yin</i>
metal	<i>geng</i> 庚	large intestine	hands yang brightness	<i>si - zi</i>
	<i>xin</i> 辛	lungs	hands greater yin	<i>zi - si</i>

Table 3. Birth and death of the five agents (based on YG 1.25b-26a)

Hence, Zhao's division of five agents into a *yin* and a *yang* aspect largely corresponds to the traditional ideas on the visceral system and related conduits, of the *zang* 臟 as *yin* organs, with *fu* 腑 as their *yang* counterparts. Traditionally, five *zang* viscera (heart, lungs, spleen, liver, and kidneys), and six *fu* viscera (small intestines, large intestines, stomach, gallbladder, urinary bladder, and triple burners)

are discerned.⁴⁴⁵ As there are twelve conduits, a sixth *zang* viscera, ‘heart enfolder’ (*xin bao*) is included in the list, to match up with three burners. In contrast to this system of twelve, which perfectly fits the separation of fire into two (‘governor fire’, corresponding to the heart and the small intestines, and ‘minister fire’, corresponding to heart enfolder and three burners). Zhao only lists ten *zangfu* viscera, and returns to a system based on five agents. Nevertheless, he divides fire into heart fire and minister fire, exactly as was done from the Song dynasty on. Consequently, the heart enfolder and the small intestine, as well as the corresponding conduits, ‘hands reverting *yin*’ and ‘hands greater *yang*’, are missing in his list. In his discussion, no single explanation is given of how the missing *zang*, *fu*, and conduits should be interpreted. Instead of going into an anatomical discussion, Zhao mainly emphasises the relevance of *yinyang* aspects of the five agents, and especially the hours of their ‘birth’ and ‘death’, in the context of diagnostics and medical treatment.⁴⁴⁶

In contrast to the *yinyang* aspects of the five agents, Zhao Xianke devotes much more attention to the presence of the five agents within each other. The idea of extracting agents out of each other is not exclusive to *Yiguan*. In Zhang Jiebin’s *Leijing tuyi*, similar ideas feature in his “General Essay on the Five Agents” (Wuxing tonglun 五行統論).⁴⁴⁷ Unlike Zhang, who elaborately discussed all of the five agents within each other, Zhao restricts himself to the explanation of water and fire only. This is not a trivial choice. Water and fire are essential, because life depends on them:

土金惟寄生故其死為真死惟水火從真生故其死不死絕處逢生矣歸
庫者絕其生氣而收藏也返魂者續其死氣而變化也況水火隨處有生

⁴⁴⁵ On diverse, and by times contradicting, sub-categorisations of *yinyang* dynamics in relation to the viscera and the conduits in SW, see Unschuld 2003: 89-96. On the synthesis between the six-fold system and the five agent correspondences, and naturalist attempts to put all phenomena in a framework of systematic correspondences, Unschuld remarks:

It is not clear, for example, to what extent, at some initial stage of the formation of the notion of systematic correspondences, a pentic categorization of phenomena may have competed with a sixfold categorization unaffected by the sixfold yin-yang categorization. The difficulties of subsuming all phenomena under a pentic grouping are evident not only in the persistence of the concept of the six palace organs but also in occasional discussions concerning the number of depot organs. After all, the presence of such morphological entities as brain or uterus was no secret to ancient Chinese naturalists, [...], there is evidence in the *Su wen* of discussions about how to acknowledge these organs in the system of correspondences. (2003: 99)

⁴⁴⁶ YG 1.25a-b.

⁴⁴⁷ Compare to *Leijing tuyi* 1.14b-20b.

機鑽木可取擊石可取圓珠可取方諸取水掘地取水承露取水若金死不救土死不救木死不救是以余於五行中獨重水火

Earth and metal are just dependent [on something else] for life. Hence, their death is genuine (authentic) dying. Only water and fire follow genuine life. Hence, their death is not dying. On the verge of extinction, they encounter life. Returning to the warehouse (*gui ku*) means cutting off the life-giving *qi* (*jue qi shengqi*), and storing up (*shoucang*). The ‘return of the *hun*-spirits’ (*fanhun*)⁴⁴⁸ means extending the destructive *qi* (*xu qi siqi*), transformation (*bianhua*). Moreover, water and fire have their life-giving mechanism (*sheng ji*) everywhere. By drilling wood, by beating stones, or by making pearls round [fire can be obtained]. The *fangzhu*⁴⁴⁹ obtains water, digging earth obtains water, and the ‘dew receiving [plate]’ (*chenglu*) obtains water. When metal dies, there is no rescue. When earth dies, there is no rescue. When wood dies, there is no rescue. Therefore, I only emphasise the importance of water and fire in the five agents.⁴⁵⁰

At the end of his “Essay on the Five Agents,” Zhao Xianke includes a subchapter in which he provides a detailed explanation of water and fire in the other agents, titled: “Arguing that each of the Five Agents has Five” (Lun wuxing ge you wu 論五行各有五).

	Fire	Water
Fire	<i>yin</i> fire and <i>yang</i> fire	water in fire
Water	fire in water	<i>yin</i> water and <i>yang</i> water
Earth	fire in earth	water in earth
Metal	fire in metal	water in metal
Wood	fire in wood	water in wood

Table 4. Water and fire inside the other agents

Before explaining how water and fire are present in the other agents, the discussions on both water and fire start with a short explanation of their *yin* and *yang* distinction. Like in his explanation of fire separated into two, Zhao Xianke differentiates *yang* and *yin* fire. However, instead of using the *zangfu* logic, in this part of “Essay on Five

⁴⁴⁸ To resurrect. (GR 2, 522; HYDCD 10, 742).

⁴⁴⁹ “Mirroir carré, que l’on exposait aux rayons de la lune pour recueillir la rosée en vue de sacrifices.” (GR 2, 563)

⁴⁵⁰ YG 1.26b-27a.

Agents,” he does not refer to minister fire as *yang* fire. Instead, here, *yang* fire is equated with “fire of both sun and moon up in the sky” (*tian shang ri yue zhi huo* 天上日月之火). *Yin* fire, on the other hand, is not the heart, but the “fire of lanterns and candles” (*bing zhu zhi huo* 炳燭之火). Although Zhao establishes different associations with *yin* and *yang*, the hours associated with birth and death of *yin* and *yang* fire are the same as given in table 4.: *yang* fire is generated in the *bin* hour and dies in the *you* hour, and vice versa for *yin* fire.⁴⁵¹

The distinction between both fires is essential for understanding Zhao’s clinical ideas. Similar to “Essay on *Yinyang*,” where he highlights the creativity associated with *yang*, he again warns against the use of cold and cool. *Materia medica* representing these qualities can only be temporarily used in the case of damage caused by external summer heat, which Zhao here equates with “[*yang*] fire from the sky invading the human body” (天上火入於人身).⁴⁵² Treating “fire of lanterns and candles”, or *yin* fire, with cold ingredients, however, is dangerous:

如燈燭火亦陰火也須以膏油養之不得雜一滴寒水得水即滅矣

Yin fire is just like fire in lamps and candles (*deng zhu*). It should be nourished by grease and oil.⁴⁵³ It may not be polluted (*za* mixed) by one drip of cold water. When it obtains water it will be extinguished⁴⁵⁴

Whereas cold water extinguishes this fire, it needs to be nourished by watery substance, such as grease and oil, in order to be able to burn. In the human body, Zhao equates this *yin* fire with ‘minister fire’ in the kidney region. The ‘oil’ that provides minister fire with the fuel to burn is ‘authentic water’. In case of shortage, this water can be supplemented not by cold, but by (warm and) moistening ingredients.⁴⁵⁵

Because it is situated in the water of the two kidneys, *yin* fire is further equated

⁴⁵¹ YG 1.30a-b. These two kinds of fire are “mutual dependant pairs” (*duidai zhi huo* 對待之火).

⁴⁵² YG 1.31a.

⁴⁵³ In his article on lighting in the Six Dynasty, Dian refers to Huan Tan’s 桓譚 (Han dynasty) *Xinlun* 新論, in which tallow luminants (*zhizhu* 脂燭) are used as a metaphor for human life: “The nature of the *zhizhu* may be clarified by [Huan Tan who] used it as an analogy with human life, describing that in the case of a lamp (*deng*) with only one *zhu* [wick], the duration of the flame depends on the amount and length of the *zhizhu*, but that one might gather up the cast-off tallow on the side to replenish it and so allow the flam to last a bit longer.” (2007: 3) Before the Six Dynasties *dengzhu* referred to a lamp and its luminant. “There are however some indications that at some point the phrase *dengzhu* came to refer to two objects. In a rhapsody written by a Sogdian Buddhist monk, Zhi Tandi 支曇諦 (d. 401), there are the lines that the candles (*zhu*) brighten one part of the residence while a lamp (*deng*) illuminates another.” (Dian 2007: 5) (I wish to thank John Moffett for bringing Dien’s article to my attention.)

⁴⁵⁴ YG 1.31a.

⁴⁵⁵ See also p. 190.

with “fire in water.” Although defined as being formless, fire in water manifests itself through the sound of thunder.⁴⁵⁶ Hence, it is also named “fire of thunderbolts” (*pili huo* 霹靂火) and “fire of the dragon and the thunder” (*longlei zhi huo* 龍雷之火). Zhao’s understandings of the violent activities produced by this fire in the upper regions of the body are based on a combination of meteorological observations and ideas on the dragon, associated with the one *yang* line in the *Changes*. In macrocosmic time, thunder appears from summer solstice, during the fifth month of the lunar calendar (represented by the hexagram *hou* ䷛), till winter solstice (represented by the hexagram *fu* ䷗):

原夫龍雷之見者以五月一陰生水底冷而天上熱龍為陽物故隨陽而
上升至冬一陽來復故龍亦隨陽下伏雷亦收聲

Originally, when dragon and thunder appear, in the fifth month one *yin* is born [䷛], the bottom of water cools down, but the top of heaven is hot. The dragon is a *yang* thing. Hence, following *yang*, it rises up. At the winter solstice (*dongzhi*), one *yang* returns again [䷗]. Hence, the dragon, following *yang*, hides down below (*xia fu*). The thunder also stores up its sound.⁴⁵⁷

Hence, the dragon and thunder (i.e. fire in water) is pushed up by the coldness of *yin* at the bottom, and drifts up, as is illustrated by the hexagram *hou*.

Zhao Xianke did not introduce the idea of ‘fire of dragon and thunder’ in his medical doctrine. The association of ‘minister fire’ with ‘dragon and thunder’ is of a major importance in Zhu Zhenheng’s *Gezhi yulun*.⁴⁵⁸ Zhu’s main idea was to use cold and cool medicines to bring this fire down. As explained above, Zhao opposes this method because cold water extinguishes fire in water. And, in case of violent activities of this fire, the use of cold and cool will have opposite results: “[This fire] does not burn grasses and wood. When it obtains rain it only blazes stronger” (不焚

⁴⁵⁶ Thunder can further be associated with earth, which Zhao conceives as a congealed form of water, as I will explain below. On the interpretation of thunder in pre-modern China, see Hammond 1994.

⁴⁵⁷ YG 1.30b. On the dragon symbolising *yang* in the *Changes*, see Visser 1913: 35-39. On dragons and their association with rain and thunder, see Bates 2002: 16-29; Diény 1987; Hammond 1994: 493-494; Thorbjarnarson and Wang 2010: 56-61; and, especially, Visser 1913: 109-121.

⁴⁵⁸ See, for instance, “Essay on Minister Fire:”

見於天者出於龍雷則木之氣出於海則水之氣也具於人者寄於肝腎二部肝屬
木而腎屬水也

If you observe it in the sky, it comes from the dragon. Thunder is the *qi* of wood. If it comes from the sea, it is the *qi* of water. It is all contained in the human [body]. In the two departments of the liver and the kidneys. The liver belongs to wood, and the kidneys belong to water. (*Gezhi yulun* 57a)

草木得雨而益熾).⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, this type of fire should not be compared with fire that burns in arid fields, but rather with the lightning during a thunder storm. As long as there is rain, lightning will continue to flare, and cause damage. Zhao's remedy is not using cold rain, represented by *materia medica* such as *huangbo* and *zhimu*, but warm sunlight: "When fire of dragon and thunder obtains rain, it blazes stronger. Only after one ray of sunlight appears, the dragon and thunder stop spontaneously" (龍雷之火得雨而益熾惟太陽一照而龍雷自息).⁴⁶⁰

The clinical strategy of warming and supplementing is further explained by the metaphor of the movements of the dragon, rising from and returning to the ocean at specific moments in time:

人身腎中相火亦猶是也平日不能節欲以致命門火衰腎中陰盛龍火無藏身之位故游於上而不歸是以上焦煩熱咳嗽等症善治者以溫腎之藥從其性而引之歸原使行秋冬陽伏之令而龍歸大海此至理也奈何今之治陰虛火衰者以黃柏知母為君而愈寒其腎益速其斃良可悲哉

Minister fire in the kidneys of the human body also resembles this [fire of the dragon]. If you are usually unable to moderate desires, this will lead to weakness of fire of the gate of life. If the *yin* inside the kidneys is filling up, the fire of the dragon has no place to conceal its body. Therefore, it travels upwards, and does not return. The upper burner gets vexed and hot, and there are symptoms like coughing. Those who are good in treatment use medicines that warm the kidneys, and guide it [i.e. dragon fire] back to its origin, by letting it follow its [own] nature. If you are able to issue the command of autumn and winter to make *yang* prostrate, the dragon will return to the ocean. This is the utmost principle. Why then are those who nowadays treat *yin* depletion and fire weakness using *huangbo* and *zhimu* as governor (*jun*), by which they make the kidneys even colder. This speeds up the execution. How sad this is!⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁹ YG 1.30b.

⁴⁶⁰ YG 3.12b. This phrase also almost identically features in "Essay on Minister Fire as Dragon and Thunder" of *juan* 4:

每當濃陰驟雨之時火焰愈熾或燒毀房屋或擊碎木石其勢誠不可抗惟太陽一照火自消滅此得水則熾得火則滅之一驗也

Each time thick clouds produce violent storm of rain, the flames blaze even harder. This burns buildings down or smashes trees and rocks into pieces. You really cannot resist the power. Only after one ray of sunlight, this fire will extinguish out spontaneously. This is the experience (*yan*) that when it obtains water, it blazes; When it obtains fire, it extinguishes." (YG 4.13b)

⁴⁶¹ YG 1.30b-31a.

Thus, by warming, minister fire (the dragon and thunder in the body) is not extinguished, but gets the order to return home in the ocean of kidney water. In Chapter 4, I will elaborate on this in much more detail, and discuss which specific *materia medica* Zhao uses in order to guide the dragon back home to the ocean of the kidneys.⁴⁶²

Apart from the concept of fire in water, the concept of fire in earth is essential for understanding Zhao Xianke's clinical strategies. Zhao compares this fire with "fire inside a furnace (*lu zhong huo* 爐中火):

乃灰土中無焰之火得木則煙見濕則滅須以炭培實以溫燼人身脾土
中火以甘溫養其火而火自退經曰勞者溫之損者溫之甘能除大熱溫
能除大熱此之謂也

[Fire in earth] is flameless fire inside the earth of the ashes. When it obtains wood, it smokes up. When it encounters moisture, it extinguishes. It should be fostered by charcoal, which in fact warms the cinders. As for fire in the earth of the spleen of the human body, when this fire is nourished by warmth, the fire will retreat out of itself. The *Classic* says: "When overworked (*lao* exhausted, fatigue), warm it. When damaged (*sun*), warm it."⁴⁶³ That sweet and warmth can remove great heat is what is meant.⁴⁶⁴

In clinical practice, these principles apply to Li Gao's use of sweet and warm *materia medica* to supplement, and also to control the fire associated with the spleen and stomach. I will discuss this treatment strategy in Chapter 6.

Fire in wood is fire found in the hollow parts (*kong zhong zhi huo* 空中之火). Because it is constantly nourished by *kan* water, this fire does not manifest itself easily. However, if the nourishing by water stops, wood withers, and becomes firewood. Because water has disappeared, it cannot control blazing fire. Fire stops only when all burning power has gone. In the body, Zhao Xianke, associates this fire in wood with the liver. There are cases of a fire flaring up inside, causing "depressed feelings or agitation" (*yumen fanzao* 鬱悶煩躁). This fire should equally be handled with care. Cold ingredients may oppress the creative force associated with fire in wood (corresponding with spring) even to a greater the degree; hot ingredients, on the other hand, would stimulate its flaming up. Therefore, Zhao advocates the use of pungent and cool ingredients, which make this oppressed and internal flaming fire come out (*fa da* 發達), as he further explains in "Essay on Depression Disease."⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² I will further elaborate on the principles, recipes, and pathologies, associated with formless fire and water in the kidneys in Chapter 4 and 5.

⁴⁶³ SW 74: 22.41a.

⁴⁶⁴ YG.1.31b.

⁴⁶⁵ YG 1.31b-32a. See the section on "'Depressed' fire" in Chapter 6.

The last kind of fire, which Zhao Xianke discusses, is fire in metal. He points out that in places where ores of metal can be found in the ground, radiation is perceived. He describes this metal as being constraint inside the earth (*jin yu tu zhong* 金鬱土中).⁴⁶⁶ Also in the human body, this phenomenon occurs. When the metal *qi* of the lungs is depleted, there can be an awareness of piercing with needles or mosquito bites on the skin, and a sensation of fire flaming up at the top of the head. Zhao explains this as fire that makes use of this metal *qi* depletion. He refers to a method described in NJ 75 to treat this fire inside metal:

東方木實因西方金虛也補北方之水即所以瀉南方之火

When the wood of the eastern direction is replete, the metal of the western direction is accordingly depleted. Supplement water of the northern direction. This is how fire of the southern direction is drained.⁴⁶⁷

Zhao Xianke concludes that the method of supplementing the northern direction associated with water is the way to treat fire in all the five agents: “Although I called it ‘treating fire inside metal,’ in the same way fire of the five agents is treated. Nothing else is meant” (雖曰冶金中之火而通治五行之火無餘蘊矣).⁴⁶⁸

Thus, according to Zhao, the strategy of treating fire in water, fire in earth, and fire in wood, similarly relies on water of the northern direction. This is because fire in the other agents is nothing more than *yin* fire, or ‘minister fire’ (as opposed to external climatic *yang* fire). Although, as I will show in the following chapters, all of Zhao’s strategies to treat pathological conditions associated with this fire involve water of the kidneys, the exact strategy differs according to the place where the pathological activity of fire manifest itself.

After discussing fire, Zhao Xianke continues with an analogue explanation of the presence of water in all of the other agents. He first elaborates on the distinction between *yin* and *yang* water. Whereas water was divided into *ren* water (*yang*, and associated with the urinary bladder) and *gui* water (*yin*, and associated with the kidneys) at the beginning of the “Essay on the Five Agents,” he here refers to two trigrams of the *Changes* that symbolise water in a different way. In his “Arguing that each of the Five Agents has Five”, he associates *yang* water with the trigram *kan* ☵, and *yin* water with the trigram *dui* ☱. While *kan* water is further equated with *qi*, *dui* water stands for what has form (*you xing*). This distinction is based on the thirteenth

⁴⁶⁶ YG 1.32a. Jiang Chunhua renounces Zhao’s claims about radiation at metal ores. He considers them to be “lies” (*huangyan* 荒言), “superstitious” (*mixin* 迷信) and “ridiculous” (*wuji* 无稽). (1979: 37)

⁴⁶⁷ As quoted in YG 1.32a. See also NJ 75: 617.

⁴⁶⁸ YG 1.32a.

stanza of the poem *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu* 麻衣道者正易心法 (Heart Method of the Orthodox Changes of the Hempclad Daoist), attributed to the Hempclad Daoist (Mayi Daozhe 麻衣道者), and the attached *Xiaoxi* 消息 (Waxing and Waning) commentary, attributed to Mayi Daozhe's disciple Chen Tuan. The poem and commentary explain the meaning of tri- and hexagrams in the tradition of "symbols and numbers" (*xiangshu*) of the *Changes*. The thirteenth stanza of the poem, which in contrast to Chen Tuan's comment is not quoted in *Yiguan*, reads as follows:

坎兌二水 / 明須識破 / 坎潤兌說 / 理自不同
 Two waters: kan and dui
 Obviously, you should know that they are broken up (po)⁴⁶⁹
 kan moistens, dui brings joy
 therefore, their principles (li) are not the same⁴⁷⁰

Zhao further explains *kan* water by referring to Chen Tuan's comments:

希夷先生陰陽消息論曰坎以一陽陷於二陰水氣潛行地中為萬物受命根本蓋潤液也氣之液也月令於仲秋云殺氣浸盛陽氣日衰水始涸是水之涸地之死也於仲冬云水泉動是月一陽生是水之動地之生也
 Mr. Xiyi's [i.e. Chen Tuan] *Yinyang xiaoxi lun* (Essay on Waxing and Waning of Yinyang)⁴⁷¹ says: "Kan is one yang sunken into two yin. The *qi* of water secretly runs inside the earth. It is the root from which the Myriad Things receive their life. Well, it is the moistening liquid, the liquid of *qi*. On the Second Month of Autumn in the 'Monthly Observances' (Yueling) is written: 'Destructive *qi* (*shaqi*) gradually becomes abundant. *Yangqi* weakens day by day, and water starts to dry up.'⁴⁷² The drying up of water is the death of earth. On the Second Month of Winter, is written: 'he water sources becomes active.'⁴⁷³ This month, one yang is generated. The movement of water is the birth of the earth."⁴⁷⁴

Hence, *kan* water is understood as the formless life giving-force. In the original

⁴⁶⁹ The trigrams *qian* (pure yang) and *kun* (pure yin) are regarded as father and mother of the other trigrams. The children are broken up, i.e. formed by combinations of *qian* and *kan*. *Kan* is *kun* broken up because it received *qian* (yang) in the centre; *dui* is *qian* broken by *kun* (yin) at the top.

⁴⁷⁰ *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*, ZWDS 107, 1.7a. For an English translation of the poem, see Kohn 2001: 113-119.

⁴⁷¹ *Yinyang xiaoxi lun* refers to Chen Tuan's "Xiaoxi" comments attached to *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*. (I wish to thank Kong Linghong for bringing this to my attention.) The same comment is quoted in "Essay on Water and Fire" as *Zhengyi xiaoxi* 正易消息. (YG 4.5b-6a)

⁴⁷² Cf. *Liji zhushu* 16.35a.

⁴⁷³ Cf. *Liji zhushu* 17.27b.

⁴⁷⁴ YG 1.32b. Cf. *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*, "Xiaoxi," DZ 107, 1.7b-8a.

commentary of Chen Tuan, this water is also called “*qian* [☰] water” and “*qi*.”⁴⁷⁵ Zhao explains water inside fire and water inside earth separately, but equates both kinds of water with *kan* water: “You may call it water inside fire or water inside earth” (謂之火中之水可也謂之土中之水可也).⁴⁷⁶

Water that has form is called *dui*. In Chen Tuan’s commentary on the poem it is also referred to as “*kun* (☷) water”:

陰水者兌澤也形也一陰上徹於二陽之上以有形之水普施萬物下降為資生之利澤在上即可謂雨露之水在下即為大溪之水

Yin water is the Marsh (*ze*)⁴⁷⁷ of *dui*. This is form. One *yin* penetrates above two *yang*. With water that has form, it universally provides the Myriad Things. When it descends, it becomes the beneficial marsh that endows life. Above, it can be called the water of rain and dew. Below, it is the water of the great streams.⁴⁷⁸

In addition, Zhao points out how this water functions in both the human body, and in the macrocosm:

人之飲食入胃命門之火蒸腐水穀水穀之氣上熏於肺肺通百脈水精四布五經並行上達皮毛為汗為涕為唾為津下濡膀胱為便為液至於血亦水也以其隨相火而行故其色獨紅周而復始滾滾不竭在上即可為天河水在下即為長流水始於西北天門終於東南地戶正所謂黃河之水天上來奔流到海不復回故黃河海水皆同色也

Drink and food of human beings enter the stomach. Fire of the gate of life processes the water and grains. The *qi* of water and grains fumigate up to the lungs. In the lungs, they connect with the hundred vessels. “Water essence is diffused in the four directions, and runs through the five conduits”.⁴⁷⁹ Above, they reach the hair of the skin, and form sweat, tears (*ti*), spittle (*tuo*), and *jin*-saliva. Below, they immerse the urinary bladder, and form urine and *ye*-liquid. As for blood, this is also water. But, it alone has a red colour, because it flows following minister fire. It circles around, and starts again. Rolling, it is never exhausted. Above, it is like the water of the Milky Way (*tianhe*). Below, it is the water of Long Stream (*changliu*). It starts in the Heavenly Gate of the northwest, and ends in the Earthly Door in the southeast. It is exactly what is meant by the water of the

⁴⁷⁵ *Mayi dao zhe zhengyi xinfa*, “Xiaoxi,” ZWDS 107, 1.7b.

⁴⁷⁶ YG 1.32b.

⁴⁷⁷ “Marsh, stagnant water [is the] natural phenomenon associated with the trigram *dui* ☱.” Nielsen 2003: 322.

⁴⁷⁸ YG 1.32b-33a. Cf. *Mayi dao zhe zhengyi xinfa*, “Xiaoxi,” ZWDS 107, 1.7b-8a.

⁴⁷⁹ This phrase is borrowed from SW 21: 7.3a. The ‘five conduits’ are the conduits associated with the five *zang* viscera. (Li ZYDCD 221)

Yellow River (*Huanghe*) that comes from up in the sky, it runs to the sea, and does not return again. Hence, the Yellow River and water of the sea have the same colour.⁴⁸⁰

Hence, in contrast to *kan* water which is formless, and belongs to the Before Heavenly, *dui* water has form, and belongs to the After Heavenly. In the body, *dui* water is the watery substances (including blood) that are extracted from food and drink. In the larger macrocosm, it is the waterways, both on earth and in the sky.⁴⁸¹

Specific references to water as *kun* and *dui* in Chen Tuan's *Xiaoxi* comment on the *Mayi daoze zhengyi xinfu* are, to my knowledge, only used in one earlier medical text: Wang Kentang's 王肯堂 (1549-1613, native of Jintan 金壇, in the south of Jiangsu Province) *Zhengzhi zhunsheng* 證治準繩 (Standards for Diagnosis and Treatment, 1604).⁴⁸² Notwithstanding the fact that Chen Tuan was considered to be the master of the important Song Neo-Confucians Zhou Dunyi and Shao Yong, this particular poem and its comments were harshly criticised by Neo-Confucians of the Song-Qing period for not being in line with the orthodox interpretations of the *Changes*.⁴⁸³ This did not prevent Zhao Xianke from taking Chen Tuan's explanation of *kan* and *dui* water as the theoretical foundation on which he built his strategy on treating fire: "By understanding these two waters, you can realize (*wu*) the way of treating fire" (明此二水可以悟治火之道矣).⁴⁸⁴ Although Wang Kentang refers to Chen Tuan's comments in his explanation on "pure-heat wasting thirst" (*xiaodan* 消瘴)⁴⁸⁵ the ideas on *kan* and *dui* water in *Yiguan* feature in a more systematic way, and form the very foundation of Zhao's distinction between water with form (*dui*) and formless water (*kan*).

Apart from *yin* (*dui* water) and *yang* water (*kan*; water in fire; water in earth), Zhao Xianke shortly comments on water in metal and water in wood. Water in metal is equated to ores of quicksilver in mountains. In the microcosm of the body, this water corresponds to marrow (*sui* 髓), and is the utmost treasure to the human being (*zhi jing zhi gui ren zhi bao ye* 至精至貴人之寶也).⁴⁸⁶ For his explanation on water in wood, Zhao again refers to trigrams of the *Changes*:

⁴⁸⁰ YG 1.33a.

⁴⁸¹ The idea of correspondence between the Milky Way in the Sky, and the Long Stream on Earth is fiercely criticised by Jiang Chunhua. (1979: 37)

⁴⁸² *Zhengzhi zhunsheng* 12.33b-34a.

⁴⁸³ For discussions on the authenticity, the contents, and reception of the poem and its comments, see Li Yuanguo 1984, Li 1990; and Qing Qitai and Zhan Shichuang 1988.

⁴⁸⁴ YG 4.5a-b.

⁴⁸⁵ Wiseman 1990: 308.

⁴⁸⁶ YG 1.33b.

巽木入於坎水而上出其水即木中之脂膏人身足下有湧泉穴肩上有肩井穴此暗水潛行之道

Xun (☴) wood enters *kan* (☵) water, and comes out above. This water is the juice in wood. In the human body, there is the ‘bubbling fountain cavity’ (*yongquan xue*) under the feet, and the ‘shoulder well cavity’ (*jianjing xue*) on top of the shoulders. This is the way through which dark water secretly goes.⁴⁸⁷

In the above quoted passage, Zhao highlights the connection between the ‘bubbling fountain cavity’ and the ‘shoulder well cavity’, which can be explained in the logic of the five ‘transport cavities’ (*yuxue* 俞穴) on each of the conduits.⁴⁸⁸ The ‘shoulder well cavity’ on the gallbladder lesser *yang* conduit is the ‘well’ (*jing* 井) of wood, and corresponds with ‘bubbling fountain cavity’ on the kidneys lesser *yin* conduit.⁴⁸⁹ Both the gallbladder and the trigram *xun* are associated with the agent wood. *Kan* water, running secretly inside a tree or the human body, is associated with the kidneys. The ‘bubbling fountain cavity’, located in the centre of the soles, is the first, and one of the most important cavities of the kidneys conduit. By connecting both cavities, Zhao further implies a flow of water from the bottom to the top in the human body, in a similar way as water flows from the root to the branches in plants.

Zhao continues by emphasising that the moistening (*run*) qualities of *kan* water are related to water of wells and springs (*jing quan shui* 井泉水). In fact, in the first sentence of Chen Tuan’s comment, *kan* is equated with a well: “*kan* is *qian* water, and *qi*. It resembles a well” (坎乾水也氣也若井是也).⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly, in a further part of his comment, Chen Tuan also explains the hexagram ☵ *jing* (Well), which not only contains (*kan*) water, but also (*xun*) wood:

⁴⁸⁷ YG 1.33b.

⁴⁸⁸ Each conduit has five transport cavities (*shuxue* 俞穴), these are the well (*jing* 井), brook (榮), stream (*shu* 輸), conduit (*jing* 經), and uniting (*he* 合) points. Wiseman and Feng explain:

The names well, brook, stream, channel, and uniting, reflect the nature of the flow of *qi* at each of these points. The ancient Chinese likened the flow of *qi* in the channels to the flow of water from its source in the mountains to its home in the sea. At the well points, which are located at the ends of the digits, the *qi* is shallow and meek. At the brook points, on the hands and feet, the *qi* has a gushing quality. At the channel points in the areas of the wrist and ankle, the *qi* is described as being like water pouring downward from a shallow place to a deeper one. At the river points on the forearm and lower leg, the *qi* has developed into a powerful flow. At the uniting points at the knees and elbows, the *qi* goes deep into the body to unite with its home organ, just as a river flows into the sea. (1998: 207-208; see also Li ZYDCD 231)

⁴⁸⁹ Li ZYDCD 231.

⁴⁹⁰ *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*, “Xiaoxi,” DZ 107, 1.7b.

自漢諸儒不得其說故真人發其端又論且以井卦觀之本是泰卦初爻易五是為井則知一陽升而為坎水也

From the Han dynasty on, Confucians did not receive this explanation [of the difference in *kan* and *dui* water]. Hence, the Authentic Man (*zhenren*) [i.e. Mayi Daozhe] made a start (*fa qi duan*). Furthermore, he argued that one should observe by means of the Well (*jing* 井) hexagram. In fact, the bottom line of the *tai* hexagram (泰) exchanged with its fifth line is forming the Well. Therefore, you know that when one *yang* rises, it forms the trigram water.⁴⁹¹

Hence, illustrated by 井, Chen Tuan explains how rising *yang* (from *qian* 乾, the bottom part of the *tai* 泰 hexagram) forms *kan* water. Although this particular part is not quoted in *Yiguan*, it is good example of how the “symbols” (*xiang*) of the hexagrams are used to illustrate cosmological principles.

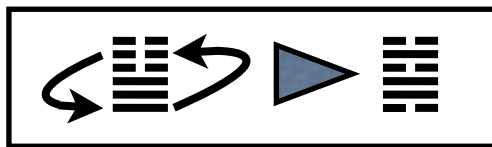


Figure 17. From *tai* to *jing*

Zhao concludes his ideas on water moistening the inside of the body by linking the water of the wells to that of oceans:

凡津液潤布於皮膚之內者皆井泉水也夫水有如許之不同總之歸於大海天地之水以海為宗

All fluids that moisten and spread inside the skin are water of wells and sources (*jing quan shui*). Although these waters all have different functions (*ruxu zhi butong*), they eventually return to the ocean. Water in Heaven-and-Earth takes the sea as its ancestor.⁴⁹²

Yet, the source of water in the human body, and what keeps water flowing around, is located in the kidneys:

人身之水以腎為源而其所以能晝夜不息者以其有一元之乾氣為太極耳

⁴⁹¹ *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*, “Xiaoxi,” ZWDS 107, 1.7b-8a.

⁴⁹² YG 1.33b. Compare to YG 1,33b: “*kan* is *qian* water, and *qi*. Small, it is a well; big, it is the sea” (坎乾水也氣也即小而井大而海也).

Water in the human body has the kidneys as its source. That it is able to keep going day and night is because it has the Heavenly (*qian*) *qi* of the One Origin (*yi yuan*) as Supreme Ultimate!⁴⁹³

Hence, *kan* water is *qian* water because the one *qi* of Heaven is contained in its centre. Once more, Zhao does not only emphasise *kan* as formless water, but he also stresses the importance of formless fire: one *yang* line located in between the two *yin* lines, symbolised by *kan*. In the human body, as he explained in the first essay, this one fire is the Supreme Ultimate, or Gate of Life, located in the kidney region.

Summarising, Zhao Xianke disagreed with an expansion of the number of agents to six, and pointed out that not only fire, but all agents have *yinyang* aspects. Moreover, because the agents are contained in each other, he counts up to a symbolic number of agents. Yet, it is clear that Zhao's counting is not that straightforward. Provided that each agent has *yinyang* modalities, and is present in the four other agents, one could argue that the total number of agents is thirty $[(5 \times 2) + (5 \times 4) = 30]$. However, instead of focusing on a large variety in numbers, Zhao only highlights the importance of two agents: water and fire, as he concludes his "Arguing that each of the Five Agents has Five:"

明此水火之五行而土木金可例推矣經曰紀於水火餘氣可知

By understanding the principles of the five agents by example of water and fire, these of earth, wood, and metal can be deduced from them. The *Classic* says: "If you trace it back (*ji*) to water and fire, the other *qi* can be known."⁴⁹⁴

Thus, according to Zhao Xianke, water and fire together provide the life-giving force on which the three other agents depend for life. However, in this context, they are related to the formlessness of Before Heaven, and should be called *yin* fire and *yang* water: *yin* fire, because it is fire that resides in the *yin* regions of the body; *yang* water, because it contains the formless *qi* of *qian* (☰). One single image, ☵, can be used to grasp the essence of Zhao's ideas on formless water and fire, not only in the macrocosm, but also in the kidneys region of the human body..

⁴⁹³ YG 1.33b.

⁴⁹⁴ YG 1.33b-34a. This quote cannot found in the *Inner Classic* but features in Wang Bing's comments. (WB SW 74: 22.39b)

Turning relationships upside down

Productive (*sheng*) and controlling (*ke*) relationships between the agents (and their corresponding functions in the body), are the foundation of understanding human physiology, diagnostics, and treatment strategies in Chinese medicine. Like other physicians, Zhao Xianke makes use of five agents relationships. However, more than referring to the conventional logic of production and control, in which water produces wood and controls fire, Zhao introduces an alternative set of relations. In this new logic, which is based on the Before Heavenly, the conventional order order is put upside:

其生克之妙用又從先天之根而與世論不同近世人皆曰水克火而余獨曰水養火世人皆曰金生水而余獨曰水生金世人皆曰土克水而余獨於水中補土世人皆曰木克土而余獨升木以培土若此之論顛倒拂常誰則信之

The miraculous use of production and controlling (*shengke*) follows from the root of Before Heaven, which differs from conventional theories. Everybody (*shiren*) says: “Water controls fire.” But, I alone say: “Water nourishes fire.” Everybody says: “Metal generates water.” But, I alone say: “Water generates metal.” Everybody says: “Earth controls water.” But, I alone supplement earth inside water. Everybody says: “Wood controls earth.” But, I alone make wood ascend to reinforce (*pei*) earth. An explanation like this puts the normal order upside down (*diandao fuchang*). Who would believe this?⁴⁹⁵

Although he alters the conventional order, Zhao does not consider the “After Heaven” relations of production and controlling between the five agents to be useless. They are valid when talking about the After Heavenly state of the cosmos. Yet, Zhao’s own therapies are based on the Before Heavenly, which is the formless root of everything that exists in the cosmos.

⁴⁹⁵ YG 1.27a.

Normal order	Upside down
water controls fire	water nourishes fire
metal generates water	water generates metal
earth controls water	supplementing earth inside water
wood controls earth	making wood ascend to reinforce earth

Table 5. Reversed relationships

As in other parts of the first *juan*, in his discussion on the relationships between the five agents, Zhao Xianke primarily focusses on the functioning of formless water and formless fire. Unlike in the state of After Heaven, in the formless state of Before Heaven water does not control but nourishes fire instead. This can be understood in the context of *yin* water, which he illustrates with the metaphor of “fire of lanterns and candles,” already discussed in the previous section. In terms of “production and controlling,” formless water (“fuel” in the kidneys) thus “produces” formless fire (“of lanterns and candles”). This important Before Heavenly relationship of water producing fire, will be explained in detail in Chapter 4 and 5.

Also the relationship between water and metal is of a major importance in Zhao Xianke’s medicine. In the conventional set of relations, metal produces water, or in other words, metal is the “mother” of water. However, according to Zhao, metal is already contained in water before the productive cycle of agents begins. He refers to this state as “metal (or gold) in the sea” (*haizhong zhi jin* 海中之金) and “root of the Yellow Bell” (*huangzhong genben* 黃鐘根本).⁴⁹⁶ In this state, metal is unrefined, and has not yet appeared through earth, which is the mother of metal in the traditional set of relations. The “root” and “ocean” should be associated with the Before Heavenly located in the kidney region. In order to make the connection between the lower regions of kidney water and lung metal clear, Zhao further explains that while the metal of the lungs is responsible for the human voice, the qualities of the sound, clear or unclear, light or heavy, are connected with the lower regions. Instead of talking about the kidneys in this context, Zhao refers to the lower regions as “cinnabar field” (*dantian* 丹田).⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹⁶ The Yellow Bell was the fundamental pitch of the twelve pitches, which was “fixed at the winter solstice, establishing a permanent relationship between the twelve pitches and time as marked by the cosmic clock.” (DeWoskin 1982: 47)

⁴⁹⁷ YG 1.27a-b.

The term cinnabar field originates from (internal) alchemical theory. In fact, the explanation of “metal already contained in water” is most likely borrowed from alchemy. The Ming alchemist Lu Xixing, for instance, writes the following in his *Jindan jiuzheng pian* 金丹就正篇 (Piece on Correcting [Views] on the Golden Cinnabar):

自然而謂之先天天一生水真乙之氣藏於坎中母隱子胎水中有金
欲造金丹法當取坎此產藥之川源而登真之梯筏也

What is like it is by nature (*ziran er ran*) is called the Before Heavenly. The Heavenly One produces water. The *qi* of the Authentic Second (*zhen yi*)⁴⁹⁸ is contained inside *kan*. **The mother is hidden in the womb (*mu yin zi tai*). Inside water there is metal (*jin*).** If you want to create the golden elixir (*jin dan*). The method should be taken in *kan*. This is the source (*chuan yuan*) from which medicine (*yao*) is produced, and it is the stairs for climbing towards authenticity (*deng zhen*).⁴⁹⁹

“The mother is hidden in the womb” is a phrase taken from the *Zhouyi cantong qi* 周易參同契 (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*), and explains that metal, the mother of water in the conventional sets of relations, is contained in (*kan*) water:

金為水母母隱子胎水為金子子藏母胞

Metal is the mother of water. The mother hides in the womb of the child. Water is the child of metal. The child stores the mother's womb.⁵⁰⁰

“Metal” (*jin*) can also be translated as “gold”. The final product of the extraction of *qian* from *kan*, which takes place in the (lower) cinnabar field is also called “golden cinnabar,” or “golden elixir” (*jindan* 金丹).

In order to clarify the complex relation between metal (lungs) and water

⁴⁹⁸ “乙” is the second of the Heavenly Stems. The form of the character resembles the character for two: “二” (*er*). However, in “乙” the upper part and lower part are still connected. The pronunciation of “乙” is identical to that of “一” (“one”, or “being united”). In *Jindan jiuzheng pian* “Authentic Second” follows the phrase “Heavenly One producing water” (天一生水). “Authentic second” can be interpreted as *kan* water containing both authentic water and fire.

⁴⁹⁹ *Jindan jiuzheng pian*, ZWDS 122, 16a. [emphasis added]

⁵⁰⁰ *Zhouyi cantong qi* 1.29a. The *Zhouyi cantong qi* is the central text in both internal and external alchemy. The text is attributed to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽 of the Han dynasty. But, it is uncertain when the *textus receptus* was composed. “According to some scholars, the received text faithfully reproduced the original version; according to others, the original version was lost after the Han, and the received text was entirely fabricated in the early Tang period. There are reasons, however, to assume that the text was expanded during the Six Dynasties, and that no major break in transmission took place at that time.” (Pregadio 2008c: 1290)

(kidneys) in the human body, Zhao refers to a clinical reality. Because they are sensitive to both cold and heat, the lungs often are prone to disease. Therefore, the lungs are called the “delicate storage” (*jiaozang* 嬌藏)⁵⁰¹. This sensitivity of the lungs is related to their association with breathing (through the nose and the pores) from where external evil (e.g. climatic cold and heat) first invades the body. However, Zhao attacks contemporary clinical strategies that directly target the lungs through supplementing, draining, restraining, etc. In his opinion, this approach can only bring temporary relief in mild cases. In case of serious illness, these methods are counterproductive, and even dangerous. Instead of targeting the lungs, Zhao advises to treat the origin of the lungs, found in the water of the kidneys. Moreover, the *qi* of the lungs is also vulnerable to internal cold or heat, associated with water and fire in the kidneys. He explains that in most cases of lung diseases, because of either excess or absence of kidney fire, *qi* of the lungs does not dare to return to the kidneys, where it rests at night. Thereupon, this roaming *qi*, which Zhao compares to a “dog that has lost its home” (*sang jia zhi gou* 喪家之狗), will cause symptoms such as panting, coughing, insomnia, loss of appetite, etc. Supplementing earth, the mother of metal in the conventional productive set of relations, would aggravate disorders such as panting; clearing or draining *qi* of the lungs, on the other hand, would reduce the *qi* to an even greater degree. Thus, in case of lung diseases, Zhao Xianke’s main strategy is based as always on influencing the Before Heavenly associated with the water region of the kidneys.⁵⁰²

Zhao further illustrates the return of lung *qi* to the kidneys during the night, by referring to the above mentioned phrase of the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, which inverts the relationships between metal mother and water child: “Alchemists (*danjia*) call it: ‘the mother stores [itself in] the palace of the child, and the child hides in the womb of the mother’” (*mu cang zigong zi yin mu tai* 丹家謂之母藏子宮子隱母胎).⁵⁰³ Although this is an erroneous quotation of the original text (“The mother hides in the ‘child palace’. [...] The child stores the mother’s womb”), in both phrasings, the main idea is that the child is not only contained in the mother, but the mother is likewise contained in the child. This idea, as Zhao testifies, hails from an alchemical context, and featured in contemporary alchemy texts such as Lu Xixing’s *Jindan jiuzheng pian*. I will return to Zhao’s specific clinical strategy of supplementing the kidneys, as origin of metal in the lungs, in case lung diseases, such as cough (*kesou* 咳嗽), in Chapter 5.

Besides water producing fire and water generating metal, Zhao also explains

⁵⁰¹ Moreover, the lungs correlate to the pores and the nose, from where climatic influences enter the body, and first attack the lungs. (Li ZYDCD 1084)

⁵⁰² YG 1.27b-28a.

⁵⁰³ YG 1.27b.

alternative relationships that involve the agent earth. Earth has a special position among the five agents, and is, unlike the other four agents, not associated with one specific season:

蓋土無定位旺於四季四季俱有生理故及之

Earth has no fixed position. It flourishes in the four seasons. Because the four seasons all contain it, the life-giving principle (*sheng li*) reaches them (*ji zhi*).⁵⁰⁴

Specific relations of earth that merit some attention are: fire-earth, earth-metal, and earth-wood.

Although Zhao Xianke also refers to the conventional set of relations, in which fire produces earth, he further points out that there is an important difference between two kinds of earth. Like water (*kan* ☵ and *dui* ☱) and fire (*qian* ☰ and *li* ☲), earth can be represented by two trigrams: *kun* ☷ and *gen* ☶ earth. Zhao associates *kun* earth with the stomach and *gen* earth with the spleen. In a logic of After Heaven (*li*) fire produces (*kun*) earth, or, in medical terms, heart ‘lesser yin’ produces stomach ‘yang brightness’. Thus, the heart can be supplemented in case stomach earth is depleted. However, the specific recipe which Zhao advocates is *gui pi tang* 歸脾湯 (Returning to the Spleen Decoction), which does not directly supplement heart fire, but first wood in order to produce fire.⁵⁰⁵ *Gen* earth of the spleen, on the other hand, is produced by ‘lesser yang’ minister fire. In order to supplement minister fire, Zhao here refers to an indirect method. In this situation, he uses *bawei wan*, which supplements fire in water. Zhao illustrates this by means of the “Already Ordered” (*jiji* ☵☲) hexagram: “The recipe of *bawei wan* corresponds to water and fire Already Ordered and allows the processing [of food]” (八味丸一方合水火既濟而蒸腐之).⁵⁰⁶

Supplementing fire in water, which eventually generates *gen* earth, is the central idea in Zhao Xianke’s therapeutics of Before Heaven. However, he regrets that most of his contemporaries did not understand this principle:

⁵⁰⁴ YG 1.29b.

⁵⁰⁵ Wood produces fire; fire produces earth. *Gui pi tang* does not supplement the mother of earth, but the mother of the mother (*waijia* 外家; lit. “external family”). This is called “divided between three [agents]” (*ge san* 隔三), a principle Zhao Xianke borrowed from Li Gao. (YG 1.26b) The ingredients of *gui pi tang* are *renshen* 人參, *baizhu* 白術, *huangqi* 黃芪, *fuling* 茯苓, *longyanrou* 龍眼肉, *danggui* 當歸, *yuanzhi* 遠志, *suanzaaoren* 酸棗仁, *muxiang* 木香, and *gancao* 甘草. (Li ZYDCD 457; for a slightly different composition, see Bensky and Barolet 1990: 255-257)

⁵⁰⁶ YG 1.28b. On *jiji* (fire bottom; water top) symbolises the interaction between water and fire. When water ascends and fire descends all things are settled. This hexagram is also important in alchemical theory. (ZHDJDCD 1231) By applying *bawei wan* fire is supplemented inside water, and drifting minister fire can be guided back (i.e. it descends spontaneously) to the kidney regions. Minister fire operates the digestive system, hence “it allows the processing of food.”

此一理也至理也人所不知人所不信余持申言之

This one principle is the utmost principle. It is what others do not know, and what others do not believe. Therefore, I persist in explaining it in detail.⁵⁰⁷

He then follows up with an elaboration on the cosmogonic progression of *qian* fire, *kan* water, and *gen* earth/metal, which is hidden in the arrangement of trigrams in the Diagram of After Heaven:

蓋混沌之初一氣而已何嘗有土自天一生水而水之凝成處始為土此後天卦位艮土居坎水之次也其堅者為石而最堅者為金可見水土金先天之一原也

At the beginning of chaos (*hundun*), there was one *qi*, and that was all! How would there have been earth. Starting with the Heavenly One generating water (*tianyi sheng shui*), and at the place where water congealed, earth began to form. Thus, in positioning trigrams according to the [Diagram] of After Heaven, *gen* [☶] earth is placed after *kan* [☵] water. When it [*gen* earth] is solid it forms rocks. When it is most solid, it forms metal. It is apparent that water, earth, and metal, have one source in Before Heaven.⁵⁰⁸

Thus, in Zhao's opinion, the Diagram of After Heaven shows (1) how the "Heavenly One produces [*kan*] water" (*tianyi sheng shui*); symbolised by *qian* (☰) producing *kan* (☵);⁵⁰⁹ (2) how water, thereafter, congeals into earth. This is symbolised by trigram *gen* (☶, Mountain), which in its hardest form is the metal of rocks. Hence the one *yang* line, *qian* fire of Before Heaven, manifests itself at the top of *gen* earth/metal, but was already present in *kan* water (as I have explained above in the context of the relation between water and metal).⁵¹⁰

I will now illustrate Zhao's ideas on supplementing two different forms of earth (*kun* and *gen*) by referring to the positioning of trigrams in the Diagram of After Heaven. (b) The southern and southwestern part of the diagram explains how *li* fire (☲) produces *kun* earth ☷. (a) However, by using the *gui* wood, symbolised by *xun* (☴) in the southeast is supplemented first. The progression wood -> fire -> earth

⁵⁰⁷ YG 1.28b.

⁵⁰⁸ YG 1.28b.

⁵⁰⁹ For the association of Heaven with One, see "Xici zhuan" (*Zhouyi* 7.5a). On the Great One producing water, see, for instance, Allan 2003.

⁵¹⁰ Although Zhao Xianke associates *dui* with water, this water also represents the autumn command (and, destructive *qi*). Traditionally, the trigram *qian* in the Diagram of After Heaven is not associated with the agent fire, but with metal. On this correlation, see Nielsen 2003: 9-10.

is in accordance with the conventional set of productive relations between the five agents, in the logic of After Heaven. The use of the *bawei wan* can be explained in the northern part of the diagram. *Gen* (☶) in the northeast is produced by *kan* (☵) water in the north. Yet, the cosmogonic process starts with the production of water by the Heavenly One, *qian* (☰) fire in the northwest. In the body, the one spark of Before Heavenly *qian* fire in the kidneys can be supplemented by using *bawei wan*. Hence, “*kan* water produces *gen* earth” means that Before Heavenly fire inside water produces earth, or, in the microcosm of the body, minister fire located in the kidney region produces spleen earth.

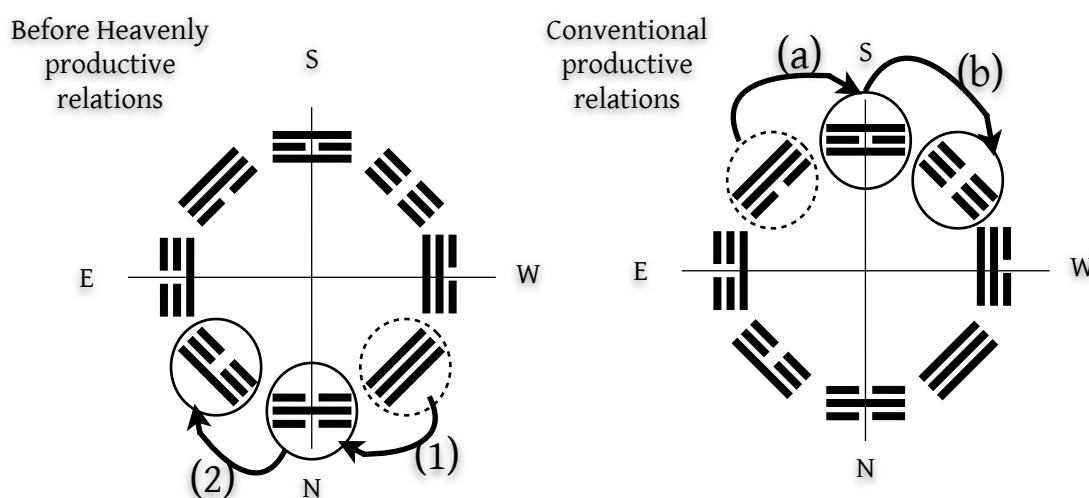


Figure 18. Two methods of supplementing earth

Cosmological status	productive relations	zangfu-viscera	recipe
After Heaven	[☰ ->] ☷ -> ☱	(lesser <i>yin</i>) heart fire -> (<i>yang</i> brightness) stomach earth	<i>Guipi tang</i> (supplementing <i>xun</i> wood)
Before Heaven	[☵ ->] ☶ -> ☱	(lesser <i>yang</i>) minister fire in the kidneys -> (lesser <i>yin</i>) spleen earth	<i>Bawei wan</i>

Table 6. The productive relationships between fire and earth

In contrast to the above explanation of Before Heavenly fire producing *gen* earth, in his discussion on the altered relation of production between earth and metal, Zhao Xianke does not relate to the concept of Before Heaven. He only points out that in clinical practice (all) conventional engendering relationships between agents work in both direction. When the “child” is nourished, it no longer exhausts the energy of its “mother”. Consequently the mother herself can recover, and is indirectly supplemented. Hence, according to Zhao, in the clinical situation of earth (mother) depletion, it might be useful to supplement the metal of the lungs (child) first. Thus, in Zhao’s logic metal can generate earth, where in conventional thinking earth generates metal.⁵¹¹

The last relationship discussed by Zhao Xianke in “Essay on Five Agents” is that between wood and earth. Whereas ‘wood overcomes earth’ (*mu ke tu* 木剋土) in the conventional set of relations, he argues that wood also generates earth in the context of “miracle of transformative generation” (*huasheng zhi miao* 化生之妙). This principle is explained in a very specific, and technical way. As illustrated in Table 3., correlating to the Heavenly Stems, both wood and earth can be distinguished in *yin* and *yang*: *jia* wood (*yang*) corresponds with the gallbladder, and *yi* wood (*yin*) with the liver; *wu* earth (*yang*) with the stomach, and *ji* earth (*yin*) with the spleen. Zhao points out that threat of *jia* wood (*yang*) overcoming *wu* earth can be neutralised by employing *ji* earth (*yin*). He compares this to marrying out a woman of the family (*ji* earth), to appease external external aggression (*jia* wood), and to promote production.⁵¹² *Ji* becomes the spouse, and instead of destroying earth, *jia* wood enhances its creative powers. Zhao Xianke calls this principle “*Jia* and *ji* transform earth” (*jia ji hua tu* 甲己化土). However, transformation does not happen spontaneously. ‘An encounter with the dragon’ (*yu long* 遇龍), the animal symbolising transformation, is needed to complete this process.⁵¹³

By using the metaphors of marriage and encountering the dragon, Zhao Xianke explains the composition of *jianzhong tang*. Three important ingredients are *shaoyao*, *gancao* and *rougui*.⁵¹⁴ The sour flavour of *shaoyao*, associated with *jia* wood, is combined with the sweet flavour of *gancao*, associated with *ji* earth. *Rougui*, associated

⁵¹¹ YG 1.28b.

⁵¹² *Wu* earth fears to be overcome by *jia* wood ; On the strategy of tributary marriage (to appease a potential barbarian conqueror, by marrying out a woman of the family) in Chinese history, see Chia 1999.

⁵¹³ “In all cases of transforming things, the dragon is the host [of the process]” (凡化物一龍為主). (YG 1.29a)

⁵¹⁴ In TCM, *jianzhong tang* is used to treat diarrhoea associated with the spleen. (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 555) The composition of *jianzhong tang* is given in “Essay on *Nüe* :” *rensheng* (1 *qian*), *shaoyao* (2 *qian*), *gancao* (1 *qian*), *rougui* (7 *fen*), *dazao* 大棗, *yitang* 飴糖. (YG 6.38) For other references to this recipe: YG 6.19a, and YG 6.45a.

with the dragon, is added in order to catalyse the process of transformation of *jia* and *ji* into earth.⁵¹⁵ Zhao concludes by praising the genius of Zhang Ji who composed this recipe, and therefore understood this reversed relationship of ‘wood generating earth’.⁵¹⁶ Although this recipe is only mentioned on one other occasion in *Yiguan*,⁵¹⁷ the explanation of *jianzhong tang* in “Essay on the Five Agents” provides a good illustration how Zhao explains the composition of recipes in a metaphorical and cosmological way, and how he underlines that the forefather of recipe medicine, Zhang Ji had an insight in abstruse principles underlying the practice of medicine, unlike most Ming dynasty physicians.

Zhao Xianke comments in yet another way on ‘wood overcoming earth.’ He emphasises the ‘endless creative *qi*’ (*shengsheng zhi qi* 生生之氣) of wood, and strongly warns against methods of ‘attacking wood’ (*fa mu* 伐木) in order to assist earth. In the cosmological reality of the coming into being of the seasons, the growth of wood is often hindered, or ‘depressed’ (*you* 鬱), by earth. Hence, the creative *qi*, associated with the east and the spring season, has to be supplemented. Zhao Xianke draws a parallel with the first sacrifice in the agricultural year, which is performed for Mangshen 芒神, the Spirit of Spring.⁵¹⁸ Mang Shen is not only equated with ‘wood *qi*’ (*mu qi* 木氣) and the ‘ascending *qi* of spring’ (*chun sheng zhi qi* 春升之氣), but also with ‘primordial *qi*’ (*yuanqi* 元氣; fire in water), and *yangqi* or stomach *qi* (fire in earth). Hence, this ‘creative power’ is formless fire inside wood and the other agents, and ignites the cycle of the seasons at the beginning of spring.⁵¹⁹ A successful agricultural year, depends on a good start:

盍不觀之為政者首重農事先祀芒神

Why not compare it to governing? The most importance is attached to agriculture. Therefore, the first sacrifice performed is that to Mang Shen.⁵²⁰

If the climatic conditions are unfavourable, the roots of wood remain obstructed by earth, and its *qi* misses strength to pierce through earth. Growing plants requires the right combination of rain, wind, and sunlight in order to stimulate its creative power. After the process of growing has stopped, this creative *qi* returns into water and earth, where it hides up, and waits till next spring. By using recipes that attack

⁵¹⁵ p. 192.

⁵¹⁶ YG 1.29a.

⁵¹⁷ YG 6.38a-39a.

⁵¹⁸ On Mang Shen, see also Bodde 1975: 207.

⁵¹⁹ Referring to the DDJ, Zhao Xianke further explains that “these have different names, but the same origin” (*tong chu er yi ming* 同出而異名也). (YG 1.29b; DDJ 1: 1.1a)

⁵²⁰ YG 1.29a.

wood the creative powers of fire in wood, and also in earth, are killed. Instead, Zhao advocates the strengthening of the roots of life. By fostering creative *qi*, wood can overcome earth, and, at the same time, fertilise earth. In this context, Zhao refers to Li Gao's ingredients in *buzhong yiqi tang*, which assist the rising of *yangqi*; and to his "Essay on Depression Disease," in which he discusses *xiaoyao san* in combination with *liuwei wan*. *Xiaoyao san*, containing *bohe*, is compared to the gentle wind of spring; the ingredients of *liuwei wan* represent its moistening rain, which foster the growth of wood *qi*. I will elaborate on *buzhong yiqi tang* and *xiaoyao san* (in combination with *liuwei wan*) in Chapter 6.⁵²¹

⁵²¹ YG 1.29a-30b.

Conclusion: Formless water and fire

Zhao Xianke's focus in "Essay on *Yinyang*" and "Essay on the Five Agents" is not on conventional ideas of correlative relationships. Instead, by emphasising the importance of the Before Heavenly, he takes conventional knowledge a step further. Zhao's assumption on a hierarchical dominance of the formless has major implications not only for his understanding of *yinyang* dynamics, but also for the identification of the gate of life as genuine root of *yinyang* in the body. The recognition of minister fire as 'root yang' and authentic water as root yin further motivates Zhao to emphasise the importance of water and fire "inside" the other agents, and to elaborate on altered relationships between the five agents.

In contrast to other physicians, Zhao Xianke did not consider *yinyang*, though inseparably connected to each other, to be an equal pair. Based on ideas in the *Changes* and the *Daodejing*, he highlights that yang leads yin. The dominance of yang explains why in ancient times blood-fluid (*yin*) was supplemented by fostering *qi* (*yang*). In medical practice, Zhao generally promotes medicines that have yang enhancing qualities. Essentially, his clinical choices are all related to the cosmogonic idea that the one spark of yang engenders the two of yin (*tianyi sheng shui*; the Heavenly One produces water). After water is produced, this one yang is contained inside yin, as is symbolised by the trigram *kan* (☵). This also explains the two functional aspects (*yong*) of the gate of life: 'authentic water' (*yin* water; *yin* of *yinqi*) and 'minister fire' (*yin* fire; *yang* of *yinqi*). According to Zhao, supplementing yin means not supplementing blood as the followers of Zhu Zhenheng believe, but supplementing this formless water and formless fire inside yin, which are the authentic roots of blood-fluid and *qi*. In clinical practice 'fake' signs of fullness (*jia shi*) indicate a depletion of the 'authentic' (*zhen xu*). Therefore, the term *yinyang* is confusing. It are empty names, that can be used to refer to climatic influences (such as cold and heat), blood and *qi*, but also to formless 'water' and 'fire'. Zhao pities that most contemporary physicians fail to understand the Before Heavenly reality of formless fire and water as 'root yin' and 'root yang' in the body.

One of the major innovations in Song physiology was the separation of fire into minister fire and governor fire. However, in Zhao Xianke's opinion, following the logic of a cosmology rooted in the Supreme Ultimate, all agents have *yinyang* aspects, and all agents can be found within each other. Still, in "Essay on the Five Agents," Zhao mainly elaborates on the importance of water and fire. Their presence allows the other agents to come into existence and to be viable. Also in this "Essay," he highlights a distinction between water and fire in their After Heavenly and Before

Heavenly state. An important inspiration for distinguishing these two forms of water was Chen Tuan's comment on the verse describing *dui* and *kan* water in *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*. The symbology of trigrams (and hexagrams), and especially the arrangement of the trigrams in the Diagram of After Heaven, further influenced Zhao Xianke's ideas on Before Heaven. The northern half of this Diagram depicts the cosmogony starting with Heavenly One engendering (*kan*) water, and water concealing into (*gen*) earth/metal. This progression of trigrams illustrates an alternative, and Before Heavenly, productive relationship between the agents fire, water, and earth/metal. Before Heavenly relationships between the agents are further explained by referring to ideas borrowed from alchemy (such as metal inside the sea, and the mother hiding inside the child). Other important metaphors are oil feeding the flame of a lantern ("water produces fire"), and the dragon (/thunder) that returns to the sea (/earth) after one ray of sunlight appears ("supplement fire inside water").

Chen Tuan's comments on *kan* and *dui* water feature in Wang Kentang's *Zhengzhi zhunshi* as well. Ideas on the gate of life as Before Heavenly Supreme Ultimate in the body were used by all second generation *wenbu* physicians to cosmologically legitimise Xue Ji's therapeutic strategy of "warming and supplementing" *yinqi*. Yet, Zhao Xianke's elaborations on the cosmogony hidden inside the Diagram of After Heaven which served as a teaching tool to explain how recipes balance the functional aspects of the formless ruler in the body were unique.

Part III

Therapeutic Strategies

Chapter 4

Two Pills

Introduction

In Part II, my emphasis was on the philosophical foundations of Zhao Xianke's medical doctrine. However, according to Zhao, a physician, unlike a philosopher, should not merely be involved in speculations about the genuine ruler of the body, or alternative relations between *yinyang* and the five agents. Doctrinal foundations should first and foremost have practical implications. As Zhao highlighted in the first essay of *Yiguan*, a medical practitioner is bound to go beyond the 'empty names' (*xu ming*) used by the theoreticians of the Three Teachings:

立言之士皆可以虛名著論至於行醫濟世將以何味的為君主之藥而
可以綱維一身之疾病耶

Theoreticians (*li yan zhi shi*) can all write essays by referring to empty names (*xu ming*). As for those who bring relieve in this world by practicing medicine, which ingredients should they use as *materia medica* to affect the sovereign ruler, and to control the diseases of the whole body?⁵²²

In order to find out which medical treatment is appropriate, Zhao Xianke emphasises the importance of diagnostics. His main concern is that most physicians only look at superficial symptoms. Throughout *Yiguan*, he illustrates this by the example of 'heat effusion' (*fa re*). Most of his contemporaries would blindly associate this symptom with the external pathogen of Cold Damage (*shang han* 傷寒), and try to cool down the heat by expelling the evil pathogen out of the body. In "Essay on Heat Effusion because of Yin Depletion" (*Yinxu fare lun* 陰虛發熱論) in *juan* 4, Zhao points out that apart from Cold Damage, there are other causes of 'heat effusion', as well,

⁵²² YG 1.3b-4a.

and he shortly describes the related treatment strategies:

世間發熱類傷寒者數種治各不同傷寒傷風及寒疫也則用仲景法溫病及瘟疫也則用河間法此皆論外感者也今人一見發熱皆認作傷寒率用汗藥以發其表汗後不解又用表藥以涼其肌柴胡涼膈白虎雙解等湯雜然並進若是虛症豈不殆哉自東垣出而發內傷補中益氣之論此用氣藥以補氣之不足者也至於勞心好色內傷真陰真陰既傷則陽無所附故亦發熱其人必面赤煩躁口渴引飲骨痛脈數而大或尺數而無力者是也惟丹溪發明補陰之說以四物湯加黃柏知母此用血藥以補血之不足者也世襲相因屢用不效何耶蓋因陰字認不真誤以血為陰耳當作腎中之真陰即先天也

In this world, there are many kinds of ‘heat effusion’ resembling Cold Damage. Yet, the treatment is different in each case. If there is Cold Damage (*shanghan*), Wind Damage (*shang feng*), or Cold Pestilence (*han yi*), use the methods of Zhongjing [i.e. Zhang Ji]. In case of Warmth Diseases (*wen bing*) or Pestilence (*wen yi*), use the methods of Hejian [i.e. Liu Wansu]. This all relates to external influences (*wai gan*).

From the moment people nowadays see ‘heat effusion’, they all consider it to be Cold Damage, and frequently use sweat inducing *materia medica* to dispel [external evil] from the outer layers. However, if there is no relieve after sweating, they still use medicines that affect the outer layers to cool down the flesh. Decoctions such as *chaihu [tang]* (Bupleurum Decoction), *liangge [tang]* (Cooling Diaphragm Decoction), *baihu [tang]* (White Tiger Decoction), and *shuangjie [tang]* (Dual Resolving Decoction) are all given.⁵²³ If [heat effusion] is due to a condition of depletion, will these [treatment methods] not be dangerous?

Starting with Dongyuan [i.e. Li Gao], the theory of using *buzhong yiqi tang* in case of internal damage (*nei shang*) was put forth. This is about using *qi* medicines to supplement insufficient *qi*. However, there are also cases of fatiguing the mind and lustfulness which internally damage authentic *yin*. If authentic *yin* is damaged, *yang* has nothing to attach itself to. Hence, there is also ‘heat effusion’. The person will have a reddish face, be vexed, thirsty and reaching for beverage, and s/he will have pain in the bones. The pulses are

⁵²³ The composition of *chaihu tang* is unclear. Li ZYDCD includes lemmata on *chaihu wan* 柴胡丸 (Bupleurum Pill), *chaihu yin* 柴胡飲 (Bupleurum Drink), *chaihu san* 柴胡散 (Bupleurum Powder), *chaihu yinzi* 柴胡引子 (Bupleurum Guider), *chaihu yinzi* 柴胡飲子 (Bupleurum Beverage), but not on *chaihu tang*. Of many of these recipes various versions with different compositions exist. (Li ZYDCD 1417) The compositions of the other mentioned decoctions are *liangge tang*: *dahuang*, *puxiao* 樸硝, *gancao*, *zhiziren* 梔子仁, *bohe ye* 薄荷葉, *huangqin*, and *liangchi* 連翹; *baihu tang*: *shigao*, *zhimu*, *gancao*, *renshen*, and *gengmi* 粳米; *shuangjie tang*: *rougui*, *dahuang*, *bai shaoyao* 白芍藥, *zexie*, *chao qianniuzi* 炒牽牛子, *chao taoren* 炒桃仁, and *gancao*.

frequent (*shuo*), large, and vast; the *chi* [pulses]⁵²⁴ are frequent, and forceless. Only Danxi [i.e. Zhu Zhenheng] brought forth and disclosed (*fa ming*) the theory of supplementing *yin*, and added *huangbo* and *zhimu* to *siwu tang* (Four Substances Pill). In this way, he used blood-fluid medicines to supplement blood-fluid insufficiency. Most physicians are relying on this [method]. But, why is there no result after repeated use? Well, the word *yin* is not interpreted correctly. Mistakenly, blood-fluid is regarded to be *yin*. Instead, it should be the authentic *yin* in between the kidneys, which is Before Heaven.⁵²⁵

Internal/ External cause	Condition	Treatment according to
External	(1) Cold and Wind Damage/Pestilence	Zhang Ji (<i>Shanghan lun</i> recipes)
	(2) Warmth Disease/ Pestilence	Liu Wansu
Internal	(3) (<i>Yang</i>) <i>qi</i> insufficiency	Li Gao (<i>buzhong yiqi tang</i>)
	(4) (Authentic) <i>yin</i> depletion	Zhu Zhenheng pointed out the importance of <i>yin</i> depletion, but misunderstood the genuine meaning of <i>yin</i> . Zhao Xianke's alternative method is supplementing <i>yin</i> by balancing water and fire. (<i>liuwei wan</i> and <i>bawei wan</i>)

Table 7. Heat effusion: causes and treatment strategies

In contrast to Zhu Zhenheng, Zhao Xianke favours recipes which supplement *yin* not by cooling down, but by fostering warmth. His practice of balancing kidney water and fire through supplementation was not entirely new. This treatment strategy was based on Xue Ji's interpretation of two phrases attributed to the Tang dynasty physician Wang Bing: "reinforcing the ruling [function] of water to suppress the shining of *yang*" (壯水之主以鎮陽光) and "increasing the origin, being fire, to

⁵²⁴ *Chi* is a measure ('one foot') and refers to one of the three positions on the wrist where the pulses are taken. The *chi* are located a distance of one foot from the elbow. On the left *chi* the condition of the kidneys can be measured; on the right one that of the gate of life. Cf. Wiseman and Feng 2002: 470.

⁵²⁵ YG 4.14b-15b.

disperse the shade of *yin*” (益火之原以消陰翳). Xue applied these phrases to the clinical properties of two specific recipes: the Pill with Six Ingredients and the Pill with Eight Ingredients. Although Zhao is often regarded as a faithful follower of Xue, in *Yiguan*, he not only systematically applies these pills to various pathologies, he also expands Xue’s medical theory by explaining why the composition and usage of these two pills reflects the principles explained in Wang Bing’s phrases. Doing so, Zhao Xianke provides a profound theoretical framework by which he not only cosmologically legitimises Xue’s clinical ideas, but also explains how “to affect the sovereign ruler and to control the diseases of the whole body.”

In this Chapter, I will entirely focus on Zhao Xianke’s understanding of Wang Bing’s phrases (which I refer to as the “Wang Bing principles”), and how they apply to *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. This forms the foundation of Zhao’s therapeutics of Before Heaven. In Chapter 5, I will further elaborate on how the Pills can be used to treat various pathologies that are related to dysfunctions of the Before Heavenly in the body.⁵²⁶ In Chapter 6, I will discuss other strategies, i.e. treatment of diseases caused by external influences and depletion of *yangqi*, and point out how also in these conditions the Before Heavenly is involved.

⁵²⁶ *Juan 4* and *5* of *Yiguan* are titled “Essential Essays on Before Heaven” (part 1 and 2). The information on the two pills, and their general use according to principles derived from Wang Bing is explained in the seven first essays of *juan 4*. In the following essays of *juan 4* and *5*, Zhao discusses specific pathological conditions, which are related to a depletion of the Before Heavenly.

The Wang Bing principles

From the outset in *juan 1*, Zhao Xianke highlights that his ideas on balancing water and fire associated with the gate of life through supplementation are based on two specific phrases (which I have marked in the following passage):

命門君主之火乃水中之火相依而永不相離也火之有餘緣真水之不足也毫不敢去火只補水以配火壯水之主以鎮陽光火之不足因見水之有餘也亦不必瀉水就於水中補火益火之原以消陰翳

Sovereign fire of the gate of life (*mingmen junzhu zhi huo*) is fire inside water. [Water and fire] depend on each other, and never leave each other. When there is an excess of fire, the cause is an insufficiency of authentic water. I do not at all dare to remove fire (*quhuo*). I only supplement water to match up with fire. [This is] “**reinforcing the ruling of water to suppress the shining of yang**” (*zhuang shui zhi zhu yi zhen yang guang*). When fire is insufficient, the reason should be seen as an excess of water. In this case, there should neither be a draining of water (*xie shui*). Simply, supplement fire inside water. [This is] “**increasing the origin, being fire, to disperse the shade of yin** (*yi huo zhi yuan yi xiao yin yi*)”⁵²⁷

The two marked phrases originally feature in Wang Bing’s comment on a passage of SW 74, in which the Yellow Emperor asks his main advisor, Qi Bo, about the treatment of heat and cold. Qi Bo comments on situations in which the normal treatment provokes opposite results in the following way:

諸寒之而熱者取之陰熱之而寒者取之陽所謂求其屬也

In all cases when you make it colder, but it gets hot [instead], consider it to be *yin*. And, when you make it hot, but it gets cold [instead], consider it to be *yang*. This is what is meant by search whereto it belongs.⁵²⁸

Wang comments:

⁵²⁷ YG 1.10a-b.

⁵²⁸ SW 74: 22.43b. Compare to the translation of Unschuld and Tessenow:

Qi Bo: “Whenever cold [is employed for treating heat] but the heat [continues nevertheless], seize it from the yin; whenever heat [is employed for treating cold] but the cold [continues], seize it from the yang.” That is the so-called ‘search for its association’.” (2011: 639)

言益火之源以消陰翳壯水之主以制陽光故曰求其屬也

This explains that you should increase the origin, being fire, to disperse the shade of *yin*, and to invigorate the controlling of water to control the brilliance of *yang*. Therefore, it is said: “search whereto it belongs.”⁵²⁹

Whereas the clinical common sense is cooling down heat in case of heat symptoms (and to use warming recipes to expel cold) in specific situations, heat intensifies when *materia medica* with cooling properties are used (and vice versa). By understanding these conditions, “Qixuan [i.e. Wang Bing] achieved the utmost principles, [by going] outside the general line of conduct (*shengmo zhi wai*), and opened up the source for myriad generations of medical learning. (啟玄達至理於繩墨之外而開萬世醫學之源也)”⁵³⁰

Yet, Zhao Xianke was not the first physician to advance the Wang Bing principles as a theoretical foundation for supplementing the kidneys region. The clinical methods of Xue Ji served as Zhao’s main source of inspiration. A good example of a clinical strategy based on Xue Ji, as alternative to the common Ming dynasty practice of using cold and bitter, can be found in Zhao’s “Essay on Enriching Yin to Bring Fire Down.” In this essay, named after Zhu Zhenheng’s famous adage, “enrich *yin* to bring fire down” (*zi yin jiang huo*),⁵³¹ Zhao quotes Wang Lun 王綸 (15th-16th C.), one of Zhu’s most important Ming dynasty followers. In his “Essay on Supplementing Yin Pill” (*Buyin wan lun 補陰丸論*), Wang Lun promoted the use of the *buyin wan* (Supplementing Yin Pill) for supplementing *yin*.⁵³² Although Wang noticed that minister fire itself also could be depleted, he considered this to only occur in an

⁵²⁹ In Wang Bing’s comment the synonymous character “源” is used instead of “原”, and “制” instead of “鎮”. Compare SW 74: 22.43b with YG 1.10a-b. In the SKQS edition, and in contrast with most other editions I referred to, “invigorate the life-giving [force] of water” (壯水之生) instead of “invigorate the controlling of water” (壯水之主). The meaning of “主” and “生” is different, but their orthography is quite similar. This may explain a difference in various editions. Compare, for instance, WB SW 74: 22.43b, with *Chongguang buzhu huangdi neijing suwen* 609. I have chosen not to follow the SKQS edition, and similar to Zhao Xianke, I refer to “壯水之主.” Contrast to Unschuld and Tessenow who translate “壯水之生:” “That is to say: support the source of the fire to diminish the darkness of yin; strengthen the **generation** of water to restrain the light of yang.” (2011: 639 [emphasis added])

⁵³⁰ YG 1.24b.

⁵³¹ This strategy follows Zhu’s idea that “*yang* is [always] excessive, and *yin* insufficient,” as he explains in “Essay on Yang is Excessive and Yin is insufficient” (*Yang you yu yin bu zu lun 陽有餘陰不足論*) of *Gezhi yulun*. (2b)

⁵³² See *Mingyi zazhu* 15. The ingredients of *buyin wan* are: *huangbo*, *zhimu*, *baiguiban* 敗龜板, *suoyang* 瑣陽, *gouqizi* 枸杞子, *shu dihuang* 熟地黃, *wuweizi* 五味子, *bai shaoyao*, *tianmendong* 天門冬, and *ganjiang* 干姜 (dried ginger).

insignificant number of cases.⁵³³ Wang's main concern was the use of supplementing *yin materia medica*, which could be used throughout the entire human life time:

且少年腎水正旺似不必補然欲心正熾妄用太過至於中年欲心雖減然少年所喪既多焉得復實及至老年天真漸絕只有孤陽故補陰之藥自少至老不可缺也

At the time of youth, water in the kidneys flourishes. It seems unnecessary to supplement. However, the heart, full of desires, also burns just at that time. If there was too much abuse, at middle age, although the desiring heart is decreasing, because of the many losses during once youth, how can it be become replete again? At old age, the Heavenly Authenticity (*tianzhen*) becomes gradually exhausted. Only solitary *yang* remains. Hence, from youth till old age, supplementing *yin* medicines cannot lack.⁵³⁴

Wang Lun advances the *buyin wan* as an important recipe for supplementing *yin*. Although Zhao praises Wang for pointing out the importance of supplementing *yin*, he largely disagrees with the application of *buyin wan*. First, in contrast to Wang, Zhao highlights that the occurrence of fire depletion is far from insignificant:

但水衰者固多火衰者亦不少先天稟賦若薄者雖童子尚有火衰之症焉可獨補水哉

Although weakness of water is most common, weakness of fire is certainly not uncommon. If the natural endowment by Before Heaven is thin, a child can still have conditions of fire weakness. Can you then only supplement water?⁵³⁵

Second, Zhao rejects recipes such as *buyin wan*, which has the ingredients *huangbo* and *zhimu* as 'rulers' (*jun*), and *tianmendong* and *maimendong* as 'assistants' (*zuo*).⁵³⁶ Instead of supplementing water, these *materia medica*, have opposite results:

蓋黃柏苦寒泄水天門寒冷損胃服之者不惟不能補水而且有損於腎故滋陰降火者乃謂滋其陰則火自降當串講不必降火也

⁵³³ "If fire is depleted it is appropriate to supplement fire. However, eight or nine out of ten people get ill because of flourishing fire. There are not even two or three persons whose disease is caused by fire depletion" (若果相火衰者方宜補火但世之人火旺致病者十居八九火衰成疾者百無二三). (YG 4.11b-12a)

⁵³⁴ YG 4.12a.

⁵³⁵ YG 4.12a.

⁵³⁶ On the hierarchy of ingredients in compositions as 'rulers', 'ministers' (*chen* 臣), 'assistants' (*zuo* 佐), and 'envoys' (*shi* 使), see Bensky and Barolet 1990: 14-15. On a different perception of this classification in the *Inner Classic* and the *Shennong bencao jing*, based on "the difference in Confucian and Taoist social theory," see Unschuld 1985: 115.

Well, *huangbo* is bitter and cold, and drains (*xie*) water. *Tianmen*[*dong*] is cold and cool, and harms the stomach. If you take these, they are not only unable to supplement water, they also cause harm to the kidneys. Hence, “enriching *yin* to make fire descend” should rather be [understood] that by enriching *yin*, fire will descend out of itself. It should be repeatedly explained that it is unnecessary to make fire descend.⁵³⁷

Zhao Xianke’s own strategy of supplementing *yin* is more subtle. In his opinion, it is crucial to find out whether fire or water associated with *yin* is depleted. Based on a correct (pulse) diagnosis, the appropriate recipes should be applied:

二尺各有陰陽水火互相生化當於二藏中各分陰陽虛實求其所屬而平之若左尺脈虛弱而細數者左腎之真陰不足也用六味丸右尺脈遲軟或沉細而數欲絕者是命門之相火不足也用八味丸至於兩尺微弱至於兩尺微弱是陰陽俱虛用十補丸 此皆滋其先天之化源實萬世無窮之利

Both *chi* contain *yin* and *yang*. Water and fire create and transform each other. You should make a clear distinction between *yin* and *yang*, depletion and fullness of the two *zang*-viscera.⁵³⁸ Search whereto it belong, and harmonise it. If the pulse of the left *chi* is depleted and debilitated and thin and frequent (*xi shuo*), the authentic *yin* of the left kidney is insufficient. Use the *liuwei wan*. If the pulse of the right *chi* is retarded and soft (*chi ruan*), or sunken (*chen*), thin, and frequent, but appearing to break off (*yu jue*), then the minister fire of the gate of life is insufficient, use *bawei wan*. If both *chi* are tiny and weak, then both *yinyang* are depleted, use *shibu wan*. This is all about the source of transformation of Before Heaven, and is truly an endless benefit for a myriad of generations.⁵³⁹

As a matter of fact, this excerpt, explaining diagnostics and application of various pills, was originally not written by Zhao’s brush, but can also be found in Xue Ji’s comment on “Someone Questions about Dongyuan’s and Danxi’s Methods of Treating Diseases” (Huo wen Dongyuan Danxi zhibing zhi fa 或問東垣丹溪治病之法) in

⁵³⁷ YG 4.12a-b.

⁵³⁸ Here, the “two *zang*” may refer to the kidneys divided into two: the left kidney and the right gate of life. This passage contradicts Zhao’s previous discussed ideas on the formless gate of life located in between the two kidneys. In the two following sentences the left *chi* is related to the “left” kidney, and the right *chi* to minister fire of the gate of life.

⁵³⁹ YG 4.12b. The main indications for which *shibu wan* is used, as given at the end of the Essay, are: “cold and depleted kidneys, cold feet and weak knees” (治腎虛冷足寒膝軟); the composition is: *weiwuzi* 五味子 and *fuzi* 附子 (each two *liang*), *shanzhu*[*yu*] 山萸, *shanyao* 山藥, *danpi* 丹皮, *guixin* 桂心, *fuling*, 茯苓, *zexie* 澤瀉, *zhi lurong* 制鹿茸 (each one *liang*).

Mingyi zazhu.⁵⁴⁰ Also in his comment in “Buyin wanlun” of *Mingyi zazhu*, immediately following Wang Lun’s explanation of the conditions in which the *buyin wan* should be used, Xue Ji promotes the alternative of applying *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. He relates their effects by referring to the Wang Bing principles:

愚按前症設若腎經陰精不足陽無所化虛火妄動以致前症者宜用六味地黃丸補之使陰旺則陽化若腎經陽氣燥熱陰無以生虛火內動而致前症者宜用八味地黃丸補之使陽旺則陰生

I humbly comment on the above described conditions. If the *yin* essence of the kidney conduit is insufficient, *yang* has nothing that it can transform. Depleted fire will move recklessly, and causes the above described conditions. It is appropriate to use the *liuwei dihuang wan* to supplement it [*yin* essence]. If *yin* flourishes, *yang* transforms. If the *yangqi* in the kidney conduit is dried and hot, *yin* is not viable. Depleted fire moves internally, and causes the above described conditions. It is appropriate to use *bawei dihuang wan* to supplement it. By making *yang* flourish, *yin* can live on.⁵⁴¹

Even before Xue Ji, other physicians associated the Wang Bing principles to specific recipes and *materia medica*. In *Bencao gangmu*, for example, Li Shizhen quotes Zhang Yuansu explaining *fuzi*, one of the important ingredients of the *bawei wan*, as *materia medica* used for “increasing the origin, being fire, in order to disperse the

⁵⁴⁰ *Mingyi zazhu* 93. This also explains the mentioning of a “left” kidney (in which authentic *yin* is contained) in the above passage, which appears to be inconsistent with Zhao’s ideas on the kidneys.

⁵⁴¹ *Mingyi zazhu* 15.

shade of *yin*” in the context of regulating urination.⁵⁴² Contrary to Xue Ji and Zhao Xianke, some physicians associated the principle of “reinforcing the ruling of water” with Zhu Zhenheng’s strategy of “enriching *yin*,” by using cold and bitter. An example can be found in *Cangsheng siming*:

相火原無定位寄與肝腎二經之間乃下焦包絡之火元氣之賊也相火一動便上肝膈入肺中循喉嚨燥舌本令人身熱咳嗽咯血遺精肌肉消削此雷龍之火非芩連梔子硝石所能治必如河間所謂養血益陰其熱自退丹溪所謂滋陰則火自降王冰所謂壯水之主以制陽光也此皆救本之治乃所以深治之也

Minister fire originally does not have a fixed position. It relies (*ji*; ‘parasites’) on the space in between the two conduits of liver and kidneys. Therefore, fire of the lower burner and the pericardium is the robber of primordial *qi*. From the moment minister fire moves, it rises along the liver and diaphragm, enters the lungs, goes along the throat, and makes the root of the tongue dry. It makes the human body hot, causes cough, coughing up blood, losing semen, and makes the flesh skinny. This fire of thunder and dragon cannot be cured by [*huang*]*qin*, [*huang*]*lian*, *zhizi*, [*mang*]*xiao* or *shi*[*gao*].⁵⁴³ You should do what Hejian [i.e. Liu Wansu] meant by “nourish blood and increase *yin*, and the heat will spontaneously retreat,” what Danxi [i.e. Zhu Zhenheng] meant by “if you enrich *yin*, fire will spontaneously

⁵⁴² “益火之原以消陰翳則便溺有節烏附是也” (*Bencao gangmu* 17a.52b) Searches in digital text collections such as SKQS and ZHYD did not yield any results for the presence of the Wang Bing principles in Zhang Yuansu’s texts. However, in *Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi* 臟腑標本寒熱虛實用藥式 (Standard of Using *Materia Medica* Related to Interior and Exterior, Cold and Heat, Depletion and Fulness of the *Zang*- and *Fu*-Viscera), a text which features in *Zhang Yuansu yixue quanshu* 張元素醫學全書 (Collective Medical Writings of Zhuang Yuansu), but which is not included in the electronic collections, references to the Wang Bing principles can be found in the entry on the gate of life. (*Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi* 83-84). Moreover, in the same entry on the gate of life, the following explanation on fire can be found: “Fire resides inside water. It is the *yang* of the one line in the centre of *kan*. It is the root of Before Heaven” (火居水內即坎中一畫之陽先天之本是也). (*Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi* 83). This phrase contradicts my findings that Before Heaven was not used in the context of the gate of life and the Wang Bing principles prior to the Late Ming period. It is important to note that *Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi*, titled *Zhangfu xushi biaoben yongyao shi* 臟腑虛實標本用藥式 (Standard of Using Medicines Related to Fullness and Depletion in the *Zang*- and *Fu*-Viscera), is also included in the first *juan* of Li Shizhen’s *Bencao gangmu*. Yet, in this version of the text, references to Before Heaven and the Wang Bing principles in relation to the gate of life principles are absent. (*Bencao gangmu* 1b.a-b) *Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi* did not exist as a separate text, but was thus included in *Bencao gangmu*, and later with additional comments included in Zhao Shuanghu’s 趙雙湖 (19th C.) *Yixue zhigui* 醫學指歸 (Guidance to Medicine, 1848). The first physician who attributed *Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi* to Zhang Yuansu was the Qing dynasty physician Zhou Xuehai 周學海 (1856-1906). Since later physicians added comments to the original text, the passages on the Wang Bing principles and Before Heaven are most likely written by later Ming or Qing physicians. (ZYWXCD 589; see also the editor’s comment in *Zangfu biaoben hanre xushi yongyao shi* 77)

⁵⁴³ These are all *materia medica* that cool fire down.

descend,” or what Wang Bing meant by “invigorate the controlling by water, to control [restrict] the brilliance of yang.” This is all a treatment that saves the roots, and it is how you can profoundly treat it.⁵⁴⁴

In *juan 5* of the same text, *ziyin wan* and *siwu tang* augmented by ingredients such as *zhimu* and *huangbo*, are also referred to as representative recipes for “reinforcing the ruling of water.”⁵⁴⁵ In *Leigong paozhi yaoxing jie* 雷公炮製藥性解 (Lei Gong’s Explanations on the Preparation and Properties of *Materia Medica*, 1622), the late Ming *wenbu* physician Li Zhongzi curiously refers to the principle of “reinforcing the ruling of water” associated with the use of cold and bitter *zhimu*.⁵⁴⁶ This is an exception, however. Most *wenbu* physicians, following Xue Ji, refer to the Wang Bing principles as an alternative to Zhu’s idea of “enriching *yin*” by using cold and bitter.⁵⁴⁷

On a deeper theoretical level, there is an important difference between Zhao Xianke’s and Xue Ji’s explanation of the Wang Bing principles. An indication of variation in theoretical foundation can already be derived from the fact that Xue associated authentic *yin* with the left kidney, while Zhao clearly disconnected authentic *yin* from any form associated with the kidneys, be it left or right.⁵⁴⁸ Furthermore, Zhao adds some crucial terms to Xue’s original passage on the application of *liuwei wen* (if the left *chi* shows signs of depletion), *bawei wan* (if the right *chi* shows signs of depletion), and *shibu wan* (if both *chi* show signs of depletion), discussed above. Xue labels the application of these pills as: “enriching the source of transformation” (此皆滋其化源也).⁵⁴⁹ In contrast, Zhao adds “Before Heaven” to the “source of transformation:” “This is all about the source of transformation of Before Heaven, and it truly is an endless benefit to a myriad of generations” (此皆滋其先天之化源實萬世無窮之利).⁵⁵⁰ This subtle addition of “Before Heaven” is more than relevant from Zhao’s theoretical perspective.

⁵⁴⁴ *Cangsheng siming* 75.

⁵⁴⁵ *Cangsheng siming* 178.

⁵⁴⁶ See, for example, Li Zhongzi’s *Leigong paozhi yao xingjie* 580-581.

⁵⁴⁷ Compare for instance with *Chishui yuanzhu* 11.66b-67a. Note that Sun does not refer to these principles in two of his other major texts: *Yizhi xuyu* and *Sun-shi yi’an*. Zhang Jiebin also refers to the Wang Bing principles. He follows the Xue’s principle of using *liuwei wan*, but he does not apply the recipe itself. See also p. 200.

⁵⁴⁸ Also in other parts of *Yiguan* similar deviations from his fundamental theory occur. These deviations often indicate that Zhao Xianke copied the parts in question without revealing the original source. See for example the passages in “Essay on the Eyes” and “Essay on the Ears,” which appear to be borrowed from Wang Kentang. (pp. 223-225)

⁵⁴⁹ *Mingyi zazhu* 93.

⁵⁵⁰ Compare *Mingyi zazhu*: 93 with YG 4.12b. Zhang Jiebin also quotes Xue Ji’s phrase several times, without adding “Before Heaven”. See, for instance, *Jingyue quanshu* 16.31b and 38.10b.

According to Zhao Xianke, Wang Bing “achieved the utmost principles, [by going] outside the general line of conduct” because he “searched whereto it belonged.” In Zhao’s interpretation, in his comment on SW 74, Wang did not discuss cold and heat of the outside macrocosm, but water and fire, associated with the gate of life inside the body:

先天水火原屬同宮火以水為主水以火為原故取之陰者火中求水其精不竭取之陽者水中尋火其明不熄斯大寒大熱之病得其平矣
Water and fire of Before Heaven originally belong to the same palace. Fire takes water as its controller, and water takes fire as its origin. Hence, if you consider it to be *yin*, search for water inside fire, and its essence will not exhaust. If you consider it to be *yang*, look for fire inside water, and its shining will not extinguish. In this way, diseases of great cold and great heat will get their balance.⁵⁵¹

What is important is that Zhao thus regards both water and fire mentioned in the Wang Bing principles to be formless, and to belong to Before Heaven:

所謂原與主者皆屬先天無形之妙非曰心為火而其原在肝腎為水而其主屬肺蓋心脾腎肝肺皆後天有形之物也須有無形之火配無形之水直探其君主之穴宅而求之是為同氣相求斯易以入也所謂知其要者一言而終也

The so-called “origin” [being fire] and “ruling” [of water] both belong to the marvels of the formlessness of Before Heaven. It is wrong to say: “The heart is fire, and its origin is in the kidneys. The kidneys are water, and their controlling belongs to the lungs.” Well, the heart, spleen, kidneys, liver, and lungs are all things with form, belonging to After Heaven (*houtian youxing zhi wu*). Rather, it should be that formless fire matches formless water. You should just look for it by exploring the cavern residence of the sovereign ruler. This means that ‘identical *qi*’ (*tong qi*) are searching each other. This is easy to understand. What is meant by knowing the essentials can be summarised by this one saying.⁵⁵²

Hence, for Zhao Xianke, the passage of SW 74, with comments of Wang Bing, provided a theoretical leverage to attack the harmful use of the draining properties of cold and bitter, as propagated by Zhu and his Ming dynasty followers. This can be illustrated by the following passages from “Essay on Heat Effusion because of Yin Depletion:”

⁵⁵¹ YG 1.25a.

⁵⁵² YG 1.10a-b.

當求其屬而主之無火者宜益火之源以消陰翳無水者宜壯水之主以鎮陽光必須六味八味二丸出入增減以補真陰屢用屢效若泥黃柏知母苦寒之說必致損傷脾陰而斃者不可勝舉

You should investigate whereto it belongs, and control it. In case of absence of fire, it is appropriate “to increase the source, being fire, to disperse the shade of *yin*.” In case of absence of water, “it is appropriate to invigorate the controlling [function] of water, to press down the brilliance of *yang*.” You need to use the pills with six ingredients and eight ingredients, and their variations to supplement authentic *yin*.⁵⁵³ After repeated use, there will be repeated result. However, if you stick to the theory of bitter and cold, and *huangbo* and *zhimu*, you will certainly cause harm to the *yin* of the spleen, and those who will be executed cannot be saved.⁵⁵⁴

In other words, it is crucial to make a clear distinction between ‘authentic’ (*zhen*) and ‘fake’ (*jia*) apparitions of *yinyang*. In case of kidney depletion, ‘heat effusion’ can be caused by an excess of cold in the kidneys, pushing heat up to the outer layers. Although the subjective perception is that of heat, it is actually caused by an excess of cold, due to an absence of authentic fire in the kidneys. In this situation of ‘fake’ heat, using more cold medicines would, according to Zhao, be extremely dangerous. Cold only intensifies the imbalance between formless water and fire in the kidney region, and forces the weakened authentic fire to drift upwards. In such a condition, the use of *liuwei wan* applies, as I will further explain in the last section of this Chapter.

To summarise, although Wang Bing did not refer to specific *materia medica* in his comment on SW 74, explaining the principles of “invigorating the controlling by water” and “increasing the origin, being fire”, the Ming dynasty physician Xue Ji made clear associations with the application of *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. This was put forth as an alternative clinical strategy for supplementing *yin*, as promoted by Zhu Zhenheng and his followers. Zhao Xianke, following Xue, further emphasised that most of his contemporary physicians did not understand the genuine meaning of *yin*, being formless water and fire. Not only did he systematically follow Xue’s clinical ideas, he also provided a deeper understanding of the gate of life as genuine ruler of the body by referring to the cosmological idea of Before Heaven. More than any other physician, he elaborated on how the compositions of the two pills affect the interaction between formless water and fire: the functional aspects of the gate of life

⁵⁵³ Variations on the standard composition depend on the manipulation of the number and dosages of ingredients. Hence, by taking out (*chu* 出) or adding other (*ru* 入) ingredients; and by increasing (*zeng* 增) or decreasing (*jian* 減) the dosage of ingredients. On the modification of compositions, see Bensky and Barolet 1990: 16-18.

⁵⁵⁴ YG 4.15b-16a.

Two Pills

as genuine ruler of the body, or, in other words, the Before Heavenly in the body.

Six or eight ingredients?

Although Zhao Xianke refers to many other recipes, he especially favoured *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*, as is reflected in the composition of *juan 4* (“Essential Essays on Before Heaven, part 1”), in which the first essays are entirely devoted to the explanation of the two pills.⁵⁵⁵ Instead of strictly following the order of the chapters in *juan 4*, I will more thematically discuss Zhao’s main ideas on these recipes. First, I will explain their origin and composition. Second, I will focus on Zhao’s symbolic explanation of the pharmacological properties of their ingredients. I will also show how the composition and clinical application of these two pills fit the Wang Bing principles, discussed in the previous section.

The recipes of the *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* were not invented by Zhao Xianke, and predate the Ming dynasty by many centuries. While the composition of *bawei wan* is attributed to the Han dynasty physician Zhang Ji, *liuwei wan* is a Song dynasty variation on the *bawei wan*, designed by the famous Song paediatrician Qian Yi 錢乙 (ca. 1032-1113). Apart from enumerating the symptomatic indications in which *bawei wan* can be used, and the preparation of *fuzi*, one of its essential ingredients, in the opening chapter of the fourth *juan*, “Pill with Eight Ingredients” (*Bawei wan*), Zhao lists the composition of the recipe, comments on its origin, and on variations on the original composition.⁵⁵⁶ The composition of the *bawei wan*, given in *Yiguan*, reads as follows:

熟地黄（八兩用真生懷慶洗淨浸一宿柳木甑砂鍋上蒸半日曬乾再蒸再曬九次為度臨用搗膏）（三兩） 肉桂（一兩） 附子（一兩）

Shu dihuang (8 *liang*, clean with genuine Shenghuaiqing [wine]; soak for one night; steam half a day in a steamer of willow wood, put on a clay pot; let it dry in the sun; steam and dry again several times; normally nine times; pound into a paste before use) *shaoyao* (4 *liang*) *shanzhuyu rou* (4 *liang*) *danpi* (3 *liang*) *bai fuling* (3 *liang*) *zexie* (3 *liang*) *rougui* (1 *liang*) *fuzi* (1 *liang*)⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁵ These essays are: “Pill with Eight Ingredients,” “Essay on the Use of *Zexie* in Zhang Zhongjing’s Pill with Eight Ingredients,” “Essay on Water and Fire,” “Explanation of the Pill with Six Ingredients,” and “Explanation of the Pill with Eight Ingredients.”

⁵⁵⁶ Variations are *duqi wan* 都氣丸 [six ingredients of *liuwei wan*, with *wuweizi* added], *liuwei wan*, *jiajian bawei wan* 加減八味丸 [*bawei wan*, but *wuweizi* is used instead of *fuzi*], Zhu Zhenheng’s *sanyi shenqi wan* 三一腎氣丸 [Zhao warns against the use of this recipe. I could not its composition.], *jingui shenqi wan* 金匱腎氣丸 (see below), *yi Yin dihuang wan* 益陰地黃丸, *ciyin dihuang wan* 滋陰地黃丸 [both from *Yuanji qiwei* 原機啟微 (Opening the Subtleties of the Original Mechanism, 1370)]. (YG 4.2a-3a) For different variations on *bawei wan*, see Ma Wenquan 2003: 2.

⁵⁵⁷ YG 4.1a-b.

Although Zhao Xianke mostly refers to this composition as *bawei wan*, in Zhang Zhongjing's *Jingui yaolie*, where this recipe features for the first time, it is called *Cui-shi bawei wan* 崔氏八味丸 (Mr. Cui's Pill with Eight Ingredients) and *shenqi wan* 腎氣丸 (Kidneys Qi Pill).⁵⁵⁸ Zhao Xianke also refers to this recipe as *shenqi wan*, *shenqi bawei wan*, and *bawei dihuang wan*.⁵⁵⁹ Moreover, *bawei wan* should not be confused with *jingui shenqi wan* 金匱腎氣丸, which Zhao Xianke lists as a variation on *bawei wan*, and which is discussed in more detail in his "Essay on Fullness in the Centre because of Qi Depletion," in *juan* 5.⁵⁶⁰

Liuwei wan, as Zhao acknowledges, was devised by Qian Yi, who removed *rougui* and *fuzi* from Zhang Ji's original composition:

錢氏減桂附名曰六味地黃丸以治小兒以小兒純陽故減桂附

Mr. Qian removed [*rou*]gui and fu[*zi*], and called this "*liuwei dihuang wan*". He used it to treat infants (*xiao er*). Because infants are pure yang (*chunyang*), he removed [*rou*]gui and fu[*zi*].⁵⁶¹

Although *liuwei wan* thus is, except for missing *rougui* and *fuzi*, identical to *bawei wan*, at the end of "Essay on Water and Fire" (*Shui huo lun*), Zhao lists the full composition, with information on the preparation and ingestion.⁵⁶²

The main indications for applying the two pills, as given in "Pill With Eight Ingredients" and "Essay on Water and Fire," are almost identical to those found in Xue Ji's description of the two pills in *Waikē shuyao* 外科樞要 (Axial Essentials of

⁵⁵⁸ *Jingui yaolie* 15, 62. In fact, in Zhang Ji's *shenqi wan*, dried (*gan*) *dihuang* is used instead of cooked/prepared (*shu*) *dihuang*, and *shuyu* 薯蕷, the alternative name of *shaoyao*, is used. The dosages of ingredients are the same.

⁵⁵⁹ *Shenqi wan* and *shenqi bawei wan* feature throughout *Yiguan*, *bawei dihuang wan* is only mentioned twice: in "Essay on the Eyes" (YG 4.39b) and in "Supplementing the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction" (YG 6.13b).

⁵⁶⁰ The composition is as follows: *bai fuling* 白茯苓 (three *liang*), *fuzi* 附子 (five *qian*), *chuan niuxi* 川牛膝 (one *liang*), *rougui* 肉桂 (one *liang*), *zexie* 澤瀉 (one *liang*), *cheqianzi* 車前子 (one *liang*), *shanzhuyu* 山茱萸 (one *liang*), *sanyao* 山藥 (one *liang*), *mu danpi* 牡丹皮 (two *liang*), *shu di[huang]* 熟地 (four *liang*). YG 5.18b-19a. For the origin of this recipe, Zhao Xianke refers to *Jingui yuhan jing* 金匱玉函經 (Classic in the Jade Box of the Golden Casket), another text attributed to Zhang Ji. YG 5.19a. However, I have not found this recipe in *Jingui yuhan jing*. For *Jingui yuhan jing*, see ZYWXCD 447.

⁵⁶¹ YG 4.2a-b. Qian Yi called this recipe *dihuang wan*, and used it to treat various children diseases, such as open fontanels. For the origins of *dihuang wan*, and its use in paediatrics, see Li Rui and Lu Zhaolin 2003: 438. Zhao also uses *dihuang wan* as alternative name for *liuwei wan*. See, for instance, YG 2.7. Note that there are at least four other recipes, which are called *dihuang wan*. (Li ZYDCD: 566)

⁵⁶² YG 4.6b. The composition in *Yiguan* is given as follows: *shu dihuang* (eight *liang* pestled into paste), *shanzhuyu rou* 山茱萸肉, *shanyao* (each four *liang*), *mu danpi*, *bai fuling* 白茯苓, *zexie* (each 3 *liang*).

External Medicine, 1545). “Pill with Eight Ingredients” indicates: “[*bawei wan*] treats weakness (*shuai*) of the gate of life fire, which, unable to generate earth, leads to depletion and cold in the spleen-stomach, and to conditions such as loss of appetite (*yinshi shao si*), diarrhoea (*dabian bu shi*), pain in the belly (*qi fu teng tong*), and excessive nocturnal urination (*ye duo sou niao*)” (治命門火衰不能生土以致脾胃虛寒飲食少思大便不實或下元衰憊臍腹疼痛夜多溲溺等症).⁵⁶³ According to “Essay on Water and Fire:”

治腎虛作渴小便淋秘氣壅痰涎頭目眩暈眼花耳聾咽燥舌痛齒痛腰腿痠軟等症及腎虛發熱自汗盜汗便血諸血失音水泛為痰之聖藥血虛發熱之神劑又治腎陰虛弱津液不降敗濁為痰或致咳逆又治小便不禁收精氣之虛脫為養氣滋腎制火導水使機關利而脾土健實

[*Liuwei wan*] treats conditions such as thirst because of kidney depletion, dribbling or obstructed urination (*xiaobian linbi*), *qi* congestions (*qi yong*), phlegm (*tanxian*), dizziness in head and eyes, blurred vision, hearing impairment, dryness in the throat, pain in the tongue, toothache, atony of the lumbus and legs. It is further a divine medicine in case of heat effusion due to kidney depletion, spontaneous perspiration and night sweats, loss of voice, and flooding water causing phlegm. It is a spiritual recipe [treating] heat effusion because of blood depletion. It further treats depletion and weakness of kidney *yin*, *jinye*-fluids that are not descending, and uncontrolled turbidity that has become phlegm or causing counterflow cough (*ke ni*)⁵⁶⁴. Moreover, it treats incontinence, and contains ‘vacuity desertion’⁵⁶⁵ of essence and *qi*. It nourishes *qi* and enriches the kidneys, regulates fire and guides water. It the benefices the mechanism (*shi jiguan li*)⁵⁶⁶, and the spleen-stomach strengthens.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶³ YG 4.1a. Cf. *Waikeshuyao* 289. For examples of the use of *bawei wan* throughout the history of Chinese medicine, see Ma Wenquan 2003: 1-2.

⁵⁶⁴ Cough caused by an upwards counterflow of *qi*. (Li ZYDCD 1239-1240)

⁵⁶⁵ The manifestation of a critical depletion [in this case of essence and *qi*] occurring in enduring illness, as distinct from fulminant desertion, which occurs suddenly with major blood loss or wind stroke. [In biomedicine this corresponds to] heart, lung, liver, or kidney failure.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 646)

⁵⁶⁶ “*Jiguan*” is also a term for the “ligaments and tendons” (*jingu guanjie* 筋骨關節). (Li DYDCD 579)

⁵⁶⁷ YG 4.6a-b. I follow the modern editions in which the recipe of *liuwei wan* is included in “*Shui huo lun*.” However, in analogy with a separate chapter titled “*Bawei wan*” as opening chapter of *juan 4*, “*Liuwei wan*” might be seen as a separate chapter in the YG edition. For a comparison of indications, preparation, and ingestion of *liuwei wan* by Xue Ji, see *Waikeshuyao* 288-289. In contemporary TCM, *liuwei wan* is commonly used to treat symptoms such as “soreness, and weakness of the lower back and legs, light-headedness, vertigo, tidal fever with malar flush, irritability, heat in the five centers, night sweats, insomnia, and spontaneous emissions.” (Bensky and Barolet 1990: 262) For studies on the historical use of *liuwei wan*, see Li Rui and Lu Zhaolin 2003; Wu Qinan 1993.

Compared to the indications in which *bawei wan* can be administered, the applications of *liuwei wan* are vaster in scope. In Chapter 5, I will further elaborate on Zhao's explanation of specific pathologies which can be treated by these pills. In the remaining parts of this Chapter, I will further analyse Zhao's general understanding of the logic behind the composition of these recipes, and their main principles of use.

Although information on indications, composition, preparation, ingestion of the two pills, and how they reflect the Wang Bing principles, can also be found in Xue Ji's *Waikē shuyao*, Zhao Xianke's focus on the importance of these pills is more outspoken. A systematic analysis of use, main ingredients, and symbolic explanations of the two pills features in two smaller chapters of *juan 4*, "Explanation of the Pill with Six Ingredients" (*Liuwei wan shuo*) and "Explanation of the Pill with Eight Ingredients" (*Bawei wan shuo*). The entire chapter of "Explanation of the Pill with Six Ingredients" reads as follows:

腎虛不能制火者此方主之腎中非獨水也命門之火并焉腎不虛則水足以制火虛則火無所制而熱症生矣名之曰陰虛火動河間氏所謂腎虛則熱是也今人足心熱陰股熱腰脊痛率是此症乃咳血之漸也熟地黃山茱萸味厚者也經曰味厚為陰中之陰故能滋少陰補腎水澤瀉味鹹鹹先入腎地黃山藥澤瀉皆潤物也腎惡燥須此潤之此方所補之水無形之水物之潤者亦無形故用之丹皮者牡丹之根皮也丹者南方之火色牡而非牝屬陽味苦辛故入腎而斂陰火益少陰。平虛熱茯苓味甘而淡者也甘從土化土能防水淡能滲泄故用之以制水驕之邪且益脾胃而培萬物之母壯水之主以鎮陽光即此藥也

When the kidneys are depleted and unable to regulate fire, this recipe controls it. There is not only water in the kidneys, but also fire of the gate of life. When the kidneys are not depleted, water is sufficient to control fire. When they are depleted, fire has nothing by which it is controlled, and heat symptoms appear. This is called: "fire moves because of *yin* depletion". It is what Mr. Hejian [i.e. Liu Wansu] meant by "when the kidneys are depleted, there is heat."⁵⁶⁸ When people now have heat in the centre of their soles (*zu xin re*) or in the groin, and their waist and spine is painful, it is all this condition. This can be followed by continued coughing up blood. *Shu dihuang* and *shanzhuyu* have a strong flavour (*wei hou*). The *Classic* says: "A flavour that is strong is *yin* inside *yin*."⁵⁶⁹ Therefore, it is able to nurture lesser *yin*, and supplement kidney water. The flavour of *zexie* is salty. [A] salty [flavour] first enters the kidneys. *Dihuang*, *shanyao*, and *zexie* are all moistening substances. The kidneys detest

⁵⁶⁸ Compare to the sentence: "When the water of the kidneys is originally cold and weak, there is heat" (腎水本寒衰則熱). (*Suwen xuanji yuanbing shi* 38a)

⁵⁶⁹ Compare to SW 5: "If the flavour is strong it is *yin*; if it is light is *yang* of *yin*. If the *qi* is strong it is *yang*; If it is light it is *yin* of *yang*" (味厚者為陰薄為陰之陽氣厚者為陽薄為陽之陰). (2.3a)

dryness, and need them in order to be moistened. Water that is supplemented by this recipe is formless water. Because the moistening qualities of these substances are also [considered to be] formless, you may use them. *Danpi* is the skin of the root of *mudan* (peony). *Dan* (vermillion) is the colour of fire of the southern direction. *Mu* (male) is not female (*pin*), and belongs to *yang*. The flavour is bitter and pungent. Therefore, it enters the stomach, and restrains *yin* fire, increases lesser *yin*, and pacifies heat because of depletion. The flavour of *fuling* is sweet and bland (*dan*). Sweet transforms following earth in order to embank water. Bland is able to percolate and drain (*shen xie*) [dampness and water].⁵⁷⁰ Hence, use it to regulate the evil inside the water *zang*-viscera. Moreover, [the ingredients of this recipe] increases the spleen-stomach, and to strengthen (*pei*; “to bank up”) the mother of the Myriad Things.⁵⁷¹ “Invigorating the controlling of water to suppress the brilliance of *yang*” is exactly [embodied by] these *materia medica*.⁵⁷²

Hence, according to Zhao Xianke, *liuwei wan* invigorates depleted kidney water that is unable to control fire in the kidneys, which thus causes heat symptoms. He traces the explanation of this pathology back to the Jin dynasty physician Liu Wansu. However, unlike physicians such as Zhu Zhenheng, Zhao equates this kidney failure with a depletion of formless water, and specifically points to *materia medica* used in the *liuwei wan* that nourish this formless water. *Shu dihuang*, the main ingredient in this composition, and *shanzhuyu* have a rich flavour (*hou wei*), characterised as being

⁵⁷⁰ “Blandness [...], mild flavor, or the absence of a predominating flavor. The flavor associated with damp-percolating [*shen*] and water-disinhibiting [*li*] medicinals.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 23)

⁵⁷¹ In the opening chapter of the *Daode jing* “nothingness (*wu*) is called the beginning of Heaven-and-Earth, while existence (*you*) is the mother of the Myriad Things” (無名天地之始有名萬物之母). (DDJ 1: 1a)

⁵⁷² YG 4.7a-b.

yin in yin, associated with the kidney conduit.⁵⁷³ Other characteristics of specific *materia medica* used in the *liuwei wan* associated with the kidney conduit are: the salty flavour of *zexie*, and the moistening properties of *shu dihuang*, *shanyao* and *zexie*. Although Zhao mentions supplementary functions of *mu danpi* and *fuling*, in his explanation of the *bawei wan* (see below), all six ingredients used in *liuwei wan* are referred to as moistening ingredients.

Unlike other *wenbu* physicians, such as Xue Ji and Sun Yikui, Zhao Xianke legitimises his ideas on supplementing formless water by referring to Chen Tuan's comment on the verse on *dui* and *kan* water in *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfa*. After again quoting the Chen's comment in "Essay on Water and Fire" (*Shui huo lun*) of *juan 4*,⁵⁷⁴ Zhao points out that understanding *kan* and *dui* is of the utmost importance to physician:

明此二水可以悟治火之道矣心火者有形之火也相火者無形之火也無形之火內燥熱而津液枯以五行有形之兌水制之者權也吾身自有上池真水氣也無形者也以無形之水沃無形之火當而可久者也是為真水真火升降既宜而成既濟矣醫家不悟先天太極之真體不窮無形水火之妙用而不能用六味八味之神劑者其於醫理尚欠太半

If you understand these two waters [*kan* and *dui*], you can get insight in the way of treating fire. Heart fire is fire with form. Minister fire is formless fire. When formless fire causes heat and dryness inside, the fluids wither. If you control it with *dui* water of the five agents that

⁵⁷³ On *yin in yin*, see, for instance, Unschuld:

In agreement with the *Huang-ti nei-ching su-wen*, Sung-Chin-Yüan scholars assumed that the primary quality flavor (*wei*) was associated with yin and the primary quality thermo-influence (*ch'i*) with yang. Following the cyclical transformational character of the yinyang concept, whereby a continuous transition of mature yin (*yin in yin*) to immature yang (*yang in yin*) and then to mature yang (*yang in yang*) and finally to immature yin (*yin in yang*) occurs before the cycle begins anew, the primary qualities of drugs were now categorized in a four part scheme. "Strongly developed" flavors (sour, bitter, salty) were identified by Sung-Chin-Yüan physicians as belonging to the yin-in-yin category. "Weakly developed" flavors (acid, sweet, neutral) were recognized as belonging to the yang-in-yin category. Similarly, the "strong" thermo-influences (warm, hot, balanced) were assigned to the yang-in-yang category, and "weak" thermo-influences to the yin-in-yang category. (1985: 181-182)

⁵⁷⁴ I discussed *kan* and *dui* water, as explained in "Essay on the Five Agents" of *juan 1*, in the previous section.

has form, it is using force (*quan*).⁵⁷⁵ However, our body itself has an superior well (*shang chi*). This is the *qi* of authentic water, which is formless. Using formless water to irrigate formless fire is what is appropriate, and what should last for a long time.⁵⁷⁶ In this way, when the ascending and descending of authentic water and authentic fire are proper, “already ordered” (*jiji* ䷋) is accomplished. Physicians who do not have insight into the authentic body of the Before Heavenly Supreme Ultimate do not exhaust the miraculous use of formless water and fire, and are unable to use the divine recipes *liuwei* [wan] and *bawei* [wan]. The way in which they understand medical principles still misses the larger half.⁵⁷⁷

The *qi* of this moistening but formless *kan* water follows the seasonal cycle of *yangqi*, which is born at winter solstice, symbolised by the *fu* hexagram. In the “Monthly Observances” in the *Liji* 禮記 (Records on Ritual), as quoted in Chen Tuan’s commentary, this is explained as follows:

於仲冬乃云水泉動然而月一陽生
About the Second Month of Winter (*zhongdong*) [“Monthly Observances] says: “The water source (*shui quan*) becomes active (*dong*).” Hence, this month one *yang* is generated.”⁵⁷⁸

Zhao further comments:

是水之動地之生也由斯而觀不過欲人脫死地而求生地凡舉動先自潛固根本以待後乃能萬應而萬舉萬勝明其理也
This is movement of water (*shui zhi dong*) [also] is the vitality in earth (*di zhi sheng*). If you look at it from this angle, it is nothing else than wanting people to remove (them) from the dead earth, and searching for the vitality in earth. Well, all actions should depend on the latent, but solid roots. Only then will you be victorious in all

⁵⁷⁵ *Dui* is associated with the destructive *qi* of the command of autumn. The principle of using force is embodied by recipes such as *baihu tang*, which cool fire down. Xu Dachun is critical about Zhao Xianke’s ideas on the two waters. On this specific sentence, he comments: “What kind of thing is *dui* water in the body? What would this method of controlling it be all about? (兌水是身中何物如何是制之之法)” (*Yiguan bian* 135)

⁵⁷⁶ Xu Dachun considers this phrase to be rubbish: “What kind of thing is this formless water in the body? What would this method of irrigating it be all about all about? (無形之水又是身中何物如何是沃之之法).” (*Yiguan bian* 135)

⁵⁷⁷ YG 4.6a-b. Cf. Wang Kentang’s ideas on ‘pure heat wasting thirst’ (*xiaodan* 消瘴). Although Wang Kentang does not refer in this context to Before Heaven, his explanation is similar to that of Zhao Xianke. (*Zhengzhi zhunsheng* 12.33b-34a)

⁵⁷⁸ The birth of *yangqi* during winter solstice is symbolised by ䷋. This *yangqi* starts to wane in autumn; and hides up during winter. See also Figure 16.

encounters (*wan ying er wan ju wan sheng*). This is understanding the principles.⁵⁷⁹

Hence, the moistening qualities of the medical ingredients are functioning in analogy to formless water in the larger cosmos. Water is used to make earth fertile, and not to cause destruction. However, the fire contained in this water is also necessary. Precisely because fire is the force of creativity, it induces the life enhancing qualities attributed to water. If water is depleted, fire drifts up, and causes damage. By supplementing water (with *liuwei wan*), water and fire are balanced. Water does not only prevent fire from drifting, it also sustains its life enhancing qualities, like the oil, which keep flame of a lantern burning.

The principles of supplementing formless water are in accordance with the cosmogony hidden in the Diagram of After Heaven, which I explained in Chapter 3. *Qian* fire (☰ or ☲; the gate of life) is the one and undivided origin of everything. It generates the two (*yin*), symbolised by water of the kidneys (☵ → ☶, or ☰ → ☷; “the Heavenly One engendering water” *tianyi sheng shui*). However, the one is still contained in the two of the kidneys, as symbolised by the trigram *kan* (☵). Earth is a condensed form of water, symbolised by the trigram *gen* (☶). The Diagram further corresponds with the seasonal cycle, starting with *zhen* (☳ or ☶ *fu* as hexagram), marking the beginning of spring, the moment one *yang* is born.⁵⁸⁰

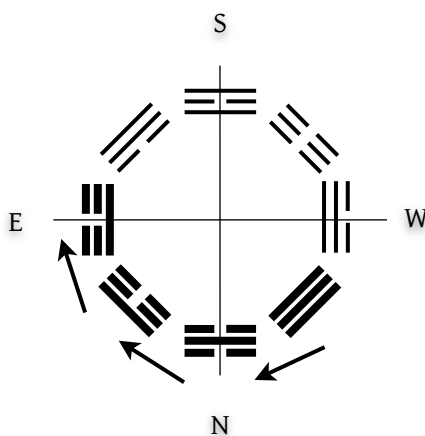


Figure 19. From *qian* to *zhen*

⁵⁷⁹ As in YG 4.6a.

⁵⁸⁰ See also Discussions: “The Diagram of Later Heaven.” While *fu* in the “Waxing and Waning Diagram” (Figure 15.) is associated the winter solstice (*dongzhi*), in the Diagram of After Heaven, *kan* is associated with the winter solstice and *zhen* with the spring equinox (*chunfen*). For the latter, see, for instance, *Leijing tuyi* 2.65a.

Medically speaking, and applied to the Wang Bing principle of “invigorating the controlling by water,” this means that Before Heaven fire (*qian*), contained in water, can cause harm when formless water, because of depletion, is unable to control this fire. The main idea of using the moistening ingredients of the *liuwei wan* is, hence, to nourish this formless water. In this logic, extinguishing fire would be dangerous, because withered earth and dried up water, associated with winter, lack all creative power of *yang* (☰) which is necessary to allow the return of life at the beginning of spring (☳).⁵⁸¹

The second Wang Bing principle, “increasing the origin being fire,” is embodied by the ingredients of the *bawei wan*. In addition to the six moistening ingredients of the *liuwei wan*, *bawei wan* contains two extra ingredients, *rougui* and *fuzi*, which have the properties of directly supplementing formless fire in water. “Explanation of the Pill with Eight Ingredients” states:

君子觀象於坎而知腎中具水火之道焉夫一陽居於二陰為坎此人生與天地相似也今人入房盛而陽事易舉者陰虛火動也陽事先痿者命門火衰也真水竭則隆冬不寒真火息則盛夏不熱是方也熟地山萸丹皮澤瀉山藥茯苓皆濡潤之品所以能壯水之主肉桂附子辛潤之物能於水中補火所以益火之原水火得其養則腎氣復其天矣益火之原以消陰翳即此方也蓋益脾胃而培萬物之母其利溥矣

The gentleman (*junzi*) perceives the symbol *kan*, and knows that the way of water and fire is contained inside the kidneys. Well, one *yang* resides in two *yin* and forms *kan*. This is what human life and Heaven-and-Earth have in common. Nowadays, people abundantly enter the bedchamber, and the ‘*yang* thing’ (*yang shi*; penis)⁵⁸² easily rises. Although *yin* is depleted, fire moves. The penis (*yang shi*) is first impaired (*xian wei*)⁵⁸³, and the fire of the gate of life declines. When authentic water is exhausted, there is no feeling of cold in midwinter. When authentic fire ceases, there is no feeling of heat in midsummer. In this recipe, *shu dihuang*, *shanzhu*[*yu*], [*mu*] *danpi*, *zexie*, *shanyao*, and *fuling* are all moistening ingredients. Therefore they are able to “invigorate the controlling of water.” *Rougui* and *fuzi* are pungent and moistening substances, and are able to supplement fire inside water. Therefore, they “increase the origin, being fire.” When water and fire obtain their nourishment, the *qi* of the kidneys regains its nature (*fu qi tian*). Thus, to “increase the origin, being fire, to disperse the shade of *yin*” is [embodied by] this recipe. Moreover, by increasing spleen-stomach, it strengthens the mother of the Myriad Things, and its benefits are universal.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸¹ In After Heavenly arrangement *zhen* is followed by *xun* (wind, spring, wood).

⁵⁸² “*yang shi*” refers to the penis and sexual activity. (Li ZYDCD 729)

⁵⁸³ Or, there first is “impotence” (*yang wei*). See also Wiseman and Feng 1998: 296-298.

⁵⁸⁴ YG 4.10a-b. The last sentence follows the logic that fire in *kan* water produces *gen* earth.

Hence, *rougui* and *fuzi* stand for the second Wang Bing principle: “increase the origin, being fire.” Yet, the two principles, “invigorating the controlling by water” and “increasing the origin, being fire,” are interrelated. As pointed out in “Explanation of the Pill with Eight Ingredients,” *bawei wan* not only “increases the origin, being fire,” but containing the ingredients of the *liuwei wan*, it also “reinforces the controlling by water.” Thus, according to Zhao Xianke, *bawei wan* enables the physician to foster the creative power contained in water. Not only water, but also fire in water can become depleted by overindulgence in sexual pleasures. Therefore, in cases of severe kidney *yin* depletion, Zhao supplements fire in water by adding *rougui* and *fuzi* to the moistening ingredients of *liuwei wan*.

In other parts of *Yiguan*, Zhao Xianke further elaborates on the function of *rougui* and *fuzi*. In my analysis of *jianzhong tang* in Chapter 3, I have already highlighted *rougui* in relation to dragon fire, and its capacity to induce transformations.⁵⁸⁵ However, Zhao does not only emphasise transformative qualities of cinnamon (*gui* 桂), he also refers to its ability to guide the other *materia medica* of *bawei wan*. This guiding force, related to the etymology of the character “桂”, of which the right part is a *gui* 圭 sceptre,⁵⁸⁶ is explained in a case record included in “Xiaoke lun” (Essay on Wasting Thirst) in *juan* 5:

夫肉桂腎經藥也前症乃腎經虛火炎上無制為患用桂導引諸藥以補之引虛火歸元故效也成無己曰桂猶圭也引導陽氣若執圭以從使者然

Rougui is a medicine of the kidney conduit. The above condition [of ‘wasting thirst’] is one of suffering because of depleted heat, which is out of control, and blazes up in the kidney conduit. Use *gui* (cinnamon) to guide the various *materia medica*, so that they can supplement. When depleted fire returns to the origin (*gui yuan*), there will be results. Cheng Wuji said: “*Gui* (圭) resembles a *gui* (桂)

⁵⁸⁵ pp. 162-163.

⁵⁸⁶ “Tablette de jade ou d’ivoire, de forme carrée *pr* la partie inférieure, de forme ronde ou pointue *pr* la partie supérieure, donnée jadis par l’empereur aux nouveaux princes comme insigne de leur pouvoir ou à ses envoyés *pr* les accréditer.” (GR 3, 923)

sceptre. It guides *yangqi*. It is like following the envoy, because he holds a *gui* sceptre.”⁵⁸⁷

Other physicians have also pointed to similarities between *gui* (cinnamon) and the *gui* sceptre. The famous Ming physician Li Shizhen did not refer to Cheng Wuji, but to a similar explanation found in *Piya* 埤雅 (Supplement to the Er[ya]), written by the Song agriculturalist Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042-1102):

陸佃埤雅云桂猶圭也宣導百藥為之先聘通使如執圭之使也
Lu Dian’s *Piya* says: “The *gui* (cinnamon) resembles *gui*. It guides the hundred *materia medica* as their guiding envoy. Hence, it is like an envoy holding a *gui*-tablet.”⁵⁸⁸

Whereas cinnamon is a rather harmless *materia medica*, *fuzi*, which also influences dragon fire, is far less harmless. Because *fuzi* (aconite) contains the toxin aconitine, its medical use is nowadays restricted in most Western countries (and also in China).⁵⁸⁹ Notwithstanding the dangers and legal restrictions, at present, the popularity of *fuzi* revives in the *huoshenpai* 火神派 (Fire Spirit Current) of present-day TCM, whose proponents advocate the use of large dosages of this *materia medica*.⁵⁹⁰ Although Zhao Xianke is overall positive about the use of *fuzi*, in “Essay on Urinary Obstruction and Incontinence,” he also points out the dangers of an excessive use of *fuzi*: “its heat can disperse the *yin* of the lungs, making it unable to

⁵⁸⁷ YG 5.15a-b. Compare and contrast with the following sentences in *juan* 6 of Cheng Wuji’s (ca. 1066-1156) *Zhujie shanghan lun* 註解傷寒論 (Comments on the Essay on Cold Damage): “*Gui* (cinnamon) resembles a *gui* [scepter]. It guides *yangqi*, it functions as an envoy with its heat” (桂猶圭也引導陽氣若熱以使). (80) Lü Liuliang was critical about Zhao Xianke’s reference to Cheng Wuji’s explanation of cinnamon: “This kind of explanations are nothing than a false conclusion (*fu hui*) only good to make the people shiver (*zhanli*), and should not be given as genuine etymology (*shi benming*). How van this meaning be defined in the context of using *materia medica*?” (此等說在古人亦屬附會猶使民戰栗之說也不必授引為實本名豈定為用藥取義哉) (LLL YG 5.15b)

⁵⁸⁸ *Bencao gangmu* 34.14b. Another etymological explanations “桂” refer to the resemblance between leaves of the cinnamon tree and the *gui* tablet. For other explanations of 桂, see *bencao gangmu* 34.14b-15a.

⁵⁸⁹ See, for instance, “List of Herbal Ingredients which are Prohibited or Restricted in Medicines,” issued by the Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency in the UK. (<http://www.mhra.gov.uk/home/groups/es-herbal/documents/websiteresources/con009294.pdf>) (last accessed 21.7.2012) On aconite in Chinese medical history, see Obringer 1997.

⁵⁹⁰ On *fuzi* in the Fire Spirit Current, see, for instance, “On the Importance of Aconite (*fuzi*): Teachings from the Sichuan Fire Spirit School,” an interview with Heiner Fruehaus, the major proponent of this current in the West. (http://www.classicalchinesemedicine.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/fruehauf_fuziinterviewENG.pdf) (last accessed 21.7.2012)

foster transformations” (有服附子熱藥太過消盡肺陰氣所不化).⁵⁹¹

Both *rougui* and *fuzi* directly supplement fire inside water, and have the ability to guide drifting fire back to the water regions. In “Essay on Minister Fire as Dragon and Thunder,” Zhao Xianke explains this guiding of dragon, thunder fire, and summarises the properties of the ingredients of *bawei wan* as follows:

又問龍雷何以五六月而啟發九十月而歸藏蓋冬時陽氣在水土之下龍雷就其火氣而居於下夏時陰氣在下龍雷不能安其身而出於上明於此義故惟八味丸桂附與相火同氣直入腎中據其窟宅而招之同氣相求相火安得不引之而歸原即人非此火不能有生世人皆曰降火而予獨以地黃滋養水中之火世人皆曰滅火而予獨以桂附溫補天真之火千載不明之論予獨表而出之高明以為何如

There still was a question: “Why do the dragon and thunder start to appear in the fifth or sixth month, and hide up in the ninth or tenth month?”

Well, during winter *yangqi* is located under water and earth. Dragon and thunder follow this fire *qi*, and reside below. During summer, *yinqi* is below, and dragon and thunder are unable to pacify their bodies (*an shen*), and appear at the top (*chu yu shang*). If you understand this idea, only because [*rou*]*gui* and [*fu*]*zi* in the *bawei wan* are identical in *qi* (*tong qi*), they directly enter the kidneys, where they occupy their their lair (*kuzhai*), and beckon them. Identical *qi* are searching each other. How would it not be possible to guide minister fire, and to let it return to the origin? If a human being lacks this fire, no life is possible. Contemporary people (*shiren*) all say: “make fire descend,” but I only use *dihuang* to enrich (*zi*) fire inside water. Contemporary people all say: “extinguish fire.” But, I alone use [*rou*]*gui* and [*fu*]*zi* to warm and supplement the fire of

⁵⁹¹ YG 5.32b. *Fuzi* needs to be prepared to remove the poison. Zhao Xianke proposes a slow and a fast methods:

附子重一兩三四錢有蓮花瓣頭圓底平者佳備童便五六碗浸五七日候透潤揭皮切作四塊仍浸三四日用粗紙數層包之浸濕煨灰火中取出切片檢視有白星者仍用新瓦上炙熟至無星為度如急欲用即切大片用童便煮三四沸熱瓦上炮熟用之

Take one *liang* and three to four *qian* in weight of *fuzi*. Those with a round head and a flat base, like a lotus petal, are ideal. Prepare five or six bowls of child’s urine. Let it soak for five to seven days. Wait till saturated. Peel off the skin, and divide into four pieces. Continue soaking for three to four days. Wrap it in several layers of coarse paper. While still being wet, roast in cinders. Take it out, and cut in slices. Examine it. If there are white stars, use a new tile, and scorch from above, until the stars have disappeared. If you need it urgently, cut in big slices, boil three to four times up in child’s urine, bake (*pao shu*) on a heated tile, and use it. (YG 4.1b-2a)

On different methods to prepare *fuzi* for medical usage, see Obringer 1997: 110-113.

Heavenly Authenticity (*tianzhen zhi huo*). I alone convey a theory that has not been understood for thousands of years. How do the clever (*gaoming*) think about this?⁵⁹²

Hence, in the context of *rougui* and *fuzi*, an analogy is made with the idea of *kan* water (or, *qian* water) in “Monthly Observances,” as quoted in the “Xiaoxi” commentary to *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfa*. The cycle of creation in spring and of “dying of the earth and water in autumn and winter” can be symbolically explained by using the twelve *xiaoxi* hexagrams.⁵⁹³ The dragon or thunder appears as the creative *qi*, symbolised by one *yang* line “returning” during winter solstice, as symbolised in the hexagram *fu* ䷗. During autumn and winter, *yin* becomes strong and *yang* descends, and hides in earth and water. The moment just before winter solstice, symbolised by *kun* ䷁, *yang* is completely concealed, but awaits a new spring. Using another diagram, the spatio-temporal location of concealment during winter can be symbolised by *kan* in the Diagram of After Heaven. In Zhao’s cosmogony, after water, *gen* earth, seen as a congealed form of water, is produced. Thus, one *yang* (*qian* ䷀), associated with Before Heaven, is hidden in both *kan* ䷜ water (as fire of the dragon) and *gen* ䷎ earth (as fire of the thunder), but appears during *zhen* ䷲, marking the beginning of a new year during the winter solstice. The ingredients of *liuwei wan*, of which *dihuang* can be seen as *pars pro toto*, enrich (*zi*) *kan* water with their moistening properties. Formless fire has to be nourished by formless water in order to sustain itself (just like a flame in a lantern needs fuel). Therefore, the ingredients of *liuwei wan* do not only nourish formless water, but formless fire as well. Zhao Xianke regrets that most physicians do not recognise the cosmological principles on which his strategy of “warming and supplementing” is based. Because they do not understand the logical behind the composition of the *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*, they are in many cases unable to understand how these cosmological principles apply to medical doctrine, and are thus unable to understand the correct use of ingredients which supplement formless water and fire of Before Heaven in the *yin* region of the kidneys.

⁵⁹² YG 4.13b-14a.

⁵⁹³ p. 127 (Figure 16.)

Variations on a theme

Although the principle of the “Heavenly One producing Water” (*tianyi sheng shui*, ☰ - > ☵), on which Zhao Xianke builds his explanation of the cosmogony hidden in the Diagram of After Heaven, can be traced back to ancient China, it is hard to imagine that this principle inspired Zhang Ji to conceive the *bawei wan*.⁵⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Zhao praises the genius of ancient physicians such as Zhang Ji for truly understanding the way of composing recipes. Zhao’s admiration for recipes composed by the ancients stands in stark contrast to his evaluation of the many variations on the two pills, used by later generations of physicians. In his opinion, only the original compositions, and a few variations there of composed by Zhang Yuansu make sense.⁵⁹⁵ Zhao especially criticises physicians who combine *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* with cold and bitter medicinals that decrease fire, such as *huangbo* and *zhimu*.⁵⁹⁶ He equally rejects combinations with *materia medica* that enter the spleen-stomach conduits, such as *renshen*:

凡用藥須要分得陰陽水火清淨如朝廷有六部一部有一部之事一部有一部用事之人今欲輸納錢糧而可與天曹用事之人同議乎 [...] 予正謂腎經水部不可與脾經戶部相雜之謂耳

When using *materia medica*, you should make a clear distinction between *yinyang*, water and fire. Just like the imperial government (*chao ting*) has six departments.⁵⁹⁷ Each department has its own tasks. And, each department has a person in charge of these tasks. Can those in charge of tax collecting (*shunu qianliang*) be discussed in the same way as those in charge of the the celestial offices (*tiancao*)⁵⁹⁸? [...] This is exactly what is meant by the Water Department (*shui bu*) of the kidney conduit cannot be mixed with the Department of Revenue (*hu bu*) of the spleen conduit.⁵⁹⁹

Thus, the viscera in the microcosm of the body fulfil specific functions, just like governmental departments do in the Under Heavenly Empire. Therefore, it makes no sense to directly assist the workings of one bodily function with *materia medica* that affect another function. Moreover, the reason why ingredients that “target the

⁵⁹⁴ No cosmological explanations of the composition of *bawei wan* (or *shenqi wan*) can be found in the writings attributed to Zhang Ji.

⁵⁹⁵ YG 4.2a-3b.

⁵⁹⁶ Zhu Zhenheng’s *Sanyi shenqi wan* is given as an example. (YG 4.2a)

⁵⁹⁷ On the Six Departments and its origins in the *Zhouli*, see, for instance, Pearce 2001: 159-160.

⁵⁹⁸ The celestial government offices in Daoism. (道家所称天上的官署). (HYDCD 2, 1433)

⁵⁹⁹ YG 6.13a-b.

spleen-stomach conduit” cannot be mixed with the two pills is not only because there is a clear division of tasks between the different visceral departments, but also because of the very distinction between the nature of what has form of After Heaven and the Before Heavenly nature of the formless. If the cause of the disease is an imbalance between formless fire and water in the kidney region, only ingredients that are conform the Wang Bing principles can be used. In *juan 3*, Zhao warns that in case of ‘blood ejection’ through the mouth (*tu xue*), caused by such an imbalance, it is useless to include ingredients that “stop the bleeding,” “make fire descend,” or “target the spleen-stomach conduit” to supplementing recipes:

系下焦兩腎中先天之真氣與心肺脾胃後天有形之體毫不相干 [...] 惟仲景八味腎氣丸斯為對症腎中一水一火地黃壯水之主桂附益火之原水火既濟之道蓋陰虛火動者若腎中寒冷龍宮無可安之穴宅不得已而遊行於上故血亦隨火而妄行今用桂附二味純陽之火加於六味純陰水中使腎中溫暖如冬月一陽來復於水土之中龍雷之火自然歸就於原宅不用寒涼而火自降不必止血而血自安矣若陰中水幹而火炎者去桂附而純用六味以補水配火血亦自安亦不必去火總之保火為主此仲景二千餘年之玄秘豈後人可能筆削一字哉

If it is related to the authentic *qi* of Before Heaven of the lower burner inside the two kidneys, it has nothing to do with the physical entities (*youxing zhi ti*) of After Heaven, such as the heart, the lungs, and the spleen-stomach. [...] Only Zhongjing’s *bawei shenqi wan* is appropriate for treating these conditions. In the kidneys, there is water and fire. *Dihuang* “invigorates the controlling [function] of water.” [*Rou*]*gui* and *fu*[*zi*] “increase the origin [being] fire.” This is the Way of ‘water and fire already ordered’ (*shui huo jiji zhi dao*; ䷋). Well, if fire moves because of *yin* depletion, and if there is cold in the kidneys, the palace of the dragon has no cavern residence where it can find peace. It has no alternative but to drift up. Hence, blood-fluid also moves recklessly, following fire. If you now use the two ingredients of pure *yang* fire, [*rou*]*gui* and *fu*[*zi*], added to the six ingredients of pure *yin* water, you will make it pleasantly warm inside the kidneys. This is like in the winter month, one *yang* returns (*lai fu*) inside water and earth, and the fire of dragon and thunder naturally returns to its original residence. No cold and cool are needed, but fire spontaneously descends. Without stopping blood [medicines], blood is pacified out of itself.

If water in *yin* is dried up, and fire blazes, take away *rou*[*gui*] and *fu*[*zi*], and purely use the six ingredients in order to supplement water so that it can match up fire. Blood-fluid will also be automatically pacified, and it is also not necessary to expel fire.

In short, protecting fire is the main strategy. This is Zhongjing's mysterious secret (*xuanmi*) kept for more than two-thousand years. Why would later generations omit one word of it!⁶⁰⁰

Not only mixing, also altering properties of ingredients by processing methods can affect the workings of the pills. Some physicians, such as Chen Jiamo 陳嘉謨 (1586-1570), argued that *dihuang* would stick to the diaphragm (*ni ge*), causing phlegm. In order to neutralise this effect, Chen proposed to fry *dihuang* with ginger juice.⁶⁰¹ In “Essay on Phlegm” (Tan lun), Zhao criticises this way of processing *dihuang*:

蒙筌謂地黃泥膈生痰為痰門禁藥以薑汁炒之嗟乎若以薑汁炒之則變為辛燥地黃無用矣蓋地黃正取其濡潤之品能入腎經若雜於脾胃藥中土惡濕安得不泥膈生痰八味六味丸中諸品皆少陰經的藥群隊相引直入下焦名曰水泛為痰之聖藥

According to [*Bencao*] *Mengquan*, *dihuang* sticks to the diaphragm, and produces phlegm. It is thus a forbidden *materia medica* in cases of phlegm, and should be fried (*chao*) with ginger juice (*jiang zhi*). Alas! By frying it with ginger juice, it becomes (*bianwei*) pungent and dry (*xin zao*), and *dihuang* loses its effects. Well, *dihuang* is precisely taken because of its moistening (*rurun*) qualities, and its ability to enter the kidney conduit. If it is mixed with spleen-stomach medicines [such as ginger], and because of earth detests dampness, how would it not stick to the diaphragm (*ni ge*) and produce phlegm! All ingredients used in the *bawei* and *liuwei wan* are medicinals that reach the lesser *yin* conduit. They all guide each other to directly enter the lower burner. It is called: a sacred medicine (*sheng yao*) for water flooding causing phlegm.⁶⁰²

In order to enable the pills to reach the lower burner, Zhao Xianke gives concrete advice on their ingestion:

空腹服之壓以美膳不留胃中此仲景制方立法之妙何必固疑

Take it on an empty stomach, and press it down with a nice meal. It may not remain in the stomach. This is the subtlety (*miao*) of the way

⁶⁰⁰ YG 3.13a-14a.

⁶⁰¹ *Bencao mengquan* 83.

⁶⁰² YG 4.19b-20a.

of composing recipes by Zhongjing. Why should there be such a firm doubt?⁶⁰³

Other physicians proposed to remove *fuling* and *zexie* from the original recipe of *bawei wan*, because these ingredients would excessively drain the kidneys.⁶⁰⁴ The controversy that existed among Ming dynasty physicians about the use of *fuling* and *zexie* can be deduced from the “Essay on the Use of *Zexie* in Zhang Zhongjing’s Pill with Eight Ingredients” (Zhang Zhongjing *bawei wan yong zexie lun* 張仲景八味丸用澤瀉論), which Zhao Xianke includes in *juan* 4 of *Yiguan*. This “Essay” originally appeared in *Yijing suhui ji* 醫經溯洄集 (Collection of Tracing Back to the Medical Classics, 1368) written by Wang Lü 王履 (1332-?).⁶⁰⁵ Zhao Xianke copied this chapter from *Dongyuan shishu* 東垣十書 (Ten Writings by Dongyuan) compiled in 1529.⁶⁰⁶ Wang Lü counters the argument of Kou Zongshi 寇宗奭 (11th - 12th C.), who in his *Bencao yanyi* 本草衍義 (Expanded Meanings of Materia Medica, 1116) wrote that *zexie* is only included in *bawei wan* because it guides the other ingredients into the kidney conduit.⁶⁰⁷ According to Wang Lü, the *materia medica* in *bawei wan* do not need any guidance by *zexie*, because they are all able to enter the kidney conduit by themselves. Instead, *zexie*, and also *fuling*, are included for of their ability to drain evil from the kidneys:

雖云以瀉腎乃瀉腎邪非瀉腎之本也故五苓散用澤瀉者詎非瀉腎邪乎白茯苓亦伐腎邪即所以補正耳是則八味丸之用澤瀉者非為接引諸藥瀉腎邪

⁶⁰³ YG 4.20a. This advice is also given in the indications, composition, preparation, and ingestion method of *liuwei wan*, attached to “Essay on Water and Fire:”

右為細末和地黃膏加煉蜜桐子大每服七八十丸空心食前滾鹽湯下凡服須空腹服畢少時便以美膳壓之使不得停留胃中直至下元以瀉衝逆也
Grind the above [ingredients] with *dihuang* paste add refined honey, and make [pills] as big as the size of *tong* tree seeds. Swallow each time seventy to eighty pills down with boiled hot salted water on an empty stomach, before eating. Each ingestion must be on an empty stomach. Shortly after ingesting you should press it down with a good meal in order to prevent that it stays in the stomach, and to allow it to directly reach the lower primordality (*xia yuan*). This is to drain off a surging counterflow. (YG 4.6b-7a)

⁶⁰⁴ YG 4.3a-4a.

⁶⁰⁵ *Yijing suhui ji* 2.27b-29a. Apart from being a physician, Wang Lü was also a gifted painter and poet. For a study of his illustrated travelogue to Mt. Hua, see Liscomb 1993.

⁶⁰⁶ ZYWXCD 184. Zhao Xianke quotes the version in *Dongyuan shishu*. (YG 4.3a-4a)

⁶⁰⁷ YG 4.3a. Cf. *Bencao yanyi*: “The use of Zhang Zhongjing’s *bawei wan* is only to guide *materia medica*, such as [rou]gui and fu[zi] to the kidney conduit, and has no other meaning” (張仲景八味丸用之者亦不過引接桂附等歸就腎經別無他義). (861)

Although it is said that *zexie* is “salty and can drain the kidneys,” this is about draining evil from the kidneys, and not draining the root of the kidneys. Hence, like *zexie* in *wuling san*⁶⁰⁸, how would it not be to drain evil from the kidneys? Also *bai fuling* attacks evil in the kidneys. This is exactly how [this recipe] supplements the upright (*bu zheng*)! Therefore, the use of *zexie* in *bawei wan* is not to guide the other *materia medica*, but to drain evil from the kidneys.⁶⁰⁹

Moreover, “Essay on the Use of *Zexie* in Zhang Zhongjing’s Pill with Eight Ingredients” concludes that although these ingredients have kidney draining potential, they are balanced by the kidney supplementing properties of the other ingredients.⁶¹⁰ Zhao once again praises the genius of Zhang Ji, and criticises variations on the original recipe made by his contemporaries. In his comment on this “Essay,” he states:

余所以諄諄於此方者蓋深知仲景為立方之祖的認此方為治腎之要
毫不敢私意增減今人或以脾胃藥雜之或以寒涼加之皆不知立方之
本意也余特將仲景立意之奧旨闡發於各條門下

Why am I so assiduous (*zhunzhun*) about this recipe? Well, I deeply understood that Zhongjing was the forefather (*zu*) of composing recipes (*li fang*). He clearly considered this recipe essential for treating the kidneys. I do not at all dare to alter (*zengjian*) it according to my own ideas (*shi yi*). Some of my contemporaries mix it with spleen-stomach *materia medica*, others add cold and cool. None of them knows the original idea of composing recipes. I particularly aim to elucidate the profound meaning of Zhongjing’s ideas to all my disciples.⁶¹¹

Although Zhao Xianke remained faithful to the recipe of the original *bawei wan*, other contemporary *wenbu* physicians voiced their reservations about the use of *zexie* and *fuling*, as used in the two pills. In his “Essay on Authentic *Yin*” in *Leijing fuyi*, Zhang Jiebin, for instance, refers to the importance of the Wang Bing principles, as highlighted by Xue Ji, and, in a similar way as Zhao Xianke did, he relates these principles to authentic *yin*, as genuine root of the body. However, instead of using *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*, Zhang proposes four of his own variations on the pills, that do not include *zexie* and *fuling*:

⁶⁰⁸ Composed of *zhuling* 豬苓, *baizhu*, *fuling*, *zexie*, and *guizhi*. This recipe promotes urination and percolate dampness (*lishui shenshi* 利水滲濕). (Li ZYDCD 228)

⁶⁰⁹ As quoted in YG 4.3b-4a.

⁶¹⁰ YG 4.4a.

⁶¹¹ YG 4.4a-b.

近惟我明薛立齋獨得其妙而常用仲景八味丸即益火之劑也錢六味丸即壯水之劑也每以濟人多收奇效誠然善矣第真陰既虛則不宜再泄二方俱用茯苓澤瀉滲利太過即仲景金匱亦為利水而設雖曰於大補之中加此何害然未免減去補力而奏功為難矣使或陰氣雖弱未至大傷或麟氣微滯而兼痰濕水邪者則正宜用此若精氣大損年力俱衰真陰內乏虛痰假火等症即從純補猶嫌不足若加滲利如實漏卮矣故當察微甚緩急而用隨其人斯為盡善余及中年方悟補陰之理因推廣其義用六味之意而不用六味之方活人應手之效真有不能盡述者

In recent times, only Xue Lizhai [i.e. Xue Ji] of our Ming dynasty obtained the subtleties [of supplementing the kidneys making use of the Wang Bing principles], and frequently used Zhongjing's *bawei wan* as recipe "to increase fire", and Qian's *liuwei wan* as recipe "to invigorate water." Each time he saved people and often received remarkable results. Honestly, this is excellent! However, if authentic *yin* is already depleted, it is not appropriate to further drain it. These two recipes make use of the excessive percolating and disinhibiting properties of *fuling* and *zexie*. Therefore, in Zhongjing's *Jingui* [*yaolie*] they are also used as diuretic [recipe]. Although some say that they would not cause harm when included among great supplementing [ingredients], they inevitably take away some of the supplementing force, which obstructs efficacy. If *yinqi* is weakened, but not yet greatly damaged, the *zang*-visceral *qi* is slightly stagnant, and there is water evil in the form of phlegm and dampness, it is indeed appropriate to use them. However, if essence and *qi* are greatly lost, and, because of age, power has declined, authentic *yin* is internally deprived, and if there are symptoms like depleted phlegm and fake fire, you should only supplement. Otherwise, I am afraid [the treatment] will be insufficient. If you now add percolating and disinhibiting [ingredients], it is like filling a leaking wine cup (*shi louzhi*).⁶¹² Hence, you should examine the severity and acuteness, and then according to the individual patient apply [medicines]. This is the best. Only after I reached middle age, did I understand the principle of supplementing *yin*, and promoted its meaning. I use the idea of *liuwei*, but not the recipe of the *liuwei*. I can truly not give a full account of [how many] people I saved by the immediate effects [of applying these principles].⁶¹³

Whereas Zhang Jiebin composed his own supplementing recipes in the spirit of Zhang Ji, Zhao Xianke remained faithful to the original recipe of the *bawei wan*. Although Zhao approved some minor variations, he strongly condemned the use of

⁶¹² It is also a metaphor for the riches of the country leaking away. (GR 4, 179)

⁶¹³ *Leijing fuyi* 3.22a-23a. Zhang's four variations, *yougui wan* 右歸丸 (Left Returning Pill), *zuogui wan* 左歸丸 (Right Returning Pill), *yougui yin* 右歸飲 (Right Returning Beverage), and *zuogui yin* 左歸飲 (Left Returning Beverage), are commonly used in TCM. See, for instance, Zheng Zhongjia 2003: 172-173, 180-181.

combinations of the two pills with cold and bitter ingredients, or with *materia medica* that supplement the stomach. By sticking to the original recipes, Zhao Xianke considered himself to be a faithful follower of Xue Ji, and a genuine proponent of a tradition going back to Zhang Ji.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁴ I will elaborate on Zhao Xianke's use of tradition in the last Discussion: "Medical tradition."

Conclusion: recipes and the formless ruler

The analysis of Zhao Xianke's ideas on the Wang Bing principles yields interesting results. Zhao clearly builds on Xue Ji's medical doctrine. Important parts of *Yiguan* are almost *verbatim* taken from Xue's texts. This is not only the case for the general description of indications in which the two pills can be used, but also for Zhao's alternatives to Wang Lun's ideas on supplementing *yin*.

However, there also are differences between the individual proponents of *wenbu* medicine. Not all *wenbu* physicians applied the Wang Bing principles to the *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* in the same systematic way as Zhao did. The example of Li Zhongzi, who explained the properties of *zhimu* (a *materia medica* avoided by Zhao because of its bitter and cold nature) in terms of "reinforcing the controlling of water" shows that the exclusive application of the Wang Bing principles to the ingredients of the two pills was not fully shared by all *wenbu* physicians. Zhang Jiebin strongly objected against the use of the *fuling* and *zexie*, which have strong kidneys properties. Zhao, in contrast, was very conservative in his use of the two pills. He highlights that none of his contemporaries could even come close to the genius of Zhang Ji.

On a theoretical level, there is an important difference between Xue Ji and later *wenbu* physicians. In his medical texts, Xue never referred to the concept of Before Heaven. By relating the Wang Bing principles to the Before Heavenly, Zhao, and other later *wenbu* physicians, such as Sun Yikui and Zhang Jiebin, substantially expanded the theoretical foundations of *wenbu* medicine. In contrast to these other *wenbu* physicians, however, Zhao exclusively emphasised the formless nature of both the gate of life (standing on a higher hierarchical level than all forms in the body, including the heart) and its functional aspects (authentic water and minister fire). In this sense, Zhao's theoretical approach was more radical than that of the other *wenbu* physicians, as I have shown in Part II of my thesis. Yet, Zhao's theory was also unique in the way he cosmologically explained the composition of the two pills. His ideas on the properties of important *materia medica*, such as *dihuang*, *rougui*, and *fuzi*, are inspired by the distinction between two different kinds of water *kun* and *dui* (as found in Chen Tuan's commentated version of *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*), and by the diagrammatical arrangement of trigrams in the Diagram of After Heaven.

Now that we answered the question: "which ingredients should be used as medicine to affect the sovereign ruler (*junzhu*), and to control (*gangwei*) the diseases (*jibing*) of the whole body?", I will continue by showing how Zhao Xianke applies the Wang Bing principles and the ingredients of the two pills to a variety of pathologies, ranging from cough to constipation.

Chapter 5

Kidney *yin* depletion

Introduction

In this Chapter, I will examine particular pathologies of *yin* depletion that can be treated by *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. In the first section, I will first analyse possible connections between the kidneys and the lungs, which explain the importance of supplementing formless water and fire in the kidney region while treating a wide range of lung afflictions. In some lung pathologies, the presence of phlegm and blood was yet another motivation for Zhao to involve the kidneys in his treatment strategy. In the second section, I will explain how the “substantial” (*you xing*) fluids phlegm and blood are related to the Before Heavenly. After discussing diseases that manifest themselves mainly in the lungs, Zhao includes essays on pathologies associated with the apertures situated in the head, including the eyes, ears, and mouth.⁶¹⁵ In these essays, he highlights the importance of “essence” (*jing*). In the third section, I will discuss how “essence,” stored in the kidneys, can be responsible for a variety of disorders, including hyperopia and deafness. I will also shortly elaborate on how kidneys and liver interact to store and discharge essence in the (male) body, which Zhao explains in the last chapter of *juan 5*: “Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission.” In the fourth section, I will discuss how a dysfunctional relationship between formless water and fire causes problems in the digestive system. Important chapters for understanding Zhao’s ideas on digestive disorders are “Essay on Wasting Thirst” and “Essay on Fullness in the Centre because of Qi

⁶¹⁵ After four essays which mainly deal with lung afflictions, Zhao Xianke includes an “Essay on Throat Ache.” (YG 4.23a-27b). Except on some practical treating methods, Zhao also elaborates on how ‘minister fire’ follows the kidney conduit (*shenjing*) to the upper regions. Because of the narrow space inside the throat, fire easily concentrates in this location, and may cause damage. This pathology follows the same logic as those of lung disease caused by drifting up ‘minister fire’ along the kidney conduit. Therefore, I will not elaborate this essay in the first section of this Chapter.

Depletion.” In the former essay, he explains the metaphor of the cooking cauldron, essential in understanding the mechanism of ‘wasting thirst’ and related disorders. In the latter, he highlights the importance of the kidneys and its partner organs (bladder and three burners) in governing the opening and closing of the passages in the lower trunk of the body, and how dysfunctions of this governance explain problems of both urination and defecation.

Although Zhao Xianke emphasises the imbalance of the functional aspects of the Before Heavenly (authentic water and minister fire) as aetiology of these various pathologies, it is important to point out that he never excluded the possibility of other pathological causes. In “Essay on Panting” (Chuan lun), for instance, after explaining the importance of *yin* depletion as cause of panting, he states:

以上詳論陰虛發喘之症治若陽虛致喘東垣已詳盡矣外感發喘仲景已詳盡矣茲為補天立論故加意於六味八味云

Above, I discussed the treatment of conditions of panting caused by *yin* depletion in detail. For cases of *yang* depletion causing panting, Dongyuan [i.e. Li Gao] already discussed them into detail. Cases of external evil causing panting, Zhongjing [i.e. Zhang Ji] already discussed them into detail. Here, I put forth the theory of supplementing the Heavenly (*bu tian*). Hence, I emphasise the importance of *liuwei* [*wan*] and *bawei* [*wan*].⁶¹⁶

As already discussed in Chapter 4, Zhao Xianke underlines that a physicians should be able to make a correct diagnosis, and to apply clinical strategies accordingly. Although he praises the methods of Zhang Ji and Li Gao, Zhao blames most of his contemporaries for following Zhu Zhenheng’s strategy of supplementing blood as *yin* in the body, which does not reach the fundamental level of the Before Heavenly. In “Essential Essays on Before Heaven,” Zhao thus explains how *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* cure a wide range of disorders, caused by a depletion of the Before Heavenly.

⁶¹⁶ YG 4.33a. In the various essays of *juan* 4 and 5, abundant references to the therapies of Li Gao and other physicians can be found.

Kidneys and lungs

In Zhao Xianke's therapeutics of *Before Heaven*, the connection between the *zang* viscera lungs and kidneys is of utmost importance. The first four out of sixteen chapters on specific pathologies all discuss conditions that are associated with lung diseases: phlegm (*tan* 痰), cough (*kesou* 咳嗽), blood ejection (*tu xue* 吐血), and panting (*chuan* 喘).⁶¹⁷ The order in which these essays feature in *Yiguan* reflects a progression in seriousness, starting with heat effusion, initially caused by authentic water depletion, as can be illustrated by a passage from "Essay on Panting:"

蓋緣陰水虛故有火有火則有痰有痰則咳嗽咳嗽之甚則喘
Hence, because of *yin* water depletion, there is fire. If there is fire, there is phlegm. If there is phlegm, there is cough (*kesou*). If cough is severe, there is panting.⁶¹⁸

The drifting of kidneys fire to the lungs is first of all "anatomically" explained.⁶¹⁹ Kidneys and lungs are directly connected by the upper course of the kidney conduit (*shenjing* 腎經).⁶²⁰ Zhao explains this connection by paraphrasing the relevant passage in LS 10, the *locus classicus* in which the courses of the conduits are described:

蓋腎脈入肺循喉嚨挾舌本其支者從肺出絡心注胸中故二臟相連病則俱病而其根在腎
Well, the vessels (*mai*)⁶²¹ of the kidneys enter the lungs, go along the throat (*houlong*), and connect to the base of the tongue. Its branches leave from the lungs, connect to the heart (*luo xin*), and concentrates (*zhu*) into the chest.⁶²² Hence, these two *zang*-viscera [i.e. kidneys and lungs] are interconnected. If one of them is ill, they are both ill. However, the root [of the disease] is in the kidneys.⁶²³

⁶¹⁷ YG 4.17b-33a. The chapters on lung afflictions follow the more general chapter "Heat Effusion because of Yin Depletion."

⁶¹⁸ YG 4.30b.

⁶¹⁹ I do not use "anatomically" in the sense of visual knowledge obtained through dissection. On comparison between viewing the body in East and West, see Kuriyama 1995; 2002. For an extensive account on the concept of conduits in early Chinese medicine see Harper 1999, Li Jianming 2007, and Lo 2007.

⁶²⁰ The 'kidney conduit' originates in the 'bubbling fountain cavity' (*yongquan xue*) in the centre of the sole.

⁶²¹ Here, the *mai* is a synonym for *jing*, as in the composition *jingmai* 經脈. (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 55)

⁶²² Cf. LS 10: 6b.

⁶²³ YG 4.25a.



Figure 20. The kidney conduit (*Leijing tuyi* 3.48a)

The pathological condition of throat ache (*houyan tong* 喉咽痛), described in “Essay on Throat Ache,” immediately following the essays on lung diseases, is equally explained from this “anatomical” perspective. The narrow space defining the kidney conduit in the throat especially makes this region an easy victim of heat accumulation.⁶²⁴

However, aside of the course of the kidney conduit, there are other arguments to explain the intimate relationship between kidneys and lungs. In “Essay on Cough,” Zhao elaborates on the mother-child relationships of the agent metal, which is associated with the lungs.⁶²⁵ Instead of favouring a direct treatment of the lungs in case of cough, he advocates supplementation of either spleen earth or kidney water. In the conventional set of relations between the five agents, earth produces metal, and is regarded as its mother; and water, being produced by metal, as its child.

The choice between these two main strategies, supplementing earth or water, fully depends on accurate diagnosis. As in other parts of *Yiguan*, also in case of cough, Zhao Xianke refers to three main causes: external evil, internal depletion of *yangqi* associated with the spleen-stomach, and internal depletion of *yinqi* associated with

⁶²⁴ YG 4.33a-37b.

⁶²⁵ Although other *zangfu* can be involved, since the lungs are responsible for the distribution of *qi*, treatment of the lungs is essential in all cases of cough. On cough in Chinese medicine, see also Despeux and Obringer 1997.

kidneys. However, in case of lung diseases, Zhao minimises the occurrence of pathologic conditions exclusively caused by external evil “guests,” as he points out that there is always a kind of depletion of ‘host *qi*’ (*zhu qi* 主氣) of the body itself. In this context, Zhao further refers to traditional recipes that treat cough caused by the external evils wind and cold. These recipes do not only contain *materia medica* that expel evil, their main ingredients (*jun yao* 君藥) also invigorate spleen earth:

脾實則肺金有養皮毛有衛已入之邪易以出後來之邪無自而入矣若專以解表則肺氣益虛腠理益疏外邪乘間而來者何時而已耶須以人參黃芪甘草以補脾兼桂枝以驅邪此予謂不治肺而治脾虛則補其母義也

If the spleen is full, the metal of the lungs gets its nourishment, and the hairs on the skin (*pi mao*) will be protected. Evil that has already invaded will be easily expelled. Moreover, evil that is about to enter no longer has an opportunity to do so. If you should only relieve the outer layers, lung *qi* would become more depleted, and the pores (*couli*) will slack even more. Will external evil not constantly make an entrance by using the space [and possibility to enter from the skin]? Instead, use *renshen*, *huangqi* or *gancao* in order to supplement the spleen, and combine with *guizhi* in order to expel evil. This is what I mean by “do not treat the lungs, but treat the spleen”. This is the idea of supplementing the mother in case of depletion.⁶²⁶

Hence, supplementing the mother of metal, being spleen earth, is done by using traditional recipes that contain ingredients such as *renshen*, *shaoyao*, and *gancao*. This treatment strategy, which makes use of the conventional relationship of earth producing metal, should be understood in the logic of After Heaven.⁶²⁷

In cases of serious cough, however, Zhao Xianke highlights that not the spleen but the kidneys are depleted. In order to explain the need of supplementing the kidneys, he elaborates on the idea that the lungs are responsible for bringing out *qi*, but the kidneys for taking in *qi*, an idea borrowed from Yang Shiyong’s (13th C.) 楊士瀛 *Renzhai zhizhi fanglun* 仁齋直指方論 (Renzhai’s Direct Instructions on Recipes, 1264):

仁齋直指云肺出氣也腎納氣也肺為氣之主腎為氣之本凡咳嗽暴重動引百骸自覺氣從臍下逆奔而上者此腎虛不能收氣歸元當以地黃丸安腎丸主之毋徒從事於肺此虛則補子之義也

⁶²⁶ YG 4.21a-b.

⁶²⁷ I will discuss the relation between ‘host’ *qi* and external evil in the first two sections of Chapter 6.

Renzhai zhizhi says: “The lungs bring out *qi*. The kidneys take in *qi*.”⁶²⁸ The lungs are the controller of *qi*, and the kidneys are the root of *qi*. The cough is so violent that it makes all bones in the body tremble (*dong yin*). There is an awareness that *qi* runs in the wrong way up from below the umbilicus. This is because the kidneys are depleted and unable to receive *qi* by guiding it back to the origin (*gui yuan*). You should control this by *dihuang wan* or *anshen wan*.⁶²⁹ Do not focus on the lungs in vain. This is the idea of supplementing the child in case of depletion.⁶³⁰

As in “Essay on the Five Agents” of *juan 1*, discussed in Chapter 3, Zhao again paraphrases the alchemical *Zhouyi cantong qi* explaining the inverse relationship between metal (mother) and water (child):

五行之間惟肺腎二藏母盛而子宮受邪何則肺主氣肺有熱則氣得熱而上蒸不能下生於腎而腎受邪矣腎既受邪則肺益病此又何也蓋母藏子宮子隱母胎凡人肺金之氣夜臥則歸藏於腎水之中今因肺受心火之邪欲下避水中而腎水乾枯有火無可容之地於是復上而病矣
Why is it so that in the [system of] five agents only for two of the *zang*-viscera, lungs and kidneys, when the mother is abundant, the palace of the child receives evil? The lungs control *qi*. If the lungs have heat, *qi* obtains heat and steams up. It thus cannot be produced below in the kidneys, and the kidneys receive evil. Why after the kidneys received evil are the lungs even more ill? Well, “the mother stores up in the palace of the child, and the child hides in the womb of the mother.” The *qi* of metal in the human lungs returns and is stored up in the water of the lungs when sleeping at night. When the lungs receive the evil of heart fire, [their *qi*] want to escape below, inside water. However, the water of the kidneys is dried up and has fire. Because there is no place to contain it, the [fire] goes up again, and there is disease.⁶³¹

Hence, Zhao does not only consider the kidneys to be the root of the lungs because of the course of the kidney duct, but also because in the productive relationships in his logic of Before Heaven, the child (water, kidneys) produces the mother (metal, lungs).

So far, I have only discussed pathologies caused by minister fire drifting up. However, the lungs are called ‘delicate viscera’ (*jiao zang*) because they are not only

⁶²⁸ Renzhai zhizhi *fanglun* 137.

⁶²⁹ *Dihuang wan* is an alternative name for *liuwei wan*. There are two main composition of *anshen wan*. The version referred to in *Yiguan* is composed of *rougui*, *pao chuanwu* 炮川烏, *taoren*, *bai jili* 白蒺藜, *bajitian* 巴戟天, *shanyao*, *fuling*, *roucongrong* 肉蓯蓉, *zhi shihu* 炙石斛, *bixie* 萆薢, *baizhu*, *buguzhi* 補骨脂. (Li ZYDCD 719)

⁶³⁰ YG 4.21b.

⁶³¹ YG 4.21b-22a. For the paraphrase from *Zhouyi cantong qi*, see also p. 158.

susceptible to heat associated with fire, but also to cold associated with water.⁶³² In “Essay on Cough,” Zhao Xianke devotes attention to problems related to flooding up kidney water. If *yin* fire in the kidneys is depleted, it is unable to keep water in the lower regions of the kidneys. Thereupon, cold water may flood up and cause damage to the lungs. Cases of flooding *yin* water often occur in a combination with weakened spleen earth, which is unable to control water of the kidneys:

有脾胃先虛土虛不能制水水泛為痰子來乘母而嗽者矣

If the spleen-stomach is first depleted, and, because of depletion, earth is unable to control water, water will flood up and become phlegm. The child [i.e. water] will exploit (*cheng*) the mother [i.e. metal], and there is cough.⁶³³

Zhao continues by pointing out that such a condition might come from an initial occurrence of fire attacking the lung which, after erroneous diagnostics, was mistreated with large doses of cooling medicines:

又有初雖起於心火刑金因誤服寒涼以致脾土受傷肺益虛而嗽者乃火位之下水氣承之子來救母腎水復火之仇寒水挾木勢而上侵於脾胃水冷金寒故嗽前病未除新病癒甚粗工不達此義尚謂痰火難除寒涼倍進豈不殆哉斯時也須用六君子湯加炮姜以補脾肺八味丸以補土母而引水歸原此等治咳嗽之法幸同志者加之意焉

There are conditions that originally are due to heart fire punishing metal. However, an abusive use of cold and cool damages spleen earth. The lungs get even more depleted and there is cough. Well, fire is located below, and water *qi* abuses it, and the child comes to rescue the mother. The water of the kidneys takes revenge on fire. Cold water holding on to the authority of wood, goes up and attacks the lungs and stomach. Because water is cool, metal gets cold, and there is cough. Before the previous disease is expelled, the new disease is even more serious. The roughly skilled (*cu gong*) does not get this idea, and will persist in saying that phlegm and fire are difficult to expel, and double the dose of cold and cool. How would this not be dangerous! At this moment, you should use *liu junzi tang* added with *pao jiang* (stir-fried ginger) in order to supplement spleen and lungs, and *bawei wan* in order to supplement the mother of earth, to guide water back to its origin. I hope that those who share my ideas on these kinds of methods for treating cough devote attention to this.⁶³⁴

⁶³² See also p. 158.

⁶³³ YG 4.23b.

⁶³⁴ YG 4.23b-24a.

Interestingly, in the above case, on top of *liu junzi tang*, consisting mainly of spleen supplementing *materia medica*, *bawei wan* is used not only to supplement yin depletion, but also to supplement spleen earth. The reason for this is that fire inside kidney water (minister fire) is the mother of spleen earth.⁶³⁵

Treating cough, Zhao Xianke does not opt for either supplementing the spleen or the kidneys exclusively. Often a complex combination of approaches is suggested, involving recipes that both supplement the kidneys and supplement the spleen. The order in which these various recipes should be administered is crucial, for it affects the outcome of the treatment:

蓋病本起於房勞太過虧損真陰陰虛而火上火上而刑金故咳則金不能不傷矣予先以壯水之主之藥如六味地黃之類補其真陰使水升而火降隨即以參芪救肺之品以補腎之母使金水相生而病易愈矣世之用寒涼者庸淺庸工固不必齒間有知用參芪者不知先壯水以鎮火而遽投參芪以補陽反使陽火愈旺而金益受傷豈藥之罪哉此所謂不識先後著者也

The origin of the disease is due to enfeebled authentic *yin*, due to overexertion in the bedroom. Because of *yin* depletion, fire rises up, punishes the metal, and causes cough. If there is cough, metal must be damaged. I would first apply medicines such as *liuwei dihuang*, that invigorate the ruling (being) water to supplement authentic *yin*. If water ascends and fire descends, I subsequently use ingredients that relieve the lungs, such as [*ren*]shen and [*huang*]qi to supplement the mother of the kidneys. If metal and water are producing each other, the disease will easily be cured. Those who now use cold and cool are superficial and mediocre workers (*fuqian yonggong*), and should not be mentioned (*bu bi chi*). Among them, there are also those who know about [*ren*]shen and [*huang*]qi. However, instead of knowing

⁶³⁵ An analogous example can be found in “Essay on Blood Ejection:”

又有一等腎水泛上上侵於肺水冷金寒故咳嗽肺氣受傷血無所附故亦吐血醫見嗽血者火也以寒折之病者危而危者斃矣須用八味丸補命門火以引水歸原次用理中湯補脾胃以補肺之母使土能克水則腎水歸原而血復其位矣

There further is one kind of kidney water flooding up. Up [in the body] it attacks the lungs. When water is cool, metal becomes cold, and there is cough, and lungs *qi* is harmed. Blood has nothing to attach itself to. Hence, there is also coughing up blood (*tu xue*). When the physician see cough and blood, [he considers it to be] fire, and uses cold to break it off (*zhe zhi*). The disease becomes dangerous, and the danger will lead to execution (*bingzhe wei er wei zhe bi*). You should use the *bawei wan* to supplement fire of the gate of life, to guide water back to the origin. Next, use *lizhong tang* to supplement the spleen and stomach, in order to supplement the mother of the lungs. If earth can control water (*neng ke shui*), kidney water returns to the origin, and blood returns to its [proper] position. (YG 4.26a-b)

that water should first be invigorated in order to suppress fire, they immediately use [*ren*]*shen* and [*huang*]*qi* to supplement *yang*. But, contrary [to what they expected] fire flourishes even more, and metal receives more damage. How would this be the fault of the *materia medica*! Hereby, it becomes obvious what is meant by not knowing what to do first and afterwards.⁶³⁶

Not only in conditions of pure *yin* depletion, but also in cases of *yangqi* depletion, Zhao Xianke advocates a combined approach of using spleen and kidney *materia medica*. Yet, this mainly relates to aftercare, as can be illustrated with an example of phlegm caused by spleen depletion:

於脾虛者既補中理中又能以六味八味制水以益母子母互相生克而於治痰之道其庶幾矣

If the spleen is depleted, after having supplemented the centre (*bu zhong*) and regulated the centre (*li zhong*), you may use the *liuwei* or *bawei* in order to control water, and in order to increase the mother. Child and mother are mutually producing and controlling each other, and this is the ideal (*qi shuji*) method of treating phlegm.⁶³⁷

Thus, in contrast to the above described cases of *yin* depletion, recipes are administered in the reverse order: first the spleen is supplemented, and afterwards the kidneys.

In conclusion, the prominent position of the lungs in “Essential Essays on Before Heaven” is no coincidence. As many lung diseases start with heat effusion due to *yin* depletion, Zhao Xianke highlights the importance of using the two Pills as an alternative to popular but ineffective and even dangerous, methods of reducing the heat with cold and bitter. Theoretically, Zhao emphasises the intimate relation between lungs and kidneys. This is done, not only by referring to physical connections through the kidney conduit, but also by pointing out a reversed mother-child relationship. Apart from the kidneys, the central role of spleen earth should not be underestimated. In the conventional set of relations between the five agents, spleen earth does not only produce lung metal, it also controls kidney water. On the other hand, the Before Heavenly fire inside kidney water produces spleen earth. Hence, in the reality of clinical practice, Zhao seeks to achieve a precarious balance in which lung metal, spleen earth, and both formless water and fire associated with the kidneys are taken into account.

⁶³⁶ YG 4.23a-b. On the relation between supplementing the spleen and supplementing the kidneys, see also p.162.

⁶³⁷ YG 4.19a.

Phlegm and blood-fluid

Discussing lung diseases, Zhao Xianke devotes a great deal of attention to two specific watery substances, phlegm (*tan*) and blood-fluid (*xue*), which in themselves are not defined as Before Heavenly, but whose pathological presence is often related to a depletion of the Before Heavenly. Watery substances play an important role in many of the Essays in *juan* 4 and 5, because the kidneys, the viscera associated with Before Heaven, are “responsible for all fluids in the body” (*shen zhu wu ye* 腎主五液).⁶³⁸

As I have pointed out in the previous section, in case of serious lung diseases, Zhao Xianke highlights the importance of supplementing kidney yin to control drifting up minister fire or flooding up authentic water. In both these cases of yin depletion, watery substances, in the form of phlegm or blood, might appear. In contrast to the theoretical progression of a lung disease (starting with drifting up yin fire, and then evolving into phlegm, cough, and spitting blood), in clinical practice, pathological conditions often appear at the same time, though not always so. In other words, there might be blood and/or phlegm coughed up, or there might be only cough, without blood or phlegm.⁶³⁹

If phlegm and blood appear when a lung disease is caused by kidney yin depletion, Zhao Xianke does not only refer to the course of the kidney conduit or the existing mother-child relationship between lungs and kidneys, discussed in the previous section. The very fact that phlegm and blood are watery substances is a further reason to directly target the kidneys when treating lung diseases. Zhao theoretically supports strategy by referring to a passage from *Chu-shi yishu* 褚氏遺書 (Mr. Chu's Posthumously Writings), in which the presence of water, and phlegm and blood in particular, are placed into a larger cosmological framework:

褚氏遺書津潤論云天地定位水位乎中人肖天地亦有水焉在上為痰在下為水伏皮為血從毛竅中出為汗可見痰也水也血也一物也血之帶痰而出者乃腎水挾相火炎上也

Chu-shi yishu's “Junrun lun” (Essay on Moistening) says: “Heaven and Earth have fixed positions. Water is located in the centre. A human being resembles Heaven-and-Earth, and has water too. Above, it is

⁶³⁸ YG 5.21b.

⁶³⁹ Cough can also occur without phlegm or blood. Based on the presence or absence of these watery substances, Zhao Xianke makes a distinction in two forms of cough (*ke* and *sou*). Cough accompanied by phlegm is identified as *sou*-cough (“which has sound and phlegm”). In case of *sou*, water has transformed into phlegm, and follows, sometimes carrying blood-fluid, the rising of minister fire, and affects the empty organ of the lungs. *Ke*-cough, on the other hand, is characterised by an absence of phlegm, and explained as minister fire, without water, affecting the lungs. (YG 4.20a-b.)

phlegm; below, it is water; under the skin, it is blood; leaving from the pores, it is sweat. Obviously, phlegm, water and blood are all the same thing. When blood comes out, carried by phlegm, it is kidney water that attaches itself to the blazing up of minister fire.”⁶⁴⁰

Although both phlegm and blood may appear in case of lung disease, there is an important difference between these two forms of water. While most of Zhao Xianke's contemporaries would equate blood with *yin*, he points out that blood may not be confused with “authentic” *yin*. Nonetheless, blood is of an utmost importance in human physiology:

又問曰真陰真陽與血何干乎曰子但知血之為血而不知血之為水也
人身涕唾津液痰汗便溺皆水也獨血之水隨火而行故其色獨紅
Somebody further asked: “What have authentic *yin* and authentic *yang* to do with blood?” I answered: “You only know that blood is blood, but not that blood is water. Nasal mucus (*ti*), saliva (*tuo*), *jin* fluids, *ye* fluids, phlegm, sweat, stool and urine are all water. However, only the water of blood flows around by following fire. Hence, it is the only [fluid] that has a red colour.”⁶⁴¹

Thus, blood itself is not considered to be pathological as a substance. On the contrary, in normal conditions blood provides a constant supply of nourishment throughout the body. Therefore, it is more precious than any other kind of fluid (with substance) in the body. However, because blood follows minister fire, it might appear at the surface, and be ‘ejected’ (*tu*) from the mouth (and/or nose) in the pathological situation of drifting up minister fire, caused by kidney *yin* depletion.

Phlegm, on the other hand, should always be considered as pathological. To put it in Zhao's words: “Phlegm is the name of a disease. It is not something that the human body has out of itself” (蓋痰者病名也原非人身之所有).⁶⁴² Moreover, as can be derived from the sentence, “Above it is phlegm, below it is water,” in *Chu-shi yishu*, quoted above, phlegm originally is water that should be associated with the lower region of the kidneys. But, dislocated to the upper regions, it becomes phlegm.

Consequently, Zhao Xianke highlights the importance of directly targeting the kidneys in case of phlegm, which is in contrast to the view of most of his contemporaries, who associate phlegm with dampness in the spleen-stomach, and who accordingly use traditional recipes that contain dampness transforming *materia medica*. Yet, Zhao was not the first physician to involve the kidneys in treating phlegm. Earlier, Wang Lun, the Ming dynasty follower of Zhu Zhenheng, pointed out

⁶⁴⁰ YG 4.25b. Cf. *Chu-shi yishu* 4b-5a.

⁶⁴¹ YG 3.12a.

⁶⁴² YG 4.18b.

the importance of treating kidney water in case of phlegm caused by drifting up *yin* fire:

王節齋云痰之本水也原於腎痰之動濕也主於脾古人用二陳湯為治痰通用然以治濕痰寒痰則是矣若夫陰火炎上熏於上焦肺氣被鬱故其津液之隨氣而升者凝結而成痰腥穢稠濁甚則有帶血而出者此非中焦脾胃濕痰寒痰之所比亦非半夏枳殼南星之所治惟用清氣化痰須有效耳

Wang Jiezhai [i.e. Wang Lun] said: The origin (*ben*) of phlegm is water. The movement of phlegm is dampness. It is controlled by the spleen. Hence, the ancients generally used *erchen tang*⁶⁴³ for treating phlegm. If it is applied to treat dampness phlegm (*shi tan*) and cold phlegm (*han tan*), this is correct. However, if it is *yin* fire blazing up, fumigating in the upper burner, and oppressing *qi* of the lungs, it are fluids that rise following *qi*. [The fluids] congeal (*ning jie*), and form phlegm. It is smelly and dirty, and dense and turbid. In severe cases, it carries blood when it comes out. This cannot be compared to dampness phlegm and cold phlegm of the spleen-stomach in the central burner. Neither is it something that can be treated with *banxia*, *zhiquiao*, and *nanxing*.⁶⁴⁴ Only if you use *qingqi huatan*, will there be results.⁶⁴⁵

Like in his “Essay on Heat Effusion,” Zhao Xianke praises Wang Lun for stressing the importance of the kidneys in case of *yin* depletion. But, again, he disagrees with the specific recipe, *huatan wan*, which Wang advances to treat phlegm:

惜乎啟其端而未竟其說其所制之方皆治標之藥而其中寒涼之品甚多多致損胃

What a pity! [Wang Lun] made a start (*qi qi duan*), but could not accomplish the theory (*wei jing qi shuo*). The recipe he created completely [consisted of] *materia medica* that threat the superficial layers (*biao*). Among them there are really a lot of cold and cool ingredients, which frequently harm the stomach.⁶⁴⁶

Instead, Zhao proposes the use of either *liuwei wan* or *bawei wan* to treat “the root of the disease.” To support his clinical practice, he copies a lengthy excerpt of the Song physician Pang Anshi 龐安時 (1042-1099), who said that the formation of phlegm was

⁶⁴³ The ingredients of *erchen tang* are *banxia*, *juhong* 橘紅, *fuling*, and *zhi gancao*.

⁶⁴⁴ These are all ingredients which traditionally are used to treat phlegm.

⁶⁴⁵ YG 4.17b-18a. The above quote can be found in *Mingyi zazhu* 35. *Huawan tan* consists of *tianmendong*, *huangqin* 黃芩, *haifen* 海粉, *juhong*, *jiengeng* 桔梗, *lianqiao* 連翹, *xiangfu* 香附, *qingdai* 青黛, *mangxiao* 芒硝, and *gualouren* 栝蒌仁.

⁶⁴⁶ YG 4.18a.

due to *yin* depletion, and who also propagated the use of *bawei wan*.⁶⁴⁷ Another physician mentioned for using *bawei wan* in case of phlegm is Wu Qiu 吳球 (16th C.). In his *Zhuzheng bianyi* 諸證辨疑 (Clarifying Doubts about Various Symptoms), he states that this recipe “treats the origin of phlegm” (*zhi tan zhi ben ye* 治痰之本也).⁶⁴⁸ However, the earliest physician who promoted *bawei wan* to treat phlegm was Zhang Ji, the father of recipe medicine:

惟仲景先生云氣虛有痰用腎氣丸補而逐之
Only Mr. Zhongjing said: “If there is phlegm because of *qi* depletion, use the *shenqi wan* in order to supplement, and to expel it.”⁶⁴⁹

Although Zhao praises Zhang Ji for applying *shenqi wan* [or *bawei wan*] to cure a variety of pathologies, the particular treatment of phlegm with this recipe cannot be attested in Zhang’s writings.

For treating phlegm caused by *yin* depletion, Zhao Xianke advances both *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*. Before applying any one of these recipes, however, a physician should first make a correct diagnosis in order to find out which kind of *yin* depletion is causing phlegm. Because the look of phlegm itself reveals whether authentic *yin* or authentic *yang* is depleted, the diagnosis is fairly easy to make. Phlegm “without fire is pure as clean water” (無火者純是清水), while phlegm “with fire is dirty and turbid” (有火者中有重濁白沫).⁶⁵⁰ The pathogenesis and treating methods of both kinds of phlegm are further explained as follows:

非水泛為痰則水沸為痰但當分有火無火之異耳腎虛不能制水則水不歸源如水逆行洪水氾濫而為痰是無火者也故用八味丸以補腎火陰虛火動則水沸騰動於腎者猶龍火之出於海龍興而水附動於肝者

⁶⁴⁷ The reference to *bawei wan* in the passage attributed to Pang Anshi reads as follows:

有腎虛不能納氣歸原原出而不納則積積而不散則痰生焉八味丸主之
If the kidneys are depleted, and unable to collect *qi* (*na qi*), and to make it return to the origin, the the origin makes come out (*yuan chu*), and does not collect, there are accumulations (*ji*). If accumulations are not dispersed (*bu san*), this results in the production of phlegm. *Bawei wan* controls it. (YG 4.19a-b)

Zhao comments: “The views of Mr. Pang are very correct. Therefore, wrote them down to serve as an example” (龐公之見甚確錄之以為案). (YG 4.19b) I did not find the above passage in the writings of Pang Anshi. However, this quote can be found in other Ming dynasty texts as well. See, for instance, Wang Kentang’s *Zhengzhi zhunsheng* 5.18a-b.

⁶⁴⁸ YG 4.18a-b.

⁶⁴⁹ YG.4.18a.

⁶⁵⁰ YG 4.19a.

猶雷火之出於地疾風暴雨水隨波湧而為痰是有火者也故用六味丸以配火此不治痰之標而治痰之本者也

If it is not the flooding of water that forms phlegm, it is the boiling of water that forms phlegm. You should only make a distinction between presence and absence of fire. If the kidneys are depleted, and are unable to control water, water does not return to the source. It is like water flowing in the wrong direction (*ni xing*), and it is flooding water that forms phlegm. This is absence of fire. Hence, use the *bawei wan* in order to supplement fire in the kidneys. If the kidneys are depleted and fire moves, water boils up in the kidneys. It is like dragon fire that comes out from the sea. When the dragon rises, water is attached to it. If the movement is due to the liver, it resembles the fire of thunder leaving the earth, and there are strong winds and torrential rains. Water follows the billow and forms phlegm. This is presence of fire. Hence, use *liuwei wan* to match up to fire. This is not treating the outer ends (*biao*; superficial layers, manifestations), but treating the root.⁶⁵¹

Also blood can surge both in conditions of authentic water and in fire depletion, as is explained in *juan 3*:

腎中之真水乾則真火炎血亦隨火而沸騰矣腎中之真火衰則真水盛血亦無附而泛上矣惟水火奠其位而氣血各順布焉故以真陰真陽為要也

If authentic water inside the kidneys has dried up, authentic fire flares up, and blood boils up by following fire. If authentic fire inside the kidneys has weakened, authentic water fills up. It has nothing to attach itself to, and blood floods up. Only if the positions of water and fire are settled, will both *qi* and blood accordingly be distributed. Therefore, authentic *yin* and authentic *yang* are essential.⁶⁵²

Hence, after the correct diagnosis is made, authentic water and fire should be balanced by administering *liuwei wan* or *bawei wan* according to the Wang Bing principles. This strategy is not restricted to the treatment of phlegm and blood ejected from the mouth, but applies to all diseases caused by kidney *yin* depletion, as discussed in the “Essential Essays on Before Heaven.”

⁶⁵¹ YG 4.18b-19a.

⁶⁵² YG 3.12a-b.

Yin essence and the apertures of the body

In the previous section, I discussed the kidneys as the root of the watery substances blood-fluid and phlegm. In this section, I will elaborate on yet another “fluid,” *yin* essence, and how it is related to the physiology and pathology of important apertures of the body. Immediately following the essays on lungs and throat, Zhao Xianke includes “Essay on the Eyes,” “Essay on the Teeth,” “Essay on Mouth Sores,” “Essay on the Ears,” and “Essay on Ear Sores,” in which he discusses diseases that manifest themselves in the “*yang* apertures” (*yang qiao* 陽竅) situated in the head.⁶⁵³ In understanding the physiology of the eyes and the ears, the connection with *yin* essence (containing both formless fire and water) stored in the kidneys, is essential. There is also a direct correspondence between *yin* essence and the teeth. In “Essay on Mouth Sores,” Zhao does not make a direct connection between sores and *yin* essence, but rather explains them in relation to uprising fire of the ‘three burners’.⁶⁵⁴ In the last essay of *juan* 5, “Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission,” Zhao discusses the pathological discharge of *yin* essence from the (male) genitals, one of the two “*yin* apertures” (*yinqiao* 陰竅) at the bottom of the trunk.⁶⁵⁵ Zhao’s ideas on the physiology of ejaculation further help to understand his explanations on *yin*

⁶⁵³ In Chinese medicine, nine apertures (also ‘orifices’, ‘openings’) are distinguished: seven *yang*, also called clear (*qing* 情) and upper (*shang* 上), apertures; and two *yin*, also called turbid (*zhuo* 濁) or lower (*xia* 下), apertures. The seven *yang* apertures refer to the (two) eye, the (two) ears, the (two) nostrils, and the mouth. The two *yin* apertures refer to the genitals and the anal duct. (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 421, 527) Related to the sensory organs, these apertures are also known as the ‘five offices’ (*wu guan* 五官). However, as ‘five offices’, they are listed as follows: the (two) ears, the (two) eyes, the lips, the nose, and the tongue. (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 205) There is a direct relationship between these five sensory organs and the five *zang* viscera: the eyes correspond to the liver, the ears to the kidneys, the nose to the lungs, the mouth to the spleen, and the tongue, which is strictly speaking not an aperture, to the heart. The two doubled sensory organs, the eyes and ears, are considered to be *yin* of the *yang* offices. (LS 17: 10b-11a) However, they are also *yin* because they correspond to the *zang* viscera, liver and kidneys, which are located in the lower region of the trunk. The kidneys, which are doubled, are *yin* of the *yin* viscera; the single liver is *yang* of the *yin* viscera. In his discussion on diseases mouth, eyes, and ears, Zhao Xianke mixes the use of “apertures” (*qiao*) and “offices” (*guan*). The mixing of these two series (eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth vs. eyes, ears, nose, mouth, tongue) also commonly occurs in other medical texts, and even in the modern TCM dictionary. See, for instance, Li ZYDCD 26.

⁶⁵⁴ I will not discuss the mouth sores in this section.

⁶⁵⁵ Because of its important relation with *yin* essence, Zhao emphasises the importance of the two *yin* apertures: genitals/urinal duct and anal duct. The kidneys are directly related to the functioning of the two *yin* apertures. In this section, I discuss problems related to *yin* essence (sperm in the male body). In the next section, in the context of disorders related to the digestive system, I will elaborate on difficulties with urination and defecation. Although the kidneys are also important in relation to female reproductive system, these are not discussed in *Yiguan*. Women’s disorders are discussed in *Handan yigao*, the other text attributed to Zhao Xianke, see Li Zhaoding 1981; Tu Kuixian and Wang Jingyi 1985; Xu Qi 1989: 43-54.

essence in relation to the ears and the eyes.

In the system of systematic correspondences, the eyes are the sensory organ that functions as “*yang* aperture” of the liver. Although Zhao Xianke also refers to the conventional productive relation between kidney water (mother) and liver wood (child), based on the *Inner Classic*, he stresses a more intimate relationship between kidneys and eyes:

經曰五臟六腑之精皆上注於目而為之精腎藏精故治目者以腎為主
目雖肝之竅子母相生腎肝同一治也

The *Classic* says: “The essence of the five *zang* and six *fu* viscera all flows (*zhu*) up to the eyes, where it forms its essence.”⁶⁵⁶ “The kidneys store up essence.”⁶⁵⁷ Therefore, when treating the eyes, the focus should be on the kidneys. Although the eyes are the aperture of the liver, child and mother are producing each other, and kidneys and liver are treated in the same way (*tong yi zhi*).⁶⁵⁸

The following parts of “Essay on the Eyes” are devoted to the explanation of ‘essence’ (*jing*). Zhao does not only refer to essence as one substance constituting the eyes. Rather, essence should be seen as *pars pro toto* for various ‘source fluids’ (*yuanye* 源液), which are enumerated in a quote attributed to the famous Han - Three Dynasties physician Hua Tuo 華佗 (?-208?).⁶⁵⁹ In this quote, the ‘source fluids’ are distinguished as ‘spiritual paste’ (*shengao* 神膏), ‘spiritual water’ (*shenshui* 神水), ‘spiritual brilliance’ (*shenguang* 神光), ‘authentic *qi*’ (*zhenqi* 真氣), ‘authentic blood-fluid’ (*zhenxue* 真血), and ‘authentic essence’ (*zhenjing* 真精).⁶⁶⁰ Strictly speaking, not all these source fluids are fluids. Some are associated with water, and others with fire.

In contrast to other watery substances, such as blood and phlegm, the source fluids are defined as directly belonging to the Before Heavenly. Authentic blood-fluid, for instance, is described as follows:

真血者即肝中升運滋目注絡之血也此血非比肌肉間易行之血即天一所主之水故謂之真也

Authentic blood-fluid is blood-fluid that is transported above. Flowing in the small veins (*zhu luo*), it enriches the eyes. This blood-fluid cannot be compared with blood-fluid that swiftly moves (*yi xing*) between the flesh (*ji rou*). It is water that is controlled by the Heavenly One (*tianyi suo zhu zhi shui*). Hence, it is called ‘authentic’.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. LS 80: 12.10a.

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. LS 8:2.13a.

⁶⁵⁸ YG 4.37b.

⁶⁵⁹ I could not identify this quote in texts attributed to Hua Tuo.

⁶⁶⁰ YG 4.37b-38a.

⁶⁶¹ YG 4.38b.

Similar explanations are given for authentic *qi* and authentic essence, the two other fluids that have the modifier ‘authentic’ in their names. Authentic *qi* is identified as “the primordial *yang*, generated (*fasheng*) by the Before Heavenly authentic one” (先天真一發生之元陽); authentic essence as “the essential juice, transformed out of the Before Heavenly primordial *qi*” (先天元氣所化精汁).⁶⁶² “Heavenly One” (*tian yi*), ‘authentic one’ (*zhen yi*), and ‘primordial *qi*’, can furthermore all be understood as synonyms for the ‘one fire’, which Zhao Xianke equates with the gate of life.⁶⁶³

Although no direct connection with the Before Heavenly is made for spiritual paste – the pasty substance which constitutes most of the eyes –, the other two spiritual ‘substances’, spiritual water and spiritual brilliance, that constitute the eyes, are also directly associated with Before Heavenly *qi* of the gate of life and the three burners:

神水者由三焦而發源先天真一之氣所化目上潤澤之水是也

Spiritual water originates from the three burners. Transformed by the Before Heavenly *qi* of the authentic one, it is the water of the moistening marsh (*run ze*) on the eyes.⁶⁶⁴

神光者原於命門通於膽發於心火之用事也

Spiritual brilliance has its origin in the gate of life. It passes through the gallbladder, and is projected by the heart. It is how fire acts [in the eyes].⁶⁶⁵

All the above mentioned ‘substances’ are essential to the functioning of the eyes: “if one suffers loss, the eyes are ill” (一有損目則病矣).⁶⁶⁶ Eyesight, thus, relies on a balance between the fire substances and the water substances in the eyes, unified in the pupils (*tongshen* 瞳神), the one spark (*yi dian* 一點) made of “concentrated quintessence of the kidneys and gallbladder” (腎膽所聚之精華). The importance of the pupils and their relation to both Before and After Heaven, is further explained as follows:

或曰瞳神水耶氣耶血耶膏耶曰非氣非血非水非膏乃先天之氣所生後天之氣所成陰陽之妙蘊水火之精華血養水水養膏膏護瞳神氣為運用神即維持喻以日月理實同之

⁶⁶² YG 4.38b.

⁶⁶³ Interestingly, in the *Inner Classic* the gate of life is associated with the eyes. (SW 6: 2.16b, see also p. 12)

⁶⁶⁴ YG 4.38a.

⁶⁶⁵ YG 4.38a.

⁶⁶⁶ YG 4.38b.

Someone asked: “Are the pupils water, *qi*, blood-fluid, or paste (*gao*)?”

I said: “They are not *qi*, not blood-fluid, not water, and not paste. They are produced (*sheng*) by the Before Heavenly *qi*, and accomplished (*cheng*) by the *qi* of After Heaven. They are the marvellous accumulation (*miao yun*) of *yinyang*, and the quintessence (*jinghua*) of water and fire. Blood-fluid nourishes water; water nourishes paste; paste protects the pupils (*tongshen*). *Qi* is the operator (*yunyong*), and the spirit (*shen*) is the preserver (*weichi*). Compare it to the sun and the moon. The principles [of the eyes] are fully identical to them.”⁶⁶⁷

Because the essence constituting the eyes is directly associated with Before Heavenly water and fire, Zhao further refers to the two pills for balancing water and fire in cases of eye diseases, ranging from dry and itchy eyes, blindness, blurred vision, farsightedness (hyperopia), shortsightedness (myopia), to cataract (*neizhang zhi bing* 内障之病).⁶⁶⁸

The fact that Zhao Xianke includes many passages borrowed from other medical texts without revealing his sources, makes it extremely difficult to trace which parts of *Yiguan* were originally written by Zhao, and which were not. I managed to ascertain that most of the passages from “Essay on the Eyes” and “Essay on the Ears,” including particular selections from older texts, do also feature in Wang Kentang’s *opus magnum Zhengzhi zhunshi*.⁶⁶⁹ The most striking example of a passage from “Essay on the Eyes” in *Yiguan* which also features in *Zhengzhi zhunshi* is the above discussed quotation attributed to Hua Tuo, and the following comment and dialogue, in which the ‘source fluids’ are explained in the context of the Before Heavenly.⁶⁷⁰ The direct relation between the ‘source fluids’ and the formlessness of Before Heavenly perfectly fits Zhao’s medical doctrine, and might have been his prime motivation to include this passage in *Yiguan*. However, whereas Zhao builds his entire medical doctrine on assumptions made about Before Heaven, references to Before Heaven are rather exceptional in Wang’s text.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ YG 4.39a.

⁶⁶⁸ YG 4.40a-41a.

⁶⁶⁹ To my knowledge, with the exception of Wang Kentang’s *Zhengzhi zhunshi*, these passages do not feature in any other earlier medical text. Cf. *Zhengzhi zhunshi* 15.9a.

⁶⁷⁰ Although the passage attributed to Hua Tuo features in *Zhengzhi zhunshi*, Hua’s name is not mentioned in Wang Kentang’s text. The passage in *Zhengzhi zhunsheng* ends as follows: “Clever and stupid, flattery and straightforwardness, soft and hard, longevity and early death, this all can be known by examining the eyes. How would the spiritual not be the utmost treasure of the human body! (然聰愚佞直柔剛壽夭亦能驗目而知之神哉豈非人身之至寶乎)” (*Zhengzhi zhunshi* 15.9b)

⁶⁷¹ The concept of Before Heaven is only mentioned in two other parts of *Zhengzhi zhunsheng*. (16.14b, 18a and 64.1a)

Furthermore, some of the passages in “Essay on the Eyes” that also feature in *Zhengzhi zhunshi* do not correspond to Zhao’s main theoretical ideas, as explained in other parts of *Yiguan*. The proposed treatment of hyperopia, for instance, supposes a balancing of fire of the heart and water of the kidneys, which is not in accordance to Zhao’s general idea of balancing formless water and fire, both situated in the kidney region.⁶⁷² On the other hand, Zhao adds some subtle comments to some of the passages that also feature in *Zhengzhi zhunshi*. On ideas about treating hyperopia and myopia, for example, he shortly refers to the Wang Bing principles, absent in Wang Kentang’s version of the text.⁶⁷³ In a passage on cataract, Zhao makes a direct reference to the importance of invigorating the roots of Before Heaven, something that is also absent in *Zhengzhi zhunshi*.⁶⁷⁴ Moreover, the reservation against the use of cold medicine is much more outspoken in *Yiguan* than in *Zhengzhi zhunshi*, as Zhao comments that cold medicines, associated with autumn, should be avoided because they damage spring wood associated with the liver, and thus also the eyes.⁶⁷⁵ Zhao’s aversion to the use of cold is very outspoken in the final section of “Essay on the Eyes.” Although both Zhao and Wang quote Zhang Congzheng’s *Rumen shi qin* 儒門事親 (Confucians Serve Their Parents, 1262), pointing out that the way to cure problems like red and swollen eyes is by treating fire, Zhao goes against Zhang and Wang wen adding that this should not be done by using cold and cool ingredients:

能治火者一句可了但子和一味寒涼治火余獨補水以配火一句可了
 “Be able to treat fire! That is the one phrase that says it all.”⁶⁷⁶
 However, Zihe [i.e. Zhang Congzheng] only treated fire with the cold and cool ingredients. I only supplement water to match fire. This one sentence says it all.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷² Quoting Xu Xueshi, for instance, the loss of eyesight is related to indulgence in sexual desires, causing depletion of the kidney lesser *yin* conduit. Although the two pills (and variations) are mentioned to treat this depletion, a distinction is made between “*yin* depletion of the left kidney” and “*yang* depletion of the right kidney.” As explained in previous Chapters, Zhao Xianke did not distinguish depletion in terms of the left and the right kidney, but discussed authentic *yin* and *yang* depletion, associated with two apertures on both sides of the gate of life. (YG 4.39b)

⁶⁷³ YG 4.41a-42b.

⁶⁷⁴ “If you suffer from this, it is appropriate to nourish the roots of the Before Heavenly” (患者皆宜培养先天根本). Zhao adds that this affliction is difficult to cure. Therefore, it is necessary that the patient regulates her/his lifestyle “by abstaining from alcohol and sex, adjust eating habits, and not overtiring him/herself, in order to get rid of [internal damage] of the seven emotions and [external damage] by the five violent [climatic influences]” (絕酒色淫慾毋飢飽驅七情五賊). (YG 4.41a)

⁶⁷⁵ YG 4.41b.

⁶⁷⁶ See also *Rumen shiqin* 1.42b. Although this passage also features in *Zhengzhi zhunsheng*, Wang Kentang does not object against Zhang Congzheng’s use of cold and cool. (*Zhengzhi zhunsheng* 15.4b)

⁶⁷⁷ YG 4.42b.

Hence, although similar passages and selections of quotations can be found in *Zhengzhi zhunshi* and *Yiguan*, there are subtle differences in the way they are processed. Occasionally Zhao Xianke adds comments in order to make a specific passage fit in with his theory of Before Heaven. Sometimes he does not, thus creating some paradoxical passages in the text.

In contrast to his discussion on the eyes, where the relation between liver and its corresponding sensory organ was of minor importance, in “Essay on the Ears,” Zhao stresses the correspondence between ears and kidneys as a major trigger for targeting the kidneys when treating hearing impairment and other afflictions: “The ears are the opening of the kidneys, and they are controlled by feet lesser *yin* [conduit]” (耳者腎之竅足少陰之所主).⁶⁷⁸ However, Zhao adds that not only the feet lesser *yin* conduit, but also all other conduits, except for feet greater *yang* and hand reverting *yin*, enter the ears. Both depletion and fullness of all these conduits may cause acute deafness (*bao bing* 暴病), which makes clinical reality more complex. However, rather than elaborating on acute hearing problems, Zhao devotes most of his attention to chronic forms of deafness (*jiu long* 久聾), for which there is a primal connection to the kidneys. Chronic deafness, also described as ‘depleted deafness’ (*xu long* 虛聾), is caused by an imbalance between *qi* and essence. Although in other parts of *Yiguan*, Zhao uses the terminology of formless water and fire, in “Essay on the Ears,” he explains chronic deafness in terms of a ‘surplus of *qi*’ of the right kidney due to an ‘insufficiency of essence’ of the left kidney. This explanation also features in Wang Kentang’s *Zhengzhi zhunshi*, which indicates that Zhao may have borrowed larger parts of his discussion on the ears from an earlier source.⁶⁷⁹

Interestingly, Zhao Xianke does not consider all enduring forms of deafness to be pathological. He explains that deafness caused by fullness, due to a surplus of both *qi* and essence, should be seen as a sign of longevity. As this type of deafness is connected to natural endowment of *qi* and essence, he remarks that treatment is unnecessary. However, if lifestyle is not in accordance with the ideals of preventive healthcare, as explained in SW 1 and 2, *yin* essence of the kidneys becomes depleted,

⁶⁷⁸ YG 5.4b. The ears correspond not only to the kidneys, but also to the heart. Zhao Xianke explains this as follows:

或曰心亦開竅於耳何也蓋心竅本在舌以舌無孔竅因寄於耳此腎為耳竅之主
心為耳竅之客爾

Someone asked: “Why does also the heart open its apertures in the ears?”
“Well, the aperture of the heart is originally in the tongue. However, because the tongue has no aperture with an opening (*kong qiao*), it relies on the ears. This means that kidneys are the host (*zhu*) of the apertures of the ears; the heart is the guest (*ke*) of the apertures of the ears.” (YG 5.4b-5a)

⁶⁷⁹ YG 5.5a. Cf. *Zhengzhi zhunshi* 17.4a-b.

and sudden deafness (*za long* 乍聾) may pathologically occur at a much earlier stage in life.⁶⁸⁰ The remedies for treating deafness caused by *yin* depletion involve the use of recipes such as *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*, in accordance to the Wang Bing principles. Apart from deafness caused by *yin* depletion, Zhao also refers to depleted *yangqi* that sinks in between the kidneys and liver, and which may cause both deafness and blindness. In these cases, he refers to Li Gao's strategy of supplementing the centre.⁶⁸¹

Other parts of "Essay on the Ears" are less theoretical, and discuss the treatment of illnesses such as ringing ears (tinnitus), pain, itching, swellings, and pus in the ears. In a separate essay, based on excerpts taken from Luo Tianyi's (羅天益, 1220-1290) *Weisheng baojian* 衛生寶鑑 (Precious Mirror for the Protection of Life, 1281) and Xue Ji's *Waikeshuyao*, Zhao Xianke further elaborates on ear sores (*er chuang*).⁶⁸² In this Essay, illustrated by case records, he also provides practical information on the treatment of pus that stops up the ears, and how pain caused by small insects that have entered the ear can be resolved by dripping drops of cat's urine.⁶⁸³ Interesting as these methods may be, Zhao does not connect them to his overall ideas on Before Heaven. Therefore, I will not further elaborate on them here. Instead, I will return to the question of why Zhao puts such an emphasis on both ears and eyes.

The equal treatment of ears and eyes in *Yiguan* is related to an important similarity between liver and kidneys, which is reflected in the way these *zang* open up (*kai qiao* 開竅) in their corresponding sensory organs:

分陰陽言之在腎肝居陰故耳目二竅陰精主之在心脾肺居陽故口鼻舌三竅陽精主之

Explained in terms of *yinyang*, kidneys and liver reside in *yin*. Hence, the two openings, ears and eyes, are controlled by *yin* essence. Heart, spleen, and lungs reside in *yang*. Hence, the three openings, mouth, nose, and tongue, are controlled by *yang* essence.⁶⁸⁴

Situated in the lower parts of the trunk, liver and kidneys are thus considered to be *yin*. Referring to SW 5, Zhao Xianke emphasises that *yin* essence, by which these two apertures are governed, should be safeguarded. Otherwise, both ears and eyes suffer from depletion:

⁶⁸⁰ YG 5.5a-b. On prevention, see Appendix 1,

⁶⁸¹ YG 5.5b-6a. For Zhao's appreciation of Li Gao's methods of supplementing the centre, see Chapter 6.

⁶⁸² Cf. *Weisheng baojian* 91 and *Waikeshuyao* 250.

⁶⁸³ YG 5.8b-11a.

⁶⁸⁴ YG 5.5a.

不知調和七損八益之道早衰之節也其年未五十體重耳目不聰明矣
If you do not know the way of adjusting and harmonising the seven losses and eight increases, there will be a situation of early decline. Before you have reached the age of fifty, the body will be heavy, and ears and eyes will have lost their brightness (*er ming bu cong ming*).⁶⁸⁵

The numbers seven and eight are associated with the evolution of *yin* essence during the life-cycle of a human being. Also the teeth are in a similar way connected to *yin* essence, as Zhao Xianke explains, by referring to SW 2, in the opening passage of “Essay on the Teeth:”

素問曰男子八歲腎氣實而齒生更三八真牙生五八則齒稿八八而齒去矣女子亦然以七為數

Suwen says: “When a man is eight years old, his kidney *qi* is full, and his teeth are produced. At the age of three times eight (twenty four), the ‘authentic teeth’ (*zhen ya*; ‘wisdom teeth’) are produced. At five times eight (forty), the teeth decay. At eight times eight (sixty four), the teeth are gone.” For women, this is similar, but they take seven as multiplier.⁶⁸⁶

As I explained in Chapter 3, *yin* essence should here be understood in terms of formless water and fire, and, thus, of the Before Heavenly.

In other contexts, the kidneys are said to be *yin* because they “control the storage of essence” (*zhu cang jing* 主藏精); the liver is *yang* (of the two *yin zang*) because it “controls the discharge [of essence]” (*zhu shuxie* 主疏泄).⁶⁸⁷ In their function of storing, the kidneys, which are double, can be seen as *yin* of the *yin zang* viscera; in its function of discharging, the liver, which is single, can be seen as *yang* of the *yin zang*

⁶⁸⁵ YG 5. 6a-8b. Cf. SW 5: 2.11a. For an extensive comment on the ‘seven losses and eight increases’, see also *Leijing* 2.9a-b.

⁶⁸⁶ YG 5.1a. Cf. SW 2.5a-6b. Zhao Xianke further points out that the relation between the kidneys and the teeth is explained by the traditional correspondence between kidneys and the bones: “The kidneys control the bones. The teeth are the outer ends (*biao*) of the bones, and are nourished by marrow (*sui*)” (蓋腎主骨齒者骨之標髓之所養也). (YG 5.1a) In his “Essay on the Teeth,” Zhao further refers to problems related to the gums that should rather be treated by influencing the *yang* brightness conduits of stomach and large intestines. Although, Zhao refers to the use of *liuwei wan* and the *bawei wan* for treating teeth problems, in “Essay on the Teeth,” he does not go into further detail on the Before Heavenly. The only exception is in one distinct pathology: in case of a retarded development of the teeth of an infant. In this case, Zhao advocates the use of *shenqi wan* to supplement an insufficiency of the Before Heavenly: “If infants are retarded in their walking, speech, growth of teeth, or their fontanelles are open, this is all because of kidney weakness of the mother *qi* of Before Heaven. You should use *shenqi wan* as main strategy (*wei zhu*)” (凡小兒行遲語遲齒遲及凶門開者皆先天母氣之腎衰須腎氣丸為主). (YG 5.2b)

⁶⁸⁷ YG 5.37a.

viscera. The interaction between kidneys and liver, and the physiology and pathology of the discharge of essential *yin* (in other words, ejaculation) is discussed in “Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission,” the final chapter of *juan* 5.

Nocturnal emission of semen is considered to be a serious medical problem for men, which in LS 43 is ascribed to reverting *qi* (*jue qi*) that is guest (*ke*) in the genitals.⁶⁸⁸ Zhao Xianke explains the process of ejaculation as follows:

盖陰器者泄精之竅主宗筋足太陰陽明少陰厥陰之筋與夫衝任督三脈之所會諸筋皆結聚於陰器而其中有相火寄焉凡平人入房而強於作用者皆此相火充其力也若不接內不與陰氣合則精不泄一接內與陰相合則三焦上下內外之火翕然而下從百體玄府悉開其滋生之精盡趨於陰器以泄而腎不藏矣若其人元精堅固者淫氣不能搖久戰而尚不泄況於夢乎縱相火動而成宵夢夢亦不遺此謂陰平陽秘無病人也

The genitals (*yinqi*) are the aperture through which semen is discharged. They are concentrated in the penis (*zongjin*; literally ‘ancestral tendon’). It is the tendon where [the conduits] foot greater *yin*, *yang* brightness, lesser *yin*, and reverting *yin* unite with the three vessels: the pulsing (*chong*) [vessel], the function (*ren*) [vessel], and control (*du*) [vessel]. All tendons gather in the genitals. However, minister fire may parasite inside. When a normal person enters the bedroom, [the penis] becomes hard when being used. This is because minister fire fills [it], and has force. If there is no sexual intercourse (*nei jie*), no contact is made with *yinqi*, and semen is not discharged. From the moment there is sexual intercourse, and there is a uniting with *yin*, fire from all directions (up, below, inside, outside) of the three burners suddenly follows from below. The pores (*xuanfu*, ‘mysterious palaces’) of the whole body all open, and life-giving semen fully rushes to the genitals, and discharges. It is in no longer stored up in the kidneys. If the primal essence (*yuan jing*) of a person is firm, it cannot be stirred by licentious *qi*. Even after a long struggle, there is still no discharge. Furthermore, how would this be so when dreaming? Even if the activity of minister fire produces a dream at night, though there is dreaming, there is no loss. This is called the ‘balanced *yin* and secured *yang*’ (*yin ping yang bi*) of a person who is not ill.⁶⁸⁹

‘Balanced *yin* and secured *yang*’ refers to a *yinyang* relationship between kidneys and liver. Commenting on a passage of the *Inner Classic*, Zhao further clarifies that “when kidney *yin* is depleted, essence is not stored; and, when *yang* of the liver is violent

⁶⁸⁸ YG 5.37a. Cf. LS 43: 7.5b.

⁶⁸⁹ YG 5.37a-b.

(*qiang*), fire is not secured (*bu bi*)” (腎之陰虛則精不藏肝之陽強則火不秘).⁶⁹⁰ Moreover, Zhao equates this essence with authentic yin, and fire with minister fire. Hence, when the balance is lost, yin is not stored, and minister fire is strongly active. This causes wet dreams when sleeping:

今人先天稟賦原虛兼之色欲過度以致腎陰衰憊陰虛則相火動相火之系上系於心為君火感物而動動則相火翕然而隨雖不交會而精已離其位即客於陰器間矣夜臥時當所寄之相火一遇與接內時與陰氣相合同故臥而即夢夢而即遺也若腎不虛則無復是夢夢亦不遺矣故治是症者先以腎肝為主

Now, if someone's natural endowment of the Before Heavenly is weak from the beginning, combined with excessive sexual desire, this leads to decline and exhaustion of kidney yin. If yin is depleted, minister fire moves. What the connections of minister fire are concerned, minister fire connects above with the heart. There, it is governor fire, which moves when being aroused by something. If it moves, minister fire follows in unison. Although there is no intercourse (*jiao hui*), semen already has left its position and is guest in the genitals. The moment parasitising minister fire is encountered, being asleep at night, this is just like uniting with *yinqi* during sexual intercourse. Therefore, while sleeping, there is dreaming. While dreaming, there is losing. If the kidneys are not depleted, then you do not have this dreaming anymore. And, even if there would be dreaming, there would be no loss [of semen].⁶⁹¹

Although treatment should focus on both liver and kidneys, Zhao Xianke advocates *liuwei wan* to supplement authentic yin. However, *bawei wan* should not be disregarded either. Zhao Xianke highlights that weakness of fire of the gate of life might also cause involuntary emission:

有命門火衰元精脫陷玉關不閉者急用八味丸或用金鎖正元丹以壯真陽使之涵乎陰精而不泄此其大略也

When fire of the the gate of life fire is feeble, primordial essence (*yuan jing*) escapes, sinks down (*tuo xian*), and the jade pass (*yu guan*) does not close. Urgently use *bawei wan* or *jinsuo zhengyuan dan* to invigorate (*zhuang*) authentic yang. This allows it be enveloped by yin essence (*han yu yin jing*), and not to discharge. This is the general idea.⁶⁹²

As in many other examples discussed in this Chapter, in clinical reality, there might

⁶⁹⁰ YG 5.37a. Cf. SW 3.20b-21a.

⁶⁹¹ YG 5.37b-38a.

⁶⁹² YG 5.38b-39a.

be a complex combination of problems, which asks for a subtle diagnosis, on the basis of which different kinds of recipes may be used.⁶⁹³ Analogous to other pathologies discussed in this, and previous sections, if the aetiology is an imbalance between formless water and fire, and thus a depletion of *yinqi*, *liuwei wan* or *bawei wan* are the main recipes a physician should revert to.

⁶⁹³ If spleen-stomach is depleted, *buzhong yiqi tang* should be used. If there is excessive fire of the heart, *guiqi tang* should be used as well. Zhao Xianke further recounts two case records taken from the physicians Zhao Yide and Wu Jiaoshan, in which the complexity of clinical reality is illustrated. The essence of Zhao's strategy, however, always is balancing water and fire. As pointed out in the case record of Wu Jiaoshan, in a specific condition caused by overuse of cooling medicines, this is done by "warming and supplementing the lower primary (*xia yuan*, i.e. lower burner)" (溫補下元). The case history is concluded as follows: "If kidney *qi* only descends, you should lift it up (*sheng ti*). Make water and fire interact, and *kan* and *li* will settle their positions" (腎氣獨降者當升提使水火交而坎離定位). At the very end of his "Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission," Zhao shortly discusses "sinew mounting" (*jinsan* 筋疝), a condition of "flourishing fire [caused by] dampness and heat in the liver conduit, and in which the kidneys are not depleted" (腎不虛而肝經濕熱火旺者). (YG 5.39a-40b)

The digestive system

The five remaining chapters of *juan 5*, not discussed thus far, are all related to pathological conditions in the digestive system. In “Essay on Wasting Thirst,” “Essay on Fullness in the Centre because of Qi Depletion,” and “Essay on Dysphagia and Occlusion,” Zhao describes a variety of symptoms that can be localised at three levels of the trunk (upper, central, and lower), and which are all due to a problematic interaction between water and fire in the lower kidney region. In “Essay on Diarrhoea and Constipation” and “Essay on Urinary Obstruction and Incontinence,” Zhao focuses on the final stage of the digestive process, i.e. how waste material (faeces and urine) is excreted through the *yin* aperture at the bottom of the trunk.⁶⁹⁴ In these two essays, the direct importance of the kidneys is emphasised, because they are, in close collaboration with the urinary bladder and the three burners, responsible for opening and closing of the passageways of water.⁶⁹⁵

‘Wasting thirst’ (*xiao ke* 消渴) is a disease “characterised by thirst, increased fluid intake, and copious urine,” and which can be equated, but is not restricted to, various forms of what in biomedicine is called “diabetes.”⁶⁹⁶ In Zhao Xianke’s time, according to the location in the trunk, physicians distinguished three main forms of wasting thirst: upper, central, and lower wasting. Before elaborating on his personal views, Zhao summarises common understandings and treatment methods, as given in the table below.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁴ Anal and urinary orifices.

⁶⁹⁵ SW 8: 3.2a.

⁶⁹⁶ Wiseman & Feng 1998: 142.

⁶⁹⁷ YG 5.11a-b.

Location	Symptoms	Description in classical sources	Recipe
upper wasting (also diaphragm wasting)	舌上赤裂大渴引飲 The top of the tongue is reddish and cracked. There is great thirst, and stretching out for drink.	SW 34: 心移熱於肺傳為膈消 The heart moves heat to the lungs, it is transmitted as diaphragm wasting.	<i>baihu tang</i> added <i>rensheng</i>
central wasting	善食而瘦自汗大便硬小便數 Having good appetite, but being skinny, spontaneous perspiration, hard stool, and frequent urination.	Wang Shuhe: 口幹飲水多食肌膚瘦成消中 Dry mouth, drinking water, frequent eating, while flesh and skin remain skinny. This is wasting the center.	<i>tiaowei chengqi tang</i>
lower wasting (also kidney wasting)	煩躁引飲耳輪焦幹小便如膏 Being vexed, stretching out for drinking, ears are scorched and dry, and urination is like paste.	Wang Shuhe: 焦煩水易虧此腎消也 Burner is vexed and water is easily lost. This is kidneys wasting.	<i>liuwei wan</i>

Table 8. Wasting thirst

In contrast to this threefold division, Zhao Xianke highlights that only ‘lower wasting’ should be taken into account, and advances the use of *liuwei wan* in all three types of ‘wasting thirst’:

余又有一說焉人之水火得其平氣血得其養何消之有其間攝養失宜水火偏勝津液枯槁以致龍雷之火上炎熬煎既久腸胃合消五臟乾燥令人四肢瘦削精神倦怠故治消之法無分上中下先治腎為急惟六味八味及加減八味丸隨症而服降其心火滋其腎水則渴自止矣白虎與承氣皆非所治也

I still have an explanation for this. When water and fire of the human being get balanced, and *qi* and blood-fluid get their nourishment, how would there be wasting? However, when cultivation is not appropriate, and water or fire unilaterally prevails, the fluids wither, and cause the fire of dragon and thunder to blaze up. When the suffering has lasted for a long time, the intestines become wasted, and the five *zang*-viscera dry up. This makes the limbs of people gaunt (*shouxue*), and their spirit wear-out. Hence, as what the method of treating wasting is concerned, do not distinguish in upper, central, and lower. It is most urgent to treat the

kidneys first. Only when you administer *liuwei [wan]*, *bawei [wan]*, or *jiajian bawei wan*, according to the condition, bring the heart fire down, and enrich the water of the kidneys, will the thirst stop out of itself. *Baihu [tang]* and [*tiaowei*] *chengqi [tang]* will not cure this.⁶⁹⁸

Hence, the three types of ‘wasting thirst’ are reduced to a malfunction of water and fire associated with the kidney region. Zhao advances *liuwei wan*, *bawei wan*, and the variation *jiajian bawei wan* as essential recipes to treat this disease.

Whereas the use of *liuwei wan*, supplementing kidney water, seems logical in case of wasting thirst, the use of *bawei wan* or *jiajian bawei wan*, both containing *rougui* and *fuzi*, *materia medica* that supplement kidney fire, may seem rather odd. In order to explain the use of these ingredients, Zhao refers to the metaphor of a cooking cauldron:

或問曰下消無水用六味丸可以滋少陰之腎水矣又加附子肉桂者何蓋因命門火衰不能蒸腐水穀水穀之氣不能薰蒸上潤乎肺如釜底無薪鍋蓋乾燥故渴至於肺亦無所稟不能四布水精並行五經其所飲之水未經火化直入膀胱正謂飲一升溺一升飲一斗溺一斗試嘗其味甘而不鹹可知矣故用附子肉桂之辛熱壯其少火灶底加薪枯籠蒸溽稿禾得雨生意維新惟明者知之昧者鮮不以為迂也

Someone asked: “If there is no water in case of lower wasting, you can enrich lesser yin kidney water with *liuwei wan*. But, why do you add *fuzi* and *rougui*?”

“Well, because the fire of the gate of life is enfeebled, it is unable to process (steam and ferment) water and grains. Qi of water and grains is unable to steam up and to moisten the lungs above. This is like when there is no firewood at the bottom of the cauldron, the cover of the cauldron gets dry. This explains the thirst. When the lungs have nothing to receive, they are unable to distribute water and essence into the four directions, and activate the five conduits. Water that is drunk immediately enters the urinary bladder, without being transformed by fire. This is precisely what is meant by “drinking one pint (*sheng*) and urinating one pint” or “drinking one gallon (*dou*) and urinating one gallon.” If you taste it [urine], and it is sweet and not salty, you can be sure. Hence, use the pungent and hot of *fuzi* and *rougui* to invigorate the scarce fire. When you add firewood under the stove, the dry basket will get steam and damp, and the withered seeds get rain. The intention of engendering is restored. Only the bright (*mingzhe*) know this. The blind (*meizhe*) rarely will think this is not wide of the mark.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁸ YG 5.11b-12a.

⁶⁹⁹ YG. 5.13b-14a.

Hence, kidney fire is needed to process food and drink in the stomach, and make their *qi* steam up to the lungs. Kidney fire is compared to fire produced by firewood under a cooking cauldron, and is supplemented by the ingredients of *fuzi* and *rougui* in *bawei wan*.

Zhao Xianke further legitimises his treatment of wasting thirst with *bawei wan* by referring to a case record of Zhang Ji curing emperor Wudi:

昔漢武帝病渴張仲景為處此方至聖玄關今猶可想八味丸誠良方也
Once Han Wudi was ailing from thirst (*bing ke*). Zhang Zhongjing wrote out this prescription. It is utmost sagely and the passageway to the mysterious (*zhi sheng xuan guan*). Hence, you should consider that *bawei wan* truly is a good prescription.⁷⁰⁰

Not all physicians were convinced by Zhao's reference to this case history. In his *Yiguan bian*, Xu Dachun, for instance, formulates a fierce criticism, by pointing out an anachronism:

仲景是漢獻帝時人與武帝相去二百餘年明明可考乃造出此語何耶
趙氏所談無往非夢而此則又夢之最不經者
Zhongjing lived in the times of Emperor Xian [181-234, r. 189-220] of the Han. As can be clearly examined, this is more than two hundred years difference with Emperor Wu [156 BCE - 87 BCE, r. 141 BCE - 87 BCE]. So, why did he [Zhao Xianke] make up this story? What Mr. Zhao talks about is no more than a dream, and this is the best example of dreaming without any foundation.⁷⁰¹

As this may be, the story of Han Wudi suffering from wasting thirst, and being treated by Zhang Ji with *bawei wan* already circulated before Zhao's time. It features in at least one earlier Ming dynasty text on recipes: Wu Kun's 吳崑 (1551-1620?) *Yifang kao* 醫方考 (Examination of Medical Prescriptions, 1584).⁷⁰²

Asides from explaining dryness of wasting thirst, the metaphor of the steaming process taking place in the cooking cauldron is also used in the context of other diseases related to the digestive system. One of the problems discussed in the "Essay on Dysphagia and Occlusion" is a type of vomiting called 'stomach reflux' (*fanwei* 反胃).⁷⁰³ According to Zhao Xianke, stomach reflux is often caused by a shortage of fire

⁷⁰⁰ YG 5.14a.

⁷⁰¹ *Yiguan bian* 145.

⁷⁰² Cf. *Yifang kao* 99.

⁷⁰³ For stomach reflux" In "Essay on Dysphagia and Occlusion," three conditions are discussed: dysphagia(*ye*), occlusion (*ge*), and stomach reflux. In his analysis of stomach reflux, following Li Gao, he distinguishes three kinds of vomiting, related to a dysfunction of lower, middle, or upper burner. (YG 5.24a-25a)

associated with the lower burner:

下焦吐者乃命門火衰釜底無薪不能蒸腐胃中水穀腹中脹滿不得不吐也

Lower burner vomiting is caused by enfeebled fire of the gate of life. If there is no firewood under the cauldron, it is impossible to process water and grains inside the stomach. There will be distention inside the belly, and there must be vomiting.⁷⁰⁴

Again Zhao Xianke refers to the use of recipes such as *bawei wan*:

王太僕所謂食久反出是無火也是矣須用益火之原先以八味丸補命門火以扶脾土之母徐以附子理中湯理中焦萬舉萬全不知出此而徒以山楂神曲平胃化食適以速其亡也

This is what Wang Taipu [i.e. Wang Bing] meant by “if food is coming back out after a long period of time, there is an absence of fire.”⁷⁰⁵ You should increase the origin of fire. First use *bawei wan* to supplement fire of the gate of life in order to support the mother of spleen earth. Continue with *fuzi lizhong tang* in order to supplement the central burner. This will always be successful. But, if you do not know about this, and vainly use *shanzha* and *shenqu* in order to level the stomach and to transform food, you will only speed up the loss.⁷⁰⁶

Here, *bawei wan* thus dissolves distention causing vomiting.

The most elaborate discussion on distention of the central region in relation to the kidneys can be found in “Essay on Fullness in the Centre because of Qi Depletion.” In this essay, Zhao Xianke mainly highlights that some forms of swelling, similar to ‘drum distention’ (*guzhang* 鼓脹)⁷⁰⁷ and ‘water swelling’ (*shuizhong* 水腫)⁷⁰⁸, should not be understood as ‘filling up because of fullness’ (*shi man* 實滿), but rather as ‘filling up because of depletion’ (*xu man* 虛滿). *Qi* in the title of this essay refers to “depletion of fire *qi* inside the kidneys” (腎中之火氣虛也).⁷⁰⁹ In most cases of “depleted fullness” both spleen earth and kidney water are depleted. After first

⁷⁰⁴ YG 5.24b.

⁷⁰⁵ WB SW 74: 22.39a.

⁷⁰⁶ YG 5.24b-25a. On levelling the stomach, see p. 273.

⁷⁰⁷ “Severe abdominal distention.” In Biomedicine, it corresponds to “ascites due to cirrhosis, abdominal tumors, or tubercular peritonitis.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 150-152)

⁷⁰⁸ “Swelling of the flesh arising when organ dysfunction (spleen, kidney, lung) due to internal or external causes allows water to accumulate.” In Biomedicine, it corresponds to “cardiogenic edema, nephrotic edema, hepatogenic edema, nutritional edema, and endocrinologic edema.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 668-669)

⁷⁰⁹ YG 5.16b.

highlighting the importance of supplementing the stomach, most of Zhao's attention goes to supplementing the kidneys. Instead of referring to the metaphor of the cauldron, in this essay, he points out the importance of the kidneys for opening and closing the passage ways. By making water flow, and leaving the body through urination, distention in the central region will dissolve:

經曰腎開竅於二陰腎氣化則二陰通二陰閉則胃填脹故曰腎者胃之關關門不利故水聚而從其類也

The *Classic* says: “The kidneys open in the apertures of the two *yin*.”⁷¹⁰ If kidney *qi* transforms, the two *yin* communicate (*tong*). If the two *yin* are closed, the stomach stuffs up and distends. Hence, it says: “The kidneys are the passage way of the stomach.”⁷¹¹ If the gate of the passage way is inhibited (*bu li*), water accumulates, following its kind (*cong qi lei*).⁷¹²

Yet, the process of controlling water by opening and closing the gates, is not only related to the kidney water, there is also the subtle interplay between fire of the three burners and the urinary bladder:

又曰腎主下焦三焦者決瀆之官水道出焉膀胱者州都之官津液藏焉必待三焦之火化始能出也其三焦之經在上者布臚中散絡心包在下者出於委陽上絡膀胱上佐天道之施化下佐地道之發生與手厥陰為表裏以應諸經之使者也

It further says: “The kidneys control the lower burner. Three burners are the official controlling the waterways. The waterways leave from it; The urinary bladder is the official functioning as Regional Rectifier. The fluids are stored in it. [The urinary bladder] should wait for the transformation by fire of the three burners. Only then can [water] leave.”⁷¹³ The conduits of the three burners are distributed above in the chest centre (*dan zhong*), and spread interconnections (*luo*) to the pericardium. Below, they leave from the ‘bend yang cavity’ (*weiyang*)⁷¹⁴. Above, they interconnect with the urinary bladder. Above, they assist the provision of transformation by the Heavenly Way. Below, they assist the production of life by the Earthly Way. They form inner and outer aspect (*biaoli*) with hand reversing *yin*. They should be seen as the the envoys to all the conduits.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁰ SW 4: 1.27b.

⁷¹¹ SW 61: 16.9b.

⁷¹² YG 5.18a.

⁷¹³ Compare and contrast to SW 8: 3.1b.

⁷¹⁴ The lower ‘uniting cavity’ of triple burner on the bladder foot greater yang conduit. (Li ZYDCD 1053)

⁷¹⁵ YG 5.18a-b.

On a functional level, kidney fire, operating through the three burners, activates all physiological processes in the body, and thus also the opening of the water ways, which is essential in treating distention in the central region. In this context, kidney depletion means a depletion of kidney fire: “Hence, kidney depletion [here] is a depletion of fire of the lower burner” (是故腎虛者下焦之火虛也).⁷¹⁶

Although most of his contemporaries do not link central distention to a depletion of yin fire associated with the lower burner, Zhao points out that this aetiology was already understood by ancient physicians, as it can be attested in the *Inner Classic*:

經曰三焦病者氣滿小腹尤堅不得小便溢則水留而為脹

The *Classic* says: “If the three burners are ill, qi fills up, the lower belly is extremely hard, and it is impossible to urinate. It overflows, water stays, and there is distention.”⁷¹⁷

For treatment, Zhao refers to Zhang Ji’s *Jingui shenqi wan*, the properties of which he describes as follows:

中滿之病原於腎中之火氣虛不能行水此方內八味丸為主以補腎中之火則三焦有所稟命浩然之氣塞乎天地腎氣不虛而能行水矣內有附子肉桂辛熱之品熱則流通又火能生土土實而能制水矣內加牛膝車前子二味最為切當考之本草云車前子雖利小便而不走氣與茯苓同功強陰益精令人有子牛膝治老人失溺補中續絕壯陽益精病人虛損加而用之方見金匱要略故名金匱腎氣丸

The disease of central fullness originates in a depletion of fire qi inside the kidneys, which is unable to activate the waters. In this recipe, [the ingredients] of *bawei wan* are the main ingredients. By supplementing fire inside the kidneys, the three burners can receive their order, and vastness qi (*haoran zhi qi*) fills up Heaven-and-Earth.⁷¹⁸ If kidney qi is not depleted, it is able to activate the waters. [In this recipe,] *fuzi* and *rougui* are pungent and hot ingredients. If there is heat, than there is unobstructed streaming. Moreover, fire can produce earth. When earth is full, it can control water. Also the addition of the two ingredients *niuxi* and *cheqianzi* is most appropriate. Examine [*tangye*] *Bencao*: “Although *cheqianzi* is a diuretic, it does not make qi run away. It has the same merits as *guling*.”⁷¹⁹ It invigorates yin and increases essence, and enhances fertility. *Niuxi* treats incontinence of elder people. It supplements the centre, and makes continuation possible after there was

⁷¹⁶ YG 5.18b.

⁷¹⁷ YG Cf. LS 4: 21a.

⁷¹⁸ See also Chapter 2, for ‘vastness qi’ as one of the empty names for formless fire. (p. 84)

⁷¹⁹ Cf. *Tangye bencao* 2.79a.

exhaustion. It fortifies *yang*, and increases essence. If a patient suffers because of depletion, use [*jinggui shenqi wan*] by adding [the ingredients *cheqianzi* and *niuxi*]. For this recipe, see *Jingui yaolie*, hence its name is *jingui shenqi wan*.⁷²⁰

In order to explain the logic behind this strategy, Zhao refers to the legend of Yu the Great, the cultural hero who “controlled the waters” (*zhi shui*):

至於補腎以治腫其說難明蓋禹之治水行其所無事也若一事疏鑿則失之矣今人之治腎水者牽牛大戟粗工之小智正禹之所惡也間有用五苓五皮者以為中正亦轉利轉虛腎氣愈衰而愈不能推送矣故須用補腎

It is difficult to understand the explanation of how supplementing the kidneys would treat swellings. Well, when Yu controlled the waters, he made them flow to where they were not obstructed. If there would be something [obstructing], and he would carelessly chisel a hole, he would lose [the water]! Contemporary people [use] *qianniu[zi]* and *daji*.⁷²¹ This is the petty knowledge of unskilled workmen, and precisely what Yu detested. There are also those who think that *wuling[zhi]* and *wupi[feng]* are the correct way of treatment.⁷²² However, the more you disinhibit, the more depletion there is. The weaker kidney *qi*, the more it is unable to send it outside. Therefore, you should supplement the kidneys.⁷²³

According to Zhao, Zhang’s composition of *jingui shenqi wan* reflects how Yu the Great tamed the flood without blocking or draining: “Only Zhang Zhongjing’s *jingui shenqi wan* supplements without making stagnant, and benefits communication without draining. It truly is a spiritual recipe (*shen fang*) for treating distention.” (惟張仲景制金匱腎氣丸補而不滯通而不泄誠治腫之神方).⁷²⁴ In the Ming dynasty, Zhao’s role model, Xue Ji, understood the logic behind the composition:

國朝薛立齋先生屢用屢效詳載之醫案余依其案親試之甚效故敢詳著焉世有患此者幸毋誕之乎

⁷²⁰ YG 5.19a-b.

⁷²¹ *Materia medica* with draining (*xie*) properties.

⁷²² *Materia medica* with diuretic (*li shui*) properties.

⁷²³ YG 5.17b-18a.

⁷²⁴ YG 5.18b. In mythology, previous attempts by Gong Gong and Gun to tame the flood failed. “Both are also accused of a moral licentiousness that is manifested in an inability to follow the natural course of things [...] Notable among the errors attributed to Gong Gong and Gun is the attempt to block up rivers. This again is contrasted with the methods of Yu, who not only relied on the method of dredging in order to allow the rivers to flow along their courses to the sea, but also preceded his work with a comprehensive division of existing things into their appropriate categories.” (Lewis 2006: 41)

Mr. Xue Lizhai of this dynasty frequently used [*Jingui yaoliie shenqi wan*], and frequently obtained results. It is extensively written down in his case records. Relying on these records, I tried it out myself, with great results. Hence, I venture to describe it here in detail. Hopefully, those in this world who suffer [from distention] will not consider it to be absurd.⁷²⁵

The Qing critic Xu Dachun was not convinced by Zhao Xianke's arguments. Similarly to the case record of Zhang Ji treating Han Wudi's wasting thirst, he points out a lack in historical understanding. In order to tame the flood, Yu the Great used techniques such as dredging (*jun*) and chiseling (*zao*):

當時禹亦何嘗不浚川鑿河哉據云必須補腎則禹當日只曰益水之源可矣

How could it be that at that time Yu did not dredge the rivers or chisel the streams? But, based on what [Zhao Xianke] states, is it possible that on that day Yu merely said: "increase the source of water?"⁷²⁶

Moreover, Xu mockingly comments, if medicine would only depend on one single principle and one recipe, all diseases could be treated in the same way:

若以此方治盡天下之病則是舉天下之病皆以治水腫之法治之矣思之能不自笑哉

If this recipe would treat all diseases in the world, then every disease in the world should be treated as if it were "water swelling" (*shui zhong*). If you think about this, is it possible not to burst into laughter!⁷²⁷

The mechanism of opening and closing the waterways is not only essential in "Essay on Fullness in the Centre because of Qi Depletion," but also in "Essay on Urinary Obstruction and Incontinence" and "Essay on Diarrhoea and Constipation." In case of problems with urination, the connection with the kidneys and their corresponding *fu* viscera, the urinary bladder and the triple burner, is obvious. Although the *Inner Classic* states that "the kidneys open in the apertures of the two *yin*," not many physicians would target kidneys, urinary bladder, and triple burner when treating problems such as diarrhoea and constipation. In case of diarrhoea, for instance, Zhao Xianke points out that Li Gao's focus on the spleen-stomach, which most of his contemporaries approved, is certainly not the only possible clinical

⁷²⁵ YG 5.18b.

⁷²⁶ *Yiguan bian* 146.

⁷²⁷ *Yiguan bian* 146-147.

strategy to take into consideration. In order to bridge an omission in clinical practice, Zhao elaborates on the importance of supplementing the kidneys for treating a special kind of diarrhoea: “kidney diarrhoea” (*shen xie*), which he equates with “big lump diarrhoea” (*da jia xie* 大瘕泄), as mentioned in NJ 57.⁷²⁸

Referring to SW 4, Zhao Xianke points out that moistening is the main strategy to treat both constipation and urinary obstruction due to kidney *qi* depletion:

金匱真言論云北方黑色入通於腎開竅於二陰故腎氣虛則大小便難宜以地黃從容車前子茯苓之屬補其陰利水道少佐辛藥開湊理致津液而潤其燥

“Authentic Words of the Golden Casket” (Jingui zhenyan) [SW 4] says: “The northern direction has the colour black. It enters and communicates (*ru tong*) in the kidneys, and opens its apertures in the two *yin*.”⁷²⁹ Hence, when kidney *qi* is depleted, defecation and urination are difficult. It is appropriate to use ingredients such as *dihuang*, *congrong*, *cheqianzi*, and *fuling*, in order to supplement *yin*, and to disinhibit the water ways. Slightly assist with pungent *materia medica* in order to open the pores (*couli*), and to allow the fluids (*jinye*) to moisten dryness.⁷³⁰

Instead of only considering heat as the main reason for constipation, as most of his contemporaries did, Zhao adds that coolness (*liang*) cannot be disregarded as a cause either. Referring to *banliu wan*, a recipe contained in *Taiping huimin heji jufang*, and Wang Haogu’s 王好古 (1200?-?) *jihan wan* 己寒丸 (Stopping Cold Pill)⁷³¹, Zhao points out that he was not the first physician to apply recipes that consist of warming *materia medica* in order to dissolve constipation.⁷³² Yet, according to Zhao, none of

⁷²⁸ YG 5.26b – 27a. *Dajia xie*, which Unschuld translates as the “diarrhea of big concentrations,” is one of the five kinds of diarrhoea described in NJ 57:

然泄凡有五其名不同有胃泄有脾泄有大腸泄有小腸泄有大瘕泄名曰後重
[...]大瘕泄者裡急後重數圓而不能便莖中痛

Altogether, there are five kinds of diarrhea, and all are named differently. They include the “diarrhea of the stomach,” the “diarrhea of the spleen,” the “diarrhea of the large intestine,” the “diarrhea of large concentrations.” [Another] designation for [the latter] is “heavy behind.” [...] In case of a diarrhea of large concentrations, one feels tensions inside [the abdomen] and heaviness at the behind. One goes to the latrine frequently and is still unable to pass any stools. Pain is felt in one’s stalk. (NJ 57: 510, as translated by Unschuld)

⁷²⁹ SW 4: 1.27b

⁷³⁰ YG 5.29b.

⁷³¹ In YG 5.30 the characters, “己寒丸” are used, I follow the modern editions which use “己寒寒.” (CYP YG 122; GJS YG 105) I have not found the composition of Wang Haogu’s *Jihan wan*.

⁷³² *Banliu wan* consists of an equal share of *banxia* and *liuhuang* 硫黃 (Li ZYDZD 533).

these recipes are as efficient as *bawei wan*:

海藏云已寒丸雖熱得芍藥茴香潤劑引而下之陰得陽而化故大小便自通如遇春和之陽水自消矣然不若八味丸更妙也

Haicang said: “Although *jihan wan* is hot, it is a moistening recipe by means of *shaoyao* and *huixiang*. It guides and brings it down (*yin er xia zhi*). Yin gets yang, and transforms. Therefore, both faeces and urine get through spontaneously. It is like the encountering of yang of spring harmony and water dissipating spontaneously.”⁷³³ However, it is not as marvellous as *bawei wan*.⁷³⁴

At the end of his “Essay on Diarrhoea and Constipation,” Zhao elaborates on other recipes commonly used to treat constipation. These include recipes such as *runchang wan*, *runzao tang*, and *tongyou san*, promoted by Li Gao;⁷³⁵ *siwu tang*, used by the followers of Zhu Zhenheng, and commonly used recipes containing strong purgative *materia medica*, such as *dahuang*, *taoren*, *zhishi*, or *mangxiao*. Zhao emphasises that if constipation is due to depletion of kidney *qi* (being formless water and fire), these recipes are not only ineffective, they might also be dangerous, and, especially in case of strong purgation, even life threatening.⁷³⁶

In conclusion, in treating disorders that are related to the digestive system, Zhao Xianke highlights the importance of formless fire operating through the triple burner in the higher, central, and lower level of the trunk. Pathologies that are traditionally related to one of the three locations (higher, central, lower), such as wasting thirst, and pathologies associated with the central region, such as stomach reflux and distention, are often related to the a depletion in the kidney region, where formless fire finds its root. Without excluding other treatment strategies, Zhao emphasises that in many cases physicians did not understand how the kidneys, or rather formless water and formless fire, are involved, and how *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan* can be used to treat a great variety of pathologies.

⁷³³ *Yilei rongshu* 4.17a.

⁷³⁴ YG 5.30b.

⁷³⁵ *Runchang wan* 潤腸丸: *taoren*, *maren* 麻仁, *danggui wei*, *dahuang*, *qianghuo*. (Li ZYDCD 1499); *runzao tang* 潤紅花燥丸: *sheng dihuang*, *sheng gancao*, *dahuang*, *shu dihuang*, *danggui wei*, *shengma*, *taoren*, *maren*, *honghua* 紅花 (Li ZYDCD 1499); *tongyou san* 通幽散: *taorenni*, *honghua*, *sheng dihuang*, *shu dihuang*, *danggui*, *zhi gancao*, *shengma*. (Li ZYDCD 1513)

⁷³⁶ YG 5.30b-31b. Some other physicians, such as Wang Haogu and Zhao Yide, also opposed the use of cold and bitter, and administered *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* in case of constipation. (p. 312)

Conclusion: A variety of pathological manifestations

In all pathologies discussed in “Essential Essays on Before Heaven”, close links with the kidneys are pointed out. In some essays, Zhao Xianke elaborates on relationships that are mentioned in the Classics, as in the case of the teeth (the outer end of the bones) or the ears (the *yang* aperture of the kidneys). In “Essay on the Eyes,” the “source fluids” which constitute the eyes are immediately traced back to formless water and fire in the kidneys. In other essays, the connections are more complex.

Zhao Xianke devotes great attention to the lungs, which are the ‘delicate viscera’. However, unlike most of his contemporaries, who directly target the lungs or supplement the spleen (earth, mother of metal), Zhao explains that there are three important reasons for why the kidneys cannot be overlooked in the treatment of lung diseases. First of all, because of ‘authentic *yin*’ depletion, ‘minister fire’ easily drifts up following the course of the kidney conduit (*shenjing*) to the upper regions, where it may cause harm in the lungs (and the throat). Besides this structural connection through the kidney duct, he also elaborates on the reverse mother-child relation between kidneys (water) and lungs (metal). As derived from the *Zhouyi cantong qi*, lung *qi* (metal, mother) should be able to return to the kidneys (water, child). If this return is inhibited by depletion of formless water in the kidney region, *qi* cannot find its rest at night, which results in cough. The kidneys should also be involved in treatment if there is a pathological presence of fluids, such as phlegm and blood, in the lungs. These fluids are not formless, but follow the actions of the Before Heavenly: in case water is depleted, they follow the drifting of ‘minister fire’; in case fire itself is depleted, they follow the flooding of ‘authentic water’. Although kidney *yin* depletion is often referred to in case of lung diseases, it should be understood in terms of an imbalance between ‘authentic water’ and ‘minister fire’.

This is also the case in many disorders related to the digestive system. Although Zhao Xianke underlines the origins of formless water and fire in the kidneys, in the essays on the digestive system, his focus often is on the triple burner, through which ‘minister fire’ operates digestion. Of the triple burner, the lower burner, whose fire is compared to the fire underneath a cooking cauldron, is most essential. By using *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*, this fire can be nourished, and diseases such as wasting thirst and stomach reflux can be cured. In pathological conditions such as central distention, constipation, and urinary obstruction, the focus is not on draining the kidneys, but on supplementing them. Although Zhao favours the methods of Li Gao in cases of diarrhoea caused by problems in the spleen-stomach, he draws attention to the fact that not only these functions, but also the kidneys might be involved.

In his discussions on various pathologies, Zhao Xianke does not always single out one specific connection with the kidneys, but often refers to a combination of associations (substantial, functional, and mother-child relationships, etc.) in order to explain the pathology and to legitimise his use of *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. Moreover, he sometimes combines balancing kidney *yin* water and fire with other strategies, such as supplementing the spleen-stomach or, temporarily, expelling evil. Hence, the criticism of Xu Dachun that Zhao only relates to one method is too extreme. Yet, in all of his explanations, Zhao draws attention to the importance of the Before Heavenly. As I will show, this is also the case in the chapters of *Yiguan* in which he discusses the two other main strategies: expelling evil and supplementing the spleen-stomach.

Chapter 6

Other strategies

Introduction

Zhao Xianke's main concern in *Yiguan* is to cure the lack of knowledge about *yin* depletion as an important cause of disease. As I showed in the previous two chapters, he provides a profound theoretical framework by which he explained how an imbalance between formless water and fire, the functional aspects of the gate of life, is responsible for many diseases, and how this imbalance can be supplemented by using *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. Yet, these two pills are not the only recipes propagated in *Yiguan*, nor did Zhao disregard other causes of disease. Throughout his text, and mainly in *juan 2* (“Working Away Doubts about Host and Guest”) and *juan 6* (“Essential Essays on After Heaven”), Zhao abundantly discusses two other important aetiologic categories: invasions of external evil *qi* and depletion of spleen-stomach *yangqi*.⁷³⁷ Although diseases of these two other categories should be distinguished from those caused by depleted *yin*, and may require different recipes, Zhao also

⁷³⁷ Although depletion of *yinqi*, depletion of *yangqi*, and external invasions are the three main causes of disease discussed in *Yiguan*, other aetiologies feature as well. In *juan 3*, Zhao provides a short summary on various causes of disease, based on the traditional distinction in ‘three causes’ (*san yin* 三因): ‘external causes’ (*waiyin* 外因), ‘internal causes’ (*neiyin* 内因), and causes that are ‘not external and not internal’ (*bu nei buwai* 不内不外). Climatic influences (wind, cold, summer heat, dampness, dryness, and fire) are classified as external causes. Zhao further classifies diseases caused by bad eating (and drinking) habits as being ‘internal of the external’ (*wai zhi nei* 外之内). Internal causes are related to the five emotions (happiness, anger, sadness, pondering, and fear). Zhao classifies ‘fatiguing the mind’ (*lao xin*) and ‘lust’ (*hao se*) ‘internal of the internal’ (*nei zhi nei* 内之内). ‘Not internal and not external’ include injuries because of accidents. (YG 3.1b-2a) Zhao’s classification slightly differs from what is now standard in TCM, compare and contrast with Wiseman and Feng 1998: 609. In *Yiguan*, his focus is on diseases caused by ‘internal of internal’, which are, as will point out in this chapter, also responsible for ‘external causes’. Compare to YG 3.2a. This does not mean that other causes are not discussed in *Yiguan*. See, for instance, Zhao’s treatment of expelling intruded bugs that are responsible for pain in the ears, which is an example of ‘not internal and not external’. (YG 5.1b)

relates to the concept of Before Heaven to explain their aetiological causes and appropriate treatment strategies, which again makes his medical theory unique and controversial.

In the analysis of Zhao Xianke's ideas on diseases caused by invasions of external evil, I will mainly rely to the "Essays" of *juan* 2. In the first section, I will explain how Zhao relates the invasion of external evil 'guest *qi*' (*keqi* 客氣) to a depletion of 'host *qi*' (*zhuqi* 主氣) in the body. By taking the external evil wind (*feng*) as example, I will focus on the mechanisms of direct invasion (*zhong* 中; 'strike'). In the second section, mainly referring to the external pathogen cold (*han*), I will elaborate on Zhao's explanation of a more gradual intrusion of external evil (*shang* 傷; 'damage'). In contrast to other physicians, Zhao regarded both Cold Damage (*shanghan* 傷寒) and Warmth Disease (*wenbing* 溫病) as a form of Depression Disease (*yubing* 鬱病). In his "Essay on Depression Disease," he points out how a depletion of host *qi* explains a gradual intrusion of external evil, and why contemporary physicians wrongly understood Warmth Disease as being intruded cold, which further evolved into warmth. In both his "Essay on Warmth Disease" and "Essay on Depression Disease," he propagates the use of *xiaoyao san* as essential recipe to relieve 'depression' (or 'constraint').⁷³⁸

According to Zhao, external evil can enter the body only if host *qi* is depleted. Yet, two different forms of host *qi* are distinguished: spleen-stomach *yangqi* and kidneys-gate of life *yinqi*. I have already elaborately discussed ideas on the latter, relating to Before Heaven, in the two preceding chapters. In the third section of this chapter, I will analyse Zhao's ideas on After Heavenly spleen-stomach *yangqi*, which can be mainly found in the first two essays of *juan* 6.⁷³⁹ In order to treat a deficiency of After Heavenly host *qi*, Zhao promotes Li Gao's *buzhong yiqi tang*. However, he expands Li's medical theory by assuring that *buzhong yiqi tang* does *stricto sensu* not supplement the After Heavenly, but rather the Before Heavenly inside the After Heavenly. In the final section of this chapter, I will go into further detail on the two forms of host *qi* (*yangqi* and *yinqi*), and how Zhao makes a strategic choices involving the recipes *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* to supplement the Before Heavenly and *buzhong yiqi tang* to supplementing Before Heavenly inside the After Heavenly.

⁷³⁸ For an excellent study on *yu* 鬱, with a discussion on the historical usages of *xiaoyao san* ("[a]round the world, the most frequently prescribed remedy for Liver *qi* constraint today"), see Scheid (forthcoming).

⁷³⁹ In the other essays of *juan* 6, he discusses disorders mainly associated with external causes: summer heat (YG 6.22b-28a), dampness (YG 6.28a-31b), *nüe* ("malaria", YG 6.31b-40b), *lijì* ("dysentery", YG 6.40b-51b).

Host and guests

In most cases, the diagnostic distinction between a disease caused by external intrusion and one caused by internal depletion is fairly easy to make. Diseases caused by guest *qi* are often marked by signs of ‘fullness’ (*shi*), such as a reddish face and a strong and rapid pulse. If host *qi* is weakened, signs of ‘depletion’ (*xu*), such as a pale facial colour and a weak pulse, will likely appear.⁷⁴⁰ As I mentioned in previous chapters, some cases of depletion are marked by ‘fake’ (*jia*) signs of fullness, and vice versa.⁷⁴¹ Zhao Xianke regrets that most physicians were unable to recognise these ‘fake’ conditions, and too often relied on recipes that expel external evil. In *juan 2*, he elaborates on the distinction between diseases caused by guest *qi* and host *qi*. Although I will mainly refer to wind in order to explain Zhao’s general ideas on the invasion of evil influences, these ideas similarly apply to problems related to the other external climatic conditions: fire, summer heat, dampness, dryness, and cold.⁷⁴²

In Zhao Xianke’s times, as in present-day China, the term Wind Stroke (*zhongfeng*) mainly refers to a disease category grouping several serious, and often life-threatening, conditions, such as paralysis, sudden collapse, and coma.⁷⁴³ Rather than taking the genuine cause into account, and based on symptoms only, physicians of Jin-Yuan period depended on contemporary understandings of Wind Stroke, as advanced by Liu Wansu, Li Gao, and Zhu Zhenheng. This changed after Wang Lü 王履 (ca. 1332-1391) had synthesised old and new ideas on Wind Stroke in his influential “Distinction of Wind Strokes” (*Zhongfeng bian* 中風辨) in *Yijing suhui ji*.⁷⁴⁴ Wang clearly distinguished conditions caused by the pathogen wind, as explained in ancient texts, from those due to internal causes only, as explained by the Three Masters of the Jin-Yuan period. By calling the former category “genuine Wind Stroke” (*zhen zhongfeng* 真中風) and the latter, “Wind-like Stroke” (*lei zhongfeng* 類中風), he put an end to all confusion:

⁷⁴⁰ See also Wiseman and Feng for a general overview *shi* and *xu*, which they translate as “vacuity and repletion.” (1998: 645)

⁷⁴¹ Contradictions between ‘fake’ external signs, as for instance a reddish face and vexation (indicating fullness) and a weak pulse (indicating depletion) are often related to a depletion of the ‘genuine’ roots. I discussed fake signs in Chapter 3.

⁷⁴² The analysis in this section is largely based on the contents of “Essay on Wind Stroke.” (YG 2.1a-12a) Wind is considered to be important pathogen, as is stated in phrases such as: “Wind is the start of the hundred diseases” (風者百病之始也) (SW 3: 1.18b; SW 60: 16.1a; LS 19: 8.5a) and “Wind is the chief of the hundred diseases” (風者百病之長也) (SW 19: 6.6b; SW 42: 12.3b). On wind, see also Hsu 2007c.

⁷⁴³ *Zhongfeng* often refers to conditions which in biomedicine are called, or are the result of, “cerebrovascular accident,” “cerebral angiospasm,” “toxic encephalopathy,” and “facial paralysis.” (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 192).

⁷⁴⁴ *Yijing suhui ji* 2.8a-11b.

昔人三子之論皆不可偏廢但三子以相類中風之病視為中風而立論故使後人狐疑而不能決殊不知因於風者真中風因於火因於氣因於濕者類中風而非中風也三子之所論者自是因火因氣因濕而為暴病暴死之症與風何相干哉

Neither theories of the Ancients (*xi ren*) nor these of the Three Masters (*san zi*) can be partially (*pian*) disregarded. However, in their theories, the Three Masters regarded diseases that are wind-like stroke diseases (*lei zhongfeng*) as Wind Stroke. Hence, this caused confusion (*huyi*) among later [physicians] (*houren*), and made them feel insecure (*bu neng jue*). They do not know at all that what is caused by wind (*yin yu feng*) is genuine Wind Stroke (*zhen zhongfeng*), and what is caused by fire, *qi*, or dampness, is wind-like stroke, and not Wind Stroke.⁷⁴⁵ What the Three Masters discussed are patterns (*zheng*) of violent diseases and violent deaths that are caused by fire, *qi*, or dampness. What do these have to do with wind!⁷⁴⁶

Hence, according to Wang, a physician should use either modern methods, based on the theories of Liu, Li, and Zhu, or ancient methods, described in texts such as the *Inner Classic* or Sun Simiao (581-682) 孫思邈's *Qianjin fang* 千金方 (Prescriptions Worth One Thousand Gold Pieces, 652) after finding the genuine cause through correct diagnosis.⁷⁴⁷

Zhao Xianke was inspired by Wang Lü's ideas on 'genuine Wind Stroke' and 'Wind-like Stroke', as he copied Wang's "Essay on Wind" at the beginning of his own "Essay on Wind Stroke."⁷⁴⁸ However, Zhao did not blindly follow Wang's ideas. Commenting on Wang's "Essay on Wind," he highlights that there is an important correlation between wind, as external cause, and the contemporary ideas on internal fire, *qi*, and phlegm (dampness), advanced by the three Jin-Yuan masters:

愚意邪之所湊其氣必虛內傷者間而有之間字當作五百年間出之間當專主虛論不必兼風河間東垣各發前人所未發至為精妙但有論無方後人何所依從而彥修以陰虛立論亦發前人所未發惜乎以氣血濕痰為主而不及真陰不能無遺弊於後世焉

In my humble opinion, "where evil gathers, *qi* must be depleted."⁷⁴⁹ In the meantime, there was also internal damage. With "in the

⁷⁴⁵ As I will discuss below, fire, *qi*, and dampness all refer to internal causes.

⁷⁴⁶ As quoted in YG 2.2a.

⁷⁴⁷ YG 2.1a-b. Ancient recipes that are used to disperse wind (*san* 散) are *da xuming tang* 大續命湯, *xiao xuming tang* 小續命湯, *xizhou xuming* 西洲續命湯, *paifeng tang* 排風湯, and *bafeng tang* 八風湯. (YG 2.1b-2a)

⁷⁴⁸ YG 2.1a-2b. In TCM, Wang Lü distinction between genuine Wind Stroke and Wind-like Stroke is still common in TCM. (Wiseman and Feng 1998: 689-692)

⁷⁴⁹ This phrase is taken from SW 33: 9.15b.

meantime,” I mean that in the period of the last five hundred years,⁷⁵⁰ there was a particular focus on the theory of depletion. However, this it should not be combined with wind. Hejian [i.e. Liu Wansu] and Dongyuan [i.e. Li Gao] discovered what previous people had not yet discovered. This is utmost exquisite. However, they only had their theories, but not the recipes. Hence, how could later people rely on them? Moreover, Yanxiu [i.e. Zhu Zhenheng] put forth his theory of *yin* depletion. He also discovered what people before had not yet discovered. Unfortunately, he took *qi*, blood, and phlegm as the guiding principle, and did not reach authentic *yin*. Hence, it was unavoidable that it would cause damage to later generations.⁷⁵¹

Zhao thus emphasises the concept of depletion, which is essential in understanding the theories of Liu Wansu, Li Gao, and Zhu Zhenheng. However, wind-like stroke, as conceived by the Jin-Yuan physicians, was not only due to internal damage, caused by failure of host *qi*. According to Zhao, just because of this failure, an invasion of external wind can take place, and cause Wind Stroke. Hence, by highlighting the phrase of SW 33, “where evil gathers, *qi* must be depleted,” he points out that both guest *qi* and host *qi* are involved in the pathogenesis.⁷⁵²

Yet, in treatment, rather than expelling evil wind, Zhao Xianke followed the three Jin-Yuan physicians in their focus on supplementing depleted host *qi*. In doing so, he regarded host *qi* as the ‘root’ (*ben* 本) of the disease, and wind as the ‘outer end’ (*mo* 末). Host *qi* should be further distinguished in *yangqi* of the spleen-stomach and *yinqi* of the kidneys-gate of life. If *yangqi* depletion is the root of Wind Stroke, Zhao follows Li Gao’s treatment strategies.⁷⁵³ In case of *yinqi* depletion, he makes a distinction between Liu Wansu’s emphasis on internal heat, or fire, and Zhu Zhenheng’s ideas on blood, *qi*, and phlegm. Liu’s approach to Wind Stroke is appreciated as follows:

⁷⁵⁰ The period after the Song dynasty, when physicians such as Li Gao and Zhu Zhenheng pointed out the importance of internal depletion as cause of disease.

⁷⁵¹ YG 2.3a-b.

⁷⁵² Compare also with the following passage from the *Inner Classic*:

上古之聖人之教下也皆謂之虛邪賊風避之有時恬惓虛無真氣從之精神內守病安從來

When the sages in High Antiquity (*shanggu zhi sheng*) instructed their subordinates, they all told them that depleting evil (*xu xie*) and violating winds (*zei feng*) should be avoided according to [the specific] time. Authentic *qi* follows from where there is tranquility (*tian tan*) and empty nothingness (*xu wu*). If essence (*jing*) and spirit (*shen*) are safeguarded inside, where would disease come from? (SW 1: 1.3a-b)

⁷⁵³ For Li Gao’s method of supplementing *yangqi*, see the third and fourth section of this Chapter.

觀劉氏之論則以風為末而以火為本世之尊劉氏者專以為劉氏主火之說殊不知火之有餘水之不足也劉氏原以補腎為本觀其地黃飲子之方可見矣故治中風又當以真陰虛為本

If you look at the theory of Mr. Liu, he considered wind to be the outer end (*mo*), and fire to be the root (*ben*). Those in this world who revere Mr. Liu, especially consider that he had a theory that focused on fire. Yet, they hardly know that when fire is excessive, water is insufficient. Mr. Liu originally considered the supplementation of the kidneys as root. If you look at the recipe of *dihuang yinzi*⁷⁵⁴, you may see it! Hence, in treating Wind Stroke, you should take authentic *yin* depletion as root.⁷⁵⁵

Hence, Zhao was in favour of using *dihuang yinzi* in order to supplement kidney *yin* in case Wind Stroke was caused by excessive fire. In Liu's logic, *dihuang yinzi* supplements water of the kidneys in order to balance excessive fire, which he associated with the heart.⁷⁵⁶ However, *dihuang yinzi* contains the ingredients *fuzi* and *guangui*, which according to the principle “increasing the origin being fire” discussed in Chapter 4 in the context of *bawei wan*, supplement formless fire, and guide this fire back to its place of origin in the kidneys. Zhao adds that not only formless fire, but also formless water should be taken into account when treating Wind Stroke caused by kidney *yin* depletion:

但陰虛有二有陰中之水虛有陰中之火虛火虛者專以河間地黃飲子為主水虛者又當以六味地黃為主果是水虛則辛熱之藥與參芪之品俱不可加

However, there are two forms of *yin* depletion: depletion of water inside *yin* and depletion of fire inside *yin*. If fire is depleted, particularly use Hejian's *dihuang yinzi* as main strategy. If water is depleted, you should take *liuwei dihuang* [*wan*] as main strategy. If this fire is depleted, you may not add pungent and hot *materia medica* or ingredients such as [*ren*]shen and [*huang*]qi.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵⁴ *Dihuang yinzi*: *shu dihuang*, *bajitian*, *shanzhuyu*, *shihu*, *roucongrong*, *pao fuzi*, *wuweizi*, *guangui*, *fuling*, *maimendong*, *changpu* 菖蒲, *yuanzhi* 遠志, *shengjiang*, *dazao*. For its composition, and how this recipe is still used to treat cerebral arteriosclerosis (*naomaidong yinghua* 脑脉动脉硬化) and the sequelae of Wind Stroke, see Li ZYDCD 569.

⁷⁵⁵ YG 2.5a.

⁷⁵⁶ YG 2.1b-2a. Although Zhao Xianke praises Liu Wansu for his methods of balancing fire by supplementing water: “when the kidneys are depleted, there is heat.” (Cf. p.186) However, in contrast to Liu, Zhao does not explain this balancing in terms of heart and kidneys (the viscera with forms), but in terms of authentic water and minister fire.

⁷⁵⁷ YG 2.5b. On mixing *materia medica* that that supplement the spleen (such as *renshen* and *huangqi*) into *yin* supplementing recipes, see 196.

As in other parts of *Yiguan*, also in “Essay on Wind Stroke,” Zhao Xianke strongly opposes Zhu Zhenheng’s ideas on *yin* depletion, and his use of cold and bitter *materia medica*. In the particular case of Wind Stroke, Zhao points out that Zhu distinguished three conditions: *qi* depletion (*qi xu*), blood depletion (*xue xu*) and damp phlegm (*shi tan* 濕痰). If *qi* is depleted, Zhu applies *si junzi tang*; if blood is depleted, he uses *siwu tang*; in case of Damp phlegm, which occurs in the serious condition of both blood and *qi* depletion, he relies on *bawu tang*. Zhao rejected the use of cold and bitter ingredients, such as *zhuli*, *jiangzhi*, *nanxing*, and *banxia*, of which the former two are contained in all of these recipes, and the latter two are contained in the composition of *bawu tang*.⁷⁵⁸

On a theoretical level, Zhao further explains that Zhu’s clinical strategies neither affects the invaded external wind, nor the genuine roots of the depletion. A fortiori, the popularity of Zhu’s strategies for Wind Strokes is a recipe for disaster:

丹溪之論平正通達宜世之人盛宗之但持此以治中風而多不效或少延而久必斃何也蓋治氣血痰之標而不治氣血痰之本也

The theory of Danxi, [seems] fair, and is easy to understand. Therefore, it suited later generations to fully take it as main principle. However, if you treat wind in this way, it mostly yields no results. Sometimes it prolongs things, but in the long run, death will certainly follow. Why? Well, this is because [Zhu] treats the outer ends (*biao*), being *qi*, blood-fluid, and phlegm, and not the roots (*ben*) of *qi*, blood-fluid, and phlegm.⁷⁵⁹

Zhao refers to the metaphor of a tree in order to trace the roots of *qi*, blood, and phlegm as cause of Wind Stroke:

人之有是四肢也如木之有枝幹也人之氣血榮養乎四肢也猶木之漿水灌溉乎枝葉也木有枝葉必有根本人之氣血豈無根本乎人有半身不遂而遷延不死者如木之根本未甚枯而一邊之枝幹先萎耳人有形

⁷⁵⁸ YG 2.6a.

⁷⁵⁹ YG 2.6a-b. Compare also with the diffusion of external and internal causes of physicians like Liu Wansu and Li Gao, which also caused confusion:

河間東垣專治本而不治風可為至當不易之論學者必須以陰虛陽虛為主自後世醫書雜出而使後學狐疑不決

Hejian and Dongyuan particularly treated the roots, and not wind. [Their] theories are suitable, and should not be altered. Students should take *yin* and *yang* depletion as guiding principle (*zhu*). However, because in later times, medical texts of all kinds were published, later learners became confused and indecisive. (YG 2.6a)

容肥壯忽然倒僕而即斃者如木之根本已絕其枝葉雖滋榮猶枯楊生華何可久也忽遇大風而摧折矣觀此則根本之論明矣

A human being has four limbs, just like a tree has branches and a trunk. The *qi* and blood-fluid of a human being nurture the four limbs, just like juices of a tree irrigate the branches and leaves. If a tree has branches and leaves, it must have roots. How would *qi* and blood-fluid of a human being not have roots? When someone has hemiplegia (*banshen busui*), but there is no death after a prolonged period, this is like a tree of which the roots are not gravely withered yet, but of which first one side of the branches and the trunk has wilted. There are people who have a sturdy and strong appearance, but who collapse suddenly, and die immediately. This is like a tree of which the roots are already cut off. Although branches and leaves are still nurtured, they are 'like withered poplar that shows splendour' (*ku yang sheng hua*).⁷⁶⁰ How would this last a long time? After a sudden encounter with strong wind, it snaps off. If you consider this, the theory about roots will become clear.⁷⁶¹

Once again, Zhao highlights depleted roots and the fullness may show signs of fullness at the outer ends. Just as the juices of a tree have their roots, *qi* and blood in the human body also have their roots. As explained in detail in Chapter 3, Zhao identifies these roots as authentic water and minister fire in the kidney region. Their common root is the one fire of the gate of life. The causes, mechanisms, and treatment of *yin* depletion in relation to Wind Stroke are now discussed as follows:

今人縱情嗜欲以致腎氣虛衰根先絕矣一或內傷勞役或六淫七情少有所觸皆能卒中此陰虛陽暴絕也須以參附大劑峻補其陽繼以地黃丸十補丸之類填實真陰又有心火暴甚腎水虛衰又兼之五志過極以致心神昏悶卒倒無知其手足牽掣口眼喎斜乃水不能榮筋急而縱俗云風者乃風淫末疾之假像風自火出也須以河間地黃飲子峻補其陰繼以人參麥門冬五味之類滋其化源此根陽根陰之至論也

Nowadays, people indulge in sensual desires, which brings about weakened kidney *qi*. First, the roots are cut off. From the moment there is an arousal by internal damage due to exertion, the six external influences (*liu yin*), or the seven emotions (*qi qing*), this may cause a sudden stroke. If *yin* is depleted and *yang* violently cut off, you should urgently supplement *yang* with *shenfu daji*, and follow up with *dihuang wan*, *shibu wan*, etc., in order to replenish authentic *yin*. It may also be that *yin* water is weakened by extreme violence of heart fire, or in combination with an excess of the five emotions

⁷⁶⁰ This phrase is borrowed from the *Changes*, and used as a metaphor for a beautiful sight that does not last long. (HYDCD 4, 897) It can thus be translated as "all good things must come to an end."

⁷⁶¹ YG 2.6b-7a. For plants and water as root metaphors in Chinese ancient culture, see Allan 1997.

(*wuzhi guoji*), this may cause coma (*xinshen hunmen*; ‘darkness and covering up of the mind’), sudden collapse and unconsciousness (*wuzhi*), clamping hands and feet, and spasms of mouth and eyes. Water further is unable to nurture the tendons, which became tense and uncontrollable. What is commonly addressed as “wind” is a ‘fake’ appearance of wind influence as disease at the outer ends. However, wind is caused by fire. You should use Hejian’s *dihuang yinzi* to urgently supplement *yin*. Follow up with ingredients like *renshen*, *maimendong*, and *wuwei[zi]* to enrich (*zi*) the source of transformations (*hua yuan*). This is the utmost theory (*zhilun*) about root *yang* and root *yin*.⁷⁶²

Zhao Xianke continues with a comment on phlegm associated with Wind Stroke:

若夫所謂痰者凡人將死之時必有痰何獨中風為然要之痰從何處來痰者水也其原出於腎張仲景曰氣虛痰泛以腎氣丸補而逐之觀此凡治中風者既以前法治其根本則痰者不治而自去矣若初時痰涎壅盛湯藥不入少用稀涎散之類使喉咽疏通能進湯液即止若欲必盡攻其痰頃刻立斃矣戒之

What is meant by phlegm (*tan*)? When people are about to die (*jiang si zhi shi*), they all have phlegm. How would this only be the in case in Wind Stroke! In short, where does phlegm come from? Phlegm is water, and originates from the kidneys. Zhang Zhongjing said: “If *qi* is depleted, and phlegm floods up, supplement and pursue (*zhu*) with *shenqi wan*.”⁷⁶³ Consider the following when you treat Wind Stroke: by treating the roots with the above [discussed] treatment methods, phlegm is not treated, by disappears out of itself. If phlegm in initially congests (*tanxian yongsheng*), and medicinal decoctions (*tangyao*) cannot enter, use a small amount of [recipes] such as *xiyan san*⁷⁶⁴ to open up the throat (*houyan shutong*). If decoctions (*tangye*) can enter, stop immediately [with *xiyan san*]. If you only start a full scale attack on phlegm (*bi jin gong qi tan*), you will instantly cause death. Beware!⁷⁶⁵

Thus, if phlegm appears in case of Wind Stroke, Zhao refers to the connection between water and phlegm. As I have discussed in Chapter 5, instead of transforming phlegm, he uses *bawei wan* (i.e. *shenqi wan*) to supplement formless water.⁷⁶⁶

Not only in the context of Wind Stroke, but in all occasions of intrusion of external evil, Zhao Xianke promotes the supplementation of ‘host’ *qi* as main

⁷⁶² YG 2.7a-b.

⁷⁶³ This passage cannot be traced back in the transmitted texts of Zhang Ji.

⁷⁶⁴ Li ZYDCD lists four different recipes with the name *xiyan san*. (1734)

⁷⁶⁵ YG 2.7b-8a.

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. p. 218.

strategy:

若夫風寒暑濕燥火之入於人身此客氣也非主氣也主氣固客氣不能入今之談醫者徒知客者除之漫不加意於主氣何哉

When wind, cold, summer heat, dampness, dryness, or fire invade the human body, they are all guest *qi*, and not host *qi*. If the host is firm, guest *qi* is unable to invade. Those who nowadays discuss medicine only know about dispelling guests. Why do they not put any attention to host *qi*?⁷⁶⁷

In concrete clinical practice, if there are symptoms that point to intruded evil, such as aversion to cold or floating (*fu* 浮) and tight (*jin* 緊) pulses (associated with Cold Damage), Zhao also applies *materia medica*, such as *guizhi*, that expel evil from the outer layers. As I already pointed out in Chapter 5, however, in traditional recipes used for treating Cold Damage ingredients that supplement host *qi*, such as *gancao* and *shaoyao*, are at least of equal importance to evil expelling *materia medica*. Only in case of summer heat, does Zhao propose the temporarily use of recipes such as *baihu tang*, which contain cold and bitter *materia medica* like *zhimu* and *shigao*. However, these recipes should be handled with great care, as they represent the “Command of Autumn,” which in contrast to the “Command of Spring” are not

⁷⁶⁷ YG 1.10b.

associated with engendering *qi*, but with ‘destructive *qi*’ (*sha qi* 殺氣).⁷⁶⁸ A prolonged use of these recipes does not only cool down (external) summer heat, but also damages (internal) fire *qi*, both *yangqi* of the spleen-stomach and *yin* fire of the kidney region.

Zhao Xianke ethically supports his approach of supplementing ‘host’ *qi* by referring to Confucian values. At the end of “Essay on Cold Damage,” he explains:

惟以補正為主不可攻邪正氣得力自然推出寒邪汗出而愈攻之一字
仁人之所惡也百戰百勝戰之善者也不戰而屈人之兵善之善者也故
曰善戰者服上刑

Only take supplementing the upright [*qi*] (*bu zheng*) as main strategy.
You may not attack slant [*qi*] (*gong xie*).⁷⁶⁹ When upright *qi* gathers

⁷⁶⁸ Cross reference chapter 3. For *baihu tang*, see also “Essay on Summer Heat Stroke and Summer Heat Damage.”

此方是暑月熱病發熱之正方名曰白虎者西方之金神也將來進成功者退使秋
金之令行則火令退聽石膏寒中之藥淡而辛能汗能利必審其人有大汗而渴齒
齒燥其脉洪而長時當夏月可用

This recipe is the correct recipe to use in case of heat effusion because of heat disease during the months of summer heat. It is called “White Tiger” because it [represents] the metal spirit of the western direction. What should come enters, and what has finished its job retreats. It activates the command of autumn metal, and brings the command of fire to a halt. *Shigao* is a *materia medica* that strikes with cold. It is bland and pungent. It allows perspiration and disinhibits [water]. You should examine the person in question. If there is serious perspiration and thirst; if the teeth are dry and the pulses are surging and long (*mai hong er chang*); and if it is during the summer months, then you may use it.

(YG 6.27a-b)

However, Zhao also warns against the destructive qualities of *baihu tang*, when applied in the wrong circumstances:

若無汗不渴脉虛而不洪長或重按全無雖壯熱口渴象白虎湯症此系脾胃氣虛
元陽不足誤服白虎必死又有一等大失血後或婦女產後壯熱喘促面赤引飲脉
虛名曰血虛發熱最忌白虎須用當歸補血湯則安

If there is no perspiration, no thirst, and the pulses are depleted, instead of being surging and long; or if you press [the pulses] hard, but you feel nothing at all, and although there is heat and thirst, and it appears to be a condition in which *baihu tang* [can be used], it is related to a depletion of spleen-stomach *qi*, and an insufficiency of primordial *yang* (*yuan yang bu zu*). If you mistakenly administer *baihu*, you will cause death. There is also the condition after a severe loss of blood, or of women, after giving birth. of heat, and shortage of breath. The face is reddish, there is a desire to drink, and pulses are depleted. This is called: ‘heat effusion because of blood depletion’ (*xue xu fa re*). It is strictly forbidden to use *baihu*. You should apply *danggui buxue tang*, and there will be settled. (YG 6.27b)

⁷⁶⁹ On *zhengqi* and *xieqi*, see Verccammen 2000: 11-12.

strength, it spontaneously pushes cold evil out. After sweating, there will be recovery. The word “attacking” is something a ‘humane person’ (*ren ren*) detests. Achieving a hundred victories in a hundred battles is being proficient in fighting. “Subduing the soldiers of others without fighting is being proficient in goodness (*shan zhi shan*).”⁷⁷⁰ Hence, it is said that “the one who is proficient in fighting receives the capital punishment.”⁷⁷¹

Hence, Zhao regards “subduing the soldiers of others without fighting,” a principle borrowed from the strategist Sunzi, as the utmost way to win a war. By referring to Mencius (“The one who is proficient in fighting receives the capital punishment”), he warns against the dangers of aggressive methods. Zhao’s emphasis on Confucian moral virtues in clinical practice does not only apply to his own use of the two pills for supplementing kidney *yin* depletion, but also to Li Gao’s use of *buzhong yiqi tang* for supplementing *yangqi*:

但補其中益其氣而邪自退聽不必攻邪攻則虛者愈虛而危亡隨其後矣倘有外感而內傷不甚者即於本方中酌加對症之藥而外邪自退所謂仁義之師無敵於天下也

By supplementing the centre and increasing *qi*, the evil will spontaneously retreat and be obedient (*zi tui ting*). It is unnecessary to attack evil. By attacking, what is depleted becomes even more depleted, and perils will follow! If there is external damage and the internal damage is not serious, you can add *materia medica* that treat the symptoms to the the recipe [*buzhong yiqi tang*], and the external evil will retreat spontaneously. This is what is meant by “humane (*ren*) and righteous (*yi*) masters have no enemies in the world (*wu di yu tianxia*).”⁷⁷²

Although Zhao Xianke does not overtly refer to Zhu Zhenheng, this passage can be read as a criticism on Zhu and his followers for not understanding Sunzi’s principles of strategy and Mencius’ way of ruling by means of *ren* and *yi*.⁷⁷³ According to Zhao, cold and bitter ingredients, such as *zhimu* and *huangbo*, which Zhu Zhenheng uses to supplement blood (and to bring fire down), contain the destructive *qi* of the “Command of Autumn.” In the long (or short) run, an aggressive method does not support the host *qi* of the body, but it will have a destructive impact instead. Hence, Zhao motivates his attacks on the medical doctrine of Zhu, who is by many recognised as the Physician of the (Neo-Confucian) Way, on Mencian moral

⁷⁷⁰ Sunzi [*bingfa*] 4a.

⁷⁷¹ YG 2.35b. *Mengzi* (Li Lou 1) 7.6a.

⁷⁷² YG 6.2b

⁷⁷³ The same could be said for Zhang Congzheng.

grounds.⁷⁷⁴

⁷⁷⁴ On Zhu Zhenheng as physician and Neo-Confucian master, see Fang Chunyang 2005 and Furth 2006.

‘Depressed’ fire

Although Zhao Xianke legitimises his overall approach of supplementing host *qi* by referring to the phrase (“where evil gathers, *qi* must be depleted”) featured in SW 33, the degree in which host *qi* is depleted further explains a difference in how external evil invades the body: in case of a ‘stroke’ (*zhong* 中), there is an immediate and violent attack on the inner layers of the body (*li* 裡). In case of ‘damage’ (*shang* 傷), there is a gradual intrusion of external evil from the outer (*biao* 表) to the inner layers.⁷⁷⁵ This distinction in degree of depletion also requires a different treatment strategy.

In “Essay on Cold Damage,” Zhao Xianke regrets that since Zhang Ji’s theories on Cold Damage became popular, most physicians do not understand the difference between Cold Damage and Cold Strike” (*hanzhong* 寒中). Fortunately, two texts, Tao Hua’s 陶華 (1369-1450?) *Shanghan liushu* 傷寒六書 (Six Writings on Cold Damage, 1445) and Wu Shou’s (15th-16th C.) 吳綬 *Shanghan yunyao quanshu* 傷寒蘊要全書 (Complete Writings Containing the Essentials about Cold Damage, 1505), clear the confusion about ‘damage’ and ‘strike’ of the ‘cold’ pathogen:

傷寒專祖仲景凡讀仲景書須將傷寒與中寒分為兩門始易以通曉為因年久殘缺補遺注釋者又多失次錯誤幸歷代考正者漸明逮陶節庵六書吳綬蘊要二書刊行而傷寒之理始著余於至理未暇詳辨先將傷寒中寒逐一辨明庶不使陰陽二症混亂夫傷寒治之得其綱領不難也若求之多歧則支離矣

Cold Damage particularly takes Zhongjing [i.e. Zhang Ji] as his ancestor. However, when you read the writings of Zhongjing you should distinguish Cold Damage and Cold Strike as two categories, and it becomes easy to understand. Because of faults made during long years of adding and annotating, many mistakes were created. Fortunately, those in previous dynasties who made corrections gradually understood this. From the moment the two texts Tao Jie’an’s *Liushu* and Wu Shou’s *Yunyou* were printed and published, the principles of Cold Damage started to become clear. I can not go into detail on the utmost principles. But, I first will clarify how Damage and Cold Strike differ from each other. You may not at all confuse the two patterns of *yin* and *yang*. Well, as far as treating Cold

⁷⁷⁵ This distinction between ‘stroke’ and ‘damage’ is reflected in the titles of the first two essays of *juan 2*: “Essay on Wind Stroke” and “Essay on Cold Damage.” However, it is important to note that both ‘strike’ and ‘damage’ can be associated with all of the six influences. For the importance of supplementing the host *qi* in case of summer heat, see YG 6.26b: “If primal *qi* (*yuanqi*) is not depleted, from where would summer heat evil enter? (元氣不虛暑邪從何處而入哉)” Compare also to YG 6.32a for similar ideas in case of *nüe*.

Damage is concerned, grasping the guiding principles is not difficult. However, if you search for its multiple twigs, then you leave from the main branch (*duo zhi ze zhi li*; ‘if you focus on the details, you are unable to grasp the bigger picture’).⁷⁷⁶

The following part of “Essay on Cold Damage” provides a detailed survey of traditional ideas on how Cold Damage first attacks the outer layers (*biao*), and then gradually enters the deeper layers (*li*) of the body.⁷⁷⁷

Whereas Cold Damage is a *yang* pattern, Strike is categorised as a *yin* pattern. Because of an extreme depletion of host *qi*, cold (or another pathogen) is able to attack the inner layers of the body directly. Pulses and external symptoms allow the physician to make a correct diagnosis. In case of a *yin* pattern, there is usually no ‘heat effusion’. However, Zhao highlights that ‘fake’ signs such as ‘heat effusion’ and a reddish face may appear, complicating the diagnostic distinction between genuine Cold Damage and fake Cold Strike. Zhao regrets that most physicians, based on the symptomatic presence of ‘heat effusion’, blindly take to Cold Damage recipes exclusively.⁷⁷⁸ He further points out that Cold Damage recipes, such as *huangqi tang*

⁷⁷⁶ YG 2.21b. Although Tao Hua is praised for clarifying the distinction between Cold Damage and Cold Strike, he did reach the utmost principle of the formless in the body: “Because Tao considered blood to be *yin*, he has this theory [of supplementing *yin* in case of strike]. What a pity he did not understand the utmost principle (*zhi li*) of authentic *yin* and authentic *yang*!” 陶以血為陰故有此論惜乎其不識真陰真陽之至理也。(YG 2.35a)

⁷⁷⁷ Zhao Xianke includes an elaborate description of the intrusion of cold from the skin to the interior organs of the body, which takes place along the *yang* conduits: greater *yang* (*taiyang*) -> lesser *yang* (*shaoyang*) -> *yang* brightness (*yangming*). Eventually, the cold evil attacks the *yin* layers of the body. This progression describes an evolution of Cold Damages to Warmth Diseases. Zhao describes the typical pulses and outer manifestations on which diagnostics can be made, and lists the typical recipes that treat these conditions. Because Zhao in the following parts highlights that the bigger picture is all about ‘depressed’ host *qi*, I will not discuss the traditional ideas on this progression in further detail. (YG 2.11a-13b)

⁷⁷⁸ Also in “Essay on Cold Damage,” Zhao Xianke points out that the theories and strategies of other major physicians should be taken into account when treating ‘heat effusion’:

讀傷寒書而不讀東垣書則內傷不明而殺人多矣讀東垣書而不讀丹溪書則陰虛不明而殺人多矣讀丹溪書而不讀薛氏書則真陰真陽不明而殺人亦多矣
If you read the books on Cold Damage but not the books of Dongyuan [Li Gao], internal damage will not be clear, and the killing of people will be frequent. If you read the books of Dongyuan, but not those by Danxi [Zhu Zhenheng], *yin* depletion will not be clear (*bu ming*, not understood), and the killing of people will be frequent. If you read the books of Danxi but not those of Mr. Xue, authentic *yin* and authentic *yang* will not be clear, and the killing of people will also be frequent. (YG 2.32a)

Note that Zhu Zhenheng has his merits for introducing *yin* depletion as possible explanation of heat effusion. However, Zhao Xianke follows the strategies of Xue Ji, which treat authentic *yi* depletion. (See also pp. 169-171; Table 7.)

and *guizhi tang*, can only be used in the very limited period of time between the end of October and the end of March:

此二方者乃治冬月正傷寒之的方霜降後至春分前此時太陽寒水用事房勞辛苦之人其太陽寒水之氣乘虛而客入於太陽經同氣相求故易以傷也仲景特以殺氣最重故詳言之其餘時月則無傷寒則二方不可用也今人醫牌上多書治四時傷寒名不正則言不順矣

These two recipes [*huangqi tang* and *guizhi tang*] are effective to treat genuine Cold Damage in the winter months, after Frost's Descent (*shuang jiang*; ca. 23 October) and before spring equinox (*chun fen*; ca. 21 March).⁷⁷⁹ In this period, cold water of greater yang is active. The greater yang cold water qi of people that exert themselves in the bedroom [will get depleted]. Taking advantage of the weak spot (*cheng xu*, 'taking advantage of the depletion'), the guest enters the greater yang conduit. Identical qi search each other. Hence, [greater yang] is easily damaged. Especially because this destructive qi [of cold] is most severe, Zhongjing explained it in detail. In the months of other seasons, it is not Cold Damage, and the two recipes cannot be used. Nowadays, physicians often advertise: "treating Cold Damage during the four seasons." If the names are not correct, the language will not be in accordance with [the correct names] (*ming bu zheng ze yan bu shun*).⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁷⁹ Frost's Descent and the spring equinox are two of the twenty-four solar terms (*jieqi*).

⁷⁸⁰ YG 2.25a. The last sentence of the above passage is borrowed from the *Analects*. This saying is borrowed from the *Lunyu*, and is followed by "if language is not in accordance, matters will not be accomplished" (言不順則事不成). (*Lunyu* 13.1a) Cold water of greater yang refers to the bladder conduit which is active in winter. This conduit will be first to be invaded. However, cold attacks its blood [*rong*], and wind its qi [*wei*]. Two recipes are explained as follows:

寒傷榮風傷衛衛陽也風亦陽也陽從陽之類故風能傷衛血陰也寒亦陰也陰從陰之類故寒能傷榮辛甘發散為陽風宜辛散寒宜甘發桂枝辛而熱者故能發散衛中之風邪麻黃甘而熱者故能發散血中之寒邪又桂枝麻黃氣味俱輕陽中之陽故能入太陽經散皮膚間之風寒也

Cold damages the supply (*rong*). Wind damages the defence (*wei*). Defence is yang. Wind is also yang. Because yang follows what is of the yang category (*yang zhi lei*), wind is able to damage the defence. Blood is yin. Cold is also yin. Because yin follows what is of the yin category (*yin zhi lei*), cold is able to damage the supply (*rong*). Pungent and sweet (*xin gan*) bring it out and disperse (*fa san*), and are yang. If there is wind, it is appropriate to disperse with pungent (*xin san*). If there is cold, it is appropriate to bring it out with sweet (*gan fa*). *Guizhi* is pungent and hot. Hence, it is able to bring out and disperse (*fa san*) the wind evil inside the defence. *Mahuang* is sweet and hot. Hence, it is able to bring out and disperse the cold evil inside the blood. Moreover, both the qi and flavour (*wei*) of *guizhi* and *mahuang* are light (*qing*). They are yang in yang (*yang zhong zhi yang*). Hence, they are able to enter the greater yang conduit, and also to disperse (*san*) the wind and cold inside the skin (*pi fu*). (YG 2.24b-25a)

In the two final chapters of *juan 2*, “Essay on Warmth Disease” and “Essay on Depression Disease,” Zhao Xianke highlights how fire in the body further explains an evolution from Cold Damage to Warmth Disease. Traditionally, Warmth Disease is understood as cold that is not expelled from the outer layers, but lingers in the body, and instead to eventually develop into warmth:

夫傷寒二字蓋冬時嚴寒而成殺厲之氣觸冒之而即時病者乃名傷寒不即發者寒毒藏於肌膚至春變為溫至夏變為暑病 [...] 既變為溫則不得復言其為寒不惡寒而渴者是也

The two words “Cold Damage” refer to severe cold in winter that forms destructive, contagious (*sha li qi*). If the disease [manifests itself] immediately after being caught, it is called “Cold Damage.” If it does not immediately burst out, the cold toxin is stored under the skin. In spring, it develops into Warmth. In summer, it changes into Summer Heat Disease. [...] If it has already developed into Warmth, it cannot be further discussed as being Cold [Damage]. There is no aversion to cold, but thirst.⁷⁸¹

Hence, “[although] the cause [external cold] of the diseases is the same, the time of outbreak differs” (受病之源雖同所發之時則異), and requires a completely different treatment method.⁷⁸²

Zhao Xianke regrets that Zhang Ji himself did not give clear indications on the treatment of Warmth Disease, and continues by discussing Liu Wansu’s, Zhang Congzheng’s, and Tao Hua’s popular strategies for treating Warmth Disease. The first two physicians combined cold or cooling *materia medica* with recipes that disperse cold in winter, which Zhao considers “inappropriate to use in the spring and summer” (不宜用於春夏之時). Tao Hua advanced the use of *jiuwei qianghuo tang*, a recipe composed by Zhang Yuansu in order to treat a sudden outbreak of colds (*bao han* 暴寒), not in winter, but in the other seasons. These colds, which, just like Cold Damage are marked by the patient’s aversion to cold, and heat effusion, are caused by *qi* that is “not in accordance to the proper climatic condition” (感四時不正之氣). For instance, when it is not warm in spring, but cold instead. Because of its use in spring, summer and autumn, Tao promoted *jiuwei qianghuo tang* as “one recipe that could replace three recipes” (一方可代三方).⁷⁸³ Pointing out that cold in the other seasons is incomparable to severe cold evil associated with winter, Zhao does not agree with Tao’s strategy. However, inspired by Tao’s promotion of one single recipe that can be

⁷⁸¹ YG 2.36a.

⁷⁸² YG 2.36a.

⁷⁸³ *Jiuwei qiang huo tang*: *qianghuo*, *fangfeng* 防風, *chuanxiong*, *xixin*, *gancao*, *cangzhu*, *baizhi* 白芷, *huangqin*, *sheng dihuang*. (Li ZYDCD 51)

used in different seasons, Zhao proposes his own alternative: “[the previously discussed methods] are not as outstanding and wonderful as *xiaoyao san*, a recipe that can effectively replace three recipes” (不若逍遙散為尤妙真可一方代三方也).⁷⁸⁴

In contrast to the recipes used by Liu, Zhang, and Tao, *xiaoyao san* does not contain cold emitting (*fa han*) ingredients, “but only pungent and cool *materia medica*, which resolve Warmth by ensuring communication between the inside and outside of the body” (惟宜辛涼之藥通內外而解之).⁷⁸⁵ A detailed explanation of how its main ingredients function feature in “Essay on Depression Disease” (Yubing lun). At the end of this essay, the composition of *xiaoyao san* (here also called *gufang xiaoyao san*) is given as follows:

古方逍遙散 *gufang xiaoyao san*
柴胡 *chaihu* 薄荷 *bohe* 當歸 *danggui* 芍藥 *shaoyao* 陳皮 *chenpi*
甘草 *gancao* 白朮 *baizhu* 伏神 *fushen*⁷⁸⁶

The inclusion of an “Essay on Depression Disease” in the *juan* in which Zhao Xianke discusses the distinction between ‘host’ and ‘guests’ may seem rather odd. Yet, the concept of ‘depression’ is essential in understanding Zhao’s views on both Warmth Disease and Cold Damage. The character *yu* 鬱, in a medical context often translated as “depression,” refers to dense, luxuriant growing plants.⁷⁸⁷ In medicine, ‘depression’ refers to conditions in which the communication between the microcosm of the body and the external macrocosm is inhibited, and normal

⁷⁸⁴ YG 2.36a-37b.

⁷⁸⁵ YG 2.37a.

⁷⁸⁶ YG 2.46a.

⁷⁸⁷ Compare to Wiseman and Feng: “Stagnation; reduced activity. In physiology, depression refers either to depressed *qi* dynamic (frustrated physiological activity) or to flow stoppage due to congestion. The term also describes inhibition of normal emotional activity, expressing itself in the form of oppression, frustration, and irascibility.” (1998: 123). For another explanation of the meaning of 鬱 in a medical context: “Obstruction; engorgement (en particulier dans la circulation de souffles). Sensation d’oppression; état de dépression lié au blocage du 陽 yang.” (GR 6, 1076)” The entry on “鬱” in Karlgren’s *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* reads as follows:

Dense, pent-up, anxious, grieved — [there was a homophon. char. with a pict. of two hands inst. of 林, meaning “aromatic herbs” (hands laying 鬯 arom. herbs in 缶 a pot); this is abbrev. phon. and 林 sign. in “dense”; second form vulgar. (1974: 180)

Compare also to *Shuowen jiezi* 5b.3a.

activities are obstructed.⁷⁸⁸ Although “depression” may also refer to mental disorders, the semantic range of this concept is much broader:

予謂凡病之起多由於鬱鬱者抑而不通之義內經五法為因五運之氣所乘而致鬱不必作憂鬱之鬱憂乃七情之病但憂亦在其中

I say that many diseases rise from depression. Depression means to be ‘restrained’ (*yi*), and unable to ‘communicate’ (*tong*). The five methods of the *Inner Classic* [SW 71] treat depression caused when the *qi* of one of the five cyclic movements overwhelms. Thus, it should not be understood in the sense of depression as in ‘sadness depression’ (*youyu*). Grieve (*you*) is one of the diseases of the seven emotions. However, sadness is also contained in [the broader semantic range of *yu*].⁷⁸⁹

SW 71 mentions five forms of depression and treatment methods, which are quoted at the beginning of “Essay on Depression Disease:”

內經曰木鬱則達之火鬱則發之土鬱則奪之金鬱則泄之水鬱則折之然調其氣過者折之以其畏也所謂瀉之

The *Inner Classic* says: “If wood is depressed, make it reach through (*da zhi*). If fire is depressed, let it break out (*fa zhi*). If earth is depressed, remove it (*duo zhi*). If metal is depressed, drain it (*xie zhi*). If water is depressed, break it off (*zhi zhi*). When adjusting (*tiao*) the *qi*, break off what is too much with what it fears.⁷⁹⁰ This is what is called ‘drain it’ (*xie zhi*).”⁷⁹¹

In Zhao Xianke’s times, strategies for treating depression were mainly based on Zhang Congzheng’s comments on the above passage of SW 71. Because Zhang’s explanation diverged from that of Wang Bing, Zhao does not agree with how his contemporaries understood the five strategies to treat depression:

⁷⁸⁸ Yanhua Zhang differentiates several forms of blockages in Chinese medicine as follows: “Yu 郁 [鬱] is mainly stagnation of *qi* which is invisible (*wuxing* 无形) and which is closely related to disordered emotions; *yu* 瘀 is stasis of tangible (*youxing* 有形) fluids, such as blood; *zhi* 滯 is sluggish movement (of *qi*); *ji* 积 is accumulation of something (*shiji* 食积 is accumulation of food); *jie* 结 is coagulation, sometimes in the form of a lump; *zu* 阻 is obstruction or blockage of the circulation passages. [...] Yu (stagnation/blockage) occupies such an important role in the clinical manifestation of Chinese medicine that some famous doctors in the history of Chinese medicine insist that *yu* is the single most important factor that results in medical disorders.” (Zhang 2007: 45) Zhang devotes a whole chapter on *yu* in Chinese medical history, and in contemporary TCM clinical practice. (2007: 88-104)

⁷⁸⁹ YG 2.40b-41a.

⁷⁹⁰ This refers to the controlling relations between the five agents.

⁷⁹¹ As quoted in YG 2.40a. Cf. SW 71: 21.49a-b.

內經五法之注乃出自張子和之注非王啟玄舊文故多誤

The comments on the five methods of the *Inner Classic* come from those made by Zhang Zihe [i.e. Zhang Congzheng]. These are not the ancient writings of Wang Qixuan [i.e. Wang Bing]. Therefore, mistakes are abundant.⁷⁹²

By propagating an alternative understanding of depression, Zhu Zhenheng made the situation even worse:

丹溪先生云氣血衝和百病不生一有怫鬱諸病生焉又制為六鬱之論立越鞠丸以治鬱曰氣曰濕曰熱曰痰曰血曰食而以香附撫芎蒼朮開鬱利氣為主謂氣鬱而濕滯濕滯而成熱熱鬱而成痰痰滯而血不行血滯而食不消化此六者相因為病者也此說出而內經之旨始晦

Mr. Danxi [i.e. Zhu Zhenheng] said: “If *qi* and blood-fluid are in harmony, the one hundred diseases are not produced. From the moment there is depression (*fuyu*)⁷⁹³, all diseases are produced by it.”⁷⁹⁴ Moreover, he established theory of six depressions, and designed *yueju wan* to treat them.⁷⁹⁵ [The six depressions are:] “*qi*”, “dampness”, “heat”, “phlegm”, “blood”, and “food”. He mainly used *xiangfu*, *fluxiong*, and *cangzhu* to open up the depression and to disinhibit *qi*. He said that after *qi* depression, dampness stagnates. When dampness stagnates, it becomes heat. When heat is depressed, it forms phlegm. When phlegm stagnates, blood does not flow. When blood stagnates, food is not digested. These six are causing each other, and form disease. After this explanation was uttered, the meaning of the *Inner Classic* became obscure.⁷⁹⁶

Although Zhao strongly disagrees with the idea of a progression from *qi* depression to food depression, and the use of *yueju wan* to treat all six forms of depression, like Zhu, he also proposes a theory based on progression, and he promotes one single recipe:

予以一方治其木鬱而諸鬱皆因而愈一方者何逍遙散是也方中唯柴胡薄荷二味最妙蓋人身之膽木乃甲木少陽之氣氣尚柔嫩象草穿地始出而未伸此時如被寒風一鬱即萎軟抑遏而不能上伸不上伸則下克脾土而金水並病矣唯得溫風一吹鬱氣即暢達蓋木喜風風搖則舒

⁷⁹² YG 2.43b. An elaborate discussion on the interpretation of these five forms, based on Zhang Congzheng’s comment can be found in YG 2.40b-43b.

⁷⁹³ The *Shuowen jiezi* explains 怫 as a synonym of 鬱 (怫鬱也). (*Shuowen jiezi* 10b.16b)

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. *Danxi xinfu* 182.

⁷⁹⁵ The ingredients are *cangzhu*, *xiangfu*, *fluxiong* 撫芎, *shenqu*, and *zhizi*. (*Danxi xinfu* 183)

⁷⁹⁶ YG 2.41a-b. For the importance of Zhu Zhenheng and his followers for developing ideas on *yu*, and the further evolution during the Ming and the Qing, see Zhang 2007: 88-90.

暢寒風則畏溫風者所謂吹面不寒楊柳風也木之所喜柴胡薄荷辛而溫者辛也故能發散溫也故入少陽古人立方之妙如此

I use one recipe to treat wood depression (*mu yu*), and thereby all depressions that follow it are treated. What is this one recipe? It is *xiaoyao san*. Only the two ingredients *chaihu* and *bohe* in this recipe are most subtle. Gallbladder wood of the human body is the *qi* of lesser *yang* of *jia* wood. The *qi* still is delicate, just like plants that start to pierce through the earth, but are not stretched out yet. If they are, at this moment, oppressed by cold wind, they are oppressed, because they are weak and soft (*wei ruan*) and cannot stretch out. If they cannot stretch out above, they overcome spleen earth below, and metal and water will become ill as well. With one blow of warm wind, the depressed *qi* is relieved. Wood enjoys wind. Wind makes it wave, and it relaxes. However, it is afraid of cold wind. Warm wind means “the wind of poplars and willows that is not cold when it blows on the face” (*chui mian bu han yang liu feng*). Wood enjoys the pungency and warmth of *chaihu* and *bohe*. Pungency, because this brings out and spreads (*fa san*); warmth, because this enters lesser *yang*. The marvels (*miao*) of how the Ancients composed recipes are like this.⁷⁹⁷

Hence, *xiaoyao san* supports fire *qi* contained in wood, which is the life-giving force of *yangqi* (*sheng sheng zhi qi*), associated with the spring season. Following the logic of the mutual production of the five agents, Zhao further points out that fire inside wood should be supported first. Otherwise, the other agents cannot come into existence:

蓋東方先生木木者生生之氣即火氣空中之火附於木中木鬱則火亦鬱於木中矣不特此也火鬱則土自鬱土鬱則金亦鬱金鬱則水亦鬱五行相因自然之理唯其相因也

Well, first, the eastern direction produces wood. The endless creative *qi* (*shengsheng zhi qi*) of wood is the fire *qi*. The fire inside the hollows adheres to wood.⁷⁹⁸ Wood depression is thus fire which is depressed inside wood. But, this is not all. If fire is depressed, earth is also depressed. And, when earth is depressed, metal is also depressed. When metal is depressed, water is also depressed. The five agents are interrelated. This interrelatedness is a natural principle (*ziran zhi li*)!⁷⁹⁹

In the body, wood is associated with the liver. In *juan 3*, Zhao states: “every

⁷⁹⁷ YG 2.44a-b.

⁷⁹⁸ On fire in wood, see p. 147.

⁷⁹⁹ YG 2.43b-44a.

depression is a disease of the liver” (凡鬱皆肝病也).⁸⁰⁰ Yet, rather than elaborating on the liver, in “Essay on Depression Disease” in *juan 2*, Zhao’s focus is on depressed formless fire inside wood as the cause of all forms of depression.

In serious cases of depression, *xiaoyao san* alone is insufficient, and combinations with other recipes, such as *zuojin wan* and *liuwei wan*, are needed:

其甚者方中加左金丸左金丸止黃連吳茱萸二味黃連但治心火加吳茱萸氣燥肝之氣亦燥同氣相求故入肝以平木木平則不生心火火不刑金而金能制木不直伐木而佐金以制木此左金之所以得名也此又法之巧者然猶未也一服之後繼用六味地黃加柴胡芍藥服之以滋腎水俾水能生木逍遙散者風以散之也地黃飲者雨以潤之也木有不得其天者乎此法一立木火之鬱既舒木不尅脾土且土亦滋潤無燥熯之病金水自相生予謂一法可通五法者如此豈惟是哉推之大之千之萬之其益無窮

In severe cases, add *zuojin wan* to the recipe. *Zuojin wan* consists of only two ingredients: *huanglian* and *wu zhuyu*. *Huanglian* only treats heart fire, the dryness of *qi* of *wu zhuyu* is added. The *qi* of the liver is also dry. Identical *qi* are searching each other. Hence, it enters the liver and levels wood. If wood is evened, it does not produce heart fire. Fire does not punish metal, and metal is able to control wood. This is not directly attacking wood, but assisting (*zuo*) metal (*jin*) in order to control wood. This is how *zuojin* got its name. But, the ingeniousness of the method is not yet finished here. After one dose, I continue by giving *liuwei dihuang*, supplemented with *chaihu* and *shaoyao* to enrich kidney water. This makes it possible for water to produce wood. When *xiaoyao san* spreads it like wind, and *dihuang yin* moistens it like rain, would wood [be able to grow] like it is its nature? After this method is established, and wood and fire depression are already released (*shu*), wood will not attack spleen earth, but will also be enriched and moistened. When there are no diseases with raging flames, metal and water will spontaneously produce each other. This is how I explain that one method encompasses five methods. But it is not the only thing! Expand it, make it bigger, a thousand times, ten-thousand times, and its benefits will be endless (*qi yi wu qiong*).⁸⁰¹

Thus, the use of *xiaoyao san* (assisted by *zuojin wan*) and *liuwei wan* are in accordance to the principle of nourishing life-giving *yangqi*, associated with spring. Just like young and fragile plants need their nourishment by warm wind and gentle rain, depressed fire in wood of the human body can be nourished with *xiaoyao san* (wind)

⁸⁰⁰ YG 3.21b.

⁸⁰¹ YG 2.44b-45a.

and *liuwei wan* (rain), in order to be able to breach the oppressing earth.⁸⁰²

As discussed above, in Zhao Xianke's opinion, an initial depression of wood also leads to a depression of the other agents. This is mainly due to the fact that (formless) fire is not only the creative force in wood, but in all the other agents as well. Because *xiaoyao san* (in combination with *liuwei wan*) helps to release this creative force, the application of *xiaoyao san* is described as the "one method that replaces the five methods" (*yi fa dai/tong wu fa* 一法代/通五法).⁸⁰³ Transposed unto the specific context of Warmth Disease, a disorder due to an initial external attack by cold in winter, but which appears during the three following seasons, *xiaoyao san* is also designated as the "one recipe that can replace three recipes [that treat symptoms traditionally related to winter cold, but which manifest themselves during spring, summer, or autumn]".

In order to understand Warmth Disease as a form of Depression Disease, Zhao Xianke emphasises the presence of the symptom thirst (*ke*). Quoting Zhang Ji's *Shanghan lun*, he states:

經曰不惡寒而渴者是也不惡寒則知其表無寒邪矣曰渴則知腎水乾枯矣

[Warmth Disease] is what the *Classic* calls: "No avoidance of cold, and thirst."⁸⁰⁴ If there is no avoidance of cold, you know that there is no cold evil anymore at the outer layers. If there is "thirst", then you know that water of the kidneys has dried up!"⁸⁰⁵

Because of depressing cold, fire is trapped inside the body, where it continues to burn, and eventually evaporates kidney water:

蓋緣其人素有火者冬時觸冒寒氣雖傷而亦不甚惟其有火在內寒亦不能深入所以不即發而寒氣伏藏於肌膚自冬至三四月歷時既久火為寒鬱中藏亦久將腎水熬煎枯竭蓋甲木陽木也借癸水而生腎水既枯至此時強木旺無以為發生滋潤之本故發熱而渴非有所感冒也

Well, because a person normally has fire, the damage due to a contamination by cold *qi* in the winter season is not that serious. Only because there is fire inside, is the cold unable to penetrate deeply, and [Cold Damage] does not immediately break out. However, the cold *qi* takes hiding in between skin and flesh. Not only

⁸⁰² For a concise summary of Zhao Xianke's ideas on *yu* and his use of *xiaoyao san* in combination with *zuojin wan* and *liuwei wan*, and a positive evaluation of this methods in contemporary clinical practice, see Zhang Aiqing, Guo Hui, and Chen Haifeng 2003. For a more elaborate and critical approach, see Gu Ruisheng 1982.

⁸⁰³ YG 2.43b.

⁸⁰⁴ *Shanghan lun* 5.18a-b.

⁸⁰⁵ YG 2.37a.

is fire depressed by cold between winter and the third or fourth month depressed by cold, it is also stored inside for a long time. Kidney water boils and dries up. Well, *jia* wood is *yang* wood, and depends on *gui* water to be produced.⁸⁰⁶ When kidney water is dried up at the time strong wood is supposed to flourish, [wood] has no roots from where it can be brought forth and be moistened (*fa sheng zi run zhi ben*). Hence, there is heat effusion and thirst. It is not something that is caused by external contamination.⁸⁰⁷

Therefore, Warmth Disease can also be treated using the combined method of *xiaoyao san* and *liuwei wan*: “When I use *liuwei dihuang* to enrich this water, together with pungent and cool *materia medica* such as *chaihu* [used in *xiaoyao san*], to relax the wood depression, there are immediate results (*sui shou er ying*). With this method (*ci fang*), you can save many lives” (余以六味地黃滋其水以柴胡辛涼之藥舒其木鬱隨手而應此方活人者多矣).⁸⁰⁸ *Liuwei wan* does not only quench the thirst by supplementing water, it also fosters the mother of wood. Moreover, and as explained in other parts of *Yiguan*, *kan* water, which is metaphorically compared to the oil in candles and lanterns, nourishes formless fire. This fire is the creative force inside water and earth (as I will explain in the next section), and also inside wood.

To conclude, I explain how Zhao Xianke also understands Cold Damage in terms of depressed host *qi*:

凡冬時傷寒者亦是鬱火症若其人無火則為直中矣惟其有火故由皮毛而肌肉肌肉而藏府今人皆曰寒邪傳裏寒變為熱既曰寒邪何故入內而反為熱又何為而能變熱耶不知即是本身中之火為寒所鬱而不得泄一步反歸一步日久則純熱而無寒矣所以用三黃解毒解其火也升麻葛根即火鬱發之也三承氣即土鬱則奪之小柴胡湯木鬱達之也其理甚簡而易只多了傳經六經諸語支離多歧

Cold damage in the winter season is also a pattern of depressed fire. If someone has no fire, then there is a direct strike. Only because there is fire, is there [the progression] from the hairs on the skin (*pimao*) to the flesh (*jirou*), and from the flesh (*jirou*) to the viscera (*fu zang*, ‘palaces and storehouses’). Nowadays, people all say: “cold evil is transmitted to the inside, and develops into heat (*han bian wei re*).” How is it possible that what is called “cold evil” turns into heat, after it has entered the inside? How does it develop into heat? They do not know that this is fire from inside the body itself, which is depressed (*yu*) by cold. When it can leak out (*xie*) [, and leave the body], it retreats step by step [to the deeper layers]. After a long time, it has become pure heat, and cold has disappeared. Therefore, *sanhuang*

⁸⁰⁶ Yin kidney water (*gui*) produces *yang* gallbladder wood (*jia*).

⁸⁰⁷ YG 2.37b.

⁸⁰⁸ YG 2.37b-38a.

*jiedu [tang]*⁸⁰⁹ is used to resolve this fire; *Shengma gegen [tang]*⁸¹⁰ “brings out fire depression;” the three *chengqi* decoctions⁸¹¹ relate to “if earth is depressed, take it out;” *Xiao chaihu tang*⁸¹² is “if wood is depressed, let it reach through.” These principles are very easy. You should only comprehend that the various explanations on the transmission along the six conduits is [like] “many branches leaving from one stem” (*zhi li duo zhi*).⁸¹³

From Zhao’s point of view, the traditional explanation of diseases caused by cold as a transmission to the interior along the *yang* conduits does not show the bigger picture (*zhi li duo zhi*). He asserts that traditional recipes associated with one of the *yang* conduits relieve depressed fire, earth, and wood.⁸¹⁴ As in his analysis of other aetiologies, Zhao tries to reach the root of the disorder (or, here, the “stem”). Thus, if fire is depressed as a result of an earlier infection by external evil (which may in the meantime already have disappeared), Zhao assists the breakthrough of the creative force of spring with *xiaoyao san*, and supplements its source with *liuwei wan*. Only in case of a severe attack by cold (or wind) between Frost’s Descent and spring equinox, and, hence, true Cold Damage (*zheng shanghan*), does Zhao apply the traditional Cold Damage recipes *mahuang tang* and *guizhi tang*, which cure the disease by expelling the evil guest from the outer layers [of bladder greater yang]:

余於冬月正傷寒獨麻黃桂枝二方作寒鬱治其餘俱不惡寒者作鬱火治

I only use the two recipes *mahuang* and *guizhi* in case of genuine Cold Damage (*zheng shanghan*) in winter months, which treat them as ‘cold depression’. In all other cases, when there is no aversion to cold, I treat them as depressed heat [and, hence as Warmth Disease].⁸¹⁵

Zhao Xianke realises that his explanation of Cold Damage in terms of depression was innovative and difficult to understand by his contemporaries. However, finding an ally in Yu Tuan (1438-1517), he highlights that he was not the only one who advanced these radical ideas:

⁸⁰⁹ *Sanhuang jiedu tang*: *dahuang*, *huanglian*, *huangbo*, *huangqin*, *jiao zhizi*. (Li ZYDCD 69)

⁸¹⁰ *Shengma gegen tang*: *shengma*, *gegen*, *zhi gancao*, and *shaoyao*. (Bensky and Barolet 1990: 47-48)

⁸¹¹ The three *chengqi* decoctions are: *tiaowei chengqi tang* (*dahuang*, *gancao*, and *mangxiao*, YG 2.26b-27a), *xiao chengqi tang* (*dahuang*, *houpu*, and *zhishi*, YG 2.27a), and *da chengqi tang* (*dahuang*, *houpu*, *zhishi*, and *mangxiao*, YG 2.27a-b).

⁸¹² *Xiao chaihu tang*: *chaihu*, *huangqin*, *gancao*. (YG 2.25b-26a)

⁸¹³ YG 2.38a-b.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. the five methods described in SW 71.

⁸¹⁵ YG 2.38b.

此不佞之創論也聞之者孰不駭然吐舌及閱虞天民醫學正傳傷寒篇云有至人傳曰傳經傷寒是鬱病余見之不覺竊喜以為先得我心之同然

All those who hear this theory, conceived by my humble self, shockingly spat out their tongue. However, I read what Yu Tianmin [i.e. Yu Tuan] wrote in his “Chapter on Cold Damage” in *Yixue zhengchuan* (Correct Transmission of Medical Learning): “There is a ‘Account on a Arrived Person (Zhiren zhuan) that states: “Cold Damage by the transmission along the conduits is, in fact, Depression Disease.”⁸¹⁶ When I saw this, I silently rejoiced. For the first time I found something that was identical to my idea.⁸¹⁷

Actually, the logic of understanding Cold Damage as Depression Disease already lies hidden in the founding text of scholarly Chinese medicine:

及考之內經帝曰人傷於寒而傳為熱何也岐伯曰寒氣外凝內鬱之理腠理堅致玄府閉密則氣不宣通濕氣內結中外相搏寒盛熱生故人傷於寒轉而為熱汗之則愈則外凝內鬱理可知觀此而余以傷寒為鬱火者不為無據矣故特著鬱論一篇

I verified it in the *Inner Classic*: The Emperor said: “If someone is damaged by cold, why then is it transmitted as heat?” Qi Bo said: “This is the principle of cold *qi* congealing outside, and causing depression inside. If the pores are firm, and the mysterious palace (*xuanfu*)⁸¹⁸ is closed off, *qi* cannot display [itself] and communicate. Dampness *qi* congeals inside. Centre and outside fight with each other. When cold is abundant, heat is produced. Hence, people are damaged by cold, and it develops into heat (*zhuan er wei re*). If you induce perspiration, there is recovery. Hence, the principle of external congealing and internal depression can be known.”⁸¹⁹ If you consider this, then the fact that I regard Cold Damage to be depressed fire is not without grounds. Therefore, I especially wrote the chapter “Essay on Depression” (*Yulun* [*sic*]).⁸²⁰

⁸¹⁶ *Yixue zhengchuan* 36.

⁸¹⁷ YG 2.38b.

⁸¹⁸ Also a synonym for the pores (*hankong* 汗孔). (Li ZYDCD 527)

⁸¹⁹ The answer of Qi Bo quoted in YG features in Wang Bing’s comment on this passage. Cf. WB SW 61: 16.16b-17a.

⁸²⁰ YG 2.38b-39a.

Before Heaven inside After Heaven

In the two previous sections, I discussed Zhao Xianke's ideas on the relation between host *qi* and guest *qi*, and his emphasis on supplementing the host *qi*. However, host *qi* does not only refer to *yinqi*, associated with the Before Heavenly, and located in the kidney region, but also to *yangqi* of the spleen-stomach. In Chapters 4 and 5, I already analysed how Zhao uses *liuwei* and *bawei wan* in order to supplement the Before Heavenly. In this section, I will focus on how he appreciates Li Gao's famous *buzhong yiqi tang* (Supplementing the Centre and Increasing *qi* Decoction) for its *yangqi* supplementing properties.

The first chapter of *juan* 4 ("Essential Essays on Before Heaven, part 1") started with the description of *bawei wan*. Analogous, *juan* 6 ("Essential Essays on After Heaven") with the description of *buzhong yiqi tang*. Whereas *bawei wan* (and the derived *liuwei wan*) are Zhao's preferred recipes for supplementing the Before Heavenly, Li Gao's *buzhong yiqi tang* supplements the After Heavenly. However, as I will show, Zhao highlights that *buzhong yiqi tang* rather supplements the Before Heavenly inside the After Heavenly. Before going into cosmological detail, I will briefly discuss the origins of *buzhong yiqi tang*.

Zhao Xianke classifies damage caused by food and drink as an "internal of external [influences]" (*wai zhi nei* 外之内).⁸²¹ As the *Inner Classic* states, damage by food is mainly due to its thermic qualities (too hot or too cold) and quantity (too much or too less).⁸²² Yet, in Zhao's opinion, food and drink can only cause damage if the *qi* of the body is already depleted.⁸²³ Therefore, recipes with supplementing ingredients are preferred above those with dispersing (*xiao* 消) ingredients, even the cause is overeating:

大凡元氣完固之人多食不傷過時不饑若夫先因本氣不足致令飲食有傷矣

Generally speaking, even if people whose primordial *qi* is complete and solid eat a lot, they are not damaged; even if they eat too late, they are not hungry. If the initial cause is an insufficiency of root *qi*, they get damaged by beverage and food.⁸²⁴

Zhao Xianke particularly warns against the use of recipes with beautiful, yet deceiving names, such as *taiping wan* (Great Peace pill), *baohe wan* (Preserving

⁸²¹ YG 3.1b.

⁸²² YG 6.14a. SW 5 (2.13b-14a) and SW 33 (12.8b) are quoted.

⁸²³ YG 6.14b.

⁸²⁴ YG 6.16a.

Harmony Pill), *fei'er wan* (Fattening Child Pill):

凡太平丸保和丸肥兒丸之類其名雖美俱不敢用蓋名之美者其藥必惡故以美名加之以欺人耳目非大方家可用也

Although recipes such as *taiping wan*, *baohe wan*, and *fei'er wan* have beautiful names, I do not dare to use any of them. Well, because of the beauty of their names, these medicines are evil. The beauty of their names helps to deceive people's ears and eyes. They should not be used by great recipe experts (*da fangjia*).⁸²⁵

The aggressive, dispersive properties of these recipes might be of some use when treating robust people from the countryside. However, Zhao warns against the dangers when treating the spoiled, rich upper class, who are “brought up in a delicate and fragile way (*rucui*).”⁸²⁶ The application of these recipes are “medical techniques” (*yi shu* 醫術) that are not conform “the Way of medicine” (*yi dao* 醫道):

夫有醫術有醫道術可暫行一時道則流芳千古有古方有今方有聖方有俗方余以為今人不如古人不敢自立一方

There are “medical techniques” (*yi shu*) and there is the “Way of medicine” (*yi dao*). Techniques [of medicine] might be popular during a certain period of time. The Way [of medicine] has lasting good reputation (*liufang qiangu*, ‘diffused its perfume since antiquity’). There are old recipes and new recipes. There are sagely recipes (*shengfang*) and vulgar recipes (*sufang*). In my opinion, contemporary people are not as good as the ancients. Hence, I do not venture to compose a recipe myself.⁸²⁷

Hence, according to Zhao Xianke, a proficient physician who embodies the Way of medicine should relate to the appropriate (supplementing) recipes, as composed by the ancients.

But which recipes that treat Food Damage are conform to the Way of Medicine? Zhao continues by discussing common recipes used to supplement the centre. Although *pingwei san*⁸²⁸ is a popular recipe, Zhao points out that it lacks

⁸²⁵ YG 6.16b. *Taiping wan*: *tianmendong*, *maimendong*, *zhimu*, *beimu* 貝母, *kuandonghua* 款冬華, *xingren* 杏仁, *danggui*, *shu dihuang*, *sheng dihuang*, *huanglian*, *ajiazhu* 阿膠珠, *puhuang* 蒲黃, *jingmo* 京墨, *jiegang* 桔梗, *bohe*, *baimi* 白蜜, and *shexiang* 麝香. (Li ZYDCD 246); *baohe wan*: *shanzha* 山楂, *shenqu* 神曲, *banxia*, *fuling*, *chenpi*, *lianqiao*, *luobozi* 蘿蔔子 (*Danxi xinfu* 188, see also Bensky and Barolet 1990: 455-457); *fei'er wan*: *chao shenqu*, *huanglian*, *roudoukou* 肉豆蔻, *shijunzi* 使君子, *chao maiya* 炒麥芽, *binlang* 檳榔, *muxiang*. (Li ZYDCD 191)

⁸²⁶ YG 6.16b-17a. I discussed the decadent rich, probably the majority of Zhao Xianke's patients, in Chapter 1. (p.53)

⁸²⁷ YG 6.17a.

⁸²⁸ *Pingwei san*: *cangzhu*, *houpu*, *chenpi*, *gancao*. (Li ZYDCD 450)

supplementing properties:

平胃者胃中有高阜則使平之一平即止不可過劑過劑則平地反成坎矣今人以平胃散為常服補劑者誤也

Levelling the stomach (*ping wei*) refers to levelling a high mound (*gao fu*) in the stomach. Once levelled, you should stop immediately [with this recipe]. You may not give too many doses. Because of overdose, the levelled ground (*ping di*), will adversely become a hole! People nowadays consider *pingwei san* to be a supplementing recipe that can be taken all the time, but this is a mistake.⁸²⁹

A slightly better recipe is Zhang Yuansu's *zhizhu wan*:

用枳實一兩白術二兩補藥多於消藥先補而後消以荷葉裹飯燒熟為丸蓋取荷葉色青得震卦之體有仰盂之象中空而清氣上升燒飯為丸以助谷氣

[Zhang Yuansu] used one *liang* of *zhishi* and two *liang* of *baizhu*. The amount of supplementing ingredients [*baizhu*] is larger than the amount of dispersing ingredients [*zhishi*]. It first supplements, and thereafter disperses. He wrapped rice with lotus leaves, cooked it, and made balls. Because of the green colour they got from the lotus leaves, and shaped as the trigram *zhen* [☳], they resemble an upward facing jar (*yang yu*).⁸³⁰ The centre is empty, and the clear *qi* rises up. This rice cooked as balls assists grain *qi*.⁸³¹

Although *zhishi* can relieve the stomach after Food Damage, Zhao warns against its use in spleen supplementing recipes:

吾恐枳實一味有推牆倒壁之功而人之腸胃中既已有傷牆壁不固能經幾番推倒乎

I fear the ingredient *zhishi*. It has the ability to tear walls down (*tui qiang dao bi*). If there is already damage inside the bowels and stomach (*changwei*), and the walls are not solid, how many times can they endure to be torn down⁸³²

The other ingredient, *baizhu*, on the other hand, has the property of making fire *qi*

⁸²⁹ YG 6.15a.

⁸³⁰ The shape of the trigram *zhen* resembles an upward facing jar. This image is used by Zhu Xi in his mnemonic song about the shapes of the trigrams. (*Zhouyi benyi, guage* 1a) *Zhen* is further associated with the colour “green” (*qing*).

⁸³¹ YG 6.15a-b.

⁸³² YG 6.15a-b.

rise. This inspired Zhang Yuansu's disciple Li Gao to compose *buzhong yiqi tang*.⁸³³ In the following parts of "Essay on Drink and Food Damage," Zhao advocates the use of *buzhong yiqi tang*, and its variation *tiaozhong yiqi tang*,⁸³⁴ as the main supplementing recipes for Food Damage. Yet, the use of *buzhong yiqi tang* is not restricted to Food Damage only. A broad range of applications of this recipe and its variations feature in a long quotation from Li Gao's *Piwei lun* 脾胃論 (Essays on the Spleen and the Stomach, 1249), copied in the first essay of *juan* 6.⁸³⁵ Instead of going into clinical details, however, my focus is on Zhao's cosmological understanding of *buzhong yiqi tang*.

The chapter "Buzhong yiqi tang" starts with an explanation of the composition of the recipe:

補中益氣湯 *buzhong yiqi tang*
黃芪 *huangqi* 一錢 (one *qian*) 當歸 *danggui* 人參 *renshen* 炙甘草
zhi gancao 陳皮 *chenpi* 升麻 *shengma* 柴胡 *chaihu* 白朮 *baizhu*⁸³⁶

In his comment, Zhao Xianke indicates that he follows Xue Ji's dosage of the individual ingredients, and he describes the properties of this recipe:

此方東垣所制治內傷之方古方只有黃芪一錢其餘各三分薛立齋常用參芪各錢半白朮一錢當歸一錢陳皮七分升柴各五分進退加減神應無窮如病甚者參芪或三錢五錢隨症加用凡脾胃喜甘而惡苦喜補而惡攻喜溫而惡寒喜通而惡滯喜升而惡降喜燥而惡濕此方得之

This recipe is composed by Dongyuan, and treats internal damage. In the original recipe (*gu fang*) only one *qian* of *huangqi* was used, and three *fen* of the other [ingredients]. Xue Ji always used half a *qian* of each [*ren*]shen and [*huang*]qi, one *qian* of *baizhu* and of *danggui*, seven *fen* of *chenpi*, and five *fen* of each *sheng*[ma] and *chai*[hu]. By varying [the ingredients] and altering [their dosages], the versatility [of this recipe] is infinite. In case of serious disease, use three or five *fen* of [*ren*]shen and [*huang*]qi, add more according to the symptoms. The spleen-stomach likes sweet and detests bitter. It likes supplementing, and detests attacking. It likes warmth, and detests cold. It likes communication, and detests stagnation (*zhi*). It likes ascending, and detests descending. It likes dryness, and detests

⁸³³ "This means that Jiegu's [Zhuang Yuansu] recipe *zhizhu* [*wan*] inspired Dongyuan's to compose *buzhong yiqi tang* during his later years (*mo nian*) originated from this" (謂潔古枳朮一方啓東垣末年之悟補中益氣自此始也). YG 6.15b.

⁸³⁴ The composition of *buzhong yiqi tang* is given below; *tiaozhong yiqi tang*: *jupi*, *huangbo*, *shengma*, *chaihu*, *renshen*, *zhi gancao*, *cangzhu*, *huangqi*. (Li ZYDCD 1507)

⁸³⁵ YG 6.5b-12a.

⁸³⁶ As in YG 6.1a

moisture. This recipe fulfils these [requirements of supplementing the centre].⁸³⁷

In the remaining parts of “Supplementing the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction,” Zhao Xianke elaborates on how *buzhong yiqi tang* fit in his theoretical framework of the Before Heavenly. Answering a first question on this recipe, Zhao does not praise Li Gao’s innovative ingenuity, but rather places him in the tradition of enlightened composers of recipes, going all the way back to the father of recipe medicine, Zhang Ji via Liu Wansu:

或問曰古今稱補中益氣湯為萬世無窮之利其義云何曰此發前人之所未發繼仲景河間而立意義深遠也

Someone asked: “Now and in the past, *buzhong yiqi tang* is said to have infinite benefits for endless generations. How do you explain this?”

I answered: “This is because [Li Gao] disclosed what previous generations had not yet discovered. Dongyuan [i.e. Li Gao] composed [this recipe] following Zhongjing [i.e. Zhang Ji] and Hejian [i.e. Liu Wansu]. [Therefore,] the meaning is profound and far-reaching.⁸³⁸

Most important is that Li genuinely understood the principle of SW 33, “where evil can gather, *qi* must be depleted,” discussed in the first section of this chapter. He recognised the danger of a symptomatic use of recipes that cool down heat in case of heat effusion.⁸³⁹ Instead of pointing to external causes, Li explains that in many cases *yangqi* being depleted due to bad eating habits and exertion sinks down into the water regions of the trunk, where it causes heat effusion.⁸⁴⁰

Although there is a distinction between *yinqi* (associated with kidneys-the gate of life, and Before Heaven) and *yangqi* (associated with spleen-stomach, and After Heaven), Zhao Xianke highlights that the functioning of *yangqi* is, like everything else in the body, primarily related to the Before Heavenly:

⁸³⁷ YG 6.1b-2a. For Li Gao’s *buzhong yiqi tang*, see *Piwei lun* 3.4a-8a.

⁸³⁸ YG 6.2a. Zhao Xianke answers four questions “asked by someone” (*huo wen yue* 或問曰). Because I already discussed the contents of some of these questions and answers in other parts of my thesis, I will not follow the structure of “Supplementing the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction.” My focus in this section is on how Zhao understands *buzhong yiqi tang* as a recipe that supplements the Before Heavenly inside the After Heavenly. Larger parts of the second question, in which a guest asks about Zhao Xianke’s understandings on the difference between Before Heaven and After Heaven are discussed in Chapter 3. In the fourth question, Zhao is asked how *dihuang*, an ingredient that “muddles the diaphragm,” works in *bawei wan*. I have discussed this in Chapter 4. On the importance of Liu Wansu in post-Song medicine, see Wu 1993-94.

⁸³⁹ YG 6.2a-b.

⁸⁴⁰ YG 6.2b-3a.

心肺在上腎肝在下脾胃處於中州為四臟之主氣者中焦無形之氣所以蒸腐水穀升降出乃先天之氣又為脾胃之主後天脾土非得先天之氣不行

The heart and the lungs are located above. The kidneys and the liver are located below. The spleen and stomach have their location in the central region (*zhongzhou*), and are the controller of *qi* for the four [other] *zang* viscera. They process water and grains making use of the formless *qi* of the central burner. Ascending and descending [inside the body], and departing and entering [the body] [relies on] the *qi* of Before Heaven, which also acts as ruler of the spleen-stomach. Without the *qi* of Before Heaven, After Heavenly spleen earth cannot function.⁸⁴¹

Thus, spleen-stomach occupies a central position in the body. It receives food and drink, and further diffuses its processed essence to the other viscera. However, the processing and diffusion of this After Heavenly *qi*, on which all other viscera depend, is done by formless fire *qi* in the spleen stomach (here, also defined as *yangqi*). Thus, formless Before Heavenly *qi* operates the spleen function, as it operates all other functions of the body, including the heart.

Zhao Xianke praises Li Gao for including the ingredients *shengma* and *chaihu* in *buzhong yiqi tang*. By doing so, he touched upon the principles of supplementing the Before Heavenly inside After Heaven:

東垣先生獨會其宗而於補中益氣方中用柴胡升麻者正以升發先天之氣於脾土之中真萬世無窮之利餘所以諄諄為言也

Only Mr. Dongyuan, in unison with the principle, used *chaihu* and *shengma* in the recipe of *buzhong yiqi*. These [ingredients] exactly make Before Heavenly *qi* inside spleen earth rise and develop. This truly was an infinite benefit for a myriad of generations. Therefore, I repeatedly talk about it.⁸⁴²

Zhao continues:

蓋人身以脾胃為主人皆知之而先天隱於無形者舉世置而弗論故餘既立先天要論矣後於後天論中發明東垣脾胃論亦用先天無形者為主讀脾胃論者讀至人受水穀之氣以生所謂清氣營氣衛氣元氣穀氣春升之氣皆胃氣之別名則可見矣飲食入胃猶水穀在釜中非火不熟脾能化食全借少陽相火之無形者在下焦蒸腐始能運化也此時若用寒涼之藥飲食亦不運化矣蓋脾胃中之火土中之火納音所謂爐中火養爐中火者須頻加煤炭蓋以熱灰溫養其火而火氣自存一經寒水便

⁸⁴¹ YG 6.3a.

⁸⁴² YG 6.4b.

成死灰將以何者蒸腐水谷以何者接引燈燭舉目皆地獄光景可不戒哉經曰勞者溫之損者溫之正取溫養之義也

Everybody knows that spleen-stomach is the ruler of the human body.⁸⁴³ However, the Before Heavenly conceals itself in what has no form. The whole world ignores this and does not discuss it (*fu lun*). For this reason, I wrote “Essential Essays on Before Heaven.” In “Essays on the After Heaven,” I elaborate on Dongyuan’s *Piwei lun*. Yet, I consider the formlessness of Before Heaven to be the ruler (*yong xiantian wuxing zhe wei zhu*) [in contrast to the spleen-stomach]. When the readers of *Piwei lun* read that “a person receives the *qi* of food and grains in order to live,”⁸⁴⁴ it is obvious that ‘clear *qi*’ (*qingqi*), ‘supplying *qi*’ (*yingqi*), ‘defensive *qi*’ (*weiqi*), ‘primordial *qi*’ (*yuanqi*), ‘grain *qi*’, and ‘rising *qi* of spring’ are all variant names (*bieming*) of ‘stomach *qi*’ (*weiqi*). However, drink and food enter the stomach. They are just like water and grains in a cauldron (*fu zhong*). Without fire, there is no cooking. The ability of the stomach to transform food depends entirely on the formlessness of lesser *yang* minister fire. It is because of the lower burner that the processing of food can start its transformation. If you now use cold and cool medicine, drink and food are unable to transform. Well, the fire inside the spleen stomach is the fire inside earth. This is what the *nayin* means by the fire inside the furnace (*lu zhong huo*).⁸⁴⁵ In order to nourish fire inside the furnace, you should frequently add coals. If you nourish this fire with hot ashes, fire *qi* is preserved out of itself. From the moment there is cold water, it turns into dead ashes. What will then process water and grains? And, what will keep the lanterns and candles burning? This looks like a scene from hell. Should you not guard against this? The *Classic* says: “When exerted, warm it. If damaged, warm it.”⁸⁴⁶ This exactly captures the meaning of nourishing by warming.⁸⁴⁷

Hence, Zhao Xianke warns against extinguishing formless fire *qi* with cold and bitter. Although formless fire in earth (the fire that processes water and grains) and in water (the fire that keeps lanterns burning) has the same Before Heavenly origin, its function differs according to the location in the body. Formless fire *qi* that operates the central (After Heavenly) spleen-stomach function is called *yangqi*. When it gets depleted, it sinks down. The ingredients *chaihu* and *shengma* have the property of

⁸⁴³ This refers to the After Heavenly state.

⁸⁴⁴ *Piwei lun* 3.3b.

⁸⁴⁵ “The inserted musical notes. This may either refer to the correlation of the twelve lines of two hexagrams with twelve pitch-pipes (律), or the correlation of the sexagenary cycle (干支) with the five notes – corresponding to the five agents (五行) – of the ancient musical scale.” (Nielsen 2003: 184)

⁸⁴⁶ SW 71: 22.41a.

⁸⁴⁷ YG 6.4b-5b.

making sunken *yangqi* rise. The other principal ingredients of *buzhong yiqi tang* (i.e. *huangqi* and *renshen*) enter the stomach, and give force to *shengma* and *chaihu*:

是方蓋為此氣因勞而下陷於腎肝清氣不升濁氣不降故用升麻使由右腋而上用柴胡使由左腋而上非借參芪之功則升提無力是方所以補益後天中之先天也

Well, if this *qi* is sunken below in the kidney and liver [region] because of exertion, clear *qi* does not ascend and turbid *qi* does not descend. This recipe makes use of *shengma* to make it raise up along the right armpit, and *chaihu* to make it raise up along the left armpit. However, it [*shengma* and *chaihu*] do not receive the power of [*ren*]*sheng* and [*huang*]*qi*, the ascending and lifting up is forceless. Hence, this is how this recipe supplements and benefits the Before Heavenly inside After Heaven.⁸⁴⁸

In conclusion, the processing of food and drink, the ascension of the clear *qi*, and further diffusion of this *qi* from the lungs to other parts of the body, entirely depends on Before Heavenly formless fire *qi* (*yangqi*) of the central and upper burner. *Buzhong yiqi tang* has the properties to supplement depleted *yangqi*, and make it rise up. Although Li Gao did not refer to the concept of Before Heaven, according to Zhao, his *buzhong yiqi tang* fully embodies the idea of supplementing “the Before Heavenly inside After Heaven.” Li’s main shortcoming was that he did not understand the direct supplementing of the origin of *yangqi*, which is *yinqi* in the water region of the body.

⁸⁴⁸ YG 6.3a-b.

Spleen or kidneys?

Although both *buzhong yiqi tang* and the two pills have an effect on the Before Heavenly, the choice between supplementing *yangqi* or *yinqi* is not an arbitrary one, and these recipes should be handled with care. In this section, I will explain the relation between both methods of supplementing host *qi*.

In a follow-up question, someone remarks that the strategical choice of supplementing *yangqi* is not always beneficial, and may even be dangerous. A reference is made to Zhu Zhenheng, who warned against supplementing *yangqi* with *buzhong yiqi tang* when treating people of geographical regions associated with *yang* (i.e. south and east):

或問曰丹溪云東南之人陽氣易以升不可服補中益氣湯當今江以南之人果盡不當服乎

Someone asked: “Danxi said: ‘*Yangqi* of people from the south and east (*dongnan*) easily ascends. Hence, *buzhong yiqi tang* cannot be administered.’⁸⁴⁹ Thus, it is completely inappropriate for people from the south of the Long River (*Jiang yi nan zhi ren*) to take [this recipe]?”⁸⁵⁰

At first sight, this reservation against administering *buzhong yiqi tang* to people from Jiangnan seems rather odd. As Marta Hanson describes in her article “Northern Purgatives, Southern Restoratives: Ming Medical Regionalism,” the main distinction between northern and southern medicine in the Ming dynasty was based on the use of purgatives by physicians from the north (and west), and the preference for restorative recipes by physicians from the south (and east). These opposed treatment strategies can be mainly understood by differences in climate, bodily constitution, and the socio-economic situation between people living in the north and in the south. According to the quote above, the southern physician Zhu Zhenheng deemed the restorative strategy of the northern physician Li Gao to be harmful to people from the south. The reservation voiced by Zhu is based on a difference in bodily constitution between northerners and southerners. Whereas supplementing the *yangqi* of the spleen was beneficial for people from the north, Zhu promoted the

⁸⁴⁹ I could not trace this saying in the writings of Zhu Zhenheng. But, compare, for instance, to *Danxi xinfa*: “*Yangqi* of people from the north and the west is easily insufficient; *Yinfire* of people from the south and the east is easily exuberant” (西北之人陽氣容易不足東南之人陰火容易旺盛). (342)

⁸⁵⁰ YG 6.12a.

supplementation of *yinqi* for people from the south.⁸⁵¹ However, quoting Wang Lun, Hanson also points out that medical regionalism may not be oversimplified, as the northern physician Luo Tianyi 羅天益 (1120-1290) introduced Li Gao's medicine to the south, and southern Liu Chun 劉純 (14th C.) that of Zhu Zhenheng to the north. Both Luo and Liu emphasised the universal validity of their medicine.⁸⁵² Nevertheless, medical regionalism did seem to have prevailed in many Song-Ming medical texts.

In the above question, Zhu Zhenheng's warnings against the negative effects of *buzhong yiqi tang* refer to a regional distinction based on bodily constitution. During Zhao Xianke's times, the growing difference between rich (in the south) and poor (in the north) may also have motivated different therapeutic strategies. Based on an analysis of Li Zhongzi's ideas on regionalism, Hanson comes to the following conclusion: "Commercial transformation of Chinese society between the time of Xue Ji in the 1550s and Li Zhongzi in the 1620s, increased the chasm between the rich and poor to such an extent that economic status became a newly resonant marker of even corporeal difference."⁸⁵³ Instead of explicitly referring to geographic regions, Zhao explains his preference for supplementing recipes as being due to the fact that his clientele mainly belonged to the decadent rich upper class, whose weakened constitution stands in contrast to that of the robust people from the countryside.⁸⁵⁴

Whereas Hanson emphasised differences in climate, bodily constitution, and class to explain differences between south and north in Ming medicine, Zhao Xianke perceived medical "regionalism" in an entirely different way. According to Zhao, geography mentioned in medical texts did not necessarily refer to locations in the outside macro-cosmological world. "Regionalism" could also indicate topographical locations of the viscera in the microcosm of the body. This becomes clear when reading his answer on the question whether or not people from the Jiangnan region can take *buzhong yiqi tang*:

曰此東南指人之臟腑而言也蓋東方屬肝南方屬心肝與心有火者不可服恐木火愈旺也

I answered: "south and east here refer to the human *zangfu* viscera. The east belongs to the liver, and the south to the heart. If liver and heart have fire, [*buzhong yiqi tang*] cannot be administered.

⁸⁵¹ As pointed out throughout the previous Chapters, Zhao Xianke strongly disagreed with Zhu Zhenheng's understanding of *yinqi*, and his use of cold and bitter to supplement the kidneys.

⁸⁵² Hanson 2006: 143. On Liu Chun's role in popularising Zhu Zhenheng's medical doctrine during the Ming, see Leung 2003b. On continuity between medicine in the north and the south, see Leung 2003a: 279.

⁸⁵³ Hanson 2006: 164.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. pp. 53, 272.

Otherwise, I am afraid that wood and fire (*mu huo*) will flourish (*wang*) even more!⁸⁵⁵

Unlike Zhu Zhenheng, Zhao interprets specific geographic locations in terms of the location of the viscera inside the body.⁸⁵⁶ In case of abundance of fire, associated with the heart (south) and the liver (east), he proposes the alternative method of supplementing *yinqi*, associated with the kidneys in the north of the microcosm of the body:

既不可服東南二方之劑其人上盛者必下虛其腎氣大虛矣急須填補
北方先天之元氣為要

Being not allowed to take the recipe [of *buzhong yiqi tang*], which is associated the east and south, is when a person is full (*sheng*) above. [In this case,] there must be depletion (*xu*) below, and kidney *qi* is greatly depleted! You should urgently fill up and supplement (*tianbu*) the primordial *qi* of Before Heaven in the northern direction (*beifang xiantian zhi yuanqi*).⁸⁵⁷

Although clinical reality is complex, Zhao Xianke's first option is always supplementing host *qi*. Whether *yangqi* or *yinqi* has to be supplemented depends on a solid evaluation of the situation:

先天之氣足而後天之氣不足者補中氣為主後天足而先天不足者補
元氣為主

If the *qi* of Before Heaven is sufficient, but the *qi* of After Heaven is insufficient, I take supplementing the central *qi* as main strategy. If the After Heavenly is sufficient, but the Before Heavenly is insufficient, I take supplementing primordial *qi* as main strategy.⁸⁵⁸

In clinical practice, Zhao often combines both strategies. This approach makes sense because both strategies have an effect on the Before Heavenly. However, as I already discussed, the ingredients that supplement the spleen-stomach and kidney region may not be mixed into one single recipe (cf. Chapter 4), and both strategies are

⁸⁵⁵ YG 6.12a-b.

⁸⁵⁶ This does not mean that Zhao Xianke always disconnects the four directions from macrocosmic geography. Referring to SW 12, where specific treatment strategies are associated with geographic locations, he adds: "When the Yellow Emperor raised the question about the four directions, Qi Bo had the possibility (*neng*) of four treatments. Here, east, south, west, and north referred to geographical *loci* (*diwei*)" (若黃帝起四方之間岐伯有四治之能此東南西北方指地位也). (YG 6.12b; cf. SW 12: 4.1a-3a) On the contrast between southern and northern recipes, see also Lü Liuliang's comment on different methods in case of Wind Stroke. (LLL YG 2.3a)

⁸⁵⁷ YG 6.12b.

⁸⁵⁸ YG 6.20a.

usually applied at different stages of the treatment process (cf. Chapter 5).⁸⁵⁹ Yet, there are situations that require the application of both *buzhong yiqi tang* and *bawei wan* in the case of single day. *Yangqi* should then be fostered in the morning, and *yinqi* in the evening:

總而言之先天後天不得截然兩分上焦元陽不足者下陷於腎中也當取之至陰之下下焦真陰不足者飛越於上部也焉可不引而歸原耶是以補中益氣湯與腎氣丸並用朝服補陽暮服補陰互相培養但先後輕重之分明者知之不必詳述

To sum up, Before Heaven and After Heaven should not completely be regarded in sharp contrast. If primordial *yang* of the upper burner is insufficient, it sinks into the kidneys. You should now regard it as below the utmost *yin*.⁸⁶⁰ If the authentic *yin* of the lower burner is insufficient, it flies up to the upper parts. Why would it not be possible to guide it back to the origin?⁸⁶¹ Therefore, I combine the use of *buzhong yiqi tang* and *shenqi wan*. In the morning, I administer supplements of *yang*. In the evening, I administer supplements of *yin*. Both are fostering each other. But, the bright know the difference and importance of what to do first and what to do later. I do not have to discuss in detail.⁸⁶²

Thus, both *buzhong yiqi tang* and *shenqi wan* (i.e. *bawei wan*) affect Before Heavenly *qi*. However, the location where this *qi* operates differs. *Buzhong yiqi tang* makes Before Heavenly *qi* that normally functions in the upper levels of the body (through the upper and central burners), but which in a pathological condition is sunken in the lower regions, rise. *Bawei wan*, on the other hand, guides drifting minister fire, that causes harm in the upper regions, back to its origin in the water regions in the lower trunk.

While both methods of supplementing *yangqi* and *yinqi* are essential to Zhao Xianke's clinical practice, from a theoretical perspective, he clearly favours supplementing *kan* water. He justifies this by pointing out that both *yangqi* and *yinqi* are originally the same (Before Heavenly) *qi*. Because, as can be cosmologically illustrated in the Diagram of After Heaven, Before Heavenly *kan* water produces Before Heavenly *gen* earth, *yangqi* is only a further development of *yinqi* in the water regions:

⁸⁵⁹ YG 6.13a-13b.

⁸⁶⁰ This sentence refers to the condition in which *buzhong yiqi tang* can be used.

⁸⁶¹ This sentence refers to the use of *rougui* and *fuzi* in *bawei wan*.

⁸⁶² YG 6.12b-13a.

若論腎與脾胃水土原是一氣人但知土之為地而不知土亦水也自天一生水而水之凝成處始為土土之堅者為石此後天卦位坎之後繼之艮艮為山為土艮土者先天之土水中之主也土無定位隨母寄生隨母而補故欲補太陰脾土先補腎中少陽相火若水穀在釜中非釜底有火則不熟補腎者補腎中火也須用八味丸醫不達此而日從事於人參白朮非探本之術蓋土之本初原是水也世謂補腎不如補脾餘謂補脾不如補腎

As I discussed, kidneys and stomach, water and earth, are originally the same *qi*. However, people only know that earth is soil. They do not know that earth is also water. After the Heavenly One produces water, on the place where water congeals, earth starts to be formed. When earth congeals, it forms rocks. This explains why *kan* is followed by *gen* in the After Heavenly arrangement of trigrams. *Gen* is a mountain, and also earth. *Gen* earth is Before Heavenly earth. It is the ruler inside water.⁸⁶³ Earth does not have a settled position. It follows its mother to depend on life, and is supplemented following its mother. Hence, if you want to supplement greater *yin* spleen earth, you should first supplement lesser *yang* minister fire inside the kidneys.⁸⁶⁴ This is like water and grains in the cauldron. Without fire at the bottom of the cauldron, there is no cooking. Supplementing the kidneys also means supplementing fire inside the kidneys, for which *bawei wan* should be used. If a physician does not understand this, and day after day relies on *rensheng* and *baizhu*, this is not the art of tracing the roots. Well, the roots of earth originate in water. Everybody says that supplementing the kidneys is not as good as supplementing the spleen. I say that supplementing the spleen is not as good as supplementing the kidneys.⁸⁶⁵

Although *buzhong yiqi tang* supplements Before Heavenly *qi* inside the central function of spleen-stomach, Zhao criticises Li Gao and his followers for disregarding the origin of this *qi* located in the kidneys, as he points out in *juan* 1:

縱有言固主氣者專以脾胃為一身之主焉知坤土是離火所生而艮土又屬坎水所生耶

Although there are those who explain that host *qi* should be made firm, they especially consider the spleen and stomach to be the host[/ruler]. They know that *kun* earth is produced by *li* fire. But,

⁸⁶³ This may refer to earth/metal which is already contained in *kan* water. See p. 156.

⁸⁶⁴ Formless fire inside *kan* water produces *gen* earth.

⁸⁶⁵ YG 6.13b-14a. These two different sayings on the importance of supplementing kidneys or spleen originated in the Song dynasty. “Supplementing the kidneys is not as good as supplementing the spleen” features in *Jifeng puji fang* 雞峰普濟方 (Recipes with Universal Benefits from the Chicken Peak, 1133); “Supplementing the spleen is not as good as supplementing the kidneys” features in Yan Yonghe’s 嚴用和 *Jisheng fang* 濟生方 (recipes for Benefitting Life, 1253). (Li ZYDCD 942)

there also is *gen* earth, which belongs to what is produced by *kan* water!⁸⁶⁶

In “Essay on Drink and Food Damage,” Zhao Xianke further explains how balancing formless water and formless fire affects the functioning of spleen and stomach:

何柏齋云造化生物天地水火而已主之者天成之者地也故曰乾知大始坤作成物至於天地交合變化之用則水火二氣也天運水火幹地之中則物生矣然水火不可偏盛太旱物不生火偏盛也太澇物亦不生水偏盛也水火和平而物生自然之理人之臟腑以脾胃為主蓋飲食入於胃而運以脾猶地之土也然脾胃能化物實由於水火二氣非脾所能也火盛則脾胃燥水盛則脾胃濕皆不能化物乃生諸病制其偏而使之平則治之之法也

He Bozhai said: “Creative transformation (*zao hua*) and the generation of things is nothing other than [the interaction of] Heaven-and-Earth, and water and fire. What controls (*zhu*) this is Heaven. What accomplishes (*cheng*) this is Earth. Hence it is said: ‘In *qian*, you know the great beginning. From *kun*, you can derive how the things are accomplished.’⁸⁶⁷ The use (*yong*) of transformation by interaction and uniting (*jiaohe bianhua*) of Heaven-and-Earth is related to the two *qi* of water and fire. When Heaven puts water and fire in motion (*yun*) inside Earth, the things are produced. However, neither water nor fire can unilaterally flourish (*pian sheng*). If it is too arid, things are not produced. This is unilateral flourishing of fire. If it is too wet, things are also not produced. This is unilateral flourishing of water. If water and fire are in balance (*heping*), things are produced. This is a natural principle (*ziran zhi li*).”⁸⁶⁸ Of the human *zangfu*-viscera, spleen-stomach is the ruler (*zhu*). Beverage and food enter the stomach, and they are put in motion (*yun*) by the spleen. This resembles the soil of Earth (*di zhi ti*). However, that spleen-stomach can transform the things fully depends on the two *qi*: water and fire. It is not something the spleen [alone] is capable of doing. If fire flourishes, spleen-stomach is dry. If water flourishes, spleen-stomach is wet. In both [situations], [the spleen] cannot transform the things, and various diseases are produced. Controlling

⁸⁶⁶ YG 1.10b. Before Heavenly *kan* water producing Before Heavenly *gen* earth is displayed in the north and northeast of the Diagram of After Heaven; After Heavenly *li* fire producing After Heavenly *kun* earth is displayed in the south and southwest. See also the summary of Zhao Xianke’s use of trigrams of the Diagram of After Heaven in the second Discussion.

⁸⁶⁷ These phrases are borrowed from the “Commentary with Appended Saying” to the *Changes*. (*Zhouyi* 8.1a)

⁸⁶⁸ I could not find this passage in *Bozhai ji* 柏齋集.

the imbalance (*zhi qi pian*), and bringing [water and fire] back into balance is the principle of treatment.⁸⁶⁹

In the above passage, Zhao legitimises his ideas on balancing water and fire inside earth by quoting the Ming scholar He Tang 何瑋 (1474-1543, nickname Bozhai 柏齋).⁸⁷⁰ Earth thus provides the soil where creation can take place. However, all creation depends on the life-giving properties of water and fire. If there is too much fire, as in arid environments, life is impossible. The same is true if there is only water. Imbalance between water and fire in the body should not be resolved by draining, but by supplementing:

譬之天平此重則彼輕一邊重者只補足輕之一邊決不鑿去馬子蓋馬子一定之數今人欲瀉水降火者鑿馬子者也

Compare it to a balance. If one side is heavy, the other side is light. If one side is heavy, it suffices to supplement the side that is light. The weights should definitely not be chiseled out. Well, weights have a fixed value. Nowadays, people want to drain water and make fire descend. This is chiseling out the weights.⁸⁷¹

Thus, in a clinical context, the balancing between formless water and formless fire has a direct influence on the earth function in the body, and *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan* can be used to treat spleen-stomach problems.⁸⁷²

Summarising, Zhao Xianke's main treatment strategy is supplementing host *qi* of the body. Depending on the concrete clinical situation, he relies on *buzhong yiqi tang* to make sunken *yangqi* of the spleen-stomach rise, the two pills to balance *yinqi* (minister fire and authentic water) of the kidney region, or a combination of both methods. Supplementing the spleen-stomach is associated with After Heaven, supplementing the kidneys with Before Heaven. However, as I discussed in the previous section, also *yangqi* is formless fire *qi*, and should be regarded as Before Heavenly (inside After Heaven). Because, *kan* water produces *gen* in the cosmogony illustrated by the Diagram of After Heaven, Zhao points out that by supplementing *kan* water (formless water and fire in water) *gen* earth can be fostered. In doing so, he overcomes Li Gao's shortcoming of not recognising the root of *gen* earth. Consequently, Zhao highlights that *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* can be used to treat problems in the central earth function, and that "supplementing the spleen is not as

⁸⁶⁹ YG 6.18b-19a.

⁸⁷⁰ He Tang was a Neo-Confucian philosopher in the orthodox line of the Cheng brother and Zhu Xi. In poems he sent to He Mingjing 何景明 (1483-1521), he also shows a strong interest in Daoism. (Bryant 2008: 20-21)

⁸⁷¹ YG 6.19a.

⁸⁷² On the use *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* in case of Food Damage, see YG 19a-20b.

good as supplementing the kidneys.” Yet, rather than discussing the spleen and the kidneys as *zang* viscera with form, he emphasises the importance of Before Heavenly formless *qi* which operates all functions in the body, and which has its origin in the gate of life. Hence, it is not about the spleen, neither about the kidneys.

Conclusion: Various methods for supporting the “one that pervades everything”

Although Zhao Xianke refers to various treatment strategies, the importance of supplementing the “one that is present in everything” is emphasised in all parts of *Yiguan*. This “one,” is the Before Heavenly associated with the gate of life. Following SW 33, *Zhao* points out that if this host *qi* is abundant, it is strong enough to resist attacks from the outside. Therefore, *Zhao* opposes aggressive approaches of directly targeting intruded evil *qi*. Although such an approach might yield results in the short term, in the long term it is counterproductive, and even life-threatening, because purging methods not only affect evil guests, but also weaken host *qi* of the body. Physicians that relate to these methods lack understanding of Confucian ethics, and strategical knowledge about how to obtain victory without using violence. In *Zhao*’s opinion, they apply a short-sighted clinical approach.

Depending on the degree in which host *qi* is depleted, external evil may invade in different ways. If there is an extreme depletion, external evil will not encounter resistance, and immediately attacks the inner layers of the body. If host *qi* is slightly depleted, external evil, and especially wind and cold during winter, will find opposition in the outer layers, and cannot directly intrude to the deeper layers. If the disease of Cold Damage breaks out in winter, traditional recipes such as *mahuang tang* or *guizhi tang* should be used to expel cold or wind evil from the outer layers. Yet, these recipes do not only contain evil expelling but also host *qi* supplementing ingredients. If the disease does not break out in winter, external evil lingers in the outer layers, where it depresses host *qi*. Traditionally, physicians explain the further pathological evolution as a gradual intrusion of evil to the deeper layers, and a transformation of cold into warmth during spring, or heat during summer. In contrast, *Zhao* points out that Warmth Disease, with symptoms like heat effusion similar to Cold Damage, are related to depressed host *qi*. Although the external evil wind or cold may have disappeared, host *qi* lacks the strength to go through the outer layers during spring, and heat accumulates inside the body. In order to invigorate host *qi* during spring, and the following seasons, *Zhao* advocates the use of *xiaoyao san*, often in combination with *liuwei wan*.

Although supplementing host *qi* is *Zhao Xianke*’s main clinical principle, he differentiates between *yangqi* and *yinqi*. Whereas *yinqi* refers to both formless water and fire in the kidney region, *yangqi* is associated with the spleen-stomach. Not the formal aspects of the organs are important, but the formless fire that operates their functioning. Consequently, *yangqi* is not After Heaven *qi*, but the Before Heavenly

(formless fire) inside After Heaven (spleen-stomach). This differentiation is based on location in the body, rather than on distinction between form and formless. If *yinqi* is depleted, Zhao depends on *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*; If *yangqi* is depleted, he advances Li Gao's *buzhong yiqi tang*. Zhao praises Li Gao for providing a method for supplementing the Before Heavenly inside After Heaven. Yet, he regrets that Li did not reach the roots of Before Heaven, and did not understand how balancing formless water and fire in the kidney region contributes to the supplementation of the spleen-stomach function.

Discussions

In the three following discussions, I focus on three major themes that are essential to understanding the theoretical foundations of Zhao Xianke's medical system. Like other late Ming *wenbu* medical texts, *Yiguan* is characterised by a strong emphasis on Three Teachings Unity (*sanjiao he yi*). In previous research, Zhao is portrayed as a syncretic Neo-Confucian physician. In the first discussion, I present a more nuanced analysis of the subject. Not only Three Teachings Unity, but also references to the *Classic of Changes* prominently feature in second generation *wenbu* texts. However, in contrast to other *wenbu* physicians, Zhao Xianke especially emphasised the cosmogony illustrated by the Diagram of After Heaven. In the second discussion, I summarise the analysis of his ideas on cosmogony, already referred to in the previous Chapters, and I put these ideas into a larger cosmological framework. Apart from philosophy/religion, the medical tradition obviously had a dominant influence on Zhao Xianke's ideas on pathology and treatment. Being a scholar-physician Zhao obtained a large part of his knowledge through book reading. In order to legitimise his clinical strategy of 'warming and supplementing', medical texts and physicians are cited abundantly throughout the six *juan* of *Yiguan*. In the last discussion, I present an overview of the physicians and texts that had a major influence on Zhao Xianke. Moreover, I show that Zhao's application of medical tradition and his appreciation of predecessors are not as straightforward as might appear at first sight.

Three Teachings

After his preliminary research on Daoist influences in late Ming medical texts, Peter Engelfriet concludes that Zhao Xianke's explanation of cosmological concepts, such as Supreme Ultimate, should not be understood in a Daoist, but in a Neo-Confucian way:

With its projection of Neo-Confucian concepts on the down-to-earth tangible body, Zhao was far from original. On the contrary, as Zhang Jiafeng [Chang Chia-feng] has shown, the reinterpretation of medical theory in terms of Neo-Confucian concepts was a pervading trait of medical writings of the period.⁸⁷³

Although Engelfriet acknowledges that Three Teachings Unity is an important theme in *wenbu* medical texts, he highlights that this unity is an expression of Ming syncretic Neo-Confucianism. In my opinion, however, scholars like Engelfriet and Chang Chia-feng have underestimated the importance of Daoist alchemic understandings of the Supreme Ultimate as related to Before Heaven in texts such as *Yiguan*. As I have shown throughout the preceding Chapters, Zhao Xianke's specific emphasis on Before Heaven allowed him to formulate a medical theory, and to legitimatise a clinical strategy that opposed the contemporary practices of Zhu Zhenheng and his followers. By identifying the gate of life as the Before Heavenly Supreme Ultimate and authentic formless ruler of the body, Zhao went far beyond the "pervading trait [of Neo-Confucian concepts in] medical writings of the period." Yet, this does not mean that Zhao, and other *wenbu* physicians, were "Daoist" physicians (*daoyi* 道醫).⁸⁷⁴ If second generation *wenbu* physicians highlighted Three Teachings Unity, yet should not be considered as "syncretic" Neo-Confucians; and if they amply referred to Daoist alchemical notions (and texts) explaining the essence of life, yet were not Daoists, how should the philosophical/religious legacy in their texts be understood?

"Syncretism" may not be the best term to describe the multitude of religious/philosophical influences in *wenbu* medicine. Timothy Brook points out that late Ming dynasty religious interaction was diverse, and that "the concept of syncretism [should] not be permitted to monopolize the full range of possible mixings that occur between distinct religions in a religiously plural society."⁸⁷⁵ Following Judith Berling,

⁸⁷³ Engelfriet 2000: 261.

⁸⁷⁴ On the use of the word 'Daoist' in the context of Chinese science, see Sivin 1978.

⁸⁷⁵ Brook 1993: 4.

Brook exclusively reserves the term “syncretism” for “the borrowing, affirmation, or integration of concepts, symbols, or practices of one religious tradition into another by a process of selection and reconciliation.”⁸⁷⁶ In his opinion, this “process of selection and reconciliation,” by which “the natural dissonance between different systems of religious ideas and gestures disappears,” did not take place in late Ming dynasty China. Hence, Brook prefers to talk about a “condominium” of three religions: “the Three Teachings lived together in late-imperial China with a considerable degree of harmony: equal in principle, equally available to worshippers, and free to associate and interact in a multitude of ways.”⁸⁷⁷

Borrowing theologian Gavin D’Costa’s classification of religious interaction between Christianity and other religions, Brook further distinguishes four specific forms of interaction, which differ from “syncretism:”

Ecumenicism understands that truth is universal: Separate religious views are sustained as separate traditions not by fundamentally different perceptions of truth, but by their external elements, such as ritual practices or modes of discourse. Beneath these distinctions lie the same truth and the same pursuit of truth. [...]

Inclusivism seeks to explain the ideas and forms of a religious tradition in term of another. In effect, it reduces the content of one to that of another, the former is regarded accordingly as inferior, incomplete, or “failed” representation of truth.” [...]

Compartmentalism recognizes that different teachings explain different areas of reality and touch on different aspects of truth. According to this view, each religious tradition is functionally specialized [...] Additionally, compartmentalization can be applied on a developmental basis, each tradition being judged as uniquely suited to a different stage of an individual’s spiritual progress through life. [...]

[**Eclecticism** is] the willing adoption by one religion of whatever concepts or devices of another that it regards as useful. Eclecticism is a common reaction to religious pluralism, since most people, with the exception of the better educated or more dedicated adherents of particular religious world views, are concerned less with the purity and coherence of the traditions available to them than with their availability and their value for meeting the demands imposed by the stresses and vulnerabilities of daily life. Bits of other traditions may

⁸⁷⁶ Brook 1993: 4. On the “orthodox” reconciliation of borrowings by syncretists, compare to Berling 1980: 9-13.

⁸⁷⁷ Brook 1993: 5.

be brought into the individual's religious life without an actual blending of the separate traditions. More, eclecticism establishes habits of interaction between religious traditions that open the way for syncretic reconciliation.⁸⁷⁸

Although this “multitude of ways” can be attested in religious interaction in late Ming dynasty China, Brook concludes that popular religious life of this period was mostly eclectic in what he calls the “joint worship” of the three religions: “Their joint worship suggests a condominium, a living together of the Three Religions in Chinese religious life, not their merging and reconciliation.”⁸⁷⁹ Elite Confucians, on the other hand: “were eclectic in their borrowings of gestures and language, ecumenical in their toleration of other teachings, but in inclusivist in their belief that Confucianism stood as the highest representation of truth.”⁸⁸⁰

Wenbu physicians belonged to the intellectual elite, and can be typified as being “scholar physicians,” or *ruyi* (lit. Confucian physicians). Indeed, most of them were of gentry descent; larger parts of the transmission of knowledge occurred through books that circulated in their professional networks, similarly as it happened in Neo-Confucian circles; and, in their texts, *wenbu* physicians often referred to Neo-Confucian cosmological concepts, such as *li* (‘principle’) and Supreme Ultimate, and cherished ethical values, such as *ren* (‘humanity’) and *yi* (‘righteousness’). Although these features can be identified as being Neo-Confucian, the term *ruyi* itself is misleading. *Wenbu* physicians did not identify themselves as being representatives of any specific (Neo-)Confucian tradition of thought, be it in a “syncretic,” “eclectic,” or “inclusivist” way.⁸⁸¹ They considered themselves to be physicians in the first place.

Whereas the prototypical Neo-Confucian physician, Zhu Zhenheng honorifically spoke about medicine as being a Lesser Way (*xiao dao* 小道), the little brother of the Great [Neo-Confucian] Way (*da dao* 大道), second generation *wenbu* physicians did not regard their own profession as being secondary.⁸⁸² In their opinion, by understanding the fundamentals of medicine, not only the secrets of the own body, but of the entire cosmos became accessible (*tong* 通), thus touching upon the essence of what is taught by the Three Teachings. This change in appreciation of medicine, from Lesser Way to Great Way, is documented in Zhang Jiebin's *Jingyue quanshu* 景岳全書 (Complete Writings of Jingyue, 1636). In a chapter titled “Account on Medicine

⁸⁷⁸ Brook 1993: 4-5.

⁸⁷⁹ Brook 1993: 33.

⁸⁸⁰ Brook 1993: 34.

⁸⁸¹ An exception was Lü Liuliang who was a major representative of the Cheng-Zhu orthodox line of Neo-Confucian thought. However, at a later stage in life, and most likely for pragmatic reasons, retired from public life, and became a Buddhist monk. (p. 55)

⁸⁸² On Zhu Zhenheng's appreciation of medicine as a lesser Way, see Furth 2006: 423.

Which Is Not a Lesser Way” (Yi fei xiao dao ji 醫非小道記), Zhang recounts an encounter with a “strange person” (*yiren* 異人) during one of his travels:

偶相問曰子亦學醫道耶醫道難矣子其慎之予曰醫雖小道而性命是關敢不知慎敬當聞命異人怒而叱曰子非知醫者也既稱性命是關醫豈小道云哉性命之道本乎太極散於萬殊有性命然後三教立有性命然後五倫生故造化者性命之爐冶也道學人性命之繩墨也醫藥者性命之贊育也

Out of the blue, [the strange person] asked me: “Do you, Sir, also study the way of medicine (*yi dao*). The way of medicine is difficult. Are you sincere about it?”

I said: “Although medicine is a Lesser Way, ‘inner nature’ (*xing*) and ‘life’ (*ming*) are related to it. How would I dare not to be sincere about it! Respectfully, I ask for your instruction.”

The strange person became angry, and scolded me: “Sir, you really do not understand medicine. If you say that ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’ are related to it, how could you call it a Lesser Way! The Way of ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’ originate in the Supreme Ultimate, and is diffused in the myriad apparitions (*wan shu*). First, there are ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’, and thereafter the Three Teachings are established. First, there are ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’, and thereafter the five relationships (*wu lun*) are produced. Hence, creation and transformation (*zao hua*) are what are smelted (*lu ye*) by ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’. For the student of the Way ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’ are the general line of conduct (*sheng mo*). For the physician (*yi yao zhe*) ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’ are his praise and education.⁸⁸³

The strange person continued by pointing out that medicine is difficult because physicians, like the adherents of the Three Teachings, should understand the very principles of the cosmos. It is not by knowing something about *materia medica* that you become a good physician; or, that you are a true practitioner of the Way, because you are wearing Buddhist garments, or superficially behave in Neo-Confucian manners. The clothes do not make the man:

椒硫殺疥蔥薤散風誰曰非醫也而緇衣黃冠總稱釋道矯言偽行何非儒流是泰山之與丘垤河海之與行潦固不可以同日語矣

Onions and scallions disperse wind. Pepper and sulphur remove scabies. Who says that this is not medicine? [Those in] [Buddhist] garments and yellow [Daoist] hats are generally called Buddhists and Daoists. Those with cunning talks and and false deeds, how would they not be Confucians?⁸⁸⁴ The Tai Mountain and piles of dust, or the

⁸⁸³ *Jingyue quanshu* 3.45a-b.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. *Zhuangzi* 29: 19.15b.

He river and the sea in comparison to gutters,⁸⁸⁵ you cannot talk about them in the same way.⁸⁸⁶

A genuine understanding of the principles of the cosmos, be it through the practice of medicine or (one of) the Three Teachings, involves insights in the essence of *yinyang* dynamics. In this context, the strange person emphasises the importance of authenticity (*zhen*): “There should first be an authentic person, and thereafter there is authentic knowledge. There should first be authentic knowledge, and thereafter there is authentic medicine” (必有真人而後有真知必有真知而後有真醫).⁸⁸⁷ Because medicine is a Great Way, the strange person urges that understanding the fundamental principles of life should be Zhang Jiebin’s preoccupation:

吾子其毋以草木相渺必期進於精神相貫之區玄冥相通之際照終始之後先會結果之根蒂斯於斯道也其庶乎為有得矣子其勉之

My Sir, do not consider *materia medica* as all you need to know. You must be prepared to enter the area where essence (*jing*) and spirit (*shen*) unite, the space where mystery and darkness (*xuan ming*) communicate. Observe what comes last and first of end and beginning. Come together with the root and stem from which the fruits result. As far as this Way is concerned, this is what you must obtain. Exert yourself for this!⁸⁸⁸

After hearing the instructions of the strange person, Zhang Jiebin changed his mind about the importance of his own profession:

予聞是教慚悚應諾退而皇皇者數月恐失其訓因筆記焉

After I heard these teachings, I felt ashamed, and in awe. I could only agree with him. I went away, and I was perplexed for several months. Afraid that I would forget his instructions, I wrote them down here.⁸⁸⁹

In the above dialogue, the difference between the Great Way and a Lesser Way cannot exclusively be understood in a Neo-Confucian sense. The Way is the one thing that can be accessed by the practice of the three religions/philosophies. Moreover, according to the strange person, medicine is a Great Way because it is related to knowledge about *xingming*, which is not only fundamental in the Three Teachings, but also precedes them. In the late Ming dynasty, the emphasis on dual cultivation of

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. *Mengzi* (Gongsun Chu, 1) 3.6a.

⁸⁸⁶ *Jingyue quanshu* 3.46a.

⁸⁸⁷ *Jingyue quanshu* 3.46a.

⁸⁸⁸ *Jingyue quanshu* 3.46b.

⁸⁸⁹ *Jingyue quanshu* 3.46b.

xing and *ming* (*xingming shuang xiu* 性命雙修) was an important theme in alchemical texts as well. In this context *xing* and *ming* refer to the primordial (*yuan*) “material” of the body. In alchemical theory *xing* is equated with spirit, and *ming* with essence and *qi*. In their primal state, which is associated with Before Heaven, and contrasted with After Heaven, spirit, *qi*, and essence are referred to as *yuanshen*, *yuanqi*, and *yuanjing*.⁸⁹⁰ Also the sentence “you must be prepared to enter the area where essence (*jing*) and spirit (*shen*) unite (*xiang guan*), the space (edge) where mystery and darkness (*xuan ming*) communicate (*xiang tong*),” in the dialogue between Zhang Jiebin and the strange person alludes to alchemical theory.

Also in “Essay on the Three Odd Ones” (*San qi lun* 三奇論), the first chapter of Li Zhongzi’s *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 刪補頤生微論 (Subtle Essays on Harmonising Life, revised and supplemented), for instance, the primordial material of life: essence, *qi*, and spirit are straightforwardly explained from an alchemic point of view:

三奇者仙經所謂人有三奇精氣神也聖人治未病則修煉尚矣

The three oddities are what in alchemy classics are called the three oddities: essence, *qi*, and spirit. If Sage person treats what is not ill yet, then cultivation (*xiu lian*) taken is respected.⁸⁹¹

Li further highlights how illness prevention can be obtained through cultivation practices. He refers to practices of the Authentic Person (*zhenren*), the Arrived Person (*zhiren*), the Sage Person (*shengren*), and the Virtuous Person (*xianren*), four soteriological prototypes, which are mentioned in SW 1 in the context of self-cultivation and disease prevention:

有真人至人聖人賢人之別均之修煉而深淺不齊然精氣與神未有殊也

There is a distinction between Authentic Person, Arrived Person, Sage Person, and Virtuous Person. Although they all cultivate (*xiulian*), and there is a distinction in profound and shallow, there is no difference in the essence, *qi*, and spirit [which they cultivate and refine].⁸⁹²

⁸⁹⁰ *Xing* and *ming* are important concepts both in Confucianism and in Daoism. The emphasis on *xingming* and the essential ingredients of the body, as is done in medicine, should be placed in an alchemical context. (ZHDJDCD 451) In their explanations of these concepts Neo-Confucian philosophers, such as Zhou Dunyi and Zhu Xi were highly influenced by Daoist alchemical ideas. (ZHDJDCD 1127-28)

⁸⁹¹ *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 653.

⁸⁹² *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 653.

Although the highest ideal of becoming an Authentic Person might for the physician be a goal too high to achieve, Li Zhongzi primarily looked for advice in alchemical texts and visited strange persons to understand the fundamentals of what life is all about:

余因之嗜道詳證仙典博訪異人幸聞性命之奧獲起沈痼之疴至神奇亦至簡易但明先天祖氣便為入道之門

Therefore, I became fond of the Way. Meticulously, I looked for evidence in the classics of alchemy (*xian dian*), and I often visited strange persons (*yi ren*). Fortunately, I heard the secrets of ‘inner nature’ and ‘life’ (*xing ming*), and I obtained [a method] to be relieved from severe and lingering diseases. The utmost miraculous is also the utmost easy. You only have to understand (*ming*) the ancestral *qi* (*zu qi*) of Before Heaven, this is the gate to enter the Way.⁸⁹³

In the following passages of his “Essay,” Li Zhongzi mainly quotes Daoist alchemical texts to further explain his ideas on Before Heavenly “ancestral” *qi*. Thereafter, he attaches a list of twenty-five items with specific exercises, of which he says that “after long practice, there will be strange experiences (*qi yan*). But, do not disregard [these exercises] because they are easy to do (久習自有奇驗勿以易而忽之!)”⁸⁹⁴

Because of apparent influences of Daoist alchemy, *wenbu* physicians such as Zhao Xianke and Zhang Jiebin are in some modern Chinese studies strongly associated with the Daoist tradition.⁸⁹⁵ Although physicians such as Li Zhongzi and Zhang Jiebin explained the highest goals of spiritual practice (i.e. becoming an Authentic Person) in an alchemical context, the larger parts of their writings are not “religious,” but discuss curative practices, based mainly on the administration of recipes. Because of his care for the diseases of others, Li Zhongzi considered his medical applications of insights about the principles of the cosmos to be identical to that of the Virtuous Person (*xianren* 賢人) mentioned SW 1.

To make things even more complex, after listing specific exercises, Li offers an interesting insight into his personal appreciation of the Three Teachings throughout his life:

⁸⁹³ *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 653.

⁸⁹⁴ *Shanbu yisheng weilun*. 654-656. In his comment on an enduring kidney disease described in SW 72 in *Leijing*, Zhang Jiebin attaches the essay “Daoyin fa” 導引法 (Methods of Guiding and Directing), in which he also describes various cultivation methods of *qi* borrowed from Daoism. Zhang Jiebin states: “the Way of medicine connects with alchemy [the practices of the *xian*] (醫道通仙). (*Leijing* 28.23a) Li Zhongzi similarly analyses the phrase “unite with the Way” (合同於道) explaining the virtuous man (or the physician, in Li’s understanding) as “the Way of medicine connects to the Way of alchemy” (醫道通仙道). (*Neijing zhiyao* 8)

⁸⁹⁵ See, for instance, Zhu Deming 1999: 319-320.

余早歲攻儒讀無言無隱之章便覺疑困膺礙壯年修道頗得真詮洞知
不根虛靜者即是邪術晚歲參禪幸遇明眼尊者

When I was young, I diligently studied Confucianism. I read chapters about [things Confucius] did not [preferred] to talk about (*wu yan*), but [which are at the same time] not concealed (*wu yin*).⁸⁹⁶ But, I found it confusing and difficult, and I felt frustrated. In my middle years, I cultivated Daoism (*xiu dao*). I extensively received authentic explanations, and I deeply understood that what is not rooted in emptiness and silence must be a heterodox art. In my older years, I practiced Chan. I was fortunate to meet an *ārya* with clear vision. (*mingyan zunzhe*).⁸⁹⁷

After the meeting with this *ārya*, Li Zhongzi suddenly understood that even though the “truth” can be obtained through the practice of any of the Three Teachings, Chan Buddhism offers the most effective means to reach it: “Although the heart method of the sages of the Three Teachings is all identical, nothing has more direct and or faster results than Chan Buddhism” (三教聖人心法雖同而直捷痛快未有妙於宗者也).⁸⁹⁸

Li Zhongzi did not only write medical texts, he also authored religious writings of which the titles indicate a Buddhist affinity.⁸⁹⁹ Another *wenbu* physician that can directly be associated with Buddhism is Lü Liuliang. However, Lü, who for the most part of his career was an influential Confucian scholar and anti-Qing activist, only converted to Buddhism in the last years of his life, probably for pragmatic reasons. Some parts of *Yiguan* reveal strong Buddhist flavours too. Yet, this does also not mean

⁸⁹⁶ The phrases “not prefer to speak about” and “not concealed” refer to the teachings of Confucius:

子曰予欲無言子貢曰子如不言則小子何述焉子曰天何言哉四時行焉百物生焉天何言哉

The Master said, ‘I would prefer not speaking.’ Tsze-kung said, ‘If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?’ The Master said, ‘Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?’ (*Lunyu* 17, verse 19, as reprinted and translated in Legge 1971: 326)

子曰二三子以我爲隱乎吾無隱乎爾吾無行而不與二三子者是丘也

The Master said, ‘Do you think, my disciples, that I have any concealments? I conceal nothing from you. There is nothing which I do that is not shown to you, my disciples;—that is my way.’ (*Lunyu* 7, verse 23, as reprinted and translated in Legge 1971: 202)

⁸⁹⁷ *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 656.

⁸⁹⁸ *Shanbu yisheng weilun*. 656.

⁸⁹⁹ Lost works by Li Zhongzi, which titles suggest a religious content, are *Jushi chuandeng lu* 居士傳燈錄 (Record on the Transmission of the Lamp by the Retired Scholar), *道火錄* *Daohuo lu* (Record on the Fire of the Way). (Bao Laifa 1999: 792)

that the *wenbu* physicians Zhao Xianke, Li Zhongzi, and Lü Liuliang should be categorised as being Buddhist physicians (*foyi* 佛醫).⁹⁰⁰

A variety in religious beliefs and tendencies can be observed among individual *wenbu* physicians. Some show a stronger affinity to one or the other Teaching in their texts. Since only Li Zhongzi spoke out about his personal religious beliefs, it is impossible to pin down all *wenbu* physicians as being affiliated to one or the other Teaching. They might be classified as *ruyi*, belonging to a specific social group. Regarding their understanding of the essence of life, however, they show strong affinities with (Daoist) alchemy.

Applying D'Galva's and Brook's categorisation of religious interaction to how the Three Teachings feature in *wenbu* literature, I mainly observe ecumenic and compartmental tendencies. As shown above, ecumenicism prevails through a strong emphasis on a universal truth, which is not only attainable through the cultivation of one (or more) of the Three Teachings, but also by understanding the Great Way of Medicine. However, Li Zhongzi's also testifies of "different stage[s] of an individual's spiritual progress through life," which can be described as developmental compartmentalism. Compartmentalism does not only refer to diachronic spiritual progress, it also "recognizes that different teachings explain different areas of reality and touch on different aspects of truth. According to this view, each religious tradition is functionally specialized." Li Zhongzi's and Zhang Jiebin's emphasis on the alchemical roots of their insights on Before Heavenly *qi* can be understood in this compartmental sense.

Ecumenism and functional compartmentalism feature in *Yiguan* as well. Although Zhao Xianke alludes to the *Analects* by titling his text *Yiguan*, he highlights that the one fire of Before Heaven is essential in the practice of all the Three Teachings. In doing so, he ecumenically considers "truth" to be universal. Moreover, and similar to Zhang Jiebin, Zhao points out that medicine offers a genuine insight in the reality of the cosmos, referred to by many designations in the Three Teachings:

If you understand this, not only the origins of medicine, but also the orthodox (*daotong*) transmission of the sages will no longer be obscure. Moreover, what is referred to as 'all-pervasive one' (*yiguan*), 'vastness' (*haoran*), 'bright virtue' (*mingde*), 'mysterious female' (*xuanpin*), 'empty centre' (*kong zhong*), and 'supreme ultimate' (*taiji*) is all identical to this one fire! Becoming a sage, a Buddha, or an immortal, is nothing more than completing this fire,

⁹⁰⁰ Interestingly, Lü Liuliang was particularly critical of some Buddhist parts of the text. (See p. 87)

and return to it. This theory of mine clarifies what was not clear during ages. Be careful not to consider it to be abstruse.⁹⁰¹

In *Yiguan*, the Three Teachings also feature in a “functionally specialized,” and, hence, compartmental way. For instance, Zhao Xianke defends his strategy of invigorating “host *qi*” by referring to Mencian ideals of ruling the country by *ren* (‘humanity’) and *yi* (‘righteousness’). By doing so, he condemns aggressive methods that weaken the host *qi* of the body. Ironically, these methods of expelling invaded evil guests and reducing minister fire were advocated by physicians strongly associated with Confucianism. In Zhao’s opinion, the clinical strategies of physicians such as Zhang Congzheng and Zhu Zhenheng are incompatible with Mencian-Confucian values. Hence, apart from cosmological ideas on the Supreme Ultimate, Zhao refers to Confucianism in order to ethically legitimise his own strategies of ‘warming and supplementing’. Although he paraphrases the Daoist *Zhouyi cantong qi* to explain his ideas on the alternative productive relationship between metal and water, unlike Li Zhongzi and Zhang Jiebin, Zhao does not directly cite names of Daoist sources. Yet, his understandings of Before Heaven as the origin of life show strong resemblances with alchemical thought, as I have pointed out in the preceding Chapters. A Buddhist explanation on the existence of more than one heart lead to Zhao’s sudden insight on the location of life gate in between the the two kidneys. Buddhism also supports his understandings of preventive medicine, which I will briefly discuss in Appendix 1.

Although Three Teachings Unity features in all second generation *wenbu* texts, *Yiguan* indeed shows some particularities. Some of Zhao Xianke’s ideas, such as the primacy of the gate of life over the heart, cannot be found in the other *wenbu* texts. Later generations of physicians were quite critical about some of Zhao Xianke’s references to philosophical/religious thought. As pointed out before, even immediate followers such as Lü Liuliang did not agree with him on the foundation of many of his ideas from both a Buddhist and a Neo-Confucian point of view. Zhao’s major opponent, Xu Dachun devoted a entire text criticising *Yiguan*. In many passages, Xu attacks Zhao for not understanding Confucian teachings. Modern critics, such as Jiang Chunhua, are also harsh for Zhao Xianke, and assume that he did not understand fundamental principles of the Three Teachings.⁹⁰² As pointed out in the introduction, most contemporary TCM authors are not that critical but tend to disregard the references to Ming religious ideas, being “superstitious” premodern features in the texts.

⁹⁰¹ YG 1.10b-11a.

⁹⁰² Yet, according to Jiang Chunhua, this lack of knowledge about the fundamental principles of the Three Teachings was a problem of other Ming scholarly physicians as well. (1979: 37)

In conclusion, *Yiguan* is not a religious text orthodoxly belonging to one specific religious tradition. Zhao Xianke was a physician, and his text is a medical text. The analysis of *Yiguan* offers an interesting view on how a physician understood and applied ideas borrowed from the three canonical religions in order to explain his clinical strategies. In addition to the Three Teachings, other fields of knowledge, such as “history,” “mythology,” “astronomy,” and “strategy,” are referred to as well in order to legitimise therapeutic choices. The field that most apparently influenced Zhao Xianke’s medical thought is the study of the *Changes*.

The Diagram of After Heaven

Like other second generation *wenbu* physicians, Zhao Xianke emphasised the importance of the symbology of the *Changes*. In Zhao's medical theory, however, this symbology is not restricted to Song-Ming dynasty speculations on the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, and reference to the trigram *kan* in the context of the gate of life, located in between both kidneys. In contrast to other *wenbu* texts, the arrangement of trigrams in the Diagram of After Heaven is of a major importance in *Yiguan*.

Zhao Xianke does not only highlight the importance of the Diagram of After Heaven, he also points out that the Diagram of Before Heaven, which became popular during the Southern Song dynasty,⁹⁰³ does not reflect his ideas on Before Heaven:

或問曰余見先生動輒以先天後天立論余考之易中先天後天之圖乾南坤北離東坎西等卦位於醫道中甚無所合而先生屢言之不已其義云何

曰怪乎子之問也余所謂先天者指一點無形之火氣也後天者指有形之體自臟腑及血肉皮膚與夫涕唾津液皆是也既曰先天此時天尚未生何況有乾南坤北八卦對待之圖乎

Someone asked: "I see that you, Sir, often put forth your arguments by referring to Before Heaven and After Heaven. When I examine this in the Diagrams of Before Heaven and After Heaven of the [study of the] *Changes*, the [Before Heavenly] arrangement of diagrams in which *qian* is positioned in the south, *kun* in the north, *li* in the east, and *kan* in the west, does not at all correspondent with what is used in the Way of Medicine (*yi dao*). Yet, you, Sir, repeatedly discuss this, without stopping (*bu yi*). Can you explain why?"⁹⁰⁴

I answered: "How strange is your question!" What I call Before Heaven refers to the one spark of formless fire *qi*. After Heaven refers to structures that have form, which are all things like the *zangfu* viscera, blood, flesh, and skin, and also nasal mucus (*ti*), saliva (*tuo*), *jin* fluids, and *ye* fluids. If called "Before Heaven," at this time Heaven is not born yet. How would there further be a paired arrangement of eight diagrams with *qian* in the south and *kun* in the north [like in the Diagram of Before Heaven]?⁹⁰⁵

Thus, according to Zhao Xianke, Before Heaven is absolutely formless, and cannot be

⁹⁰³ On the origins and the "manufactured antiquity" of the Diagram of Before Heaven during the Song dynasty, see Louis 2003: 152-169.

⁹⁰⁴ YG 6.3b.

⁹⁰⁵ YG. 63b-4a.

depicted by a Diagram.⁹⁰⁶ Moreover, Zhao considers the Diagram of Before Heaven to be the misnaming of a Diagram that depicts the specific order in the visual perceivable macrocosmic world:

曰然則伏羲此圖何為而設也余曰此非先天之圖乃中天八卦之圖天位乎上地位乎下日出乎東水源於西風雨在天上山雷在地下人與萬物位乎中余嘗見邵子排列如此有中天八卦

He said: “But, then, what does the design of this Diagram of Fu Xi represent?”

I answered: “This is not a Diagram of Before Heaven, but a Diagram of the Eight Trigrams of Central Heaven. Heaven is positioned at the top, and earth at the bottom. The sun rises from the east, and water springs in the west. Wind and rain are located up in Heaven, and mountains and thunder below on Earth. Man and the Myriad Things are located in the Centre. I once saw that Master Shao arranged it like this, as the Eight Trigrams of Central Heaven.⁹⁰⁷

Yiguan is, as far as I know, the only text in which this Before Heavenly arrangement of trigrams is related to Central Heaven. The Qing dynasty physician Xu Dachun harshly criticised Zhao’s explanation.⁹⁰⁸ Other *wenbu* physicians did not go as far as Zhao in dissociating the concept of Before Heaven from the Diagram of Before Heaven. Zhang Jiebin, for instance, included both the Diagram of After Heaven and the Diagram of Before Heaven in his *Leijing tuyi*, and clearly associated the arrangement of trigrams in the Diagram of Former with the concept of Before Heaven.⁹⁰⁹

In contrast to the Diagram of Before Heaven, Zhao Xianke points out that only the Diagram of After Heaven is applicable to various fields of knowledge, including medicine:

其當今所用者止一文王後天圖出乎震齊乎巽相見乎離致役乎坤悅言乎兌戰乎乾勞乎坎成乎艮以春秋晝夜十二時相配因以定陰陽決生死推而天文地理星相醫卜無一不以此圖為則至於先天者無形可

⁹⁰⁶ Zhao Xianke was not the only Late Ming - Early Qing scholar who pointed out that that state of Before Heaven cannot be depicted by diagrams. Another example of such a view can be found in the writings of Mei Wending 梅文鼎 (1633-1721). (Engelfriet 1998: 429)

⁹⁰⁷ YG 6.4a.

⁹⁰⁸ For instance, on “I once saw that Master Shao arranged it like this,” Xu comments “who did not see this” (*shui bu jian* 誰不見). (*Yiguan bian* 106). In fact, Xu considers Zhao’s entire explanation on the Diagram of After Heaven as being utmost rubbish (種種欺人胡說). (*Yiguan bian* 107).

⁹⁰⁹ For the Diagram of Before Heaven, see *Leijing fuyi* 1.4; For the Diagram of After Heaven, see *Leijing fuyi* 1.7b. For a discussion on the arrangement of trigrams in both Diagrams, see *Leijing fuyi* 1.27a-30a.

見即易中帝出乎震之帝神也者妙萬物而為言之神是也帝與神即予先天要論中所稱真君真主本系無形不得已而強立此名以為主宰先天之體以為流行後天之用

What should be used now is only the Diagram of After Heaven of King Wen. It starts with *zhen*, is levelled in *xun*, sees each other in *li*, conveys services in *kun*, talks joyfully in *dui*, fights in *qian*, labours in *kun*, and is accomplished in *gen*.⁹¹⁰ This is in accordance to Spring and Autumn (*chunqiu*; the year), day and night, and the twelve hours. Therefore, it defines *yinyang*, and decides about life and death. Therefore, astronomy (*tianwen*), geography (*dili*), astrology (*xingxiang*), and medical prognostication (*yipu*), there is not one [of these sciences] that does not regard this diagram as its principle. As for the Before Heavenly, it has no visible form (*wu xing ke jian*), and it is the Emperor (*di*) of “the Emperor leaves from *zhen*” as mentioned in the *Changes*.⁹¹¹ Spirit is “the spirit that is miraculous of the Myriad Things, and called like this.”⁹¹² Emperor and spirit are precisely what I referred to the “Essential Essays on Before Heaven” as “authentic governor and authentic ruler.” Because [Before Heaven] is originally related to the formless, there is no alternative to forcefully give it these names. Hence, it is the presiding body (*ti*) of Before Heaven, and its use (*yong*) flows through) After Heaven.⁹¹³

Thus, as the “one drop of formless fire *qi*,” or the gate of life in the body, itself (*ti*) cannot be depicted, the Diagram of After Heaven illustrates how Before Heaven functions (*yong*).

In several parts of *Yiguan*, Zhao Xianke refers to the Diagram of After Heaven, explaining the cosmogonic process starting with the “Heavenly One producing water” (*tianyi sheng shui*). The Heavenly One, the one drop of formless fire, which is pure *yang*, is symbolically represented in the Diagram by the trigram *qian* ☰ (Heaven), and gives rise to *kan* ☵ water, visualised in the northwestern and the northern direction. Formless water, *kan*, forms a counterpart with water that has form, represented by the trigram *dui* ☱ (in the western direction). As I have pointed out before, Zhao’s ideas on these two waters are based on Chen Tuan’s comment on the verse on *kan* and *dui* water in *Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfu*, a text in the *xiangshu* tradition of the *Changes*.⁹¹⁴ Zhao further associates *kan* with Before Heaven, and *dui* with After Heaven. In Chen Tuan’s comment, formless *kan* water is referred to as *qian* water, and *dui* water with form as *kun* ☷ water. Although Zhao Xianke does not

⁹¹⁰ This is the description found in the “Explaining the Trigrams” (Shuogua 說卦) appendix to the *Changes*. (*Zhouyi* 9.1b; see also Louis 2003: 154-156)

⁹¹¹ *Zhouyi* 9.1b.

⁹¹² *Zhouyi* 9.2a.

⁹¹³ YG 6.4a-b.

⁹¹⁴ p. 149.

highlight this in *Yiguan*, the latter relationship can also be seen in the Diagram: *kun* in the southwest is followed by *dui* in the west.

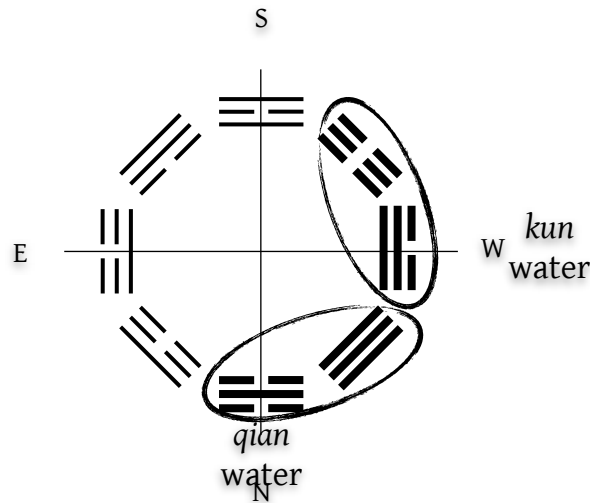


Figure 21. *Qian and kun water*

The cosmogonic process, ignited by *qian* producing *kan*, is not restricted to this single part of the Diagram. Zhao points out that *kan* water congeals in *gen* ☶ earth. *Gen* symbolises a mountain, the hardest forms of earth, in which formless water and fire are contained, life emerges. This is symbolised by young plants that have to pierce through the surface, which is visualised by *zhen* ☳, the next trigram in the Diagram. *Zhen* is further associated with spring and new life in general. As pointed out in Chapter 3, this productive relation between fire (*qian*), water (*kan*), earth (*gen*), and wood (*zhen*) largely influenced Zhao's alternative ideas on five agent relationships.

Whereas the above four trigrams are discussed in the logic of Before Heaven, the next four trigrams in Diagram are closely related to After Heaven. *Xun* ☴, the trigram following *zhen*, is likewise associated with spring. The progression of the seasons, which corresponds to the conventional productive relationships of the five agents, can be further discerned in the Diagram: *xun* wood is followed by *li* ☲ fire (summer), and thereafter by *kun* earth (indian summer) and *dui* metal/water (autumn/winter).

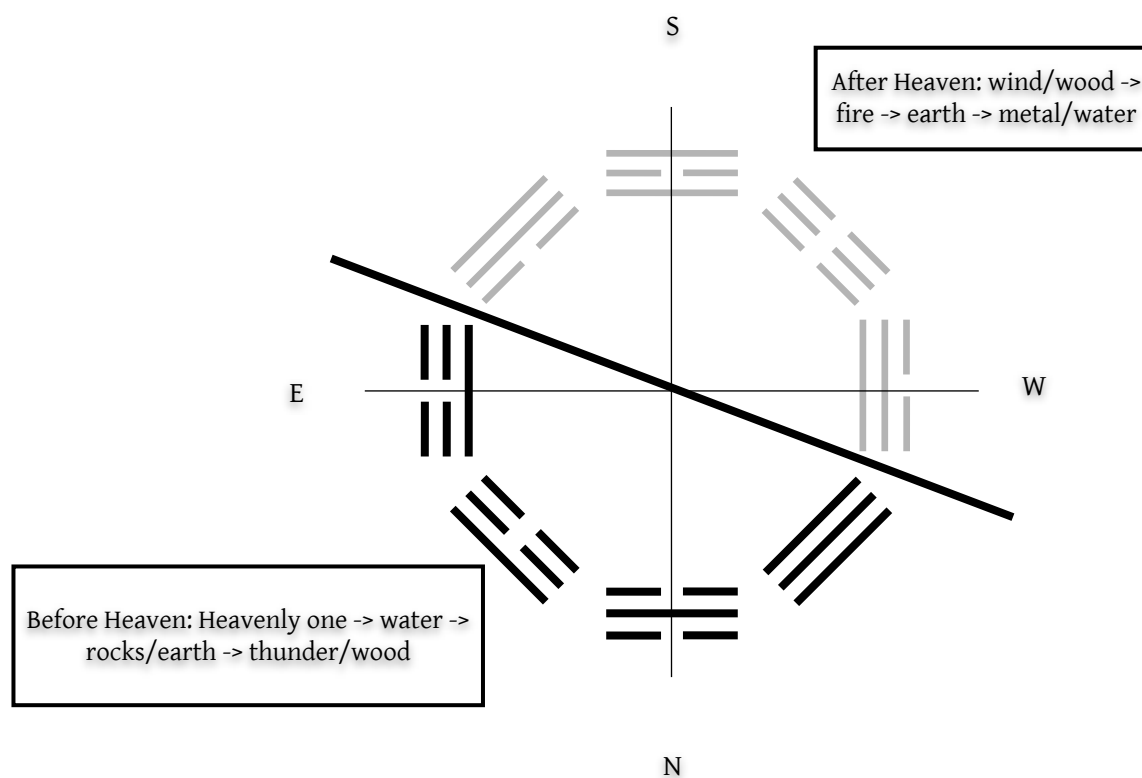


Figure 22. Before Heavenly and After Heavenly productive relationships

Ideas on Before Heaven, depicted from northwest to east in the Diagram, allowed Zhao Xianke not only to explain relations between agents in an alternative way, but also to legitimise a specific way of using recipes. Four recipes are especially favoured throughout *Yiguan*: *bawei wan*, *liuwei wan*, *buzhong yiqi tang*, and *xiaoyao san*. They represent three principles of supplementing: (1) directly supplementing Before Heaven (*bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*); (2) supplementing Before Heaven inside After Heaven (*buzhong yiqi tang*); (3) supporting fire *qi* to relieve constraints (*xiaoyao san*). I briefly summarise these principles, which I already elaborately discussed in the preceding Chapters.

The most important recipes in *Yiguan*, used to support the Before Heavenly, are *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. As I have discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the six ingredients of *liuwei wan* supplements *kan* water. In fact, by supplementing water, formless fire inside formless water is also nourished. The image Zhao Xianke uses is that of liquid fuel keeping the flame of a lantern burning. *Bawei wan* has six ingredients in common with *liuwei wan*, the two other ingredients, *fuzi* and *rougui*, directly influence formless fire. They, moreover, have the property of guiding drifting minister fire back to the

kidneys, which is compared to guiding the dragon back to the sea. *Bawei wan* can also be indirectly used to supplement earth, as it supplements fire in water which produces *gen* earth.

As I discussed Chapter 6, *buzhong yiqi tang* supplements formless fire as well, be it on a different level in the body. Whereas *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan* affect fire associated with the lower regions of the body, *buzhong yiqi tang* supplements *gen* ☵ earth, or rather the formless fire of the central burner. Because of depletion, formless fire in the centre lacks force, and sinks into the lower water regions where it forces minister fire associated with *kan* water to drift up. Sunken *yangqi* can be supplemented by the ingredients of *buzhong yiqi tang* (ingredients such as *huangqi* and *renshen* invigorate the centre; *caihu* and *shengma* make sunken *yangqi* rise). When *yangqi* rises, dislocated *yinqi* will descend spontaneously.⁹¹⁵ *Buzhong yiqi tang* can further be combined with *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*.⁹¹⁶ However, Zhao Xianke prefers the two pills over the *buzhong yiqi tang* referring to the saying “the spleen is not as important as the kidneys” (*bu pi buru bu shen*). This is because *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan* have the property to balance formless water and formless fire, contained in *gen* earth.

The third method is using *xiaoyao san* in order to relieve constraint fire. In *Yiguan*, and in my analysis in Chapter 6, no reference is made to the Diagram of After Heaven. However, the logic of using *xiaoyao san* in order to foster Before Heaven can also be illustrated by this Diagram. As discussed before, if host *qi* of the body is not strong enough, it is unable to pierce through earth in spring. The coming into being of fire (in wood) in spring can be illustrated by *gen* followed by *zhen* in the Diagram. Wood (or the juices in wood) contains life-giving force (formless fire). However, if this creative force is not strong enough, it is constraint and keeps lingering inside the body, where it causes heat. The ingredients of the *xiaoyao san* remove the constraint by assisting the fire of the body to “wander freely” (*xiaoyao*). Zhao often combines *xiaoyao san* with *liuwei wan*. *Xiaoyao san* is metaphorically explained as the gentle breeze of warm spring wind; *liuwei wan* with the nurturing rain of spring (*liuwei wan*).⁹¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter 6, because the one fire which appears in Spring

⁹¹⁵ As I discussed in Chapter 2, the hexagrams *pi* ☱ and *tai* ☵ can be used to explain the properties of *huangqi* and *renshen*. (p. 125)

⁹¹⁶ As explained in Chapter 4, the two recipes cannot be used at the same time of the day, and their ingredients may not be combined.

⁹¹⁷ In her study on the experience of wind in medieval China, Hsu refers the trigram *zhen* as “life-engendering thunder” positioned the east of the Diagram of After Heaven, followed by *xun* (“life enhancing breath”) in the southeast. She further refers to *xun* as mild wind in the context of Han and contemporary China. As a 20th century physician explained: “thunder initiates the sprouting of seedlings, while wind enhances their growth by gently stroking them.” (Hsu 2008: 117) This interpretation differs from mine, and would associate *xiaoyao san* with *xun* and not with *zhen*.

provides the live giving force during the other seasons (in After Heaven, symbolised by the conventional progression of five agents), *xiaoyao san* is further promoted as the one recipe that can be used during all seasons.

Also After Heavenly logic of using recipes, which is in Zhao Xianke's opinion inferior to the methods discussed above, can be illustrated by using the Diagram of After Heaven. For instance, *gui pi tang* indirectly supplements (After Heavenly *kun*) earth, by supplementing the mother of the mother (*waijia* 外家). *Xun* wood, produces *li* fire, which in turn produces *kun* earth. Hence, this represents the logic of the producing sequence according to the conventional five agents relationships (wood produces fire, and fire produces earth).⁹¹⁸ Only in case of an external attack by summer heat (*shu*) does Zhao Xianke promote the direct expelling of invaded evil. He follows Liu Wansu's use of recipes cold and bitter ingredients such as *baihu tang* (White Tiger Decoction).⁹¹⁹ Yet, Zhao strongly warns that these recipes, which represent the 'destructive *qi*' (*shaqi* 殺氣) of the autumn, are aggressive, and should be handled with care.

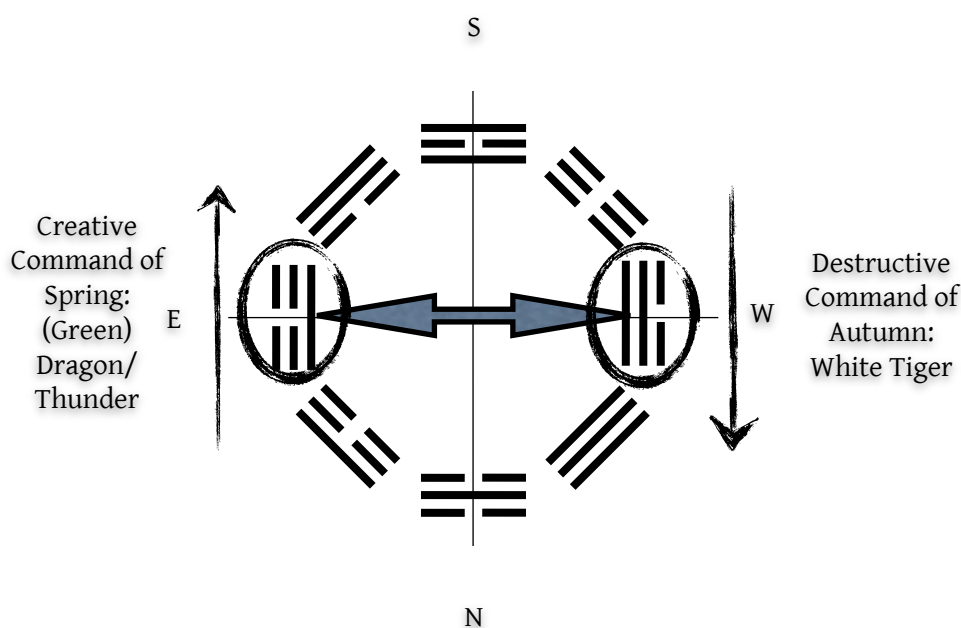


Figure 23. *Zhen* versus *dui*

⁹¹⁸ p. 160.

⁹¹⁹ The White Tiger symbolises the west and is associated with the destructive forces (also with military affairs). The White Tiger further considered to be a bad omen. (HYDCD 8, 179) It stands in opposition to the (Green) Dragon of the East, symbolised by trigram *zhen* in the Diagram of After Heaven. (Figure 23.)

Although Zhao Xianke's emphasis on the Diagram of After Heaven was innovative, the After Heavenly Arrangement and the idea of *tianyi sheng shui* are both rooted in the religious context of the pre-Han period. From ancient times on, Heaven was associated with the south and Earth with the north. Although this can be illustrated by the Diagram of Before Heaven, Louis highlights that the specific arrangement of trigrams in the Diagram of After Heaven is much older than that of Before Heaven.⁹²⁰

The explanation for the imperfect positioning of Heaven (*qian*) in the northwest (as in the Diagram of After Heaven) might be related to the myth of the rebel Gong Gong, which can be found in classical texts, such as the *Huainanzi*:

昔者共工與顓頊爭為帝怒而觸不周之山天柱折地維絕天傾西北故日月星辰移焉地不滿東南故水潦塵埃歸焉

Long ago, when Gong Gong contested with Zhuan Xu to become *Di* 帝, he became angry and butted Bu Zhou Mountain [in the northwest corner of the earth], breaking the pillar of heaven and severing earth's cord. Heaven inclined in the northwest, so the sun and moon, stars and constellations move in that direction. Earth did not fill up in the southeast, so the water and dust turn towards there.⁹²¹

Sarah Allan associates this myth with astronomical observations:

This myth, which results in the constellations streaming as a river across the sky to the northwest and joining the Yellow Springs (the watery underworld of ancient China), is closely tied to the cosmogony of the *Da Yi sheng shui*, in which the water produced by the Pole Star then assisted it in making the sky and earth. This suggests that all 14 slips [of the *Da Yi sheng shui*] have a common understanding of cosmology. However, the text itself does not refer to this mythology: it is simply a pairing of opposites, no different in style or content from the *Laozi*.⁹²²

Thus, in the *Da Yi sheng shui* 大一生水 (Great One Produces Water) a text that

⁹²⁰ Both diagrams got their names during the Song dynasty. As pointed out before, the description of the ordering is found in the *Changes*. Louis highlights that the Diagram of After Heaven “served as the standard directional and cosmological circular arrangement in early China, and “with minor variations [it is] the only directional trigram sequence found on archaeological material up to the early Southern Song period.” (Louis 2003: 156)

⁹²¹ Translated by Allan 2003: 260, n. 46. Cf. *Huainanzi* 3.1b. Although *qian* (Heaven) is, in accordance the Gong Gong myth, positioned in the NW on the Diagram of After Heaven, *kun* (Earth) is not positioned in the SE, but in the NE.

⁹²² Allan 2003: 260

accompanies the *Guodian Laozi*, the Great One is identified as the Pole Star, this star first forms Heavenly Water (the Milky Way), and thereafter (as in the *qian - kun - gen* progression in the Diagram of After Heaven) Earth is created:

Shui means “river” as well as water, and the water that flowed from the pole in the *Da Yi sheng shui* can be understood as the Milky Way – the Celestial River that flowed across the sky, circled around (as the Yellow Springs), and returned to “assist” or “enhance” the sky. From this, the earth and all else is proceeded. This interpretation is supported by the reference to the sky being deficient in the northwest and the earth low, mythologically associated with Gong Gong butting Bu Zhou mountain and causing heaven and earth to tilt at the time of the great flood.⁹²³

Also Thomas Michael prefers to speak about the story of Gong Gong breaching the pillar, not in terms of mythology, but in terms of cosmology: “This story in part explains the ecliptic of the night sky as viewed from the ground, and by presenting these views as cosmology rather than mythology, the *Taiyi Sheng Shui* formulates the manifest and material structure of the world in accordance with what is conceivably a wider early Chinese empirical view of reality.”⁹²⁴ Although in the above quoted passage from *Huainanzi* no reference to the flood is made, in other chapters the allusion to flood is obvious.⁹²⁵ Some have related astrological observations to the great flood myths in Eurasian cultures.⁹²⁶ Yet, Allan is careful with this conclusion:

As I see it, there is too little evidence to support the supposition that Paleolithic peoples observed the precession of the equinoxes. Moreover, the supposition that it caused a traumatic effect resulting in flood mythology across Eurasia is purely hypothetical. Nevertheless, if the Chinese flood myth is associated with the Pole

⁹²³ Allan 2003: 279.

⁹²⁴ Michael 2005: 38.

⁹²⁵ Lewis 2006: 56-57.

⁹²⁶ “Deborah Porter, following De Santillana and von Dechend, relates the Chinese great flood myth to a presumed knowledge of the precession of the equinox. She has pointed out that in China the Celestial River (*tian han* 天漢) is located in the northwestern direction, and that along with the ecliptic (i.e., the projected course of the sun in the night sky), it “runs right through Scorpius and Sagittarius,” the region known as the “heavenly ford” (*tian jin* 天津). Again following De Santillana and Dechend, she suggests that Gamma Sagittarius, part of the “basket” (*ji* 箕) constellation an located right in the Milky Way, was used as the equinoctial marker and that the catastrophic mythic event—the creation of the Celestial River when Gong Gong breached the pillar, or the great flood of the historical texts—was in fact reflection of the movement that resulted in the Corona Australis (the “heavenly turtle,” *tian bie* 天鰲) replacing the Milky Way.” (Allan 2003: 281; compare to Porter 1996: 36)

Star, its possible relationship with other Eurasian flood myths is striking and deserves further research.⁹²⁷

Zhao Xianke did not refer to the specific mythology of Gong Gong and the Pole Star. Nonetheless, it is interesting to observe that Zhao Xianke's ideas on *tianyi sheng shui* have their legacy in the oldest text of correlative thinking in China: the *Da Yi sheng shui*. The Heavenly One is the ancestor of everything that exists in the cosmos, including Heaven and Earth.⁹²⁸ Although the formless ancestor in *Yiguan* is, as in the texts associated with the Pole Star cults of ancient China, referred to as Supreme Ultimate, Zhao Xianke's ideas on the One and the Milky Way (or, Heavenly River) are not entirely the same as found in these ancient text. The Milky Way (the water produces the Heavenly One in Early Chinese texts) should according to Zhao Xianke not be identified with the Before Heavenly *kan* water. For instance, from the moment something comes into existence, including the coming into being of the Sky (or Heaven) and the Heavenly River, it belongs to the After Heavenly. Yet, the water of the Milky Way is special because its course follows formless fire. On the Earth Zhao equates this water with the Yellow River and in the human body with blood-fluid:

Above, it is like the water of the Milky Way. Below, it is the water of Long Stream. It starts in the Heavenly Gate of the northwest, and ends in the Earthly Door in the southeast. It is exactly what is meant by the water of the Yellow River that comes from up in the sky, it runs to the sea, and does not return again. Hence, the Yellow River and water of the sea have the same colour.⁹²⁹

Although is not Before Heavenly water (*kan* water), following the movements of formless minister fire, Zhao's considered blood to be more special than all other liquids in the body.⁹³⁰

⁹²⁷ Allan 2003: 281.

⁹²⁸ Puett 2002: 160-170.

⁹²⁹ YG 1.33a. See also 150-151.

⁹³⁰ See also p. 216.

Medical tradition

Whereas Zhao Xianke's explanation of recipes, illustrated by the logic of the Diagram of After Heaven, is not found in other Ming medical texts, his clinical application of recipes is rather conventional. In contrast to Zhang Jiebin, for instance, Zhao did not compose his own recipes, but relied on prescriptions composed by predecessors exclusively. Throughout *Yiguan*, he praises the ancients for secretly understanding the cosmological principles of Before Heaven, which, in his opinion, are reflected in the way their recipes are composed. Although Zhao legitimises his therapeutics of Before Heaven by pointing out that he faithfully follows the ancients, he also refers to physicians and texts of more recent times. How medical tradition features in *Yiguan* is complex, and by times contradictory.

Like other second generation *wenbu* physicians, Zhao Xianke mainly followed the clinical strategies of Xue Ji. Many passages in *Yiguan* are *verbatim* taken from Xue's texts.⁹³¹ Although the terminology of Before Heaven is absent in Xue's writing, Zhao highlights that Xue understood the principles of genuinely supplementing *yin*, something which Zhu Zhenheng had not discovered yet. The following passage from "Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission" is exemplary:

獨薛立齋發明丹溪之所未發專用六味地黃以補腎而治夢遺屢效縱有相火水能滋木水升而木火自息矣

Only Xue Lizhai [Ji] exposed what Danxi had not discovered yet. He especially used *liuwei dihuang* to supplement the kidneys, and when he treated nocturnal emissions, he was often successful. Even if there is minister fire, water can enrich wood. If water rises, wood and fire spontaneously rest.⁹³²

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Xue derived the principles of supplementing formless water and fire from Wang Bing's comment on the SW 74. The recipes he proposed for this purpose were *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. Accordingly, Zhao places Xue, and himself, in a tradition rooted in the recipe medicine of Zhang Ji. Zhang's genius is highlighted throughout *Yiguan*. Not only did Zhang understand the genuine meaning of supplementing *yin*, Zhao also praised him for applying *shenqi wan* [i.e.

⁹³¹ Compare, for example, YG ("Essay on Ear Sores") 5.8b-9a with Xue Ji's *Waikeshuyao* 250. Sometimes Zhao Xianke does not mention Xue Ji as his source. Compare, for instance, the discussion mouth sores caused by an excessive activity of the three burners in "Essay on Mouth Sores" (YG 5.3a-4a) with *Kouchi leiyao* 口齒類要 (Essentials about the Category of Mouth and Teeth, (1528), contained in *Xue-shi yi'an*. (10.4-5b)

⁹³² YG 5.38b.

bawei wan] to a whole range of diseases. Even so many uses of *shenqi wan* praised by Zhao cannot be attested in Zhang's writings. Examples are Zhang Ji's acclaimed use of *shenqi wan* in connection to Wind Stroke and Wasting Thirst; the latter further illustrated by a case record involving Han Wudi.⁹³³ Although Zhao Xianke quotes many passages the medical classics. The use of these texts is very selective. Examples can be given other passages from the same texts which are not in line with Zhao Xianke's ideas on 'warming and supplementing'. Zhang Ji, for instance, composed many recipes with contain cold and bitter ingredients.

Xue Ji was not the only physician to practice medicine in the spirit of Zhang Ji. Zhao Xianke names many other physicians who did not refer to the concept of Before Heaven, but who, by applying *bawei wan* (and *liuwei wan*) in diseases associated with kidney depletion, proved to understand the logic of Zhang Ji's genial composition. Other physicians quoted in *Yiguan* are Wu Qiu and Pang Anshi who applied *bawei wan* in case of phlegm, Yang Shiyin who used it to treat serious coughing, Wang Haogu in case of swellings, and Zhao Yide 趙以德 (Ming dynasty) in case of kidney diarrhoea.⁹³⁴ Instead of relying on bitter and cold, all these physicians used methods of supplementing and warming the kidneys, which Zhao Xianke understood in the cosmological context of Before Heaven.

Although Zhao Xianke praises the ingeniousness of the ancients, he does not consider the new methods (*xinfa*) of Song-Ming dynasty physicians to be useless. As shown in the preceding Chapters, Zhao does not exclusively rely on *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*. Methods associated with the Four Masters of the Jin-Yuan period are elaborately discussed in *Yiguan*. In general, Zhao was opposed to aggressive methods, which Zhang Congzheng proposed for expelling invaded external evil. Although Zhao refers to Liu Wansu's use of *baihu tang* to cool down summer heat, he warns that this method, which represents the killing *qi* of autumn, can only be used temporarily, and should be handled with care. On the other hand, according to Zhao, Liu genuinely understood the ideas on supplementing the kidneys, as he proposed the use of *dihuang yinzi* to supplement *yin* fire in cases of Wind-like Strokes. Furthermore, in his explanation of *liuwei wan*, Zhao quotes Liu's expression "when the kidneys are depleted, there is heat."⁹³⁵ Zhao also heavily relies on Li Gao's methods of supplementing *yangqi* in case disease is caused by a depletion of *yangqi*, associated with the spleen-stomach function. Although Li's composition of *buzhong yiqi tang* is "new method," according to Zhao, this recipe, by which the Before Heavenly in After Heaven is supported, reflects the spirit of Zhang Ji's compositions. Zhu Zhenheng

⁹³³ p. 239.

⁹³⁴ For Wu Qiu, Pang Anshi, and Yang Shiyin, see pp. 217-218; for Wang Haogu, see YG 5.16a; and Zhao Yide, see YG 5.27a.

⁹³⁵ p. 186.

followed Liu Wansu's ideas on the importance of cooling down fire, and like Li Gao, he advocated supplementation. In contrast to Li, Zhu did not focus on *yangqi*, but on *yinqi*. Zhao Xianke praises Zhu for his emphasis on supplementing *yin*. However, as pointed out throughout the previous Chapters, according to Zhao, Zhu did not understand the genuine meaning of *yin*, and he considers Zhu's methods of cold and bitter to be harmful.

Although my brief sketch of Zhao's general ideas on the methods of the Four Masters can be illustrated by many passages taken from *Yiguan*, this does not show the full picture. Especially his appreciation of Zhu Zhenheng and Li Gao is slightly more complex than presented thus far. In some passages of *Yiguan*, Zhao expresses a positive attitude towards Zhu. In a dialogue in the "Essay on Nocturnal Emission and Involuntary Emission," for instance, he does not blame Zhu for misunderstanding the principles of supplementing *yin*, but regrets that mistakes rose from later interpretations by his followers:

或問曰陰虛火動而夢遺服丹溪補陰丸以滋陰降火則症與藥相對每依法服之而不效何也曰此未得丹溪滋陰之本意也蓋丹溪心法第一方原以腎氣丸為滋陰之要藥也今人不會其意以黃柏知母為君概用坎離丸固本之類凡此俱是沉寒瀉火之劑苦寒極能瀉水腎有補而無瀉焉能有裨於陰哉

Someone asked: "If fire moves because of *yin* depletion, and there is nocturnal emission, it is appropriate to take Danxi's [i.e. Zhu Zhenheng] *buyin wan* to enrich *yin* and make fire descend. This is a medicine that fits these conditions. However, Why is there no result each time I use [this recipe] accordingly?"

I said: "This is because you did not understand the original idea of enriching *yin* by Danxi. The first recipe in *Danxi xinfu* originally was the essential medicine of *shenqi wan* to enrich *yin*.⁹³⁶ However, contemporary people do not get this idea, and use *huangbo* and *zhimu* as governor [*materia medica*], and most likely will use [recipes] like *kanli wan*⁹³⁷ in order to fortify the roots. But, these are all prescriptions that deepen cold and drain fire. Bitter and cold are extremely capable in draining water. But, the kidneys need supplementation, and not draining. How, would these [prescriptions] be beneficial?"⁹³⁸

A second example of a positive appreciation of Zhu Zhenheng can be found in a

⁹³⁶ In the editions of *Danxi xinfu* that have I examined, references to (*Jingui*) *shenqi wan*, *liuwei wan*, *bawei wan*, and other similar recipes do not feature in the opening sections, but in *juan* 3 of this text. Compare to *Danxi xinfu* 168.

⁹³⁷ *Danggui*, *chuanxiong*, *bai shaoyao*, *shu dihuang*, *huangbo*, and *zhimu*. (Li ZYDCD 788)

⁹³⁸ YG 5.38a-b.

case record included in “Essay on Urinary Obstruction and Incontinence.” In this case record, the physician, Zhu, counters damage caused by an abuse of diuretics by first supplementing the central function of the spleen-stomach, followed by supplementing the kidneys:

丹溪治一老人患小便不利因服分利之藥太過遂致秘塞點滴不出予以其胃氣下陷用補中益氣湯一服而通因先多用利藥損其腎氣遂致通後遺尿一夜不止急補其腎然後已凡醫之治是症者未有不用泄利之劑誰能顧其腎氣之虛哉予特表之以為世戒

Danxi treated an elder person suffering from urinary obstruction. Because he had taken too much diuretics, it caused obstruction afterwards. Even one drop [of urine] could not leak out. Because stomach *qi* was sunken below, I [i.e. Danxi] used *buzhong yiqi tang*. After one dose, there was communication (*tong*; free flow). The many diuretics, that were taken before, caused to kidney *qi*. But, subsequently, after there was communication, there was urine loss, which did not stop during the whole night. I immediately supplemented the kidneys. However, when physicians generally treat this symptom, it has not yet occurred that they would not use draining or inducing urine prescriptions. Who would then be able to look after the *qi* of the kidneys which is depleted? I especially reveal this, as a warning for everybody.⁹³⁹

The logic in the above case record is further explained by referring to incontinence in combination with lung depletion. Analogous to the case of cough, Zhao refers to the particular mother-child relationship between lungs metal and kidneys water in order to promote supplementation of the lungs. The specific method he applies is a combined use of *buzhong yiqi tang* and *shenqi wan*:

後若有善法丹溪者已明知其肺虛矣乃以補中益氣湯送腎氣丸豈不上下相鬚子母相益耶[...] 肺為上焦通調水道下輸膀胱腎又上連肺故將兩藏是子母也母虛子亦虛自然之理

Thereafter, there are those who are proficient in following Danxi's method. When they understood that the lungs were depleted, they would use *buzhong yiqi tang* in combination with *shenqi wan*. How would the above and the below not need each other, and mother and child not increase each other? [...] The lungs are the upper burner, and make waterways communicate and harmonise them. The lower transporter (*shu*) is the bladder. Moreover, the kidneys are above connected to the lungs. Hence, concerning these two *zang*-viscera,

⁹³⁹ YG 5.34b-35a.

which are child and mother, if the mother is depleted the child is also depleted. This is a natural principle (*ziran zhi li*).⁹⁴⁰

Hence, in this fragment, Zhu Zhenheng uses the same methods as promoted by Zhao Xianke. However, as in the above example of nocturnal emission caused by *yin* depletion, I did not find this case record in any of Zhu's writings. These positive appreciations of Zhu's methods, justifying Zhao's own strategy, are rare exceptions in *Yiguan*.

Although Li Gao is praised throughout *Yiguan*, Zhao is not always positive about the specific recipes Li proposes, as can be illustrated by the following example of treating constipation in "Essay on Diarrhoea and Constipation:"

東垣云腎主五液津液盛則大便如常若饑飽勞役損傷胃氣及食辛熱厚味而助火邪伏於血中耗散真陰津液虧少故大腸結燥又有老年氣虛津液衰少而結者腎惡燥急食辛以潤之是也予嘗體法東垣之論不用東垣之方如潤腸丸潤燥湯通幽散之類俱不用惟用六味地黃丸料煎服自愈如熱秘而又兼氣虛者以前湯內加參芪各五錢立愈此因氣虛不能推送陰虛不能濡潤故耳以上治法予嘗親試而必驗

Li Gao said: "The kidneys control the five fluids. If the fluids are abundant, the stool is normal. However, if stomach *qi* suffered damage because of hunger, overeating, or overworking, and you would eat strong flavours, pungent and hot, you will help fire evil. It will submerge inside blood, and squander authentic *yin*. Fluids are few because they are lost. Hence, there is dryness in the large intestine. Furthermore, the *qi* of elderly people is depleted. Hence, their fluids are weakened and few, and there is constriction. In this case, you should urgently eat pungent [*materia medica*] to moisten."⁹⁴¹ I follow Dongyuan's [i.e. Li Gao] theory (*chang ti fa Dongyuan zhi lun*), but do not use his recipes. I do not use recipes such as *runchang wan*, *runzao tang*, *tongyou san*, etc. Instead, I only use *liuwei wan*. After decocting and administering it, there will be spontaneous healing. If there is constipation because of heat in combination with *qi* depletion, I add five *qian* each of [*ren*]*sheng* and [*huang*]*qi* to the previous decoction, and there will be immediate relief. Therefore, in case of *qi* depletion, you may not push it out. In case of *yin* depletion, you may not moisten. I often tried out the above treatment method, and it proved to be effective.⁹⁴²

Hence, Zhao Xianke criticises Li's use of *runchang wan*, *runzao tang*, and *tongyou san*, but agrees with the theoretical background Li offers by pointing out the importance

⁹⁴⁰ YG 5.35a-b.

⁹⁴¹ Cf. *Lanshi micang* 2.1a-b.

⁹⁴² YG 5.30b-31a.

of the kidneys in case of constipation.⁹⁴³

Yet, examples of criticism on a theoretical level can be found as well. At the beginning of the same essay, Zhao criticises Li for only emphasising the importance of the spleen in case of diarrhoea, as he did not understand that diarrhoea can also be caused by a dysfunction of the kidneys:

臟腑瀉利其症多端大抵皆因脾胃而作東垣先生制脾胃論一篇專以補中益氣湯升提清氣為主其間治脾泄之症庶無餘蘊矣特未及乎腎泄也

Although conditions of diarrhoea of the *zangfu* viscera vary, most of them are related to the spleen-stomach. Mr. Dongyuan [i.e. Li Gao] wrote the work *Piwei lun* in which he highlighted the use of *buzhong yiqi tang* to make clear *qi* rise, and thereby treated conditions of diarrhoea related to spleen. There was no other idea. However, he did not at all touch upon kidney diarrhoea.⁹⁴⁴

In “Essay on Urinary Obstruction and Incontinence,” Zhao further points out that Li’s methods fail when the authentic *yang* or *yin* in the kidney region are involved, and criticises his use of *zishen wan* 滋腎丸 (Enriching the Kidneys Decoction)⁹⁴⁵ in case of urinary obstruction caused by *yin* depletion:

蓋至於真陽真陰虛者東垣未之論如有真陰虛者惟六味地黃以補腎水滋腎丸又所當禁黃柏知母恐其苦寒泄水又忌淡味滲泄之藥有真陽虛者須八味丸

As far as a depletion of authentic *yang* or authentic *yin* is concerned, Dongyuan has nothing to say about this. If authentic *yin* is depleted, you should only use *liuwei dihuang* to supplement kidney water. *Zishen wan* should be avoided. I am afraid that the bitter and cold of *huangbo* and *zhimu* would drain water. Also *materia medica* that percolate and drain because of their bland flavours are taboo. If the authentic *yang* is depleted, you should [revert to] *bawei wan*.⁹⁴⁶

Thus, in spite his overall positive appreciation of Li Gao’s strategy of supplementing *yangqi* of the spleen-stomach, Zhao highlights that Li did not understand the importance of directly supplementing the Before Heavenly.

Apart from directly supplementing Before Heaven and supplementing Before Heaven in After Heaven, Zhao Xianke’s third important strategy is to relieve

⁹⁴³ p. 240.

⁹⁴⁴ YG 5.26a.

⁹⁴⁵ *Zishen wan*, also known as *tongguan wan* 通關丸 (Opening the Passages Pill), has the following ingredients: *huangbo*, *zhimu*, and *rougui*. (Li ZYDCD 1511)

⁹⁴⁶ YG 5.34a.

constraint fire with *xiaoyao san*. As I have pointed out in Chapter 6, Zhao also explains heat effusion (*fa re*) in case of Cold Damage in terms of constraint. In this context, he refers to Yu Tuan, as a physician who understood these principles in a similar way.⁹⁴⁷ As pointed out before, passages from Yu's *Cangsheng siming* are also reflected in Zhao Xianke's discussions on the location and function of the gate of life.

Many other physicians are referred to in *Yiguan*, such as Wang Lü in case of Wind Stroke or Tao Hua and Wu Shou in case of Cold Disease. Since I have discussed their particular influence in the preceding Chapters, I will not further elaborate on them. When Zhao names his sources, this often serves the purpose of legitimising his clinical methods. Yet, Zhao does not always mention his sources, which makes it difficult to distinguish what he borrowed from others and what he wrote himself. In Chapter 5, I already mentioned similarities with *Zhengzhi zhunshi*, composed by Wang Kentang, another important late Ming physician.⁹⁴⁸ Some parts of *Yiguan* might also be included by later editors, which may explain the inconsistencies in Zhao's text. A meticulous comparison of *Yiguan* with the transmitted medical literature would reveal much more about the archaeology of the text. However, such a comparison was beyond the scope of my present study.

⁹⁴⁷ p. 268.

⁹⁴⁸ p. 223.

Conclusion

Through their emphasis on Before Heaven, second generation *wenbu* physicians enriched the vocabulary used to explain the physiological function of the gate of life. All these physicians regarded the gate of life to be the Supreme Ultimate of Before Heaven inside the body, symbolised by the trigram *kan*. Their cosmological elaborations were not only inspired by Neo-Confucian speculations on the *Changes*. Daoism and Buddhism had an important role to play as well. *Wenbu* explanations of Before Heaven in particular reveal a strong influence of [Daoist] internal alchemical theory. Instead of emphasising syncretic Neo-Confucianism, as is traditionally done in academic literature on the subject, I therefore proposed a more nuanced view on how Three Teaching Unity is reflected in *wenbu* medical texts.

Although late Ming *wenbu* physicians all fell back on Three Teachings' concepts to explain the gate of life, their theories were not uniform. Based on an alternative counting of the visceral functionaries listed in SW 8, Zhao Xianke was revolutionary in placing the gate of life as genuine ruler of the body on a higher hierarchical level than the heart. His claims were based on the distinction between the formlessness of Before Heaven and the forms of After Heaven. He supported his views by equating formless fire of the gate of life with the 'empty words' that in the Three Teachings are used to refer to a formless reality. Zhao's decision to locate the genuine ruler in between the two kidneys was based on four clues: 1) the interpretations on the small heart near the seventh vertebra mentioned in SW 52; 2) diagrams depicting the gate of life cavity in between the kidneys; 3) buddhist ideas on the existence of more than one heart; 4) the explanation of the trigram *kan* as Supreme Ultimate in the body. Zhao further used diagrams as teaching tools to visualise the formless inside the forms. In his depictions of the body only the kidneys and the spine are represented. Their combined shape symbolically corresponds to the character 中 and the trigram ☵ (vertically positioned). Yet, it is not this combination of kidneys and spine, but rather three small apertures that represent the location of the trinity 'gate of life - minister fire - authentic water'. The gate of life is positioned amid the vertebrae in

between the two kidneys. It is pure *yang* and the authentic ruler of the body (*ti*). The small apertures on either side represent two functional aspects (*yong*): minister fire and authentic water.

The gate of life (*mingmen* 命門) is thus the gate (*men* 門) through which the mandate (*ming* 命) is issued. Formless water and fire are the formless mandataries that carry out the mandate of life. By definition, minister fire operates the forms but it cannot sustain itself without the nourishment of authentic water. The image that Zhao Xianke uses is that of the flame of a lamp which needs fuel in order to burn. Authentic water and minister fire are the root of all *yinyang* in the body, but they have their common root in the one spark of formless fire of the gate of life (pure *yang*). In this sense water and fire are producing each other.

The assumptions on the formlessness of water and fire further influenced Zhao Xianke's ideas on the five agents. In his opinion, not only fire could be split into two (as in *wuyun liuqi* theory), the same could be done to all agents. In this respect, Zhao refers to their *yinyang* aspects. Moreover, all the agents can be found inside each other. His ideas on multiple numbers of agents are supported by referring to Zhou Dunyi's explanation of the Supreme Ultimate. Another important source is the explanation of *dui* water with form and formless *kan* water in Chen Tuan's "Xiaoxi" commentary on *Mayi Zhaozhe zhengyi xinfu*. Instead of emphasising the numbers of agents, however, Zhao's focus is on the fundamental pair formless water (also "root" *yin*) and formless fire ("root" *yang*). The existence of all the other agents is dependent on them.

Ideas on Before Heaven further allowed Zhao Xianke to introduce alternative relationships between the agents. Inversion is an important theme in *Yiguan*. The principle of finding the mother (metal) inside the child (water) is borrowed from alchemic theory. A related principle is that of the one spark of *yang* contained in *kan* water. In Early Chinese cosmology it is referred to as the "Heavenly One producing Water." Zhao Xianke points out that this cosmogonic principle is illustrated in the Diagram of After Heaven, where *qian* (pure *yang*) in the NW is followed by *kan* water in the N. The northern hemisphere of the diagram, moreover, depicts alternative productive (Before Heavenly) relationships between fire, water, metal/earth, and wood (the progression *qian, kan, gen, zhen*). The conventional (and After Heavenly) productive relationships between wood, fire, earth, and metal/water are depicted in the southern hemisphere of the Diagram (*xun, li, kun, dui*). Zhao Xianke's main therapeutic strategies can be explained by referring to the positioning of trigrams in the Diagram of After heaven. This emphasis on the Diagram of After Heaven does not feature in any other *wenbu* medical text.

When explaining various clinical approaches to treatment, heat is the main symptom to which Zhao Xianke refers. In his opinion, incompetent physicians all too

often make the mistake of relying on Cold Damage recipes in all cases of heat. According to him, they fail to recognise “fake” heat as the manifestation of depleted host *qi*. Zhao praised Li Gao for composing *buzhong yiqi tang*. In his opinion, Li intuitively understood the importance of supplementing Before Heaven inside After Heaven (formless fire of the central burner). *Buzhong yiqi tang* has the property of making sunken and depleted *yangqi*, associated with the central burner (formless *gen* earth), rise. By supplementing *yangqi*, *yin* fire (which causes problems in the higher regions of the body) spontaneously returns to the kidney region. The metaphor used in this context is adding coals to the furnace in order to reduce the flames. Yet, Zhao regretted that Li did not understand that *gen* earth is rooted in *kan* water as is illustrated in the Diagram of After Heaven. Hence, “supplementing the spleen is not as good as supplementing the kidneys”. Zhu Zhenheng, on the other hand, emphasised the importance of *yin* depletion. But by explaining *yin* as blood, he failed to recognise authentic *yin* (formless water and fire in the kidney region). Moreover, Zhu’s strategy of enriching *yin* with cold and bitter ingredients, in Zhao’s views, harmed fire. By his methods of enriching *yin* to bring fire down, Zhu effectively extinguished fire, which is after all the very source of life. In this respect, *Yiguan* can be read as a critique on the popular methods of Zhu Zhenheng.

According to Zhao Xianke, the recipes that genuinely supplement *yin* are *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. The moistening ingredients of *liuwei wan* do not extinguish fire, but nourishes it like fuel in a lamp. In cases of severe depletion, *bawei wan* can be used. The two extra ingredients (*rougui* and *fuzi*) have the property to supplement fire inside water. They further guide drifting minister fire (dragon/thunder) back to the kidneys where it belongs. By using cold and bitter *materia medica*, Zhao says, the followers of Zhu Zhenheng did not understand the workings of the cosmos, which are rooted in the formlessness of Before Heaven. Moreover, with their aggressive treatment methods they violated the Mencian way of governing the country/body by the virtues of *ren* and *yi*. Zhao Xianke did not invent the strategy of nourishing the kidney region with *bawei wan* and *liuwei wan*. Herein he followed Xie Ji’s application of the two Pills in line with the principles derived from Wang Bing’s comments on the *Inner Classic*. The original recipe of *bawei wan* was composed by the genius of Zhang Ji. Hence, Zhao positions himself within in an orthodox tradition of enlightened physicians who understood the cosmological principles by which recipes are composed.

A fourth important recipe discussed in *Yiguan* is *xiaoyao san*. In an innovative way Zhao Xianke understood Cold Damage and Warmth Disease in terms of Depression Disease. The evolution from cold to heat was conventionally explained as a gradual transmission of external evil along the conduits to the interior of the body. Breaking from the norm, Zhao did not consider the symptomatic presence of heat to be alien

to be body. Instead, after an initial attack of external evil, fire has been depleted and lacks the force to communicate with the outside. Hence, it lingers, depressed, inside. The strategic principle of using *xiaoyao san* is illustrated by referring to the trigram *zhen* which follows *gen* in the Diagram of After Heaven. The wood of spring is compared to young plants that shoot up from the earth after winter. In order to breach earth they depend on the mild wind of spring (*xiaoyao san*) and the moistening rain (*liuwei wan*) which invigorates their roots. Because fire in wood ignites the cycle of the seasons, all other forms of depression (fire, earth, metal, and water) can be cured by using *xiaoyao san*.

Many other recipes are discussed in *Yiguan* as well. *Baihu tang* is propagated to expel summer heat. However, its destructive properties representing the command of autumn (*dui* in the Diagram of After Heaven) should be handled with care. The Cold Damage recipes *mahuang* and *guizhi tang* can be temporarily used to expel cold and wind that has invaded the superficial layers of the body during the winter months. In Zhao Xianke's logic, expelling cold and wind in winter prevents the depression of fire *qi* during spring (or, *zhen* should it be able to pierce through *gen*). Zhao further emphasised that traditional recipes for expelling evil contained supplementing *materia medica* as well. The main principle behind his clinical strategies is borrowed from SW 33: "where evil gathers, *qi* must be depleted." According to the specific situation and based on sound diagnostics, a physician should make a choice between a whole array of available recipes. However, notably more than any other recipe, Zhao advocates the use of *liuwei wan* and *bawei wan*. In his opinion, all too often are physicians unable to diagnose a depletion of authentic *yin*, nor do they know how to apply the two Pills. Since *kan* water contains the one spark of formless fire, it is the formless source of everything else in the body. This should be taken into consideration in a large variety of pathological conditions.

Zhao Xianke's emphasis on the use of the two Pills to supplement formless water and fire had a substantial impact on later medical theory, until in the 1750ies some prominent physicians such as Xu Dachun and He Mengyao started to voice fierce criticism. Although these physicians now too integrated the vocabulary of Before Heaven in their own medical reasoning, they had a problem with Zhao's interpretation of the gate of life as formless ruler of the body and the simplicity of a curative strategy based on a handful of recipes only. Despite criticism, *Yiguan* remained influential and is still being reprinted today. In 21st century TCM, Before Heaven (*xiantian*; or 'congenital' in a modern translation) is an essential term in explanations of the physiology of the gate of life. Yet, as (historical) contexts shift, concepts such as *xiantian* have been stripped of cosmological elaborations that are irreconcilable with biomedical science.

Through my analysis of *Yiguan*, I showed how Zhao Xianke applied cosmological concepts to explain therapeutic strategies. Even though I made comparisons with other *wenbu* texts, more research is needed to sharpen our knowledge of the congruences and differences between the theories and medical practices of individual *wenbu* physicians, and the historical contexts that shaped them. For Zhao, the specific context in which he lived was that of another reality. He pitied that his contemporaries lost their grip on the fundamental reality of formless fire which is the vital force in everything that exists in the cosmos. This loss of grip is reflected in the way that recipes were used not to nourish but to damage formless fire in the body. Zhao's innovative explanations were not a break with tradition. On the contrary, in his opinion, everything he talked about could be traced back to ancient texts and diagrams. His quest was one of uniting (*yiguan* 一貫): What binds medical theory and practice in all its diverse manifestations? What is the formless ruler of the body and which drugs can be used to influence its workings? By reverting to ancient tradition, Zhao Xianke sought to propel the practice of medicine forward into a new era of enlightened praxis.

Appendix 1: Preventive medicine

Although Zhao Xianke's focus in *Yiguan* is mainly on curative healthcare, throughout his text he points out the importance of a preventive lifestyle. As in curative medicine, he highlights the fire of the gate of life in preventive medicine, which he calls “cultivating the body” (*yang shen* 養身):

欲世之養身者治病者的以命門為君主而加意於火之一字夫既曰立命之門火乃人身之至寶何世之養身者不知保養節欲而日夜戕賊此火既病矣治病者不知溫養此火而日用寒涼以直滅此火焉望其有生氣耶

Those in this world who wish to cultivate the body and those who treat diseases should focus on the gate of life, which is the sovereign ruler. They should pay attention to one word: fire. Because it is called “the gate from which life is established” (*li ming zhi men*), this fire is the utmost treasure of the human body. Why do those who nowadays cultivate the body not know how to protect and cultivate, nor how to restrict desires (*jie yu*)? Day and night, they harm (*qiangzei*) this fire. When there is already illness, those who treat diseases do not know how to nourish this fire with warmth (*wen yang*). If, day by day, they use cold and cool, which directly extinguishes this fire, how would you expect that there is life-giving *qi* (*sheng qi*)?⁹⁴⁹

Keeping far from the pleasures of the bedroom in order to safeguard this life-giving fire is an often heard admonition in *Yiguan*.⁹⁵⁰ This strong emphasis on controlling sexual desires in order to nourish *yin* shows similarities with ideas of Zhu Zhenheng, and many other scholarly physicians.⁹⁵¹ However, unlike Zhu, Zhao highlights that what is damaged by sexual desires is authentic *yin*.⁹⁵² Sexual desires and activities exhaust, and eventually destroy, the fire associated with the gate of life, which is *yang* inside *yin*. In preventive practice, it is important not to arouse minister fire, which follows the heart (*xin*). Zhao Xianke's emphasis thus is, similarly to Zhu Zhenheng, on silence. In clinical practice, however, and in contrast to Zhu, Zhao does not restrict minister fire by using cold and bitter, but nourishes it with warming and supplementing ingredients.

⁹⁴⁹ YG 1.9b.

⁹⁵⁰ See, for instance, “Essay on Panting.” (YG 4.31b-32a)

⁹⁵¹ *Gezhi yulun* 2a; 21a-b; 41b-42a; 65a-66b.

⁹⁵² “As far as exhausting the heart and being lustful is concerned, internally it damages authentic *yin*” (至於勞心好色內傷真陰). (YG 4.15a)

In contrast to other *wenbu* physicians such as Zhang Jiebin and Li Zhongzi who went into more details on specific practices, Zhao mainly limits himself to simple admonishments about restricting desires.⁹⁵³ Moreover, in “Essay on *Yinyang*,” he points out that most gymnastic, dietary, and breathing exercises will not yield the best result. Sudden insight (*dun wu* 頓悟) is more important than any exercise:

若夫尊生之士不須服食不須導引不須吐納能大明生死幾於道矣生之門死之戶不生則不死上根頓悟無生

Now, gentlemen that respect life (*zunsheng zhi shi*) should not diet (*fu shi*), not do gymnastics (*daoyin*), and not do breathing exercises (*tuna*). If they greatly understand life and death, they are close to the Way (*ju yu dao yi*). The gate of birth (*sheng zhi men*) is the door of death (*si zhi hu*). If you are not born, you will not die. The superior roots (*shang gen*) suddenly realise (*dun wu*) that there is no life (*wu sheng*).⁹⁵⁴

In this passage, in which Zhao refers to a sublime realisation that there is a realm beyond all dualism (silence and movement, life and death) a Buddhist preoccupation prevails. Achieving this ideal, however, is only restricted to the “highest roots” (*shang gen*).

From the perspective of an individual existence, Zhao Xianke emphasis was not on the physical avoidance of death. After being born, everything which comes into existence will eventually die. Zhao relates his ideas on disease prevention to both the tradition of the *Changes* and of the Qi Bo and the Yellow Emperor of the *Inner Classic*:

The Sage follows the pattern of transformations of Heaven-and-Earth, and assists what is appropriate between Heaven-and-Earth. Each time, he holds on to the subtle power of promoting *yang* and suppressing *yin*. At *fu* [☰], he first grieves for the coming of seven days. At *weiji* [☷], he makes sure that he is provided with cotton waded cloths. He protects himself from what is not already there, and treats what is not ill yet. Nonetheless, when there is birth, there will be ageing. When there is ageing, there will be diseases. When there are diseases, there will be death. This is something people cannot escape from. However, there is a difference between longevity and premature death, between long and short. This is where the way of Qi [Bo] and Huang[di] originated from.⁹⁵⁵

Zhao considers prevention through moderating desires not only as the way to

⁹⁵³ Compare, for instance, to *Leijing* 28.22a-23a and *Shanbu yisheng weilun* 654-655.

⁹⁵⁴ YG 1.16b-17a.

⁹⁵⁵ YG 1.15b-16a.

prevent diseases, but also as a means to expel disease:

其次莫若寡欲未必長生亦可卻病

Next [to “suddenly realising that there is no life”], there is nothing better than being modest in desires (*gua yu*). Although it is not certain that you will prolong your life (*chang sheng* or: life long), you will be able to expel diseases (*que bing*).⁹⁵⁶

Specific passages in which Zhao Xianke points out that moderating desires is superior to taking recipes can be found in “Essay on Cough” and “Essay on the Ears:”

有能寡欲而不服藥者反可綿延得活可見非病不可治乃治病之不如法也

In contrast, by being able to moderate desire, and not taking medicines, you can continuously obtain life (*de huo*). You will see that there is no disease that cannot be cured. Treating diseases [by recipes] is inferior to [this] method.⁹⁵⁷

有能調養得所氣血和平則其耳聾漸輕若不知自節日就煩勞即為久聾之症矣

There are those who are able to regulate and nourish in the proper way. Their *qi* and blood is harmonious, and their hearing impairment will gradually become less serious. If you do not know how to regulate, day by day, there is [more] trouble, and it will evolve into the disease of enduring deafness.⁹⁵⁸

In an original comment on “Essay on Blood Ejection,” instead of regulating (*jue*) or moderating (*gua*), Zhao advocates cutting off desires (*jue yu*):

今有一單方只是節欲不但節欲直須絕欲不絕欲而徒恃乎藥未有能生者也

I have one simple remedy (*dan fang*)⁹⁵⁹. This is nothing more than regulating desires (*jie yu*). It is not merely regulating desires, but cutting off desires (*jue yu*). Nobody has never been able to survive by only depending on medicines, and not cutting off desires.⁹⁶⁰

Contrary to the ideal of regulating, moderating, or cutting off desires, the worst thing a man can do is to use supplementing recipe to feed desires:

⁹⁵⁶ YG 1.17a.

⁹⁵⁷ YG. 4.23a.

⁹⁵⁸ YG. 5.6a.

⁹⁵⁹ A recipe with one single ingredient. It can also be translated as “folk” or “home” remedy. (HYDCD 3, 419)

⁹⁶⁰ YG 4.26b.

反而求之人之死由於生人之病由於欲上工治未病下工治已病已病矣繹其致病之根由於不謹急遠房幃絕嗜欲庶幾得之世人服食以圖長生惑矣甚者日服補藥以資縱欲則惑之甚也

If you look at it from another perspective, the death of a human being is because (s)he is born. Human diseases come forth from desires. The higher skilled (*shanggong*) treats what is not yet ill. The lower skilled (*xiagong*) treats what is already ill.⁹⁶¹ If there is already disease, and you trace back the root that caused the disease, it is because you were not cautious. Urgently keep far from the bedchamber, and cut off desires, then you are almost there. Contemporary people that take medicine planning to prolong life are deluded. Even worse are those who daily take supplementing medicine to foster their indulgence in desires. They are most deluded.⁹⁶²

This does not mean that supplementing medicines could not be preventively taken. In *juan 2*, in the context of Wind Stroke, Zhao Xianke refers to a preventive intake of medicine in case of depletion, and before a disease has broken out:

愚謂預防之理當節飲食戒七情遠房事此至要者也如欲服餌預防須察其脈症之虛實如兩尺虛衰者以六味地黃八味地黃培補肝腎如寸關虛弱者以六君子十全大補之類急補脾肺才有補益若以搜風順氣及清氣化痰等藥適所以招風取中也不可不知

I humbly said that what principles of prevention (*yufang*) are concerned, moderation in drinking and eating, guarding against the seven emotions, and keeping far from sexual pleasures (*fang shi*; “matters of the bedroom”) are most essential. If you want to take medicine in order to prevent, you should check whether the pathological condition of the pulse is deplete or full. If both *chi* are depleted and weakened, use *liuwei dihuang* and *bawei dihuang* to invigorate and supplement liver and kidneys. If the *cun* and *guan* are depleted and weak, use [recipes], such as *liu junzi [tang]* and *shiquan dabu [tang]*, to urgently supplement spleen and lungs. Only this is supplementing and increasing. If you use medicine that sweep away wind, follow *qi*, clearing *qi* and transforming phlegm, it only fits to attract wind, and to take it inside. You may not be ignorant about it.⁹⁶³

To sum up, although most parts of Zhao Xianke’s *Yiguan* are devoted to curative medicine, throughout the text, he strongly advances the need for preventive

⁹⁶¹ Cf. the Sage (*shengren*) in SW 2: 1.14a.

⁹⁶² YG 1.17a.

⁹⁶³ YG 2.10a.

healthcare in order to foster the formless fire. This should be done mainly by restricting desires. In silence, movement is not only found, but also nurtured. Also when being ill, Zhao regards moderation to be a far better medicine than merely relying on any of the recipes he discussed in *Yiguan*. Moreover, Zhao condemns those who practice self-cultivation or preventively take supplementing *materia medica* in order to foster their desires. By moderation and remaining silent, thus, by shutting off external stimuli that derange the heart (*xin*) to which the gate of life fire responds, the fire of the gate of life itself can be fostered. Although moderation is the most important means to prevent, and even expel, diseases, Zhao paradoxically states that who respect life the most should “suddenly realise that there is no life” (*dun wu wu sheng*).

Appendix 2: *Materia medica* and recipes

*Materia medica*⁹⁶⁴

pinyin transcription	Chinese characters	pharmaceutical name	English names
<i>bai fuling</i>	白茯苓	Poria	white poria
<i>baizhu</i>	白朮	Atractylodis Macrocephalae Rhizoma	(white) atractylodes rhizome, ovate atractylodes
<i>banxia</i>	半夏	Pinellia Rhizoma	pinellia rhizome
<i>bohe</i>	薄荷	Menthae haplocalycis Herba	mentha, field mint
<i>cangzhu</i>	蒼朮	Atractylodis Rhizoma	atractylodes rhizome
<i>chaihu</i>	柴胡	Bupleuri Radix	bupleurum, thorowax root, hare's ear root
<i>chenpi</i>	陳皮	Citri reticulatae Pericarpium	aged tangerine peel, citrus
<i>cheqianzi</i>	車前子	plantaginis Semen	plantago seeds
<i>congrong</i>	菝葜	Cistanches Herba	cistanche, fleshy stem of the broomrape
<i>dahuang</i>	大黃	Rhei Radix et Rhizoma	rhubarb root and rhizome
<i>danggui</i>	當桂	Angelicae sinensis Radix	tangkuei, Chinese angelica root
<i>daji</i>	大戟	Euphorbiae Radix	euphorbia root
<i>danpi</i>	丹皮	Moutan Cortex	moutan root bark, tree peony root bark
<i>dihuang</i>	地黃	Rehmanniae Radix	rehmannia root, Chinese foxglove root

⁹⁶⁴ The majority of pharmaceutical and English names as found in Bensky, Clavey, and Stöger 2004. Those not found in Bensky, Clavey, and Stöger 2004, in Hu 1980 (indicated with *).

Appendix 2: Materia medica and recipes

<i>pinyin</i> transcription	Chinese characters	pharmaceutical name	English names
<i>duhuo</i>	獨活	Angelicae pubescentis Radix	pubescent angelica root, angelica root, tu-huo
<i>fuling</i>	茯苓	Poria	poria, sclerotium of tuckahoe, China root, hoelen, Indian bread
<i>fushen</i>	伏神	Poriae Sclerotium paradicis	root poria
<i>fuxiong</i>	撫芎	Fuxiong Rhizoma	rhizome fuxiong
<i>fuzi</i>	附子	Aconiti Radix lateralis preparata	aconite accessory root, daughter root of Szechuan aconite
<i>gancao</i>	甘草	Glycyrrhizae Radix	licorice root
<i>gegen</i>	葛根	Puerariaei Radix	kudzu root, pueraria
<i>guangui</i>	官桂	Cinnamomi Cortex	official cinnamon
<i>guizhi</i>	桂枝	Cinnamomi Ramulus	cinnamon twig, cassia twig
<i>houpu</i>	厚朴	Magnoliae officinalis Cortex	magnolia bark
<i>huangbo</i>	黃柏	Phellodendri Cortex	phellodendron bark, Amur cork-tree bark
<i>huanglian</i>	黃連	Coptidis Rhizoma	coptis rhizome
<i>huangqi</i>	黃芪	Astragali Radix	astragalus root, milk- vetch root
<i>huangqin</i>	黃芩	Scutellariae Radix	scutellaria, baical skullcap root, scute
<i>huixiang</i>	茴香	Foeniculi Fructus	fennel
<i>jiang</i>	姜	Rhizoma Zingiberis	ginger
<i>jiangzhi</i>	姜汁	Zingiberis Rhizomatis Succus	ginger juice
<i>maimendong</i>	麥門冬	Ophiopogonis Radix	lily-turf *

<i>pinyin</i> transcription	Chinese characters	pharmaceutical name	English names
<i>mangxiao</i>	芒硝	Natrii Sulfas	mirabilite, glauher's salt
<i>mahuang</i>	麻黃	Ephedrae Herba	ephedra stem, ma- huang
<i>mu danpi</i> (see <i>danpi</i>)	牡丹皮	Cortex Moutan	moutan root bark, tree peony root bark
<i>nanxing</i>	南星	Arisaematis Rhizoma	Jack-in-the-Pulpit
<i>niuxi</i>	牛膝	Achyranthis bidentatae Radix	achyranthes root
<i>qianghuo</i>	羌活	Rhizoma seu Radix Notopterygii	notopterygium root, chiang-huo
<i>qianniuzi</i>	牽牛子	Pharbitidis Semen	morning glory seeds, pharbitis
<i>renshen</i>	人參	Ginseng Radix	ginseng root
<i>rougui</i>	肉桂	Cinnamomi Cortex	cinnamon bark, inner bark of Saigon cinnamon
<i>shanzha</i>	山楂	Crataegi Fructus	crataegus fruit, hawthorn fruit
<i>shanzhuyu rou</i>	山茱萸肉	Corni Fructus	cornus, Asiatic cornelian cherry fruit
<i>shaoyao</i>	芍藥	Paeoniae Radix rubrae	red peony root
<i>shengma</i>	升麻	Cimicifugae Rhizoma	cimicifuga, bugbane rhizome, black cohosh rhizome
<i>shenqu</i>	神曲	Massa medicata fermentata	medicated leaven
<i>shigao</i>	石膏	Gypsum fibrosum	gypsum
<i>shu dihuang</i>	熟地黃	Rehmanniae Radix preparata	cooked rehmannia root, prepared Chinese foxglove root
<i>taoren</i>	桃仁	Persicae Semen	peach kernel, persica

Appendix 2: Materia medica and recipes

pinyin transcription	Chinese characters	pharmaceutical name	English names
<i>tianmendong</i>	天門冬	Asparagi Radix	asparagus tuber
<i>wulingzhi</i>	五靈脂	Tropopterori Faeces	flying squirrel feces, pteropus
<i>wupifeng</i>	五皮風	Acanthopanax Cortex	acanthopanax root bark
<i>wuweizi</i>	五味子	Schisandrae Fructus	schisandra fruit
<i>wu zhuyu</i>	吳茱萸	Evodiae Fructus	evodia fruit
<i>xiangfu</i>	香附	Cyperi Rhizoma	cyperus, nut-grass rhizome
<i>xiangru</i>	香薷	Moslae Herba	mosla, aromatic madder
<i>zexie</i>	澤瀉	Alismatis Rhizoma	alisma rhizome, water plantain
<i>zhimu</i>	知母	Anemarrhenae Rhizoma	anemarrhena rhizome
<i>zhiqiao</i>	枳殼	Aurantii Fructus	bitter orange
<i>zhishi</i>	枳實	Aurantii Fructus immaturus	unripe bitter orange, chih-shih
<i>zhizi</i>	梔子	Gardeniae Fructus	gardenia fruit, Cape Jasmine fruit
<i>zhuli</i>	竹瀝	Bambusae Succus	bamboo sap (dried)

Conversion of Ming dynasty units of weight:

1 jin 斤 = 590g (= 16 liang)
 1 liang 兩 = 36.90g (= 10 qian)
 1 qian 錢 = 3.69g (= 10 fen)
 1 fen 分 = 0.37g

Recipes

<i>pinyin</i> transcription	Chinese characters	English translation
<i>anshen wan</i>	安腎丸	Pacifying Kidneys Pill
<i>baihu tang</i>	白虎湯	White Tiger Decoction
<i>banliu wan</i>	半硫丸	Pinellia and Sulphur Pill
<i>baohe wan</i>	保和丸	Preserving Harmony Pill
<i>bawei dihuang wan</i>	八味地黃丸	Rehmannia Pill with Eight Ingredients
<i>bawei shenqi wan</i>	八味腎氣丸	Kidney Qi Pill with Six Ingredients
<i>bawei tang</i>	八味湯	Decoction with Eight Ingredients
<i>bawei wan</i>	八味丸	Pill with Eight Ingredients
<i>bawu tang</i>	八物湯	Decoction with Eight Substances
<i>buyin wan</i>	補陰丸	Supplementing Yin Pill
<i>buzhong yiqi tang</i>	補中益氣湯	Supplementing the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction
<i>chaihu tang</i>	柴胡湯	Bupleurum Decoction
<i>Cui-shi bawei wan</i>	崔氏八味丸	Mr. Cui's Pill with Eight Ingredients
<i>dihuang wan</i>	地黃丸	Rehmannia Pill
<i>dihuang yinzi</i>	地黃飲子	Rehmannia Beverage
<i>erchen tang</i>	二陳湯	Two Cured Decoction
<i>fei'er wan</i>	肥兒丸	Fatting Child Pill
<i>fuzi lizhong tang</i>	附子理中湯	Regulating the Centre with Aconite
<i>ganying wan</i>	感應丸	Responding after being Aroused Pill
<i>gufang xiaoyao san</i>	古方逍遙散	Old Recipe of Wandering Free Powder
<i>guipei tang</i>	歸脾湯	<u>Returning to the Spleen Decoction</u>
<i>guizhi tang</i>	桂枝湯	Cinnamon Twig Decoction
<i>jiajian bawei wan</i>	加減八味丸	Altered Pill with Eight Ingredients

pinyin transcription	Chinese characters	English translation
<i>jianzhong tang</i>	建中湯	Strengthening the Centre Decoction
<i>jihan wan</i>	己寒丸	Stopping Cold Pill
<i>jinsuo zhengyuan dan</i>	金鎖正元丹	Pellet of the Golden Lock for Rectifying the Primordial
<i>Jingui shenqi wan</i>	金匱腎氣丸	Kidney Spleen Pill of the Golden Casket
<i>Jingui yaolie shenqi wan</i>	金匱要略腎氣丸	Kidney Qi Pill of the <i>Essential Strategy of the Golden Casket</i>
<i>liangge tang</i>	涼膈湯	Cooling Diaphragm Decoction
<i>liu junzi tang jia pao jiang</i>	六君子湯加炮姜	Six Gentleman Decoction Added with Concocted Ginger
<i>jiuwei qianghuo tang</i>	九味羌活湯	Notopterygium Decoction with Nine Ingredients
<i>liuwei dihuang wan</i>	六味地黃丸	Rehmannia Pill with Six Ingredients
<i>liuwei wan</i>	六味丸	Pill with Six Ingredients
<i>kanli wan</i>	坎離丸	<i>Kan</i> [Water] and <i>Li</i> [Fire] Pill
<i>mahuang tang</i>	麻黃湯	Ephedra Decoction
<i>pingwei san</i>	平胃散	Flattening Stomach Powder
<i>qingqi huatan wan</i>	清氣化痰丸	Clearing Qi Transforming Phlegm Pill
<i>runchang wan</i>	潤腸湯	Moistening Bowels Decoction
<i>runzao tang</i>	潤燥湯	Moistening Dryness Decoction
<i>sanhuang jiedu tang</i>	三黃解毒解湯	Three Yellow Resolving Toxin Decoction
<i>shuangjie tang</i>	雙解湯	Dual Resolving Decoction
<i>sanyi shenqi wan</i>	三一腎氣丸	Three in One Kidney Qi Pill
<i>shenfu daji</i>	參附大劑	Great Prescription with Ginseng and Aconite
<i>shengma gegen tang</i>	升麻葛根湯	Cimicifuga and Kudzu Decoction

<i>pinyin</i> transcription	Chinese characters	English translation
<i>shenqi wan</i>	腎氣丸	Kidney Qi Pill
<i>shibu wan</i>	十補丸	Supplementing Pill with Ten [Ingredients]
<i>si junzi tang</i>	四君子湯	Four Governors Decoction
<i>siwu tang</i>	四物湯	Four Substances Pill
<i>taiping wan</i>	太平丸	Great Peace pill
<i>tiaowei chengqi tang</i>	調胃承氣湯	Regulating the Stomach and Holding Qi Decoction
<i>tiaozhong yiqi tang</i>	調中益氣湯	Regulating the Centre and Increasing Qi Decoction
<i>tongyou san</i>	通幽散	Communicating Mystery Powder
<i>wulin san</i>	五苓散	Five Ingredients Powder with Poria
<i>xiangru tang</i>	香薷湯	Decoction of Mosla
<i>xiao chaihu tang</i>	小柴胡湯	Lesser Bupleurum Decoction
<i>xixian san</i>	稀涎散	Diluting Saliva Powder
<i>xiaoyao san</i>	逍遙散	Wandering Free Powder
<i>yueju wan</i>	越鞠丸	Escape Restraint Pill
<i>zhizhu wan</i>	枳朮丸	Bitter Orange and Atractylodes Pill
<i>zhulian wan</i>	茱連丸	Evodia and Coptis Pill
<i>zishen wan</i>	滋腎丸	Nourishing Kidneys Pill
<i>ziyin wan</i>	滋陰丸	Nourishing Yin Pill
<i>zuojin wan</i>	左金丸	Assisting Metal Pill

Reference material

Premodern sources

Bencao gangmu 本草綱目 (Systematic *Materia Medica*, 1596) by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518-1593). in SKQS.

Bencao mengquan 本草蒙筌 (Enlightenment on the *Materia Medica*, 1525) by Chen Jiamo 陳嘉謨 (1486-1570), in *Bencao mingzhu jicheng* 本草名著集成 (Compendium of Famous Works on *Materia Medica*), ed. Zhang Ruixian 张瑞贤, 57-225. Beijing: Huaxia Chubanshe, 1998.

Bencao yanyi 本草衍義 (Expanded Meanings of *Materia Medica*, 1116) by Kou Zongshi 寇宗奭 (11th - 12th C.) in *Zhonghua jingdian yishu* 中华经典医书 (Chinese Classical Medical Texts). vol. 4, ed. by Qian Chaochen 钱超尘, interpunction by Pu Shuntian 朴顺天, 827-907. Beijing Zhongguo yiyao keji chubanshe, 2002.

Biyuan lu 碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Records) by Yuanwu keqin's 圓悟克勤 (1063-1135). T.2003.

Bozhai ji 柏齋集 (Collected Writings of Bozhai) by He Tang 何塘 (1474-1543). in SKQS.

Cangsheng siming 蒼生司命 (Managing Destiny for the Common People, 1515) by Yu Tuan 虞抟 (1438-1517). interpunction and annotation by Wang Daorui 王道瑞 and Shen Haozhen 申好真. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2004.

Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the Collected Writings on the Source of Chan) by Zongmi 宗密 (780-841). T.2015.

Chishui xuanzhu 赤水玄珠 (Dark Pearl in Crimson Water, 1585) by Sun Yikui 孫一奎 (ca. 1522-1619). in SKQS as *Chishui yuanzhu* 赤水元珠 (Primordial Pearl in Crimson Water).

Chongguang buzhu Huangdi neijing suwen 重廣補注黃帝內經素問 (The Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor, Plain Questions, once again broadly supplemented and annotated) commentary by Wang Bing 王冰 (8th C.), Lin Yi 林億, et al. (Song). interpunction by Sun Guozhong 孙国中 and Fang Xianghong 方向红. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2004.

Chu-shi yishu 褚氏遺書 (Mr. Chu's Posthumously Published Writings, Song dynasty?) attributed to Chu Cheng 褚澄 (Southern Qi dynast, 479-502). in SKQS.

CYP YG: *Yiguan* 醫貫 (Medicine Pervaded [by One], 1617?) by Zhao Xianke 趙獻可 (16th - 17th C.). arranged and annotated by Chen Yongping 陈永萍, Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 1996.

Danxi xinfa 丹溪心法 (Heart Method of Danxi, 1481) by Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1281-1358). arranged by Jiang Lingzhen 江凌圳, Wang Ying 王英, and Zhu Jianping 竹剑平. Beijing: Renmin weisheng Chubanshe, 2005.

Daoyang quanshu 道養全書 (Complete Writings on Daoist Cultivation). handwritten manuscript of the Qing dynasty.

DDJ [*Daode jing* 道德經 Classic about the Way and its Virtue]: Laozi 老子 (Master Lao) attributed to Lao Dan 老聃 (Spring and Autumn Period), commentary by Heshang Gong 河上公 (Han). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.

Dongyuan shishu 東垣十書 (Ten Writings by Dongyuan, 1529). in *Zhongguo yixue dacheng xubian* 中国医学大成绩编 (Supplement to Great Collection of Chinese Medicine). vol. 5, ed. Zhongguo yixue dacheng xubian bianweihui 中国医学大成绩编编委会, 1-1059. Changsha: Yuelu shudian.

DZ: *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong Reign, 1644). 60 vols. Taipei: Xin wenfeng chuban gongsi, 1977. Numbering follows Schipper 1975.

Feng-shi jinnang milu zazheng daxiao hecan 馮氏錦囊秘錄雜症大小合參 (Mr. Feng's Secret Recording in a Brocade Bag, Combined Inspection of Minor and Major Various Symptoms, 1694). Feng Zhaozhang 馮兆張 (17th-18th C.). in *Feng Zhaozhang yixue quanshu* 馮兆張醫學全書 (Complete Writings of Feng Zhaozhang). edited by Tian Sisheng 田思勝, 25-582. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1999.

Gezhi yulun 格致餘論 (Additional Essays on Investigating [Things] in order to Attain [Knowledge], 1347). Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 (1281-1358). in SKQS.

GJS YG: *Yiguan* 醫貫 (Medicine Pervaded [by One], 1617?) by Zhao Xianke 趙獻可 (16th - 17th C.). arranged by Guo Junshuang 郭君双. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2005.

Gujin yitong daquan 古今醫統大全 (Great Collection of Medical Tradition, Past and Present, 1556), compiled by Xu Chunfu 徐春甫 (16th C.). 2. vols. eds. Cui Zhongping 崔仲平 and Wang Yaoting 王耀廷, Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1991.

Handan yigao 邯鄲遺稿 (Posthumous Manuscript from Handan) attributed to Zhao Xianke, ed. Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi zongjibu 浙江中醫雜誌編輯部. Hangzhou: Zhejiang keji chubanshe, 1984.

Qian Hanshu 前漢書 (Dynastic History of the Former Han, 92) by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92). in SKQS.

Huainanzi 淮南子 (Master from Huainan) by Liu An 劉安 (180-122 BCE). in *Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng* 中國子學名著集成 (Collection of Famous Writings of Chinese Philosophers). vol. 85. Taipei: Zhongguo zixue mingzhu jicheng bianyin jijinhui, 1978.

Huangdi neijing suwen Wu zhu 黃帝內經素問吳注 (Plain Questions of the Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor, with Commentary by Wu, 1594) by Wu Kun 吳昆 (1551-1620?). interpunction and annotation by Fang Xianghong 方向紅 and Sun Guozhong 孫國中, Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe, 2001.

Huangji jingshi shu 皇極經世書 (Book of the Passing of Ages of the August Ultimate) by Shao Yong 邵雍 (1012-1077). in SKQS.

Hongming ji 弘明集 (Collection for Spreading the Clarity of [Buddhism]) by Sengyou 僧祐 (6th C.). T.2102.

Jiangxue danshu 絳雪丹書 (Vermillion Writing on Crimson Snow, 1647) by Zhao Zhenguan 趙貞觀 (17th). arranged by Wang Yu 王毓. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe. 2002.

Jindan jiuzheng pian 金丹就正篇 (Piece on Correcting [Views] on the Golden Cinnabar) by Lu Xixing (1520-1606). ZWDS 122

Jingui yaolie 金匱要略 (Essential Strategies of the Golden Casket) by Zhang Ji 張機 (150-209). interpunction by Yu Zhixuan 于志賢 and Zhang Zhiji 張智基. Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1997.

Jingui yuhan jing 金匱玉函經 (Classic in the Jade Box of the Golden Casket). by Zhang Ji 張機 (150-209). in *Jingui yuhan jing er zhu* 金匱玉函經二註 (Two Commentaries on the Classic in the Jade Box of the Golden Casket, 1687), supplemented and annotated by Zhao Yide 趙以德 (Qing) Zhou Yangjun 周楊俊 (Qing). Beijing renming weisheng chubanshe, 1990.

Jinsi lu 近思錄 (Reflections on Things at Hand) compiled by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) and Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181). in SKQS.

Jingyue quanshu 景岳全書 (Complete Writings of Jingyue, 1636) by Zhang Jiebin 張介賓 (1563-1640). in SKQS.

Kangxi Yin-xian zhi 康熙鄞縣誌 (Local History of Yin County of the Kangxi Era, 1686). in *Zhongguo difangzhi jicheng* 中國地方志集成 (Collection of Chinese Local Histories). Zhejiang fu-xian zhi ji 浙江府縣志輯 (Collected Local Histories of Counties and Prefectures in Zhejiang). vol. 18. Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe.

Lanshi micang 蘭室秘藏 (Secretly Stored [Text] of the Orchid Chamber, 1251) by Li Gao 李杲 (1180-1251). in SKQS.

Leigong paozhi yaoxing jie 雷公炮制藥性解 (Lei Gong's Explanations on the Preparation and Properties of *Materia Medica*, 1622) by Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1599-1655). in *Li Zhongzi yixue quanshu* 李中梓医学全书 (Collected Writings of Li Zhongzi), ed. Bao Laifa 包来发, 553-638. Beijing: Zhongguo yiyao chubanshe, 1999.

Leijing 類經 (Classic in Categories, 1622), by Zhang Jiebin. 張介賓 (1563-1640) in SKQS.

Leijing tuyi 類經圖翼 (Supplement with Illustrations to the Classic in Categories, 1624) by Zhang Jiebin 張介賓 (1563-1640). in SKQS.

Leijing fuyi 類經附翼 (Supplement to the Classic in Categories, 1624) by Zhang Jiebin. 張介賓 (1563-1640). in SKQS.

Liji zhushu 禮記注疏 (Records of Ritual, with Notes and Commentaries). in SKQS.

LLL YG: Lü Liuliang's 呂留良 (1629-1683) commentary to YG.

LS: *Huangdi neijing lingshu* 黃帝內經靈樞 (Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor, Numinous Pivot). in SKQS.

Da Piluzhe'na chengfo jingshu 大毗盧遮那成 (Commentary on Mahāvairocana Becoming a Buddha) by Yixing 一行 (673-727). T.1796.

Mayi Daozhe zhengyi xinfa 麻衣道者正易心法 (Heart Method of the Orthodox Changes of the Hempclad Daoist) received by Chen Tuan 陳搏 (871-989?), with commentary titled "Xiaoxi 消息" (Waxing and Waning). ZWDS 107.

Mengzi 孟子 (Master Meng). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003.

Mingshi 明史 (Dynastic History of the Ming). in SKQS.

Mingshi gao 明史稿 (Draft of the Dynastic History of the Ming, 1723) edited by 王鴻諸 Wang Hong (1645-1723). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962.

Mingyi zazhu 明醫雜著 (Miscellaneous Writings by Bright Physicians) by Wang Lun 王綸 (15th – 16th C.), with commentary by Xue Ji 薛己 (1487-1559). arranged by Wang Zhenguo 王振国 and 董少萍. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2007.

Nanlei wen'an 南雷文案 (Literary Cases of Nanlei, 1680) by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695). in *Sibu Congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編 (Collectanea of the Four Branches: First Series). Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929 [reprint].

Neijing zhiyao 內經知要 (Knowing the Essentials about the *Inner Classic*, 1642) by Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1599-1655). in *Li Zhongzi yixue quanshu* 李中梓医学全书 (Collected Writings of Li Zhongzi), ed. Bao Laifa 包来发, 65-283. Beijing: Zhongguo yiyao chubanshe, 1999.

Ningbo-fu zhi 寧波府誌 (Local History of Ningbo Prefecture, 1734). revised by Cao Bingren 曹秉仁 in 1742. in *Zhongguo fangzhi congshu* 中國方誌叢書 (Collectanea of Chinese Local Histories). vol.7. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1974.

NJ: *Nanjing* 難經 (Classic of Difficult Issues) attributed to Bian Que 扁鵲 (Han). in Unschuld 1986b.

Piwei lun 脾胃論 (Essays on the Spleen and Stomach, 1249), Li Gao 李杲 (1180-1251). in SKQS.

Piya 埤雅 (Supplement to the Er[ya]). Lu Dian 陸佃 (1042-1102). in SKQS.

Quanzhen jixuan biao 全真集玄秘要 (Secret Principles of the Collected Quanzhen Writings) by Li Daochun's 李道純 (?-1306). DZ 251.

Renzhai zhihi fanglun 仁齋直指方論 (Renzhai's Essays on Direct Instruction on Recipes, 1264), Yang Shiyong 楊士瀛 (13th C.). in *Yang Shiyong yixue quanshu* 楊士瀛医学全书 (Complete Medical Writings of Yang Shiyong). edited by Lin Huiguang 林慧光, 1-374. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2006.

Rumen shi qin 儒門事親 (Confucians Serve their Parents, 1262) by Zhang Congzheng 張從正 (1156-1228). in SKQS.

Shanbu yisheng weilun 刪補頤生微論 (Essays on the Subtleties of Nourishing Life, Revised and Supplemented, 1642). Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1599-1655). in *Li Zhongzi yixue quanshu* 李中梓医学全书 (Collected Writings of Li Zhongzi), ed. Bao Laifa 包来发, 639-754. Beijing: Zhongguo yiyao chubanshe, 1999.

Shanghan liushu 傷寒六書 (Six Writings on Cold Damage, 1445) by Tao Jie'an 陶節庵 (15th C.). interpunction by Huang Qinming 黃瑾明 and Fu Qianqin 傅錫欽. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1990.

Shanghan lun 傷寒論 (Essay on Cold Damage) by Zhang Ji 張機 (150-209). arranged by Qian Chaochen 錢超尘 and Hao Wanshan 郝万山. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2005.

Shangshu zhushu 尚書注疏 (Annotated Edition of the Book of Shang). in SKQS.

Shangyangzi jindan dayao 上揚子金丹大要 (Master Shangyang's Great Essentials of the Golden Cinnabar). Chen Zhixu 陳致虛 (1290-?). DZ 1067.

Reference material

Shengji zonglu 聖濟總錄 (General Records by Sagely Benevolence, 1117) compiled by order of the Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (1082-1135). 2 vols. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1962.

Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 (Explanation of Writing and Analysis of Graphs) by Xu Shen 許慎 (Han) with extra explanation by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (Song). in SKQS.

Shi ji 史記 (Records of the Historian) Sima Quan 司馬遷 (Han). in SKQS.

SKQS: *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書電子版 (Electronic Version of the Wenyuange edition of the Complete Text Collections of the Four Treasuries, 1782). Edited by Yu Zhiming 余志明. Hong Kong: Dizhi wenhua chuban youxian gongsi / Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe. 2005.

Sun-shi yi'an 孫氏醫案 (Medical Records of Mr. Xue, 1573) by Sun Yikui 孫一奎 (ca. 1522-1619). In SKQS.

Sunzi [bingfa] 孫子[兵法] ([Military Strategy of] Master Sun). in SKQS.

Suwen xuanji yuanbing shi 素問玄機原病式 (Method of Tracing Back Diseases according to the Mysterious Mechanism in the Plain Questions, 1152) by Liu Wansu 劉完素 (1110-1209). in SKQS.

SW: *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 (Inner Classic of the Yellow Emperor, Plain Questions). in SKQS. (Cf. *Chongguang buzhu Huangdi neijing suwen*)

T.: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Revised Buddhist Canon Compiled during the Taishō Era). Edited and compiled by Takakusu Jinjirō, Kaigyoku Watanabe, and Gemmyō Ono. 100 vols. Tōkyō: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-1934.

Taiji tushuo 太極圖說 (Explanation of the Diagram of Supreme Ultimate) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073). in *Jinsi lu*.

Taiyi ju zhuke chengwen ge 太醫局諸科程文格 (Composition Models for Various Departments of the Imperial Bureau of Medicine, Song). in SKQS.

Tangye bencao 湯液本草 (Materia Medica of Decoctions and Liquors, 1238) by Wang Haogu 王好古 (1200?-?). in SKQS.

Tongren zhenjiu jing 銅人鍼灸經 (Classic of Acumoxa [loci] on the Bronze Figure, Song dynasty). in SKQS.

Waike shuyao 外科樞要 (Axial Essentials of External Medicine, 1545) by Xue Ji 薛己 (1487-1559). in *Xue Lizhai quanshu* 薛立齋全書 (Complete Writings of Xue Lizhai), edited by Sheng Weizhong 盛維忠, Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1999: 231-297.

WB SW: Wang Bing's 王冰 (8th C.) comments on SW.

Weisheng baojian 衛生寶鑒 (Precious Mirror for the Protection of Life, 1281) by Luo Tianyi's (羅天益, 1220-1290). in *Luo Tianyi yixue quanshu* 罗天益医学全书 (Complete Medical Writings of Luo Tianyi), ed. Xu Jingsheng 许敬生, 1-213. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2006.

Wuli xiaoshi 物理小識 (Small Knowledge on the Principles of Things, 1664) by Fang Yizhi 方以智 (1611-1671). in SKQS.

Xingli daquan shu 性理大全書 (Great Compendium on Inner Nature and Principle, 1415), compiled by Hu Guang 胡廣 (1370-1418). in SKQS.

Xinjing 心經 (Heart Sūtra). T.251.

Xue Gongmin gong zoushu 薛恭敏公奏疏 (Memorials to the Throne by Duke Xue Gongmin), Xue Sanxing 薛三省 (1558-1634). 2 vols. T'ai-pei: Wei-wen t'u-shu ch'u-pan-she, 1977.

Xue-shi yi'an 薛氏醫案 (Medical Case Records of Mr. Xue, 1559). Xue Ji 薛己 (1487-1559). in SKQS.

Xuanfu lun 玄膚論 (Essays on the Surface of Mystery, 1567) by Lu Xixing 陸西星 (1520-1606). ZWDS 121.

Xu mingyi lei'an 續名醫類案 (Additional Classified Cases of Famous Physicians, 1770) by Wei Zhixiu 魏之琇 (1722-1772). in SKQS.

Yibian 醫礪 (Stepping-stones for Medicine, 1751). He Mengyao 何梦瑶 (1693-1764). Annotated by Wu Changguo 吴昌国. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2009.

Yifang kao 醫方考 (Examination of Medical Prescriptions, 1584) by Wu Kun 吳昆 (1551-1620?). in *Wu Kun yixue quanshu* 吴昆医学全书 (Complete Writings of Wu Kun), ed. Guo Junshuang 郭君双, Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1999: 1-171.

Yiguan bian 醫貫砭 (Critique on Yiguan, 1764) by Xu Dachun 虚大椿 (1693-1771). in *Xu Dachun yishu quanji* 虚大椿医书全集 (Complete Collection of Xu Dachun's Medical Writings), ed. Hu Suhua 呼素华, 105-156. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1988.

Yijing suhui ji 醫經溯洄集 (Collection of Tracing Back to the Medical Classics, 1368) by Wang Lü 王履 (1332-?). in SKQS.

Yilei yuanrong 醫壘元戎 (Commander of the Medical Ramparts) by Wang Haogu 王好古 (1200?-?). in SKQS.

Reference material

Yixue rumen 醫學入門 (Introduction to Medical Learning, 1575) by Li Chan 李梴 (16th C.). arranged by Tian Daihua 田代华 et al. Beijing: Beijing renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2006.

Yixue zhengchuan 醫學正傳 (Orthodox Transmission of Medical Learning, 1515) by Yu Tuan 虞搏 (1438-1517). Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe. 1965.

Yizhi xuyu 醫旨緒餘 (Additional Instructions on Medicine, 1573). Sun Yikui 孫一奎 (ca. 1522-1619). in SKQS.

Yizong bidu 醫宗必讀 (Essential Literature on Medical Heritage, 1637) by Li Zhongzi 李中梓 (1599-1655). in *Li Zhongzi yixue quanshu* 李中梓医学全书 (Collected Writings of Li Zhongzi), ed. Bao Laifa 包来发, 65-283. Beijing: Zhongguo yiyao chubanshe, 1999.

YG: *Yiguan* 醫貫 (Principle through Medicine, 1617?) by Zhao Xianke 趙獻可 (16th-17th C.), with commentary by Lü Liuliang (1629-1683). Reprint of Tiangai Lou 天蓋樓 edition (Kangxi, 1662-1722). in *Siku jinhuishu congkan* 四庫禁燬書叢刊 (Collectanea of Books Banned and Destroyed during the Four Treasuries Compilation), ed. Siku jinhuishu congkan bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫禁燬書叢刊編纂委員會. Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1999

YTT YG: *Yiguan* 醫貫 (Medicine Pervaded [by One], 1617?) by Zhao Xianke 趙獻可 (16th-17th C.). annotated by Yan Tingting 晏婷婷. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2009.

Yuanji qiwei 原機啟微 (Opening the Subtleties of the Original Mechanism, 1370) by Ni Weide 倪維德 (14th C.). in *Zhongguo yixue dacheng xubian* 中国医学大成绩编 (Supplement to Great Collection of Chinese Medicine). vol. 8, ed. Zhongguo yixue dacheng xubian bianweihui 中国医学大成绩编编委会, 43-597. Changsha: Yuelu shudian.

Yuzuan Zhuxi quanshu 御纂朱熹全書 (Imperial Edition of Zhu Xi's Complete Writings). in SKQS.

Zangfu biao ben hanre xushi yong yao shi 臟腑標本寒熱虛實用藥式 (Standard of Using *Materia Medica* Related to Interior and Exterior, Cold and Heat, Depletion and Fulness of the Zang- and Fu-Viscera) attributed to Zhang Yuansu 張元素 (1151-1234). Ed. Zheng Hongxin 鄭洪新, 77-88. *Zhang Yuansu yixue quanshu* 張元素醫學全書 (Collective Writings of Zhang Yuansu). Beijing: Zhongguo Zhongyiyao chubanshe, 2006.

Zhengzhi zhunsheng (證治準繩 (Standards for Diagnosis and Treatment, 1604) by Wang Kentang 王肯堂 (1549-1613). in SKQS.

Zhonghe ji 中和集 (Collection on Central Harmony) by Li Daochun 李道純 (?-1306). DZ

249.

Zhouli zhushu 周禮注疏 (Commentated Edition of the Rites of Zhou). in SKQS.

Zhouyi 周易 (*Changes of Zhou*). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.

Zhouyi cantong qi 周易參同契 (Token for the Agreement of the Three According to the *Book of Changes*) attributed to Wei Boyang 魏伯陽, with commentary by Changshengyin Zhenren 長生陰真人. DZ 999.

Zhouyi benyi guage 周易本義卦歌 (Original Meaning of the Changes of Zhou, Songs about Trigrams and Hexagrams) by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). in SKQS.

Zhouyi xiangci, Tuxue bianhuo 周易象辭__圖學辨惑 (Clearing Confusion about the Study of Diagrams) by Huang Zongyan 黃宗炎 (1616-1686). in SKQS.

Zhuangzi 莊子 (Master Zhuang) by Zhuang Zhou 莊周. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002.

Zhujie shanghan lun 注解傷寒論 (Essay on Cold Damage, with Notes and Explanations, 1144), Cheng Wuji 成無己 (1063-1156). in *Shanghan Jingui wenbing mingzhu jicheng* 伤寒金匱温病名著集成 (Compendium of Famous Works on Cold Diseases, the Golden Casket, and Warmth Diseases), ed. Yu Bohai 于伯海. Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1997: 1-97.

Zhuzhen neidan jiyao 諸真內丹集要 (Collected Essentials on Inner Alchemy by Various Authentic [Persons]) by Xuanquanzi 玄全子. DZ 1258.

Zhuzheng bianyi 諸症辨疑 (Clarifying Doubts about Various Symptoms) by Wu Qiu 吳球 (16th C.). in *Haiwai huigui zhongyi guji shanben jicui* 海外回歸中醫古籍善本集粹 (Collection of Fine Editions of Old Chinese Medical Texts that Recuperated from Overseas). vol. 20, ed. Cao Hongxin 曹洪欣. Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 2005.

ZWDS: *Zangwai daoshu* 藏外道書 (Daoist Texts Not Included in the Canon). 36 vols. eds. Hu Daojing 胡道靜, Chen Yaoting 陳耀庭, and Lin Wanqing 林萬清. Chengdu. Baishu shushe. 1992-1994. Numbering as listed in vol. 36.

ZHYD: *Zhonghua yidian* 中華醫典 (Encyclopaedia of Traditional Chinese Medical Works). 4th ed. arranged by Qiu Peiran 裘沛然. Changsha: Hunan dianzi yinxiang chuban gongsi. (CD-Rom)

Modern Sources

Allan, Sarah. 1997. *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

—. 2003. “The Great One, Water, and the Laozi: New Light from Guodian.” *T’oung Pao* 89.4-5: 237-285.

Ames, Roger T. and David L. Hall. 2001. *Focusing the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.

Angle, Stephen C. 2009. *Sagehood: The Contemporary Significance of Neo-Confucian Philosophy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Arrault, Alain. 2000. “Les diagrammes de Shao Yong (1012-1077). Qui les vus ?” *Études chinoises* 19.1-2: 67-114.

—. 2002. *Shao Yong (1012-1077), poète et cosmologue*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut de Hautes Études Chinoises.

Baldrian-Hussein, Farzeen. 2004. “Shangyang zi jindan dayao.” in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. 3 vols., eds. Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, 1179-1181. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Barmé, Geremie R. 2008, *The Forbidden City*. London: Profile Books.

Bates, Ann and Alan Bates. 2007. “Lãn Ông (Lê Hũ’u Trác, 1720-1791) and the Vietnamese Medical Tradition.” *Journal of Medical Biographies* 15.3: 158-164.

Bates, Don, ed. 1995a. *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 1995b. “Scholarly Ways of Knowing: An Introduction.” in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, ed. Don Bates, 1-22. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bates, Roy 2002. *Chinese Dragons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bao Laifa 包来发. 1999. “Li Zhongzi yixue xueshu sixiang yanjiu 李中梓医学学术思想研究 (Research on Scholarly Thought in Li Zhongzi’s Medicine).” in *Li Zhongzi yixue quanshu 李中梓医学全书 (Collected Writings of Li Zhongzi)*, ed. Bao Laifa 包来发, 789-809. Beijing: Zhongguo yiyao chubanshe.

Bensky, Dan and Randall Barolet, comp. and trans. 1990. *Chinese Herbal Medicine: Formulas and Strategies*. Seattle: Eastland Press.

Bensky, Dan, Steven Clavey and Erich Stöger, comp. and trans. 2004. *Chinese Herbal Medicine: Materia Medica*. 3th ed. Seattle: Eastland Press.

Berling, Judith 1980. *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bodde Derk. 1938. *China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as Seen in the Life of Li Ssu (280?-208 B.C.)*. Leiden: Brill.

——, trans. 1965. *Annual customs and festivals in Peking as recorded in the Yen-ching sui-shih-chi by Tun Li-ch'en*. 2nd rev. ed. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

——. 1975. *Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances during the Han Dynasty 206 B.C.-A.D. 220*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bray, Francesca, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métaillé, eds. 2007. *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*. Leiden: Brill.

Bretelle-Establet, Florence. 2010. "Is the Lower Yangzi River Region the Only Seat of Medical Knowledge in Late Imperial China? A Glance at the Far South Region and its Medical Documents." in *Looking at it from Asia: The Processes that Shaped the Sources of History of Science*, ed. Florence Bretelle-Establet, 331-370. Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London and New York: Springer.

Brook, Timothy. 1993. "Rethinking Syncretism: The Unity of the Three Teachings and their Joint Worship in Late-Imperial China." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 21: 3-44.

Bryant, Daniel. 2008. *The Great Creation: Ho Ching-ming (1483-1521) and His World*. Leiden: Brill.

Cao Hongxin 曹洪欣, ed. 2004. *Zhongyi jichu lilun 中医基础理论 (Fundamental Theory of TCM)*. Beijing: Zhonghuo zhongyiyao chubanshe.

Chan, Albert. 2002. *Chinese Books and Documents in the Jesuit Archives in Rome: Descriptive Catalogue: Japonica-Sinica I-IV*. New York: M. E. Sharp.

Chan, Wing-Tsit, trans. and annot. 1967. *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology*. Compiled by Chu His and Lü Tsu-ch'ien. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1967.

——. 1987. *Chu Hsi: Life and Thought*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Chang Chia-feng 張嘉鳳. 1998 "生化之源與立命之門 — 金元明醫學中的「命門」試探 Shenghua zhi yuan yu liming zhi men — Jin Yuan Ming yixue zhong de 'mingmen' shitan (The Gate of Life: The Conceptions of *Ming-men* in Traditional

Chinese Medicine in the Chin, Yuan, and Ming Periods).” *Xinshi xue* 9.3: 1-47.

Chao, Yüan-ling. 2009. *Medicine and Society in Late Imperial China: A Study of Physicians in Suzhou, 1600-1850*. New York: Peter Lang.

Chen, Tongshen. 2007. “On the Position of the Seventy Disciples of Confucius in the Prose History of the Pre-Qin Period.” *Frontiers of Literary Studies in China* 1.1: 1-25.

Chen Yongping 陈永萍. 1995. “Yiguan banben kaolüe 《医贯》版本考略 (Survey of Editions of Yiguan).” *Zhongyi wenxian zazhi* 1995.4: 3-5.

——. 1996. “Qianyan 前言 (Preface)” to *Yiguan 醫貫 (Medicine Pervaded [by One], 1617?)* by Zhao Xianke 趙獻可 (16th - 17th C.). arranged and annotated by Chen Yongping 陈永萍, 1-6. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe.

Cheng, Anne. 1997. *Histoire de la pensée chinoise*. Paris: Seuil.

Chia, Lucille 2003. “Mashaben: Commercial Publishing in Jianyang from the Song to the Ming.” in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, eds. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, 283-328. Cambridge (MA) and London: Harvard University Asia Center.

Chia, Ning. 1999. “Women in China’s Frontier Politics: *Heqin*.” in *Presence and Prensentation: Women in the Chinese Literate Tradition*, ed. Sherry J. Mou, : 39-76. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

Ch’ien, Eward T. 1986. *Chiao Hung and the Restructuring of Neo-Confucianism in the Later Ming*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cullen, Christopher. 1996. *Astronomy and Mathematics in Ancient China: The Zhou bi suan jing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Despeux, Catherine. 1994. *Taoïsme et corps humain: Le Xiuzhen tu*. Paris: Guy Trédaniel.

——. 1997. “Processus et corrélations.” in *La maladie dans la chine médiévale: La toux*, eds. Catherine Despeux and Frédéric Obringer 1997, 27-41. Paris: Éditions L’Harmattan.

——. 2001. “The System of the Five Circulatory Phases and the Six Seasonal Influences (*wuyun liuqi*): A Source of Innovation in Medicine Under the Song (960-1279).” in *Innovation in Chinese medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu, 121-165. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——. 2005. “Visual Representations of the Body in Chinese Medical and Daoist Texts from the Song to the Qing Period (Tenth to Nineteenth Century).” *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 1.1: 10-52.

—. 2007. “The Body Revealed: The Contribution of Forensic Medicine to Knowledge and Representation of the Skeleton in China.” in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*. eds. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métaillé, 636-684. Leiden: Brill.

Despeux, Catherine and Frédéric Obringer, eds. 1997. *La maladie dans la chine médiévale: La toux*. Paris: Éditions L’Harmattan.

De Visser, M. W. 1913. *The Dragon in China and Japan*. Weisbaden: Dr. Martin Sandig.

DeWoskin, Kenneth J. 1982. *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies.

Dien, Albert E. 2007. “Lighting in the Six Dynasties Period: 造燭求明 ‘To Make Light to Seek Clarity.’” *Early Medieval China* 13-14.1: 1-32.

Diény, Jean-Pierre. 1987. *Le symbolisme du dragon dans la Chine antique*. Paris: Collège de France. Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.

Engelfriet, Peter M. 1998. *Euclid in China: The Genesis of First Translation of Euclid’s Elements in 1607 and its Reception up to 1723*. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.

—. 2000. “Linked Faiths, Divergent Paths? Some Remarks on Taoism and Medicine in Late Ming and Early Qing China.” in *Linked Faiths. Essays on Chinese Religions and Traditional Culture in Honour of Kristofer Schipper*, eds. Jan De Meyer and Peter Engelfriet, 248-268. Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill.

Fang Chunyang 方春阳. 2005. “Zhu Danxi de ruxue dizi yu fei yi zhuzuo 朱丹溪的儒学弟子与非医著作 (Zhu Danxi’s Confucian Disciples and Non-medical Writings).” *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi* 40.3: 128-130.

Farquhar, Judith. 1996. “‘Medicine and the Changes Are One’: An Essay on Divination Healing with Commentary.” *Chinese Science* 13: 107-134.

Fisher, Tom. 1984. “Loyalist Alternatives in the Early Qing.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44.1: 83-122.

Foulk, Griffith T. 2007. “The Spread of Chan (Zen) Buddhism.” in *The Spread of Buddhism*, eds. Ann Heirman and Stefan Peter Bumbacher, 433-456. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Fu, Zhengyuan. 1996. *China’s Legalists: The Earliest Totalitarians and Their Art of Ruling*. Armonk and London: M.E. Sharpe.

Fung, Yu-lan. 1953. *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2: The Period of Classical

Learning. Translated by Derk Bodde. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Furth, Charlotte. 1999. *A Flourishing Yin. Gender in China's Medical History, 960-1665*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

—. 2006. "The Physician as Philosopher of the Way: Zhu Zhenheng (1282-1358)." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 66.2: 423-459.

Gai Jianming 盖建民. 2001. *Daojiao yixue 道教医学 (Daoist Medicine)*. Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe.

Gao Feng 高丰 and Sun Jianjun 孙建君. 1997. *Zhongguo dengju jianshi 中国灯具简史 (A Concise History of Chinese Lighting)*. Beijing: Beijing gongyi meishu chubanshe.

Goldschmidt, Asaf. 2001. "Changing Standards: Tracing Changes in Acumoxa Therapy During the Transition from the Tang to the Song Dynasties." *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 18: 75-111.

—. 2005. "The Song Discontinuity: Rapid Innovation in Northern Song Dynasty Medicine." *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 1.1: 53-90.

—. 2009. *The Evolution of Chinese Medicine: Song Dynasty*. London and New York: Routledge.

Goodrich, L. Carrington. 1943. "Lü Liu-liang." in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing*, ed. Arthur W. Hummel. vol. 1. 551-552. Washington: Government Printing Office.

GR: 2001. *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise*. 7 vols. Instituts Ricci (Paris – Taipei). Paris: Desclée de Brouwer.

Graham, A.C. 1986. *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*. Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies.

Grant, Joanna. 2003. *A Chinese Physician. Wang Ji and the 'Stone Mountain Medical Case Histories*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Gregory, Peter N. 1995. *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity: An Annotated Translation of Tsung-mi's Yüan jen lun with a Modern Commentary*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Gu Ruisheng 顾瑞生. 1982. "Zhui gu lun jin hua yuzheng: Zhao Yangkui yulun de tantao 追古论今话郁证——赵献可郁论的探讨 (Tracing the Ancients to Explain Contemporary Explanations on Depression Patterns: An Investigation of Zhao Yankui's Theory on Depression)." *Shanghai zhongyiyao zazhi* 1982.12: 28-30.

—. 2005a. "Daodu 导读 (Guidance)." *Yiguan 医贯 (Medicine Pervaded [by One])*, 1-5.

Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe.

—-. 2005b. “Zhengli shuoming 整理说明 (Explanations of the Arranger).” *Yiguan 医贯* (Medicine Pervaded [by One]), 7-8. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe.

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

Hammond, Charles E. 1994. “The Interpretation of Thunder.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 53.2: 487-503.

Hanson, Marta E. 2006. “Northern Purgatives, Southern Restoratives: Ming Medical Regionalism.” *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 2.2: 115-170.

Harper, Donald. 1999. *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Manuscripts*. New York: Columbia University Press.

He Shaochu 何少初, ed. 1998. *Gudai mingyi jie Zhouyi 古代名医解周易* (Explanations of the *Changes of Zhou* by Famous Physicians of Ancient Times). 2nd and rev. ed. Beijing: Zhongguo yiyao keji chubanshe.

Henderson, John B. 1984. *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hinrichs, TJ. 1998. “New Geographies of Chinese Medicine.” *Osiris* 13: 287-325.

—-. 2007. “Governance Through Medical Texts and Role of Print.” in *Knowledge and Text Production in an Age of Print: China, 900-1400*, eds. Lucille Chan and Hilde de Weerd, 217-238. Leiden: Brill.

Hu, Shiu-ying. 1980. *An Enumeration of Chinese Materia Medica*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press.

Huang, Chin-shing. 1995. *Philosophy, Philology, and Politics in Eighteenth Century China: Li Fu and the Lu-Wang School under the Ch'ing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huang, Chun-chieh and Erik Zürcher, eds. 1995. *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*. Leiden, New York and London: E.J. Brill.

Huard, Pierre and M. Durand. 1956. “Un traité de médecine sino-vietnamienne du XVIIIe siècle: La compréhension intuitive des recettes médicales de Hai-Thuong.” *Revue d'histoire des sciences et de leurs applications* 9.2: 126-149.

Hucker, Charles O. 1985. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hsu, Elisabeth. 1999. *The Transmission of Chinese Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2000. “Zangxiang in the Canon of Categories and Tendencies towards a Body-Centred Traditional Chinese Medicine.” *Ziran kexueshi yanjiu* 19.2: 165-187.

—. 2001, ed. *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

—. 2007a. “La médecine chinoise traditionnelle en République populaire de Chine: d’une ‘tradition inventée à une ‘modernité alternative.’” in *La pensée en Chine aujourd’hui*, ed. Anne Cheng, 214-238. Paris: Gallimard.

—. 2007b. “The Biological in the Cultural: the Five Agents and the Body Ecologic in Chinese Medicine.” in *Holistic Anthropology: Emergences and Divergences*, eds. David Parkin and Stanley Ulijaszek, 91-126. Oxford: Berghahn.

—. 2008. “The Experience of Wind in Early and Medieval Chinese Medicine.” in *Wind, Life, Health*, eds. Elisabeth Hsu and Chris Low, 111-127. Malden: Blackwell. (First published as special issue of *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* vol. 13, April 2007)

—. 2009. “Diverse Biologies and Experiential Continuities: Did the Ancient Chinese Know That Qinghao Had Anti-Malarial Properties?” in *Medicine and the Soul of Science: Essays by and in Memory of Don Bates*. ed. Faith Wallis. *Special Issue. Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 26.1: 203-213.

HYDCD: Hanyu dacidian bianji weiyuanhui 汉语大词典编辑委员会 and Hanyu dacidian bianzuan chu 汉语大词典编纂处, eds. 1986. *Hanyu dacidian* 汉语大词典 (Great Dictionary of the Chinese Language). Shanghai: Shanghai zishu chubanshe.

Iganaki, Hisao, ed. 1991. *A Glossary of Zen Terms*. Kyōto: Nagata Bunshodo.

Jiang Chunhua 姜春华. 1962. “Mingdai mingmen xueshuo yu Song ru taiji tushuo 明代命門學說与宋儒太极图說 (The Doctrine of the Gate of Life during the Ming Dynasty and the Song Confucian Explanation of the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate.” *Shanghai zhongyiyao zazhi* 1962.12: 24-29.

Jiang Chunhua 姜春华. 1979. “Zhao Yangkui de xueshu sixiang 赵养葵的学术思想 (Zhao Yangkui’s Theoretical Thinking).” *Zhejiang zhongyiyao* 1979.2: 35-37.

Jiang Huizhu 江慧珠. 2005. “Zhao Xianke mingmen xueshuo de xueshu chengji jiqi yingyong jiazhi tantao 赵献可命门学说的学术成就及其应用价值探讨 (An Investigation on the Theoretical Accomplishments of Zhao Xianke’s Doctrine of the Gate of Life, and its Application Value).” MA thesis, Chengdu zhongyiyao daxue.

Karlgren, Bernard. 1974. *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*. Anastatic

reprint of 1923. New York: Dover.

Keyworth, George A. 2011. "Yixing." in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, eds. Charles D. Orzech, Hendrik H. Sørensen and Richard K. Payne, 342-344. Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Klein, Heinz. 1986. *Die Esoterik der Medizinphilosophie Chinas*. Göttingen: Burgdorf.

Knaul, Livia. 1981. *Leben und Legende des Ch'en T'uan*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Knoblock, John. 1988. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. Volume 1: Books 1 - 6. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Knoblock, John and Jeffrey Riegel. 2000. *The Annals of Lü Buwei: A Complete Translation and Study*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kohn, Livia. 1989. "Taoist Insight Meditation: The Tang Practice of *Neiguan*." in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, ed. Livia Kohn, 193-224. Ann Arbor: The Center for Chinese Studies. University of Michigan.

———. 1990a. "Introduction: The Life of Chen Tuan after the *History of the Song*." *Taoist Resources* 2.1: 1-7.

———. 1990a. "Chen Tuan in History and Legend." *Taoist Resources* 2.1: 8-31.

———. 2001. *Chen Tuan: Discussions and Translations*. Three Pines Press. (e-book)

Kuriyama, Shigehisa. 1999. "Visual Knowledge in Classical Chinese Medicine." in *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*, ed. Don Bates, 205-234. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2002. *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*. New York: Zone Books.

Langlois, John D. Jr. and K'o-k'uan. 1983. "Three Teachings Syncretism and the Thought of Ming T'ai-tsu." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 43.1: 97-139.

Le Chengyao 耀乐承. 1995. *Ningbo gudai shigang* 宁波古代史纲 (Historical Outline of Ningbo in Ancient times). Ningbo: Ningbo chubanshe.

Legge, James. 1971. *Confucius: Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean, Translated with Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, Copious Indices, and Dictionary of All Characters*. Republication of 1983 2nd rev. ed. New York: Dover.

Leung. 2003a. "Medical Learning from the Song to the Ming." in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, eds. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, 374-398.

Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center.

—. 2003b. “Medical Instruction and Popularization in Ming-Qing China.” *Late Imperial China* 24.1: 130-152.

Lewis, Mark Edward. 2006. *The Flood Myths of Early China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Li Jianmin 李建民. 2007. *Faxian gu mai: Zhongguo gudian yixue yu shushu shentiguan* 发现古脉: 中国古典医学与数术身体观 (The Discovery of the Ancient Conduits: Chinese Classical Medicine and Concepts on the Body in the Numbers and Techniques Tradition). Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe.

Li Jingwei 李经纬 and Lin Zhaogeng 林昭庚, eds. 1999. *Zhongguo yixue tongshi* 中国医学通史 (General History of Medicine in China). Beijing: Renmin weishen chubanshe.

Li Rui 李瑞 and Lu Zhaolin 鲁兆麟. 2003. “Liuwei dihuang wan fangzheng ji bingyin bingji kaoshi 六味地黄丸方证及病因病机考释 (Explanation of the Recipe of Liuwei Dihuang Wan, in Relation to Aetiology and Pathology).” *Zhongyiyao xuekan* 21.3: 438-441.

Li Yuanguo 李远国. 1984. “Zhengyi xinfa kaobian «正易心法»考辨 (An Analysis of the Heart Method of the Orthodox Changes).” *Shehui kexue yanjiu* 1984.6: 67-71.

Li, Yuanguo. 1990. “Chen Tuan’s Concepts of the Great Ultimate.” *Taoist Resources* 2.1: 32-53.

Li ZYDCD: Li Jingwei 李经纬 et al., eds. 2004. *Zhongyi dacidian* 中医大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Chinese Medicine). 2nd ed. Beijing: Renming weisheng chubanshe.

Liao Yuqun 廖育群. 2006. *Yi zhe yi ye: Renshi zhongyi* 医者意也: 认识中医 (Medicine is Intention: Knowing Chinese Medicine). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe.

Liao Yuqun 廖育群, Fu Fang, 傅芳 and Zheng Jinsheng 郑金生. 1998. *Zhongguo kexue jishu shi: yixue juan* 中国科学技术史: 医学卷 (History of Science and Technology in China: Medicine). Beijing: Kexue chubanshe.

Liscomb, Kathlyn Maureen. 1993. *Learning from Mount Hua: A Chinese Physician’s Illustrated Travel Record and Painting Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liu Baohe 刘保和. 2002. “Zhao Xianke yu ‘yuanshen’ lun 赵献可与‘元神’论 (Zhao Xianke and the Theory on the ‘Primordial Spirit’).” *Hebei zhongyiyao xuebao* 17.1: 8-11.

Liu Shijue 刘时觉, ed. 2005. *Song Yuan Ming Qing yiji nianbiao* 宋元明清医籍年表 (Timetable of Medical Works of the Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties). Beijing: Renming weisheng chubanshe.

- Liu, Ts'un-yan. 1970. "Taoist Self-cultivation in Ming Thought." in *Self and Society in Ming Thought*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary, 291-330. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Liu Xiaobing 刘小兵. 2000. "Zhongyi guji banben de leixing 中医古籍版本的类型 (Types of Editions of Old Chinese Medical Texts)." in *Zhongyi guji banben xue 中医古籍版本学 (Study on Editions of Old Chinese Medical Texts)*, eds. Ji wenhui 吉文辉 and Wang Damei 王大妹, 23-63. Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe.
- Lo, Vivienne. 2007. "Imagining Practice: Sense and Sensuality in Early Chinese Medical Illustration." in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, eds. Francesca Bray, Vera Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, and Georges Métaillé, 383-424. Leiden: Brill.
- Loewe, Michael. 2000. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods, 221 B.C. - A.D. 24*. Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill.
- Lorge, Peter Allan. 2003. *War, Politics and Society in Early Modern China 900-1795*. London: Routledge.
- Louis, François. 2003. "The Genesis of an Icon: The Taiji Diagram's Early History." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63: 145-196.
- Lu, Gwei-Djen and Joseph Needham. 1980. *Celestial Lancets: A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa*. Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press.
- Lü Pintian 吕品田 and Xu Wen 徐雯, eds. 2002. *Minjian dengcai 民间灯彩 (Folk Lanterns)*. Wuhan: Hubei meishu chubanshe.
- Lu Wenbin 陆文彬. 1985. "Lü Liuliang xueshu jingyan chutan 吕留良学术经验初探 (Preliminary Investigation on Lü Liuliang's Theories and Experiences)". *Liaoning zhongyi zazhi* 9.3: 45-46.
- Ma Boying 马伯英. 1994. *Zhongguo yixue wenhua shi 中国医学文化史 (A History of Medicine in Chinese Culture)*. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe.
- Ma Yufang 马玉芳. 2002. "Zhi sheng zhe yuan sheng: Zhao Xianke Yiguan lilun tanxi 治生者原生——赵献可《医贯》理论探析 (Treating Life is Tracing Back the Origins of Life: An Analysis of Zhao Xianke's Theory in Yiguan)." *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi* 37.10: 415-416.
- Ma Wenquan 马文全. 2003. "Jingui shenqi wan yili ji yanbian 《金匱》肾气丸义理及衍变 (Principles and Development of the Shenqi wan of the Jingui [yaolüe])." *Henan zhongyi* 2003.9: 1-2.

- Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠. 1991. "Ikan kaidai" 医貫解題 (Synopsis of Yiguan). in *Wakoku kanshū isho shusei* 和刻漢籍醫書集成 (Collection of Japanese Editions of Chinese Medical Texts). vol. 14, 1-6. Tōkyō: Entapuraizu. (<http://mayanagi.hum.ibaraki.ac.jp/paper01/ikan.html>, last accessed 20.8.2012)
- Michael, Thomas. 2005. *The Pristine Dao: Metaphysics in Early Daoist Discourse*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Miller, James. 2008. *The Way of Highest Clarity: Nature, Vision and Revelation in Medieval China*. Magdalena: Three Pines Press.
- Mote, F. W. 1999. *Imperial China 900-1800*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.
- Nappi, Carla. 2009. *The Monkey and the Inkpot: Natural History and its Transformations in Early Modern China*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Needham, Joseph. 1959. *Science and Civilisation in China*. vol. 3 (Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heaven and the Earth). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1962. *Science and Civilisation in China*. vol. 4.1 (Physics and Physical Technology). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nielsen, Bent. 2003. *A Companion to Yi Jing Numerology and Cosmology: Chinese Studies of Image and Numbers from Han 漢 (202 BCE - 220 CE) to Song 宋 (960 -1279 CE)*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Obringer, Frédéric. 1997. *L'aconit et l'orpiment: Drogues et poisons en Chine ancienne et médiévale*. Paris: Fayard.
- O'Neil, William Matthew. 1975. *Time and Calendars*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Pearce, Scott. 2001. "Form and Matter: Archaizing Reform in Sixth-Century China." in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200-600*. eds. Scott Pearce, Audrey Spiro, and Patricia Ebrey, 149-178. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center.
- Peterson, Willard J. 1979. *Bitter Gourd: Fang I-chih and the Impetus for Intellectual Change*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Porter, Deborah Lynn. 1996. *From Deluge to Discourse: Myth, History, and the Generation of Chinese Fiction*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Pregadio, Fabrizio. 2008a. "Dantian." in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*. vol. 1, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, 302-303. London and New York: Routledge.

—. 2008b. “Xiantian and Houtian.” in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*. vol. 2, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, 1094-1095. London and New York: Routledge.

—. 2008c. “Zhouyi cantong qi.” in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*. vol. 2, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio, 1289-1292. London and New York: Routledge.

Pregadio, Fabrizio and Lowell Skar. 2000. “Inner Alchemy (*neidan*).” in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Liva Kohn. 464-497. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.

Puett, Michael J. 2002. *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center.

Qing Qitai 卿希泰 and Zhan Shicuang 詹石窗. 1988. “Xinfa yu Yi xue 心法与《易》学” (The Method of the Heart and The Study of the Changes). *Zhexue yanjiu* 1988.11: 46-52.

Rall, Jutta. 1970. *Die Vier Grossen Medizinschulen Der Mongolenzeit: Stand und Entwicklung der Chinesische Medizin in der Chin- und Yüan-zeit*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Reiter, Florian C. 2007. “The Management of Nature: Convictions and Means in Daoist Thunder Magic (*Daojiao leifa*).” in *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism: A Berlin Symposium*, ed. Florian C. Reiter, 183-200. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Robinet, Isabelle. 1989. “Original Contributions of *Neidan* to Taoism and Chinese Thought.” in *Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques*, ed. Livia Kohn, 297-330. Ann Arbor: The Center for Chinese Studies. University of Michigan.

—. 1990. “The Place and Meaning of the Notion of Taiji in Taoist Sources Prior to the Ming Dynasty.” *History of Religions* 29.4: 373-411.

—. 1995 [1979]. *Méditation Taoïste*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel.

—. 2008a. “*Ti* and *yong*.” in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*. vol. 2, ed. Fabrizio Pegadio, 973-974. London and New York: Routledge.

—. 2008b. “*Xing* and *ming*.” in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*. vol. 2, ed. Fabrizio Pegadio, 1103-1105. London and New York: Routledge.

Scheid, Volker. 2002. *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

—. 2004. “Restructuring the Field of Chinese Medicine: A Study of the Menghe and Ding Scholarly Currents, 1600-2000.” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 22: 10-68.

- . 2007. *Currents of Tradition in Chinese Medicine: 1626-2006*. Seattle: Eastland.
- . Forthcoming. “Depression, Constraint and the Liver: (Dis)Assembling the Treatment of Emotion-Related Disorders in Chinese Medicine.”
- Scheid, Volker and Hugh MacPherson, eds. 2012. *Integrating East Asian Medicine into Contemporary Healthcare*. Edinburgh, New York: Churchill Livingstone Elsevier.
- Schipper, K. M. 1975. *Concordance du Tao Tsang: Titres des ouvrages*. Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient.
- Sharf, Robert H. 2007. “How to Think with Chang Gong’an.” In *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, eds. Charlotte Furth, Judith T. Zeitlin, and Ping-chen Hsiung, 205-243. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.
- Sheng Xiesun 盛燮荪 and Lu Wenbin 陆文彬. 1981. “试论《医贯》与《医贯砭》 Shilun Yiguan yu Yiguan bian (Discussing Yiguan and Yiguan bian).” *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi* 1981.4: 184-187.
- Sivin, Nathan. 1978. “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: 303-330.
- . 1995. “State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55.1: 5-37.
- Smith, Kidder, Jr. 1990a. “The *I Ching* Prior to Sung.” in *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, eds. Kidder Smith, Jr. et. al., 7-25. Princeton: Princeton University.
- . 1990b. “Sung Literati Thought and the *I Ching*.” in *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, eds. Kidder Smith, Jr. et. al., 206-235. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Smith, Kidder, Jr. et al., eds. 1990. *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*. Princeton: Princeton University.
- Strickmann, Michel. 2002. *Chinese Magical Medicine*. ed. Bernard Faure. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Struve, Lynn A. 1998. *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619-1683: A Historiography and Source Guide*, Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies.
- Sun Guangren 孙广仁, ed. 2002. *Zhongyi jichu lilun 中医基础理论 (Fundamental Theory of TCM)*. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe.
- Tan Qixiang 谭其骧, ed. 1982. *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji 中国历史地图集 (Collection of Historical Maps of China)*. vol. 7: Yuan and Ming Periods. Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe.

- Taylor, Kim. 2005. *Chinese Medicine in Early Communist China: A Medicine of Revolution*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Taylor, Romeyn. 1983. "An Imperial Endorsement of Syncretism: Ming T'ai-tsu's Essay on the Three Teachings, Translation and Commentary." *Ming Studies* 16: 31-38.
- Tessenow, Herman and Paul U. Unschuld. 2008. *A Dictionary of the Huang Di nei jing su wen*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Thompson, Michele C. 2006. "Lǎn Ông." in *Dictionary of Medical Biographies*, eds. William F. Bynum and Helen Bynum. Westport: Greenwood.
- Thorbjarnarson, John B. and Xiaoming Wang. 2010. *The Chinese Alligator: Ecology, Behaviour, Conservation, and Culture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Tu Kuixian 屠揆先 and Wang Jingyi 王静仪. 1985. "Nüke zhuanzhu Handan yigao cuping 女科专著《邯郸遗稿》粗评 (A Rough Discussion on the Specialised Text on Women Disorders Handan Yigao)." *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi* 1985.9: 469.
- Unschuld, Paul U. 1985. *Medicine in China. A History of Ideas*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California press.
- . 1986a. *Medicine in China. A History of Pharmaceuticals*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California press.
- , trans. and annot. 1986b. *Nan-ching: The Classic of Difficult Issues: With commentaries by Chinese and Japanese Authors from the Third through the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California press.
- , trans. and annot. 1998. *Forgotten Traditions of Ancient Chinese Medicine: A Chinese View From the Eighteenth Century: The I-hsüeh Yüan Liu Lun of 1757 by Hsü Ta-ch'un*. Brookline: Paradigm Publications.
- . 2003. *Huang Di nei jing su wen. Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.
- Unschuld, Paul U. and Herman Tessenow, in collaboration with Zheng Jinsheng. 2011. *Huang Di nei jing su wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic — Basic Questions*. 2 vols. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Vercammen, Dan K.J. 2000. "The Way of Qi." in *The Way of Qi*, ed. Dan K.J. Vercammen, 6-14. Antwerpen: Taoist Studies Centre TASC.
- . 2008. *Guanyu "xian ming hou xing" jige wenti de lunshu 關於《先命後性》幾個問題的論述 (Some Considerations on "First Ming and "Then Xing")*. Antwerpen: China

Arts.

—. 2000. “Modernity Contra Tradition? Taijiquan’s Struggle for Survival: A Chinese Case Study.” in *When God Comes to Town: Religious Traditions in Urban Contexts*, ed. Rik Pinxten and Lisa Dikomitis, 114-144. New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Volkmar, Barbara. 2007. *Die Fallgeschichten des Artzen Wan Quan (1500-1585?): Medizinisches Denken und Handeln in de Ming-Zeit*. München and Jena: Elsevier, Urban and Fischer.

Wang, Aihe. 2000. *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wang Guang 王光. 2003. *Shenshan Yiwulü 神山医巫闾 (Sacred Mountain Yiwulü)*. Beijing: Xueyuan chubanshe.

Wang Yongzhen 王永贞, Hu Ying 胡英, and Zhang Liying 张利英. 2006. “Lüelun yixue de fuyang yiyang sixiang jiqi dui zhongyixue de yingxiang 略论易学的扶阳抑阴思想及其对中医学的影响 (On the Ideas of Promoting Yang and Surpressing Yin in the study of the Changes and their Influence on Study of Chinese Medicine).” *Guangming zhongyi* 21.2: 12-13.

Wang Yu 王毓. 1987. “Yiguan de zuozhe shi shei 《医贯》的作者是谁 (Who was the Author of Yiguan?).” *Henan zhongyi* 7.2: 27.

—. 2002. “Xuyan 序言” (Preface) to *Jiangxue danshu 絳雪丹書 (Vermillion Writing on Crimson Snow, 1647)* by Zhao Zhenguan 趙貞觀 (17th). arranged by Wang Yu 王毓, n.p. Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe

Wiseman, Nigel, with Ken Boss, trans. and comp. 1990. *Glossary of Chinese Medical Terms and Acupuncture Points*. Brookline: Paradigm Publications.

Wiseman, Nigel and Feng Ye. 1998. *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine*. Brookline: Paradigm Publications.

Wu Qinan 吴启南. 1993. “Liuwei dihuang wan (tang) yaoshi 六味地黄丸 (汤) 药史 (The Pharmaceutical History of Liuwei dihuang wan (and tang).” *Jicheng zhongyao zazhi* 7.3: 45-47.

Wu, Yi-Li. 2010. *Reproducing Women: Medicine, Metaphor, and Childbirth in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.

Wu, Yiyi. 1993-94. “A Medical Line of Many Masters: A Prosopographical Study of Liu Wansu and His Disciples from the Jin to the Early Ming.” in *Chinese Science* 11: 36-65.

Wyatt, Don J. 1990. “Shao Yung and the Number.” in *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*,

ed. Kidder Smith, Jr. et al., 100-134, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

—. 1996. *The Recluse of Loyang: Shao Yung and the Moral Evolution of Early Sung Thought*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Xiao Hanming 萧汉明. 2003. *Yixue yu zhongguo chuantong yixue* 易学与中国传统医学 (The Study of the Changes and Traditional Medicine in China). Beijing: Zhongguo shudian.

Xie ZYDCD: Xie Guan 谢观, ed. 2004. *Zhongyi da cidian* 中医大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Chinese Medicine). Reprint of 1921. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan.

Xu Guangxing 徐光星. 1995. "Gao Gufeng 高鼓峰." in *Zhejiang mingyi zhenliao tese* 浙江名医诊疗特色 (Characteristics of Diagnostics and Treatment of Famous Physicians in Zhejiang Province), ed. Fan Yongsheng 范永昇, 137-146. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe.

Xu Qi 琐祺, ed. 1989. *Chongshang wenbu de Zhao Xianke* 崇尚温补的赵献可 (Honouring the Supplementing with Warmth [Physician] Zhao Xianke). Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe.

Yang Li 杨力. 2003. *Zhouyi yu zhongyixue* 周易与中医学 (*Changes of Zhou and the Study of Chinese Medicine*). 3th rev. ed. Beijing: Beijing kexue jishu chubanshe.

Yang Xiaoming 杨小明. 2002. "Huang Zongxi yu yixue 黄宗羲与医学 (Huang Zongxi and Medicine)." *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 32.4: 223-225.

Zeitlin, Judith T. 2007. "The Literary Fashioning of Medical Authority: A Study of Sun Yikui's Case Histories." In *Thinking with Cases: Specialist Knowledge in Chinese Cultural History*, eds. Charlotte Furth, Judith T. Zeitlin, and Ping-chen Hsiung, 169-202. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Zhang, Yanhua. 2007. *Transforming Emotions with Chinese Medicine: An Ethnographic Account from Contemporary China*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Zhang Aiqing 张爱青, Guo Hui 郭晖, and Chen Haifeng 陈海凤. 2003. "Lüeshu Zhao Xianke dui *Neijing* wuyu de fahui 略述赵献可对《内经》五郁的发挥 (A Short Analysis of Zhao Xianke's Development of the Five Depressions in the *Inner Classic*)." *Guangming zhongyi* 18.106: 4.

Zhang Qicheng 张其成. 1999. *Yixue yu zhongyi* 易学与中医 (The Study of the Changes and Chinese Medicine). Beijing: Zhonghua shudian.

Zhang Zhaoding 张兆鼎. 1981. "Zhao Xianke *Handan yigao* juyao 赵献可《邯郸遗稿》举要 (Highlighting the Essentials of Zhao Xianke *Handan yigao*)." *Zhejiang zhongyi zazhi* 1981.11: 492-493.

ZHDJDCD: Hu Fuchen 胡孚琛, ed. 1995. *Zhonghua daojiao dacidian* 中华道教大辞典 (Great Dictionary on Chinese Daoism). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe.

Zheng Xiaowei 郑小伟. 1995. "Zhao Xianke 赵献可." in *Zhejiang mingyi zhenliao tese* 浙江名医诊疗特色 (Characteristics of Diagnostics and Treatment of Famous Physicians in Zhejiang Province), ed. Fan Yongsheng 范永昇, 130-136. Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe.

Zhongguo kexue jishu xiehui xuehui xueshubu 中国科学协会学会学术部, ed. 2007. *Zhongyiyao de kexue yanjiu* 中医药的科学研究 (Scientific Research of Chinese Medicine and Pharmaceutics). Beijing: Zhongguo kexue jishu chubanshe.

Zhou Desheng 周德生. 1992. "Gao Gufeng zhi xueshu sixiang 高鼓峰之学术思想 (Scholarly Thinking of Gao Gufeng)." *Jiangsu zhongyi* 1992.1: 26-27.

Zhu Deming 朱德明. 1999. *Zhejiang yiyao shi* 浙江医药史 (History of Medicine and Pharmaceutics in Zhejiang Province). Beijing: Renmin junyi chubanshe.

ZYTSM: Xue Qinglu 薛清录, ed. 1991. *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* 全国中医图书联合目录 (Combined Library Catalogue of Chinese Medicine in the Whole Country). Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe.

ZYWXCD: Yu Ying'ao 余瀛鳌 and Li Jingwei 李经纬, eds. 2000, *Zhongyi wenxian cidian* 中医文献词典 (Dictionary of Chinese Medical Literature). Beijing: Beijing kexue jishu chubanshe.

