CURING THE INCURABLE

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> "Eros . . . dissolver of flesh, who overcomes the reason
> and purpose in the breasts of all gods and men."
> – Hesiod, *Theogony**

Introduction

It was not only their wealth and privilege that distinguished the elite from commoners during late Spring and Autumn and Warring States times. Their overindulgence in the luxuries and sensual pleasures that wealth and privilege bring meant that they contracted illness in ways that commoners did not. The excesses of the elite of pre-Han dynasty times are described in numerous ancient sources that are, admittedly, not free of polemical bias. Texts such as *The Annals of Lü Buwei* registered shock at the debauched practices of the elite, recommended the simple and safe lives of the poor and humble, and warned the wealthy to adopt a regimen of moderation in order to restore a healthy balance to their lives and thus prevent the onslaught of illnesses that sap one's strength and shorten one's allotted lifespan.[1]

The purpose of my contribution to this volume in honor of Professor Li Xueqin is to study the case of an ancient historical figure who

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* M. L. West, trans, Hesiod, *Theogony* and *Works and Days* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 6, lines 120–22.

[1] See *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 呂氏春秋校釋, ed. Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷 (Shanghai: Xuelin, 1984), 21. Lü Buwei's text observes that their easy access to an abundance of material things and pleasurable pursuits renders the elite vulnerable to a great variety of harms and dangers that threaten their very lives: "If one is noble and wealthy but does not know the Dao [of nurturing life], this is tantamount to creating calamity. It would be better to be poor and humble, for it is difficult to acquire material things when one is poor and humble. In this case, though one's desires might lead one to excess, how could they be fulfilled? 'Going out, one uses a chariot; returning home, one uses a sedan chair'—people love these for the comfort they provide, but they should be called 'mechanisms that make one lame.' 'Fat meat and rich wine'—people are devoted to them for the strength they give one, but they should be called 'foods that rot the intestines.' 'Languid limbs and gleaming teeth' and 'the tunes of Zheng and Wey'—people are devoted to these for the pleasure they give, but they should be called 'axes that hack at one's inborn nature.' For this translation, see John Knoblock and Jeffrey Riegel, trans., *The Annals of Lü Buwei* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 66–67.

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was noted both for his profligacy and for having, as a consequence of it, suffered from a debilitating sickness: Duke Ping of Jin 晉平公, who ruled his state from 557 to 532.[2] One of the most famous invalids in the received literature, Duke Ping was sick and perhaps even bedridden for much of his twenty-five year reign. In the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 account of the diagnosis of the duke offered by Physician He (Yi He 醫和) of the state of Qin 秦, the ruler's illness is blamed on the duke's excessive sex life and declared "incurable," a conclusion that has led me to look closely at that text in order to identify the sickness Duke Ping suffered from and what had brought it about.

The story of Physician He's diagnosis of the duke in the *Zuo zhuan* is one example of what can be considered a small subgenre of tales that involve a sick ruler consulting with a sage-like individual about the source of his sickness and what should be done to treat it. It is useful to begin by reviewing other examples of such tales, some of which are found in recently excavated texts, because they provide a broader understanding of how sources similar to the *Zuo zhuan* story of Duke Ping defined the causes of illness among the ruling elite, identified those whose counsel was worthy of being heeded, characterized the role of the spirits and the efficacy of praying to them for relief, established a correspondence between a ruler's sickness and other catastrophes afflicting his state, and prescribed a recipe of changes in behavior and government reform necessary to end a ruler's ills.

In order to get a better sense of the Duke Ping's illness and the nature of its causes, I displace the *Zuo zhuan* account from its more usual historiographical context by reading it in light of the *Yin shu* 引書, a previously lost "medical text" unearthed from a Hubei tomb site in 1983.[3] Reading these two texts against one another not only allows us to see differences and similarities in the various attitudes toward and treatments of elite illnesses, but also to appreciate the role that the contents of historical literature such as the *Zuo zhuan* may have played in the compilation of works such as the *Yin shu* and how medical texts and other works of a technical nature might have been borrowed into historical narratives and in that context invested with moral and political significance that extended beyond their original scope.

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[2] All dates are B.C.E. unless otherwise indicated.

[3] I am grateful to Donald Harper for originally suggesting to me that the two texts could be profitably read together. Needless to say the conclusions I have drawn from the comparison are my own. I am equally grateful to the anonymous reader who vetted my work for *Early China.* The suggestions included in the reader's report have helped me avoid several errors of fact and interpretation. For the *Yin shu*, see below, n.40.

Stories of Sick Rulers

Another instance of the subgenre of tales of sick rulers is the passage in the *Zuo zhuan* that immediately precedes its account of Physician He's diagnosis of Duke Ping. The earlier *Zuo zhuan* piece relates the visit to Jin by the Zheng 鄭 statesman Zi Chan 子產 (d. 522) to inquire about Duke Ping's health.[4] In a long speech, Zi Chan debunked the notion put forth by Jin court astrologers that astral and river spirits were the cause of the illness and proposed another explanation: the duke was suffering exhaustion from having consorted excessively with women of the harem who were of the same surname as the duke himself.[5] Zi Chan warned that if indeed this was the origin of the duke's ailment, then he was "incurable" (*fu ke wei ye* 弗可為也). What the ruler should have done, according to Zi Chan, was to adopt a strict daily regimen that would have prevented his illness by dividing his day in such a way that only at night would he engage in sex and other activities that bring ease and comfort to the body:

> The superior man divides the day into four parts—
>
> At dawn he attends to government,
> During the day he makes enquiries,
> At dusk he issues orders, and
> During the night he comforts his person.[6]

Zi Chan then explained that it is by dividing the day in this fashion—ensuring among other things that sufficient time is devoted to government business—that one can make regular the circulation of his bodily "ethers" (*qi* 氣) so that they do not get congested and enfeeble him. Though Zi Chan had offered him no cure, the duke nonetheless declared Zi Chan "a superior man with profound knowledge of many things," and, in accord with the protocols required at the conclusion of an official visit of inquiry, bestowed lavish gifts upon him.

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[4] See Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), 4.1217–21. (References to the other titles of the Thirteen Classics are to *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏, ed. Ruan Yuan 阮元 (Jiangxi: Nanchang fuxue, 1816). Zi Chan is well-known for having promulgated a law code and for other reforms that he introduced in the state of Zheng. See V. A. Rubin, "Tzu-Ch'an and the City-State of Ancient China," *T'oung Pao* 52.1 (1965), 8–34.

[5] The court astrologers had identified Shishen 實沈 and Taitai 臺駘 as the source of Duke Ping's sickness but they were unable to identify the spirits further. Zi Chan explained that Shishen was spirit of the lunar lodge *Shen* 參 (Triaster) and Taitai was a spirit of the Fen River 汾水. While both spirits were linked to the fortunes of the state of Jin and its rulers, Zi Chan claimed that they were not to be blamed for the ruler's troubles.

[6] *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 4.1220: 君子有四時, 朝以聽政, 晝以訪問, 夕以脩令, 夜以安身.

A third example is the tale of Duke Jing of Qi 齊景公 (r. 547–490) who, having been sick for an entire year, asked the legendary sage Yan Ying 晏嬰 what he should do. There are three versions of the story: the *Zuo zhuan* account for the year 522 (which has an almost identical parallel in the *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋); a second version found in another *Yanzi chunqiu* passage (distinct from the one that parallels the *Zuo zhuan*); and a recently excavated bamboo strip manuscript entitled *Jing gong nüe* 競公瘧, "Duke Jing suffers from malaria," which is now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.[7]

In the *Zuo zhuan* version of the tale, Duke Jing is said to have suffered from "scabies followed by malaria" (*jie sui shan* 疥遂痁).[8] Two of the duke's favorites, Liangqiu Ju 梁丘據 and Yi Kuan 裔款, reckoning that unhappy ghosts and spirits have afflicted the ruler with these conditions, recommended that the ruler execute the priest and scribe responsible for Qi's sacrificial offerings.[9] When the duke asked Yan Ying about their recommendation, he replied with a story about a Jin nobleman whose priests and scribes had no need to pray since their master managed his family's affairs so well. When the duke asked him what the reply had to do with his question about executing two of his priests and scribes, Master Yan bluntly explained that what displeases the ghosts and spirits are the lies that priests and scribes are forced to tell in order to cover up the crimes of their master. Alarmed by this reply, the duke asked what could be done and Master Yan said that the situation was "incurable" (*bu ke wei ye* 不可為也), one of many indications in the tales of this subgenre, as well as in other early literature, that a ruler's state and his body were believed to be closely connected: troubles in the former are manifest as sickness in the latter. In spite of having declared Qi's problems "incurable," Master Yan nonetheless offered a diagnosis: officials are oppressing the people and behaving in an extremely licentious fashion, causing the curses of the multitude to drown out the prayers uttered by the duke's priests and scribes. "The duke, delighted by Master Yan's advice, ordered his government to make its decrees more lenient, to destroy the customs offices where duty was collected, eliminate prohibitions, reduce taxes and forgive all outstanding debt owed to the state."[10] There is no further mention in the text of the ruler's illness: the next entry in the *Zuo zhuan* says that, in the twelfth month of that year, the ruler of Qi went hunting. The *Yanzi chunqiu* parallel says explicitly, as do the two other versions of the story, that the duke's illness was cured.

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[7] For the three versions see: *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 4.1415–18 (which has a close parallel in the *Yanzi chunqiu* [referred to in these notes as *YZCQ* 1], for which see *Yanzi chunqiu jishi* 晏子春秋集釋 [Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962], 7.446–7); *Yanzi chunqiu jishi* 1.42 (referred to in these notes as *YZCQ* 2); and *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu* 上海博物館藏戰國楚竹書, vol. 6 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2007), 157–91. The *jing* 競 in the title of the manuscript is an alternate form of the duke's posthumous name. The *Zuo zhuan* version is approximately 700 characters in length. The *YZCQ* 2 version is approximately 450 characters in length. The bamboo text manuscript was damaged: each of its thirteen bamboo strips had been broken into three pieces and the scholars at the Shanghai Museum recovered only two of the three pieces into which each strip was broken. The surviving fragments have a total of 489 characters. Had the entirety of the manuscript survived it would have been approximately 750 characters in length, longer than the other two versions. For the purposes of the present study, I paraphrase the longest and most complete version, that of the *Zuo zhuan*, noting where necessary differences between it and the other two versions.

[8] We should probably understand the term *jie* 疥 "scabies," as it is used in the *Zuo zhuan* and other early sources referred to in this paper, to mean a scabby itch rather than the parasitic skin disease caused by the itch mite *Sarcoptes scabiei*. Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul, 1998), 285n.6, understands *jia* 痂, the term for scabies in the Mawangdui medical literature, in this way. He also notes that only later sources, such as the ca. 610 C.E. *Chaoshi zhubing yuanhoulun* 巢氏諸病源候論 (*Siku quanshu* ed.), 50.9a, provide definite evidence of the observation of the itch mite in connection with a diagnosis of *jie* 疥. *Shan* 痁 is synonymous with *nüe* 瘧, commonly rendered "malaria." *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1986), 7B.31a–b, defines *shan* as *you re nüe* 有熱瘧, "malaria with heat," that is, with fever but without chills. *YZCQ* 1 gives the same two ailments, *jie* and *shan*. *YZCQ* 2 says the duke suffered from *jie* and *nüe* "malaria." As its title says, in the *Jing gong nüe*, the duke is said to have suffered from malaria; no mention is made of *jie*. Paul Unschuld, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: Nature, Knowledge, Imagery in an Ancient Chinese Medical Text* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003), 191, argues that we are justified in "rendering *nüe* as 'malaria', as long as one keeps in mind that the Chinese concept of malaria as a disease being caused by 'wind' at no time included the European notion of 'air' being infected with a noxious agent able to cause this particular disease." Of course neither the Europeans who coined *mala aria* nor the

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Chinese who coined *nüe* had any concept of malaria as a disease caused by a parasite carried by anopheles mosquitoes. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 1415, cites Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531–91 C.E.) who follows Liang Yuandi 梁元帝 (r. 552–55 C.E.) in proposing that, in the *Zuo zhuan* passage, *jie* 疥 should be read *jie* 痎 "tertian malaria," that is the form of malaria in which the febrile seizures occur every forty-two to forty-seven hours. See Yan Zhitui, *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* 顏氏家訓集解 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1980), 6.391 ("Shu zheng" 書證). In this reading Duke Jing suffered through a progression of two different, though related, forms of malaria. Yang Bojun also notes that this reading of the *Zuo zhuan* was refuted by Lu Deming 陸德明 (556–627 C.E.) and subsequently rejected by a host of Qing dynasty text critics.

[9] In *YZCQ* 2, Duke Jing himself, not his two favorites, comes up with the idea that a priest and a scribe should be executed. In the *Jing gong nüe*, the ruler's two favorites are joined by the heads of the Gao 高 and Guo 國 families in recommending the execution.

[10] In both *YZCQ* 2 and *Jing gong nüe*, Master Yan recommends that the duke dismiss the two favorites who had encouraged the execution of the priest and the scribe because they, rather than the latter, were the source of the problem.

Also included in the corpus of bamboo strip manuscripts in the Shanghai Museum is another story of a sick ruler seeking advice on how to get well. The manuscript is assigned the title *Jian da wang bohan* 柬大王泊旱—taken from its opening line—by the Shanghai Museum scholars who first studied it. The text tells the story of King Jian 柬王—i.e., King Jian of Chu 楚簡王 (r. 431–408)—whose state suffered from drought at the same time that he was afflicted with *sao* 瘙 "dry itch," a condition similar to the scabies that troubled Duke Jing of Qi.[11] The Qi ruler not only shared a similar affliction with King Jian. The duke was also troubled by severe drought during his reign according to a *Yanzi chunqiu* tale that follows closely upon its version of the story of his illness.[12]According to that passage, in order to alleviate the drought, Duke Jing wished to levy a tax in order to make offerings to the spirits of the mountains and rivers. Master Yan advised him that since the spirits of the mountains and rivers were unable to protect their own realms from the effects of the drought, offerings to them would be pointless. He told the duke that he should avoid the cool shelter of his palace and instead *puluo* 暴露 "expose" himself to the fury of the drought and thus *gong you* 共憂 "share in the troubles" suffered by the spirits of the mountains and rivers. After the duke exposed himself for three days in "barren, uncultivated terrain" (*ye* 野), the drought ended with a heavy downpour of rain.[13] In spite of significant gaps that impede a complete understanding of the *Jian da wang bohan*, the story's narrative has been reconstructed to the point where it is possible to identify it not only as an example of the subgenre of tales about rulers seeking advice on curing illness but also as a text that bears a close resemblance to the *Yanzi chunqiu* story of Duke Jing and the drought in Qi.[14]

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[11] For the manuscript, see *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 4 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2004), 191–215, where it is transcribed and annotated by Pu Maozuo 濮茅左. King Jian is mentioned very briefly in *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 40.1719–20 ("Chu shijia" 楚世家), and does not otherwise appear prominently in early historical sources. The drought mentioned in the manuscript is not mentioned in the transmitted literature. *Sao* 瘙 "dry itch" is mentioned in strip 8 in the text and Pu Maozuo notes that it should be read as *sao* 瘙; the latter occurs in the Mawangdui medical corpus as the name of a category of ailment. Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 296, translates it as "dry itch" and, at 297n.6, says, "*Sao* means literally 'scratch' and by extension refers broadly to skin itch." It is thus similar to the understanding of "scabies" discussed above, n.8.

[12] See *Yanzi chunqiu jishi*, 1.55.

[13] For the ancient practice of rulers exposing themselves in order to seek rainfall, see Edward Schafer, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951), 130–84.

[14] While the manuscript appears to have survived intact, not unlike other bamboo strip texts, it presents numerous problems of graph decipherment as well as of deter-

The *Jian da wang bohan* opens with the declaration that the Chu king was suffering from the effects of drought and then describes how, in order to put an end to the catastrophe, "he stood erect facing the sun until the sweat soaked his waist sash," a description reminiscent of how, according to the *Yanzi chunqiu*, Duke Jing exposed himself to the sun to end the drought plaguing Qi.[15] But rather than alleviate the drought in Chu, the king's exposure to the sun instead caused him to feel ill—recognizing that the king was unwell his attendants attempted to shield him—and this eventually led to a severe case of itchy skin. The king was so distracted by the discomfort of his condition that he forgot about the disastrous effects of the drought in Chu and insisted that the officials responsible for carrying out sacrifices quickly arrange offerings to the mountains and rivers in order to alleviate his pain. They objected to what they characterized as a breach of Chu's ritual practices and took their complaint to the *da zai* 大宰 "grand steward"—the official in charge of the rites and protocol—who is lauded in the text as both a *sheng ren* 聖人 "sage" and a *sheng ren zhi zi sun* 聖人之子孫 "descendant of a sage," praise usually reserved only for those the early sources regarded as exceptionally wise and erudite.[16] This wise, though unidentifiable, figure—the story's counterpart to Zi Chan and Yan Ying—tells the officials that the king

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mining the proper sequence of its twenty-three bamboo strips. Readers interested in an overview of the scholarship that supplements Pu Maozuo's work in the Shanghai Museum volume can consult Ji Xusheng 季旭昇, "*Jian da wang bohan* jie ti" 《柬大王泊旱》解題, *Zhexue yu wenhua* 34.3 (2007), 55–65, and Asano Yūichi (Qianye Yuyi 淺野裕一), "Shangbo Chu jian *Jian da wang bohan* zhi zaiyi sixiang" 上博楚簡《柬大王泊旱》之災異思想, published 13 September 2009, on the website of the Fudan University Excavated Manuscripts and Ancient Texts Research Center (www.gwz.fudan.edu.cn/srcschow.asp?src_id=904). My interpretation of the text is largely based on the sequence of its bamboo strips as reconstructed by Ji and Asano.

[15] In the extensive scholarly literature on the subject, at least six different explanations are given of the meaning of the word *bo* 泊 in the opening sentence of the manuscript. Pu Maozuo, *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 4, 195, glosses it as *zhi* 止 "stop, put an end to." I more or less follow Ji Xusheng, "*Jian da wang bohan jie ti*," 64, and understand the word to mean something like "oppressed by, afflicted with." In his discussion of the theme of ritual exposure in the manuscript, Wang Zhun 王准, "*Shang bo* si *Jian da wang bohan* zhong de qiyu wushu ji xiangguan wenti" 《上博》四《柬大王泊旱》中的祈雨巫術及相關問題, *Jiang Han luntan* 江漢論壇 2008.5, 105–10, argues that *bo* should be understood as synonymous with *pu* 暴 "expose." On p. 110 of his article, Wang also notes the manuscript's similarity to the *Yanzi chunqiu* passage on the drought in Qi.

[16] The praise for the grand steward occurs on strips 10 and 19, *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 4, 204 and 212. The *Zuo zhuan* has the Lu nobleman Meng Xizi 孟僖子 say of Kongzi that he was a *sheng ren zhi hou* 聖人之後 "descendant of a sage." See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 1294. The grand steward is also referred to as Jin hou 晉侯, the marquis of Jin, as well as by the name Zi Bu 子步, but these references

would not want them to alter Chu's rituals for his personal and private benefit and instructs them to tell the king that his itchy skin will begin to improve from that very day. He explains to the doubtful officials that the spirits must be aware of their probity and the king's virtues and so will bring about a cure. The grand steward's purpose was perhaps to take the king's attention off of what was most likely a temporary medical condition in order to get him to devote himself to ending the drought. In any case, that is what the king did and his illness is not mentioned again.

The turning point in the tale occurs when, immediately after he was rebuffed for insisting that offerings be made to the mountains and streams, the ruler asked the grand steward to interpret a troubling dream. The official used the opportunity to explain to King Jian that the drought had been inflicted on him as a punishment by the goddess *han mu* 旱母 "drought mother" who, acting on orders from the supreme deity, chastises negligent rulers by depriving them of rain.[17] On hearing this, the king cried out to Heaven and then in a low, sobbing voice, confessed to the grand steward that he had not governed well. The king asked if there was a cure for the catastrophe and the grand steward advised him to make offerings to the four suburban altars—located in the same sort of distant and uninhabited areas in which Duke Jing of Qi had exposed himself—and to conduct the rituals in such a way that for the entire period neither he nor any of his ceremonial entourage would be afforded the shade of a parasol or fan.[18] In the story's denouement, the king followed these instructions and for three days all were exposed to the sun though "the king's face was the color of the dirt in the barren, uncultivated terrain (*ye se* 野色) and among his attendants there were some felled by sunstroke."[19] After another three days, there was a heavy rain and a royal inspection revealed that the crops in the four quarters of the state had all ripened.

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are insufficient to permit identifying him more precisely. See strips 10 and 22, *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 4, 204 and 214, for these names.

[17] The drought goddess is usually called *han ba* 旱魃, or alternatively *nüba* 女魃 or *nübo* 女妭. She is sometimes portrayed as demonic, as in *Shijing* 詩經, 18B.661 (Mao 258 "Yun Han" 雲漢). Elsewhere the goddess appears as a more benign figure. See Schafer, "Ritual Exposure in Ancient China," 162–69, for a discussion of her names and appearance in ancient as well as medieval times. The *Jian da wang bohan* is the *locus classicus* of the name *han mu* "drought mother." What the manuscript says of her adds significantly to our understanding of the conception of the goddess in antiquity.

[18] Asano Yūichi, "Shangbo Chu jian *Jian da wang bohan* zhi zaiyi sixiang," understands the text to mean that the grand steward advised the king to repair city walls.

[19] For this quotation see strip 16, *Shanghai bowuguan zang Zhanguo Chu zhushu*, vol. 4, 209.

With these other tales in mind, let us turn to the *Zuo zhuan* story of Physician He's diagnosis of Duke Ping of Jin.

Physician He's Diagnosis of Duke Ping of Jin

Duke Ping of Jin had already been troubled for some time by a persistent malady when he asked for medical help from Qin. In reply, Duke Jing of Qin 秦景公 (r. 576–537) sent Physician He to examine the ailing ruler.[20] Upon examining the duke, Physician He offered a diagnosis—encapsulated in a verse of six four-syllable rhymed lines—that echoed the key points of Zi Chan's analysis of the ruler's condition: Duke Ping's illness is incurable and it is the result of excessive contact with women. When asked by the duke whether he must entirely abstain from sexual contact with women, the doctor replied that it is only necessary to exercise "restraint" (*jie* 節) in intercourse with them. Physician He offered two ways that the ruler could accomplish this: the first involved an analogy with "the music of the former kings" (*xian wang zhi yue* 先王之樂); and the second employed terminology, usually applied to the weather, the atmosphere, and the time of day, to describe the workings of the passions within the body.

In his musical analogy—long understood as a veiled illustration of proper lovemaking techniques—the doctor described how, in correct musical performance that he labeled the "Five Restraints" (*wu jie* 五節), one plays the lute and zither—symbols for the male and female—in such a way that a note played on one of the stringed instruments matches or mates perfectly with one sounded on the other.[21] When this happens, the performer should allow the note to cease, thus proceeding through all five notes of the pentatonic scale. At the conclusion of this, the instrument should then be put aside and played no further. To do otherwise would produce "licentious sounds" (*yin sheng* 淫聲) that dissolve the will, cause one to be unable to hear properly, and make one "forget balance and harmony" (*wang ping he* 忘平和). Though recently discovered sexual cultivation texts deploy somewhat more graphic language to describe what was regarded in ancient times as correct sexual activity,[22] I must leave it to the reader to ponder the analogy between what Physician He described as the "licentious sounds" produced by inappropriate musical performance and what in unrestrained sexual acts possesses the power to dissolve the will, interfere with the ability to hear, and leave one bereft of reason and balance.

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[20] There are two accounts of the doctor's visit to the duke. It is one of the stories that form the *Guo yu* chapter on events in the reign of Duke Ping. See *Guo yu* 國語 (Taipei: Liren shuju 里人書局, 1980), 473–74 ("Jin yu" 晉語 8). Another, somewhat longer and considerably more elaborate, version is found in the *Zuo zhuan* record of events that transpired in the first year of Duke Zhao of Lu 魯昭公, i.e., 541. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 4.1221–23. The *Zuo zhuan* account of the doctor's visit and diagnosis is approximately forty percent longer than that of the *Guo yu*. Because of its greater length and complexity as well as features of its contents that are discussed in more detail below, the present study focuses for the most part on the *Zuo zhuan* version of the story.

[21] In his sub-commentary at *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義, 41.26a, Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (574–648 C.E.) observed: "The subject of moderating contact with women could not be spoken of and so he [Physician He] uses music as an analogy for it." Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 4:1222, citing parallel usages in *Shijing*, Mao 1 and Mao 164, says that "lute and zither" is a simile for having sex with a woman. *Xiang ji* 相及, the term used by Physician He to describe how the sounds of lute and zither should "match one another," also referred to the copulation of men and women. See *Guo yu*, 356 ("Jin yu" 晉語 4).

In his attempt to explain what constitutes restraint in sexual interactions with women, Physician He resorted to a second analogy, this one based on what appears to have been a commonly held belief that the inner workings of the body mirror in miniature the cosmos. He thus listed the "Six Ethers" (*liu qi* 六氣)—*yin* 陰 "shade," *yang* 陽 "sunlight," *feng* 風 "wind," *yu* 雨 "rain," *hui* 晦 "the dark of night," and *ming* 明 "the light of day"—that together constitute an individual's emotional repertoire.[23] Licentiousness with regard to these, the doctor observed, are what produce the "Six Ailments" (*liu ji* 六疾): "Shade to the point of licentiousness produces cold sickness; sunlight to the point of licentiousness produces heat sickness; wind to the point of licentiousness produces sickness of the extremities; rain to the point of licentiousness produces sickness of the abdomen; dark of night to the point of licentiousness produces the sickness of delusion; light of day to the point of licentiousness produces sickness of the heart."[24] Physician He then pointed out that women cause two of the six—sunlight and the dark of night—to become licentious, that is they cause heat sickness and the sickness of delusion.

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[22] See, for example, the Mawangdui manuscripts *He Yin Yang* 合陰陽 and *Tianxia zhi dao tan* 天下至道談. Transcriptions of these texts can be found at *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, ed. Mawangdui Han mu boshu zhengli xiaozu, vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985), 153–56, 161–67. An early version of Donald Harper's study and translation of these documents can be found in his "The Sexual Arts in Ancient China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47 (1987), 239–83. His more recent work on the texts is found in *Early Chinese Medical Literature*. See especially pp. 412–38. See also, Li Ling and K. McMahon, "The Contents and Terminology of the Mawangdui Texts on the Arts of the Bedchamber," *Early China* 17 (1992), 145–85. Also worth consulting is Douglas Wile, *Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), 77–83.

[23] Because the doctor talks about how the "Six Ethers" produce the five tastes, are manifest in the five colors, and are verified by the five sounds, this passage is regarded as important early evidence for the theory of the *Wuxing* 五行 or "Five Activities." See the discussion in A.C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao* (Illinois: Open Court, 1989), 325, and Donald J. Harper, "Warring States Natural Philosophy and Occult Thought," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy (Cambridge University Press, 1999), 862.

While there is no question that the physician was referring not to imbalances in the cosmos but rather to disturbances in what we may think of as the emotional weather of Duke Ping and other elite individuals, the immediate text provides no clue as to what passions we are to equate to sunlight and the dark of night in Physician He's scheme. Some guidance is provided by another, closely related, *Zuo zhuan* passage—which appears as part of the record of events that took place twenty-five years after the doctor's visit to Duke Ping—in which the Zheng nobleman You Ji 游吉 presented to Zhao Yang 趙鞅, Viscount Jian of Jin 晉簡子, a set of teachings that he attributed to Zi Chan that provided a connection between the "Six Ethers" and what he called the "Six Impulses" (*liu zhi* 六志).[25] You Ji listed the emotions that make up the six: *ai* 哀 "grief," *le* 樂 "delight," *xi* 喜 "joy," *nu* 怒 "anger," *hao* 好 "desire," and *wu* 惡 "aversion."[26] But we are still left with the problem of how to align the ethers and the impulses so that we may know which passions correspond to sunlight and the dark of night and hence which passions have, according to the doctor, been indulged to the point of licentiousness and thus brought on the duke's sickness. Once again, because of the coded language preferred by the good doctor, I must leave the answer to this question for the reader to ponder.[27]

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[24] *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 4.1222: 陰淫寒疾, 陽淫熱疾, 風淫末疾, 雨淫腹疾, 晦淫惑疾, 明淫心疾.

[25] *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 4.1458.

[26] What You Ji calls "impulses" are termed *ren qing* 人情 ("a man's natural emotions") in the "Li yun" 禮運 chapter of the *Liji*. The chapter gives seven rather than six and the list varies somewhat from that of the *Zuo zhuan*. See *Liji zhushu* 22.4a. The "Zhongyong" 中庸 lists only four of the six. See *Liji zhushu* 52.1b. In his commentary to the "Li yun" chapter of the *Liji*, Kong Yingda paraphrases the "Zhao 25" passage to mean that the "Six Ethers" of the heavens correspond to the "Six Natural Emotions" of the human body. See *Liji zhushu* 22.4b.

[27] The Latter Han *Zuo zhuan* authority Jia Kui 賈逵 (30–101 C.E.) suggests the following alignment of the "Six Impulses" with the "Six Ethers": *hao* 好 "desire" = *yang* 陽 "sunlight"; *wu* 惡 "aversion" = *yin* 陰 "shade"; *xi* 喜 "joy" = *feng* 風 "wind"; *nu* 怒 "anger" = *yu* 雨 "rain"; *ai* 哀 "grief" = *hui* 晦 "the dark of night"; *le* 樂 "delight" = *ming* 明 "the light of day."

If this scheme is adopted it means that Physician He was claiming that the duke's ailment was caused by an excess of desire as well as grief. Jia Kui's views are quoted in Kong Yingda's sub-commentary to *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhengyi*, Zhao 25, 51.14a. The *Yin shu* manuscript discussed below says that *xi*, or "joy," is what causes an excess of "sunlight." See n.49 below. Thus there may have been in antiquity more than one way of aligning the ethers and the impulses.

Physician He concluded his diagnosis of Duke Ping by observing: "Your condition, my lord, is the inevitable result of your being unrestrained and neglecting the proper times. How could you not become as sick as you are?"[28] The doctor was echoing Zi Chan's teaching about engaging in such comforting activities as sex only at night and reserving the other times of day for the affairs of state that should occupy a responsible ruler.[29] In the other tales of sick rulers they, too, are characterized as having ignored their duties. Thus Yan Ying had to tell Duke Jing that in order to cure himself he had to reform his government and the grand steward had to find a way to get King Jian to ignore the discomfort of his itchy skin and turn his attention to doing something about the drought that was ruining his state.

When the doctor exited from his interview with Duke Ping he went to the Jin chief minister Zhao Meng 趙孟 to report to him his prognosis. Among other things, he underscored a point that he had made to the duke: because Zhao Meng indulged the duke he bore direct responsibility for the ruler's trespasses and so must die. "It is Heaven's command," the doctor had earlier told the duke, "that he [Zhao Meng] not be saved."[30] In other stories of rulers diagnosed as sick because of the excesses and errors of government, the rulers themselves are held responsible and their complicit underlings are at worst dismissed from office. Zhao Meng's transgressions evidently required a fate far more severe.[31] Protocol demanded, however, that Zhao Meng, for his part, praise the doctor and send him home with lavish gifts. Before the year was out Zhao Meng was dead.

In his diagnosis of the duke, the doctor revealed a deep understanding not only of medicine but also of music, the workings of the weather (of both the macrocosm and the microcosm of the body), and the political affairs of Jin. He is thus represented in the *Zuo zhuan* less as a medical specialist and more as an individual of comprehensive learning and understanding in the mold of Zi Chan, Yan Ying, and the grand steward who served King Jian of Chu. Such broadly erudite figures, the tales of sick rulers inform us, are the ones whose advice should be heeded most.

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[28] *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 4.1222: 今君不節不時. 能無及此乎?

[29] The *Guo yu* version of the story has the doctor say, "Now, the lord of Jin makes the night and day one."

[30] *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 4.1221: 天命不祐.

[31] In both the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Guo yu*, the doctor's diagnosis is but one episode in a longer historical narrative that charts the rise and fall of the chief minister of Jin, Zhao Meng. In the doctor's diagnosis and in adjoining episodes, both sources predict the death of the extraordinarily powerful minister, also known as Zhao Wu 趙武 and Viscount Wen of Zhao 趙文子, who served Duke Ping for seven years and predeceased him in 541.

The dominion of the specialist lay elsewhere, in the *Yin shu* and other works of particular areas of knowledge.

A large question that hangs over the entire passage is what exactly was the sickness that, according to Physician He, had been produced by the duke's personal excesses and failures. In this regard the story of Duke Ping differs somewhat from the other tales of sick rulers seeking cures: we know that Duke Jing of Qi suffered from "scabies followed by malaria" and that King Jian of Chu was troubled by a skin irritation that, while apparently minor, caused him great discomfort. Physician He identified Duke Ping's illness in two different ways in his interview with the sick ruler. At the very beginning of his meeting with the duke—in part of the six lines of verse he recites—Physician He stated that the ruler was suffering from an illness that "resembles *gu*" (*ru gu* 如蠱). As with a case of *gu*, the ruler was suffering from "delusion along with a failure of the impulses" (*huo yi sang zhi* 惑以喪志). This probably means that he had none of the "Six Impulses" and so, for example, when he was presented with something beautiful he failed to desire it and when he saw something ugly he felt no natural aversion to it. Unlike *gu*, however, the cause of the duke's sickness was "neither demonic curse nor spoiled food" (*fei gui fei shi* 非鬼非食),[32] but rather his "proximity to women" (*jinnü* 近女).

In his conversation with the doctor following the doctor's diagnosis of the duke, Zhao Meng asked the doctor to define the meaning of *gu*. The doctor replied in four ways which, taken together, suggest that women with whom one engages in licentious behavior should be equated with the "noxious insects"—an element in the graph for the word *gu*—that cause the disease.[33] By recklessly cavorting with them the duke had infected his body and impaired his ability to fulfill his duties as the ruler of his state.

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[32] According to the *Zuo zhuan*, the Jin chief minister Xu Ke 胥克 (fl. 620–600) suffered from a case of *gu* that was so debilitating he had to be removed from office. Yang Bojun, *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, 2.697, suggests that Xu Ke's illness was the result of food poisoning. According to the *Shuowen jiezi*, the ghosts of those who have been executed are a source of *gu*. See *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 13B.6B. The classic western scholarship on *gu* is H. Y. Feng and J. K. Shryock, "The Black Magic in China known as Ku," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 55 (1935), 1–30. See also Michael Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1974), 82–87, and Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 74–75.

[33] First, the doctor defines the term *gu* by describing how promiscuity and licentiousness produce the illness. Then he analyzes the graph used to write the word by dividing it into its upper element "noxious insects" and the lower element "container." The doctor then says that insects produced by grain cause the disease. Finally the doctor analyzes the hexagram called "Gu" in the *Zhou Yi* 周易 (see *Zhou Yi*, "Hexagram 18," 3.46-6b), finding in the two trigrams that form it corroboration that *gu* is associated with female destructiveness. The *Guo yu* version of Physician He's diagnosis of Duke Ping contains a related, though more complicated, explanation of the meaning

Physician He's dismissing any connection between the duke's illness and "demonic curse" is in line with what the other stories of sick rulers say. By rejecting the theories of Jin's court astrologers, Zi Chan had said the same thing in his analysis of the underlying causes of the duke's problem. Yan Ying similarly dismissed the idea that unhappy ghosts and spirits had afflicted Duke Jing with scabies and malaria and advised the ruler to look to his own behavior and governance to find the source of what was making him ill. In part because of the difficulties involved in reconstructing its narrative, what the *Jian da wang bohan* story has to say in this regard is a bit more problematic. Although the grand steward deflected King Jian's desire to have hasty offerings made to the spirits of the mountains and streams in order to cure himself, the bamboo strip text may have assumed a larger role for the spirits in making rulers sick than our other sources do.

At the very end of his interview with Duke Ping, the doctor elaborated on his diagnosis. Explaining that because women are linked to both the dark of night and sunlight, the doctor concluded that the ruler's licentious behavior with regard to women had produced both "delusion and *gu*"—the illness he had already identified—as well as *nei re* 內熱 "internal heat." A sexual cultivation text excavated at Mawangdui also mentions *nei re* as an ailment that results from having unrestrained intercourse.[34] How "delusion and *gu*" and "internal heat" are related is not clear. Are they two different aspects of the same illness? Or did the doctor mean that the duke was suffering from two different conditions? Whatever their relationship, it seems certain that we should understand "internal

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of *gu*. That text suggests that *gu* 穀 "grain," characterized as active and flourishing, is emblematic of male virtue while *gu* in the sense of "noxious insects in a container," having the opposite characteristics of being hidden, still, and harmful, is emblematic of female virtue. According to the doctor, the ideal way to live is to be one who both ingests *gu* grain—i.e., spends the day in the company of male virtue in order to replicate the illumination of the grain—and spends the nighttime in quiet repose with female virtue in order to "suppress" (*fu* 伏) the harm brought about by the "noxious insects in a container." The *Guo yu* version of the story strongly suggests that the doctor's criticism of the duke is meant as a comment on his larger failings as a ruler of which his sexual impropriety is but one example. This relates to the doctor's observation in the *Guo yu* passage, already highlighted in n. 29 above, that the ruler has failed to keep separate the activities proper to day and those proper to the night and thus allows things that should remain confined to the night to release their harmful effects during the light of day.

[34] The Mawangdui sexual cultivation text *Tianxia zhidao tan*—for which see above, n.22—identifies *nei re* as a condition that results when having intercourse impulsively produces feverishness that cannot be treated (*fu neng zhi chan nei rei* 弗能治產內熱). See Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 429.

heat" as an ailment closely linked to another physical dysfunction called *long* 癃.

Long is a somewhat ambiguous term. It is defined by Xu Shen 許慎 (d. 120 C.E.) in his *Shuowen* 說文 dictionary as *pi bing* 罷病 "debilitating ailment." Gao You 高誘 (fl. 205–12 C.E.) glosses an occurrence of the term in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 as *du ji* 篤疾,which also means something like "incapacitated" or "immobilized." *Long* as well as the compound *pi long* 罷癃 are used in the legal and administrative manuscripts from Shuihudi 睡虎地 and Zhangjiashan 張家山 where they mean "handicapped, disabled."[35] On the other hand, there is ample evidence from early medical literature such as the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經, as well as excavated manuscripts, to show that *long* often refers to the specific physical incapacity of urine retention. The Mawangdui medical literature also demonstrates that *long* "urine retention" occurs together with or perhaps as a consequence of a condition called *re zhong* 熱中 or *jiong zhong* 炅中, both of which mean "heat within."[36] Because *re zhong* and *jiong zhong* have a meaning similar to *nei re* "internal heat," this might suggest that all three are related if not synonymous. However, as noted earlier, *nei re* is explicitly identified as resulting from sexual excess; no such cause of *re zhong* and *jiong zhong* is mentioned in the early medical literature, excavated or transmitted.

What suggests that *nei re* is nonetheless closely connected with *long* is a curious retelling of the story of Duke Ping's illness that is recorded first in the *Han Feizi* 韓非子 and subsequently alluded to in the *Huainanzi* of Liu An 劉安 (179–122) and repeated by Wang Chong 王充 (27–97? C.E.) in his *Lun heng* 論衡.[37] In this version of Duke Ping's obviously legendary troubles we are told that the duke fell ill because he insisted on listening to forbidden music, including the piece called *Qingjiao* 清角, said to have been composed by ghosts and spirits brought together by Huang Di, the Yellow Sovereign. "When Music Master Kuang played the piece once, dark clouds rose up from the northwest. When he repeated it, a great wind arrived followed by heavy rain. As a result the curtains were torn, the food vessels smashed, and the roof tiles fell to the ground. The audience scattered but Duke Ping, shivering with fear, crouched down in a small side-chamber. The state of Jin suffered a great drought that left the earth parched red for three years; as for Duke Ping himself, he suffered as a consequence the ailment of *long*."

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[35] *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 7B.34b. *Huainan Honglie jie* 淮南鴻烈解, *Kanbun taikei*. (Tokyo: Fuzanbō 富山房, 1915), 6.1 ("Lanming" 覽冥); John Major, et al., trans., *The Huainanzi*, (New York: Columbia, 2010), 214. *Shuihudi Qin mu zhujian* 睡虎地秦墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990), slips 32–33 and slip 133. Zhangjiashan ersiqihao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組, *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian* 張家山漢墓竹簡 (Beijing: Wenwu, 2006), 58 and 64. Cf. also *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 24A.1143 ("Shi huo zhi" 食貨志), and A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Qin Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 115n.4.

[36] For the definition of *long* as "retention of urine in the bladder," see *Huangdi neijing suwen jiaoshi* 黃帝內經素問校釋 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng 人民衛生, 1982), 328–30 and 617–20. Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 252n.1, cites a range of early medical sources that confirm this definition. On p. 209 of his study, Harper translates a passage from the Mawangdui text *Yin Yang shiyi mai jiujing jiaben* 陰陽十一脈灸經甲本 in which *re zhong* and *long* are listed as the first two of five ailments produced by the "Ceasing Yin vessel." Harper, 315n.2, points out that in the Mawangdui medical literature *re zhong* and *jiong zhong* are synonymous.

[37] *Han Feizi jishi* 韓非子集釋 (Taipei: Chengwen, 1980), 172; *Huainan honglie jie*,

There are two ways in which this version of the story of Duke Ping's illness varies from what is found in the *Zuo zhuan*. First, Physician He's symbolic references to music and his similarly metaphorical discussion of the "Six Ethers" in the *Zuo zhuan* account appear in this fantastic tale as an actual concert and a literal storm in order to explain the ruler's sickness. Moreover, *nei re* "internal heat"—the incurable ailment from which Duke Ping suffered in the *Zuo zhuan* version of the story—has become, in the *Han Feizi* telling of the story, a case of *long*.

We can understand the *Han Feizi* tale to mean that the storm conjured by the performance of the forbidden music brought about a three-year, earth-parching heat in Jin and produced at the same time in the body of the state's ruler his own, private drought that left him, like his state, incapacitated and unproductive. The *Han Feizi* telling of Duke Ping's story thus echoes what is seen in other tales of sick rulers: the bodily troubles suffered by a monarch do not occur in isolation but are accompanied by a catastrophe—most often a drought—that affects his entire realm. The fact that the duke's ailment is identified as *nei re* in the *Zuo zhuan* and as *long* in the *Han Feizi* does not mean, however, that the two physical dysfunctions were thought of as identical. Rather they may have been conceived of as linked in such a way that *nei re* produced *long*. Just as a dry spell or a heat wave do not make a drought—it takes prolonged conditions of low rainfall and high heat to have the adverse effect on vegetation, animals, and people that is thought of as drought—the duke's *nei re* brought on by the sort of immoderate sexual activity described in the *Zuo zhuan* and the Mawangdui sexual cultivation texts may have been in itself short in duration and thus limited in its impact on his health. However, repeated immoderate acts, culminating with the ruler's obsession with music reported in the *Han Feizi* tale, may have had the effect of prolonging and extending the duke's "internal heat" until it fully incapacitated him and

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6.1 ("Lanming"); *Lun heng jiaoshi* 論衡校釋, ed. Huang Hui 黃暉 (Taipei: Shangwu, 1964), 241.

hence became what the ancients thought of as *long*.[38] The progression of illness that is being proposed here to account for the differences in how the *Zuo zhuan* and *Han Feizi* identify Duke Ping's ailment may support understanding the sequence of *re zhong* (or its synonym *jiong zhong*) and *long* in the Mawangdui medical literature mentioned earlier, not merely as a juxtaposition of two ailments, but as part of a progression leading from one ailment to another.[39]

The Way of Peng Zu

Elite illnesses of the sort from which Duke Ping of Jin suffered were the subject matter not only of the historical anecdotes and moralistic lessons from which historical narratives such as the *Zuo zhuan* were constructed. Addressing them also gave rise to specialized medical literature. A chief example of the genre is the *Yin shu*, a manuscript discovered at the site of Zhangjiashan in a Han dynasty tomb that has been judged by archaeologists to be no earlier than 186 B.C.E.[40] The title of the text is derived from *daoyin* 導引, the therapeutic exercises that "guide and pull" the body's ethers in order to cure specific ailments that threaten the practitioner's health. Based on its contents and format, the *Yin shu* can be, very roughly, divided into three parts: an introductory section that sets forth daily regimens designed to prevent illness; a long middle section that lists therapeutic exercises and the illnesses the various forms of "pulling" can cure; and a concluding section that explains why people become sick to begin with.

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[38] The *Huangdi neijing* mentions *long* occurring together with *shen re* 身熱 "body heat" and also says that the dysfunction is the result of *bao yi re yu pangguang* 胞移熱於膀胱 "its membrane transmitting heat to the urinary bladder." For these descriptions of *long* see *Huangdi neijing suwen jiaoshi*, 486–87 and 617–20. Such references suggest that some in the early Chinese medical tradition attributed *long* to internal heat that gradually dries up urine leaving none to be expelled in one's daily routine.

[39] See n.36 above.

[40] For a general discussion of the Zhangjiashan Han tombs and their contents, see *Wenwu* 1985.1, 1–8. For a transcription of the *Yin shu*, see *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 169–87. Peng Hao 彭浩, "Zhangjiashan Hanjian *Yin shu* chutan" 張家山漢簡引書初探, *Wenwu* 1990.10, 87–91, provides an important initial study of the manuscript and discusses the date of the tomb in which it was discovered. Gao Dalun 高大倫, *Zhangjiashan Hanjian* Yin shu *yanjiu* 張家山漢簡引書研究 (Chengdu: Ba-Shu, 1995) gives a good overview of the text. See also Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 110–11, and Vivienne Lo, "On the Nature and Purpose of Early Chinese Medical Writing: A Study of the Structure of Zhangjiashan 張家山 *Yinshu* 引書," in *The Medical View of Chinese History*, ed. Li Jianmin, (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 2008), 29–43. In preparing my summary of the contents of the *Yin shu* I have very much benefitted from the efforts of these scholars.

The first part of the *Yin shu* presents four different daily regimens of personal hygiene, diet, breathing techniques, exercises, and sexual practices that vary according to the season. All four are introduced by a formula that encapsulates the essential differences between the activities that should take place in each season: "Generate in the spring, grow in the summer, gather in the autumn, and store in the winter—this is the Way of Pengzu."[41] For example, the regime for summer days reads: "Wash the hair frequently but bathe more rarely. Do not arise from bed late. Eat more vegetables. Arise early and, after expelling water, wash and rinse the mouth with water, scour the teeth clean, undo your hair so it lies flat against your back, and then pace outside the main hall. After a short time drink a cup of water. Enter the palace (i.e., engage in sex) between dusk and twelve midnight and then stop having intercourse. To extend the time beyond that will do harm to your bodily ethers."[42] Dividing daily activities in this fashion—particularly with regard to isolating sex to the hours between dusk and midnight[43]—strongly echoes both Zi Chan's advice to Duke Ping that "the superior man divides the day into four parts" as well as Physician He's observation that the duke had neglected "the proper times."

The second part of the *Yin shu* consists of a list of therapeutic exercises and breathing techniques followed by another list of illnesses that can be successfully treated by practicing particular exercises and techniques.[44] The text names altogether forty-one exercises and breathing techniques and explains how they are done and their significance as therapies. As Professor Li Xueqin has pointed out,[45] this part of the text of the *Yin shu* serves as an important complement to the Mawangdui manuscript called *Daoyin tu* 導引圖 because, while it famously illustrates a set of forty-four therapeutic exercises, the Mawangdui text only provides captions that name them but it does not offer any details on how and why they are done.[46] The *Yin shu*, on the other hand, describes how and why the exercises are done and several of the exercises it describes coincide with those illustrated on the *Daoyin tu* of Mawangdui.[47]

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[41] *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 171: 春產夏長秋收冬 (臧>藏此彭祖之道也. (Here and in the quotations from the *Yin shu* below, the text critical device (X>Y means that graph X should be understood to be graph Y.) Pengzu is of course the exemplar of longevity in the received literature of the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. and he is clearly the patriarch—the "Ancestor"—of those who practiced the techniques listed in the *Yin shu*. Thus Pengzu's "Way" refers not only to this particular formula but to all the activities—the hygiene regimen, breathing techniques, exercise, and sex—that are set forth in detail in the *Yin shu*. That, at the very least, Pengzu was commonly associated with therapeutic exercises of the sort described in the *Yin shu* is confirmed for us by a well-known passage in the *Zhuangzi* that, at the same time, criticizes Pengzu's Way as not the *true* Way: "To huff and puff, exhale and inhale, blow out the old and draw in the new, do the 'bear-ramble' and the 'bird-stretch'—all merely for the sake of living a long time. This is what the knights who 'guide and pull,' the men who nurture their bodies, the Pengzu-like geriatrics are addicted to." See *Zhuangzi jijie* (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 535.

[42] *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 171, strips 4–5: 夏日數沐希浴毋 (莫>暮 [起] 多食 (采>菜 (蚤>早起棄水之後用水澡 (歓>漱疏齒被髮步足堂下有閒而 (癒> 飲水一 (桮>杯入宮從昏到夜半止益之傷氣.

[43] *Han Feizi*, 627, is the *locus classicus* for understanding *rugong* 入宮 "enter the palace" as "engage in sex."

[44] *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 172–84.

The third part of the *Yin shu*—in a sense, its conclusion—offers an explanation of why people become sick. For the most part, this section of the text is concerned with explaining how the weather and the environment affect the health of most people. In its opening lines the text observes: "The reason that people become sick is invariably because, when it is hot, damp, windy, cold, raining, or wet with dew, the pores of the skin are not properly open or closed, what they eat and drink is not harmonious (with the weather), and in their activity and repose they do not respond correctly to the cold and heat. Thus they become sick."[48] What is most striking about this part of the *Yin shu*—and from the perspective of the present study the *Yin shu* in its entirety—is that the text draws a clear distinction between the diseases that afflict the elite and those that trouble commoners. As for commoners—the text calls them *jian ren* 賤人 "base" or "lowly people"—their illnesses come from harsh external conditions that they are too ignorant or too impoverished to control. The lowliest are especially susceptible to the weather and environment because they work their bodies to exhaustion, have only the shabbiest of clothing to protect them, and are too stupid to know that they should avoid damp and cold places and that there are therapies they can practice to protect themselves in such circumstances.

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[45] Li Xueqin, "*Yin shu* yu *Daoyin tu* 引書與導引圖," *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地 1991.2, 7–9.

[46] A photograph and a hand-drawn facsimile of the contents of the *Daoyin tu* along with a booklet entitled "*Daoyin tu* lunwen ji" 導引圖論文集 that contains brief discussions of the illustrated manuscript and its inscriptions by Tang Lan 唐蘭 and others was published as *Daoyin tu* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1979). See also *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書, vol. 4 (Beijing: Wenwu, 1985), 49–52.

[47] Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 310–27, provides a detailed accounting of the significance of the *Yin shu* in interpreting the *Daoyin tu*. See also Vivienne Lo, "Imagining Practice: Sense and Sensuality in Early Chinese Medical Illustration," in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China,* ed. Francesca Bray et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 383–423, esp. 406–13.

[48] *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 185, strip 298: 人之所以得病者必於暑濕風寒雨露 (奏>腠理啟闔食 (歙>飲不和起居不能與寒暑相 (癄>應故得病焉.

At the other extreme are the *gui ren* 貴人, the most noble and honored people, the rulers of the various states and the high ministers who serve them. Their leisured lives, their diet, and their carefully fashioned clothing made from fabrics appropriate to the season, all serve to protect them from the environment. Thus insulated from the extremes of weather that threaten ordinary mortals, what could harm them? Tempests of another sort. The *Yin shu* explains: "The reason the nobility get sick is because their joy and anger are not harmonious. If they are joyful then the sunlight ether is in excess. If they are angry then the shade ether is in excess. This being the case, those who follow the way quickly exhale when joyful and forcefully expel breath when angry. They do this to make their joy and anger harmonious. They breathe in the refined ethers of Heaven and Earth to make the shade substantial. Thus they are able to be free of illness."[49]

As in Physician He's diagnosis of Duke Ping, the cause of illness in *gui ren* more generally are extremes in their passions that give rise to imbalances in the body's internal meteorology. And just as the doctor noted the steps that could be taken to prevent illness—by moderating desires and observing the different periods of the day—the *Yin shu* counsels the elite to practice breathing techniques that will restore balance to their passions and thus ensure that they are free of the threat of sickness.

The threads of medical wisdom that run through both the *Yin shu* and the *Zuo zhuan*—that imbalances in the body's ethers or passions lead to illness, that a ruler should rigorously ensure that the different periods of the day serve as a framework for governing his public and private activities, and that therapeutic steps must be taken to ensure that imbalances in the body's passionate ethers do not cause sickness—suggest that the textual materials that form the historical narrative of the *Zuo zhuan* may have influenced the composition of the *Yin shu* and similar medical literature. In the *Zuo zhuan* passage that relates to Duke Ping, the core textual materials consist of Zi Chan's analysis of Duke Ping's illness, Physician He's diagnosis, and the related passage (from later in the *Zuo zhuan* narrative) that preserves You Ji's account of the connection between the "Six Ethers" and the "Six Impulses"—wisdom that You Ji attributed to Zi Chan. These textual materials share a technical language, a common theory about the workings of the inner life of the elite and the need for balance between public responsibilities and private comforts, and a concern for a particular kind of numerology different from their immediate contexts and unlike other parts of the *Zuo zhuan*. Perhaps they derive from a common source—one that was somehow associated with Zi Chan, "the superior man with profound knowledge of many things." If that is so, then their presence in the *Zuo zhuan* provides an example—not uncommon in pre-Han literature—of the authors of a text borrowing from another source in order to support and amplify their own purposes: in this case, illustrating the lesson that licentious rulers suffer serious illnesses and the high ministers who fail to censure them are punished or die, a lesson espoused at least in part by other tales of the sick dukes and kings of late Spring and Autumn and Warring States times.

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[49] *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 185, strips 107–8: 貴人之所以得病者以其喜怒之不和也喜則陽氣多怒則 (陰>陰氣多是以道者喜則急 (眗>呴怒則劇 (炊>吹以和之吸天地之精氣實其 (陰>陰故能毋病.

That the *Zuo zhuan* passage provides a parallel with the *Yin shu* explanation of the causes of elite illnesses while ignoring the sources of sickness among the population at large is not surprising. Duke Ping is, after all, an exemplar of the *gui ren* of early China. One cannot expect the authors of the *Zuo zhuan* to have spoken—either literally or figuratively—of the diseases of commoners, for being common, their afflictions were of no historical interest and provided no moral lesson worth transmitting. The *Zuo zhuan* is a text about the lives of the elite and the moral lessons that can be learned from their virtues and their vices.

Yet there is a noteworthy difference between the approach to elite illness in the *Zuo zhuan* and the *Yin shu*. The former consigned the duke to the incurables ward. The *Yin shu*, on the other hand, in addition to offering preventative therapies of the sort found in the *Zuo zhuan*, also prescribed curative measures for specific sicknesses that afflicted the noble and wealthy. Thus we find in the second part of the text detailed advice on how to treat *long* "urine retention"—according to the *Han Feizi*, the ailment from which Duke Ping suffered: "Pulling *long*. Stand erect, wrap your arms around a post, and have another person . . . [?] the small of your back. While refraining from breathing, forcefully pull in your buttocks."[50] The *Daoyin tu*, for its part, illustrates another exercise—this one for treating the ailment *jiongzhong* "heat within," which, it was suggested earlier, may be related both to *nei re* and to *long* (see Figure 1). It shows a stout man—with tightly fisted hands held near his puffed-out belly—and bears the identifying caption, "Macaque Howling to Pull Heat Within."[51] The man's mouth is open and his lips protrude like those of a howling chimp.[52]

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[50] *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian*, 179: 引癃端立抱柱令人□其 (要>腰毋息而力引尻.

[51] Transcribed into modern graphs, the inscription reads: 沐猴讙引炅中. On the identification of *muhou* 沐猴, see Tang Lan's comments in the "*Daoyin tu* lunwen ji," 9–10, published as part of the 1979 *Daoyin tu* (for which, see n. 46 above).

[52] The *Yin shu* and other texts in the *daoyin* tradition associate animals with the exercises they prescribe. Lo, "Imagining Practice: Sense and Sensuality in Early Chinese Medical Illustration," 409–13, discusses the broader cultural significance of this practice.

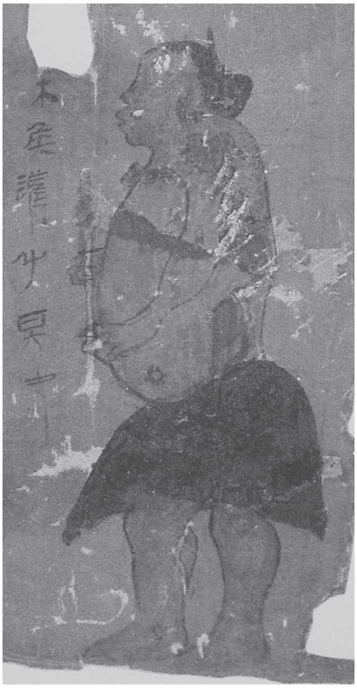

Figure 1: *Daoyin tu* exercise for treating "heat within." Reproduced from *Mawangdui Han mu wenwu* 馬王堆漢墓文物, ed. Fu Juyou 傅舉有 et al. (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1992), 150.

The fact that these excavated sources provided cures for ailments related to conditions that in the *Zuo zhuan* were labeled "incurable" might be a sign that the therapies preserved in the manuscripts represent an advance over the sort of medical knowledge attributed to Physician He and Zi Chan. That is, the *daoyin* practices we find so richly recorded in the *Yin shu* and *Daoyin tu* may genuinely have been unknown to the authors of the *Zuo zhuan* narrative. I find another explanation of the *Zuo zhuan* account more convincing: for its authors the only explanation for the duke's protracted illness was licentious and obscene conduct so profound and all-encompassing that it placed the duke beyond any help devised by the medical specialists of his day. The impact of such behavior in a ruler could not simply be undone by consulting a technical manual or put aright by hugging a post and howling like a monkey. It lingered on—a dark, brooding force—continuing to infect the body of the duke and to ruin the lives of those around him. That, at least, is the story that the authors of the *Zuo zhuan* chose to tell.