Crossing the Neiguan "Inner Pass":
A Nei/wai "Inner/Outer" Distinction in Early Chinese Medicine

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Introduction

When Chunyu Yi (fl. 154 B.C.), a physician of the early Western Han period, states that an illness has progressed to the neiguan "inner pass," he means that the outlook for his patient has taken a significant turn for the worse.2 The bing "illness" has entered a deeper space where it is more difficult to treat.3 Chunyu Yi's judgement represents a way of thinking about the body common in the second century B.C. His contemporary physicians and medical theorists of the early Western Han period displayed a heightened concern with the exact location of illness. Chunyu Yi himself constantly asks about bing suo zai "the whereabouts of the illness" and expects to know whether it is an illness of the "inner" or "outer" of the body, to what extent yin has invaded yang space, or vice versa, and where the illness is ke "seated" or "lodged" in an

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1 I would like to express my gratitude to the two anonymous referees who provided me with invaluable comments and criticism.

2 Shiji 105: 2797, 2805 and 2807.

3 Bing is a general term which I translate as "illness," a reference to signs and symptoms of bodily discomfort whether experienced, reported or observed. It is distinct from, but includes, "disease" which I equate with the identification of a syndrome, the organisation of several signs or characteristics of illness under one title.
organ, such as the heart or bladder. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 - 86 B.C.), the Han historian, pairs the biography of Chunyu Yi with another that describes the life and work of the semi-mythical physician Bian Que 扁鹊. Bian Que gives a well-known account of the progress of illness through different layers of the body.

When the affliction resides in the couli 酥理 decoctions and hot-pressing will reach it; when it is located in the blood and channels, needle and stone will reach it; when it is located in the bowels and stomach, wine tinctures will reach it; when it is located in the channels, needle and stone will reach it; once it is located in the bone and marrow, even the arbiter of human destiny can do nothing.5

As we can see from Bian Que's statement the further inside the body an illness penetrates the more serious it becomes. To pinpoint the origin and progress of an illness in spatial terms was to know it and to know it was to determine whether or not a cure was possible. This paper attempts to locate the neiguan "inner pass" itself, within a range of concepts that map out the body in medical literature of that time. While we may not resolve the specific problem unequivocally, we will further the underlying agenda - namely, to deepen our understanding of the mode of construction of nei/wai "inner/outer" categories as they occur in different branches of early Chinese medicine at a critical time in the formation of new physiological theories about the body.

Chunyu Yi is usually thought of as an early exponent of the medicine of systematic correspondence that dominated intellectual medical traditions from the beginning of the Chinese empire through to modern times.6 He certainly spoke in the language of sympathies with its elaborate resonances with the categories of yin, yang and the wuxing "Five Agents," he knew a great deal about the diagnostic value of the pulse; he treated the yin and yang channels of the body; he recognised the complexions of disorderly emotion and he sometimes used potions to settle the body's qi 氣, the most fundamental and material principle of

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4 Bian Que is depicted on Han reliefs as a human headed bird. Liu Dunyuan relates this to similar myths about physicians in the Indian subcontinent and speculates that there was maritime contact. Some Japanese scholars believe that Bian Que belonged to a group of shamans who roamed East China dressed likes birds. See the references and discussion in Unschuld 1985: 5-7 and 374 n.69. Both biographies are in Shiji 105: 2785-2820.

5 Shiji 105: 2793. There is another version of the same passage in Hanfeizi. See Hanfeizi suoyin 1982: 768. Couli "the patterns of skin" identifies a superficial structure of the body that I will discuss in detail later in this paper.

6 I use the term systematic correspondence after Unschuld who identifies its sub-paradigm as based on a recognition that all tangible and abstract phenomena can be categorised as manifestations of a limited number of underlying principles (two in the case of yin and yang and five in the case of the five xing). See Unschuld 1985: 5-7.
life. But he did not perform acupuncture at acupoints designated with the lyrical names of classical acumoxa such as *tianshu* 天樞 "heaven's pivot" or *shenmen* 神門 "spirit gate." So if the *neiguan* was not the acupoint on the anterior surface of the forearm that we know from canonical medical literature, where was it?

To address this question we must look at a broad range of medical literature that dates to, or was buried during, the second century B.C. The discussion of *neiguan* arises from three references in Sima Qian's biography of Chunyu Yi. The biography constitutes a record of Chunyu Yi's response to being arraigned on an unknown charge and called to account for his status and skill. The training and case histories that he relates in his defence give us an invaluable reflection, if not a faithful account, of medical theory and practice. To illustrate the development of *nei/wai* categories in medical perceptions of the body I will also use written medical sources taken from tombs of the second century B.C. along the course and hinterland of the Yangzi river basin in modern Hunan and Hubei. The special beauty of these excavated materials is that no editorial hand (such as that of Sima Qian in the cases of Chunyu Yi) has interfered with them. They offer us a window directly on to medical perspectives in early China. The excavated texts are certainly conceptually and probably temporarily just prior to Chunyu Yi and the intellectual environment within which he was working - that is, just prior to that time that an obsession with categorisation began to take a tight grip on every manifestation of the body in health and illness. And it is precisely this immaturity that allows us to see important developments in the classical Chinese conception of the body - the kind of developments that could lead to conceiving of the inner body as a territory defined by gates and frontiers.

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7 The combined treatises of the *Huangdi neiijing lingshu* 黃帝內經靈樞, *Huangdi neiijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問 and *Huangdi neiijing taisu* 黃帝內經太素 are generally considered to contain the core theory of traditional Chinese medicine. Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒 (1979: 67-89) compares the structure and content of the Mawangdui texts *Yinyang jiujing* 陰陽九經 and the *Zubi jiujing* 足臂九經 with the "Jingmai" treatise of the *Huangdi neiijing taisu* 黃帝內經太素, the version of the text which he considers the closest to the original *Huangdi neiijing*. He also discusses the various schools of thought represented in the treatises of the *Huangdi neiijing*. David Keegan (1988, 67-157 and 265-323) compares the Mawangdui editions of *Yinyang jiujing* and *Zubi jiujing* to *Lingshu*, 10 "Jingmai" 經脈. See *Huangdi neiijing* 黃帝內經 (1993: hereafter *Suwen* or *Lingshu*) 3: 157-63. Citing the biography of Chunyu Yi, as well as the *Huangdi neiijing*, Keegan also examines the ritual transmission of medical texts and describes how the circumstances of transmission explain the multiple descendants of a single ancestral text as well as multiple ancestors of a single text. Each student may have chosen to copy and conflate texts in an order that reflected different hierarchies including the authority of a particular lineage, his succession of teachers, or perhaps the degree of his preoccupation with consistency (Keegan 1988: 219-38).

8 *Shiji* 105: 2797, 2805 and 2807.
Fig 1. Chronology of Main Sources

Zhangjiashan manuscripts cited
(earliest date of burial 186 B.C. - latest date of burial 156 B.C.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maishu</th>
<th>The Channel Book (in 6 texts*)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Maishu (1)</td>
<td>Ailment List</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maishu (2)</td>
<td>11 Channels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maishu (3)</td>
<td>Five Signs of Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maishu (4)</td>
<td>Care of the Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maishu (5)</td>
<td>Six Constituents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maishu (6)</td>
<td>Channels and qi</td>
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<tr>
<th>Yinshu</th>
<th>The Pulling Book</th>
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<tr>
<td>Maishu (2)</td>
<td>Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Channels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maishu (3)</td>
<td>Signs of Death on the yin and yang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maishu (6)</td>
<td>Technique of the Channels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mawangdui manuscripts cited**
(buried in 168 B.C.)

| Tianxia zhi dao tan | Discussion of The Highest Way Under Heaven |
| He yin yang         | Harmonising yin and yang               |
| Tai Chanshu         | Book of the Generation of the Fetus     |
| Yinyang shiyi mai jiujing | Cauterisation Canon of the Eleven Channels |
| Yinyang mai sihou   | Signs of Death on the yin and yang      |
| Maifa               | Technique of the Channels              |

Shiji
composed by Sima Tan (d. 110 B.C.) and Sima Qian (?145 - ?86 B.C.)

| Juan 105          | Biography of Bian Que               |
|                   | and                                |
|                   | Biography of Chunyu Yi (fl. 154 B.C.) |

* Titles of the Maishu texts are after Harper (1998) except that for the sake of consistency in this paper I translate mai "channel" and leave qi untranslated. See Early Chinese Medical Literature: 31.

** I use the titles given by the editors of Mawangdui Hanmu boshu.
I will refer extensively to two manuscripts that were excavated at tomb 247 at Jiangling Zhangjiashan 江陵張家山, burial site in Hubei.9 One of them is written on 65 bamboo slips and bears the title *Maishu* "The Channel Book" written on the back of the first slip. Maishu divides easily into six core texts which, I argue elsewhere, taken together make up the earliest extant treatise to set out the principles and practice of acupuncture.10

Harper describes the six texts as 'Ailment List,' 'Eleven Vessels,' 'Five Signs of Death,' 'Care of the Body,' 'Six Constituents' and 'Vessels and Vapor.' His titles indicate well the content of each text and so I shall adopt his divisions, numbering the texts (1) - (6). Three of those texts identified by Harper are also editions of the Mawangdui texts known as *Maifa* 脈法 "The Technique of the mai," yinyang shiyi mai jiujing 陰陽十一脈灸經 "Cauterization Canon of the Eleven yin and yang Channels" and Yinyang mai sihou 陰陽脈死侯 "Signs of Death on the yin and yang Channels."11

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9 The first description of the contents of the Zhangjiashan bamboo texts appeared in Zhangjiashan Hanmu zhujuan zhenli xiaoazu, "Jiangling Zhangjiashan Hanjian gaishu" 江陵張家山漢簡簡述 (1985; hereafter, HJGS). A transcription of *Maishu* can be found in Jiangling Zhangjiashan Hanjian zhenli xiaoazu, "Jiangling Zhangjiashan Hanjian Maishu shiwen" 江陵張家山漢簡〈脈書〉釋文 (1989; hereafter, MSSW). The number of slips is taken from a revised version by Li Xueqin kindly given to me by Donald Harper. See also the commentaries by Lian Shaoming (1989: 75-81). *Yinshu* transcript can be found in Zhangjiashan Hanjian zhenli zu, "Zhangjiashan Hanjian guishu" 江陵張家山漢簡〈引書〉釋文 (1990; hereafter, YSSW), accompanied by a detailed analysis by Peng Hao 彭浩. An annotated text is also available, see Gao Dalun 1995. Detailed editorial notes on difficult parts of both texts are in Shi Changyong 史常永, "Zhangjiashan Hanjian Maishu Yinshu shiwen tongxun" 江陵張家山漢簡脈書引書 釋文通訓 (1992). Photographs of the original slips are due to be published in 2000. On the dating of the Zhangjiashan tomb in Hubei and the identity of its occupant, see HJGS: 9-15. Also see Gao Dalun 1995: 5; and Shi Yunzi 1994: 3.

10 At this point I should explain my use of the terms "manuscript," "text," and "document." The latter term I use in the most general sense to refer to written material, while "manuscript" refers to the physical object containing written material. Thus a single sheet of silk with writing constitutes one manuscript, as do bamboo slips tied together to form one unit. Any one manuscript may contain a number of texts. Modern Chinese editors of the manuscripts tend to identify discrete texts by the unique expression of an idea, often characterised by a particular form, language, and grammatical structure. Identifying a discrete text is made possible by other editions of the same text appearing on different manuscripts - and that is true for these texts. In the case of the medical texts a proliferation of editions of a single text confirms that they circulated individually in medical and elite society surrounding the owners of the tombs. For the purpose of the present study I will adopt this mode of identification of a text, but not without reservations. See the discussions in Roth 1993: 227 and Harper 1998: 17-19.

11 The texts did not originally bear titles. I use those given by the editors of Mawangdui Hanmu boshu 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (hereafter, HMBS). The Mawangdui burial mound is located in the northeastern section of Changsha 長沙, Hunan, formerly the Western Han Kingdom of Changsha, and was excavated in the early 1970s. It contains
Most of the Maishu texts, with one notable exception, give an account of mai 脉; some of these mai, bearing such titles as tai yang mai 太阳脉 "great yang channel" or shao yang mai 少阳脉 "lesser yang channel," share similar titles to the jingmai 经脉 of later acumoxa theory.12 But for many reasons we cannot equate the mai directly with the channels of acumoxa therapy.13

Among the eclectic medical writings excavated at the two sites there was also a significant amount of yangsheng 養生 "nurturing life" writing. I use the term yangsheng to refer to those techniques broadly aimed at physical cultivation and longevity which formed a part of elite culture during the Western Han period. The yangsheng practices documented in the Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan medi-

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12 "Acumoxa" refers to zhenjiu "acupuncture and moxibustion." Moxibustion entails burning artemesia vulgaris (mugwort) over the body. Early references to cautery cannot be definitively linked to the use of the same herb. Therefore, in translating from the excavated texts I will simply render jiu as "cautery" or "cauterization."

13 A problem encountered by medical historians trying to understand the concept of mai has been to reconcile apparently conflicting meanings of "blood vessel," "channel" and "pulse" where contexts seem to demand different translations. In my PhD thesis I have referred to a range of different contexts in which the meaning of the mai takes in blood vessels, topographical routes around the body (for massage, for stretching), divisions of musculature, and the pulse. Where the mai are referred to as "one hundred mai" it is difficult to imagine that the "one hundred" signify anything other than a non-specific number referring to the mass of blood vessels. But the eleven mai of Maishu and the editions of Zubi jiujing and Yinyang jiujing of Mawangdui are clearly something different. The theme of blood vessels and bloodletting, as an associated therapy, is explored by Epler (1980) who cites many examples from Suwen to suggest the importance of this practice in the formation of foundational acupuncture practice. Maishu also clearly associates the mai "channels" with holding, or, at least, controlling the movement of blood. Various solutions are proposed: Harper translates "vessel," which draws out the early association with the arteries and veins; Kuriyama points out that the divisions of structure and function differentiated by the terms vessel and pulse may be an artefact of translation - of the inseparable development of anatomy and the theory of blood circulation beginning with the Greek experience. His challenge, then, is to give a positive account of the mai. See Kuriyama 1986: 58-100. For the etymological analysis see Liu Zonghan 1992: 249; and Harper 1998: 82-83. Both authors discuss the etymology of the interchangeable graphs for the mai 脉 and demonstrate the possibility of an early correlation between the blood vessels and streams.
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cal manuscripts include therapeutic gymnastics, dietetics, breath- and sexual-cultivation. In the course of this study I will refer to Yinshu 引書 "The Pulling Book," another manuscript from Zhangjiashan, on 113 bamboo slips, which sets out the practical application of therapeutic gymnastics as well as related metaphysical discourse. I will also refer to several Mawangdui yangsheng texts. These include parts of Shiwen 十問 "Ten Questions," a text arranged in dialogue form, a style common in canonical medical literature, Tianxia zhi dao tan 天下之道談 "Discussion of the Highest Way Under Heaven" and He yin yang 合陰陽 "Harmonising yin and yang" which all specialise in sexual-cultivation. The discussants in Shiwen include Rong Cheng 容成 and Peng Zu 彭祖, two characters that are well known in received literature for their association with yangsheng practice. In its focus on preserving and strengthening the body, yangsheng constitutes an important branch of medical literature.

14 These and other practices are detailed in later Daoist and medical literature. Chapter 27 of Sun Simiao's Beiji qianjin yaofang 備急千金要方 (1955) is titled yin性 "Nurturing nature." The chapter includes instructions on massage, adjusting the qi, breathing exercises, and the sexual arts. The most comprehensive account in English of nurturing life practice can be found in a collection of articles in Kohn 1989. For a summary of this and a related Japanese collection, see Pregadio 1989-90: 387-404.

15 I translate the verb yin 陰 as "pull" to best encompass the range of activities implied by the term. Most of the exercises describe pulling and stretching along the many planes of the body. In translating yin as "pull" I am following Catherine Despeux (1989: 225-61). The interpretation of yin will naturally influence our analysis. On the one hand yin refers to "pulling" the body in various kinds of physical movements. When yin is followed by an ailment name it refers to "pulling" the ailment, presumably "pulling" (some part of the body) to "pull" or "remove" the ailment; i.e. to treat the ailment. In American English "pull" has the sense of "eliminate, remove" which is appropriate in this context. Yin is often translated "stretch," but I feel that this would be too limiting given the wide range of interventions described throughout the text.

16 Tradition associates Peng Zu with Qian Ke the grandson of Lord Zhuan Xu 蘇稽, the third son of the Lu Zhong 閔仲 clan. He is reputed to have lived seven hundred years. Yao is said to have enfeoffed him with the town of Peng thus providing his honorific name. In the Shang dynasty he was shoucang shi 守藏史 (Probationary Secretary of Storehouses?), and he served under the Zhou as zhuxia shi 雜下史 (Archivist). See Gao Dalun 1995: 90 n.2. For official titles I follow Hucker’s translations in his dictionary of official titles in imperial China (1985). Zhuangzi 15 mentions Peng Zu several times mostly in referring to longevity, but once to criticise his Way and the Way of his followers which is associated with dao yin 娅引. See Zhuangzi yinde 莊子引得. Beijing: Yanjing Univ. Press, 1948: 15, 40.

17 The criteria for defining exactly which kind of activity comes under the umbrella of nurturing life varies according to the period. By the time of the tenth century Japanese medical work Ishimpô 醫心方, a compilation that preserves a great deal of early Chinese material, the "Nurturing Life" chapter adds such diverse topics as sleep, clothing, and propriety of language. Five of the practices listed in the Ishimpô are already represented in the literature of Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan. There is also a body of literature which includes the daily ingestion and application of mineral drugs, ingestion of
of medical practices represented in the tomb literature - including the mixture of yangsheng literature, recipe texts and works on the mai - reflects that given in the fangji "recipes and techniques" collection of the "Yiwenzhi" 藝文志, that is the bibliographical treatise of Hanshu, the official Han history. This suggests that it is a fair representation of the range of medical knowledge available to literate physicians of that time.

In the course of this paper we will see the body in many different guises, each shaped by the unique focus of the medical discipline represented in the text. Sometimes a nei/wai polarity is expressed in terms of yin and yang - as dimensions of topographical space, visually perceived. At others, and especially in self cultivation texts, the boundaries of the body are lost in flights of imagination. Self cultivation brings an innovative and fresh perception of the body to medical theory in the shapes and form of the body as it is sensed or imagined - and this is a natural artefact of records that describe "own body" experience. Techniques which explicitly target the inner body, match strengthening yin with moving and vitalising inner body qi and jing, its finest manifestation, with a degree of sophistication that far surpasses any of the Maishu texts. And, furthermore, the representations of the body's exterior are freed from the limitations of the eye and begin to reveal a world where frontiers and passes could become an integral part of the landscape.

Ostensibly the neiguan in the Western Han period relates to the perception of the body as a microcosm of the imperial body politic. In early imperial times the most important guan "passes" were the wuguan 武關 "Wu Pass" and the hanguguan 函谷關 "Hangu Pass" through the mountain barrier as you travelled from the Yellow River plain through modern day Shanxi into Shaanxi, which was then the land "west of the pass." The region of the Wei River around the old Qin capital, Xianyang 咸陽 (near modern Xian), was guannei 關內 "inside the pass," a natural stronghold surrounded by rivers and mountains. Liu Bang 劉邦, founder of the Han dynasty, had to penetrate the guan when he mounted his offensive on the Qin and former Zhou heartland. King Huai of Chu 楚懷王, talismans and ritual interdiction. Still practised today, and recognised as coming under the general rubric of yangsheng are callisthenic exercises such as taiji quan 太極拳 and qigong 氣功, the therapeutic movement practised by young and old in Chinese city parks in the morning. See Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康敏 Ishimpô 靜心方 (1993): chapter 27. For some remarks on the sources of the nurturing life material, see Barrett 1980: 168-76. The range of practices associated with the term "nurturing life" is redefined according to the norms and practices of each particular period. The five practices represented in the Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan manuscripts are breath-cultivation, sexual-cultivation, therapeutic gymnastics, regulated sleep, and dietetics.

18 The "Yiwenzhi" lists books contained in the Han court library around the end of the first century B.C. It is taken from the lost catalogue of Liu Xin 劉欣 (46 B.C. - 23 A.D.).
19 Non specific references to guan are normally to the Hangu Pass.
20 See Watson 1961: vol. 1, 23 n.7 and 25.
when appointing generals to lead the attack against the Qin forces, promised "whoever should enter the guan \(\text{內官}\) 'pass' first and conquer the area within should become king of the region."\textsuperscript{21} Neiguan "inner pass" refers to the most strategic point in the defence or attack of the realm.

We understand from this analogy that an illness of the neiguan has passed beyond the place where the body's defences can easily ward off attack. But the illness itself does not seem to have a strictly defined spatial identity like that associated with older ideas of illness caused by spirit possession and requiring exorcism of a specific entity.\textsuperscript{22} Nor does Chunyu Yi define the essence of each illness as a particular configuration of symptoms affecting delineated areas of the body.\textsuperscript{23} We can only know that when the illness has passed into the interior it will have serious consequences: all three of Chunyu Yi’s patients whose illnesses passed the neiguan, the censor of Qi 齊, the King of Jibei 濟北 and the servant of the Secretary of State for Qi, could not be treated and subsequently died horrible deaths.\textsuperscript{24} More important than cure in both Bian Que and Chunyu Yi’s rhetoric, and critical to their professional survival, is their ability to describe the aetiology of an illness and to predict accurately the exact moment of death. Chunyu Yi says of one of these patients that her illness is "indescribably awful." It is especially awful because it is an illness which is imperceptible during its

\textsuperscript{21} Shi Ji 8: 356.

\textsuperscript{22} The contrast between demonological and physiological views of illness have been called ontological and physiological/functional, and this is a useful distinction when the views are polarised in this way. In the course of this paper we will also see a number of other ways in which illness was viewed and will explore the dynamic between illness as an abstraction or entity and illness as breakdown of physiological process in an individual. For further discussion of the ontological/physiological dialectic, see Hudson 1993: 45-52; and Unschuld 1993: 20-27.

\textsuperscript{23} Chunyu Yi’s case histories demonstrate ascendancy of physiological theory over the identification of disease entities. Most of the illnesses he describes are a failure of process rather than the invasion of the body by demons or other abstracted illness phenomena. In "Spaces and Classes," the opening chapter to The Birth of the Clinic, Michel Foucault states that "never was the space of configuration of disease more free, more independent of its space of localization than in classificatory medicine" (Foucault 1973: 4-5). The space conferred on the configuration of illness by those in both early China and ancient Greece, who established illness categories on the basis of sympathies or resonances, was the least limited of all. What of a disease, the signs and symptoms of which extend through a multiplicity of different planes including the emotional, behavioural and physico-functional, the body, hidden, visible or in motion .... ? See for example the illnesses grouped under Wind in Suwen or the basic Hippocratic statement describing how the body constituents and their pathology was in sympathy with the cycles of nature. Translated in "The Nature of Man" in Hippocratic Writings, ed. G.E.R. Lloyd (1978): 260-271 and in particular 264 and 266. See also Suwen, 42 "Fenlun" 聲論, 4.58-9.

\textsuperscript{24} Shi Ji 105: 2797, 2805 and 2807.
gestation period: the patient neither looks nor feels ill. A guan of the inner body is an integral part of later Han breath-cultivation where it refers to an area two cun from the navel which stores qi. But exactly where Chun Yu Yi’s “inner pass” was and what physiological transformation occurs depends on the constitution of inner and outer in the contemporary medical view of the body. And this is not at all clear in the Shiji account. We must therefore turn to other sources for further evidence.

Nei/wai “inner/outer” is a feature of medical literature from Han times onward and refers in different ways to the “outer and inner realms.” It is also a commonplace distinction in modern TCM, where it is a diagnostic principle used to determine the depth to which a disease has penetrated the body. In modern hospitals it is retained in the distinction between neike “internal medicine” and waike “surgery.” Prior to Han times there are only occasional references in non-medical literature, increasing towards the end of the Zhou period. We do not, for example, see nei/wai as a pair matched with yin and yang in “Cheng,” the earliest extant attempt to set out systematic correlates.

25 Chun Yu Yi quotes the Maifa “the technique of the channels,” “when the illness becomes serious and the pulse is smooth and clear, this is called the neiguan.” When the illness finally breaks out it means sudden and violent death by vomiting blood or pus. Shiji 105: 2797.

26 Xun Yue (148-209), Shenjian 3, 12, Shenjian duben, edited by Lin Jiali. Taibei, 1996: 89-90. Xun Yue criticises ordinary forms of self-cultivation and recommends nurturing one’s nature by extending breath so that qi reaches the guan.

27 The term modern TCM (Traditional Chinese Medicine) may seem contradictory, but I use the abbreviation TCM to refer to the re-invention of traditional Chinese medicine in the twentieth century. Traditional medicine is constantly re-interpreted and re-invented in every period and society in China. Modern TCM refers specifically to post-revolutionary Chinese standardisation of theory and practice as represented in such texts as Chinese Acupuncture and Moxibustion. A number of scholars are researching the phenomena of TCM as it transforms as a result of influence from Europe and America or under the guidance of various Communist campaigns. A basic introduction to differential diagnosis and in particular the distinction between diseases of the interior or exterior is given in Cheng 1987: 274-276. For a review of changes in Chinese medicine during and after the collapse of imperial rule see Andrews 1996.

28 Munro 1964: 2.

29 The Mawangdui manuscript which contains a second edition of the Laozi is preceded by a lengthy text which may be the Huangdi sijing 黃帝四經 “The Yellow Emperor’s Four Canons” mentioned in the Han bibliography, “Yiwenzhi,” and is therefore known by that title. In content it bears many similarities to the Laozi. Mawangdui silk manuscript known as the Huangdi sijing 黃帝四經. The fourth book termed “Cheng” provides us with the earliest extant list of Yinyang correlates. These are set out in fig. 2. The various books in the Huangdi sijing are of broad interest and cover subjects from law and government to treatises on the origins of all things. They show us the degree to which Yinyang thinking had begun to penetrate into different areas of specialism. A transcript
Not one of these pairs of correlates (see fig. 2) explicitly differentiates inner and outer space of the body or of anything else (save perhaps the pair heaven and earth which was often described as a turtle carapace with a semi spherical heaven covering a square plastron).\(^{30}\) Stretching and contracting may refer to outward and inward movements and we might interpret the same activity/inactivity dynamic in "having things to do" or "not having things to do," in "organising others" and "being organised by others," in "speech" and in "silence." Lisa Raphals, examining the dynamic between nei and wai as it applied to gender relations in Warring States and Han times, suggests that there were "two distinct modes of 'inner' and 'outer' activity" and that the terms nei/wai were only secondarily applied to specific locations and the physical separation of men and women.\(^{31}\) And as Munro commented, "in appreciating early Chinese thought it is important not so much to note the use of the terms nei and wai as to understand the polarity which their use indicated."\(^ {32} \)

The terms nei and wai are not used as a pair in the Maishu texts. Ideas of the body's inner and outer space are certainly articulated, but very often implicitly as a subset of yin and yang. We will, therefore, find that to appreciate the body's inner world we must constantly return to analyse the meaning of yin and yang in these early Chinese medical writings. Maishu (1) is the exception in that, in answering where bing zai "the illness is located," it concentrates on organising visible pathology as it emerges on the surface of the body without using many abstract terms in its classifications. This will be the first subject when we come to look at the exterior of the body.

Maishu (2) and (3), in particular, take a differentiation between yin and yang as their primary principle in understanding the body. Maishu (2) describes the course and symptoms associated with eleven yin and yang channels. The polarities that yin and yang represent in these texts are topographical inasmuch as they only concern shape and form. Yin is understood in its most basic sense of the softer, dark, inner, and lower aspects of the body (anterior, under the arms and on the inner surfaces of the legs) as opposed to the harder, light, and upper parts (posterior, superior and visible) which are yang. Yin and yang representing divisions of time or phases, are conspicuously missing from any of the Maishu texts.
Rather than appeal to later "canonical" constructions of the *yinyang* duality it is better to understand these topographical distinctions in the light of the 2nd century B.C. discourse centred on selecting auspicious or inauspicious sites for successful intervention. This is exemplified in the Yinqueshan 銀雀山 military texts which show an elaborate concern with *yin* and *yang* terrain and how to align military strategy auspiciously. Similarly the Mawangdui text known as the *Taichanshu* 胎產書 "Book of the Generation of the Fetus" uses *yin* and *yang* as an indication of where to bury the afterbirth to ensure good influences on a child throughout its lifetime. Where *yin* and *yang* contour the surface of the body we can see that they mark a kind of grid reference for choosing an auspicious site for medical intervention.

Of the six texts *Maishu* (3) gives us the most profound elaboration of *yin* and *yang* when it works out a physiology of pathology according to anatomical location. *Yang* illnesses are illnesses that are easy to identify by looking or palpating from the outside. They involve injury to bone structure and the skin.

In all cases the three *yang* are the *qi* of heaven. Of their illnesses only if there is breaking of the bones and splitting of the [skin] will death occur.34

In contrast, *yin* illnesses afflict the inner body, muscle, flesh, blood, *qi* and bone, and are invisible to the eye apart from through signs on its surface:35

In all cases the three *yin* are the *qi* of earth and the channels of death. They decay the viscera and rot the bowels which is where the killing resides. When the *yin* are ill and chaotic then death will ensue before ten days are out.36

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33 Geomancy or the science of siting has a complex history in China with competing theories and is mainly concerned with the selection of a topological site with good influences for positioning ancestral tombs or houses. The *Yinyang* texts from the Yinqueshan burial site are invaluable for studying some of the earliest extant work of *Yinyang* theorists who were concerned with philosophic and military texts. Here there is further evidence of how *yin* and *yang* describe topology, "... earth that is low lying is *yin*. Mountains and hills likewise also because of their height are *yang*... and mountains and hills likewise are in charge of quiescence/tranquillity. If water ... just at the time of rest and there is movement ... doing activities that are not quiescent. If you unite *yin* and *yang*, you cannot be (possibly *bai* 败 or *ke* 克 'defeated') ..." (tr. Yates 1994: 96-7). See HMBS, vol. 4: 133-141; and Li Jianmin 1994: 725-830.

34 MSSW: 73.

35 Although this has not achieved the subtlety of diagnosis of the internal organs via the five colours of the complexion set out in *Lingshu* 49 "Wuse" 五色, 5.205-6, Kuriyama draws the analogy between knowing the condition of the inner body from the facial complexion and contemplating the bloom of a flower. See Kuriyama 1995: 234. The plant symbol in early Chinese culture is the subject of a recent study by Sarah Allan (1997).

36 MSSW: 73-74.
**Figure 2. Yinyang correlations in "Cheng," the fourth book of the Mawangdui *Huangdi sijing***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yang</th>
<th>yin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heaven</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>Autumn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>Winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important States</td>
<td>Insignificant States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having things to do</td>
<td>Not having things to do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stretching</td>
<td>Contracting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruler</td>
<td>Minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td>Below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder Brother</td>
<td>Younger Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>Younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noble</td>
<td>Base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieving worldly success</td>
<td>Staying poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking a wife and having children</td>
<td>Mourning the dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organising others</td>
<td>Being organised by others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest</td>
<td>Host*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander/Soldiers</td>
<td>Conscripts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>Silence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving</td>
<td>Receiving</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* I follow Graham’s translation. The two terms are used to describe illness where illness is conceived as an entity like a guest, the body as host. See Graham 1986: 28. Ryden translates "attacker and defender" after a reading in *Guoyu* 21. See his note in *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* (1977): 103 n.3.
In contrast, yin illnesses afflict the inner body, muscle, flesh, blood, qi and bone, and are invisible to the eye apart from through signs on its surface:37

In all cases the three yin are the qi of earth and the channels of death. They decay the viscera and rot the bowels which is where the killing resides. When the yin are ill and chaotic then death will ensue before ten days are out.38

So far we have seen yin and yang represent degrees of visuality. At the most extreme yin refers to the hidden inner body, a dimension that is not well described in any of these texts except perhaps through the experience of pain. Mai-shu (5) gives a differential diagnosis of pain as it relates to illness of particular body constituents, such as bone, blood or qi.

In general, considering its increasing importance in medicine, the properties of qi in the inner body are not well documented. In Mai-shu (6) there is an elementary physiology of qi and instructions for influencing it by piercing the body with a stone lancet:

As for qi, it benefits the lower and harms the upper; follows heat and distances coolness ... So if qi goes up, not down, then when you see the channel that has over-reached itself, apply one cauterisation where it meets the articulation. When the illness is intense then apply another cauterization at a place two cun above the articulation.39 When the qi rises at one moment and falls in the next, pierce it with a stone lancet at the back of the knee and the elbow.

Unlike the other Mai-shu texts where pain is the only clue to the inner body, Mai-shu (6) also describes inner body physiology in a way that echoes theories well established in self-cultivation literature. We will see in the course of this paper that many perceptions of the body and models for practice generated by self-cultivation practices are ultimately retained in canonical medical literature. Taken together Mai-shu (2) to (6) represent the earliest extant treatise to set out the principles and practice of acumoxa therapy.

It is not in the purview of this paper to examine the sociopolitical context which formed the background to transformations in Han medical practice. However the following quotation is suggestive:

37 Although this has not achieved the subtlety of diagnosis of the internal organs via the five colours of the complexion set out in Lingshu 49 "Wuse" 5.205-6, Kuriyama draws the analogy between knowing the condition of the inner body from the facial complexion and contemplating the bloom of a flower. See Kuriyama 1995: 234. The plant symbol in early Chinese culture is the subject of a recent study by Sarah Allan (1997).
38 MSSW: 73-74.
39 One cun is equivalent to about 2.31 cm.
The Yellow Emperor asked saying: "I have heard that in ancient times when treating illness, in movingjing 'essence' and transforming qi, all they had to do was make spells. In modern times when treating illness, poisons and herbs treat the inside [of the body], needle and stone treat its outside - why do some promote recovery and some do not promote recovery?" Qi Bo answered: "In former times the ancients dwelled among the birds and beasts. In their movements they avoided the cold, they stayed in the shade and avoided the summer heat; inside they did not harbour envy and outside they did not have the appearance of reporting to an official. In a quiet and peaceful world, xie 'perverse influences' could not penetrate deeply inside, poisons and herbs were unable to treat the inside, needle and stone were unable to treat the outside, so spells for removal alone were able to move the essence."40

In this piece we can see the importance early medical writers placed upon matching therapy to the depth of illness. We also see them eulogising a golden age when self-cultivation was enough to avoid internal illness. The authors clearly judge a particular class of medical practitioner, the wushamans or spirit mediums, as not sophisticated enough to deal with the ills of a changing world. There is no doubt that spells for removal used by the wu were not originally aimed at moving qi and jing, but at exorcising demons and other entities thought to cause illness. There is no hint of conflict here between different practitioners using spells or pharmacology, but Qi Bo's words lay the theoretical foundation for rejecting the value of spells and spell-binders.

In general, medical theory of the second century B.C. saw a slow move away from the view that disease was a hostile entity, external to the body, and towards an emphasis on interpreting signs of illness as the breakdown of a state of harmony within the body. Both views demanded that the practitioners understand the spatial nature of the given affliction. In demonic medicine it might be necessary to communicate with the spirits at specific dwelling places in the body.41 Bennett, writing of the difference between intuitive or analytical siting techniques in geomancy, notes that "the difference between siting techniques was probably in some ways analogous to the difference between medical practices."42 The selection of one medical approach over the other may well

40 Suwen, 13 "Yi jing bian qi lun" 梗精變氣論, 2.17.
41 Harper writes about the Warring States, Qin and Han religious manuscripts which refer to the suo "place" of a deity where worshippers could place an altar and statues. Wei "position" is a similar term that designated the place where the spirits might reside. He suggests that "this religious viewpoint was applied to the suo and wei of the body in Han common religion," and cites evidence from the later Han period of communicating with the spirits of the body as therapeutic intervention. See Harper 1997: 18-19.
have been a matter of the social group to which the practitioner belonged and the social status of his clients. Thus one perspective on the changing descriptions of the inner and outer worlds of the body that follow is that they constitute the stock-in-trade of a new medical elite.

Observation of The External Body

Western Han medical texts and artifacts give us many different images of the exterior of the body. Some, such as the Mawangdui Daoyin tu (Guiding and Pulling Chart), a chart of forty-four robed and semi-robed figures engaged in different exercises, are two-dimensional images which we can see with our own eyes. Others, such as Maishu (1) are records of the body observed. Maishu (1), remarkably, gives us the earliest extant record of clinical observation in China. We might have assumed that in formative periods of the medicine of systematic correspondence medical theorists would concentrate on describing illness as a breakdown of physiological harmony, a disorder of constituent, system and process rather than grouping signs of illness into diseases. On the contrary, Maishu (1) gives us illness in its most naked form.

We can see in Maishu (1) the beginnings of a differential diagnosis based on a simple hermeneutics of pathology. The text begins to identify the essential patterns of disease (for that is what we must call illness when it has been transformed by the identification of recurring groups of illness signs and given a name) which exist independently of the body as a whole, or of the individual patient - no longer illnesses, but abstract concepts without concrete existence. Its approach is eclectic, sometimes naming and therefore "knowing" an illness simply by where it is on a map of the body and sometimes identifying similarities by selecting a recurring group of illness signs. It establishes similarities and then proceeds to isolate minor divergences between similar configurations of signs of illness.

Maishu (1)'s knowledge of the body and its pathology barely penetrates or leaves the surface of its skin. It does not set out to gain knowledge beyond the information offered immediately to the eye. It is, therefore, not much more than a lexicon of diseases. Ideas about the causative factor of disease and its aetiology


44 Hudson has made this point in relation to Sydenham's description of symptoms and syndromes. See Hudson 1993: 48.
may sometimes be implicit in the name attributed to the disease. The names "water" and "wind" suggest, for example, that these agents or elements are the single most important factor in the history of the disease. In such cases the causal agent and the "disease" are identical - but these are subsidiary, almost incidental, features of a text which is less temporal or sequential than a visual record that does not organise signs of illness before they manifest on the surface of the body.

*Maishu* (1) begins with the location of the signs of illness. The basic pattern is in the following entry:

> [When the illness is] ... in the neck: they are scrofulae.45

Unless further details are added the illness normally refers to swellings detectable on or from the surface of the skin, such as inflammation or degeneration of the skin. Among the Chinese terms are *yong* "abscesses," *bao* "pimples," *bi* "sores," *tui* "inguinal swellings," *lou* "scrofulae" and *zhi* "haemorrhoids." Wherever possible I have translated the names of *Maishu* illnesses with Western parallels that refer the reader to the symptoms as stated in the text and not to Western biomedical concepts of disease and disease causation.

Other entries include an additional layer of definition. They group signs of illness and establish names for them - diseases in my estimation. An example of the pattern is:

> [When the illness is] at the nose: it is a cold in the head; when there are sores, and it hurts, it is erosion of the leaf chewing insect.46

Most of the entries in the list establish qualitative variations on similar signs of illness on a particular part of the body. The structure of the entry is then enlarged to form the following type of entry:

> If the body at times falls down and froths at the mouth with the sound of a sheep baaing, ... if unable to breathe, this is grand mal, if the body arches backwards, this is infant convulsions.47

Secondary signs of divergence can also increase as in the following example:

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45 MSSW: 72.
46 MSSW: 72.
47 MSSW: 72.
... in the body; when dull-witted, - and doesn't recognise others, this is a wasting disease of the limbs ... in the body: when the sores are spreading and there is itching, it is scabies.48

The number of diseases differentiated by minor divergences from the basic illness of a part of the body increases to as many as ten in some entries. In the case of diseases of the bowel, for example, the entries first differentiate bowel blockage and then go on to types of diarrhoea. Kinship is defined both by the location in the body and the juxtaposition of the entries in the list.

Maishu (1) begins with thirteen illnesses which afflict the head and neck and then moves systematically to the feet (beneath the foot: it is calluses)49 whereupon it sets out ten whole body afflictions such as the convulsions described above. Twenty-one illnesses afflict the torso (of which five are exclusively women's illnesses and one is exclusively male). Three affect the leg.

Three of the ten whole body afflictions are different types of oedematous swellings. Two relate to fever, one to boils that break out all over the body and another describes a set of symptoms that would today be related to jaundice:

Internal exhaustion: the body hurts, the eyes and nails are yellow, it is yellow exhaustion.50

Maishu (1) does not define illness according to the key concepts of the medicine of systematic correspondences, according to yin, yang, qi and mai. Nowhere does it mention qualities of the pulse or locations on the channels as a feature of the identification of diseases. It does not participate in constructing a physiological view where instead of defining diseases, illness is understood as the breakdown of health, a unique process in a particular individual. The exceptions prove the rule: three occurrences of qi in Maishu (1) refer to a very restricted use of the term.

The first describes red qi, the discomfort and colour of heat in the body.51 Thereafter qi simply refers to air in the respiratory or alimentary system, such as a cough with rising qi52 or qi masses in the bowel53 (in other words gas trapped in the alimentary tract that causes abdominal distension).

But how much can we say that Maishu (1) is a treatise that records "clinical observation?" "Clinic" is a term which is heavily laden with references to institutional medical research after the late eighteenth century where a patient is for-

48 MSSW: 72. I use the term scabies in the older sense of the word which does not yet refer to the itch mite.
49 MSSW: 72.
50 MSSW: 72.
51 MSSW: 72.
52 MSSW: 72.
53 MSSW: 72.
Vivienne Lo: Crossing the Neiguan “Inner Pass”  33

mally subject to the eye of a clinician. We cannot know the exact context within which the observations of Maishu were made. But they do give the modern reader greater access to the illnesses actually suffered in the late Warring States period. Its authors excised accounts of demons, ancestors, spirits and souls and were not yet promoting a fully-mature physiological account of diseases. Because the accounts are not generally obscured by theoretical jargon or obtuse religious and cultural concepts, we can recognise many configurations that are also the common concern of modern pathologists. Maishu (1) identifies signs that today might be called tonic-clonic seizure, jaundice, constipation, dysentery, haemorrhoids, carcinoma of the colon and rectum, quinsy, amenorrhoea, menorrhagia, leucorrhoea amongst many others.

Close observation of the body was not limited to its pathology alone. Sexual cultivation literature observes the external body in health. Much of He yin yang and Tianxia zhi dao tan describes bodies in sexual arousal and in various levels of physical engagement with each other. Some images are clear and immediately accessible to the modern reader, some need careful philological and cultural research to decipher what is going on.

Where observation of female extragenital response in Masters and Johnson states that “an example of superficial vasocongestion is the sex flush appearing on body surfaces” and “nipple erection is the first evidence of the breasts' response to sex tension increment,” He yin yang lists five signs of desire: "One states: when her qi rises and her face flushes, slowly exhale (warm breath). Two states: when her nipples become erect and her nose sweats, slowly embrace.” Female orgasm is also attributed universal features which recur in both texts: where He yin yang states that "the symptoms of the great death [grand finale] are: the nose sweats, lips are white, the hands and feet all move, the buttocks do not touch the mat ..." and, with the exception of nose sweating, similar symptoms are also recorded in Masters and Johnson who describe orgasm in terms of voluntary and involuntary muscle spasm, “at orgasm ... the muscles of the arms and legs usually contract into involuntary spasm...the striated muscles of the abdomen and the buttocks frequently are contracted voluntarily by women in a conscious effort to elevate sexual tensions ...”

When the excavated texts record close observations of the body in sexual response, the meaning is often quite clear. We have seen that they contain a

54 See Lo 1998a: 157-159.
55 Many of the difficulties of interpretation are highlighted in the process of translation. There are, for example, disagreements between Harper and Wile, which can be seen in the notes to their respective translations. Douglas Wile (1992: 78-79) gives a full translation of He yin yang. See also Harper 1987: 539-593, and 1998: 412-4. Where there appears to be confusion it is useful to refer to Li Ling and Keith McMahon who survey anatomical terminology in the whole of the Mawangdui sexual corpus, making a critical study of existing interpretations; Li and McMahon 1992: 145-185.
57 Masters and Johnson 1966: 128.
knowledge of the body derived from accumulating empirical evidence and the kind of simple observation we have seen earlier in *Maishu* (1). I would not suggest that here is evidence of universal bodily experience, but simply that there is enough similarity between these different accounts to make the experience recognisable. Some observations require a stronger cultural filter than others: where theory predominates or imagination occludes the eye the records suddenly become couched in a code which remains difficult to access.

So far the excavated literature has only given us the body, its pathology and pleasure, laid naked by the eye. But it is only in the records of self-cultivation that we will find the beginnings of a new language for the body infused with imagery of the social and natural worlds. Where the authors of *Maishu* (2) used mundane anatomical terminology when they described the course of the channels (most of the graphs contain radicals of the physical body, such as *rou* 肉 "flesh," *zu* 足 "foot," *gu* 骨 "bone" or *mu* 目 "eye") and did not describe acupoints and where *yin* and *yang* refer to little more than the dark and light planes of the body, *He* *yin* *yang* begins with a kind of pre-coital massage which is couched in lyrical verse about the female body. Instead of massaging the abdomen, the hands pass over the *lijin* 液津 "syrupy liquor ford," perhaps the way through the fluid streaming down from *liquan* 液泉 "syrupy liquor spring" which arises under the tongue or at the navel, alternatively, or perhaps simultaneously, the cleavage between lactating breasts... to *bohai* 浮海 "the spurring sea" and *changshan* 常山 "mount constancy" before the final instruction to enter *xuanmen* 玄門 "the dark gate," a euphemism for the vagina.

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58 Wile, in his history of the sexual arts in China, distinguishes three different methods for the experiential foundation of knowledge about the sexual nature of the body. He identifies the author's experience, the collective experience of generations and the deductive models of traditional science or cosmology. See Wile 1992: 5-10.


61 Harper describes the geographic locations of the *liquan* as they are given in Han sources and identifies it with a manifestation of the cosmic axis which joins heaven and earth. See Harper 1987: 576-77.

62 *Bohai* and *Changshan* are both sites referred to in *Shanhaijing* 山海經 "The Canon of Mountains and Seas," possibly another text local to the region of Chu. See Fracasso 1993: 359-61. Neither "mount constancy" nor "dark gate" are attested in the acumoxa canons, but by the time of these later medical works the body is littered with gates and mountains. Below the navel, at the probable location of the *bohai* "spurring sea" comes *qihai* 氣海 "sea of qi" which is also called *boyang* 脖頸, *Bo* 脖 "neck," the first graph, is homophonous with *qiu* "spurting" which suggests that the name may be a graphic variation. *Zhenjiu jiayijing* 针灸甲乙經 AB Canon of Acumoxa) (Wu Jin, 256-282 A.D.): 3.
It is not necessary to attempt to resolve the controversies in meaning and translation of the locations in *He yin yang*. It is enough to note that although all these terms clearly refer to physical locations, not one of them is a common anatomical term. Each is a metaphorical representation and can only be understood by appealing to literary allusion or analogous structures in contemporary society.

Our last view of the exterior of the body comes from a combination of *Yin-shu* and *Daoyin tu* and, in contrast to *He yin yang*, gives us images of the whole body. Some of the *Daoyin tu* diagrams have captions such as *long deng* 龍登 "dragon rising" and *yin xi tong* 膝痛 "pulling knee pain." Others describe exercises to influence the body’s *yin* or *yang* where bending *yin* might simply refer to leaning forward collapsing the anterior part of the body and pulling *yang* means stretching the back. Many exercises refer to animals. *Yinshu* lists some of them:

- Holding the breath is good for the coital muscles; [Praying Mantis] is good for the constant channel; Snake Shake is good for the great brain; Wild Duck Bathing is good [for illnesses?] of the head; ... Owl [Shivers] is good for bending the neck; Tiger Looks Back is good for the neck and the buttocks; ... Chicken Stretch is good for the shoulders and arms; Bear Ramble is good for the muscles of the back.63

*Yinshu* is an invaluable guide to a comprehensive range of verbs of position and motion. It has detailed directions for sitting, kneeling, bending, swinging, pulling and pushing and for different ways to breathe. *Yinshu* also tackles the same problems that, for example, the aspirant practitioner of *Taijiquan* encounters when learning the art from a book. The problems are not simply in translation. Without visual aids it is often impossible to understand how to interpret a textual account.

Where modern *Taijiquan* manuals provide diagrams, photographs or even videos, *Yinshu* may have had charts like the *Daoyin tu* to provide one more dimension to help the student. But an even more effective way that the text itself communicates quality of whole body movement is to appeal to common images of animals.64 That is a device that *daoyin* shares with literature of the sexual arts where animal movements communicate sexual postures and rhythm. The following are called the *shijie* "ten regulations" 十節 in *He yin yang* or the *shishi* 十勢 "ten postures" in *Tianxia zhi dao tan*:

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64 This is one method of "teaching without words," a communication of a complete idea that is learnt spontaneously rather than through analysis - the texts represent an analysis of the movement. The subject of teaching without words in later Daoist tradition is discussed by Schipper. See Schipper 1993: 183-216.

*He yin yang* assumes that each image communicates the essential activity and does not provide a detailed breakdown such as we find in *Yinshu*. Later literature provides an explanation for some of the postures.66 *Yinshu* is more specific. Here is the entry for the Inchworm as a *daoyin* exercise:

> Extend the lower leg curling the toes thirty times. This is called the Inchworm.67

The inchworm or looper caterpillar, as other caterpillars, moves by stretching and contracting the length of its body in a curling motion. With the inclusion of the inchworm in *He yin yang* and *Tianxia zhi dao tan* it is easy to imagine how stretching and curling of the body can be adapted to sexual posture and movement.

*Yinshu’s* reference to the owl relies on a familiar image of the bird with its head, seemingly sunken into its body, looking from side to side:

> The Owl (Shivers). Interlock hands behind the back, shrink the neck and shake the head.68

and, paradoxically, the exercise that cites the snake, a creature which has no neck, naturally extends the neck in gnashing the teeth:

> Snake Shake. Interlock the hands behind the back and gnash the teeth (shaking) the head.69

Perhaps the snake is all neck! The tiger is more difficult to "see," but the movement is at least a bold forward movement:

> Tiger Pull. Step one foot forward, raise one arm high and bend.70

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65 HMBS, vol. 4, 165.


The graceful bowing of the deer is more readily understood:

   Prostrate Deer. Raise the two hands, turning the back and
   bend forward as far as possible.71

as is the jumping frog:

   Leaping Frog. With hands parallel, wave them up and down
   to right and to left.72

and the proud full chest of the dragon:

   Dragon Rising. Bend the front knee, extending at the back.
   Interlock the two hands, hold the knee and look up.73

Sexual posturing may equate with the movement of the beasts in these texts because the body, without the dignity and culture of clothing, is naked and wriggling; because the activities defined by the urge to reproduce are shared with the beasts, or perhaps it is simply that, in training the body, it is simpler to convey movement with reference to a mobile three dimensional and sentient image. Where Christian Gnostics saw a spark of heaven in man's upright stance - a spark that distinguished him from the beasts - daoyin gives us qualities of heaven in animal mobility - strength, vitality, durability, prolonged youth, greater calm and control.

When Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150 – ca. 215 A.D.) said, "the human body became like the beasts when he began to practice sexual intercourse," he was representing people for whom beasts and beastliness referred to passions full of shame. Early Chinese images of animals and animal behaviour in self-cultivation likewise represented the carnal, but they were also used in the measure and control of bodily passion with the aim of strengthening and prolonging life. Far from leading to unbridled lust, physical communion with the essence of animal movement was much the same as identifying and following the patterns of heaven.

In this exploration of second century B.C. Chinese medical texts we have seen images of the body formulated under the direct scrutiny of the eye. But these bald images gave us no clue as to the whereabouts of the "inner pass." The

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75 As quoted in Williams 1989: 138. Williams describes how humans were sometimes thought to be modelled after the archons, the theriomorphic beings who created humanity.
images of animals in motion together with the lyrical terms for the woman's body given in therapeutic gymnastics and sexual-cultivation are strikingly reminiscent of later medical constructs such as the acupoints of acupuncture theory. Neiguan, the "inner pass" also fits neatly into this enterprise to mirror the external world in the body. But so far we have only seen images of the body's exterior - and we have not even come across references to yang apart from a description of the posterior and upper parts of the body. We will find that the influence of self-cultivation on new physiological concepts grows as we turn inwards towards perspectives on the body's inner worlds.

**Pain, Pleasure and Passion - a Phenomenology of the Inner Body**

Chunyu Yi bases his knowledge of the inner body on the condition of qi in different organs which he assesses through a disturbance of the pulses. He refers to a complex physiology where those patients whose illness has crossed the neiguan might have sites of pathology between the stomach and intestines, in the quality of liver qi or as the qi of one organ cheng "riding" over the other organs. These constitute explanations for different manifestations of illnesses in this category, but are not sites for the neiguan. The excavated texts represent medical theory at a stage that is conceptually prior to the epistemological models that Chunyu Yi refers to and will provide us with some good clues to its meaning.

From what we have learned so far from the texts excavated at Zhangjiashan and Mawangdui, it seems that the visible structures that constituted the body's exterior surface determined a boundary between its "inner" and "outer" aspects; that the medical gaze did not penetrate the barrier of the skin. In its description of the channels Maishu (2) refers to the body's most accessible organs such as the lungs, stomach, heart, kidney and intestines, but it does not attribute any larger sphere of influence to these organs.76

76 *Maishu* does not reveal the diagnostic art of interpreting se 看, divining the body's internal condition through the colour and complexion of the face. So, without exploring internal anatomical structures and with no elaborated system of correspondences to act as a key to a range of meanings attributed to superficial signs, the body seems to be just "as it meets the eye." See Kuriyama 1995: 205-234. Kuriyama compares visual knowledge in China and in the West and makes a distinction between the object of the gaze in each tradition. In the Chinese tradition the interpretation of se is the key to gaining insight into the inner condition of the body. Kuriyama suggests that the "eye" was privileged in a hierarchy of senses applied to diagnosis. His evidence is based upon a quotation from the *Nanjing* and one from the *Huangdi neijing lingshu*. Although Kuriyama gives early examples of the observation of se it is unclear when the practice was adopted as formal "medical" practice and how general a statement one can make about the priority of visual knowledge on the basis of a small selection of texts. We have seen that a visual knowl-
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*Maishu* (5) describes a number of body constituents, but save for blood and *qi*, they are simply associated with signs of superficial, morbid pathology and not generally given meaning within a broader physiological context other than by analogy.\(^{77}\) The function of each of the body constituents are matched to features of the human environment, its architecture and infrastructure. It states, "now the bones are the supporting pillars, the sinews are the binding, the blood is the moisture, the channels are the irrigation canals, the flesh sticks on and the *qi* curves around."\(^{78}\) In these analogies we can see the beginnings of a metaphorical language for the body's inner world developing in the medical sphere.

In this section I ask in detail how the excavated texts that describe *mai* and *yangsheng* organise the inner body, how the unique features of *yangsheng* culture shaped these descriptions and what they can tell us about the development of early Chinese medical theory and practice. Unlike *Neijing* which discusses both structural and functional aspects of the internal organs, the excavated texts tend towards an aesthetic appreciation of inner body experience.\(^{79}\) And we shall see how the imagination works upon this experience to create new realms for the inner body.

With the visual knowledge of the body set out in *Yinshu* and *Maishu* alone we can not progress our understanding very deeply into the interior of the body. Apart from passing references to some internal organs *Maishu* references to the inner body mainly refer to an experience of pain in parts of the channels. In a passage from *Maishu* (5) we can see that a differential diagnosis of pain qualities was fundamental to locating the origin of a particular illness, e.g., "bone pain is as if being hacked at, muscle pain is as if being bound, blood pain is as if saturated, channel pain is as if flowing, flesh pain is as if floating and when the *qi* is

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\(^{77}\) Apart from blood and *qi* and, of course, *mai*, *Maishu* (2) and (3) identify bone, muscle, lungs, heart, stomach, intestines and kidneys. See MSSW: 74. Lu and Needham have shown that some of the *Huangdi neijing* material demonstrates knowledge of internal anatomy. In contrast Porkert and Sivin downplay the significance of structure, location and lesion in the *Neijing* and stress its emphasis on the functional nature of descriptions of inner body parts. See Lu and Needham 1980: 85, 93; Porkert 1979: Vol. III, 107; and Sivin. 1987: 117-121.

\(^{78}\) MSSW: 74.

\(^{79}\) I use aesthetic in contrast to anaesthetic in its earlier meaning of "things perceptible to the senses" rather than the "criticism of taste." An analysis of the inner core of the body based on the *Huangdi neijing* material led Martha Li Chiu to establish four different directions of interpretation which included a greater interest in the functions than the structure of many important parts of the interior, a stress on drawing correspondences with the outside world, the urge to use symbolic numbers and the assumption that the body is a unified whole. See Li Chiu 1986: 67.
agitated there is chaos." Pain is also the main guide to treatment in Yinshu which organises its exercises under headings such as "pain in the buttocks." I have described elsewhere how charting the course of pain was an important instrument in establishing the course of the channels. It is evident that this focus on "experienced" symptoms rather than signs of illness demonstrates the influence of self-cultivation, and in particular dao in on the development of yinyang channel theory in traditional Chinese medicine.81

In sharp contrast to the Maishu texts, yangsheng literature of this period goes far beyond describing the inner body in pain. It describes a multiplicity of different bodies which confuse boundaries set by the eye and thereby allow us greater access to early Chinese perceptions of the inner world. In some forms of self-cultivation metaphorical language is applied to both inner and outer parts of the body simultaneously and refers to physiological functions associated with those parts.

But to differentiate the body's space into "interior/exterior" we must first discuss its boundaries.82 Each mode of sensory perception used to gather knowledge about the body defines different boundaries. In Maishu (1) we have seen the accumulation of visual knowledge of pathological phenomena at the level of the skin, the body's surface. In contrast the couli "the patterns of the skin" is commonly identified as a structure on the surface of the skin, which forms part of the permeable barrier between inner and outer bodily space. This will form the subject of this next section.

After discussing couli I shall concentrate on how senses other than sight were used to describe inner aspects of the body. Especially interesting will be attempts, in Yinshu and Maishu, to articulate sensations of the inner body, the records of a phenomenological perception of "own body" experience - that people perceived as different qualities of pain, of pleasure and of passion. It is here that the distinction between inner and outer becomes synonymous with that between yin and yang and where the culture of self-cultivation achieves its most profound influence on models of the body developing in medical theory of the second century B.C. While we cannot and need not establish temporal priority of the yangsheng texts over Maishu, we can easily see that a sensually defined inner body pervades the former where it is only nascent in the latter - and that it is a natural product of a culture concerned with the experience of one's own health rather than the more impersonal relationships of clinical medicine. The passage of ideas from yangsheng culture to medical theory is then confirmed by the com-

80 MSSW: 74.
82 In discussing the conceptions of the body in the Huangdi neijing, Martha Li Chiu also found cause to organise the body around the themes of interior and exterior and to discuss different views of its boundaries. She makes a distinction between the seamless boundary where benign manifestations of qi of the external environment penetrate through to specific parts of the inner body and where the outer layer of the body acts as a vital front line of defence against pathogens, "the harmful qi." See Li Chiu 1986: 66-83.
pilers of the Huangdi neijing corpus who, working approximately a century later in the first century B.C., drop self-cultivation as a discrete topic, but draw on and develop many of its fundamental ideas and perspectives in their synthetic approach to the medical body.

One avenue of approach to resolving the question of what constitutes internal and external body and where the boundaries were drawn in the texts is to investigate the concept of couli "the patterns of the skin." Common qualities of the couli are that it forms the superficial, visible structure on or just beneath the skin; it can be permeated by qi and it reveals the state of qi that is inside the body. If we are to examine the concept of couli as it appears in the excavated texts, we must distinguish what constitutes internal and external qi.

Texts of the early second century B.C. tend to assume a correspondence between the realms of heaven, earth and humanity. Often the intimacy of this relationship is emphasised through the medium of qi. Watching and interpreting qi in the external environment, as manifest in various kinds of emanation, is a source of knowledge in divination, especially when linked to astronomical phenomena.83 Yinshu attributes medical potency to external qi by using it to describe the influences of climatic variation on the body, through heat, damp, cold etc. and one function of the couli is to moderate its effects. Inside the body we will see presently that qi is always a device to express a kind of sensory experience and the awareness of inner bodily change.

Four references to couli in Yinshu suggest that it "opens and closes," that sweat comes out of it and that it is benefited by the exercise "Encircling the Channels." Another exercise for some kind of neck pain suggests that couli refers to the pores through which sweat may flow:

Then X, forcibly cover [the mouth] and don't breathe; after a while, sweat comes out of the couli; do it as long as possible and stop.84

Another may infer that the couli open and close as a permeable barrier to fluctuating environmental influences (qi influences in the form of climatic variation), an attribute that we may also consider an extension of the facility to sweat:

83 Catherine Despeux discusses the couli as the space of interchange between internal and external; see Despeux 1996: 92-93. Sima Qian sets out some of the skills in wang qi as it is linked to divination in Shiji 6. A silk manuscript detailing phenomena of the heavens and how to interpret them was excavated at Mawangdui. Cloud formations in the shape of animals were taken as signs to predict the outcome of military strategy. See Michael Loewe, Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han Chin. A technique known as houqi 候氣 was a divination technique in matters of government, ritual and the selection of auspicious times. Pitch-pipes were set on the ground and filled with ashes. Whenever the ashes blew about and scattered this was interpreted by the ritual specialists. See Bodde 1959: 14-35; and Needham 1962:186-92.

84 YSSW: 83.
The reasons why a person becomes ill are invariably from heat, damp, wind, cold, rain and dew; the opening and closing of the couli; lack of harmony in eating and drinking; not being able to respond to cold and heat in movement and at rest; and therefore they will become ill from it. On account of this between spring, summer, autumn and winter, chaotic qi come up against each other and so people are not able to avoid being in the middle themselves and, therefore, become ill.85

Many yangsheng methods offer self-help advice to regulate the thermostatic condition of the body, a factor which determines vulnerability to illnesses in the external environment. Vulnerability was thought to be particularly acute after working and sweating and, as we have seen, the couli forms the barrier through which sweat emerges. In discussing causes of death Maishu (3) suggests that "when the sweat comes out like silk threads, it sticks on and doesn't flow, then qi will be the first to cause death."86 The quality of sweat as it emerges through the couli is a sign of the internal condition of qi in the body. A fund of knowledge about how to conduct oneself properly and care for the body, in this respect, is seen as part of the equipment of the elite. The lowly are weak because they are ignorant. Here is the relevant passage from Yinshu:

The reason that lowly people become ill is exhaustion from their labour, hunger and thirst; when the hundred sweats cease, they plunge themselves into water and then lie down in a cold and empty place. They don't know to put on more clothes and so they become ill from it. Also they do not know to expel air and breathe out to get rid of it.87

Ignorant folk evidently give in to their basic instincts and do not know the finer techniques of body heat control, not to speak of breath-cultivation.

The meaning of the following statement entirely depends on our understanding of the exercise "Encircling Channels":

Encircling Channels follows the couli and benefits the heels and head.88

If this is taken to mean making a circuit and projecting qi through the channels, then the couli may also provide the structure through which qi permeates the body.

85 YSSW: 86.
86 YSSW: 74.
87 YSSW: 86.
88 YSSW: 85.
The culminating sequence of *Yinshu* describes the ultimate aim of *daoyin* cultivation: the body is likened to a bellows and tuyère, a pump for ingesting and moving *qi*. Once again the function of the *coulì* is improved by the movement of *qi* in the body. Here is the relevant passage:

In cultivating the body, when you desire to seek conformity with heaven and earth be like a bellows and tuyère ..... benefit the opening and closing of the *coulì*.89

The *Lüshi chunqiu* (ca. 239 B.C.) also provides early confirmation that patterns on the surface of the body could become blocked and impede the free flow of *qi*. A passage which recommends restraint and regulation as a general principle of behaviour describes how an excess of heat from wearing too many clothes suppresses the movement of *qi*:

If the hall is big then there will be an excess of *yin*; if the platform is high then there will be an excess of *yang*; with an excess of *yin* there will be *jue*; with an excess of *yang* there will be *wei*; this is the calamity of not harmonising *yin* and *yang*. This is the reason that the former kings did not live in big halls and they did not make high platforms; in flavours they did not use many precious things; their clothing was not so [thick] that it would cause heat to rise. If the heat rose then it would block the patterns; if the patterns were blocked then the *qi* would not penetrate ....90

The passage goes on to suggest that eating to the fill will impede the free flow of *qi* through the centre of the body.

Another roughly contemporary usage of the term *coulì* in Chunyu Yi's biography was translated in the introduction.91 There the *coulì* was understood to be the first layer of the body to be affected by illness which can be effectively treated with *tang* "soups" and *yun* "hot compresses." The illness subsequently progresses through the *changwei* "bowel and stomach," the *xuemai* "blood and channels" and the *gusui* "bone marrow" where it becomes incurable.

Working with the *Huangdi neijing* corpus, Sivin translates *coulì* "interstices of the flesh" and understands the term to refer to the "spaces in the boundaries within the flesh, between flesh and skin, and sometimes between flesh and internal organs."92 If we understand "Encircling the Channels" to mean promoting the passage of *qi* through the channels, the channels at this stage are not just

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89 YSSW: 86.
90 *Lüshi chunqiu jiaoshi* 郭氏《春秋》校釋 (Mr. Liu's Spring and Autumn, Textual Revision and Commentary), compiled by Chen Qiyou (1984): 34-43.
91 *Shiji* 105: 2793.
superficial structures of the body and Sivin's analysis may also hold true for the earlier references. In any case whether superficial or internal to the boundary of skin, the references to couli include patterns formed by the flesh at the superficial layer of the body which are at least partially responsible for the passage of qi into the body.

Two questions remain: firstly, are couli as evidenced in Yinshu and Maishu an anatomically defined pattern that is in some way linked to the formation of the channels or are they simply a pattern made by pores and muscles visible at the boundary of the skin and, secondly, more pertinent to this paper, can we link couli to the neiguan? The first question will remain unresolved for the time being. As for the second, we can certainly identify couli as a boundary between internal and external qi. However, Chunyu Yi successfully treats many illnesses that exist at the level of internal qi and so terminal illnesses of the neiguan must be even deeper than this. Moreover, we have seen that in Chunyu Yi's own opinion illnesses at the level of the couli are at the first layer of the body and are responsive to medicinal soups, the most simple of remedies. On his scale, incurable illnesses have passed from the xuemai "blood and channels" into the gusui "bone and marrow." All three of his unlucky patients suffering from illnesses of the neiguan have manifestations of illness in the "blood and channels." But how and where can we perceive the inner passage into "bone and marrow," the place, apparently, where the illness becomes incurable? To progress our understanding of the neiguan further we must both look at and beyond early Chinese perceptions of space of the inner body.

Imagination and experience of qi in the body inspired a literary culture that most closely reveals the body as the subject, rather than object of the excavated texts. By this I mean that qi (when applied to a condition of the inner body) in both Maishu and Yinshu always reveals an attempt to interpret and describe a phenomenological experience of one's own body, whether in health or in illness. We will see that breath-cultivation texts point to the mouth and nose as the gates for allowing transference of qi from the outside to the inside of the body. Like the skin (and therefore the couli), the mouth and nose are sense organs that are activated by contact and therefore set a critical boundary between different worlds defined by the senses - between phenomena that exist externally and are either seen or heard from a distance, and those which are experienced through the mouth, nose and skin and activated by physical proximity.

With the mouth and nose as sensory boundaries between the interior and exterior of the body the next step will be to look at the significance of references to qi in the inner body, assuming that the aim of breath-cultivation is to ingest qi...
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into the body. The following quotation from *Yinshu* gives a good impression of the prophylactic effects of moving *qi* through the body with *daoyin* techniques:

Puff out [cold breath], exhale [warm breath], breathe the essential *qi* from heaven and earth, extending the belly and straightening the small of the back, vigorously extending the hands and the feet, [thrusting] the heels and curling the fingers and toes. When going to get up make it wide and big, when lying down pull it as much as possible and by these means seek conformity with them [heaven and earth?] and, therefore, there will be no illness.94

How or what does *qi* in the body indicate in *Yinshu* and *Maishu*? Circulation of *qi* is not a conspicuous feature of any of these excavated texts of the second century B.C. Controlling the movement of bodily *qi*, often by extending it outward, from the centre to the extremities, is an important feature of *yangsheng*—of breath- and sexual-cultivation or therapeutic gymnastics and not so much of more orthodox medicine. In the *neiye* chapter of Guanzi, one of the earliest breath meditation texts, moving *qi* rhythmically through the heart stills and clears both thought and sensation:

In the heart the subtle breath of life (*qi*) sometimes comes and sometimes disappears.

It is so small that nothing can exist within it.

It is so large that nothing can exist outside it.

We lose it by being hasty so that we suffer harm.

If the heart can be controlled and made quiescent

The Way will become stabilised of itself.95

*Shiwen*, which we will look at in more detail later, gives techniques for projecting *qi* through the whole body:

The way to breathe *qi*: it must be made to reach to the extremities so that the *jing* "essence" is born ...96

In contrast specific instances of *qi* pathology in *Maishu* appear in isolation of a generalised description of the movement of *qi*. The illness list in the first text of the *Maishu* provided us with red *qi*, a rare example of how a similar pathological state of *qi* is visible at the surface of the body. But on the whole inner bodily *qi*

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94 YSSW: 86.
95 Rickett 1965: 168.
96 HMBS, vol. 4: 147.
is invisible. With the attribute of being red, inner qi becomes visible and, at the same time, more tangible. The convergence of signs of red, burning pain, heat and fever are familiar to us all. Both the Lüshi chunqiu quotation cited above and Maishu refer to an excess of qi as a correlate of pathological heat. Of the Maishu texts, Maishu (6), translated in the introduction above, described one technique to move qi with a stone lancet, "as for qi, it nourishes the lower body and harms the upper, follows heat and distances cool ..."98 This is the only universal principle about the movement of qi in the Maishu texts, and it is therefore reminiscent of principles already well established in breath-cultivation literature - so much so that it belies the fact that formal circulation is not yet a feature of acumoxa therapy.

Thus qi rising with heat to the upper body is harmful and comes with an accumulation of uncomfortable feelings in the torso and sometimes the opposite sensation, numbness, in the extremities. In fact rising qi is almost always related to a pathological condition, often associated with breathing difficulties. Thus "[when the illness is] in the lungs, it is a cough with rising qi."99

Illnesses associated with the course of the lesser yin channel include rising qi and, by association breathing difficulties, as well as difficulties of the alimentary canal, both the internal spaces into which qi is ingested:

... hot mouth, split tongue, dry throat, rising qi, choking on food, pain in the centre of the throat, exhaustion and craving to lie down, coughing, mutism ...

In the same vein in a six-fold differentiation of bowel obstruction, the alleviation of the masses by flatulence and burping confirms that the masses are caused by qi. In this instance the denotation is simply gas trapped in the bowel and is an extension of the reference to qi as the air we breathe:

If the qi is attained and there is a little improvement, then it is qi masses in the bowel.101

Another list of illnesses associated with pathology of the lesser yin channel, this time with an agitation of the channel, paradoxically relates a "shortage of qi," by association with other symptoms described here, to a disturbance of the chest in general:

97 In general the qi of the heavens may be observed or the body may have an aura of qi - but the condition of the body's internal qi can only be sensed by the individual or perhaps by another through the quality of the pulse.

98 MSSW: 74.
99 MSSW: 72.
100 MSSW: 72.
101 MSSW: 72.
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Chaotic wheezing, on standing from a sitting position the eyes dim as if they cannot see, the heart is as if suspended, the appearance of starvation shortage of qi, a tendency to anger, in the heart there is alarm and fear of being entrapped, no desire to eat, the face is darkened like the colour of lamp ashes, on coughing there is blood.102

Unusually, in the list associated with a pathology of the lesser yin channel, we see symptoms of emotion included with the physical. Nu and kong, the terms that traditionally are translated as "anger" or "rage" and "fear" are not presented to us as part of the set of five that would correlate with the five agents. Rather, their inclusion with the symptoms of discomfort in the upper body emphasises the physical quality of emotion. Shortage of qi is followed immediately by anger, and alarm and fear of entrapment are actually located within the heart itself. The concentration on symptoms of the chest and in particular of the heart echoes, by contrast, the desired effect in the breathing meditations of the Guanzi.

We can, perhaps, learn a little more from Yinshu and Maishu about the early Chinese experience and construction of emotion. And emotion as physical experience is not just a confined concept to these texts. Extreme manifestations of emotion are also described elsewhere as a "fullness of qi" in the common language of the Warring States and early imperial period - particularly in relation to martial valour, anger and belligerence. The description hao qi "given to anger," for example, was used for a man who loved to fight and involve himself in macho camaraderie.103 Yet in this sense, a fullness of qi would be an asset and was not conceived as a pathological condition. But repression of this qi might lead bellicose emotions to erupt physically:

Violent anger is blood and qi; battle is the outer flesh. If this violent anger is not released [in battle] it will seep out as an abscess.104

The authors of Yinshu derive a universal principle associating pathology of qi with extremes of emotion:

If they [the nobility] are xi "joyful," then the yang qi is in excess. If they are nu "angry," then the yin qi is in excess.105

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102 MSSW: 73.
103 See the examples given in Lewis 1971, 223. Lewis discusses the relationship between anger, martial valour, blood and qi in his chapter "The Natural Philosophy of Violence."
104 Lewis 1971: 222. In modern times a similar description sheng qi, literally "generates qi," refers to becoming angry.
The combination of emotion and pathological qi inspires the only passage in either Yinshu or Maishu that brings together yin and yang as attributes of qi. Perhaps the particular qualities of yang and yin attributed to joy and anger reveal something about how people felt and expressed these emotions in the culture formalised in the text. The most obvious quality of joy may be how it rises (in a yang direction) to the heart and of anger, perhaps unexpressed, a cold, sinking feeling like the oppressive quality of darkness.

Qi expresses the physical nature of emotional feelings and it also describes feelings in the broader sense of the word. We can reinforce the view that qi relates to a sensory experience of the body with examples taken from Yinshu exercises where the enlivening sensation of qi moving through the body contrasts with numbness. When Yinshu states that "Squeezing the toes benefits the qi of the feet," the impression is that qi represents that feeling of warmth and comfort that results from wriggling the toes around. Numbness, or perhaps the return of sensation to the fingertips which we describe as "pins and needles" can be detected in the following symptom of qi deficiency in the hands:

When suffering with there being less qi in the two hands, both the arms can not be raised equally, and the tips of the fingers, like rushing water, tend to numbness...

Rushing water as a description of an internal physical experience vividly suggests the kind of "pins and needles" feeling associated now with numbness. Once again absence or presence of a flow of qi in the body is determined by mobility and sensation:

When the qi of the head flows downwards, the foot will not be immobile and numb...

To look for other positive indications of the movement of qi in the body, where an excess of qi is not considered a pathological condition, we have to look at the sexual-cultivation literature where, exceptionally, the arousal of qi is a sign of increasing strength and sturdiness, and qi welling up in the body is a sign of sexual engagement and, finally, of the kind of illumination of the spirit that is associated with long life.

Unlike the list of illnesses in Maishu (1 & 2) which describe bald pathological states or pain, accounts of the body observed in the sexual arts are closely integrated into an overall metaphysical scheme. Consider the following citation

105 YSSW: 86.
106 YSSW: 86.
107 YSSW: 83.
108 YSSW: 83.
from *He yin yang* which combines detailed observation of female sexual response with all the metaphysical physiology with which we are familiar from later and modern medical literature:

> When she controls her breath, there is inner urgency. When she pants, she feels the greatest elation.....When she grinds her teeth, her body trembles. She wants the man to delay.......
> In the evening a man's *jing* "essence" is strong. In the morning the woman's *jing" essence" accumulates. With my *jing* I nourish the woman's *jing*. The anterior channels are all activated; the skin, qi and blood are stimulated, and so it is possible to open blockages and get through obstructions and the "central storehouse" receives passage and fullness.109

Sexual-cultivation literature also uses the imagination to shape both inner and outer body - of self and of others - more than any other genre of early Chinese medical literature. In it we find metaphors which convey many dimensions of the body simultaneously. The "sweet wine ford," variously identified as the nipples, the navel or the cleavage, not only suggests superficial anatomical structures, such as the valley between the breasts, but also implies the female body as a source of nourishment and intoxication. Jade as a euphemism for the genitalia and reproductive physiology conveys many ideas.110 The *yuce* 玉策 "jade whip" is an identification of the penis.111 *Yudou* 玉窦 "jade hole" is a euphemistic reference to the vagina, as well as in a more general sense as a honorific term for the body and its potential to endure, "when there is movement, then it fills the

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109 HMBS, vol. 4, 156.

110 The burial suit crafted for Prince Liu Sheng 劉勝 and excavated at Mancheng 滿城, Hebei, in 1968 was composed of 2,498 small plaques of bowenite, a form of grey, green stone that is softer than true jade. But its genital cap may be a Neolithic cong 萍 and possibly a piece from the Liangzhu culture, based in the south-east of China. It seems that jade took on a new significance in the burial rituals of Liangzhu culture. Even if Prince Liu and his craftsmen did not know its exact age they would certainly have chosen the jades to cover the genital because they were of great value. See Jessica Rawson. 1996. *Mysteries of Ancient China*. London: British Museum Press, 170-71. The opinion about the special jades covering the genital area was kindly given in a private communication. The numbers of jade pieces excavated at burial sites from the Liangzhu period dramatically increased. Good quality nephrite discs were placed on the stomach and chest of the wealthy while lesser quality jades were found elsewhere or in smaller tombs. Michaelson 1996: 180.

111 There are five references to the jade whip in *Mawangdui yangsheng* literature. See *Tianxia zhi dao tan*, *He yin yang* and *Yangsheng fang* 養生方 where substances are rubbed on to the penis to enhance sexual intercourse. HMBS, vol. 4: 107, 108, 145, 152, 156. Harper has discussed the use of such body imagery in relation to later developments in Daoist religion. See the transcript to his "The metaphorical body in early Chinese macrobiotics and its relation to Daoist religion" (1997).
four limbs and empties the five viscera, when the five viscera are empty, then the yuti 玉体 'jade body' will be benefited."112 To understand the imagery better, the Shuowen jiezi provides us with a five-fold gloss of the inherent qualities of jade:

The beauty of stone has five virtues: an aspect of moistness and glossiness through mildness and humanity; an aspect of the central rightness that may be known from the exterior pattern of the horn-marrow; the aspect of its sound [reputation] spreading and announcing through a wisdom that is heard over a distance; the aspect of not bending or diminishing in courage; the aspect of valour and vigour, yet without moderating talent.113

Altogether the image is one of both strength and refinement. Besides being attractive, jade embodies desirable moral qualities that can be recognised through its appearance. Sexual cultivation gains these qualities of humanity, wisdom and rightness through the symbol of jade.

Jade combines hardness and durability with an appearance of glossiness - a shining quality which also conveys the illusion of moistness. It is the resonance of these qualities of strength and secretion with youthful sexuality that definitively links jade with the ability to sustain sexual competence into old age and, therefore, with long life itself. Increasing dryness of the body and in particular the sexual and reproductive emissions in both male and female match easily failing strength and frailty and contrast to the physical qualities of valour and vigour. Finally the yuquan 玉泉 "jade spring" is a metaphor for a source inside the body where qi accumulates and transforms in sexual cultivation and which is part of the physiology of accumulating jing "essence."114 We can find the same term in later Daoist literature referring to saliva, one element in the internal alchemy of breath-cultivation.115 Another term, common to both breath and sexual-cultivation, yubi 玉閉 "the jade closure" also refers to an internal space where essence accumulates.116 Yubi may be a place in the body which closes or constricts forming a barrier to prevent the leakage of qi and jing "essence," but alternatively it may refer generally to the activity of enclosing the body in

112 MSSW: 74.
115 The yuquan is a term used in later sexual-cultivation to refer to female saliva, in neidan to the place under the tongue where saliva collects and in waidan to white jade. See Zhonghua daojiao da cidian 中华道教大辞典. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue, 1995: 1212, 1292 and 1386.
116 See for example HMBS, vol. 4: 146.
Breath-cultivation. Breath-cultivation generates feelings in the internal body that give rise to many images of reservoirs of nourishment such as cups and springs. The *yaoquan* "jasper spring," *lingzun* "numinous winepot," *xuanzun* "dark winepot" all refer to sources of saliva, the production of which strengthens *yin* physiology - a subject that I shall take up in more detail later.

Harper finds that the Han authors or practitioners of the *yangsheng* literature experienced a "seamless continuity" between their perceptions of the mundane anatomy of the external body and their more metaphorical visions of the inner body. Perhaps it is only natural that the literature of self-cultivation should allow such latitude of expression. It provided a unique medium through which the expression of this experience of the inner bodies developed into a new language for physiological processes. A realm of human experience that is not reflected in the literature given to the description of illness and cure informs observations about the body made in self-cultivation literature.

While such texts as *He yin yang* and *Tianxia zhi dao tan* identify signs at the exterior of the body and use them immediately as a guide to the sequence of events, like a finely choreographed dance, practical guidance is always embedded in medical discourse which confirms that the aim of cultivation is to strengthen *jing* "essence," blood and *qi*. In the sexual-cultivation literature there is an impressive conflation of observed and imagined bodies overlaid with the power of concentrated intention. We can trace the use of intention in cultivating *qi* to *Guanzi*:

> This is the reason that this *qi*
> can not be stopped with strength
> yet can be calmed with potency;
> it can not be called with the voice
> yet it can be pressed down with intention.117

Descriptions of the inner body in the excavated medical manuscripts already interpret movement and feeling as changing states of bodily *qi*. So how do we perceive the transition from qualities of *qi* which represent an unravelling of the underlying patterns of the universe - a process to observe and to which the body is subject like the passing of the seasons - to *qi* as a body constituent over which individuals are able to exercise control? I suggest that over a period spanning the late Warring States through the Western Han, there was a shift that we can see most clearly embodied in the literature that describes *yangsheng*.

Students of *yangsheng* practices were actively participating in an evolving discourse about *qi*. By training the body they could counter their belief in its tendency to decline. The neiye chapter of *Guanzi* frequently refers to moving *qi* and accumulating and concentrating essence and spirit, but it does not provide the essential details for practice. A twelve-sided late Warring States piece of jade

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bears one of the earliest descriptions of *xing qi* 行氣 "moving qi." It is not clear whether the jade itself had a practical purpose. One end is hollowed, but the hole does not pierce the top and some scholars have speculated that it is a hilt, a walking stick handle or a scroll end. Nine trisyllabic phrases decorate its sides and give instructions about how to circulate *qi* around the body. Once *qi* is taken into the body, verbs such as descend, accumulate, extend, stretch, stabilise, sprout and grow are applied to it. Articulating the verse was probably the outward expression of the technique and served to intensify each movement. Breathing and refining *qi* unifies the inner body with the life-giving potential of heaven.\(^{118}\)

The Mawangdui breath-cultivation texts and parts of *Yinshu* are textual expansions of the jade breathing technique. In the *Shiwen* the Yellow Emperor asks the question, "what is the essential ingredient for life?" Rong Cheng's answer centres on the correct way to ingest *qi* and consciously project it into the limbs:

> The way to breathe *qi*: it must reach to the extremities ... Breathing must be deep and sustained. Fresh *qi* is easy to hold on to, *qi* that has been kept over night is ageing, fresh *qi* creates long life. The one who is good at putting the *qi* in order causes the *qi* that has been kept overnight to disperse during the night and fresh *qi* to collect in the morning by having it penetrate the nine orifices and filling the six cavities.\(^{119}\)

And we have already seen that the technique to benefit the whole body, known as *zhou mai* 周脈 "Encircling Channels," concentrates on the *coudi*.\(^{120}\) In all of these techniques we can see *qi* moving around the inner body - and with the explicit themes of moving it through time and space in the last quotation we can see an early model for the rotation of *qi* around the channels.

The word that I translate "intention" in *Yinshu* is *yi* 意. Two occurrences of the term can be found in consecutive techniques related to incipient illness or illness as it first emerges. These examples show that the *yi* may be distracted or applied. Graham, discussing the Mohist Canons, attempts a definition of *yi* as, "forming an image of the object of attention."\(^{121}\) *Yinshu* confirms the idea that *yi* involves the potential for concentrating attention, but the *yi* may also be distracted:


\(^{119}\) HMBS, vol. 4: 147. The viscera appear to fill and empty at different times and in different stages of breath cultivation. The six cavities are identified later as the *yang* viscera or hollow organs, the gall bladder, stomach, large intestine, bladder and "triple burner." See *Suwen*, 4 "*Jinkui zhenlun*" 金匱真論, 1.50.

\(^{120}\) YSSW: 85.

\(^{121}\) Graham 1989: 126 and 127.
Pulling incipient exhaustion illness: the intention is agitatedly set on pacing around, the body hurts more and more. At this moment you must treat it with the pull of the Eight Warps; quickly breathe out [dry breath] and quickly exhale [warm breath], pull yin. Soak the space between the eyebrows in cold water for the time it takes to eat a bowl of rice. Get rid of the water. With two hands hold two [two?] rush mats. Stroke between the eyebrows upwards and rock it up and down. Call out huku through the mouth. Do it altogether ten times and stop.122

Resolving a distraction of the yi involves breath-cultivation to reduce heat and dryness, cooling and massaging the forehead. Yi refers to the ability to concentrate attention on specific activities and parts of the body. It is located where it is placed. With Graham's discussion in mind we can see how concentrating qi includes the ability to form an image (in this case probably an image that embraces a visualisation of physical comfort) at that part of the body that is threatened by the incipient illness. The full potential of placing yi on areas of the body can be appreciated from the following technique for bowel illness:

Incipient illness in the bowel: invariably there will be swelling at the front. When there is swelling, apply the intention on the lesser abdomen and concentrate on puffing out [moist breath]. Stop after one hundred times.123

The technique presents us with a complex interaction in the internal environment of the body: firstly it identifies the site of discomfort or illness, then the same sites become the location for concentrated attention, presumably achieved with increased awareness of that area of the body; then with measured manipulation of the breath function, perhaps even with the imagination of comfort through conscious projection of qi, after a prescribed time a sequence of therapeutic events unfolds of its own accord.

As we saw in Maishu (6), cited in the introduction, enlightened medical intervention, the skill of the gentleman and the sage, was also turning to manipulate the movement of qi in the body, not the more base practices of physical medicine, surgery and drugs. I have also described earlier in this paper how signs of female sexual arousal give clues to the state of inner body qi and guide the man’s subsequent action. Rising qi and heat are, exceptionally, not signs of illness, but simply an anticipated stage in a sequence. Ways of moving and dispersing qi in sexual-cultivation anticipate technical terminology in classical acumoxa therapy:

122 YSSW: 83.
123 YSSW: 83.
Stab upwards but do not penetrate in order to stimulate qi, when the qi zhi qi arrives penetrate deeply and thrust upward in order to distribute the heat. Now once again withdraw so as not to cause its qi to dissipate and for her to become exhausted.\textsuperscript{124}

When orgasm finally arrives qi extends through the body in a distinctly medical transformation. Qizhi qi is also the aim of many needle techniques. In the second century B.C. Chunyu Yi already states that "stone lancets and cauterisation zhqi qi 'lead qi'.”\textsuperscript{125} We cannot ignore the recurring motif of penetration in the care taken with thrusting the penis and the manipulation of the needle as ways to reveal change in the inner body. Harper has already drawn an analogy between the use of the burning wooden poker to crack the tortoise's plastron in the pyromantic arts and the use of cauterisation and needle on the mature acumoxa system. He gives good philological evidence to substantiate the association.\textsuperscript{126} Each of these activities assumes that the act of penetration and/or heating of the surface of a thing will reveal its underlying nature, and, therefore, render it, or the situation it represents, amenable to further intervention.

There is more detail about supplementing and sedating one's own qi in Mawangdui breath-cultivation texts than there is in the excavated acumoxa-related literature. In the excerpt from \textit{Shiwen}, cited above, we saw how to renew qi through the course of one day. The benefits of breath-cultivation are often indistinguishable from the benefits of sexual-cultivation and both forms of yangsheng often come together in the same techniques. This following excerpt is the outcome of a technique that includes both breath- and sexual-cultivation:

\begin{quote}
Be careful, do not drink wine and eat the five flavours; put the qi in order with intent\textsuperscript{127} and the eye will be bright, the ear keen, the skin will gleam, the one hundred mai will be full and the yin will rise again. From this you will be able to stand for a long time, go a long way, and live for [ever].\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{124} HMBS, vol. 4: 155.
\textsuperscript{125} Shiji 105: 2815.
\textsuperscript{126} Harper 1982: 271-274. Harper, quoting the Shuowen gloss of zhuo zhuo demonstrates the relationship between zhuo and jiu zhuo, the verbs used in the ritual cracking of plastrons and the cauterisation of the body. By cauterising the body of the tortoise plastron its internal patterns are revealed through the cracks that appear on the surface. Harper finds that the link between divinatory cauterisation and medical cauterisation suggests that early somatological theories developed within the practice of cautery.
\textsuperscript{127} Zhi is translated "intent." Here, where the instruction is more general and abstract than the Yinshu techniques described above, the zhi, rather than the yi, is trained on ordering qi.
\textsuperscript{128} HMBS, vol. 4: 147-148. I have accepted the rearrangement of the Shiwen slips proposed by Harper and Qiu Xigui. Taking the Mawangdui Hanmu boshu as the starting
Throughout Shiwen ideas such as illuminating and ordering the shen 神 (a concept that I discuss below), moving, harmonising and ordering the qi, supplementing jing and connecting the one hundred mai are commonplace. The aim and outcome of such practices are often referred to as jie yin 接陰 "receiving yin." Although strengthening yin may be as specific a practice as strengthening the penis, it also relates closely to the "feeling" that is generated by breath and sexual-cultivation. What kind of feeling that might be, will be extrapolated from the many references that relate yin to emotion, heat, cold, the inner body, orgasm, fullness and emptiness, and the way that it manifests externally in a physical radiance.

Throughout many of the excavated medical manuscripts we are constantly reminded about the dynamic between yin and yang and may easily come away thinking that the inner and outer realms should be matched. He yin yang 合陰陽 "Harmonising yin and yang" is the explicit aim of some texts. But just when we are presented with the idea of bringing together yin and yang in what seems to be equal, balanced measure, the explicit aim and outcome of breath- and sexual-cultivation is to receive, ingest, and strengthen yin, not yang. This last section explores the meanings of yin and the inner realm.

An immediate and justifiable response is to relate the preoccupation with yin to a glorification of the feminine principle. This is at the heart of the quietist thought expressed in Laozi, a work that has often been perceived as a philosophic and political response to the turmoil of the Warring States period. Why then does yin refer to the penis, the most obviously male part of the body that has apparently few yin attributes?129 Wile describes the union of yin and yang in the generation of heaven and earth as a kind of cosmic sex and reproduction. On the basis of the Sunü jing 素女經 "Classic of Sunü," he makes the interesting suggestion that the obsession with strengthening yin alone was a single, male response to the dual problem of female sexual superiority and human mortality.130 Cosmic reproduction necessitated yin and yang in equal measure. Semen retention could manifestly prolong male sexual performance and make it equivalent to the woman's ability to delay orgasm. It must therefore strengthen the yin in the male and sustain sexual activity into old age. This practice would therefore promote longevity (it was observed that the loss of sexual capacity was commensurate with the start of serious physical deterioration). The lesson of the productive, celestial union of yin and yang was in how to redress the gender balance.

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129 See for example the conversation between Yao and Shun in Shiwen translated in Harper 1998: 399 and n.4. See also 402 and n.4.
130 Wile 1992: 11.
The range of meaning attributed to *yin* in the Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan medical texts becomes increasingly puzzling and deserves further clarification. As students of Chinese medicine and philosophy we are often told that *yin* and *yang* are not "things," but aspects of things. How then can *yin* refer to something as substantial as the penis? *Maishu* and *Yinshu* give us clear associations with *yin*. In direction *yin* refers to the inferior, the inner and the shadowy. *Maishu* (3) refers to pathology of the *yin* channels and to strengthening the inner aspect of the body and in particular the inner organs. So receiving and strengthening *yin* refers to maintaining the inner organs, preventing deterioration and prolonging life. I repeat:

In all cases the three *yin* are the *qi* of earth and the channels of death. They decay the viscera and rot the bowels which is where the killing resides. When the *yin* are ill and chaotic, then death will ensue before ten days are out.131

*Yinshu* elaborates on the dual function of *yin* and *qi* in delaying deterioration and decline, which is represented as *jue*, a condition characterised by pain in the heart and extremities, that I argue elsewhere is associated with the development of the channels:132

As for the reason for the tendency to *jue*, very early on they decline in their *yin*, and thus cannot moderate their *qi*. If they are able to moderate their *qi* and make their *yin* substantial, then it is beneficial to the body.133

The penis can hardly be considered an internal organ, but it is also linked with longevity because *yin* matches the decline of the body and the decline of sexual capacity. When Yao asks Shun, "for what reason is it that the *yin* is born together with man and yet leaves before the body?" *yin* refers to the general capacity for sexual activity. So when *yin* refers to the penis, sexual potency and longevity are also automatically inferred.134 *Tianxia zhi dao tan* measures the inevitable decline of the body without sexual-cultivation. Sexual potency (*yin* *qi*) and general vitality are equated:

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131 MSSW: 73.
133 YSSW: 86.
134 References to *yin* as the penis can, for example, be seen in the dialogues between Wangzi qiaofu and Peng Zu, Emperor Pangeng and Qilao, Yao and Shun. See HMBS, vol. 4: 148-49. Because of the range of meaning given to *yin* it is not appropriate to translate the term simply as penis, even though in the context of the sexual-cultivation literature it might be the dominant *yin* part. Other words such as *jun* are more exclusively associated with the purely physical aspect of the penis itself.
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At forty the yin qi is halved, at fifty mobility declines, at sixty the ears and eyes are not keen and bright, at seventy there is withering below and thinning above, the yin qi is useless and guan "effluvia"\(^{135}\) and tears leak out.

The concept of yin in yangsheng culture is developing at the junction of breath- and sexual-cultivation. A number of texts describe sexual- and breath-cultivation as part of the same techniques, and again the meaning of yin is ambiguous. When texts relate to breath-cultivation alone, yin does not refer to the penis, but has a range of other references including the inner body and the internal organs. But the physical condition associated with having strengthened yin is shared. Once the yin is reborn, the penis may itself be strengthened and ready for renewed activity, but equally the condition is correlated with a feeling of inner calm - of being cool, calm, bright and resourceful - or, in the frequently repeated passage in the Mawangdui yangsheng texts, the qi arrives, blood and qi flow freely, the ears and eyes are keen and bright, the skin gleams, the voice is clear, the back, thighs and buttocks are sturdy and you get through to an illumination of the spirit.\(^{136}\) Brightness of the eyes, a clear voice and gleaming skin are a radiance that can be observed, along with the other qualities which can only be experienced, such as keenness of the ears, sturdiness and moving qi, but they form a code for the feeling of yin, of strength and resourcefulness that is the outcome of successful self-cultivation.

Tong shenming (通神明), the term I translate, "getting through to an illumination of the spirit" often corresponds with having successfully cultivated or jie "received" yin. We have already seen that term associated with orgasm, with the shared outcome of semen retention and breath-cultivation.\(^{137}\) Warring States literature testifies to a wide use of shen 神 and shenming 神明, but the concepts vary according to context.\(^{138}\) It seems that there was a general secularisation of


\(^{136}\) In the past decade Western innovations in acupuncture treatment include mass treatments of substance abusers. Addicts visit centres like New York’s Lincoln Centre where they receive ear acupuncture aimed at buyin "tonifying yin." Needling is administered to large groups of addicts in silence and all extraneous interaction is discouraged. The treatment is intended to engender a state of yin, conceived as a state of quiet, calm and meditation.

\(^{137}\) See for example the conversations between Rong Cheng and Cao Ao with Huangdi in Shiwen. HMBS, vol. 4: 146-147.

\(^{138}\) Both shen and shenming are used to refer to divine beings such as gods and spirits. Most of the evidence from the Warring States period comes from the Guanzi, Zhuangzi and the Zuozhuan. See for example "Xiangong 14" which states that, "the people receive their lord and love him like their father and mother, they look up to him as if they clearly respect him as if he were a shenming." "Xiangong 25" refers to the descendants of shenming as if the shenming are the ancestors while Zhuangzi refers to "dwelling in the company of the shenming." Elsewhere shenming comes to mean characteristics of
ideas related to shen as the spirits, divine entities that dwelled outside the human body, towards a concentration on the mysterious and radiant intelligence that they may represent and, eventually, to an individuation of the same qualities as revealed in shenming, evidence of the spirit in-dwelling in the human body. In Huainanzi and Guanzi cultivation of "essence" and "spirit" may lead to contact with external spirits. By the time of the Huangdi neijing corpus, Lingshu 8 reinterprets shen in a medical context with more tangible emotional qualities. It states: "The heart stores the mai, the mai lodges the shen. When the heart qi is empty, then one is melancholy, and when it is full, then there will be ceaseless laughter." The excavated texts contribute to our understanding of the development of this concept by adding technique to the cultivation of shenming, and its very physical qualities of sharpness of the senses, clarity of the voice, strength, sturdiness and gleaming skin.

Conclusion

By asking what constituted inner and outer in Chunyu Yi's thinking and what was the implication of an illness being of the "inner pass" this paper has provided an opportunity to explore representations of nei/wai in early Chinese medical thought. At the same time pinpointing the exact location of neiguan has become increasingly complex. Each medical activity that we have encountered inspired a different mode of attention to the body. Observation of signs of pathology, for example, rendered the body most naked of cultural form and privileged the visual; acumoxa shaped its outer surfaces into a landscape of hills and valleys; therapeutic gymnastics gave it the gestures and attitudes of birds and beasts; sexual-cultivation gave us a metaphorical body with many features of the world, small enough to be a bubbling spring and large enough to contain mountains and oceans; in general, self-cultivation trained individual attention upon its inner realms, the domain of the innate (heaven produced) self and on sites where the body's vital essences concentrated and refined. Some of the boundaries between its inner and outer worlds were set by the eye, others by the imagination, still others by gateways to the body determined by the "breath" or by the realms of sensation such as heat, pleasure and pain. Penetrating further into the body's divine beings that allow them a spirit-like wisdom, a sharpness and clarity of perception rather than a mechanical or analytical intelligence. A discussion of the terms can be found in Knoblock 1988: 252-254. The concept of shen in the Guanzi and the Huainanzi is the subject of a paper by Harold D. Roth, "The early Chinese concept of shen: a ghost in the machine?" in Kidder Smith (ed.) Sagehood and Systematizing Thought in Warring States and Han Chin (1990): 11-24. See also Harper's discussion of shenming (1998: 120-1).

140 The meaning of mai in this passage is probably the pulsing of the heart.
141 Lingshu 8 "Benshen" 本神 85.
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interior we found that the conception of the body became less and less visual and more "aesthetic," thus looking for a concrete location for the "inner pass" soon became redundant.

In sharp contrast to the stark description of boils and bumps in Maishu (1) in the sexual-cultivation literature we saw how imagination worked on many human feelings, of anxiety, desire and of pleasure, to create a body freed from the tyranny of the eye. Visual perception was even a liberating factor allowing communication of external form through engaging flights of fantasy. Here we found a tradition where the neiguan "inner pass" could naturally become a part of the body's inner landscape.

Self-cultivation trained attention on inner body qi and the structure known as couli which, in this respect, formed a boundary between inner and outer. But we found that illnesses of the couli were too superficial for it to be the site of the neiguan. Even illnesses of inner qi were amenable to medical intervention as many of the self cultivation techniques as well as Chunyu Yi's medicines and acumoxa demonstrate. Jing "essence" was simultaneously the least substantial, yet most powerful part of the body's physiology and perhaps matched in some way the gusui "bone marrow," the deepest level of the body at which illness could manifest. But the illnesses of the neiguan were not obviously matched with either jing or gusui.

Munro stated that what sets apart the nei (inner realm) is that it was "involved in varying degrees of communion with the divine."142 Anything pertaining to nei, he believes, must be both innate (of heaven) and a focus of self-cultivation. The self-cultivation described in the excavated texts retains from earlier religious ideas what Harper describes as a "deeper awareness of the human organism as a sacred vessel."143 In taking the inner realm of the body as its focus for improvement, self-cultivation culture generates concepts of physiological process - a kind of alchemy where the gross material of the body is invigorated and rejuvenated by the movement and passage of qi, where cultivation refines qi and concentrates its essence so that the body can receive the in-dwelling spirit and the physical and mental illumination that it brings. This, in sum, is the cultivation of yin.

For Chunyu Yi's patients whose illnesses had penetrated the "inner pass," all measures to adjust qi and jing had become redundant. The illness had even gone too far to respond to cultivating yin, although it is in cultivating yin that we have found the most subtle transformation of essences and spirit necessary to prolong life. Once we have passed beyond the body's organs, its couli, its blood, organs and bone to explore its physiological processes we are no longer talking about the space of locations that are easy to visualise. Like the "jade spring" or the "jade closure," the neiguan "inner pass" may have only been tenuously associated with a place in the body and was more poignantly a reference to the trans-

142 Munro 1964: 306.
formation of the finest bodily essence - a transformation that, when reversed, could be so insidious that it happened in a space beyond sensation, beyond the realms of qi and yin and yang of the body. Chunyu Yi's three patients did not even feel unwell when their illness was gestating in the blood and channels. The pass must surely be the pass that leads beyond the innermost part of the body, that marks a stage through which life is no longer tenable: like an offensive on guannei, the very seat of power, the illness threatens the strongest and simultaneously the most vulnerable place in the body. With the emperor, in the Western Han body politic, at the empire's innermost centre and personifying its link with heaven, and with heaven as the ultimate source of his family's political survival, the implication is that an illness of the neiguan has penetrated beyond that vital pass and threatens to cut off the spark of life that is heaven in human form.

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YSSW, see Zhangjiashan Hanjian zhengli zu. "Zhangjiashan Hanjian Yinshu shiwen."