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encountered in its analysis. The present volume is a product not only of the long-term project but also of the stimulating atmosphere in Berlin.

Paul U. Unschuld, Munich, July 2001

I Bibliographic History of the Su wen

1. SOME SCHOLARLY VIEWS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SU WEN

The *Huang Di nei jing su wen* and the *Huang Di nei jing ling shu* form a textual corpus generally known as the *Huang Di nei jing*.¹ Popular accounts of the history of Chinese medicine tend to locate the origin of this text in a distant past, several millennia B.C. Voices refuting authorship by the legendary Huang Di in prehistoric times have been heard in China for centuries, and to this day there is a discrepancy between views held by historians of Chinese medicine in and outside China, on the one hand, and by authors writing for the general public, on the other.

Zu Xi (1130-1200) and Cheng Hao (1032-1085), the two eminent philosophers of the Song era, identified the *Su wen* as a product of the Warring States period, the fifth through third centuries B.C.² The latter's contemporary, Sima Guang (1019-1086), author of the important historical work *Zi zhi tong jian*, stated: "If someone were to say that the *Su wen* were indeed a work written by Huang Di, this, I presume, would be inaccurate.... His name was adopted by medical people during the Zhou and Han eras to lend [his] weight [to their field]."³

Lü Fu, the fourteenth-century Yuan-era literary critic, noted, first, that the *Su wen* was compiled by several authors over a long period, and, second, that its contents were brought together, like those of the *Li ji*, the "Book of Rites," by Han-era Confucian scholars who then transmitted the text together with the teachings of Confucius.⁴

During the Ming dynasty, the famous literatus Hu Yinglin (1551-1602) concluded: "The *Su wen* is also called *Nei jing today*. However, the [bibliographic] section in the [history of the] Sui [dynasty] (i.e., 581-618) only mentions a *Su wen*. The fact is, the fifty-five *juan* of Huang Di's *Nei [jing]* and *Wai jing* [recorded in the bibliographic section of the dynastic history of the [Han]]⁵ had been lost by the time of the Six Dynasties (i.e., between the third and sixth centuries A.D.). Hence later persons compiled it [anew] and changed its name."⁶

Cui Da voiced a view critical of Huang Di's authorship during the Qing era: "The *Su wen*, a text transmitted from the past, contains a dialogue between Huang Di and Qi Bo. Some people say that the *Ling shu* and the *Yin fu jing* were written by Huang Di himself. By the time of the Warring States, many philosophers included Huang Di in their writings. For example, the *Zhuang zi* is said to be [the result of] Huang Di's inquiring from Guang Chengzi about the Way. My opinion is, at the time of Huang Di no historical books existed yet. How could a text have been transmitted to posterity? Also, the sayings [in the *Su wen*, etc.] are fairly recent. Obviously, they were compiled by persons living at some time in the Warring States, the Qin, and the Han eras."⁷

Beginning with the twentieth century, Chinese scholars have begun to scrutinize the available historical data systematically, their research findings making it increasingly clear that the textual history of the *Huang Di nei jing* began no earlier than the second century B.C. For example, as early as 1950, quoting an article published in 1918 and concluding that the *Su wen* was written during the Qin-Han

era, with the dialogue structure superimposed by even later authors, Song Xiangyuan wrote: "From the *Shi ji*, [section] *Wu di ben ji*, it is obvious that in early times Sima Qian, the author of the *Shi ji*, did not believe that Huang Di was the source of medical and pharmaceutical teachings. And we, people living in the twentieth century, if we were to accept [the saying that] Qi [Bo and] Huang [Di] are the 'Sages of Medicine,' would this not be superstitious?"⁸

Zhao Hongjun, repeating arguments voiced by Liu Changlin in 1982,⁹ pointed out in 1985; "The preconditions for the writing of the *Nei jing* were not given before the Western Han (i.e., 206 B.C. to A.D. 9). The major contents of the *Ling shu* and the *Su wen* cannot have formed before the Western Han. Some of its passages may tentatively be identified as compilations of the Eastern Han era" (i.e., A.D. 25-220).¹⁰

In 1987 Yang Yiya attributed the compilation of the *Nei jing* to the Han era, although he accepted an earlier origin for most of its contents: "The *Nei jing* was compiled at the earliest during the middle or late period of the Western Han era. The *Nei jing* of that time quoted and summarized ancient medical texts most of which had been written since the late Warring States era. In addition, it added contemporary medical achievements. In the course of its subsequent transmission, later authors supplemented its contents."¹¹

David Keegan, the first Western scholar to write a dissertation on the structure and origin of the *Su wen*, identified a three-step generation of the *Nei jing* text corpus. First, certain ideas were composed. Second, these ideas were compiled in texts. Third, these texts were compiled in the *Nei jing* corpus. The first step alone involved many authors and took more than six hundred years. As Keegan stated, "The language and ideas in all of the versions of the *Nei jing* were composed between 400 B.C. and A.D. 260. Between the time this language and the ideas it expresses were composed and the time they were set into the compilations extant today they had been shaped and reshaped through a long and active textual tradition.... The [extant] versions of the *Nei jing* are not simply compilations but the last in a progressive series of compilations."¹² Keegan emphasized that none of the *Nei jing* compilations extant today are identical to those texts known under this title in the Han era.¹³

Based on our reading of the text, we largely agree with Keegan, as well as Yang Yiya and other Chinese scholars who hold similar views. In the following, I offer some hitherto unnoticed evidence that supports these views. Presumably, only a small portion of the *textus receptus* transmits concepts from before the second century B.C.¹⁴

2. REFERENCES TO *HUANG DI NEI JING* AND *SU WEN* IN EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES

As noted by Liu Changlin, titles such as *HuangDi nei jing and Su wen* are conspicuously absent from Sima Qian's *Shi ji* of 90 B.C. Sima Qian's biography of Chunyu Yi, which includes a detailed list of ten medical texts received by Chunyu Yi from his teacher Yang Qing, would have provided an opportunity to mention such a fundamental text corpus if it had existed.¹⁵

The earliest known reference to a *Huang Di nei jing* is in a work titled *Qi lüe*. This text was compiled by Liu Xin (d. A.D. 23) in the first century B.C. on the basis of the *Bie lu*, an earlier bibliography compiled by Liu Xin's father, Liu Xiang (77?-6 B.C.). The *Qi lüe* was a catalog of the holdings of the

Unschuld's Footnotes (pp. 351-352)

1. While the Su wen and the Ling shu, since their first appearances in bibliographic references, have been transmitted through the centuries in more or less restructured versions, a third text belonging to this group, the Tai su, was lost in China, possibly during the later Song dynasty. Fragments permitting a reconstruction of major portions of the Tai su were found in Japanese libraries in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Another title, Huang Di ming tang, which is also counted among the Nei jing corpus, was lost by the Song era. For details on the Ling shu, see I.2, on the Tai su, see III.3, on the Ming tang, see, III.1.
2. Zhao 1985: 6.
3. Quoted by Liu Changlin 1982: 16, from Chuan jia ji, Shu qi. See also Ma Boying 1994: 248.
4. Liu Changlin 1982: 8.
5. See I.2.4.
6. Song 1950:8.
7. Quoted by Liu Changlin 1982:17, from Bu shang gu kao xin lu, Huang Di shuo.
8. Song 1950: 6. Song Xiangyuan did not specify the author(s) of the article of 1928; he just gave its title, Zhong guo yi shu zhi zu ("The ancestors of Chinese medical literature"), and the journal it was published in: Tian jin yi shi bao yi yao zhou kan. See also Shi 1940: 17, for a refutation of Huang Di's authorship of the HuangDi nei jing and for arguments to the effect that the textus receptus was compiled from pieces written by many different hands.
9. Liu Changlin 1982: 8-15.
10. Zhao 1985: 9. Similarly, Liu Chuanzhen: "Based on the analysis offered above, I conclude that the Nei jing was compiled for the most part during the middle or late period of the Western Han era.... Under these conditions, medical people sat down and gathered and ordered the medical literature. At the same time, they wrote down new experiences, integrated them, and compiled the HuangDi nei jing, an immortal medical text of wide scope" (Liu Chuanzhen 1989: 15). See also Xu 1986a for discussions of several views.
11. Yang 1987: 2.
12. Keegan 1988: 64, 254.
13. Ibid., 64. See also Sivin 1993: 199.
14. Wind etiology appears to be a concept from the Zhou era perpetuated by the Nei jing. See Yamada 1980; Unschuld 1982a. Liu Changlin 1982: 17 discusses parallels between similar concepts in the Su wen and in the Lü shi chun qiu, a text compiled in 239 B.C.
15. Of the ten books handed by Yang Qing to Chunyu Yi, eight are mentioned or quoted in the textus receptus of the Huang Di nei jing. The two titles not mentioned are the Yao lun, "On Pharmaceutical Drugs," and the Shi shen, "Stone Spirit," the latter presumably a work on external treatments with sharpened stones. This may be explained by the fact that both the pharmaceutical approach and the treatment with sharpened stones have received only marginal attention in the HuangDi nei jing. Liu Changlin 1982: 12 f. See also below sections V.10, pp. 265 ff.;V.11, pp. 284 ff.
16. Huang Di zhen jiu jia yi jing, 1972, p. 3.

[Huang] Di:

"Greatly excessive" and "inadequate," what does that mean?

Qi Bo:

[This is [outlined] in the classic.¹⁷

One wonders what kind of a Di the *Su wen* editors may have had in mind when they let his adviser dare to refuse to answer a question and refer Huang Di to the literature instead.

In two instances, Qi Bo compares Huang Di to a Sage Di or, in the context of the imperial age, a sage-like emperor.¹⁸ In two other instances, he points out that a question asked by Huang Di pertains to the knowledge of a Shang Di, a Di on High. When the Christian Gospel was translated into Chinese, the Chinese equivalent chosen for "the Lord" was "Shang Di." In fact, this is the only Chinese concept that comes close to the monotheistic and eternal nature of the Lord. In *Su wen* 9 and 69, however, Qi Bo's references to the Di on High make it very clear, first, that this Shang Di cannot be the one and only Lord and, second, that Huang Di does not occupy the highest echelon in the hierarchy of the various Di.

Qi Bo:

This was kept secret by the Lords (Di) on High;
the teachers of former times have transmitted it.

[Huang] Di:

May I hear about these [issues] one by one?¹⁹

Qi Bo paid reverence by knocking his head to the ground twice, and responded:

A lucid question, indeed! This is the brilliant Way.

This is what the Lords (Di) on High valued, what the teachers of former times have transmitted.

[I, your] subject, though not intelligent, have heard their instructions in the past.²⁰

Huang Di too is occasionally said to "have heard" or otherwise to know about events in antiquity. This puts him at a great distance from these events:

Once [Huang Di] asked the Heavenly Master:

I have heard that

the people of high antiquity,

in [the sequence of] spring and autumn, all exceeded one hundred years.

But in their movements and activities there was no weakening.

As for the people of today, after one half of a hundred years, the movements and activities of all of them weaken.

Is this because the times are different?

meaning as "warp," that is, the threads running length-wise through and holding a woven fabric. In a metaphorical sense, this meaning has been applied to various instances of "threads running lengthwise." Hence Sima Qian ill spoke of the imaginary channels penetrating the human body and enabling the passage of qi as jing; likewise, Zhang Heng (78-139) termed the major roads stretching from the south of China to the north jing—a usage that was extended later in the naming of the meridians in geography.

Obviously, the term jing was used in book titles to signify statements of fundamental importance or to point to those types of knowledge whose extraordinary significance was meant to persist through the ages if not forever.⁴⁹ If society is comparable to a fabric combining many threads of ideas and levels of hierarchy, a certain wisdom may be considered the warp holding it all together and ensuring its everlasting functioning. In a later part of *Mo zi*, presumably compiled circa 300 B.C., the phrase yu jing, translated by Graham as "expounding the canons," may refer to the fundamental ideas of earlier Mohist moral and political philosophy.⁵⁰

It is not clear, then, precisely when the metaphorical meaning of jing was transferred to texts that may have been considered seminal enough to be handed down from generation to generation. The passage quoted from Xun zi above, contemporaneous with the later Mohist writings, undoubtedly refers to specific texts as jing.

The development of this usage of jing seems to have occurred in various fields of knowledge, soon to include the core of the Confucian scriptures, the six jing cited above. In the Confucian tradition, gradually an increasing number of texts were honored in this way until a total of thirteen or fourteen jing came to be acknowledged as expressions of fundamental Confucian learning.

Medicine and pharmaceuticals were among the earliest subjects to be handed down to later generations in texts named jing. We have seen these titles in the bibliographic section of the dynastic history of the Western Han, which most likely took its data from the *Qi lüe* of the first century B.C.; the *Nan jing*, a work on medical theory, and the *Shen nong ben cao jing*, a work on pharmaceuticals, were compiled during the first century A.D. In later centuries, the scope of subjects claimed worthy of eternal transmission grew. The dynastic history of the Sui listed a *Shui jing*, which is the first account of the major waterways in China, as well as a *Xing jing*, a text focusing on astronomy. The dynastic history of the Tang introduced a *Cha jing*, a fundamental text on all the knowledge associated with tea.

Hence a rendering of jing as "manual" maybe inadequate; texts titled jing were quite the opposite of manuals. They were not meant to serve as summaries essential for carrying out this or that activity; they were seen as offering fundamentals that presumably would stand above the changes affecting daily life for a long time to come. Even the *Shen nong ben cao jing*, with its detailed data on actual drug effects, may not be an exception to this idea. The total of 365 drug monographs as well as their subsumption under the threefold categorization of the universe as heaven, man, and earth suggest a basic validity that goes well beyond a manual of daily therapies.

The term *canon* comes close to expressing the warp metaphor. It invokes the notion of "a regulation or dogma decreed by a church council," an "authoritative list of books accepted as Holy Scripture," the "authentic works of a writer," or "an accepted principle or rule."⁵¹ It is true that the character *jing* itself was often used to express the meaning of *chang dao* or *gui fan* (norm), for example, by Meng zi, in

influenced by the thought of Lao zi and Zhuang zi and by Buddhism. There is every reason to assume that the Lie zi commented on by Zhang Zhan differed, partially or even entirely, from the Lie zi of the Western Han.⁵⁶ To make their point, Gao Baoheng et al. did not hesitate to cut the *Qian zuo du/Lie zi* quote at a decisive point. The original wording was "[At this stage] the qi, the physical appearance, and the disposition [of man] are complete and do not leave each other. Hence [this stage] is called *hun lun*. *Hun lun* is to say: the myriad beings are all tied together and do not leave each other."⁵⁷

Gao Baoheng et al.'s interpretation suggests that the wording of the title *Su wen* was based on the *Lie zi* equation of *tai su* with *zhi* in the sense of *su zhi*, or *ben zhi*, that is, "natural disposition" or "original disposition." The chapter Tian di, "Heaven and Earth," of the *Bai hu tong yi* by Ban Gu in the first century A.D. has a passage similar to the one in the *Lie zi*: "Prior to the emergence of a beginning, this is *tai chu* (the grand commencement), subsequent [to the emergence of a beginning], this is *tai shi* (the grand beginning). When the physical appearance and the omnia have been completed, this is *tai su* (the grand origin)."⁵⁸ To read *tai su* in this context, which may be the original context of the almost identical passage in the *Lie zi*, as "grand disposition" and to infer from this a reading of *Su wen* as "Disposition Questions" makes little or no sense. Hence Gao Baoheng et al.'s interpretation is difficult to accept.

Only a little earlier than Gao Baoheng et al., during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong of the Northern Song dynasty (997-1022), Zhang Junfang et al., in revising the Daoist canon, excerpted essential contents and compiled the *Yun ji qi qian*. In this context they wrote: "The pure girl (*su nü*) descended from heaven to cure the ills of man. [Huang] Di questioned her and compiled the *Su wen*," that is the "Pure [Girl] Questions" or "Questions Directed at the Pure Girl."⁵⁹ No evidence whatsoever exists to support this interpretation. Although references to the mystical figure of the Pure Girl can be traced to Sima Qian's *Shi ji* of 90 B.C., their early context of sexual cultivation techniques does not suggest an association with the type of medicine presented in the *Su wen*.⁶⁰

In the Southern Song era, Zhao Gongwu went to the very origins in the etymology of the character *su*, that is, "undyed silk," in considering the meaning of *su wen* and arrived at yet another conclusion. He stated in his *Jun zhai du shu hou zhi*: "When the ancients spoke of *Su wen*, [they referred] to questions raised by Huang Di that were written on undyed silk. That is as if one said *su shu*, 'written on undyed silk.'"⁶¹ It should be remembered here that the bibliography *Qi lüe* of A. D. 23, in a section devoted to the works of the yin-yang school, lists a text named *Huang Di tai su*. While there is no evidence that this *Huang Di tai su* is related to a book named *Huang Di nei jing tai su* commented on by Yang Shangshan in the eighth century and transmitted, at least in numerous fragments, until this day,⁶² it is, however, certain that the character *su* was used in its title in the metaphorical sense alluded to above, that is, "grand origin" or "grand purity," and it appears far-fetched to assume an author of the late Western or early Eastern Han could have thought of the original etymology of *su* when he adopted this character to name a text.

During the Ming dynasty, Wu Kun (1551-1620?), author of the *Huang Di nei jing su wen zhu*, following his interpretation of *jing* as "a pattern revered through myriad generations," suggested: "General investigations are called *su wen*."⁶³ Similarly, Ma Shi, author of the *Huang Di nei jing su wen zhu zheng fa wei* of 1586, wrote: "The *Su wen* is a text consisting of a general dialogue between

Huang Di and his six subjects Qi Bo, Gui Yuqu, Bo Gao, Shao Shi, Shao Yu, and Lei Gong."⁶⁴

Zhang Jiebin, author of the *Lei jing*, agreed: "General questions, that is meant by *Su wen*."⁶⁵ The meaning "general," "common," as suggested by Wu Kun, Ma Shi, and Zhang Jiebin, may well have been implied by the phrase *su wen*. However, one might also argue that the character *su* was used in a metaphorical transfer of its original meaning "white silk" in the sense of "simple," "unadorned," and also "empty," "not preoccupied."

In the early Qing period, Yao Jiheng, in his "Examination of Forged Texts of All Ages," the *Gu jin wei shu kao*, came forward with yet another solution to the *Su wen* riddle: "My studies [suggest the following:] a *HuangDi tai su* is listed in the section of yin-yang specialists in the bibliographic section of the Han dynastic history. Obviously, the character *su* was borrowed there. Also [in this text Huang Di] asks Qi Bo questions. Hence it is called *Su wen*."⁶⁶

Tamba Genkan, the eminent Japanese *Su wen* commentator of the nineteenth century, continued the argument introduced by Yao Jiheng and linked it to the earlier association of *Su wen* with *Tai su* outlined by Gao Baoheng et al.: "Gao Baoheng et al. held that [*Su wen*] means *wen tai su*, 'questions concerning the tai su.' That is correct. The *Shi ji*, Yin ben ji, stated: 'Yi Yin followed [a request by King Wu] Tang and spoke on the affairs of Su Wang and the nine rulers.' The *Suo yin* stated: 'Su Wang is the tai su supreme emperor. His Way is that of sincerity and purity. Hence he is called Su Wang, king of purity.' The *Lie zi* and also the possibly even older *Qian zuo du* state: '*Tai su* is the beginning of *zhi*, "constitution."' (Tamba comments: *Guan zi*, Shui di pian: 'Su is the *zhi* "constitution" of the five colors.') The *Yi wen zhi* lists a *HuangDi tai su* in *20 pian*. Liu Xiang (77?-6 B.C.), in his *Bie lu* quoted in his son's *Qi lüe*, stated: '[The *HuangDi tai su*] expounds [the doctrines of] yin-yang and the five agents, considering them to be the Way of Huang Di. Hence [the text] is named *Tai su*.'⁶⁷ Hence the *Su wen* is a question-and-answer dialogue on the *Tai su*; this should be proof enough of the meaning of its [title]. That it is named *Su wen* rather than *Wen su*, this is not different from [a title such as] *Tian wen*."⁶⁸

As Qian Chaochen pointed out, no antecedent is known for the construction of a book title from such diverse elements.⁶⁹ However, if Gao Baoheng et al., Yao Jiheng, and Tamba Genkan meant to indicate that the meaning of *su* in *Su wen* is identical to that of *su* in *HuangDi tai su*, they may not have been wrong after all. The *tai su* in *HuangDi tai su* may have referred to the widely shared cosmological notion of "grand simplicity" in the sense of the basics of existence unaffected by human culture. In this view, *Su wen* could be interpreted as "Basic Questions," that is, questions pertaining to the basics of human existence.

It is here that we return to Quan Yuanqi, whose reading comes close at least to the intention we consider inherent in the title *Su wen*. Hence our rendering of the title *HuangDi nei jing su wen* is "Huang Di's Inner Classic, Basic Questions."

Unschuld's Footnotes (pp. 352-355)

1. Long 1957: 107
2. Tessenow will substantiate these conclusions in his forthcoming detailed analysis of structure and historical layers of the entire *Su wen*.

invoking the origin" (*zhu you ke*) was an officially acknowledged discipline in health care, practiced by *zhu you* specialists. For a discussion of this paragraph, see below pp.327-328.

23. *Su wen* 13-82-7.

24. *Su wen* 14-86-10.

25. *Su wen* 14-87-1.

26. *Su wen* 13-83-5

27. *Su wen* 25-159-3

28. The metaphorical usage of X here is closely linked to the original meaning of the character, i.e., the main rope holding together a net. Harper renders XX as "the Mainstay of Heaven." By comparing Han and pre-Han sources and pointing to similar Babylonian and Indian concepts, Harper showed that the primary reference of XX was to the fixed stars of the Big Dipper (*Ursa Maior*), which were conceived of as a "support cord for the multitude of stars" and as holding the heaven together. See Harper 1978-1979: 3; 1980-1981: 50-51. In 1980-1981: 51, Harper stated: "The idea that in its function as the Mainstay of Heaven the Big Dipper regulates celestial movements entered into the political theories of the period. This idea underlies the ancient tradition that the ruler was to occupy the chamber inside the Hall of Light, which corresponded to the direction indicated by the handle of the Dipper during each of the twelve calendar months. See W. E. Soothill, New York 1952: p. 93." Moreover, the action of XX, similar to the action of XX mentioned in the *Shang shu, Yao dian*, was probably linked to "the initiation of a new reign by a ritual act which aligns the new monarch with the model of Heaven" (being a model of the Dipper, which represented Heaven). "An adjustment in the calendar for ritual purposes is probably involved as well." Harper 1980-1981: 51, responding to Cullen 1980-1981: 39.

29. *Su wen* 67-369-11.

30. See Harper 1980-1981: 51.

31. *Su wen* 28-302-9.

32. *Su wen* 79-561-2.

33. *Su wen* 76-550-8.

34. *Su wen* 75-549-4.

35. Lewis 1990: 211.

36. "The *Han Shu* alone lists works with *Huang Di* in the title under the categories of Daoism, yin yang, five phases, militarism, calendars, astrology, astronomy, medicine, sexual yoga, immortals, and more." Peerenboom 1993: 3.

37. Yates 1997: 17.

38. The topos of "student Huang Di" was, as Anna K Seidel pointed out long ago, not restricted to the *Su wen*. In fact, as she observed in her study of the rise of Lao zi to divine status in Han Daoism, "the Yellow Emperor is never a Master; his wisdom always originated from instructions received by him as a disciple. His masters were his ministers as well as daoist sages . . . and divine beings." Seidel 1969:51.

39. Qian 1990: 3

40. *Han fei zi ji shi* 51 6, 611.

41. Qian 1990: 4
42. *Zhang shi lei jing* 27.
43. Ibid.
44. Gao 1988: 8. See Xu 1986a: 45 for a similar view.
45. *Han yu da ci dian*, vol. 1, p. 1017.
46. *Xun zi yin de*, chap. 1, p. 2, line 26.
47. This was already proposed by Lu Wenchao, a Qing author. Qian 1990: 5 f
48. *Zhuang zi yin de*, pian 14, p. 39, line 75.
49. See Gao 1988: 7 f., for an opposite view. Gao Bozheng equated *jing* with *shu* and saw in the early usages of *jing* merely references to "scriptures" or "texts."
50. Graham 1978: 243-245.
51. *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* 1965: 122.
52. *Shi san jing zhu shu*, vol. 2, 2780 (top).
53. This view is shared, among others, by Xu 1986a: 45.
54. *HuangDi nei jing su wen*, p. 1, note preceding the heading of the first *pian*
55. Ibid.; also, Liu Changlin 1982: 15 f.
56. Q'an 1990: 11, 12.
57. Ibid., 12.
58. *Bai hu tong zhu zi suo yin*, 61.
59. Qian 1990: 13.
60. I am grateful to Donald Harper who attracted my attention to the reference in the *Lie xian zhuan* to the *su shu*, "pure documents," referring to writings about sexual cultivation. See Kaltenmark 1987: 181 and 182 n.2 for the account of Nüji.
61. *Jun zhai du shu zhi jiao zheng* no. 990, p. 701.
62. See below p. 26-33.
63. Qian 1990: 7.
64. *ping su wen da*: Qian 1990: 7.
65. *ping su suo jiang wen shi wei su wen. Zhang shi lei jing*, 27.
66. *Gu jin wei shu kao bu zheng*, 204.
67. This quote from the *Bie lu* is from the Tang author Yan Shigu's commentary to the *Han shu* (*Han shu*, p. 1732, note 4). Hence at least parts of the original *Qi lüe* may have existed during the Tang era, if Yan Shigu did not quote from yet another secondary source.
68. Qian 1990:13.
69. Ibid.