



# HOW TO DO THE GIBBON WALK:

a Translation of the *Pulling Book* (ca 186 BCE)

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To  
Paul Thompson † (1931-2007)  
for always making time



## Introduction to the Translation

*Yinshu* (The Pulling Book) is the earliest extant treatise on the Chinese tradition of daoyin (guiding and pulling), dating to the second century BCE. From *Yinshu* we know that the art of *daoyin* was not simply a therapy for illness, but an integral part of a regimen designed to strengthen the body – a regimen which adjusted personal hygiene, grooming, exercise, diet, sleep and sexual behaviour to the changing qualities of the four seasons. It is one of two medical manuscripts to be excavated from tomb 247 at the Jiangling, Zhangjiashan site in Hubei which was excavated in 1983/4. The tomb is a rectangular vertical pit tomb with two rooms, not grand in scale. In style it resembles other tombs from the early and middle Western Han period. Its owner, however, was probably not of equivalent status to the Lord and Lady of Dai of the roughly contemporary Changsha Mawangdui tomb site, also notable for its trove of medical manuscripts. Only fifty or so small lacquer and pottery vessels were found at the site. There was no road leading to the tomb and the antechamber was only 3.48m by 1.58m by 1.2m and the coffin room much smaller. Two boxes were found in the coffin room. The bamboo slips that they contained constitute, after Mawangdui, the second richest cache of medical manuscripts recovered from the second century BCE. In other respects the tomb is not remarkable and would not have drawn much attention from archaeologists. By comparing the mortuary goods with other objects excavated in local burial sites, the preliminary report gives an earliest date in the second year of Empress Lu [186 BCE] and a latest date at the beginning of the reign period of Emperor Jing [156 BCE]. A register buried in the tomb also records that the anonymous tomb owner was bing mian ‘absent from court because of illness’ for a period taken from the first year of Hui Di [194 BCE]. He was eventually buried with a *jiuzhan* ‘a pigeon staff’, a staff with a pigeon-shaped handle presented to those over eighty.

The first description of the contents of the Zhangjiashan bamboo manuscripts appeared in 1985. Unusually a register in the tomb listed the manuscripts among the burial goods. Along with the medical manuscripts there were documents relating to judicial matters, administration, military strategy and mathematical calculations. A transcript of *Maishu* ‘The Channel Book’, the other medical manuscript to be found in the tomb, was published in 1989 and that of *Yinshu* ‘The Pulling Book’ in 1990. The present translation is based on the Wenwu publishing house transcript, published in 2001.

The bamboo strips are 27.3-28 cms long and 0.4-5 cms wide. As the binding thread that tied the slips had rotted away, the slips were scattered and confused and had to be reordered. Both medical texts are written in *lishu*, Han clerical script, and each one, uniquely, is marked with a title on the back in the hand of a single scribe, probably in the process of cataloguing. As they were not added by the scribe who wrote the main body of the text it is possible that they were written at the time that the mortuary goods were being collected and organised. The titles may then be generic names rather than the unique title of these particular works. At least two copyists worked on *Yinshu* and slip S75 ends with a lacuna followed by the graph Wu 吳, considered by Peng Hao to be the name of the scribe. *Yinshu* comprises approximately 113 bamboo slips with 4,000 graphs in total. No divisions are marked on the slips to indicate the beginning and end of individual texts. Sub-headings are not used.

The writings contain at least three discrete texts, which we can determine from changes in content and style. The first text provides the year's health regimen in four parts: spring, summer, autumn and winter. The second text, which is the main bulk of the treatise, sets out forty-one set exercises. Thirty-seven are perfectly preserved, whilst four are damaged. Many of the exercises are given titles, some of which simply describe the exercise, usually naming the culminating posture in a sequence. Others liken the exercises to animal movements or attitudes. Another type of title refers to applying treatment to a specific illness, or part of the body. There are treatments both for pain in joints and muscles, such as knee pain or back pain, and for internal illnesses such as loose bowels, inguinal swellings or inner exhaustion. Where the treatment is directed to a specific part of the body, it is probably meant to improve the function of that part, rather than to address a specific illness. The third text is a treatise on the causes of illness and on measures for maintaining good health. Changes in the climate, social class, excessive emotion, diet, maintenance of body temperature, sleep, Yin, Yang and Qi are all implicated in what amounts to a broad multi-factorial approach to the causation of illness. No matter how the cause of illness is construed, *Yinshu* prescribes breath cultivation and guided therapeutic exercises to invigorate the whole or parts of the body. This constitutes the practical application of a medical philosophy that understands the maintenance of good health as dependent upon embodying the movement of Yin and Yang and the dynamic between Heaven and Earth.

# Yin shu



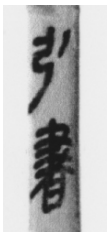
## Strip No. 1<sup>v</sup>

引書

Pulling Book<sup>1</sup>

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1. I translate the verb *yin* 引 as ‘pull’ in order 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 follow Catherine Despeux 1989, ‘Gymnastics: The Ancient Tradition’, 225 - 61. On the one hand *yin* refers to ‘pulling’ the body in various kinds of physical movements. *Yin* followed by an ailment name 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’ carries the sense of ‘eliminate, remove’ which is appropriate in this context. *Yin* is often translated ‘stretch,’ a limiting rendering given the wide range of interventions described throughout the text. Most of the pulling exercises in the book do involve stretching, often through the specified ailment, but we also find rhythmic squeezing and contracting of the muscles, bending of the area of the body pulled, emergency treatments for obstructions of the throat, or for dislocation of the jaw. Massage is sometimes applied to pull the afflicted area. A number of exercises are designed to pull ailments that are whole body, or do not have a specific site in the body, and these tend to involve breath control. Remarkable are the number of repetitions, up to one thousand at and, in one example, four thousand in a day.



## Strip No. 1

•春產、夏長、秋收、冬藏,<sup>a</sup> 此彭祖之道也

In the spring generate,<sup>1</sup> in the summer grow, in the autumn harvest, in the winter preserve, this is the way of Peng Zu.<sup>2</sup>

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a. Variant of the graph zang 臧.

1. *Shuo wen* 6b.127 glosses *chan* 產 as *sheng* 生 ‘to give birth to’, ‘to generate’. The following qualities ‘extend, harvest, preserve’ appropriate qualities of a plant’s annual cycle and the seasonal activities of the farmer to characterise the ideal lifestyle. Similar ideas pervade *Shi wen* (Ten Questions) excavated at Mawangdui, ‘if you want to live long then follow and investigate the Way of heaven and earth. As for the *qi* of heaven, when the moon is exhausted it becomes full therefore it is able to extend its life - as for the *qi* of earth, a year has cold and heat, perilous and easy complete each other, therefore the earth sustains and does not decay, if you wish to investigate the nature of heaven and earth then follow it with your body...’. *MWD* 4 *Shi wen* No. 23.

An alternative translation of the sentence here would be to take the season as the subject of the verb, i.e. ‘the spring generates, the summer grows etc.’ Given that this is the Way of Peng Zu 彭祖 I have chosen to translate the sentence as a directive. The whole of this first passage is an instruction in how to align the body with the qualities of heaven and earth. *Suwen* develops the theme of changing daily regimen to reflect the four seasons, attempting to integrate the cycle of four with the correspondences of the *wuxing* 五行 ‘five agents’ and a further abstraction in the cycle of generation - cold, hot, dry, wet, and wind. *Suwen* 3 (5 “Gen jie), 1-2. *Lingshu* 13 (44 “Shun qi yi ri fen wei si shi), 5-6 correlates periods of the day with the four seasons and appropriate regimen. Later on Zhang Jiebin’s [1563AD - ] commentary interprets the same qualities as a cycle related to the different transformations of Yang qi.

2. Tradition associates Peng Zu with 錢鏗 Qianke, the grandson of Lord Zhuan Xu 顓頊, third son in the Lu Zhong 陸終 clan. He is reputed to have lived seven hundred years. Yao apparently enfeoffed him with the town of Peng thus providing his honorific name. In the Shang dynasty he is identified as a *shou cang shi* 守藏史 (Probationary Secretary of Storehouses?) and he is said to have served under the Zhou as *zhuxia shi* 柱下史 (Archivist). See Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 90 n.2. *Zhuang Zi* mentions him several times in connection with his longevity, but once to criticise his Way and the Way of his followers which *Zhuang Zi* associates with *daoyin*. The *Yin shu* is therefore not isolated in associating his name with therapeutic exercise during the second and third centuries BCE. Yamada suggests that up to the Han dynasty Peng Zu’s way had no relation to the Arts of the Bedchamber. Yamada (1985) vol 2, 405 - 462. It is clear from this text that his association with regulated sexual practice was a part of a range of linked health regimen.



## Strip No. 2

春日，早<sup>a</sup>起之後，棄水，澡漱<sup>b</sup>，洒齒，响<sup>c</sup>，披髮，游堂下，迎露<sup>d</sup>之清，受天地之精，飲<sup>e</sup>水一杯<sup>f</sup>，所以益讎也。入宮從昏到夜大半止

On spring days, after rising early, expel water,<sup>1</sup> cleanse the hands and mouth,<sup>2</sup> cleanse the teeth, breathe out (knock ?),<sup>3</sup> loosen the hair and ramble around<sup>4</sup> in front of the house;<sup>5</sup> go to meet<sup>6</sup> the purity of the early morning dew, receive the quintessence of heaven and after drink one cup of water and in this way you may live a long life.<sup>7</sup> Enter the chamber<sup>8</sup> between dusk and midnight.<sup>9</sup>

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- a. YS writes a variant of zao蚤 [without the dot].  
 b. YS writes *su* 漱 with 土 underneath.  
 c. YS writes *xu* 响 with 彳.  
 d. YS writes *lu* .... e. YS writes ....  
 f. YS writes *bei* 倍.

1. *Qi shui* 棄水 refers to expelling urine and *shui* therefore simply to urine. I follow the analysis in Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 132. *Yupian* 00 gloss of 水, ‘Kong zi stated, a gentleman 水 in the day, a lowly person 水 in the water. Now it is written *niao* 溺 ‘to urinate.’” Identifying *shui* as a pathological condition, Ma *MWD Guyi kaoshi* (1992), 250, n. 8 quotes *Lingshu* 12 (36 ‘Wu long jinye bie’). 1b: ‘when the four seas are *bi* 閉 blocked, and the three burners do not drain, fluids are not transforming, in the water valleys and alimentary canal there is no return to the intestine and they remain in the lower burner, the bladder does not drain, so the lower burner swells and water increases, this is *shui* 水 (water swelling)’. *Bi* 閉 and *shui* 水 are often associated and we can assume that *shui* pathology is conceived as an accumulation of fluids where flow has been impeded.

2. *Shuowen* 11a, 237 glosses *zao* 澡 as *xi shou* 洒手. 11a, 236 glosses *xi* as *di* 滌 ‘to clean’. *Xi shou* is therefore ‘cleansing the hands’. *Shuowen* 11a, 236 also glosses *shu* 漱 as *tang kou* 盪口, a style of mouth rinsing. Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 132. ZJS *Yin shu* No 2, n. 3 glosses *zao* as *guan* 盥. The combination *guan shu* 盥漱 can be found in *Liji* 0 (12 ‘nei ze’). *Shuowen* 5a, 104 lists *guan* as ‘washing the hands’.

3. ZJS *Yinshu* No. 2, n.4 quotes *Shuowen* 11a, 236 which glosses *xi* as *di* 滌 ‘to clean’. Some sources read 沟 as the well attested practice of ‘knocking the teeth’, as recorded in *Yin shu* exercises later in the text. ‘*Yin shu shiwen*’, 86 reads *xi* as *xu* 歛. Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 132 cites *Shuowen* 3a, 68 which glosses *xu* 歛 as *ji* 擊..., interpreted as *kou* 扣, ‘to strike’. Duan Yucai comments that *xu* 歛 meant *kou* 扣 or *kou* 叩, ‘to strike’. He adds that while both variants of *kou* were retained, *xu* fell into disuse. However Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 132 argues convincingly that 沟 is a graphic variant of *gou* 垢 understood as ‘sediment/muck’ and is the object of the verb *xi* 洒, reading the sentence *xi chi gou* ‘clean the teeth sediment’.



He cites a number of instances in the silk *Lao Zi* and in *Zhuang Zi* where the elements *gou* 勾 and *hou* 后 are used interchangeably. He then demonstrates that the water and earth radicals are also interchangeable. *Shuowen* 13a, 289 glosses *gou* 垢 as *zhuo* 濁. Shi's argument is attractive, but over reads the text em Yin shu No. 2 reads 洵 simply, as a graphic variant of *xu* 响, the graph commonly. *ZJS* used in the rest of *Yin shu* to indicate one method of 'breathing out'. Perhaps the water radical fused with the graph for breathing out suggests spitting after cleaning the teeth. *Yupian* 19, 2.62b glosses 洵 as the 'sound of water' which may also suggest the spitting sound.

4. You 游 'to swim' is probably a loan for *you* 遊 'wander, ramble' although the image of floating around outside the house is compelling.

5. Apart from its more general meaning of 'hall', *tangxia* 堂下 translates 'under the platform' or 'the lower part of the hall'. See *Meng Zi* 1A.7, translated in Lau, *Mencius* (1970), 54. *Tang* can be the verb 'to lay a foundation' or 'the foundation.' Given that the activity involves breathing the morning dew, this location is probably at the front of the house beneath a veranda, or the platform that forms the foundation of the house.

6. 逆 *ni* is 'to go to meet'. Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 92 n.7 notes occurrences in the *Shujing* 6.2, where, in discussing the etiquette of receiving people, *ni* 逆 is used in the sense of to "greet" prominent lords at court, 'greet' people in crowds in the hall, 'greet' those that surround you at the door'. 'Yin shu shi wen', 82 suggests it is loan for *yin* 迎 which has the standard meaning of 'to greet' or 'to receive'.

7. Ikai notes that *chou* 讎 is a graphic loan for *shou* 壽 'long life.' Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 93 n.9 provides evidence from *Zuo zhuan* 00 (Wen 17).00. The account states, 'Wei shouyu 魏壽余'. Parallel stories in both *Shiji* 5 and 39 state 'Wei chouyu 魏讎余'. *Shiji* 5, 195 and 39, 1673. Shi 'Yinshu shiwen tongxun' (1992), 133 agrees with Ikai and Gao. He notes that where *Yanzi chunqiu* 8 (1.....) states 勞思不可以補民" 益壽" 不能殫其教, the Yinqueshan edition of the *Yanzi* writes *leichou* 纍讎 replacing *yishou* 益壽. YQS 00.

8. 'Enter the chamber' is an early verbal version of the *fang shi* 房事 'affairs of the house' euphemism for sexual activity. Shi 'Yin shu shiwen tongxun' (1992), 133 adds that in antiquity there was no class distinction between the *shi* 室 and the /em *gong* 宮. He cites *Erya* 5 ( ) 'gong 宮 call it *shi* 室, *shi* 室 call it *gong* 宮.' and *Liji* 1 (8'....)', 'thirty years is considered maturity, for taking a *shi* 室'. Zheng xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) comments that 'to have a *shi* 室 is to have a *qi* 妻 'wife'.

9. In Qin and Han the day was divided into sixteen time periods. The expression *ye daban* 夜大半, the following *ye shaoban* 夜少半 and *ye banqian* 夜半前 refer to times that are probably midnight, the hours before midnight and the first half of the night respectively. XX *Lishi yanjiu* 力史研究 6 (1993), 00 n.22. I understand the following directive *zhi zhi* 止之 'cease it' to indicate a sequence, starting with appropriate time for sexual activity after which there should be immediate cessation. In contrast Ikai takes *zhi* 止 as the main verb to which he understands the previous clause to be a time period during which sexual activity is proscribed.

**Strip No. 3**

之，益之傷氣。

[when it is time to] cease. Increasing it will harm the *qi*.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ikai interprets ‘will increase the amount of *qi* that is harmed’ reading *zhi* 之 as the possessive particle rather than the object referring to sexual activity.



### Strip No. 4

夏日，數沐，希浴，無暮<sup>a</sup>〔起〕<sup>b</sup>，多食菜。早<sup>c</sup>起，棄水之後，用水澡漱，疏齒，披髮。步足堂下，有閑而飲水一杯，入宮從昏到夜半止。

On summer days wash the hair<sup>1</sup> more frequently and bathe less; do not sleep late.<sup>2</sup> Eat more vegetables. Get up early and after passing water, wash and rinse the mouth with water, pick<sup>3</sup> the teeth, loosen the hair and pace slowly in front of the house. After a while drink a cup of water. Enter the chamber between dusk and midnight.

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a. *Mu* (mwo'/\*magh/\*makh) 莫 is *mu* (mwo'/\*magh/\*makh) 暮 'late'. See Schuessler *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (date), 432.

b. The graph *qi* has been added by the editors of *ZJS Yinshu* to complete the sense of the statement.

c. See S2.

1. *Shuo wen*11A.236 glosses *mu* 沐 as 'wash the hair'.

2. *Lüshi Chunqiu* 13 (5 'jin ting'), 00 states 'if you are studying virtue do not *mu* 暮 'get up late'.' Ikai reads a double negative *wumu* 毋莫〔起〕 'do not fail to [get up]'.

3. I take *shu* 疏 to be 'to dredge' or 'clear the channels'. See *Meng Zi* 3A.4, 'Yü dredged the nine rivers, cleared the courses of the Chi and the T'a to channel the water into the sea.' (tr. DC Lau *Mencius* (1970), 102. I translate 'pick' understanding the activity to involve clearing the spaces between the teeth.

### Strip No. 5

益之傷氣。

[when it is time to] cease. Increasing it will harm the *qi*.

### Strip No. 6

秋日，數浴沐，飲食飢飽恣<sup>a</sup>身所欲。入宮，以身所利安，此利道也。

On autumn days bathe and wash the hair frequently; in drinking and eating your fill indulge the body's desires. Enter the chamber whenever the body is nourished and derives comfort from it.<sup>1</sup> This is the way of benefit.

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a. *YS* writes *ci* 次.

1. Might this be a practice aimed at producing summer births?



## Strip No. 7

冬日，數浴沐，手欲寒，足欲溫，面欲寒，身欲溫，臥欲莫起，臥伸<sup>a</sup>必有正<sup>b</sup>也。入宮從昏到夜少半止之，益之傷氣。

On winter days, bathe and wash the hair frequently; keep the hands cold, keep the feet warm,<sup>1</sup> keep the face cold and keep the body warm. In resting get up late<sup>2</sup> and while lying down and stretching you must be straight. Enter the chamber between dusk and the hours before midnight [when it is time to] cease. Increasing it will harm the *qi*.

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a. *YS* writes *shen* 伸 as *xin* 信 throughout.

b. *YS* writes ...

1. The same principle can be found in the text styled *Mai fa* by the editors of *MWD* 4 *Mai fa* Nos 72- 83.

2. The second occurrence of *mu* 莫 confirms the earlier reading as ‘late’. The alternative proposed by Ikai would translate ‘do not get up,’ an interpretation that is implausible in this context.

## Strip No. 8

•舉胛交股，更上更下三十，曰交股。•伸胛屈指三十，曰尺蠖。

Raise the lower leg to cross the thigh, alternately<sup>1</sup> raise and lower again thirty times. This is called Crossing the Thigh. Extend the lower leg curling the toes<sup>2</sup> thirty times. This is called the Inch Worm.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Gao ‘Yinshu yanjiu’ (1995), 98 n.2 quotes *Lei pian* which glosses *geng* 更 as *die* 迭 ‘alternately’ a reading which fits the context throughout this text. The same reading can be extrapolated from reading *geng* in its common meaning of to ‘change.’ *Lei pian* 00. See also Schuessler *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*, (1987), 195.

195. Ikai reads ‘more’ translating, ‘raise it a little more and lower it a little more.’ Parallel uses of *geng* below mitigate against this reading.

2. Normally ‘fingers’ but in this context clearly the ‘toes.’

3. 尺汗 is *chihu* 尺蠖. ‘Yinshu shiwen,’ 82 reads 汗 as *hu* 蠖. Gao ‘Yinshu yanjiu’ (1995), 98 notes Erya 15 glosses *hu* 蠖 as *chihu* 尺蠖 ‘looper caterpillar.’ Erya 00. As with most caterpillars the looper has a soft and long body, is born in trees and moves by bending and stretching. *Chihu* is also the third movement in a sequence of sexual activity recorded in the Mawangdui text *HeYinyang*. See *MWD* 4 *He Yinyang* Nos. 116-117. The same stretching and contracting movement is probably implied.



## Strip No. 9

•附足離合，[窰-穴]三十，曰僉指。•伸脰直踵，并[窰-穴]三十，曰埤坵。

With feet together<sup>1</sup> leave the flat position,<sup>2</sup> rocking thirty times. This is called Working<sup>3</sup> the Toes. Extend the lower leg<sup>4</sup> and straighten to the heels.<sup>5</sup> With feet together rock thirty times. This is called [Looking Down from] the Battlements.<sup>6</sup>

1. ‘*Yinshu shiwen*’ 82 reads *fu* 傳 as *fu* 附. Schuessler, *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*, 180 glosses *fu* 傳 (bjü) as ‘to touch’ and *fu* 附 (bjü) ‘to adhere/stick to.’ They may be phonetic variants. Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 133 suggests that this means ‘with feet side by side i.e. together.’ For this reading either graph will suffice. Alternatively, ZJS *Yin shu* No. 9 n. 1 reads *fu* 傳 as *bo* 搏 in the sense of *pai ji* 拍擊 ‘to slap’. Here perhaps slapping the feet together in some way.

2. I follow Shi Changyong who takes *lita* 離翕 to mean *lita* 離蹋 ‘to leave the flat position’. ZJS *Yin shu* No. 9 n.1 and Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), interpret *lita* 離翕 as *lihe* 離合. The combination would mean to bring together and separate. In this case the movement is ambiguous. It could mean to separate and bring together the feet and the floor. A reading of ‘jump’ is confirmed by reading the following (窰-穴) as [足 + (窰-穴)], glossed as *tiao* 跳 ‘jump’ in *Shuo wen* 2b.47. Shi Changyong disagrees with the editors of the transcripts. In ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 133 he adduces wide evidence that *ta* 翕 is a graphic variant of *ta* 躡, which in turn is in the same semantic range as *ta* 蹋. His argument centres around the common use of 躡 in the *daoyin* methods of the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* (...). The sense conveyed in these later *daoyin* methods seems to be to place the foot flat on the floor as part of a treading action. Shi also quotes from Wu Shidao’s (1283-1344) commentary to *Zhangguo ce* 00 112, ‘Linze was extremely wealthy and substantial. Its people did not want for playing the reed pipes... fighting chickens... liubo and 躡 (鞠) (kick/tread/football?)’ which reads ‘躡 was an historical form of *ta* 蹋.’ *Shuo wen* 11A.46 glosses *ta* 蹋 as *jian* 踐 ‘to tread.’ *Lita* 離翕 would then refer to alternately raising and lowering the feet in a treading fashion. This is probably carried out by simply rocking the weight forward onto the toes thereby also peeling the feet away from the floor. This would be consistent with the following movement in the sequence and has the virtue of also reading *yao* 搖 in this case ‘to sway/rock’ which remains closer to the original graph.

3. *Shuo wen* 5b.108 glosses *qian* 僉 as *jie* 皆 ‘all’ which conveys the sense of ‘drawing them’ or ‘working them all together.’ Shi Changyong citing *Fang yan* 12 states *qian* 僉 is *ju* 劇. *Shuo wen* 13b.292 glosses *ju* 劇 as *wu* 務 and *lao* 勞 ‘to toil’ as *ju* 劇. See Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 133.



4. 脛 is normally translated ‘shin’, but there is nothing here that suggests that it only refers to the front of the lower leg. In this context the text is more likely to refer to the back of the calves.

5. Evidently by raising higher on the toes and aligning the lower leg and ankle in a straight line.

6. I accept Gao’s interpretation of *bini* 埤垠 ‘battlement’ and *bini* XX 睨 ‘looking askance’. Gao ‘Yinshu yanjiu’ (1995), 99 - 100 n.5 quotes Mo Zi 70, 00 ‘On the two sides of every wall at the height of one *zhang* there is *abi ni* 埤垠 ‘battlement.’

## Strip No. 10

• 纍足趾，上搖之，更上更下三十，曰纍童。• 左右屈脛，更進更退三十，曰襲前。

Stringing the Feet.<sup>1</sup> Rock (up on to) the toes, alternately raising and again thirty times. This is called the Stringing Movement.<sup>2</sup> Bend the leg to the left and to the right, alternately advancing and withdrawing thirty times. This is called Forward Lunges.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Shi amends ‘Yinshu shiwen’ by moving the comma in the phrase 纍足指，上搖之 to read 纍足，指上搖之. Quoting from *Hanshu*, he then provides evidence that *leizu* 纍足 is the common phrase *leizu* 累足. He then cites Kong Yingda’s 孔穎達 (574-648) sub-commentary to *Shijing* 192 ‘the earth’s covering is thick but we dare not but *ji* 躋 ‘walk in small steps,’ which states, ‘*ji* 躋 is *lei zu* 累足.’ The term clearly implies walking warily. See *Shijing* 192, 00. Shi then goes on to speculate that the movement refers to walking pigeon step, heel to toe in a straight line. See *Yinshu shiwen tongxun*,’ 133. Perhaps the allusion to string refers to a straight line, although the action of winding is more commonly associated with the term *lei* 累 ‘stringing,’ winding’ or ‘layering.’ Using a string as a prop may be implied. Perhaps the toes are pulled up with the aid of a long string. Thus the movement is either pulling up the toes, or rocking forward on to the toes in a position with one foot in front of another.

2. In ‘Yinshu shiwen tongxun,’ 133 Shi suggests that *tong* 童 (*dun*) is a variant of *dong* 動 (*dun*) and quotes two witnesses to the *Weiliaozi* as evidence: *Weiliaozi* 00 ‘其心動以誠’ and *Weiliaozi* from *Yinqueshan* ‘其心童 (以誠)’.

3. *Lei* 襲 ‘a surprise attack.’



## Strip No. 11

•以足摩<sup>a</sup> 胫，陰陽各三十而更。•正伸兩足三十，曰引陽筋。

Massage the lower leg with the foot, thirty times on the Yin aspect and thirty times on the Yang aspect, alternating.<sup>1</sup> Extend the two feet out straight thirty times. This is called Pulling the Yang Muscles and Sinews.<sup>2</sup>

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a. *YS* writes *mi* 靡.

1. Either alternating the Yin or Yang aspects, or alternating legs. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 11 n.1, 286 specifies Yin and Yang in this context as the ‘front’ and the ‘back’ of the lower leg.

2. This movement stretches the sinews on the anterior lateral and posterior part of the leg depending whether the foot is pointed or bent.

## Strip No. 12

•摩足跗各三十而更。

Massage the instep<sup>1</sup> thirty times each side and alternate.

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1. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 12 n.1 glosses *zu bei* 足背 ‘back of the foot’, but this is most likely the instep.

## Strip No. 13

•引脛<sup>a</sup>者，反錯<sup>b</sup>手背而前俯<sup>c</sup>。•陽見者，反錯手，<sup>d</sup>背而仰，後顧。

Pull the Buttocks. Interlock the hands behind the back<sup>1</sup> and bend forward. Looking Yang. Interlock the hands behind the back, look up and afterwards look behind.

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a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 13, n.1 notes that this is read *zhi* [尼over日] *Shuowen* 8a.174 glosses *zhi* as *kao* 尻 ‘the buttocks’ and *Guang ya* 00 as *tun* 臀. *Wushier Bingfang* reads 蠱者.....烝羊尼 ‘Ku and becoming sick.....steam a sheep rump.’[tr. Harper, *The Wu Shi Erh Ping Fang: Translation and Prolegomena*, 605].

b. *YS* writes *xi* 昔 throughout.

c. *YS* writes . . . . *ZJS Yin shu* No. 13 reads *mian* 俛, a variant of *fu* 俯.

d. I add a comma to ‘*Yinshu shiwen*’ and *ZJS Yinshu* as follows, ‘反錯手，背而. . .’

1. 反錯手，背而. . . translates as two actions, ‘interlock the hands (with palms pressed out), put them behind the back. . .’ This phrase is repeated at a number of places.



## Strip No. 14

•窮視者，反錯手背而俯，後顧<sup>a</sup>踵。•側从<sup>b</sup>者，反錯手背而...<sup>c</sup>探<sup>d</sup>肩。

Looking to the Limit.<sup>1</sup> Interlock the hands behind the back and bend forwards, looking back at the heels. Follow to the Side.<sup>2</sup> Interlock the hands behind the back and incline the head so that it stretches<sup>3</sup> the shoulder.

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a. *YS* writes *gu* 雇.

b. *YS* writes 則比 I read *ze* 則 as a graphic variant of *ce* 側 ‘incline to one side.’ The graphs *em* 比 ‘combined with/going together/to follow’ and *cong* 从 are used interchangeably. See Schuessler *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (1987), 25-26 and Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 150 for various readings of *bi* in the sense of ‘joining/go together with’ or ‘follow.’

c. I accept the judgement of ‘*Yin shu shiwen*,’ 82 which gives *pi* XX (\*p’ieg/p’iei) ‘incline the head’ as a variant of *bei* 卑 (\*pieg). See Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* 874a and n.

d. *YS* writes...

1. I read *qiong* 窮 ‘exhaustively’ in the sense of ‘as far as possible/the limit.’

2. This exercise to benefit the ear is mirrored below under the title of Pulling Deafness, ‘Sit straight. If the deafness is on the left, stretch out the left arm and raise the tip of the middle finger. While stretching the arm, energetically pull the neck and ear’. Two exercises for the ear therefore involve pulling the head to one side.

3. *Tan* 探, read in its sense of *tan shen* 探身 ‘to stretch forward’.

## Strip No. 15

•覺沃者，反錯手背而揮頭。•旋伸者，錯手，擣而後揮。

Wild Duck Bathing.<sup>1</sup> Interlock the hands behind the back and shake the head. Swivelling and Extending. With the hands interlocked, raise the hands<sup>2</sup> shaking them behind.

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1. *Wu* 沃 ‘to wash’ is written *yu* 浴 ‘to bathe’ in *Huainan zi* 7. 00: ‘This in the old days is why the ancients roamed, like blowing out, expelling the breath and breathing in, spitting out the old and receiving the new, the Bear Warp, the Bird Stretch, Wild Duck Bathing, the Gibbon Walk, the Owl’s Gaze and the Tiger Looks Back, they were the people who nurtured their form, so as not to disturb the heart.’

2. *Shuo wen* 12a.254 glosses *jiao* 擣 as ‘raising the hands’.



## Strip No. 16

• 梟<sup>a</sup> 慄<sup>b</sup> 者，反錯手背而縮頸甄<sup>c</sup>頭。• 折陰者，前一足，錯手，俯而反鉤之。

The Owl<sup>1</sup> Shivers. Interlock hands behind the back, shrink the neck and shake<sup>2</sup> the head. Bending Yin.<sup>3</sup> With one foot take a step forward. Interlock the hands, bend forward and hook to the back [of the legs].

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a. Gao ‘Yinshu yanjiu’ (1995), 104 n.1 notes that in the Western Han silk manuscripts the upper parts of graphs referring to *niao* 鳥 ‘birds’ are often written with 自. *Shuo wen* 6a.125, ‘*jiao*梟 is the unfilial bird’ and *Erya* 17 00 glosses the *kuangmaochi* 狂茅鴟, a *guaichi* 怪鴟 ‘strange *chi*’ as a *jiaochi* 梟鴟 ‘*jiao*梟owl.’ Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 134 is in agreement, adding that the substitution of *zi* 自 with *niao* 鳥 was brought about by the change to clerical script. He cites Yinqueshan *Yanzi*, ‘the *nie*梟 spread its wings and lay prostrate on the ground and died beneath the terrace.’ It also states, ‘the *nie*梟 calls at night’. So the *nie* is certainly a night bird and probably the owl. Shi goes on to demonstrate that the combination *nieli* is a type of owl. *Erya* 17 00 states, ‘when a bird is beautiful when young and grows to be ugly it is the *liuli* 鸛鷓.’ Hao Yixing’s (1757-1825) sub-commentary states, ‘*li*鷓 is *li*离, *liu*鷓 is *liliu*留, the *Shi jing* is now written *liu*流, they are all homophones, moreover it is like the yellow *liliu* 栗留.’ Lu ji’s third century study of the flora and fauna in *Shi jing* states that ‘*liuli* 流离 are *jiao*梟.’ Altogether there is substantial evidence to prove that *nieli* 梟栗 is a type of owl. See ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ 134. *Huainan Zi* 7 lists a *chishi* 鷓視 amongst its list of *daoyin* exercises. Alternatively, *Zhongwen da cidian* 1096, quoting the *Zhou Li* and *Shi wen* glosses *nie*梟 as ‘a target’ or ‘to erect a post/pillar.’ *Shuo wen* 6a.123 glosses *nie* as a ‘shooting standard/level’ i.e. a target. In this context one might infer standing stiffly with the arms straight down to the side.

b. YSwrites 栗.

c. YSwrites ...



1. The general consensus is that *nie* 梟 refers to an owl. *Shuo wen* 6a.125, ‘*jiao*梟 is the unfilial bird’ and *Erya* 17 00 glosses the *kuangmaochi* 狂茅鴟, a *guaichi* 怪鴟 ‘strange *chi*’ as a *jiaochi* 梟鴟 ‘*jiao*梟owl.’ Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 134 is in agreement, adding that the substitution of *zi* 自 with *niao* 鳥 was brought about by the change to clerical script. He cites Yinqueshan *Yanzi*, ‘the *nie*梟 spread its wings and lay prostrate on the ground and died beneath the terrace.’ It also states, ‘the *nie* 梟 calls at night’. So the *nie* is certainly a night bird and probably the owl. Shi goes on to demonstrate that the combination *nieli* is a type of owl. *Erya* 17 00 states, ‘when a bird is beautiful when young and grows to be ugly it is the *liuli* 鸛鷓.’ Hao Yixing’s (1757-1825) sub-commentary states, ‘*li* 鷓 is *li* 离, *liu* 鷓 is *liliu* 留, the *Shi jing* is now written *liu* 流, they are all homophones, moreover it is like the yellow *liliu* 栗留.’ Lu ji’s third century study of the flora and fauna in the *Shi jing* states that ‘*liuli* 流 离 are *jiao* 梟.’ Altogether there is substantial evidence to prove that *nieli* 梟栗 is a type of owl. See ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ 134. *Huainan Zi* 7 lists a *chishi* 鷓視 amongst its list of *daoyin* exercises. Alternatively, *Zhongwen da cidian* 1096, quoting the *Zhou Li* and *Shi wen* glosses *nie*梟 as ‘a target’ or ‘to erect a post/pillar.’ *Shuo wen* 6a.123 glosses *nie* as a ‘shooting standard/level’ i.e. a target. In this context one might infer standing stiffly with the arms straight down to the side. This movement does seem to mimic the way the owl’s head appears to be set into its body as if it had no neck.

2. *Zhou Li* 3, in a passage that differentiates the quality of sounds, states, 薄聲甄 ‘a thin sound *zhen* ‘trembles’. Shi ‘*Yinshu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 134 cites Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127-200) commentary, ‘*zhen* 甄 is like *diao* 掉 ‘to shake.’ On the basis of the *Zhou Li* reference Karlgren glosses 甄 (probably tien/tsien) as ‘to shake’ and finds no early reference to the later rendering of ‘pottery.’ Although this latter reading is only an isolated example, it does neatly fit the context. Perhaps the homophones *zhen* 振 (tien/tsien) ‘to shake’ and *zhen* 震 (tien/tsien) may also have had some bearing on the meaning. Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 1251h, 455 p and s. See also Strip No. 100 which records the *she zhen* 蛇甄.Snake Shake.*Shuo wen*13b.288 glosses *yin* 壘 as *sai* 塞 ‘to obstruct.’ The flow of movement, blood or *qi* to the head might be obstructed by contracting the head.

3. *Daoyin tu* 1.6. has an exercise with the caption *zheyin* 折陰. The figure is in profile stepping forward on to the right foot with the right arm raised high above the head. It is not the same exercise described in *Yin shu*.

## Strip No. 17

•回周者，錯兩手而俯仰<sup>a</sup>，并揮之。•龍<sup>b</sup>興者，屈前膝<sup>c</sup>，伸後，錯兩手，據膝3而仰1。

Repeated Cycles.<sup>1</sup> Interlock hands and bend forwards and backwards, waving the hands together. Dragon Rising.<sup>2</sup> Bend the front knee, extending behind. Interlock the two hands, hold the knee and look up.

a. *YS* writes *ang* 印.

b. *YS* writes *long* 龔.



c. *YS* writes *xi* 藜.

1. *Huizhou* 回周 translates ‘repeating cycles’. Gao ‘Yinshu yanjiu’ (1995), 105 n. 1 quotes *Chu ci* 11 (“Jia yi”). 00: ‘follow the four seasons in *huizhou* ‘repeating cycles’, observe the power of rise, yet then fall’. *Huainan Zi* 1 states ‘in movement don’t neglect the proper time [season?] twist and turn with the ten thousand things in repeating cycles. Shi ‘Yinshu shiwen tongxun’ (1992), 134 makes a case that *Huizhou* is a variant of *suizhou* 壽周. *Suizhou* is glossed in *Shuo wen* as *yan* ‘the swallow’. Duan yucai and others confirm that *suizhou* is another name for *yan* ‘the swallow.’ Despite the fact that *sui* and *hui* have rhyming finals, I am not convinced that there is enough evidence to accept *sui* 壽 as a graphic variant of *hui* 回.

2. *Daoyin tu* 3.5 has an exercise marked *longdeng* 龍登 ‘dragon rising’ which depicts a figure with two hands raised high laterally in similar fashion to the description here.

## Strip No. 18

•引膂<sup>a</sup> 者，屈前膝，伸後，錯手，擣而後旋。•蛇甄<sup>b</sup> 者，反錯手，背，嚙而甄1頭。

Pulling<sup>1</sup> the muscles on either side of the spine.<sup>2</sup> Bend the front knee. After extending, interlock the hands, raise the hands and circle backwards. Snake shake.<sup>3</sup> Interlock the hands behind the back and gnash<sup>4</sup> the teeth shaking the head.

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a. Gao ‘Yinshu yanjiu’ (1995), 107 n.1 suggests *mei* 腓 is *mei* 膂.

b. See *YS* Strip No. 16 n.4 above and Strip No. 99 which records a movement named as *she zhen* 蛇甄.

1. The numbering of slips in my PhD thesis corresponded to ‘*Yin shu shiwen*’ which divided this strip into S18 and S19. The numbering after this point is therefore different.

2. *Shuo wen* 4b.87 glosses *mei* 膂 as ‘the flesh of the spine.’ Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 134 draws attention to *Shuo wen* 4b.87 gloss that *mei* 膂 is ‘when a woman is first pregnant, the sign of *mei* 膂.’ He then cites the entry in *Guang ya*, *mei* 膂 is *fei* 肥 ‘fat.’ This movement is quite straightforward, but it is no help in determining which reading is correct: it stretches both the ‘flesh of the spine’ and the fat of the belly.

3. According to the list beginning on Strip No. 99 this movement is good for the brain. See the discussion of *yin* 墜, Strip No. 16 n. 4. *She yin* is also recorded on Strip No. 99.

4. *Nie* 齧 ‘to bite, gnaw, crunch the teeth.’



## Strip No. 19

•傳尻，手傳... •大決者，兩手據地，前後足出入間。

Touching<sup>1</sup> the buttocks. With the hands touch... The Great Partition.<sup>2</sup> With two hands holding the ground, move the feet back and forwards coming in and out between.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Gao 'Yinshu yanjiu' (1995), *fu* 傳 as *fu* 撫 'to rub.' Ikai interprets *fu* 傳 as *fu* 敷 'to spread, smear.' I see no reason to depart from the meaning of the original graph 'to touch.'

2. *Jue* 決 'partition' insomuch that in later literature it means 'to separate, break through, part, bite, or decide' i.e. to draw a line through several factors. This reading is consistent with the usage of the term in the next exercise 'to place (the feet) wide apart'. Ikai suggests Great Flow based on the contemporary definition of *jue* 決: *Shuo wen*11a.233 glosses *xingliu* 行流 'flowing.'

3. This movement is probably carried out from the squatting position with knees bent and hands touching the ground to either side. The legs would then alternately be stretched out behind.

## Strip No. 20

•者，大決足，右手據左手而俯左右。支落（？）者，以手腰，擣一臂與足而屈（？）。

XX, with feet wide apart, with the right hand hold the left foot and bend forward to left and right. Limbs Falling. , X the small of the back with the hand, raise one arm and foot X and bend ??.



## Strip No. 21

•爰<sup>a</sup> 據者，右手據左足，擣左手負<sup>b</sup> 而俯左右。•參倍者，兩手奉，引前兩旁輒<sup>c</sup> 之。

Gibbon<sup>1</sup> Hold. With the right hand hold the left foot. Raise the left hand, turning the back.<sup>2</sup> Bend forward to left and right.<sup>3</sup> (Three Prostrations).<sup>4</sup> With two hands raised palms upward<sup>5</sup> pull to the front yet pushing to each side.<sup>6</sup>

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a. *YS* writes *shou* 受, considered a scribal error. *Yuan* 爰 is a variant of *yuán* 猿 and *yuán* 猿. See Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 109 n.1. *ZJS Yin shu* Nos. 21 n.1. Ge Hong, *Baopu Zi nei pian* (15 u ‘Za Ying’), 274, records an exercise named *yuán hou* 猿據 in the context of maintaining good hearing. Given the mention of *fuju* 復据 Repeating Holds in S101 it is tempting to read this graph directly by envisaging a set of movements that differentiate ‘Holds’ with simple descriptions like ‘Repeating’ or in this case *shou* ‘Receiving’, but the reference to ‘Holds’ in Strip No. 78 which also describes a *yuánxing* 猿行 (I translate ‘Gibbon Walk’) suggests that this is one of a group of ape movements.

b. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 109 n.2 suggests *fu* 負 is *fu* 伏 on the basis of a quote from *Mo Zi* (25 “”). 00. ‘If you do this to seek [the attention] of the people, its like making men *fu* 負 ‘lay down’ their swords yet seek longevity.’

c. *YS* writes this graph without 丿 in the centre.

1. *Daoyin tu* 4.7 has a *yuánhu* Gibbon Bawling. See Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 316 for an analysis of the transcription.

2. ‘If you follow the previous directions then the back is naturally turned to the fore.

3. This suggests a swapping over to the left hand and right foot.

4. *Bei* 倍 (b’w g) ‘double’ may simply be a loan for *fu* 踣 (\*p’ g) ‘to lay prostrate’ and this would be consistent with the gesture. Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 999e1 and c1. Alternatively simply read *bei* 背 ‘to turn the back’ but this does not seem to fit the rest of the instructions. Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992)’ 134 reads *can bei* 參背. He quotes *Guangya* 00 which states ‘*can* 參 is *em cao* 操 ‘to grasp’, and Shiming 00 which states ‘*can* 參 is *chao* 鈔 (抄?)’ ‘to seize’ is to say the hand comes out from underneath.’ Again, this reading does not seem to fit the context.

5. *Feng* 奉 is a raising of the two hands in supplication, associated with the respect given to a superior or in religious obeisance.

6. Lit. a light carriage. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 21 reads *fu* 輒 as *tui* 推 ‘to push’. HYDZD vol. 5, 3522.

## Strip No. 22

•懸前者，俯，擣兩手而仰，如尋狀。•搖<sup>a</sup> 肱者，前揮兩臂，如擊狀。

Hanging Forwards. Bend forwards, raise the two hands and raise the head as if in an attitude of searching. Shaking the Arms. Brandish the arms forward in an attitude of hitting out

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a. *YS* writes *yao* 搖.



## Strip No. 23

•反指者，并兩手，擣而後偃<sup>a</sup>，極之。•其下者，屈前膝，伸<sup>b</sup>後，危擣一臂，力引之。

Fingers to the Back. Place the two hands palms together, raise and lean backwards,<sup>1</sup> as far as possible. Below: bend the front knee, extending at the back. Raise one arm high,<sup>2</sup> vigorously pull it.

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a. *YS* writes this graph without 亻. ‘*Yin shushiwen*’, 83 replaces yan 偃 (\*.ian/.i n/.i n-) with yan 偃 (\*.ian/.ian:) ‘to lie down,’ probably on the back. Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 253d and g.

b. *YS* writes *bei* 倍. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 23 n.2 states that this is a scribal error for *xin* 信 graphic variant of *shen* 伸.

1. In this case probably only leaning backwards as if to lie down.

2. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 23, n. 3 reads *wei* 危 as *gao* 高 as annotated by Li Yi (3rd – 4th century CE) of *Zhuang Zi* 0 (0“Dao Chi”), 00

## Strip No. 24

•虎引者，前一足，危擣一臂而偃。•引陰者，反錯擣手而俯，極之。

Tiger Pull. Step one foot forward, raise one arm high and bend. Pulling Yin.<sup>1</sup> Interlock raised hands behind the back and bend forward as far as possible.

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1. Yin 陰 in this context refers to the abdominal plane of the body. In fact *yin* 引 cannot refer to a stretching movement here as the stretch is felt predominantly in the back. Perhaps the benefit derived from the movement is directed towards contracting the muscles of the anterior of the body.

## Strip No. 25

•引陽者，前錯兩手而仰，極之。•仆<sup>a</sup>鹿者，擣兩手，負<sup>b</sup>而俯，極之。

Pulling Yang. Interlock the two hands at the front and look upwards as far as possible. Prostrate Deer. Raise the two hands, turning the back and bend forward as far as possible.

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a. *YS* writes *fu* 復.

b. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 113 n.3 reads *fu* 負 as *fu* 伏. I simply read *fu* 負 ‘turning the back’, in this context perhaps from the waist.



## Strip No. 26

•虎偃者，并兩臂，後揮肩上左右。•甬<sup>a</sup>莫者，并兩手，左右上下揮之。

Tiger Bending Backwards. With arms parallel,<sup>1</sup> wave<sup>2</sup> the hands behind over the shoulders to left and right. Leaping Frog. With hands parallel, wave them up and down to right and to left.

---

a. I read *yong* 甬 (diung/iwong) as *yong* 踊 ‘to leap.’ Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 1185h. See also Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 113 n.2. Gao reads *mo* 莫 as *mo* 蟆, the *hamo* 蝦蟆 ‘frog’. Ikai quotes Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 134, which suggests that *yongmo* 甬莫 is a variant of *yongmo* 蛹幕 ‘chrysalis’ or ‘pupa.’

1. *Bing* 並 also simply suggests ‘together’, but these two movements are easily performed with parallel arms.

2. In this exercise where the movement happens above the head I translate *hui* 揮 as ‘wave.’ Later on in S45 and S48 where the arms or legs are hanging down it is more appropriate to translate as ‘swing.’ The distinction between upward/downward swinging/waving is not made in the Chinese.

## Strip No. 27

•復車者，並兩臂，左右危揮，下正揮之。

[Covering]the Cart. With two arms parallel, wave them high to left and right, and then bring them down straight and wave them. Nose and Stomach. Bend forwards and raise the arms to right and left.



## Strip No. 28

•度狼<sup>a</sup>者，兩手各撫掖下，旋膺。•武指者，前左足，右手前指，伸臂。

Calculating Wolf.<sup>1</sup> With two hands held beneath the armpit, rotate the chest<sup>2</sup> from side to side. Martial<sup>3</sup> Fingers. Place the left foot forward, place the fingers of the right hand forward and extend the arm.

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a. The caption to *Daoyin tu* 1.8 庠? 狼 refers to a wolf. The figure has the arms raised over his head and is simultaneously twisting and bending. His eyes may be trained on a bowl that is placed below. The figure is not a representation of the exercise described in *Yin shu*. Harper *Early Chinese Medical Manuscripts* (1998), 311 n.1 analyses the commentaries by Ma Jixing and Tang Lang, and concludes that the first graph is illegible. Ma Jixing, and the editors of the *MWD* vol. 4 transcript interpret the first graph as *tang* 堂 reading the whole caption *astanglang* 螳螂 ‘praying mantis.’ See *MWD* 4, and Ma *MWD Guyi kaoshi* (1992), 850. A technique entitled ‘praying mantis’ is referred to in Strip No. 99 below.

1. Of the various interpretations of *dulang* 度狼, but I remain faithful to the original graphs and translate *du* 度 as ‘to measure/calculate’ and *lang* 狼 as ‘wolf’. See the examples Schuessler *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (1987), 135. The movement described here might well mimic the movement of a wolf surveying its environment. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 115 n.1 reads *du* 度 as *du* 踱, following the *Yupian* gloss of 踱 as *zhidu* 跬踱 as ‘to walk to and fro.’ We could therefore translate ‘pacing wolf’, but the movement does not include walking. See SBBY 41/2, *Yupian* 77, 7. 1.51.

2. *Shuo wen* 4b.87 glosses xx as xiong XX ‘the chest.’

3. *Wu* 武 ‘military, ‘fierce,’ ‘violent’. The attitude of this pose brandishes the finger as if a weapon.



## Strip No. 29

•引內瘡，危坐，□尻，左手撫項，右手撫左手，上扼（？），俯，極，因徐縱而精响之，端仰而已，定•又復之五而...

Pulling inner exhaustion.<sup>1</sup> Sit tall (on the haunches<sup>2</sup>), X the buttocks, with the left hand stroke<sup>3</sup> the neck, with the right hand stroking the left hand, raise (the yoke).<sup>4</sup> Bend forward as far as possible, then slow down, loosen up<sup>5</sup> and concentrate<sup>6</sup> exclusively on exhaling warm breath.<sup>7</sup> Straighten up, raise the head and stop. Settle down, then repeat five times.

1. *Shuo wen* 7b.155 glosses *dan* 瘡 as an ‘illness from exhaustion.’ Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 116 n. 1 quotes *Suwen* 6 (19 ‘*Yu ji zhen cang lun*’), 5 where *dan* 瘡 is associated with *huang* 黃 ‘yellowing’ and the passing of illness from the liver to the spleen. The account goes on to state ‘When *dan* 瘡 breaks out, there is heat in the centre of the belly, the heart is distressed and it comes out yellow.’ Also see *ZBYHL*, 365 which states that, ‘when hot poisonous *qi* in the spleen and stomach and grain *qi* attack each other, heat rises on the inside and does not get to dissipate and disperse, then first the heart and belly swell to the fill, then the *qi* is distressed, and so the body and face become completely yellow, the term is ‘inner yellow.’ *Dan* 瘡 clearly comes to be associated with symptoms that approximate to our modern understanding of jaundice, but references from excavated sources do not reveal the same collection of symptoms.

2. The manner of sitting described by *wei zuo* 危坐 cannot be determined conclusively. By examining the exercises in Strip Nos. 29, 55, 59, 64, 68 and 84 it is probable that it refers to sitting on the heels, perhaps with the knees touching the ground.

3. *Fu* 撫 refers to a number of actions including touching (Strip No. 52), and rubbing with the whole hand (Strip Nos. 59, 66 and 83), or massaging with the fingers (90 and 34). To be consistent I translate ‘stroke’ as the common movement. *Fu* should be differentiated from *dun* 盾 understood as a graphic variant of *xun* 循 which I translate ‘press’. *Dun/Xun* 盾 is also used to refer to stroking actions with the fingers where the pressure applied appears to be greater (Strip Nos. 55, 84, 90 and 92). When pressure is applied with the whole hand the graph *yin* 印 seem to be applied (Strip Nos. 68, 75 and 79).

4. This graph is unclear on the strip. ‘*Yin shu shiwen*’ suggests *e* 扼. *E* 扼 translates ‘yoke’. Could this indicate a lifting of the head away from the body in a motion that stretches the back of the neck? *Zhuang Zi* (9 “”) states ‘Pleased, they twine their necks together and rub; angry, they turn their back to back and kick. This is all horses know how to do. But if you pile poles and yokes 扼 on them and line them up in crossbars and shafts, then they will learn how to snap the crossbars, break the yoke, rip the carriage top, champ the bit and chew the reins’. Tr. Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang tzu*, 106

5. *Shuo wen* 13b. 272 glosses *zong* 縱 as *huan* 緩 ‘slack,’ ‘slow,’ or ‘soft.’ I therefore translate as ‘loosen up’ which, in the context of an exercise, embraces all these meanings.



6. The phrase *jing xu zhi* 精响之 ‘concentrate exclusively on breathing out’ or *jing chui zhi* 精吹之 ‘concentrate exclusively on puffing out’ occurs frequently throughout *Yin shu*. Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 134 - 45 argues that *jing* should be read as in the phrase *jing nian* 精念. See *Lun Heng* 0.00. He cites *Huainan Zi* (17 “”) The heart and intention (or perhaps the intention of the heart is) are not *jing*, to which Gao You comments, ‘*jing* is *zhuan* 專’ exclusive, to make the sole object. *Yin shu* has good examples of how the intention is concentrated in healing activity. See in particular Strip Nos. 33 and 35.

7. *Xu* 响, is a slow exhalation of hot vaporous breath through an open mouth. In contrast *chui* 吹 is understood to refer to exhaling cold breath. The source of this interpretation is given in Ma *MWD Guyi kaoshi* (1992), 826 n. 17 who quotes the *Heshanggong* commentary to the statement in *Lao Zi* (29 “”), ‘some *xu* 响, some *chui* 吹, which states, ‘*Xu* is warm, *chui* is cold. Where there is that which warms there is certainly that which cools.’ Ma also gives some evidence that *xu* is a slow exhalation and *chui* is faster. Quoting *Zhuang Zi* (6 “tian yun”), 00 Ma also interprets a distinction between *xu* 响, the out breath that carries a lot of moisture and *chui* 吹 which he extrapolates is drier: ‘assist *xu* 响 with moistness, assist moistening with spittle.’ Ma also distinguishes differences in the shape of the lips and the mouth during the different types of breath control. All the relevant references to the particular qualities of breathing given by Ma Jixing, including the *Heshanggong* commentary, derive from at least four hundred years later than *Yin shu* and may reflect a re-working of the technique and terminology of breath cultivation. There is sufficient evidence in *Yin shu* to provide a specific interpretation which differs somewhat from Ma’s analysis. The information is summarised in Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 306 n.1. The main statement is given on Strip No. 112 below, ‘If it is dry then *hu* 呼 frequently and lie down frequently. If it is damp then *chui* 吹. Do not lie down, make Yin substantial. If it is hot then concentrate on *xu* 响. When it is cold then work the body.’ *Chui* 吹 is also used to remedy an excess of Yin which manifests as anger whereas *xu* 响 counteracts the condition of excess Yang engendered by joy. The information implies that *chui* 吹 is an exhalation of moist breath which resolves a Yin, possibly cold condition, while *xu* 响 is an exhalation of hot breath which resolves a Yang condition. *Hu* 呼 remedies dry conditions and is therefore an exhalation of dry breath. The quality of the out breath is controlled by the depth of breathing. Breath from the bottom of the lungs is hot and moist, from the mouth is cold and dry.

### Strip No. 30

.....左右皆十而已。

to the left and the right. Do it altogether ten times and stop.



### Strip No. 31

•項痛不可以顧<sup>a</sup>, 引之, 偃臥□目..., 伸手足□...

\*\*\* the neck hurts<sup>1</sup> and can't turn around. Pull it. Lie down on the back.<sup>2</sup> X with the eyes. Extend the hands and feet...

---

a. *YS* writes *gu* 顧.

b. *YS* writes 炎. *Yin shu shiwen*,<sup>83</sup> reads *yan* 炎 (dian/ jian) as yan 偃 (.ian/.ian) 'to lie down.' See Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 617a and 253g. As here, it most frequently occurs in the compound *yanwo* 偃臥 which can be distinguished from *wo* 臥 'to lie down' in that *yanwo* specifies lying on the back. On two occasions in Strip No. 24 and Strip No. 67 *yan* is used alone to refer to leaning backwards. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 31 n. 2 reads the graph as *yan* 倝 citing *Shuo wen* 00 which glosses *an* 安 'quietly'

1. *Daoyin tu* 3.7 reads *yinxiang* 引項 'yin the neck.' The figure is in profile with bended knees and torso twisted at the waist so the face is viewed at an angle towards the foreground. This is clearly not the exercise described here.

2. *Yin shu shiwen*,<sup>83</sup> reads *yan* 炎 (dian/ jian) as yan 偃 (.ian/.ian) 'to lie down.' See Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 617a and 253g It most frequently occurs in the compound *yanwo* 偃臥 which can be distinguished from *wo* 臥 'to lie down' in that *yanwo* specifies lying on the back. On two occasions in Strip No. 24 and Strip No. 68 *yan* is only used to refer to leaning backwards.



### Strip No. 32

•...已，令人從前後舉其頭，極之，因徐直之，休，復之十而已；因□也，力拘毋息，須臾之頃，汗出奏理<sup>a</sup>，極已

...and stop. Have others from in front and behind raise the head as far as it will go. Then slowly straighten up and rest. Repeat it ten times and stop. Then X, forcibly cover<sup>1</sup> (the mouth) and don't breathe, after a while, sweat comes out of the patterns of the skin,<sup>2</sup> do it as long as possible and stop.

---

a. I follow 'Yin shu shiwen' 83 which replaces *zouli* 走理 with *zouli* 奏理. This is a common variant.

1. *Shuo wen* 3a.50 glosses *ju* 拘 as *zhi* 止. *Ju* 拘 'to grasp/cover,' may be a graphic variant of *ju* 句, the ancient form of which has two hooks and a mouth. See Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 48.108p. In any case the meaning is clear, the mouth is covered with the hands.

2. *Yi Li* states '...when the fish and preserved meats are cooked thoroughly, when cutting the body enter the *zou* 奏' Zheng Xuan (127-200) notes '*zou* means the fine patterns of the skin.' See the examples in *Tongjia da zidian* (1993), 213. The term is attested in a passage, versions of which occur in *Han Feizi* (21 " ") and *Shiji* (105 "Bian Que zhuan"), 'When Bian Que passed Qi, Marquis Huan of Qi took him as a guest. He entered the court for an interview and said, 'my lord's illness is in the em *zouli*, if you do not treat it it will deepen.' *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1972), 105.2793. The *zouli* are understood to be the first layer of the body to be affected by illness which can, at this stage, be effectively treated with *tang* 湯 'soups' and *wei* 熨 'hot compresses.' The illness subsequently progresses through the *changwei* 'bowel and stomach,' the *xuema* 'blood and channels' and the *gusui* 'bone marrow' where it becomes incurable. The three references to the *zouli* in *Yin shu* suggest that they 'open and close,' that sweat comes out of them and that they are benefitted by the exercise 'Encircling the Channels.' The first two references suggest the pores while the meaning of the third depends on our understanding of the exercise. See also Sivin *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, 103, n.14. Translating from the *Neijing* Sivin renders *couli* 腠理 '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'. If we understand 'Encircling the Channels' to mean promoting the passage of *qi* through the channels, then Sivin's analysis may also hold true for the earlier references. In any case whether superficial or internal to the boundary of skin, the *zouli/couli* refer to patterns formed by the flesh at the superficial layer of the body.



### Strip No. 33

•引 瘴 病之始<sup>a</sup> 也，意回回然欲步，體<sup>b</sup> 浸浸<sup>c</sup> 痛。當此之時，急治八 經之引，急呼<sup>d</sup> 急 响，引陰。漬 產〔顏〕以寒<sup>e</sup> 水如

Pulling incipient exhaustion illness. The intention<sup>1</sup> is agitatedly<sup>2</sup> set on pacing around, the body hurts more and more.<sup>3</sup> At this moment you must treat it with the pull of the Eight Warps;<sup>4</sup> quickly breathe out (dry breath) and quickly exhale (warm breath), pull Yin.<sup>5</sup> Soak the space between the eyebrows<sup>6</sup> in cold water

a. YSwritestai 台.

b. YS writes. . . . .

c. Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 120 n.3 and ZJS Yin shu No. 33 n. 2 read as jin 浸.

d. YSwriteshu 瘴.

e. YSwritessai 塞.

1. I have translated *yi* 意 'intention' after Graham, *Disputers of the Tao* (1981), 133, 'Yi' 'Intention' is the word we shall be translating 'idea' in the Mohist Canons; it includes both the image or idea of a thing and the intention to act which is inseparable from it except in such abstract cases as the idea of the circle in Mohist geometry'.

2. *Huiran* 回然 'twisted and distracted.' Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 120 n.2 refers us to *Chu Ci* (00 'Jiu Huai'), 'My soul was troubled and stirred to sadness, my bowels were *huihuiyu* 回回兮 'twisted into' writhing knots. Tr. Hawkes, *The Songs of the The South*, 145.

3. ZJS Yin shu No. 33 n. 2 states *jin jin* means *jian jian* 漸漸 'gradually'.

4. The *Daoyin tu* depicts a movement with the caption *zuoyin bawei* 坐引八維 'Sitting and pulling the eight warp threads'. It shows a man with knees slightly bent and with the two hands separated, one to the front and one to the back. Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 120 n.4 refers us to *Chu Ci* (13 "qi jian") 15a, *yin bawei yi zidao yu* 引八維以自道兮 'I held to the eight cords [of the sky] to guide me on my way, I sipped the dewy vapours to give me long life.' Tr. Hawkes *The Songs of the South* (1985), 130. The Eight Cords and the Eight Warps are both weaving images. The threads reveal the underlying patterns of nature, the eight compass points and the eight cords that hold the universe together which, when followed personally, can act as a guide through life. Perhaps the movements themselves also mimic weaving. Peng Hao believes that the Mawangdui *Daoyin tu* version is primary and that because the caption is unclear, it is possible that *jing* 經 has been mistaken for *wei* 維 See Peng 'Zhangjiashan hanjian (*Yin shu*) chutan' (1990), 90 - 1. See also Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (1998), 315 n. 3.

5. See above p.

6. *Shuo wen* 9a.181 glosses *yan* 顏 as 'between the eyebrows and the eyes'. HYDZ 7, 4383 follows the Duan yucai commentary which states, 'every volume states 'between the eyebrows and the eyes'. Stupid people recklessly reinforce the reading. Now I will correct it. Between the eyes and eyebrows isn't *yan* 顏. *Yan* is between the eyebrows, the place where medical canons call the *yintang* 印堂, Daoist books call the upper *dantian* 丹田 'cinnabar field,' and physiognomy books call the *zhongzheng yintang* 中正陰堂 'the central upright *yintang*.'



### Strip No. 34

餐<sup>a</sup>頃，去水，以兩手据兩簞，尚撫顏<sup>b</sup>而上下搖<sup>c</sup>之，口呼，呼<sup>d</sup>，皆十而已。

for the time it takes to eat a bowl of rice. Get rid of the water. With two hands hold two rush mats. Stroke upwards between the eyebrows<sup>1</sup> and rock it up and down. Call out *hu hu*<sup>2</sup> through the mouth. Do it altogether ten times and stop.

- 
- a. *YS* writes *can* 餐.
  - b. *YS* writes *chan* 產.
  - c. *YS* writes this graph with 木.
  - d. *YS* writes *huhu* 譁譁.

1. *ibid.*

2. *XX* ‘*Yin shu Shi wen*’, 86 suggests 呼 ‘to breathe’ or ‘to call out.’ Together with *xu* these are the graphs most commonly used to refer to breathing out in *Yin shu*. With the addition of the *yan* 言 ‘speech’ radical I believe that intonation is implied by *XX*. The same graph is also used in S98 below. In both instances the graph is used in exercises for treating pain which involve soaking the forehead in cold water. It is therefore probable that there is a distinction between *hu* 呼 and *hu* based on sound. The ‘*hu hu*’ may simply be a way of transliterating loud breathing.

### Strip No. 35

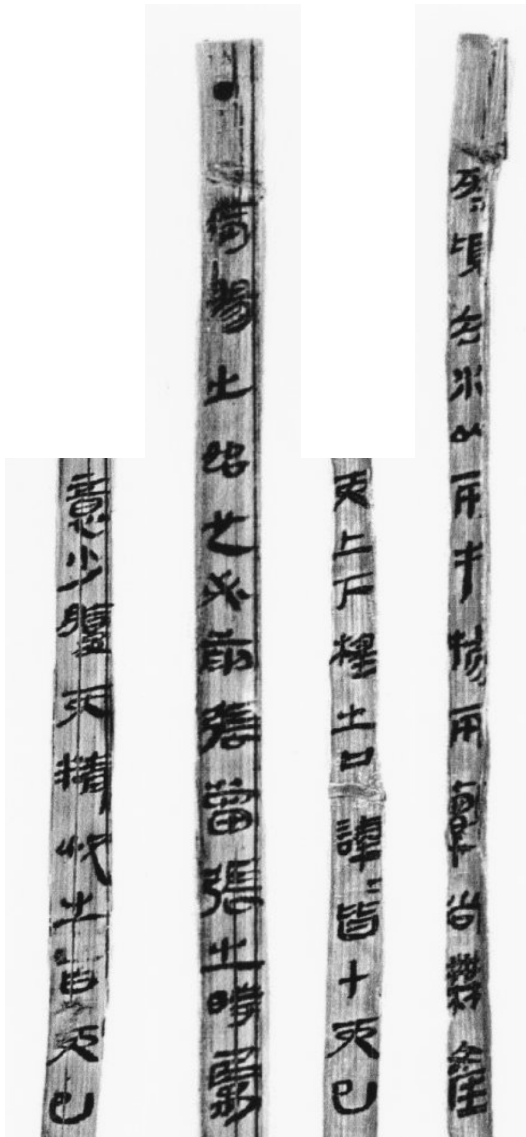
•病腸之始也，必前脹<sup>a</sup>。當<sup>b</sup>之時，屬意少腹而精吹之，百而已。

Incipient illness in the bowel. Certainly there will be swelling at the front. When there is swelling, apply<sup>1</sup> the intention<sup>2</sup> on the lesser abdomen and concentrate exclusively on puffing out (moist breath). Stop after one hundred times.

- 
- a. *YS* writes *zhang* 張.
  - b. *YS* writes *zhang* 炊.

1. *Zhu* 屬 ‘to apply.’ *Shi jing* (196 “”) ‘ears are applied to walls.’ Tr. Axel Schuessler, *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese*, 852. This translation is appropriate to the present context and can also be derived from the more general meaning of ‘belong /cause to belong to.’

2. Applying concentrated attention to the part of the body that is the target of healing remains common practice in contemporary *qigong*.



### Strip No. 36

•病廖 X, •引之之方, 右手把杖<sup>a</sup>, 嚮<sup>b</sup>壁, 毋息, 左足躐壁, 倦<sup>c</sup>而休: 亦左手把杖<sup>a</sup>右足躐壁, 亦倦<sup>c</sup>而休。頭氣

Ailing from *liao* 廖 XX [liquor].<sup>1</sup> The prescription for pulling it: grasp a staff in the right hand, face a wall and do not breathe; with the left foot tread on the wall, resting when tired; likewise with the left hand grasp the staff, with right foot step on the wall, likewise rest when tired. When the *qi* of the head

- 
- a. *YS* writes *zhang* 丈.
  - b. *YS* writes *xiang* 鄉.
  - c. *YS* writes *juan* 卷.

1. I follow the interpretation in Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 122, n.1. The symptom is identified as 廖 XX. XX is the unattested character... 廖, read *chou* can simply be rendered 'ill' or 'to recover'. However the word must be part of a compound name for an illness. I suspect that this is an illness associated with *lao* 醪 'liquor with sediment' and *li* 醴 'new sweet liquor'.

### Strip No. 37

•下流, 足不痿痺<sup>a</sup>, 首不腫<sup>b</sup> 鼻, 母事恆服之。

flows downwards,<sup>1</sup> the foot will not be immobile and numb,<sup>2</sup> the head will not swell,<sup>3</sup> and the nose will not be stuffed up.<sup>4</sup> Whenever there is free time practice it frequently

- 
- a. *YS* writes... *ZJS Yin shu* No. considers this a scribal error.
  - b. *YS* writes *zhong* 腫.

1. In this exercise we have a technique to promote the downward flow of *qi* through the body, a concern that is also expressed in *Mai Shu*. See 'Mai Shu shiwen', 74.

2. *Wei* 痿 refers to paralysis or compromised movement of the legs. *Lüshi chungqiu* 1 (3 “”) states 'When the hall is too large, Yin is excessive. When the tower is too high then Yang is excessive. When Yin is excessive then there is *jue* 蹶 and when Yang is excessive then there is *wei*.' Although this reference is part of the more general discourse about Yin and Yang another states, 'when it settles in the feet then it is *wei* and it is *jue*'. Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 122 n.6 quotes *Suwen* 44, 4.61, 'when the dwelling place is damp, the muscles and flesh become moist, and there is *bi* 痺 and a lack of feeling, which manifests as *wei* 痿 of the flesh. *Shuo wen* 7b.155 glosses *wei* 痿 as *bi* 痺 and 7B.153 glosses *bi* 痺 as 'damp illness.' *Suwen* 12 (43 'bi lun'), 4b states 'when the three *qi* of wind, cold and damp arrive, they unite as *bi* 痺, when wind *qi* overcomes it is moving *bi*, when cold *qi* overcomes it is painful *bi*, when damp *qi* overcomes it is *zhu* 著 'localised/stuck' *bi*.

3. I follow Gao Dalun's interpretation of *zhong* 腫 as *zhong* 腫 'swollen' or *zhong* 重 'heavy.' See Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' 123, n.7.

- 4. *qiu* 'stuffed up nose from a cold'. HYDZD 4779



**Strip No. 38**

•引屈<sup>a</sup>筋，跨<sup>b</sup>立，据兩股，壹倚左，伸右股，膝<sup>c</sup>傳<sup>d</sup>

Pulling bending<sup>1</sup> muscles and sinews. Stand with legs apart and hold the thighs. One: lean to the left and extend the right thigh with the knee touching...

---

a. *YS* writes *qu* 誦.

b. *YS* writes *kua* 夸.

c. *YS* writes *xi* 藜.

d. In the sense of 傳<sup>fu</sup>附.

1. This is a stretching exercise probably for cramp or restriction of the tendons.

**Strip No. 39**

地： 壹倚右，伸左足股，膝傳地，皆三而已。

the ground. One: lean to the left and extend the right thigh with the knee touching the ground. One: lean to the right and extend the left thigh with the knee touching the ground. Do it altogether three times and stop.

**Strip No. 40**

•苦兩足步不能鈞<sup>a</sup>而膝善痛，兩胫善寒，取木善削之，令

When suffering with two feet with steps that cannot be coordinated,<sup>1</sup> when the knee tends to hurt and the two lower legs tend to cold, take a piece of wood and shave it down well until

---

a. In its sense of *jun* 均.

1. Buneng gou 不能鈞 [勻] literally 'unable to be even.'



### Strip No. 41

其大把，長四尺，係<sup>a</sup>其兩端，以新纜懸<sup>b</sup>之，令其高地四尺，居其上，兩手控<sup>c</sup>纜而更蹶之，朝為千，日中為

it is the size of the grasp, four *chi*<sup>1</sup> long; tie the two ends and suspend it on new piled twist<sup>2</sup> so that it is four *chi* from the ground; sit down<sup>3</sup> on top of it and with the two hands controlling the twist jump the legs alternately.<sup>4</sup> One thousand times in the morning, a thousand times in the middle of the day,

---

a. Graphic variant of *xi* 繫.

b. *YS* writes *xian* 縣.

c. *YS* writes *kong* 空.

1. 92. 4 cms.

2. *Shuo wen* 13A, 275. One reading of *lei* 纜 is given as *dasuo* 大索 'large rope.'

3. *Ju* 居 translates 'to sit.' Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 125, n.5, quotes *Zuo Zhuan* Ai 1, 'In ancient times He Lu did not eat as many as two flavours, he did not ju 居 'sit' upon a layered mat or, in his house, he did not have an altar for reverence.'

4. *Shuo wen* 2a.47 glosses *tiao* 跳 'jump' as *jue* 蹶.

### Strip No. 42

千，莫<sup>a</sup>食為千，夜半為千，旬而已。

a thousand times in the evening, a thousand times in the middle of the night. Stop after ten days.

---

a. See Strip No. 4 n.a.

### Strip No. 43

•引踝痛，在右足內踝，引右股陰筋：在外踝，引右股陽筋：在[左]<sup>a</sup>足內踝，引左股陰筋：在外踝，引左股陽筋

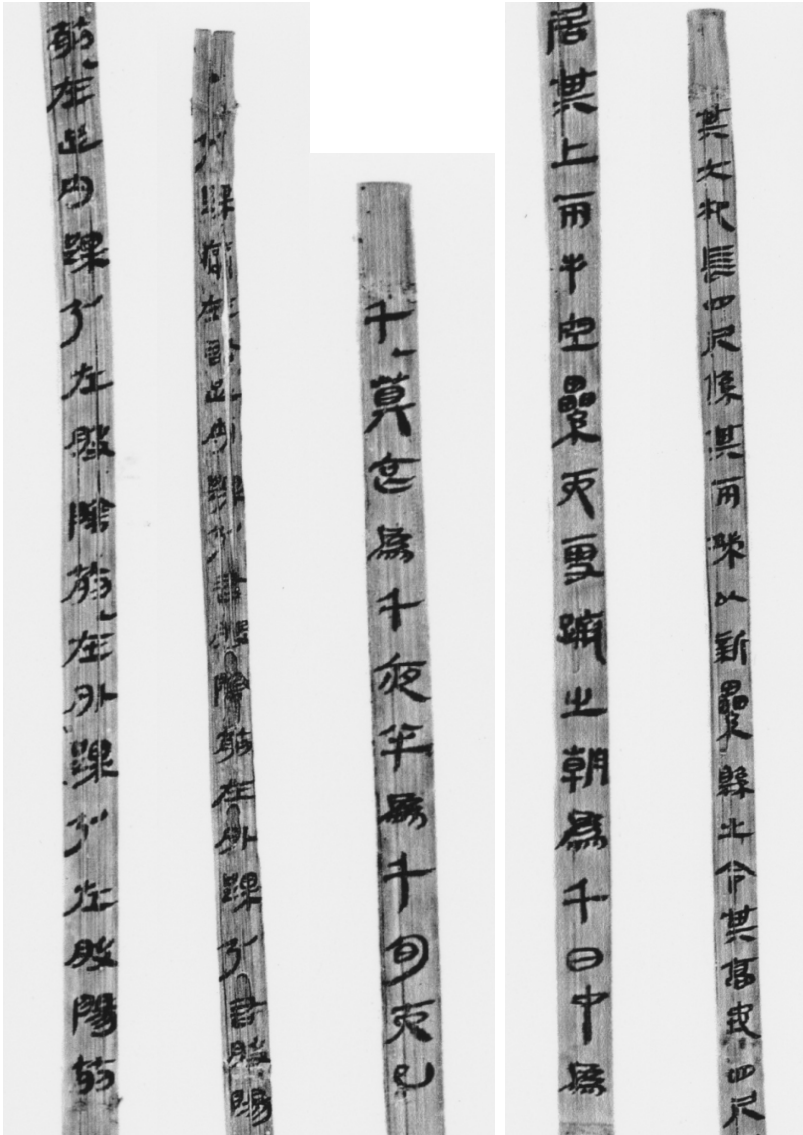
Pulling pain in the malleolus. If it is at the internal malleolus of the right foot, pull the Yin muscles and sinews<sup>1</sup> of the right thigh. If it's at the outer malleolus, pull the Yang muscles and sinews of the right thigh.<sup>2</sup> If it's at the internal malleolus of the [left]foot, pull the Yin muscles and sinews of the left thigh. If it's at the outer malleolus, pull the Yang muscles and sinews of the left thigh,

---

a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 43 n.1 notes that from the internal evidence it is clear that, due to a scribal error, there is a missing *zuo* 左.

1. i.e. the 'inside' sinews of the right thigh.

2. i.e. the 'outside' sinews of the right thigh.



### Strip No. 44

，此皆三而已。

do this altogether three times and stop.

### Strip No. 45

•引膝痛，右膝痛，左手据權，內揮右足，千而已：左膝痛，右手据權，而力揮左足，千而已。左手勾<sup>a</sup>左足

Pulling knee pain.<sup>1</sup> If the right knee is in pain,<sup>2</sup> with the left hand a wooden column, swinging the right leg to the inside. Stop after one thousand times. If the left knee hurts, grasp the wooden column with the right hand and vigorously swing the left foot, one thousand times and finish. With the left hand hook the left toes,

---

a. *YS* writes *ju* 句.

1. *Daoyin tu* 3.1 has an exercise with a similar title recorded in the caption. The figure is in profile thrusting the waist forward with the head leaning backwards. The movement stretches the shins and knees without placing weight upon them. It is clearly not the exercise described here.

2. See Strip No. 26 n.2.

### Strip No. 46

•指〔趾〕，後引之，十而已：右〔又〕以左手据權，右手引右足指〔趾〕，十而已。

and pull them back. Stop after ten times. Again with the left hand grasp the wooden column and with the right hand hold the wooden pillar and pull the right toes. Stop after ten times

### Strip No. 47

•股□□□<sup>a</sup>痛，引之，端坐，伸左足，擡右臂，力引之：其在右，伸右足，擡左臂，而力引之，十而已。

Thigh XXX pain. Pull it: sit straight, extend the left foot, raise the right arm and vigorously pull it;<sup>1</sup> when its on the right, extend the right foot, raise the left arm and vigorously pull it. Stop after ten times.

---

a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 47 n.1 notes that the left hand side of this graph is written *ji*...

1. The foot is probably flexed stretching the sole rather than pointing the toe. In this manner when the arm is raised it stretches the muscles and sinews of the inner thigh.



## Strip No. 48

•苦兩手少氣，舉之不鈞<sup>a</sup>，指端湍湍<sup>b</sup>善痺<sup>c</sup>，假<sup>d</sup>縛兩肘于兩脅，而力揮之，朝，日中，夜半皆為千，旬而已。

When suffering with there being less *qi* in the two hands, both the arms cannot be raised equally and the tips of the fingers, like whirling water,<sup>1</sup> tend to numbness.<sup>2</sup> Pretend that the two elbows are bound to the sides, and vigorously swing them. Do it altogether one thousand times in the morning, middle of the day and middle of the night. Stop after ten days.

---

a. *YS* writes *zhen* 鈞.

b. The graphs are not clear to me. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 48 transcribes *tuantuan* 湍湍 and reads *jin jin* 浸浸.

c. *YS* writes *bi* 痺.

d. *YS* writes *jia* 賈.

1. *Tuantuan* 湍湍 translates ‘like whirling water’. *Meng Zi* 6A.2. ‘Kao Tzu said, ‘Human nature is like *tuan* 湍 ‘whirling water’. Give it an outlet in the east and it will flow east; give it an outlet in the west and it will flow west. Human nature does not show any preference for either good or bad just as water does not show any preference for either east or west’. Tr. Lau, *Mencius* (1970), 161. In this description of sensory disorder we can see how the qualities of water are beginning to be appropriated to the experience of *qi*.

2. The combination of the image of rushing water and the tendency to numbness suggests the intensity of a sensation such as ‘pins and needles’.

## Strip No. 49

•引腸澀<sup>a</sup>，端伏，加顛枕上，交手頸下，令人踐其<sup>b</sup>腰<sup>c</sup>，毋息，而力舉尻，三而已。其病不能自舉者，令人以衣為舉其尻。

Pulling bowel flushing.<sup>1</sup> Lie prostrate on the floor with the body straight, the chin on top of a pillow and cross the hands beneath the neck. Instruct a person to step on the small of your back. Do not breathe and vigorously raise the buttocks. Stop after three times. If the illness has reached the point that there is inability to raise oneself, instruct the other person to raise the buttocks using the clothes.<sup>2</sup>

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a. *YS* writes *bi* 澀.

b. *YS* writes 元.

c. *YS* writes *yao* 要.

1. For *changbi* 腸澀 read *changpi* 腸澀 ‘bowel flushing,’ probably an ancient term for dysentery-like symptoms, an excess activity of the bowel characterised by pain and bleeding. *Maishu* states. . . in the bowel: when there is pus and blood, and pain in the perineum, the Spleen, the buttocks and lower abdomen, this is *changpi* 腸澀 ‘bowel flushing.’ See ‘*Maishu shiwen*’, 72.

2. The intention is clearly to stretch the lower abdomen.



## Strip No. 50

•引<sup>a</sup>背<sup>b</sup>痛，熊經十，前據十，端立，跨<sup>c</sup>足，前後俯，手附地，十而已。

Pulling back ache. Bear Warp<sup>1</sup> ten times. Forward (Grasps)<sup>2</sup> ten times. With the feet apart lean forwards and backwards, touching the hands to the floor. Stop after ten times.

---

a. *YS* writes *bei* 北.

b. *YS* writes *yong* 甬.

c. *YS* writes *kua* 夸.

1. The earliest extant mention of the Bear Warp is to be found in in *Zhuang Zi* (15 “”), ‘to huff and puff, exhale and inhale, blow out the old and draw in the new, do the ‘bear-hang’ and the ‘bird-stretch’, interested only in long life - such are tastes of the practitioners of daoyin ‘guide-and-pull’ exercises, the nurturers of the body, Grandfather Peng’s ripe-old-agers.’ Tr. Graham *Chuang-tzu - The Inner Chapters* (1981), 265. *Zhuang Zi* criticises practitioners of *daoyin* as being narrow and self-seeking. Later commentators describe the movement as a bear climbing a tree, or a walk resembling the bear. See Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 131 n.1. *Daoyin tu* 4.8 also represents the *xiong jing* 熊經 ‘the Bear Warp’. The figure is standing square with feet splayed and arms turned outwards and slightly raised to the front, resembling the walk of a bear.

2. This graph is not clearly legible. I follow the suggestion in ‘*Yin shu Shi wen*’, 83 and *ZJS Yin shu* Nos. 50 n. 1.

子北扇發經十前博十第  
五旁處扇獲聯牛傳東  
十天已

## Strip No. 51

•引腰痛，兩手之指夾脊<sup>a</sup>，力以仰，極之：兩手奉尻，構頭，搯之，頭手皆下至踵<sup>b</sup>，三而已。

Pulling pain in the small of the back. With the fingers of both hands squeeze (the flesh on either side of the spine?),<sup>1</sup> vigorously (taking hold?)<sup>2</sup> of it and look back as far as possible; with two hands cradling the buttocks, (bend?)<sup>3</sup> the head, and then stroking it, with head and hands drop to the heels. Stop after three times.

---

a. *YS* writes . . .

b. *YS* writes *zhong* 踵.

1. XX The ninth graph is unattested. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 131, n.1 points to the use of the flesh radical in combination with the component 責, possibly a graphic variation of *ji* 脊 ‘spine’, and suggests the reference is to flesh on either side of the spine.

2. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 132, n.2 gives a number of references for the glyph *chi* 尿 as ‘handle’ and suggests that the graph in this strip may be a verbal form of the meaning. See for example *Shuo wen* 6a.123. Duan Yucai notes this is a handle for winding in weaving. HYDZD 1162. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 51 n. 1 suggests the graph is a variant of *fu* 輶. *Fu* is a kind of cart and as a verb associated with ‘pushing’.

3. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 51 n.1 notes that this is a scribal error for X. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 132, n.3 quotes a number of examples where *jiang* 構 is glossed as *qu* 區 ‘to uncurl’ and goes on to give some references where *qu* takes the meaning of ‘to curl out’ as in sprouting shoots.

## Strip No. 52

•肢<sup>a</sup>尻之上痛，引之，為木鞠談臥，以當痛者，前後搖<sup>b</sup>之，三百而休：舉兩足，指上，手撫席，舉尻以力引之，三而已。

The upper limbs and buttocks hurt. Pull them: with a wooden football,<sup>1</sup> lie down quietly<sup>2</sup> and place it facing the pain, rocking it back and forwards. Do it three hundred times and rest. Raising the two feet with toes upwards and hands touching the mat, raise the buttocks and vigorously pull it.<sup>3</sup> Stop after three times.

---

a. *YS* writes *zhi* 支.

b. *YS* writes with 木.

1. *Shuo wen* 3a.61 glosses *ju* 鞠 as *ti ju* 蹋鞠 ‘to tread on, kick a ball.’

2. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 52 n.1 reads *tan* 憒 ‘quietly’. *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, 156 uses the term *tan* 憒 in the combination *tanyan* 憒偃 where the meaning is ‘to lie down quietly.’ Shi concludes that *yan* 偃, *an* 安, *jing* 靜 and *tan* 憒 are in the same semantic range and that therefore *yan* and *tan* may both have a bearing on the meaning of *tan* 談. Following *ZJS Yin shu* transcript I move the comma in the ‘*Yin shu shiwen*’ transcript and read *tanwo* 談臥, as the compound for ‘to lie down on the back quietly’. See ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ 135. ‘*Yin shu shiwen*’ unusually replaces *tan* 談 with *ta* 蹋 ‘to tread’.

3. The hands clearly provide leverage as the buttocks are raised from the ground with the toes pointing up.



### Strip No. 53

•益陰氣，恆坐跨股，勿相悔食，左手據地，右手把飯，垂到口，因吸飯氣，極，因飯之。據兩股，折腰，伸小<sup>a</sup>腹，力極之，

Increasing the Yin *qi*. Sit still and spread the thighs. Do not long for or feel remorse for food [alt. do not look at the food on the last day of the month].<sup>1</sup> With the left hand holding the ground, right hand grasping the food, drop it to the mouth. Gulp and inhale the *qi* of the rice, as much as possible and then eat it. Holding the thigh, bend at the waist, extend the lower abdomen vigorously as far as possible.

---

a. *YS* writes *shao* 少.

1. *Xianghui shi* 相悔食. Here I follow Harper, who reads *xiang hui* 想悔, translates ‘do not feel remorse for food.’ See Harper ‘The Bellows Technique in Laozi V and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene,’ *Early China* 21 (1995), 0. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 135, n.3 provides an attractive alternative. Noting that *xiang* sometimes means *ze* 擇 ‘to select’, Gao then cites a note on a passage in the *Zuo zhuan* (‘Cheng gong 17’), 00 *chen buwei hui* 陳不違晦 ‘in display do not disregard the *hui* 晦’, which reads *hui* 悔 is read *hui* 晦 ‘last day of the moon.’ i.e. the most Yin phase. Given the Yin nature of the moon, it would make sense to observe lunar prohibitions while increasing Yin *qi*. Ikai translates ‘do not cross [the legs] at every meal.’ Shi Changyong rearranges the parsing of ‘*Yin shu shiwen*’ and therefore also *ZJS Yin shu* No. 53, ‘恆坐夸（跨）股勿相’ appending the last two graphs from the following clause. He then gives some evidence that *xiang* 相 means *jiaojie* 交接 ‘to join, connect.’ The phrase would then read, ‘Sit straight and spread the thighs so that they do not join. Shi then reads *hui* 悔 as *mei* 每 and reads the next clause as, ‘every time to eat...’ See *Yin shu shiwen tongxun* 135.

### Strip No. 54

乃啜<sup>a</sup>咽，又<sup>b</sup>復之，三而已。

then sucking in and swallowing do it again. Stop after three times.<sup>1</sup>

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a. *YS* writes *zhuo* 歠.

b. *YS* writes *you* 有.

1. The combination of breath cultivation and dietary discipline is also seen in the juxtaposition of the *Daoyin tu* and the texts *Quegu shiqi* ‘Give up Grain and Ingest qi. Harper considers this technique an embodiment of the bellows analogy found in Laozi V. See Harper ‘The Bellows Technique in Laozi V and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene,’ (1995) 00.



**Strip No. 55**

•引☐<sup>a</sup>, 其在左, 反左手頭上, 右手勾<sup>b</sup>左手而力引之: 其在右, 反右手頭上, 左手而力引之。危坐, 跨股, ☐<sup>c</sup>手交

Pulling [ an illness]. When its on the left, put the left hand upside down on the head and with the right hand hook the left hand and vigorously pull it; when its on the right, put the right hand upside down on the head and vigorously pull it with the left hand. Sit tall (on the haunches) spreading the thighs, taking the hands with fingers interlocked,

- 
- a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 55 n.1 notes that the radical 疒 is extant.  
 b. *YS* writes *ju* 句.  
 c. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 55 n. notes that 手 is extant on the left hand side.

**Strip No. 56**

指以摩<sup>a</sup>面, 以下搯<sup>b</sup>之至股, 而前 轉手, 反而舉之, 而力引之, 壹上壹下, 壹左壹右而休

massage the face and press downwards until reaching the thigh. Then push the hands forwards and with the hands turned palms out raise them and vigorously pull them. Once up, once down, once left and once to the right and rest.

- 
- a. *YS* writes...  
 b. *YS* writes *xun* 盾.



**Strip No. 57**

•引足下筋痛，其在左足，信伸左足，右股危坐，右手據地，左手勾左足指：其右也，伸右足，左股危坐，左手據

Pulling pain in the muscles and sinews beneath the foot. When it's in the left foot extend the left foot, sit with the right thigh raised high, with the right hand hold the ground, and with the left hand hook the left toes; when it's in the right foot extend the right foot, sit with the left thigh raised high, with the left hand hold

**Strip No. 58**

地，右手勾右足指，力引之，三而已

the ground and with the right hand hook the right toes, vigorously pulling it. Stop after three times.



## Strip No. 59

•引蹶，危坐，伸左足，右足支尻，右手撫股，左手勾左足之指而引，極之，左右皆三而已。

Pulling *jue*.<sup>1</sup> Sit tall (on the haunches). Extend the left foot and with the right foot support the buttock, with the right hand hold the thigh and with the left hand hook the left toes and pull. Do it as far as possible. Do it on the left and right both for three times and stop.

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1. *Shuo wen* 2b.47 simply glosses jue 蹶 as jiang 僵 'stiff.' *Jue* 蹶 is a syndrome with a complex history. Zhang Zhongjing, *Jinkue yalue* 19.1 'when ill with *fu jue* 跌蹶, the person is only able to go forward and is not able to step backwards.' Acupuncture is the recommended remedy. Acupuncture is also the treatment associated with the syndrome *jue* 蹶 in the biography of Chunyu Yi. *Shiji* 史記 (105 “, , 2785-2820 and in particular 2788 2790. Ikai quotes the passage in Mencius where *jue* 蹶 means to 'trip' or 'stumble.' The passage describes the relationship between the will and *qi*, maintaining that, '*jue* 蹶 'stumbling' and hurrying affect the ch'i, yet in fact palpitations of the heart are produced.' See Meng Zi 2.A.2. Tr. D.C. Lau *Mencius*, 77. In this passage, as in the following sequence of techniques, the feet and the heart, are drawn together under the symptom of *jue*. There are a number of graphs used to describe overlapping syndromes such as *jue* 蹶. See for example *Suwen* 12 (45 'Jue蹶 Lun'), 11a – 14b See the discussion of the development of these complex syndromes in Chapter 00. See also Lo, 'The Influence of *Yangsheng* Culture on Early Chinese Medical Theory' (1998), 240–266, and 'Tracking the Pain: Jue and the Formation of a Theory of Circulating Qi through the Channels' *Sudhoffs Archiv* (2000), 191- 211.



## Strip No. 60

•引癰<sup>a</sup>, 端立, 抱柱, 令人□<sup>b</sup>其腰, 毋息, 而力引尻。

•Pulling urine retention.<sup>1</sup> Stand straight and embrace a column. Let another person X the small of the back and without breathing<sup>2</sup> vigorously pull the buttocks.

---

a. *YS* writes ... *Suwen* 7 (27 'Xuan ming wu qi'), 7a states, '...when the bladder is not comfortable, there is long and restraint of urination, these are called the five illnesses'.

b. Extant to the right hand side of this character is *fu* 付. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 60 n.2 suggests the graph should read *fu* 付.

1. Working with the Mawangdui manuscripts Harper translates this syndrome 'urine retention'. With 28 recipes this is a large category in *Wushier bingfang*, some of which refer to symptoms associated with the bladder and urination. Most are remedies that involve the preparation of food, herbal and mineral stuffs. Some refer to heat treatment and fumigation. Of two exceptions, one prescribes the Pace of Yu, spitting, snorting and incantation. The other involves cauterization of the middle toe of the left foot. Harper *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 252-8. *Shuo wen* 7b.156 glosses 'ill from fatigue.' *Suwen* 23 identifies *long* as retention of urine in the bladder.

2. The combination of breath control and contracting the buttocks is a technique used in three exercises in *Yin shu*, concerned with tonifying Yin. Harper describes two of these as an embodiment of 'The Bellows Technique in Laozi V and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene', *Early China* 21 (1995) 00. In this third case the intention may be to build up internal pressure in order to expel the urine.

## Strip No. 61

•□<sup>a</sup> □<sup>b</sup>上□<sup>c</sup>, 敦踵, 壹敦左, 壹敦右, 三百而已。伸左足, 右手據右郤, 左手撫左股, 而引左之股三: 又引右股三:

X X (chest) on X, (stamp?)<sup>1</sup> the heels. One. Stamp to left. One. Stamp to the right. Stop after three hundred times. Extend the left foot and with the right hand hold the right knee, with the left hand stroke the left thigh and pull the left thigh three times; also pull the right thigh three times.

---

a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 61 n.1 notes *shi* 寺 on the right side.

b. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 61 n.1 notes *zhuan* 端 on the right side.

c. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 61 n.1 notes *ju* 巨 on the right side.

1. Gao reads *dun* 敦 as *dun* 頓 'to bow the head' or 'stamp the feet.' See '*Yin shu yanjiu*', 140 n.2. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 61 n.2 reads *tou* 投 'to throw, project'.



## Strip No. 62

□，因 响之三十，去臥，據側瘳之三十，精响之三十，精吹三十，端談，吸精氣而咽之，填<sup>a</sup>小腹，以力引陰，三而已。

X, then exhaling (warm breath) thirty times, get up from lying down, hold steady and then concentrate exclusively on breathing out thirty times, exhale (warm breath) thirty times and concentrate exclusively on puffing out (moist breath) thirty times. Lie down straight on the back, breathe in the quintessential *qi* and swallow it, puffing out<sup>1</sup> the lower belly and vigorously pull the Yin.<sup>2</sup> Stop after three times.

---

a. *YS* writes...

1. *Shuo wen* 4B.90 glosses... as *qi* 起 ‘to rise.’

2. This may mean contract the muscles of the front part of the body, its Yin plane. It may also refer specifically to the penis.

## Strip No. 63

•引癥，臥，詘〔屈〕兩膝，直踵，並搖三十，日引□。。。覺沃。

Pulling *jue*.<sup>1</sup> Lie down and bend the two knees, straighten the heels and rock them together thirty times. This is called pulling X.

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1. *Shuo wen* 7b.155 glosses *jue* 癥 as ‘*qi* reversing.’ — *Shiming* 0.00 glosses *jue* 厥 as ‘an adverse current of *qi* from below ascending in reverse direction and entering into the heart channel.’ Most references to *jue* 厥 in *Maishu* are associated with acute pain and discomfort in the chest associated with the heart. Acute sensory disturbance in the chest and heart might be experienced as having an agitating, upward quality of movement and may be described as a pathological movement of *qi*. Symptoms of illness in the upper body [cough, anger, flush, hiccoughs, headache, vomiting etc.] are referred to as upward movements of *qi* and new theories about *qi* are clearly emerging during the Warring States period which establish that *qi*, like water, should find the lowest level. For further discussion see Lo, Vivienne ‘The Influence of Yangsheng Culture on Early Chinese Medical Theory’ (1998), 240 – 266 and ‘Tracking the Pain’ *Sudhoffs Archiv* (2000), 191- 211.



**Strip No. 64**

三十，虎顧<sup>a</sup>三十，又復偃<sup>b</sup>臥如前，二十而休：又起，危坐，晷沃四十，虎顧<sup>a</sup>四十，復偃<sup>b</sup>臥如前，三十而休：因起，晷沃五十，虎顧<sup>a</sup>五十而已

thirty times and Tiger Looks Back thirty times. Lie down on the back again as before. Rest after twenty times. Get up again and sit tall (on the haunches). Do Wild Duck Bathing forty times and Tiger Looks Back forty times. Lie down again as before. Thirty times and rest. Then get up and do Wild Duck Bathing fifty times, Tiger Looks Back fifty times and stop.

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- a. *YS* writes *gu* 雇.  
b. *YS* writes *yan* 炎.

**Strip No. 65**

•引膺<sup>a</sup>痛，前膺後手十，引伸十，後反復十而已。

Pulling pain from chest illness. Bring the chest forward and the hands back ten times, pulling and extending ten times. Hands back behind again for ten more times and stop.

- 
- a. *YS* writes...



## Strip No. 66

•夜日臥厥，覺<sup>a</sup>心腹及匈<sup>b</sup>中有痛者，撫<sup>c</sup>之以手而精吹之，三十而已。

Night or day lying down with *jue*.<sup>1</sup> If there is a sensation of pain in the heart, abdomen and chest, stroke it with the hand and concentrate exclusively on puffing out [moist breath]. Stop after thirty times.

- 
- a. *YS* writes *xue* 學.  
 b. Abbreviation of *xiong* 胸.  
 c. *YS* writes 無.

1. Also see n. 145 *Suwen* 10, 2.15, ‘when blood freezes in the feet it is *jue* 厥.’ Illnesses with the component *jue* 厥 often refer to a pathology arising in the feet [possibly with the associated effect of stumbling] that causes the return of *qi* in an upward direction. As in this technique the symptoms listed in *Yin shu* and *Maishu* are frequently severe and suggest what we may know as angina or heart attack. In this sequence we find a progression from techniques to increase the Yin *qi* through to the alleviation of symptoms associated with the lower [Yin] extremities at the feet, to ways of alleviating pain in the internal [[Yin] aspects of the body, the heart, chest and abdomen. What we are seeing is a drawing together of ideas about supplementing the Yin aspect of the body. Breath and dietary cultivation, and *daoyin* prevent or cure symptoms that are or come to be associated with the upward movement of pathological *qi* in the body. While it is clear from many references in both *Yin shu* and other breath cultivation techniques recorded amongst the *Mawangdui* manuscripts that the aim is to promote a downward flow of *qi* it is interesting that not one of the occurrences of *jue* is explicitly concerned with the reversing movement of *qi*. Perhaps at this stage the notion of reversal is attributed to the experience of pain, discomfort, breathlessness etc.

## Strip No. 67

•引心痛，係纜長五尋，繫其衷，令其高杖<sup>a</sup>，兩足踐板，端立，兩手控纜，以力偃，極之，三而已。一曰：跨足，折腰，控杖

Pulling heart pain. Take some twist that is five *xun* long (9.2 metres<sup>1</sup> and tie it in the middle, so it is at a height of one *zhang* (2.31 metres).<sup>2</sup> With two feet treading on a wooden board, stand straight with the two hands controlling the twist and vigorously lying backwards as far as possible. Stop after three times.<sup>3</sup> Another says: with legs apart, bend at the waist, handle a wooden staff

- 
- a. *YS* writes *zhang* 丈. 1. *Shuo wen* 3B.67 glosses *xun* 尋 as “a measure of a person’s two arms, eight *chi*’ [9.2 metres].  
 2. Given the ratio of the length of the rope to the height (4:1) it is evidently tied in the middle and then suspended in double thickness. This would allow a swinging board to be balanced between the two loops.  
 3. At 4.6 metres the rope must be suspended from a high point. The intention is evidently to use the body weight to stretch the chest and upper limbs.



### Strip No. 68

而力引之，三而已。一曰：危坐，手操左腕<sup>a</sup>而力舉手，伸臂，以力引之，極，因下手摩<sup>b</sup>面，以下抑<sup>c</sup>兩股，力引之，三百而已。

and vigorously pull it. Stop after three times. Another says: Sit tall (on the haunches). Grasp the left wrist and vigorously raise it, extending the arm, vigorously pulling it, as far as possible. Then lower the hand and massage the face descending to press on both thighs, vigorously pull it. Stop after three hundred times.

---

a. *YS* writes *guan* 棺.

b. *YS* writes ...

c. *YS* writes *yi* 印.

### Strip No. 69

•引陰，端坐，張兩股，左手承下，右手撫上，折腰，伸小腹，力引尻。

Pulling Yin. Sit straight and spread both thighs. With the left hand receiving below,<sup>1</sup> hold the right hand above, bend at the waist, extending the lower abdomen. Vigorously pull the buttocks.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Possibly the feet, followed by the right hand on top of the head.

2. Harper considers that this exercise is evidence of the ‘bellows analogy’ mentioned in the last paragraph of this text. Harper ‘The Bellows Technique in Laozi and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene’ *Early China* 00 (199?), 00. It is possible that the ‘above’ and ‘below’ refer to above and below the waist and refer to *fu* 撫 ‘stroking.’ Alternatively this could be a similar movement to the Increasing Yin *qi* movement in Strip No. 53 where one arm is raised above the head and the other touching the ground.



### Strip No. 70

•引頰，腸頰及筋頰，左手据左股，〔屈〕左〔膝〕，後信〔伸〕右足，〔屈〕右手而左雇〔顧〕三：有〔又〕前右足，後左足，曲左手，雇〔顧〕右，

Pulling inguinal swellings.<sup>1</sup> When the bowel swells and the sinew swells, with the left hand hold the left thigh and, bending the left knee, extend the right foot backwards and bending the right hand, look around to the left three times; once more with the right foot forward, put the left foot back and bending the left hand, look back to the right. Do it three times

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1. *Tui* 頰 is glossed in *Shuo wen* 8a.177 as ‘bald face.’ *Shuo wen* 14b.305 glosses the homophone *tui* 隕 as ‘drop down.’ In the Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan medical manuscripts it refers to swellings in the lower abdominal region commonly associated with symptoms like inguinal hernia. *Wushier bingfang* lists twenty-four remedies. Many assume demonic causation. *Maishu* states, ‘if its abscess makes a calling sound as it goes up and down, it is *chang tui*’. See ‘*Maishu shiwen*’, 72. See also the discussions in Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (1998)259 – 270 and Ma, *Mawangdui guyi kaoshi* (1992), 474. *Daoyin tu* 2.4 has a badly damaged caption which has been identified as *yin tui* 引頰. See Ma *Mawangdui guyi kaoshi* (1992), 852. The figure is in profile leaning forward.

### Strip No. 71

而已。又復擣兩手以偃，極之三：擣左臂以偃，極之：擣右臂，左手据左尻以偃，極之，此皆三而已。

and stop. Raise the two hands again and bend, as far as possible three times. Raising the left arm, bend as far as it will go; raising the right arm, with the left arm holding the left buttock bend as far as possible. Do these altogether three times and stop.



## Strip No. 72

•引腹痛 懸纍板<sup>a</sup>，令人高去地尺，足踐其上，手控其纍，後足，前應<sup>b</sup>，力引之，三而已。因去伏，足距壁，固 箸小腹

Pulling abdominal pain.<sup>1</sup> Hang a strung wooden board and have someone raise it to a height of one *chi*. Step on it with the feet and, with the hands controlling the twist, put one foot to the back and with one foot balancing,<sup>2</sup> vigorously pull it. Stop after three times. Then go and lie prostrate.<sup>3</sup> With the feet pushing<sup>4</sup> against the wall, firmly exert<sup>5</sup> the lower abdomen,

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a. *YS* writes *ban* 版.

b. *YS* writes ...

1. *Daoyin tu* 2.7 read as *fu tong* 腹痛. The figure is facing the front with arms stretched to the side. From the height of the waist and the hair decoration the figure may be female. It is not a depiction of this exercise.

2. I accept the interpretation of *ying* XX as *yīng* 應 literally meaning 'responding.' See '*Yin shu shiwen*', 84.

3. The combination of *qu* and a physical position occurs three times in *Yin shu* in the sense of leaving one position and taking up the position indicated by the following word. See also Strip No. 75 which refers to taking up the lying position, 76 which is an instruction to turn from the prostrate to the prone lying position and 85 where the expression *quli* 去立 is used at the point of moving from a sitting position to a standing position. The use of *fu* 伏 rather than *yanwo* 炎 (偃) 臥 for 'to lie down' specifies lying on the front.

4. I read *ju* 距 as *ju* 拒 'to oppose, ward off' and interpret in this case 'to push against.'

5. I read *zhu* 箸 in the sense of *zhu li* 朱力 'to exert strength', here placing attention on the parts of the body in question. See also Strip No. 75.

## Strip No. 73

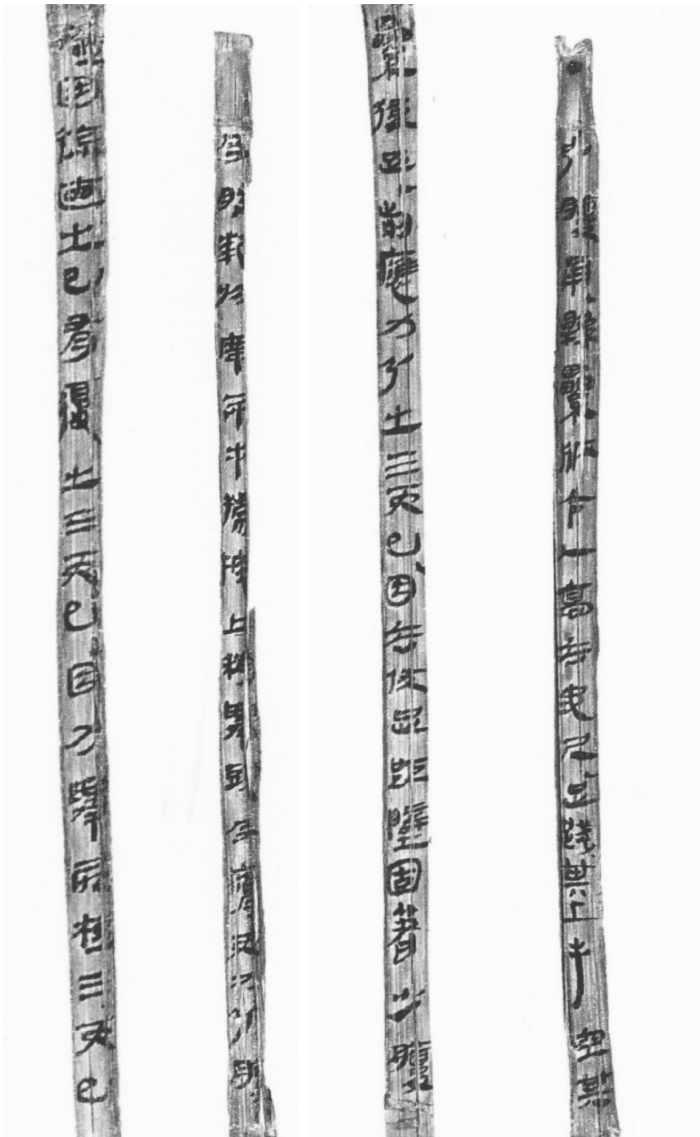
及股郤于席，兩手據，探<sup>a</sup>上，稍舉頭及膺而力引腹，極，因徐直之：已，又復之，三而已。因力舉尻，極，三而已。

the thighs and knees on the mat. With two hands touching, [on a pillow], raise the head and the chest slightly, vigorously pulling the abdomen as far as possible, then slowly straighten up; stop, do it again three times and stop. Then vigorously raise the buttocks as far as possible. Stop after three times. <sup>1</sup>

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a. *YS* writes 揆 which *ZJS Yin shu* No. 73 interprets as *tan* 探 and n. 1 reads as *zhen* 枕 'pillow'.

1. Both of these exercises are designed to stretch the lower abdomen.



### Strip No. 74

•引歛，危坐，以手力循鼻以仰，極，撫心，以力引之，三而已。去立，跨足，以據地，極之，三而已。

Suffering with abdominal swelling. Day or night lie down on the back and concentrate exclusively on puffing out (moist breath) breath thirty times; if there is no advantage, concentrate exclusively on breathing it out ten times; if there is no advantage, concentrate exclusively on exhaling (warm breath) ten times; if there is no advantage puff out (moist breath) again thirty times; if there is no advantage get up and put it right with the pull of the Eight Warps.

### Strip No. 75

去臥，端伏，加兩手枕上，加頭手上，兩足距壁，興心，抑<sup>a</sup>頤，引之，而賈〔固〕箸着小腹及股鄰，三而已。

Go and lie down prostrate in a straight position, put the two hands on the pillow and put the head on the hands; with two feet pressing against the wall, raise the heart and pressing down with the chin, pull it and firmly exert the abdomen, the thighs and knees.<sup>1</sup> Three times and stop.

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a. See the *Shuo wen* 9a. 187 gloss: ‘XX is *an* 按 ‘to press’ from *yin* 印 reversed, commonly with *shou* 手.’ Duan Yucai notes that ‘this is the original meaning of *yi* 抑; *yin* 引 and *shen* 申 are all forms of *an* 按’. Shi ‘*Yin shu* shiwen tongxun’ (1992), 135.

1. See Strip No. 72 n. 5

### Strip No. 76

•去臥而尻壁，舉兩股，兩手鈎兩股而力引，極之，三而已。。。□<sup>a</sup> 吳

Go and lie down with the buttocks to the wall and raise the two thighs, hooking the hands around the two thighs and vigorously pulling as far as possible. Stop after three times... X Wu<sup>1</sup>

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a. The left hand side of the graph reads *ye* 頁 *ZJS Yin shu* No. 76 n. 1.

1. 吳 *wu* is the name of the scribe who finishes his shift at this point. Texts of this period are likely to have been copied by a number of scribes. See Peng ‘Zhangjiashan hanjian (*Yin shu*) chutan’, 87.



## Strip No. 77

。引瘳及欬，端立，將壁，手舉頤，稍去壁，極而已。

Pulling a roaring sound<sup>1</sup> with cough. Stand up straight and, taking hold of the wall,<sup>2</sup> raise the chin with the hand and move slightly away from the wall. Do it as far as possible and stop.

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1. *Shuo wen* 5a. 103 glosses *hu* 瘳 as *xiaohu* 哮瘳 ‘roaring’.

2. I read *jiang* 將 as ‘to take hold of/support’. The nature of this exercise depends on the height of the wall. I assume that the practitioner is standing to the side of a wall and holding on to it at a level above the shoulder. Inclining the weight away from the wall would then have the effect of stretching and opening the area of the chest.

## Strip No. 78

•引肩痛，其在肩上，爰行三百：其在肩後，前據三百：其在肩前，後復三百：其在腋<sup>a</sup>下，支落三百：其在兩肩之間

Pulling pain in the shoulder. When it’s on top of the shoulder, do the Gibbon Walk<sup>1</sup> three hundred times; if it’s behind the shoulder, do the hold<sup>2</sup> three hundred times to the front; if it’s at the front of the shoulder, do it three hundred again to the back; if it’s under the armpit, do Limbs Falling three hundred times; if there is pain between the shoulders,

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a. *YS* writes *ye* 夜.

1. The movement below for pain between the shoulders involves rolling the shoulders. This Gibbon Walk probably also involves rolling the shoulders forward, a movement that seems to lengthen the arms and gives the impression of an ape. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 151 n. 1. cites a number of references to movements associated with the ape. *Shiji* 史記 (109 “”), 2872 refers to the *yuan bi* 猿臂 ‘gibbon arms’ in a context which suggests long arms. *Hanshu* ( ) 0.00 writes *yuan* 猿 as *yuan* 爰. Both Baopuzi and He Yinyang mention a *yuan ju* 爰据 Gibbon Hold. The *Huainan Zi* also records a *yuan ju* 猿踞 Gibbon Lope. *Huainan zi* 7. 00: *Daoyin tu* 4. 7 has a caption interpreted as the *yuan hu* 猿呼 ‘Gibbon Howl.’ See Ma, *Mawangdui guyi kaoshi* (1993), 863. A man is depicted in long blue attire tied at the waist with the right hand slanting up and the left hand down. His mouth is open. Perhaps there is an associated sound.

2. The Gibbon Hold is the following exercise described above, ‘with the right hand hold the left foot, raise the left hand, turning the back, lean forward to left and right’.



## Strip No. 79

痛，危坐，跨股，把腕<sup>a</sup>，抑股，以力搖肩，百而已。

sit down with the thighs apart, grasp the wrist, press down on the thigh and rock the shoulders vigorously. Stop after one hundred times.

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a. *YS* writes *guan* 棺.

## Strip No. 80

•引瘳，其在脅，左手據壁，右手據尻，前左足，屈其郤伸右足而力引之，極：因前右足，屈其郤伸左足，各三而已。

Pulling convulsions.<sup>1</sup> If it's in the side, hold the wall with the left hand and with the right hand holding the buttock, place the left foot forward, bend the knee and extend the right foot, vigorously pulling it, as far as possible. Then with the right foot forward, bend the knee and extend the left foot. Stop after three times each side.

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1. *Ch* 瘳 'convulsions'. *Shuo wen* 7b.157 glosses *chi* 瘳 as '*chizong* 瘳癰 in infants.' The clearest identification of associated symptoms comes in *Maishu* which states that, 'If the body at times falls down and froths at the mouth with the sound of a sheep baaing •, XXXX see ? and unable to breath, this is fright; if they arch backwards this is infant convulsions'. See '*Maishu shiwen*', 72. The exercise described here is clearly not for a newborn or young infant. It would also be impractical for someone in the throws of a *grand mal*. It is possible that the exercise is designed for those that do experience such convulsions, but it is more likely that it is a less specialised therapy aimed at pain in the side that comes in spasms. A later description may substantiate this reading, 'when ill with the sinews and channels pulling each other and it is acute, the name of the illness is *chi* 瘳'. *Suwen* 6 (19 'Yu ji zhen cang'), 5b. This is a condition associated in *Suwen* with the aetiology of diseases caused by wind. As the wind pathology becomes more serious it transmits from the kidney to the heart. Harper quotes Yu Yan who suggests that this is an illness of the newborn caused by an infection following the cutting of the umbilical cord. *Wushier bingfang* states that, 'when infant convulsions occur the eyes are fixed in a sidelong gaze. The sides are painful, the breath is quick and shrill and the feces remain green without transforming.' Harper *Early Chinese Medical Literature*, 233 n.1.



## Strip No. 81

•引辟，在〔左〕<sup>a</sup>頰，左手據左顫之髮，伸左手而右手引之：在右頰，引之如左，皆三而已。廁<sup>b</sup>比十，陽見十，晷沃十。

Pulling lop-sided illness.<sup>1</sup> If it's on the [left] cheekbone, with the right hand hold the hair at the right temple<sup>2</sup> and extend the left hand and pull it with the right hand; if it is the right cheekbone pull it the same as the left. Do it altogether three times and stop. Do Follow to the Side<sup>3</sup> ten times, Looking Yang ten times, Wild Duck Bathing ten times.

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a. From the parallel passage below on this strip *ZJS Yin shu* No. 81 n.2 notes the missing *zuo* 左.

b. See the exercise in Strip No. 14 labelled *ce bi* 側比.

1. *Bi* 辟 is probably a graphic variant of *pi* 僻 'oblique/leaning to one side. *Lingshu* associates *pi* with eye disorders associated with the Yangming sinews, as well as symptoms that seem very similar to the Western medical syndrome known as Bell's Palsy, 'as for the Yangming of the foot, the tai Yin of the hand, if the sinews are in distress, then the mouth and eye are *pi* 'lopsided' and the corner of the eye cannot fully see.' See *Lingshu* 7 (13 "Jin jing") 5b.

2. *Shuo wen* 9a.183 glosses *chan* 顫 as 'the head is not upright.' It is clear from the exercises in S91 and S97 below that the temples themselves are indicated.

3. See Strip 14.

## Strip No. 82

•端立，披<sup>a</sup>髮，敦踵三百，卻步三百而休。

Sit straight, loosen the hair and knock the heels three hundred times, Back Step three hundred times and rest.

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a. *YS* writes *bei* 被.



### Strip No. 83

•引喉<sup>a</sup>痺，撫乳，上舉頤，令下齒包上齒，力仰三而已。其病甚，令人騎其背，撫顏舉頤而仰之，亟而已。

Pulling blockage<sup>1</sup> of the throat. Stroke the chest, raising the chin up, enclose the top teeth within the bottom, vigorously looking up three times and stop; if the illness is severe, have someone riding on the back, holding between the eyebrows and raising the chin,<sup>2</sup> causing the head to raise. Do it quickly and stop.

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a. *YS* writes with 月 on the left.

1. *Bi* 痺 is associated with numbness and the aetiology of damp illnesses. The exercise vigorously stretches the front part of the throat. See *Suwen* 44, 4. 61, ‘when the dwelling place is damp, the muscles and flesh become moist, and there is *bi* 痺 and a lack of feeling, which manifests as *wei* 痿 of the flesh. *Shuo wen* 7b. 155 glosses *wei* 痿 as *bi* 痺 and 7B.153 glosses *bi* 痺 as ‘damp illness.’ *Suwen* 12 (43 ‘*bi lun*’), 4b states ‘when the three *qi* of wind, cold and damp arrive, they unite as *bi* 痺, when wind *qi* overcomes it is moving *bi*, when cold *qi* overcomes it is painful *bi*, when damp *qi* overcomes it is *zhu* 著 ‘localised/stuck’ *bi*. But here I take *bi* 痺 as a loan for *bi* 閉 ‘obstruction.’ The following exercise suggests an emergency attempt to remove an object from the airways.

2. *Shuo wen* 9a. 181 glosses *yan* 顏 as ‘between the eyebrows and the eyes’.

### Strip No. 84

•引鼻，危坐，以手力循鼻以仰，極，撫心，以力引之，三而已。去立，跨足，以據地，極之，三而已。

Pulling stuffed up nose. Sit tall (on the haunches) and vigorously press down on the nose with the hand, look up, stroke the heart and vigorously pull it. Stop after three times. Go and stand with feet apart and hold the ground by bending forwards as far as possible. Stop after three times.

### Strip No. 85

•引口痛，兩手指內口中，力引之：已，力張口，力張左輯，有又力張右頷<sup>a</sup>，吒<sup>b</sup>而勿發，此皆三而已。

•Pulling pain in the mouth. With two fingers in the mouth, vigorously pull it. When finished, vigorously open the mouth. Vigorously open the left jowl. Vigorously open the right jowl. Roar but do not make a sound.<sup>1</sup> Do all of this altogether three times before stopping.

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a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 85 reads *ji* 輯 as *he* 頷 ‘the jowl’.

b. *YS* writes *tuo* 吒.

1. i.e. open the mouth as if to roar.



**Strip No. 86**

•失欲<sup>a</sup>口不合，引之，兩手奉其頤，以兩拇指口中壓，窮耳而力舉頤，即已矣。

Dislocation of mouth which doesn't close. Pull it; with two hands raising the chin, with two middle fingers press in the mouth as far as possible towards the ear, raising the chin. It thereupon stops.

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a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 86 n. 1 notes *Shuo wen* 00 glosses *he* as *he hui* 合會.

**Strip No. 87**

•引肘痛，□□三百，□□三百。其<sup>a</sup>腕痛在左，右手把左腕<sup>a</sup>而前後搖<sup>b</sup>之，千而休：其在右，左手把右腕前後搖<sup>b</sup>之，千而休。其在右手，左手把右腕，前後搖<sup>b</sup>

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a. *YS* writes *guan* 揅.

b. *YS* writes with 木.

**Strip No. 88**

之，千而休。其在右手，左手把<sup>a</sup>右腕前後搖之，千而休 其左手指痛，右手撫左手指，反引之：其右手指痛，左手撫右手指

One thousand times and rest. If it is in the right hand, with the left hand grasp the right wrist and rock it back and forward. One thousand times and rest. If the left fingers hurt, with the right hand stroke the left fingers, and pull them in the opposite direction. If the right fingers hurt, with the left hand stroke the right fingers.

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a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 88 writes 木 rather than 扌 here.

**Strip No. 89**

，力引之，十而休。

Vigorously pull them ten times and rest.



## Strip No. 90

•引目痛，左目痛，右手指壓內脈，左手指撫顫而力引之，三而已：右如左。•一曰：兩手之指壓兩目內脈而上循之，至項

Pulling pain in the eye.<sup>1</sup> If the left eye hurts, massage the inner channel<sup>2</sup> with the fingers of the right hand; stroke the temple with the fingers of the left hand, and energetically pull it, stopping after three times; the right is the same as the left.

• Another says: with the fingers of both hands massage the inner channel of the eyes and press upwards, going as far as the back of the neck

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1. *Daoyin tu* 2.2 has an exercise with a caption that has been read as *tong ming* 痛明 and interpreted as *tong mu* 痛目 'painful eye.' Ma *MWD Guyi kaoshi* (1992), 851. The caption is very damaged and it is difficult to be confident in the transcription. The figure is in profile stepping forward with arms outstretched. It does not relate to this procedure which is a massage technique.

2. One identification proposed for the *nei mai* is the canthus of the eye, perhaps a colloquial usage peculiar to *Yin shu*. Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 158 - 59 n.1. The more usual term for the canthus is *zi* 眦. There are a number of instances in *Mai shu* and *Yin shu* where the use of *mai* is not linked to channel theory. In *Mai shu* the word *mai*, is used to describe a 'screen' or cataract as well as hemorrhoids that protrude from the anus *Mai shu shiwen*', 72. An alternative identification of the *neimai* 'inner channel' in this location is the deep anatomical cavity above the canthus which is an obvious route or path to the inside of the body.

## Strip No. 91

，十而已。一曰：起臥，而危坐，摩兩手，令指熱，以扞兩目，十而已。

and stopping after ten times. • Another says: get up from lying down and sit in a kneeling position, rub the two hands together, until the fingers are hot and press on both eyes, stopping after ten times.



### Strip No. 92

•引癭 其在右恆陽之附脈，視左足之指趾，俯力引之：其在左，引之如右。其在右側陽筋附脈，視左肩，力引之：其在左

Pulling scrofulous swelling.<sup>1</sup> When it is located on the channel attached to the Constant Yang on the right,<sup>2</sup> look at the toes of the left foot, bend down, and energetically pull it; when it is located on the left, pull it the same as the right. When it is located on the channel attached to the Lateral Yang sinew on the right, look at the left shoulder and energetically pull it. When it is located on

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1. *Shuo wen*, 7b. 154 glosses *lou*癭 as a 'swelling of the neck.' *Mai shu* states that 'in the neck it is *lou*'. See 'Maishu shiwen', 72.

2. The text differentiates channels that traverse the neck with relative values of Yang (outer) and Yin (inner). The channel associated with Constant Yang may well refer to the pulse of the carotid artery, which is both constant and easily palpable. With the exception of Constant Yang, the other names are specifically identified as names of sinews.

### Strip No. 93

則側陽筋附脈，如右。其在左側陰筋附脈，顧右足踵，力引之：其在右則側陰筋附脈，亦如左。其在前陰筋，兩手撫

the channel attached to the Lateral Yang sinew on the left, do it the same as the right. When it is located on the channel attached to the Lateral Yin sinew on the left, look at the right heel and energetically pull it; when it is located on the channel attached to the Lateral Yin sinew on the right, also do it the same as the left. When it is located on the Front Yin sinew, use both hands to stroke

### Strip No. 94

乳上，以力舉頤，此物皆十而已。

the breast and energetically raise the chin.<sup>1</sup> For all of these, stop after ten times.

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1. If we understand the word *mai* to be singular, then this passage may be understood to describe three bi-lateral channels, those located on the Constant Yang 恆陽, the Lateral Yang 側陽 and the Lateral Yin 側陰 sinews. In addition, there is a Front Yin 前陰 sinew which is not described as bi-lateral; although the text states that the scrofulous swelling is located on the Front Yin sinew, the existence of an attached channel may be implied. It is also possible that the word *mai* in *Yin shu* refers to more than one channel attached to each sinew, in which case the passage may be related to some or all of the seven bi-lateral lines and one medial line that cross the neck of the figurine.



## Strip No. 95

•引聾，端坐，聾在左，伸左臂橋橋拇<sup>a</sup>指端，伸臂，力引頸與耳：右如左。

•Pulling deafness.<sup>1</sup> Sit straight. If the deafness is on the left, extend the left arm and raise the tip of the middle finger; while extending the arm, energetically pull the neck and ear. Do the left as the right.<sup>2</sup>

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a. *YS* writes *mu* 母.

1. *Daoyin tu* 2.9 has a technique interpreted as *yin long* 引聾 ‘pulling deafness.’ See Ma *MWD Guyi kaoshi* (1992), 853. The caption is very damaged and it is difficult to be confident in the transcription. The figure faces the front with arms outstretched to the sides. It may be a representation of the technique described here.

2. The exercise stretches the arm. If ‘pulling the neck and the ear’ involves inclining the head in the opposite direction to the outstretched arm it creates a sensation of opening and stretching the ear itself. Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 161 quotes *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, 812 which discusses symptoms of deafness, quoting a method of *daoyin* in the *yangsheng* tradition, ‘Sit on the ground. Cross the feet. Put two hands into the angles of the feet. Lower the head and interlock the hands on the neck. For treating chronic cold that cannot become warm by itself, so the ear cannot hear a sound’.

## Strip No. 96

•引耳痛，內指耳中而力引之，壹上下，壹前後：已，因右手據左肩，力引之：已，左手據右肩，力引之，皆三而已。

Pulling ear pain. Put the finger into the ear<sup>1</sup> and vigorously pull it, once upwards and down, once forward and back; when finished then, with the right hand hold the left shoulder, and vigorously pull it; when finished, with the left hand hold the right shoulder, and vigorously pull it. Altogether (the whole sequence) three times and stop.

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1. When *nei* is causative, ‘to place (something) inside’ *na* 納 is the normalised form. Schuessler *A Dictionary of Early Zhou Chinese* (1987), 434.



## Strip No. 97

•苦頰及顏痛，漬以寒水如餐<sup>a</sup>頃，掌按<sup>b</sup>顛，指據發，更上更下而諱<sup>a</sup>，手與口俱上俱下，三十而已。

•Suffering pain in the cheekbone<sup>1</sup> and between the eyebrows. Soak (it?) in cold water for a short while; holding the temples with the palms of the hands and holding the hair, alternately move up and then down calling out *hu hu*,<sup>2</sup> then with the hand and mouth together move up and together down. Stop after thirty times.

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a. *YS* writes . . .

b. *YS* writes *an* 安.

1. 頰 is also seen in *MWD* vol. 4 ‘*Zubi jiuqing*’ No. 10-12 as a location of the Yangming channel of the foot. The editors gloss *guanbu* 顴部 ‘jawbone’. *Shuo wen* 9a.182 glosses 頰 as *guan* 權. The Duan Yucai commentary notes that *guan* 權 is *guan* 顴 ‘the cheekbones’.

2. As noted above, the addition of the *yan* suggests that intonation is implied. The same graph is also used in Strip No. 34 above. In both instances the graph is used in exercises for treating pain which involve soaking the forehead in cold water. It is therefore probable that there is a distinction between *hu* 諱 and *hu* 噓/歔 based on sound. The ‘hu hu’ may simply be a way of transliterating loud breathing.

## Strip No. 98

•覺<sup>a</sup>以啄<sup>b</sup>齒，令人不齲。其齲也，益啄<sup>b</sup>之。

On waking knocking<sup>1</sup> the teeth prevents tooth decay;<sup>2</sup> if there is tooth decay knock them more.

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a. *YS* writes 學.

b. *YS* writes *zhuo* 啄.

1. Gao quotes Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127 - 200) commentary to *Zhou Li* ( ) 00 where *zhuo* 啄 is glossed as *ji* 擊 ‘to strike’. See Gao ‘*Yin shu yanjiu*’ (1995), 163 n.1. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 98 n. 1 states simply that 啄 齒 is *kou chi* 叩齒 ‘knocking the teeth’.

2. Qu 齲 translates as ‘tooth decay.’ In the biography of Cang gong the Grand Prefect of Qi suffers from *quchi* 齲齒. Shiming 00 glosses *quchi* 齲齒 as “decayed teeth.’ *Shiji* (105 ‘Cang gong zhuan’), 2806. Knocking the teeth is a common technique in modern *Qigong*.



## Strip No. 99

• 閉息以利交筋，堂落以利恆脈，蛇甄以利距腦，晷沃以利首，周脈循腠<sup>a</sup>理以利踵首，側<sup>b</sup>比以利耳，陽見以利目，啟

Holding the breath is good for the coital sinew; \*\*\* (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; Encircling Channels is good for the patterns of the skin and is good for the heels and head; Follow to the Side is good for the ear; Looking in a Yang direction is good for the eyes; look up by opening

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a. *YS* writes *zou* 奏.

b. *YS* writes *ce* 廁.

1. Holding the breath is part of the practice referred to by Harper in his discussion of the bellows analogy in Strip No. 111. As exercises to supplement Yin also involve breath control and pulling the buttocks, they therefore also exercise the pelvic floor muscle and the Yin in its sense of the genitals. This must be the reason that breath technique is specified to benefit the coital sinew, a term found in *MWD He Yinyang* at the culminating sequence of a massage which leads into to sexual intercourse. The directive is to, ‘mount the coital sinew’ which suggests the female pelvic muscles. It is unclear whether this term also refers to the male body. See *MWDHe Yinyang*, 4, 155 and Harper *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (1998), 414.

2. *Tangluo* 堂落 is read *tanglang* 螳螂 ‘praying mantis’. *Daoyin tu* 1.8. has a fragmentary caption, interpreted by Ma Jixing and others to be the Praying Mantis. It depicts a person in a long gown bending over backwards with two arms in the air. Ma Jixing identifies this exercise with *du lang* 度狼, reading the term as a variation of *tanglang*. This is the exercise I have translated above Calculating Wolf. Ma *MWD Guyi kaoshi* (1992), 850.

3. In this expression *heng* 恆 ‘constant’ is paired directly with the *mai* 脈 ‘channel’ rather than with Yang as we find it in the technique for scrofulous swellings described above. This is further evidence that the reference of *heng mai* and *heng yang* is to the pulse on the carotid artery i.e. the most constantly palpable and consistent pulse.

4. See Strip No. 16 n.2.

5. I read *ju* 距 (\*kio/kiwo-) as *ju* 鉅 (\*kio/kiwo-), later glossed as ‘great’. See Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa* (1957), 49r1 and s1.

6. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 99 n.2 states this graph unknown.

7. Heels and head are a synecdoche for the whole body.

8. See Strip No. 14 above.

9. This refers to the exercise to pull deafness which involves tilting the head to the side and stretching the opening of the ear.

10. By looking Yang (up) the eyes are stretched open.

一  
平  
是  
以  
利  
文  
藝  
堂  
著  
以  
利  
恒  
利  
成  
野  
以  
利  
距  
亦  
屬  
亦

### Strip No. 100

口以仰以利鼻，吒<sup>a</sup>而勿發以利口，撫心舉頤以利喉<sup>b</sup>咽<sup>c</sup>，臬栗以利拊項，虎顧以利項尼，引背以利肩錦<sup>d</sup>，支落以利

the mouth is good for the nose; roaring,<sup>1</sup> but not emitting a sound is good for the mouth; stroking the heart and raising the chin is good for the throat and gullet; Owl Shivers is good for bending<sup>2</sup> the neck; Tiger Looks Back is good for the neck and the buttocks<sup>3</sup>; Pull the Back is good for the shoulder muscles and sinews; Limbs Falling is good for

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a. *YS* writes...

b. *YS* writes...

c. *YS* writes *yan* 咽.

d. *YS* writes... I read *bei* 倍 as *bei* 背 ‘the back,’ *jianjin* 肩錦 as *jianjin* 肩筋 ‘shoulder sinews and muscles.’ Shi ‘*Yin shu shiwen tongxun*’ (1992), 136.

1. Keeping the jaw still and tilting the head backwards has the effect of splaying the nostrils.

2. The Owl (Shivers) involves contracting the neck and burying it amidst the shoulders. It is evidently a way of benefitting the flexibility of the neck. I read *fu* 拊 as *fu* 拊, *fu xun* 拊循 ‘to soothe and comfort’.

3. See Strip No. 13 n.1.



## Strip No. 101

腋下，雞伸以利肩髀<sup>a</sup>，反搖以利腹心，反旋以利兩 肱，熊經以利 背，復據以利腰，禹步以利股間<sup>b</sup>，前厥以利股 鄰，反

the armpits; Chicken Stretch is good for the shoulders and arms; Backward Waving is for the abdomen and heart; Backwards Swirling is good for the two ribs; Bear Warp<sup>1</sup> is good for the muscles of the back; Repeating Holds is good for the small of the back; the Pace of Yu<sup>2</sup> is good for between the thighs; Forward Stumble<sup>3</sup> is good for the thighs and knees;

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a. *Bi* 婢 (\*b'ieg/b'jie) is a variant of *bi* 臂 (\*pieg/pjie). I take *bi* 婢 (\*b'ieg/b'jie) as a variant of *bi* 臂 (\*pieg/pjie). See Karlgren *Grammatica Serica Recensa*, 874l and 853s.

b. *YS* writes *xian/jian* 閒.

1. See Strip No. 50 n.1.

2. The Pace of Yu describes a kind of shamanic walk. Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 165- 6 n.15 quotes *Fa yan* (10 'Chongli'), 00 'in ancient times Sishi 姒氏 put the water and earth in order and the shaman's pace was mostly that of Yu.' Li Gui 李軌 (fl. 317) notes, 'Yu put the water and earth in order. He built the mountains and rivers. He was sick in his foot so he walked with a limp. ...ordinary shamans all learnt the Pace of Yu.' See Harper *Early Chinese Medical Manuscripts* (1998), 167-9 for a comprehensive discussion. By the imperial period the Pace of Yu was an established feature of magico-religious and medical ritual, perhaps with particular relation to travel and acts of clearing and subjugation. In the excavated texts from Mawangdui and Zhangjiashan Harper finds confirmation of Granet's hypothesis that elements of later religious Daoism can be traced to the early practices of popular religion. On the basis of the recurring instruction to perform the Pace of Yu three times Harper speculates that the early Pace of Yu is similar to the account in *Baopuzi nei pian* (17 'Deng she') which describes a walk involving two forward steps with the third bringing the back foot even with the front. The occurrence of the Pace of Yu as a mundane technique to improve the thighs in *Yin shu* is evidence of the adoption of magical ritual into non-magical medical techniques [or at least a shared culture of naming movement sequences] and suggests among those who are not primarily engaged in shamanic practice.

3. I read *jue* 厥 here as *jue* 蹶 'to stumble.' Perhaps the exercise involves falling on to the front foot and throwing weight on to the thighs and knees.



### Strip No. 102

[反]擊<sup>a</sup>以利足蹄，甲指以利足氣，敦踵以利胸<sup>b</sup>中，此物皆三而已

Rotating the Ankles. Backwards is good for the sole of the feet;<sup>1</sup> Squeezing the Toes is good for the *qi* of the feet; Knocking the Heels is good for the chest. For these things stop after three times.

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a. *YS* writes...。Gao reads this as *jiao juan* 腳圈. *Lushi chungiu* (14 'ben wei') 肉之美者，猩猩之唇，獾之炙，雉鱗之翠，述蕩之XX, 'As for fine meat, the lips of the orang-utang, badger roast, the fleshy tail of the kingfisher/humming bird (?), the paws of the *shudang*'. Gao You comments, 'as for the *wan*, it is for *ta* 踏 'treading'. Its form I have not come across.' Chen Qiyou adds a further commentary that 'the *wan* is nowadays called the *jiao juan* 腳圈 'ankle'.' See Chen *Lushi chungiu jiaoshi* (1984), 0.00 and Gao 'Yin shu yanjiu' (1995), 166 n.17.

b. *YS* writes *xiong* 匈.

1. *Ti* 蹄 is normally glossed as 'hoof'. *Shiming 00* glosses *zudi* 足底 'the bottom of the feet'.

### Strip No. 103

人之所以得病者，必於暑濕風寒雨露，走腠理啟闔，食飲<sup>a</sup>不和，起居不能與寒暑相應<sup>b</sup>，故得病焉。是以春夏秋

The reasons why a person becomes ill are invariably from heat, damp, wind, cold, rain and dew; the opening and closing of the patterns of the skin; lack of harmony in eating and drinking; not being able to respond to cold and heat in getting up and going to sleep<sup>1</sup>; and therefore they will become ill from it. On account of this between spring, summer, autumn and

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a. *YS* writes...

b. *YS* writes *ying* with 疔.

1. The combination *qiju* 起居 is sometimes used to mean 'activities' in general.



### Strip No. 104

•<sup>a</sup>冬之閒，亂氣相薄遷也，而人不能自免其閒，故得病。是以必治八經之引，吹<sup>b</sup>响<sup>c</sup>歔吸天地之精氣，伸腹<sup>c</sup>折腰，力伸手

winter, chaotic *qi* bump against each other<sup>1</sup> and so people are not able to avoid being in the middle themselves and therefore become ill. On account of this they must treat it with the pull of the Eight Warps: puff out (moist breath), exhale (warm breath), breathe the quintessential *qi* from heaven and earth, extending the belly and straightening the small of the back, vigorously extending the hands

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- a. *ZJS Yin shu* No. 104 n.1 suggests that this dot is a scribal error.  
 b. *YS* writes *chui* 炊.  
 c. *YS* writes *fu* 復.  
 1. ...

### Strip No. 105

足，輒踵曲指，去起寬寬，偃治巨引，以與相求也，故能毋病。偃臥吹响，引陰，春日再响壹<sup>c</sup>歔壹吹：夏日再<sup>c</sup>歔壹响壹

and the feet, stroking the heels and curling the fingers and toes. When going to get up make it wide and (big),<sup>1</sup> when lying down<sup>2</sup> pull it as much as possible and by these means seek conformity with them (heaven and earth?)<sup>3</sup> and therefore there will be no illness. Lying on the back puff out (moist breath), exhale (warm breath). Pull Yin. On Spring days exhale (warm breath) twice, breathe out (dry breath) once, puff out (moist breath) once. On summer days breathe out (dry breath) twice, exhale (warm breath) once,

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1. *Guang yun* 00 glosses *dan* 寬 as *da* 大 'big.' See Gao *Yin shu yanjiu*, (1995), 168 n. 6.  
 2. i.e. doing these exercises in different positions.  
 3. The same phrase *xiangqiu* 相求 is used in the last passage of *Yin shu* with heaven and earth as the object.



### Strip No. 106

吹：冬日再吹，壹响壹瘳。人生于情<sup>a</sup>，不智愛其氣，故多病而易死。人之所以善蹶，蚤衰于陰，以

puff out (moist breath) once. On winter days puff out (moist breath) twice, exhale (warm breath) once and breathe out (dry breath) once. People are born into their nature<sup>1</sup> and do not know how to be sparing with their *qi*, therefore they often become ill and die easily. As for the reason for the tendency to *jue*, very early on they decline in their Yin, and thus

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a. *YS* writes *qing* 清.

1. 214' *Yin shu shiwen*', 86 and *ZJS Yin shu* No. 106 suggests *qing* 清 is a variant of *qing* 情 'nature'. *Shuo wen* 10b glosses /em *qing* 情 as 'that desired by human Yin *qi*'. In the next passage fear is understood to be the product of an excess of Yin *qi*.

### Strip No. 107

•其不能節其氣也。能善節其氣而實其陰，則利其身矣。貴人之所以得病者，以其喜怒之不和也。喜則陽

cannot moderate their *qi*. If they are able to moderate their *qi* and make their Yin substantial then it is beneficial to the body. The reason that nobility get illness is that they do not harmonise their joys and passions. If they are joyful then the Yang

### Strip No. 108

氣多，怒則陰氣多，是以道者喜則急响，怒則劇吹，以和之。吸天地之精氣，實其陰，故能毋病。賤人之所

*qi* is in excess. If they are angry then the Yin *qi* is in excess. On account of this, if those that follow the Way are joyful then they quickly exhale (warm breath), and if they become angry they increasingly puff out (moist breath), in order to harmonise it. If they breathe in the quintessential *qi* of heaven and earth to make Yin substantial then they will be able to avoid illness. The reason that lowly people



### Strip No. 109

以得病者，勞倦<sup>a</sup>飢渴，白汗決絕，自入水中，及臥寒空之地，不智收衣，故得病焉：又<sup>b</sup>弗智响瘁而除去之

become ill is exhaustion from their labour, hunger and thirst; when the hundred sweats cease,<sup>1</sup> they plunge themselves into water and then lie down in a cold and empty place. They don't know to put on more clothes and so they become ill from it. Also they do not know to expel air and breathe out (dry breath) to get rid of it.

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a. *YS* writes *juan* 卷.

b. *YS* writes *you* 有.

1. i.e. run dry. There is no more fluid in the body. *Shuo wen*<sup>00</sup> glosses *jue* 決, *xing liu* 'flow'.

### Strip No. 110

是以多病而易死

On account of this they have many illnesses and die easily.

### Strip No. 111

•治身欲與天地相求，猶籥也，虛而不屈，動而愈<sup>a</sup>出。閉玄府，啟繆門，闔五臟<sup>b</sup>，逢<sup>c</sup>九竅，利啟闔腠

In cultivating the body, when you desire to seek conformity with heaven and earth be like a bellows<sup>1</sup> and tube - - empty yet not curled up - - in movement yet ever more will come out. Close the dark cavity, open the winding gate, this will shut the five stores,<sup>2</sup> (penetrate/close up)<sup>3</sup> the nine orifices, to benefit the opening and closing of the patterns of the skin

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a. *YS* writes *yu* 俞.

b. *YS* writes *cang* 臧.

1. *Laozi* V: The space between heaven and earth is like a bellows and tube- - empty yet not curled up - - in movement yet ever more will come out. Many words and frequent exhaustion are not like guarding the inside.' Guarding the inside involves nurturing the body and not talking too much. See Donald Harper, 'The Bellows Technique in Laozi V and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene,' *Early China* 00 (1995).

2. See the explanation of the metaphors *xuan fu* 玄府 'the dark cavity' and *miao men* 繆門 'the winding gate' in Donald Harper, 'The Bellows Technique in Laozi V and Warring States Macrobiotic Hygiene,' *Early China* 21 (1995). Harper considers the *xuanfu* to be the chest and abdominal cavity and *miao men* to be the gate represented by the anus.

3. Harper identifies the graph in '*Yin shu shiwen*', 86 as XX and speculates that it may be *da* 達. The transcript appears to write *feng* 逢 which may be a graphic variant of *feng* 縫 'to stitch, mend,' i.e. to fill or close a hole.



**Strip No. 112**

理，此利身之道也。燥則婁葷婁臥，濕則婁吹，毋臥，實陰，暑則精婁响寒則勞身，此與燥濕寒暑相應之道也。

This is the way that is good for the body. If it is dry then breathe (dry breath) out frequently and lie down frequently. If it is damp then puff out (moist breath) frequently. Do not lie down, make the Yin substantial. If it is hot then concentrate exclusively on exhaling (warm breath). When it is cold then work the body. This is the way to align dry, damp, cold and heat with one another.

