

Passages excerpted and modified from TJ Hinrichs, “The Dangerously Different South: Integrating a Realm,” *Shamans, Witchcraft, and Quarantine: The Medical Transformation of Governance and Southern Customs in Song China*, book manuscript

On Terms for “Barbarians”:

Frontier peoples had in fact long been treated in Chinese script as non-human, as bestial. As a logograph radical, *chong* 虫 classified not only arthropods, reptiles, amphibians, and mollusks, but the non-Han southern peoples Man 蠻 and Min 閩.¹ The radical *zhi* 豸, classifying animals with long bodies such as foxes, dogs, leopards, and worms, in antiquity also classified northern non-Han peoples known as Mo 貊. The dog radical *quan* 犬 classified northern Di 狄 “barbarians,” as well as the southern barbarians Liao 獠, Man 獾, and the “Jackal” Yao 猯.² Many texts explicitly compared barbarians to wild animals, or asserted a concrete relationship in their customs or bodily natures.³ Dangerously, southern peoples, creatures (*chong*), and demons (*gui*) possessed in common capacities for metamorphosis, sometimes between these three categories.⁴

On Medical Geography:

Totalizing Han cosmologies, including their geographic dimensions, permeated guidelines for self-cultivation and medical

therapeutics. The *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi neijing*, 2nd-1st cent. B.C.E.) gives a pleasingly symmetrical version that maps region, lifestyle, and health with the Five Phases. In the passage, the Yellow Emperor asks his minister Qi Bo why many different therapies work to cure a single disease. Qi Bo answers, “The configuration (*shi*) of the land causes it to be so.” He then discusses, for each direction in turn, the roles of Heaven and Earth in relation to life, and the distinct characteristics of the land; of people’s diets, skin pores, and complexions; of common diseases; and of the therapies suited to those diseases and therefore developed there.

In the **eastern** quadrant is the region where Heaven and Earth first give birth to life.⁵ It’s land [produces] fish and salt, and ocean beaches beside the water. Its people eat fish and are fond of salty foods. All are peaceful in their abodes and pleasing in their cuisine. The [diet of] fish causes the people to be hot in their middles; the salt overcomes their Blood. Thus, its people all have dark complexions and lax pores; their diseases are all abscesses and ulcers, and the therapies suited to them are pointed stones.

¹On *chong* see Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts*, (New York: Paul Kegan International, 1998), 74; Francine Fèvre, “Drôles de bestioles: qu’est-ce qu’un *chong*?” *Anthropozoologica* No. 18, (1993):57-65; Roel Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon in Early China*, (Albany, State University of New York Press, 2002), 31, 90.

²Zhou Qufei 周去非 (*fl* 1163), *Lingwai dai da* 嶺外代答 (1178), Congshu jicheng, vol. 3118, (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1939), 10.115 ff.

³The dehumanizing implications of these classifications been pointed out by Edward Schafer, *The Vermillion Bird: T’ang Images of the South*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), especially pp. 48 ff; Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon*, 74, 159-161.

⁴Sterckx, *The Animal and the Daemon*, pp. 172, 176, 187.

⁵The east corresponds in cosmology to the season of spring and birth and budding.

That is why pointed stones came from the eastern quadrant.

In the **western** quadrant is the region of gold and jade, and a place of sand and stone. It is where Heaven and Earth gather things in.⁶ Its people dwell in earthen mounds and there are many winds. The water and soil are hard and firm. Its people do not wear cloth, but coarse hair and grass [garments]. Its people [eat] abundantly and substantially, and are fat. Thus noxious [*qi*] cannot injure their bodies [from the outside]. Their diseases are produced on the inside, and the therapies suited to them are toxic drugs. Thus, toxic drugs also came from the eastern quadrant.

In the **northern** quadrant is the region where Heaven and Earth close off and store.⁷ Its land is high and people dwell in earthen mounds. Its winds are cold and it is icy and crisp. Its people love wild places and milk-based cuisine. Their [Yin] Depot [Organs] are cold and generate disorders of fullness, and the therapies suited to them are moxa [cauterization]. Thus, moxa [cauterization] came from the northern quadrant.

In the **southern** quadrant [corresponding also to summer] is where Heaven and Earth produce growth and nurture, and is a place

where Yang flourishes.⁸ Its land is low-lying, and its waters and earth are weak. It is a place where mists and dew gather. Its people are fond of sour foods and eat fermented foods. Thus, its people all have fine pores and ruddy complexions; their diseases are cramps, is suited as a therapy fine needles. That is why the Nine Needles came from the southern quadrant.

In the **center**, the land is flat and damp, and it is where Heaven and Earth produce multitudes of the myriad living creatures. Its people eat a varied diet and do not overexert themselves. Thus, their diseases are mostly flaccidity with receding *qi* and Cold and Heat, is suited as a therapy guiding and pulling [breathing and stretching *qi* exercises] and massage. That is why guiding and pulling and massage also issued from the center.⁹

A Tang period poem about the dangerous and demonic south:

Although theoretical sources especially tended to fit an abstract “south” in broad rubrics comparing the center against the four directions, or in binary contrasts between north and south or northwest and southeast, many writers described the distinctive features of more narrowly defined southern regions, such as Min (Fujian), Jiangnan (south of the lower Yangzi), Lingnan (Guandong and Guangxi), Chu/Jing (Hunan), or Ba/Shu (Sichuan), or particular prefectures.¹⁰ In these

⁶ The west corresponds in cosmology to the season of autumn and harvest.

⁷ The north corresponds in cosmology to the season of winter and storage.

⁸ The south corresponds in cosmology to the season of summer and growth.

⁹ *Huangdi neijing suwen yishi* 黃帝內經素問譯釋, 3rd edition, Nanjing Zhongyi xueyuan 南京中醫學院, ed., (Taipei: Wenguang, 1994), 12.79-81.

¹⁰ See Hsiao Fan, “Han Song jian wenxian suojian gudai zhongguo nanfang de dili huangjing yu difang bing ji qi yingxiang,” *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuan yanjiusuo jikan* (1993) 63.1:67-171; Hugh Clark,

accounts, we still find echoes of *Inner Canon* categories — Yang-dominated climates, damp lands, and misty airs — but we also often find richer and darker accounts that depict realms much farther from central norms. Southern lands thus accumulated a weight of stronger distinctions that linked land, customs, and health to cosmology, which we find elegantly assembled in a poetic exposition (*fu*) by Liu Yuxi (772-842).¹¹

I had already been sent in disgrace to Wuling.¹² Its land of old had the frontier city of Ying and contains a mixture of Yelang and various other barbarians. In relation to Heaven, Yin there is humble and Yang haughty. In connection with Humanity, their mores are shamanic and their *qi* inferior. Because of this it is clamorous and unsettled, and beneficial to live in upper stories. The watch towers on the city walls are actually next to my lodgings. To the four horizons there is no obstruction, and the myriad vistas pour in. So I spoke of what I acquired from distant and near, and composed the verse “Chu Vista.”¹³

In the zone of the Wings and
Carriage constellations

Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 12, 105. Lingnan is the region most famously associated with virulent and miasmatic diseases. For extensive twelfth century examples, see Li Qiu 李璆 (?-1151), Zhang Zhiyuan 張致遠 (1090-1147), *Lingnan weisheng fang* 嶺南衛生方, ed Shi Jihong 釋繼洪 (Yuan), Reprint of 1841 Gakukokan edition, Zhongyi zhenben congshu, (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1983), *passim*. Also see Edward Schafer, *Vermillion Bird*, 130-134; and Marta E. Hanson, “Inventing a Tradition in Chinese Medicine: From Universal Canon to Local Medical Knowledge in South China, The Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century,” PhD diss.,

Zhu Rong administers the region.¹⁴

[Yang] pushes down and isolates Yin;
Fulsome in its segregation it generates foul vapors.

Heaven moistens and mists;
The Earth seeps and is muddied.

The air (*qi*) is rarely bright and clear;
The excessive *qi* clouds everything over.

It strikes people’s limbs and body;
Becoming affliction and disease (*zhai*).

In order to broadly wash away one’s troubles,
It is beneficial to live high away from things.

[Thus] I chose a dwelling
in the corner of the city walls,

Resembling frontier hamlet

University of Pennsylvania, 1997, 69-75. The south’s propensity for producing pernicious practices and ailments is combined in *gu*-poisoning, which is both. See Chapter Six.

¹¹ On Liu Yuxi, see *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), et. al., eds., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 168.5128 ff; *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, ed Liu Xu 劉煦 (887-946) et. al., eds., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 160.4210 ff.

¹² Commandery, formerly Lang Prefecture.

¹³ Ancient state or region corresponding roughly to modern Hunan.

¹⁴ A legendary ancient king and god of Chu. Schafer, *The Vermillion Bird*, 105.

fortifications,
the tower is large and
spacious.

...

In Yuan and Xiang¹⁵ spring
comes around before its
season.

In the twelfth month at the
coldest extreme, warm winds
propagate growth.

...

Expansive summer *qi*
issues forth in the spring
season.

Passing the summer is like
melting,
and reaching autumn it burns
even more fiercely.

...

The courses of the heavenly
bodies [here] have their
particular *qi*,
and what is appropriate to
the corresponding streams
and valleys is different.

The people born among them
Have demonic customs and
barbaric language.

I make ballads to summon
Sanlü [Qu Yuan];
I build a shrine to bless Fubo
[Ma Yuan].¹⁶

Throwing rice pastries from
rowboats [for Qu Yuan];
Raising bream and carp for

sacrificial animals [Ma
Yuan].

The large twisted trees are
quiet and deep,
And demons adhere (*ping*) to
them.

[But] prayers for a
prosperous harvest expel
(*qu*) pestilence (*li*)
Through pure reverence for
the might of the local gods.
...¹⁷

¹⁵ Rivers in Hunan.

¹⁶ Qu Yuan (4th-3rd cent. B.C.E.) had entered the high literary tradition as author of the *Chuci*, and the historical tradition as an archetypal righteous official, banished and martyred for remonstrance. He is revered all over China today in the Dragon Boat Festival, during which people throw food in the rivers for him. Ma Yuan (d. 49 C.E.) was a general famous for

defeating uprisings by southern and western peoples early in the Later Han. See *Hou Hanshu*, Fan Ye (398-445), comp., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 24:827. On the deified Ma Yuan and his worship in the south, see Schafer, *Vermillion Bird*, 97-99.

¹⁷ Liu Yuxi, *Liu Yuxi ji jianzheng*, Qu Tuiyuan, ann., (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 1.11-13.