

Divination and Medicine in China and Greece: A Comparative Perspective on the Baoshan Illness Divinations

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In recent years, several distinct trends of research have converged to shed new light on divination practices in general, and also on the complex situations of iatromantic practices vis-à-vis both divination and medicine. In this paper I use these broad perspectives to look at a series of medical divinations in a recently discovered archaeological evidence from China.

A growing literature has explored the rationality and coherence of divination both as a set of mental attitudes and as a significant factor in the formation of social institutions.¹ These studies emphasize the normalcy of both aspects of divination in civilizations where it was central. It was a coherent part of "ordinary" social practices such as law, medicine, or administration (like consulting a physician or a stockbroker). It was constitutive of a wide range of activities beyond the simple sense of predicting the future; divination had profound effects on the origin and development of medicine, law, philosophy, politics, medicine, and the history of science. To better understand the complex relations between divination and medicine that accompanied the development of naturalistic medical theories in both contexts, I examine a set of fourth century² medical divinations from Baoshan in historical and comparative perspective. I begin by com-

¹ In particular Vernant (1974) and Chemla, Harper and Kalinowski (eds.), (1999).

² All dates are BC unless otherwise indicated. Unless otherwise indicated, Greek texts are cited according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

paring the Baoshan Illness divinations with other Chinese excavated texts and iatromantic sections of the *Huangdi neijing*. I then turn to two approximately fourth century Greek divinatory contexts: the (late) fourth century stelae from the Asclepian temple at Epidaurus and an (early) fourth century text on dream diagnosis from the *Hippocratic corpus*.

Baoshan

Recent archeological excavations have been an important source for information on the early Chinese divination and medicine. One group of texts was found in Tomb 2 at the village of Wangchangcun in Hubei Province at site on Baoshan 包山 hill in April 1986 by archaeologists working in conjunction with the construction of the Jingmen-Shashi railroad, in an area rich in Chu burial sites.³ The tomb contained grave inventory lists, divination records and legal or administrative documents on inscribed bamboo slips. Divination records from a period between 350 and 300 have also been excavated from other Chu sites at Wangshan 望山 and Tianxingguan 天星觀.⁴

Li Ling has argued that the divination records in these tombs bear several important resemblances to early divination records from the Shang and Western Zhou. They employed both “crack making” (*bu* 卜) and “stalk casting” (*shi* 筮), and represented the hexagrams numerically, rather than by name or by *yin* and *yang* lines, using the numbers one 一, five 五, six 六, seven 七 and eight 八.⁵ Finally, they used similarly structured divinatory language, including formulaic elements of preface (*xuci* 序辭 or *qianci* 前辭, naming date, diviner and beneficiary), charge or topic (*mingci* 命辭), and prediction or prognostication (*zhanci* 占辭), often noting a problem or something to be exorcised. Additional charges and prognostications specified detailed sacrifices to Chu gods and ancestors, and instructions for future divinations.⁶ The charge and prognostication begin with an attempt to determine whether the time is auspicious (*heng zhen ji* 恒貞吉), “it is predominantly decisive and auspicious”). They also refer to a

³ Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui (ed.) (1991) and (1991b). For important studies of these texts see Li Ling (1990) and (1993), especially pp. 271-286; Chen Wei (1996), Harper (1998), (1999) and (2001), and Weld (1999). For a very tentative translation of some of the slips see Raphals (2005).

⁴ For Wangshan see Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (ed.) (1996), Chen Wei (1996) and (1997) and Gu Jingheng (1998). For Tianxingguan see Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan (ed.) (1982).

⁵ Slips 201, 210, 229, 232, 239 and 245. This numbering system is explained in Zhang Zhenglang (1980), translated in Zheng Zhenglang et al. (1980). The numbers 1, 5 and 7 were *yang*; 6 and 8 were *yin*.

⁶ Li Ling (1990), p. 81, and (1993), pp. 259-261.

duo 敝, a problem or something to be eliminated or removed, which is the subject of the latter part of the charge and prognostication.

Year Divination and Illness Divination

Baoshan Tomb 2 belonged to a high Chu official titled *Zuoyin* 左尹 (“Director of the Left”) and named Shao Tuo 邵 (.⁷ The divination slips (197-250) record a series of divinations on his behalf during the last two years of his life over a period between 318 and 316. (Each year is named by an event in the state of Chu dateable from other sources.)⁸ All the divinations involve multiple sacrifices to Chu gods and ancestors.

The records start in 318 in the fourth month of the Chu calendar, the month *xingyi* 刑夷 in the first month of summer, with three Year divinations (*sui* 歲) on Shao Tuo’s behalf on the day *yiwei* 乙未. Quasi-formulaic Year divinations seek to ascertain (or establish) his fortunes and well-being over the upcoming year, especially his success in service to the king. They take the form:

出入侍王，自 X 之月以庚 X 之月，盡集歲躬身
尚毋有咎。

At every turn in service to the king (or in the following 10-day period) from the month X [of the present year] to X of the next year, for the whole of the year, may his physical person be without calamity.⁹

The first Year divinations express a “slight concern” about his physical person, probably a standard part of Year divination, rather than any reference to illness as such.¹⁰ The individual diviners express those concerns somewhat differently. One (Gu Ji) requests “release from the human serpent,” possibly a curse. Two others (Shi Beishang and Ying Hui) give detailed instructions for sacrifices to Chu gods and ancestors.¹¹ Ying Hui transfers from Shi Beishang’s divination,

⁷ Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (1991), notes 28 and 341.

⁸ The year after the Song ambassador Sheng Gongbian paid a formal visit to Chu (318); the year after the Eastern Zhou ambassador Xu Ying presented ceremonial meats at the Chu capital (317); and the year after the Grand Marshal Zhuo Hua came to the rescue of Fu (316). See Li Ling (1993), p. 257, and Weld (1999), p. 83, note 30.

⁹ Slips 197-198, 199-200 and 201-204 in 318; slips 209-211, 212-215 and 216-217 in 317 and slips 230-231, 232-233, 234-235, 236-238 and 239-240 in 316.

¹⁰ One slip (199-200) refers to “a concern about a slightly distant day,” that is, a day beyond the divination decade. Cf. *Li ji*, chap. 3, p. 14b.

¹¹ This is written on the back of slip 202. See Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), note 386, and Weld (1999), p. 90.

and instructs that the inquiry be transferred to another diviner at the end of the divination period.

There are Year divinations for each of the three years covered by the records (three in 318, three in 317 and five in 316). Their overall goal is to ensure Shao Tuo's well-being in service to the king. Of the twenty-seven entries, eleven are Year divinations. Four other entries do not involve divination, and twelve other divinations concern illness. These begin within the normal sequence of Year divinations, but after the manifestation of a seemingly persistent malady, they take an iatromantic turn, with increasing numbers of specific Illness divinations (*jibing* 疾病).¹² The sequence of Year and Illness divinations at Baoshan are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Year Divinations and Illness Divinations

No.	Type	Year	Month and day	Slips
1	3 Year divinations	318	<i>xingyi</i> (4), <i>yiwei</i>	197-204: 197-198, 199-200, 201-204
	Sacrifice without divination	317	<i>dongyi</i> (1), <i>guichou</i>	205-206
2	1 Illness divination		<i>yuanyi</i> (3), <i>guimao</i>	207-208
3	3 Year divinations		<i>xiayi</i> (5), <i>yichou</i>	209-217: 209-211, 212-215, 216-217
4	4 Illness divinations		<i>cuan</i> (11), <i>jiyou</i>	218-223: 218-219, 220, 221-222, 223
	Sacrifice without divination		month 8, <i>bingchen</i>	224-225
5	5 Year divinations	316	<i>xingyi</i> (4), <i>jimao</i> (15)	226-235: 226-227, 228-229, 230-231, 232-233, 234-235
6	5 Illness divinations			236-248: 236-238, 239-241, 242-244, 245-246, 247-248
7	1 Illness divination		<i>xiayi</i> (5), <i>jihai</i>	249

The normal sequence seems to have been a set of at least three Year divinations in the summer (months three or four, numbers (1), (3) and (5)) and sacrifice without divination either after the end of winter (the first month of spring, *dongyi*) or during the autumn (month eight). There was no such sacrifice in 316 because of Shao Tuo's death and interment that summer in the sixth month *xian-*

¹² For this distinction see Chen Wei (1996), pp. 152-154.

gyue (slip 267). The normal sequence seems to have been punctuated by four illness divinations in the third (2) and eleventh (4) months of 317. On one occasion, both Year and Illness divinations occur on the same day, in the fourth month of 316 (numbers (5) and (6) above). The last Illness divination (7) also occurs out of sequence a month later in the fifth month, presumably prompted by a medical crisis.

The Diviners and their Methods

The manuscript names twelve diviners and their methods, which are summarized in Table 2. Nine use tortoise and three use yarrow.¹³ No two sequences are the same; most include both methods, with emphasis on tortoise (16 out of 22).

Table 2: The Diviners and their Methods

Tortoise (L) or Yarrow (R) Diviner	Instrument	318 (197-206)	317 (207-223)	316 (224-250)
Gu Ji 鹽吉	<i>baojia</i> 苞蓍	197-198 Year	212-215 Year	226-227 Year 236-238 Illness
Shi Beishang 石被裳	<i>xunling</i> 訓靈	199-200 Year		
Ying Hui 應會	<i>yangfou</i> 央缶	201-204 Year		
Ke Guang 苛光	<i>changce</i> 長惻		207-208 Illness 220 Illness	
Wu Sheng 五生	<i>chengde</i> 承德		209-211 Year	232-233 Year 245-246 Illness
Ke Jia 苛嘉	<i>changce</i> 長惻		216-217 Year	
Xu Ji 許吉	<i>baojia</i> 苞蓍 <i>boling</i> 駁靈		218-219 Illness	234-235 Year 247-248 Illness
Long Ren 弄	<i>shaobao</i> 少寶		221-222 Illness	

¹³ The named tortoise shells are: *baojia* 苞蓍 (Precious Home), *xunling* 訓靈 (Standard Numinous), *changce* 長惻 (Long Rule), *shaobao* 少寶 (Small Precious), *tongge* 彤荅 (Red Wild Onion), *changling* 長靈 (Long Numinous), and *boling* 駁靈 (Variegated Numinous). The milfoils are named: *yangfou* 央缶 (the meaning is uncertain, possibly connected to *dafou* 大缶 milfoil from Tianxingguan), *chengde* 承德 (Receive Virtue) and *gongming* 共命 (Complete Mandate). Each diviner appears to specialize in a tortoise or yarrow divination, and to use one instrument. See Li Ling (1990), p. 81, and (1993), pp. 263 and 280-282; Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui (ed.) (1991).

Qu Yi 屈宜	<i>tongge</i> 彤茗		223 Illness	
Chen Yi 陳乙	<i>gongming</i> 共命			228-229 Year 239-241 Illness
Guan Beng 觀繡	<i>changling</i> 長靈			230-231 Year 242-244 Illness
Guan Yi 觀義	<i>baojia</i> 苞蓍			249 Illness

The diviners do not appear to specialize in Year or Illness divination. Of the eight who perform Year divination, three do it exclusively and five perform both Year and Illness divination. Only Gu Ji performs Year divination in all three years; four other diviners are only employed in one year (the tortoise diviners Shi Beishang and Ke Jia and the yarrow diviners Ying Hui and Chen Yi). Four individuals perform only Illness divination, the tortoise diviners Ke Guang, Long Ren, Qu Yi and Guan Yi, and each of them is only employed during one year. Four individuals perform both Year and Illness divination: the tortoise diviners Gu Ji, Ke Guang and Xu Ji and the yarrow diviner Wu Sheng. Two (Wu Sheng and Xu Ji) are employed in multiple years and two (Chen Yi and Guan Beng) only once. Frequently, a divination and its sacrifice are transferred from one diviner to another, sometimes after a specific instruction to do so in a previous divination.¹⁴ Most records include Gu Ji and another diviner from a previous sequence.

The Illness Divinations

The Illness divinations occur on four days, two in 317 and two in 316:

- (1) In the month *yuanyi* 遠), day *guimao*, 317 (slip 207):
 傍腹疾，以少氣，尚毋有咎。
 There is an illness near the abdomen with shortness of breath; may there be no calamity.
- (2) Four entries in the month *cuan*, day *jiyou*, 317:
 以下心而疾，少氣。(slips 218 and 220)
 There is an ailment in the lower abdomen with shortness of breath.
 [傍]心疾，少氣，不內(入)食... 尚毋有恙。(slips 221 and 223)
 There is an ailment near the heart with shortness of breath; he is not able to take in food. May there be no concern.
- (3) Five entries from the month *xingyi*, day *jimao*, 316 (slips 236, 239, 242, 245, 247):

¹⁴ There are three methods of prayer to a hierarchy of gods and Chu ancestors that include Taiyi 太一 (Great One), a star god associated with the polar region; and Siming 司命 (Director of destinies). See Li Ling (1993), pp. 269-272.

既腹心疾，以上氣，不甘食，舊不瘥。

There is an ailment of the abdomen and heart along with rising *qi* and a bad taste [to his food]; and there has been no improvement for a long time.

- (4) One entry from the same year on the day *jihai* of the month *xiayi* (slip 249):

以其有瘴病，上氣，尚毋死。

There is a miasmal illness and rising *qi*; may he not die.¹⁵

The first mention of an ailment is made by the tortoise diviner Ke Guang, who describes it as an illness near the abdomen manifesting as a shortage of *qi*. He adds that

小未已，以其故祝之。

It is small but it has not stopped; drive it away according to its cause (slips 207-208).

He specifies sacrifices and prayers. Two months later, a sequence of three Year divinations is repeated, by the original diviner Gu Ji and by two new diviners, the tortoise diviner Ke Jia and the stalk caster Wu Sheng. (Normally the next Year divination would not have occurred until the month *xingyi* of the following year.) These are auspicious, but mention concerns about household matters and baleful oaths (*mengzu* 盟祖, slips 209-211).¹⁶

Another Illness divination occurs in the eleventh month (*cuan* 爨) of that year on the day *jiyou* 己酉, this time by four diviners.¹⁷ Three diagnose an ailment of the abdomen (*xiaxin* 下心) or near the heart ([*pang*]*xin* [傍]心) and shortness of breath (*shao qi* 少氣).¹⁸ They add that the illness will quickly be cured (*bing su cuo* 病速瘥, slip 220). Two records add a difficulty in taking in food (*bu nei (ru) shi* 不內(入)食, 221 and 223). There is disagreement about what to do. The tortoise diviner Xu Ji recommends an exorcism at Piyang 疋陽 on the day *jiayin* 甲寅, which will be auspicious for a cure (slips 218-219). The tortoise diviner Ke Guang predicts spontaneous improvement on one of the two days following his divination (*gengxu* 庚戌 or *xinhai* 辛亥), and specifically recommends against exorcism at Piyang (slip 220). Perhaps it is this disagreement that necessitates additional divinations on this day, to determine which course of action to follow. A new diviner named Long Ren (221-222) attributes the illness to the angry ghost of a royal ancestor, who can be propitiated by sacrifice.

¹⁵ For *zhang* 瘴 see Chen Wei (1996), p. 154.

¹⁶ For *mengzu* see Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui (ed.) (1991), note 410, and Weld (1999), p. 94.

¹⁷ The Chu calendar's eleventh month *cuan* corresponded to the eighth month of the Zhou calendar, see Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui (1991), note 443.

¹⁸ For *xiaxin* see Hubeisheng Jingsha tielu kaogudui (ed.) (1991), note 427.

Despite both predictions, Shao Tuo's health takes a turn for the worse in the first month of the summer (*xingyi*) of 316. On the day *jimao* 己卯 of that month five diviners performed five Year and five Illness divinations, alternating between tortoise and yarrow, and all end with auspicious prognostications. This sequence suggests that diviners did not specialize in Year or Illness divination. The sequence begins with five Year divinations (slips 226-235) by Gu Ji, the new yarrow diviner Chen Yi, the new tortoise diviner Guan Beng, the yarrow diviner Wu Sheng, and Xu Ji (who has switched from the *baojia* to the *boling* tortoise).¹⁹ They all mention a "slight concern" but disagree over what it is and what sacrifices to perform. Gu Ji refers to Shao Tuo's physical person. The yarrow diviners Chen Yi and Wu Sheng both mention domestic and household matters, but from different sequences of numbers.²⁰ Guan Beng mentions only "a slight concern," and Xu Ji finds "no calamity" and nothing to avert.

The same five diviners then perform Illness divination (slips 236-248). All describe "an ailment of the abdomen and heart (*fluxin* 腹心) with rising vapor and a bad taste to his food" and request gradual improvement and no misfortune and recommend an elimination rite to drive it away according to its cause. Gu Ji describes the illness as "difficult to cure" (*ji nan cuo* 疾難瘥, 236-238).²¹ Chen Yi and Wu Sheng divine different number sequences but conclude that the divination is auspicious but the ailment is getting worse. Chen Yi notes that "the illness alters; there is some evil, may he quickly be cured" (slip 239).²² Guan Beng also anticipates that the illness will quickly be cured (slip 242), but according to Wu Sheng, "the illness alters, the ailment has become more severe" (slip 245) and for Xu Ji, there is some evil (*nie* 孽, slip 247).²³

Elaborate sacrifices are also recommended, but the requests for release attribute the illness to very different agencies. Gu Ji requests that Shao Tuo be released from the power of the god Year;²⁴ Chen Yi requests release from the

¹⁹ Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), note 455, and Li Ling (1990), p. 80.

²⁰ Chen Yi prognosticates the numbers: 1-6-5-8-6-6 and 1-6-6-1-1-6, which correspond to the hexagrams ䷢ (Jin 晉, 35) and ䷧ (Gu 蠱, 18). Wu Sheng divines the number sequences 1-6-1-1-6-1 and 6-1-1-6-8-1, which correspond to the hexagrams ䷢ 30 (Li 離) and ䷐ 17 (Sui 隨). For *gongshi* 宮室 see Li Ling (1990), p. 83, and Zhang Shouzhong (ed.) (1996), p. 247, no. 81.

²¹ For *cuo* 瘥 as cure or recovery see Li Ling (1990), pp. 82-83, and (1993), p. 286.

²² Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), notes 472 (for the gloss *bian* 變) and 473 (for *ni* or *nie* 孽), and 474 (for *yue* 越, quickly). Chen Yi's numbers are 1-1-1-6-8-1 and 1-6-6-8-6-1, corresponding to the hexagrams ䷢ (25, Wu Wang 無妄) and ䷢ (27, Yi 頤). Wu Sheng's are 8-1-6-1-1-1 and 6-6-1-1-1-8, corresponding to the hexagrams ䷢ (5, Xu 需) and ䷢ (32, Heng 恒).

²³ Cf. Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), note 428. Zhang Shouzhong (ed.) (1996), no. 6.6, indicates that this graph is similar to one in slip no. 240.

²⁴ Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), note 470 glosses *Sui* as the Wood

curses of those dead in warfare;²⁵ Wu Sheng requests his release from the curses of the victims of floods; and Xu Ji requests his release from the curses of the innocent dead. A month later, in the second month of the summer of 316 (*xiayi*, day *jihai* 己亥) a crisis occurred. A new diviner performed *baojia* divination and requests (slip 249) “that he not die from a miasmal ailment and rising vapor!” Despite auspicious predictions, a further entry states that he was interred on the day *dinghai* 丁亥 of the third month of summer (*xiangyue*).

Do the Illness divinations refer to one worsening ailment or to a series of independent conditions?²⁶ All the ailments save the last seem clearly linked, with no improvement for a long time. These ailments are: (1) an illness near the abdomen (*pang fuji* 傍腹疾) or in the lower abdomen (*xia xin* 下心), shortness of breath (*shao qi* 少氣), (2) inability to take in food (*bu ru shi* 不入食), and (3) a longstanding ailment of the abdomen and heart (*ji fuxin* 既腹心) accompanied by rising *qi* (*shang qi* 上氣) and inability to eat (*bu gan shi* 不甘食). Additional references to difficulty in eating and aversion to food suggest an ongoing abdominal ailment.

References to “ailments of the heart and abdomen” (*xinfu*, *fuxin*) appear in the *Zuozhuan* both as an actual ailment of the interior and as a metaphorical description of the ailment of a state.²⁷ By contrast, “ailments of the mind” (*xinji* 心疾) denote mental conditions,²⁸ and “abdominal ailments” (*fuji* 腹疾) denote digestive problems.²⁹

The *Huangdi neijing* mentions shortness of breath (*shao qi*) in connection with excess pulse in autumn and in winter. The “Treatise on the Precious Mecha-

Star (the planet Jupiter).

²⁵ Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), note 477 glosses *zu* 祖. For *zu* as *mengzu* 盟祖, swearing an oath directed at the gods, as referring to curses that have caused inauspicious things, see Li Ling (1990), p. 86. Weld (1999), p. 96, suggests that this series of invocations are designed to release Shao Tuo from the possible influences of a range of unlucky people.

²⁶ Gu Ji (212-215) mentions a concern about royal affairs, and specifies sacrifices to Si Ming and Tai Yi, among others. Ke Jia (216-217) mentions a slight concern about Shao Tuo’s physical person, and prays that he be released from the unlucky influence of the innocent dead. See Hubeisheng *Jingsha tielu kaogudui* (ed.) (1991), note 426, and Li Ling (1990), p. 86, and Peng Hao (1991).

²⁷ E.g. a description of the state of Yue as “a disease of the vitals” (*xinfu zhi ji* 心腹之疾) of Wu (*Zuozhuan*, Ai 11, 25a, p. 1018); a discussion of “an ailment of the abdomen and heart” (*fuxin zhi ji* 腹心之疾) that refers both to the health of the king and the state (Ai 6, 3b, p. 1007).

²⁸ These include pain at deception (Cheng 13, 15a, p. 463), the mental illness diagnosed by Physician He (Zhao 1, 37b, p. 709), and someone who “fell into mental distress and died” (Xiang 3, p. 526).

²⁹ E.g. stomach ache from the fish in the river (Huan 12, 24b, p. 399) and abdominal ailments caused by rain *qi* (Zhao 1, 37b, p. 709).

nism of the Viscera” states that in fall, excess pulse results in difficulty in breathing, with shortness of breath, cough and blood.³⁰ The “Comprehensive Discourse on Changes [from] Qi Interactions” discusses, for each year, the climate of the five seasons and five periods, and what happens when the *qi* associated with the five periods is excessive or inadequate. In a year in which there is excess fire *qi* will harm the lungs and people will fall ill and suffer from shortness of breath, coughing, and wheezing.³¹ *Shang qi* also seems to be a shortness of breath or respiratory ailment, also associated with winter.³²

The authors of one medical study describe these symptoms as heart disease, lower heart disease and abdominal heart disease, with symptoms of shortness of breath, upper abdominal distension and dropsy. In their analysis the sudden and intermittent onset of the disease, Shao Tuo’s increasingly severe condition and relatively rapid death suggest that he died of cardiac disease.³³

Other recently excavated texts have begun to reveal the complex medical environment of the fourth through second centuries. The tortoise and yarrow techniques described above coexisted with other iatromantic methods such as dream divination and the consultation of *wu* shamans.³⁴ Similar accounts of exorcistic medical divination appear in the *Zuozhuan* and the *Shangshu*.³⁵ Tomb number 1 from Wangshan, Hubei (c. 309 BC to 278 BC) contains some 270 bamboo slips, including illness divinations on behalf of the tomb’s occupant that resemble those at Baoshan. They seem to refer to an ailment of or near the heart (*ji xin* 既心... *xin bing* 心病, slip 36), of the chest and ribs (*xiong xie ji* 胸脅疾, slip 37), an inability to eat (*bu neng shi* 不能食, slips 37-38), as well as ailments of the feet and bones (*zu gu ji* 足骨疾, slips 38-39), and head (*shou ji* 首疾, slips 41-42). The slips also use similar language to the Baoshan divinations, for example prognostications that are “decisive and auspicious; he will not die” (占之恒貞

³⁰ *Huangdi neijing suwen* 19, p. 160.

³¹ *Huangdi neijing suwen* 69, p. 531. The Wang Bing commentary adds that *shao qi* means that *qi* is deficient and there is not enough to breathe (少氣謂氣少不足以息). See Chen Wei (1996), p. 154, and Unschuld (2003), pp. 394-396. The phrase also appears frequently in the *Lingshu* in discussions of deficiency of *qi* and blood in the contexts of *yin-yang* theory and pulse diagnosis, e.g. *Lingshu* 4.28, 8.10, 9.28, 10.5 and 6, 12.2, 22.21, 65.31 and 32, 74.9 and 78.42.

³² See *Zhouli* 5 (Tiangong, “Director of Medicine”), 4a-7a, pp. 73-75 (Biot vol. 1, p. 95), which associates “rising *qi* ailments” (*shangqi ji* 上氣疾) with winter. The commentary describes *shang qi* as an oppositional cough or asthma (*ni chuan* 逆喘). Cf. [*Huang Di*] *Neijing lingshu minghui jiyin* 10.34, 20.1 (*shang qi chuan*), 28.14, 47.7, 73.6, 75.5, and 80.7.

³³ Hou and Shi (1994).

³⁴ For medical divination in the oracle bones see Keightley (2001) and Li Zongkun (2001).

³⁵ *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhushu*, Cheng 10, 28a, p. 449; *Shangshu zhengyi* 13.8 (*Jin teng*), pp. 185-189.

吉, 不死, slips 39, 40, 45, 47) and the instruction to “exorcise it according to its cause” (以其故說之, slip 53). Divinatory slips excavated from a tomb at Tianxingguan, Jianling, Hubei (c. 361 BC to 340 BC) also include Year and Illness divinations similar to those from Baoshan, as well as divinations about changes of residence.³⁶ There are many unanswered questions about the Baoshan divination records and their counterparts from Wangshan and Tianxingguan. We do not know why they were placed in the tomb, and can only speculate from what archives they were copied, and by whom.

Hemerology and Yin-yang Iatromancy

These texts reflect a prevailing view of disease before the second century, in which disease was seen as the result of invasive influences: animal inflicted injuries, natural forces (wind, heat, cold), and demonic entities and magic. Oracle bone inscriptions and Warring States excavated texts describe a range of techniques to identify and mollify these entities. Such exorcistic and sacrificial divinations contrast with hemerological methods of iatromancy that also emerged in the fourth century. In hemerological “daybooks” illness are classed into types in order to determine auspicious days for treatment, based on *yin-yang* and Five Phase schemata. These techniques eventually coexisted with the more systematized Han dynasty *yin-yang* and Five-Phase medical theories of the *Huangdi neijing*.

A late fourth century manuscript from Jiudian 九店 (Jiangling, Hubei, c. 330 BC to 270 BC) is the oldest text known to use horary iatromancy. Here, all illnesses that arise on the same day have the same etiology; this makes it possible to predict its course. The text uses three prognoses: respite (slight cure), recovery (great cure), and (life and) death. For example, for any illness beginning on a *chen* day, “there is respite on day *you*, recovery on *xu*, and death on *zi*.”³⁷ It also associates each of the twelve earthly branches with the origin of a particular illness. As Donald Harper has shown, this new approach totally changed the iatromantic encounter by introducing a new kind of predictability based on the inevitability of the sexagenary cycle. In these texts, prognostication and cure occur mechanically, rather than by divination, propitiation and exorcism.

Other medical hemerological manuscripts have been excavated from the tombs at Shuihudi 睡虎地 (Yunmeng, Hubei, c. 220 BC) and Fangmatan 放馬灘 (Tianshui, Gansu, c. 230 BC to 220 BC).³⁸ Daybooks from Shuihudi also

³⁶ Hubeisheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan (ed.) (1982), pp. 109-110.

³⁷ Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo (ed.) (1999), pp. 52-53, slip 64. Illnesses beginning on a *wei* day has respite on day *zi*, recovery on *mao*, and death on *yin* (slip 67); for a *hai* day respite is on day *mao*, recovery on *si*, and death on *shen* (slip 71), trans. Harper (2001), pp. 105-106.

³⁸ For Shuihudi see Shuihudi Qinmu zhujian zhengli xiaozu (ed.) (1990), and Kali-

link the progress of ailments to the sexagenary cycle, so any ailment occurring on a day follows a predictable course. They contain the same correlations as those from Jiudian, but are better preserved and include more information. They correlate their stem and branch iatromancy to the Five Phases and their associated colors, directions, etc. The daybooks show diviners applying Five-Phase theory to hemerological iatromancy centuries before the cosmological syntheses of Han dynasty physicians.

The accretion of earlier medical traditions in the *Huangdi neijing suwen* or *Basic Questions of the Inner Classic of the Yellow Lord* marked the beginning of the growth of a naturalistic medicine, in which health and illness were explained by natural processes. Its eighty-one treatises are of diverse origins, and were probably compiled during the second and first centuries.³⁹ The text makes an analogy between the body and the cosmos in which *yin* and *yang* are “the *dao* of heaven and earth,” the warp that weaves together the myriad creatures, the source of all transformation and change, and the primal polarity whose balance or imbalance causes health or disease. In the transitions between ancestral, demonological and vessel and *yin-yang* theories of disease, the later theories did not completely displace or eliminate their predecessors.

The chapters “Harmonizing Yin and Yang” (*He yinyang* 和陰陽) and “Heteropathy send dreams” (*Yinxie fa meng* 淫邪發夢) offers a typology of dreams to diagnose *yin-yang* imbalances in the body. During sleep, the body was relative vulnerable to heteropathic *qi* (*xieqi* 邪氣), and dreams could manifest the dreamer’s inner *qi* fighting this external invasion on the battlefield of the body. Different dream elements indicated different imbalances, which are summarized in Table 3.⁴⁰

nowski (1986). For Fangmatan see He Shuangquan (1989) and (1989b).

³⁹ See Unschuld (1985), pp. 55-66.

⁴⁰ *Huangdi neijing suwen*, chap. 17, pp. 136-137; *Lingshu* chap. 43, pp. 330-332.

Table 3: The Dream Typology of the *Huangdi neijing*

Organ system	Excess	Deficiency
<i>yin</i>	fording great waters	
<i>yang</i>	great fire and burning	
<i>yin</i> and <i>yang</i>	murder and harm	
upper body	flying	
lower body	falling	
liver	anger	mountains, forests, trees and grasses
lungs	weeping	flying, seeing extraordinary objects, war
heart	happiness, laughter, fear	smoke and fire over hills and mountains
spleen	song and music, a heavy and clumsy body	graves, flooded marshes, wind and rain damage
kidneys	a loose waist, disjointed from the spine	looking down an abyss, sinking, drowning
bladder		travel and journeys
stomach		food and drink
large intestine		fields and open country
small intestine		villages
gall bladder		fighting, cutting oneself
genitals		sex
neck		beheading
shin		inability to walk, dwelling in vaults and cellars
limbs		rituals and prostrations
womb		urination

This hermeneutic draws on analogies between the dream image and the Five Phases associated with each organ or component of the body. *Yin* corresponds to water, *yang* to fire. Upward movement is linked to flying, downward movement to falling, etc.

In summary, exorcistic and hemerological iatromancy seem to have coexisted during the fourth through second centuries, and that coexistence continued within the *yin-yang* and Five-Phase theories of the *Huangdi neijing*. Its systematic correspondence theories did not completely displace older layers of ancestral and demonological theories of disease. These persisted in divinatory elements within the *Huangdi neijing*, in particular, methods for dream divination.

The combined contexts of excavated texts and the *Huangdi neijing* illustrate an evolving symbiotic relationship between divination and medicine that persist

to the present day. In their development of theory and practice of the medicine of systematic correlations, Han physicians drew on the expertise of a variety of divination methods. They adapted elements of Five-Phase and *yin-yang* theory from the expertise of hemerological and astrological diviners, as well as their rhetoric of accurate prediction. The formulae for descriptions of illness, diagnosis and prognosis from the earliest case studies imitates the rhetoric of divination, and physicians' claims for infallibility in prognosis mimic the claims of diviners for accurate prediction.⁴¹

Greek Iatromancy: Exorcism, Catharsis and Rationalized Medicine

The coexistence of iatromancy and naturalistic medicine also has a counterpart in Greece. Greek diviners and physicians shared a long history in both myth and practice, and iatromancy coexisted with the development of systematic and rationalized medical theories, despite deliberate efforts of Hippocratic physicians to distance themselves from diviners.

Mythological accounts reveal close connections between diviners, purifiers and physicians. Melampus, the inventor of both purification and drug therapy, is described as receiving his gifts from the god Apollo, himself described as a mantic healer (*iatromantis*), a reader of portents (*teraskopos*), and a purifier (*katharsios*) of homes.⁴² It has been speculated that purification was part of the iatromantic repertoire since archaic times, from which purifiers and physicians emerged as heirs to a divided patrimony.

The earliest Greek medical theories were exorcistic, in which divine intervention caused both disease and cure, understood in moral and medical terms as purification from pollution. This understanding of the nature of disease called for divination to determine the source of pollution in the body or body politic, and sacrifice and purification to effect a cure.⁴³ This theory first appears in the Homeric poems; the *Iliad* (1.50) begins with Apollo taking revenge for the dishonour to his priest by loosing arrows of disease. Here, disease is a god whose anger could be ascertained and propitiated. But the Homeric poems describe rationalized medical treatment of battle wounds. A physician is valued for his ability to cut out arrows and apply soothing ointments (*Il.*11.514-15). When the young Odysseus is gored by a boar, he is treated with a combination of expert

⁴¹ Raphals (1998), Harper (1999), p. 105.

⁴² For Melampus see Hom. *Od.* 15.245, Hes. Fr. 37.14, Apollod. 1.9.11 and 2.2.2, Pausan. 1.43.5. For Apollo see Aesch. *Eum.* 62.

⁴³ For pollution and miasma in Greek religion see Parker (1983), especially pp. 208-210.

bandaging and magical incantation.⁴⁴ Herodotus also combines invasive accounts in disease and references to nature.⁴⁵

Both Chinese and Greek medical divination sought to identify and propitiate gods and other divine entities responsible for illness, and in both cases therapies based on invasive theories of disease coexisted with methods of treatment based on systematized accounts of the body and the cosmos. But Greek accounts of invasive ailments frequently (though not always) include a specific notion of pollution and corresponding cure by ritual or physical catharsis.⁴⁶ The central role of purification in the practices of physicians, purifiers and diviners highlights another distinctively Greek attitude: that moral and physical corruption are intermingled and indistinguishable, a view that persists from the earliest times into late antiquity. An important use of divination by Greek mantic practitioners (*manteis*) was in rituals that sought to determine sources of pollution and to purify individuals or communities from the effects of bloodshed, murder, sacrilege, curses and disease. Shared notions of ritual, moral and medical “pollution” and purification used the same descriptive language, and the term purification (*katharsis*) encompassed moral purification from crime, ritual purification of the body, and medical purification through the use of purgatives to “eliminate” sources of disease from the body.

Asclepian Divination

The most important locus of Greek iatromancy was in temples of the physician god Asclepius, which appeared throughout the Mediterranean, beginning in the sixth century. The practice became popular during the fourth century, with the establishment of Asclepian temples at Cos, Epidaurus and Pergamum.⁴⁷ Unlike illness divination of the kind recorded at Baoshan and Wangshan, Asclepian divination was therapeutic, rather than diagnostic. Temple visitors practiced incubation (*enkoimesis*, Latin *incubatio*): a ritual practice of sleeping in the temple after purifications, baths, fasting and sacrifices. The hope was that Asclepius would appear to the patient in a dream and provide either an instant cure or medical advice, interpreted by the temple priests. One account describes a woman who had a tapeworm that “the cleverest of physicians failed to cure.”

⁴⁴ “They knowingly bound it, and checked the black blood with an incantation” (*Od.* 19.455-58).

⁴⁵ Herodotus attributes the madness of Cambyses (3.33) to offenses against the God Apis and to “the disease that some call sacred” (epilepsy). His long discussion of the madness and suicide of Cleomenes (6.75 and 6.84) includes views that there was no divine intervention and that his madness was due to alcohol.

⁴⁶ Robin Yates (1997) has argued for a notion of pollution and purification in early China, but he does not discuss medical notions of pollution.

⁴⁷ See Herzog (1931) and Edelstein and Edelstein (1945).

She came to Epidaurus and begged the god to heal her. The temple attendants made her lie down in the place where suppliants were healed, and prepared to cure her. The account continues that they removed her head from her neck and removed a huge tapeworm, but were unable to reattach her head. This angered the god, who attached her head to her body and raised her up.⁴⁸ A few other examples:

9. A man came as a suppliant to the god. He was so blind that of one of his eyes he had only the eyelids left—within them was nothing, but they were entirely empty. Some of those in the Temple laughed at his silliness to think that he could recover his sight when one of his eyes had not even a trace of the ball, but only the socket. As he slept a vision appeared to him. It seemed to him that the god prepared some drug, then, opening his eyelids, poured it into them. When day came he departed with the sight of both eyes restored.

29. Hegestratus with headaches. He suffered from insomnia on account of headaches. When he came into the Abaton, he fell asleep and saw a dream. It seemed to him that the god cured him of his headaches, and, making him stand up naked, taught him the lunge used in the pankration. When day came he departed well and not long afterwards he won in the pankration at the Nemean games.

39. Agameda of Cos. She slept in the sanctuary, in order to have children and saw a dream. She thought that a snake lay on her stomach while she slept. After this five children were born to her.

42. Nicasibula, a Messenian, slept in the sanctuary in order to have children and saw a dream. The god seemed to come to her carrying a snake that went towards her and that she had intercourse with the snake. After this she bore two male children within the year.⁴⁹

Stelae from the temple at Epidaurus (late fourth century) give forty-three accounts of cures. The most frequent ailment was blindness (7 cases) followed by worms or other parasites (5), paralysis (4), failure to become pregnant (4), lameness (3), termination of unnaturally long pregnancy (2), stones (2), spear wounds (2), growths or malignancy (2), and abscesses or pus (2). Other conditions included dumbness, skin marks, baldness, dropsy, headaches, consumption, and

⁴⁸ Ael. NA 9.33 (Edelstein and Edelstein (1945), vol. 1, pp. 220-221).

⁴⁹ IG iv2.1.121-122, Stele 1 no. 9 and Stele 2, nos. 29, 39 and 42 (Edelstein and Edelstein (1945), vol. 1, pp. 229-237).

gout. Accounts of cures included spontaneous cures after incubation (9), surgery (8), application of a drug (5), manipulation or touch by the god (4), actual cure by an animal (4), and a dream of some kind of sexual relations (3). Other methods dreamed included bandages or poultices (2), instructions or orders (2), cleansing (2), massage (1) and purgatives (1), many of the same techniques as Hippocratic physicians.⁵⁰

Here purification and prayer were purely therapeutic, and there was little emphasis on identifying the source of an ailment.

Hippocratic Divination and Prayer

The connection between diviners and physicians continues even in the Hippocratic corpus, which attributes the medical arts to the gods. The Hippocratic Oath was sworn to Apollo and the other gods of health.⁵¹ The *Letters* (15.33-15.36) name Apollo as the common link between divination and medicine: "The medical arts and the mantic arts are of the same lineage, since these are two children of one father, Apollo."⁵²

Yet Hippocratic texts criticize divination and seek to distance physicians from diviners. The author of *Prorrhetic* asserts that he will "not divine" (*ou manteusomai*, 2.1.21). The author of *Regimen in Acute Diseases* remarks that physicians' prescriptions vary so much that people consider them "no better than divination" (3.20). The author of *On the Sacred Disease* ridicules the ritual purifications (*katharmoi*) and incantations of temple purifiers, and uses notions of pollution and purification to argue against the possibility of a "sacred" disease.⁵³ But Hippocratic physicians also practiced *katharsis* by the prescription of purgatives (*katharsies*).⁵⁴ The term is also applied to several conditions specific to women, such as menstruation (*Aph.* 5.59-61) and to the discharge after childbirth (*Aer.* 7.28). Despite both rhetorical attacks and substantive differences in prac-

⁵⁰ One cure even includes a specific instruction not to follow the treatment recommended by physicians (Herzog (1931), Case 48k, as cited in Lloyd (1979), p. 46, note 197).

⁵¹ Hippoc. *Jusj.* 1. The treatises were written over about a two hundred year period and range in date from c. 510 BC to c. 300 BC.

⁵² Cf. Hippoc. *Ep.* 25.8, 26.18, 27.26 and 27.100.

⁵³ Hippoc. *Morb. sacr.* 1.107. The divine purifies and cleanses, and thus cannot be a source of pollution.

⁵⁴ For attacks on purifiers see Hippoc. *Morb. Sacr.* 1.8 and 1.29. For use of purgatives see *Aph.* 2.35 and *Acut.* 7.42-43. See Lloyd (1979), pp. 37-49, and Parker (1983), pp. 207-256. By contrast, Plato (*Soph.* 226cd) distinguishes between the "purging" of bodies and souls. He describes *katharmos* as an aspect of discrimination (*diakritikein*), the activity of retaining what is better and expelling what is worse, in practical matters such as carding, sifting and the like.

tice, Hippocratic and temple medicine flourished together through the Hellenistic period, and shared methods of prayer, drug therapy and regimen.

Divination also occurs in Hippocratic texts, but its purpose is diagnostic rather than therapeutic, and its major use is in dream diagnosis. *On Regimen 4* (late fifth or early fourth century) provides a theory of dream diagnosis, and detailed instructions for practicing it.

In the cases of such dreams as are divine and presage good or of bad fortune, to poleis or to private individuals, those who know how to judge them have a precise art. But in cases where the soul presages disease of the body—surfeit, depletion, excess of something natural or change to something unaccustomed—those who judge these things sometimes get it right but sometimes miss the mark (4.87.1-4).

Here the author claims to offer a true account of dreams that presage physiological events, including explanations of their causes and interpretations of their meaning. The text attributes medical significance to a wide range of dreams through microcosm-macrocosm analogies that correlate signs in the heavens, revealed in dreams, to physical conditions. It also provides an explanation for their diagnostic power: during sleep, the soul is freed from the body and the distraction of physical sensations, and is able to perceive comprehensively. Finally, it refers to specialists at interpretation of “God-given dreams” to individuals or cities. Its prescriptions always include prayer, with dream signs determining which gods should receive prayer. The text also notes different kinds of dreams. The text distinguishes between dreams that are merely continuations of daily activities and signs of bodily disturbance, in which dreams show conflict or victory over daily activities. (The seriousness of the conflict signals the seriousness of the condition.)

Dreams that are contrary to the dreamer’s quotidian activities or with motifs of conflict or victory signify disturbance in the body. It presents a detailed “lexicon” of individual dream motifs and imbalances in particular parts of the body they signify. Significant elements in Hippocratic oneiromancy included the appearance of celestial bodies, mists, clouds and other atmospheric phenomena, land and water formations, and free or constrained movement, and clothing. In general, normal position indicated that the body was free from disturbing influences; and changes in position indicated disease, with the details of the anomaly indicating the nature of the disease. The presence and position of stars, the sun or the moon indicated specific treatment regimens of exercise and diet. Other configurations of the sky such as a fiery atmosphere or the wandering of the heavenly bodies, indicated mental disturbance. The meaning of falling stars depended on the direction of motion (4.89). Bright stars moving east indicated health; dim stars moving west or downward presaged illness. The direction of movement also indicated the location of the illness in the body: upward movement indicated a head ailment; seaward movement, the bowels; earthward

movement, tumors. Dreams of clarity, moistness and gentle rain were positive signs. Other signs of health included dreams of clear sight and hearing; free movement, walking or running; fertile earth, good fields; and normal water flow. Disturbances in these patterns indicated particular diseases: of the head (poor sight and hearing), flesh (rough land), fluids or semen (stunted trees or flooded land), blood (abnormal rivers), bladder (springs and wells), or bowels (the sea). Dreams of normal clothing of the correct size, white color, and good shoes indicated health (and vice versa). Similarly, the appearance of the dead was a sign of health if they appeared in clean, white clothes, or gave the dreamer something clean. Conversely, dreams of the dead naked, in dark clothes, or taking anything from the house were bad signs. Other dire signs included monstrous creatures, drinking impure water, flight in fear, fighting, injury, being bound, fording rivers, or enemy soldiers. An impending change of health (positive or negative) was indicated by dreams of earthquakes or new clothing.

The dream lexicon includes entries on dreams as directions for prayer to the appropriate gods, as determined by the nature of the dream (4.88). Positive signs indicated Zeus, Athena, Hermes, and Apollo (all gods of sky, medicine, and wisdom); negative signs indicated prayers to protector gods, gods of the earth, and heroes (4.89.92-94 and 4.90.45-47).⁵⁵

On Regimen 4 asserts that whoever correctly understands dream signs (*tekmer*) holds the greatest power. It presents a theory of dreams as a basis for both diagnostics and preventive medicine. Whereas divination proper (the interpretation of dreams of divine origin) is a precise *techne*, dream diagnosis is not.

Conclusions

The Chinese and Greek medical divinations examined above attest to a transformation from divinatory medicine, accomplished through prayer and sacrifice toward a more systematic and naturalistic medical system. The divination records from Baoshan and Epidaurus both describe attempts to cure illness through prayer and sacrifice, but with significant differences. The Baoshan records pertain to the ongoing iatromancies of one individual, who offers prayers to a variety of gods and ancestors through rituals presumably conducted at or near his own home, but using a wide variety of personnel who use distinct techniques. Extensive sacrifices are made to a variety of Chu gods and ancestors in order to prevent calamity. Records from Wangshan and Tianxingguan suggest a similar pattern, although in no case do we know who compiled the tomb records, from what source, or for what specific purpose. The stelae from Epidaurus, by contrast, record the iatromancies of a number of individuals from various parts of Greece, directed toward one god, at a sacred site proper to him, and interpreted by the staff of that one temple. After (not before) successful encounters, they

⁵⁵ For other references to dream diagnosis see *Epid.* 1.3.10, and *Hum.* 4.11-14.

dedicated offerings to the god. Several inscriptions record punishments by the god of those who failed to do so, or who denigrated his activities.

These differences contexts suggest different loci of iatromantic activity. A primary problem for the Chinese diviners is diagnostic; they must understand the cause of the ailment in order to ascertain what kind of exorcistic sacrifice to use, and to whom it should be directed. There is no such need in the Asclepian temple divinations. The aid of only one god is being sought, so there is no need for human diagnosis. Instead, several inscriptions record initial attitudes by supplicants that range from devotion and belief to skepticism and ridicule, including some accounts of individuals made ill by the god because of their attitudes or actions.

Chinese and Greek medical divination thus differ both in their techniques and in the role of the gods (and ancestors). Both evolved and included tensions between physicians and divination specialists, but in both cases, systematizing and naturalistic medical systems overshadowed, but did not entirely displace earlier methods of divination and prayer.

In both the *Huangdi neijing* and the Hippocratic corpus, the preferred method of divination was oneiromancy, but with very different particulars. Dream diagnosis is a striking case of an interaction in which divination served as a resource for, rather than an opponent of, the growth of naturalism in both China and Greece. The Chinese rationale of dream divination lacks the Greek preoccupation with a dichotomy between body and soul. Its account of dreams as a language of signifiers for disturbances in the body and correlates dream elements to imbalances of *yin* and *yang*. *On Regimen 4* and the dream taxonomies of the *Huangdi neijing* both contain lexicons and remedies for systems in disequilibrium. Both explain the diagnostic symbolism of dreams by analogies in which changes in the macrocosm of the cosmos are mirrored in the microcosm of the body. In this sense both create a hermeneutics of “signifiers” (dream elements) and “signifieds” (somatic elements).

Within this similar structure, the choices of signifiers and signifieds are very different, and reflect very different understandings of the body in early Chinese and Greek medicine. Chinese diagnostic dreams reflect *yin-yang* and Five Phase transformations in the visceral systems of the body; Greek diagnostic dreams mirror the condition of the body in the circuits of the heavens and the appearance of sun, moon, sky or stars. The Hippocratic signifiers are the heavenly bodies, the gods, water (both rain and terrestrial bodies of water), flora and fauna, various items from quotidian life, (such as clothing and diet), and more “extreme” elements of the dead, monstrosities, and warfare. The Chinese lexicon include some of these elements—warfare, fires and floods—but they are organized more systematically around a binary system of correspondence of *yin* and *yang*, hot and cold, etc. These complementary dream pairs include (great) rivers and fires, flying and falling, giving and taking, anger, weeping, laughter, and music.

In both China and Greece, the close connections between medicine, divination, magic, spirit mediumship and incantation have become clearer as historical inquiry has recognized the rationality of these practices, and shifted away from the vexed categories of “myth,” “reason,” “evolution,” “superstition.” Such categories had misrepresented fourth-century medicine in both Greece and China by creating a false polarity between the view that disease was caused by gods and cured through divine intervention and the view that diseases had natural origins and should be treated by natural means.⁵⁶ But the realities in both contexts are much more complex.

In Greece, records of both exorcistic and rationalized medicine appear as early as the Homeric poems. Herodotus describes both natural and divine causes and cures of disease. Greek physicians made deliberate attempts to distance themselves from diviners, magicians, and other technical specialists, but Hippocratic physicians also shared much common ground with their competitors, including the common language of purification and prognosis. The definitive break comes only with Aristotle, who argues systematically against the theory that dreams come from the gods, and introduces a psychobiological explanation that dreams arise from physical and psychic processes, and residual perception during sleep, when normal perceptual capacities are dormant.⁵⁷

Chinese physicians also developed naturalistic and physiological theories of illness, based on *yin-yang* and Five-Phase models of disease as imbalance, correlative cosmology, and sophisticated therapeutics that applied these schemata to herbal remedies and acupunctural therapy. The evidence of both tomb texts and the received tradition makes it clear, however, that these new models of disease coexisted with invasive and demonological theories. Iatromantic and hemerological texts from tombs at Baoshan, Jiudian, Fangmatan, Mawangdui, and Yinqueshan show that divinatory, magical and occult practices were widespread among Warring States, Qin and Han elites. Anthologies such as the *Huainanzi* freely combined *fang* texts, hygienic, medical, philosophical, artisanal and magical knowledge. When the Han physician Chunyu Yi attacks competing practitioners, his targets are other physicians, not diviners. Physicians seem to have adopted, rather than attacked, the divinatory rhetoric of their predecessors. Historical and anthropological studies continue to describe the continuation of a wide range of divinatory medical practices in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore. It has been suggested that, by the quantitative measure of numbers of pa-

⁵⁶ The Greek version of this naturalism was part of a broader claim by the *physiologoi* or “inquirers into nature” that *all* natural phenomena followed regular laws. See Lloyd (1979), (1987), and (1999).

⁵⁷ Arist. *Div. somn.* 462b 12-26 and 464a-b, *Insom.* 459a 1-22 and 462a 29-31. Galen (*Diag. somn.* 6.832) also argues for the importance of dreams as signs, and introduces a humoral theory of dreams. Excess yellow bile (hot and dry) manifests in dreams of conflagration; black bile in dreams of smoke, mist, or darkness (cold and dry); phlegm (cold and moist) in dreams of rainstorms, snow, ice, and hail.

tients treated, ancestral and demonological therapies were the most successful therapies in Chinese society until quite recently.⁵⁸

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations

Ael.	Aelian	
	<i>NA</i>	De natura animalium
Aesch.	Aeschylus	
	<i>Eum.</i>	Eumenides (Kindly Ones)
Apollod.	Apollodorus	
Arist.	Aristotle	
	<i>Div. somn.</i>	De divinatione per somnia (On Divination through dreams)
	<i>Insom.</i>	De insomniis (On Dreams)
Galen	Galen	
	<i>Diag. Somn.</i>	De dignatione ex insomniis (On Diagnosis from Dreams)
Hes.	Hesiod	
Fr.	Fragment[s]	
Hippoc.	Hippocratic Corpus	
	<i>Acut.</i>	De diaeta in morbis acutis (On Regimen in Acute Diseases)
	<i>Aer.</i>	De aera, aquis, locis (Airs, waters, places)
	<i>Aph.</i>	Aphorismi (Aphorisms)
	<i>Ep.</i>	Epistulae (Letters)
	<i>Epid.</i>	Epidemiae (Epidemics)
	<i>Hum.</i>	De humoribus (On the Humors)
	<i>Jusj.</i>	Jusjurandum metricum (The Oath)
	<i>Morb. Sacr.</i>	De morbo sacro (On the Sacred Disease)
Hom.	Homer	
	<i>Od.</i>	Odyssey
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae	
Pausan.	Pausanias	
Soph.	Sophocles	

⁵⁸ Unschuld (1987), p. 1024.

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