This essay should be referenced as:


NOTES

1. The character qiao 竅 means ‘orifice’ or ‘aperture’. In the more common meaning, xinqiao refers to the tongue as one of the ‘seven sensory orifices’ (qiqiáo 七竅). In the less common meaning, xinqiao refers to mysterious orifices of the heart itself. The discourse of the seven sensory orifices goes back to one of the Inner Chapters of the Zhuangzi (350–250 BC). See Irmgard Enzinger, Ausdruck und Eindruck: Zum Chinesischen Verständnis der Sinne (Lun Wen – Studien Zur Geistesgeschichte Und Literatur in China, Book 10, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2006), 58–65. Xinqiao in the meaning of heart orifices is not attested in the Neijing. But the Nanjing already describes seven holes and three hairs of the heart (qikong sanmao 七孔三毛). (Huangdi bashiyi nanjing, 42, ‘Zangfu dushu’ 藏府度數). See Paul Unschuld, Nan-ching, the Classic of Difficult Issues (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 417.

3. Chinese: 痰者，涎液結聚在於胸膈. Chao Yuanfang, *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, juan 3, ‘Xulao tanyin hou 虛勞痰飲候’. *Xian* (drool) was saliva out of place. It was one of the specific bodily fluids derived from *ye* 液, the fluid associated with the spleen. See *Huangdi neijing suwen*, 23, ‘Xuanming wuqi’ 宣明五 氣. For a discussion of *xian*, see Natalie Köhle, ‘Phlegm (*tan*): Toward a History of Humors in Early Chinese Medicine’ (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2015), 185–95.


5. The new classification system is described most systematically in Chen Yan’s 陳言 *Sanyin jiyi bingzheng fanglun* 三因極一病証方論 (1174), juan 13, ‘tanyin xulun 痰飲敘論’, but many other important authors of the Jin (115–1234) and Song periods, such as Yan Yonghe 嚴用和 (1206–68) and Liu Wansu 劉完素 (fl. c. 1110–1200), made implicit use of it.

6. Body fluids here include both the generic type of *jinye* 津液 fluids, as well as their five transformations: ‘drool’ (*xian*), saliva (*tuo* 唾), sweat (*han* 汗), tears (*lei* 泪) and nasal mucus (*ti* 涕). See *Huangdi neijing suwen*, 23, ‘Xuanming wuqi’ 宣明五氣 and the discussion in Köhle, ‘Phlegm (*tan*)’, 185–95.


9. Although *xuanfu* was an old term, already attested in the *Neijing*, Liu Wansu expanded its meaning well beyond this original sense of openings for the release of sweat, and applied it to a wide range of porous structures in the body. For this reason, I translate *xuanfu* 玄府 as ‘subtle pores’.
10. Chinese: 人之眼、耳、鼻、舌、身、意、神識，能為用者，皆由升降出入之
通利也，有所閉塞者，不能為用也。若目無所見，耳無所聞，鼻不聞臭，
舌不知味，筋痿骨痹，齒腐，毛髮墮落，皮膚不仁，腸不能滲泄者，悉
由熱氣怫鬱，玄府閉密而致，氣液、血脉、榮衛、精神，不能升降出入故


12. The phrase ‘phlegm blocking the heart orifices’ (*tan mi xinqiao* 痰迷心竅) appears in many Ming medical treatises—for example, Zhu Chongzheng's朱崇正 (fl. Ming Jiaqing period 明嘉靖 1521–67) *Renzhai Zhenzhi fanglun fuyi fang* 仁齋直指附遺方, an addendum to Yang Shiying’s楊士瀛 (fl. thirteenth century) *Renzhai Zhenzhi fanglun* 仁齋直指方論 (1264). In this treatise *tan mi xinqiao* 痰迷心竅 is already associated with stroke (zhongfeng 中風) (juan 26, ‘Fu qu tu fang 附取吐方’, SKQS). In another part of the same addendum, the similar phrase ‘phlegm blocking heart and diaphragm’ (*tan mi xin ge* 痰迷心膈) is used (juan 11, ‘xuanyun 眩運’, SKQS). Several references to heart orifices that ‘congeal’ (ningzhi 凝滯) or are ‘blocked’ (mi 迷) by phlegm or blood, or both, and need to be ‘made passable’ (tong 通) from such obstructions, also occur. Most of these cases are describing palpitations and loss of speech after fright.

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