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Bibliographical Notes on Two Ancient Chinese Medical Works

CHUANG SHEN

At present, the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University owns 220,000 stitched volumes of Chinese books printed from traditional woodblocks. A substantial number — 367 titles — are works on Chinese medicine; of these 65 are designated rare books.¹ When I was studying at Princeton University in the 1960s, I noticed these traditional medical books but was not particularly interested in them. Almost thirty years later, in the spring of 1989, I was appointed a member of the Inventory Committee of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan. The inventory check lasted from July 1989 through May 1991, during which time I observed a good number of Chinese rare books, many of which were medical works. I decided to write this article to share with the readers of the *Gest Library Journal* bibliographical information on these rare Chinese medical books preserved in Princeton and Taiwan.

PEN-TS'AO CHING STUDIES IN TRADITIONAL CHINA

One essential and popular text on Chinese medical science is the *Pen-ts'ao ching*, which is the basic compilation on *materia medica* of China. The *Pen-ts'ao ching*, as conventionally understood, was originally a collection of anonymous works dating from the Warring States period (475–221 B.C.) to the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220).² During the later years of the Eastern Han its authorship began to be associated with Shen-nung. In Chinese mythology, the official title of Shen-nung is “The Emperor of Inflammation” (Yen Ti). He is regarded as the god of agriculture and medicine, and is said to have voluntarily tasted every herb to determine whether it was poisonous. Having

discovered the medical nature of herbs, he used them to heal the diseases of his people. This legendary figure is remembered by the Chinese for his efforts to save his people from disease and to satisfy their need for food.³ But the association of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* with Shen-nung is in fact a device used by later scholars to lend authority to this work.

The *Pen-ts'ao ching* consists of three sections, of which the first is the focus of this article. Originally, the first section listed 360 kinds of herbs, minerals, insects, and animals for medicinal use, which had been classified into three categories: upper, middle, and lower. It also contained an explanation of the classification. Up to the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties (420–581), about fifty books had been written about the *Pen-ts'ao ching*.⁴ However, by then all but the *Pen-ts'ao ching chi-chu* by T'ao Hung-ching (452–536) had been lost. This work is a collection of annotations to the *Pen-ts'ao ching*; in it the total number of medicinal herbs and other substances more than doubled from the original 360 to 730.

Pen-ts'ao ching studies reached a new level during the T'ang dynasty (618–907). *The Newly Revised Pen-ts'ao of the T'ang Dynasty* (*T'ang hsin-hsiu pen-ts'ao*) was completed in 659 through the efforts of some twenty scholars. Basing their work on T'ao Hung-ching's version, the compilers consulted literary references and drawings of medicinal substances submitted to the T'ang court by local officials. This T'ang-dynasty version of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* corrected mistakes in T'ao Hung-ching's work and recorded 114 new items, raising the total number of medicinal substances to nearly 850.

During the Sung dynasty (960–1279), further studies of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* resulted in new editions: the *Pen-ts'ao ching of the K'ai-pao Era* (*K'ai-pao pen-ts'ao*), compiled by Liu Han and eight of his colleagues during 973–974, in which the number of medicinal herbs and other substances increased to 983; the *Chia-yu pen-ts'ao*, written by Su Sung, Lin I, and others in 1057, in which the pharmaceutical items totaled 1,082. But the most important Sung work on the *Pen-ts'ao ching* was the *Classified Pen-ts'ao for Emergency Cases Collected from the Classics and Histories* (*Ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao*). This work was edited by T'ang Shen-wei (ca. 1056–1093) in the late eleventh century. It contains a table of contents in one *chüan* and thirty-one *chüan* of text, and includes discussions of 1,748 medicinal herbs and substances. Thereafter, three more versions were produced to update the work of T'ang Shen-wei: Ai Ch'eng's *Ta-kuan ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao*, compiled in 1108; Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung*

pen-ts'ao in 1116; and Wang Chi-hsien's *Shao-hsing chiao-ting ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao* in 1157.

Of these three revised editions, Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's work was the most popular. It was reprinted in 1249; copies of this reprint are now the earliest extant exemplars of Ts'ao's work. The Peking Library has two copies in complete sets.⁵ During the Yüan and Ming dynasties Ts'ao's work was re-engraved and printed at least a dozen times: in 1302, 1468, 1523, 1537, 1552, 1569, 1570, 1572, 1577, 1578, 1579, and 1587. The ten-volume set of the *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao* that the Gest Oriental Library possesses belongs to the 1587 edition.⁶

Two rare book collections in Taiwan housed in the National Central Library (NCL) and the National Palace Museum (NPM) provide further information about Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's book. These two institutions together hold eight of the twelve editions mentioned above, each of which is in excellent condition. Table 1 provides bibliographical information on them.

Table 1 reveals some interesting aspects of the revision and printing of the *Pen-ts'ao ching* during the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties. First, the printers deserve attention. The 1302 edition was printed by a private studio, which, except for the 1537 edition, apparently did not continue printing this reference work. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the task was shouldered chiefly by local authorities. In this regard, the exemplar of the 1587 edition that the Gest Library holds is unique in that it was sponsored by the Ming court and graced by an imperial preface signed by Emperor Shentsung (r. 1573–1620). On the other hand, the 1537 and 1577 editions indicate that imperial princes and other individuals were also involved in the publication of this work.

Second, it is well known that during the Ming dynasty, except for Peiching, major printing centers were located in the lower Yangtze basin: Nanching, Hang-chou, Su-chou, Hui-chou, and Hu-chou. It is therefore peculiar that Ts'ao Hsiao-chung's *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao* was quite frequently reprinted in the north, in various places on the Shan-tung peninsula.

Finally, the 1537 version deserves special attention. This version was printed by the Ch'ung-pen shu-yüan, which was the study of the prince of Ch'u, the sixth son of the Ming founder and the first prince of Ch'u, who took up his fief at Wu-ch'ang in 1381.⁷ According to the *Standard History of the Ming Dynasty (Ming-shih)*, of the sixty-two princes granted hereditary

Table 1
 REVISIONS OF THE *PEN-TS'AO CHING*

DATE OF PRINTING	PRINTER AND PUBLISHER	PRESENT OWNER	PARTICULARS OF THE PRINT
1302	Tsung-wen shu-yüan	NPM	1 complete set, 31 <i>chüan</i> bound in 20 stitched vols.; 2 incomplete sets, 1 in 2 stitched vols. containing <i>chüan</i> 24-31, 1 in 7 stitched vols. covering <i>chüan</i> 1-7
		NCL	1 complete set, 31 <i>chüan</i> in 22 stitched vols.; 1 incomplete set in 1 stitched vol. containing <i>chüan</i> 7-8
1468	Yüan Chieh, governor of Shan-tung	NCL	2 complete sets, both in 30 <i>chüan</i> , bound in 24 stitched vols.
1537	Ch'ung-pen shu-yüan of the prince of Ch'u	NCL	3 complete sets, both in 30 <i>chüan</i> ; 1 bound in 20, the other in 24 stitched vols.
1552	Government of Shantung	NCL	3 complete sets, all in 30 <i>chüan</i> bound in 10, 22, and 40 stitched vols. respectively
1569	Unknown	NCL	1 complete set in 30 <i>chüan</i> bound in 20 stitched vols.
1572	Surveillance commissioner of Shan-tung	NCL	1 complete set in 30 <i>chüan</i> bound in 20 stitched vols.
1577	Shang-i t'ang of Wang Ch'iu, Nan-ling, Anhui Province	NPM	2 complete sets printed by repaired blocks; both in 31 <i>chüan</i> bound in 28 stitched vols.; 1 incomplete set in 29 stitched vols. containing all but <i>chüan</i> 5 and 13
1579	Yang Hsien-ch'un	NCL	1 complete set in 30 <i>chüan</i> bound in 12 stitched vols.

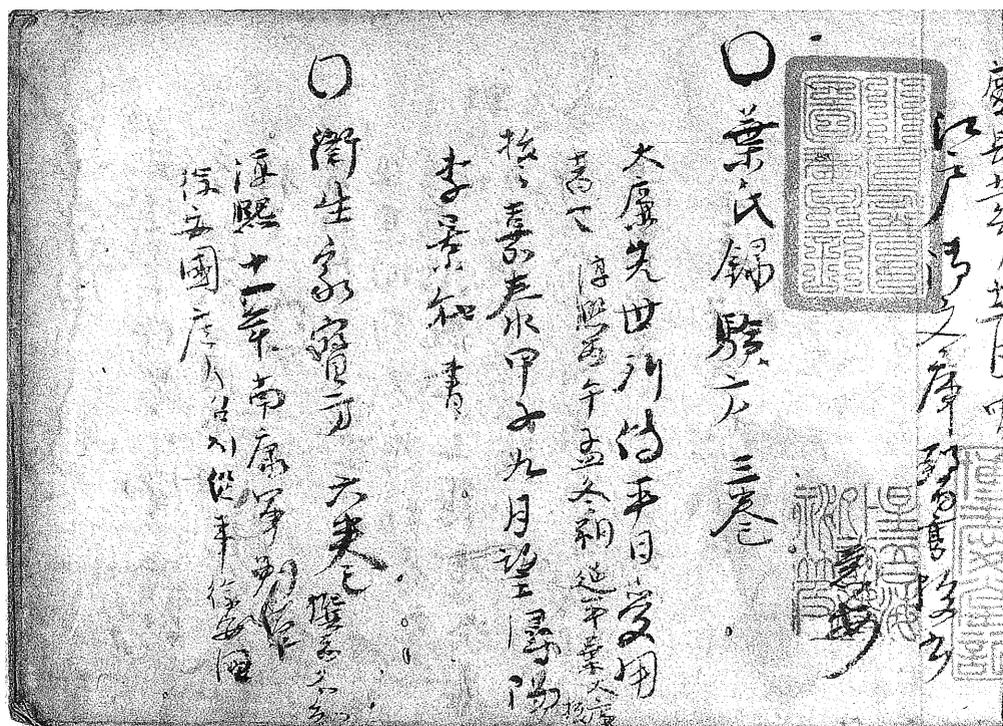
princely ranks by the imperial court, fifty had their own fiefs. Twenty of these princedoms, the prince of Ch'u's among them, were known for their sponsorship of book printing, and for the fine quality of books they produced.⁸ One account of the Ming woodblock cuttings shows that the prince of Ch'u printed altogether sixteen books of different kinds.⁹ However, it fails to mention the 1537 edition of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*. In any event, this edition itself is a good example of the "fan-k'o" books, which were produced by block cutters and printers working for the princely households.

The publication of Li Shih-chen's (1518–1593) *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* was another important event in the history of the printing and production of revised editions of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*. A native of Hu-pei, Li was a medical doctor and a researcher in pharmaceutical botany. Starting in 1552, Li devoted over forty years to compiling his *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*, using the *Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung pen-ts'ao*, a slightly revised edition of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*, as the foundation for his work. He completed a first draft in 1578 and continued to revise the work until his death in 1593. Three years later, the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* was first block cut and printed in Nan-ching. In 1948 the only known copy of this first edition was in the hands of Doctor Ting Chi-min,¹⁰ but since then the whereabouts of Ting's copy have been a mystery.

This first edition of the *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* was later re-engraved and printed in many places: by Hsia Liang-hsin in Nan-ch'ang, Chiang-hsi Province in 1603, and in Hu-pei Province and Hang-chou in 1606 and 1640 respectively. The NCL owns a copy of the 1603 version.¹¹

Japanese scholars have also contributed to the study of the *Pen-ts'ao ching*. In the Edo period (1603–1867) Japanese scholars produced no less than nineteen writings on the *Pen-ts'ao ching*;¹² the earliest was the *Honzō wamyō* edited by Fukae Sukehito in the early 1600s. A handwritten copy of this work, which remains largely unknown to scholars of oriental medicine, is preserved at the NPM (see illustration 1).

The NPM also houses two other handwritten copies and one printed copy of the *Honzō wamyō*. One handwritten copy was made in 1796 by an anonymous person. The other, done by Imao Dōjun in 1860, bears a handwritten inscription by Mori Risshi (1807–1885), a well-known nineteenth-century bibliographer of Chinese learning. These three Japanese works were purchased in 1880 by Yang Shou-ching (1839–1915), attaché of the Chinese embassy in Japan.



1. A sample page from the *Honzō wamyō* edited by Fukae Sukehito. The lower right corner of this page bears Yang shou-ching's seal. It reads "rare book acquired by Hsing-wu [i.e., Yang Shou-ching] overseas [Japan]" (Hsing-wu hai-wai fang-te mi-chi). Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

THE YELLOW EMPEROR'S CLASSIC OF INTERNAL MEDICINE
(HUANG TI NEI-CHING SU-WEN)

The *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* is another popular ancient Chinese medical text. This work consists of two parts, the *su-wen* and the *ling-shu*. Because the *su-wen* section was placed before the *ling-shu* section, it was usually considered more important, and thus the word "su-wen" is customarily adopted to represent the entire text. Part of the work was written in the form of an essay and part in the form of a catechism, in which the legendary "Yellow Emperor" raised questions concerning pathology and physiology, and a famous physician, Ch'i Po, answered them, a form similar to that of the *Confucian Analects* and the *Dialogues* of Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.).

The seventy-four essays in the *su-wen* are believed to have been compiled around the third century B.C., whereas the seven essays in the *ling-*

shu, although they are often attributed to the legendary Yellow Emperor, are generally considered to date from a later time. This suggests that the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* should be regarded as a medical anthology containing works written at different times, ranging from the Warring States period to the Eastern Han dynasty.¹³

The title *Ling-shu* was adopted after a long period of disagreement. It has been suggested that the original title of this work was *Chen-ching* (Classic of acupuncture), since portions of it dealt with the art of acupuncture.¹⁴ During the Han dynasty, however, it was referred to as the *Chiu-chüan*, because the work without the *Su-wen* consisted of nine *chüan*.¹⁵ The Gest Library exemplar of the *Ling-shu ching*, numbered C83/150 in its catalogue, is a nine-*chüan* version with annotations compiled by Chang Chih-ts'ung and printed in 1890.¹⁶ During the Chin dynasty (A.D. third and fourth centuries), the original title *Chen-ching* was adopted again, and the variant title *Chiu-chüan* abandoned. It was during the T'ang dynasty that Wang Ping first entitled the work *Ling-shu*. A late Ming scholar, Chang Ching-yüeh (1563–1640), explained the meaning of the word “*ling*” used in the title: “Spirit (*shen*) is the pivotal essence of the soul (*ling*).”¹⁷ Thus the title *Ling-shu* seems to denote a relationship between spirit and soul.

“Bequeathed Essays of the *Su-wen*” (*Su-wen i-pien*) is a work often attached to the *Huang Ti nei-ching*. But these essays have generally been considered unauthentic and probably the work of pseudonymous authors of later times. The reason for this belief is that when Wang Ping was editing the *Su-wen* during the mid-eighth century, two essays, the seventy-second and the seventy-third, were missing from the text. Presumably they were already lost by that time. Thus when Liu Wen-shu in the eleventh century claimed that he had discovered them, people found it difficult to believe him.¹⁸

The authorship of the *Huang Ti nei-ching* has long been attributed to the Yellow Emperor. As a matter of fact, in the bibliographical section of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty (Han-shu)*, the Yellow Emperor or Shen-nung is associated with at least twenty-three works, the *Huang Ti nei-ching* among them.¹⁹ A telling passage in an Eastern Han-dynasty work, *Huai-nan tzu* by Liu An (ca. 179–122 B.C.), explains the reason: “Ordinary people respect ways of the ancient sages and despise those of contemporary individuals. Therefore, if one wants to persuade people to accept and act according to his ways, he has to claim that they are in fact the ways of the Yellow Emperor and Shen-nung.”²⁰ Clearly, it was this appeal to authority that made people

attribute the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* to the Yellow Emperor, and the *Pen-ts'ao ching* to Shen-nung.

Numerous editions of the *Huang Ti nei-ching* were produced in traditional China; some contained only the text, others the text and annotations.²¹ The annotated editions are undoubtedly more significant in terms of scholarship. Ch'üan Hsüan-ch'i is said to have been the first to annotate the *Huang Ti nei-ching* in the mid-sixth century. His annotations amounted to eight *chüan*, and contained sixty essays. This edition still existed as late as the Northern Sung dynasty but has since disappeared. Now Wang Ping's work stands as the earliest extant annotated version. According to Wang's preface of A.D. 762, it took him twelve years to complete this work. In the course of his research he discovered the seven missing essays from the *ling-shu*, and annotated them together with the original seventy-four from the *su-wen*; he also arranged the essays in the present twenty-four-*chüan* format. The Peking Library holds a copy of this work printed during the Chin dynasty (1115–1234).²² The copy held by the NCL was printed in 1339. Both the NPM and the NCL own copies of a 1474 woodblock edition of Wang Ping's work. This edition is in twelve *chüan*; it was published by the Chung-te t'ang under the auspices of Hsiung Tsung-li. Ku Ts'ung-te of Wu-ling sponsored the printing of another Ming edition of Wang Ping's work in 1550. The printer's note indicates that it was a reprint of a Sung edition that has long been lost (see illustration 2). Numerous copies of this 1550 edition are available in Taiwan: six are housed in the NCL and five in the NPM. The Gest Library also has a copy of this edition. A study of the physical forms and the variant contents of all the copies in Taiwan and the United States would advance our bibliographical knowledge of this important work.

The Japanese works on the *Huang Ti nei-ching* that Yang Shou-ching purchased during the late Ch'ing are also important to the study of traditional Chinese medicine. These works are now preserved at the NPM and can be classified into three categories according to their contents: Japanese reprints of Chinese works on the *Huang Ti nei-ching*, Japanese handwritten copies of Chinese works related to the *Huang Ti nei-ching*, and works on medical sciences by Japanese specialists.

Ma Shih's *Subtle Discoveries Concerning the Annotations of Huang Ti's nei-ching and the Ling-shu ching* (*Huang Ti nei-ching ling-shu fa-wei*) was the earliest Chinese work on the *Huang Ti nei-ching* reprinted in Japan. The original Chinese work was first printed during the Wan-li reign period (1573–1619)

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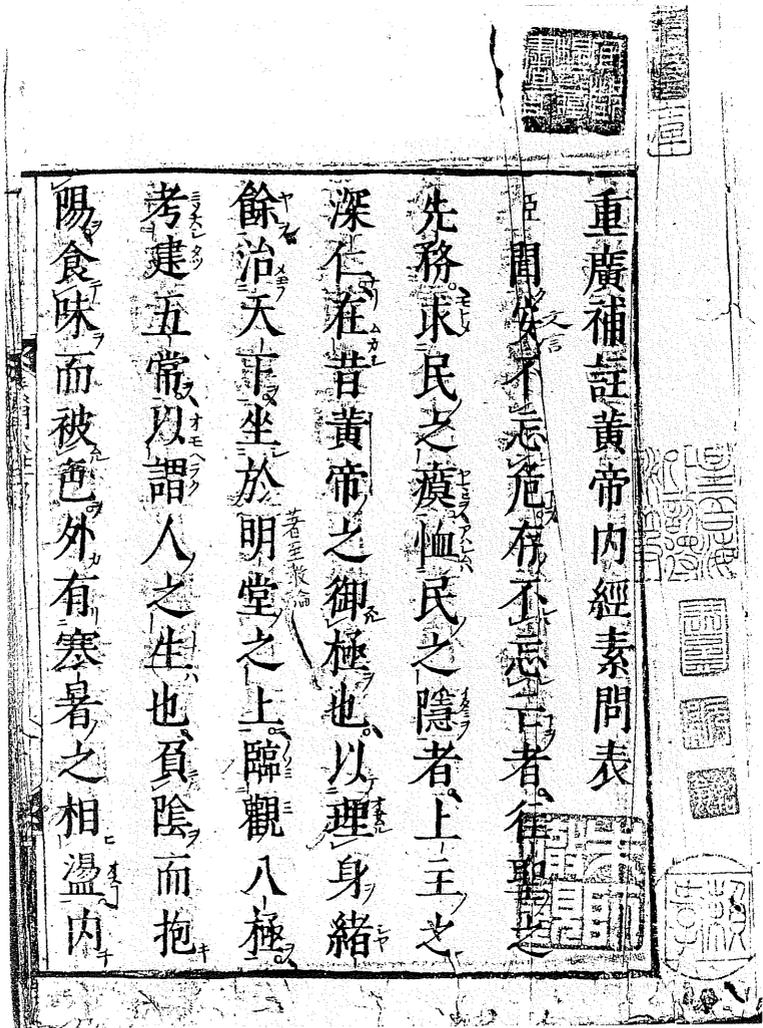
啓玄子王冰撰

新校正云按唐人物志冰任唐為太僕今年八十餘以壽終



夫釋縛脫艱全真道氣拯黎元於仁壽濟羸劣以獲安者非三聖道則不能致之矣孔安國序尚書曰伏羲神農黃帝之書謂之三墳言大道也班固漢書藝文志曰黃帝內經十八卷素問即其經之九卷也兼靈樞九卷廼其數焉新校正云詳王氏此說蓋本皇甫士六甲乙經之序彼云七略藝文志黃帝內經十八卷今有鍼經九卷素問九卷共十八卷即內經也故王氏遵而用之又素問外九卷漢張仲景及西晉王叔和脉經只為之九卷皇甫士安名為鍼經亦專名九卷楊左操云黃帝內經二帙帙各九卷按隋書經籍志謂之九靈王冰名為靈樞雖復年移代革而授學猶存懼非其人而時有所隱故第七一卷師氏藏之今

2. The first page of the preface from the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* reprinted in 1550, Japan. Ten cols. of 20 chars.; border 16 x 21.5 cm. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.



3. A sample page from the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* reprinted in 1663, Japan. Seven cols. of 14 chars.; border 15.5 x 19.5 cm. One of the square seals is the same as one in illustration 1, showing that the book was also acquired by Yang Shou-ching in Japan. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Table 2
JAPANESE COPIES OF THE *HUANG TI NEI-CHING T'AI-SU*

COPYIST	FORMAT	NUMBER OF <i>CHÜAN</i>	PARTICULARS
Sugimoto Bōun	23 stitched vols.	<i>Chüan</i> 1, 4, 7, 16–18, 20, 21 missing	Colophon written by Kojima Tadasu; 14–17 char- acters per line; bound to- gether with a printed copy of <i>chüan</i> 27 based on an anonymous handwritten copy
Anonymous	24 stitched vols.	<i>Chüan</i> 1, 4, 7, 16–18, 20, 21 missing	No colophon; text collated in red ink by Kojima Tadasu
Anonymous	1 stitched vol.	<i>Chüan</i> 8 only	
Anonymous	1 stitched vol.	<i>Chüan</i> 8 only	
Anonymous	1 stitched vol.	<i>Chüan</i> 14 only	
Fukui Tanbanokami	1 stitched vol.	<i>Chüan</i> 14 only	

in China. In 1625 Inoko Baiju sponsored the first Japanese reprint, using movable type. Three years later, he sponsored another reprint which was also in movable type. This 1628 edition is in ten *chüan*, including a supplement (*pu-i*). Another Japanese reprint of the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* in twenty-four *chüan* was produced in 1663 by the Keishi Fūgetsudō (see illustration 3). It was annotated by Wang Ping, revised by Lin I and others during the Sung, and punctuated by Hsiung Tsung-li during the Ming. This Japanese reprint was based on a 1584 Chinese edition. The NPM owns two sets of this 1663 Japanese edition, one in four and the other in twelve stitched volumes. Yet another Japanese reprint is the *Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen* in twenty-four *chüan* printed in 1857. This work is based on the 1550 Chinese edition, but all punctuation has been left out. The NPM has two sets of this Japanese edition, one of which contains an additional *chüan* of revisions and collections.

The NPM also holds six Japanese handwritten copies of the *Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su* by Yang Shang-shan of the Sui dynasty (581–618). This book had long been lost in China,²³ but its twenty-seventh *chüan* was discovered in

Table 3
JAPANESE MEDICAL BOOKS

AUTHOR	TITLE AND YEAR OF COMPLETION	NUMBER OF CHÜAN AND FORMAT	PARTICULARS
Den Yō	<i>Somon myōgi</i> (1820)	1 in 1 stitched vol.	Handwritten
Tanba Genkan	<i>Somon shiki</i> (1837)	8 in 3 stitched vols.	Block print; NPM has 3 sets
Tanba Motokata	<i>Somon shōshiki</i>		Similar to the <i>Somon shiki</i> ; NPM has 2 sets, 1 handwritten by Kosuge Tsubasa in 1851, another by an anonymous copyist and undatable
Tanba Genka	<i>Reisū shiki</i> (1863)	In 6 and 12 stitched vols. respectively	NPM has 2 sets printed by Seijukan; 1 bears no colophons; another has red and blue notes by Yamada Chintei (courtesy name Gyōkō)
Gakukai Kan	<i>Kōtei naikai taisho koi</i>	In 1 stitched vol.	Handwritten by Kōkosai; text not divided into sections; owned by NPM
Nakano Genyo	<i>Somon kibun</i>	3 in 3 stitched vols.	Handwritten copy owned by NPM

SOURCE: Kuo-li Ku-kung po-wu-yüan, ed., *Kuo-li Ku-kung po-wu-yüan shan-pen chiu-chi tsung-mu* (Taipei: Kuo-li Ku-kung po-wu-yüan, 1982), p. 687.

the nineteenth century in Japan and was hand copied by Fukui Tanbanokami (1725–1792; see illustration 4). Later, some twenty other *chüan* of the same book were found in the library of the Ninna-ji temple in Kyoto. These were hand copied by Ohada Seiyoku, whose copy is believed to be the only one extant in Japan;²⁴ it reflects the characteristics typical of the old-book format adopted during the first quarter of the tenth century in Japan.²⁵ Basing his work on Ohada's copy, Sugimoto Bōun made another handwritten copy at the request of Kojima Tadasu. Table 2 provides bibliographical information on

形氣相得者生 形盛氣盛 氣位不調者病

謂其人形氣有時相得有不相得 以三部九候皆

相失者死 三部九候不同相失 上下之脈相

應如春者病甚 三部九候之脈動若引繩 前後

息三部為左右手三部為右脈之相應 上下左右更起更

以病甚 上下左右相失不可數者死 上下左右脈動各

可得者脈亂 中部之脈雖獨調 人 氣相



4. A sample page of chüan 27 of the Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su compiled by Yang Shang-shan and hand copied by Fukui Tanbanokami. Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

the six Japanese handwritten copies of the *Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su* preserved at the NPM.

The NCL also owns four Japanese handwritten copies of Fukui Tanbanokami's work. But the texts of these copies are incomplete. One of them bears a colophon written by Weng T'ung-ho (1830–1904), another a colophon by Yang Shou-ching.

Table 3 contains information on Japanese books on medical science compiled by Japanese specialists.

YANG SHOU-CHING AND HIS COLLECTION OF JAPANESE RARE BOOKS

During the late nineteenth century, the Japanese government enthusiastically carried out a Western-style political and cultural reformation. As a result, interest in traditional books and other cultural relics declined among the Japanese. Some were even selling their collections of rare Chinese and Japanese books by weight.²⁶ Serving the Chinese embassy in Japan from 1881 to 1884, Yang Shou-ching (see illustration 5) was the right person in the right place at the right time to collect some of those books. Yang used as his purchasing guide two works by Shibue Zenzen (1805–1858) and Mori Risshi — *In Pursuit of Old Books on Chinese Classics (Keiseki hōko shi)* and its supplementary volume, the *Keiseki hōko shi hoi* — that recorded the history of Japanese ownership of rare Chinese and Japanese books. Yang often traded rubbings of ancient Chinese Bronze Age relics that he had brought from China for books, making his purchases relatively inexpensive.²⁷

Yang returned to China in 1884 and subsequently established a small library, the Kuan-hai-t'ang shu-lou, in Peking to house the rare book collections that he brought back from Japan. The Chinese government purchased his collections when he died in 1915 in Peking and preserved them in a government building called the Cheng-shih t'ang. But poor administration soon resulted in books disappearing from the building. The handwritten copies of Japanese works on the *Huang Ti nei-ching* now owned by the NCL are among those then reported as missing.

Finally, in 1918, about 60 percent of the remaining books were moved out of the Cheng-shih t'ang and transferred to the Sung-p'o Library established in memory of Ts'ai Eh (1882–1916), a patriotic Chinese general. The remaining 40 percent were placed somewhere near Ts'ai's tomb. It was not until January 1926 that these two portions of Yang's former collection were



5. A photograph of Yang Shou-ching (1839–1915). Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei.

reunited and transferred to the NPM. According to the museum's catalogue, Yang Shou-ching's collection of Chinese and Japanese rare books totals 15,491 stitched volumes.

The size of Yang's collections is certainly impressive. But the symbolic meaning of this collection in the history of Sino-Japanese cultural exchanges is perhaps even more important. On the one hand, it is a vivid reflection of the cultural interflow between China and Japan from the eighth to the twelfth centuries; on the other, it is also a monumental testimony to the late nineteenth-century Japanese enthusiasm for political and cultural reformation, and concurrent distaste for sinology and relics of the once-revered past.

NOTES

1. Ch'ü Wan-li, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ke-ssu-te tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan chung-wen shan-pen shu-chih* (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1974), pp. 242–260, lists 37 titles of rare Chinese medical books. Ch'ang Pi-te, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun ta-hsüeh Ke-ssu-te tung-fang t'u-shu-kuan chung-wen chiu-chi shu-mu* (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1990), pp. 301–374, lists 330 more titles of Chinese medical books in the Gest Library, and adds the “shan” (rare) designation to 28 of those. In fact, by standards widely applied today, many more would now be designated “rare” works.
2. Sun Chia-shan, “Pen-ts'ao-hsüeh ti ch'i-yüan chi-ch'i fa-chan,” in *Nung-shih yen-chiu chi-k'an*, ed. Chung-kuo nung-yeh i-ch'an yen-chiu-shih (Peking: K'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1959), pp. 101–114.
3. Yüan K'o, *Chung-kuo shen-hua ch'uan-shuo* (Peking: Chung-kuo min-chien wen-i ch'u-pan-she, 1968), p. 154.
4. A full list of these books is in *Sui-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1973), 34, pp. 1040–1050.
5. Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan, ed., *Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu* (Peking: Shu-mu wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she), p. 1234. This catalogue is undated, but was probably published in 1987 as the preface is dated 1987.
6. Ch'ü Wan-li, *Pu-lin-ssu-tun*, p. 224.
7. *Ming-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 116, p. 3570.
8. Yeh Te-hui, *Shu-lin ch'ing-hua* (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1957), pp. 116–120; Ch'ien Chi-po, *Pan-pen t'ung-i* (Peking: Pei-ch'ing ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1957), p. 52; Mao Ch'un-hsiang, *Ku-shu pan-pen ch'ang-t'an* (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), p. 48; Yen Tso-chih, *Ku-chi pan-pen-hsüeh kai-lun* (Shanghai: Hua-tung shih-fan ta-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1989), p. 58.
9. Li Chih-chung, “Ming-tai k'o-shu shu-lüeh,” *Wen shih*, no. 23 (1984), pp. 127–158.
10. Ting Chi-min, “Pa Ming chin-ling k'an-pen *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu*,” *Chung-hua I-shih tsa-chih* 2.1–2 (1984), pp. 14–29.
11. Kuo-li Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, ed., *Kuo-li Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu* (Taipei: Kuo-li Chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan, 1967), p. 492.
12. P'an Chi-hsing, “Pen-ts'ao kang-mu tsai kuo-wai ti ch'uan-po,” *K'o-chi shih wen-chi*, no. 3 (1980), p. 141, table 2.
13. Jen Ying-ch'iu, “Huang-ti nei-ching

- yen-chiu shih-chiang," in Jen Ying-ch'iu and Liu Ch'ang-lin, eds., *Nei-ching yen-chiu lun-ts'ung* (Hupei: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1982), pp. 1-99, particularly pp. 13 and 16. For an English translation see Ilza Vieth, *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1949).
14. Jen Ying-ch'iu, "Huang-ti nei-ching yen-chiu." See also Yü Chia-hsi, *Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), pp. 625-632, under the subtitle "Ling-shu ching."
 15. Jen Ying-ch'iu, "Huang-ti nei-ching yen-chiu."
 16. Ch'ang Pi-te, *P'u-lin-ssu-tun*, p. 301.
 17. Chang Ching-yüeh, *Nei-ching (Wen-yüan-ko Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* edn.; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1983), 1, p. 1.
 18. These two essays were first attached to Liu Wen-shu's own book, the *Su-wen ju-shih yün-ch'i lun-yao*; the preface was dated 1099. A copy of an early Ming-dynasty edition of this book is owned by the Fu Ssu-nien Library, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. Since then, these two essays have been incorporated into most editions of the *Nei-ching*.
 19. *Han-shu* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 30, pp. 1776-1779.
 20. *Huai-nan tzu* (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* edn.; Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1934) 19, p. 11b. Some portions of the *Huai-nan tzu* (but not the chapter containing the passage quoted in the text) have appeared in English translation; see Roger T. Ames in *The Art of Rulership* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983).
 21. *Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan ku-chi shan-pen shu-mu*, p. 1242.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 1242-1243. Four more sets of the 1339 edition are also housed in the Peking Library.
 23. Yang Shou-ching, "Yüan-ch'i," in *Jih-pen fang-shu chih* (1897 edn.), p. 6.
 24. Liao Wen-jen, "Sōdai no Somon kei ko," in *Naito hakushi shōju kinen shigaku ronsō*, ed. Nishida Naojirō (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1930), pp. 637-686.
 25. Shibue Zenzen and Mori Risshi, *Keiseki hōko shi* (Shu-min ts'ung-pien edn.; Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1967), p. 5. Kaiho Genko wrote a preface to this work in 1856; Hsü Ch'eng-tsu wrote another in 1885.
 26. Yang Shou-ching, "Yüan-ch'i," p. 4.
 27. Li Shu-ch'ang, the Chinese ambassador to Japan, published a collection, *Ku-i ts'ung-shu*, in Tokyo in 1884. This collection includes Chinese classics, history, philosophy, philology, music, lexicology, and genealogy as well as twenty-six books that Yang Shou-ching acquired in Japan. However, for reasons unknown, it includes no Chinese medical works like those discussed in this paper. For more discussion of the *Ku-i ts'ung-shu*, see Wu T'ien-jen, *Yang Hsing-sheng nien-p'u* (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1974), appendix, p. 4.

GLOSSARY

Ai Ch'eng 艾晟

An-hui 安徽

Chang Chih-ts'ung 張志聰

Chang Ching-yüeh 張景岳

Chen-ching 針經

Cheng-shih t'ang 政事堂

Ch'i Po 岐伯

Chiang-hsi 江西

- Chia-yu pen-ts'ao* 嘉祐本草
 Chin 晉
 Chin 金
Ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi pen-ts'ao
 經史證類備急本草
Chiu-chüan 九卷
 Ch'u 楚
 Ch'üan Hsüan-ch'i 全玄起
Ch'ung-hsiu cheng-ho ching-shih cheng-lei
pei-yung pen-ts'ao 重修政和經史證類
 備用本草
 Ch'ung-pen shu-yüan 崇本書院
 Chung-te t'ang 種德堂
 Den Yō 田陽
 Edo 江戸
 fan-k'o 翻刻
 Fukae Sukehito 深江輔仁
 Fukui Tanbanokami 福井丹波守
 Gakukai Kan 學海寬
 Gyōkō 業廣
 Han 漢
 Hang-chou 杭州
Han-shu 漢書
Honzō wamyō 本草和名
 Hsia Liang-hsin 夏良心
 Hsing-wu hai-wai fang-te mi-chi
 惺吾海外訪得秘笈
 Hsiung Tsung-li 熊宗立
Huai-nan tzu 淮南子
Huang Ti nei-ching 黃帝內經
Huang Ti nei-ching ling-shu fa-wei
 黃帝內經靈樞發微
Huang Ti nei-ching su-wen 黃帝內經素問
Huang Ti nei-ching t'ai-su 黃帝內經太素
 Hu-chou 湖州
 Hui-chou 徽州
 Hu-pei 湖北
 Imao Dōjun 今尾道醇
 Inoko Baiju 豬子梅壽
K'ai-pao pen-ts'ao 開寶本草
Keiseki hōko shi 經籍訪古志
Keiseki hōko shi hoi 經籍訪古志補遺
 Keishi Fūgetsudō 京師風月堂
 Kojima Tadasu 小島質
 Kōkosai 考古齋
 Kosuge Tsubasa 小官翼
Kōtei naikei taiso koi 黃帝內經太素考異
 Ku Ts'ung-te 顧從德
 Kuan-hai-t'ang shu-lou 觀海堂書樓
 Li Shih-chen 李時珍
 Lin I 林億
 ling 靈
Ling-shu 靈樞
Ling-shu ching 靈樞經
 Liu An 劉安
 Liu Han 劉漢
 Liu Wen-shu 劉溫舒
 Ma Shih 馬蒔
 Ming 明
Ming-shih 明史
 Mori Risshi 森立之
 Nakano Genyo 中野玄與
 Nan-ch'ang 南昌
 Nan-ching 南京
 Nan-ling 南陵
 Ninna-ji 仁和寺
 Ohada Seiyoku 尾藩正翼
 Pei-ching 北京

TWO ANCIENT CHINESE MEDICAL WORKS

- Pen-ts'ao ching* 本草經
Pen-ts'ao kang-mu 本草綱目
Pen-ts'ao ching chi-chu 本草經集註
 pu-i 補遺
Reisū shiki 靈樞識
 Seijukan 躋壽館
 Shang-i t'ang 尙義堂
 Shan-tung 山東
Shao-hsing chiao-ting ching-shih cheng-lei pei-chi
pen-ts'ao 紹興校定經史證類備急本草
 shen 神
 Shen-nung 神農
 Shen-tsung 神宗
 Shibue Zenzen 涉江全善
Somon kibun 素問紀聞
Somon myōgi 素問明義
Somon shiki 素問識
Somon shōshiki 素問紹識
 Sung-p'o 松坡
 Su Sung 蘇頌
 Su-chou 蘇州
 Sugimoto Bōun 杉本望雲
 Sui 隋
 Sung 宋
Su-wen 素問
Su-wen i-p'ien 素問遺篇
Ta-kuan ching-shih cheng-lei pei-yung
pen-ts'ao 大觀經史證類備用本草
 Tanba Genkan 丹波元簡
 Tanba Motokata 丹波元堅
 T'ang 唐
T'ang hsin-hsiu pen-ts'ao 唐新修本草
 T'ang Shen-wei 唐慎微
 T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景
 Ting Chi-min 丁濟民
 Ts'ai Eh 蔡謬
 Ts'ao Hsiao-chung 曹孝忠
 Tsung-wen shu-yüan 宗文書院
 Wang Chi-hsien 王繼先
 Wang Ch'iu 王秋
 Wang Ping 王冰
 Wan-li 萬曆
 Weng T'ung-ho 翁同鶴
 Wu-ch'ang 武昌
 Wu-ling 武陵
 Yamada Chintei 山田椿庭
 Yang Hsien-ch'un 楊先春
 Yang Shang-shan 楊上善
 Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬
 Yen Ti 炎帝
 Yüan 元
 Yüan Chieh 原傑