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Barbara Volkmar, "The Physician and the Plagiarist: The Fate of the Legacy of Wan Quan", The East Asian Library Journal 9, no. 1 (2000): 1-77, accessed January 14, 2017, https://library.princeton.edu/eastasian/EALJ/volkmar_barbara.EALJ.v09.n01.p001.pdf

The Physician and the Plagiarists

The Fate of the Legacy of Wan Quan

BARBARA VOLKMAR

In this book I open my heart of hearts,¹
I reveal my innermost thoughts and
Expose the secrets [of healing] in all their subtlety.
These may only be divulged to my sons.
You, my sons, know that!
Vigilantly preserve the traditions of our family,
Contemplate my words in quietness,
Apprehend their deeper meaning.
Never forget my admonishments
Never forget my instructions.
I urge you again and again:
Take [these secrets] like a rabbit snare or a fish trap.²
If you reveal even a single word,
Heaven will see you, and
The gods will send down bolts of lightning.³

Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries (late Ming and Qing dynasties) no extraordinary phenomena, no people struck by lightning, are recorded in the gazetteer of Luotian County (Hubei Province), where the writer of this verse lived. Still, after this verse was composed, everything that might possibly go awry in the transmission of a semi-secret medical oeuvre did so.

The writer of the introductory verse is Wan Quan (styled Mizhai, 1500–1585?), a Chinese physician and very productive medical writer. Most original in his medical approach and in his therapeutic ideas, Wan Quan wrote in a poetical and vivid language unusual for a physician, and his writings continue to appeal to contemporary readers.⁴ But the success of these writings was by no means a matter of course. The five-hundredth anniversary of Wan Quan's birth is a good opportunity to retrace the winding paths the works have taken to come down to us.⁵

In Chinese medical history it is still scarcely acknowledged that research on the history of ideas has to rely on detailed book history. Since traditional Chinese medicine argues that the core of its knowledge has been transmitted through a secret or oral tradition, it may indeed seem pointless to concentrate on the written sources.⁶ However, any medical idea that is only grasped by a small circle of individuals and does not become part of a larger medical tradition is ineffective and will eventually be lost.⁷ Researchers today must not blindly adopt the practice of mystifying medical knowledge and its origin, a *sine qua non* of medical practice in premodern times.

Tracing the fate of Wan Quan's books affords a perspective on the world of the physician and the healer of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) that has seldom been dealt with in the research on medical history. Enlarging the inquiry to include information revealed in local gazetteers, forewords of contemporary works, Wan Quan's own prefaces, and his case histories provides a glimpse behind the scenes into a social reality that is much more diverse and complex than hitherto described.

ON THE TRAIL OF A PHYSICIAN'S CAREER

During the Ming dynasty, practicing physicians and healers occupied a stratum of society far different from that of today's medical community. Classified as artisans, they were viewed with the lack of respect accorded all members of that class and, in addition, were always suspected of profiteering from the sufferings of others. They also faced the constant risk of being held responsible for the death of their patients. Most were itinerant and avoided visiting the same place twice. Even physicians with

a formal education and a court position were not safe; they were subject to the capricious whims of the officialdom, which generally did not hold them in high esteem. Only a few physicians achieved renown, in acknowledgment either of their writings or of their therapeutic success.

Although Wan Quan finally became one of those few, there is little biographical information about him. Whereas officials, even minor ones, were scrupulously registered throughout Chinese history and listed in local chronicles and dynastic records with all the details of their lives and careers, physicians, even famous ones, were not. Wan Quan is no exception. The gazetteer of his home county, *Luotian xianzhi*, does not mention him until its 1876 edition, around three hundred years after his death. Furthermore, this edition contains a discussion of whether physicians and healers should be included in a gazetteer at all.⁸ The few earlier historical references that do exist depict Wan Quan as a semidivine figure, a clairvoyant superdoctor who could bring the dead back to life.⁹ Concrete biographical information, is, however, not given.

Even today Chinese reference books offer only sparse and contradictory biographical data on Wan Quan, despite his widely acknowledged importance. He is variously said to have lived in the fifteenth, sixteenth, or seventeenth century.¹⁰ To learn about his life, the best source available is his own writing. In his books one can find a clue to the approximate date of his birth, a reference to the marriage of his parents: "In the year *gengzi* [1480] of the Chenghua era my late father settled in Luo[tian]. He married my mother, a woman of the Chen family. Then was born an unworthy."¹¹

If we take 1481 as the earliest possible birth date, Wan Quan would have been ninety-eight years old when he wrote the preface to his last book in 1579. With all due respect to Chinese techniques of achieving longevity, this does not seem likely. His birth date must therefore have been a good bit later. In an introduction to his pediatric case histories we find a more precise statement by Wan Quan: "In the evening of his life, at the age of seventy-four, the old hermit of the woods and mountains, who specialized in medicine, writes down his pediatric case histories."¹²

The problem is that the book *Guangsi jiyao* (Essentials for Multi-

plying Offspring) from which this quotation is taken is difficult to date. One of the two editions that were printed in the Wanli era contains the colophon in a cartouche of the Yiqingtang publishing house together with the words “Wanli xinsui zhongchun zhi yue” (Wanli, New Year, in the second month of spring). These words have led Chinese bibliographers to assume that the publication year was 1573, the first year of the Wanli era (1573–1620).¹³ I doubt, however, that such an early publication year is likely. I assume that the words “Wanli xinsui zhongchun zhi yue” indicate the New Year of 1598.¹⁴

Though the *Guangsi jiyao* was probably published much later than 1573, the year is nevertheless important: 1573 is the earliest date the book could have been completed. Wan Quan’s last case history in the *Guangsi jiyao* is dated 1572. If we assume that he wrote his introduction after finishing the manuscript (which was his habit with other manuscripts), he must have been seventy-four years old in 1573 (or later). Taking into account that in traditional China the day of birth counts as the first birthday, I conclude that Wan Quan must have been born in 1500 (or later), that is, around twenty years after the marriage of his parents. We cannot be sure, but may assume that his parents had other children, although Wan Quan never mentions brothers or sisters. There is, naturally, no reference to the year of his death in Wan Quan’s own writings. The last dated preface is from 1579. However, repeated changes and revisions in the text of a later book indicate that Wan Quan might have lived two to six years longer (see “Bitter Truth” below).

Many details of Wan Quan’s life and attitudes can be deduced from case histories and from a phrase-by-phrase comparison of his books. Here I restrict myself to a short survey. Wan Quan was the only (surviving?) son of Wan Kuang (styled Juxuan), a pediatrician and pox specialist,¹⁵ himself a second-generation medical practitioner. (At that time it was the custom not to mention female relatives, so it is not surprising that we hear nothing about the sisters Wan Quan might have had.) The father, whose life dates can be rather definitely given as 1447–1529,¹⁶ must have been in his early fifties when Wan Quan was born. Ways of ensuring the continuity of the family line later became one of Wan Quan’s major concerns. Wan Quan, whose wife and two concubines gave birth to a total of ten boys,¹⁷ wrote several treatises on

reproductive medicine — in contemporary terms “the medical discipline of multiplying male offspring” (*guangsi*).

Wan Kuang was an itinerant physician (*lingyi*)¹⁸ without a formal education, but in Jiangxi Province he had acquired a reputation as a pox specialist.¹⁹ That he was eventually able to settle down in Luotian in Huguang Province reflects a high degree of success in his profession.²⁰ His greatest ambition was that his son escape the social and material hardships associated with being a physician.²¹ He therefore invested a lot of money in Wan Quan’s education, enabling him to study under the two Confucian scholars of Luotian, Zhang Mingdao (1481–1553, *jinshi* 1529) and Hu Mingshu (*jinshi* 1532, d. 1533).²² The high hopes of both father and son for the son’s official career were not, however, to be fulfilled. While at the Confucian county school, Wan Quan applied for a government stipend, but his fellow students plotted against him and urged him to leave the school. In 1529, Wan Quan’s father died, and he — nearly thirty years old, with a household that included a wife, two concubines, and three sons — lost his main source of financial support:

Suddenly I had to fend for myself, and as I was still young, I could no longer afford the expense of being educated for a career as an official. [Moreover], my colleagues hounded me out [of the school]. Thus, I betrayed all the hopes that my father had placed in me. I withdrew and established myself as a physician. I took on students. I taught the classics, the canonical books, the various philosophers, history, tonal harmony, and calendar calculation as well as the writings of the authors of various periods.²³

One of the great medical problems during the Ming dynasty was the pox. This disease, which probably appeared in China around the fifth century,²⁴ played an enormous role in contemporary thinking and behavior. In earlier times pox had been described in books about internal medicine. But because the disease had become endemic and primarily affected children, since the twelfth century it had been dealt with in specialized pox and pediatric books. The adult population had developed a relative immunity and was less at risk.

According to traditional medical theory people had to have pox

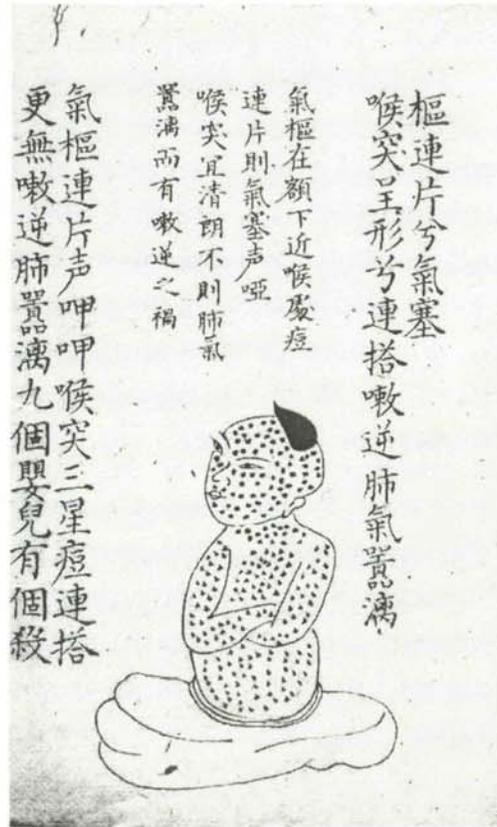
once in their lives, since all people carried a more or less strong embryonic poison in their bodies. The violence of the illness was furthermore explained by one's physical condition, the climate, and human fate. Although the illness could not be avoided, its symptoms could be alleviated by human intervention (see figure 1).²⁵

In 1533 and 1534 there was a pox epidemic in Huguang Province which also affected Luotian County. According to Wan Quan's writings, 80–90 percent of those infected died. Despite the risk of being held responsible for the deaths of his patients, Wan Quan involved himself, making house calls and dispensing drugs from his home pharmacy.²⁶

Skillful prognosis — knowing how to select the patients who had a good chance of recovery — was an essential aspect of medical practice. In his books Wan Quan often mentions physician colleagues who had to leave the county after a medical treatment had failed.²⁷ Wan Quan himself, however, was successful as both a healer and a prognosticator. When the epidemic was over, he had acquired a certain reputation in his home community as an expert in pediatrics and pox medicine. The fact that Wan Quan was a hereditary physician (*shiyi*), was certainly helpful — it was a commonly held opinion that a physician should only be trusted if his father and grandfather had practiced medicine as well.²⁸

At the age of forty, Wan Quan began to arrange the medical manuscripts his father had left him. Earlier he himself had written a few texts on internal medicine, pulse lore, and materia medica.²⁹ But these were academic exercises, commonly done by physicians who wanted to grasp the Confucian tradition. Now he turned back to his own roots, the medical experiences and theories of his father in the fields of pox and pediatrics. Here, he felt, he could both gain and give; this was the task to which he could make a contribution. He began to render his father's therapeutic theories and instructions in verse, as teaching material for his sons. The ample use of certain verse styles remained characteristic of all his books, including those of later periods (see "Bitter Truth," below).

It was Wan Quan's greatest hope that his sons would carry on the family tradition of medicine. Since he could not afford a formal education for them, he engaged in their instruction himself, trained them in the family tradition, and instructed them in all the fields of knowledge



1. Illustrations from *Michuan douzhen yusui* (Jade Marrow to Pox in the Secret Tradition), single manuscript copy after the 1599 edition. Library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing. This work, originally put together by the publishing house Yiqingtang in Jianyang (Fujian Province), contains sample texts on pox, among them two chapters of Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*. The Yiqingtang publishing house had several books by Wan Quan on its list. The rather unmoved expression of the two children with their folded arms should not be misinterpreted. Pox epidemics in Ming times were most severe and could kill eight out of ten of the children affected. The form and distribution of pox pustules on the body were two criteria by which physicians predicted the good or bad outcome of the illness. Still, pox was seen as a necessary disease on the way to adulthood.

he considered important. He wanted his sons to inherit the basics of the family trade, that is, the medical methods and the exact composition of the family prescriptions. These professional secrets were essential for a physician's business at a time when competition was tough and patents unknown.

In his fifties, however, Wan Quan began to extend his ambitions as a medical writer to include a wider audience. The preface to the *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* (Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox, hereafter referred to as *Essential Methods*), written in 1549,³⁰ displays the hope that his writings might reach a public readership and even find someone to sponsor a printing.

The preface also shows the son's strong dedication to his father. At that time Wan Quan still regarded himself mainly as a compiler and transmitter of his father's teachings, not as an author with his own ideas:

For this book that I called *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox*, I have collected our family prescriptions and put them into verse. May it be printed and benefit future generations all over the empire so that my father's art of humanity and the reputation of the two medical authors Qian [Yi] and Chen [Wenzhong] will never fade!³¹

Qian Yi (1032–1113?), the “saint of pediatrics,” and Chen Wenzhong (fl. 13th century), one of the first authors of specialized treatises on pox conditions, were both highly admired by Wan Quan, although they had different approaches to the treatment of pox.³² Qian Yi recommended a cooling therapy for all childhood eruptions, Chen Wenzhong a warming one.³³ Neither clearly differentiated between pox and measles. Wan Quan distinguished the different kinds of eruptions, and he believed that pox represented a disease entity manifesting in different conditions of heat or cold, with countless subdivisions. The disease could pass without any serious complications and should then not be treated at all. This was termed a “favorable course” (*shun*). According to Wan Quan the physician should only treat pox conditions of the “critical course” (*wei*). The treatment should aim at giving those conditions a favorable course. When the physician prognosticated an “unfavorable” (*ni*) pox condition,

it was usually time for his immediate withdrawal. The risk of being blamed for the death of the patient was high and often fatal for the physician.

In 1552 Wan Quan completed a second manuscript on pox, which, in an allusion to a Neo-Confucianist principle,³⁴ he called the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* (Discourse on the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge on Pox, hereafter referred to as *Discourse on Pox*). In contrast to the *Essential Methods*, it is written in prose, and its contents are much more theoretical. In the *Discourse on Pox* Wan Quan displays his Confucian education and his knowledge of the classics and of cosmological theories and philosophical concepts. He discusses different positions and traditions within pox medicine, all of which serves as a background to the specific approach of his father:

In all medical treatises the poison of the seasonal eruptions is regarded as the cruelest one. [Unfortunately, it is for these dangerous diseases that] the theories and therapeutic concepts of the ancients show ambiguities. [My father], however, has developed an understanding of [the mechanism of pox], which is beyond the written letters. . . . Master Hu Sanxi, Master Xiao Chuwu, and Master Wan Binlan had a look at my manuscript and urged me to have it printed under the title *Discourse on the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge [on Pox]*.³⁵ I could not oppose them and handed it over to the bookshop together with the *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician* for printing.³⁶

As we learn from this preface, Wan Quan had begun to find some respect among the literati in Luotian. The support of the local elite was not, however, enough to create a breakthrough for him. Publishing a book was expensive, and we may assume that Wan Quan's income was limited. The "printing" referred to in the quotation above must have been a kind that made possible only a limited number of copies. Neither Wan Quan himself nor any editor later refers to this "edition" again.

In 1567 Wan Quan received an invitation to treat the daughter of a high official, who was taken ill with chronic diarrhea. His journey to

Yunyang, the branch capital of Huguang Province, at the border area between Huguang and Henan, took him two days and two nights, but it was worth the effort. After his treatment the child recovered, and the father, full of gratitude and admiration, was willing to finance a printing of Wan Quan's books as a reward. Wan Quan could hardly have met a better advocate of his interests; the official was Sun Ying'ao (1528–1583?), grand coordinator, additionally vice-administration commissioner of Huguang and imperially sent vice censor-in-chief. During the two months Wan Quan stayed at his residence, Sun Ying'ao called for his medical help in matters of fertility, eyesight, and heart problems. This gave Wan Quan further occasion to demonstrate his medical ability.³⁷

In 1568 and 1569 Wan Quan finally had his first two works printed under the aegis of Sun Ying'ao: the practical *Essential Methods* and the theoretical *Discourse on Pox*.³⁸ The countless reprints of this book that were issued during the Ming and Qing dynasties indicate that its ideas exerted considerable influence all over the Chinese empire and also in Japan (see table 1).³⁹ Presumably the *Essential Methods* was widely accepted among physicians as well as the lay public because it filled a gap in the medical literature and medical knowledge of the time. Ming-dynasty books on pox commonly defined various and complex theoretical categories that were hard for nonscholars to understand and often did not contain any practical information, despite the great need for practical treatment instructions. Wan Quan's *Essential Methods* described concrete manifestations of pox and gave instructions for dealing with each of them. The success of the books may have been helped by the great authority of Sun Ying'ao,⁴⁰ who in his foreword gave a personal recommendation for Wan Quan (see figure 2):

In the first year of the Longqing era [1567], when I administered the frontier of the province Huguang, my daughter was taken ill. All kinds of physicians prescribed medicine but all without success. I heard that in Luotian there was someone called Wan who had had many wonderful results in the treatment of children. I let him come immediately and ordered him to examine my daughter's illness and treat her. And indeed, she recovered.

痘疹心法序

隆慶紀元予轄楚藩以女之病諸醫用藥皆不効聞羅
田有萬生療小兒有神驗二亟延至之命之診治女病
果愈予政暇時時與萬生卮談乃萬生非如他醫但
了一方一脈自售其術其爲業自素難下及近代醫
書靡不究悉源委剖別是非又能溯諸六經性理根
於吾儒之道信有本矣蓋萬生少嘗從事科舉以不
得志而遂隱於醫宜其世之爲醫者不能望而及也
萬生著有痘疹心法一書予爲梓之俾表見於世以
予愛文求醫之心推言之則爲父母之保赤子者斯

2. Wan Quan, *Douzhen shiyi xinfu* (Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox), 1568 edition. First page of preface. The only extant edition is at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The printing of this book and of the *Discourse on Pox* at the Huguang branch capital Yunyang was sponsored by grand commissioner Sun Ying'ao. The two books of this so-called Yun edition are in separate cases and consist of four booklets (*ce*) each. Reproduced from the collection of the Library of Congress.

Table 1
PUBLICATION HISTORY OF *DOUZHEN SHIYI XINFA*, 1568-1909

DATE	VERSION ONE ^a	VERSION TWO ^b	VERSION THREE ^c	VERSION FOUR ^d
1568		Ed. Sun Ying'ao Yunyang, Huguang		
1573		Ed. Sun Guangzu Huangzhou, Huguang		
1580?			Unknown editor	
1583		Ed. Chen Yunsheng Suzhou, Nanzhili		
1585		Ed. Cao Jixiao Shaoxing, Zhejiang		Posthumous edition "printed in the South." No longer extant.
1588		Ed. Ding Cilü Wuchang, Huguang		
1595				Ed. Wang Yiming Linzhang, Henan Title: <i>Douzhen xinfa</i>
1598-1599				Ed. Li Zhiyong Shaowu, Fujian Title: <i>Douzhen xinfa</i>
1601	Ed. Wu Mianxue Nanjing, Nanzhili Title: <i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Ed. Qin Dakui Nanchang, Jiangxi		
1610		Ed. Han Zhongyong Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	Ed. Peng Duanwu Yangzhou, Jiangsu Title: <i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	
1617			Ed. Deng Shichang Yongzhou, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	
1623		Ed. Wang Yuncheng Published by Qingyitang Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>		
1654	Ed. Wan Da Luotian, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			

DATE	VERSION ONE ^a	VERSION TWO ^b	VERSION THREE ^c	VERSION FOUR ^d
1658-1659				Ed. Wan Da Luotian, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>
1687			Ed. Cui Hua Yangzhou, Jiangsu Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa quanshu</i>	
1692			Published by Nakamura Magobee, Takeda Jiemon, Nishimura Riemon Kyoto, Edo Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	
1694				Ed. Zhang Wanyan Qiongzhou, Hainan, Canton Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa jinjinglu</i>
1695			Published by Nakamura Magobee Kyoto, Edo Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	
1712	Ed. Zhang Bocong and Zhang Tanyi Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Zhang Bocong and Zhang Tanyi Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>
1717			Published by Xuanhuitang Yangzhou, Jiangsu Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>	
1723	Ed. <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i> Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i> Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>
1724	Ed. Hu Lüe Published by Qingweitang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Hu Lüe Published by Qingweitang Jinxi, Jiangxi Title: <i>Douzhen xinfafa</i>

DATE	VERSION ONE ^a	VERSION TWO ^b	VERSION THREE ^c	VERSION FOUR ^d
1728			Published by Tanabe Sakuemon, Hayashi Gonbee, and Kawakatsu Gorōemon Edo Title: <i>Douzhen xinyao</i>	
1741	Published by Tongrentang and Fuwentang Jinxi, Jiangxi Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Published by Tongrentang and Fuwentang Jinxi, Jiangxi Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
1778	Ed. Zhang family Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Zhang family Published by Shilütang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
AFTER 1778	Published by Zhongxintang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Published by Zhongxintang Wuchang, Huguang Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
1817	Ed. Ouyang Duo Luotian, Huguang Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			Ed. Ouyang Duo Luotian, Hubei Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>
1857			Ed. Jueluo Hengbao Zizhou, Sichuan Title: <i>Douzhen xinfā</i>	
1909	Ed. Liu Honglie Wuchang, Hubei Title: <i>Pianyu douzhen</i>			

^a Corresponds to Wan Quan's manuscript written in 1549.

^b Corresponds to the so-called Yun[yang] edition of 1568.

^c Corresponds to the so-called Wanli edition issued around 1580.

^d Corresponds to the manuscript assembled around 1584.

When I had time to spare from the business of governing, I talked extensively with Wan and discovered that he was not like other physicians who just know their one prescription and their one pulse, and from there set out to sell their art. As to his profession, Wan has studied all the medical books from the [old classics] *Suwen* and *Nanjing* to the medical treatises of recent times.⁴¹

He has delved in depth into these books from beginning to end and precisely distinguishes what is true from what is false. He is able to trace their principles up to the Six Classics and [to the doctrine of] nature and principle. He is rooted in the Dao of our Confucian tradition. I believe that he has a real foundation.

In his youth he pursued an official career, but as he could not realize his ambitions, he withdrew from public life to pursue the study and practice of medicine (*yin yu yi*). No wonder that the physicians of his generation cannot compare with him! Wan wrote a book that he called *Essential Methods for the Treatment of Pox*. I had it cut [in woodblocks] to present it to the world because I am a father who loves his daughter and found help in medicine. I would like to transmit it to all those who are fathers or mothers and feel like me when they have to protect a child.

To protect a child is the most difficult task in medicine, but nothing is more difficult than to protect it when it is taken ill with pox. Those who read this book and go through it will find many prescriptions for the treatment of pox. May the art of Mr. Wan spread everywhere and gain acceptance!⁴²

Shortly after Wan's book was published, Sun Ying'ao's daughter was taken ill with a serious and "unfavorable" (*ni*) form of pox. Wan Quan managed to cure her a second time. He reports Sun Ying'ao's exclamation: "You have not deceived me! I do not repent that I supported the printing."⁴³ Sun Ying'ao bestowed on Wan Quan a certificate and a tablet with the inscription "*Ruyi*" (Confucian medical scholar).⁴⁴ In addition, he awarded him with the cap and belt of an imperial official.⁴⁵ It seemed as if Wan Quan had reached the goal of all his previous endeavors.

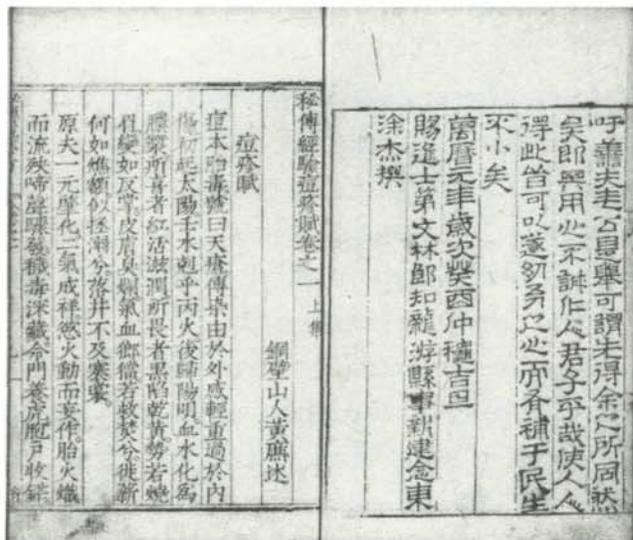
HUANG LIAN, IMPOSTOR AND CONJURER

Around 1551 an incident that was to have far-reaching consequences cast a shadow on the Wan family: all Wan Quan's manuscripts were stolen. The theft remained undiscovered for a considerable time because the manuscripts were secretly copied and put back.

Then in 1562 a book titled *Douzhen quanshu* (Complete Book on Pox) appeared in Ganzhou (Jiangxi Province), some hundred miles southeast of Luotian.⁴⁶ It consisted solely of Wan Quan's early verse. The alleged author Huang Lian (d. 1580) was a well-known figure from Qishui, a county adjacent to Luotian. Huang Lian must have had close contacts with various officials in the south. In a second edition of the *Douzhen quanshu* called *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang* and published in 1573 by prefect Tu Jie (*jinshi* 1571) in Zhejiang Province (see figure 3a) we learn that the first edition was sponsored by surveillance commissioner Mao Ruqi (*jinshi* 1601) and grand coordinator Lu Wen (*jinshi* 1544), both in office in Ganzhou at the time.⁴⁷ Thus, some ten years before Wan Quan's first publication, a plagiarized version was already circulating in the prosperous area of Jiangnan.

Huang Lian appears to have been a most flamboyant person. He claimed to have mastered the whole range of occult sciences from astrology, fortune telling, and geomancy to the magical art of becoming invisible, or transforming himself into somebody or something else. His presumptuous sobriquet, Tongbi shanren (mountain man as hard as a bronze wall), indicates that he liked to regard his body as invulnerable. A story about his capacities and his character has been handed down to us. One day he was challenged by a laughing crowd to treat an old dying tree. Huang Lian applied drugs to its roots, and the tree recovered. The healer demanded that he be invited for a drink as reward.⁴⁸

For his publication Huang Lian had combined various of Wan Quan's texts on the pox, but had made no other changes. Even the preface was taken verbatim from Wan Quan's introduction to the *Essential Methods*, but signed "Huang Lian." As a result of the blending of different manuscripts, many subjects are treated repeatedly in a similar way. Because the copy had been made by someone without medical knowledge, it also contains many copying mistakes. Nevertheless, the



3a



3b



3c

3a. *Michuan yingyan douzhen fang*, 1573 edition. Second edition of the plagiarism edited and sponsored by Tu Jie, prefect in Longyou (Zhejiang). The only known copy held at the Naikaku bunko, Tokyo. Only Huang Lian's name is given. The lines on the right of the text read: "Huang Lian styled mountain man hard as a bronze wall, transmitter [shu]." 3b. Wan Quan, *Douzhen quanshu*, 1574 edition. *Chongke Baoying quanshu* (New Edition of the Complete Book for the Protection of Children) appears as the title, followed by the attribution "Wan Quan styled Mizhai, native of Old Luo[tian], author (zhu)" and "Huang Lian styled mountain man hard as a bronze wall, transmitter (shu)." 3c. *Douzhen quanshu*, 1601 edition. This book is the first of eight books in the collection *Douzhen daquan* edited by Wu Mianxue. Wu Mianxue omits Huang Lian's name, but keeps the title. The lines on the right-hand side of the text read: "Wan Quan styled Mizhai, native of Old Luo[tian], author (zhu), and Wu Mianxue, native of Xin'an, collator (jiao)."

book quickly gained popularity, although it provoked criticism among scholars. Gao Wu (fl. 1515–1559) of Ningbo Prefecture, an official and author of famous acupuncture treatises, who had just published his own pox treatise in 1559, eventually wrote: “The author refers in many parts to the theory of Chen Wenzhong. At the beginning of every paragraph he echoes the statements of famous physicians of the past, but still he pretends that these are his own [insights].”⁴⁹ Because the original manuscript had been written for family use only, Wan Quan had put his stress on medical methods, not on literary correctness.

As Huang Lian’s publication had appeared six years before Wan Quan’s, one might think it was Wan Quan who had to establish that he was the real author and not the plagiarist. However, all sources indicate that this was not the case. It seems instead that Wan Quan felt the need to apologize for the poor quality of the plagiarism. Here is the postscript to the second section of “Suijinfu” (Bits of Gold in Prose-Poetry) in his own edition (see figure 4):

In the year *bingwu* [1546] of the Jiajing era I composed prose-poetry (*fu*) and verses to the tune of “Xijiangyue” on pediatrics and pox to teach my sons. In the winter of the year *jiyou* [1549] I wrote the *Essential Methods for the Treatment of Pox* and concealed it at home for a long time. I did not know that somebody had passed on and copied [the manuscripts], and what is more, plagiarized them and published them as his own creation.⁵⁰ When I wrote the text, my intention was not yet firm; I let the brush freely go and wrote without [restraint]. I would never have shown these writings to other people without feeling uneasy. [In this edition] I corrected many points and filled many of the former gaps.

Written by Quan himself in autumn of the year *wuchen* in the Jiajing era [1568]⁵¹

In Wan Quan’s home prefecture of Huangzhou it was soon understood that the impostor Huang Lian did not have the ability to write a medical book, and that the first plagiarized version of the *Complete Book on Pox* was by the same author as the *Essential Methods*.

鳴詞雖鄙俚兮積如累石法則珍秘兮故曰碎金

嘉靖丙午予嘗手作小兒痘疹賦西江月以教豚犬至己酉冬又著痘疹心要又藏於家不知有文相傳錄者更剽竊為已作刊之彼時見亦未定信筆草草安可示人今特改正以補前之罅漏耳

隆慶戊辰秋九月全自述

董三寫之倫刊

痘疹世醫心法卷之一

痘瘡節要總括論

羅田縣密齋萬全集

4. Wan Quan, *Douzhen shiyi xinfa*. 1568 edition. Postscript by Wan Quan to the second section of "Suijinfu." Unpaginated.

The prefect of Huangzhou, Sun Guangzu (*jinshi* 1559), had at first been an enthusiastic user of the “mountain man’s pox book” and was deeply disappointed when he discovered that the cherished pox treatise was a plagiarism. He encouraged a reprint of Wan Quan’s book in 1571, wrote the preface, and engaged for spreading “in every corner” word that the treatise by the man of Luotian, Wan Quan, surpassed by far the plagiarized version.⁵² In his administrative region as well as in his home prefecture of Siming (Ningbo), where the plagiarism had sold well, the news of an authentic and improved version was received with great interest.

After the publication of the *Essential Methods* by Wan Quan, Huang Lian moved away from Qishui County, the detection of the fraud making him persona non grata in his home prefecture. Although the gazetteer of Qishui remains silent about Huang Lian, the gazetteer of his exile county tells us that he had left his home at the end of the Jiajing era, followed a high official of the Ministry of War, and settled down in Huzhou, Zhejiang Province, on the shores of Lake Tai. Here, “between the three cities of Wu,” he lived as a respectable man.⁵³

The change of environment seems to have encouraged Huang Lian to continue his profitable business, this time together with Lu Wen, the official he had followed to Huzhou.⁵⁴ Lu Wen must have known about the fraud. Both found an ingenious way to justify Huang Lian’s part in the publication process: they declared Huang Lian to be the “transmitter” or “explainer” (*shu*) of Wan Quan’s text (see figure 3b). Adopting this role he could feel himself in good company. Two thousand years earlier Confucius had said: “I only transmit, I do not create anything new.”⁵⁵ In 1579 a new reprint of Huang Lian’s plagiarized version was edited by Xing Bang of Linqing, Shandong Province, under the title *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang* (Proven Pox Prescriptions in the Secret Tradition).⁵⁶ The phrase “transmitted by the mountain man Huang Lian” (*Shanren Huang Lian shu*) was used again, but Wan Quan’s name was omitted. It seems most probable that it was Huang Lian who arranged this presentation.

The local gazetteer of Huzhou mentions two other books allegedly written by Huang Lian: one on military strategy, called *Bingfa milu* (Secret Records on Military Tactics), and a medical book, *Shanghan*

zhaijin (Excerpts from the Teachings on Cold Damage).⁵⁷ The latter may well be another plagiarism of Wan Quan's work, since it has the same title as a manuscript Wan Quan wrote in the 1540s.⁵⁸ Both books are, however, lost.

After 1579 there are no more references to the "mountain man," and we may assume that he died in the early 1580s.⁵⁹ In 1601 Wu Mianxue, a scholarly publisher from Anhui and the editor of several medical treatises, put an end to the discussion about the origin of the *Complete Book on Pox* for the time being.⁶⁰ When he published the 1574 edition by Lu Wen in his *Douzhen daquan* (Great Book Collection on Pox), he omitted the name of Huang Lian as "transmitter" and inserted the name of Wan Quan as author (see figure 3c).⁶¹ Thus it is clear that the forgery of Wan Quan's pox treatise was understood in the sixteenth century, but this knowledge was eventually lost. In 1889 Huang Lian's treatise was published again (see table 2). It is only recently that Chinese bibliographies of medical literature stopped listing Huang Lian as the author of the pox treatise.

Plagiarism was obviously repudiated in Japan to a much greater degree than in China. Japanese pox specialists Ikeda Jūkō and Ikeda Zuisen (fl. 1818–1821) reacted with indignation when they rediscovered the similarity of Huang Lian's pox treatise to that of Wan Quan.⁶² Their argument, which is written by hand in red letters directly on the third page of Wu Mianxue's edition,⁶³ is recorded in the famous bibliography *Zhongguo yijikao* (Investigation into the Old Medical Literature of China) of 1819 by Tanba Mototane (also known under his honorary family name Taki). The Ikedas' accusation culminates in the exclamation: "Ah ya! How could the Ancients call somebody like this a mountain man: a man who stole the 'Complete Book on Pox' from Wan [Quan]!"⁶⁴

THE HEIRS OF THE FRAUD: DING FENG, THE SPIRITUAL HEALER

Ironically, the "mountain man" soon became a legend that itself could be manipulated by industrious plagiarists. As early as 1582 the forgery was newly faked. A healer by the name of Ding Feng (fl. 1554–1582), a native of Jiangpu in Jiangsu Province, took up the thread and created the myth of heaven-sent prescriptions handed down in ancient times by a

Table 2

PUBLICATION HISTORY OF WAN QUAN'S MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE *DOUZHEN SHIYI XINFA* (VERSION 1), WRITTEN BETWEEN 1546 AND 1550

PUBLICATION DATE	(ALLEGED) AUTHOR	TITLE	EDITOR OR EDITION	AVAILABILITY	LIBRARY
CA. 1560-1563	Huang Lian	<i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Mao Ruqi and Lu Wen Ganzhou, Jiangxi	lost	Reference of Wan Quan (1568, 1580), Mao Ruqi (1573), and Lu Wen (1574)
1573	Huang Lian	<i>Michuan jiangyan douzhen fang</i>	Tu Jie Longyou, Zhejiang	extant	Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1574	Huang Lian	<i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Lu Wen Huzhou, Zhejiang	extant	Naikaku bunko, Tokyo Shanghai tushuguan
1579	Huang Lian	<i>Michuan jiangyan douzhen fang</i>	Xing Bang Changlu, Beizhili	extant	China Academy of Medical Sciences, Beijing, Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1580-1618?	Zhu Danxi	<i>Youke quanshu</i>	Fu Shaozhang, Imperial Academy of Medicine Published by Fuchuntang, Nanjing	extant	Shanghai tushuguan Handwritten copy in Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1582	Ding Feng	<i>Michuan jingyan douke yuhanji</i>	Ding Mingdeng	extant	China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing
1582	Ding Feng	<i>Douke yuhanji</i>	Cai Yuelan Fengcheng, Jianxi	lost	Reference in <i>Zhongguo yijikao</i>
1601	Wan Quan	<i>Douzhen quanshu</i>	Wu Mianxue Xin'an, Nanzhili	extant	Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing libraries; Naikaku bunko, Tokyo
1654	Wan Quan	<i>Pianyu douzhen</i>	Wan Da Luotian, Huguang	extant	Luotian, China China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing
1723	Zhu Danxi	<i>Youke quanshu</i>	in <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i>	extant	
1723	Wan Quan	<i>Pianyu douzhen</i>	in <i>Gujin tushu jicheng</i>	extant	
1889	Huang Lian	<i>Michuan jingyan douzhen fang</i>	Publisher unknown	extant	Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine

mysterious “mountain man.” He published under his own name a book in six chapters with the title *Douke yuhan ji* (Collection of Prescriptions on the Discipline of Pox in a Jade Envelope).⁶⁵ Except for two chapters the content is identical with Huang Lian’s *Complete Book on Pox*.⁶⁶

A disciple of Ding Feng, Cai Yuelan (fl. ca. 1582), describes in a colophon his teacher as a healer with thirty years of experience in pox medicine, who had displayed supernatural abilities during a pox epidemic in the capital in 1582. The book is presented as a revision of secret scriptures by the two “ancient healers” Huang [Lian] of Huguang Province and a man of western Sichuan Province with the surname Long⁶⁷ and is said to be “pervaded by the spirit of Ding Feng.”

Cai recounts a conversation with Ding Feng. When he asked his teacher whether he had recorded his own wonderful prescriptions for potentially fatal pox conditions, Ding Feng laughed, patted Cai on the back, and said, “No, my friend, these are still in my belly!” Cai interprets this answer as a sign of his teacher’s greatness and supernatural powers. At the end of the colophon he even advances the daring comparison — drawing on the sound of the names — between Ding Feng styled Zhuxi (“stream in the bamboo wood”) and the famous Neo-Confucianist thinker Zhu Xi (1130–1200), and does not shy away from the additional comparison between himself, Cai Yuelan, and the famous follower of Zhu Xi, Cai Yuanding (1135–1198).⁶⁸

Ding Feng has bequeathed to us another medical work, the *Yifang jiyi* (Collection of Appropriate Medical Prescriptions). Here it is his grandson Ding Mingdeng (*jinshi* 1616) who writes the foreword and holds that his grandfather’s collection goes back to an “ancestor who had received these secret prescriptions in a dragon mountain cave from extraordinary men.”⁶⁹ Although the book is listed in the historical records of the Ming dynasty,⁷⁰ we have good reason to doubt that Ding Feng wrote it. But for the moment it would lead us too far astray to examine the origin of this book.

FU SHAOZHANG, THE DISCOVERER

Some time between 1580 and 1618 news spread that someone had discovered an old manuscript on pediatrics and pox medicine by the famous medical author Zhu Zhenheng, better known under his sobriquet

Danxi (1281–1358). The alleged discoverer, Fu Shaozhang, was a native of Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, the home city of the Wan clan. He immediately converted his finding into a publication and added the following foreword:

My humble self, Zhang, found a manuscript in a chest inherited from my honored grandfather. Skimming through the manuscript I noticed that it was on pediatrics. Carefully reading it again, I noticed that everywhere it bore the name and sign of [Zhu] Danxi. I presumed that it was my grandfather's wish to keep it secret and not to transmit it. [But then I thought] that even if I tried to keep it secret, it would never be possible to do so forever. Moreover, all scholars would certainly be happy to freely cast a glance into the hidden heritage [of Zhu Danxi]. How could I, Zhang, dare to keep my discovery secret?⁷¹

Fu Shaozhang's "discovery," however, represents a new juxtaposition of different stolen texts: the first part is identical with the pediatric verses that Wan Quan had written during 1546 and 1547; the second part represents a text on pediatric manual therapy (*tuina*) by an unknown author; and the third part — with the exception of a few passages of unknown origin — is identical with the version of the pox treatise plagiarized by Huang Lian.

Fu Shaozhang submitted the newly constructed forgery to the Imperial Academy of Medicine. Here it was acknowledged as an authentic work by Zhu Danxi and used as teaching material for medical students. The well-known Tang publishing family (fl. 1565–1639) in Nanjing had it printed under the title *Youke quanshu* (Complete Book on Pediatrics) (see figure 5).⁷²

The "discovery" of a pediatric text by Zhu Danxi was greeted with great interest and immediately registered in the medical bibliography *Yizang shumu* (issued around 1618).⁷³ During the Qing dynasty long passages from the parts on pediatrics and on the pox were included in *Gujin tushu jicheng* (Great Collection of Illustrations and Books of Old and New Times).⁷⁴ The encyclopedia quotes first the plagiarized texts — falsely attributed to Zhu Danxi — and then the more or less identical texts by Wan Quan. The fact that none of the editors of the famous

新刻太醫院校授丹溪秘藏幼科捷徑全書目錄

卷一

觀形察色法	西江月七首	辨小兒脈法	西江月二首
論小兒治法	西江月二首	胎疾	西江月十四首
變蒸	西江月二首	驚風	西江月六首
嘔吐	西江月二首	泄瀉	西江月十四首
吐瀉	西江月二首	痢疾	西江月八首
驚疾	西江月六首	發熱	西江月四首
哮喘	西江月一首	咳嗽	西江月七首
小兒急救驚風記		看小兒生死歌	
看孩童諸驚生死歌訣		諸驚名色	

朱丹溪先生著

幼科全書

文林閣唐錦池梓

5. On the right: *Youke quanshu* (Complete Book on Pediatrics). Edited by Fu Shaozhang. Cover page. Zhu Danxi is given as the author, Tang Jinchi of Wenlin'ge as the publisher. No date of publication is given. Shanghai Library holds the only copy. On the left: First page of the table of contents. The title here appears as "Xinke taiyiyuan jiao shou Danxi micang youke jiejing quanshu" (New Printing of the Secret Complete Book on Pediatrics in Shortcuts by Danxi, Collated and Taught at the Imperial Academy of Medicine).

encyclopedia noticed the similarity of the texts contributed to the confusion in Ming-dynasty pediatric and pox treatises facing us today.⁷⁵

BITTER TRUTH

In a society that cherishes filial piety as one of the strongest human bonds (and one that links every man to his ancestors), the case of a son robbing his own father is especially nasty. We can imagine the shock Wan Quan received when he discovered that this had happened to him. Some time between 1551 and 1568, Wan Quan realized that it was his eldest son, Wan Bangzhong (b. 1526), who had stolen his early manuscripts and sold them. Did Wan Quan know or suspect it soon after the theft? Or was he completely unprepared when the truth finally came out?

It was important to Wan Quan to clarify the history of his book, even if it meant disclosing to the public the misconduct of his son. At the age of nearly eighty he published a revised edition of the *Essential Methods*, adding a new preface and a chronology in which he followed the development of the different editions as well as the route his manuscripts took to arrive in the hands of the "mountain man." (I refer to this edition, tentatively dated 1580, as the Wanli edition.)⁷⁶ As the preface clarifies the origin of the different text versions, editions, and plagiarisms, I give its translation in full:

Chronology of the Different Editions of the *Essential Methods* for the Treatment of Pox

*The Ganzhou Edition*⁷⁷

It contains *The Essentials of Pox in Prose-Poetry* and verses written to the tune "Xijiangyue," all written in the years *bingwu* and *dingwei* [1546 and 1547]. These texts were intended to teach my sons. They are written in a rather simple and popular style so that they are easy to understand and easy to remember.

It also contains the memorizing *gekuo*-verses of the *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox*. These were written in the years *jiyou* and *gengxu* [1549 and 1550] and intended for posterity. I did not dare show them to anybody.

All these manuscripts, written in four years, were given without my knowledge to Yu Chaoxian⁷⁸ by my eldest son, Wan Bangzhong. Yu Chaoxian gave them to a man called Wang Lian.⁷⁹ This Wang Lian [pretended that] they were his own writings and had them printed in Junmen in the prefecture of Ganzhou.

The Yunyang Edition

It contains the *Essential Methods for the Treatment of Pox* and the *Important Treatise on the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge on Pox*. The latter was written in the years *renzi* and *guichou* [1552 and 1553]. Although it was complete, I concealed it in a chest and did not dare show it to anybody. But I always feared a disastrous flood [might occur again and destroy the manuscripts].⁸⁰ Then the imperially sent grand coordinator for the Yunyang region and vice censor-in-chief, His Excellence Sun, supported a printing in the government agency of the branch capital. This was in the year *jisi* of the Longqing era [1569]. Shortly before the printing I changed the title *Essentials [of Pox] in Prose-Poetry*⁸¹ into *Bits of Gold in Prose-Poetry*.⁸²

The Huangzhou Edition

It is of the year *xinwei* of the Longqing era [1571]. The prefect of Huangzhou, Sun [Guangzu], supported this printing. It is identical with the Yunyang printing and represents only a reprint.

The reason for the present printing is that after the *Essential Methods of a Hereditary Physician for the Treatment of Pox* had been printed there were still manifestations [of pox] that had not been fully described and therapeutic methods that had not been mentioned. The gaps it contained were countless. It could not claim to be a complete work.

I am growing old, and all these things are moving into the far distance. Therefore, I arranged the different manifestations [of pox] that I treated in bygone days with their appropriate therapeutic methods, and composed for every case history a theorem [in verses that could be memorized]. Every theorem has an

appendix of case histories. I also tried to fill the gaps [in the former editions]. Although there are now more than a hundred paragraphs, the subject has not been exhaustively discussed. I have to leave that which is not included to the worthies of the following generations.⁸³

Given the impact the affair of the stolen manuscripts had had on Wan Quan's personal and professional life, the chronology is astonishing in its matter-of-factness. Wan Quan must have felt that his very life work had been betrayed.

It seems, though, that the shock had also a positive effect, at least in retrospect: it initiated a gradual shift in Wan Quan's orientation. Before, he tried to keep his manuscripts secret; from then on he understood his findings as being of public interest, in a way similar to that with which we regard science and research today. His readership — if it is appropriate to use this modern word — had suddenly expanded enormously,⁸⁴ and though it was anonymous, it was much more demanding, ambitious, and sophisticated than his sons and apprentices had been. The title Confucian Medical Scholar (*Ruyi*) that Wan Quan had received fostered the consciousness of his being part of a prestigious group and carrying the responsibility for a particular tradition.

In the last years of his life Wan Quan was preoccupied with the single thought of how his oeuvre could fulfill the literary requirements of Confucian medical tradition and be transmitted independently of the family. He revised and polished the manuscripts he had already written; he also wrote new treatises on medical fields that were of personal interest to him but had not been part of the family tradition. With enormous exertion he assembled a group of specialized treatises that covered the wide range of medical subjects of the time: pediatrics, pox, gynecology, internal medicine, febrile illnesses, longevity, and fertility. These manuscripts formed a collection of Wan Quan's works that was published only after his death,⁸⁵ but that he had prepared himself.⁸⁶

Wan Quan gave all the treatises written after 1569 a new outline to protect them against new attempts at forgery. He supplemented them with case histories (dating from 1523 to 1572) of a defined circle of patients, which linked them unmistakably with his own person. Here he listed

dates, names, titles, and localities, as well as illnesses and treatments. The illnesses and their respective manifestations are all portrayed in the same order: two couplets of instructive memorizing verses (*gekuo*), theoretical exposition, treatment scheme, prescriptions, and exemplary case histories. The texts display a unity of structure and stylistic features that, together with the characteristic composition of his prescriptions, allow us to assign them to Wan Quan with a high degree of certainty. His lively style of writing, enriched with metaphors and anecdotes, moreover, distinguishes his books as works of a literary value seldom found in medical writing.

One of Wan Quan's main activities in his last years was the expansion and revision of his pox treatise. Practical aspects of treatment were discussed and many case histories woven into the text. Whereas the theoretical work *Discourse on Pox*, apart from some minor additions, retained the shape it had in 1552,⁸⁷ the practically oriented *Essential Methods*, written in 1549 and plagiarized by Huang Lian in the 1550s, underwent many revisions. Also, Wan Quan believed that his first edition of 1568 had long since become obsolete. As his chronology of editions reflects, however, he did not know that this version of the *Essential Methods* was being published over and over again. Indeed, the reprint of Wan Quan's book in Huangzhou by Prefect Sun Guangzu in 1573 had initiated a wave of imitations. It was common practice in Ming times for philanthropic officials to support the publication of medical texts to demonstrate their enlightened attitude and benevolence. Every prefect who attached importance to his duty as a Confucian political educator supported a new impression from the Yunyang-edition blocks and distributed it in the area under his administrative power.⁸⁸ In their forewords, however, the honorable personalities paid homage only to each other, never to Wan Quan.⁸⁹

Since none of these editions contains any reference to Wan Quan, Chinese researchers have usually assumed that Wan Quan died around 1579. It is true that the last preface we have from his hands is dated 1579.⁹⁰ But a comparison of all extant editions allows us to identify yet another version of the *Essential Methods*. It contains textual revisions clearly made by Wan Quan himself that are not included in the 1579 version. Furthermore, the *Discourse on Pox* and the *Essential Methods* were put together and for the first time consecutively numbered, presumably

by the editor.⁹¹ This last version is tentatively dated 1584.⁹² It is included in the posthumously published collection *Complete Medical Books by Wan Mizhai* under the title *Douzhen xinfu* (Essential Methods for Pox).

Thus, we have at least two versions of the text of the *Essential Methods* prepared before 1579 and two prepared after 1579, and can assess the progress of Wan Quan's writing from 1568 until the end of his life. We can differentiate the editions by the number of memorizing verses (*gekuo*).⁹³ Wan Quan enlarged the *Essential Methods* from 153 couplets in 1549, to 203 couplets in 1568, and finally to 233 couplets in 1580 and 1584 (see table 3; for the publication history of these versions, see table 1).

As Wan Quan says himself in his chronology of the different editions, he had supplemented the *Essential Methods* with case histories. Indeed, the two editions written after 1579 contain case histories, the two written before 1579 do not. Version 4, which has the same number of couplets as version 3, differs from it in content: the case histories are newly arranged, anecdotal information is deleted, and many expressions are changed.⁹⁴

The history of the editions of his pox treatise shows that Wan Quan was never content with what he had achieved. Even after the great

Table 3
NUMBER OF COUPLETS IN THE CORRESPONDING CHAPTERS (JUAN) OF THE
DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF *ESSENTIAL METHODS*

CHAPTER	VERSION 1	VERSION 2	VERSION 3	VERSION 4
	1549	1568	1580	1584
1	14	14	19	19
2	15	16	19	19
3	18	18	22	22
4	26	32	35	35
5	20	25	34	34
6	17	17	19	19
7	5	11	11	11
8	in chap. 9	32	36	36
9	38	26	26	26
10	-	12	12	12
Sum	153	203	233	233

NOTE: The numbering of the chapters differs in the four versions.

revision undertaken to prevent further forgeries, he still felt committed to improving the text. If my assumption concerning the date of his birth is correct, Wan Quan must have been at least eighty-four when he made his last brushstroke on a manuscript or gave his last instructions for changes. We may assume that he continued to work until he died.

WAN QUAN'S LAST WILL AND THE FOLLOWING GENERATIONS

Although Wan Quan was concerned throughout his life with completing his pox treatise, he seems to have considered the *Youke fahui* (Elucidations of Pediatrics) his most important book.⁹⁵ He regarded this pediatric treatise as representing the essence of his medical knowledge and experience. In his preface he summarizes the endeavors of his professional life. It may well be regarded as a kind of will:

I wrote a book called *Family Secrets for the Rearing of Children* that I intended to bequeath to my sons and grandsons as a third-generation [legacy]. Alas, I have ten sons, and none of them can carry on [our art of healing]. . . . Later I wrote the book *Elucidations of Pediatrics*. . . . I do not leave it to my sons: I fear that they will not understand its meaning. The fruitful tradition of the Wan family has not yet reached the fourth generation but is breaking off.⁹⁶

Obviously, Wan Quan had given up hope that any of his sons — not just his eldest, Bangzhong, who had stolen the manuscripts, but his nine other sons as well — might carry on the family tradition of medicine. However, he tried not to be too hard on them:

The discipline [of pediatrics incorporates] the secret traditions of our ancestors, who wanted to bequeath them to their sons and grandsons as their precious legacy. Now, even though I have ten sons, they are all unsophisticated. They do not know how to protect precious things and can easily be tempted to reveal secrets. I am really very much concerned about that.⁹⁷

Wan Quan was also critical of his apprentices from outside the family, reproaching them for being more interested in business than in ethics. In the preface quoted above he compares his apprentices to Chen Xiang,

the disciple of Confucius, who forgot all that he had learned and followed a merchant.⁹⁸

If we look for reasons that all ten of Wan Quan's sons displayed such a lack of professional zeal, we cannot ignore the impact of the changing political and economic situation at the end of the Ming dynasty. The rapid growth of commerce produced a tremendous ferment that involved all realms of society. Wan Quan's sons, who had known since childhood the hardships of a physician's life, may have tried to escape their status and looked for easier ways to earn their living. Economic constraints as well as new social and economic chances may have played a much greater role in the professional life of the sons than in that of Wan Quan in his youth.

I have found no source that indicates whether after Wan Quan's death any of his sons achieved a reputation in medicine or continued to practice medicine at all. The only reference to Wan Quan's sons we have is from a friend of the Wan family, Wang Yiming, who had grown up in the neighboring county of Huanggang. While in office as prefect of a county in Henan Province, Wang invested a great deal of money to get Wan Quan's pox treatise printed. He dedicated the edition to Wan Quan and his sons, declaring that his late father was a close friend of Wan Quan's son Bangzheng.⁹⁹ Wang Yiming's colophon is full of grief: Wang Yiming had lost his own son through a pox disease, and, as he explains, only because in Henan appropriate medical treatment had not been available and he had had no access to Wan Quan's book.

According to the defective family register of the Wan clan,¹⁰⁰ Wan Quan's grandsons were not as numerous as one might expect (see the genealogical tree in figure 6). Only one child is recorded for each of the ten sons, and we know little about the lives of either the sons or the grandsons. The next generation dwindled to six, if we are to believe the family register. Two of these six great-grandsons moved away from Luotian, one to the northern province of Shaanxi, one to an unknown place. Nothing is known about the four who stayed in Luotian, apart from the fact that one of their sons later republished Wan Quan's writings. But none of the descendants seems to have excelled in any profession. In Luotian County today the members of the Wan clan are peasants. The decline may have been caused by the unrest experienced

at the time: between 1630 and 1651 Luotian was repeatedly involved in the rebellions of tenants and bond servants that had started in the neighboring county of Macheng.¹⁰¹ These multicentered rebellions taking place all over the empire heralded the end of the Ming dynasty.

Around 1650 all the woodblocks used for the first edition of Wan Quan's collected works were destroyed by fire. The copies stored in the library of Luotian also burned.¹⁰² It was Wan Quan's great-great grandson Wan Da (marked with an asterisk in the genealogical tree in figure 6), great-grandson of Wan Quan's third son, Bangzheng,¹⁰³ who prevented the legacy of his famous ancestor from disappearing forever. He brought to light a set of Wan Quan's manuscripts that had been hidden in the wall of the house and survived the period of rebellion. Wan Da personally took responsibility for a new printing of the manuscripts (see figure 7). Engraving new woodblocks took six years (see table 4) and was supported by various magistrates of Luotian County.¹⁰⁴ To create a publishing sensation, Wan Da first issued two manuscripts that, as he declared, contained the most secret family traditions: *Wanshi michuan pianyu douzhen* (Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pox) in thirteen *juan* and *Wanshi michuan pianyu xinshu* (Essential Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pediatrics) in five *juan*.¹⁰⁵

Both books were welcomed as if their contents were of the highest value. The *Jade Book on Pox* is, however, identical with the version of the pox treatise of 1550 that had been plagiarized by Huang Lian and his "heirs." The *Essential Jade Book on Pediatrics* is identical with the pediatric verses of 1546 that Fu Shaozhang had published in his *Shortcuts from the Complete Book on Pediatrics* and attributed to Zhu Danxi.¹⁰⁶ Both manuscripts were written by Wan Quan between 1546 and 1550 with the explicit aim of teaching his sons.¹⁰⁷ Wan Quan later felt that they were too simple and full of mistakes. As he held to a concept of progress in his medical ideas, he eventually regarded them as obsolete. There are good reasons to doubt whether he would have approved of the dramatic release of these manuscripts to a public readership without explanations or corrections.

Among the ten sons of Wan Quan listed in the family register is one called Wan Bangning (see the middle of the genealogical tree in figure 6). His name, if not his person, eventually came to play a major



7. Wan Quan, *Wan Mizhai shu*. Cover page of the 1778 edition, published by the Zhang family's Shilütang publishing house in Hanyang. This edition was first issued in 1712 by Zhang Bocong (father) and Zhang Tanyi (son). Zhang Tanyi is mentioned on the right-hand side of the cover page with his courtesy name Zhang Kezhai. In 1778 two grandsons, Zhang Renda and Zhang Renzuo, produced a new impression and added a colophon. According to their colophon, all ten books had been newly arranged according to the logic of the reproductive cycle: thus longevity, fertility, general medicine, and gynecology (birth medicine) were placed before pediatrics and pox medicine. (See the list of titles in the two lines on the left-hand side.) Collection of the Gest Library.

Table 4

WORKS INCLUDED IN THE WAN DA EDITION OF *WAN MIZHAI YIXUE QUANSHU*
(COMPLETE COLLECTION OF MEDICAL BOOKS BY WAN MIZHAI), 1654-1659

1654	<i>Wanshi michuan pianyu douzhen</i>	Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pox	13 juan
1655	<i>Wanshi michuan pianyu xinshu</i>	Essential Jade Book of the Wan Family's Secret Tradition on Pediatrics	5 juan
1656-1657	<i>Xinjuan Wanshi jiacang yuying jiami</i>	New Cut of the Wan Family's Secrets for Rearing Infants	4 juan
1656-1657	<i>Xinjuan Luotian Wanshi jiacang furen mike</i>	New Cut of the Wan Family of Luotian's Tradition of the Secret Specialty of Gynecology	3 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan baoming gekuo</i>	Memorizing Verses of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Protection of Life	35 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao</i>	Essentials of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Multiplying of Offspring	16 juan
1658-1659	<i>Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan shanghan zhaijin</i>	New Printing of the Wan Family's Excerpt for Cold Damage	2 juan
1658-1659	<i>Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan yangsheng siyao</i>	New Printing of Four Essentials of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Nourishment of Life	5 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan youke fahui</i>	Elucidation of the Wan Family's Tradition for Pediatrics	2 juan
1658-1659	<i>Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa</i>	Essential Methods of the Wan Family's Tradition for the Treatment of Pox	23 juan

role in the further destiny of Wan Quan's legacy. A book in which a person by this name is mentioned in connection with certain events at the emperor's court is the most puzzling example of plagiarism centering on Wan Quan's works.

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Before going into the details of this case of the mysterious court physician, I would like to make some general observations. All the material I

have gathered suggests that plagiarism was not regarded as a serious problem in the Ming dynasty. Rather the reverse: encouraged by the great expansion of commercial publishing in the context of changing economic and social structures, a multitude of dubious authors published medical works by adopting and falsifying the books or manuscripts of others. There seems to have been a high demand for medical books that contained treatment instructions for private use. Cleverly designed manuals on selected medical problems, equipped with a set of prescriptions, preferably of "secret" origin, sold extraordinarily well.¹⁰⁸ Eager to meet the needs of their customers, commercial publishing houses did not carefully scrutinize the manuscripts they were offered. Indeed, the publishing houses augmented the confusion by producing their own abridgments and arrangements of authors and texts they had in production (see figure 1).¹⁰⁹ No editor, no publisher ever uses the word "plagiarize" (*piaoqie*). The only person I found who characterized a plagiarism as theft is the author — Wan Quan.

It is true that Confucian literati lamented the corruption of canonical texts through coarse, profit-oriented printing procedures and pirated editions.¹¹⁰ But their criticism focused on the carelessness of carvers and printers, which led to errors and omissions that could change the meaning of a text.¹¹¹ The issue of intellectual property was hardly discussed. The fact that the value of Confucian authors tended to lie not in their innovative approach, but rather in their ability to illuminate a specific problem with the arguments of earlier authors, fostered the attitude in China that plagiarism was a trivial offense. This attitude seemed to dominate until today. Not so, however, in Japan. Here, the perception of plagiarism as a serious moral problem led to the early establishment of copyright law.¹¹²

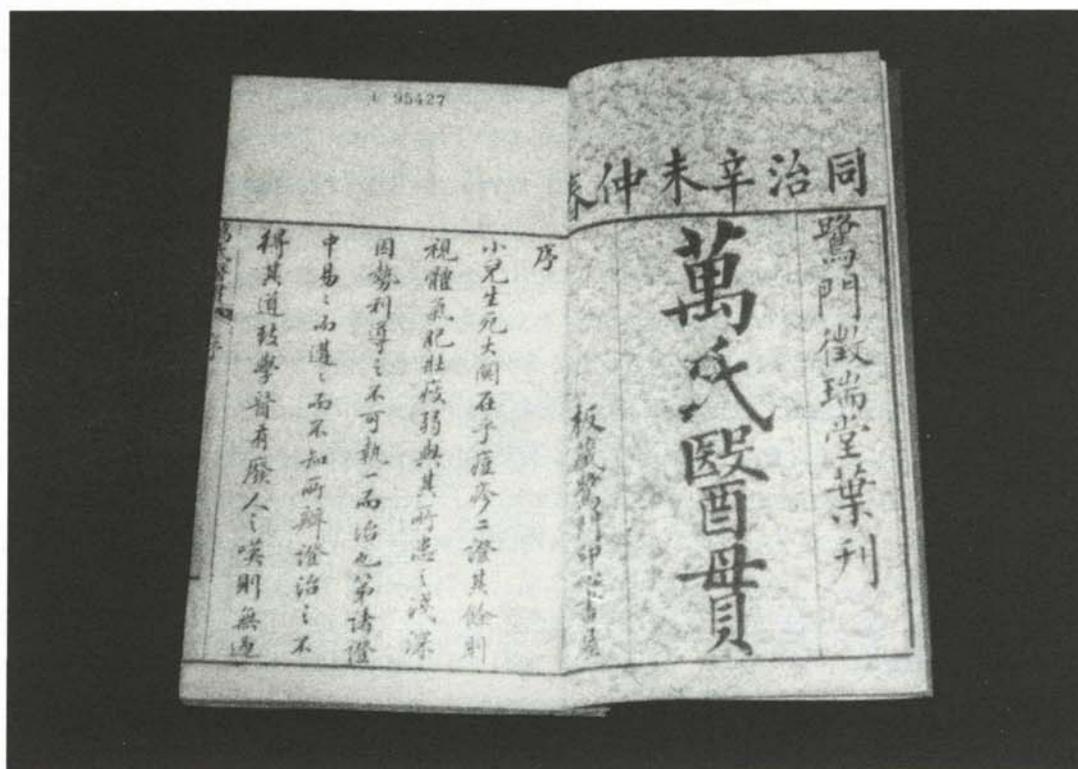
The fate of medical books dealing with pox and pediatric medicine may well serve as an example of the fate of Chinese medical books in general. Wan Quan's oeuvre represents an authoritative part of the literature on pox and pediatric medicine of the Ming dynasty. Its development can explain how medical publication on a small scale, and the transmission of a medical oeuvre on a large scale, worked during a time that differs much from ours in social, economic, and structural terms. To find out that a considerable part of the medical literature was faked (in

the sense of being plagiarized, published under different titles and authors, or representing a blend of different texts) is of course disturbing. But once we become accustomed to looking at this printing history without the prejudices of someone living in “copyright land,” we can use this new knowledge as the basis for a more realistic approach to the history of Chinese medical books. The fate of Wan Quan’s legacy helps us discover an enormous benefit that pirated editions brought to all fields of knowledge: they supplied the public with information on a scale that would never have been possible under modern copyright laws. Wan Quan’s fame — like that of many other scholars — was probably founded to a considerable extent on the fact that because of the number of plagiarized versions, his writings circulated all over the empire. That parts of the publications were distributed without the author’s knowledge and agreement was part of the price that had to be paid for this advantage. Another part of that price is paid by modern researchers who face confusion not only in the history of books, but in the history of ideas as well.

THE MYSTERIOUS COURT PHYSICIAN

It was in 1994, while doing research at the library of the Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine, that my curiosity was aroused by a little-known book on pediatrics. As my investigation had uncovered more and more examples of plagiarism and misattribution, I had begun to approach each new manuscript with some suspicion: any treatise lacking a complete pedigree was in my eyes a potential plagiarism. The book I was looking at was called *Wanshi yiguan* (The One Thread through the Medicine of the Wan Family, hereafter referred to as *The One Thread*).¹¹³ Although the title suggested that the book might deal with the medicine of Wan Quan and his ancestors, this notion was quickly dispelled. The preface entitled “Original Preface by Mister Wan” (Wanshi yuanxu) bears a signature and seal marks “Wan Xian / Bangning,”¹¹⁴ according to the preface a high-ranking physician at the imperial court during the Jiajing era (1522–1566). It was dated the first year of Longqing era, that is, 1567.

The edition I had come across is an 1871 printing by the publish-



8. Wan Bangning, *Wanshi yiguan* (The One Thread through the Medicine of the Wan Family), 1871 edition. On the right: Cover page. The book consists of three thread-bound volumes titled “heaven,” “earth,” and “man.” The horizontal line at the head of the cover page reads “In the second month of spring in the year *xinwei* of the Tongzhi era [1871]” (Tongzhi *xinwei* zhongchun). On the left: The vertical line in the center reads “Wanshi yiguan.” The line of text on the right-hand side reads “Printed by Ye from the publishing house Zhengruitang in Lumen [Amoy]” (Lumen Zhengruitang Ye kan). The line of text on the lower left-hand side reads “The woodblocks are stored at the Yinxin shuwu in Lumen” (Ban cang Lumen Yinxin shuwu).

ing house Zhengruitang of Lumen (the old name of Amoy), and represents, according to all contemporary bibliographies, the earliest edition (see figure 8).¹¹⁵ It is supplied with a foreword by a certain Wang Jingxian of Fuzhou, whose identity is not clear.¹¹⁶ Wang writes that Ye Qingju (styled Wenlan) of Lumen had “received” the manuscript and, because he was committed to charity projects for poor children and orphans, had published it. This is all we know about Ye Qingju, who is not to my knowledge recorded in any gazetteer or other biographical source. As

the owner of a publishing house, he presumably was not a physician. Wang, who claims to be ignorant about medicine himself, gives no further information about the origin of *The One Thread*. The foreword is followed by two stamps similar in style to the stamps of “Wan Xian” and “Bangning” mentioned above.¹¹⁷ Although no bibliography published before 1871 includes this book, modern bibliographies, starting with Cao Bingzhang’s *Zhongguo yixue dacheng zongmu tiyao* (preface 1935), all hold that *The One Thread* was first published in 1567, which is the year given in the “Original Preface by Mister Wan.” The most recent bibliography of Chinese medicine, *Zhongguo yiji tongkao* (1990–1994), published by the Shanghai Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, commends the book for its superior structure and content. The famous prescription *Wanshi niuhuang qingxinwan* (Bovine Bezoar Heart-Clearing Pills of Mister Wan), still widely used today, is said to originate in this book.¹¹⁸

Strangely enough no one seems to have realized that *The One Thread* — apart from a few minor differences — is identical with Wan Quan’s most important pediatric work, the *Youke fahui*.¹¹⁹ One reason may be that the “Original Preface by Mister Wan” is so long and eccentric that it has the ring of truth.

The “Original Preface by Mister Wan”

The preface begins conventionally:

In my youth I read the holy books of Confucius, where it says that a man without perseverance cannot become a physician.¹²⁰ . . . [I, Wan Bang] Ning, have practiced medicine my whole life long and attended to both my father and the emperor. That someone is devoted [to his father and the emperor] is his duty and not at all extraordinary.¹²¹

The (alleged) autobiographical tale that follows this introduction is long and overblown, so I restrict myself here to a synopsis: Wan Bangning is trained by his father as a fifth-generation physician and “since his milk-tooth childhood” imbued with the desire to rescue people from suffering. His struggles to improve the lot of all people find their highest fulfillment when the emperor orders the education intendants of all

provinces to search the empire for "hidden talents": among the countless aspirants of his province it is he, Wan Bangning, who is selected to serve at the court.¹²²

As physician of the Imperial Academy of Medicine in the capital, Wan Bangning is in direct contact with the emperor and receives a regular salary. He is so devoted to the emperor that he "crawls on the floor" and neglects both himself and his family. But his devotion cannot prevent his sudden and unexpected fall from grace at the age of ninety. This episode is recounted using all the technical jargon — bureaucratic as well as medical — of the period:

In the year *jiazi* of the Jiajing era [1564], on the day of the hundred flowers,¹²³ a flying bear entered the bosom of the imperial concubine of the inner palace, Her Highness Gan. The eunuch in office reported to the emperor that Her Highness Gan of the sixth palace was pregnant with a "dragon fruit." The emperor was delighted. Hardly three months later Her Highness Gan was taken ill with intermittent fever. The imperial physician Zhu Lin was commanded to come to the palace, kneel down, take her pulse, and inform the emperor [about the illness]. Zhu prescribed a concoction of Bupleurum roots and cinnamon twigs (*Chaihu guizhi tang*) in three doses.¹²⁴ [Her Highness] was healed.

But then, on the day of the Duanwu-festival,¹²⁵ Her Highness Gan walked on the golden bridge together with her maid-in-waiting. She amused herself on the dragon boats, and this excitement caused an abortion of the fruit. [The reasons] were not revealed to the emperor. He was told instead that [the abortion] was caused by a mistake of the physician. The Dragon Throne flew into a rage and did not distinguish black from white: all members of the Imperial Academy of Medicine were submitted to criminal punishment by the six ministries and nine chief ministers — the person chiefly responsible was beheaded, all auxiliary duty officers throttled, and the others flogged and banished.¹²⁶

Wan Bangning, although he was in his ninetieth year, was spared nothing: he was flogged and sent to the extreme south of China. During the

long journey of seven thousand *li* to the remote province of Guangxi, he “sleeps in the snow while blizzards lash” his body. “Tears run down the face” while he wonders, “Is this the life for an old man of spirit?”

After his arrival in Guangxi fortune smiled on him again. The vice-prefect of his exile prefecture Wuzhou, Ke Wenzhao, welcomed the old physician and treated him with great respect. The two men started a lively interchange of ideas and discovered in each other the soulmate they had searched for all their lives. Wan Bangning — or, better, the person who wrote the preface — describes Ke Wenzhao as a remarkably hospitable and cultivated man who spent his leisure time with poetry and gardening and felt a deep affection for all living beings. He praises Ke Wenzhao’s liberal-mindedness, generosity, and tolerance, and suggests that Ke would be the right person to become chief minister of rites at the court: his talent for reconciling conflicts would be worthy of registration in the dynastic records.

Three years had passed when Wan Bangning received the news of his rehabilitation and was summoned back to the court. “Tears run down and wet the garments” of both men — not tears of joy but tears of pain at parting. Back at court Wan Bangning was promoted to medical commissioner, but not a single day passed without his missing his friend. The physician felt too old to pay his debts to Ke Wenzhao, and promised to serve him in his next life as a dog or a horse. Within the short period that was left to him he arranged his “ancestors’ prescriptions” and “composed” *The One Thread through the Medicine of the Wan Family*.¹²⁷ He dedicated the book to his friend.

The last part of the preface is strangely incongruous. Wan Bangning points out that he had always been a respected physician with an impeccable reputation and not a single case that he needed to be ashamed of. This self-praise is followed by a qualification: “Since I have entered the capital and the Imperial Palace there has not been a single case of medical success that is worth mentioning. Serving the emperor and living from his favor, how could I dare to give my opinion frankly?”

We know from many sources that the physicians who served at court were indeed under enormous pressure. They could never afford to take risks, which means they were unlikely to develop new methods or prescriptions.¹²⁸ But the contrast between the noble and generous behav-

ior of people in the provinces and the decadent and rude court life — a topos encountered frequently in Chinese literature — appears as a strong criticism that goes far beyond the frame of a preface.

Then the writer asked Ke Wenzhao to add a foreword, since this would increase the book's reputation a hundredfold. Yet only a few sentences before, he had presented the manuscript to Ke Wenzhao and his family for private use only:

This manuscript I give to Your Excellency as a present. If Your Excellency considers this treatise to be poor, he should throw it away. If he considers it precious, he may keep it and put it on his highest shelf. Perhaps some day one of his worthy descendants will not despise the low art of my profession. If anyone studies this manuscript only once, he will become a famous physician.¹²⁹

From today's perspective it seems unlikely that this bold statement would have been written by an experienced physician who knew about the perils of medical practice. Moreover, it is most unusual that the author does not mention the exceptional features and difficulties of his field. Although the book is about pediatrics, the words "pediatrics" or "children" appear nowhere in the preface.

The signature eventually displays the same stylistic features that were found in the preface — it is long, detailed, and pretentious:

Wan Xian, Bangning, from Huanggang County in Huguang Province, graduate of the National University, in his ninety-third year; at present in office as medical commissioner (*yuanshi*) at the Imperial Academy of Medicine, keeper of the seal on behalf of the academy, receiving the salary for officials of the fourth rank;¹³⁰ promoted one grade from the former position of an imperial physician directly serving the emperor (*yuqian shizhi yuyi*), receiving the salary for officials of the sixth rank. Full moon of the first month of the first year of Longqing.

I have not found a single bibliography between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century — not even a bibliography of a local gazetteer — that contains any reference to a book with the title *The One Thread through the*

Medicine of the Wan Family or to its alleged author. Furthermore, none of the extant editions contains the foreword by Ke Wenzhao that the writer had asked for. A vice-prefect in Wuzhou by the slightly different name of Ke Wenshao (*juren* 1537) did, however, exist in the Jiajing period. His names, examination dates, and positions all fit into the story. But before going into these details, I briefly compare *The One Thread* to the book I presume to be the original: the *Elucidations of Pediatrics* by Wan Quan.

Comparisons

As I have mentioned before, the *Elucidations of Pediatrics* (hereafter referred to as *Elucidations*) is Wan Quan's most important pediatric work. It was completed in 1579 (date of the preface by Wan Quan) and first published in 1599, that is, fourteen years after his death. A comparison of this book with *The One Thread* reveals that the two are nearly identical, but that there are differences in the presentation of text, prescriptions, and case histories.

The One Thread is divided into three parts (each forming a separate volume) that are called "Heaven," "Earth," and "Man." The structuring of a book according to the cosmological categories of heaven, earth, and man has a long tradition in encyclopedias and comprehensive pharmacological works. It is most unusual, however, in a small specialized treatise. In *The One Thread* the division into three is both illogical and inappropriate, because the text is based on a system of five categories, namely, the five organs. Consequently, the *Elucidations* is divided into five main sections, plus an opening paragraph on neonatal diseases.

All sections in the *Elucidations* represent a blend of theory, teaching dialogues, case histories, and prescriptions. Although this general form is not changed in *The One Thread*, there are some modifications. Each case history is set against the theoretical explanation by the phrase "clinical experience" (*zhengyan*), an expression Wan Quan never uses in his books. Where the *Elucidations* gives the name and composition of a prescription, *The One Thread* gives only the name plus a number. All prescriptions with their respective composition are recorded in a three-fold numbered list (1-277, 1-17, 1-25) in the "Man" section.¹³¹

In the last version of Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*, written about the same time as the *Elucidations*, we also find a numbering system. It is

striking that the prescriptions numbered 1-147 in *The One Thread* are identical with the numbered index of prescriptions in the *Essential Methods*. At the end of his productive period Wan Quan must have developed a system that allowed him to identify each of his prescriptions by number and to use the same number in each new book. This leads to three hypotheses. First, Wan Quan wrote a version of the *Elucidations*, no longer extant, that contained the numbering system, and this version served as a model for the plagiarist. Second, Wan Bangning (or whoever is hiding behind this name) shifted all prescriptions from the main text to an appendix that he called "Man" and replaced them by the corresponding numbers. He used the index of the *Essential Methods* for the first 147 prescriptions and continued the numbering for the rest. Third, the numbered index was drawn up in the same way by the group of collators mentioned on the first page of the table of contents.¹³²

The last assumption seems to me the most plausible, because there are several reasons that speak against the other two. The numbered list contains too many errors to have been written by Wan Quan himself. Several prescriptions are repeated under different numbers, and some of the prescription names are obvious nonsense.¹³³ The threefold numbering system does not make much sense either. There is a possibility, though, that the plagiarist copied the numbered index in haste and confused some parts of it.

The whole of *The One Thread* gives the impression that either the writer or the carver had problems with certain passages and arbitrarily omitted or changed difficult passages or characters. The plagiarist's carelessness is displayed in a phrase that appears several times in the text of *The One Thread*: "The *Elucidations* read" (*Fahui yun*),¹³⁴ which the plagiarist either forgot to cross out or believed would not arouse suspicion.

The sloppy way the text of the treatise is dealt with also speaks against the second assumption. If it was the plagiarist who introduced the numbering system to his book, he must have taken great pains to rework the original structure according to the system in the *Essential Methods*. But he did not take much trouble in other parts of the book. Everywhere else he left out anything that needed effort to make it fit into his plagiarized version. If I am right, and the index in *The One Thread* was drawn up by the collators, then the plagiarism must have been done in

two stages: one that made all details referring to the author and his work unidentifiable, and one that improved the part on the prescriptions in accordance with Wan Quan's own intentions, but unfortunately without his knowledge and carefulness.

Most interesting for a comparison of the original and the plagiarized version are the case histories. Although we can only speculate as to why the plagiarist rearranged the prescriptions — maybe he wanted to impress readers by having so many pages of the table of contents filled with the numbered index — the reasons for his changes in the case histories are quite obvious. The aim was to veil the identity of the author: wherever Wan Quan in the original text refers to himself as "Quan," the plagiarist either leaves out the sentence or simply says "I." Whenever Wan Quan's family circumstances are mentioned in the original text, they are made unidentifiable in *The One Thread* (words such as my son or my son-in-law are deleted, and the names are changed).

To make the publication date of 1567 plausible, the presumed plagiarist had to avoid everything that could have led to the identification of patients, dates, and places. Therefore many case histories are left out altogether. Others are changed in a way that fits in with this aim. A good example is the three case histories of the daughter of Wan Quan's former patron, Governor Sun Ying'ao (see "On the Trail of a Physician's Career," above). They are particularly interesting because they are dated 1567, 1568, and 1573, thus partly after the alleged year of publication for *The One Thread*. The plagiarist never gives Sun Ying'ao's full name and makes his residence and the area of his responsibility unrecognizable by enigmatic expressions like "Zhengyang" instead of Yunyang or "Huma" instead of Huguang Province.¹³⁵ Neither Sun's exact titles nor the time of the episodes are given. (See, for example, the case history in the appendix.)¹³⁶ In contrast to those in *The One Thread*, case histories in the *Elucidations* are supplied with details that are confirmed by local gazetteers.¹³⁷ Sun Ying'ao had indeed been vice administration commissioner in 1567 and grand coordinator in Yunyang in 1568–1569 and again in 1573, just as is said in the *Elucidations*. Besides, we have seen that Sun's preface to Wan Quan's pox treatise is completely in line with the case history written by Wan Quan. Thus, there can be no doubt that the *Elucidations* represents the original version, and *The One Thread* the fabrication.

Facts and Fiction

The confusing combination of an unknown author, an uncertain date of publication, and an unknown motive for the fraud makes it difficult to separate fact from fiction. The language and atmosphere of the preface of *The One Thread* show that the author is familiar with the social and administrative system of the late-sixteenth century and especially with the situation at court. A physician living far from the capital would hardly be so critical, but rather be inclined to idealize life at court. The occurrences of the narration could indeed have taken place in the Jiajing era, but they could also have taken place during the Song or the Qing dynasty.¹³⁸ Emperor Shizong of the Jiajing era was famous for his despotism. All his interests centered on ways to make himself immortal and increase his fertility.¹³⁹ One can well imagine that his predilection for Daoist advisers and magicians, the most famous of whom were Shao Yuanjie (1459–1539) and Tao Zhongwen (1481–1560),¹⁴⁰ led to a growing contempt for scholar physicians, especially when they failed to protect his offspring. Thus, the tragic story of the imperial physician Zhu Lin and his subofficials is, in its outlines, plausible. On looking more carefully, however, one finds several details that arouse suspicion.

First, no court physician by the name of Zhu Lin or Wan Bangning is recorded in the *Chronicle of the Imperial Academy of Medicine*, written in 1584.¹⁴¹ Although the narrated event was sensational enough and had had severe consequences for many high officials, it is not mentioned in this chronicle, or in the *Veritable Records* of the Jiajing, Longqing, and Wanli eras, or, as far as I know, in any private source of that time.¹⁴²

Second, the details of the positions and corresponding ranks on the salary scale at the Imperial Academy of Medicine given in the signature of the preface are inaccurate. In the Ming dynasty the position of medical commissioner was rank five, not rank four. Moreover, the position of the imperial physician (rank eight, not rank six as stated in the preface) did not immediately follow that of medical commissioner in the hierarchy; in between was the position of administrative assistant. The bureaucratic details of the signature, which look so convincing at first, do not fit into the administrative system of any dynasty.¹⁴³

Third, the punishment described for the ninety-year-old physician

is not congruent with Ming law. Banishment (*liutu*) was indeed combined with flogging (one hundred strokes with a bamboo club). But the length of the journey (seven thousand *li*) is an invention; the maximum penalty for banishment was three thousand *li*.¹⁴⁴ Much more important is the fact that any criminal over ninety years old was explicitly exempted from both flogging and banishment, no matter what the offense. He did not even have to ransom himself.¹⁴⁵

Numerous elements of the tale are obviously contrived or grossly exaggerated for dramatic effect. If a 90-year-old man survived flogging and two long journeys, regained his former post, and eventually, at the age of 93, wrote a book on a subject he apparently had not been involved with before, this can truly be called a miracle. Furthermore, *The One Thread* cannot have been completed in 1567, as is stated in the preface, because the original had not even been written at that time, let alone published.¹⁴⁶ If Wan Bangning really were 93 in 1567, as he claims, he would have been at least 105 at the time his plagiarism could first have been published.

It is interesting to note that Huanggang, the alleged home county of Wan Bangning, borders Wan Quan's home county, Luotian. If the person behind "Wan Bangning" really was from Huangguang, it is possible that he was acquainted with Wan Quan or at least knew something about him and his family. He might even have had access to Wan Quan's manuscripts, since the editor of the *Elucidations*, prefect Li Zhiyong, was a native of Huanggang. Moreover, the name Wan Bangning does not just refer to the Wan clan in general; "Bang" indicates affiliation with the generation of the sons and nephews of Wan Quan. Wan Quan's fifth son, for instance, was called Wan Bangning. That he himself was the plagiarist is out of the question. But it is conceivable that someone used his name, although we do not know why.

Although the Huangguang gazetteer records no physician or any other civil person by the name of Wan Bangning, one name stands out in the section on *juren*: Wan Yiguan (*juren* 1546).¹⁴⁷ The characters of his given name are identical with the characters of "One Thread." Wan Yiguan was summoned in 1557 as vice-prefect to Zhaoqing in Guangdong, a remote prefecture at the frontier of Guangxi, next to the prefecture of Wuzhou.¹⁴⁸ Wuzhou was the place of exile where the court physician allegedly met his benefactor Ke Wenzhao.

As we already know, Ke Wenzhao, vice-prefect of Wuzhou — a minor figure in history, but one central to the tale — did indeed exist. According to the provincial gazetteer of Guangdong, a man by the slightly different name of Ke Wenshao received the *juren* degree in 1537 and was eventually summoned as vice-prefect to Wuzhou.¹⁴⁹ The gazetteer of Wuzhou specifies that he served there in 1565.¹⁵⁰ The preface of *The One Thread* mentions the same facts and adds other details, such as Ke's family background, his different names and sobriquets, and his former posts. Several of these details are confirmed by historical sources. And although the dates of their period in office near the border to Guangxi are different — 1557 for Wan Yiguan, 1565 for Ke Wenshao — the two might have had a chance to meet.

Hypotheses

The plagiarism of the mysterious court physician turns out to be an intricate interweaving of realistic and fictional elements, assembled for reasons lost to history. As mentioned before (see “Medical Knowledge and Intellectual Property,” above), profit was the main motive for the countless forgeries of medical books in the context of expanding commercial publishing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. So who could have made a profit by publishing *The One Thread*? All the people engaged in the edition of 1871 (the only edition we know) certainly could have: Wang Jingxian, who wrote the foreword, and who might have been familiar with Wan Quan's works; Ye Qingju, the local promoter of orphan charity, who is said to have “received” the manuscript; and the seven collators, whose contribution to the publication remains unclear. No doubt there were also merchants, publishers, and physicians in Huangguang at the end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth who had access to the manuscripts and who might want to profit from them.

But a strong argument speaks against these assumptions. Wan Quan's fame, culminating in the posthumous title “saint of medicine” (*yisheng*), must have been known to a plagiarist who went to the trouble of eliminating every word that contained the slightest allusion to Wan Quan. A publication under the name of Wan Quan was bound to receive much more attention than that of a court physician nobody knew.

Money therefore has to be ruled out as main motive for the

forgery. But what about self-promotion, competition, and the like? We might think of competitors of Wan Quan, of an unknown court physician and his descendants, or of Ke Wenshao himself and his descendants who wanted to acquire a reputation. For an official, however, becoming a physician would have meant a lower status. And a court physician or his descendants could have profited only if they had used his real name and not a pseudonym. Finally, a competitor of Wan Quan could not have profited by the forgery, because he would not have dared to publish it under his own name if he lived anywhere near Wan Quan, and if he lived far away, he could just as well have used his own name instead of Wan Bangning's.

Only one motive provides a fairly plausible explanation: the desire to criticize the court, which would account for the wish to remain anonymous. Only someone who had lived at court had both the motivation and enough insight to criticize the deplorable state of affairs of the court physicians; and only he had a reason to veil his identity, for fear of punishment. There is one person who unites the qualities "high official in Jiajing era," "native of Huangguang," and "familiar with the area of Wuzhou in the middle of the sixteenth century." Moreover, his name, Wan Yiguan, is a pun on the title *Wanshi yiguan*. At first glance it seems that he must be the plagiarist. But on second thought, it seems implausible: Wan Yiguan was not a physician. Why should he bother to criticize the emperor's attitude toward court physicians?

Perhaps we are taking the preface of Wan Bangning's book too seriously if we posit criticism as a motive. Maybe the story's only aim was to impress the reader, and tragic events at court have always proved most suitable for such a purpose. What if the whole story was invented to divert our attention from the plagiarist, and is nothing but a red herring?

SUMMARY

If we allow the succession of plagiarists to march before our eyes, from the impostor and conjurer Huang Lian to the self-styled imperial physician Wan Bangning, a colorful picture of contemporary healers emerges. The way in which a plagiarist chose to depict himself speaks volumes about the image of the healer held by the people of his era.

The first plagiarist is clearly a product of the Jiaping era. The magical abilities that Huang Lian boasted of were accorded particular importance then — even the emperor at that time surrounded himself with magicians and conjurers, who came to wield considerable political influence. Huang Lian's alleged knowledge of military strategy was especially in demand in the Jiangnan region where he had settled. The eastern coast of China was repeatedly raided by Japanese pirates, and the Chinese vied with each other in the search for the best strategy to repel them.

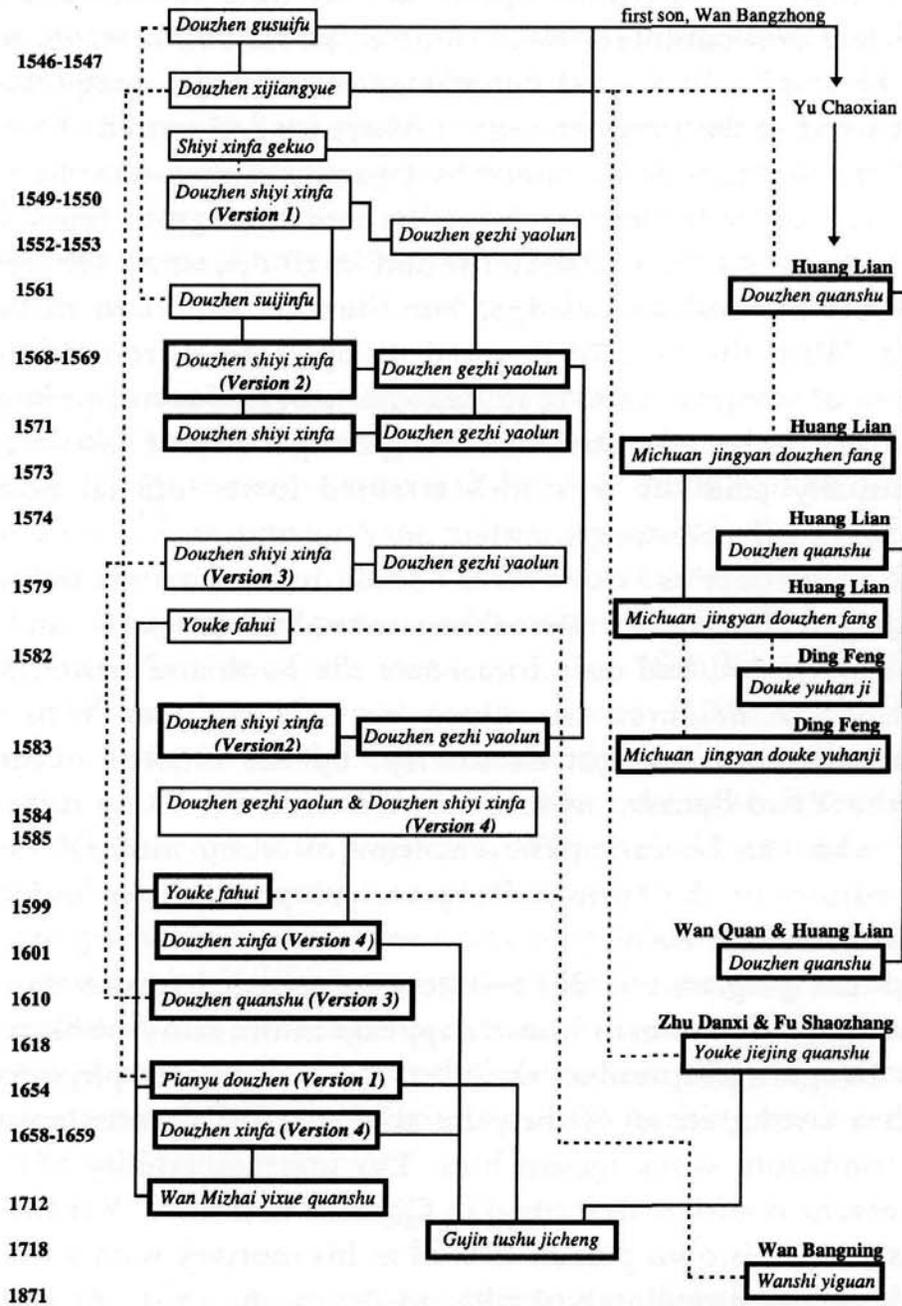
Ding Feng is a kind of healer found in all dynasties. He obviously had some real medical knowledge, but found it useful to make a big secret of it. With the help of devoted disciples he surrounded himself with an aura of mystery. In this context the story of secret prescriptions by a legendary healer was plausible. Ding Feng's way of carrying on his trade eventually paid off. His sons attained lower official posts; one grandson eventually became a prefect in Zhejiang.

The plagiarizer as "discoverer" could make a considerable profit from an alleged finding. Fu Shaozhang, our third plagiarist and apparently not a physician, had only to predate the book and attribute it to a famous healer to heighten its value. He declared that Wan Quan's manuscript represented a lost manuscript by the medical author Zhu Danxi of the Yuan dynasty, whose reputation in the Ming dynasty was high (and who can be called the ancestor of Ming medical thought). Even the editors of the famous Qing encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng* were taken in by the fraud.

Our last plagiarist is difficult to categorize, because we do not know how much of the man himself appears in the story of his protagonist. Wan Bangning represents the ideal type of scholar-physician. Imbued with a strong sense of duty he sticks to his Confucianist ideals although conditions work against him. The unpredictability of life as an imperial servant is widely described in Chinese literature. Yet the plagiarist has disguised his own person as well as his motives with a thoroughness that leaves us completely unable to determine even the dynasty in which he lived. His protagonist, whose intentions are pure and immaterial, is a victim of his time. He himself, however, is certainly not a victim, but a culprit: the vanity that seems to be an essential impetus for all the plagiarists is perhaps best displayed in his text.

THE FATE OF WAN QUAN'S OEUVRE

Wan Quan's manuscripts and books to the left and middle, plagiarized versions to the right



KEY:

- Manuscript
- Book
- Direct connection (the text is identical or integrated into another text)
- ... Title changed
- Transfer of manuscripts

APPENDIX

Two versions of a case study, one found in Youke fahui (1695 edition), the other in Wanshi yiguan (1871 edition)

This case history is connected with another case history in the *Youke fahui*, in which Wan Quan describes being called to Yunyang because Sun Ying'ao's daughter was taken ill with chronic diarrhoea. Here Wan Quan stayed at Sun's office to care for the final "harmonization." This case history is thus embedded in a chronological order that also makes medical sense.

The fact that the plagiarist mentions "evil in the liver channel" indicates that he did not know medicine or reworded the text in a hurry. The symptoms (difficulty in breathing) show a connection with the lungs. In the logic of traditional medicine this condition develops out of a depletion of the spleen. Perilla leaves would have no effect on the "evil in the liver" according to this logic.

In all his case histories Wan Quan consistently referred to himself by his given name Quan, a mark of respect to those of higher status, when his patients were officials. For his other patients, he used the term "yu," meaning "I." In the first version of this case history of the treatment of an official's daughter, the text uses Wan Quan's given name as the first-person reference term. In the second version, however, the text uses the word "yu" as the first-person reference term, a clue that it was not written by Wan Quan, but reworded by a third person.

In the year *dingmao* [1567] of the Longqing period, the vice-administration commissioner of Huguang, Sun, went to the examination halls to superintend the provincial examinations on the Classic of Documents and on the Classic of Rituals. As his young daughter had taken ill, I (Quan) stayed at his office to harmonize [her condition].¹⁵¹

When the young daughter of the Honorable Sun of Huma, had taken ill. I (yu) was charged to harmonize [her condition].

The young lady had mistakenly eaten water coltrops, and this injured her spleen. **Her face** was swollen, and she breathed with difficulty.¹⁵² [Sir Sun's] spouse was very worried and **ordered me (Quan)** to give her drugs. I (**Quan**) concocted Mr. Qian's *Yigongsan* prescription adding Agastache leaves to eliminate the humidity in the spleen conduits and Perilla leaves to eliminate the wind in the lung conduits.

With one prescription she recovered.

When the examinations were finished His Excellency **came out [of the halls]**, and seeing the prescription he said to me (Quan): **"This prescription is indeed very good."** He took out brush and paper and ordered his honorable [adoptive son] Sun Huan to write it down.¹⁵⁵

The young lady had eaten water coltrops, and this damaged her spleen. She was swollen and breathed with difficulty. [Sir Sun's] spouse was very worried. I (yu) set up Mister Qian's *Yigongsan* prescription (No. 44)¹⁵³ adding Agastache leaves to eliminate the humidity in the spleen channel and Perilla leaves to eliminate the evil in the liver conduits.

With one prescription she recovered.

His Excellency was happy and wrote down the prescription to preserve it.¹⁵⁴

ORIGINAL

湖廣右布政使孫隆慶丁卯入場監試爲書經禮記總裁。有小姐病留全司中調理。小姐誤食菱角傷脾，面腫而喘。夫人憂之命全進藥。全立一方。用錢氏翼攻散加藿香葉以去脾經之濕，紫蘇葉以去肺經之風。一劑而安。場罷後公出見其方，爲全曰：此方甚好，瞿筆札令舍人孫環書記之。

PLAGIARISM

湖麻方伯孫公小姐病，屬予調理。因小姐食菱角傷脾，腫而喘。夫人憂之。予用錢氏翼攻散。四十四。加藿香葉以去脾經之濕，紫蘇葉以去肝經之邪。一劑而安。公喜書方藏之。

NOTES

This article is part of a postgraduate research project financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG) which will be published under the title "Medizin und Lebenswelt in der Mingzeit: Leben und Werk von Wan Quan (1500–1585?)." For the great support I received from libraries all over the world I am most grateful. Special thanks go to Martin J. Heijdra of the Gest Library at Princeton University, who not only provided me with decisive source material, but also encouraged me to follow the traces of the plagiarized versions; to J. Sören Edgren who helped me in questions of detail; to Professor Ma Kanwen of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London, who gave invaluable personal support; and to the representatives of the Wan Mizhai Hospital and the Health Administration Bureau of Luotian, who enabled me to visit the locale of Wan Quan's activities.

1. Literally: I will open my liver and empty my gallbladder.
2. Recurring metaphors in Wan Quan's work for the essential "tools of the trade" in medicine. Originally these metaphors were used to denote the limits of language. See Zhuangzi, "Waiwu," in *Ershi'erzi* (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1986) 8, p. 74.
3. Introduction to a posthumously published manuscript by Wan Quan, the *Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang* (Secret Family Prescriptions of the Guide to Pediatrics), collated by Zheng Zhu (fl. 1709–1715). The first edition of 1715 (Jingguantang) is found only at the Library of the China Liberation Army Academy of Medicine, Beijing. A reprint of 1786 (Kuibitang) is held at the School of Oriental and African Studies Library in London. An edition of 1863 (Weijingtang) is held at the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, also in London. Neither of these last two editions is extant in China.
4. Wan Quan's pediatric concepts are still widely discussed in traditional Chinese medicine. His *Youke fahui* (Elucidations of Pediatrics) has been reprinted eight times since the late 1950s (1957, 1959, 1963, 1981, 1986, 1994, 1995, and 1997).
5. The legacy of Wan Quan consists of more than ten treatises on important medical subjects of the time (the number depends on the method of counting). In addition to the countless reprints and new editions of individual books, three complete editions have been published in the last fifty years. The Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital and the Luotian Health Administration Bureau have jointly arranged and collated Wan Quan's books, using two Qing

complete editions and several manuscripts that were still extant in Wan Quan's home county of Luotian. These efforts resulted in the publication of thirteen books by the publishing house Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe between 1984 and 1986. Although this edition is not faultless (for example, two works have been falsely attributed to Wan Quan), it became a starting point for intensive research on Wan Quan in the People's Republic of China. In 1996 the Qing-dynasty *Complete Collection of Medical Books by Wan Mizhai* was reedited by Zhang Hailing and Zhang Linguo under the title *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu* (Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1996). In 1999 Fu Peipan, Yao Changshou, and Wang Xiaoping published under the same title a new edition of the complete works of Wan Quan. This edition is carefully collated. It contains not only all forewords and prefaces to Wan Quan's books known today in China, but also a list of 78 selected studies (out of approximately 150) published on Wan Quan and his different medical writings in the PRC. The many articles about Wan Quan, published in medical journals as well as in newspapers, can be divided into five categories: biography, book history, clinical aspects, case histories, and popular anecdotes. The bulk deals with clinical aspects and their evaluation for contemporary medical practice. Most of these studies, however, do not offer much new insight. Among the articles on book history, the research of Mao Dehua stands out. His many articles have recently been gathered in a book, *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao* (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1997). This book is a valuable collection of material on Wan Quan's life, including an analysis of the family register from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, as well as a listing of extant Ming and Qing editions of Wan Quan's books in the PRC, including their forewords and prefaces. The conclusions Mao Dehua draws from his research differ in many respects from those presented in this article. Some of these differences may result from the fact that Mao Dehua did not have access to the rare editions available in Japanese, British, and American libraries. At several points I refer to Mao Dehua's book and explain the differences in our arguments.

6. See, for instance, Joseph Needham's argument about pox inoculation in "China and the Origin of Immunology," in Lionello Lanciotti, *Firenze e L'Oriente* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1987), p. 30. Needham argues that the knowledge and practice of pox inoculation were part of the secret "forbidden prescriptions" (*jinfang*) more than six hundred years before they were written down in medical texts of the seventeenth century.
7. Although oral transmission played an important role in times when medical printing was uncommon, its role declined when commercial printing of medical books flourished during the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, roughly the time span of this study.
8. Guan Yikui et al., eds., *Luotian xianzhi* (1876 ed.; reprint Luotian: Yichuan shuyuan, 1884) 8, pp. 16a-16b. For a discussion of healers, see the introduction, p. 4b.

9. One can find such entries in the biographical section of the provincial gazetteer *Huguang tongzhi*, 1684 and 1733 eds. (*Siku quanshu* [cited hereafter as SKQS] 553.74, pp. 53a-53b [774-775]) and in the encyclopedia *Gujin tushu jicheng yibu quanlu* (1724), chap. 511 ("Yishu mingliu liezhuan"), section 8.
10. Here is the range of dates:
 1. second half of the fifteenth century; Li Tao, "Mingdai yixue (1369-1644) de chengjiu," *Yixueshi yu baojian zuzhi* 1.46 (1957), p. 55
 2. fl. 1567-1619; Li Yun et al., eds., *Zhongyi renming cidian* (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chubanshe, 1988), pp. 10-11
 3. 1488-1578; foreword by the Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital team to the complete edition, 1984
 4. 1482-1597; Chen Menglai et al., eds., *Zhongguo lidai mingyi zhuan* (Beijing: Kexue qin ji chubanshe, 1987), pp. 251-253
 5. 1495-1585; Liu Yuannan, "Guanyu Wan Mizhai qiren yizhu ji qita," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 12.1 (1982), pp. 17-19
 6. 1499-1582; Mao Dehua, "Wan Quan jiashi ji shengzu kao," *Hubei zhongyi zazhi* 4 (1992), pp. 21-23, and Mao Dehua, *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*.
11. Preface to *Youke fahui*, written in 1579 and entitled "On the Origin and Development of the Wan Family's Pediatrics." Cf. the preface to the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* (1552) included in the Library of Congress edition of 1568.
12. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao* (1596; Shaowu prefecture ed.) 16, p. 1a. This earliest extant Wanli edition in sixteen *juan* is found only at the Dalian Library in China. The other extant Wanli edition, the *Xinke Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao* published by the Yiqingtang publishing house in five *juan*, is found at the Shanghai Library and in the Naikaku bunko, now located in the National Archives, Tokyo.
13. Mao Dehua bases his assumption that Wan Quan was born in 1499 on the same grounds. See Mao, *Wan Quan shengpin zhushu kao*, pp. 16-20.
14. Fifteen seventy-three is the earliest year Wan Quan could have finished the manuscript of *Guangsi jiyao*. It is most unlikely that he or his disciple could have managed to have the book published immediately after the last brushstroke in a place hundreds of *li* away from Luotian. I assume rather that Li Zhiyong, who actively engaged in spreading Wan Quan's writings after the author's death, established contact with the publishing house in Jianyang, Fujian Province. Both he and Wan Quan's disciple Cai Chaoyi, who collated his book, were natives of Huanggang. We know that in his prefecture Shaowu, which was next to Jianyang, Li Zhiyong sponsored a printing of both *Baoming gekuo* and *Guangsi jiyao*. His forewords to these books are dated 1596. The Yiqingtang edition, which is so difficult to date, not only contains the same forewords by Li Zhiyong as the prefecture edition, it was also in fact a double edition, as I could see in the Naikaku bunko collection in Japan. The first book of this double edition is dated 1597. It follows that the *Guangsi jiyao* was also published in the nineties, since the style of carving looks exactly the same. I therefore assume that the *Guangsi jiyao* was published New Year 1598

- at the earliest and New Year 1604 at the latest. See Du Xinfu, *Mingdai banke zonglu* (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1983) 3, p. 9. Here the *Guangsi jiyao* is listed as a publication of the publishing house Yiqingtang and dated 1604.
15. Pox medicine (*douzhenke*) was officially established as a specialty at the Imperial Academy of Medicine in 1571. See Zhu Ru, *Taiyiyuan zhi* (1584–1616 ed., N.P., single copy in blueprint, 1941), p. 11a; *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 74, pp. 1812–1813; and *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli palace ed.) 224, p. 2b. In the first years of the Qing dynasty it was combined with pediatrics.
 16. These dates are taken from two case histories in the Wanli edition of the *Douzhen xinfa* 5, pp. 5b–6a; 2, p. 7a.
 17. See the family register of the Wan clan (*Wanshi zongpu*), compiled in the nineteenth century. Its last entry is from 1924. A copy can be looked at in the Wan Mizhai Clinic in Luotian County. A detailed analysis of this family register was recently given by Mao Dehua. See *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 75–100.
 18. Literally “bell physician,” that is, a physician who announced his services in the streets with a bell.
 19. Wan Kuang was called one of the most important pox specialists of the time by Sun Yikui (1550?–1619?), a famous medical writer from Xin’an. See *Chishui xuanzhu quanji* (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1986), p. 1003.
 20. During the Ming dynasty Jiangxi was probably the most overpopulated province in China. Many people emigrated and settled in Huguang, at that time a fertile, relatively empty region. See Martin J. Heijdra, *The Socio-economic Development of Ming Rural China (1368–1644): An Interpretation* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1995), pp. 41–46 and 316–321.
 21. Ming law made it difficult to change one’s inherited social status, since it forbade the free choice of a profession. The medical profession (*yihu*) formed a separate category in the tax register during the Ming dynasty. Its status was low and connected with heavy tax and corvée obligations.
 22. Zhang Mingdao, whose writings unfortunately are all lost, must have been a most original thinker. He belonged in the wide sense to the school of Wang Shouren (1474–1544), the well-known Neoconfucian philosopher of Ming times. His eventful biography can be found in *Luotian xianzhi* (1926 ed., reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975), appendix, pp. 7b–11a (pp. 136–145).
 23. Preface to the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* written in 1552. It is included in the double reprint entitled *Douzhen xinyao*, which was edited by Cao Jixiao (*jinshi* 1583) in 1585. This edition is found on microfilm made at the Peiping National Library. The preface is slightly different from the original preface in the first edition of 1568. I assume that Wan Quan himself added the details that referred to his difficult financial situation and left out phrases that were pure embellishment. I do not know whether Wan Quan ever tried to pass the provincial examination.
 24. Pox is first mentioned in the prescription book *Shouhou beiji fang* (reprint Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983) 2, p. 42, written by Ge Hong

- (281–341) and supplemented by Tao Hongjing (456–536). The book contains a detailed description of the symptoms as well as a reference to their first appearance, that is, in the era *jiawu*. It is not clear, however, whether this description is part of the original text or belongs to the commentary. Unfortunately, the date *jiawu* is ambiguous, since it was used in different reign periods. The medical historian Fan Xingzhun, for instance, changed his opinion from the year 495 in *Zhongguo yufang yixue sixiangshi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1954, pp. 106–110) to the year 303 in *Zhongguo yixue shilüe* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1986, p. 85), a book he wrote in the late fifties. Today most medical historians favor 495 CE.
25. Even the pox variolation practiced during the Qing dynasty was not meant to prevent the disease, but rather to encourage its appearance at a favorable time. It is inconceivable that a physician would induce an illness during the Ming era. I therefore deem it highly unlikely that pox variolation had been secretly practiced since the eleventh century as Joseph Needham states. Needham's assertion that it was Wan Quan who first mentioned the inoculation of pox arises from a misunderstanding of the term *zhongdou* in context. See "China and the Origin of Immunology," p. 34. Wan Quan's use of "*zhongdou*" (pox planting) refers to "natural infection" with pox: in the imagination of those days heaven was sending down the "seeds of pox" in cyclical periods. The technical term "*zhongdou*" denoting artificial inoculation was first introduced during the Qing dynasty. Fan Xingzhun cautiously puts the beginnings of variolation at the "earliest in the Longqing period," that is, 1567–1572. See *Zhongguo yufang yixue sixiangshi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1954), p. 114. His assumption is based on a quotation from Qing times that points out that pox variolation had been common practice in Taiping County (in today's Anhui Province) since the Longqing period. Considering the social context of Ming medicine, however, it is not conceivable that it would have been a common practice. At the most, occasional use of variolation in a particular social niche — for example, in some experimental Daoist forms of healing — may have been possible.
26. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa*, ed. Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital (Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 286.
27. Although the remarks were clearly intended to denounce his rivals, it was true that most physicians avoided staying in one place in order not to get involved in judicial problems.
28. In the absence of any standards, three generations of medical practice were regarded as essential prerequisites for successful treatment. This goes back to a saying in the Book of Rituals: "Only a three-generation physician is able to apply prescriptions." *Liji*, chap. "Quli" in Ruan Yuan, ed., *Shisanjing zhushu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 5, p. 40 (p. 1268).
29. Early manuscripts were *Maijue yuezhi* (Simple Comments on Pulse Lore), *Suwen qianjie* (Some Superficial Explanations of the Suwen), and *Bencao shizhu* (Collected Pearls of the Materia Medica). These are no longer extant. The only extant work of this early period is the *Shanghan zhaijin* (Excerpts from

- the Teachings on Cold Damage) in two chapters. It is included in the anthology *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu*.
30. In Chinese and Western bibliographies this date incorrectly serves as a reference date for all the works written by Wan Quan.
 31. Preface to *Douzhen shiyi xinfa*. It is signed "Humble student Wan Quan, two days after the full moon in the twelfth winter month of the year *jiyou* [1549] of the Jiajing era."
 32. See Barbara Volkmar, "Das Kind in der chinesischen Heilkunde" (Ph.D. diss., University of Freiburg, 1985), pp. 39-46.
 33. Qian Yi's theory of children's diseases is recorded in the earliest pediatric treatise extant, the *Xiaoer yaozheng zhijue* (Open Words on Drug Therapy for Children's Conditions), written down by his disciple Yan Xiaozhong (fl. 1110-1119) and published in 1119. For Chen Wenzhong see *Xiaoer douzhen fang lun* (Treatise on the Prescriptions for Children's Pox Conditions), published in 1253.
 34. Derived from *gewu zhizhi* (investigation of things for the extension of knowledge).
 35. Hu Sanxi is Hu Mingtong, a *juren* of 1529, and Wan Quan's best friend. Xiao Chuwu is Xiao Jimei, a *juren* of 1546. Wan Binlan is Wan Yance, a *juren* of 1552. Wan Yance was related to Wan Quan; in his youth he was Wan Quan's patient and later became his disciple. Wan Yance wrote a foreword to Wan Quan's pox treatise, which is included in the 1568 edition.
 36. Preface to the *Douzhen gezhi yaolun*, written in 1552. It is included in the edition of 1568, the earliest extant edition of Wan Quan's book, held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. A reprint with a slightly different version of this preface was edited by Cao Jixiao in 1585. This edition is held at the National Central Library, Taipei and is found on microfilm made at the Peiping National Library.
 37. See the case histories in *Youke fahui*, *Guangsi jiyao*, *Douzhen xinfa*, and *Baoming gekuo*.
 38. The two works *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* in twelve *juan* and *Douzhen gezhi yaolun* in eleven *juan* are closely connected, and Wan Quan often refers to both as *Douzhen xinyao*, which combines the two words *xinfa* and *yaolun*. However, Wan Quan as well as the editors also use the title *Douzhen xinfa* for either the single treatise or both treatises. The similar titles and different types of editing led to a certain confusion, which is still visible in contemporary bibliographies that list up to six different titles for Wan Quan's pox treatises. To add to the confusion, Wan Quan himself revised his work several times after 1568, and left us different versions of the text. (See tables 1 and 3.)
 39. The edition of 1568 is called version 2 in table 1.
 40. Sun Ying'ao was promoted to various ministerial posts and to the rank of guardian of the heir apparent. He was posthumously honored as "great personality of the Ming dynasty" (together with Yu Qian, 1398-1457; Xia Yan, 1482-1548; and Hai Rui, 1514-1587). Qing-dynasty historiographers, how-

- ever, did not include him in the dynastic records. For biographical data on Sun Ying'ao, see Guo Tingxun, *Mingchao fensheng renwu kao* (reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1971) 115, pp. 36b-38b (pp. 10149-10152); *Yunyang fuzhi* (1870 ed.; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1960) 53, p. 20a (p. 227). The official Guo Zizhang (1543-1618), a contemporary of Sun Ying'ao, wrote a detailed biography and an epitaph. Both are included in *Guizhou tongzhi* 28, pp. 15a-15b, and 41, pp. 3a-4b (SKQS 572, pp. 436-439 and 572, pp. 329-331). Another detailed biography was written by the Qing scholar Mao Guangsheng in *Maoshi congshu* (Qing ed.) 1, pp. 42a-44b, and 16, p. 6b.
41. *Suwen* is an abbreviation of *Huangdi neijing suwen* (The Yellow Emperor's Inner Classic, part Pure Questions), composed by several unknown authors between the second century BCE and the eighth century CE. *Nanjing* (Classic of Difficult Issues) was written by an unknown author in the first century CE. It was recently translated by P. U. Unschuld, *Nan-ching: The Classic of Difficult Issues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
 42. Foreword signed "Hermit of Huaihai Sun Ying'ao." This foreword is included in the first edition of 1568, which is held only at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. It also appears in the many reprints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
 43. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa*, pp. 162-163.
 44. *Ruyi* was merely an honorary title. On the meaning of *Ru* for a physician's career before the Ming dynasty, see Robert P. Hymes, "Not Quite Gentlemen? Doctors in Song and Yuan," *Chinese Science* (1987), 8, pp. 9-76.
 45. Wan Quan, *Wanshi jiachuan youke fahui*, ed. Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital (Wuhan: Hubei kexue jishu chubanshe, 1986), pp. 90-91.
 46. This first edition is no longer extant.
 47. According to Mao Ruqi's colophon to this second edition, the first edition consisted of only four hundred copies. As early as 1573, the woodblocks were no longer available. The arrangement of this edition can best be judged from a handwritten copy by Zhao Yu, a medical officer of Wuchang. His collation is based on the first edition and shows that it did not contain an editor's foreword, but only a preface taken from Wan Quan's text and signed "Huang Lian." The handwritten copy, entitled *Douzhen quanshu*, and the second edition, *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang*, are found only in the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo. These items contain handwritten commentaries by either the Taki or the Ikeda family. Clearly, they belonged to the collection of the former National Institute of Medicine (Igakkan) in Edo. The institute was headed, with hereditary succession, by the Taki family. On the origin of the many Chinese medical books in the Naikaku bunko, see Mayanagi Makoto and Wang Tiece, "Ribei, Neige wenku shoucang de zhongguo sanshi guyiji," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 4.28 (1998), pp. 65-71.
 48. *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 46, pp. 13a-13b. Cf. Guo Aichun et al., *Zhongguo fensheng yijikao*, p. 1733.
 49. Tanba Mototane (1789-1827), *Zhongguo yijikao* (1819; reprint Beijing: Renmin

- weisheng chubanshe, 1983), p. 1043. In his *Douzhen zhengzong* (Orthodox Lore on Pox) Gao Wu expresses extreme disapproval of Chen Wenzhong's theories.
50. The original words are "piaoqie wei jizuo kan." The word *piaoqie*, literally "to rob, to steal," is already being used here with the same meaning it has today, that is, to plagiarize. No one other than Wan Quan, however, ever uses the word. This reinforces the impression that plagiarism was seen as a trivial offense.
 51. "Suijinfa," end of part two (unpaginated). It is included in the first edition of the *Douzhen shiyi xinfafa* (1568 ed.) held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
 52. Foreword of Sun Guangzu to the *Douzhen xinyao* (1573 ed.; reprint 1580), held at Shanghai Library. It is signed "Prefect of Huangzhou, Sun Guangzu, native of Siming in the ninth lunar month of autumn in the year *guiyou* [1573]." My research, however, has shown that the publication year must have been 1571.
 53. *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 46, pp. 13a-13b.
 54. The Huzhou edition, held at Shanghai Library and in the Naikaku bunko, Tokyo, contains a foreword by Lu Wen. It is signed "Lu Wen of Guian, vice-minister of the Nanjing Ministry of War in the seventh month of autumn of the second year of the Wanli era [1574]." For a biography of Lu Wen, see *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 20, pp. 25b-26b.
 55. *Lunyu* 7, 1.
 56. This edition of 1579 can only be found in the libraries of the China Academy of Medical Sciences and the Military Academy of Medicine, both in Beijing. Handwritten manuscripts, however, exist in many libraries of the People's Republic of China.
 57. *Huzhou fuzhi* (1739 ed.) 46, pp. 5b, 13a-13b.
 58. It was published in the sixteenth century and included in the collection *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu*.
 59. The well-known physician Sun Yikui (1550?-1619?), a friend of Huang Lian's, writes that in the early 1580s he had looked in vain for Huang Lian in Huzhou. See Sun Yikui, *Chishui xuanzhu quanji* (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1986), p. 1170.
 60. We see that the forgery of Wan Quan's pox treatise had already been cleared up in the sixteenth century. But this knowledge eventually was lost. It was the Japanese pox specialist Ikeda Jūkō (1818-1843) who rediscovered the similarity of Huang Lian's pox treatise with that of Wan Quan. His argument is quoted in detail in Tanba Mototane's 1819 bibliography, *Zhongguo yijikao* (Investigation into the Old Medical Literature of China). Nevertheless, until recently Chinese bibliographies of medical literature ignored his results and still presented Huang Lian as the author of the pox treatise.
 61. *Douzhen quanshu*, ed. Wu Mianxue (1601). The complete book collection, made up of reprints of eight pox books, is held at Nanjing Library (with handwritten comments by Ikeda Jūkō), in Shanghai Library, in the Library of

- the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, and in the Naikaku bunko. Wu Mianxue reprinted the foreword by Lu Wen and added his own name as collator (*jiao*).
62. Ikeda Jūkō and Ikeda Zuisen both came from a famous family of pox specialists in Japan and worked at the National Institute of Medicine (see note 47). Their ancestor Ikeda Masanao had learned pox medicine from the Chinese monk Dai Li (1596–1672), known in Japan as Tai Mankō, who lived in Japan from 1653 until 1672. This monk in turn had been a student of the famous physician Gong Tingxian (fl. 1581–1604). The Ikedas, whose pox-medicine tradition thus goes back to Gong Tingxian, were also convinced that Gong Tingxian's works were plagiarized in the book *Douzhen jinjinglu*, first published in 1579. The treatise allegedly written by Weng Zhongren of Xinzhou (Jiangxi Province) was extremely popular in China and was reprinted countless times until the Republican period. In China Weng's authorship has only recently been questioned.
 63. This edition is at the Nanjing Library.
 64. Tanba, *Zhongguo yijikao*, pp. 1043–1044.
 65. The title alludes to the *Yuhanfang* (Prescription in a Jade Envelope) written by the alchemist Ge Hong, a famous figure surrounded by legends.
 66. The *Zhongguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 498, states that the book was written and published in 1559. Indeed, one of the two editions of 1582 contains a foreword by Ding Feng dated 1559, which suggests that the edition is a reprint. The date, however, must be a fake: the title of Huang Lian's "original" book, *Michuan jingyan douzhen fang*, published by Tu Jie in 1573 and then by Xing Bang in 1579, can be seen in the vertical line on the right-hand side of the first page of chapter one. For the changing titles of the plagiarized versions see table 2.
 67. An unknown healer, possibly the author of the two chapters mentioned above that are not included in Huang Lian's *Douzhen quanshu*.
 68. The colophon is signed "Cai Yuelan, mountain man in the void, disciple of Jiangxi, native of Fengcheng County, in the summer of the year *renwu*, respectfully printed." The date *renwu* probably refers to the year 1582, although the reign name Wanli is not given. Another edition of the *Douke yuhan ji*, held at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, was collated by Ding Feng's sons and a grandson. It contains a preface by Ding Feng dated 1559, an undated foreword by a man called Zhuang Jichang, and a colophon of another disciple by the name of Zhang Xian. This colophon, too, is dated the year *renwu* of the Wanli period, that is, 1582. A disciple by the name of Cai Yuelan is not mentioned. It seems that around 1582 a whole range of "second-generation plagiarists" each tried independently to profit from Ding Feng's stolen manuscripts.
 69. Tanba, *Zhongguo yijikao*, pp. 772–773.
 70. *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 74, p. 2447. The author's name is rendered Ding Yi, but the local gazetteer *Jiangning fuzhi* explains that Ding Yi is Ding Feng.

71. The foreword is signed "Fu Shaozhang, native of Nanchang, written in the publishing house Fuchuntang of Jinling." Jinling is the old name of Nanjing.
72. The complete title given in the vertical line on the right-hand side next to the table of contents is *Xinke taiyiyuan jiaoshou Danxi micang Youke jiejing quanshu* (New Printing of the Secret Complete Book of Short-Cuts on Pediatrics by Danxi, Collated and Taught at the Imperial Academy of Medicine). The printing by Tang Chunfu (Jinchi) in Nanjing is found only at the Shanghai Library. A manuscript of this edition is held in the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo.
73. Yin Zhongchun, *Yizang shumu* (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955), p. 93.
74. Chen Menglei et al., eds., *Gujin tushu jicheng*, "Yibu quanlu," division "Erke," chap. 407, and "Douzhenmen," chaps. 460-461. Since seven other chapters (464-470) of "Douzhenmen" record the original pox treatise by Wan Quan, the pox part of the encyclopedia refers mainly to theories of one author, Wan Quan.
75. Again it was Tanba Mototane (with reference to Ikeda Jūkō) who discovered that the *Youke quanshu* was falsely attributed to Zhu Danxi and in fact consisted of texts by Wan Quan. See *Zhongguo yijikao* (1819; reprint Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983), pp. 1006, 1044. These findings, however, did not come to the attention of contemporary medical bibliographers and historians. In her recently published survey on pox in Chinese history, Chang Chia-feng tries to draw a line between Yuan- and Ming-dynasty pox theory by quoting from "Zhu Danxi" and Wan Quan, without realizing that these texts are written by the same author — Wan Quan. See Chang Chia-feng, "Aspects of Smallpox and Its Significance in Chinese History" (Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1996).
76. This edition is found only in the Shanghai Library. It does not include a foreword by the actual publisher, but only a reprint of the well-known forewords by Sun Ying'ao and Sun Guangzu. It is therefore difficult to date it accurately. Ding Fubao in his *Zhongguo lidai yiyao shumu* (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1979), p. 406b, mentions a Wanli edition of the *Douzhen shiyi xinfa* published in 1580. The *Zhongguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991) does not list an edition dated 1580. Nor did I find such an edition at libraries in the West or in Japan. Nevertheless, Ding Fubao might have had access to an edition that is now lost. The date of 1580 seems at least plausible.
77. The Ganzhou edition is Huang Lian's plagiarized version of *Douzhen quanshu*.
78. Yu Chaoxian must be a man from Wan Quan's county. There is no reference to him in gazetteers or bibliographies.
79. "Wang Lian" is Huang Lian. The mistake arises from the similarity of sound. We may assume that the text was read aloud to a writer or to the carver.
80. In 1538 a great flood affected Luotian. After a heavy summer rain, the river inundated the county, and many people drowned. See *Luotian xianzhi* (1542 ed., 1926 rev. ed., reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe 1975) 7, p. 1b (p. 102).

81. "Gusuifu," literally "Bone Marrow in Prose-Poetry."
82. "Suijinfu," literally "Bits of Gold in Prose-Poetry." In Chinese literature "Bits of Gold" is the name used for collections of short pieces of literature of special excellence.
83. The chronology is entitled *Douzhen xinyao gaike shimo* and follows the preface of 1579, which in the present edition is neither signed or dated. The preface, but not the chronology, appears in the *Douzhen xinfa* in *Wanshi yuanben* (Original Books of Mister Wan). Here it is signed: "Written by Wan Quan of Luotian himself on the first day of the first month of the year *jimao*" (1579). The complete edition published by the Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital in 1985 refers to the *Wanshi yuanben* as the original first (Ming) edition. See *Douzhen xinfa* (Wuhan: Keji jishu chubanshe, 1985), p. 316. The results of my research, however, show that the first edition was published as early as 1568. The appearance of the taboo character *yuan* instead of *xuan*, moreover, confirms the assumption that the *Wanshi yuanben* is a Qing-dynasty reprint. See Mao Dehua, "'Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu' banben yuanliu kao" (On the Origin and Development of the Different Editions of the "Complete Medical Books of Wan Mizhai"), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 4.25 (1996), pp. 97-102.
84. In part, to be sure, won for him by Huang Lian.
85. The medical bibliography *Yizang shumu* (published around 1618) gives the following list of (abbreviated) titles for the collection *Wanshi quan yiji liuzhong* (The Complete Medical Book Collection by Mr. Wan, Six Titles): *Baoming*, *Guangsi*, *Douzhen*, *Youke*, *Shanghan*, and *Yangsheng*. Yin Zhongchun, *Yizang shumu* (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955), p. 54. (See table 4 for the full titles.)
86. Prefect Li Zhiyong, a native of Huanggang, devoted himself to publishing posthumously all Wan Quan's books. I do not know whether he received the manuscripts directly from Wan Quan or from his disciple. Two editions he published between 1596 and 1599 are still extant. See note 14.
87. As evident from a posthumous reprint of 1601, Wan Quan revised the *Discourse on Pox* once more. He inserted a few sentences and paragraphs in the text and reworded some passages in the preface. The first edition of this revised version is no longer extant.
88. Examples of those reprints are *Douzhen shiyi xinfa*, edited by Chen Yunsheng (1532-1604) in Suzhou in 1583; *Douzhen xinyao*, edited by Cao Jixiao in Shaoxing in 1585; and *Douzhen xinfa*, edited by Wang Yiming (1565?-1596, *jinshi* 1586) in 1595. Most of the editors were natives of Huanggang County. Nearly all the names of the editors of the pox treatise appear on the list of *jinshi* from 1580 to 1600. (See table 1.)
89. An exception is Wang Yiming, a native of Huanggang, who published the book in homage to Wan Quan and his sons. See his colophon to the edition of 1595. Wang Yiming's edition of the last version of the *Douzhen xinfa* is held only at the Library of the Shanghai Traditional Medical University. His edition was republished in 1694 by Zhang Wanyan under the title *Douzhen xinfa jinjinglu* (see table 1) and is held at the Gest Library, Princeton, at

- Nanjing Library, and at the library of the China Academy for Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing. Like Wang Yiming's edition, Zhang Wanyan's edition contains the foreword by Sun Ying'ao. However, it is here erroneously dated to the year *wuchen* of the Qianlong era (1748). We know that Sun Ying'ao wrote his foreword in 1568, the year *wuchen* of the Longqing period. Clearly, the characters for Qianlong and Longqing were mistaken one for the other.
90. See the Luotian edition of 1985, which is based on the Qing edition *Wanshi yuanben*.
 91. The order of chapters was changed as well. The introductory chapters "Suijinfu" are followed by the theoretical treatise *Douzhen gezhi yaolun*. The *Douzhen shiyi xinfu* forms the third part of the book. Thus, chapter 1 one of the former edition of the *Douzhen shiyi xinfu* becomes chapter 12 in the new edition of *Douzhen xinfu*.
 92. A reprint of this edition was made by Peng Duanwu in 1610 under the misleading title *Douzhen quanshu*. It is held at various libraries in China, among them the Library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing, and Shanghai Library. "Complete book" obviously refers to the fact that the edition contains a supplement titled *Douzhen yusui* (Jade Marrow). The author of the text is not given, but it cannot have been written by Wan Quan. Ten years earlier, in 1600, a similar text with illustrations titled *Michuan douzhen yusui* (Jade Marrow to Pox in the Secret Tradition) was printed by the publishing house Yiqingtang in Jianyang (Fujian Province). The foreword attributes the text to a Yuan-dynasty physician named Huang Shifeng. No physician by this name is, however, known. The edition also contains two chapters of Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*. Wan Quan's name is mentioned at the beginning of these chapters but not at the beginning of the book. It seems that in Ming times authorship was dismissed as more or less irrelevant. Publishing houses loved to mix different sample chapters of their authors to stimulate the interest of possible readers. The original printing of Yiqingtang is no longer extant. One single handwritten copy is held at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine. (See figure 1.)
 93. These memorizing "songs" (*ge*) form the "frame" (*kuo*) of each paragraph. They are characterized by a rhyme scheme and by tonal and metrical qualities comparable to quatrain-style poetry (*jueju*).
 94. Mao Dehua assumes that what I call the fourth version is the product of later cuts by an editor (see *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 215-217). The change of expressions in the case histories is, however, typical of Wan Quan's revisions in his last texts and provides evidence that it was Wan Quan himself who reworked his text a fourth time.
 95. The first edition of the *Youke fahui* must have been the one published in 1599 by prefect Li Zhiyong, who during his term of office in Shaowu (Fujian Province) published six works of Wan Quan. See Yin Zhongchun, *Yizang shumu* (Shanghai: Qunlian chubanshe, 1955), p. 54. This original edition,

- however, is no longer extant. A Japanese reprint published by Takemura Shinbee is held at the National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, and in the Naikaku bunko in Tokyo. It contains Li Zhiyong's foreword dated 1599. Xiong Bingzhen erroneously maintains that Li's foreword was written by Wan Quan. See "Mingdai de youke yixue," *Hanxue yanjiu* (Chinese Studies) 9.1 (1991), pp. 59-60.
96. The preface is signed "Written by Mizhai himself in the *Weixuan* refuge on the day of summer solstice in the year *jimao* [1579] of the Wanli era."
97. Preface to the *Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang* (see note 3).
98. The story goes back to *Mengzi* ("Qiwengong") in *Shisanjing zhushu* 5b, p. 141 (p. 2705).
99. See the colophon by Wang Yiming in the edition of 1595. This edition is found only in the library of the Shanghai Traditional Medical University. It is also included in the *Douzhen jinjinglu* (1694) edited by Zhang Wanyan, found at the Gest Library of Princeton University, at Nanjing Library, and at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing.
100. The *Wanshi zongpu* was compiled in the nineteenth century. The last entry is from 1924.
101. The first upheavals in Macheng were in 1630. In 1651 the rebellion spread to Luotian. *Macheng xianzhi qianbian* (1935; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1975) 5, pp. 14b-15a (pp. 364-365); *Hubei tongzhi* (1935) 69, pp. 1605-1606. See Andreas Mixius, "'Nupien' und die 'Nu-P'u' von Kiangnan: Aufstände Abhängiger und Unfreier in Südchina 1644/1645," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 53 (Hamburg, 1980), pp. 28-33.
102. Foreword of 1659 by the magistrate of Luotian, Lü Minghe.
103. According to Wan Quan's own writings Bangzheng was his third son. In the family register he is listed as the fifth son; this seems to be an error. The family register contains several mistakes, which are analyzed by Mao Dehua in great detail. See *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 75-100.
104. Mao Dehua has undertaken a detailed analysis and comparison of all extant editions of *Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu* in the People's Republic of China; see "'Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu' banben yuanliu kao."
105. The complete edition of Wan Da is available only in the library of the Luotian Wan Mizhai Hospital. A fragmentary set with four titles is held at the library of the China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Beijing.
106. However, two chapters (three and four) were put into the *Essential Jade Book on Pox* under the name of Wan Quan's grandson Wan Ji. They consist of prescriptions taken from Wan Quan's other treatises.
107. The opinion that the two books represent the most secret and mature version of Wan Quan's works is still widely held today. Even Mao Dehua, who has dealt intensively with Wan Quan and his oeuvre, maintains that the two books were written at the end of Wan Quan's life and contain the "essence" of his work; see "Wan Quan jiashi ji shengzu kao," p. 23 and *Wan Quan shengping zhushu kao*, pp. 136-139.

108. For the publishing houses that specialized in medical manuals, see Ellen Widmer, "The Huanduzhai of Hangzhou and Suzhou: A Study in Seventeenth Century Publishing," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.1 (1996), pp. 77-122.
109. The publishing house Yiqingtang in Jianyang, for example, produced several editions of Wan Quan's book mixed with other texts of unknown origin and a book by a Yuan-dynasty medical writer that included chapters from Wan Quan's *Essential Methods*. Similarly, in the case of Fu Shaozhang's discovery, we cannot be sure whether it was Fu Shaozhang or the publishing house Fuchuntang of the Tang family in Nanjing who put together the various text fragments to form the "excerpts from a complete book." On the publishers of the Jianyang area, one of the great centers of the Chinese book trade, see Lucille Chia, "The Development of the Jianyang Book Trade, Song-Yuan," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (1996), pp. 10-48.
110. Kai-wing Chow, "Writing for Success: Printing, Examinations, and Intellectual Change in Late Ming China," *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (1996), pp. 120-157.
111. Medical imprints were often taken as examples of the dangers of carelessness. See, for example, the tale of five lazy woodblock engravers recounted by Susan Cherniack, "Book Culture and Textual Transmission in Sung China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 54.1 (1994), pp. 5-125. Their negligent work had led to fatal errors in the characters used for prescriptions. All five were struck by lightning.
112. Reinforced by the efforts of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), the law for the protection of copyright was established in 1887 as a human right. See the study by Yasuda Fukiko and Sato Reiko on plagiarism in Japanese fiction, "Zum Plagiat in der japanischen Literatur," *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques* 44.1 (1990), pp. 25-48.
113. The book consists of three thread-bound volumes in a case. The name of the woodblock engraver, Wu Yutian of Fuzhou, is on the lower left-hand side of the last page of the foreword. See figure 8.
114. The signature "Wan Xian Bang Ning" has induced Chinese bibliographers to render the author's name as Wan Xianbang (Ning). But the two stamps with the seal characters "Wan Xian" and "Bang Ning" respectively, make it clear that "Xian" and "Bangning" are to be separated. The denotation "Wan Xianbang" in the following Chinese dictionaries and bibliographies is certainly wrong: Cao Bingzhang, ed., *Zhongguo yixue dacheng zongmu tiyao* (Shanghai: Dadong shuju, 1936); China Academy of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Beijing Library, eds., *Zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan, 1961); Xue Qinglu et al., eds., *Guancang zhongyi xianzhuang shumu* (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1986); Li Yun et al., eds., *Zhongyi renming cidian* (Beijing: Guoji wenhua chuban gongsi, 1988); Li Jingwei et al., eds., *Zhongyi renwu cidian* (Shanghai: Cishu chubanshe, 1988); Xue Qinglu et al., eds., *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Union Catalogue) (Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1991).

115. The edition of 1871 is found in the libraries of the Traditional Medical Colleges of Shanghai, Lanzhou, Chengdu, Fujian, and Guangzhou. The library of the Traditional Medical University of Shanghai also holds a facsimile reprint of 1884 by the Wendetang publishing house of Amoy. This edition does not contain the foreword by Wang Jingxian. Two lithographic editions were issued by the publishing house Zhonghua Yinshua in Hong Kong (1903) and by the well-known publishing house Shangwu yinshuguan in Shanghai (1910). The latter edition is held only at the library of the Chinese Medical Association, Shanghai Section.
116. Wang Jingxian could not be identified in the local gazetteer *Fuzhou tongzhi*. In other reference books, however, three people by the name of Wang Jingxian are recorded for the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century: (1) An official of Jiaxing (Zhejiang Province) who wrote several philosophical treatises. He was surveillance commissioner in Guangdong and, after 1863, office manager of the Board of Revenue in the capital. See Zang Lihe et al., eds., *Zhongguo renming dazidian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1921), p. 127, and *Jiaxing fuzhi* (1879; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976) 47, p. 124. (2) The editor of the book *Jiating shiyong liangfang* (Good Prescriptions for Family Usage) published in 1933 in Suzhou. See *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* (Union Catalogue) (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1991), p. 292 (no. 04258). (3) The collator of Wan Quan's book *Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang*. The handwritten manuscript is held at Beijing National Library.
117. Allegedly, the stamps of Wan Bangning date to the Ming dynasty, those of Wang Jingxian to the Qing.
118. Yan Shiyun et al., eds., *Zhongguo yiji tongkao* (Shanghai: Zhongyi xueyuan chubanshe, 1993), p. 4099.
119. Wan Quan, *Youke fahui*. The quotations below are taken from the edition of the Shanghai publishing house Yijie chunqiushe, printed in 1937, which is a facsimile reprint of the Japanese edition published by Takemura Shinbee in Kyoto (1695 and 1705). The Japanese edition is based on the original Ming edition of 1599 published by Li Zhiyong, a native of Huanggang, during his term of office in Shaowu (Fujian Province). This edition is no longer extant.
120. *Lunyu* 13, 22: "A man without perseverance can become neither a sorcerer nor a physician."
121. *Wanshi yiguan* (1871), "Wanshi yuanxu," p. 1a. There is a pathos in Wan Bangning's use of the words *chang* (duty, ordinary), *feichang* (extraordinary, irregular), and *yuan* (destiny, affinity) that pervades the whole preface, but is difficult to render in English.
122. Physicians in the emperor's service were normally recruited from the descendants of former court physicians. According to a decree of 1498, physicians, astrologers, and fortune tellers ("hidden scholars in the mountains and woods") could also be recommended to the court. Up to two persons from each prefecture were admitted for examination in the capital. The selection

- was the responsibility of the Ministry of Ritual, not of the education intendant. See *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli Palace ed.) 104, "Libu" 62, p. 1b.
123. *Huachao* is the fifteenth day of the second lunar month.
124. This standardized prescription composed of nine herbal drugs is taken from the famous *Shanghanlun* (Treatise on Cold Damage) by Zhang Ji (142–220?).
125. Fifth day of the fifth lunar month.
126. *Wanshi yiguan* (1871), "*Wanshi yuanxu*," pp. 2a–2b.
127. Wan Bangning's explanation for this title reads "I titled this book *Wanshi yiguan* because Ten Thousand Things can be reduced to One, One is the thread through everything" ("*Wanshi yuanxu*," p. 4a). Cf. "Annals of Confucius," *Lunyu* 4, 15: "My way has one thread that runs right through it." Bangning's surname Wan is written with the character for "ten thousand." Wan Bangning takes every opportunity to oppose the two words "ten thousand" and "one," indicating that in his mind are encompassed both the variety of all things and "the One Thread" that gives order and meaning to it. It is interesting to note that the same title, *Yiguan*, is used for a medical book by Zhao Xianke of Ningbo published in 1617.
128. Ma Kanwen, "Lishi shang de yisheng," *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 16 (1986), pp. 1–11.
129. *Wanshi yiguan* (1871), "*Wanshi yuanxu*," p. 4b.
130. The position of medical commissioner corresponds to that of the head of the Imperial Academy of Medicine. During the Ming dynasty it was connected with the salary of the fifth rank. See Zhu Ru, *Taiyiyuan zhi*, p. 11a; Zhang Tingyu et al., eds., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991) 74, pp. 1812–1813; and Shen Shixing et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli palace ed.) 224, pp. 1a–7b.
131. Note that the prescriptions in the "Man" section are not identical with those in the appendix of a Qing-dynasty version of the *Elucidations* printed by the Jinguantang publishing house. This Qing edition in four *juan*, which has become the standard version for modern reprints, also contains a numbered list of seventy-five prescriptions. This list, however, is obviously taken from the pediatric treatise *Youke tiejing* written in 1695 by Xia Ding. It has nothing to do with Wan Quan's text or the prescriptions included.
132. The names of seven collators plus the name of someone who made an additional collation (*jiajiao*) are written on the left-hand side of the table of contents.
133. For instance, *Feierwan* (Nourishing children pills) appears as No. 190, No. 209, and in the second list No. 10. *Jishengwan* (Assembling-the-Sacred-Spirits pills, No. 243) is a prescription created by Zhu Danxi in the Yuan dynasty, but *Xijiangyue jishengwan* (No. 243) is a mistake. *Xijiangyue* is the title of the tune to which Wan Quan set the verse in his treatises. *Wuduosan* (Not much powder, No. 206) is not the name of a prescription, but obviously part of a remark in Wan Quan's text: "It is not necessary to take much powder."
134. For instance *Wanshi yiguan*, "*Tianbu*," p. 43b; "*Dibu*," p. 1a.
135. That these mistakes are not caused by the carelessness of the carver, but by

conscious forging of the plagiarist can be seen in the consistency of these changes throughout the text.

136. *Wanshi yiguan* "Tianbu," p. 61a, and *Youke fahui* 2, p. 2a.
137. *Youke fahui* 2, pp. 28b–29a. For the gazetteers, see, for example, *Huguang zongzhi* (1591) 19, p. 28b; *Hubei tongzhi* (Shanghai: Yinshuguan, 1921) 113, p. 1254; and *Yunyang fuzhi* (1870 ed.; reprint Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976), p. 227.
138. The terminology was similar, the basic attitude toward physicians the same.
139. See Frederick Mote and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Ming Dynasty*. In *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 7, part 1, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 479–482.
140. Tao Zhongwen was a native of Huanggang.
141. See Zhu Ru, *Taiyiyuan zhi*.
142. *Mingshilu*, microfilm of a manuscript of the National Central Library (Institute for History and Philology of the Academia Sinica Taipei, 1963–1966); Zhang Tingyu et al., eds., *Mingshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991); Sun Chengze, *Chunming mengyu lu* (reprint Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1992); Shen Chaoyan, *Huang Ming jialong liangchao jianwen ji*, facsimile of the Wanli ed. in *Mingdai shiji huikan* 4 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969; Xie Zhaozhe, *Wuzazu* (reprint Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1971); Shen Defu, *Wanli yehubian* (reprint Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju chubanshe, 1959).
143. See Zhu, *Taiyiyuan zhi*, p. 11a; Zhang et al., *Mingshi* 74, pp. 1812–1813; and Shen et al., eds., *Da Ming huidian* (Wanli palace ed.) 224, pp. 1a–7b.
144. See *Da Ming Huidian* 160, section 2, p. 2a.
145. See Zhang et al., *Mingshi* 69, p. 2279.
146. The *Youke fahui* belongs to the works written between 1568 and 1585 (see "Wan Quan's Last Will, and the Following Generations," above). Wan Quan probably completed the first version in 1579, the year he wrote the preface.
147. *Huanggang xianzhi* (1882 ed.; reprint Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969) 15, p. 33a (p. 540). *Zhaoqing fuzhi* (1833; reprint 1876) 12, p. 12b.
148. *Zhaoqing fuzhi* (1833 ed.; reprint 1876) 12, p. 12b.
149. *Guangdong tongzhi* (1864 ed.) 74, section 12, p. 7b.
150. *Wuzhou fuzhi* (1873 ed.) 12, p. 14a.
151. Bold text indicates passages deleted by the plagiarist; underlined text marks passages in which the plagiarist uses his own phrasing.
152. *Chuan* in the context of traditional Chinese medicine is often translated as "dyspnoea." I use "breathe with difficulty" to avoid the modern technical term.
153. The *Yigongsan* prescription developed by Qian Yi in his *Xiaoer yaozheng zhijue* contains five ingredients: R Ginseng (*Renshen*), Sclerotium Poriae Cocos (*Fuling*), Peric Citri Reticulatae (*Chenpi*), Rh Atractylodis Macrocephalae (*Baizhu*), and R Glycyrrhizae Uralensis (*Gancao*).
154. "Tianbu," *Wanshi yiguan* (Fuzhou: Zhengruitang, 1871), p. 61a.
155. *Youke fahui* (Kyoto: Takemura Shinbei, 1695) 2, p. 2a.

GLOSSARY

- Baizhu 白朮
 Bancang Lumen Yinxin shuwu 板藏鷺
 門印心書屋
 Baoming 保命
Baoming gekuo 保命歌括
 Beizhili 北直隸
Bencao shizhu 本草拾珠
Bingfa milu 兵法秘錄
 Cai Chaoyi 蔡朝辰
 Cai Yuanding 蔡元定
 Cai Yuelan 蔡曰蘭
 Cao Bingzhang 曹炳章
 Cao Jixiao 曹繼孝
 Chaihu guizhi tang 柴胡桂枝湯
 chang 常
 Changlu 長蘆
 Chen 陳
 Chenpi 陳皮
 Chen Shi 陳氏
 Chen Wenzhong 陳文仲
 Chen Xiang 陳相
 Chen Yunsheng 陳允升
Chunming mengyu lu 春明夢餘錄
 Cui Hua 崔華
 Dai Li (Tai Mankō) 戴笠(戴慢公)
 Deng Shichang 鄧士昌
 Ding Cilü 丁此呂
 Ding Feng 丁鳳
 Ding Mingdeng 丁明登
 Ding Yi 丁毅
Douke yuhan ji 痘科玉函集
Douzhen 痘疹
Douzhen daquan 痘疹大全
Douzhen gezhi yaolun 痘疹格致要論
Douzhen gusuifu 痘疹骨碎賦
 douzhenke 痘疹科
Douzhen quanshu 痘疹全書
Douzhen shiyi xinfa 痘疹世醫心法
Douzhen suijinfu 痘疹碎金賦
Douzhen xijiangyue 痘疹西江月
Douzhen xinfa 痘疹心法
Douzhen xinfa jinjinglu 痘疹心法金鏡錄
Douzhen xinfa quanshu 痘疹心法全書
Douzhen xinyao 痘疹心要
Douzhen xinyao gaikeshimo 痘疹心要改
 刻始末
Douzhen yusui 痘疹玉髓
Douzhen zhengzong 痘疹正宗
 Duanwu 端午
Fahui yun 發揮云
 feichang 非常
 Feierwan 肥兒丸
 Fengcheng 豐城
 fu 賦
 Fuchuntang 富春堂
 Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉
 Fuling 茯苓
 Fu Shaozhang 傅紹章
 Fuwentang 敷文堂
 Fuzhou 福州
 Gan 甘
 Gancao 甘草

- Gan Shi 甘氏
 Ganzhou 贛州
 Gao Wu 高武
 ge 歌
 Ge Hong 葛洪
 gekuo 歌括
 gewu zhizhi 格物致知
 Gong Tingxian 龔廷賢
 guangsi 廣嗣
 Guangsi 廣嗣
 Guangsi jiyao 廣嗣紀要
 Guian 歸安
 Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成
 Guo Zizhang 郭子章
 Gusuifu 骨碎賦
 Hai Rui 海瑞
 Han Zhongyong 韓仲雍
 Hayashi Gonbee 林權兵衛
 Huachao 花朝
 Huangdi neijing suwen 黃帝內經素文
 Huanggang 黃崗
 Huang Lian 黃廉
 Huang Shifeng 黃石峰
 Huangzhou 黃州
 Huguang 湖廣
 Hu Lüe 胡略
 Huma 湖麻
 Hu Mingshu 胡明庶
 Hu Mingtong (Sanxi) 胡明通 (三溪)
 Huzhou 湖州
 Igakkan 醫學館
 Ikeda 池田
 Ikeda Jūkō 池田柔行
 Ikeda Masanao 池田正直
 Ikeda Zuisen 池田瑞仙
 jiajiao 加校
 Jiangpu 江蒲
 Jianyang 建陽
 jiao 校
 Jiating shiyong liangfang 家庭實用良方
 Jiaxing 嘉興
 jinfang 禁方
 Jingguantang 靜觀堂
 Jinling 金陵
 jinshi 進士
 Jinxi 金溪
 Jishengwan 集聖丸
 juan 卷
 jueju 絕句
 Jueluo Hengbao 覺羅恆保
 Junmen 軍門
 juren 舉人
 Kawakatsu Gorōemon 川勝五郎右衛門
 Ke Wenshao 柯文紹
 Ke Wenzhao 柯文沼
 Kuibitang 奎壁堂
 kuo 括
 lingyi 鈴醫
 Linqing 臨清
 Linzhang 臨漳
 Li Tao 李濤
 Liu Honglie 劉洪烈
 liutu 流徒
 Li Yun 李雲
 Li Zhiyong 李之用
 Long 龍

- Longyou 龍游
 Lumen 鷺門
 Lumen Zhengruitang Ye kan 鷺門徵瑞
 堂葉刊
 Lü Minghe 呂鳴和
 Luotian 羅田
Luotian xianzhi 羅田縣志
 Lu Wen 陸穩
 Macheng 麻城
Maijue yuezhi 脈訣約旨
 Mao Guangsheng 冒廣生
 Mao Ruqi 毛汝麒
 Maoshi congshu 毛氏叢書
Michuan douzhen jingyan fang 秘傳痘疹經
 驗方
Michuan douzhen yusui 秘傳痘疹玉髓
Michuan jingyan douke yuhanji 秘傳經驗
 痘科玉函集
Michuan jingyan douzhen fang 秘傳經驗痘
 疹方
 Mizhai 密齋
 Nakamura Magobee 中村孫兵衛
 Nanchang 南昌
Nanjing 難經
 Nanzhili 南直隸
 ni 逆
 Nishimura Riemon 西村理右衛門
 Ouyang Duo 歐陽鐸
 Peng Duanwu 彭端吾
Piānyu douzhen 片玉痘疹
piaoqie wei jizuo kan 剽竊爲己作刊
 Qian Shi 錢氏
 Qian Yi 錢乙
 Qin Dakui 秦大夔
 Qingyitang 清議堂
 Qiongzhou 瓊州
 Qishui 蘄水
 Renshen 人參
 Ru 儒
 Ruyi 儒醫
 Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房
Shanghan 傷寒
Shanghanlun 傷寒論
Shanghan zhaijin 傷寒摘金
 Shanren Huang Lian shu 山人黃廉述
 Shaowu 邵武
 Shaoxing 紹興
 Shao Yuanjie 紹元節
 Shilütang 視履堂
 shiyi 世醫
 Shizong 世宗
Shouhou beiji fang 肘後備急方
 shu 述
 shun 順
 Siming 四明
Shiyi xinfa gekuo 世醫心法歌括
Suijinfu 碎金賦
 Sun Guangzu 孫光祖
 Sun Yikui 孫一奎
 Sun Ying'ao 孫應熬
 Suwen 素問
Suwen qianjie 素問淺節
 Taiping 太平
Taiyiyuan zhi 太醫院志
 Takeda Jiemon 武田治右衛門
 Takemura Shinbee 武村新兵衛

- Taki 多紀
 Taki Mototane 多紀元胤
 Tanabe Sakuemon 田邊作右衛門
 Tanba Mototane 丹波元胤
 Tang Chunfu (Jinchi) 唐春富(錦池)
 Tao Hongjing 陶弘景
 Tao Zhongwen 陶仲文
 Tongbi shanren 銅壁山人
 Tongrentang 同人堂
 Tongzhi xinwei zhongchun 同治辛未仲
 春
 tuina 推拿
 Tu Jie 涂杰
 Wan 萬
 Wan Banghe 萬邦和
 Wan Banghua 萬邦化
 Wan Bangjing 萬邦靖
 Wan Bangning 萬邦寧
 Wan Bangrui 萬邦瑞
 Wan Bangxian 萬邦咸
 Wan Bangxiao 萬邦孝
 Wan Bangzheng 萬邦正
 Wan Bangzhi 萬邦治
 Wan Bangzhong 萬邦忠
 Wan Bing 萬柄
 Wan Binlan 萬賓蘭
 Wan Bo 萬柏
 Wan Cai 萬材
 Wan Da 萬達
 Wan Gao 萬高
 Wang Jingxian 王景賢
 Wang Lian 王濂
 Wang Shi 王氏
 Wang Shouren 王守仁
 Wang Yiming 王一鳴
 Wang Yuncheng 王允成
 Wan Ji 萬極 (son of Wan Bangxian)
 Wan Ji 萬機 (son of Wang Bangzhi)
 Wan Kuang (Juxuan) 王筐(菊軒)
 Wanli xinsui zhongchun zhi yue 萬曆新
 歲仲春之月
 Wanli yehubian 萬曆野獲編
 Wan Meisu 萬每素
 Wan Mizhai 萬密齋
 Wan Mizhai yixue quanshu 萬密齋醫學
 全書
 Wan Quan 萬全
 Wan Renmei 萬仁美
 Wan Sen 萬森
 Wanshi douzhen quanshu 萬氏痘疹全書
 Wanshi jiachuan baoming gekuo 萬氏家傳
 保命歌括
 Wanshi jiachuan douzhen xinfa 萬氏家傳
 痘疹心法
 Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao 萬氏家傳廣
 嗣紀要
 Wanshi jiachuan youke fahui 萬氏家傳幼
 科發揮
 Wanshi michuan pianyu douzhen 萬氏秘傳
 片玉痘疹
 Wanshi michuan pianyu xinshu 萬氏秘傳
 片玉心書
 Wanshi niuhuang qingxinwan 萬氏牛黃清
 心丸
 Wanshi quan yiji liuzhong 萬氏全醫集六
 種

- Wanshi yiguan* 萬氏醫貫
Wanshi yuanben 萬氏原本
Wanshi yuanxu 萬氏元序
Wanshi zongpu 萬氏宗普
 Wan Shu 萬樞
Wan Xian Bang Ning 萬咸邦寧
Wan Xiang 萬相
Wan Xianmei 萬咸美
Wan Yan 萬延
Wan Yance (Binlan) 萬言策 (賓蘭)
Wan Yiguan 萬一貫
Wan Zhuo 萬卓
 wei 危
Weijingtang 維經堂
Weixuan 味玄
Wendetang 文德堂
Weng Zhongren 翁仲仁
Wuchang 武昌
Wuduosan 無多散
Wu Mianxue 吳勉學
Wu Yutian 吳玉田
Wuzazu 五雜俎
Wuzhou 梧州
Xia Ding 夏鼎
Xiao Chuwu 蕭楚梧
Xiaoer douzhen fang lun 小兒痘疹方論
Xiaoer yaozheng zhijue 小兒藥證直訣
Xiao Jimei (Chuwu) 蕭繼美 (楚梧)
Xia Yan 夏言
Xijiangyue 西江月
Xijiangyue jishengwan 西江月集聖丸
Xin'an 新安
 xinfu 心法
Xing Bang 邢邦
Xinjuan Luotian Wanshi jiacang furen mike
 新鐫羅田萬氏家藏婦人秘科
Xinjuan Wanshi jiacang yuying jiami 新鐫
 萬氏家藏育嬰家秘
Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan shanghan zhajin
 新刊萬氏家傳傷寒摘錦
Xinkan Wanshi jiachuan yangsheng siyao
 新刊萬氏家傳養生四要
Xinke taiyiyuan jiaoshou Danxi micang Youke
jiejing quanshu 新刻太醫院校授丹溪
 秘藏幼科捷徑全書
Xinke Wanshi jiachuan guangsi jiyao 新刊
 萬氏家傳廣嗣紀要
Xinzhou 信州
 xuan 玄
Xuanhuitang 宣惠堂
Yangsheng 養生
Yangzhou 揚州
Yan Xiaozhong 閻孝忠
 yaolun 要論
Ye Qingqu (Wenlan) 葉清渠 (文瀾)
Yifang jiyi 醫方集宜
Yiguan 醫貫
 yihu 醫戶
 yin yu yi 隱於醫
Yiqingtang 怡慶堂
 yisheng 醫聖
Yizang shumu 醫藏書目
Yongzhou 永州
Youke 幼科
Youke fahui 幼科發揮
Youke quanshu 幼科全書

- Youke tiejing* 幼科鐵鏡
Youke zhinan jiachuan mifang 幼科指南家
 傳秘方
yuan 緣 (destiny, affinity)
yuan 元 (source, origin)
yuanshi 院使
Yu Chaoxian 喻朝憲
Yuhanfang 玉函方
Yunyang 鄖陽
Yu Qian 于謙
yuqian shizhi yuyi 御前侍直御醫
Zhang 張
Zhang Bocong 張伯琮
Zhang Ji 張機
Zhang Mingdao 張明道
Zhang Tanyi 張坦議
Zhang Wanyan 張萬言
Zhang Xian 張憲
Zhaoqing 肇慶
Zhao Xianke 趙獻可
Zhao Yu 趙裕
Zhengruitang 徵瑞堂
zhengyan 症驗
Zhengyang 鄭陽
Zheng Zhu 鄭翥
zhongdou 種痘
Zhongguo yijikao 中國醫籍考
Zhongxintang 忠心堂
Zhuang Jichang 莊際昌
Zhu Lin 朱林
Zhu Danxi micang youke quanshu 朱丹溪
 秘藏幼科全書
Zhu Ru 朱儒
Zhu Xi 朱熹
Zhuxi 竹溪
Zhu Zhenheng (Danxi) 朱震亨 (丹溪)
Zizhou 資州