

POPULAR HEALING IN PRINTED MEDICAL BOOKS

The Compilation and Publication of the *Chuanya* from the Late Qing
through the Republican Period*

LUIS FERNANDO BERNARDI JUNQUEIRA

In 1759, Zhao Xuemin 趙學敏, a scholar and physician from Qiantang County (present-day Hangzhou), compiled his Chuanya 串雅. Based on certain editions of this work, modern scholars have assumed that this text is composed of recipes collected from itinerant healers, and that it was its author's intention to transmit folk healing practices through the printed word. The original manuscript that Zhao Xuemin compiled probably never reached print, however, whereas the extant editions of this text found numerous new editions and re-printings. Focusing on several manuscripts and printed editions of the Chuanya which emerged between the late Qing and Republican period, this article traces the processes through which various different agents created and recreated the Chuanya. In contrast to past studies where the connection between the Chuanya and popular healing is taken for granted, I argue that any conclusion should primarily take into account the various editions of this work. By the case study of this text, I hope to clarify a broader dimension around the authorship of printed medical books in late imperial China and challenge the assumption that we can understand them outside the context of their edition and publication.

Keywords: *Chuanya, popular healing, itinerant healers, Zhao Xuemin, book history, history of publication, authorship, appropriation*

ABBREVIATIONS

Collections

FDL	Fudan University Library (Fudan daxue tushuguan 復旦大學圖書館古籍部)
NJL	Nanjing Library (Nanjing tushuguan 南京圖書館)
NJUTCM	Nanjing University of Traditional Chinese Medicine (Nanjing Zhongyiyao daxue tushuguan 南京中醫藥大學圖書館)
PC	Author's Personal Collection
SHL	Shanghai Library (Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館)

* I am indebted to several scholars: Professor Gao Xi 高晞, my Master's degree supervisor, for her continuous support throughout the whole writing process of this work; Professor Bridie Andrews, for her encouraging response to earlier drafts of this article; Bony Braga Schachter, who helped me realize the importance of attending closely to the physical materiality of Chinese texts. I also would like to express my gratitude to several staff members of FDL, SHL, SHUTCM, NJL, NJUTCM, SIBS, and SXL for their generous assistance. Finally, I am very grateful to Lo Ping 盧炳坤, whose kindness and support were essential to the completion of this work.

SHUTCM	Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine (Shanghai Zhongyiyao daxue tushuguan 上海中醫藥大學圖書館)
SIBS	Shanghai Institutes for Biological Sciences (Shanghai shengming kexue yanjiuyuan 上海生命科學研究院)
SXL	Shaoxing Library (Shaoxing tushuguan 紹興圖書館)

Texts

BCGM	<i>Bencao gangmu</i> 本草綱目 (Compendium of Materia Medica)
DXXF	<i>Danxi xinfa</i> 丹溪心法 (The Heart of Danxi's Methods)
HSYT	<i>Han shi yitong</i> 韓氏醫通 (Medical Explanations from Mr. Han)
JKYL	<i>Jinkui yaolie</i> 金匱要略 (Essential Summaries of the Golden Chamber)
PJF	<i>Puji fang</i> 普濟方 (Prescriptions for Universal Relief)
QJYF	<i>Qianjin yaofang</i> 千金要方 (Essential Formulas Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces)
SSML	<i>Shishi milu</i> 石室秘錄 (Secrets from the Stone Chamber)
SSZMF	<i>Sheshengzhong miaofang</i> 攝生眾妙方 (Wondrous Recipes to Preserve the Health of All Beings)
WBHC	<i>Wanbing huichun</i> 萬病回春 (Curative Measures for All Diseases)
WSYJF	<i>Weisheng yijianfang</i> 衛生易簡方 (Simple Recipes to Preserve Health)
ZLBC	<i>Zhenglei bencao</i> 證類本草 (Classified Materia Medica)

INTRODUCTION¹

This article centers itself around the compilation and publication of the recipe work generally known as *Chuanyua* 串雅 (Corrected Recipes of Itinerant Healers).² Scholars widely see the text as one of the earliest and few attempts of an elite scholar in imperial China to summarize the healing practices of “itinerant healers” (*zoufangyi* 走方醫),³ who were a class of folk physicians commonly despised by the scholarly medical tradition.⁴ Modern scholarship often considers the *Chuanyua* as an entirely original work which the scholar Zhao Xuemin 趙學敏 wrote and published in 1759 with the intention of preserving and transmitting certain recipes and therapeutic skills

¹ In the Chinese quotations throughout this article, I shall not add any punctuation or reading marks on my own, but follow the style the writers and/or publishers themselves originally employed. Punctuation appears only in the English translations.

² The use of the term *Chuanyua* does not indicate any single book entitled as such, but rather refers to a cluster of texts which adopted these two characters for the composition of their titles. For an explanation of my English translation, see section III. Itinerant Healers and the *Chuanyua*.

³ For a more detailed discussion on itinerant healers, see Cullen 1993, pp. 99–132; Berg 2001, pp. 57–70; Unschuld 2010, pp. 281–293; Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 73–106; Andrews 2014, pp. 37–39.

⁴ Throughout this article, I shall employ the terms “scholarly medical tradition” and “elite doctors” to refer to the small literate group of physicians whose authority is mainly based on the orthodox interpretation of the Ruist medical classics as well as of other medical works compiled, approved, and promoted by members of the elite society. For an explanation of such concepts, see Leung 2013, pp. 374–398.

that he collected from that group of healers.⁵ The *Chuanyu* recorded approximately thirty healing techniques, many of which are seldom if ever found in other printed medical books. Thus, until the present, although no new in-depth studies dedicated exclusively to this work have emerged, historians of medicine have nevertheless extensively quoted the text as the indication of a growing interest among scholars since the Qing dynasty in recording and publishing works on folk healing knowledge.⁶

Nonetheless, no historical evidence seems to exist that can testify to a publication of a *Chuanyu* in 1759, while the earliest extant copy of this text dates from 1859, exactly a hundred years after its first supposed compilation. Furthermore, not only does the content recorded in certain manuscripts and printed editions differ significantly from one another, but even the claim of the *Chuanyu* as a genuine work of popular healing is virtually absent in pre-1949 texts. Among the earlier editions of the *Chuanyu*, for instance, the role of itinerant healers in its composition is promoted, inverted, diminished, or simply ignored, whereas the words of Zhao Xuemin are sometimes entirely incongruous when we compare different versions of the “same text” attributed to him.⁷

As a result, while it is not my aim to deny altogether any association between the *Chuanyu* and folk healing practices, this article demonstrates that their linkage is far more complex than what historians of medicine have echoed, and we can only appropriately understand this text if we attend closely to the context of compilation and publication of its various editions. Thus, three main questions will guide our study: 1. To what extent can Zhao Xuemin be considered the author of the *Chuanyu*? 2. What is the association between itinerant healers and the *Chuanyu*? 3. How over the course of time did various editions construct the idea of an original, coherent, single-authored work called *Chuanyu*?

Moving away from the claim of the *Chuanyu* as the concern of a single scholar for the preservation and dissemination of the medical knowledge of itinerant healers, I propose that we consider the reading of this text as a typical example of appropriation (see next paragraph).⁸ This article has, therefore, two major premises. On the one hand, ancient scholars scarcely conceived the *Chuanyu* as a genuine work of itinerant healers.⁹ On the other hand, its several earlier publishers seldom considered it as a text on folk healing. As we shall see, this view is reflected in the content selection for

⁵ We can observe the notion of the *Chuanyu* as an entirely original work, for example, in Unschuld 1985, pp. 210–212; Schonebaum 2016, p. 9; Unschuld 1978, pp. 378–407. Several scholars make the claim that Zhao Xuemin himself wrote and published the work in 1759. See, for instance, p. 398; Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 79–82; Schonebaum 2016, pp. 8–9. Finally, we find the assumption that the text was written with the intention of preserving and passing down popular healing practices in, for example, Needham 2000, p. 159; Chao Yuan-ling 2009, pp. 158–159.

⁶ See, for example, Unschuld 1985, pp. 210–212; Unschuld 1978, pp. 378–407; Schonebaum 2016, p. 9; Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 79–82; Needham 2000, p. 159; Chao Yuan-ling 2009, pp. 158–159.

⁷ Here, I refer particularly to the prefaces the *Chuanyu* records that show inscription of his name, but do not evidence the same content. For examples, see notes 99 and 101.

⁸ Since the past few decades, book historians have been employing the concept of “appropriation” to demonstrate how, by means of book publishing, members of the literate society frequently filtered, revised, and assigned different meanings to certain aspects of a so called “popular culture.” For further information and examples on this subject, see Foucault 1969, pp. 73–104; Chartier 1992; Chartier 1995.

⁹ Cf. sections “I. The *Chuanyu*(s) Depicted in Historical Sources” and “III. Itinerant Healers and the *Chuanyu*.”

the different printed editions of the *Chuanyu*, as well as in the instructions each reader was to follow when choosing and applying its recipes. However, due to the enormous number of manuscripts and printed versions of this text, as well as the deep social and political transformations that took place in China during the mid-twentieth century, which, in turn, had a decisive impact on its (re)compilation and (re)print,¹⁰ this study will focus only on editions written or published between the late Qing and the beginning of the Republican period.¹¹

In contrast to studies that emphasize the *Chuanyu* as a single text written by a historical individual named Zhao Xuemin, this article focuses on his role as “compiler-function,” which is a concept I borrow from the idea of “fonction-auteur” which Foucault originally coined.¹² The reason to replace “author” by “compiler” is that all the printed editions and manuscript copies of the *Chuanyu* produced before 1949 regard Zhao Xuemin as a “compiler” (*zuanzhe* 纂者), i.e., someone who collected different sources, and organized and compiled them into a new work. Moreover, the concept of compiler-function is paramount since the historical Zhao Xuemin did not compile or publish any of the various extant versions of the *Chuanyu*, even if, however, they are attributed to him.¹³ As a consequence, running throughout this article is the contention that rather than ascribing the compilation of the several *Chuanyu* to a single individual, a more accurate claim would be to understand their creation as a collaborative effort that was marked and mediated by numerous agents in different contexts.¹⁴ Finally, in order to avoid the constraints imposed by an *a priori*

¹⁰ Not only are the modern editions of the *Chuanyu* (post-1949) very different from those published during the late Qing and Republican period, but most of them carry certain deeply embued political elements that are unthinkable in a period prior to the Communist revolution. A separate study will address this particularity of modern edition of the *Chuanyu*.

¹¹ For an overview of the extant manuscript and printed versions of the *Chuanyu* before 1949, see Table 1, 4 and 5. Although these lists are based on the research that I conducted in several public and private libraries throughout mainland China, we cannot consider it as complete due to the fact that there are a huge number of ancient texts in the possession of bibliophiles that the public rarely knows of. Collectors of this type rarely disclose the contents of their inventories. Moreover, we cannot hold that the *Zhongguo Zhongyi guji zongmu* 中国中医古籍总目 (Comprehensive Glossary of Ancient Chinese Medical Texts), the largest catalogue of ancient Chinese medical texts to date, is a reliable reference because it contains too many mistakes as for titles, locations, dates, and editions. See Xue Qinglu 2007.

¹² According to Foucault, the *fonction-auteur* does not affect all the texts in the same manner. We must therefore understand each work in its own context. As a result, the study of different editions is essential to apprehending the whole dimension of a work’s authorship. See Foucault 1969, pp. 73–104.

¹³ It is noteworthy that all of our information about Zhao Xuemin comes primarily from two types of sources. (1) Internal sources, that is, prefaces in his works that describe his life story and the creation process around some of his works. All these texts, however, are ascribed to Zhao Xuemin himself, thus suggesting that he wrote his own biographies. (2) External sources, that is, excerpts from texts compiled by other scholars. These texts were all written after 1859 and they are based solely on the prefaces attributed to Zhao Xuemin. In other words, all we know about him comes from works ascribed to him and not from independent sources. We can find a detailed survey on the passages from Zhao Xuemin’s works that mention certain events of his life in Li Jian *et al.* 2015, pp. 101–103. We will discuss in greater detail the prefaces of Zhao Xuemin that are attributed to him in the section “I. The *Chuanyu*(s) Depicted in Historical Sources.”

¹⁴ In doing so, I intend to build on recent studies book historians have conducted on the notion of “collaborative authorship.” This broader idea of authorship, which embraces the social and historical dimensions intrinsically linked with the creation and recreation of texts over time, has not

categorization of texts as expressions of “popular” or “scholarly” medical traditions – without, for instance, tracing back their source texts or taking into account the question of readership – I adopt the concept of appropriation. In other words, I am attempting to clarify the means by which different individuals from the upper societal echelons selected, manipulated, and reinterpreted certain folk elements through their own particular worldviews.

This article is divided into five sections. It begins with an overview of the appearance of a text named *Chuanya*, discussing the historical implications related to the use of such a title. The second section concentrates on the sources adopted for the composition of this text, as well as the main features of the *Chuanya neibian* 串雅內編 (Corrected Recipes of Itinerant Healers: Inner Volume) and *Chuanya waibian* 串雅外編 (Corrected Recipes of Itinerant Healers: Outer Volume). Our study follows with an introduction and analysis of the texts that modern scholarship often refers to as evidence of the association between itinerant healers and the *Chuanya*. The fourth section deals with how three different publishers conceived their three distinctively different printed editions of the *Chuanya*, and what the intentions underlying the publication of those books appear to have been. Finally, this article ends by showing how a careful study of the several editions of the *Chuanya* may serve to clarify the broader dimensions that surround the authorship of medical books in the late Qing and Republican period. In other words, suggesting that communities of agents rather than a single individual were behind the (re)compilation, (re)edition, and (re)publication of the *Chuanya*, I hope to further expand our purview of the actors conducting the creation of printed medical books, and thus challenge the general assumption that these texts give us access to the original lost writings and intentions of earlier individual authors.

I. THE *CHUANYA(S)* DEPICTED IN HISTORICAL SOURCES

From the late Qing through the end of the Republican period, the *Chuanya* was published in not only at least nine different editions, but also hand-copied several times. On one hand, the title, internal structure, as well as the number of *juan*, recipes, and introductory texts of each edition sometimes differ significantly from one another.¹⁵ On the other hand, as Zhao Xuemin neither compiled nor printed any of the printed editions that survived to this day, it is particularly challenging to ascertain how much of the total content of the “copy-texts” (*diben* 底本) obtained by the several publishers was modified during the editing process, or even how disparate these copy-texts might have been in comparison to the work that Zhao Xuemin originally compiled. In addition, analysis of the structure and the manner by which the content was recorded indicates that it is also very unlikely that Zhao Xuemin wrote any of the extant

yet drawn the attention of historians of Chinese medicine. In the European context, though, “collaborative authorship” has been receiving considerable attention in the past few years. For a helpful summary of recent works on the subject, see Smith 2012, pp. 4–5. For discussions focused on medical books, see Leong 2013, pp. 81–103; Field 2007, pp. 49–63. Within the context of Chinese religions, see Schachter’s discussion of the editorial history of the *Taiqing yuce* 太清玉冊, Schachter 2018 (particularly chs. 1 and 4).

¹⁵ Cf. Table 1, 4 and 5.

manuscripts of the *Chuanya*.¹⁶ Under these circumstances, in order to clarify the historical implications involved with the appearance of this title, this section focuses on the question of how sources from the Qing and Republican periods have usually addressed this work.

A preface that scholars attribute to Zhao Xuemin and which is available in several versions of the *Chuanya*¹⁷ says that his relative Boyun 柏雲 was an itinerant healer who had practiced medicine for decades. In the year *wuyin* 戊寅 (ca. 1758), he returned to Qiantang County and visited Zhao Xuemin. During his visit, they discussed several topics, and Boyun's incisive understanding of medical principles impressed Zhao Xuemin very deeply. As a result, he collected the teachings of Boyun, and edited and compiled them into a "single volume" (*yibian* 一編) named *Chuanya*.¹⁸ This preface unfortunately does not contain the specific content and number of *juan* of this *Chuanya*.

Elsewhere, in the 1871 edition of the *Bencao gangmu shiyi* 本草綱目拾遺 (Supplement to the Compendium of Materia Medica), which is another work attributed to Zhao Xuemin, we find another preface likewise ascribed to him and dated from the year *gengyin* 庚寅 (ca. 1770), namely the "Liji shi'erzhong zongxu" 利濟十二種總序 (General Preface of the Twelve Ways to Generate Benefits).¹⁹ At the end of this text, twelve medical works authored to Zhao Xuemin are listed according to their completion date. A work entitled *Chuanya* composed of eight *juan* is recorded as the sixth medical text that he compiled.²⁰ In the same work, in a postscript compiled in the year *jiazi* 甲子 of the Tongzhi 同治 reign-period (ca. 1871), the main editor of this *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, Zhang Yingchang 張應昌, states that not only did Zhao Xuemin not compile or publish any of his works during his lifetime, but that most of them were entirely lost even before the end of the Jiaqing 嘉慶 reign-period (1796–1820). As a consequence, he says, his edition of the *Bencao gangmu shiyi* was the result of an arduous process of selection, collation, and revision that Zhang and other physicians from Hangzhou undertook, including the only bibliophile who possessed earlier manuscripts of the *Bencao gangmu shiyi* and *Chuanya*, a certain Lian Weng 連翁. According to Zhang Yingchang, however, in the year *gengshen* 庚申 (ca. 1860),

¹⁶ This is due to the fact that all these manuscripts contain several annotations, amendments, and commentaries written in different colors and calligraphy styles. In addition, their medical content and internal structure are sometimes quite different from one another.

¹⁷ In some editions this preface is written "Zixu" 自序 (Personal Preface) or "Yuanxu" 原序 (Original Preface), while in others it is entitled "Zhao Xuemin xu" 趙學敏序 (Preface of Zhao Xuemin). Compare, for example, the *Chuanya neibian* (1891 and 1987) with the *Chuanya neibian* (1890) and *Wulin Zhao Xuemin chuanya neibian* 武林趙學敏串雅內編 (1859).

¹⁸ 戊寅航海歸過予質其道皆有奧理不悖於古顧其方旁涉元禁瑣及遊戲未免誇新鬪異爲國醫所不道因取其所授手抄重加芟訂存其可濟於世合予平昔所錄奇方悉依原次彙成一編曰串雅。See *Wulin Zhao Xuemin chuanya neibian*, "Zhao Xuemin xu."

¹⁹ This text also contains another preface from the year *yiyou* 己酉 of the Qianlong reign-period (ca. 1765) that is attributed to Zhao Xuemin. The earliest extant edition of the *Bencao gangmu shiyi* is however a printed version from the year *jiazi* 甲子 of the Tongzhi reign-period (ca. 1871), nearly a hundred years after the original compilation of that text.

²⁰ 利濟十二種全目 [...] 串雅八卷。See *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, "Liji shi'erzhong zongxu."

Hangzhou was invaded. The manuscripts that Lian Weng once kept were unfortunately lost.²¹

The preface of the work *Chuanya bu* 串雅補 (Supplement to the *Chuanya*), compiled in the fifth year of the Daoguang 道光 reign-period (ca. 1825) and attributed to the scholar Lu Zhao 魯照, also mentions a work of Zhao Xuemin entitled *Chuanya*.²² This preface denounces the content of the *Chuanya* as deviating enormously from the recipes and therapeutic skills that itinerant healers had long used and transmitted, therefore explaining that the reason to compile the *Chuanya bu* was in fact precisely to amend and supplement the earlier work of Zhao Xuemin.²³

On the other hand, a text entitled “Fanli” 凡例 (Notes), present in certain printed editions and manuscript copies of the *Chuanya*, contains the following passage:

This tome was divided into Inner and Outer volumes. First comes the essential, then the superfluous. When applied together, these methods are exhaustive. When employed separately, they are still extremely useful. [The content] was recorded following what is genuine and correct, thus the vulgar and offensive were completely discarded.²⁴

Not only was the text above the earliest that mentioned an internal division between an “Inner Volume” (*Neibian* 內編) and an “Outer Volume” (*Waibian* 外編), but it was also the first that conceived the former as more valuable than the latter. It is important to state, however, that scholars did not attribute this text to Zhao Xuemin directly, and that it is entirely absent in several other editions of the *Chuanya*.²⁵ Moreover, as the section to follow indicates, this negative view on the *Waibian* as well as the endeavor to bowdlerize both texts of all their “offensive content,” are points that scholars frequently raised in earlier publications of the *Chuanya*.

External sources mostly echoed the remarks in the “Fanli” regarding the *Chuanya* as a work with divisions into two volumes. In the “Catalogue of Guyue Library” (*Guyue cangshulou shumu* 古越藏書樓書目), which Xu Shulan 徐樹蘭 compiled and published for the first time in 1904, we find a printed book entitled *Chuanya neibian*, composed of four *juan*, attributed to Zhao Xuemin, and printed in the ninth year of the Xianfeng 咸豐 reign-period (ca. 1859). The famous Qing physician Lu

²¹ 至嘉慶末年傳鈔本則只有是編與串雅二種其十種已不傳且是編每藥品下論列各條顛倒錯亂眉目不晰余因訪知杭醫連翁楚珍藏其稿本假閱乃先生手輯未繕清本者初稿紙短續補之條皆粘于上方粘條殆滿而未注所排序次故傳鈔錯亂耳余乃按其體例以稿本校正排比傳鈔本之誤然後各條朗若列眉還其舊觀原稿本仍歸返連翁迨庚申寇亂翁家原稿本亡失串雅亦佚。See *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, “Bencao gangmu shiyi ba” 本草綱目拾遺跋 (Postscript to the Supplement to the Compendium of Materia Medica)

²² Although the preface in the *Chuanya bu* is dated from 1825, the whole text appeared in print for the first time only in the eighth year of the Republican period (ca. 1919). Furthermore, the publisher Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房 (Saoye Publishing House) does not inform on the provenance of their copy-text, whereas references to a work entitled *Chuanya bu* are virtually absent in Qing printed sources. See *Chuanya bu*, “Zixu.”

²³ 恕軒所集串雅與方士所傳不同。 *Ibid.*

²⁴ 一是編分內外二種首列其要次及其餘合之則諸法畢備分之仍各有妙用棄俗從雅。 See *Wulin Zhao Xuemin chuanya neibian*, “Fanli.”

²⁵ The *Chuanya neibian* published in 1859, 1891, and 1897 do not contain the “Fanli.” On the other hand, the “Fanli” recorded in the 1890 edition contains several passages and characters not present in any of the extant manuscripts of the *Chuanya* written during the Qing dynasty.

Dingpu 陸定圃 revised and edited this edition.²⁶ In the second *juan* of the medical work *Lenglu yihua* 冷廬醫話 (Medical Notes of Leng Lu), which Lu Dingpu compiled in 1858, an entire section focused on introducing a text entitled *Chuanya neiwaibian*, which is also attributed to Zhao Xuemin. The content of this entry is basically a summary of the prefaces ascribed to Zhao Xuemin, although it also goes further. In the first line, Lu Dingpu depicts the *Chuanya neiwaibian* as a work composed exclusively of recipes collected from itinerant healers.²⁷ At the end of this text, Lu Dingpu expresses his view about the use of those recipes, arguing that since most of them could easily “arouse the *yang*” and “give way to one’s carnal desires,” this genre of recipes should by no means be promoted into the “sublime medical path” (*daya* 大雅).²⁸ In addition, he includes a note stating that up to his time this *Chuanya neiwaibian* was yet unpublished, and that it was necessary to conduct a more meticulous revision of its medical content before sending it to print.²⁹ Nevertheless, one year after writing this preface, Lu Dingpu printed his own revised edition of the *Chuanya* entitled *Chuanya neibian*, which contains only four *juan*, with no reference to the existence of any *Chuanya waibian*.

In the second *juan* of the *Cuncunzhai yihua gao* 存存齋醫話稿 (Medical Records from the Cuncun Studio), a medical work Zhao Yanhui 趙彥暉 compiled and printed in 1881, another text refers to a work entitled *Chuanya*. The content of this entry is likewise a summary of other texts commonly found in the *Chuanya*, especially the “Xulun” 緒論 (General Introduction). Two aspects that Zhao Yanhui points out here are of particular relevance. First, he stresses that Zhao Xuemin compiled the *Chuanya* as a single book with a division into “inner” and “outer” volumes.³⁰ Secondly, he asserts that many recipes in that work, which had frequently been attributed to itinerant healers, were also very clearly present in other medical books as well.³¹

In the “Catalogue of the Eight-Thousand-Scrolls Library” (*Baqianjuanlou shumu* 八千卷樓書, which members of the Ding 丁 clan assembled, we also find a reference to a text entitled *Chuanya*.³² Members of the Ding clan were the owners of one of the largest private libraries in the late Qing, the *Baqianjuanlou* 八千卷樓 (Eight-Thousand-Scrolls Library), located in Hangzhou. According to this catalogue, the *Baqianjuanlou* once kept a manuscript and a printed copy of a certain *Chuanya* composed of four *juan*.³³ From the preface of the 1890 edition of the *Chuanya neibian*, however, we found that both texts corresponded only to a *Chuanya neibian*.³⁴

²⁶ 申雅內編四卷趙學敏陸定圃校本。See *Guyue cangshulou shumu*, j. 6.

²⁷ 申雅內外編皆走方術。See *Lenglu yihua*, j. 2.

²⁸ 然觀其所載多興陽之方大半熱藥如天雄附子草烏肉桂硫黃阿芙蓉淫羊藿鹿茸蠶蛾等味用之必致爲害且導人以縱欲亦非大雅所當言也。 *Ibid.*

²⁹ 此書無刊本好事者若以付梓當更爲芟訂庶幾盡善。 *Ibid.*

³⁰ 錢塘趙恕軒名學敏一字根據吉撰利濟十二種其申雅一種書分內外兩編。See *Cuncunzhai yihua gao*, j. 2.

³¹ 申雅中方多有散見于諸書者如內編首列韓飛霞黃鶴丹青囊丸推爲遊方之祖方云。 *Ibid.*

³² This catalogue found its first publication only in 1923, almost 24 years after Ding Bingzang’s death. See *Baqianjuanlou shumu*, j. 10.

³³ 申雅四卷國朝趙學敏撰抄本刊本。 *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Chuanya neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin” 重斟刊申雅內編小引 (Introductory Notes for the Revised Edition of the *Chuanya neibian*), 1890.

The *Liangzhe youxuan xulu* 兩浙輶軒續錄 (Extended Records of Liangzhe Carriage) is a continuation of the work *Liangzhe youxuan* 兩浙輶軒 (Records of Liangzhe Carriage), which the scholar Pan Yantong 潘衍桐 compiled in 1884 and published in 1891. In the seventh *juan* of this book, Pan Yantong records a brief biography of Zhao Xuemin, and introduces some of his most representative works. A *Chuanya neibian* and a *Chuanya waibian*, each composed of four *juan*, appear by way of separate introductions, therefore suggesting that they were not simply divisions within the same text, but rather different texts themselves. In addition, Pan Yantong points out that during his time the Xu shi Yuyuan 許氏榆園 (Yu Garden of Mr. Xu) was preparing to print a copy of the *Chuanya*. This was in fact the publishing house of the 1890 edition of the *Chuanya neibian*.³⁵

More information comes to us from the *Chunzaitang shibian* 春在堂詩編 (Anthologies from the Chunzai Studio), a collection of poems compiled by Yu Yue 俞樾 (1821–1907) and published in 1906. In this book, when commenting on the passage “looking at the effective single formulas of the *Chuanya*” (*yuefan Chuanya yandanfang* 閱繙串雅驗單方), Yu Yue informs readers that Ding Songsheng 丁松生, one of the members of the Ding clan and owner of the *Baqianjuanlou* at that time, had ordered the publication of a *Chuanya neibian*, and that he, Yu Yue, obtained a printed copy of the book directly from the publishing house Yuyuan 榆園 (Yu Garden). This book is also the 1890 published edition of the *Chuanya neibian*.³⁶

As we can see from Table 1, all the printed editions of the *Chuanya* published throughout the Qing dynasty carry the title *Chuanya neibian*, and are composed of four *juan*.

Table 1: EDITIONS OF THE *CHUANYA*
PRINTED DURING THE QING DYNASTY

Title (number of <i>juan/ce</i>)	Publication Date	Publishing House	Collection
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> (4/1)	1859	Hangcheng luowenxian 杭城羅文顯	SXL
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> (4/2)	1890	Yuyuan 榆園	FDL
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> (4/1)	1891	Unknown	NJUTCM
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> (4/2)	1897	Jingkou Yuanshi 京口袁氏	NJUTCM
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> ³⁷ (4/2)	1897	Jingkou Yuanshi	NJL
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> ³⁸ (4/2)	Unknown	Unknown	SHL

³⁵ “*Liangzhe youxuan xulu*,” *j.* 7.

³⁶ *Chunzaitang shibian*, chap. *gengxin* 庚辛.

³⁷ Although this copy is almost identical to the one kept in NJUTCM, it nevertheless does not contain the “Chen Renyang xu.” We therefore cannot consider it the same edition.

³⁸ In SHL, there are two copies of this printed edition, one of which contains several handwritten notes.

During that period, the only book that mentions a *Chuanya waibian* is the 1890 edition published by Xu Zeng,³⁹ while the remaining six entirely neglect the existence of such a text. Nonetheless, both by the presence of several manuscripts produced during the late Qing and composed of a *Chuanya neibian* and *Chuanya waibian* (or only a *Chuanya waibian*),⁴⁰ as well as by the records of Lu Dingpu, Zhao Yanhui and Xu Zeng, it is evident that the *Chuanya waibian* was by no means a lost text, such that already in the initial years of the Republican period it was edited and (re)printed several times.⁴¹ Not even once, however, did contemporaries find or mention the existence of a book entitled purely *Chuanya*, composed of eight *juan*, and published during the Qing dynasty.

From this perspective, we can witness two major contrasts. On the one hand lies the contrast of content between the prefaces editors and publishers attribute to Zhao Xuemin (which always mention a text entitled *Chuanya*, composed of eight *juan*), the texts printed in the late Qing (books entitled *Chuanya neibian*, composed of four *juan*) and the titles published during the Republican period (books entitled *Chuanya neiwaibian* 串雅內外編 and *Jiaozheng Chuanya neiwaibian* 校正串雅內外編, each of which contain eight *juan*). On the other hand, we find an apparent contrast of time: the few texts compiled before the Daoguang reign-period (ca. 1821–1851) always mention a single work entitled *Chuanya*, whereas from the Xianfeng reign-period (ca. 1851–1861) onwards the overwhelming majority of external sources, as well as manuscript and printed editions associated with the *Chuanya*, refer to a two-volume work, or even two different works.

Interestingly, most of what we know about the *Chuanya* comes from scholars who had contact with only two editions of the *Chuanya neibian*, namely the 1859 edition which Lu Dingpu assembled, and the 1890 edition which Xu Zeng published. No scholar claimed to have either read or obtained the original manuscript that Zhao Xuemin had compiled, although scholars did commonly ascribe these different editions to him. *Chuanya*, *Chuanya neibian*, *Chuanya waibian*, and *Chuanya neiwaibian*, for instance, might be considered to be a simple variation of title but, as we shall see in the next section, we can by no means take this assumption for granted. First, according to the two prefaces attributed to Zhao Xuemin, the text he compiled was entitled *Chuanya*. We find no place, however, in which he mentions an internal division between “inner” and “outer” volumes. This therefore raises the question of who first divided the text into two volumes: did Zhao Xuemin himself make the division, or was this the doing of the earlier publishers of the *Chuanya*, or even of a bibliophile who provided the text for printing? Did Zhao Xuemin only forget to mention that internal division? Or did he consider this topic merely a minor issue not worthy of discussion? Second, only in the Qing dynasty was the book entitled *Chuanya neibian* printed at least nine times. Contemporaries neither found nor mentioned a printed edition of a *Chuanya waibian* or a *Chuanya neiwaibian*. Why did scholars and publishers of the late Qing become so interested in the *Chuanya neibian*, all the while virtually overlooking the existence of the *Chuanya waibian*? In contrast, why are the printed editions of the *Chuanya* published during the Republican period always

³⁹ See “IV. Three Printed Editions of the *Chuanya*,” subsection “The *Chuanya neibian*, 1890.”

⁴⁰ Cf. Table 4 (Appendix).

⁴¹ Cf. Table 5 (Appendix).

composed of both volumes? It seems indefensible to consider the different attitudes towards these texts a mere coincidence.

II. THE SOURCE TEXTS OF THE *CHUANYA*

As the outline in the section above shows, if we regard the information in the prefaces attributed to Zhao Xuemin as reliable, his original compiling contained eight *juan* and was named simply *Chuanya*. However, the printed editions of the *Chuanya* published during the Qing dynasty are all entitled *Chuanya neibian*, while scholars have found a *Chuanya waibian* or *Chuanya neiwaibian* only as manuscripts from the Qing or printed editions published during the Republican period. As a result, it is virtually impossible not to acknowledge the variety of reactions towards these texts in different periods of time. To clarify this issue, this section 1. introduces the general structure and medical content of the *Chuanya neibian* and *Chuanya waibian*, 2. analyzes how each volume differs from others, 3. discusses the source texts adopted for the compilation of both volumes, and 4. provides some clues on why Qing scholars considered only the *Chuanya neibian* as worthy of print.

The first point to stress is that although the different editions of the *Chuanya neibian* show several discrepancies from one another regarding, for example, typography, number of recipes, and introductory texts, their internal division remained virtually unchanged.⁴² The same applies to the several *Chuanya waibian*. For this reason, in order to answer questions 1, 2, and 3, this section adopts the earliest dated versions of the *Chuanya neibian* and *Chuanya waibian* available, namely the manuscripts entitled *Wulin Zhao Xuemin Chuanya neibian* 武林趙學敏串雅內編 (Corrected Recipes of Itinerant Healers by Zhao Xuemin from Wulin [County]: Inner Volume; henceforth: *Wulin Chuanya neibian*) and the *Wulin Zhao Xuemin Chuanya waibian* 武林趙學敏串雅外編 (Corrected Recipes of Itinerant Healers by Zhao Xuemin from Wulin [County]: Outer Volume; henceforth: *Wulin Chuanya waibian*), both produced in 1859.⁴³

The *Wulin Chuanya neibian*

In contrast to most of the recipe books published during the Qing dynasty, the internal structure of the *Wulin Chuanya neibian* is rather peculiar: the data arrangement appears not according to diseases or body areas, but instead to healing methods.⁴⁴ According to the “General Table of Contents of the *Chuanya neibian*” (*Chuanya neibian zongmu* 串雅內編總目), this volume records 458 recipes, divided into four main therapeutic methods: *jie* 截 (209), *ding* 頂 (18), *chuan* 串 (22), and “Single Formulas”

⁴² The only exception is the manuscript kept in SIBS, which contains several texts and treatises not found in other versions of the *Chuanya*. Cf. Table 4 (Appendix).

⁴³ For more information regarding these two manuscripts, see Table 4 (Appendix). As for date of completion, on the last page of the *Wulin Chuanya waibian* we read “Copied in the Second Month of Winter during the Ninth Year of the Xianfeng Reign-period, from the Wu Menlun Library” (咸豐九年仲冬抄於吳門論書樓中). Unfortunately, no information about any Wu Menlun Library exists in printed records, which suggests that this was a small, private library which a bibliophile named Wu Menlun probably owned.

⁴⁴ For this comparison, I have consulted over eight hundred manuscripts and printed books produced between the Ming and Qing dynasties which the digital database *Airusheng Zhongyi dianhai* 愛如生中醫典海 (Airusheng: Comprehensive Collection of Chinese Medical Texts) has collected.

(*danfang* 單方) (209)⁴⁵. Apart from the *ding* and *chuan* chapters, whose recipes are recorded not according to any particular arrangement, *jie* recipes are divided into “general” (*zongzhi* 總治), “internal” (*neizhi* 內治), “external” (*waizhi* 外治), and “complex” (*zazhi* 雜治) healing, with “Single Formulas” following the same pattern of *jie*, yet adding a section for “extraordinary healing” (*qizhi* 奇治). Interestingly, all the recipes without exception only make use of pharmaceutical drugs that should be taken internally as “boluses” (*wan* 丸), “powders” (*san* 散), “decoctions” (*tang* 湯), or even applied to certain body areas as “ointments” (*gao* 膏). The use of drugs for bath, moxibustion, combined with spells, as well as instructions related to minor surgeries, acupuncture, talismans, or fabrication of medical products are all absent in this volume.

Nonetheless, as several Qing scholars state, a considerably large portion of the recipes recorded in this volume are attributable to famous recipe books published prior to the compilation of the *Chuanya* in 1759. Following, Table 2 illustrates some of the possible source texts for the *ding* and *chuan* chapters, both of which were revered in the “Zixu” 自序 (Personal Preface), “Xulun,” and “Fanli” as two of the three greatest healing methods itinerant healers employed:

Table 2: SOURCE TEXTS OF THE *CHUAN* AND *DING* CHAPTERS
ACCORDING TO THE *WULIN CHUANYA NEIBIAN*

	<i>BCGM</i>	<i>SSML</i>	<i>PJF</i>	<i>DXXF</i>	<i>WBHC</i>	<i>JKYL</i>	<i>HSYT</i>	<i>SSZMF</i>
No. of <i>chuan</i> recipes	5	1	2	2	0	0	0	1
No. of <i>ding</i> recipes	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	0

Although Table 2 is only a preliminary survey, it nevertheless already reveals that from the 18 *ding* formulas on record in the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, we can trace over half of them directly to other famous printed medical works, particularly to the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Compendium of Materia Medica).⁴⁶ *Chuan* formulas show a similar result, with 11 out of 21. It is important to note, however, that although it is uncertain whether the compilers of the *Wulin Chuanya neibian* adopted exactly the same eight books and editions we see in Table 2 – since it might also be that they extracted those recipes from a collection of other medical and non-medical texts – the recipes absent in other printed works do not necessarily mean that itinerant healers directly transmitted them.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Throughout printed medical books, the suffixes *jie*, *ding*, and *chuan* seldom appear forming the name of recipes. Also, I could not find any explanation in ancient medical texts on the precise meaning of these three characters. This suggests that these terms are part of the large number of jargons itinerant healers employed in order to maintain their knowledge secret. However, it may also be that such characters are originated from local dialects. As such, I prefer not to provide literal translations of *jie*, *ding*, and *chuan*, as it would run the risk of being highly inaccurate.

⁴⁶ Scholars generally believe that Zhao Xuemin was very familiar with Li Shizhen’s *Bencao gangmu*, since he compiled a text, the *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, to serve precisely as a supplement to Li’s work. For an introduction of both texts, see Unschuld 1986, pp. 145–168.

⁴⁷ Table 2 only contains the recipes that are present in other printed recipe books that offer exactly the same content (e.g., ingredients, preparation, and target disease). Interestingly, all the recipes in these two chapters that have titles composed of the suffixes *-chuan* or *-ding* – which, in turn, infers an intrinsic connection with itinerant healers – appear under entirely different names in

Furthermore, the kind of data compilers recorded in the *Wulin Chuanya neibian* was not in itself very different from what one can find in other recipe books printed during the Qing dynasty. A glance at its medical content suggests it is unlikely that someone would relate it to itinerant healers without, that is, reading the prefaces and introductions stating that connection. For instance, all of the different versions of the “Xulun” include a passage which lists the three most important genres of formulas used by itinerant healers, namely *ding*, *chuan*, and *jie*. In what follows, a “Note” (*an* 按) was added (we do not know by whom), stressing that these actually accounted for the “three healing methods of ancient times,” namely “perspiration” (*han* 汗), “vomiting” (*tu* 吐), and “purging” (*xia* 下).⁴⁸ As a matter of fact, records of these methods are also present in several medical works of the scholarly medical tradition. The elite doctor Zhang Congzheng 張從正, recognized as one of the “Four Greatest Physicians of the Jin–Yuan Periods” (*Jin Yuan sidajia* 金元四大家), particularly emphasized them.⁴⁹ In any case, both the “Note” included in the “Xulun” as well as the authoritative figure of Zhang Congzheng may already give us a glimpse of why the *Chuanya neibian* attracted more attention during the Qing dynasty than its counterpart.

The *Wulin Chuanya waibian*

The internal structure of the *Wulin Chuanya waibian* virtually follows the pattern of the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*. That is, all the recipes are distributed in accordance with therapeutic methods. The contents, though, are far more complex, diverse, and sensitive than those of the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, and the internal division into categories of healing (such as “internal,” “external” or “general”) is entirely absent. Moreover, in contrast to the 458 recipes arranged among four healing methods in the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, the *Wulin Chuanya waibian* contains no less than 539 therapeutic practices and miscellaneous instructions, all distributed over twenty-eight chapters, each accounting for a specific healing method or instruction.⁵⁰

Although medicinal drugs still represent the most significant therapeutic feature of the *Wulin Chuanya waibian*, they are by no means the only feature deserving of mention. Actually, much of the content in this volume corresponds to healing techniques or skills which elite physicians despised and criticized as excessively manual in

other recipe works. In other words, rather than attesting their folk provenance, the change of titles strongly suggests that it was the compilers’ intention to increase the credibility of those recipes by appealing to their originality. For further information about the choice of recipe names, see Unschuld – Zheng 2012, p. 49. For a more comprehensive survey on the recipes recorded in the *Chuanya neibian* that can be traced in other printed medical books, see Hu Yongsheng 2015.

⁴⁸ 藥上行者皆曰頂下行者皆曰串故頂藥多吐串藥多瀉頂串而外則曰截絕也如絕害然按此即古汗吐下三法也。 See *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, “Xulun.”

⁴⁹ For example, in the *Rumen shiqin* 儒門事親 (Confucians Serve Their Parents), a medical work attributed to Zhang Congzheng and published over fifty times during the Ming and Qing dynasties, Zhang Congzheng consistently stresses the methods of perspiration, vomiting, and purging as the core of his healing tradition. See *Rumen shiqin*, particularly *j.* 1, 2, and 12.

⁵⁰ The number 539 does not include the 18 recipes written as annotations on the top border of the main text and as glosses in the space between certain lines. Fourteen of these recipes are located in the chapters dedicated to talismans and spells, and are not found in other printed or manuscript editions of the *Chuanya*.

nature – such as minor surgeries and incisions with knives or needles,⁵¹ practices associated with the *wuxi* 巫覡 (quacks)⁵² – such as the talismans and spells of “Secret Methods” (*jinfa* 禁法) or “Tricks with Drugs” (*yaoxi* 藥戲),⁵³ or excessively profit-oriented – such as “False Products” (*weipin* 偽品). There is also the matter of over one third of the *juan* being dedicated exclusively to the preparation of ready-made products.⁵⁴ It is noteworthy that bloody approaches, the use of talismans and spells to cure disease, as well as the controversial problem of recipe’ secrecy and the sale of false products, for example, were all topics to which, since the Song dynasty, authorities and scholars had devoted special attention, with critiques to such activities reaching their climax during the Qing period.⁵⁵

However, in contrast to the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, most of the recipes and instructions in the *Wulin Chuanya waibian* are simply not materials which lend themselves to successful verification and tracing. Simply put, we rarely find printed recipe works which include whole chapters that focused on tricks with drugs, the removal of worms and insects, preparation of false products, methods to cure animals and plants, or instructions on how to bring someone back to life.⁵⁶ Table 3, for instance, shows printed recipe books compiled and published before 1759 that contain exactly the same formulas recorded in the chapter *yaojin* 藥禁 (Secret Methods with Drugs) of the *Wulin Chuanya waibian*. The whole chapter comprises no less than 38 recipes, but only 11 appear in other printed medical works:

Table 3: SOURCE TEXTS OF THE YAOJIN CHAPTER,
WULIN CHUANYA WAIBIAN

	<i>BCGM</i>	<i>WSYJF</i>	<i>ZLBC</i>	<i>QJYF</i>
No. of <i>yaojin</i> recipes	7	2	1	1

⁵¹ For discussions around the practices which elite physicians commonly despised, see Unschuld 1985, pp. 132–148; Leung 2013, pp. 374–398; Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 116–126.

⁵² Although *wuxi* is often translated as “shaman,” this Chinese concept carries a strong pejorative meaning that the English translation lacks. Elite scholars and officials frequently employed the term to criticize and denounce certain “unorthodox” and “unacceptable” medical activities. Moreover, although “shaman” is generally associated with “possession,” in traditional China not all forms of possession were labeled *wuxi*, a typical example being the practice of *fujū* 扶乩 (spirit-mediums). In other words, the direct translation of *wuxi* as shaman may actually be more misleading than informative. For a detailed study on *fujū*, see Lai Chi Tim 2013. The famous Qing elite physician, Xu Dachun 徐大椿, who was possibly a practitioner of *fujū* himself, also explains the essential differences between *wu* and *fujū* activities in his *Yi lun* 醫論 (Treatises on Medicine), chap. “Fangyao” 方藥 (Formulas). Regarding the various meanings of the term *wuxi* and the healing practices frequently associated with them, see Lin Fu-shih 2013a; Fan Ka-Wai 2004, pp. 59–89.

⁵³ For a more detailed discussion of the transmission of *jinfa* and its subsequent incorporation into imperial medical institutions, see Fan Ka-Wai 2004, pp. 59–89; Fan Ka-Wai 2007, pp. 167–189. Philological studies on the terms *jin* and *zhuyou* are available in Lin Fu-shih 2013, and Li Jianmin 2008, pp. 119–165.

⁵⁴ Unschuld considers the dissemination of ready-made products as intrinsically associated with the more developed degree of medical professionalization during the Ming and Qing dynasties. For more details, see Unschuld 1979, pp. 60–106.

⁵⁵ Unschuld 1979, pp. 60–68, 95–106; Andrews 2014, pp. 25–50.

⁵⁶ In this respect, see also Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 106–187.

As the editors of the *Chuanyua waibian xuanzhu* 串雅外編選註 indicate, what happens with *yaojin* recipes is by no means an isolated case: the overwhelming majority of recipes and instructions recorded in the *Chuanyua waibian* are not traceable to other printed medical books.⁵⁷ Although it is difficult to ascertain with precision why the *Chuanyua waibian* was generally ignored during the Qing dynasty, its “folk” and “unorthodox” inclination presumably made it unworthy of transmission as a printed edition.⁵⁸ In other words, since members of the scholarly medical tradition could more easily and effectively appropriate the medical content of the *Chuanyua neibian* than its counterpart, this text showed itself more attractive for publication than the *Chuanyua waibian*.

The Source Texts

In addition to the preliminary investigation above, it is relevant to mention that the majority of scholars and publishers from the Qing who somehow mentioned the *Chuanyua* agreed that the compilation of this text relied on several sources, and that only a small portion of its content came, after a meticulous edition, from itinerant healers. The first who declared the eclectic origin of the *Chuanyua* was Zhao Xuemin himself. In the “Liji shi’erzhong zongxu,” he explains that a portion of the content of his *Chuanyua* came from the itinerant healer Boyun, while another was extracted from a work he himself compiled and entitled *Yangsuyuan jianyanfang* 養素園簡驗方 (Simple and Effective Formulas from the Yangsu Garden), consisting of six *juan*.⁵⁹ Elsewhere, in his preface for the *Chuanyua*, Zhao Xuemin not only states that he collected a large part of this text from another of his works (although he does not specify which), but that he carried out a painstaking selection and edition of the content he received from Boyun before making it available in the written word.⁶⁰

The “Fanli,” expands the description further by appraising the *Chuanyua* as a bricolage of at least six different sources. However, only one of them seems to have any direct connection to itinerant healers:

⁵⁷ We cannot regard the investigation which the editors of the *Chuanyua waibian xuanzhu* conducted as all-encompassing due to the fact that the copy-text used as base for their book is a heavily bowdlerized version published in 1960, just some years before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). This 1960 edition, entitled simply *Chuanyua waibian*, was in turn compiled on the basis of the *Chuanyua neiwaibian* which the *Saoye shanfang* published in 1914. While the *Chuanyua neiwaibian* records 452 recipes in the volume *Chuanyua waibian*, the 1960 edition selected only 275 recipes, excluding virtually all the recipes and chapters that deal with talismans, spells, bloody approaches, and tricks with drugs, which the editors view as contaminated by *mixin* 迷信 (superstition). In any case, their investigation on the 275 recipes has shown that only a tiny portion of them are present in other printed medical books. See Fujiansheng yiyao yanjiusuo xiaozu 1977.

⁵⁸ Unschuld and Zheng also mention this point in their demonstration of how the content of medical manuscripts sometimes differs entirely from what is in printed books. In other words, although members of all classes of Chinese society frequently employed several “unorthodox” healing techniques, many of them (such as abortion) could not be promoted and disseminated in print. For a more detailed discussion and examples, see Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 13–57, 106–187.

⁵⁹ 柏雲故虛懷士頗以予言爲然慷慨出其曆遊方術頂串諸法合予養素園簡驗方本彙編之串而曰雅。See *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, “Liji shi’erzhong zongxu.”

⁶⁰ 因取其所授手抄重加芟訂存其可濟於世合予平昔所錄奇方悉依原次彙成一編曰串雅。See *Wulin Chuanyua neibian*, “Zixu.”

Three-tenths of this book's content came from the personal records of Boyun, three-tenths came from the *Baicao jing* (Classic of a Hundred Drugs) and *Jiushenghai* (Ocean for Saving Lives),⁶¹ three-tenths came from the *Jiang Min fangben* (Formulas from Jiangsu and Fujian)⁶² and the *Yangsuyuan*,⁶³ while one-tenth was transmitted by a long line of physicians. [All these data] were collected and compiled into a book.⁶⁴

Still in the “Fanli,” another topic addresses the specific content that Boyun transmitted to Zhao Xuemin as well as the danger of having it disseminated among a broader audience:

Boyun has a manuscript composed of one *juan* entitled *Shiyu zongpai shenyong yun* (Personal Secrets of Trade's Jargon). The content of this text is not based on the classics and may encourage people to profit at the expense of others. As a result, [I] either edited or eliminated whatever I found improper, while providing only one or two examples in the *General Introduction* in order to warn others [against this sort of people].⁶⁵

In other words, according to the prefaces attributed to Zhao Xuemin and texts included in the several *Chuanya*, having a “genuine” work composed of recipes and instructions from itinerant healers was not only dangerous but also not desirable. As we shall see in Section IV, several of the *Chuanya* publishers raised this concern as well, and many of them even viewed the first selection and edition that Zhao Xuemin produced as not bowdlerized enough.

That being said, we can draw the following conclusions from the above. 1. The internal structure, as well as the number and genre of recipes recorded in the *Wulin Chuanya neibian* differ significantly from those in the *Wulin Chuanya waibian*. 2. Scholars and elite physicians not only frequently despised as unorthodox and even offensive a large proportion of the medical content in the *Wulin Chuanya waibian*, but also seldom transmitted it in printed medical books. 3. The *Chuanya* comprises a collection of recipes from an amalgam of sources, most of them the results of compilations or editions that elite physicians produced dozens of times prior to 1759. 4. Zhao Xuemin selected, revised, and rearranged all the teachings that itinerant healers passed on to him. 5. We simply cannot consider the content of his original *Chuanya* the work of a single individual or as originating from a single source. Also, it is shown

⁶¹ The “Liji shi'erzhong zongxu” records that the *Baicao jing* and *Jiushenghai* were two medical works which Zhao Xuemin's brother, a Ruist scholar named Zhao Xuekai 趙學楷, compiled. Unfortunately, both texts appear to be lost. See *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, “Liji shi'erzhong zongxu.”

⁶² In the “Liji shi'erzhong zongxu,” mention occurs of a work entitled *Jiang Min miben* 江閩秘本, probably the same work useful in the compilation of the *Chuanya*. According to this preface, the *Jiang Min miben* was a manuscript originally kept in the private library of one of Zhao Xuemin's neighbors, a physician by the name of Huang Fanweng 黃販翁. Unfortunately, this manuscript has not survived. See *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, “Liji shi'erzhong zongxu.”

⁶³ The *Yangsuyuan* is probably the abbreviation of the title *Yangsuyuan jianfang* 養素園簡方 mentioned in the “Liji shi'erzhong zongxu.” No information about this work is available beyond some scarce excerpts in the *Bencao gangmu shiyi*. See *Bencao gangmu shiyi*, “Liji shi'erzhong zongxu.”

⁶⁴ 一是書採錄得於柏雲手抄者十之三百草鏡救生海者十之三養素園及江閩方本者十之三其一則傳於世醫者悉彙而成帙。See *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, “Fanli.”

⁶⁵ 柏雲手抄有市語宗派神用運收一卷言多不經啓後人漁利之私急爲芟削聞采一二入緒論中以廣知也。 *Ibid.*

that it was not Zhao Xuemin's intention to compile a work to preserve folk healing knowledge. Thus, modern scholars may find the selection, compilation, edition, and publication of such a work truly puzzling. Qing scholars, rather than itinerant healers themselves, recorded the material in both the *Chuanyua neibian* and *Chuanyua waibian*. Hence, since only a tiny portion of the content of these texts can be traced to that group of healers, how did the *Chuanyua* become recognized in imperial China (and up till now) as a work composed of the teachings, mainly or in its entirety, transmitted from itinerant healers?

III. ITINERANT HEALERS AND THE *CHUANYA*

As we saw in Introduction and Section I, the premise that the *Chuanyua* is a book composed of recipes itinerant healers transmitted is largely present in works of both ancient and modern scholars. During the late Qing, however, there were also those who emphatically disagreed with this statement. Here, what seems apparently contradictory will probably become more comprehensible when we take a closer look at the internal texts of the *Chuanyua*, to which previous scholarship extensively referred as evidence of its folk provenance.

First of all, the general idea of the *Chuanyua* as a work on itinerant healers mostly originated from the reading of certain introductory texts in the 1890 edition of the *Chuanyua neibian*, namely the “Yuanxu” 原序 (Original Preface), “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyua neibian* xiaoyin” 重斟刊串雅內編小引 (Introductory Notes for the Revised Edition of the *Chuanyua neibian*), “Xulun,” and “Fanli.”⁶⁶ Following, I shall present an overview of how each of these texts depicts the image of itinerant healers and their role for the compilation of the *Chuanyua*.

The “Yuanxu” is the only text in the *Chuanyua neibian* that is directly ascribed to Zhao Xuemin. This preface basically contains an introduction of the healing methods that itinerant healers employed, an account of the medical background of Zhao Xuemin, an explanation regarding his decision to compile the *Chuanyua*, as well as notes on the selection and revision of the content that Boyun transmitted. What is most remarkable in this preface, however, is not necessarily the discussions around itinerant healers, but rather the emphasis on the scholarly background of Zhao Xuemin. In the middle of this text, just between two expositions on itinerant healers, a passage dedicated to explaining Zhao Xuemin's educational background and a list of several scholarly medical works he studied suddenly appears:

When I was young, I was fascinated by the teachings of Qibo and Huangdi. I started by studying the *Lingshu* ([Spiritual Pivot](#)), *Suwen* ([Simple Questions](#)) and *Nanjing* ([Classic of Difficulties](#)), thereafter extending my studies to the *Daozang* (Daoist Canon) and *Shishi[milu]* (Secrets from the Stone Chamber). I have learned acupuncture and meridians from books such as the *Tongren neijingtu* (Chart of the Inner Warp from the Cooper Figurine), *Taisu* (Grand Basis) and *Qijing* (Extraordinary Channels).⁶⁷ On cold-damage disorders, in addition to *Zhongjing* (i.e., the *Shanghanlun* [Treatise on Cold-Damage Disorders]), I have also investigated the

⁶⁶ Virtually all modern scholars who quoted the *Chuanyua* as a work on popular healing adopted the 1890 edition. Cf. note 5 and 6.

⁶⁷ The title *Qijing* is probably an abbreviation of the work *Qijing bamai kao* 奇經八脈考 (Exposition of the Eight Extraordinary Vessels) compiled by Li Shizhen 李時珍 and published first in 1578.

Jinbing (The Golden Sheath) and *Musuo* (The Wooden String).⁶⁸ On materia medica, apart from the *Bencao gangmu* ([Compendium of Materia Medica](#)), I have also studied the *Hailu* (Sea of Records) and *Danfang* (Cinnabar Chamber).⁶⁹

As we can see, this passage indicates no correlation whatsoever with itinerant healers, and this is probably the very point that Zhao Xuemin was trying to make. Firstly, he was not an itinerant healer. Secondly, his educational background proved that he was by no means different from other scholars and elite physicians.⁷⁰ Thirdly, it was not his intention to compile a work on popular healing. He again stresses this last assertion at the end of this preface when he explains the painstaking selection and edition of the teachings collected from Boyun which led him to eliminate everything that “would not be beneficial to others”⁷¹ or, as one may infer, that would go against the moral values of the time.

The author of the “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyaya neibian xiaoyin*,” the bibliophile and scholar Xu Zeng 許增, entirely agreed with Zhao Xuemin’s statement, stressing to the point of exhaustion that the *Chuanyaya neibian* was worth publishing only due to the “wise purification” and “correction” that Zhao Xuemin exerted over the content of the itinerant healers.⁷² We are able to observe Xu Zeng’s view on itinerant healers and the *Chuanyaya* in the very way he defined the characters *chuan* 串 and *ya* 雅. Modern scholars have interpreted and translated the title *Chuanyaya* in myriad ways, but all of them have failed to grasp the meaning that Xu Zeng advocated.⁷³ His preface uses the character *chuan* as an abbreviation for “ring-bell” (*lingchuan* 鈴串), a hollow bell in form of a large ring, which is the emblem *per se* of itinerant healers. The character *ya*, on the other hand, means “to correct according to the classics” (*yazheng* 雅正).⁷⁴ In other words, according to Xu Zeng, and perhaps even to Zhao Xuemin himself,

⁶⁸ The titles *Jinbing* and *Musuo* seem to refer to the *Shanghan jinbing shulu chao* 傷寒金鑑疏鈔 and *Mosuo jinkui* 摩索金匱, both which the physician Lu Zhiyi 盧之頤 compiled sometime during the Ming dynasty. These are, at least, the only extant medical works dedicated to cold-damage disorders that contain the characters *jinbi* 金鑑 (or *jinbing* 金鞞) and *mosuo* 摩索 (or *musuo* 木索) for the composition of their titles.

⁶⁹ 予幼嗜岐黃家言讀書自靈素難經而下旁及道藏石室考穴自銅人內景圖而下更及太素奇經傷寒則仲景之外遍及金鞞木索本草則綱目之外遠及海錄丹房。 *Chuanyaya neibian*, “Yuanxu,” 1890.

⁷⁰ Compare, for instance, the list of medical works which Zhao Xuemin studied with those that appear in the biographies of Xu Dachun and Hua Shou 滑壽. See *Xiaochuang shanfang shiwenji* 小倉山房詩文集 (Anthologies of the Mountain Cottage Library), j. 34, *Xu Lingtai xiansheng zhuan* 徐靈胎先生傳 (Biography of Mr. Xu Lingtai); *Mingshi fangji zhuan* 明史方伎傳 (Ming History: Biographies of Physicians), *Hua Shou zhuan* 滑壽傳 (Biography of Hua Shou). Other comparisons are available, for example, with the biographies in *Yishi* 醫史 (History of Medicine), *Gujin yitong daquan* 古今醫統大全 (Complete Works of Medical Traditions from Ancient and Modern Times), j. 1, and *Gujin yishi* 古今醫史 (Medical History from Ancient and Modern Times).

⁷¹ 重加芟訂存其可濟於世者. See *Chuanyaya neibian*, “Yuanxu,” 1890.

⁷² 先生刪其眩異繁縟參與秘笈所藏歸之雅正. See *Chuanyaya neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyaya neibian xiaoyin*,” 1890.

⁷³ See, for example, the translations of Unschuld 1985, pp. 210–212; Schonebaum 2016, p. 9; Leung 2013, p. 398; Needham 2000, p. 159; Chao Yuan-ling 2009, pp. 158–159.

⁷⁴ *Chuanyaya neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyaya neibian xiaoyin*,” 1890. For a detailed discussion on the term *yazheng*, see Chan Hon-Man 2014.

the title *Chuanya* conveys precisely the meaning that they advocated when producing their texts: “Bowdlerized Recipes of Itinerant Healers.”⁷⁵

The “Xulun” is divided into thirteen topics.⁷⁶ The first eight topics furnish an overview of itinerant healers, their therapeutic skills, and their understanding of medical principles. The last five topics, in contrast, aim to expose the techniques the healers employed to cheat people or provoke disease in someone who is apparently healthy, listing several admonitions and complaints against this group of healers. A great portion of the text emphasizes the “corrupt nature” of itinerant healers, complete with strict prohibitions against their use of the *Chuanya*.⁷⁷

Finally, the last introductory text, the “Fanli,” is divided into eleven topics. This text focuses on the healing techniques itinerant healers mostly employ, and explains the selection criteria applied for choosing the content which could enter the *Chuanya*. Two topics deal with exposing the tricks itinerant healers “perniciously” use to earn a living and cheat people, while another three discuss the reasons to compile sensitive subjects such as false drugs, talismanic healing, as well as techniques to remove worms, insects, and ghosts. In the case of *jinfa*, for example, it states that:

On the broad aspect of secret methods (*jinfa*), none is more widespread than the methods with water (*shuifa*), and next is talismanic healing (*zhuyou*). Here, I have recorded only a small portion of them. After excluding the extravagant and cutting off the confusion, [those practices] should also be recorded into the noble and genuine path. However, those that touch on heterodoxies (*wuxi*) were eliminated without exception.⁷⁸

And regarding false drugs:

Drugs ought to be authentic and genuine, so why does anyone would record false products?! Answer: In order to reveal their wicked and pernicious nature! If one knows these practices, (he/she) will not be fooled. In addition, those who draw on fake drugs to make a profit will not be able to succeed either. [...] Besides that, there are some drugs that might be used for the good, too. For example, Paste of Elephant’s Skin to heal wounds and Frankincense to relieve pains, their efficacy is even better than that of genuine products! Thus, how could these methods be indiscriminately discarded?⁷⁹

⁷⁵ These characters appear in the “Fanli” and “Xulun” of the 1890 edition of the *Chuanya neibian*, as well as in the “Shiji shi’erzhong zongxu,” 利濟十二種總序 (General Preface of the Twelve Ways to Generate Benefits) the latter which is directly attributed to Zhao Xuemin.

⁷⁶ In all the three manuscripts of the *Chuanya*, the last item recorded in the *Chuanya neibian zongmu* is “Fulu Xulun” 附錄緒論 (Appendix: General Introduction), which infers that Zhao Xuemin himself was probably not the compiler of the “Xulun.” In the 1890 edition of the *Chuanya neibian*, the editor Xu Zeng made a similar statement when he declared that a portion of the “Xulun” was copied from another manuscript kept in *Baqianjuanlou*, and that the whole text was absent in the copy-text of the *Chuanya neibian* which he received from Xu Lingge. Moreover, the “Xulun” is entirely absent in four editions of the *Chuanya neibian* printed during the Qing dynasty. For Xu Zeng’s remark, see *Chuanya neibian*, “Fanli,” 1890.

⁷⁷ *Chuanya neibian*, “Xulun,” 1890.

⁷⁸ 禁法之大莫如水法次則祝由茲錄其小者絕擾屏器均無妨於大雅其有近於巫覡所為者概在所擯。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Fanli,” 1890.

⁷⁹ 藥品尚真奚錄偽焉曰所以著奸也知其術始不受其愚而作偽者更無以巧取濃利 (...) 其中有可用者若假象皮膏之收口假乳香之定痛著效更捷子真亦方術所不廢也。 *Ibid.*

As outlined elsewhere, both the use of *jinfā* to heal the sick and the fabrication of false drugs to make a profit were topics scholars and physicians of the scholarly medical tradition regularly denounced as immoral and unacceptable.⁸⁰ Following this tendency, in the *Chuanyā* all *jinfā* recipes associated with heterodoxies were eliminated in their entirety, while the instructions for the preparation of false drugs appeared on the pages as collective encouragement for practitioners not to employ illicit means to earn a living, but rather to use those products as a replacement for expensive or rare drugs. In fact, *jinfā* recipes and false products are two typical examples in the *Chuanyā* of how a literate community appropriated certain folk elements, reinterpreting and reusing them according to their own social background.

As we have seen, although the texts above do mention a certain connection between itinerant healers and the *Chuanyā*, if read carefully, we can see that their point is not to show this text as a work based on the knowledge that particular group of healers had transmitted. On the contrary, by denouncing and exposing their “corrupted values,” the editors attempt to reassert the prominence of the scholarly medical tradition over any sort of folk medical knowledge. Moreover, as reaffirmed time and again throughout the book, the scholar Zhao Xuemin himself meticulously selected, edited, and revised the recipes and instructions itinerant healers transmitted him. Some texts either omitted “immoral practices” in their entirety or recorded them only in certain introductory texts as a means to warn people not to fall victim to the trickery again in the future. It is important to keep in mind, however, that all the texts above share the same origin: the 1890 edition of the *Chuanyā neibian*.

From the seven Qing printed editions consulted for this article, six do not mention the “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyā neibian* xiaoyin,” however; five do not contain the “Fanli”; four do not record the “Xulun”; three do not include the preface attributed to Zhao Xuemin (“Yuanxu” or “Zixu”). All the texts above are completely absent in two printed editions. It is noteworthy that the content of these texts sometimes varies significantly from one edition to another, which raises the question: if the 1890 edition of the *Chuanyā neibian* had been simply lost or never published – as happened with the *Chuanyā waibian*, which the same publisher claimed to be organizing for print⁸¹ – to what extent would we still consider the *Chuanyā* a work related to itinerant healers? If editors and publishers from the Republican period onwards have chosen another printed edition or manuscript as their copy-text, how would our understanding of this work have possibly changed?

⁸⁰ Another author from the late Qing seems to have shared the same concerns of the *Chuanyā*'s compilers. Zheng Fenyang 鄭奮陽 compiled a comprehensive work listing many of the false drugs and products commonly available during the Qing dynasty in 1901. Expansion and reprinting of the text occurred several times over the Republican period. In the book, Zheng Fenyang states that it is his intention not only to teach his readers how to “determine the authenticity of medicinal drugs” (*jiányào* 鑒藥) but also to expose the tricks of charlatans and peddlers to sell fake drugs and other pharmaceutical products. See *Zengding Weiyào tiaobian* 增訂偽藥條辨 (Revised and Enlarged Edition of Differentiating False Drugs), “Zheng Fenyang xu” 鄭奮陽序 (Preface of Zheng Fenyang).

⁸¹ Cf. section “IV. The *Chuanyā neibian*, 1890.”

IV. THREE PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE *CHUANYA*

As D.F. McKenzie brilliantly stated, a history of books is primarily a record of cultural changes of a society in a particular period of time.⁸² Seen from this perspective, it is paramount to consider the human motives and interactions involved at every stage of the production, transmission, and reception of texts as printed books, since the specific edition of a book may substantially shape our judgment of an author's work. In other words, by reading one edition of the *Chuanya*, we may with some authority affirm certain readings as obvious. By reading others, however, we can chart the meanings that later readers made from them under different historical circumstances. A particular edition may correspond to the needs of the publishers and readers of their own time, but may not be read and understood in the same manner by individuals from other contexts.

This section compares three editions of the *Chuanya* published between the late Qing and the Republican period, all of which scholars attribute to Zhao Xuemin, and which different individuals and social groups published. The importance of these three editions lies in the fact that they all contain prefaces or notes by the editors and publishers on how they conceive their *Chuanya*, and the reasons for the dissemination of this text through the printing press. Five questions will lead our analysis: 1. Who compiled, revised, and printed the texts? 2. Why did they decide to have the *Chuanya* printed? 3. What was/were the copy-text(s) adopted as base for their printed book, and why did the publishers choose this(these) specific edition(s)? 4. What are their views on itinerant healers? 5. How do they depict and evaluate the role of Zhao Xuemin and itinerant healers for the composition of their printed works?

The *Chuanya neibian*, 1890

Editors attribute the 1890 edition of the *Chuanya neibian* to two individuals, the compiler Zhao Xuemin, and the reviser and commentator Wu Pingge 吳平格. The book is divided into two *ce*, four *juan*, and contains four introductory texts,⁸³ one table of contents,⁸⁴ and the medical content.⁸⁵ It measures 24.2 cm x 15.4 cm, and the pages contain 10 lines with 22 characters each.⁸⁶ The cover (see Figure 1) features the title “串雅內編” with bold, vertical printing at its center, while on its left we read “Inscribed by Tao Junxuan” (*Tao Junxuan shu* 陶澐宣署).⁸⁷ Below this, we find a seal with his *hao*, Tao Xinyun 陶心雲, stamped in red ink. The year *Guangxu wuzi* 光緒戊子 (ca. 1888) and the publishing house's name, Yuyuan, appear on the inside of

⁸² Mackenzie 1999, p. 37.

⁸³ In sequence: “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin,” “Yuanxu,” “Xulun,” and “Fanli.”

⁸⁴ The “*Chuanya neibian* mulu.”

⁸⁵ In total, the book contains 341 recipes.

⁸⁶ Each page is composed of *baikou* 白口 (white mouth), *dan yuwei* 單魚尾 (single fish tail), with double bold lines in the right and left borders, single bold lines in the top and bottom borders, and thread binding. The first *ce* contains 109 pages, and the second 87. In this edition, *baikou* refers to the absence of certain black printed lines on the top/bottom margins of each page of the book, while *dan yuwei* is a printing mark, in the form of a single fish tail, located just below the *baikou*. Apart from improving aesthetics, all these printing features also have bookbinding functions.

⁸⁷ Tao Junxuan was one of the most famous calligraphers and writers in the late Qing, and several of his works are on display in the halls of the Shanghai Museum and Zhejiang Museum. Although it was common to ask calligraphers to help prepare the cover of printed books, to have a famous figure like Tao Junxuan as the main calligrapher was certainly an honor only a few enjoyed.

the cover page.⁸⁸ The book is a “woodblock edition” (*muke ben* 木刻本) printed with refined, big characters typical of high-quality printed works.

According to our preliminary survey, it is evident that this edition not only achieved a very wide circulation, but was also partly reprinted at least twice.⁸⁹ A group of scholars composed of high members of the imperial bureaucracy, bibliophiles, publishers, and elite physicians prepared the edition. Xu Zeng, a famous editor and publisher of classical works, was the head of that group, and supervised the printing of the text in his own publishing house, the famous Yuyuan.⁹⁰ He was not the first person, however, who was interested in having the *Chuanya* printed:

In the spring of the year *yiyou* (ca. 1885), the Assistant Minister Xu Lingge came to Hangzhou carrying a copy [of the *Chuanya neibian*] from the *Baqianjuanlou*, owned by Mr. Ding. When he was about to leave, he urged me to publish this text in order to transmit it to a public who would share the same interests [as ours]. Therefore, I asked Mr. Wu Pingge, also known as Gengsheng, to make commentaries on this text appending them at the end of each recipe. Pingge is very talented and learned in medicine. All his commentaries are based on evidence, and they have significantly increased the value of this text. The funds to have it printed were under the responsibility of the Prefecture Chief of Jiading, Ju Yongjia.⁹¹

The decision to publish this particular edition of the *Chuanya neibian* did not come from a single individual, but was rather an agreement of several parties, two of them very important figures in the imperial government. The Assistant Minister Xu Lingge requested that Xu Zeng transmit this text for the benefit of a broader public,⁹² while the Prefecture Chief of Jiading County, Ju Yongjia,⁹³ was responsible for providing the necessary resources for printing. Wu Pingge was a doctor from Qiantang who, apart from being learned in the medical classics, was also acquainted with Western

⁸⁸ Curiously, although this page features the year 1888, the preface of the publisher dates from 1890. According to external sources, however, it is more likely that the book was printed only by 1890 (cf. section “I. The *Chuanya*[s] Depicted in Historical Sources”). This difference of two years probably suggests that the book edition and compilation demanded a considerably long time.

⁸⁹ Many Chinese public libraries keep one or more copies of this edition. The Shanghai Library, for instance, keeps seven copies, while in the Nanjing Library we can find five. In contrast to other printed editions which are rarely available even in public libraries (including those published in the Republican period), the 1890 edition is still purchasable online in websites such as *Kongfuzi jiushu wang* 孔夫子舊書網 (Kongfuzi Online Store of Second-hand Books) for a relatively low price.

⁹⁰ Although Xu Zeng’s publishing house is most frequently spelled Yuyuan 榆園, sometimes it is also written Yuyuan 娛園. Both terms refer to the same place, which was located just next to the West Lake in Hangzhou. For example, in the online database of the Guojia tushuguan 國家圖書館 (China National Library) we can find 182 entries for Yuyuan divided into over 50 different titles. See *Zhongguo guji baohu wang* 中國古籍保護網, <http://www.nlc.cn/pcb/zhgjsmsjk/> (accessed Sep 1, 2017).

⁹¹ 徐侍郎頌閣先生乙酉春來杭州從丁氏八千卷樓假歸錄副以去瀕行屬余刊印以公同好因乞吳君平格庚生補注條繫於後平格遂於醫其所注悉有依據足以曾益是書若剗之資則嘉定瞿太守永嘉任之。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin,” 1890.

⁹² During the Qing dynasty, the post of Assistant Minister was ranked as *zheng erpin* 正二品 or *cong erpin* 從二品, which was one of the highest positions below that of Minister (*shangshu* 尚書). See Xu Lianda 2010, pp. 309, 1489–1491.

⁹³ During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the post of Prefecture Chief was ranked as *cong sipin* 從四品, which was five positions lower than that of Assistant Minister, but still relatively higher than most other positions of the official service. See Xu Lianda 2010, pp. 1476–1494.

medicine. Finally, Mr. Ding was the owner of the *Baqianjuanlou*, one of the four largest private libraries during the Qing dynasty.⁹⁴

According to the preface that Xu Zeng compiled, the “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyua neibian* xiaoyin,” the content of the copy-text used for their *Chuanyua neibian* only went to print in 1890 after a process of selection, editing, revision, and multiple times of copying. The first who edited it was Zhao Xuemin himself. It was he who chose what to accept and what to reject from the teachings of the itinerant healer who was his informant. Next, it was someone from Yuhang County 餘杭 who published a certain *Chuanyua neibian* at the beginning of the Xianfeng reign-period (1851–1861).⁹⁵ Then, Mr. Ding, owner of the *Baqianjuanlou*, kept a manuscript and a printed copy of the *Chuanyua neibian* that the Assistant Minister Xu Lingge later obtained.⁹⁶ He made a copy, and passed the text to Xu Zeng. Next, Wu Pingge received the manuscript from Xu Zeng, tested several of its recipes, and included his commentaries and notes after the main text. Finally, Wu Pingge returned the text to Xu Zeng, who conducted its final revision and supervised its publication. If we also take into account, however, the fundamental role of the Prefecture Chief Ju Yongjia, the person who provided the funds for publication of the text, no less than six persons directly and actively contributed to the composition of this specific edition of the *Chuanyua*. This figure obviously does not include all who may have had a hand in the project before Mr. Ding finally took possession of those texts.

In addition to providing a detailed description of the process of creation of their *Chuanyua neibian*, the Xu Zeng’s preface is particularly concerned with itinerant healers. Over half of the whole text is therefore dedicated exclusively to them.⁹⁷

Those who practice these techniques (i.e., itinerant healers) pass their knowledge on by oral instructions from master to master, inheriting the ways of teaching one from another. They shallowly plagiarize some passages from works written by earlier sages, adding commentaries or omitting sentences on their own will, yet boasting that those texts were transmitted by deities, or even pretending that they were passed down by monks. Most of their recipes come from the ancients, but they are completely unable to access their true meanings, and therefore since antiquity they have not handed down any books. People despise them as mere acrobats and performers. Their followers wander everywhere carrying their medical skills and other

⁹⁴ A survey of the huge collection of manuscripts and printed books kept in *Baqianjuanlou* is available in the *Baqianjuanlou shumu* and *Shanben shushi cangshu zhi* 善本書室藏書志 (Records of Rare Books Kept in the Library). Many of the works originally kept there are presently archived in the Nanjing Library as well as in several public and private Japanese libraries. Unfortunately, neither the manuscript or printed edition of the *Chuanyua* mentioned in the *Baqianjuanlou shumu* are now in the Nanjing Library, suggesting that they were either destroyed or are now kept somewhere in Japan. See *Baqianjuanlou shumu*, j. 10.

⁹⁵ 咸豐初為餘杭某君刊行未及流布遽毀於庚辛之難人間僅有存者。See *Chuanyua neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyua neibian* xiaoyin,” 1890. Since the Lu Dingpu edition of the *Chuanyua neibian* was published in 1859, approximately two years before the end of the Xianfeng reign-period, it is possible that during that decade two different printed editions of that text were published. Nevertheless, the only one extant is the 1859 edition.

⁹⁶ Although both texts are recorded in the *Baqianjuanlou shumu*, no detailed information about their edition and provenance is given.

⁹⁷ The “Chongjiaokan *Chuanyua neibian* xiaoyin” contains 396 characters in total, 281 (71%) of which are directly involved with itinerant healers.

techniques in order to make a living. They keep their best recipes in secrecy only transmitting them to those of their own group by means of [secret] signs.⁹⁸

As we can see in the passage above, the tone of this preface and the editors' attitude towards itinerant healers are particularly negative, if not hostile. Xu Zeng indicates that itinerant healers are not only different from elite physicians, but are actually quacks and charlatans who are completely unable to understand the ancient and true medical principles. He argues that itinerant healers use their healing skills as a means to achieve material gains instead of sincerely trying to assist others, thereby suggesting that this attitude was entirely opposed to what the learned and scholarly medical tradition promoted.⁹⁹ What is more intriguing, however, is how the so called Zhao Xuemin preface, which this edition entitles "Yuanxu," was possibly edited to create the impression that Zhao Xuemin himself was the first person who denounced the corrupted moral of itinerant healers. For instance, in the 1859, 1891, and 1897 editions of the *Chuanyu neibian*, his preface, which is entitled "Zixu," states:

My relative, Boyun, has been holding these skills [of itinerant healers] but he is now old. In the year *wuyin*, he came to my house by boat and we discussed several topics. I was impressed with his understanding of the profound medical principles. He was not against the ancient [methods]. However, several of his recipes touch upon obscure topics and tricks that are not mentioned by elite doctors, and that is why they cannot avoid being labeled as unorthodoxies.¹⁰⁰

The 1890 edition says:

My relative, Boyun, has been holding these skills [of itinerant healers] and travels everywhere practicing it. He is very famous but he is now old. In the year *wuyin*, he came to my house by boat and we discussed several topics related to the art of medicine. I soon realized that he had a very deep understanding of profound medical principles. He was not against the ancient [methods], but would instead apply them in his daily [clinical practice]. He is completely different from those who wander everywhere, shaking a bell trying to make a living.¹⁰¹ However, several of his recipes touch upon obscure topics and tricks that are not mentioned by elite doctors, and that is why they cannot avoid being labeled as unorthodoxies.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ 幾於充棟獨走方鈴醫自爲一科習是技者師師口授數法相承大率剽竊前賢緒論以自爲盈縮或誇神授或詫僧傳方則多本古人又不能盡通古人之意故自古無傳書人亦以賣藝者流薄之其徒衆輒挾此訾食江湖秘其主使方劑互爲標揭。 *Chuanyu neibian*, "Chongjiaokan *Chuanyu neibian* xiaoyin," 1890.

⁹⁹ The degree of professionalization medical practitioners reached was one of the great concerns of elite physicians and scholars during the Ming and Qing dynasties. For an overview on this subject, see Unschuld 1979, pp. 53–57, 85–114.

¹⁰⁰ 宗子柏雲挾是術且老矣戊寅航海歸遇予質其道皆有奧理不悖于古於古顧其方旁涉元禁瑣及遊戲未免誇新門異爲國醫所不道。 *Chuanyu neibian*, "Zixu," 1859; *Chuanyu neibian*, "Zixu," 1891; *Chuanyu neibian*, "Zixu," 1897.

¹⁰¹ The sentence "those who wander everywhere shaking a bell" is a more indirect and derogatory form to refer to itinerant healers. For other terms commonly associated with itinerant healers, see Unschuld–Zheng 2012, pp. 73–77; Berg 2001.

¹⁰² 有宗子柏雲者挾是術徧遊南北遠近震其名今且老矣戊寅航海歸過予譚其質其道頗有奧理不悖于古而利於今與尋常搖鈴求售者迥異顧其方旁涉元禁瑣及遊戲不免誇新門異爲國醫所不道。 *Chuanyu neibian*, "Yuanxu," 1890.

While in the preface recorded in 1859, 1891, and 1897, Zhao Xuemin appears relatively sympathetic to the activities of itinerant healers, expressing no censure or disapproval towards them, in the 1890 edition the response is all but inverted. Here, Zhao Xuemin is very clear about who should be praised and who should be blamed: Boyun is a good example of a healer, but he is entirely different from the common mass of peddlers and charlatans selling drugs in a variety of places. Whether Xu Zeng modified the passage above and, if he did, how much he modified it, are difficult points to ascertain, since we do not have the original manuscript of Zhao Xuemin in hand. We do know, however, that we cannot find it either in the three manuscripts or other printed editions of the *Chuanya* produced during the Qing dynasty. In addition, the tone of the passage above is entirely in accordance with the statements at the beginning of the preface that Xu Zeng compiled. Under these circumstances, it is possible to presume that during the compilation process of the 1890 edition, someone from the group that Xu Zeng headed, or perhaps even Xu Zeng himself, altered the preface attributed to Zhao Xuemin to make it comply with their own views about the *Chuanya* and itinerant healers.

We can observe that the contribution of itinerant healers for the composition of the *Chuanya* was minimal in comparison to the crucial role that Zhao Xuemin played as its main editor and “purifier:”

My fellow, Mr. Zhao Shuqi,¹⁰³ compiled a work entitled *Chuanya*. He once met a virtuous itinerant physician who was willing to share his personal clinical experiences with him. Mr. [Zhao] expunged [the teachings that he received] from all their ludicrous and unorthodox elements, ensuring that the text would be well protected. He mended the text and put it back in its correct and orthodox way,¹⁰⁴ then bound it into a book. His diligence was beyond limits!¹⁰⁵

The passage demonstrates that Boyun is the only itinerant healer whom Zhao Xuemin considered to be virtuous enough for the task at hand. However, several of the recipes and instructions he transmitted were too unorthodox to disseminate without restriction, and it was exactly here that Zhao Xuemin, who was a scholar well acquainted with the orthodox medical classics,¹⁰⁶ played a decisive role: he either edited or eliminated completely whatever “heterodoxies” his informant had passed down to ensure that the final text would safely comply with the “true medical principles.”

However, even though the editors of the 1890 edition are clearly suspicious of itinerant healers, they are not entirely opposed to the therapeutic methods these healers use. The reason is that many of their recipes are very similar to those that the scholarly physicians themselves use:

¹⁰³ The 1890 edition names Zhao Xuemin as Zhao Shuqi, while in the 1914 edition of the *Chuanya neiwaibian* and 1915 edition of *Jiaozheng Chuanya neiwaibian*, the character *xuan* 軒 appears in place of the character *qi* 齊 (i.e., Zhao Shuxuan). However, it is not clear whether Shuqi was another name of Zhao Xuemin, his correct *zi* name, or a mere typo.

¹⁰⁴ For a more detailed discussion on the concept *yazheng* and its relation with Ruist thought, see Chan Hon-Man 2014.

¹⁰⁵ 同里趙恕齊先生纂申雅一書蓋嘗遇鈴醫之賢者不私所得悉以授之先生刪其眩異繁縟參與秘笈所藏歸之雅正勒爲成書其用心亦孔厚矣。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin,” 1890.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. section “II. The Source Texts.”

However, both in towns or remote places, when people obtain their recipes (i.e., the recipes of itinerant healers) the effect is often wondrous, and sometimes they seem even better than the recipes passed down by those proud and arrogant doctors who call themselves “renowned physicians.” I once read the “Biography of Chuang-gong,” the “Biography of Chusheng,” as well as the records of the modern scholars Su [Shi] and [Su] Kuo, and realized that several of their recipes happened to coincide [with those from the *Chuanya neibian*]. From this we can see how the tradition of itinerant healers is long-standing and obscure!¹⁰⁷

Another important concern of the publishers was how the *Chuanya neibian* should be read, and for this Xu Zeng invited Wu Pingge to append his personal commentaries and notes to the main text. From the 341 recipes we find in the *Chuanya neibian*,¹⁰⁸ Wu Pingge comments on no fewer than 77 in attachments at the end of certain formulas. The commentaries are quite diverse, but most of them deal with the explanation of recipes through the principles of the scholarly medical tradition, particularly the “Differentiation of Pathoconditions” (*bianzheng lun* 辨症論). Interestingly, others also attempt to compare the traditional use of certain drugs and formulas in China with their application in Western medicine (*xiyi* 西醫). All these commentaries increased the medical value of this edition to such a point that virtually all the printed editions of the *Chuanya neibian* or *Chuanya neiwaibian* published from the Republican period up till now have based their words heavily on the 1890 edition, which functions as their main copy-text.

Although the composition of the 1890 edition is solely a *Chuanya neibian*, it nevertheless is the only version published during the Qing dynasty that at least mentioned the existence of the *Chuanya waibian*:

According to the information provided in the “Fanli,” Shuxuan originally bound two volumes, “Inner” and “Outer” volumes. At the present moment, we have only printed the four *juan* of the “Inner Volume.” Topics such as methods with water (*shuifa*), talismanic healing (*zhuyou*), beyond drugs (*yaowai*), beyond medicine [for humans] (*yiwai*), tricks with drugs (*yaoxi*), removing worms (*quchong*), mysterious origins (*xuanyuan*), etc., are not recorded in this volume. However, in the beginning of this year (i.e., 1890), we have obtained the “Outer Volume” from the Yuezhong Library.¹⁰⁹ This achievement was very precious and fortunate. The text was immediately sent to revision, with a copy being provided to Wu Pingge to have included [with] his personal commentaries. The text will be published soon after [the

¹⁰⁷ 而鄉僻城市隨遇療治亦往往奇驗比之世為名醫吝驕自大之輩似又勝之嘗讀倉公傳及六朝褚生列傳與近代蘇沈所紀見證處方亦都闔合可以見鈴串流傳遠有端緒。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin,” 1890.

¹⁰⁸ Strikingly, the *Wulin Chuanya neibian* contains 458 recipes, 17 more than the 1890 edition of the *Chuanya neibian* contains.

¹⁰⁹ The Yuezhong cangshu 越中藏書 is probably a reference to the famous library Guyue cangshulou 古越藏書樓, located in the Shaoxing County and owned by Xu Shulan. In the printed edition of the *Guyue cangshulou shumu* 古越藏書樓書目 published in 1904, however, we find no mention of a *Chuanya waibian*. We do find reference to a printed edition of the *Chuanya neibian* dating from the ninth year of the Xianfeng reign-period (ca. 1859). This is perhaps the same edition that the *Baqianjuanlou* retained. See *Guyue cangshulou shumu*, j. 5, and section “I. The *Chuanya(s)* Depicted in Historical Sources.”

Chuanya neibian], and we hope that it will be also recognized and spread among [our peers].¹¹⁰

However, although Xu Zeng regards the acquisition as “very fortunate,” as far as the evidence shows, he never published an edition of the *Chuanya waibian*, and the first time this text appeared in print was at the beginning of the Republican period in an edition which contained neither the commentaries of Wu Pingge nor information related to the publishing house Yuyuan.¹¹¹ This text probably was not met with enough enthusiasm from the readers and sponsors of the Qing dynasty, or perhaps it was deemed as containing an excessive amount of folk elements that made it unworthy of dissemination among the “broader” literate public who was the target readership of Xu Zeng and his group.

The *Chuanya neibian*, 1897

The physical dimensions and typography of the 1897 edition of the *Chuanya neibian* are roughly similar to those of the 1890 edition, although the material quality on the whole is evidently lower. While Zhao Xuemin is the compiler, another individual, Chen Renyang 陳任昉, is recorded as the editor of this work.¹¹² The book is divided into two *ce*, four *juan*, and contains three introductory texts,¹¹³ one table of contents,¹¹⁴ and the medical content.¹¹⁵ It measures 23.8 cm x 15.1 cm, and the pages constitute 10 lines of print, containing 22 characters each.¹¹⁶ The title “串雅內編” is printed vertically, in bold, in *zhuanshu* 篆書 style, on the center of the cover (see Figure 2) On the right we can read “Compiled by Zhao Xuemin, from Qiantang” (*Qiantang Zhao Xuemin zuan* 錢塘趙學敏纂), and on the left the sentence “Inscribed by Yuan Ting” (*Yuan Ting shuqian* 遠亭署簽), which is likewise a reference to a calligrapher’s name. However, in contrast to the above mentioned calligrapher Tao Junxuan, we find no information on a Yuan Ting in historical sources. Likewise, he also did not leave his seal. We observe the year *Guangxu dingyou* 光緒丁酉 (ca. 1897) on the front side of the flyleaf together with the sentence “Reprinted by Mr. Yuan, from Jingkou County” (*Jingkou Yuan shi chongkan* 京口袁氏重刊), which is

¹¹⁰ 按恕軒先生原訂有內外二編凡例所論總內外而言之茲所刊者惟內編四卷如水法祝由藥外醫外藥戲取蟲選元諸條皆內編所不載今年正月從越中藏書家覓得外編如獲拱寶念次不暇細校錄副仍囑吳君平格補注行將以次開雕以公同好。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Fanli,” 1890.

¹¹¹ However, a manuscript of the *Chuanya waibian*, with commentary by Wu Pingge, is now archived in the library of the China Academy of Chinese Medical Sciences. To date, this is the sole known extant copy held in a Chinese public library. It is difficult to ascertain whether this text is a copy of a printed edition or a manuscript that circulated privately.

¹¹² In the first page of the main text, we read “Compiled by Zhao Xuemin, Shuxuan, from Qiantang County” (*Qiantang Zhao Xuemin Shuxuan zuan* 錢塘趙學敏恕軒纂). To the left of the inscription is the attribution, “Collated and Revised by Chen Renyang, Yingu, from Yixing County” (*Yixing Chen Renyang Yingu choujiao* 宜興陳任昉寅谷讐校). See *Chuanya neibian*, p. 1, 1897.

¹¹³ In sequence: “Zixu,” “Xulun,” and “Chen Renyang xu.”

¹¹⁴ The *Chuanya neibian zongmu*.

¹¹⁵ Although 481 recipes are recorded in the *Chuanya neibian zongmu*, 9 do not appear in the main text.

¹¹⁶ Each page is composed of *heikou* 黑口 (black mouth), *dan yuwei*, with double bold lines in the right and left borders, single bold lines in the top and bottom borders, and thread binding. The first *ce* contains 143 pages, and the second 99. In this edition, *heikou* refers to a thick black printed line located on the top/bottom margins of each page. For *dan yuwei*, see note 86.

the same date found at the end of the preface that Chen Renyang wrote. Although this book is also a woodblock edition, the characters albeit large, are not as elegant and delicate as those in the 1890 edition.

In contrast to the edition that Xu Zeng published, only two persons seem to have actively engaged in the revision and publication of the 1897 edition. Chen Renyang was responsible for the preface, the comparison of the copy-text against other sources, and the revision of its medical content. Yuan Songru 袁松如 carved and published the text in his own publishing house in Jingkou County. In addition, while Xu Zeng had edited and published hundreds of books during his lifetime, apart from the 1897 edition of the *Chuanya neibian*, I have found neither further works which Chen Renyang or Yuan Songru compiled, nor references to them among their contemporaries.

According to the “Chen Renyang xu” 陳任昉序 (Preface of Chen Renyang), the copy-text for their edition came from the *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Series of Books from the Zhibuzu Studio), a collection of works that the famous bibliophile Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 compiled, edited, and first published in 1771. However, neither in the *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* nor in its supplementary works, the *Xu Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 續知不足齋叢書 (Extension of the Series of Books from the Zhibuzu Studio) and *Hou Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 後知不足齋叢書 (Continuation of the Series of Books from the Zhibuzu Studio), is there any information about a book entitled *Chuanya*. On the other hand, the cover of the 1891 edition of the *Chuanya neibian* includes a statement that this book is either a copy of a text from the studio of Bao Tingbo, or a version of a manuscript kept there (*Bao shi Zhibuzuzhai chaoben* 鮑氏知不足齋鈔本).¹¹⁷ From this perspective, the copy-text for the publication of the 1897 edition may have not come from the *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* directly, but from the 1891 edition instead. Furthermore, in contrast to the edition which Xu Zeng assembled, the 1897 edition contains no explicit commentaries or notes that follow the recipes, which suggests that Chen Renyang restricted himself to collations of different editions, selection of contents, and correction of possible typos.

Although the focus of his preface was not the same as the one Xu Zeng compiled, they nonetheless share similar views regarding the motives that commonly lead itinerant healers to practice medicine:

It is said that the recipes used by itinerant healers were inherited from the Perfect Immortal Sun [Simiao]. Shaking a tiger paw, they learned those recipes in order to make a living. Their healing methods are the so-called *jie*, *ding*, and *chuan*, also known as those that cause perspiration, vomiting, and purging. Itinerant healers have obtained the most outstanding healing methods and have been using them to obtain very quick and positive effects!¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ The difficulty of ascertaining the precise meaning of the sentence *Bao shi Zhibuzuzhai chaoben* is due to the fact that it may refer either to the book series *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* or to the place named Zhibuzuzhai. Furthermore, although none of the eight Qing editions of the *Zhibuzuzhai congshu* consulted for this article contain any reference to the *Chuanya*, this does not mean that the editions that have survived to this day are exactly the same as the ones upon which Chen Renyang relied.

¹¹⁸ 相傳為孫真人遺方搖虎撐走方行醫者藉以糊口讀之所為截頂串者仍汗吐下三法而取其用藥之峻者以期收效之速耳。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chen Renyang xu,” 1897.

Sun Simiao 孫思邈 is widely recognized in traditional medical literature as one of the first itinerant healers in Chinese history,¹¹⁹ and many stories claim that the recipes this group of healers later transmitted did in fact originate from him.¹²⁰ However, although Chen Renyang does not deny this statement, he argues that the recipes and instructions recorded in the *Chuanya neibian* range beyond those that the works of Sun Simiao contain.

In fact, the recipes [itinerant healers use] can be found throughout the works of several scholars, [revealing that they are] by no means restricted to those of [*Beiji Qianjin* *yao*]fang (Essential Formulas for Emergencies Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold).¹²¹

Surprisingly, the above are the sole passages in the whole preface that deal with itinerant healers.¹²² In this context, two points are of particular relevance. Firstly, in contrast to Xu Zeng, who provided a long description of itinerant healers, Chen Renyang only referred to them briefly to point out the recipes they mostly employed. Secondly, the compilers of the 1897 edition did not consider their *Chuanya neibian* as a work composed of recipes itinerant healers originally developed or exclusively used, since one could find them also in printed recipe books that famous physicians of the scholarly medical tradition compiled. Seen from this perspective, in the eyes of the publishers of the 1897 edition, the *Chuanya neibian* was not a specialized treatise dedicated to the healing practices of itinerant healers, but rather a collection of effective recipes which either Zhao Xuemin or itinerant healers succeeded in obtaining from an amalgam of sources.

On the other hand, in contrast to the intentions that Xu Zeng expressed regarding the transmission of his work among his peers, Chen Renyang and Yuan Songru seemed to have another target audience in mind: the common people who lived in remote areas far away from large centers, and who could not afford to see a doctor or buy remedies.

Mr. Yuan Songru has applied the recipes [of the *Chuanya neibian*] following the principle of differentiation of pathoconditions, and he obtained great results without extra effort. However, he was afraid that for most people it would not be easy to keep a whole series of books, so he decided to have the text carved and published as a separate volume. In this way, every household will be able to keep a volume, and this will be particularly helpful for those who live in remote villages where drugs and medical services cannot be conveniently obtained. [Mr. Yuan's] intentions and concern [towards these unfortunate people] are really sublime!¹²³

¹¹⁹ See Unschuld – Zheng 2012, p. 76; Unschuld 2004a.

¹²⁰ Apropos, the typical image of Sun Simiao is of him seated on a tiger, surrounded by a dragon, holding a sort of ring-bell in his right hand and a medicinal vase in his left hand. The bell turned out to become the emblem *per se* of itinerant healers, with Sun Simiao seen as their main ancestor. Statues of Hua Tuo 華佗 holding the same ring-bell are likewise frequently seen in temples in mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau. For more details on the role of Sun Simiao as the God of Medicine, see Unschuld 2004a; Unschuld 2000, pp. 88–94; Sivin 1968, pp. 249–251, 265–271.

¹²¹ 其實各方散見於諸家不盡皆千金方也。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chen Renyang xu,” 1897.

¹²² While the whole preface is composed of 572 characters, only 80 (14%) of them are related to itinerant healers. Compare with the 1890 edition, note 96.

¹²³ 松如袁君以之治對症之病輒隨手奉效因思叢書不易藏惟刻作單本可家置一編以便鄉曲之醫藥不便者用心亦良苦矣。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chen Renyang xu,” 1897.

Although we do not have enough information about how this book circulated – if it was distributed for free or commercialized like most of the medical books published during the late Qing –, the passage above indicates a certain connection between publication and accumulation of positive karma, which was and still is a phenomenon widespread throughout all levels of Chinese society.¹²⁴

Nevertheless, most of the “Chen Renyang xu” accounts for discussions on medical principles, which is actually a prelude to the last part of the text when Chen Renyang explains how readers should use the book and apply its recipes. According to him, one should select recipes following the principle of “differentiation of pathoconditions” rather than against a “single disease” (*yibing* 一病). As Unschuld and Zheng point out, the principle of differentiation of pathoconditions (*bianzheng lun* 辨證論) is one of the fundamentals of the scholarly medical tradition. Itinerant healers, however, not only did not necessarily follow this principle, but sometimes even assigned meanings to it that were entirely different than those elite physicians advocated.¹²⁵ In either case, Chen Renyang and Yang Songru were emphatic regarding the correct understanding and application of the principle of differentiation of pathoconditions by readers:

People who live in remote villages do not understand [the principle of differentiation of pathoconditions]. As a consequence, regardless whether it is winter or summer, once they are afflicted by cold, they promptly take the *Decoction of Ginger and Brown Sugar*. When it is winter and they are attacked by cold weather, they apply the *Powder for Soothing the Center*. If their problem was caused by an external factor, it is acceptable to use them. However, if it is summer, [these methods] will violate the natural prohibitions. Every time when [I] see someone [who does not obey the right principles] taking the wrong medicine and consequently dying, [I] feel terribly heartbroken for them!¹²⁶

And finally,

This volume contains the most outstanding remedies! For those who want to read this book, it is essential, first, to discriminate between the different roots of disease and their various outer appearances, and then, to select the correct recipes applying them accordingly. Those [who read this book] should not go against the original intentions of Mr. Yuan in having it printed!¹²⁷

Although the whole book contains 140 recipes more than the 1890 edition, the chapter structure remained basically untouched. It is interesting to note, however, that even the recipes that both editions share by no means appear exactly the same: “Deep-

¹²⁴ For a more detailed discussion on the relationship between publication/circulation of printed books and accumulation of positive karma, see Unschuld 2004b. In Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, for instance, it is relatively easy to find medical books distributed for free at the entrance of temples. Many of the books I have obtained there contain sentences, either written by hand or printed on the last page, urging readers to make a copy of the texts for themselves and transmit them further.

¹²⁵ See Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 76–77, 89–97.

¹²⁶ 鄉曲無知無論冬夏遇有感冒首進紅糖生姜湯在冬令受寒借以安中散外固可若在夏令是適犯所忌每見有一經入口而不能挽回者甚可悲也。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chen Renyang xu,” 1897.

¹²⁷ 況此編固用藥甚峻者乎吾願讀是書者先辨其本之同不同再於其標之同者而擇方施治焉庶不負袁君刻是編之初意也歟。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Chen Renyang xu,” 1897.

rooted Ulcer” (*yongyi* 癰疽) is called “Poisonous Ulcer” (*yongdu* 癰毒), “Powder of Frankincense” (*ruxiang san* 乳香散) is named “Decoction of Frankincense” (*ruxiang yin* 乳香飲) and “Tooth Pain by Hot Wind” (*fengre yatong* 風熱牙痛) is printed “Powder Golden Violet” (*zijin san* 紫金散). Drugs and diseases are also named differently: “Sow” (*muzhu* 母豬) is called “Pig’s Wife” (*laopozhu* 老婆豬), while “Powder of Nails” (*zhijia mo* 指甲末) is named “Powder of Human’s Legs” (*rentui mo* 人退末). “Wicked Heart” (*exin* 惡心) is called “Disobedient Heart” (*wuxin* 忤心), whereas “Sudden Heart Pain” (*cuxintong* 猝心痛) is named “Hasty Heart Pain” (*cujixintong* 卒急心痛). In addition, approximately fifty other terms/names found in the 1890 edition appear in slightly or entirely different form in 1897, many of which only rarely appear in printed recipe books.¹²⁸

To conclude, according to the compilers and editors, a large portion of the recipes found in their (1897) edition of the *Chuanya neibian* is neither restricted to those Sun Simiao allegedly transmitted to itinerant healers nor necessarily exclusive to that group of healers. In other words, rather than as an endeavor to preserve and transmit a certain kind of folk medical knowledge, the *Chuanya neibian* deserved publication because of a substantial number of simple but effective recipes that everyone could easily employ, particularly those who could not afford medical services or expensive drugs.

The *Jiaozheng Chuanya neiwaibian*, 1915

In contrast to the 1890 and 1897 editions of the *Chuanya neibian*, the physical dimensions, typography, internal structure, and content of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya neiwaibian* (henceforth: *Jiaozheng Chuanya*) are all very distinctive. First of all, the whole work is attributed exclusively to Zhao Xuemin, even though it contains the same commentaries as the 1890 edition. The book is divided into six *ce*, eight *juan* (four comprising the *Chuanya neibian*,¹²⁹ and another four the *Chuanya waibian*¹³⁰), and apart from its four introductory texts, two table of contents, and the medical content. The whole work also includes eight advertisements of other medical books, which is a feature we do not find in any other pre-1949 edition.¹³¹ The book is relatively smaller than the two Qing editions described in the sections above, measuring only 18.6 cm x 11.9 cm. The pages are divided into 16 columns with 30 characters

¹²⁸ Regarding the connection between local dialects and medical terminology found in manuscripts and certain printed editions, see Unschuld – Zheng 2012, pp. 144–153. I am particularly grateful to Pang Jingyi for having showed me that many of the medical terms recorded only in the 1897 edition are actually expressions from the Wu dialect.

¹²⁹ The *Chuanya neibian* consists of 458 recipes, which is exactly the same number as in the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*. Although the recipes of the main text are similar in content to those from the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, several of them are followed by the commentaries of Wu Pingge according to the 1890 edition. Such commentaries are entirely absent in the *Wulin Chuanya neibian*, though. Finally, the 1915 edition contains 117 recipes more than the 1890 edition but 23 fewer than the 1897 edition.

¹³⁰ The *Chuanya waibian* is comprised of 633 recipes, which accounts for 94 more than in the *Wulin Chuanya waibian*. The whole volume does not contain any commentaries or glosses appended to the main text.

¹³¹ All the texts of the first *ce*, in sequence: “Yuanxu,” “Fanli,” advertisement of the *Shanghan lun jizhu* 傷寒論集註, “Xulun,” “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin,” advertisement of the *Jiapi jiaozheng Shibing lun* 加批校正時病論, and *Chuanya neibian mulu*.

each, all which are small and closely-distributed.¹³² The cover is very modest and unelaborated, following the same style as those of the other works this publishing house printed. The title “串雅內外編” can be read vertically on the left side of the cover with the characters “校正” (comparatively smaller in size than the title) printed horizontally just on its top, while the publishing house’s name, Shanghai Guangyi shuju 上海廣益書局 (Shanghai Extensive Benefits Publishing House), is at its bottom (see Figure 3). All these characters are printed in red and all the six *ce* present exactly the same cover. On the second page of the first *ce*, on the internal cover, the characters of the title “串雅內外編” are printed in bold, while on its backside we can read “It is Always Beneficial to Read” (*kaijuan youyi* 開卷有益) printed spherically. The name of Zhao Xuemin appears only at the end of his own preface and at the last page of the sixth *ce*, but it is not shown in the first pages as it is the case with the two Qing editions. In the 1927 printing, at the end of the last *ce*, we are informed that this book was already in its fourth reprint, and that it was published for the first time in Shanghai in 1915. Finally, the book was printed on a crude, low-quality paper as a “lithographed edition” (*shiyin ben* 石印本) – a type of printing technology that was introduced in China just at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century and that became very popular thereafter.¹³³

The Guangyi shuju was a large publishing house with headquarters in Shanghai and branches throughout the whole of China.¹³⁴ The bookselling market of the Guangyi shuju centered upon a wide range of small, cheap, commented, easy-to-read, know-how books. According to three title inventories this publishing house issued in 1922, 1927, and 1929, it is evident that although the Guangyi shuju compiled and printed thousands of titles on a wide variety of subjects, e.g., law, history, education, foreign languages, literature, music, divination, talismanic healing, agriculture, and so forth, practical and clinically-oriented medical texts constituted the core of its business.¹³⁵ This constitutes another striking difference between the two Qing editions and the *Jiaozheng Chuanya*. Although Xu Zeng published a large number of books during his lifetime, a survey on those titles shows us that the *Chuanya neibian* was probably the only medical work he actually organized and published.¹³⁶ On the other hand, apart from the 1897 edition of the *Chuanya neibian*, I have found no further books that Chen Renyang or Yuan Songru compiled or printed. The Guangyi shuju, however, had accumulated solid experience in the Chinese medical bookselling market over a span of nearly half a century, which makes their *Jiaozheng Chuanya* by no means a chance publication.

¹³² Each page is composed of *baikou*, *dan yuwei*, double bold lines on all the borders, and thread binding. The first *ce* contains 28 pages, while the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth are comprised of 23, 24, 20, 28 and 22 pages, respectively.

¹³³ See Reed 2004, pp. 88–127.

¹³⁴ According to the 1922 edition of the *Guangyi shuju tushu mulu* 廣益書局圖書目錄 (Title Inventory of the Guangyi shuju), at that time the Guangyi shuju had branches in Beijing, Guangzhou, Hankou, Kaifeng and Changsha. See *Guangyi shuju tushu mulu*, pp. 1–2. Around 1940, however, this publishing house expanded its interests to include Nanjing, Nanchang, Chongqing, Beiping, Wanxian, and Chengdu. See *Chongjiao tangtou gejie* 重校湯頭歌訣 (Revised Edition of the Rhymed Formulas), copyright page, 1940.

¹³⁵ See *Guangyi shuju tushu mulu*, 1922, 1925 and 1929 editions.

¹³⁶ For an overview of Xu Zeng’s publications, see *Yuyuan congke* 榆園叢刻.

The *Jiaozheng Chuanya* was the second printed edition of a *Chuanya neiwaibian* published during the Republican period. As its title suggests, it is divided into a *Chuanya neibian* and a *Chuanya waibian*, both composed of four *juan* each.¹³⁷ It seems that several copy-texts were adopted for the compilation of the *Chuanya neibian*,¹³⁸ since although it includes the same number of introductory texts of the 1890 edition and the same commentaries appended by Wu Pingge, it nonetheless contains 117 more recipes than the edition Xu Zeng produced. With regard to the copy-texts used for the compilation of the *Chuanya waibian*, however, the publishers only stated that they obtained “a certain manuscript” (*mou chaoben* 某鈔本) but did not provide further information about this specific manuscript and its provenance.¹³⁹

Like most of the medical works published by the Guangyi shuju, the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* does not contain any preface or notes added by the editors or publishers concerning their views on this book or the reasons to have it published. However, advertisements of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* printed in other of their medical works offer us some important clues in this respect:

Those who carry boxes with drugs wandering everywhere are usually called “itinerant healers.” Their techniques were originated from Bian Que, while Hua Tuo passed them on. As a consequence, their [healing] methods are not very different from those used by elite physicians.¹⁴⁰ They employ acupuncture, fumigation, and moxibustion to cure external [diseases], while *ding*, *chuan*, *jin*, and *jie* to cure internal [diseases]. All these techniques are very effective!¹⁴¹

The text above was partly extracted from the 1890 edition of the “Xulun,” except for the last sentence. In the 1890 edition, we read:

All these techniques are very effective! However, itinerant healers do not attend closely to the whole dimension of medical principles.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ The first edition was the *Chuanya neiwaibian*, published in Shanghai by the Saoye shanfang in March 1914. See Table 5 (Appendix).

¹³⁸ The publishers do not provide any information regarding the copy-texts for the compilation of their *Chuanya neibian*. However, due to the presence of the “Chongjiaokan *Chuanya neibian* xiaoyin” and the commentaries Wu Pingge included in the 1890 edition, we can presume that the 1915 edition was at least partly based on the *Chuanya neibian* of Xu Zeng.

¹³⁹ Remarks about the copy-text for the *Chuanya waibian* are not available in the 1915 edition, but are present rather in a series of advertisements of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* the Guangyi shuju issued in other of its medical works.

¹⁴⁰ Interestingly, the 1890 publication of the *Chuanya neibian* also contains the sentence “all their [healing] methods are only slightly different from those used by elite physicians” (*suo chuan zhu fa yu guoyi shaoyi* 所傳諸法與國醫少異), whereas in the 1891 and 1897 editions we read “all their [healing] methods are very different from those used by elite physicians” (*suo chuan zhu fa yu guoyi shenyi* 所傳諸法與國醫甚異). In the manuscripts *Wulin Chuanya neibian* and *Chuanya neiwaibian*, however, the sentence we find is “their [healing] methods differ from those used by elite physicians” (*suo chuan zhi fa yu guoyi yi* 所傳諸法與國醫異).

¹⁴¹ 負笈行醫周遊四方俗呼爲走醫其術肇於扁鵲華佗繼之故其所傳諸法與國醫少異治外以鍼刺灸蒸勝治內以頂串禁截勝取其速驗也。See *Fu Qingzhu xiansheng nüke* 傅青主先生女科 (Mr. Fu Qingzhu’s Work on Gynecology), p. 1, and *Jiaozheng shishi milu* 校正石室秘錄 (Revised Edition of the Secrets from the Stone Chamber), p. 1.

¹⁴² 取其速驗不計萬全也。 *Chuanya neibian*, “Xulun,” 1890.

In the advertisements, though, the last part is missing but replaced by a longer sentence:

All these techniques are very effective! As a result, the transmission of their healing arts is also worth the methods of later generations. Hence, among them there are also divine physicians.¹⁴³

The passage above is entirely absent in all other printed and manuscript versions of the *Chuanya*, with the publishers using it to emphasize why their *Chuanya* was worth publishing, and why it was worth purchasing. In other words, rather than promoting their *Chuanya* as a work composed of recipes collected from a large and homogeneous group of itinerant healers (peddlers), they stress that their book includes various formulas and instructions passed down by only a few itinerant healers who were actually highly-skilled, if not divine, physicians. This is an attempt to explain the value of the work, and why readers can apply the recipes without risks. It is possible that the “divine physicians” to whom the Guangyi shuju refers were precisely Sun Simiao and Hua Tuo, two figures that, albeit associated with folk healing traditions, were by no means strangers to elite scholars.

In contrast to the 1890 and 1897 editions of the *Chuanya neibian*, whose editors had in mind a target readership for their works, the publishers of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* expanded their scope to include all those potentially interested in medicine. The reason to acquire the book was mainly related to its strong clinically-oriented approach, which was the mark of the Guangyi shuju’s bookselling market:

[In this book], there are no extraordinary diseases or pathoconditions that do not have their correspondent recipe or healing method. In fact, [this book contains] all the secrets of medicine (...), and all those who aim to investigate this [medical] path must, by all means, buy it.¹⁴⁴

Nonetheless, the publishers of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* were by no means neutral on the topic of how to read the book and apply the recipes. Their approach, however, was more indirect, with advertisements not only to promote other among their medical books, but also to guide the reading of their works. In other words, readers of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* who sought further information about the nature and use of particular pharmaceutical substances could buy either the *Zhongguo shiyong yaowuxue* 中國實用藥物學 (Practical Manual of Chinese Pharmaceutics) or the *Zhongguo yaowu xin zidian* 中國藥物新字典 (New Dictionary of Chinese Pharmaceutics). For a classical but accessible discussion on the principles of cold-damage disorders and common pathoconditions, the reader could acquire the *Zhushi jiapì shanghanlun jizhu* 注釋加批傷寒論集註 (Commented and Revised Edition of the Collection of Notes on the Treatise of Cold-Damage Disorders), a work that is composed of the “original” *Shanghan lun* but also includes commentaries and notes from various physicians almost entirely in vernacular language. For deeper explanations on “epidemic diseases” (*shibing* 時病) and introductions on basic medical principles, the *Jiaozheng jiapì shibinglun* 校正加批時病論 (Revised and Commented Edition of the Treatise

¹⁴³ 取其速驗也然其治術流傳亦有足為後世法者故此中亦有聖手也。See *Fu Qingzhu xiansheng nüke*, p. 1; *Jiaozheng shishi milu*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ 凡一切奇病百症莫不各有方藥各有治法實為醫學之秘笈也...諸研究斯道者不可不購之。 *Ibid.*

on Epidemic Diseases) was available for purchase. In addition, four other advertisements appeared throughout the six *ce* of the first edition of the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* (1915). It is noteworthy that none of the printed versions of the *Chuanya* contain any treatises on medical principles, although the “Fanli” of the 1890 and 1915 editions state that a work on medical theory was in the process of compilation, and would be produced as a supplement to that text.¹⁴⁵

It would be pure speculation to claim a connection between the several advertisements included in the *Jiaozheng Chuanya*, and the text itself. After all, how would it be possible to evaluate whether those advertisements had any impact on the minds of readers? Or to what extent they were selected in consideration of the specific content and nature of the *Chuanya*? A manuscript entitled *Chuanya neiwaibian*,¹⁴⁶ however, can provide us with important clues in this respect. This manuscript is composed of two *ce* (the first is entitled *Chuanya neibian*, the second *Chuanya waibian*), and at the end of each *ce*, we find several excerpts on medical principles and the nature of pharmaceutical substances, as well as notes about cold-damage disorders. The compiler also included medical verses for easy memorization (*gejue* 歌訣). The language style of those texts is almost vernacular, indicating that a medical apprentice probably copied and used the work. Although the texts were not copied from the eight works the Guangyi shuju in the *Jiaozheng Chuanya* advertised, their content is nevertheless strikingly similar.¹⁴⁷ In other words, by the use of advertisements placed throughout their book, the publishers were not only promoting their products, but also envisioning their customers’ abilities and expectations, and, consciously or not, concomitantly guiding the reading of their *Chuanya*.

Finally, more than in any other printed edition of the *Chuanya*, the issue of appropriation is particularly evident in the *Jiaozheng Chuanya*. First, the publishers consider different editions of the same text as compiled by the same person, Zhao Xue-min, although one of the copy-texts for their *Chuanya neibian* stems from the 1890 publication, and the one for the *Chuanya waibian* is a manuscript with obscure, uncertain provenance. Secondly, by providing an attractive description of itinerant healers combined with their exotic healing methods, and by promoting this image in several advertisements, the publishers clearly aimed to arouse their customers’ interest in the book. In other words, by purchasing the *Jiaozheng Chuanya*, the readers could have direct access to the revised edition (*jiaozheng* 校正) of a work composed of simple yet effective recipes that had been transmitted in secrecy for generations only among itinerant healers, but that were now being disclosed to a larger public.

CONCLUSION

In this article, I tried to demonstrate that the question of why the historical Zhao Xue-min wrote and published the *Chuanya* is by itself misleading. I have argued that this

¹⁴⁵ *Chuanya neibian*, “Fanli,” 1890; *Jiaozheng Chuanya*, “Fanli,” 1915.

¹⁴⁶ This manuscript is currently kept in SIBS. The title *Chuanya neiwaibian* appears only on the cover of both *ce* instead of inside the books. However, the calligraphy style in the copying of the first and second *ce* is exactly the same, which suggests the same person copied the texts.

¹⁴⁷ Compare, for example, the contents of the *Zhongguo shiyong yaowuxue* and *Zhongguo yaowu xin zidian* with the contents from the *Chuanya waibian* (SIBS), and the contents of the *Zhu-shi jiapi shanghanlun jizhu* and *Jiapi jiaozheng Shibing lun* with the contents of the *Chuanya neibian* (SIBS).

assumption overlooks the fact that the general public probably never saw the original texts which Zhao Xuemin possibly compiled, and that what have survived to this day are dozens of printed editions that were (re)compiled, (re)edited, and (re)published over a century after the supposed compilation of his *Chuanyu* in 1759. Furthermore, we should also not forget that not only were these editions products from different copy-texts, but are by no means identical, and sometimes not even similar, to each other.

We can observe that, from a practical and economic perspective, the tendency of compilers, editors, and publishers to attribute the authorship of their various editions to Zhao Xuemin was a process to legitimize their printed books as original copies, therefore increasing their credibility and making them more attractive to potential customers and readers. From an historical point of view, however, unless we assume that Zhao Xuemin himself compiled around 15 different manuscripts, and that later generations simply “converted” them into printed books, it is rather problematic to attribute the authorship of the several *Chuanyu* exclusively to him, or even to refer to this as a coherent, original, and single-authored text. In other words, the complex steps through which the *Chuanyu*(s) were constructed show that assigning a single author to these texts is misleading and oversimplifies the knowledge process at work.

On the one hand, scholars can adopt the concept of “compiler-function” to avoid this problem: rather than a historical individual who lived in the approximation of the Qianlong reign-period, here the “compiler” is a figure constantly created to serve for different purposes, from increasing the credibility of a work, for example, to reinforcing its antiquity and originality. On the other hand, the idea of “collaborative authorship” seems more adequate to the historical reality around the production of each of the editions of the *Chuanyu*, be they manuscripts or printed books. Moreover, in contrast to several modern editors who aim time and again to “resurrect” the text originally compiled by Zhao Xuemin,¹⁴⁸ virtually none of the individuals and groups who participated in the publication of the *Chuanyu*(s) during the late Qing and Republican period claimed that they had obtained the original copy of this text, or that it was their intention to reconstruct or reproduce Zhao’s original work.

As a consequence, perhaps one of the few points that we can accurately assert is that, till this day, all the *Chuanyu* that have survived are manuscripts and printed books that we can attribute to a number of agents almost a century after the possible earliest compilation of a single *Chuanyu* in 1759. Seen from this perspective, the connection between the *Chuanyu* and itinerant healers as well as the assumed “folk” provenance of this text take on another dimension. It might be that the text Zhao Xuemin originally compiled contained a considerably larger number of recipes and instructions from itinerant healers than those that reached us in printed editions. It might also be that Zhao Xuemin was very sympathetic to this group of healers, and that it was indeed his intention to compile a work to preserve and transmit their best recipes for later generations. These however are pure speculations. First, we do not have any information about a historical individual named Zhao Xuemin that does not come from the texts attributed to him, which, in turn, were published decades or even

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, Yu – Wu 2009, “Neirong jianjie” 內容簡介 (Introduction); Guo Hua 2011, pp. 1–23; Zheng – Ji 2007, pp. 1–3; Li – Zhao 1999, “Qianyan” 前言 (Foreword).

centuries after his death.¹⁴⁹ Secondly, not only is the original *Chuanyua* lost, but the texts attributed to him that contain references to this work always express the notion that he carried out a painstaking selection and edition of everything that itinerant healers passed on to him. In other words, it is more likely that, instead of aiming to genuinely record popular healing knowledge, compilers of the several *Chuanyua* labored in a spirit of service, wanting to reflect and reinforce the world views, ideals, and medical experiences of upper societal echelons in their respective printed editions.

Finally, among the various possibilities related to the provenance and nature of the source texts of the *Chuanyua*, it is evident that the overwhelming majority of recipes which the editions record, and which our study analyzes, are by no means essentially different from those we normally find in printed medical books of the scholarly medical tradition. In fact, a substantial portion of those recipes are traceable to printed books that were written and published before the compilation of the *Chuanyua* in 1759. This fact can, therefore, lead to three possible conclusions. 1. The boundaries between “popular” and “scholarly” medical traditions in pre-1949 China were not as clear and watertight as modern scholarship has consistently assumed them to be. 2. The bias present in printed books apparently devoted to “popular healing practices” can actually cause more confusion and inaccuracy for modern scholars than introducing the actual historicity of those practices. 3. Scholars cannot draw a division between “popular” and “scholarly” medical traditions only on the basis of the content of certain texts, but should also take into account a more obscure, and sometimes almost inaccessible, historical dimension, that is, readership. That being said, important questions deserve our attention: How did the authors and compilers of the texts intend readers to receive and respond to them? How did different individuals actually read and interpret the texts? Finally, how did various practitioners apply the texts in the concrete contexts of their medical service? Manuscripts such as the *Chuanyua nei-waibian* analyzed in the Section IV can provide us with important insights. Although this is a narrow, difficult, and provisional road, it is probably the sole method we can claim for access into the ubiquitous yet enigmatic dimensions of popular healing in imperial China.

¹⁴⁹ Another two works attributed to Zhao Xuemin that have survived to this day are the *Fengxian pu* 鳳仙譜 (Treatise of the Garden Balsam) and *Huoxi lue* 火戲略 (Summary of Tricks with Fire), dedicated to gardening and popular activities with fire, respectively. Although the *Fengxian pu* and *Huoxi lue* contain prefaces scholars ascribe to Zhao Xuemin dating from the end of the Qianlong reign-period, only during the Daoguang reign-period did the two texts reach publication.

APPENDIX

Table 4: MANUSCRIPT COPIES OF THE *CHUANYA*

Title	Production Date	Number of <i>juan (ce)</i>	Collection
<i>Wulin Zhao Xuemin Chuanya neibian</i> 武林趙學敏串雅內編 <i>Wulin Zhao Xuemin Chuanya waibian</i> 武林趙學敏串雅外編	1859	8 (6)	NJUTCM
<i>Chuanya neibian</i> 串雅內編 <i>Chuanya waibian</i> 串雅外編	Qing	8 (6)	SHL
<i>Chuanya neiwaibian</i> 串雅內外編	Qing	8 (2)	SIBS
<i>Chuanya waibian</i> 串雅外編	Qing	4 (1)	SHUTCM

Table 5: EDITIONS OF THE *CHUANYA* PRINTED BETWEEN 1911 AND 1949

Title (number of <i>juan/ce</i>)	Publication Date	Publishing House	Collection
<i>Chuanya neiwaibian</i> 串雅內外編 (8/6)	1914 (reprinted in 1920 and 1927)	Saoye shanfang 掃葉山房	SHUTCM
<i>Jiaozheng Chuanya neiwaibian</i> 校正串雅內外編 (8/6)	1915 (reprinted four times between 1915 and 1927)	Guangyi shuju 廣益書局	SIBS

FIGURES

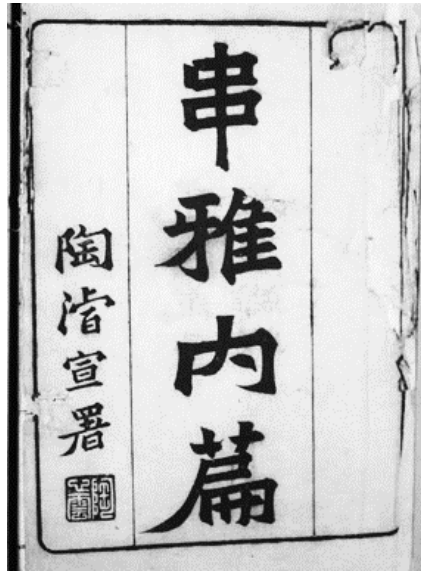


Figure 1: *Chuanya neibian*, woodblock edition from 1890 (1888). Copy kept in SHL: 439798-99. Photo by author, December 1, 2017.



Figure 2: *Chuanya neibian*, woodblock edition from 1897. Copy kept in NJUTCM. Photo by author, September 12, 2017.

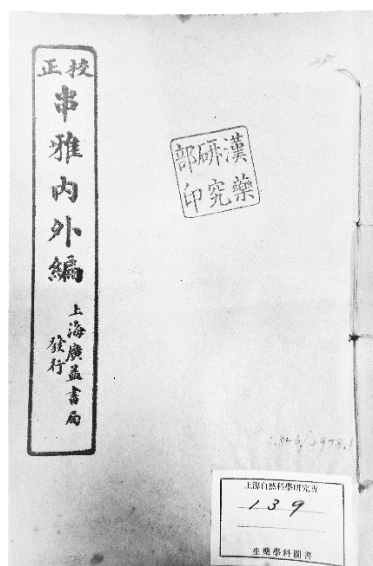


Figure 3: *Jiaozheng Chuanya neiwaibian*, lithographed edition from 1915. Copy kept in SIBS. Photo by author, September 12, 2017.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Baqianjuanlou shumu 八千卷樓書目 (Catalogue of Books from the Library of Eight-Thousand Scrolls), compiled by Ding Bingzang 丁丙臧; printed by a member of the Ding clan as a stereotyped edition in 1923; kept in SHL: 006704.

Beiji qianjin yaofang 備急千金要方 (Essential Formulas from the Immortal Sun Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces), compiled by Sun Simiao 孫思邈; published by the *Qiaoshi Shiding* 喬氏世定 as woodblock edition during the Jiaqing reign-period (1522–1566). Kept in SHL: 41741.

Bencao gangmu 本草綱目 (Compendium of Materia Medica), compiled by Li Shizhen 李時珍; woodblock edition from 1603. Kept in SHL: 60983-86.

Bencao gangmu shiyi 本草綱目拾遺 (Supplement to the Compendium of Materia Medica), compiled by Zhao Xuemin 趙學敏 in 1765; published by the Zhang shi Jixin tang 張氏吉心堂 (Auspicious Mind Studio of Mr. Zhang) as a woodblock edition in 1871. Kept in SHL: 493923-32.

Chongjiao Tangtou geju 重校湯頭歌訣 (Revised Edition of the Rhymed Formulas), compiled by Wang Ang 汪昂; edited and revised by Hong Yuan 洪淵; published as a lithographed edition by the Guangyi shuju in 1940. Kept in PC.

Chuanya bu 串雅補 (Supplement for the Chuanya), compiled by Lu Zhao 魯照, edited by Nan Ya 南崖; published by the Saoye shanfang as stereotyped edition in 1919 and reprinted in 1928. Kept in SHUTCM: R289.2.

Chunzaitang shibian 春在堂詩編 (Anthologies from the Chunzai Studio), compiled by Yu Yue 俞樾 in 1871; published as a woodblock edition as part of the *Chunzaitang quanshu* 春在堂全書 (Complete Works from the Chunzai Studio) in 1906. Kept in SHL: 454036.

- Cuncunzhai yihua gao* 存存齋醫話稿 (Medical Records from the Cuncun Studio), compiled by Zhao Yanhui 趙彥暉 during the Qing dynasty; published as a woodblock edition in 1881. Kept in SHL: 481292-93.
- Danxi xinfa* 丹溪心法 (The Heart of Danxi's Methods), compiled by Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨, revised by Cheng Chong 程充; published by Cheng Zuxing 程祖興 as a woodblock edition in 1493. Kept in SHL: 783822.
- Fu Qingzhu xiansheng nüke* 傅青主先生女科 (Mr. Fu Qingzhu's Work on Gynecology), compiled by Fu Qingzhu 傅青主; published as a stereotyped edition by the Guangyi shuju during the Republican period. Kept in PC.
- Gujin yishi* 古今醫史 (Medical History from Ancient and Modern Times), compiled by Wang Honghan 王宏翰; manuscript copy from the Qing dynasty. Kept in SHL: 752680-83.
- Gujin yitong daquan* 古今醫統大全 (Complete Works of Medical Traditions from Ancient and Modern Times), compiled by Xu Chunfu 徐春甫; woodblock edition from 1570; edition kept in SHL: T334634-73.
- Guyue cangshulou shumu* 古越藏書樓書目 (Catalogue of the Ancient Yue Library), compiled by Xu Shulan 徐樹蘭; published by Chongshi shuju 崇實書局 as a lithographed edition in 1904. Kept in SHL: 302305-12.
- Guangyi shuju tushu mulu* 廣益書局圖書目錄 (Title Inventory of the Guangyi shuju), compiled and published by the Guangyi shuju as stereotyped editions in 1922, 1925, and 1929. Kept in PC.
- Han shi yitong* 韓氏醫通 (Medical Explanations from Mr. Han), compiled by Han Mao 韓懋, revised by Cheng Yongpei 程永培; published by the Dongbi shanfang 東壁山房 as a woodblock edition during the Qianlong reign-period (1736–1795). Kept in SHL: 555091.
- Hou Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 後知不足齋叢書 (Continuation of the Series of Books from the Zhibuzu Studio), edited by Bao Tingjue 鮑廷爵; published by the Changshu Bao shi 常熟鮑氏 as a woodblock edition during the Guangxu reign-period (1875–1908). Kept in SHL: 322253-84.
- Jiaozheng Shishi milu* 校正石室秘錄 (Revised Edition of the Secrets from the Stone Chamber), compiled by Chen Shiduo 陳士鐸; revised, collated, and published as a stereotyped edition by the Guangyi shuju in 1917. Kept in PC.
- Jiapi jiaozheng Shibinglun* 加批校正時病論 (Revised Edition with Commentary on the Treatise on Epidemic Diseases), compiled by Lei Feng 雷豐 and Lei Shaoyi 雷少逸; revised by Chen Lianfang 陳蓮舫; published by the Guangyi shuju as a lithographed edition in 1932. Kept in PC.
- Jinkui yaolie* 金匱要略 (Essential Summaries of the Golden Chamber), compiled by Zhang Ji 張機, commented by Zhang Zhicong 張志聰; published by the Wenrui tang 文瑞堂 as woodblock edition in 1683. Kept in NJL: GJ/EB/3004470.
- Lenglu yihua* 冷廬醫話 (Medical Notes of Leng Lu), compiled by Lu Dingpu 陸定圃 in 1858; published by Wu Chengpang 烏程龐 as a woodblock edition in 1897. Kept in SHL: 476240-43.
- Liangzhe youxuan xulu* 兩浙輶軒續錄 (Extended Records of Liangzhe Carriage), compiled by Pan Yantong 潘衍桐 in 1884; published as a woodblock edition by the Zhejiang shuju 浙江書局 (Zhejiang Press) in 1891. Kept in SHL: 313691.
- Nüke mijue daquan* 女科秘訣大全 (Complete Works on the Secrets of Gynecology), compiled by Chen Lianfang 陳蓮舫, published by the Guangyi shuju as a stereotyped edition in 1928. Kept in SHUTCM: R271.
- Puji fang* 普濟方 (Prescriptions for Universal Relief), compiled by Zhu Shu 朱橐 *et al.*; woodblock edition from the Yongle reign-period (1403–1424). Kept in SHL: 788039-40.

- Rumen shiqin* 儒門事親 (Confucians Serve Their Parents), compiled by Zhang Congzheng 張從正; published by Shao Fu 邵輔 as woodblock edition in 1541. Kept in SHL: 783827-32.
- Shanben shushi cangshu zhi* 善本書室藏書志 (Records of Rare Books Kept in the Library), compiled by Ding Bingzang 丁丙臧 and printed by him as a lithographed edition in 1901. Kept in SHL: 606533-48(16)
- Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Treatise on Cold-Damage Disorders), compiled by Zhang Ji, edited by Wang Shuhe 王樹和, commented by Cheng Wuji 成無己. *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 734. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1986.
- Sheshengzhong miaofang* 攝生眾妙方 (Wondrous Recipes to Preserve the Health of All Beings), edited by Zhang Shiche 張時徹; woodblock edition from 1569. Kept in SHL: 531907-09.
- Shishi milu* 石室秘錄 (Secrets from the Stone Chamber), compiled by Chen Shiduo 陳士鐸; published by the Jiaojing shanfang 校經山房 as woodblock edition in 1687. Kept in SHL: 382066-71.
- Wanbing huichun* 萬病回春 (Curative Measures for All Diseases), edited by Gong Yanxian 龔廷賢; published as woodblock edition in Japan in 1647. Kept in SHL: 335409-16.
- Weisheng yijian fang* 衛生易簡方 (Simple Recipes to Preserve Health), edited by Hu Ying 胡澂; published by the Jiangxi buzhengsi 江西布政司 (Provincial Administration Commission of Jiangxi) as woodblock edition in 1562. Kept in SHL: 786293-305.
- Xiaochuang shanfang shiwenji* 小倉山房詩文集 (Anthologies of the Mountain Cottage Library), compiled by Yuan Mei 袁枚 during the Qianlong reign-period; published as a woodblock edition in 1769. Kept in SHL: 643388-99.
- Xu Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 續知不足齋叢書 (Extension of the Series of Books from the Zhibuzu Studio), edited by Gao Chengxun 高承勳; published by the Bohai Gao shi 渤海高氏 as a woodblock edition during the Qing dynasty. Kept in SHL: 52145-60.
- Yilun* 醫論 (Treatises on Medicine), compiled by Xu Dachun 徐大椿; published by the Bansong zhai 半松齋 as a woodblock edition in 1757. Kept in SHL: 479873-74.
- Yishi* 醫史 (History of Medicine), compiled by Li Lian 李濂 during the Ming dynasty; woodblock edition from the Ming dynasty. Kept in SHL: 785768-69.
- Yuyuan congke* 榆園叢刻 (or 娛園叢刻) (Series of Books from the Yuyuan), compiled and printed by Xu Zeng 許增 as a woodblock edition in 1893 in his Yuyuan. Kept in SHL: 379972-87.
- Zengding weiyao tiaobian* 增訂偽藥條辨 (Revised and Enlarged Edition of the Differentiating False Drugs), compiled by Zheng Fenyang 鄭奮陽 during the late Qing; published as a stereotyped edition in 1928. Kept in SHL: 506840-41.
- Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草 (Classified Materia Medica), compiled by Tang Shenwei 唐慎微. *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 740. Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1986.
- Zhibuzuzhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Series of Books from the Zhibuzu Studio), edited by Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博; woodblock edition from 1771. Kept in SHL: 40119-357.
- Zhongguo shiyong yaowuxue* 中國實用藥物學 (Practical Manual of Chinese Pharmaceutics), compiled by the Guangyi shuju and Shanghai yiyao yanjiuhui 上海醫藥研究會 (Shanghai Institute of Medicine); published by the Guangyi shuju as a stereotyped edition in 1923 and reprinted in PC.
- Zhongguo yaowu xin zidian* 中國藥物新字典 (New Dictionary of Chinese Pharmaceutics), compiled by the Guangyi shuju and Shanghai yiyao yanjiuhui; published by the Guangyi shuju as a stereotyped edition in 1924 and reprinted in 1926, 1929, 1935, 1950, 1951, and 1955. Kept in PC.

Zhushi jiapi Shanghan lun jizhu 注釋加批傷寒論集註 (Revised Edition with Commentary on the Collection of Notes on the Treatise of Cold-Damage Disorders), commented by Zhang Zhicong 張志聰, revised and commented by Chen Lianfang 陳蓮舫; published by the Guangyi shuju as a lithographed edition in 1935. Kept in SHUTCM: R222.22.

Secondary Sources

- Andrews, Bridie. 2014. *The Making of Modern Chinese Medicine, 1850–1960*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Berg, Daria. 2001. “Bell Doctors in the Late Imperial Chinese Novel *Xingshi yinyuan zhuan*.” *Monumenta Serica* 49 (2001): 57–70.
- Chan Hon-Man. 2014. “The Concept of *yazheng* 雅正 (Orthodox Correctness) in the Chinese Poetic Tradition.” *Monumenta Serica* 62 (2014): 55–109.
- Chao Yuan-ling. 2009. *Medicine and Society in Late Imperial China: A Study of Physicians in Suzhou, 1600–1850*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Chartier, Roger. 1992. *L'Ordre des livres: Lecteurs, auteurs, bibliothèques en Europe entre xive et xviiiè siècle*. Aix-en-Provence: Alinea.
- . 1995. *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cullen, Cristopher. 1993. “Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the *Jinpingmei*.” *History of Science* 31 (1993): 99–132.
- Fan Ka-Wai 范家偉. 2004. *Liuchao suitang yixue zhi chuancheng yu zhenghe* 六朝隋唐醫學之傳承與整合. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.
- . 2007. *Dayi jingcheng Tangdai guojia xinyang yu yixue* 大醫精誠——唐代國家信仰與醫學. Taipei: Dongda tushu.
- Field, Catherine. 2007. “Many Hands Hands: Writing the Self in Early Modern Women’s Recipe Books.” In: *Genre and Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Michelle M. Dowd and Julie A. Eckerle. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 49–63.
- Foucault, Michel. 1969. “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie* 63 (1969) 3: 73–104.
- Fujiangsheng yiyao yanjiusuo xiaozu 福建省医药研究所小组 (Research Group of the Fujian Institute of Medicine). 1977. *Chuanya waibian xuanzhu* 串雅外编选注 (Selected Commentaries on the *Chuanya waibian*). Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe.
- Guo Hua 郭华 (ed.). 2011. *Chuanya neibian* 串雅内外编 (*Chuanya*: Inner and Outer Volumes). Beijing: Zhongguo yixue kexue chubanshe.
- Hu Yongsheng 胡永盛. 2015. *Chuanya neibian xuanzhu* 串雅内编选注 (Selected Commentaries on the *Chuanya neibian*). Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe.
- Lai Chi Tim 黎志添. 2013. “Qingdai sizhong Lüzu quanshu yu Lüzu fuji daotan de guanxi” 清代四種呂祖全書與呂祖扶乩道壇的關係 (The Four Compilations of Lüzu quanshu and Daoist Spirit-Writing Altars in the Qing Period) *Zhongguo wen zhe yanjiu jikan* 中國文哲研究集刊 / *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, Academia Sinica* 42 (2013): 1–40.
- Leong, Elaine. 2013. “Collecting Knowledge for the Family: Recipes, Gender and Practical Knowledge in the Early Modern English Household.” *Centaurus* 55(2013) 2: 81–103.
- Leung, Angela Ki Che. 2003. “Medical Learning from the Song to the Ming.” In: *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, ed. Paul J. Smith and Richard von Glahn. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, pp. 374–398.
- Li Jia 李佳 – Zhao Xiaoqing 赵小青 (eds.). 1999. *Chuanya quanshu* 串雅全书 (Complete Edition of the *Chuanya*). Beijing: Zhongguo zhongyi chubanshe.
- Li Jian 李健 *et al.* 2015. “Zhao Xuemin qinzu kao” 赵学敏亲族考 (Verification of the Relatives of Zhao Xuemin). *Zhongyao yu linchuang* 中药与临床 / *Pharmacy and Clinics of Chinese Materia Medica* 6 (2015) 2: 101–103.

- Li Jianmin 李建民. 2008. *Shengming shixue cong yiliao kan Zhongguo lishi* 生命史學從醫療看中國歷史 (A Humanistic Approach to the History of Chinese Medicine). Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe.
- Lin Fu-shih 林富士. 2013a. “Zhuyou shiyi yi Huangdi neijing suwen wei hexin wenti de taolun” 祝由釋義——以黃帝內經素問為核心文體的討論 (A Philological Study of Zhuyou). *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 / *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 83 (2013) 4: 671–738.
- . 2013b. “Zhuyou yixue yu daojiao de guanxi: yi Shengji zonglu Fujin men weizhu de taolun” 祝由醫學與道教的關係——以聖濟總錄符禁門為主的討論 (The Relationship between zhuyou and Daoism in the Complete Records of Holy Benevolence). In: *Disijie guoji Hanxue huiyi lunwenji: Xinxiang shijian yu wenhua tiaoshi* 第四屆國際漢學會議論文集——信仰實踐與文化調適, ed. Kang Bao 康豹 and Liu Shufen 劉淑芬. Taipei: Academia Sinica, pp. 403–448.
- Mackenzie, Donald F. 1999. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Needham, Joseph. 2000. *Science and Civilization in China, Volume VI: Biology and Biological Technology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reed, Christopher A. 2004. *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Schachter, Bony B. 2018. “Nanji Chongxu Miaodao Zhenjun: The Tianhuang zhidao taqing yuce and Zhu Quan’s (1378-1448) Apotheosis as a Daoist God.” PhD diss., The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2018.
- Schonebaum, Andrew. 2016. *Novel Medicine: Healing, Literature, and Popular Knowledge in Early Modern China*. Washington: Washington University Press.
- Sivin, Nathan. 1968. *Chinese Alchemy: Preliminary Studies*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Smith, Helen. 2012. *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Unschuld, Paul U. 1978. “Das Ch’uan-ya und die Praxis chinesischer Landärzte im 18. Jahrhundert.” *Sudhoffs Archiv* 62 (1978): 378–407.
- . 1979. *Medical Ethics in Imperial China: A Study in Historical Anthropology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1985. *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1986. *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceuticals*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 2000. *Medicine in China: Historical Artifacts and Images*. München: Prestel.
- . 2004a. “Der chinesische ‘Arzneikönig’ Sun Simiao. Geschichte – Legende – Ikonographie.” *Monumenta Serica* 42 (2004): 217–257.
- . 2004b. “Chinese Retributive Recipes: On the Ethics of Public and Secret Health Care Knowledge.” *Monumenta Serica* 52 (2004): 325–343.
- . 2010. “The Berlin Collections of Chinese Medical Manuscripts: Rural Authors, Rural Contents.” *Monumenta Serica* 58 (2010): 281–293.
- Unschuld, Paul U. – Zheng Jinsheng. 2012. *Chinese Traditional Healing: The Berlin Collections of Manuscripts Volumes from the 16th through the Early 20th Century*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
- Xu Lianda 徐连达. 2010. *Zhongguo guan zhi da ci dian* 中国官制大辞典 (Dictionary of the Chinese System of Officials). Shanghai: Shanghai daxue chubanshe.
- Xue Qinglu 薛清录 (ed.). 2007. *Zhongguo Zhongyi guji zongmu* 中国中医古籍总目 (Comprehensive Glossary of Ancient Chinese Medical Texts). Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe.
- Yu Rong 喻嵘 – Wu Yongjun 吴勇军 (eds.). 2009. *Chuanya quanshu shiyi* 串雅全书释义 (Complete and Annotated Edition of the Chuanya). Taiyuan: Shanxi kexue jishu chubanshe.

Zheng Jinsheng 郑金生 -Ji Zhenghan 纪征翰 (eds.). 2007. *Chuanya neiwaibian* 串雅内外编 (*Chuanya: Inner and Outer Volumes*). Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe.

CHINESE ABSTRACT

傳統中國出版的醫書對於民間療法的記載——《串雅》從晚清至民國時期的編纂與刊行歷史 《串雅》——清代及民國版本解讀

林友樂

於乾隆二十四年（1759）年，錢塘醫家趙學敏編纂撰了《串雅》一文。按照《串雅》某些版本所記載的內容，現代學者往往視之為一部收錄大量民間藥方的著作方書，而且主張趙氏的主要目的是希望通過印刷術來傳播民間秘方。然而，值得注意的是，趙氏《串雅》的原稿或許從來並未曾刊行在世。同時，該文獻《串雅》後來多次被他人校訂及刊刻，而其不同版本之間的內容皆存在著存頗大的差別。本文以《串雅》從晚清至民國時期的不同抄本、刻本及石印本追溯《串雅》成書的歷史過程。與以前的研究相比，筆者更則認為《串雅》與民間療法的關係其實並不是理所當然的。相反，我們必須先考察該文獻的不同版本才能對之有更深入的了解以至提出更有力的結論。總之，本文以《串雅》為例探討傳統中國的醫書書寫、校訂、出版、傳播，以及閱讀的複雜情形。

關鍵詞：《串雅》、民間療法、學術醫統、走方醫、趙學敏、書籍史、寫本、版本學

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTOR

Luis Fernando Bernardi Junqueira has earned a master's degree in Chinese History from the Department of History at Fudan University. His research interests include the history of esoteric healing arts, folk medicine, and book history/history of the book in late imperial China and the Republican period. He has additional interests in public history, medical humanities, and digital history.

Correspondence to: Room 07, 13/F, Block B, Perfect Mount Garden, 1 Po Man Street, Shau Kei Wan, Hong Kong Room 2013, International Students Building of Fudan University, Wudong Rd. 57, Yangpu District, Shanghai, China, 200433. E-mail: youle.junqueira@gmail.com