A Medical Line of Many Masters: A Prosopographical Study of Liu Wansu and His Disciples from the Jin to the Early Ming

Wu Yiyi

[Wu Yiyi received an M.A. in philosophy and the history of science from East China Normal University (Shanghai), and a Ph.D. in history from Princeton University. Among his research interests are the history of science, and the history of Chinese civilization, especially the history of Chinese science and technology. He has published in, among others, the Journal of East China Normal University, Ziran zazhi (Shanghai), New History, and Dalu (Taipei).]

* * *

The transmission and dissemination of knowledge is one of the most important topics in the history of science. In the case of medicine in imperial China, this topic is extremely promising. Like scholars in other branches of learning, medical doctors, village practitioners, and even quacks claimed kinship to fore-runners; their relations with their masters implied that their learning and skills were authentic and reliable. Their therapeutic achievements, considered examples of benevolence, were also carefully recorded by their friends, neighboring scholars, and compilers of local gazetteers. All these materials make it possible for historians to trace back the development of, and to outline, the lineages of some of the most important groups or schools of medical practitioners. However, this has never been done in detail.

1This article is based on a study suggested by Professor Nathan Sidin. For help I have received in my research, my sincere thanks are due to Fushi Lin and Fansen Wang of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Chenghan Wu of Chungyang University, Taiwan, Shuming Liu of the Gest Library at Princeton University, and Donald and Chris Lacey of Rutgers University.
Long before modern ideas of the history of medicine took shape, there had been a tradition in China of collecting and collating biographical data about doctors. Compilations can be found as early as in the sixteenth century. Since then, a number of books have been dedicated to this subject. The encyclopedia of medicine Gujín yìtóng dàquán, for instance, has a collection of biographies of 250 doctors. In the Qing dynasty there was, among other books on the same topic, Mingyì huìcí 名醫匯萃, edited by Lúo Mèi 羅美, published by Sào yè shānfāng 掃葉山房, with a preface dated 1823. In 1921 Xíe Guān 謝觀 published a better collection in the above-mentioned Zhōngguó yìxué dá cidian, which was regarded as the standard reference book until Zhōngguó rénwù cidian, with biographies of some sixty-two hundred doctors, came out in 1988.

The large amount of materials embodied in these works made possible, and called for, deeper studies of how medical doctrines were transmitted.

Establishing the Starting Point

This article is a prosopographical study of a group (pai) of medical practitioners who claimed descent from Liu Wansu. The Imperial Library collection Wényuánge sìku guānshù was the first to affirm the existence of such lineages among medical practitioners. In the study of the lineages, however, a working procedure is often necessary in order to decide who should be included and who excluded. The procedure I have used in this article can be described briefly as

\[2\] Lí Lián, *Yíshí* 醫史, 1515, a Ming version of which was microfilmed by the National Central Library of Taipei, 1978. The original date of publication is based upon the study of Cūi Xīuhuán 崔秀漢, *Zhōngguó yíshí yījī shùyào* 中國醫史醫籍述要 (Yānbìàn: Yānbìàn rènmín chūbānshè, 1983). An asterisk * will be used to indicate this source when an original date is ascribed to a medical writing in this article. According to Xíe Guān 謝觀, *Zhōngguó yìxué dá cidian* 中國醫學大辭典 (Shānhǎi: Shāngwù yínshū guān, 1921), Lí Lián took the imperial examination in 1523. This book was presumably finished around the 1520s.


\[5\] *Sìku guānshù zòngmù tíyào* 四庫全書總目提要 (rpr. Shanghai: Shāngwù yínshūguān, 1931), juan 103, p. 85. The word *pai*, in its full sense, is not exactly equivalent to “school” or “lineage.” Members of a *pai* do not necessarily have a common theory directing their research and practice as the word “school” may suggest; nor are they joined together solely by an exclusive relationship such as the word “lineage” may suggest. *Pai* is rather a group of people sharing some ideas or principles, or at least claiming to do so. The members of such a group may not have a visible relationship, and may not confine themselves to a specific theory. *Pai* is rather a group of people sharing some ideas or principles, or at least claiming to do so.
follows: A tentative list from a widely used medical school textbook⁶ was the starting point. A systematic search of the three most important biographical collections⁷ resulted in a more comprehensive picture of the lineage (see Figure 1). As many of these doctors as possible were carefully studied. A range of early sources, especially local gazetteers, were searched for information about each person’s career and possible relations with other doctors. Textual analysis was also taken into account to complete the picture.

The beginning of the lineage is set conventionally at the time of Liu Wansu. Figure 1 is divided into four “areas,” each of which represents one transmission pattern to be discussed later in this article. Area I covers the very early stage of the development of the lineage; Area II represents the master-disciple relation⁸ between generations of doctors which will be a main topic of this study. Another kind of relation, quite as important a topic as that in Area II, is shown in Area III, where the lineage becomes an actual family tree. Area IV involves doctors who were mainly influenced by the books of their “masters.” By this time, the lineage had segmented and the relation to Liu Wansu could be seen only in the appeal to his principles. In this sense, the principles of Liu Wansu had faded away. But his name was still cited repeatedly by his students, showing symbolically the authenticity of their learning and skill in medicine.

⁶Beijing zhongyi xueyuan 北京中醫學院, Zhongyi gejia xueshuo 中醫各家學說 (Shanghai: Shanghai keji chubanshe, 1981), which is essentially based on Ren Yingqi’s 任應秋 work.
⁷Namely, Xu Chunfu, Gujin yitong daquan, Li Jingwei’s Cidian, both mentioned above, and Chen Menglong’s 陳夢隆 Yibu quanshu 醫部全書 (1727,* rpr. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1958), juan 524-537.
⁸The term “master-disciple relation” is used in this paper as an equivalent of shisheng 師生, rather than shicheng 師承, which implies a less strict relation between those who may not have had personal contact.
FIGURE 1: A Prosopographical Study of the School after Liu Wansu
The Early Stage: From Liu Wansu to Zhu Zhenheng

Most of the primary biographical data of Liu Wansu 劉完素 (a native of Hejian 河間, now in Hebei province;9 labeled "B" in Figure 1) (1120?-1200), the founder of the school, comes from the prefaces to his books.10 The following is translated from the preface to Suwen bingji baoming ji:

When I was twenty-five I directed my aspirations to the Inner Canon. Day and night I never put the book aside. When I was nearly sixty I chanced to meet a celestial man, who gave me a beautiful wine to drink. I had only about a chestnut-hull's full, but my face turned red as though I were drunk. After I awoke my eyes were perceptive and my mind keen; I had been greatly illuminated.11

No matter how his students interpreted this story,12 the Neijing 内經 (Inner Canon) was undoubtedly the source with which he began his study. The most conspicuous innovation of Liu Wansu was building up the qi of the splenic system through the use of mainly cooling medicines, instead of heating medi-

---

9 The native places and their modern corresponding places are based upon Li Jingwei's Cidian if not otherwise noted.

10 The official biography of Liu Wansu is in the Jinshi 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 131, the juan dedicated to medical doctors and astrologers, p. 2811. A photograph of his tomb is available in Zhongyi zazhi 中醫雜志, 1959: 3, inside cover. The prefaces to his books are the main sources of his biographical information; among others, see Suwen xuanji yuanbing shi 素問玄機原病式 (1186, Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983), and Suwen bingji qiyi baoming ji 素問病機氣宜保命集 (1186, reprint of 1601 ed., Beijing: Renmin weisheng, 1959). The authorship of the latter, however, is at issue. Li Shizhen 李時珍 attributes the book to Zhang Yuansu 張元素; see Bencao gangmu 本草綱目 (1492, Beijing: Renmin weisheng, 1957), juan 1, Xuli shang 序例上, p. 339. Li's conclusion was accepted by the editors of the Siku quanshu. Based on a careful study, however, Taki Mototane 多紀元胤 insisted that this book was written by Liu Wansu; see Zhongguo yi ji kao 中國醫籍考 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng, 1956), p. 833. Taki's conclusion is accepted by most modern studies, such as Zhongyi gejia xuexiao jiangyi 中醫各家學說講義 (Hong Kong: Yiyao weisheng, 1968), p. 77, and Li Congfu 李聰甫 Jinyuan si da yiyi xuexu sixiang yanjiu 金元四大醫家學術思想研究 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng, 1983), pp. 2-3.


12 Ma Zongsu 馬宗素, in his preface 歷代名醫傳注 to the Qiyi baoming ji, pp. 1a-b, repeated this story and even specified the teacher as a Master Chen, while Li Congfu has it that Liu Wansu made up his mind to be a doctor when his mother died when he could not get any doctor to help her in time. No reference is made in Li's book to this story.
cines as recommended by the Song Imperial Bureau of Medicine. He assumed that the cause of disorders of the splenetic system was an agent associated with the phase of Fire and therefore he sought medicine that would help to dampen the Fire. This strategy, his biographers claim, proved successful in clinical practice, and established his reputation as a good doctor. Naturally, young men came to learn from him.

Zhang Ziche 張子和 (C1) (1156?-1228), a native of Kaocheng in Suizhou 睢州考城 (now Sui county or Lankao 閃考 county, Henan), was one of those who “made Liu Wansu their master in clinical practice.” By developing Liu Wansu’s point of view, he invented a therapeutic method known as xiāfa 下法, namely “bringing down” by vomiting and purging, also reported to be “generally effective” in clinical practice. He preferred cooling medicine, which accorded with Liu Wansu’s teaching.

Zhang Ziche’s own writings provide more evidence of his relation to Liu. In Rumen shi qin 儒門事親, the most important of his books which have survived, Zhang spoke highly of Liu Wansu, and called him the “only one who understood the essence of medicine throughout the thousand years since the time of Master Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景.” His contemporaries also provided witness of his lineage to Liu Wansu. For instance, one of the commenta-

---

13 Throughout the Song dynasty, the Bureau of Medicine 太醫局 collected “prescriptions that proved effective” (驗方), which resulted in the publication of the Hejiu fang 和濟局方 during 1107-1110. This collection was later revised and enlarged many times, and formed a series of medical reference books which are now conventionally called the jufang 局方, or “Bureau prescriptions.” The problem of this organization was recognized as early as in the Song dynasty itself. See, for example, Zhou Mi 周密, Kuixin zazhi 癸辛雜志 (Xuejin taoyuan 學津討原 edition), 別集上, pp. 8a-9a. According to the editor of a new version of this book (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), its writing was properly finished in 1279. The complicated story of the handing down and publication of the manuscripts over two centuries was surveyed briefly by Wu Qiming 吳企明 in his “Editor’s Notes” to the new version, pp. 3-4. The publication of most of the jottings employed by this essay involves a more or less similarly complicated story. In order to avoid an onerous philological study, the original publication data will be based on the congshu 廖書 in which the writing was collected. For collections of the prescriptions in the Song and the Yuan, see Sheng Zengxiu 盛增秀 et al., “Lüelun Song Yuan shiqi de fangji xué” 略論宋元時期的方劑學, Shaanxi Zhongyi 陝西中醫 vol. 9, no. 9 (1988), pp. 380-81.

14 Jinshi, juan 131, p. 2811.

15 This book must have been written sometime between 1221 (the year Zhang left the court) and 1228 (the year of his death). The earliest known date of publication is 1541. The edition used in this article is the one annotated and amended by Zhang Haicen 張海琴 et al. (Zhengzhou: Henan keji chubanshe, 1984). Some recent studies regard this book as a congshu rather than a monograph. See Fang Chunyang 方春陽, “Zhang Ziche kao”張子和考, in Shanghai Zhongyi yao zazhi 上海中醫藥雜志 no. 2 (1985), pp. 43-45.

16 Rumen shi qin, p. 91.
tors on *Rumen shi qin* said that Zhang Zilhe was so skilled in clinical practice that “those who knew medicine would take him as a Liu Wansu . . . reborn in our time.” The climax of his career came when he was summoned by the emperor to serve in the Imperial Academy of Medicine.\(^{17}\) But he “tendered his resignation before long,” for unknown reasons. Rumors had it that he made serious mistakes in practice.\(^{18}\) Most of his friends and later historians, however, believed that his personality made it impossible for him to stay in the palace. He “paid little attention to politics; he did not like ritual formalities; he was devoted to reading and poetry writing; and, worst of all, he drank too much.”\(^{19}\)

After retiring from official position, Zhang left the capital and became a doctor in his hometown. In his spare time, he enjoyed discussing medical theories with his friends. These discussions resulted in the *Rumen shi qin*,\(^{20}\) which brought him a reputation comparable to that of Liu Wansu.\(^{21}\)

One of these friends who contributed the most to the writing of the book was Ma Jiuchou 麻九疇 (C2) (?-1233?, a native of Yizhou 易州, now Yi county, Hebei).\(^{22}\) He was known as a child prodigy from the age of three, when he began to read. He studied Song philosophy, and was well versed in calculation, divination, and numerology. He was also a good poet and writer. Disappointed by the political disturbances of his time, he resigned his official position and used his literary talent to help Zhang Zilhe in his writings.

Another book concerning Zhang Zilhe’s theory and clinical practice is the *Zhang zihe xinjing bieji* 張子和心經別集 (publication data unknown), prepared by Chang De 常德 (a native of Raoyang or Zhenyang 鎮陽, now Raoyang county, Hebei), whose father, Chang Yonghui 常用晦, was in the

\(^{17}\) *Yuanshi* 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), juan 88, pp. 2220-21. Zhang Zilhe’s biographical material does not give details of his rank or official title in the Academy.


\(^{19}\) *Liu Qi* 劉沂, *Guqian zhi* 歸潛志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), emended and annotated by Cui Wenying 崔文印, juan 6, p. 106. In the *Zhi buzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 edition, the above quotation appears on pp. 11a-12b. This book was well-known for its reliability, “especially for the study of the history of the Jìn Dynasty” (*Jinshi*, juan 115, p. 2523). A careful comparison of the texts of the biographies in the *Jinshi* and in Liu Qi’s book reveals that the former was probably based upon the latter, where Liu Qi claims Zhang Zilhe to be a personal friend of his “old folks” (presumably his father).

\(^{20}\) *Yongzheng Henan tongzhi* 雍正河南通志 (printed in 1735), juan 71, p. 4b.


\(^{22}\) *Yuan Haowen* 元好問, *Zhongzhou ji* 中州集, p. 291, says that Ma died in a military disturbance in 1232, when he was fifty. But the *Jinshi* says in juan 126 that, surviving the commotion of 1232-33, he died at fifty-nine. His biographical materials are on pp. 292-93.
company of Zhang and Ma during their retirement. Although biographical data about the Changs are fragmentary and scanty, it is possible to affirm a close relation among the Changs, Ma, and Zhang. For one thing, when Ma Jiuchou died, it was Chang De who took care of the burial, a responsibility undertaken only by offspring or closest friends.23

Some of Liu Wansu’s books were edited and annotated by Ma Zongsu 马宗素 (a native of Pingyang 平阳, now Linfen 臨汾, Shanxi), one of the disciples of Liu, who has not received as much attention from scholars as he deserves.24 Ma Zongsu lived not far from Liu Wansu’s native town. In his preface to Liu Wansu’s Swhen yaozhi 素问要旨, he wrote, “I have been studying the skills of medicine since my childhood; I loved the Neijing ardently.... I studied (these books) with the Master [i.e., Liu Wansu] at his home and obtained an elementary understanding of the Master’s ideas.”25 A perusal of his book confirms his claim of a relation to Liu Wansu. The Siku tiyao cited above asserts that Ma’s scholarship was adopted from Liu Wansu. Xu Huixi 徐涸溪, the author of Yixue liuyuan 钜学流源, went further to assume that Ma Zongsu must have received Liu Wansu’s personal instruction since both of them were “living in the Jin dynasty” and their scholarship was so similar.

Geographically, all the individuals discussed above are northerners. But the scholarship of Liu Wansu was also to flourish in the south. The key link in the transmission was Luo Zhidi 罗知悌 (D1) (?1243-1327),26 a native of Qiantang 钱塘 county (now Hangzhou, Zhejiang). He “was an expert in Liu Wansu’s therapeutic doctrines, and was also capable in Zhang Zihe’s and Li

23 Yuan Haowen, Zhongzhou ji, p. 293.
24 For example, the editors of Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao, in mentioning Ma’s book Shanghan yijian 傷寒 醫鑑, admitted that they knew “almost nothing” about him. A similar statement is found in Xu wenxian tongkao 續文献通考 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), juan 184, Jingji kao 經籍考, p. 4266, where Ma’s book is philologically analyzed.
25 Ma Zongsu, Suwen yaozhi xu 素問要旨序 (1195, the date is based in Fan Xingzun 范行准, Zhongguo yixue shili 故中國醫學史略, Beijing: Zhongyi guji, 1986, p. 137), as cited by Okanishi Tameto 岡西昌次 in his Song yiqian yiji kao 宋以前醫籍考 (1958, Beijing: Renmin weisheng; rpr. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969), Book I, p. 21. But according to Ren Yingqiu et al., Zhongguo yiji tiyao 中國醫籍提要 (Jilin: Jilin keji, 1984), pp. 50-51, Ma’s book is entitled Xinkan tujie suwen yaozhi lun 新刊圖解素問要旨論, and “is believed to be a copy of Liu’s Suwen yaozhi.” Ren does not, however, give an explanation, nor references, to support his statement.
26 Between Luo Zhidi and Liu Wansu, some biographers mentioned a Jingshan futu 荆山浮屠, presumably a Buddhist monk. According to one of Luo’s biographers, this monk came to the south with all the medical and skills of prescription of Liu Wansu. Since Luo served for a period (of unknown length) in a Buddhist temple (Dai Liang, 九靈山房集 Jiuiling shanfang ji, Congshu jicheng 叢書集成 edition, rpr. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936, juan 5, p. 10a), this lineage is plausible, but there is no direct evidence for it. See also Gong Jiajun 龔嘉俊 et al., Qianlong Hangzhou fu zhi 乾隆杭州府志, preface by Lu Yongxiang 劉永祥 dated 1888, juan 149, p. 11b.
Gao’s medical doctrines.” With his knowledge of medicine, he served the royal family in the last years of the Southern Song dynasty. He was almost a legendary figure, aloof from prominence and worldly wealth, and generous to the poor and the helpless. He had some achievements in practice, but he was known and studied mainly because he was the teacher of Zhu Zhenheng, who was to be the most important of the students of Liu Wansu.

The growth of the lineage from Liu Wansu to Luo Zhidi, the earliest stage of the transmission, is in a sense shrouded in mystery. In the cases discussed above, there is no explicit statement of a teacher-student relation. For Liu Wansu and Zhang Zihe, all the records use the same verb zong 宗, which can mean either “to take somebody as one’s master” or “to follow the example of somebody,” but can hardly be interpreted unequivocally as meaning a teacher-student relation. For the relation between Zhang Zihe and Ma Jiuchou, Liu Qi’s expression is yu zhi shan 與之善, or “to be good friends”; the local gazetteer uses the verb you 游, a word having no direct English translation. Roughly speaking, it suggests a relationship, especial between intellectuals, as close friends in learning, with many opportunities for discussion and inter-change among the parties. In the time of Liu Wansu, the concept of a student-teacher relation was still nascent in the profession of medicine, so few direct and formal statements of such a relation can be found in the original texts.

But special relations among the members of the group are discernible. To help the “teachers” write books seemed to be a proper thing for the “students.” Ma Jiuchou and Chang De did so for Zhang Zihe, Luo Zhidi for Liu Wansu, Ma Zongsu for Liu Wansu too, and Zhu Zhenheng was to do so for Luo Zhidi. Books were expected to bring their authors worldly reputation and eternal life in their discipline. Needless to say, only those who appreciated a scholar’s work, or their favored disciples, would be assigned to such work. This was one of the main features of the relation of doctors in Liu’s time.

Students at times did more than help their teachers with their books. They also buried them. In return for being taught by their teachers, students assumed responsibility for their shenhui shi 身後事, that is taking care of their funeral, helping their families if need be, and carrying forward their spirit.

So much is known about the early development of the lineage, though much of it is anecdote instead of solid historical record, as one might expect.

---

27 Shi Yongchang 史永常, “Luo Zhidi zhuan’gao” 羅知悌傳稿, Shanghai Zhongyi yao zazhi no. 6 (1985), pp. 46-47, has some interesting stories about Luo Zhidi, though from a philological point of view the sources of the materials are not impeccable. See also Chen Shan 陳善 et al., Wanli Hangzhou fu zhi 萬歷杭州府志, Preface dated 1579, juan 91, pp. 8a-b.

28 He cured a monk of his “terrible disease” (惡疾). See Zhu Zhenheng, Gezhi yulun 格致餘論 (1347*), in Danxi xiansheng yizhu sizhong 丹溪先生醫著四種 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guanlin guji keyinshu, 1982), pp. 32b-33a.

29 Ma Jiuchou was buried by Chang De, see Zhongzhou ji, juan 6, p. 293; Luo Zhidi was buried by Zhu Zhenheng, see Shi Yongchang, “Luo Zhidi zhuan’gao.”
Although certain materials suggest that a member had contact with a Daoist priest, one cannot conclude from this that there was any religious influence.\textsuperscript{30} When the next generation, represented by Zhu Zhenheng, came to the center of the picture, doctors became more and more a group of gentlemen who made their medical knowledge and skills a tool to practice the Confucian idea of benevolence; the transmission of knowledge between generations also came to follow the pattern of master-disciple among Confucian scholars.

The Establishment of the Master-Disciple Relation

The founder of this master-disciple relation in Area II of the table was Zhu Zhenheng (1281-1358) (E1), a native of Yiwu 義烏 (now Yiwu county, Zhejiang), who was especially strong in the classics, as many of his biographers emphasized.\textsuperscript{31} Before the age of thirty-six, he was “quite outspoken and impetuous” with little patience for learning the classics. His behavior was entirely changed when he met Xu Wenyi 許文懿, a fourth-generation disciple of the Song philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹.\textsuperscript{32} Xu Wenyi explained Confucian learning to him systematically, which helped him realize his frivolity and ignorance. He became determined to make a man of himself. He sat up until early morning among books, inquiring into and meditating on Heaven and man, on the inherent patterns of the cosmos and of human conduct, and on the need to control one’s desires. He did so for years until his scholarship became solid.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{30}Ma Jiuchou was a student of a Daoist doctor who cured Ma of a “terrible disease” after “several years’ service” with the Daoist; see Zhongzhou ji, p. 292. When the construction of a Daoist abbey was completed, he was asked to write for the building a ji 記, i.e. “Dengzhou chongyangguan ji” 鄧州重陽觀記 now available in Ganshui xianyuan lu 甘水仙泉錄. See also Chen Minggu’s 陳銘圭 study of the Ganshui xianyuan lu in his Changchun daojiao yuanlui 長春道教源流 (rpr. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1974), pp. 27-31. Many Daoist monks were involved in medical therapy in the Yuan, as Song Lian observed in the Song xueshi wenji 宋學士文集 (Guoxue jiben congshu 國學基本叢書 edition), juan 20, pp. 395-96.

\textsuperscript{31}Song Lian 宋濂, “Gu Danxi xiansheng Zhu gong shibiao ci” 故丹溪先生朱公石表, Song wenxiangong quanjí 宋文憲公全集 (Siku betyao 四庫備要 edition, 1536, rpr. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1969), juan 50, p. 13a. Song Lian was among Zhu Zhenheng’s friends, and he was also friends with some of Zhu’s most important disciples, such as Dai Sigong; see his “Ti Zhu Yaxiu mohou” 題朱彦修後, ibid., juan 13, p. 8. Another biography was from the pen of Dai Liang 戴良, uncle of Dai Sigong. “Danxiweng zhuhan” 丹溪翁傳, in Jiuling shanfang ji, juan 10, p. 6a.

\textsuperscript{32}Quan Zuwang 全祖望, Song Yuan xue’an 宋元學案 (c. 1680, rpr. Taipei: Guoci bianyiguan, 1954), juan 93, p. 980.

\textsuperscript{33}See Song Lian’s biography cited above. The Jinhua xianmin zhuàn 金華先民傳 (Baojing tang 拖經堂 edition, 1558), juan 2, p. 19a, and Jin Jiang 金江 Yiwu
A common ideal was to be helpful to people: either to be a good official or a good doctor. When he failed the imperial examination, Zhu Zhenheng decided to make himself useful to society by becoming a doctor. He was almost immediately disappointed by Zhang Zihe's book because the arguments in it seemed to be consistent with neither the principles of the Neijing nor the teachings of Zhang Zhongjing. He thus went out to “look for doctors with such reputation that he could count on their teachings.” After a long journey, during which he visited “several counties without success,” he came across Liu Wansu’s Suwen xuanji yuanbing shi and some formulas prescribed by Li Gao, a doctor with a reputation comparable to that of Liu Wansu, which “made him realize deeply Zhang Zihe’s recklessness.” But his crucial progress came only after he became a disciple of Luo Zhidi. Luo was by no means an easy-going teacher, as Zhu recalled later. “In the summer of 1324, I heard of the name of Luo Taisu.... I went up to visit him. I was rejected and scolded by him more than five, even seven times. I got no where [in establishing a relation with Luo] for more than three months until he finally favored me with an interview....” In Song Lian’s biography, Zhu Zhenheng was said to have been so persevering that he “stood at Luo’s gateway, rain or shine, asking for an interview.” Luo was eventually convinced of his sincerity.

For years Zhu Zhenheng studied medical classics with Luo and assisted him in practice. After completing his studies with Luo, Zhu was successful in curing Xu Wenyi, his Confucian teacher, of a disease which had persisted for years. This case was the beginning of a long and reputable career, which was both in

renwu ji 義鳥人物集 (Xu jinhua congshu 續金華叢書 ed., rpr. Taibei: Yiwen, 1973), juan 1, p. 8b, have minor differences in wording but contain the same stories.

34Dai Liang’s biography gives another version of the story of how Zhu Zhenheng became a medical doctor. According to Dai, Zhu was asked by Xu, his beloved teacher, to learn medicine when the later was seriously ill. Zhu did so and later cured Xu of his disease, although many doctors had failed to offer any help. See Dai Liang, “Danxiweng zhuan,” p. 7a. Although all the latter biographies adopted Song Lian’s story, one story, different from the one told in all the later biographies, is still there, however, and should not be ignored. According to the biography of Xu Wenyi, e.g. Xue Yingqi 薛應旗, Zhejiang tongzhì 浙江通志 (1561, rpr. Taibei: Chengwen, 1983), juan 45, p. 16, Xu “would teach his students on any subject except how to prepare for the imperial examinations,” and argued that this showed “the dividing line between the righteousness-persisting and the profit-pursuing.” It thus stands to reason that Xu likely would not have supported Zhu Zhenheng in an imperial examination.

35Zhu Zhenheng, Gezhi yulun, p. 33b.

36Song Lian, Song xueshi wenji, pp. 17b-18a. In the Qianlong Hangzhou fu zhi 乾隆杭州府志 (preface dated 1888), juan 149, p. 11b, Zhu had to wait at Luo’s doorway for “three years” to get an interview.

37Dai Liang, “Danxiweng zhuan,” pp. 7a-b.
theory and in practice a development of Liu Wansu's work. According to Liu, disorders were always caused by a Fire factor, and the remedy should thus attack it. Zhu Zhenheng developed Liu's theory by taking into account the other side of the problem. In addition to attacking the Yang qi responsible for the disease, he advocated replenishing the body's Yin qi, the complement to the Yang. The balance of the two restores the body to health. This was the theoretic ground of Zhu's therapy which promoted Yin.

In his clinical practice, Zhu proved himself a good teacher. From the extant records, some twenty individuals can be identified as his disciples, among whom Wang Lü 王履, Zhao Liangren 趙良仁, and Dai Sigong are pertinent to his study.

Wang Lü (1332-1391) (P1) was a native of Kunshan 昆山, now Kunshan county, Jiangsu, a place not far from Zhu Zhenheng's hometown. All his biographers mentioned that he was an erudite scholar. He was able both in painting and calligraphy, was expert in both prose and poetry, and had an extensive knowledge of medicine. A student of Zhu Zhenheng, he wrote several books to enunciate Zhu Zhenheng's theories. These books were said to "question in depth and illustrate what had been obscure before." Wang in turn had a student, Xu Zhan 許湛, who lived in Wang's neighborhood. Years later, Xu passed his medical knowledge to Tao Hao 陶浩. Another student of Wang

---

38 It is not possible in this article to carry out a detailed study of the relation between Zhu Zhenheng and Liu Wansu. For an introductory study, see Fan Xingzhu, Zhongguo yixue shilüe, chap. 8, sec. 4 (5), pp. 176-181.


40 Wang's biography is to be found in the Mingshi 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 299, p. 7638. He is also mentioned in Wang Ao 王鏊, Guisi zhi 姑蘇志 (1506, rpr. Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1964), juan 56, pp. 17b-18a; and in Jin Wulan 金吾瀾, Kun Xin liangxian xuxiu hezhi 昆新兩縣續修合誌 (1880, rpr. Taibei: Chengwen chuban youxian gongsi, 1970), juan 33, pp. 29b-30b. Two similar biographies are found in Jiao Hong 焦竑, Guochao xianzheng lu 國朝獻徵錄 (rpr. Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1965), juan 78, pp. 46a-47b.

41 Books known to be from his pen are Yijing suhui ji 醫經溯洄集 (1386*), one juan, containing 397 items discussing all the symptoms commonly seen in practice; Biaoti yuanbing shi 標題原病症, one juan; Baibing gouxian 百病鑑玄, twenty juan; and Yiuyontong 醫語統, one hundred juan. Suhui ji was reprinted in 1956 by Renmin weisheng chubanshe, Beijing, as Yijing suhui ji 醫經溯洄集.

42 Zhang Dafu 張大復, Wujun Zhang Dafu xiansheng Ming ren liezhan gao 吳郡張大復先生明人列傳稿, a microfilm made by the National Library of Taipei, 1970, based upon a manuscript of the Ming dynasty, pp. 36a-b. Zhang Dafu lived 1554-1630.

43 Xu's biography can be found in Kun Xin liangxian xuxiu hezhi, juan 33, p. 30b. Xu was a native of Loudong 廣東, now Kunshan county, Jiangsu. His student Tao Hao was a native of Taicang 太倉, now Taicang county, Jiangsu.
Lü's was his son, Wang Bocheng (G1) 王伯承. Having no son to carry on his scholarship, Bocheng taught his son-in-law Shen Zhongshi (H1) 沈仲實, who handed the knowledge down to his grandson Shen Chengxian 沈承先. Shen Chengxian demonstrated such expertise in his practice that the magistrate of his county ordered a tablet of honor to be placed at his doorways with the inscription “He helps [dutiful sons] achieve filial piety.”

In contrast to Wang Lü, who was mentioned by all the writers of local chronicles, Zhao Liangren 趙良仁 (F4), an equally important student of Zhu Zhenheng, was little known to scholars until recently. He was a distant relative of the Song royal family, and settled down in Pujiang 浦江 (now Pujiang, Jiangsu) at the turning from the Song to the Yuan dynasties. He studied medicine with Zhu Zhenheng and wrote at least three books enunciating Zhu's theories. The details of this master-disciple relationship are vividly recorded in Zhao's book Danxi yaoyao huowen 丹溪藥要問. First of all, Zhu Zhenheng asked him to study the Neijing. The theoretically oriented Neijing included no suggestions or indications for prescriptions. Puzzled, Zhao asked why this book should be the starting point. “Because clinical symptoms and cases vary in unlimited ways,” the Master explained; “only after a solid understanding of the theoretical foundation has been established are correct and wise prescriptions possible.” Furthermore, according to Zhu Zhenheng, a study of the Four Confucian Classics was indispensable for capturing the essence of the Neijing. “The subtle principles of the inherent patterns of the cosmos and of the

---

44Zhang Chang 張學, Wuzhong renwu zhi 味中人物志 (1570, rpr. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969), juan 13, pp. 11a-11b. Wang was a native of Kunshan; his son-in-law Shen was also a native of Kunshan.

45As a matter of fact, Lu Xinyuan 陸沁源 stated that Zhao's biographical materials were “untraceable” when he argued that Zhao's book is as important as Cheng Wujì’s 成無己 Shanghain lun zhu 傷寒論著. See Yigu yuanyi 儀原意 (1900, rpr. Taipei: Tailian guofeng, 1970), juan 17, pp. 12b-13a. Lu gave Zhao's name as “Liáng” instead of “Liangren.” Huang Sanyuan was probably puzzled by the different versions of the name and by a mistake made in the Zhongguo lidai mingyi liezhuan 中國歷代名醫列傳 (Taipei: Bade jiaoyu wenhua, 1980), which has separate entries for “Zhao Liangren” and “Zhao Liang,” although the two biographies are identical.

46Zhang Chang, Wuzhong renwu zhi, juan 13, p. 20b, where the name was recorded as Liangshi 良仕. The content of the biographical materials suggests that these materials should belong to one individual. The name “Zhao Liangren” (instead of “Zhao Liang”); see the discussion of Lu Xinyuan's record in preceding footnote) is taken as the correct name because in the genealogy Puyang Zhaoshi zongpu 浦陽趙氏宗譜 a brother Zhao Liangben 本 is listed. It was a strong custom to name brothers in a parallel pattern.

47A Ming copy of this book is available in Shi Yongchang, “Zhenben, shanben ji hanjian yijian fangjì zhi” 珍本、善本及罕見醫籍訪記, Yishi wenxian lilun congkan 醫史文獻理論叢刊, ed. by Liaoning Zhongyi yanjuyuan 辽寧中醫研究院, 1979, no. 3. See also Shanghai Zhongyi zazhi 上海中醫雜志, 1986, 1: pp. 36-38.
nature of human beings are thoroughly explicated only in the Four Books,” Zhu Zhenheng taught, as reported by Zhao Liangren. After three years’ study of fundamental theories, Zhao was invited to join the master in his practice. Two years later, Zhao was allowed to prescribe as a student doctor. Zhu would review and correct his formulas before they were given to patients. Zhao Liangren once said that the essence of Zhu’s scholarship was the philosophical theory of Shao Yong 邵雍.

Zhao considered himself the disciple of Zhu. He edited Zhu’s book and wrote several other books on Zhu Zhenheng’s theory and practice of medicine. His son Zhao You tong 趙友同 (1364-1418, G3, a native of Pujiang, and later a resident of Changzhou 長州, now Suzhou, Jiangsu) became a famous doctor in the same way. He first became a scholar of the classics, and eventually was invited to the Imperial Bureau of Medicine based on his exceptional reputation in clinical practice. 48

Dai Sigong, the third example in the scholarly and professional lineage of Zhu Zhenheng, will be the main topic of the next section. With the two instances discussed in this section, some profound changes are discernible in patterns of the transmission of medical knowledge. All these changes can be regarded as evidence of the establishment of formal master-disciple relations in medicine. First, instead of just “learning from a doctor” as in Liu Wansu's time, the status of the teacher and students was clear to both sides. Students were required to follow rules similar to those honored for centuries by Confucian scholars, and in particular to follow onerous rituals of admission. Zhu Zhenheng was reported to have been refused by Luo Zhidi for “tens of times,” but he remained respectful and would “wait at Luo’s doorway from morning till night without being tired in the slightest.” 49 This story is similar to the famous anecdote of “Standing in the snow at the gate of Cheng Yi” (Cheng men li xue 程門立雪), a model of master-disciple relations of the Song dynasty. 50

Secondly, Zhu Zhenheng’s training of Zhao Liangren was systematic. The student was asked to study theoretical materials first, and was later instructed in practice. This was unlike the way in which Zhu had been taught by Luo Zhidi,

48 Yang Shiqi, “Taiyi yuan yuyi Zhao You tong muzhiming” 太醫院御醫趙友同墓誌銘, Guochao xianzheng lu, juan 78, pp. 36a-b.
49 Chen Ji 陳基, Yibai zhaigao 夷白齋稿 (Siku edition, rpr. Taipei: Shangwu, 1979), juan 19, p. 4a. Zhu Zhenheng wrote a reminiscence of his apprenticeship to Luo; see Danxi xianzheng yizhu sizhong, op. cit., p. 33b.
50 The story of “Cheng men li xue” was popular in Song-Yuan times. Yang Shi 楊時, one of the “four honored students” of the Chens, was extraordinarily respectful to his teacher Cheng Yi 程頤. One day presumably in a discussion before Yang was allowed to enter, the teacher happened to fall asleep. It began to snow. By the time the teacher awoke, more than a foot of snow had accumulated. Throughout this time, Yang Shi waited at his place without a sign of impatience. See the Songshi, juan 428, p. 12738.
who “lay in bed when his pupils were diagnosing, and dictated prescriptions when told symptoms by his pupils.”

Finally, medical doctors by this time were usually Confucian scholars. Wang Lü was a scholar, and so was Zhao Liangren. All the biographers of Zhu Zhenheng emphasized that Zhu was in the first place a Confucian scholar rather than merely a medical doctor. As a matter of fact, Zhu was listed in both the Song Yuan xue’an and the Song Yuan xue’an buyi  宋元學案補遺 as an initiated member of a Confucian lineage.

The Confucian influence upon Zhu Zhenheng was a most conspicuous factor at work in the transmission of medical knowledge.

At this stage in the development of the lineage, a profound redirection had taken place. Luo and Zhu had taken the ideas of a single master, Liu Wansu, and had constructed a syncretic doctrine that went beyond the rivalries of the great Song teachers.

The Ges: A Family of Physicians

Close relationships within an extended family are one of the most important features of Chinese society. Close personal contact among family members and relatives facilitated transmission of a tradition. The history of the Ge 葛 family reveals the role of familial ties in sustaining a medical tradition.

According to a local history, the Ges had been residents of Changzhou 長州 county (now Suzhou, Jiangsu) no later than the early thirteenth century. Ge Sigong 葛思恭 (R1) and his son Ge Congyu 葛從豫 (R2) “both studied

---

51Zhu Zhenheng, Danxi xiansheng yizhu sizhong, p. 33b.
52Zhu was a fellow in the school of Baiyun 白雲, i.e., the school of Xu Qian 許謙, with whom Zhu spent years learning the classics, turning over a new leaf in his life. See the Song Yuan xue’an, juan 87, p. 982. Details of his Confucianism are also quoted in the Song Yuan xue’an buyi (1846, rpr. Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), juan 82, pp. 331-340. Zhu was considered a Confucian scholar by Fang Xiaoru 方孝孺, “Xiaoyou an ji” 孝友庵記, Xunshi tang ji 遜志堂集 (Sibu congkan 四部叢刊 edition), juan 17, p. 411; by Zheng Bo 鄭伯, Jinhua xianda zhuan 金華先達傳 (1428, rpr. Taipei: Yiwen, 1973, Xu Jinhua congshu 續金華叢書 edition), juan 10, p. 8a; in Yuanru kaojie 元儒考略 (Siku edition), juan 4, pp. 10a-11a; and by Hu Han 胡瀚, Hu Zhongji 胡仲子集 (Jinhua congshu 金華叢書 edition), juan 4, pp. 6a-b.
53Li Mingwan 李銘皖, Suzhou fu zhi 蘇州府志 (1883, rpr. Taipei: Chengwen chuban youxian, 1978), juan 109, pp. 12a-b. In other biographical materials of Ge Qiansun 葛乾孫, the native town of the Ge family is given as Pingjiang 平江, or Gusu 姑蘇, in addition to Changzhou which is adopted by the Mingshi, juan 299, p. 7635. In fact, all these were merely different names of Wu 吳 county in different periods of time. All of the three are in Wu county today. For details, see also Zang Lihe 臧勳禾, Zhongguo gujin dining da cidian 中國古今地名大辭典 (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1931), pp. 207, 373, 445.
medicine.” As shown by the epitaph of Ge Yinglei 葛應雷 (R3) (1264-1323), son of Congyu, however, they did not live by their medical skills; instead, they were officials (官).\footnote{Huang Jin 黃綬, Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji 金華黃先生文集 (Jinhua congshu edition), juan 38, p. 7a.} When Ge Yinglei grew up, he tried his hand first at the imperial examinations, but failed to accomplish anything because of political disturbances. He thus “turned to books such as the Lingshu 煉樞 and the Suwen 素問 in the family library.” He became “quite famous” in his practice as he treated his patients “usually in a way fairly different from other doctors.” Just at that time, an official named Li 李,\footnote{Wang Ao, Gusu zhi, juan 56, p. 17b. His title, according to the Wuzhong renwu zhi, juan 13, p. 18a, was “Zhexi panguan” 浙西判官, or “Judge in charge of western Zhejiang.” No detailed description of his position is available.} also known to have been a doctor in north central China, visited Changzhou and happened to discuss medical problems with Ge Yinglei. Li found to his great surprise that “Ge Yinglei’s theories matched without exception the doctrines taught by Liu Wansu. Li thus gave all the books written by Liu Wansu to Ge Yinglei; since then, the scholarship of Liu Wansu became prevalent south of the Yangzi.” Ge Yingze 葛應澤, Yinglei’s younger brother, was nominated for a minor medical post. He believed that the medical service was “the best way to help people.”\footnote{Wuzhong renwu zhi, juan 13, p. 19a; Daoguang Suzhou fu zhi 道光蘇州府志, juan 109, p. 24a.} The most prominent of all the members of the family was Ge Qiansun 葛乾孫 (R5) (1305-1353), the second son of Yinglei. When young, he was quite adept at martial arts and given to chivalrous conduct. Having tried his hand repeatedly at the imperial examinations with no success, Qiansun decided to follow his father’s career as a doctor.\footnote{His biography can be found in the Mingshi, juan 299, p. 7635. As for the examinations, Xu Xian 徐顯, Baishi jizhuan 畢史集傳 (Lidai xiaoshi 歷代小史 ed.), juan 17, pp. 6a-b, has it that Ge Qiansun was treated unfairly in the grading and thus failed to pass. Qiansun was so annoyed that he decided not to try again. According to Xie Yingfang 謝應芳, Guichao gao 龜巢稿 (Sibu congkan ed., rpr. Taipei: Taiwan shangwu, 1959), juan 2, p. 30b, Ge Qiansun did try at least once in the examinations.} He was soon well-known for his unusual therapy. For example, doctors had failed to find the cause of an illness which had left a young lady weak and limp. Qiansun came and ordered that all incense be removed from her bedroom and the lady moved into a cave. A few days later, she recovered. Qiansun explained later to his astonished colleagues that the lady had been poisoned by incense and only with the help of Earth (as one of the five phases) could she recover, hence he had her put in the cave. He also used acupuncture and even psychological therapy in practice. All were reported “wonderfully effective.”\footnote{Liu Ji 羅緒, Feixue lu 霧雪錄 (Gujin shuohai 古今説海 ed.), pp. 15a-b. See also Huang Wei 黃澐, Pengchuang leiji 蓮窗類記 (Fenhanlou mi ji 芬涵樓秘集 ed.), juan 3, p. 26a.}
Ge Qiansun was a close friend of Zhu Zhenheng:

Once Zhu had a female patient in central Zhejiang. After a period of treatment, she was recovering, except for erythema (dandian 丹 點) on her cheeks. Zhu was at the end of his wits and said, “Only Ge Qiansun of Wu county can help. But he is aloof and will not come without my invitation....” Zhu told Qiansun upon his arrival what had happened and introduced the patient to him. Qiansun said that, according to his theory, she could be cured by performing acupuncture on her nipples.... Ge did so and the red spots disappeared immediately.\(^{59}\)

In addition to his practice, Ge Qiansun wrote a book, *Shi yao shenfang* 十 藥 神 方, which was published in 1857, some five centuries after it was written.\(^{60}\) This book presents ten effective prescriptions as promised by its title. The prescriptions are mainly for diseases of the blood, or *xuezheng* 血 症. His principle was to “cool down” the blood: “Blood circulates when warmed up, congeals when cooled down, and is staunched when it encounters blackness.” “Blackness” is a technical term in Chinese traditional medicine. It does not refer simply to the color black or to a black medicine. Instead it refers to a medicine of the Water phase, which is associated with black, even though the color of the medicine may not be black. Ge Qiansun practiced his principle by roasting all herbal medicines over a fire until they were darkened. The prescriptions presented in his book are effective and, moreover, suggestive. Many later doctors spoke highly of them.

Ge Qiansun’s cousin Ge Zhengmeng 葛 正 蒙 took up the profession and named his own clinic in his hometown *Fusheng tang* 復 生 堂, or “Hall of Rebirth,” a proud reference to his medical knowledge and skill. The profession was passed down to later generations until at least the 1530s, that is to say, some two hundred years after Ge Qiansun’s time.\(^{61}\)

Although it was not common for a family to remain prominent in medicine for more than five generations as the Ges were, they were not the only example of an enduring “family tradition.” In the case of Sheng Yin 盛 寅 (1375-1441, H2, a native of Wujiang 吳 江, now Wujian county, Jiangsu) and Dai Sigong, to be discussed in the next section, the “family transmission” of professional


\(^{60}\) Liu Yuan 劉 元, “Ge Kejiu he Shi yao shenshu” 葛 可 久 和 十 藥 神 書, *Zhongyi zazhi* (1956), pp. 612-15. Ge’s book is referred to by some of authors as *shenshu* 神 書, while by some others as *shenfang* 神 方. The following citation is from the “preface” to *Shi yao shenfang* (rpr. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1956), p. ii.

\(^{61}\) Zhang Chang, *Wuzhou renwu zhi*, juan 13, p. 19a, where he reported that “the Ges were still living in the town [where their ancestors had lived],” and were still in the profession. Zhang’s book was published in 1530.
knowledge merits attention. The development of this tradition was encouraged by social perceptions of the medical career. From the late Song dynasty on, military and political disturbances were frequent; the imperial examinations became an unreliable avenue to social prominence. Medical service was gradually accepted as an alternative way to realize the traditional goal of a gentleman, namely to be useful to society. “If you cannot be a good prime minister, you can be a good physician,” a saying attributed to Fan Zhongyan, reflected the rising status of medicine as more members of the elite entered the profession.

At first the transmission was not exclusively to those outside the family. As mentioned above, when Li came to Zhezhong where the Ge family had a reputation in medical service, he was welcomed to discussions with the Ges, although he was a stranger. Later Yinglei was recommended to a professorship in his native province; “many of his students became good doctors.” Ge Qiansun, however, limited his cooperation to a few doctors, such as Zhu Zhenheng. Most of his biographers mentioned that his personality was “gentle and sociable,” or “straightforward and cheerful,” but he did warn the younger generation that his manuscript on the Ten Prescriptions was not to be transmitted to anyone but successors.

Both Ge Yinglei and Ge Qiansun wrote books. The aforementioned Shiyaoshenfang remains useful for doctors even today. The role of books that were not classics in the transmission of medical knowledge was not entirely clear. In a few decades, however, contemporary books became the main instruments for the transmission of medical knowledge, as seen in the cases in the next section.

---

62 In the early years of the Yuan dynasty, the imperial examination system had not been in place for a long time. The disturbances during the transition from the Song or the Jin to the Yuan, and the lack of a proper system for recruiting and promoting officials, spoiled the traditional ideas of and channels leading to a career. See, Yuanshu 元書, 81, pp. 2015-17. For a comprehensive study of the social situation of medical practitioners in the Song and Yuan, see Robert P. Hymes, “Not Quite Gentlemen?”, Chinese Science vol. 8 (1987).

63 Liu Qi quoted Fan Zhongyan in his Shenchuan dunshi ji 神農洞十集. The book is no longer extant but the jotting containing this citation survives and is collected in Guiqian zhi, as juan 13 by Cui Wenyin in the version cited above.

64 Huang Jin, Jinhua Huang xiansheng wenji, juan 38, p. 8b.

65 Xu Xian, Baishi jizhuan, juan 17, p. 6, and also Xu Zhengqing, Yi lin, p. 10.

66 According to Taki Mototane, Zhongguo yiji kao, Ge Yinglei wrote Jingluo shier lun 經絡十二論 (p. 336 in Taki’s book), and Yixue huitong 醫學會同, which no longer exists (p. 866); Ge Qiansun wrote Shi'erjingluo (p. 330) and Yixue qimeng 醫學啓蒙 (p. 907). Shi yao shenshu is also attributed to Ge Qiansun, but with reservations (p. 908).
Dai Sigong and His Students

Zhu Zhenheng's best known student was Dai Sigong 戴思恭 (1324-1405, F3, a native of Wuzhou 婺州, now Wuzhou county, Zhejiang), who later became Imperial Physician to the Hongwu 洪武 emperor.67

Dai Sigong came to know Zhu Zhenheng through his father, Dai Yao 戴').'</p>

Born into a scholar's family, Dai Yao was devoted to helping people. He soon discovered that he could achieve this goal through medicine. He and his son went on foot to visit Zhu Zhenheng, which was supposedly the best way to show their sincere desire to learn from the master.68 They were warmly welcomed by Zhu. Dai Sigong's intelligence was duly recognized by Zhu, who taught him “all he knew.” In addition to Zhu's personal instruction, Dai was alert in inquiring into anything that might be useful to his future career. He was reported to have waited for days in the doorway of a mediocre doctor only to check a word in a prescription the latter had written which sounded unfamiliar to him.69 Before long, Dai Sigong surprised his peers with great success in his practice.

Dai Sigong showed his kinship to Liu Wansu in his practice. For example, a patient felt cold throughout the year, even on the hottest summer day. He had to wear his winter clothes and had to take very hot food, or he would throw up immediately. All other doctors took the symptoms as related to Cold factors. With an analysis based upon Liu Wansu's theory that “the extreme of Fire has the appearance of Water,” Dai Sigong diagnosed his illness as arising from Hot factors. He treated the patient based upon this assumption and cured him. Other cases recorded by Song Lian70 also give evidence of Dai's expertise in purging or xiafa, a therapeutic treatment devised by Zhang Zihe.

Dai Sigong's brother Dai Siwen 戴思温 was also a student of Zhu Zhenheng.71 Sigong's uncle Dai Liang 戴良, a well-known man of letters, penned a number of biographies of contemporary doctors.

---

67Wu Zhiqi 吴之器, Wushu 威書 (1641, microfilm made by the National Library, Taiwan, 1972), juan 5, pp. 40a-40b. A similar story can be found in Wang Ao, Zhenze jiwen 震澤記聞 (Jiuye shanfang huichao 偕月山房集鈔 ed.), juan 1, p. 10b.


69Lu Chen 陸琛, Jintai jiwen 金臺紀聞, juan 2, p. 2b, in Yanshan waifai 偽山外集 (Jilu huibian 記錄彙編 ed.), juan 12.

70Song Lian, Song xueshi wenji, pp. 10a-b. See also Wu Zhiqi, Wushu, p. 39b.

71Puyang daishi zongpu 浦陽戴氏宗譜. The names “Siwen” and “Sigong” were apparently taken from the saying “Wen, liang, gong, jian, rang” 溫良恭儉讓. Based on this assumption, Siwen must have been Sigong's older brother.
Famous as he was, Dai Sigong had disciples of his own. But he did not cater to his pupils as he had been treated by Zhu Zhenheng. When he sojourned in Wuzhong and became well-known for his successful prescribing,

Wang Bin called on him with admiration. Wang was so impressed by Dai ... that he asked right away: “For those of my age, is it possible to study medicine?” “As you have a family tradition in medicine, it would be quite easy.” “But what should I begin with?” Not willing to give advice, Dai said absent-mindedly that “books like Suwen, Nanjing 難 經, and Shanghan lun should be all right.” Years later when they met again, Dai Sigong found with surprise that Wang Bin had mastered the medical classics. Bothered by the idea that one day Wang would grab the reputation as the best doctor of the time, Dai Sigong refused to provide Wang Bin with further medical instruction. Wang was puzzled about how to proceed in his practice. Wang therefore pressured Dai to teach him. Dai said, “I do not want money, but could you honor me as your teacher?” “I am getting old now.” answered Wang Bin, “How can I be humble enough to be a pupil?” One day, Dai happened to leave the house with eight books of notes on his desk. Wang Bin smuggled the books out and ran away. Upon his return, Dai regretted his carelessness. Wang Bin obtained all his learning from them.

This story, though apocryphal, reveals some interesting aspects of the master-disciple relation in the early Ming. Dai Sigong was not willing to teach Wang, not because he was jealous, but because he wanted to be honored as Wang's teacher.

But Wang Bin was not an ordinary man. He was already known as one of the three “eminent gentlemen” (高 士) of his time. He was so aloof from mundane fame and material pursuits that, when the prominent called on him, he either fled or shut his door to them. At that point he went to Dai and asked honestly to learn from him. He was, however, refused by Dai simply because he would not honor him as his teacher. Here the master-disciple relation appears much more serious than it had been in the case of Zhang Zihe and his students. The teacher's books played a new role in the relation now. They not only served as a useful reference for clinical practice, but were regarded as a token of the authenticity of learning.

---

72 Wang Ao, Zhenze jiwen, juan 1, pp. 11a-b.
73 Wang Ao, Zhenze jiwen, juan 1, pp. 11a-b. See also, Wang Ao, Shouxi biji 守 溪 筆 記 (Jilu huibian ed.), pp. 25a-26a; and Yang Xunji 楊 循 吉, Su tan 蘇 談 (Gujin shuobu congshu 古今說部叢書 ed.), p. 3a.
74 Tang Shu 唐 構, Guochen ji 國 禮 集 (Jilu huibian ed.), juan 1, p. 11; Cao Canfang 曹 參 芳, Xunguo zhengqi ji 遜 國 正 氣 集, a Ming copy microfilmed by the National Library of Taiwan, 1970, 5, pp. 6a-6b; Wen Chengmeng 文 成 孟, Gusu mingxian xiaoji 姑 蘇 名 賢 小 記, a late Ming copy [Wen Chengmeng was born in 1574] microfilmed by the National Library of Taiwan, 1969, juan 1, pp. 2b-3b; and Huang Jishui 黃 姬 水, Pingshi zhuan 貧 士 記 (Baoyan tang mi ji 寶 頤 堂 秘 集 ed.), juan 2, pp. 34a-b.
It seems ironic that many of Wang's students earned fame and wealth with their medical skills, though the teacher was said to be indifferent to these things.\textsuperscript{75} Sheng Yin (1370-1436) (H2)\textsuperscript{76} was the one to whom Wang Bin on his deathbed handed down his books. At first Sheng studied classics with Wang Bin. After a while, his uncle reminded him that “Wang has a good reputation for prescribing. Why don't you pay some attention to his practice?” Sheng agreed with his uncle and learned much about therapy. Before long, he became well-known and was summoned by the emperor to the position of the Imperial Physician.\textsuperscript{77}

Sheng Yin had in turn one student, Liu Yu 劉毓 (Jl), who later became Imperial Physician. Many of Sheng's relatives became famous doctors too. His brother Sheng Hong 盛宏, his son Sheng Zhuan 盛遷, his grandsons Sheng Kai 盛愷 and Sheng Kuang 盛曄, and his nephew Sheng Lun 盛倫 were all listed in the local gazetteer for their consummate skills.\textsuperscript{78}

The Influence of Books

In addition to the interpersonal contact discussed in previous sections, medical knowledge was also transmitted in a less visible way, by the distribution of books of the founder of the lineage and his main disciples. At first books were a token of the authenticity of the transmission, as seen in the case of Wang Bin and Dai Sigong, and of Sheng Yin and his students. "Books" in these cases were presumably original manuscripts or copies, because they could hardly play such a role if they were widely available. When the manuscripts were finally printed and became easily accessible to the uninitiated, the function of the masters' writings changed profoundly. They served no longer as an heirloom of the transmission, but merely as a vehicle conveying the theories and clinical experience of the master to "disciples" who got no chance to meet him personally.

Ni Weide 倪維德 (1303-77, Ll, a native of Daliang 大梁, and later resided in Wu county) was among the earliest who claimed a relation with a mas-

\textsuperscript{75}Most of the biographical materials reported his aloofness, but it is difficult to know whether he was really so or only pretended to be so in order to cultivate an exclusive clientele. At least one of his biographers had it that he made such a fortune in his medical practice that his brother was even surprised. See Wang Ao, Zhenze jiwen, p. 11b.

\textsuperscript{76}Qian Fu 錢敷, "Taiyi yuan yuyi tu'ian Sheng gong mubiao" 太醫院御醫退虛公墓表, in Zhu Dazhao 朱大昭, Huangming mingchen muming qian ji 黃明名臣墓銘乾集 (a Ming manuscript transcribed by Lan Ge 藍格, rpr. Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1969), no page numbers.

\textsuperscript{77}Wang Ao, Zhenze jiwen, p. 12a; Shouxi biji, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{78}Wu Zhiqi, Wuzhong renwu zhi, juan 13, p. 28a. Chen Gouxiang 陳藎繤, Wujiang xian zhi 吳江縣志 (1747, rpr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1976), juan 33, pp. 41b-43b.
In some cases, students of medicine had both teachers and books, but the latter usually played a more important role in their training. Hua Shou 滑壽 (1304-86, L2, a native of Yizhen 儀真, now Yizhen county, Jiangsu) was apprenticed in Jingkou 京口, near Nanjing, to Wang Juzhong 王居中. Wang told him that medical knowledge was initiated by Huangdi 黃帝 and Qibo 歧伯, who were, of course, no longer living. Only through their books could a medical student learn from them. Hua Shou accordingly read and made careful notes on the classics from the point of view of both a clinical doctor and a philologist. The teacher spoke highly of his way of studying:

What a superb way of studying! You are obtaining the essence of learning. I adhered too punctiliously to what my teacher said. With your insight, you will achieve mastery through comprehensive study. You are much more advanced than I am.\(^{82}\)

Hua Shou developed his scholarship with the books of Zhang Zhongjing, Liu Wansu, and Li Gao. In a few years, he became one of the most prominent doctors of his time.\(^ {83}\) Lü Fu 呂復 (L3, a native of Yin 鄰, now Ningbo 宁波, Zhejiang) had a similar education. He started his education with the Confucian classics. Concerned for his mother’s health, he tried to learn medicine but was frustrated at having no teacher to help him. Then came the day when he met Zheng Lizi 鄭禮之 during his travels....[Knowing Lü’s difficulties in learning medicine], Zheng said to Lü: “I have old medical books on prescribing and diagnosing. They also discuss prognoses and the limits of doctors’ efforts. These are good books, but I am too old to learn. I would like to give the old

\(^{79}\)Chongzhen Wuxian zhi 崇禎吳縣志, 1642 edition, juan 53, pp. 24a-b.

\(^{80}\)Zhang Chang, Wuzong renwu zhi, juan 13, p. 20.

\(^{81}\)Song Lian, “Gu Ni fujun muzhiming” 故倪府君墓誌銘, Zhiyuan qianji 芝園前集, in Song wenxiangong quanji, juan 25, pp. 5b-6a.


\(^{83}\)Yao Xie 姚燮, Yao Wenminggong yigao 姚文敏公遺稿 (Zhexi cunshe congkan 浙西村舍叢刊 ed.), 8, pp. 23a-24a.
books to you.”... Lü became quite successful after studying these books for about a year.  

For Ni Weide, Hua Shou, and Lü Fu, all famous doctors in their times, the main source of learning was books instead of well-known practitioners. Even the imperial physicians were not exceptions. Jiang Yongwen 蒋用文 (1351-1424, L4, a native of Jurong 句容, now Jurong county, Jiangsu) was one of the most trustworthy physicians of Emperor Chengzu (r. 1360-1424). Generally speaking, his therapeutic theory came from Li Gao and Zhu Zhenheng, but he “did not confine himself to the old prescription doctrines.” According to his biographers, he was virtually self-educated. The military disturbances of the early Ming destroyed his plan of becoming a Confucian scholar. Instead, he returned to his hometown and “built a house in the mountains. He put all his attention and energy into studying the classics and soon understood the essential principles taught by ancient scholars. He turned to learning medicine, comprehended the theories of various lineages, and from them developed an improved theory.” From that time on he practiced with “exceptional effectiveness.” He served as an imperial physician for years. When asked by the emperor to recommend his successor, he gave a name of a nobody, Shen Yiqian 沈以潜, who like Jiang himself had achieved expertise through books.

Many other doctors from that time on learned the theories of either Liu or Zhu through books, and claimed a relation with masters who lived some two hundred years earlier. Zhou Fu 周復 (f1. 1465-87, L5) was a native of Biancheng 濮城 (now Kaifeng, Henan). He was dangerously ill when young. A doctor cured him and introduced him to the medical classics. It took three years for him to copy and study these books. Not satisfied with the medical theories and therapeutic principles of his time, he “looked for and studied the books of Liu, Zhang [Zihe], and Li [Gao], all doctors in the Jin dynasty. These books made him successful in practice.” He Qin 何欽 (L6; his ancestors were natives of Pu 濮, now Puyang 濮陽, Henan; he later moved to Huaiyuan

84 Dai Liang, Jiulingshenfeng ji, juan 18, pp. 4a-b.
85 Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, “Jianggong Yongwen mubiao” 蒋公用文墓表, Dongli wenji 東里文集 (1440, microfilmed by the National Central Library of Taiwan, 1974), juan 16, pp. 20b-22b. See also, Tang Shu, Guochen ji, juan 103, p. 45a. Other materials can be found in Chen Gao 陳鎬, “Jiang Gongqin biezhan” 蔣恭靖別傳, in Guochao xianzheng lu, juan 78, pp. 14b-15a and Chen Ji 陳繼, “Jiang Yongwen zhuan” 蔣用文傳, ibid., pp. 16a-18a.
86 Li Mingwan, Suzhou fu zhi, juan 109, p. 25a. Shen was a native of Wujun 吴郡, now Suzhou, Jiangsu.
87 Liu Feng 劉鳯, Xu Wu xianxian zan 續吳先賢贊 (Jilu huijian ed.), juan 117, pp. 6a-b.
88 Mingshi, juan 299, p. 7638. See also Henan tongzhi 河南通志, with a preface by Zou Shouyu 鄒守愚, dated 1556, juan 71, p. 15a.
Wu Yiyi: Liu Wansu and His Disciples

Li Gao and Zhu Zhenheng were scholars erudite in classics. If you want to be expert in their scholarship, you have to start with the Yi 易 to have an analytic understanding of the nature of change; then read the Yu gong 禹贡 to know the geography of various places; then study prodigiously books of prescriptions. All of your studies will be summed up in the Neijing. Only after you have finished these books, will it be possible for me to discuss medical problems with you.89

Books were not only important in training doctors, but also in augmenting the practice of established scholar-doctors. Sima Long 司馬隆 (L7, a native of Xianning 咸寧, who latter moved to Jiangning 江寧, now Jiangning county, Jiangsu) was an expert on Zhu's books. "He would sit sleeplessly throughout the night meditating on the causes of disorders when a patient's condition was critical."90 Zhou Wenquan 周 文鉞 (L8) had a similar story. When he first turned to medicine, he was upset by the doings of quacks. He gave up all that he had learned, "closed himself up indoors to study the Suwen, Nanjing, and Bencao. After having scrutinized the texts and searched into the subtleties, he responded to the invitations of his patients. His way of treatment reflected those of Zhu [Zhenheng] and Li [Gao]; his achievements were much more prominent than those of his peers."91

In the Qing dynasty books defined the lineages. Xing Zengjie 邢增捷 (L9, a native of Xinchang 新昌, now Yifeng 宜豐, Jiangxi)92 tried his hand first at Confucian scholarship, but without success. He then turned to medicine, studied all the classics and the books of Li Gao and Zhu Zhenheng, and became an excellent doctor. Shi Jiao 施教 (L10)93 made his career in a similar way. He read all the books. "As he spent a lot of time in study, the books became easy to understand."

---

90Mo Xiangzhi 莫祥芝 et al., Tongzhi Shang Jiang liangxian zhi 同治上江兩縣志, 1875 edition, juan 25, pp. 2a-b.
91Li Deng 李登, Shangyuan xian zhi 上元縣志, 1594 edition p. 20.
92Li Bizhao 吉兆光, Xinchang xian zhi 新昌縣志, 1683, juan 4, p. 19a.
93Pei Dazhong 裴大中, Wuxi Jingui xian zhi 無錫金匱縣志 1881 edition, juan 26, pp. 20a-b.
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
<th>Held By</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liu Wansu 劉完素 B</td>
<td>傷寒直格</td>
<td>1373</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rpr. 1457-65</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhu Zhenheng 朱震亨 E1</td>
<td>索問玄機原病式</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>丹溪心法</td>
<td>1482</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>丹溪先生醫書纂要</td>
<td>1484</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>丹溪心法 (Different versions)</td>
<td>1508</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>丹溪心法附餘</td>
<td>1554</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rpr. 1572</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>丹溪手鏡</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhang Zihe 張子和 C1</td>
<td>僧門事親</td>
<td>1541</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dai Sigong 戴思恭 F3</td>
<td>推求師意</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Gao 李杲</td>
<td>處方用藥指掌珍珠囊</td>
<td>1468</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>此事難知</td>
<td>1592</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1. Beijing Library, Beijing 北京圖書館
2. Shoudu (Capital) Library, Beijing 首都圖書館
3. Zhongyang (Central) Library, Taipei 中央圖書館
4. Library of Imperial Household, Tokyo, Japan 宮內省圖書案

With books doctors could go far in interpreting the theories of the masters. The biography of Zhou Wenhan 周文翰 (L11, a native of Yushan 玉山, now Yushan, Jiangxi), for example, has it that he was so convincing in his diagnoses that "he was called the orthodox heir to Liu and Zhang [Zihe], and was said to have obtained all their essentials."94 It is not surprising that the books of the masters came to be more and more important from the early Ming on. The masters had long since passed away; it was not even easy to find their immediate disciples and to study with them. On the other hand, the private printing and aggressive promotion of sales of books began to flourish around this time. Table 1 lists a few of the most important books of the pai and bibliographic information.

Thus early in the 1500s many books were published, and were accessible during the Xuande 宣德 era (1426-35), that is to say during the time of Jiang Yongwen, Shen Yiqian, and Zhou Fu. This proliferation of printed medical

94 Wu Huachen 吳華辰 et al., Yushan xian zhi 玉山縣志 (1873, rpr. Taipei: Chengwen, 1975), juan 8, pp. 47b-48a.
books accounts for their growing importance in the transmission of knowledge.95

When knowledge was mainly handed down in a master-disciple pattern, students had to have personal contact with the teacher. Since means of transportation were limited at the time, most students came from nearby. Map 1 shows where Zhu Zhenheng's students worked and lived.

The places where the leading masters taught were located around Hangzhou. This is to be expected. The influence of the masters could not reach far beyond its original place when person-to-person transmission dominated. As the main means of transmission, books changed the geographical distribution. Table 2 and Map 2 give geographical distribution of the places where the doctors discussed in the later phase of the lineage worked or lived.

The geographical distribution is extensive. This phenomenon can be explained by the mode of propagation of this kind of knowledge. Books gave people from all parts of the country access to medical doctrines.

One more characteristic is that doctors who acquired their knowledge through reading did not tend to confine themselves to one author or to one group of authors. Instead, they studied comprehensively all available authors. Several reasons are conceivable. First, doctors in this group were usually experienced in practice when they turned to books for more knowledge or better doctrines. Second, initiation into a lineage required a formal, ritual commitment to transmit a set of teachings faithfully. Those who learned what they knew by reading were not so bound. Third, different interpretations of the master's doctrines developed during the long transmission. Only those in the direct line of initiation would be expected to adhere rigidly to any one of these teachings. As a matter of fact, late in the Ming and early in the Qing, few medical practitioners called themselves disciples or students of Liu Wansu, though they might well refer to the Master as one of the sources of their scholarship.

95 The price of the books might have limited their dissemination. A complete set of the Xiaochu ji 小畜集, the collection of Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954-1001), a well-known Song scholar, cost about 5,000 pieces of cash [see Ye Dehui 葉德輝, Shulin qinghua 書林清話 (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1957), juan 6, p. 144], but one decalitre of rice cost 100-150 [see Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, “Bei Song wujia de biandong” 北宋物價的變動, Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo yanjiu jikan 歷史語言研究所研究集刊, 1943: 11, p. 337f]. But this information has only limited meaning for the present study because a) after some hundreds of years, the price of books should presumably fall, b) the price of rice varied from year to year and place to place, and c) the authors did not include poor families.
Map 1: Geographical distribution of the doctors discussed in previous sections. Based on Tan Qixiang 譚其驊, Zhongguo lishi ditu ji, vol. 6 (Beijing: Ditu chubanshe, 1978).

E1 Zhu Zhenheng  
F4 Zhao Liangren  
G2 Wang Bin  
R1 Ge Sigong  
R4 Ge Yingze

F1 Wang Lu  
F6 Xiang Xin  
H1 Sheng Zhongshi  
R2 Ge Congyu  
R5 Ge Qiansun

F3 Dai Sigong  
G1 Wang Bocheng  
H2 Sheng Yin  
R3 Ge Yinglei
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Places Lived/Worked</th>
<th>Corresponding Modern Places</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>倪維德 L1</td>
<td>吳縣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>滑壽 L2</td>
<td>儀真</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>呂復 L3</td>
<td>鄞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蔣用文 L4</td>
<td>魏徙句容</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>祝仲寧*</td>
<td>四明</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>周溥 L5</td>
<td>汴城</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>何欽 L6</td>
<td>濱</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>司馬隆 L7</td>
<td>江寧</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>周文翰 L11</td>
<td>玉山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>鄭愷*</td>
<td>禹城</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>施敬 L10</td>
<td>無錫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>邢增捷 L9</td>
<td>新昌</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>程式*</td>
<td>南城</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>姚起鳳*</td>
<td>儀真</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>余紹寧*</td>
<td>新城</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not discussed in this article

Conclusion

The transmission and dissemination of Liu's theories during the 12th-15th centuries did not depend on a single mechanism but on at least four. In the period when the principles and the theories were taking shape, relations among doctors tended to resemble those of a group of friends. The mode of transmission evolved as the lineage grew. By the time of Zhu Zhenheng, a formal master-disciple relation had become important. The connection was tight and concrete; disciples gained their knowledge mostly by face-to-face teaching. The most promising or favorite student would be likely to receive some manuscripts, so that he could carry on the master's theory; at the same time, books served also as a token of authentic transmission. In order to enhance and to carry forward the master's scholarship, and to demonstrate their position as successors, the students would have the materials published.
Parallel to the master-disciple relationship, there was family or clan transmission. This mode reflected one of the essential elements of Chinese culture. In addition to being members of different generations or branches of a family, the individuals were also teachers and students. In the elite families of late imperial China, it was considered bad practice for fathers to be their sons' teachers, but this was not true of artisan traditions. The strong family relationship reinforced the teaching relation, and those from "outside" were often refused
access to the knowledge. When books came to be the main means of transmission, interpretations of Liu Wansu's theories underwent a sizable change and intermingled with teachings of other masters. In the strict and technical sense, no exclusive descendants could be identified after a transmission of more than two hundred years. This is the normal ending of a lineage: the master-disciple relation faded out as its doctrines were subtly woven into comprehensive knowledge.

96Although medical books and collections of prescriptions appeared as early as the Tang, extant biographies of medical practitioners give the impression that books did not play a leading role in the transmission of learning until the Ming.

---

International Symposium on Guilio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649), Missionary in China

October 19 to 24, 1994
Brescia (Italy)

The Fondazione Civiltá Bresciana announces an international symposium on Guilio Aleni S.J., to be held in Brescia from October 19 to October 24, 1994. Among the topics to be discussed are the European and Chinese historical setting during Aleni's lifetime, Aleni's humanistic and religious works, his missionary activity, and his scientific enterprises in the fields of geography, cartography, geometry, and astronomy.

Enquiries for further information and for details about submitting papers should be addressed via mail or fax to:

Secretary's Office—Aleni Symposium
Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana
Vicolo S. Giuseppe, 5
25122 Bresci, Italy

Fax: 0039-30-3774365