Ge Hong and the Making of an Emergency Medicine Formulary

Sean T. Bradley

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Reading Committee:

David R. Knechtges, Chair

Zev Handel

John Hamm

Richard Salomon

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Abstract

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Sean T. Bradley

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor David R. Knechtges
Department of Asian Languages and Literature

The *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (Emergency formulas to keep on hand) was compiled in the fourth century by the Daoist, alchemist, and scholar, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343) under the name *Zhouhou jiucu* 肘後救卒 ([Formulas for] resuscitation to keep on hand). Since its creation, the text has undergone numerous changes, updates, expansions, and revisions at the hands of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), Yang Yongdao 楊用道 (fl. 1144), and other unnamed editors. As the text grew and changed, it became intertwined in the vast network of formularies that exist in Chinese medicine. Over the course of fifteen hundred years the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, expanded and contracted until it was incorporated into the *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong period) published in 1445, as the *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang* 葛仙翁肘後備

急方 (Old Immortal Ge Hong's Emergency formulas to keep on hand) which contains nearly two thousand formulas. By tracing the history of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and its relationship to other works found in the genre of medical formularies, we can better understand the development and importance of this text, but also how formularies in general, grow, change, and influence each other as they transmit medical knowledge across generations.

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INTRODUCTION

In the fourth century, Daoist, alchemist, and scholar, Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343),[1] collected an enormous volume of medical knowledge that he compiled into a comprehensive formulary of medical treatments. He trimmed this vast collection down to a practical and usable text that after years of expansion, contraction, editing and commenting, exists today as the *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (Emergency formulas to keep on hand).

The *Zhouhou beiji fang* was thrust into the limelight in the world of modern medicine in recent years. In 2015, Tu Youyou 屠呦呦 of the Chinese Academy of Sciences in Beijing won the Nobel prize in Physiology or Medicine. Four years prior she won the Lasker-DeBakey Clinical Medical Research Award. Her discovery was a groundbreaking new anti-malarial drug, artemisinin (*qinghaosu* 青蒿素). She credits one of Ge Hong's formulas as her inspiration for developing this new and effective drug that has saved the lives of millions.[2] The specific line in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* she references is:

> 又方：青蒿一握以水二升漬絞取汁盡服之。

[1] More on Ge Hong's dates will be discussed in chapter 2.

[2] Tu Youyou 屠呦呦, "The discovery of artemisinin (qinghaosu) and gifts from Chinese medicine," *Nature Medicine* 17.10 (2011): 1217–1220.

Another method: soak one handful of *qinghao* using two *sheng* of water. Wring it out, and completely drink the juice.[3]

While extracts from the herb *qinghao* have been investigated for some time, its effectiveness against the symptoms of malaria were mild. The processing of the herb through a cold extraction that resembles the method Ge Hong uses became a decisive factor in creating this life-saving medicine.[4]

The text has also been cited and explored as the medical practice of fecal microbiota transplantation shows positive results for a variety of conditions.[5] The use of feces in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* has induced speculation that these old formulas that have been deemed outdated, unsanitary, or just plain gross, may have some actual merit and should possibly be explored. This has renewed interest from modern medicine in a very old formulary and formulas that are oftentimes overlooked.

I stumbled upon the *Zhouhou beiji fang* before I heard of these discoveries while I was doing research on the drug myrrh (*Commiphora myrrha* (Nees) Engl.). I became intrigued when I thought I found a reference to myrrh in a line from this fourth century emergency medicine text

[3] *Sheng* is a unit of liquid measurement. The exact amount varied during different dynasties. Depending on when this section was written, the amount could have varied between 200 and 600 ml. For a summary of these changes see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual. Cambridge* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 555–556. *Zhouhou beiji fang*, 3.531b.

[4] Elisabeth Hsu, "Reflections on the 'discovery' of the antimalarial qinghao," *British Journal of Clinical Pharmacology* 61.6 (2006): 666–670.

[5] Loek P. Smits, Kristien E.C. Bouter, Willem M. DeVos, Thomas J. Borody, and Max Nieuwdorp, "Therapeutic Potential of Fecal Microbiota Transplantation," *Gastroenterology* 145 (2013): 946–953.

that I had never heard of. While traveling in China, I made my way to the Capital Medical University Library 首都醫科大學圖書館. When I flipped through their edition of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*,[6] I realized that the line I was interested in was from a later commentary. Though I did not find the reference to myrrh that I was hoping for, this did make me aware of the complexity in the creation of formularies such as this and I found my interest sparked to learn more about this early Chinese medicine text on emergency medicine.

Though I began my formal study in Chinese medicine in 2003, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* was not familiar to me. My studies had focused on the primary canon of texts such as the *Huangdi nei jing* 黃帝內經 (Huangdi's Inner canon), the *Nan jing* 難經 (Canon of difficulties), and the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Treatise on cold disorders). Though we discussed other early texts, the formulary texts used were compilations by Western scholars such as Dan Bensky and Randall Barolet, and John and Tina Chen.[7] These compilations provided excellent translations of formulas that specified applications and plant identifications relevant to practicing alongside Western medicine. As textbooks, they consolidated and blended the vast collection of texts that were used to create them. With resources such as these, and a vast amount of material to learn and apply in clinical settings, rarely did discussions reach back into antiquity when studying formulas except in connection with the *Shanghan lun*, or with a theoretical connection to the *Huangdi nei jing*.

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[6] This was a 1794 edition. More on editions will be discussed in chapter 3.

[7] Two major English language formularies have been used to teach Chinese medicine in the West. See Dan Bensky and Randell Barolet, *Chinese Herbal Medicine: Formulas and Strategies* (Seattle: Eastland Press, 1990) and John K. Chen and Tina T. Chen, *Chinese Herbal Formulas and Applications* (Los Angeles: Art of Medicine Press, 2008).

Learning more about the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and its history and content, set me on a path unintended but exciting. Though Tu Youyou put this text into the world spotlight, scholarship on the *Zhouhou beiji fang* in the West was, and remains, sparse. In China, more information is available every year, including editions from nearly every publisher who prints works on Chinese medicine. Unfortunately, with this explosion in popularity, much of the information about the *Zhouhou beiji fang* that is available is incorrect or incomplete.

In the centuries that passed from the creation of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* by Ge Hong in the fourth century until now, a history stretching over 1500 years, much has changed. Things are vastly different, in the world and history in general, but also the history of medicine, advances in treatment and practices, drug identification, and much more. The text itself has also changed, and not just a little. It has been edited, expanded, and commented on, leading to an unknown number of modifications to whatever initial information Ge Hong had compiled.

By looking deeply at the surviving text, its prefaces, organization, and formulas, and exploring its connections to other medical texts, we can better understand how formularies, as vessels of information, carry ancient medicine from generation to generation, changing and developing to maintain their usefulness over time.

ORGANIZATION

This study is divided into three parts. The first two chapters provide the background. Chapter one introduces formularies in general and elaborates on their place in Chinese medicine. Chapter two gives a biography of the original compiler Ge Hong. The second two chapters elaborate on the condition of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Chapter three traces the history of the text

and chapter four describes its organization and content. The final two chapters detail the formation of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and its connection to formularies in general. Chapter five closely inspects the major prefaces to investigate how its compilers created the complex collection of formulas. Chapter six looks across the texts of Chinese medicine to better understand the position of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* in the broader context of formularies and Chinese medical literature.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

I have consulted several editions of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and these editions are listed in the bibliography. As all of these surviving texts are based on the *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang* 葛仙翁肘後備急方 (Old Immortal Ge Hong's Emergency formulas to keep on hand) found in the *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (Daoist Canon of the Zhengtong period),[8] this is the text that is used for translation and when portions of the text are cited in the notes. Citations from the *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang* list *juan* number and page numbers. For the two sections before the *juan* numbering in this edition, *xu* 序 for preface and *mulu* 目錄 for the table of contents are given in *pinyin* before the page number from that section. The volume (55) and page number of the *Zhengtong daozang* is also given in parentheses for ease of locating passages. In places where other editions are used, it is also cited.

In several places related passages are compared. Red font is used to clearly mark the character differences between the texts.

[8] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang* 葛仙翁肘後備急方, in *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (1995; rpt. Taipei: Xin wen feng chuban gongsi, 2007). For more see chapter 3.

Several Chinese terms are left untranslated. *Zi* 字, is a style name, courtesy name, or cognomen given to an individual upon reaching adulthood, and is often used by non-family members. This is contrasted to *ming* 名 which is an individuals personal birth name. *Hao* 號 is an art name or pen name that scholars and authors gave to themselves. The *hao* that Ge Hong used was *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master who embraces simplicity).

Drug names have been rendered in *pinyin* deliberately. Most practitioners of Chinese medicine are more familiar with these names, and using common English names is often innacurate. An appendix of major drugs used in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is included that references botanical names as accurately as possible. An exception to this is in chapter six where *cong* 葱 is translated as "scallion." This was done for ease of readability where multiple similar lines are translated.

PART 1: BACKGROUND

CHAPTER 1 – THE FORMULARY

Formulary (方書 *fang shu*) is a genre of Chinese medical literature comprised of medical formulas or recipes (方 *fang* or 方劑 *fang ji*). These formulas are often drug remedies that utilize herbs, minerals, animal products, utensils, and human products. The drugs are listed with their weights and proportions, along with dosage, and oftentimes, expected outcomes. In addition to drug remedies, formulas may also be directions and protocols for performing moxibustion, acupuncture, incantations, rituals, or other non-drug procedures.

FORMULAS, RECIPES, AND PRESCRIPTIONS

Formulas, prescriptions, and recipes are overlapping terms that are often used interchangeably when talking about pharmaceutical preparations. There are distinctions between these concepts however, and by clarifying these terms we can better understand how these procedures and the texts that contain them have shaped Chinese medicine.

The modern English usage of the word recipe almost always refers to culinary recipes and the instructions for preparing food. The original meaning though, comes from French *récipé* derived from Latin *recipe*, meaning “take,” which is the imperative singular form of the verb

recipere meaning, "to take."[9] This early use referred to medical prescriptions, and only later referred to preparing food. This medical meaning survives today at the top of a physician's prescription pad where its abbreviation Rx. can be found.

While colloquially the term "recipe" no longer carries its medical meaning, it is commonly used in discussions on pharmaceutical literature in the West.[10] While the term "recipe" is more common in academic circles and does refer accurately to these preparations, the term formula is better established in the Chinese medical tradition.

Formula, comes from the Latin *formula*, meaning "a set form of words," the diminutive for *forma* meaning "form" or "shape."[11] This "set of words" in a medical sense lists out the ingredients, amounts, and dose for a given medicine. As these ingredients are combined, they are formulated into remedies for patients.

With the continuing use of Chinese medicine today, many of these formulas, or those similar and related to them, are still prescribed, and used by physicians and their patients. In addition, many of the procedures and protocols in the Chinese medicine formulary texts are not comprised of drugs, but are rather, moxibustion, acupuncture, ritual, or manual treatment protocols. As a living tradition, this persistent practice sets itself apart from purely academic exploration. These formulations are not foodstuffs (though there is some overlap), but rather drugs and protocols that are used for their medicinal qualities. This specificity necessitates

[9] C.T. Onions, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), 745.

[10] One example of major collaboration exploring recipes as a genre is *The Recipes Project* at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science.

[11] Onions, 371.

clarification, and while the definition of recipe may suffice in academic circles, formula seems to be a more appropriate term for Chinese medicine.

In addition to recipes and formulas, there are also prescriptions. Marta Hanson and Gianna Pomato divide formulas and prescriptions neatly stating:

> Most remarkable for comparative purposes is the bifurcation of pharmaceutical knowledge into two distinct genres—the recipe-formula and the recipe-prescription—that we find both in the Chinese and the Western medical traditions. What distinguishes formula from prescription? In a nutshell: the formula contains the standard way of preparing a medication—that is, its recipe as laid down by an authoritative text. The prescription, in contrast, is a medication for an actual patient, usually contained within a practitioner's case records.[12]

Both prescriptions and formulas provide a significant amount of information for the study of medicine and make up distinct categories in Chinese medical literature.[13] Prescriptions are

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[12] Marta Hanson and Gianna Pomato, "Medical Formulas and Experiential Knowledge in the Seventeenth-Century Epistemic Exchange between China and Europe." *Isis* 108.1, (2017): 1–25.

[13] Examples of prescriptions can be found in the so called *yi'an* 醫案 (case statements) that survive in various forms in Chinese literature. Initially referred to as *zhenji* 診籍 (consultation records), early examples are found in the histories of famous physicians such as Chunyu Yi 淳于意 (205–150 BCE) in the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian) and Hua Tuo 華佗 (145? – 208) in the *Wei shu* 魏書 (History of Wei) section of the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Record of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han). See Chunyu Yi's biography in the *Shiji* 史記 (1959; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 105.2794, and Hua Tuo's in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 29.799–803, and *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 82.2736–41. For an overview of case statements as a genre and the prescriptions contained therein see Christopher Cullen, "Yi'an (case statements): the origins of a genre of Chinese medical literature," *Innovation in Chinese Medicine*, ed. Elisabeth Hsu (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 297–323 and also Gianna

found in the numerous case statements that exist in Chinese medical literature. While it is likely that many formulas are born from proven and effective prescriptions and are then passed down as general treatment protocols, the case statements containing prescriptions exist outside of the formularies.

CATEGORIES OF MEDICAL LITERATURE

Formularies are one of the major categories of literature in Chinese medicine that sit alongside other major genres such as *yijing* 醫經 (medical canon) and *bencao* 本草 (*materia medica*). Canons, formularies and *materia medica* are consistently recognized categories of medical literature in Chinese medicine, but there is little agreement among scholars regarding the overall organization of Chinese medical literature.

During the period of late antiquity (third century BCE–third century CE), Marta Hanson identifies eight major categories of medical works.[14] These categories are:

1) Formularies (方 *fang*)

Pomata, "The medical case narrative: distant reading of an epistemic genre," *Literature and Medicine* 32 (2014), 1–23.

[14] Marta Hanson summarizes the eight categories in her article on metaphors in Chinese medicine texts. I have modified some of her category names. See Marta Hanson, "From under the elbow to pointing to the palm: Chinese metaphors for learning medicine by the book (fourth-fourteenth centuries)," *BJHS Themes*, (2020): 1–18. Hanson states that these categories are drawn from the previous study on medical literature, Vivenne Lo 羅維前 and Li Jianmin 李建民, "Manuscripts, received texts and the healing arts," in *China's Early Empires: A Re-appraisal*, eds., Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 367–97.

2) Monographs (書 *shu*)

3) Treatises (論 *lun*)

4) Consultation records (診籍 *zhenji*)

5) Methods (法 *fa*)

6) Interdictions (禁 *jin*)

7) Teachings (道 *dao*)

8) Canons (經 *jing*)

The earliest bibliographical organization of medical genres appears in the Han dynasty 漢代 (206 BCE–220 CE). In the "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 (Monograph on the Classics and Letters) of the *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Han), Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE) lists four categories dedicated to medical texts under the section "Fangji" 方技 (Formulas and techniques).[15] These categories are *yijing*, *jingfang* 經方 (canonical formularies), *fangzhong* 房中 (arts of the bedchamber), and *shenxian* 神僊 ([the arts of] divine immortals).[16] The first two categories become regular fixtures in the medical classification systems that develop over time.

[15] The "Yiwen zhi" 藝文志 (Monograph on the Classics and Letters) is a bibliography found in the *Han shu* 漢書 compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE). Ban Gu, whose *zi* was Mengjian 孟堅, was a historian and scholar during the Later Han dynasty 後漢 (25–220). For the "Yiwen zhi" see *Han shu* 漢書 (1962; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), 30.1701–84. For more information see Michael Hunter, "The 'Yiwen zhi' 藝文志 (Treatise on Arts and Letters) Bibliography in Its Own Context," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 138:4 (2018): 763–780

[16] *Han shu*, 30.1776–80. Donald Harper points out that the earlier section of the "Yiwenzhi," the section "Shushu" 數術 (Calculations and arts), also contains texts that would be important to physicians and there is likely some overlap in medical literature of the period. See Donald

In modern classification the *Zhongguo zhongyi guji zongmu* 中國中醫古籍總目, a comprehensive catalog of Chinese medical texts, editions, and locations, Xue Qinglu 薛清錄 lists twelve major categories for Chinese medical works. These categories are:

1) Medical canons (醫經 *yijing*)
2) Basic theory (基礎理論 *jichu lilun*)
3) *Shanghan* and *Jingui* studies (傷寒金匱 *shanghan jingui*)[17]
4) Diagnostic methods (診法 *zhenfa*)
5) Acupuncture, moxibustion, and tuina (針灸推拿 *zhenjiu tuina*)
6) *Materia medica* (本草 *bencao*)
7) Formularies (方書 *fang shu*)
8) Clinical specialties (臨證各科 *linzheng geke*)
9) Nurturing life (養生 yangsheng)
10) Medical records, discussions, and treatises (醫案醫話醫論 *yi'an yihua yilun*)
11) Medical history (醫史 *yi shi*)

Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1998), 45–55.

[17] This category refers to studies on two major medical works, the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Treatise on cold disorders) and the *Jingui yaolüe* 金匱要略 (Summary of the essentials from Golden coffers), attributed to Zhang Ji 張機 (ca. 150–219), and based on his larger volume, the *Shanghan za bing lun* 傷寒雜病論 (Treatise on cold disorders and miscellaneous diseases). See Catherine Despeux, "Shanghan lun 傷寒論," in *Early Medieval Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide,* eds. C. L. Chennault, et al. (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 2015), 258–63.

12) Comprehensive works (綜合性著作 *zonghexing zhuzuo*) [18]

The *Zhongguo yi ji da cidian* 中國醫籍大辭典, edited by Qiu Peiran 裘沛然 lists twenty-two categories in the enormous work that contains over 23,000 texts from antiquity until the late 1990s.[19] Many of the divisions are similar to those listed by Xue Qinglu, but Qiu Peiran divides the clinical specialties into eight distinct categories such as pediatrics (兒科 *erke*), gynecology (婦科 *fuke*), and traumatology (傷科 *shangke*), separates acupuncture and moxibustion from *tuina*, and adds a final miscellaneous section. These further divisions are likely to account for the thousands of modern texts that are included in this reference work.

Paul Unschuld is much more concise in his approach and divides Chinese medical literature into only three main genres: 1) medical theory, 2) prescriptions, and 3) pharmaceutical literature.[20] The second and third genres correspond to formularies and *materia medica* respectively.

While Unschuld's categories at first seem to oversimplify the Chinese medical literature genres, in doing so, he addresses a problem in both Xue Qinglu and Qiu Peiran's divisions. Many of the texts in Chinese medicine straddle one or more of these genres or do not fall clearly

[18] Xue Qinglu 薛清錄, *Zhongguo zhongyi guji zongmu* 中國中醫古籍總目 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2007), 1.

[19] The *Zhongguo yi ji da cidian* was comprehensive project that involved over 300 scholars and over 23,000 texts. Since it has been nearly twenty years since the publication of this two-volume work, there are two major updates needed for this reference: archeological discoveries and publications after 2000. Qiu Peiran 裘沛然, ed., *Zhongguo yi ji da cidian* 中國醫籍大辭典 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 2002).

[20] Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 2.

into one or another. To put it plainly, the reason formularies and *materia medica* fall into consistent categories is because nearly all of them contain *fang* or *bencao* in their titles. Other texts offer less clarity, and their placement is much more subjective. Many texts contain at least some theory and diagnostics, and while there are some works such as *Furen daquan liang fang* 婦人大全良方 (Complete good prescriptions for women) by Chen Ziming 陳自明 (1190–1270) published in 1237 devoted to gynecology and *Xian shou lishang xuduan mifang* 仙授理傷續斷秘方 (The Immortal's instructions on formulas for mending injuries and fractures) by Lin Daoren 藺道人 (790–850) published between 841 and 846 for the treatment of injuries, that are devoted to clinic specialties, many texts cover a wide range of illnesses and injuries.

Compilations such as *Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖惠方 (Formulas of benevolent sages of the Taiping period) compiled by Wang Huaiyin 王懷隱 and his team including, Wang Yu 王祐, Zheng Qi 鄭奇,and Chen Zhaoyu 陳照遇, commissioned under Emperor Taizong 太宗 (598–649)[21] in 978 and completed in 992, and *Taiping huimin heji jufang* 太平惠民和劑局方 (Formulas of the Bureau of Medicines of the Taiping period) published by the Imperial Medical Bureau 太醫局 in 1078 were large undertakings that included formulas to treat a variety of ailments.

There are similar divisions in Western medicine where according to historian Henry E. Sigerist (1891–1957), there were four primary types of pharmaceutical medical literature. 1. Materia medica; 2. Collections of recipes; 3. Hermeneumata; 4. Treatises on weights and

[21] Emperor Taizong, whose given name was Li Shimin 李世民, ruled from 626–649.

measures.[22] The categorization of pharmaceutical literature expanded during the Middle Ages in the West as well. Historian and Silk Road scholar Alain Touwaide also notes that though Central Asian cultures such as the Byzantine and the Islamic world preserved these categories, they too were influenced and expanded to include additional types of works.[23]

These divisions in Western medicine closely correspond to those listed by Unschuld. It is important to point out that that both Sigerist and Unschuld were primarily concerned with pharmaceuticals and these divisions may be more expansive when considering the wider range of medical practices. What is clear though, is that formulas are considered a major category of medical literature not only in Chinese medicine, but also in other medical systems around the world.

SHARED TRADITION

There are examples of formulas in nearly all major medical traditions, with several of them occupying prestigious positions in the history of medical development and practice in those traditions. While there are examples of stand-alone formularies, many of the ancient medical texts are more comprehensive works that include formularies, but also include additional information on medical theory, *materia medica*, and other topics.

[22] Henry E. Sigerist, "The Latin Medical Literature of the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 13 (1958): 127–46.

[23] Alain Touwaide, "Pharmaceutical Literature," *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms Methods Trends*, ed. Albrecht Classen. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), vol 3, 1979–2000.

In Indian medical literature, the three primary classical texts with dates ranging from the 6th century BCE to 12th century CE; *Caraka saṃhitā* चरक संहिता, *Suśruta saṃhitā* सुश्रुत संहिता, and *Aṣṭāṅga saṃgraha* अष्टाङ्ग संग्रह, all contain formulas. These three works are the cornerstone of Ayurvedic medicine, containing theory, diagnostics, *materia medica*, and dietetics in addition to numerous formulas.[24] With significant trade along the Silk Road, many shared herbs, drugs, and even formulas can be found in Chinese texts as time goes on.

Ancient Babylonian cuneiform tablets recorded formulas in a variety of forms. One unique feature, where individual formulas were copied between texts sometimes for completely different situations makes it challenging to clarify the specificity of treatments but has preserved numerous formulas across cuneiform tablets that date as far back as the second millennium BCE.[25] The formularies are comprised of individual formulas that sometimes are found across multiple tablets and may point to common source texts.[26] Babylonian medicine would later influence other traditions such as Islamic medicine. [27]

There are a number of formularies from the Islamic world, most notably the *Al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* القانون في الطب (Canon of medicine) by Ibn Sina **ابن سينا** (c. 980–1037).[28] This extensive

[24] For a comprehensive overview of these three texts and Indian medicine in general see G. J. Meulenbeld, *A History of Indian Medical Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1999.)

[25] Markham J. Geller, *Ancient Babylonian Medicine: Theory and Practice* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 1–27, 97.

[26] Geller, 98–99.

[27] Martin Levey and Noury Al-khaledy. *The Medical Formulary of Al-Samarquandī: and the Relation of Early Arabic Simples to Those Found in the Indigenous Medicine of the Near East and India* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 28–30.

[28] Ibn Sina, known as Avicenna in the West, was a Persian physician and astronomer whose writings influenced the medical world for centuries and continue to have resounding effects even

work contains volumes on: 1) general medicine and theory, 2) *materia medica*, 3) special pathology, 4) special diseases, and 5) formulary.[29] The fifth volume is a complete formulary that lists over 650 remedies that he draws from a variety of Arabic, Indian and Greek sources. This text traveled extensively, especially during the Mongol, Yuan dynasty 元代 (1271–1368).

The Chinese formulary, *Hui hui yao fang* 回回藥方 (Muslim medicinal formulary), compiled in the thirteenth century, draws a significant amount of information from Avicenna's work and contains formulas with herb names listed in the Arabic script alongside Chinese transcriptions and transliterations.[30] Unfortunately, only about 15% of the work survives, but its influence can be seen in medicine throughout Asia.

Islamic medicine and its influence on Chinese medicine made its way to Japan by the 13th century. This can be seen in the work of the physician and Buddhist priest, Kajiwara Shōzen 梶原性全 (1265–1337) who was moved by Song dynasty 宋代 (960–1279) texts that were incorporated into the medical knowledge of Japan. Kajiwara Shōzen wrote two works that survive today, the *Ton'ishō* 頓醫抄 (Summary of the simple physician), and the *Ma'anpo* 万安方 (Formulas for Myriad relief). The *Ton'ishō* is a general medical text written in Japanese and

today. He was a prolific author, with nearly 250 writings surviving with his *Canon of medicine* being arguably the most influential.

[29] For a complete study and translation, see Avicenna (Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sīnā), *The Canon of Medicine* (*Al-Qānūn fī'al-Ṭibb*), ed. Laleh Bakhtiar (Chicago: Great Books of the Islamic World, 1999–2014).

[30] For a complete study and translation of the *Hui hui yao fang*, see Paul D. Buell and Eugene N. Anderson, *Arabic Medicine in China: Tradition, Innovation, and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 2021). For more information about drugs used in see also Y.C. Kong, et al., "A Botanical and Pharmacognostic Account of Hui Hui Yao Fang, The Islamic Formulary," *Hamdard medicus* 31.1 (1988): 3.

intended for the masses. The *Ma'anpo* is an extensive and detailed medical formulary that contains fifty chapters and over 3,100 formulas.[31]

Al-Samarquandī السمرقندي (d. 1222),[32] a Persian physician from Samarquand, also wrote an important formulary, *Aqrābadhīn* القراباذين that connected Islamic formularies to other regions such as the Near East and India utilizing many common herbs.[33] The earlier physician Al-Kindī الكندي (c. 801–873)[34] also wrote a formulary titled *Aqrābadhīn*, that has connections to early Greek medicine.[35] Al-Kindī also wrote a text, *at-Tibb al-Buqrati* (The Medicine of Hippocrates). These and several additional formularies compiled from the tenth to twelfth centuries are influential in the transmission of Islamic formulary knowledge.[36]

Formularies and documentation of formulas in other medical works exist in Egyptian, Byzantine, Greek, European, Tibetan, and various other traditions.[37] While many of these cultures had contact and traded drugs, knowledge, and medical ideas along the Silk Road, many

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[31] For a comprehensive study on Kajiwara Shōzen and his works, see Andrew Edmund Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan: Buddhist Healing, Chinese Knowledge, Islamic Formulas, and Wounds of War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), xiii–xix.

[32] Al-Samarquandī's full name is Najib al-Din al-Samarquandi نجيب الدين السمرقندي .

[33] Levey, 13–47.

[34] Al-Kindī's full name is Abu Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn 'Isḥāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الصبّاح الكندي .

[35] See Michael Abbell, "Medicine: Dietetics and Pharmacology," *Food Culture and Health in Pre-Modern Muslim Societies,* ed. David Waines (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 201–267.

[36] Levey, 21. For more on Islamic medicine, see Peter E. Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2007).

[37] There are several excellent studies on each of these traditions. For Greek and Byzantine medicine see the *Medicine in the Medieval Mediterranean* series, in particular, Alain Touwaide, *A Census of Greek Medical Manuscripts: Byzantium to the Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 2016), and David Bennett, *Medicine and Pharmacy in Byzantine Hospitals: A study of the extant formularies* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

also seem to have developed independently, with local herbs and unique medical theories. What is surprising is that when it comes to prescribing drugs to patients and writing formulas, they show remarkable similarities in their structure.

CHINESE FORMULARIES

As seen above, the formulary in Chinese medicine stretches back to some of the earliest documented texts. While the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is often listed as the earliest surviving received text, discoveries of formularies at Mawangdui, Dunhuang, and others predate Ge Hong's work by centuries. The *Wushi'er bing fang* 五十二病方 (Formulas for fifty-two ailments) discovered at Mawangdui contains portions of the text that date from c. 215 BCE and others from between ca. 205–195 BCE. The *Wushi'er bing fang* contains 283 formulas and the total collection of formulas found at Mawangdui across the five texts that include formulas contains over 425.

Formulas can be found in nearly all types of medical texts in Chinese medicine, and formulary texts as a specific genre make up a significant portion of the overall body of Chinese medical literature. There is a wide variety to the format of these texts, but the formularies of Chinese medicine can be largely broken into three categories: 1) compendium formularies, 2) categorical formularies, and 3) lineage formularies. These can also be broken down into smaller categories.[38]

[38] As with any classification system, there is significant overlap between categories. There are several "Categorical formularies" that follow family lineages. I have listed them under the category heading in most instances. One example of overlapping categories are the texts by the Xue 薛 and Zheng 鄭 families concerning gynecology. A clear textual example is the *Xue shi ji yang wanjin shu* 薛氏濟陽萬金書 by Xue Xin 薛辛, whose *zi* was Jiangshi 將仕 (fl. 1265–1279). While the text is about the methodology of the Xue family, the topic deals solely with women's health and is therefore put in the category section. The importance of family lineage is

1. COMPENDIUM FORMULARIES

The first category of formulas are the "Compendium formularies." These are collections of formulas that cover a wide range of illnesses, diseases, and injuries that are typically collected from a broad selection of sources. There are largely two types of "Compendium formularies": 1) "Physician formularies" and 2) "Formularies for the masses."

The "Physician formularies" are the state sponsored formularies that cover a large number of diseases listing numerous treatments from various sources. This includes texts such as the *Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖惠方, which lists nearly 17,000 formulas in 100 *juan*.[39]

The "Formulas for the masses" are texts that were designed to be used by laypersons and not necessarily physicians. Ge Hong's *Zhouhou beiji fang* can fall into this category. Below are examples of major formularies that fall into these two categories:

1A. PHYSICIAN FORMULARIES

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Beiji qian jin yao fang	備急千金要方	Essential formulas for	Sun Simiao 孫思邈[40]	652

a little more complicated in that an earlier ancestor of Xue Xin is Xue Xuan 薛軒, whose *zi* was Zhong'ang 仲昂, (fl. 1165) whose son-in-law was Zheng Chunfu 鄭春敷 (fl. 1165). Xue Xuan and Zheng Chunfu both authored texts on women's health and Xue Xin later wrote texts referring both to the Xue family and also the Zheng family. See Qiu Peiran, 833–4.

[39] Qiu Peiran, 385.

[40] Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581–682?) was a prolific writer and physician from Huayuan 華原 in Jingzhao 京兆 (in modern Shaanxi 陝西).

		emergencies worth a thousand pieces of gold		
Qian jin fang	千金方	Formulas worth one thousand pieces of gold	Sun Simiao	652
Qian jin yi fang	千金翼方	Supplemental formulas worth one thousand pieces of gold	Sun Simiao	682
Waitai mi yao	外台祕要	Arcane essentials from the outer censorate	Wang Tao 王燾[41]	752
Jijiu xian fang[42]	急救仙方	Emergency formulas from the immortals	unknown	959
Ishinpō	醫心方 いしんぽう	Formulas at the heart of medicine	Tanba no Yasuyori	982

[41] Wang Tao 王燾 (c. 670–755) was a physician from Mei 鄠 (in modern Shaan xi 陕西), who served as the taige 臺閣 (Censorate minister) during the Tang dynasty.

[42] *Jijiu xian fang*, also known as the *Jiuji xian fang* 救急仙方, was written in the Northern Song dynasty 北宋 (960–1127) and while it is best known for gynecology, there are formulas on internal medicine, pediatrics, trauma, and more.

			丹波康賴[43]	
Taiping shenghui fang[44]	太平聖惠方	Formulas of benevolent sages from the Taiping era	Wang Huaiyin[45]	992
Taiping huimin heji jufang	太平惠民和劑局方	Formulas of the Bureau of Medicines of the Taiping era	Imperial Medical Bureau 太醫局	1078
Aheuichaulyo bang[46]	御醫撮要方 어의촬요방	Essential Formulas of Imperial Physicians	Choi Chongjoon 崔宗峻 최종준	1226

[43] Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康賴 (912–955) was a physician in the Japanese court.

[44] The 100 *juan Taiping shenghui fang* was compiled by Wang Huaiyin and his team under the direction of Emperor Song Taizong 宋太宗 (939–960) beginning in the Taiping xingguo 太平興國 period (976–984) and completed in 992, during the Chunhua 淳化 period (990–994).

[45] Wang Huaiyin 王懷隱 (925–997) was a Song dynasty physician and scholar from Ciyang 雌陽 (in modern Henan 河南).

[46] While this text has been lost, it has been reproduced using the extensive *Uibang yuchwi* 醫方類聚 and also *Hyangyak jipsungbang* 鄕藥集成方 and *Boonmoon onyuk yihaebang* 分門瘟易解方. See Ang Sang-woo 안상우 and Choi Hwan-soo 최환수, "Aheuichaulyo siljeon-uiseoui bog-won 御醫撮要 - 실전의서의 복원," *Korean journal of oriental medicine* 4.1 (1998): 1–25.

Yu yao yuan fang[47]	御藥院方	Formulas of the Imperial Academy of Medicines	Xu Guozhen 許國楨[48]	1267

1B. FORMULARIES FOR THE MASSES

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Wushi'er bing fang[49]	五十二病方	52 Formulas for ailments	unknown	Between 219-195 BCE
Zhouhou beiji fang	肘後備急方	Emergency formulas to keep on hand	Ge Hong	Fourth century
Kinranhou	金蘭方 きんらんほう	Formulas of golden refuge	Sugawara Minetsugu 菅原岑嗣[50]	868

[47] *Yu yao yuan fang* is a compilation of formulas used in the Song Imperial Pharmacy that was commissioned by Kublai Khan. See *Yu yao yuan fang* 御藥院方 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1992), 2–3.

[48] Xu Guozhen 許國楨 (1208–1283), whose *zi* is Jinzhi 進之, was a physician and author during the Yuan dynasty.

[49] For a complete study and translation, see Donald Harper, 221–304.

[50] Sugawara Minetsugu 菅原岑嗣 (793–870) was a physician and scholar from Sakyo 左京.

Kaiyuan Guangji fang	開元廣濟方	Formulas for widespread aid from the Kaiyuan period	unknown[51]	723
Zhenyuan Guangli fang	貞元廣利方	Formulas for widespread benefit from the Zhenyuan period	unknown[52]	796

2. CATEGORICAL FORMULARIES

Specialization in medicine and a shift from general practice to treating specific injuries, ailments, or populations is another aspect of medicine that has a long history. One of the first areas of specialization was gynecology and obstetrics, and some of the best-known formularies are of this type. Song Dynasty authors such as Chen Ziming and Xue Xin wrote multiple texts on the subject of women's health, and both of their formulas have influenced modern practice. Other areas of early specialization include trauma and external medicine, internal medicine, and pediatrics.

[51] Though the author or compiler is unknown, this was compiled under the direction of Li Longji 李隆基 (685–762), Emperor Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗, during the Kaiyuan 開元 period (713–741).

[52] This was compiled under the direction of Li Kuo 李适 (742–805), Emperor Tang Dezong 唐德宗, during the Zhenyuan 貞元 period (785–805).

2A. FORMULARIES FOR WOMEN'S HEALTH

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Jing xiao chan bao	經效產寶	Effective treasure of obstetrics	Zan Yin 昝殷[53]	847-860
Chan yu bao qing ji[54]	產育寶慶集	Treasured and celebrated collection for obstetrics	Guo Jizhong 郭稽中[55]	1109
Kunyuan shi bao	坤元是保	Correctly preserving births of the myriad things	Xue Xuan 薛軒[56]	1165
Nuke ji yang yao yu wanjin fang	女科濟陽要語萬金方	Formulas for women's health from Ji Yang essential words	Zheng Chunfu 鄭春敷[57]	1165

[53] Zan Yin 昝殷 (fl. 847–860), also called Zan Shang 昝商 was from Chengdu 成都 where he held an official medical appointment from 847–860. Zhou Ting 周頲 edited this text in 897.

[54] *Chan yu bao qing ji* was an expansion to an earlier texts called *Chan lun* 產論 (Treatise on childbearing) written by Li Shisheng 李師聖.

[55] Guo Jizhong 郭稽中 (fl. twelfth century), was a teacher and physician known for his work on women's health.

[56]Xue Xuan, whose *zi* was Zhong'ang 仲昂 was an expert in gynecology and obstetrics during the Southern Song dynasty.

[57] Zheng Chunfu 鄭春敷 was a Southern Song dynasty physician who was well known for his work in gynecology.

		worth 10,000 pieces of gold		
Wei sheng jia bao chanke fang[58]	衛生家寶產科方	Obstetric formulas for protecting life, treasured by the family	Zhu Duanzhang 朱端章[59]	1184
Chan bao zalu	產寶雜錄	Miscellaneous Treasures of Gynecology	Qi Zhongfu 齊仲甫[60]	c. 1220[61]
Furen daquan liang fang[62]	婦人大全良方	Complete collection of good	Chen Ziming 陳自明[63]	1237

[58] This formulary is one of several compiled by Zhu Duanzhang. A general formulary *Wei sheng jia bao fang* 衛生家寶方 (Formulas for protecting life, treasured by the family) was also compiled by Zhu Duanzhang but later expanded by Xu Anguo 徐安國 in 1184. The list of his various formularies can be found in the "Yiwen zhi" of the *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 107.5317

[59] Zhu Duanzhang 朱端章 (fl. 1174–1189) was a Southern Song official from Changle 長樂 (in modern Fujian 福建).

[60] Qi Zhongfu 齊仲甫 (1195–1224) was a Southern Song physician who taught at the Imperial academy and is best known for his work, *Nuke bai wen* 女科百問 (One hundred questions on women's health) that was published in 1220.

[61] Though written by Qi Zhongfu, the *Chan bao zalu* was not published until 1279.

[62] Another name for this text is the *Fu ren liang fang* 婦人良方 (Good formulas for women). It is possible that these are two separate works.

[63] Chen Ziming, whose *zi* was Liangfu 良甫 (良父), was a physician during the Southern Song dynasty who compiled several texts on women's health.

		formulas for women		
Nuke cuo yao[64]	女科撮要	Gathered essentials for women's health	Chen Ziming	c. 1237
Nuke wanjin fang	女科萬金方	Formulas for women's health worth ten thousand pieces of gold	Xue Xin 薛辛[65]	1265
Xue shi ji yang wanjin shu	薛氏濟陽萬金書	Mr. Xue's writings from Jiyang worth ten thousand piercs of gold	Xue Xin	1265
Jia zhuan chan hou gejue zhi yan lu	家傳產後歌訣治驗錄	Record of well-known verses for postpartum treatments from experience	Xue Xin	1279

[64] While this text is attributed to Chen Ziming, Ming dynasty physician, Xue Ji 薛己 (1487–1559) whose *zi* was Xinfu 新甫, revised and published it in 1529.

[65] Xue Xin 薛辛, whose *zi* was Jiangshi 將仕, was an ancestor of Xue Xuan who carried the family lineage and wrote extensively on treatments for women's health. Xue Xin was a prolific writer on women's health and obstetrics. Two additional influential texts attributed to Xue Xin are *Yufeng Zheng shi nuke michuan* 玉峰鄭氏女科秘傳 (Secret transmission on women's health from the Mr. Zheng at the Jade Peak) and *Fuke taichan wenda yaozhi* 婦科胎產問答要旨 (Questions and answers on the main points of gynecology and childbirth).

Chan bao zhu fang	產寶諸方	Treasured various formulas on childbirth	unknown	1279

2B. INTERNAL MEDICINE FORMULARIES

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Jiaoqi zhifa zong yao	腳氣治法總要	Complete essentials of foot *qi* treatment methods	Dong Ji 董汲[66]	1078-1093
San xiao lun	三消論	Treatise on the three dispersing beverages	Liu Wansu 劉完素[67]	After 1200
Nei wai shang bian huo lun	內外傷辨惑論	Treatise of distinguishing	Li Gao 李杲[68]	1231

[66] Dong Ji 董汲 (fl. 1078–1093), whose zi was Jizhi 及之, was a physician during the Northern Song dynasty.

[67] Liu Wansu 劉完素 (1120–1200) whose *zi* was Shouzhen 守真, was a famous medical expert during the Jin dynasty 金朝 (1115–1234) who published many major medical texts. The *Sanxiao fang* was published after his death.

[68] Li Gao 李杲 (1180–1251) whose zi is Mingzhi 明之, was a physician from Zhending 真定 (modern Zhengding 正定 in Hebei 河北). He was a prolific writer, best known for his *Pi wei lun* 脾胃輪 (Treatise on the spleen and stomach) and *Yixue faming* 醫學發明 (Elucidations of medical study), and is often referred to by his *hao* 號, Dongyuan 東垣 in medical circles.

		confused internal and external injuries		
Pi wei lun	脾胃論	Treatise on the spleen and stomach	Li Gao	1249

2C. PEDIATRIC FORMULARIES

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Lu xin jing	顱囟經	Canon of skull fontanels	unknown	5 dynasties
Dong shi xiao'er ban zhen beiji fang lun	董氏小兒斑疹備急方論	Mr. Dong's treatise on emergency formulas for pediatric rashes	Dong Ji	1093
Xiao er yao zheng zhi jue[69]	小兒藥証直訣	Straightforward instructions for using medicine to treat disease signs in children	Qian Yi 錢乙[70]	1119

[69] The text is attributed to Qian Yi 錢乙 (c. 1032–1113). When he passed away the son of a friend, Yan Xiaozhong 閻孝忠 ,(fl. twelfth century) completed the work. See Zheng, 360.

[70] Qian Yi, whose *zi* was Zhongyan 仲陽, was a Northern Song physician who was famous for his work in pediatrics.

Yan shi xiao'er fang lun	閻氏小兒方論	Mr. Yan's treatise on pediatric formulas	Yan Xiaozhong 閻孝忠[71]	1119
Youyou xin shu[72]	幼幼新書	New text on pediatrics	Liu Fang 劉昉[73]	1150
Wenren shi douzhen lun	聞人氏痘疹論	Mr. Wenren's Treatise on pox [diseases]	Wenren Gui 聞人規[74]	1232
Ban lun cui ying[75]	瘢論萃英	Treatise on smallpox collected from outstanding individuals	Wang Haogu 王好古[76]	1237

[71] Yan Xiaozhong, also known as Yan Jizhong 閻季忠, whose *zi* was Ziqin 資欽, was a Northern Song scholar known for his writings on pediatrics.

[72] The text was compiled by Liu Fang 劉昉 (d. 1150), but after his death the text was revised and completed by Lou Shou 樓璹.

[73] Liu Fang, whose *zi* is Fangming 方明, was a scholar from Chaoyang 潮陽 (modern Guangdong 廣東) who earned his *jinshi* degree in 1124.

[74] Wenren Gui 聞人規 (fl. thirteenth century), whose *zi* was Boyuan 伯圜, was a Southern Song physician from Zuili 携李 (in modern Zhejiang 浙江).

[75] This text contains treatments for smallpox papules. See Zheng Jinsheng, Nalini Kirk, Paul D. Buell, and Paul U. Unschuld, *Dictionary of the Ben Cao Gang Mu Volume III: Persons and Literary* Sources (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 33.

[76] Wang Haogu 王好古 (fl. thirteenth century), whose *zi* was Jinzhi 進之, was a physician and author from Zhaozhou 趙州 (in modern Hebei 河北). He was a student of Li Gao.

Xiao'er bing yuan fang lun[77]	小兒病源方論	Treatise on formulas for treating the origin of childhood diseases	Chen Wenzhong 陳文中[78]	1254
Xiao'er douzhen fang lun[79]	小兒痘疹方論	Treatise on formulas for childhood pox	Chen Wenzhong	1254
Renzhai zhi zhi xiao'er fang lun[80]	仁齋直指小兒方論	Straightforward treatise on Renzhai's pediatric formulas	Yang Shiying 楊士瀛[81]	1264

[77] This text was also called *Chen shi xiao'er bing yuan fang lun* 陳氏小兒病源方論.

[78] Chen Wenzhong 陳文中 (fl. mid-thirteenth century), whose *zi* was Wenxiu 文秀, was a physician during the Song and Jin dynasties. He is best known for his work in pediatrics and dermatology.

[79] This text was also called *Chen shi xiao'er douzhen fang lun* 陳氏小兒痘疹方論.

[80] *Renzhai xiao'er fang* 仁齋小兒方, and *Ying er zhi yao* 嬰兒指要 are two other names for this text.

[81] Yang Shiying 楊士瀛 (fl. thirteenth century), whose *zi* was Dengfu 登父 and *hao* was Renzhai 仁齋, was a physician from the Southern Song 南宋 (1127–1279) who wrote several formularies that attempted to simplify formulas and their explanations.

2D. External medicine Formularies

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Liu Juanzi gui wei fang[82]	劉涓子鬼遺方	Formulas bestowed by spirits handed down to Liu Juanzi	Liu Juanzi 劉涓子[83]	442
Waike jing yao	外科精要	Essential essence of external medicine	Chen Ziming	1263

2E. Emergency medicine Formularies

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Feng xuan fang	風眩方	Formulas for dizziness	Xu Sibo 徐嗣伯[84]	c. 480-502

[82] Legend states that the *Liu Juanzi gui wei fang*, also known as the *Gui wei fang* 鬼遺方, was comprised of formulas passed down to Liu Juanzi from the ghost of Huangfu 黃父. See Zheng et. al, 295.

[83] Liu Juanzi 劉涓子 (c. fourth-fifth centuries), was a physician during the Jin dynasty. The text was edited by Gong Qingyuan 龔慶宣. See *Sui shu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 34.1045.

[84] Xu Sibo 徐嗣伯 (fifth century), whose *zi* was Shushao 叔紹, was a physician in the Southern Qi 齊 dynasty (479–502). He was the younger brother of Xu Wenbo 徐文伯 (fifth century) whose *zi* was Dexiu 德秀, who was also a well-known physician. See *Nan shi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), 32.838–840.

Xian shou lishang xuduan mifang	仙授理傷續斷秘方	The Immortal's instructions on formulas for mending injuries and fractures	Lin Daoren 藺道人[85]	841-846
Shi yi xin jing	食醫心鏡	The heart's mirror of diet therapy	Zan Yin	847-860

3. PHYSICIAN AND FAMILY FORMULARIES

Since antiquity, famous physicians have long been admired for their adeptness in diagnosis and treatment. Schools developed under the name of some of these physicians, but also around the texts that they wrote. Arguably, the most famous of these physicians is Zhang Ji and the texts attributed to him.[86]

While some of these texts delve deeply into a practitioner's methodology and complete systems develop from a particular text such as is the case with Zhang Ji's *Shanghan za bing lun* 傷寒雜病論 (Treatise on cold disorders and miscellaneous diseases), others are merely family collections of formulas. These were either compiled by famous physicians or their family

[85] Lin Daoren, from Chang'an 長安 (modern Xi'an 西安), was a Daoist monk during the Tang dynasty who was known for his abilities in treating trauma.

[86] While there are hundreds of texts that expound on Zhang Ji's original text, they are not included in this study.

members and often emphasize that the formulas have been tested and confirmed to be valuable by these particular physicians or lineages.

Name	Chinese	English	Authors	Dates
Shanghan za bing lun	傷寒雜病論	Instructions on cold damage and miscellaneous diseases	Zhang Ji 張機[87]	between 150-219
Hua Tuo shen yi mi chuan	華陀神異秘傳	Miraculous secret transmission of Hua Tuo	Sun Simiao	682
Su Shen liang fang	蘇瀋良方	Good formulas of Su and Shen	Shen Gua 沈括[88] and Su Shi 蘇軾[89]	between 1047 and 1085

[87] Zhang Ji, who is more commonly referred to by his *zi*, Zhongjing 仲景, was a famous Han dynasty physician from Nanyang 南陽 (in modern Henan 河南). Numerous commentaries, texts, and even schools have developed around his original works.

[88] Shen Gua 沈括 (1031–1095), whose *zi* was Cunzhong 存中, was a Northern Song physician from Qiantang 錢瑭 (modern Hangzhou 杭州). Held a post at the Hanlin 翰林 Academy which earned him the name, Shen Neihan 扰内翰, and is better known as the author of the extensive *Mengxi bitan* 夢溪筆談 (Essays of the dream pool).

[89] Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), whose *zi* was Zizhan 子瞻, was a Northern Song poet, scholar, calligrapher, and minister from Meizhou 眉州 (in modern Sichuan 四川). He served as the minister of rites and served in various other government posts. He also held a post at the Hanlin Academy which earned him the name, Su Neihan 蘇内翰.

Shi zai zhi fang	史載之方	Shi Zaizhi's formulas	Shi Kan 史堪[90]	1085
Xia Ziyi qi ji fang[91]	夏子益奇疾方	Xia Ziyi's Formulas for strange diseases	Xia De 夏德[92]	between 1127 and 1279
Hongshi ji yan fang	洪氏集驗方	Mr. Hong's collected and tested formulas	Hong Zun 洪遵[93]	1170
Yang shi jia cang fang	楊氏家藏方	Mr. Yang's formulas from the family storehouse	Yang Tan 楊倓[94]	1178
Shi zhai baiyi xuan fang	是齋百一選方	101 Selected formulas of Shi Zhai	Wang Qiu	1196

[90] Shi Kan 史堪 (fl. eleventh and twelfth centuries), whose *zi* was Zaizhi 載之, was a Confucian scholar also from Meizhou.

[91] Also known as the *Qi ji fang* 奇疾方, as the name suggests, Xia De discusses 38 strange diseases and their treatments in this text.

[92] Xia De 夏德 (fl. twelfth and thirteenth centuries), whose *zi* was Ziyi 子益, was a Southern Song physician who published several medical texts.

[93] Hong Zun 洪遵 (1120–1174), whose *zi* was Jingyan 景嚴, was a scholar and studied medicine. He held several major posts and also served at the Hanlin Academy. His younger brother was the well-known scholar and literatus, Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202).

[94] Yang Tan 楊倓 (c. 1120–1185), whose *zi* was Zijing 子靖, was an official from Guoxian 崞縣 (in modern Shanxi 山西), who compiled formulas that were passed down within his family.

			王璆[95]	
Wei shi jia cang fang	魏氏家藏方	Mr. Wei's formulas from the family storehouse	Wei Xian 魏峴[96]	1227
Yan shi ji sheng fang	嚴氏濟生方	Mr. Yan's formulas to benefit one's life	Yan Yonghe 嚴用和[97]	1253
Lei bian Zhu shi jiyan yi fang	類編朱氏集驗醫方	Mr. Zhu's compilation of collected and proven medical formulas	Zhu Zuo 朱佐[98]	1265 (1266)

[95] Wang Qiu 王璆 (fl. 1189–1197), whose *zi* was Mengyu 孟玉 and *hao* was Shizhai 是齋, was a scholar who studied medicine and organized his family recipes from Shanyin 山陰 (modern Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang).

[96] Wei Xian 魏峴 (c. 1180–1250). Little is known about Wei Xian other than his connection with this collection of formulas.

[97] Yan Yonghe 嚴用和 (c. 1206–1268), whose *zi* was Zili 子禮, was a famous physician during the Southern Song who is credited with creating many new formulas for treating a wide variety of ailments.

[98] Zhu Zuo 朱佐 (thirteenth century), whose zi was Junfu 君輔, was a physician from Xianglu 湘麓 (in modern Hunan 湖南).

THE FORMULARY

The categories and selections discussed above provide a broad overview of many formularies found in Chinese medicine. It is clear though that these divisions are not absolute, and many texts can easily fit into multiple categories. The *Zhouhou beiji fang* is one example that can fit into all three major categories: 1) It is a compendium that was written for general distribution. 2) It is an emergency medicine formulary with most formulas intended for urgent situations. 3) Its initial author, Ge Hong, carefully selected formulas, and over centuries his formulary was passed down, edited, and expanded with his method kept in mind.

CHAPTER 2 – THE OLD IMMORTAL GE HONG

While the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is attributed to Ge Hong, he is better known for his works on Daoist immortality and alchemical practices. His most recognized texts, *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Master who embraces simplicity) and *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳 (Biographies of divine transcendents) dive deep into alchemy, immortality, and elixirs, demonstrating Ge Hong's keen interest in the practices that became the foundations of Daoism.[99] Due to their relationship with Daoism, both works have been studied extensively throughout history with numerous commentaries and discussions about their content and development. They clearly exemplify Ge Hong's familiarity with alchemy and his broad knowledge of herbal elixirs, but very little has been explored about Ge Hong's other areas of expertise, most notably, medicine.[100] This lack of

[99] Several brief biographies of Ge Hong can be found in David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang (eds.), *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide Part One* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 269–272, Zhou Jiarong 周佳榮, *Zhongguo yixue shi cidian* 中國醫學史辭典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 123, Fabrizio Pregadio, "*Ge Hong* 葛洪," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 442–43, and Romain Graziani and Julie Gary, "Ge Hong," in François Martin and Damien Chaussende, ed. *Dictionnaire biographique du haut moyen àge chinois* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2020), 177–80. More extensive biographies can be found in Lu Yang 盧央, *Ge Hong pingzhuan* 葛洪評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2006), Ch'en Fei-lung 陳飛龍, *Ge Hong zhi wenlun ji qi shengping* 葛洪之文論及其生平 (Taipei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1980), and Zheng Quan 鄭全. *Ge Hong yanjiu* 葛洪研究 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2010).

[100] There are several studies on Ge Hong and medicine in Chinese, but there is very little in other languages. See Chen Zurong 沈祖荣, "Ge Hong yu zhong guo kao chuantong zhong yao xue 葛

material has left a void of reliable information on Ge Hong and his development of additional texts including the *Zhouhou beiji fang*.

By looking at Ge Hong's life and career we can establish a better understanding of who he was and his connection to the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Understanding his life experiences and how his various other writings and career trajectories tie into medicine, allow for informed speculation as to how Ge Hong compiled a treasure trove of medical formulas.

Most of what is known about Ge Hong comes from two primary sources; his biography in the *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin), compiled by court officials under the direction of Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578–648) and published in 648,[101] and an autobiography as a postface in *juan* fifty of his *Baopuzi wai pian* 抱朴子外篇 (Outer writings by the Master who embraces simplicity).[102] These two sources along with numerous personal accounts in his *Baopuzi nei pian* 抱朴子內篇 (Inner writings by the Master who embraces simplicity), give a significant amount of insight into Ge Hong's life though they are not without controversy and occasional contradictions. The *Jin shu* provides a brief introduction:

洪與中國傳統中藥學" and Feng Dingguo 馮定國, "Ge Hong de yi xue chengjiu 葛洪的醫學成就," in *Ge Hong yanjiu erji* (Wuhan: Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 121–35.

[101] See *Jin shu* 晉書 (1974; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2020), 72.1910–4.

[102] See *Baopuzi waipian jiaojian* 抱朴子外篇校箋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 50:644–722. There are also two complete English translations of this autobiography. See James R. Ware, *Alchemy, Medicine & Religion in the China of A.D.320 The Nei Pien of Ko Hung* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 6–21, and Jay Sailey, *The Master Who Embraces Simplicity*. *A Study of the Philosopher Ko Hung A.D. 283–343* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1978), 242–72. Mathew Wells also has two publications on Ge Hong's autobiography. See Matthew Wells, "Self as Historical Artifact: Ge Hong and Early Chinese Autobiographical Writing," *Early Medieval China* 9 (2003): 71–103; *To Die and Not Decay: Autobiography and the Pursuit of Immortality in Early China*. Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 2009.

葛洪，字稚川，丹陽句容人也。祖系，吳大鴻臚。父悌，吳平後入晉，為邵陵太守。

Ge Hong, whose style name (*zi*) was Zhichuan 稚川, was a man from Jurong 句容, Danyang 丹陽 commandery.[103] His grandfather, [Ge] Xi 系 was the Chamberlain for Dependencies[104] for Wu 吳. His father, [Ge] Ti 悌, entered Jin 晉 as the governor of Shaoling 邵陵[105] after the pacification of Wu.[106]

EARLY YEARS

Ge Hong was the third son of Ge Ti, and his father was quite old when Ge Hong was born. According to his autobiography, his parents spoiled him because of this, and he didn't receive a strict education when he was a child. When he was thirteen, his father passed away. He laments losing his paternal guidance, and the difficulties he endured following his passing. He took on considerable responsibility for his family. In his autobiography in the *Baopuzi wai pian*, he writes:

[103] Danyang 丹陽 commandry was located in modern Zhenjiang 鎮江 in Jiangsu 江蘇 province.

[104] See Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 466.

[105] Shaoling 邵陵 is modern, Shaoyang 邵陽, Hunan 湖南.

[106] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

夙失庭訓，飢寒困瘁，躬執耕穡，承星履草，密勿疇襲。

At an early age he lost paternal instruction and council, and he became worn down by hunger and cold. He personally took charge of planting and harvesting. Under the stars, he trod the grassland.[107] He exerted himself in cultivating the fields.[108]

Even with these hardships, Ge Hong was curious and diligently pursued his studies. He was dedicated and despite the challenges made progress in his work. According to the *Jin shu*:

洪少好學，家貧，躬自伐薪以貿紙筆，夜輒寫書誦習，遂以儒學知名。

When [Ge] Hong was young, he enjoyed studying. His family was poor, so on his own, he cut firewood in order to buy paper and brushes. At night he often copied books and recited them, and from this became well-known for his scholarly learning.[109]

[107] This refers to Ge Hong personally doing the work and following the growing seasons for agriculture.

[108] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.653.

[109] This scholarly learning refers specifically to his knowledge of the Ruist 儒 Classics. *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

Though his circumstances were less than ideal, he persevered and developed a reputation as a young scholar. He reiterates his dedication to learning in the *Baopuzi wai pian* where he emphasizes his delicate work-life balance by adding:

> 益破功日伐薪以給紙筆，就營田園處，以柴火寫書。坐此之故，不得早涉藝文。常乏紙，每所寫，反覆有字，人鮮能讀也。
>
> He increasingly spent daily work hours to cut firewood in order to provide himself with paper and brushes. [By day] he worked in the fields and gardens and by a brushwood fire, at night, would copy books.
>
> For all these reasons, he did not pour into the Classics and belles lettres early [in life]. Because he often lacked paper, he wrote everywhere. Covering it on both sides with characters, few people could read it.[110]

While he met hardships early in life, Ge Hong persisted and continued to broaden his learning and further his studies despite harsh circumstances. Since his resources were limited though, he needed to seek outside assistance to further his knowledge. As he became older, he became a noted bibliophile who traveled extensively in search of texts and strange writings. He also aggressively pursued teachers and attempted to learn as much as possible from those willing to share with him.

[110] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.653.

TEXTS AND TEACHERS

When Ge Hong was young, he had a strong thirst for knowledge. Though he is self-critical at times calling himself dull, unfocused, and claiming that he has a poor memory, he nevertheless was relentless in his pursuit of information and understanding. His family had lost nearly everything, so he was forced to venture out and pursue his studies. In the *Baopuzi wai pian* he recounts:

> 又累遭兵火，先人典籍蕩盡。農隙之暇無所讀，乃負笈徒步行借。
>
> Furthermore, he frequently encountered the flames of war. His late father's books and texts were completely ravaged so he had nothing to read during the leisure of the quiet agricultural season. Then, with a small satchel, he traveled on foot to borrow [books].[111]

Ge Hong traveled far and did not let obstacles stand in his way when he was pursuing the texts that were the object of his desire. The *Jin shu* biography relates his dedication to this pursuit stating:

[111] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.653.

時或尋書問義，不遠數千里崎嶇冒涉，期於必得，遂究覽典籍，尤好神仙導養之法。

Sometimes, when seeking texts and inquiring about propriety, thought nothing of traveling several thousand *li*,[112] pushing through rugged mountain paths and bravely fording rivers with the goal that he must obtain them. From this he thoroughly investigated the ancient books and texts. He was particularly fond of methods of guiding and cultivating of divine transcendents.[113]

His search continued throughout his life, and he seemed to take every opportunity to continue to explore vast writings to expand his learning. In 303 he was appointed the leader of the local militia to assist with local rebellions. Between 291 and 306, a power struggle was raging within the imperial family and violence spread across the country. The period, known as the "Rebellion of the Eight Kings" 八王之亂 or the "Chaos of the Yongjia reign-period" 永嘉之亂 led to instability of the Western Jin dynasty 西晉 (265–316) and eventually caused its collapse. Taking advantage of the chaos, warlord Zhang Chang 張長 (d. 304) rebelled against the Jin dynasty regime and began expanding his territory across Northern Hubei 湖北. One of his generals was Shi Bing 石冰 (d. 304), who attacked the areas near Ge Hong's home but was

[112] 不遠數千里 "to think nothing of traveling several thousand *li*," is taken from the first line of *Mengzi* where King Hui 惠王 of Liang 梁 asks Mengzi, "叟不遠千里而來，亦將有以利吾國乎?" as he inquires as to how Mengzi's counsel will benefit his kingdom. See *Mengzi* 孟子, in *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), 13.23.

[113] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

ultimately repelled with the help of the militia Ge Hong was leading. As soon as his military duties were complete, Ge Hong resumed his studies as the *Jin shu* indicates stating:

> 冰平，洪不論功賞，徑至洛陽，欲搜求異書以廣其學。
>
> After [Shi] Bing was vanquished, [Ge] Hong was not bestowed an award for his merit, so he went straight to Luoyang 洛陽 where he desired to search for unusual writings to broaden his learning.[114]

While it is possible that he traveled to Luoyang to look for work in the capital, his thirst for texts and the knowledge within them seems quite noteworthy to make its way into the pages of his official biography. His way was unfortunately blocked in his attempt to go to Luoyang, so he changed course and traveled south.

His motivation for learning seems to stem, at least in part, from knowing how much more was "out there" that he didn't know or have access to. He laments at one point in his autobiography his inability to gain access to all the *juan* that he sought, and also being unable to access the capital to expand his exploration.[115] He states in the *Baopuzi wai pian*:

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[114] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

[115] As the passage cited above implies, it does seem that Ge Hong's travel to the capital to search for strange things was denied, and it is unlikely that he made it to Luoyang to complete his search.

案《別錄》《藝文志》，衆有萬三千二百九十九卷，而魏代以來，群文滋長，倍於往者，乃自知所未見之多也。江表書籍，通同不具，昔欲詣京師索奇異，而正值大亂，半道而還。每自嘆恨。

According to the *Bielu* 別錄 (Separate records)[116] and the "Yiwenzhi" 藝文志 (Monograph on the Classics and Letters)[117], altogether there are 13,299 *juan*. Since the Wei dynasty 魏 (220–266), numerous writings have proliferated, there being a multi-fold increase, I know personally how much I have not seen.

Books and texts from south of the Yangtze River are all not available.

Formerly, I wanted to visit the capital to investigate rare and unusual [works] but at that time there was great disorder. I went halfway there, but then returned. I often sigh to myself in regret.[118]

[116] The *Bielu* 別錄 (Separate records) is an early catalogue compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 (c. 79–8 BCE). It does not survive, but served as the foundation for the *Qi lüe* 七略 (Seven summaries) compiled by his son, Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 CE) at the request of Liu Ao 劉驁 (51–7 BCE), Emperor Cheng of Han 漢成帝 (r. 33–7 BCE), in 26 BCE and presented it to the capital in 6 BCE. See Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962), 14.

[117] Though the *Han shu* was started by Ban Gu's father, Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54 CE), Ban Gu completed it, and used Li Xin's *Qi lüe* to create an abridged catalogue. See *Han shu*, 30.1701–84.

[118] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.660.

His impressive cataloging of texts created an endless search that even by his own admission could not be completed. Texts were not his only source of knowledge as, in addition to his continued pursuit of the numerous written works, he also followed teachers to gain insight that cannot be found in the scrolls and *juan* of texts. The *Jin shu* states:

> 從祖玄，吳時學道得仙，號曰葛仙公，以其練丹祕術授弟子鄭隱。洪就隱學，悉得其法焉。
>
> His grandfather's brother, [Ge] Xuan 玄, during the Wu period (222–280) studied the Tao to obtain transcendence, and was given the name, Ge Xiangong 葛仙公.[119] [Xuan] transmitted alchemy[120] and the occult arts to his disciple, Zheng Yin

[119] Ge Xuan, whose *zi* is Xiaoxian 孝先 and *hao* is Ge Xiangong 葛仙公 was Ge Hong's great-uncle. He was a well-known Daoist adept with numerous legends surviving about his skills and his lineage. A biography written by Ge Hong is found in the *Shenxian zhuan*. See *Shenxian zhuan* 神仙傳, in *Siku quanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018) 8:1–3. His name is written as Ge Yuan 葛元 in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 due to the taboo on 玄 during the Qing dynasty. For more see Stephen R. Bokenkamp,"Ge Xuan 葛玄," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 444–45, and also a translation and commentary of his biography can be found in Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 152–159. There is some question as to his actual relationship to Ge Ti. While Ge Xuan may have been Ge Ti's brother, it is also possible that he was a more distant relative. See Campany 157, n. 84 and 85.

[120] *Liandan* 煉丹, literally means "refining cinnabar" and is a general term for the various alchemical methods used in Daoist practices. See Zhejiang guji chubanshe 浙江古籍出版社 ed. *Daojiao da cidian* 道教大辭典 (Shanghai: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1987), 436.

鄭隱 (ca. 215–302).[121] Hong studied with Zheng and thereupon obtained all of his methods.[122]

Zheng Yin eventually left for Mount Huo 霍山 in 302 with the rest of his disciples after predicting the upcoming turmoil that would soon engulf the region. Ge Hong remained in Danyang and was called upon to help suppress the rebellion but continued to pursue his studies. The *Jin shu* continues:

後師事南海太守上黨鮑玄。玄亦內學，逆占將來，見洪深重之，以女妻洪。洪傳玄業，兼綜練醫術，凡所著撰，皆精核是非，而才章富贍。

[121] Zheng Yin, whose *zi* is Siyuan 思遠, was an expert in physiological exercises, dietary practices, medicine, and other alchemical skills. He was a student of Ge Xuan and is a major figure in Daoist hagiographic literature especially surrounding information on talismans. Grégoire Espesset, "Zheng Yin 鄭隱," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 1250–1.

[122] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

He later took as his teacher the Nanhai 南海[123] governor Bao Xuan 鮑玄[124] of Shangdang 上黨.[125] Xuan, for his part, knew the inner learning[126] and could foresee the future through divination. When he saw [Ge] Hong, he deeply valued him, and gave his daughter to marry [Ge] Hong.

Hong received transmission of Xuan's lineage, and at the same time became skilled in the art of healing.

In his writings, he fully examined what is right and wrong, and his talent and literary elegance are rich and abundant.[127]

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[123] Nanhai is in modern Guangdong 廣東.

[124] Bao Xuan is Bao Jing 鮑靚 (~260–330), whose *zi* is Taixuan 太玄. He was a well-known Daoist adept who was a holder of several Daoist textual traditions which he taught to Ge Hong. He was also Ge Hong's father-in-law. See Grégoire Espesset, "Bao Jing 鮑靚," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 211–12, and Campany, 295–297.

[125] Shangdang is modern Changzhi 長治, Shanxi.. According to the account of Bao Jing in the *Jin shu*, he was from Donghai 東海, admininstrative seat modern Changshu 常熟, Jiangsu. Other sources state that he was from Langye 琅邪, which is in Shandong. See *Taiping yu lan* 太平預覽 (1960; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018), 664.3093b and Campany, 295.

[126] While in later works this refers generally to Buddhism, here is referring to secret practices of divination and prophecy. See the note by the Tang scholar Li Xian 李賢 (654–684) in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 where he states, "內學謂圖讖之書也。其事祕密，故稱內 Inner learning refers to prognostication texts. Its methods were secret, for that reason it is called, 'inner'." See *Hou Han shu*, 81.2705.

[127] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

It is while under the tutelage of Bao Xuan that we see a clear mention of Ge Hong's study of medicine. The is no elaboration on the types of methods, techniques, or diagnostics, but this does establish a connection between Ge Hong and the practice of medicine.

Ge Hong's extensive study with his teachers allowed him access to information and texts that he would have otherwise been denied.[128] According to his *Baopuzi nei pian*, Ge Hong had a special relationship with his first teacher Zheng Yin. In *juan* nineteen, "Xialan" 遐覽 (Broad Overview [of Daoist Literature]), Ge Hong not only recounts that Zheng Yin had numerous texts on a wide range of subjects, but that he was able to access some, but not all though the *Jin shu* implies differently. He notes that his learning process with Zheng Yin was slow and that he needed to carefully ask so as not to lose access to the teachings and references at his disposal under Zheng Yin. He lists two works that he was able to study with him: *Sanhuang wen* 三黃文 (Script of the Three Emperors) and *Wuyue zhenxing tu* 五嶽真形圖 (Charts of the True Forms from the Five Peaks), which are primarily on the creation and use of talismans. He did not dare to overstep and desire too much too quickly in understanding Zheng Yin's expertise writing in the *Baopuzi nei pian*:

是以徒知飲河，而不得滿腹。

[128] For more on Ge Hong's lineage see Tenney L. Davis and Ch'en Kuo-fu, "The Inner Chapters of Pao-p'u-tzu" in *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 74 (1941): 298–9. For a more recent study of Ge Hong's lineage see Sun Xiangzhong 孫向中, "Ge Hong shicheng zakao" 葛洪師承雜考, in *Ge Hong yanjiu erji,* 311–14.

Therefore, the student's knowledge is a drink from the river, but does not slake his thirst.[129]

It seems that Ge Hong was eager to learn, but also knew the risks of pushing too hard and did not want to appear greedy in the eyes of his teacher. His teachers taught him little by little, and he absorbed as much as he was able. He continued his learning with Bao Jing, but he was still never satisfied and was always seeking more.

In the *Baopuzi nei pian*, Ge Hong wrote a chapter, "Qinqiu" 勤求 (Seeking diligently) that is dedicated to the pursuit of transcendence, but more specifically, Ge Hong discusses the process of learning how to find the way to the path of transcendence through worthy teachers. He discusses teachers, both good and bad, and states:

然求而不得者有矣，未有不求而得者也。

To be sure, there are those who seek them, but do not obtain them, but it is not the case that those who do not seek do obtain them.[130]

[129] See *Baopuzi nei pian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 19:333, 339. This is a reference to the first *juan* of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 where it states, "偃鼠飲河，不過滿腹。 The mole drinks from the river, but it does not go past having a full belly." See *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今註今譯, annot. by Chen Guying 陳鼓應 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), 1.18.

[130] *Baopuzi nei pian*, 14:252.

While he was unsure if he would find the teachers he was looking for, he certainly wasn't going to track them down if he didn't seek diligently. As one who cultivated the fields when he was young, he finishes the chapter with a comparison to farming stating:

> 仙之可學致，如黍稷之可播種得，甚炳然耳。然未有不耕而獲嘉禾，未有不勤而獲長生度世也。
>
> To become a transcendent by studying completely, is just like being able to obtain broomcorn and foxtail millet through the sowing of seeds. Isn't this obvious? Naturally, it is not the case that which is not tilled will then yield a favorable harvest, and [it is also not the case that] one who is not diligent will obtain longevity beyond this world.[131]

Following his own advice, he persisted in traveling and collecting. Even in his final years, Ge Hong continued to learn and even seek out teachers. In the final section of his biography the *Jin shu* it states:

> 後忽與嶽疏云：「當遠行尋師，剋期便發。」

[131] *Baopuzi nei pian*, 14:260.

> Later he suddenly gave [Deng] Yue 鄧嶽 (fl. 331) a letter that said, "I ought to travel far and seek a teacher. I have set a time to depart." [132]

As we will see, this was the last correspondence that Deng Yue would have with Ge Hong. Whether he was actively looking for a teacher or speaking metaphorically about his final departure, we can never know. What is clear is that Ge Hong never stopped in his pursuit of knowledge and learning, even in his final days.

FAMILY

Ge Hong was from an influential family from the southeastern state of Wu in Jurong 句容. We can trace quite clearly Ge Hong's parental lineage with his grandfather Ge Xi, who held a high office in the Wu court under Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252), the founder of the Eastern Wu 東吳 in 229. His father Ge Ti also served the Wu court and later the Jin court after its conquest of Wu. Ge Ti was serving as governor of Shaoling 邵陵 when he passed away when Ge Hong was only twelve or thirteen. Ge Hong had three older brothers, but little is known about them or if he had any other siblings. His one older brother had a son, Ge Wang 葛望, who served as the military secretary in Guangzhou after Ge Hong refused the post.

[132] *Jin shu*, 72.1913.

There are several relatives of Ge Hong's who were also well-known. His grandfather's relative, Ge Xuan, mentioned above, was a major figure in the early development of Daoism. He was a teacher to Ge Hong and a student of Zuo Ci 左慈 (n.d.),[133] another major figure in Daoism.

Ge Hong's father-in-law Bao Jing, who was also mentioned above, also played a major role in Daoism, but little else is known about Ge Hong's family life. His wife, Bao Gu 鮑姑 (288-343), the daughter of Bao Jing, is the one exception as she became famous in her own right.

Bao Gu has become a legend in Chinese medicine and is even worshiped as a deity. She is considered one of the "Four Great Female Physicians of Ancient China" (中國古代四位女名醫) alongside Yi Xu 義妁 (fl. second century BCE),[134] Zhang Xiaoniang 張小娘 (n.d.),[135] and Tan Yunxian 談允賢 (1461–1554).[136] While there are few historical references to support her

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[133] Zuo Ci, whose *zi* was Yuanfang 元放, was another influential name in Daoist hagiographies. His historical details are inconsistent though he is mentioned in the *Hou Han shu* and has a biography in Ge Hong's *Shenxian zhuan*. See *Hou Han shu*, 82.2747–48 and *Shenxian zhuan*, 8.3–6. A translation of Zuo Ci's biography can be found in Campany, 279–86.

[134] Yi Xu 義妁 was a physician in the Western Han 西漢 dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). See Zhou Jiarong, 117. She is mentioned briefly in both the *Shi ji,* 122.3144 and *Han shu,* 90.3652.

[135] Zhang Xiaonian or Zhang Xiaoniangzi was a physician in the Northern Song dynasty. Very little is known about her, including her real name, but according to a record in the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (Records of Yijian) by Hong Mai, she is said to have treated patients using knowledge from a text *Yongju yi fang* 癰疽異方 (Unusual formulas to treat abscesses and infections) which she received from a mountain sage. See *Yijian zhi – yi* 夷堅志, 乙 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 5.13.1a. For a study on the *Yijian zhi*, see Alister D. Inglis, *Hong Mai's Record of the Listener and Its Song Dynasty Context* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

[136] Tan Yunxian was a physician in the Ming dynasty known for her treatment of women. She wrote the *Nü yi za yan* 女醫雜言 (Miscellaneous records of a female physician) which records case studies and her experiences as a female physician. See Patricia B. Ebrey, Anne Walthall, and James B. Palais, *East Asia: A Cultural, Social, and Political History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006) 280. For an English translation see Tan Yunxian, *Miscellaneous Records of a Female Doctor*, trans. Lorraine Wilcox and Yue Lu (Portland: The Chinese Medicine Database, 2015).

lofty reputation, she is mentioned in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive records of the Taiping period) story of Cui Wei 崔煒[137] where her renown for expertise using moxibustion is mentioned.[138]

CAREER

While Ge Hong is best known for his writing and connection with Daoism, he did also have a successful military career, and held several political posts. His first military post, mentioned above, was during the rebellion of Shi Bing. He did not serve long, but he was successful in his campaign. The *Jin shu* states:

> 太安中，石冰作亂，吳興太守顧祕為義軍都督，與周玘等起兵討之，祕檄洪為將兵都尉，攻冰別率，破之，遷伏波將軍。

[137] Cui Wei (n.d.) was a man who, by saving an immortal, had his life transformed when he was given powerful medicines as a reward, which he used to treat and heal many people. His story is an early example a genre of stories of the strange and supernatural known as *Tang chuanqi* 唐傳奇 (Tales of Strange Events from the Tang). One of the medicines he was given was Bao Gu's moxa 鮑故艾. *Taiping guanji* 太平館際 (1961; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019), 34.215–20.

[138] *Taiping guanji*, 34.219-20.

During the Tai'an 太安 period (302–4), Shi Bing staged a rebellion. The governor of Wuxing,[139] Gu Mi 顧祕 (fl. fourteenth century),[140] was commander-in-chief of the Righteous Army. Together with Zhou Qi 周玘 and others, he mobilized an army to suppress him [Shi Bing]. [Gu] Mi sent a dispatch appointing [Ge] Hong as chief commandant of troops. He attacked [Shi] Bing's auxiliary troops[141] and defeated them. He was then promoted to "General who Calms the Waves."[142]

Ge Hong describes his military prowess, and he elaborates on his role in the battles. His troops maintained their order and helped to defeat the rebels on more than one occasion. He recounts the events surrounding his earning the title and associated reward in the *Baopuzi wai pian* where he states:

[139] Wuxing was in the area of Jiangsu 江蘇 and Zhejiang 浙江. In the Western Jin, the administrative seat of Wuxing commandery was Wucheng 烏程, which is located south of modern Huzhou 湖州, Zhejiang. See Shi Weile 史為樂, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 1260.

[140] Gu Mi 顧祕 was a military official in the Western Jin dynasty.

[141] This could be a separate detachment from Shi Bing's main army or could be referring to the entirety of Shi Bing's troops as an auxiliary force of Zhang Chang. In the *Taiping yulan* 太平預覽 (Readings from the Taiping period) there is a reference to Ge Hong's plans not being used. See *Taiping yulan*, 328.1510a.

[142] *Fubo jiangjun* 伏波將軍 was a name for the Han Dynasty general, Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 BCE–49 CE). See his biography in the *Hou Han shu*, 24.827–855. See *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

後別戰斬賊小帥，多獲甲首，而獻捷幕府。於是大都督加洪伏波將軍，例給布百匹。諸將多封閉之，或送還家，而洪分賜將士，及施知故之貧者，余之十匹，又徑以市肉酤酒，以饗將吏。於時竊擅一日之美談焉。

Later, in another battle, he cut down a rebel vice-commander, seizing armor and taking prisoners,[143] and presenting them to the military headquarters. From this, the intendant-in-chief conferred upon [Ge] Hong the title of "General who Calms the Waves" and with it gave him one hundred bolts of silk. Many of the other commanders sealed them and sent them off to family, but [Ge] Hong divided them and bestowed them to his officers and soldiers and distributed them to those he knew to be poor. Of the remaining ten bolts, he furthermore used them at the market to buy meat and purchase alcohol. Using these he held a banquet for his junior officers. At that time, it was thereby said that with humility he held the praise of the day.[144]

With the rebellion suppressed, Ge Hong began his travels in a possible attempt to avoid the spreading turmoil. He looked north to Luoyang, but eventually headed south and met with his good friend, Xi Han 嵇含 (263–307),[145] to assist him in the suppression of another rebellion. The *Jin shu* states:

[143] It is possible that Ge Hong is referring to killing the rebels and literally taking their heads. Taking heads of enemies or taking the bowing heads of prisoners are equally plausible.

[144] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.685–7.

[145] Xi Han, who's *zi* is Jundao 君道, was a scholar, botanist, and lieutenant general who served as the governor of Guangzhou 廣州. He is credited with writing a work on the flora of the

洪見天下已亂，欲避地南土，乃參廣州刺史嵇含軍事。

[Ge] Hong saw that the whole world was in chaos. He desired to avoid this in the southern lands, and thereby assisted the provincial inspector of Guangzhou, Xi Han in military affairs.[146]

Ge Hong elaborates on the situation. While he claimed that peace had returned, this seems to have been a local phenomenon. He desired to go north to Luoyang in search of strange texts and unusual writings, but the turmoil of the times forced him south to meet with his friend. He writes in the *Baopuzi wai pian*:

Southern regions in 307 called the *Nanfang caomu zhuang* 南方草木狀 (Description of the flora of the Southern regions). For more on Xi Han see Li Hui-Lin (Li Huilin 李惠林), *Nan-fang ts'ao-mu chuang*: *A Fourth Century Flora of Southeast Asia* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1979). Xi Han also composed "Hanshi san fu" 寒食散賦, a *fu* on the amazing effects of a popular drug at the time, "Cold Food Powder" (more will be discussed on this in Chapter 5). See *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (1965; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 75.1292. A short biography is attached to the official biography of his uncle Xi Shao 嵇紹 (253–304) in the *Jin shu*. See *Jin shu*, 89.2298–2303. Xi Shao was the son of the famous poet, Xi Kang 嵇康 (223–262). While many authors pronounce their surname, "Ji," and it is the more common pronunciation for the mountain from which it is derived, David Knechtges points out that the proper pronunciation should be "Xi" according to Xi Kang's biography in the *Jin shu* where he describes the changing of the character of their family name from *xi* 奚 to 嵇, but retaining the pronunciation. See David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature: Volume III Rhapsodies on Natural Phenomena, Birds and Animals, Aspirations and Feelings, Sorrowful Laments, Literature, Music, and Passions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 390–1, and also, *Jin shu*, 49.1369.

[146] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

正遇上國大亂，北道不通。而陳敏又反於江東，歸途隔塞。會有故人譙國嵇君道，見用為廣州刺史。乃表請洪為叁軍。雖非所樂，然利可避地於南，故黽勉就焉。見遣先行催兵，而君道於後遇害，遂停廣州。

Straight away he encountered the great chaos of the upper realm.[147] The way north was impassable, and Chen Min 陳敏 (d. 307)[148] was also attacking east of the Yangzi River so his way home was cut off. He met with an old friend Xi Jundao of Qiaoguo 譙國,[149] who was granted the position of governor of Guangzhou. He then issued a request to have [Ge] Hong serve [as one of] the three adjutants.[150] Although he would not take pleasure in the position, it gave him the benefit of being able to flee to the South, thus he was obliged[151] thereby to accept it.

He was dispatched ahead with the vanguard troops, but behind [Xi] Jundao was killed. Consequently, he stayed in Guangzhou.[152]

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[147] This refers to the north around the capital of Luoyang.

[148] Chen Min, *zi* Lingtong 令通, was a warlord during the "Rebellion of the Eight Kings" who declared himself Duke of Chu 楚 in the lower valley of the Yangzi river in 306. See *Jin shu* 100.2614–18.

[149] Qiaoguo is modern Suxian 宿縣 in Anhui 安徽 province.

[150] Reading *san* 叁 as 三. See Hucker, 396.

[151] Reading *meng* 黽 as *min* 僶.

[152] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.689.

The rebellions of the time created significant turmoil across vast areas of the Jin realm. Unfortunately, the chaos cost Ge Hong his friend but did allow him to flee to the south. He did not pursue advancement or become officially involved in military service again. The *Jin shu* continues:

及含遇害，遂停南土多年，征鎮檄命一無所就。後還鄉里，禮辟皆不赴。

> When [Xi] Han was killed, [Ge Hong] stayed in the southern lands for many years. Dispatches from the Guardian General of the Army authorized appointments, but he did not accept a single one. After this he returned to his hometown. In all cases he declined the courtesy summons to official posts.[153]

Ge Hong likely stayed in the southern regions for almost the next twenty years. He was given a position as clerk by the future Emperor Yuan of the Jin dynasty 晋元帝, Sima Rui 司馬睿 (276–323) who was serving as prime minister at this time. While it seems that much of this time was devoted to his studies, he was given a title *Guan nei hou* 關內侯 (Marquis who Secures the Pass) because of his efficacy in suppressing bandits. In the *Baopuzi wai pian* he states:

[153] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

庚寅，詔書賜爵關中侯，食句容之邑二百戶。竊謂討賊以救桑梓，勞不足錄，金紫之命，非其始願。本欲遠慕魯連，近引田疇，上書固辭，以遂微志。適有大例，同不見許。

In the *gengyin* year (317), an imperial decree was sent out where he was given the title of *Guan nei hou* with income equal to that of a town with two hundred households.[154]

That is quite a stipend! It is uncertain what his role was during this time, but it does imply that he was being rewarded for his military prowess in suppressing bandits or was still acting in that role as a military officer. However, it is unclear what exactly Ge Hong was doing at that time. He does eventually return to an official government position in 326 and served in several official capacities over the next several years. He was even offered a prestigious post as a historiographer but declined. The *Jin shu* states:

咸和初，司徒導召補州主簿，轉司徒掾，遷諮議參軍。干寶深相親友，薦洪才堪國史，選為散騎常侍，領大著作，洪固辭不就。

At the beginning of the Xianhe 咸和 period (326–335), the minister of education summoned him to fill a vacant position as official registrar of the prefecture. He

[154] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.712–4.

was reassigned as a clerk to the minister of education. Later he was transferred to the post of administrative adviser.

Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 315, d. 336)[155] was [Ge Hong's] good friend. He recommended [Ge] Hong as a capable man suited to compile the state history. He was selected to serve as senior recorder,[156] appointed to [compile] the great writing.[157] [Ge] Hong resolutely declined and did not undertake this appointment.[158]

Ge Hong was seemingly in high demand, and while he continued to decline official posts, he was not free from obligations. He wanted to step away from his work and focus on alchemical practices and transcendence. He found the ideal location, one rich in cinnabar, a major ingredient for many alchemical processes.[159] And while his plan, to feign interest in a

[155] Gan Bao, *zi* Lingsheng 令升, was a historian in the Jin court who is best known for writing a work of the *zhigui xiaoshuo* 志怪小說 (Tales of the strange) genre, *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Records of searching for spirits), which is a collection of short stories and reports of supernatural events. For more see, Gan Bao 干寶, *In Search of the Supernatural: The Written Record*, translated by Kenneth J. DeWoskin and James Irving Crump (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) and Robert Ford Campany, "Two Religious Thinkers of the Early Eastern Jin: Gan Bao and Ge Hong in Multiple Context," *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 18.1 (2005): 175–224.

[156] *San ji chang shi* 散騎常侍 refers to an senior post among the historiographers responsible for compiling the *qi ju zhu* 起居注 or Imperial diary. See Hucker, 395–6.

[157] This likely refers the imperial diary, but possibly the standard or imperial histories of the previous dynasties.

[158] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

[159] Cinnabar is a major mineral substance used in many alchemical formulas.

command to travel to the region of interest ultimately failed, his honesty gave him a pass from the emperor, and he was approved to go. The *Jin shu* states:

> 以年老，欲練丹以祈遐壽，聞交阯出丹，求為句扇令。帝以洪資高，不許。洪曰：「非欲為榮，以有丹耳。」帝從之。
>
> Because he was getting older, he desired to practice alchemy in order to seek longevity (life-extension). He heard that in Jiaozhi 交趾,[160] there was cinnabar. He requested to be appointed prefect of Goulou 句扇.[161] The emperor would not allow it because of [Ge] Hong's qualifications and high standing. [Ge] Hong said, "I do not desire to take this to be an honor, but only that there is cinnabar there, and that's it." The emperor then permitted it.[162]

He traveled south toward Jiaozhi, and while in Guangzhou was stopped and encouraged to take up office once again. Even though he had the permission of the emperor, it still didn't stop local officials from calling on him and influencing his progress. The *Jin shu* tells of his journey south once again and continues:

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[160] Jiaozhi (Vietnamese: Giao Chỉ) was a commandery in modern Vietnam, northwest of Hanoi.

[161]句扇 is more commonly written Goulou 苟扇. According to Shi Weili, *Zhongguo lishi diming dacidian*, 817, this corresponds to Shishi 石室 county (Huyện Thạch Thất), Heshanping 河山平 (Hà Son Bĭnh) province which is close to Jiaozhi.

[162] *Jin shu*, 72.1911.

洪遂將子姪俱行。至廣州，刺史鄧嶽留不聽去，洪乃止羅浮山煉丹。嶽表補東官太守，又辭不就。嶽乃以洪兄子望為記室參軍。在山積年，優游閑養，著述不輟。

[Ge] Hong left afterwards with his sons and all of his nephews. He arrived at Guangzhou, and the regional inspector Deng Yue would not allow him to go. [Ge] Hong, thereupon stopped at Luofu Mountain to make elixirs.

[Deng] Yue announced that [Ge Hong] would fill the position of governor[163] of Dongguan 東官.[164] Again, he declined and did not take the position. [Deng] Yue petitioned the court to have the son of [Ge] Hong's older brother, [Ge] Wang 葛望 appointed secretarial aide. He remained at the mountain for many years. Comfortable and relaxed, he was able to practice methods of [breath] retention[165] and nourishing [life]. He did not cease in his writing.[166]

Ge Hong had a modest career as an official but was quite successful in his military endeavors. In a time of turmoil, he effectively assisted in putting down rebellions and fought

[163] *Taishou* 太守 is the governor of a particular region. See Hucker, 482.

[164] Dongguan is located in modern Guangdong 廣東.

[165] I am reading *xian* 閑 as *bi* 閉. *Biqi* 閉氣 is a common Daoist practice as is *yangsheng* 養生. These are both methods that Ge Hong frequently mentions in *Baopuzi*. To see more on these practices, see Campany, 234 and 1148.

[166] *Jin shu*, 72.1911–2.

with distinction to earn positions and titles. His military career was unexceptional in the grand view of Chinese history, but in the centuries following, his surviving written works have allowed Ge Hong's name and reputation to endure.

WRITINGS

Though many of his works have been lost, Ge Hong was known to be a prolific writer. He wrote throughout his life, and of the few works that survive, some remain highly influential works in Daoism. In addition to his Daoist work, he had a renowned reputation for scholarship and deep learning over a wide range of subjects. The *Jin shu* states:

> 洪博聞深洽，江左絕倫。著述篇章富於班馬，又精辯玄賾，析理入微。
>
> [Ge] Hong's broad knowledge was deep and vast, and unsurpassed left of the Yangtze River 江河. The writings he composed were more abundant than those of Ban [Gu] and [Si]ma [Qian] 司馬遷 (c. 145–89 BCE).[167] His refined arguments are profound and recondite, and his explication of matters of truth are highly subtle.[168]

[167] 班馬 refers to Ban Gu and Sima Qian and their influential works, primarily the *Han shu* and the *Shiji* respectively.

[168] *Jin shu*, 72.1913.

While his works may have been abundant in his own day and in the centuries up to Fang Xuanling's compiling of the *Jin shu*, very few survive today. Having his productivity compared to Ban Gu and Sima Qian speaks volumes and it is unfortunate that more of his writings have not endured. Several of his works do however survive and are extremely influential.

For the most important of his writings, his own name, Baopuzi, was taken to be used as the title of this book. *Baopuzi* is divided into two vastly different texts. The first, the *Nei pian* 內篇 (Inner writings), focuses on alchemy, transcendence, and various other Daoist faculties. The second section, the *Wai pian* 外篇 (Outer writings), deals with government, human affairs, and matters of the Ruists.

He finished the *Baopuzi* when he was quite young, between 37 and 38, but likely continued editing it much later. In his autobiography in the *Baopuzi wai pian* he states:

> 其《內篇》言神仙方藥、鬼怪變化、養生延年、禳邪卻禍之事，屬道家；
> 《外篇》言人間得失，世事臧否，屬儒家。
>
> My *Nei pian*, which tells of divine transcendents, formulas and drugs, ghosts and strange phenomenon, transformations, nourishing life,[169] prolonging life, rites to ward off misfortune and repel calamity, belongs to the Daoist school. The *Wai*

[169] The concept of *yangsheng* 養生 (nourishing life) is a major component of Daoist practices that continues to be a major topic of study today. See Catherine Despeux, "Yangsheng 養生," in *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, edited by Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 1149–50.

pian which tells of [government] successes and failures in the realm of men, and whether world affairs are favorable or not, belongs to the Ruist school.[170]

In addition to the *Baopuzi*, Ge Hong wrote many other works. He wrote several biographies, most of which focused on Daoist adepts, but at least one focused on exemplary officials. Most of these are also listed in his autobiography. Though he declined the role of historiographer in an official capacity, it does seem that he wrote and copied (and likely wrote his own commentary) on many of the classics and also the unorthodox texts dealing with medicine and alchemy. The *Jin shu* states:

其餘所著碑誄詩賦百卷，移檄章表三十卷，神仙、良吏、隱逸、集異等傳各十卷，又抄《五經》、《史》、《漢》、百家之言、方技雜事三百一十卷，《金匱藥方》一百卷，《肘後要急方》四卷。

His other writings number more than 100 *juan* of stele inscriptions, elegies, poems, and *fu*. There are also thirty *juan* of dispatches, proclamations, memorials, and petitions. The *Shenxian zhuan*, *Liangli zhuan* 良吏傳 (Biographies of good officials) *Yinyi zhuan* 隱逸傳 (Biographies of hermits), *Jiyi zhuan* 集異傳 (Traditions of collected marvels) with other biographies that each comprise ten *juan*.

[170] *Baopuzi wai pian,* 50.698.

In addition, he copied the Five classics 五經, *Shi ji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), *Han shu*, the sayings of one hundred masters, various writings on [medical and alchemical] methods and techniques.[171] In all, they comprised 310 *juan*. [There was also], *Jingui yao fang* 金匱藥方 (Herbal formulas of the Golden coffers) in 100 *juan* and *Zhouhou yaoji fang* 肘後要急方 (Essential emergency formulas to keep on hand) in four *juan*.[172]

As mentioned above, Ge Hong is best known for his work *Baopuzi*, but the mention of his other works points to a prolific life as an author. Surprisingly, he does not mention a major medical work in his autobiography that shows up elsewhere in his *Baopuzi, Yu han fang* 玉函方 (Formulas from the Jade case). In the "Za ying" 雜應 chapter of the *Baopuzi nei pian*, Ge Hong states:

余所撰百卷，名曰玉函方，皆分別病名，以類相續，不相雜錯，其救卒參卷，皆單行徑易，約而易驗，籬陌之閒，顧眄皆藥，衆急之病，無不畢備，家有此方，可不用醫。

[171] This refers to one of the seven categories of texts mentioned in the *Qi lüe* written by Liu Xin 劉歆. This categorization influenced the "Yiwenzhi" of the *Han shu*, where Ban Gu's section on *fangji* included texts in four sections: *yijing* 醫經 (Medical canons), *jingfang* 經方 (Classic Formularies), *fangzhong* 房中 (Sexual manuals), and *shenxian* 神僊 (Longevity and immortality).

[172] *Jin shu*, 72.1912–3.

> I wrote 100 *juan* which was called the *Yu han fang*. I divided it completely into various disease names, sequenced by category and were not randomly ordered. [Along with] my [*Zhouhou*] *jiucu* [*fang*][173] in three *juan*, both have independently circulated, are straightforward and simple, concise, and easy to consult. Within the bamboo palings and field paths, with a single glance all of the medicines are there. For the multitude of urgent maladies, [one is] completely prepared without exception. If a household has these formularies, there is no need to use a physician.[174]

This is an extremely large collection of formulas that is unfortunately lost. Fragments may survive in other works, and according to his preface to the *Zhouhou beiji fang* discussed later, this enormous work served as the foundation for what would end up being a much smaller text. It is important to point out that his autobiography in the *Baopuzi* does not mention the two medical works (or any others), the *Jingui yao fang*[175] or the *Zhouhou yaoji fang* noted in the *Jin shu*.

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[173] This interpretation is possibly a later change to the text. An earlier text has *jiu shi* 玖拾. While *jiucu* fits nicely into Ge Hong's historical narrative, as interpreted by Qing commentator Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818), according to Wang Ming's commentary, this could be a later emendation. See *Baopuzi nei pian*, 15.280 n. 51.

[174] *Baopuzi nei pian*, 15.272.

[175] Ma Boying considers the *Jingui yao fang* and the *Yu han fang* to be the same text. Aside from both titles containing 100 *juan*, there is little evidence to support this. See Ma Boying 馬伯英, 中國醫學文化史 (2 vols. 2010; English edition. Hackensack: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2020), 481–2. This is likely a misattribution of the *Jingui yu han jing* 金匱玉函經 (The Classic from the Golden coffers and the Jade case) attributed to Zhang Ji. See *Jingui yu han jing* 金匱玉函經 (1985; rpt. Taipei: Xin wen feng chuban gongsi, 2004).

DEATH

Uncertainty surrounds the final years of Ge Hong's life. In the final passage of the *Jin shu* we return to Ge Hong's final letter to Deng Yue where it states:

> 後忽與嶽疏云：「當遠行尋師，剋期便發。」嶽得疏，狼狽往別。而洪坐至日中，兀然若睡而卒，嶽至，遂不及見。時年八十一。視其顏色如生，體亦柔軟，舉尸入棺，甚輕，如空衣，世以為尸解得仙云。
>
> Later he gave [Deng] Yue a letter that said, "I ought to travel far and seek a teacher. I have set a time to depart." When [Deng] Yue received the letter, he disconcertedly went [to see him before they] parted. But [Ge] Hong sat until midday, motionless as if asleep, and then passed away. As a consequence, when [Deng] Yue arrived, it was too late to see him. He was eighty-one years old. His complexion looked as if he were still alive. His body was still soft. When they lifted his corpse into the coffin, he was extremely light, as if it were empty clothes. His descendants believed he escaped by means of a simulated corpse (*shijie* 尸解) and attained transcendence to the clouds.[176]

While the *Jin shu* and *Baopuzi* remain the primary sources of information about Ge Hong's life, there are several other citations that provide relevant and, in some cases, more

[176] For more on *shijie* as a form of body replacement and transcendence see Campany, 65. *Jin shu*, 72.1913.

reliable information about Ge Hong. Yue Shi 樂史 (930–1007) in his *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (Record of Imperial geography from the Taiping period) cites a regional record from an area where Ge Hong spent time in his later years. The *Luofu ji* 羅浮記 (Records from Luofu) is a record from Mount Luofu written by Yuan Hong 袁宏 (c. 328–376) that gives information about Ge Hong.[177] Though the *Jin shu* says that Ge Hong lived until the age of eight-one (364), it is probable that he died much earlier, in 343, at the age of sixty.[178]

LEGACY

By looking at Ge Hong's life and personal history it is possible to gain a better understanding of the place from which the *Zhouhou beiji fang* sprung. It is clear from his history that this was not one of his major works. The brief note on medicine in the *Baopuzi nei pian* while discussing his *Yu han fang* provides the greatest insight into his medical expertise. Unfortunately, there is nothing mentioned in his autobiography and merely a single note in his biography regarding his involvement in medicine and treating patients. His military career does place him in proximity to trauma and life and death situations, and while at least one of his teachers taught him medicine, with the life-extension and alchemy techniques using herbs and various techniques, we can explore the possibility that these methods overlap with the methods of saving lives of patients. Additionally, very little is known about Ge Hong's later years. When

[177] See *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (2007; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019), 160.3069–3071.

[178] For a summary of the evidence on Ge Hong's dates, see Sailey, 302–4. See also Yang Mingzhou's commentary in *Baopuzi wai pian*, 2.795–806.

he moved south, his interests may have shifted to medicine while engaging in alchemy. While purely speculative, losing his friend Xi Han, who was a noted botanist, could have sparked a further interest in the healing arts that continued after his military and civic duties were complete.

Turning from Ge Hong's life to the text in question, we will now look at the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and its history. Far from being clear and direct, the connection between Ge Hong and the text that survives today is tenuous. From its very first mentions, to the established editions of modern times, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and its author have raised many questions. By keeping his life and experiences in mind, we can better understand the formation of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* by next looking at the history and structure of this ancient emergency formulary.

PART 2: CONDITION

CHAPTER 3 – TEXTUAL HISTORY

The *Zhouhou beiji fang* has a fractured and uncertain history, and while it is attributed to Ge Hong, it has grown and developed over a thousand years before the version emerged that begot the editions that survive today. The few surviving editions of this text that is considered the first transmitted emergency medicine formulary in the Chinese medical tradition are all based on a single edition from the fifteenth century.

With such a long and ambiguous history, the text that survives is still quite extensive, at eight *juan* and containing approximately 2,000 medical formulas. Most of the entries are clear and concise, providing brief descriptions about a patient presentation, and then listing treatment protocols. The protocols and formulas are quite varied including herbal formulas, acupuncture and moxibustion, rituals and manual therapies, and dietetics. There are also several stories, anecdotes, as well as various prohibitions.

Before addressing information within the *Zhouhou beiji fang* it is important to take a close look at the history of the text itself to give a clear context to place this information in a broader historical context.

DISCOVERED AND TRANSMITTED

Chinese medicine has a rich textual legacy with some traditions stretching back nearly two thousand years. With its tumultuous history of dynasties rising and falling, foreign invasions, internal rebellions, trade along the Silk Road, and periods of both famine and feast, the lines of transmission of medical traditions often broken.

Archeological discoveries and advancements have provided significant insights that fill in gaps of textual evidence. Major sites at Dunhung 敦煌, Mawangdui 馬王堆, Tianhui 天回 (Laoguanshan 老官山), and other locations deliver a snapshot of the medical knowledge of various time periods. These editions can also provide clarification about editorial changes that may have taken root in later editions and with the adoption of printing.[179]

Findings in Dunhuang have caused speculation on connections between manuscripts, the *Tang ye jing* 湯液經 (Canon on decoctions and fluids), and early texts such as those of the Han dynasty physician Zhang Ji.[180] The texts discovered at Tianhui may have a connection to the pre-Han physician Bian Que 扁鵲 with some scholars suggesting they may point to works by this legendary physician. Both of these discoveries and the validity of their connection to these

[179] For an example of these changes in another medical formulary, the *Beiji qian jin yaofang* by Sun Simiao, see Donald Harper, "The Textual Form of Knowledge: Occult Miscellanies in Ancient and Medieval Chinese Manuscripts, Fourth Century B.C. to Tenth Century A.D," *Looking at It from Asia: The Processes that Shaped the Sources of History of Science*, ed. Florence Bretelle-Establet, (London: Springer, 2010), 40, and also Sabine Wilms, "The Female Body in Medieval China: A Translation and Interpretation of the 'Women's Recipes' in Sun Simiao's *Beiji qian jin yaofang*," Unpublished PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2002, 53–8.

[180] Wang Shumin, "Tangye jingfa (Canonical methods for brews and decoctions): a lost text recorded in the *Han shu* bibliography." Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen (eds.), *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang medical manuscripts*. New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005.

famous ancient physicians are still quite controversial, but the archeological information provides another important layer of information about the state of medicine during those time periods.

Unfortunately, despite the numerous ongoing discoveries from antiquity throughout China, archeologists have not discovered versions of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* or other works attributed to Ge Hong. While unfortunate, it is not surprising as there are very few received texts in the medical corpus that have editions which date before the first millennium. There are fragments and related works that do survive and some of these provide small glimpses of Ge Hong and possibly several formulas connected to his work that have been preserved since antiquity.

One fragment of a text that mentions Ge Hong was found in the library cave at Dunhuang. The library cave was discovered at the Buddhist grottoes, the Mogao caves 莫高窟, near Dunhuang in 1900 by a Daoist priest, Wang Yuanlu 王圆禄 (1849–1931). It contained tens of thousands of documents that are now preserved in libraries around the world. The cave was sealed between 1002 and 1035[181] to protect the documents from invaders so it provides a clear cache of documents dated before this period. Of these copious documents there is at least one that mentions Ge Hong and his formulas.

[181] Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 and Valerie Hansen, "The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11 (1999): 247–275, and also Sha Wutian 沙武田, "A Reexamination of the Reasons for the Closure of the Dunhuang Library Cave," *Chinese Studies in History* 53:3 (2020): 208–226.

The *Beiji danyan yao fang* 備急單驗藥方 (Single ingredient verified remedy formulas for emergencies)[182] is a text of unknown origin that mentions Ge Shi. While the date is unknown and only four fragments survive, it does give a small piece of evidence tying Ge Hong to early, discovered emergency medicine formularies.

An additional archeological site that may have a connection to Ge Hong is the *Yao fang dong* 藥方洞 (Medicinal formulas cave) found at the Longmen grottoes 龍門石窟 in Henan 河南 province. The Medicinal Formulas Cave has 150 medical formulas carved on the walls that seem to date between 650 and 653.[183] While his name is not explicitly mentioned, a comparison to surviving formulas makes a connection to Ge Hong quite clear.

With only these few mentions and possible connections in the archeological evidence, we are forced to rely on the transmitted literature to piece together the history of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* from its creation to the surviving editions.

NAMING OF THE TEXT

The first challenge with the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is identifying the name of the text. Searching through catalogs and bibliographies, we quickly realize that not only are there

[182] See Wang Shumin, "Appendix 2: Abstracts of the Medical Manuscripts from Dunhuang," 399–400.

[183] See Zhang Ruixian 張瑞賢, Wang Jiakui 王家葵, and Michael Stanley-Baker 徐源, "Clinical Medicine Texts: The Earliest Stone Medical Inscription," in Vivienne Lo et. al., ed., *Imagining Chinese Medicine* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 382–85.

numerous inconsistencies, but the name that we identify with the work doesn't even appear in catalogues until the fifteenth century in the *Zhengtong daozang*.[184]

While it is generally called the *Zhouhou beiji fang* or the *Zhouhou fang* 肘後方 (Formulas to keep on hand), there are many other titles that are associated with the text connected to Ge Hong. These include *Zhouhou jiucu fang* 肘後救卒方 (Formulas for resuscitation to keep on hand), *Zhouhou yaoji fang* 肘後要急方 (Essential and urgent formulas to keep on hand), and the *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang* 葛仙翁肘後備急方 among others.[185] While most scholars believe that these are related to or include the original text by Ge Hong, it is possible that some of these are independent works, and it is also possible that what survives today is not related to Ge Hong's original work at all.

Another set of titles that cannot be separated from this text are those which include modifications and additions by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), and later, Yang Yongdao 楊用道 (fl. 1144). The names associated with these works include the *Zhouhou baiyi fang* 肘後百一方 (One hundred and one formulas to keep on hand), *Zhouhou jiucu beiji fang* 肘後救卒備急方 (Emergency formulas for resuscitation and emergencies to keep on hand), *Bu Zhouhou jiu cu beiji fang* 補肘後救卒備急方 (Supplement to emergency formulas for resuscitation and emergencies to keep on hand), among others.

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[184] *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (1995; rpt. Taipei: Xin wen feng chuban gongsi, 2007), 55.487b–655a.

[185] See Qiu Peiran, 382.

Below are titles attached to the work attributed to Ge Hong, and his major editors Tao Hongjing and Yang Yongdao that are likely related to the surviving tradition of Ge Hong's original work. Most of these are major listings in catalogs and histories, but several are mentions of the text in various other literary sources.

Name	Author or compiler	Size	Source	Date
Zhouhou fang 肘後方 (Formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	2 *juan*	*Qi lu* 七錄 (Seven registers)	523[186]

[186] The *Qi lu* 七錄 was written by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) in 523. The text has been lost, but his preface survives in the Buddhist text, *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 (Expanded collection of essays on Buddhism) and there are numerous citations for it in the notes of the *Sui shu* compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643). See *Song si xi cangben Guang hongming ji* 宋思溪藏本廣弘明集 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2018), 3.100–116. For more on the *Qi lu* see David R. Knechtges, "Culling the Weeds and Selecting Prime Blossoms: The Anthology in Early Medieval China," in *Culture and Power in the Reconstitution of the Chinese Realm, 200–600*, ed. Scott Pierce, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 200–241 and Tang Mingyuan 唐明元, *Wei Jin Nan Bei chao muluxue yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝目錄學研究 (Chengdu: Sichuan chuban jituan, 2009), 186–207. The *Qi lu* reference for the *Zhouhou fang* is found in note for the same text in the *Sui shu* where it states, "*Liang er juan* 梁二卷 (In the Liang it was in two *juan.*)." See *Sui shu*, 34.1042. It is also important to point out that though Wei Zheng 魏徵 is considered the primary compiler of the *Sui shu*, the bibliographic section, "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 (Treatise on the classics and other writings) was presented to the emperor thirteen years after his death. For a note on this see Herrlee G. Creel, "Shen tzu 申子 (Shen Pu-hai 申不害)," in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), 396–97. For a comprehensive study on the *Sui shu* "Jingji zhi" see Zeng Yifen 曾貽芬, *Sui shu jing ji zhi jiaoszhu*《隋書》經籍志校注 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu chubanshe, 2021).

Buque Zhouhou baiyi fang 補闕肘後百一方 (Supplement to 101 formulas to keep on hand)	Tao Hongjing	9 *juan*	*Qi lu* 七錄 (Seven registers)	523[187]
Zhouhou baiyi fang 肘後百一方 (101 formulas to keep on hand)	Tao Hongjing	unk.	*Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Classified collection based on the Classics and other literature)	624[188]
Zhouhou fang 肘後方 (Formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	6 *juan*	*Sui shu* 隋書	636[189]

[187] This citation is a continuation to the note in the *Sui shu* where it states, "Tao Hongjing *Buque Zhouhou baiyi fang jiu juan, wang* 陶弘景補闕肘後百一方九卷，亡 (Tao Hongjing's Supplement to the 101 formulas to keep on hand in nine *juan* is lost). See *Sui shu*, 34:1042.

[188] While not a catalogue, this is one of the earliest mentions of this text. The entry provides an abbreviated preface attributed to Tao Hongjing. While Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641) was the primary contributor to the *Yiwen leiju*, other contributors included Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (582–666) and Chen Shude 陳叔達 (572–635). See *Yiwen leiju,* 1291.

[189] This is the primary citation under which the *Qi lu* notes can be found. See *Sui shu,* 34:1042.

			(History of the Sui)	
Zhouhou yaoji fang 肘後要急方 (Essential and urgent formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	4 *juan*	*Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin)	648[190]
Zhouhou baiyi fang 肘後百一方 (101 formulas to keep on hand)	Tao Hongjing	unk.	*Nan shi* 南史 (History of the Southern dynasties)	659[191]
Zhouhou jiucu fang 肘後救卒方 (Formulas for resuscitation to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	4 *juan*	*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Older Tang history)	945[192]

[190] *Jin shu*, 72.1913.

[191] The *Nan shi* was compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 618–76) in 659. *Nan shi*, 76.1900.

[192] The *Jiu Tang shu* was compiled in 945 by Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946). *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 47:2049.

Bu Zhouhou jiucu beiji fang 補肘後救卒備急方 (Supplemental formulas for resuscitation and emergencies to keep on hand)	Tao Hongjing	6 *juan*	*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Older Tang history)	945[193]
Zhouhou fang 肘後方 (Formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	3 *juan*	*Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 （Readings of the Taiping Era)	983[194]
Ge Hong Zhouhou jiucu fang 葛洪肘後救卒方 (Ge Hong's Formulas for resuscitation to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	6 *juan*	*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer Tang history)	1060[195]
Bu Zhouhou jiucu beiji fang		6 *juan*	*Xin Tang shu*	1060[196]

[193] See *Jiu Tang shu*, 47:2049.

[194] *Taiping yulan*, 3330–2.

[195] The *Xin Tang shu* was compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72), Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), et. al. in 1060. *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 59.1567.

[196] *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1567.

補肘後救卒備急方 (Supplement to Formulas for resuscitation and emergencies to keep on hand)			新唐書 (Newer Tang history)	
Ge Hong Zhouhou jiucu fang 葛洪肘後救卒方 (Ge Hong's Formulas for resuscitation to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	6 *juan*	*Tong zhi* 通志 (Comprehensive records)	1161[197]
Bu Zhouhou jiucu beiji fang 補肘後救卒備急方 (Supplement to Formulas for resuscitation and emergencies to keep on hand)	Tao Hongjing	6 *juan*	*Tong zhi* 通志 (Comprehensive records)	1161[198]
Zhouhou baiyi fang 肘後百一方	Tao Hongjing	unk.	*Tong zhi* 通志	1161[199]

[197] The *Tong zhi* is a wide-reaching history text written by Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104–1162). The *Yiwen lüe* 藝文略 is the bibliography section where these citations are found. See *Tong zhi* 通志 (Shanghai: Shanghai shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 69.881–2.

[198] *Tong zhi,* 69.881–2

[199] This is the same line found in the *Nan shi* mentioned above. See *Tong zhi*, 178.2857–3.

(101 formulas to keep on hand)			(Comprehensive records)	
Zhouhou baiyi fang 肘後百一方 (101 formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing	3 *juan*	*Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齊書錄解題 (Critical notes on the catalogue of the Upright Studio)	c. 1211–1249[200]
Ge Hong beiji baiyi fang 葛洪肘後備急百一方 (Ge Hong's 101 emergency formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	3 *juan*	*Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song)	1345[201]

[200] *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 is a private bibliography of the collection of Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (c. 1183–1262). As a book collector, he compiled over 50,000 *juan* of writings and annotated a catalogue. Only 22 of the original 56 *juan* of this catalogue survives, but it provides an important insight into a private collector's holdings. *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 13.386.

[201]The *Song shi* was compiled in 1345 by Tuo Tuo 脫脫 (Toghto) (1314–55), *Song shi*, 207.5306.

Ge xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang 葛仙翁肘後備急方 (Old Immortal Ge Hong's Emergency formulas to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	8 *juan*	*Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (Daoist canon of Zhengtong)	1445[202]
Zhouhou jiucu 肘後救卒 ([Formulas for] Resuscitation to keep on hand)	Ge Hong	3 *juan*	*Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏 (Daoist canon of Zhengtong)	1445[203]
Zhouhou beiji fang 肘後備急方	Ge Hong	8 *juan*	*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*	1781[204]

[202] This is the primary reference text for the surviving editions. *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, in *Zhengtong daozang,* 55.487a–655a. For a brief overview see Catherine Despeux, "Ge xianweng zhouhou beiji fang 葛仙翁肘後備急方," in *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, edited by Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 91.

[203] This is found in the preface attributed to Ge Hong. *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang, xu*.3 (55.488b).

[204] See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 103.2088–9.

(Emergency formulas to keep on hand)			四庫全書總目提要	
Zhouhou baiyi fang 肘後百一方 (101 formulas to keep on hand)	Tao Hongjing	3 *juan*	*Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Collected essentials of the Daoist canon)	early nineteenth century[205]

In addition to these, there is a possible reference mentioned in Ge Hong's own *Baopuzi nei pian* that was mentioned in the last chapter where it states *jiucu san juan* 救卒參卷.[206] Because of the uncertain nature of this line, I have not included it in the list above.

There are also numerous mentions of these titles in the medical literature. *Zhouhou fang* is the most common title and is found in the *Uibang yuchwi* 醫方類聚, *Ishinpō*, *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, *Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草, *Bencao huiyan* 本草彙言, *Beiji qian jin yao fang*, *Bencao yuanshi* 本草原始, *Waitai mi yao*, *Ming yi bei lu* 名醫別録, *Bencao tongxuan* 本草通玄, *Gujin yitong daquan* 古今醫統大全, *Puji fang* 普濟方, and *Taiping huimin heji jufang*. The *Bencao gangmu*, *Zhenglei bencao*, and the *Uibang yuchwi* also have the title *Ge Hong Zhouhou*

[205]*Daozang jiyao* 道藏輯要 (Chengdu: Erxian'an chong keben, 1906), 126–2.

[206]*Baopuzi nei pian*, 15.272. See more in chapter 2.

fang, and the *Furen daquan liang fang* lists *Ge Xianwen Zhouhou fang*. The two non-Chinese texts, *Uibang yuchwi* and *Ishinpō* list the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, and Li Shizhen in his *Bencao gangmu* has a single mention of *Ge Hong Zhouhou beiji fang*. Tao Hongjing's *Zhouhou baiyi fang* is also mentioned in the *Bencao gangmu*. Most of these titles are mentioned with formulas following that indicate that the instructions and treatment were from that particular text. More about these citations will be discussed in chapter 6.

An additional group of texts that are mentioned in the catalogues and must also be kept in mind are those works that have similar names but are attributed to different authors. These are important for several reasons: 1) References to the *Zhouhou fang* might in fact be references to these works, 2) These might be compilations or collections by other authors that include Ge Hong's formulas, 3) Ge Hong may have included these formulas, or 4) these might be completely original works, unrelated to Ge Hong's work.

Some of these works are:

Name	Author or compiler	Size	Source	Date
Bian Que Zhouhou fang 扁鵲肘後方 (Bian Que's Formulas to keep on hand)	Bian Que	3 *juan*	*Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui)	636[207]

[207] *Sui shu*, 34.1046.

Liu Kuang zhenren Zhouhou fang 劉貺真人肘後方 (Perfected Master Liu Kuang's Formulas to keep on hand)	Perfected Master Liu Kuang	3 *juan*	*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer Tang history)	1060[208]
Bian Que Zhouhou fang 扁鵲肘後方 (Bian Que's Formulas to keep on hand)	Bian Que	3 *juan*	*Tong zhi* 通志 (Comprehensive records)	1161[209]
Liu Kuang zhenren Zhouhou fang 劉貺真人肘後方 (Perfected Master Liu Kuang's Formulas to keep on hand)	Perfected Master Liu Kuang	3 *juan*	*Tong zhi* 通志 (Comprehensive records)	1161[210]

[208] *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1567.

[209] *Tong zhi*, 69.811–3.

[210] *Tong zhi*, 69.811–3.

Zuanji Han dai zhao Zhouhou fang 纂集韓待詔肘後方 (Compilation of Editorial Assistant Han's Formulas to keep on hand)	Editorial Assistant Han	1 *juan*	*Tong zhi* 通志 (Comprehensive records)	1161[211]
Han dai zhao Zhouhou fang 韓待詔肘後方 (Editorial Assistant Han's Formulas to keep on hand)	Editorial Assistant Han	1 *juan*	*Song shi* 宋史 (History of the Song)	1345[212]

Because none of these texts survive today, their content is unknown, and their existence adds only confusion to the enigma that is the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Though most references to the *Zhouhou fang* are assumed to refer to Ge Hong's formulas, it is nearly impossible to know if those citations are instead referring to one of these other formularies. At least one medical work mentions one of these formularies. The *Bian Que Zhouhou fang* is mentioned in the *Gujin yitong daquan* that was compiled by Xu Chunfu 徐春甫 (1520–1596) in 1556.[213] With only a single

[211] *Tong zhi*, 69.812–1.

[212] *Song zhi,* 207.5313.

[213] *Gujin yitong daquan* 古今醫統大全 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1978), 49.1422.

labeled formula extant, it is impossible to know the extent to which these formularies are related to the *Zhouhou beiji fang*.

The data above demonstrates that the line of transmission of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is far from clear. With various names and two early named compilers, Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and related works presents a challenging history from the fourth century to modern times. While the naming incongruities make it difficult to pinpoint a single text and a single author, the different attributions and related names do point to a likely connected lineage of sorts for connected emergency formularies.

THE MATTER OF SIZE

In addition to the various titles, the size of this text is also an area of uncertainty as can be noted from the two tables above. The modern received version of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is in eight *juan*. This version seems to have circulated at or around the Ming Dynasty since at least twelve citations of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* or similar texts from earlier periods show varying sizes between two and six *juan*. Only after 1445 does an eight *juan* edition appear. This is the foundation for the transmitted editions that exist today.

The earliest extant catalog reference for the *Zhouhou fang* is in the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 of the *Sui shu* where it is listed as having six *juan.* The now lost *Qi lu* ,compiled by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮孝緒 (479–536) in 523, is cited in this same line where it states there were only two *juan*. Ge Hong is recorded as the author, and Tao Hongjing's *Buque Zhouhou baiyi fang* in nine *juan*, is

also mentioned. The note ends stating these texts are lost.[214] Even in the first surviving catalog reference, there are three possible editions of varying size. Unfortunately, things didn't become any clearer over time.

Ge Hong's biography in the *Jin shu* mentions the *Zhouhou yaoji fang* and lists the text as having four *juan*. The *Jiu Tang shu* repeats this information, listing four *juan* under the name *Zhouhou jiu cu fang,* but also mentions Tao Hongjing's *Bu Zhouhou jiu cu beiji fang* in six *juan.* Later in the *Taiping yulan* the *Zhouhou fang* appears again and is listed as having only three *juan*. The *Xin Tang shu* and the *Tong zhi* list both works as having six *juan*, and the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* and *Song shi* list only three *juan*.

It is not until the *Zhengtong daozang* in 1445 that we finally see an eight *juan* edition. The *Zhouhou beiji fang* in eight *juan* is also found listed later in the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao.* The *Zhengtong daozang* also mentions the *Zhouhou jiu cu* in three *juan* in Ge Hong's preface, and in the *Daozang jiyao* Tao Hongjing's *Zhouhou baiyi fang* is also mentioned having three *juan*.

It is important to note that there is significant variation in what a *juan* was, and how big or small it was. *Juan* is a counting unit that etymologically means 'scroll' from 'to roll' or 'to roll over.'[215] While the meaning 'scroll' could fit, *juan* can also mean fascicle, chapter, or volume. Because of the long history and the discrepancies in size, it is also possible that the use of *juan* had different meanings regarding their division of the text at different periods of time.

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[214] See *Sui shu*, 34:1042.

[215] See Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 326.

This may have been done by the compiler of the text itself, or by the compiler of the catalogues in which the text is listed. In any case, a *juan* usually indicates a discrete section and depending on the form of the text, the size of these sections could vary.

It is certainly possible that through all of these *juan* divisions, there was a text of relatively consistent size that was divided differently into anywhere from two to nine parts. This seems unlikely but cannot be discounted. This inconsistency does lead to questions of authenticity as to what, if any, of the earliest works associated with Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing mentioned above are related to what survives today as the *Zhouhou beiji fang*.

In addition to this, in Ge Hong's preface he states that his work was compiled as a stripped-down version of a much larger text in order to make it easier to use.[216] Because of the nature of the text, an emergency medicine work that is intended to be a practical text to be easily accessed, it was compiled originally as something that could be easily carried and consulted. His title, which contains, *zhouhou* 肘後 (to keep on hand) further emphasizes its accessible nature.[217] The eight *juan* editions that exist today however, do not lend themselves to easily being carried around or consulted.

The discrepancies here point to a significant amount of change over the centuries from Ge Hong's earliest work to the modern editions. Despite the significant changes from the fourth

[216] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.2–3 (55.488a–b). See chapter 4 for a translation of this preface.

[217] Marta Hanson provides an excellent overview of many of the metaphors used in Chinese medical texts. She mentions several interpretations of *zhouhou*, the images it invokes, and how images such as these persist in Chinese medicine. See Hanson, "From Under the Elbow to Pointing to the Palm," 1–18.

century until the twelfth century, an edition emerged during the Khitan Liao dynasty 遼 (916–1125) that serves as the foundation text that brought about the modern editions that survive today.

TRANSMITTED EDITIONS – MING AND QING

Because of their shared origin, the modern received editions exhibit a significant amount of uniformity. There are several editions of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* that survive today. Some are from the Ming dynasty and several significant ones were published in the Qing. There are slight variations, but they are all based on an edition that stems from 1144. During the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) the scholar Yang Yongdao used an edition printed in the Liao dynasty to create the text that is the basis for the modern editions. He added formulas from later medical texts that he labeled "Additional formulas" to the end of many sections and titled his work *Fuguang Zhouhou fang* 附廣肘後方 (Expansion of Formulas to keep on hand).

The *Fuguang Zhouhou fang* served as the basis for a printing done during the early Yuan dynasty 元 (1271–1368) at the request of Provincial Surveillance Commissioner Wu Hou 連帥烏侯 (n.d.). Wu Hou obtained these prescriptions from a Mr. Guo in Pingxiang 平鄉 county who had received them from his father-in-law. Duan Chengji 段成己 (1199–1282), a well-known poet of the time, wrote a preface for this edition that is dated 1276.[218]

[218] Some scholars date this preface to 1336, but this is incorrect. Duan Chengji lived between 1199 and 1282. For more on Duan Chengji and his poetry see Tam Po-chi 譚寶芝, "A study of the Ci poetry of Duan Keji (1196–1251) and Duan Chengji (1199–1282) (段克己及段成己詞研究)," Unpublished. M. Phil. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1999. See Shen Shunong 沈澍農

The *Fuguang Zhouhou fang* also made its way to Korea where it was cited quite often in the *Uibang yuchwi* 醫方類聚 (Classified collection of medical formulas).[219] The text, which cites over 150 medical works and comprises 365 *juan,* was sponsored under the auspices of Sejong the Great 세종대왕 (r. 1418–50), the fourth king of the Joseon dynasty 조선 朝鮮 (1392–1897) in 1443. Though a draft was completed in 1445, it took over thirty more years before a complete run of thirty copies was printed.[220] Citing the *Zhouhou fang* and *Zhouhou beiji fang*, the *Uibang yuchwi* contains fourteen additional sections that do not survive in other editions.[221]

The Yuan dynasty edition was also incorporated during the Ming dynasty 明 (1368–1644) into the *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏. The *Zhengtong daozang* was compiled by the initial editor Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410)[222] under the Yongle Emperor 永樂帝 (r. 1403–24) but completed under his grandson the Zhengtong Emperor 正統帝 (r. 1436–49) and eventually printed in 1445. This edition survives as the *Daozang ben* 道藏本 (Daoist Canon

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ed. *Zhouhou beiji fang jiaozhu* 肘後備急方校注 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2016), preface 7, 5.

[219] See Okanishi Tameto 岡西為人. Sō izen iseki kō 宋以前醫籍考 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1956), 532.

[220] Cha Wung-seok 차웅석, "Foundations of Korean Medicine," in *Korean Medicine: Current Status and Future Prospects*, eds. Hyun-mi Jung, Halen Bak, Yuriy Pavlo Bilokonsky (Pusan: Pusan National University School of Korean Medicine, 2015), 13–37.

[221] See Okanishi Tameto, 532–3.

[222] Zhang Yuchu was the 43rd Heavenly Master who established a relationship between the Heavenly Master institution and the Ming dynasty that allowed for the development of the Daoist canon. For more on Zhang Yuchu, see Vincent Goossaert, "The Four Lives of Zhang Yuchu 張宇初 (1361–1410), 43rd Heavenly Master," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie: Vies taoïstes: communautés et lieux* 25 (2016): 1–30.

edition), and all other editions appear to be based on this one. In 1955, Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 printed an edition based on the *Daozang ben*.[223]

This *Daozang ben* is the basis for an incomplete Ming dynasty edition from Jiajing 30 嘉靖三十年 (1551) that was printed by the scholar and poet Lü Yong 呂顒 (fl. 1538) of Ningzhou 寧州.[224] This *Lü Yong ben* 呂顒本 (Lü Yong edition) contains only three of four volumes for a total of six *juan* and is held at the Shanghai Library.[225]

In 1574, Li Shi 李栻 (fl. 1565)[226] copied the *Fuguang Zhouhou fang* from the *Zhengtong Daozang* while at the Wudang 武當 mountains, forming an independent text.[227] He wrote a preface for this edition in Wanli 2 *jiaxu* 萬曆二年甲戌 (1574). Another scholar, Liu Zihua 劉

[223] See *Ge Hong Zhouhou beiji fang* 葛洪肘後備急方 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1955).

[224] Lü Yong 呂顒, whose *zi* was Yaocheng 幼誠, was a scholar and a poet from Ning prefecture (modern Ning County) in Gansu 甘肅 province who earned a second rank *jinshi* 進士 degree in 1538. For more see Zhao Jindan 趙金丹, "Mingdai ning zhou shiren Lü Yong kao 明代寧州詩人呂顒考," Journal of Ningxia University (Humanities and Social Sciences Edition) 40.3 (2018): 70–2, 89.

[225] See Xue Qinglu, 259.

[226] Li Shi 李栻, whose *zi* was Mengjing 孟敬, was a Ming dynasty collector, scholar, and soldier. He is better known for his compilation of the *Lidai xiaoshi* 歷代小史 (Lesser histories through the ages), a collection of *congshu* 叢書 containing 106 texts in 106 *juan*. He was from Nanchang 南昌 prefecture and earned a third rank *jinshi* degree in 1565.

[227] *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (1956; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983), 1a–b.

自化 (fl. 1565),[228] also had a copy, though scholars believe this was the same text.[229] This edition is the *Ming wanli keben* 明萬曆刻本 or the *Li Shi – Liu Zihua ben* 李栻–劉自化本 that exists in eight *juan*.[230] A copy of this edition was edited and published by the Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版 in 1956.[231] This edition also serves as the basis for most modern studies.

Another edition survives for which the Ming dynasty scholar Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639)[232] wrote a controversial preface to an edition from the *Daozhang ben* that was printed by his friend Hu Zunhua 胡遵化 (fl. 1589).[233] This edition, dated Wanli 3 *jiaxu* 萬曆三年甲戌

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[228] Li Zihua 劉自化, whose *zi* was Boshi 伯時, was a scholar from Gaoling 高陵 county in Shaanxi 陝西 who earned his *jinshi* degree the same year as Li Shi in 1565.

[229] Li Zihua's edition is listed in one of the many catalogues compiled by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818), the *Lianshiju cang shu ji* 廉石居藏書記 (Record of the collection from the studio of Enduring stone) *Nei pian* 內篇 1.21. See also Shen Shunong, preface 7–8 and also Okanishi Tameto, 538.

[230] See Xue Qinglu, 259.

[231] See *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (rpt. 1956, Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983).

[232] Chen Jiru 陳繼儒, whose *zi* was Zhongchun 仲醇, was a well-known calligrapher, landscape painter and author. For an in-depth study of Chen Jiru's colorful life and persona see Jamie Greenbaum, *Chen Jiru (1558–1639): The Development and Subsequent Uses of Literary Persona* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[233] Hu Zunhua 胡遵化, whose *zi* was Mengjin 孟晉 earned a third rank *jinshi* degree in 1589. He is referred to here as Hu Mengjin. Some sources give his *zi* as Caiyi 蔡一, but I believe this is an error. Hu was from Shangcai 上蔡 county in modern Henan 河南. Connecting Chen Jiru and this printing to the well-known scholar Hu Zunhua seems likely. Machi Senjuro 町 泉寿郎 makes this connection in two of his earlier articles about a work by a member of the Kojima 小島 family in Japan. See Machi Senjuro 町 泉寿郎, "小島宝素著·森立之写『河清寓記』－書名·人名事項索引－," *Journal of the Japanese Society for the History of Medicine* 43.4 (1997): 525–545, and "小島宝素著·森立之写『河清寓記』釈読 (上)," *Journal of the Japanese Society for the History of Medicine* 42.3 (1996): 399–410. The Kojima family was

(1575) has an additional preface written by Chen Qimou 陳奇謀 (fl. 1574).[234] Chen Qimou credits his brother Chen Jiyan 陳霽巖 (n.d.) with this edition and it is referred to as the *Chen Jiyan ben* 陳霽巖本.[235] Two Japanese print copies of this edition are found at the Academy of Chinese Medicinal Sciences library in Beijing. They are titled the *Zhouhou baiyi fang* from Enkyō 3 延享三年 (1746) and a reprint by Setsuyō shyorin 攝陽書林 in Hōreki 7 寶曆七年 (1757).[236] There is also a reprint copy revised by Kagawa Shūan 香川修庵 (1683–1755) held at the Main Library of Kyoto University.[237]

Aside from the Japanese editions, there are several editions that also appear in China during the Qing dynasty 清 (1644–1912). Again, they are all based on the *Daozang ben*. In

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known for collecting medical texts and many of these made their way back to China through the hands of Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915). Yang writes that one of the later members of the Kojima family, Kojima Naomasa 小島尚眞 (1829–1857) put together a supplementary edition of the *Zhouhou fang* and revised the work in detail. See For more see Benjamin A. Elman, "Rethinking the Sino-Japanese Medical Classics: Antiquarianism, Languages, and Medical Philology," and Mayanagi Makoto, with Takashi Miura and Mathias Vigouroux, "Yang Shoujing and the Kojima Family: Collection and Publication of Medical Classics," in *Antiquarianism, Language, and Medical Philology: From Early Modern to Modern Sino-Japanese Medical Discourses*, ed. Benjamin A. Elman (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1–19, 186–214. Hu Zunhua and his connection to this edition, as well as the Japanese transfer and return of editions of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* does need to be explored further.

[234] Chen Qimou whose *zi* is Jiayou 嘉猷 earned his *jinshi* degree in 1574. His preface has Chen Jiayou. Little is known about his brother Chen Jiyan.

[235] See Shen Shunong, preface 8.

[236] See Xue Qinglu, 259. For more on this edition and Chen Jiru's preface see Xiao Hongyan 肖紅艷, Yan Jilan 嚴季瀾, and Qian Chaochen 錢超塵, "Zhao Yuanyang yu Daozang ben 'Zhouhou beiji fang' zhi guanxi 趙原陽與道藏本《肘後備急方》之關係考," *Beijing zhongyiyao daxue xuebao: zhongyi linchuang ban* 19.2 (2012): 60–61.

[237] See *Zhouhou baiyi fang* 肘後百一方, ed. Kagawa shūan 香川修庵 (1683–1755) (1746 (Enkyō 延享三年); rpt. Osaka, 1757 (Hōreki 寶曆七年)). Digital Access via Kyoto Library RB00002987.

1794, Cheng Yongpei 程永培 (fl. 1794) included an edition in his *Liuli zhai yi shu* 六醴齋醫書 (Medical texts for the six ales and rituals).[238] This edition is based on the *Chen Jiyan ben.*[239]

The *Siku quanshu* edition also stems from the *Daozang ben*. The text that was used came from Fan Maozhu's 范懋柱 (1718–1788) library, Tianyige 天一閣, in Ningbo 寧波.[240] Fan Maozhu, whose *zi* was Hanheng 漢衡, was a descendent of Fan Qin 范欽 (1506–1585), a famous collector of books, who inherited the library of his ancestors. The edition is based on the *Lü Yong ben* or another edition directly from the *Daozang ben.*

Shang Zhijun 尚志鈞, a well-known philologist of *materia medica* has reconstructed a version of Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing's text titled *Buji Zhouhou fang* 補輯肘後方 (The Zhouhou fang supplemented edition).[241] He added thirty-two headings to bring the total to 101 mirroring Tao Hongjing's work the *Zhouhou baiyi fang*. He used various references to Ge Hong

[238] Chen Yongpei's *Liuli zhai yi shu*, sometimes called *Liuli zhai yi shu shi zhong* 六醴齋醫書十種, contains editions of lesser known but important formularies and medical works: *Chu shi yishu* 褚氏遺書, *Zhouhou beiji fang*, *Yuan heji yong jing* 元和紀用經, *Su Shen liang fang*, *Shi yao shen shu* 十藥神書, *Jiajian ling mi shiba fang* 加減靈秘十八方, *Han shi yi tong* 韓氏醫通, *Dou shen chuan xin lü* 痘疹傳心錄, *Zhen gong man lü* 折肱漫錄, *Shen rou wu shu* 慎柔五書, and several others. For the *Zhouhou beiji fang* edition, see *Liuli zhai yi shu* 六醴齋醫書 (Sutai: Cheng shi xiu jing tang, 1794), vol. 1–8. Digital Access via Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, 990060840370203941_FHCL:27279528.

[239] Interestingly, this edition has four prefaces at the beginning of the text (Li Shi, Duan Chengji, Ge Hong, and Tao Hongjing) and three at the end (Deer-call Mountain, Yang Yongdao, and Chen Jiayou) See more on these prefaces in the next section.

[240] *Siku quan shu zongmu tiyao*, 103.2088–9. See also Okanishi, 531.

[241] Shang Zhijun 尚志鈞 ed., *Buji Zhouhou fang* 補輯肘後方 (Hefei: Anhui kexue jishu chubanshe, 1983). For more on Shang Zhijun see, Peng Huasheng 彭華勝. "Dangdai zhuming bencao wenxian xue jia Shang Zhijun" 當代著名本草文獻學家尚志鈞. *Zhonghua yishi za zhi* 49.1 (2019): 34–37.

in other texts including the *Ishinpō*, *Bencao gangmu*, and the *Zhenglei bencao* as well as internal references to create a modern three *juan* edition. He added over 1,200 formulas that are not found in the transmitted editions.

BRINGING IT TOGETHER

While Ge Hong's text was compiled in the fourth century, it did not reach its current state until the fifteenth century when it was published as part of the *Zhengtong Daozang*. Although there are several editions, they are all derived from the *Daozang ben*. With the centuries that passed and a tumultuous history in China, there is potential for an unknown number of changes, and it is uncertain what the original nature of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* was, given the long-time gap between Ge Hong's original work and the transmitted edition.

Which formulas were part of Ge Hong's original work? What can be attributed to Tao Hongjing? Who else played a role in editing the text? Was it lost completely at some point and then recompiled using other works? Has commentary been incorporated into the main text? Even some of the revisions that should be clear, such as Yang Yongdao's additions to each heading, have some uncertainty when we consider the possibility of editing prior to its incorporation into the *Daozang*.[242]

With all of these possible changes, by the fifteenth century there was a relatively uniform text. This base edition forms the foundation for all of the various surviving editions and between these, there are only slight variations.

[242] See Xiao Hongyan et. al., "Zhao Yuanyang yu Daozang ben 'Zhouhou beiji fang' zhi guanxi 趙原陽與道藏本《肘後備急方》之關係考," 60–61.

CHAPTER 4 – CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

The *Zhouhou beiji fang,* as it survives in the *Daozang ben,* is divided into eight *juan*. There are prefaces at the beginning of each edition followed by a table of contents.[243] The table of contents lists *juan* numbers and the topic headings for each disease or ailment section. The first five *juan* have each of the headings numbered up until forty-two. Starting in the sixth *juan*, the headings are not numbered in the table of contents but are still numbered in the body of the text.

Following the table of contents is the main body of the text. Primary headings are indented, and then most sections have a short explanation of the disease or injury that will be treated with the following formulas. Individual formulas are then listed. Most sections have a primary formula, marked *yi fang* 一方, and subsequent formulas are typically marked with *you fang* 又方. Occasionally formulas are given attributions to authors or texts where they are taken from.

[243] The prefaces almost always occur at the beginning of the text, but occasionally, as in the *Liuli zhai yi shu*, they are divided before and after the text. For more on the *Liuli zhai yi shu,* see chapter 3.

PREFACES

There are five prefaces in the *Daozang ben* and additional prefaces that appear in later editions. While the most recent preface by Duan Chengji is placed first in the *Zhengtong daozang*, below they are listed in chronological order by date.[244] Three additional prefaces that provide insight into the later history of the text are also mentioned below.

1. GE HONG 葛洪 (284–343) – 葛仙翁《肘後備急方》序

The first preface to the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is attributed to Ge Hong himself. It is a short explanation of Ge Hong's motivation to provide a practical and easy text for laypersons to use for medical emergencies. He states that it is the stripped-down version of his 100 *juan* work on medical formulas, the *Yuhan fang*. The final product, titled, the *Zhouhou jiu cu*, consisted of three *juan*.[245]

2. TAO HONGJING 陶弘竟 (456–536) – 華陽隱居《補闕肘後百一方》序

[244] While there is speculation about the authenticity of some of these prefaces and their dates, I will keep them in the order assuming they were written by the author whom they are attributed to.

[245] See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.2–3 (55.488a–b). See also chapter 5.

The preface written by Tao Hongjing provides a detailed overview of his additions, corrections, and reorganization of the text. He does cite Ge Hong's preface, but it bears little resemblance to the preface ascribed to Ge Hong that precedes it. Tao Hongjing relates his expansion from eighty-six headings to 101 as well as his significant regrouping of disease types. He provides examples to clarify points of measurement, preparation, and dosing. He also gives the work a new title, the *Zhouhou baiyi fang*, and divides it into three parts that better reflect his updated organization. [246]

3. UNKNOWN AUTHOR (BETWEEN 653 AND 752) – 鹿鳴山續古序

The third preface is a rather mysterious, anonymous passage, that seems to be an amendment to a larger piece of writing. Written on Luming shan, the author describes updated measurements for length, weight, and dosing proportions. While undated, this was likely written after 653, but before 752.[247]

4. YANG YONGDAO 楊用道 (FL. 12TH CENTURY) – 《附廣肘後方》序

Yang Yongdao made corrections and additions to the text, and titled his new edition, *Fuguang zhouhou fang* (Expansion of Formulas to keep on hand). After first giving a brief

[246] See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.3–7 (55.488b–490b). See also chapter 5.

[247] See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.7–8 (55.490b–491a). See also chapter 5.

reference to ancient physicians and placing medicine in a sociopolitical context with various references to the classics, he stresses a need for simplifying medicine for the common people. He follows the lead of Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing and adds additional formulas in amended sections at the end of most headings. He recounts that he obtained an edition of the *Zhouhou fang* from the Qiantong 乾統 period (1101–1110), and using the *Zhenglei bencao* 証類本草 (Classified Materia Medica) of Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 (1056–1136),[248] created his new, revised edition in 1144.[249]

5. DUAN CHENGJI 段成己 (1199–1282) – 葛仙翁《肘後備急方》序

Duan Chengji gives a summary of Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing's prefaces and their desire for simple and effective formulas for the common people. He credits their connection to the Dao in their ability and diligence in selecting practical formulas, but laments that these formulas are being lost to time. He then shares a story in how a Mr. Wu Hou, an official, who while investigating the Northern Circuit of Henan obtained these from a Mr. Guo in Pingxiang 平鄉.[250] Mr. Guo had received them from his father-in-law who had acquired them from the administrative offices in the capital of Bian 汴.[251] Wu Huo had the prescriptions engraved due to

[248] Tang Shenwei was a Northern Song physician who is best known for compiling the *Jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao* 經史證類備急本草 (Classified *materia medica* for emergencies based on the Classics and Histories) also known as the *Zhenglei bencao*.

[249] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.8–10 (55.491a–4912a).

[250] Pingxiang was a county in modern Henan province.

[251] Bian is another name for Kaifeng 開封 which was the capital city at various times.

his overwhelming desire to preserve and share them out of his humanness and wish to alleviate the suffering of others.[252]

6. Li Shi 李栻 (fl. 1565) – 刻葛仙翁《肘後備急方》序

Li Shi is credited with creating an independent edition from the *Daozang ben*. He begins by quoting the famous scholar Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989–1052)[253] who mentions the Tang scholar Lu Zhi 陸贄 (754–805),[254] and ponders the depth and reach of the ancient people. After this, Li Shi states that he traveled to Wudang 武當 and copied the *Zhouhou beiji fang* from the *Daozang*. He cites the prefaces of Ge Hong and Tao Honging and praises their diligence in bringing clarity to medicine by making this formulary simple and practical. He also points to their being Daoists as playing a role in their understanding of medicine without being physicians and that if this can be believed, then this formulary is useful to anyone.

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[252] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.1–2 (55.487b–488a).

[253] Fan Zhongyan, whose *zi* was Xiwen 希文 was given the title Duke of Wenzheng 文正公 posthumously. Fan Zhongyan served as the prime minister of the Song but was sent into exile in his later years. In Li Shi's preface he is referred to as Fan Wenzheng. See *Zhouhou beiji fang* (Beijing, 1983), preface 1a–b.

[254] Lu Zhi, whose zi was Jingyu 敬輿 was given the posthumous name, Xuan 宣. He is referred to as Lu Xuangong 陸宣公 in this preface. See *Zhouhou beiji fang* (Beijing, 1983), preface 1a–b.

7. CHEN JIRU 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) – 題胡孟晋垂鐫仙翁《肘後備急方》序

During the Ming dynasty, Chen Jiru, best known for his calligraphy and landscape paintings, also added a preface to an edition printed by Hu Zunhua.[255] He begins by citing Shen Nong 神農 and the legend of him tasting 100 plants to determine their medical qualities. He later credits Zhao Yizhen 趙宜真 (d. 1382)[256] with editing Yang Yongdao's edition by adding formulas from the text, *Waike fang* 外科方 (Formulas for external treatment),[257] that he attributes to him.[258]

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[255] Chen Jiru refers to Hu Zhunhua by his *zi*, Mengjin. See chapter 3.

[256] Zhao Yizhen, whose zi was Yuanyang 原陽 was a Daoist master who became known as Zhao zhenren 趙真人 in his later years. Chen Jiru calls him Zhao Yuanyang, and also uses the abbreviation of the text, *Waike fang*. His authorship of several texts is questionable.

[257] The *Waike fang* is typically associated with *Waike ji yan fang* 外科集驗方 (Collected proven formulas from the discipline [concerned with] external [diseases and treatments]) or the *Waike mi chuan* 外科秘傳 (Secret transmissions from the discipline [concerned with] external [diseases and treatments]), attributed to the Yuan dynasty Daoist, Yang Qingsou 楊清叟 (fourteenth century). Zhao Yizhen states that the text passed through several hands before he received it. Yang Qingsou passed it to Wu Ningji 吳寧極. His son passed it to Mr. Li 李, who in turn, passed it to Zhao Yizhen. Zhao's disciple, Liu Yuanran 劉淵然 (1351–1431) edited the text before it became part of the Daozang. An expansion of the *Waike fang* is the *Xianchuan waike mifang* 仙傳外科秘方 (Secret formulas for external treatment, transmitted by the Immortals). For more, see Nathan Sivin, "Xianchuan waike bifang," *The Daoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang*, ed. Kristofer Schipper and Fanciscus Verellen (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), 777–8.

[258] The claims Chen Jiru makes in this preface are controversial. Recent scholarship argues against his claims of Zhao Yizhen's editing. While Zhao's disciple edited and added the *Wai ke fang* to the Daozang, it is unlikely that any of it was incorporated into the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. See Xiao Hongyan et.al, "Zhao Yuanyang yu Daozang ben 'Zhouhou beiji fang' zhi guanxi 趙原陽與道藏本《肘後備急方》之關係考," 60–61.

8. CHEN JIAYOU 陳嘉猷 (FL. 1574) – 重刊《备急方》序

Chen Jiayou added his preface in 1575, and as with his predecessors, he first looks back into antiquity. He first states that the way of medicine is long and difficult and mentions ancient physicians, Yi He 醫和, Bian Que, and Yu Fu 俞跗, echoing Ge Hong's original preface.[259] He follows by saying that over time formulas became complicated. This didn't change until Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing established emergency formulas that were easy to use with common herbs and acupuncture and moxibustion points that were easy to apply. He credits his brother, Chen Jiyan as being the one to publish Li Shi's edition and make these formulas available.

ORGANIZATION

The *Zhouhou beiji fang* as it survives in the *Daozang ben* is divided into eight *juan*. Following the prefaces there is a table of contents. Most of the headings listed are the same as those listed in the text. The few exceptions are noted below.

There are seventy-three headings listed, but only sixty-eight have content. Although thirty-seven has a name, it does not have any formulas listed. Headings forty-three through forty-six are missing. The organization is as follows:

[259] More on these physicians and a complete translation of Ge Hong's preface can be found in chapter 5.

JUAN ONE

1. 救卒中惡死方第一 Formulas to rescue from being struck by the malign causing [the appearance of] sudden death[260]
2. 救卒死尸厥方第二 Formulas to rescue from corpse-like condition from [qi] recession[261] causing [the appearance of] sudden death
3. 救卒客忤死方第三 Formulas to rescue from visiting hostility causing [the appearance of] sudden death
4. 治卒得鬼擊方第四 Formulas to treat sudden attack by demons
5. 治卒魘寐不寤方第五 Formulas to treat sudden nightmares and not waking from sleep[262]
6. 治卒中五尸方第六 Formulas to treat sudden and unexpected [affliction of the] five types of corpse [qi][263]

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[260] *Si* 死 (death) here refers to unconsciousness or the appearance of death. Being struck by the malign is a severe and rapid illness caused by hostile factors or malign *qi*. See Zhang Zhibin and Paul Unschuld, *Dictionary of the Ben Cao Gang Mu Volume I: Chinese Historical Illness Terminology* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), 682.

[261] *Huangdi nei jing su wen* 黃帝內經素問, (1956; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 18.126b.

[262] For a translation of this section, see Xing De 興德, *The Arts of Daoism*, trans. Johan Hausen and Allen Tsaur (Aukland: Purple Cloud Press, 2021), 391–398.

[263] Zhang and Unschuld, 543. For more on the concept of *shi qi* 尸氣 (corpse *qi*), see Zhang and Unschuld, 453–4. The *Zhu bing yuan hou lun* 諸病源侯論 (Discourse on the origins and symptoms of all diseases) by Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (fl. 605–616) goes into detail on many of the diseases listed in these headings. For corpse *qi*, see *Zhu bing yuan hou lun* 諸病源侯論, (1955; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 23.129a.

7. 治尸注鬼注方第七 Formulas to treat corpse [qi] influx and demonic influx[264]

8. 治卒心痛方第八 Formulas to treat sudden heartache[265]

9. 治卒腹痛方第九 Formulas to treat sudden abdominal pain

10. 治心腹俱痛方第十 Formulas to treat complete heartache and abdominal pain[266]

11. 治卒心腹煩滿方第十一 Formulas to treat sudden heart and abdominal vexation[267] and fullness

JUAN TWO

12. 治卒霍亂諸急方第十二 Various urgent formulas to treat sudden turmoil[268]

13. 治傷寒時氣温病方第十三 Formulas to treat cold damage, seasonal *qi*, and warm disorders[269]

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[264] Influx or *zhu* 注 stands for *zhu* 住 according the *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, which implies that the disease stays with or is attached to a patient for a significant amount of time. See *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, 24.130a and also Zhang and Unschuld, 203.

[265] See *Jinkui yao lüe fang lun* 金匱要略方論 (1956; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 1.26a and 1.27a and *Huangdi nei jing su wen*, 5.37a.

[266] See *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, 16.94b.

[267] Heart vexation is also mentioned in *Huangdi nei jing su wen*, 3.29a.

[268] For more on *huoluan* 霍亂, see chapter 5. *Huoluan* is first mentioned in the *Huangdi nei jing su wen*, 69.145b.

[269] Zhang and Unschuld take seasonal *qi* in this instance to mean the same as *tian xing* 天行 (heaven sent [disease]). See Zhang and Unschuld, 453. While this is one possibility, I think a more likely interpretation is diseases due to an abnormal or overabundance of the symptoms associated with seasonal climactic factors (wind, damp, etc…).

14. 治時氣病起諸勞復方第十四 Formulas to treat seasonal *qi* disorders that bring about various recurrences from exhaustion[270]
15. 治瘴氣疫癘温毒諸方第十五 Various formulas to treat miasmic qi, epidemics, and warm poisons

JUAN THREE

16. 治寒熱諸瘧方第十六 Various intermittent fever formulas to treat cold and heat [symptoms][271]
17. 治卒發癲狂病方第十七 Formulas to treat sudden effusion convulsions and manic illness[272]

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[270] *Laofu* 勞復 refers to a recurrence of symptoms from climactic factors after someone had already been seeming cured of a particular disease. This concept is described early in Chinese medicine in the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (Chongqing: Chongqing renmin chubanshe, 1995), 125 (line 393).

[271] *Nüe* 瘧 or *nüeji* 瘧疾 is commonly translated as malaria. While the modern medical understanding of a diagnosis of malaria as an infectious disease from the parasites from Plasmodium group spread by mosquitos, shares similar symptoms such as intermittent chills and fever, it is unknown if the vector was the same for *nüe* diseases. As Marta Hanson points out, the old English term 'malaria' is also inaccurate as it refers to disease caused by miasmas. See Marta E. Hanson, *Speaking of Epidemics in Chinese Medicine: Disease and the geographic imagination in late Imperial China* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 79–80.

[272] *Dian* 癲 has two distinct meanings in early Chinese medicine, but both are related to mental illness. The first meaning, as is implied here, is related to convulsions and spasmodic tics. See Ge Hong's description in this section, *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 3.7–8 (55.534b–535a). The other meaning is closer to depression or melancholy which is described in the *Ling shu jing* 靈樞經 (1956; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1984), 5.53b–55a. For more on mental illness in Ancient China see, Alexus McLeod, *The Dao of Madness: Mental Illness and Self-cultivation in Early Chinese Philosophy and Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).

18. 治卒得驚邪恍惚方第十八 Formulas to treat sudden fright malignance resulting in a trance-like state[273]
19. 治中風諸急方第十九 Various urgent formulas too treat wind strike
20. 治卒風瘖不得語方第二十 Formulas to treat sudden wind silence with inability to speak[274]
21. 治風毒脚弱痹滿上氣方第二十一 Formulas to treat of weakness and numbness of the legs, fullness, and rising qi from wind toxins[275]
22. 治服散卒發動困篤方第二十二 Formulas to treat sudden effusion agitation or constraint caused by the ingestion of powder[276]
23. 治卒上氣咳嗽方第二十三 Formulas to treat sudden rising *qi* and cough
24. 治卒身面腫滿方第二十四 Formulas to treat sudden body and facial swelling and fullness

JUAN FOUR

25. 治卒大腹水病方第二十五 Formulas to treat sudden upper abdominal water disease[277]

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[273] *Jing xie* 驚邪 (fright malignance) is when symptoms or a disease state are caused by fright. It is mentioned in the *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經 (Shanghai: Chunlian chubanshe, 1955), 1.28 and 1.36.

[274] For more on *feng* yin 風瘖 see *Beiji qian jin yaofang* 備急千金要方 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 14.255b–262b.

[275] *Shang qi* 上氣 (rising *qi*) is most often characterized by rapid breathing.

[276] This likely refers to side effects of drug powders such as 'cold food powder' or 'five stone powder.' See more in chapter 5.

[277] *Shui bing* 水病 (Water disease) is described in the *Huangdi nei jing su wen*, 16.117.

26. 治卒心腹癥堅方第二十六 Formulas to treat sudden heart and abdominal concretion-illness and hardness[278]
27. 治心腹寒冷食飲積聚結癖方第二十七 Formulas to treat collection of nodular aggregations in the heart and abdomen from cold food and drink accumulation
28. 治胸膈上痰癃諸方第二十八 Various formulas to treat phlegm in the chest and above the diaphragm causing urine retention[279]
29. 治卒患胸痹痛方第二十九 Formulas for sudden suffering from chest blockage with pain
30. 治卒胃反嘔方第三十 Formulas for sudden upset stomach and vomiting[280]
31. 治卒發黃疸諸黃病第方三十一 Formulas to treat sudden jaundice and all [other types of] jaundice causing diseases[281]
32. 治卒患腰脇痛諸方第三十二 Various formulas to treat sudden suffering from sudden lumbar and side pain
33. 治虛損羸瘦不堪勞動方第三十三 Formulas to treat depletion detriment, emaciation and thinness, inability to stand, and physical exhaustion
34. 治脾胃虛弱不能飲食方第三十四 Formulas to treat spleen and stomach deficiency with an inability to eat and drink

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[278] These are nodules or masses that form from stagnant blood. See *Shennong bencao jing*, 3.93.

[279] *Long* 癃 refers to urine retention or slow passage or dribbling of urine.

[280] *Wei fan* 胃反 literally means stomach turnover.

[281] *Huang dan* 黃疸 and *huang bing* 黃病 are both usually translated as jaundice. In this chapter Ge Hong lists *huang dan* alongside four other *dan* disorders; *gu dan* 穀疸, *jiu dan* 酒疸, *nü dan* 女疸, and *lao dan* 勞疸. *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 4.28–9 (55.572a–b).

35. 治卒絕粮失食飢憊欲死方第三十五 Formulas to treat fatigue and longing to die due to famine or lack of food

JUAN FIVE

36. 治癰疽妬乳諸毒腫方第三十六 Formulas to treat abscesses and infections, breast mastitis, and all toxic swellings[282]
37. 治腸癰肺癰方第三十七 Formulas to treat intestinal abscesses and lung abscesses[283]
38. 治卒發丹火惡毒瘡方第三十八 Formulas to treat sudden onset of cinnabar fire, maligned and toxic sores[284]
39. 治瘑癬疥漆瘡諸惡瘡方第三十九 Formulas to treat lair-illness, ringworm, scabies, lacquer sores, and all maligned sores[285]
40. 治卒得癩皮毛變黑方第四十 Formulas to treat sudden repudiation-illness causing the skin and body hair to turn black[286]

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[282] For more on *yong ju* 癰疽, see chapter 4.

[283] While there is a section heading for thirty-seven, the formulas listed are for the next heading (38) or the following (39). There is disagreement among scholars as to where the division lies. What is clear though is that the formulas under heading thirty–seven have been lost.

[284] *Chuang* 瘡 can also refer to wounds, but here it is likely referring to sores

[285] *Guo* 瘑 or *guo chuang* 瘑瘡 are sores that gradually progress from itching and painful sores but if they are scratched and progress they generate worms and bugs. See Zhang and Unschuld, 203–4. For more, see the *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, 35.184b. *Qi chuang* 漆瘡 is a topical skin reaction to contact with lacquer where it becomes red, itchy, and inflamed. This refers to an allergic reaction causing contact dermatitis.

[286] *Lai* 癩 or *lai bing* 癩病 is a disease caused by wind invasion that affects and damages all body systems. See *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, 37.199b. Shen Shunong states that *bian hei* 變黑 should be read *bianyi* 變異. Shen Shunong, 208. He cites the *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, where it states under the heading *wu lai hou* 烏癩侯, "凡癩病皆是惡風及犯觸忌害所得初覺皮毛變異。"

41. 治卒得蟲鼠諸瘻方第四十一 Formulas to treat all ulcerations from a sudden insect or rat [bite/sting]
42. 治卒陰腫痛頹卵方第四十二 Formulas to treat sudden scrotal swelling, ache, and distended testicles

JUAN SIX[287]

43. 治目赤痛暗昧刺諸病方第四十三 Formulas to treat red eyes, pain, darkening vision, irritation from object in eye and all types of disease [of the eyes][288]
44. missing[289]
45. missing
46. missing
47. 治卒耳聾諸病方第四十七 Formulas to treat sudden deafness and all types of disease [of the ears]
48. 治耳為百蟲雜物所入方第四十八 Formulas to treat 100 parasites that have entered the ear[290]

Later in the same section of the *Zhu bing yuan hou lun* however, it states that this is also called *hei lai* 黑癩, and notes the further progression of the illness. See *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, 2.16a–b.

[287] Starting in the sixth *juan*, the headings are no longer numbered in the table of contents at the beginning of the text. See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang, mulu*.3–5 (55.493b–494b). There are numbers listed with the headings within the text.

[288] The 1955 Renmin weisheng chubanshe edition has this heading labeled as number forty. This seems to be a typo as the *Daozang ben* and other earlier editions have forty-three.

[289] Headings forty-four through forty-six do not have titles or formulas.

[290] 100 parasites refers to all types of parasites. It is similar to the concept of *bai bing* 百病 100 diseases which refers to all diseases.

49. 治卒食噎不下方第四十九 Formulas to treat sudden choking on food

50. 治卒諸雜物鯁不下方第五十 Formulas to treat sudden choking from various bits and pieces of fishbone

51. 治卒誤吞諸物及患方第五十一 Formulas to treat sudden suffering from accidentally swallowing various substances

52. 治面皰髮禿身臭心慴鄙醜方第五十二 Formulas for acne, balding, body odor, mental confusion, and rough blemishes[291]

JUAN SEVEN

53. 治為熊虎爪牙所傷毒痛方第五十三 Formulas to treat toxic pain from injuries sustained from bear or tiger scratches and bites

54. 治卒有猘犬凡所咬毒方第五十四 Formulas to treat toxic bites from monkeys or dogs[292]

55. 治卒毒及狐溺棘所毒方第五十五 Formulas to treat sudden toxicity from poisonous fox urine on thorns[293]

56. 治卒青蛙蝮虺衆蛇所螫方第五十六 Formulas to treat sudden bites from greenish vipers, pit vipers, other vipers and many [other] snakes[294]

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[291] While it is unclear what the connection is between the conditions listed in the heading, it is interesting to note that in modern Western medicine, these symptoms are sometimes associated together in patients with hormone imbalances.

[292] The heading in the table of contents is simply 治卒為猘犬所咬毒方.

[293] This section appears to be specifically for the treatment of horses. See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 6.4–6 (55.627a–628a).

[294] I am reading *wa* 蛙 as *kui* 蝰. The *Waitai miyao* has *qing kui* 青蝰 for *qing wa* 青蛙 and specifically refers the the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. See *Waitai miyao*, 40.1121b. *Qingkui* is another type of poisonous viper and makes much more sense given the rest of the heading. Li Shizhen

57. 治蛇瘡敗蛇骨刺人入口繞身諸方第五十七 Various formulas to treat snake wounds that have putrefied where snake bone pierced the person's mouth and distorts their body

58. 治卒入山草禁辟衆蛇藥術方第五十八 Herbal and esoteric formulas to treat sudden [emergencies] when entering the mountain wilderness to prohibit and repel many snakes

59. 治卒蜈蚣蜘蛛所螫方第五十九 Formulas to treat sudden stings from centipedes and spiders

60. 治卒蠆螫方第六十 Formulas to treat sudden sting from a long-tailed scorpion[295]

61. 治卒蜂所螫方第六十一 Formulas to treat sudden sting from a bee

62. 治卒蝎所螫方第六十二 Formulas to treat sudden sting from a short-tailed scorpion

63. 治中蠱毒方第六十三 Formulas to treat being suddenly struck by *gu* toxin[296]

64. 治卒中溪毒方第六十四 Formulas to treat being suddenly struck by stream toxins

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discusses *qingkui* in his section on vipers and section on various snakes. *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 43.79 and 43.83–4. 蝮 fu is a type of pit viper, commonly identified as the Breficaude pit viper (*Agkistrodon halys* Pallas). See Li Shizhen, *Ben Cao Gang Mu, Volume VII*: *Clothes, Utensils, Worms, Insects, Amphibians, Animals with Scales, Animals with Shells*, trans. Paul U. Unschuld (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 615. Hui 虺 is another type of viper. There is a detailed discussion on the *fu* and *hui* in the *Bencao gangmu*, 43.79.

[295] *Chai* 蠆 and *xie* 蝎 are both scorpions and are likely different species or simply alternate names from different regions. In Li Shizhen's entry on *xie* 蠍 he cites Xu Shen's *Shouwen jiezi* 說文解字 which differentiates 蠍 and 蠆 scorpions. Unfortunately, this line is not found in the *Shouwen jiezi* editions that survive today. It has either been lost or is a misattribution by Li Shizhen. See *Bencao gangmu*, 40.102.

[296] *Gu* 蠱 was a poison that has had various meanings in history. While *gu* has been a topic of discussions in various works, Chao Yuanfang discusses *gu* from a medical perspective that seems most connected to Ge Hong's treatments here. See *Zhu bing yuan hou lun*, 25.716–18. For more information on *gu* see Liu, 69–73.

65. 治卒中射工水弩毒方第六十五 Formulas to treat being suddenly struck by sand-spitter or a water sand-spitter toxin[297]

66. 治卒中沙虱毒方第六十六 Formulas to treat being suddenly struck by sand flea toxin[298]

67. 治卒服藥過劑煩悶方第六十七 Formulas to treat sudden vexation with heart pressure from taking medicine[299]

68. 治卒中諸藥毒救解方第六十八 Useful formulas to treat being suddenly struck by various types of medicinal poisons[300]

69. 治食中諸毒方第六十九 Formulas for all types of poisoning from ingesting food

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[297] *Shegong* 射工 and *shuinu* 水弩 are other names for a *yu* 蜮. See *Han shu*, 27.1463. A *yu* is a legendary creature that lived near water that could shoot people with its *qi* leading to disease and death. Ge Hong discusses it in the *Baopuzi nei pian*, where he describes it shooting people and causing sores and death within ten days. See *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 17.306. This is likely a bombardier beetle such as *Calasoma chinense* Kirby. See Bernard E. Read, *Chinese Materia Medica: Insect Drugs* (Peiping: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1941), 178–9 and also, Hu Miao 胡淼, *Shi jing de kexue jiedu* 《詩經》的科學解讀 (Shanghai: Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 2007), 353–5.

[298] *Shashi* 沙虱 is also written *shashi* 沙蝨. Ge Hong discusses this type of flea that is found in the water of the southern regions in the *Baopuzi nei pian*. See *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 17.306–7. Li Shizhen cites this passage in the *Bencao gangmu*, 42.47–8. Unschuld identifies *shashi* as the caddis fly (*Phryganea japonica* MI.). See Li Shizhen, 42.501. While possible for a drug identification, the pathological description is unlikely as caddis fly and their larvae are not typically considered dangerous. There is the possibility of them carrying a parasitic infection that they pass to humans in certain regions, but this needs to be explored further. Another consideration is *Tunga penetrans* L., is also commonly known as sand fleas or jiggers that produce severe skin infections and can cause death. *Tunga penetrans* produce symptoms similar to *Trombicula* species of mite (chiggers) found in North America. While *Trombicula* infestation will pass, *Tunga penetrans* infestation can stay with the host for life if not properly treated. Since they share a common name and cause a dangerous parasitic infection in humans, *Tunga penetrans* is another possibility for identification.

[299] *Fanmen* 煩悶 is described in the *Huangdi nei jing su wen*, 9.68.

[300] This section provides antidotes to poisoning from common medical substances.

70. 治防避飲食諸毒方第七十 Formulas to protect from various poisons in food and drink[301]
71. 治卒飲酒大醉諸病方第七十一 Formulas to treat sudden affliction of various illness from being greatly intoxicated from drinking alcohol

JUAN EIGHT

72. 治百病備急丸散膏諸要方第七十二 Various essential formulas to treat 100 illnesses using emergency pills, powders, and plasters
73. 治牛馬六畜水穀疫癘諸病方第七十三 Various disease formulas to treat epidemic pestilence affecting oxen, horses, the six animals, water, and grain

STRUCTURE AND CONTENT

The eight *juan* are of varying sizes and contain a vast array of formulas. There is some discrepancy for the number of formulas in the text because many can be lumped together as variations of a single or primary formula, others are collections of prohibitions, and some formulas are anecdotes that describe a method someone used successfully. Below are the approximate numbers for the formulas.

[301] This section is largely prohibitions against certain foods or food combinations.

Juan Number	Number of Headings	Ge Hong & Tao Hongjing Formulas	Yang Yongdao Formulas	Total Formulas
卷一	11	210	45	255
卷二	4	221	47	268
卷三	9	209	124	333
卷四	11	159	101	260
卷五	7 (-1)	159	114	273
卷六	7	119	105	224
卷七	19	230	82	312
卷八	2	26	3	29

Totals[302]	70 (-1)	1,333	621	1,954

FORMULA TYPES

As the text is organized by ailment, there are various types of formulas that are used in each chapter. These include formulas for moxibustion, acupuncture, drugs from a variety of sources, manual therapies and rituals including the use of talismans, incantations and common utensil items, and dietary recommendations. These major categories of formulas demonstrate an amazing diversity of treatment protocols that, though many are simple and straight forward as Ge Hong claims, others are quite complicated. Most formulas fit into the categories below.

1. MOXIBUSTION

There are nearly one hundred moxibustion formulas in the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Moxibustion entails burning mugwort herb, *ai cao* 艾草 or *ai ye* 艾葉[303] over regions of the body or at specific acu-points. Many of these formulas are found in the second *juan* under heading

[302] The numbers vary slightly in each edition. There is also some discrepancy depending on how formulas are counted. Some formulas are variations of primary formulas, others are prohibitions, and others are success stories of what someone did when they were afflicted with an ailment. For a complete survey of the formulas in the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, see Feng Li 馮驪, "Quantitative Analysis of the formula of Ge Hong's *Zhouhou beiji fang*" 葛洪《肘後備急方》的藥方定量風析 *Journal of Xinxiang Meical College* 23.2 (2006): 174–6.

[303] Cones used for moxibustion were (and still are) made from several possible species of the *Artemisia* genus. The most commonly used herbs are *Artemisia argyi* Lévl. et Vant. and *Artemisia vulgaris* L.

twelve to treat sudden turmoil.[304] This section alone accounts for eighteen moxibustion formulas. The method used by Ge Hong was to burn between three and one hundred cones of moxa on various points.[305]

2. DRUGS

Drugs make up the majority of the formulas in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* accounting for approximately 66% of the total formulas attributed to Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing.[306] The types of drugs that are used run the full spectrum of drugs found in the Chinese *materia medica*. Herbs, animals, minerals, and human products are all used in formulas. Some of the formulas are simples, containing only one substance, but many of them contain multiple ingredients blended in precise quantities. Many of the drugs were ingested, but topical applications also account for a significant number of drug formulas.

3. ACUPUNCTURE

While the acupuncture described in the times of Ge Hong differs dramatically from the styles practiced in modern times, the practice of inserting needles into precise points on the body

[304] For an analysis on the acupuncture and moxibustion formulas in the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, see Chen Chi-fang 陳麒方 and Sun Mao-feng 孫茂峰, "Ge Hong Zhouhou fang zhi zhenjiu si xiang chutan 葛洪周後方之針灸思想初探," *Taipei Journal TCM* 20.1 (2017): 25–35.

[305] Chen Yong, Le Yi-min, and Wei Jia. "Acupuncture-Moxibustion Theories of Ge Hong," *Journal of Acupuncture and Tuina Science* 11.2 (2013): 129–132.

[306] Feng Li, 175.

to elicit a predictable health outcome was used very early in the history of Chinese medicine. Using common acu-points, with simple measurements and descriptions, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* lists six formulas using acupuncture.

4. Manual and Ritual

Manual and ritual techniques account for over two hundred of the formulas attributed to Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing. These include using talismans, incantations, physically placing objects on or near a person, using livestock to elicit an intended response, among other techniques. Some of the formulas, such as those using talismans, still survive in Daoist traditions and have been passed down through Daoist lineages.

5. Dietary

Dietary formulas occur in two major forms. The first are food suggestions to treat or cure a wide range of illnesses. The second form is dietary prohibitions. Some prohibitions are simple suggestions for foods to avoid if suffering from an ailment, and others are prohibitions in food combining (e.g., when eating fish, do not combine with black chicken meat).[307]

[307] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 7.41 (55.645b).

THE FINAL FORM

With nearly two thousand formulas, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is a treasure trove of medical treatments from the fourth to the twelfth century. From herbs, minerals, animal, human, and utensil drugs to acupuncture, moxibustion, incantations, and talismans, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* uses a remarkable variety of methods to treat a wide variety of diseases, illnesses, wounds, and ailments.

From Ge Hong's first edition to the surviving editions the text has undergone an unknown number of changes, and we cannot know for certain how closely related the form of the text today is to Ge Hong's original work. The many hands that the text has passed through, not only add to the confusion in some instances, but also provide clarification and insight into the process of how this formulary grew and evolved into what it is today. The text that survives, though only eight *juan*, is dense with detail and overflowing with clinical pearls stretching over centuries.

PART 3: FORMATION

CHAPTER 5 – THE MAKING OF AN EMERGENCY MEDICINE FORMULARY

As discussed previously, it is very clear that the received text called the *Zhouhou beiji fang* has been modified throughout history. The various names associated with the text, multiple prefaces, and editors and annotators that have blended their work with the 'original' text[308] point to a composite work created over hundreds of years.

The text is credited to Ge Hong, but as we have seen, other scholars and physicians expanded and modified the text. The relationship of the original work by Ge Hong and the surviving texts found in the Daoist canon is challenging to determine. By looking closely at the text, we can better understand not only how Ge Hong created the foundational *Zhouhou fang* work, but also how it expanded into the extensive medical text that survives today.

[308] See Qiu Peiran, 382.

GE HONG

The *Zhouhou beiji fang* is attributed to Ge Hong though it is well known that much of the text was not by Ge Hong at all. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is a preface attributed to Ge Hong which gives an overview of his process and motivation to write the *Zhouhou beiji fang*.

The preface attributed to Ge Hong has a briefly introduced by an editor. It first lists an alternative name, *Zhouhou cu jiu fang* (Emergency and revival formulas to keep on hand). It then says that Yinju[309] gave it another name, *Baiyi fang* (101 formulas). Ge Hong is then introduced as Ge Zhichuan[310] from Danyang. The passage that follows is presumably Ge Hong's own preface. The entire preface reads:

《葛洪肘後備急方》序

（亦名《肘後卒救方》，隱居又名《百一方》）

抱朴子丹陽葛稚川曰：余既窮覽墳索，以著述余暇，兼綜術數，省仲景元化劉戴秘要金匱綠秩黃素方，近將千卷。患其混雜煩重，有求難得，故周流華夏九州之中，收拾奇異，捃拾遺逸，選而集之，便種類殊，分緩急易簡，凡為百卷，名曰玉函。然非有力不能盡寫，又見周甘唐阮諸家，各作備急，既不能窮諸病狀，兼多珍貴之藥，豈貧家野居所能立辦？又使人用針，自非究習醫方，素識《明堂流注》者，則身中榮衛尚不知其所在，安能用針以治之

[309] This refers to Tao Hongjing, whose *hao* was Huayang Yinju 華陽隱居 (The Recluse of Huayang).

[310] Zhichuan is Ge Hong's *zi*.

哉！是使鳧雁摯擊，牛羊搏噬，無以異也，雖有其方，猶不免殘害之疾。余今采其要約以為《肘後救卒》三卷，率多易得之藥，其不獲已須買之者，亦皆賤價，草石所在皆有，兼之以灸，灸但言其分寸，不名孔穴。凡人覽之，可了其所用，或不出乎垣籬之內，顧眄可具。

苟能信之，庶免橫禍焉！世俗苦於貴遠賤近，是古非今，恐見此方，無黃帝倉公和鵲踰跗之目，不能採用，安可強乎？

Preface to the *Zhouhou beiji fang* by Ge Hong.

Also named, *Zhouhou cu jiu fang* (Formulas for emergency and revival to keep on hand).

Yinju gave it another name, *Baiyi fang* (101 Formulas).

The Master Who Embraces Simplicity, Ge Zhichuan from Danyang says, "I have thoroughly and carefully read the ancient texts[311] and during leisure moments from composing and compiling, comprehensively assembled [materials on] occult and technical arts. I examined the formulas of Zongjing,[312] Yuanhua,[313] Liu

[311] *Fen suo* 墳索 refers to ancient texts, but literally means "mounds and cords." It refers to three mounds and eight cords in a line from the *Zuo zhuan* where it states, 「三墳五典八索九丘。」 See *Chunqiu zuo zhuan zhu*, 4.1340.

[312] This refers to Zhang Ji whose *zi* is Zongjing. A similar passage can be found in *Baopuzi nei pian.* See *Baopuzi nei pian jiaoshi*, 15.272.

[313] Yuanhua 元化 is the *zi* of Hua Tuo 華佗. For more on Hua Tuo, see his biographies in the *Sanguo zhi* 29.799–803 and *Hou Han shu*, 82.2736–41.

[An?],[314] Dai [Ba],[315] *Miyao* (The Secret methods),[316] *Jin gui lüzhi* (The Golden coffers in the green case),[317] and *Huang su fang* (Formulas written on yellow silk),[318] which amounts to almost 1000 *juan*.

I was troubled by their scrambling things together and their being tedious and repetitious, so that it was difficult to find things in them. Therefore, I completely traversed throughout the nine provinces, collected, and organized the strange and

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[314] Some commentators consider this to be Liu An 劉案. Liu Xiang is also mentioned numerous times in the *Baopuzi* and is another possibility. It is interesting to note that both of these individuals are not listed in the expected order which would typically have the authors named in chronological order.

[315] Dai Ba 戴霸 is the full name given in the *Baopuzi nei pian*, but this individual remains unidentified. See *Baopuzi nei pian*, 15.272.

[316] Mi yao 秘要 most likely refers to the *Cang gong jue shengsi miyao* 倉公訣生死秘要 (Cang gong's private teachings on the secret methods of life and death) that is listed in the *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目 (General catalogue of the Academy for the veneration of literature) compiled by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 (1003–1058). See Okanishi Tameto, 145–146. It also appears in the *Tong zhi* and the *Song shi* has a related title, *Cang gong jue shengsi miyao* 倉公決死生秘要 (Cang gong's secret methods that determine death and life). See *Tong zhi*, 69.810b and *Song shi*, 207.5304.

[317] The *Baopuzi nei pian* has *Jin gui lüzhi* 金匱綠囊. I am reading *zhi* 秩 as 帙. 帙 is a variant for 袠, and all three share the same pronunciation and stand for the same word here. This is a likely substitute which fits with the *Baopuzi* passage above. See *Baopuzi nei pian,* 15.272.

[318] This is likely the *Huang su fang* 黃素方 by Cui Zhongshu 崔中書 who is mentioned in the *Baopuzi nei pian*. *Zhongshu* is likely a title meaning Vice Director of the Secretariat. While there is a Cui Jishu 崔季舒 (c. sixth century) who served as *zhongshu* for the Eastern Wei prince, Gao Cheng 高澄 (521–599), mentioned in the *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (History of the Northern Qi Dynasty) compiled by Li Baiyao 李百藥 (564–647) in 636, who became known for his medical expertise, he lived after Ge Hong's time, and if this preface was indeed written by Ge Hong it could not have been the Cui Zhongshu mentioned here. See *Bei Qi shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), 39.511–3. Another possible reading for *Huang su fang* is, "*Prescriptions of Huangdi and Su nü*."

unusual [formulas]. I collected what had been lost and vanished, selected, and gathered them, so that the categories are distinctly divided in order of importance and simplicity. Altogether it consists of one hundred *juan.* I name it *Yu han* (The Jade case). However, only with considerable effort did I finish writing it.

I also saw that all of the various specialists; Zhou, Gan, Tang, and Ruan,[319] each of whom composed their own emergency preparations, but were unable to completely address all disease conditions, and who at the same time used many rare and expensive drugs, how are poor families and [those in] rural locations able to expeditiously manage?

Furthermore, suppose people use acupuncture, but unless they themselves are completely versed in medical prescriptions, and are familiar with the *Mingtang liuzhu* (Continuous flow from the luminous hall)[320], the location for construction

[319] These names remain unidentified.

[320] The *Mingtang liuzhu* is a lost text mentioned in the notes under the title *Huangdi liuzhu mai jing* 黃帝流注脈經 (Huangdi's Canon of the continuous flow of the pulse) in the "Jingji zhi" of the *Sui shu*. The entry lists the *Huangdi liuzhu mai jing* as one *juan* and then states that in Liang 梁 (502–557) there was the *Mingtang liuzhu* in six *juan*, but they are lost. See *Sui shu,* 34:1040. The entry is unclear if they are the same text, but it seems likely that their content centered around diagnostics, specifically the pulse and the flow of blood and *qi*. In Sun Simiao's "Dayi xi ye" 大醫習業 (The Professional practice of a great physician) of the *Beiji qian jin yaofang,* he lists the *Mingtang liuzhu* as one of several major works that physicians must be familiar with. The *Su wen* 素問 (Simple questions) and the *Zhenjiu jia yi jing* 針灸甲乙經 (A-B Canon of acupuncture and moxibustion), among others, are also listed. See *Beiji qian jin yaofang*, 1.1a.

Ge Hong also mentions the *Mingtang liuzhu* in the *Baopuzi nei pian* when discussing his compiling the *Yu han fang*. The Baopuzi asks how one is able to practice medicine if they do not consult the *Mingtang liuzhu yance tu* 明堂流注偃側圖 (Supine and side images of continuous flow from the Luminous Hall). Wang Ming's commentary references two other texts in the

[of blood] and defensive [qi][321] will still be unknown. How can they be able to use acupuncture in order to treat it?

This is no different from making ducks and geese clutch and strike each other, and oxen and sheep pounce on and bite each other. Though they have their formulas, they cannot avoid injurious illness.

I now have selected the ones that are vital and bound them together to form the *Zhouhou jiucu* ([Formulas for] Resuscitation to keep on hand) in three *juan*.[322]

'Jingji zhi' of the *Sui shu*; the *Huangdi mingtang yan ren tu* 黃帝明堂偃人圖 (Huangdi's Images of a supine person from the Luminous Hall) in twelve *juan* and *Bian Que yance zhenjiu tu* 扁鵲偃側鍼灸圖 (Bian Que's Supine and side acupuncture and moxibustion images) in three *juan*. See *Baopuzi nei pian* 15:272, 280.

One of the earliest surviving medical illustrations found in the library cave at Dunhuang prominently features a manuscript from a text dating from approximately 861 CE with the modern title, *Xinju beiji jiujing* 新集備急灸經 (Newly compiled Canon of emergency moxibustion) where 'Ming Tang' is written above a person's upper torso (the bottom half of the manuscript has been destroyed). It is possible that this manuscript is a later copying of the texts referred to by Ge Hong. See Wang Shumin 王淑民 and Gabriel Fuentes, "Chinese Medical Illustration: Chronologies and Categories," *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, eds. Vivienne Lo et. al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 30–31.

Shen Shunong states that *mingtang liuzhu* refers to the understanding of the cyclic flow and circulation of qi and blood in the body. See Shen Shunong, 7 n.7. *Mingtang* also refers to an acupoint called 'Illuminated Hall' which corresponds to Governor vessel point 23 and is found approximately one inch back from the hairline in the center at the top of the head. While these correspondences are related, Ge Hong is likely referring to the text above and these relationships are likely where the text draws its name.

[321] There is a common saying in Chinese medicine, *weiqi rongxue* 衛氣榮血, that refers to the *Huangdi nei jing*, where *rong* 榮 is used for *ying* 營. See *Huangdi nei jing su wen*, 17.122

[322] It is interesting to point out the transposing of the characters *jiucu* 救卒 here where above we see *cu jiu* 卒救 in the alternative title.

Categorically, [these formulas] contain mostly simple and common herbs. Those [herbs] that someone has difficulty to obtain, and require that they purchase them, for their part, they are all low-cost and these herbs and minerals can all be found everywhere.

Furthermore, regarding the use of moxibustion,[323] I only mention the precise location of moxibustion, not the name of the point.
Ordinary people can adopt [these formulas] and are able to understand their use. Perhaps they will not go inside the courtyard,[324] but will have the ability to turn back [and show their good health].[325]

If one can trust this, then numerous people can avoid unexpected calamity! Generations have customarily suffered from revering the past and despising the present. They are afraid to look at these prescriptions believing the ancients are correct and those of today are wrong.

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[323] This is often translated as *cauterization*, but because the substance often mentioned in the text is *ai cao* 艾草 (mugwort), moxibustion seems more appropriate.

[324]"Inside the courtyard" means to go in depth in their understanding of the prescriptions or something to that effect. There is a similar line in the fifth preface where Yang Yongdao writes *li mo* 藺陌.

[325] *Gumian* 顧眄 is a reference to Ma Yuan 馬援, the general that Ge Hong was named after when he was given the title *Fubo jiangjun*. When Ma Yuan was in his sixties, to demonstrate his health and fitness to the emperor before for battle, he put on his armor, mounted his horse, and then turned back to pose. The emperor laughed and said, "How hale and hearty this old timer is!" See *Hou Han shu*, 14.842.

Without the vision of Huangdi,[326] Cang Gong[327], [Yi] He[328], [Bian] Que[329], and

Yu Fu[330] we are unable to use [these formulas], how is that helpful?"

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[326] In the medical tradition, the Yellow Emperor, Huangdi, is best known for his role in the Chinese medicine canon, *Huangdi neijing*.

[327] Cang Gong 倉公 or "Granary Master," refers to Chunyu Yi 淳于意. Chunyu Yi was a physician in the Han dynasty who was a major influencer in the development of Chinese medicine especially in using the pulse as a diagnostic tool. See Elisabeth Hsu, *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine: The Telling Touch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3–5, and Miranda Brown, *The Art of Medicine in Early China: The Ancient and Medieval Origins of a Modern Archive* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 63–86. See also Chunyu Yi's biography in the *Shiji*. *Shiji*, 105.2794. A translation of this memoir can be found in Hsu's *Pulse Diagnosis in Early Chinese Medicine*, and also in Elisabeth Hsu, "T'ai Ts'ang-kung 太倉公 (The Great Granarian)," in *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume IX: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II*, by Ssu-ma Ch'ien edited by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (2011; rpt. Bloomington: Indiana University Press and Nanjing University Press, 2019) 25–88.

[328] Yi He 醫和 (c. 6th century BCE) was a physician from the state of Qin 秦 who was sent by the Liege of Qin to the Prince of Jin 晉, Lord Ping 平 to diagnose him. His famous interaction with the prince is one of the earliest examples of Chinese medicine theory. See *Chunqiu zuo zhuan zhu*, 4.1221–2. For a study on Physician He and his role in Chinese medical tradition see Miranda, 26–30.

[329] Bian Que is usually identified as Qin Yueren 秦越人 (c. 407–310 BCE), but it is also the name of an early legendary physician. Bian Que straddles the line between historical and mythical physician. There is some speculation that medical texts found at Laoguan shan in Chengdu in 2012 are from a lineage associated with Bian Que, but this remains controversial. See Du Feng 杜鋒, "Laoguan shan yijian Zhong de 'bì xī' yu Bian Que minghao" 老官山醫簡中的「敝昔」與扁鵲名號, *Mingzuo xinshang* 8 (2014): 15–16 and Qian Yuzhi 錢玉趾, "Xin faxian «Bi Xi yi lun» zhong 'bì xī' de xinxi," 新發現《敝昔醫論》中 「敝昔」的辨析, *Wen shi zazhi* 2 (2014): 24. Miranda Brown provides an excellent overview of Bian Que and his role in Chinese medicine. See Brown, 41–62. For Bian Que's biography see *Shiji*, 105.2785, and for an English translation see William Nienhauser, Jr. "P'ien Ch'üeh" in *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume IX: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II*, by Ssu-ma Ch'ien edited by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (2011; rpt. Bloomington: Indiana University Press and Nanjing University Press, 2019), 1–24.

[330] Yu Fu 踰跗 (also 臾跗, 俞拊, 俞跗) was a physician of antiquity who was known not using invasive therapies such as acupuncture, and drugs, but treated people only on the surface with massage. He is mentioned in the biography of Bian Que where he was asked if he could revive the heir of a state in the same manner as Yu Fu. He replies that he will not use the same methods, but heals the heir, nonetheless. See *Shiji*, 105.2788. A similar mention of Yu Fu is found in the *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 (Exoteric traditions of the Han version of the Songs),

Ge Hong's preface provides not only his motivation for compiling the text, but also gives insight into his method. He traveled widely, collecting numerous formulas from all corners of China. He collected the methods of famous physicians and made these formulas easier to understand and more accessible. He organized them into a small text which was manageable for even the layperson put into practice.

In addition to Ge Hong's words in his own preface, Tao Hongjing also refers to Ge Hong in his preface to his edited *Zhouhou baiyi fang*. Conceptually, it is very similar, but in fact, it is quite different from Ge Hong's preface. Tao Hongjing writes:

> 葛序云：可以施於貧家野居。然亦不止如是。今縉紳君子，若常處閑佚，乃可披檢方書。或從禄外邑，將命遐征；或宿直禁闈，晨宵隔絶；或急速戎陣，城柵嚴阻，忽遇疾倉卒，唯拱手相看，曷若探之囊笥，則可庸豎成醫。故備論證候，使曉然不滯，一披條領，無使過差也。
>
> Ge [Hong's] preface states, 'One can use this [formulary] in a poor household or while living in the wild. But still, it is not limited to these. Today, government

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by Han Ying 韓嬰 (fl. 150 BCE). See *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳箋疏 (Beijing: Bashu shu chubanshe, 1996), 10.838. For an English translation see James R. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the "Classic of Songs"* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952).

Yu Fu is also mentioned in a text, *Taishi Huangdi Bian Que, Yu Fu fang* 泰始黃帝扁鵲俞拊方 (Formulas of Huangdi, Bian Que, and Yu Fu from the Grand Beginning (or possibly, compiled in the Grand Beginning 265–274)) in the "Yiwenzhi." See *Han shu* 30.1777.

officials and noblemen, as they often dwell in idleness and seclusion,[331] are therefore able to unroll and examine these formulary writings.[332]

In some cases, they pursued official salary in distant towns and took up command to serve on a distant military expedition. Sometimes while performing night duty guarding the interior palace gate, they are sequestered and isolated day and night. In other cases, while sojourning confined to military formation, where the encampment ramparts are a formidable obstacle, suddenly they become startled and flustered, and they could only clasp their hands in submission and look at each other.[333]

Wouldn't it be better to explore these [formulas] from the confines of a sack or bamboo basket, and then one can rise from commoner status to become a physician?

Thus, [the text] includes discussions on the signs and symptoms, so that it enables them to clearly comprehend and not get bogged down. They will at once be revealed and comprehended so that one will not make errors or mistakes.'

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[331] This refers to the upper-class and their free time and ample resources.

[332] Texts at this time were likely on bamboo or silk scrolls and were thereby unrolled for reading. For more see Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1962).

[333] The image here is one of clasping one hand in the other at their chest as a sign of reverence or submission.

While these two passages are attributed to Ge Hong and they differ significantly, at their core they are clear about his intentions in creating the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Ge Hong's intention was to simplify treatments and methods, and thus make medicine accessible to everyone.

While these words are ascribed to Ge Hong it is difficult to verify that he did in fact write them. The fact that they are so different implies that at least one of them is not from Ge Hong's hand. However, it is possible that he wrote more than one preface to several manuscripts that circulated, or that he wrote notes or letters to colleagues that were added as a preface later. It is possible that Tao Hongjing is paraphrasing and elaborating on Ge Hong's original ideas. It is also possible that a later, unknown author attributed the first preface, and even the second, to Ge Hong, and he didn't have a hand in writing them at all.

The authenticity of these prefaces aside, they do shed light on how this formulary fits into the general body of medical literature at the time. This text was intended to be a collection of formulas from a variety of sources. The formulas were selected to be easy to use and should not require special training or knowledge for them to be applied to the injured or ill person. The formulas that contain substances such as herbs and minerals also should be affordable and easily accessible.

Ge Hong started the process and wrote a text in three *juan*. From there, the text passed through many hands over many generations until the Ming dynasty editions that survive today. While many of those individuals who may have added to or edited the *Zhouhou beiji fang* are unknown, in the 5th century, another famous alchemist, scholar, and polymath put his mark on Ge Hong's work.

TAO HONGJING

The first known editor of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is Tao Hongjing, a literatus, writer of poetry and prose, and Daoist who was a prolific writer with works that include a 1,000 *juan* compendium called the *Xue yuan* 學苑 (Garden of learning).[334] While few of his writings are related to medicine, he did write the *Bencao jizhu* 本草集注 (Collected commentaries to the *Materia medica*), portions of which have been found in the Dunhuang manuscripts discovered in Northern China.[335] Tao Hongjing also wrote extensively on Daoism and elixirs of immortality. Some sources say that he read Ge Hong's *Shenxian zhuan* when he was ten years old and was inspired to become a recluse.[336] The overlapping interests and Tao Hongjing's productivity as a writer make him an ideal contributor to expand and edit Ge Hong's *Zhouhou beiji fang*.

Tao Hongjing's participation in the development of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is quite clear regarding his role in reorganizing the text, but how he edited and expanded the text is a different story. He is credited with adjusting the structure of the text and adding twenty-two formulas to seventy-nine of Ge Hong's original eighty-six, but it is difficult to distinguish which pieces he added, and which are part of the original text.

As with any preface to an ancient text, there are questions of authenticity as we saw with the two excerpts attributed to Ge Hong. Tao Hongjing's preface, as we also saw, cites Ge Hong

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[334] See Zhou Jiarong, 125.

[335] See Wang Shumin, "Appendix 2: Abstracts of the medical manuscripts from Dunhuang," Penelope Barrett (trans.), Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen (eds.), *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang medical manuscripts* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 415–6.

[336] See David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang (eds.), *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide Part Two* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1078. For a comprehensive biography of Tao Hongjing, see Zhong Guofa 鍾國發, *Tao Hongjing pingzhuan* 陶弘景評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2005).

directly, but the discrepancy between his citation and the included preface attributed to Ge Hong is a curious inconsistency.

Like Ge Hong's preface, Tao Hongjing's appears in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* based on the *Daozang ben*. Fortunately, there is an earlier surviving reference and citation to this work dating from 624. The *Yiwen leiju*, the Tang dynasty encyclopedia compiled by a committee headed by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), includes an abbreviated version of Tao Hongjing's preface.[337] This version of his preface states:

> 夫生民之所為大患，莫急乎疾疹，疾疹而弗治，猶救火[而][338]不以水也。今輦掖左右，師藥易尋，郊郭之外，已自難值，況窮村迥陌，遙山絕浦，其間夭枉，焉可勝言。方術之書，卷秩徒繁，拯濟蓋寡，就欲披覽，回惑多端。抱朴此製，實為深益。然尚有闕漏，未盡其善，輒[更]採集補闕，凡一百一首。
>
> 葛氏序云：可以施於貧家野居。然亦不止如此。今搢紳君子，若常處閑佚，乃可師藥有方。脫從祿外邑，將命遠途；或祇直禁闈，晨宵閇隔；或羈束戎陣，城壘嚴阻，忽驚急蒼卒，唯拱手相看，孰若便探之枕笥，則可庸豎成醫。故備論節度，使曉然無滯。[339]

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[337] *Yiwen leiju*, 75.1291.

[338] While this version of the preface often includes additional or changed characters (as indicated by the red), this is one of two cases where an additional character is found in this position in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* version of this preface. See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.3–7 (55.488b–490b).

[339] *Yiwen leiju*, 75.1290.

Among the great suffering of living people, there is nothing more urgent than contracting an illness or rash.[340] If the illness or rash is not treated, it would be like trying to put out a fire without using water. Today, in the vicinity of the imperial capital,[341] it is easy to track down a pharmacy. In the suburbs and outside the city walls, it is thereby difficult to come across them, let alone in the remote countryside, or on distant mountains and isolated riverbanks, where people for no good reason die prematurely. How can one fully express this in words?

As for the texts on the occult arts,[342] the *juan* are simply overly complicated, remedies for relief are quite few, and there are many points of confusion. This compilation by Baopu is in fact profoundly beneficial. But there are still gaps and omissions, so it is not as good as it could be. Thus, I have further collected and gathered [materials] to fill in the deficiencies. Altogether, there are one hundred and one headings.

Master Ge [Hong's] preface says, 'One can use this [formulary] in a poor household or while living in the wild. But still, it doesn't stop with these. Today,

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[340] *Zhen* can mean rash, but it is also possible that it is *chen,* meaning fever. This character does not appear in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* editions based on the *Daozang ben*. See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, *xu*.3 (55.488b).

[341] This is referring to the area around the imperial palace where the emperor would travel via the imperial carriage.

[342] *Fang shu* 方術 refers to the occult arts. This includes such things as divination, physiognomy, supernatural arts, and as is likely the case here, medicine.

government officials and noblemen, as they often dwell in idleness and seclusion, are therefore able to become master herbalists by having these formulas.[343] They relinquished[344] their official salary in distant towns and took up a command to travel on a distant military expedition.

Sometimes while performing night duty guarding the interior palace gate, they are sequestered and separated day and night. In other cases, while sojourning confined to military formation, where the encampment ramparts are a formidable obstacle, suddenly they become startled and flustered, and can only clasp their hands in submission and look at each other.

Wouldn't it be better to explore these [formulas] from the confines of a pillow or bamboo basket, and then one can rise from a commoner status to become a physician?

Thus, [the text] is full of discussions on portions and measurements, so that it enables them to clearly comprehend and not get bogged down.'

[343] This line is significantly different from the *Zhouhou beiji fang* version of Tao Hongjing's preface. It is also possible that *fang* 方 is referring to more general occult art methods, but given the specific context, I will render it as "formula."

[344] I am taking *tuo* 脫 to mean "give up" or "avoid." Ge Hong uses it in a similar sense in the *Baopuzi wai pian*. See *Baopuzi wai pian,* 14.346. This line is different in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* text, and in fact conveys the opposite meaning.

The last part of this citation is very closely related to Tao Hongjing's citation of Ge Hong mentioned above. There are a few graphic substitutions, but the overall structure and content of the two versions are nearly the same.

While there is little resemblance between the two prefaces attributed to Ge Hong discussed previously, this preface and Tao Hongjing's found in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* are very closely related. Like many of the citations in the *Yiwen leiju* the preface found there appears to be an abbreviated version of a much larger text. As we will see, there is significant overlap between the two examples, but as expected, Tao Hongjing's preface in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is much longer than the citation in the *Yiwen leiju*.[345] The first section shares a number of similarities with the *Yiwen leiju* version, but then continues and expands on his motivations for compiling and editing Ge Hong's original text.

華陽隱居《補闕肘後百一方》序

太歲庚辰隱居曰：余宅身幽嶺，迄將十載。雖每植德施功，多止一時之設，可以傳方遠裔者，莫過於撰述。見葛氏《肘後救卒》，殊足申一隅之思。夫生人所為大患，莫急於疾，疾而不治，猶救火而不以水也。今輦掖左右，藥師易尋，郊郭之外，已似難值。況窮村迴野，遙山絕浦，其間枉夭，安可勝言？方術之書，卷軸徒煩，拯濟殊寡，欲就披覽，迷惑多端，抱朴此製，實為深益。然尚闕漏未盡，輒更采集補闕，凡一百一首，以朱書甄別，為《肘

[345]See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang, xu*.3–7 (55.488b–490b). Wang Jingzhou's edition of Tao Hongjing's collected writings provides a punctuated and annotated version of this preface. Wang Jingzhou 王京州, ed. and comm., *Tao Hongjing ji jiaozhu* 桃弘景集校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2009), 115–23.

後百一方》，於雜病單治，略為周遍矣。昔應璩為百一詩，以箴規心行。今余撰此，蓋欲衛輔我躬。且《佛經》云，人用四大成身，一大輒有一百一病，是故深宜自想，上自通人，下達眾庶，莫不各加繕寫，而究括之。余又別撰效驗方五卷，具論諸病証，徒因藥變通，而並是大治，非窮居所資，若華軒鼎室，亦宜修省耳。

The Recluse of Huayang[346] Tao Hongjing's preface to *Buque Zhouhou baiyi fang* (Additions and annotations to 101 Formulas to keep on hand*)*
In the *gengchen* year of the Jupiter cycle (500 CE), Yinju said:

I have lodged myself among secluded mountain peaks, and it has already reached ten years. Even though I [try] to establish virtuous deeds and perform meritorious work, I often stop after being established for a period of time. If I am able to pass along prescriptions to distant descendants, there is nothing better than writing and compiling. Having read Master Ge's *Zhouhou jiucu* ([Formulas for] Resuscitation to Keep on Hand), this will quite suffice to set forth my limited thoughts on the subject.

[346] Huayang 華陽 refers to Huayang cave in Jurong county 句容縣 in Jiangsu 江蘇 province. It is near Mao Shan where Tao Hongjing retired in 492 and founded Huayang guan 華陽館 (The Lodge at Huayang). See Zhang Lihe 臧勵龢, ed. *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian* 中國古今地名大辭典 (Hong Kong: Shangwu yishuguan, 1931), 936.

Among the great suffering for living people, there is nothing more urgent than contracting an illness. Having an illness and not treating it, is like trying to put out a fire without using water.

Today, in the vicinity of the imperial capital, it is easy to track down a pharmacy. In the suburbs and outside the city walls, it is thereby difficult to come across them, let alone in the remote countryside, or on distant mountains and isolated riverbanks, where people for no good reason die prematurely. How can one fully express this in words?

As for the texts on the occult arts, the *juan* are simply overly complicated, remedies for relief are quite few, and there are many points of confusion. This compilation by Baopu is in fact profoundly beneficial. But there are still gaps and omissions, so it is not as good as it could be. Thus, I have further collected and gathered [materials] to fill in the deficiencies.

Altogether, there are one hundred and one headings, written in red (cinnabar) to distinguish them. I made the *Zhouhou baiyi fang* of simple methods[347] for miscellaneous diseases that are summarized and made more comprehensive.

[347] *Dan zhi* 單治 could also mean "singular treatments," but because there are often multiple treatments under each heading, "simple methods" seems more appropriate. This alternate interpretation is still possible since it is unclear how many formulas were under each treatment and the exact nature of Tao Hongjing's added formulas.

In the past, Ying Qu 應璩 (190–252) wrote "One of a Hundred,"[348] to admonish people against acting impulsively.[349] Today, I compose this text, wishing to protect and sustain my body. Furthermore, the Buddhist scriptures say that the human body is composed of the *mahābhūta* महाभूत (four elements).[350] Each [element] has one hundred and one diseases.

Therefore, one ought to think deeply about this. There are none above from the broadly learned to ordinary folks, who do not, in every case, copy and write things down and probe into it.[351]

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[348] Ying Qu was poet who lived during the Eastern Han 東漢 (25–220 CE) and Wei 魏 periods (220–266). He held several court positions during the reigns of Cao Pi 曹丕 (r. 220–226), Cao Rui 曹叡 (r. 226–239), and Cao Fang 曹芳 (r. 239–254). In the *Wen xuan* 文選, there is one *shi* 詩 poem by Ying Qu under the category, "Bai yi" 白一. See David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang (eds.), *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide Part Three & Four* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1930-2. Early commentators debate the translation of "Bai yi." Li Shan 李善 (d. 689), author of a commentary on the *Wen xuan* lists several explanations. While he settles on the meaning "One of a Hundred," it seems plausible that because Tao Hongjing uses *baiyi* in the title of his text which contains 101 topic headings, he is interpreting in a manner similar to Zhang Fangxian 張方賢 (Western Jin) who said that Ying Qu composed 101 poems critical of society of the time. See *Wen xuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), 21.1015. For more on "Bai yi" and a translation of Ying Qu's poem, see David R. Knechtges, "The Problem with Anthologies: The Case of the "Bai yi" Poems of Ying Qu (190–252)," *Asia Major*, Third Series, 23.1 (2010): 175–9.

[349] This literally means, "acting from the heart."

[350] The *mahābhūta* महाभूत in Sanskrit refers to the four elements in Buddhist medicine. They are earth, air, water, and fire. This is not to be confused with the *wuxing* 五行 (five agents) in Chinese medicine; earth, metal, water, fire, and wood, that are also sometimes referred to as elements.

[351] See Wang Jingzhou, 118, 120.

Also, I have written *Xiao yan fang* (Effective and proven formulas) in five *juan* that contains discussions on the manifestations and symptoms of various disorders. Because drugs change and adapt, they still achieve a great cure. Those who are living with limited resources and even those who have a magnificent carriage[352] and a great hall; still, one ought to refine oneself and that's it.

Tao Hongjing then cites a preface attributed to Ge Hong as mentioned above. These lines are also closely related to the *Yiwen leiju* version. There are several character variations, but the content and style are virtually identical.

葛序云：可以施於貧家野居。然亦不止如是。今縉紳君子，若常處閑佚，乃可披檢方書。或從禄外邑，將命遐征；或宿直禁門,[353] 晨宵隔絶；或急速戎陣，城柵嚴阻，忽遇疾倉卒，唯拱手相看，曷若探之囊笥，則可庸豎成醫。故備論證候，使曉然不滯，一披條領，無使過差也。

Ge [Hong's] preface says, 'One can use this [formulary] in a poor household or while living in the wild. But still, it doesn't stop with these. Today, government officials and noblemen, as they often dwell in idleness and seclusion, are therefore able to unroll and examine these formulary writings.[354]

[352] Shen Shunong takes this to mean a very beautiful palace. See Shen Shunong, 12, n.16.

[353] Some editions have 闈 for 門.

[354] This line is different from the passage in the *Yiwen leiju*. See above.

In some cases, they pursued official salary in distant towns and took up command to serve on a distant military expedition. Sometimes while performing night duty guarding the interior palace gate, they are sequestered and isolated day and night. In other cases, while sojourning confined to military formation, where the encampment ramparts are a formidable obstacle, suddenly they become startled and flustered, and they could only clasp their hands in submission and look at each other.

Wouldn't it be better to explore these [formulas] from the confines of a sack or bamboo basket, and then one can rise from a commoner status to become a physician?

Thus, [the text] includes discussions on the signs and symptoms, so that it enables them to clearly comprehend and not get bogged down. They will at once be revealed and comprehended so that one will not make errors or mistakes.'

Following this reference to Ge Hong, Tao Hongjing expounds on the specific additions and changes he has made to the text. He elaborates on the need for an update to Ge Hong's original and discusses his rational for his reorganization. He explains the section headings and his rational for restructuring.

尋葛氏舊方，至今已二百許年，播於海內，因而齊者，其效實多。余今重以該要，庶亦傳之千祀，豈止於空衛我躬乎！舊方都有八十六首，檢其四蛇兩犬不假殊題；喉舌之間，亦非異處；入塚御氣，不足專名；雜治一條，猶是諸病部類，強致殊分，複成失例，今乃配合為七十九首，於本文究具都無忖減，複添二十二首，或因葛一事，增構成篇，或補葛所遺，準文更撰，具如後錄。

In searching through Master Ge's formulas, [I have found] that more than 200 years have elapsed. They have been disseminated within the four seas, and consequently they have been helpful, and the beneficial effects are truly numerous. Now, I wish to additionally be inclusive and synoptic, in the hope that they can be passed on for a thousand years[355] and are not simply for protecting and fortifying myself.

There are eighty-six headings in [Ge Hong's] old formulas. I realized that it was not necessary to have topics divided between four snakes and two dogs. The space between the throat and the tongue is also not a different place. When you enter a tomb, you control your qi, these are not worth naming separately.

[355] *Si* 祀 is an ancient word for year.

> The one section on 'Treatments for Miscellaneous [diseases]'[356] is just a category of various disorders, that [Ge Hong] forcefully put into a different division, and moreover constitutes a violation of the format rules.
>
> Now, I therefore have coordinated them into seventy-nine headings, from the original final headings, and I did not consider reducing [their content]. Furthermore, I have added twenty-two headings. Sometimes, because they shared aspects with [the formulas of] Ge [Hong], I combined them together to create another section. Sometimes, I supplemented that which Ge [Hong] omitted. As a rule, where I have amended or added to the text, I generally recorded it at the end.

Tao Hongjing discusses here his expansion from Ge Hong's original. He first mentions that a long time has elapsed, and Ge Hong's formulas have become widespread. He then makes his editorial changes by consolidating the eighty-six original headings down to seventy-nine, but stresses that he did not remove anything. He then adds an additional twenty-two headings. Interestingly though, he notes at the end of this passage that he records where he has made changes to Ge Hong's original text. If Tao Hongjing did in fact make editorial notes, these do

[356] This section likely included the various formulas that treat diseases and injuries that did not fit neatly into any of Ge Hong's categories. Tao Hongjing created broader divisions that seem to be able to incorporate them into his three categories. While Tao Hongjing is critical of Ge Hong's method here, a section for miscellaneous diseases is commonly found in other formula texts such as Sun Simiao's *Beiji qian jin yao fang* and *Qian jin yi fang*, and also the Imperial Medical Bureau's 1978 collection, *Taiping huimin heji ju fang*.

not seem to survive to this day. If they do survive, they have become incorporated into the main body of the text and are nearly indistinguishable from Ge Hong's words.

As he continues, Tao Hongjing gives examples of his restructuring of various categories and diagnoses. He discusses specific pathologies and the need for making the formulas more accessible given an emergency situation. He also briefly mentions the difficulty facing laypersons and the challenges in making a differential diagnosis.

> 詳悉自究，先次比諸病，又不從類，遂具勞複在傷寒前，霍亂置耳目後，陰易之事，乃出雜治中。兼題與篇名不盡相符，卒急之時，難於尋檢，今亦複其銓次，庶歷然易曉。其解散腳弱、虛勞、渴痢、發背、嘔血，多是貴勝之疾，其傷寒中風，診候最難分別，皆應取之於脈，豈凡庸能究？
>
> When I ascertained the details [of this text] in its entirety, first, I arranged and ordered the various disorders. Moreover, when one does not correspond to the correct category, I then placed 'Relapse from Over-exhaustion'[357] before 'Cold-

[357] *Laofu* 勞複 is a recurrence of symptoms because of exhaustion that often occurs after a serious disease. It can also occur after excessive sexual activity or a poor diet. See Zhang and Unschuld, 297. Wiseman and Feng gloss this as "taxation relapse." See Nigel Wiseman and Feng Ye, *A Practical Dictionary of Chinese Medicine* (2nd ed. Brookline: Paradigm Publishing, 1998), 604.

damage'[358] and placed 'Sudden Turmoil'[359] after 'Ears and Eyes', while moving the matters concerning 'Yin exchange'[360] to the section on 'Miscellaneous treatment'. If the topic and section name did not match, in times of urgency it would be difficult to make use of [these formulas] upon inspection. Now, I also double checked his choice of the order [of the topics], so that it will be entirely clear and intelligible. As for 'Leg weakness from dissolving and dispersing'[361],

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[358] *Shanghan* 傷寒 is cold disorders. Most references to cold disorders are from the *Shanghan Lun* written by Zhang Ji in the Han Dynasty. *Shanghan laofu* is a specific type of over exhaustion due to a previous cold disorder, but here Tao Hongjing is referring to them as separate, general categories. See Zhang and Unschuld, 422.

[359] *Huoluan* 霍亂 refers to a specific set of gastrointestinal symptoms and is considered by many scholars to be cholera is often translated as such. See Zhang and Unschuld, 233. Cholera is a specific disease caused by the bacteria *Vibrio cholerae*, and while the symptoms may be identical and *huoluan* may be a cholera-like disease, without confirmation, I will use Wiseman and Feng's alternative translation of "sudden turmoil" which emphasizes the rapid and chaotic onset and course of the illness. See Wiseman and Fung, 587.

[360] *Yinyi* 陰易 refers to a disease spread to men by women who had recently been cured from disease but has not completely recovered. See Zhang and Unschuld, 639. See also *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 2.33 (55.527a).

[361] *Jie san jiao ruo* 解散腳弱 likely refers to leg weakness and numbness caused as a side effect of various toxic powder medicines such as *hanshi san* 寒食散 (Cold food powder) and *wu shi san* 五石散 (Five stone powder). Ge Hong mentions *hanshi san* briefly in the "Xian yao" 仙藥 section of the *Baopuzi nei pian* saying that jade has similar side effects when used as a medicine since it is inferior to gold. See *Baopuzi nei pian*, 11.204. Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 (215–282) provides more information and gives an account of his experience with these powders in his biography in the *Jin shu*, 21.1418. Deane Epler discusses *hanshi san* in a section on Huangfu Mi in his dissertation which includes a translation of Huangfu Mi's *Jin shu* biography. See Deane Epler, "The Concept of Disease in Two Third Century Chinese Medical Texts" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1977), 243–263. Huangfu Mi is also credited with at least one text that has since been lost, that was dedicated to the subject, *Lun hanshi san fang* 論寒食散方 (Treatise on Cold Food Powder Formulas). See *Sui shu*, 34.1041. This was published alongside a similar treatise by the Duke of Linqiu 廩丘, Cao Xi 曹翕 (fl. 242–266). See Dominik Declercq, *Writing Against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third and Fourth Century China* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 168. There have been several studies on *hanshi san* and *wu shi san* by Western scholars. Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen give a brief introduction to mineral powders such as *hanshi san* and *wu shi san*, among others with special emphasis on their side-

'Deficiency Exhaustion'[362], '[Excessive] thirst and dysentery'[363], 'Heat Sores on the Back'[364], 'Vomiting blood', most of these disorders are of the upper class. As for 'Cold disorders' and 'Wind-strike'[365], their examination and diagnosis are very challenging to differentiate. In all cases you ought to consider the pulse. How are ordinary people able to get to the bottom of this?

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effects, toxicity, and treatment of those. See Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-Djen, *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology. Part II: Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Magisteries of Gold and Immortality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 287–289. More information on these formulas can be found in Sailey, 428, Yan Liu, *Healing with Poisons: Potent Medicines in Medieval China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2021), 132–134, Ute Englehardt, "*Hanshi san* 寒食散 [Cold-Food Powder]," *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 473, and Brown, 131–142.

[362] *Xulao* 虛勞 "deficiency exhaustion," is an extreme deficiency condition of the body where there is a decrease in physiological function to the extent that organ systems lose or lessen their ability to work properly. Zhang and Unschuld list a number of deficiency (depletion) syndromes of which deficiency exhaustion is just one. See Zhang and Unschuld, 583–591.

[363] *Ke li* 渴痢 "excessive thirst and dysentery" could simply be describing those two symptoms, but it is also possible that *ke* here is referring to *ke ji* 渴疾 "thirst ailment" which is closely related to the biomedical diagnosis of diabetes. *Li* is dysentery which can have several different causes but is exemplified by diarrhea with both blood a pus. See Zhang and Unschuld, 281, 311–12.

[364] *Fabei* 發背 refers to heat sores or effusion on a person's back near the transport acupoints. This often presented as abscesses and could be life threatening. See Zhang and Unschuld, 148.

[365] *Shanghan* 傷寒 "cold disorders" and *zhongfeng* 中風"wind-strike" are two major pathologies due to epidemic diseases that are elaborated on in the Han dynasty works of Zhang Ji. For more see *Shanghan lun zhushi* 傷寒論注釋, by Zhang Ji 張機, ed. Wang Shuhe 王叔和, annot. Cheng Wuji 成無己, *Shanghan lei yi zhu jicheng* 傷寒類著集成 (Nanjing: Jiangsu kexue jishu chubanshe, 2004) 1–166.

In the next section of the preface, he begins by discussing the challenges of diagnosis and how he chose the most essential formulas. He then clarifies his criteria for standardizing dosing and measurements and gives examples on how to interpret these instructions.

今所載諸方，皆灼然可用，但依法施治，無使違逆。其癰疽，金瘡形變甚眾，自非具方，未易根盡。其婦女之病、小兒之病，並難治之方法不少，亦載其綱要云，凡此諸方，皆是撮其樞要，或名醫垂記，或累世傳良，或博聞有驗，或自用得力，故複各題秘要之說，以避文繁。又用藥有舊法，亦不複假事事詮詔，今通立定格，共為成準。凡服藥不言先食者，皆在食前；應食後者，自各言之。凡服湯云三服再服者，要袍山源涯味，或疏或數，足令勢力相及。毒利藥，皆須空腹，補瀉其間，自可進粥。凡散日三者，當取旦、中、暮進之。四五服，則一日之中，量時而分均也。凡下丸散，不云酒水飲者，本方如此，而別說用酒水飲，則是可通用三物服也。凡云分等，即皆是丸散，隨病輕重所須，多少無定，銖兩三種五種，皆分均之分兩。凡云丸散之若乾分兩者，是品諸藥，宜多宜少之分兩，非必止於若乾分兩，假今日服三方寸匕，須瘥止，是三五兩藥耳。凡云末之，是搗篩如法。 咀者，皆細切之。凡云湯煮，取三升，分三服，皆絞去滓而後酌量也。字方中用鳥獸屎作矢字，尿作溺字，牡鼠亦作雄字，乾作乾字。凡云錢匕者，以大錢上全抄之；若云半錢，則是一錢抄取一邊爾；並用五銖錢也，方寸匕，即用方一寸抄之可也；刀圭準如兩大豆。

Now, what is recorded in these various formulas, in all cases are obviously useful, but one must comply with the method when applying treatment and not allow for any deviation. Abscesses and infections[366] possibly have many changeable forms, and except for specific recipes, they are not easy to be completely [treated] at their root.

Disorders of women and disorders of children both have many recipes and methods for difficult treatments. In all cases I recorded the primary essential sayings. In any case for these various formulas, all were extracted for their pivotal essentials. In some cases, famous doctors handed down their records. In some cases, generation after generation transmitted those that were good. In some

[366] *Yongju* is a 癰疽 problematic term. *Yong* and *ju* can both refer to abscesses, but they have a much larger meaning in Chinese medicine theory. The final chapter, eighty-one of the *Huangdi nei jing ling shu* 黃帝內經靈樞 is dedicated to this term which Unschuld glosses as "obstruction- and impediment-illness." See Paul U. Unschuld, *Huang Di nei jing ling shu: The Ancient Classic on Needle Therapy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 763–775. While these terms fit within the framework on Chinese medicine theory, the literal definition does so at the expense of the clear clinical descriptions especially regarding emergency medicine. The descriptions found in the *Huangdi nei jing* are consistent with modern biomedical diagnoses of an infection, cellulitis, and sepsis. See *Huangdi nei jing ling shu*, 81.201-205. An infection like this, which can start as an abscess or pustule, can be deadly, and as the line above implies, have very different presentations and can be very difficult to treat (especially before the discovery of antibiotics). Though Unschuld's translation of these terms is appropriate in the context of theoretical texts such as the *Huangdi nei jing*, given the emergency nature of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, it is important to point to the clinical presentation of this medical term. *Yong* can accurately be translated as abscess. *Ju*, I have translated as "infection," but should clarify that while it may be a fitting match from a biomedical perspective, this is not my intention. From an etymological perspective, "infect" means to "affect with disease or taint". See C.T. Onions, 472. This is closely related to the second gloss for *ju* by Zhang and Unschuld, "corruption-illness." See Zhang and Unschuld, 277. This observation of tainted, corrupted, infected tissue, or part of the body provides both an accurate translation and clear clinical presentation for emergency treatment.

cases, erudite scholars had experimented [and proven formulas]. And in some cases, I personally [added] beneficial formulas that I have used. Therefore [I gave an] explanation of the treasured essentials by combining each duplicate heading to prevent the text from being overly complicated.

In addition, as there are old methods of using herbs/drugs, I will not repeat and borrow everything that is [already] clearly stated. Now, I will completely establish firm criteria so that they will become standardized.

In any case regarding the dose of medicine, if it does not say [that one should take it] prior to a meal, then in all cases one should take [the medicine] before a meal. If one ought to take it after a meal, I will state so in each individual case. When taking a decoction, wherever it states take three or two doses, it is necessary [to know] whether the source of the illness has been correctly ascertained or sufficient for their strength to be effective.

They can be small or large [amounts], in order to be adequate depending on [the person's] strength. Toxicity can be beneficial in drugs, and in all cases, they must be taken on an empty stomach. Between the times of tonifying and draining, one is able to eat some gruel.

When one is taking a powder three times a day, they ought to take it at sunrise, noon, and sunset to benefit from it. If taking four or five doses, take it in regular divided doses throughout the day.

When taking pills or powders, those that do not state to take it with wine, water, or another beverage is because the original formula does not state so. So, if it doesn't state to take it using wine, water, or another beverage, then one can take it using any of those three.

When it mentions divided doses, this in all cases refers to pills and powders. It will depend on the severity of disease since the amount of *zhu* or *liang* is not fixed.[367] If there are three ingredients or five ingredients, in all cases it should be divided evenly into *liang*.

When it mentions those pills and powders that have a certain amount of *fen* and *liang*, this is the sum amount of the drug. Some will be more, and some will be less than [the listed] *fen* or *liang*. It is not necessarily a fixed amount of *fen* and *liang*. For example, if someone takes a dose of a three square-inch-spoonful[368]

[367] Some punctuated editions have a break before *zhu* and *liang*, but I believe this reading provides more clarity. See Shen Shunong, 10 and Shang Zhijun, 11.

[368] A *fangcun bi* 方寸匕 (square-inch-spoon) was a capacity measurement that held approximately 10-18ml. Its weight equivalence was approximately 1g for herbal powders and 2g for mineral powders. See Wilkinson, 546.

per day, they are quickly healed and stop [taking the drug], then it is equivalent to three to five *liang* of drug and that's it.

When it states to 'powder it,' this refers to pounding and sifting according to the proper methods. As for chewing, in all cases one should finely grind it.[369] When it states to make a decoction, take three *sheng* [of liquid] and divide it into three doses, in all cases squeeze out the dregs and then measure it.

As for words used in formulas: for droppings of beasts and birds, it uses the character *shi* 矢; for urine, it uses the character *ni* 溺; for a male rat, it uses the character *xiong* 雄; and for dry, it uses the character *gan* 干.

When it states, 'coin spoon,' use a large coin and scoop up the powder, covering its entire surface. If it states, 'half coin,', then it means cover one side of the coin when scooping. You can also use a five-*zhu* coin.[370] As for the square inch spoon, you can just use a one-inch square spoon to scoop it. A knife-tip has a standard size of two large soybeans.

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[369] While *qie* 切 could mean to cut it, chewing medicines is a common practice worldwide.

[370] This line is also found in the first *juan* of *Qian jin yao fang* where Sun Simiao writes: 「錢匕者，以大錢上全抄之;若云半錢匕者，則是一錢抄取一邊爾，並用五銖錢也。」 See Sun Simiao 孫思邈, *Beiji qian jin yaofang*, 1.12a. *Qian bi* 錢匕 (coin spoon) refers to the amount of powder that can be scooped up by a coin. As the line indicates, a five-*zhu* coin could be used, but others may also have been adequate. The amount was approximately between 0.6 and 1g, depending on the type of powder. See Wilkinson, 546.

Tao Hongjing provides a clear overview of many of the challenges that early users of these formulary texts likely faced. By clarifying vague passages and instructions, Tao Hongjing continues to make this work more accessible to laypersons. While the instructions provided above may be intuitive to a physician who is regularly prescribing and dosing various medications, his illustrative points make this information comprehensible to those not trained in medicine.

Following these basic instructions to clarify terms and techniques, Tao Hongjing lists specific drugs, and how to prepare them. Some of his examples are exceptions to normal processing while others are examples of general categories. He is clear in various details for certain plants, but he does not fully explain why each of the herbs is processed in the way described. He does explicitly state that detailed instructions are laid out in the *materia medica* that he authored. He concludes by stressing the importance of knowing the details of prescribing and the potential for mistakes and misunderstanding.

炮、熬、炙、洗治諸藥，凡用半夏，皆湯洗五六度，去滑；附子、烏頭，炮，去皮，有生用者，隨方言之；礬石熬令汁盡；椒皆出汗；麥門冬皆去心；丸散用膠皆炙；巴豆皆去心皮，熬，有生用者，隨而言之；杏人去尖皮，熬，生用者言之；葶藶皆熬；皂莢去皮子；藜蘆、枳殼、甘草皆炙；大棗、梔子擘破；巴豆、桃杏仁之類，皆別研搗如膏，乃和之；諸角皆屑之；麻黃皆去節；凡湯中用芒硝、阿膠、飴糖，皆絞去滓，納湯中，更微煮令消；紅雪、朴硝等，皆狀此而入藥也；用麻黃即去節，先煮三五沸，掠去沫後，乃入餘藥。凡如上諸法，皆已具載在余所撰本草上卷中。今之人有此

《肘後百一方》者，未必得見本草，是以複疏方中所用者載之，此事若非留心藥術，不可盡知，則安得使之不僻繆也？

As for roasting, dry-frying, broiling /cauterizing, and washing preparations for several drugs:

When using *banxia*, in all cases wash it five or six times in order to remove its slipperiness. For *fuzi* and *wutou*, roast them and remove their skin. If the fresh [root] is used, follow what it says [in the text]. Dry-fry[371] *fanshi* until all of the liquid is extracted. *Jiao*, in all cases, should have secretions (literally: sweat) come out.[372] *Maimendong* must have its core removed. [When making] pills from powders, always use glue to broil it. Always remove the core and skin of *ba dou* and fry it. If the fresh [root] is used, follow what it says [in the text]. Remove the sharp tip and skin *xing ren* and fry it. If the fresh [kernel] is used, follow what [the instructions] say.

[371] Ao 熬 is also used to describe simmering which involves cooking a liquid. In this case, the method is to extract the liquid, so no additional liquid is added.

[372] This is a strange use of *chuhan* 出汗. This is typically an action of *jiao*, which is known to cause sweating. *Chuzhi* 出汁, to exude liquid, and *chushui* 出水, to exude water, are related terms that are used in medical diagnosis. The previous line uses *zhi* to refer to drying out *fanshi*. It is possible that *han* is a graphical error for *zhi*, but I believe *han* is chosen deliberately to compare the sweating of *jiao* when it is heated to the sweating of a person when they ingest *jiao*. It may also point to a quality of the liquid that is extracted.

Tingli should always be dry-fried. Remove the skin and seeds of *zaojia*. *Lilu*, *zhike*, and *gancao* should always be roasted. Break open and crush *dazao* and *zhizi*. [As for drugs] such as *ba dou*, *xing* [*ren*], and *tao ren*, always separately grind and pound them into a paste, then combine them. Whenever using the various horns, grate them.

When using *mahuang*, remove all of the knots. First, boil [the stems] three to five times, skim the residue from the boiling water, then add the rest of the ingredients.

As for these various methods, they are already completely laid out in the first *juan* of the *materia medica* I compiled.[373] Those people today who have the *Zhouhou baiyi fang*, may not have seen this *materia medica.* Therefore, I have reorganized those useful formulas within and recorded them. Without careful knowledge of pharmacological skill, one cannot have complete understanding. Otherwise, how can one make use of them and not make unconventional mistakes?

The examples he lists above provide a glimpse into the complexity of formula and drug preparation. While he only shares a handful of examples, they cover a wide scope of methods of

[373] This likely refers to the *Bencao jing jizhu* that he wrote as an expansion to the *Shennong bencao jing* 神農本草經 (Shen Nong's Classic *materia medica*). While the text was lost, it is cited numerous times in later *materia medica* such as the *Zhenglei bencao* and the *Bencao gangmu.* There were fragments discovered at Dunhuang. See Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, eds., *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang medical manuscripts* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 415–417.

processing and dispensation. His final comment is a caution to anyone prescribing and using these formulas. While it is an important note, that seems quite appropriate following this section, it does bring into question the user-friendly nature of this formulary if such precision is required.

Tao Hongjing concludes his preface by breaking down the major categories of diseases into three major divisions. He discusses each briefly and then lists the contents and total headings for each of those divisions.

> 案病雖千種，大略只有三條而已，一則腑臟經絡因邪生疾；二則四肢九竅內外交媾；三則假為他物橫來傷害，此三條者，今各以類，而分別之，貴圖倉卒之時，披尋簡易故也。今以內疾為上卷，外發為中卷，他犯為下卷，具列之云。
>
> 上卷三十五首治內病。
>
> 中卷三十五首治外發病。
>
> 下卷三十一首治為物所苦病。

> Although there are thousands of types of diseases, in general, there are only three kinds, and that's it! The first are those that have bowels and viscera,[374] and channels and collaterals as a basis from which irregularities create disease. The

[374] *Fu* (bowels) and *zang* (viscera) refer to the internal organs in Chinese medicine. The *zang* 臟 organs are the mostly solid organs; heart, lung, liver, spleen and kidneys. The *fu* 腑 organs are the hollow organs; small and large intestines, gall bladder, urinary bladder, and stomach. They are more commonly referred to in the reverse order as the collective internal organs or simply, *zang fu*.

second are from the four limbs and nine orifices internally and externally intersecting. Third are unexpected injuries due to external objects.

From these three items, I now for each use these categories and do not deviate from them. It is a necessary design for times of haste for the purpose of making it easier when one opens the text to find something. Now, internal disease makes up the upper *juan*, external injuries make up the middle *juan*, and other injuries make up the lower *juan*, is the organization and division of his words.

Upper *juan* – 35 headings for treating internal diseases
Middle *juan* – 35 headings for treating external injuries
Lower *juan* – 31 headings for treating suffering injuries from animals

This preface by Tao Hongjing provides significant insight into the development of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. He sets the scene by explaining his inspiration for taking on this project and then cites a preface of Ge Hong to show that they are of like mind. He then proceeds to provide brief descriptions of his understanding of disease and process for selecting and standardizing formulas for inclusion. His examples are succinct, and he is precise in his elucidation of terms and preparation of details. Finally, Tao Hongjing provides clarity in his reorganization that builds on the foundation set by Ge Hong.

Tao Hongjing was the first of many scholars to expand Ge Hong's compilation of emergency formulas. While he claims to have marked where he made changes and modifications, these annotations have not survived and the information from these two masters

has become intermingled. The next major figure to be credited with expanding and editing the *Zhouhou beiji fang* was much kinder and clearly presented his additions outside of the main body of text. After over six hundred years, the next major editor of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* was the twelfth century scholar, Yang Yongdao.

YANG YONGDAO

The second named editor of Ge Hong's text appears seven centuries later. Yang Yongdao, a lesser-known scholar, added formulas at the end of most chapters in 1144. Yang was a scholar of the Imperial Academy in Bianjing 汴京 during the Jin Dynasty 金朝 (1115-1234). His edition of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* that he created was titled, *Fuguang zhouhou fang* and he wrote a preface by the same name.

Yang Yongdao's additions to the *Zhouhou beiji fang* were quite extensive amounting to 511 formulas. His additions, unlike previous ones, have been set apart at the end of most chapters and are marked, *fu fang* 附方 (Additional formulas). These additional formulas are taken from various texts such as the *Waitai mi yao*, *Qian jin fang*, *Taiping shenghui fang*, among many others.

As with Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing, Yang Yongdao's preface can shed some light on his circumstances, motivation, and process in editing the work of his predecessors. He begins his preface by first placing medical treatment in a broader context alongside the emperor and government.

昔伊尹著湯液之論，周公設醫師之屬，皆所以拯救民疾，俾得以全生而盡年也。然則古之賢臣愛其君，以及其民者，蓋非特生者遂之而已。人有疾病，坐視其危苦，而無以救療之，亦其心有所不忍也。仰惟國家受天成命，統一四海，主上以仁覆天下，輕稅損役，約法省刑，蠲積負，柔遠服，專務以德養民，故人臣奉承於下，亦莫不以體國愛民為心，惟政府內外宗公，協同輔翼，以共固天保無疆之業，其心則又甚焉於斯時也。

蓋民罹兵火，獲見太平，邊境寧而盜賊息矣，則人無死於鋒鏑之慮；刑罰清而獄犴空矣，則人無死於桎梏之憂；年谷豐而蓄積富矣，則人無死於溝壑之患。

In the past, Yi Yin 伊尹 (1648-1549 BCE) composed the treatise *Tang ye* (Decoctions and fluids),[375] and the Duke of Zhou established the categories under

[375] Yi Yin was a minister under the founder of the Shang dynasty 商朝 (1600–1046 BCE), Shang Tang 商湯 (r. 1675-–1646 BCE). He is known for assisting Shang Tang in overthrowing the King Jie of Xia 夏桀 (r. 1728–1675 BCE), Lü Gui 履癸, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty (2070–1600 BCE). Yi Yin had spent several years in Xia but returned to Shang after growing to dislike the Xia. See *Shiji* 3.94–97. Yi Yin was a noted gastronome whose name is tied with numerous stories about food and cooking. See David R. Knechtges, "A Literary Feast: Food in Early Chinese Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.1 (1986): 53-54. As is implied here though, Yi Yin also had a role in medicine, specifically in formulating decoctions. Yi Yin is mentioned in the preface to the *Zhenjiu jia yi jing* by Huangfu Mi, where he states, "Yi Yin used his sage-like talent to make use of the *Shen nong bencao jing* 神農本草經 to compose the *Tang ye* 湯液 (Decoctions and fluids). See *Zhenjiu jia yi jing* 針灸甲乙經 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2014), preface, 21. It is possible that *Tang ye* refers to the *Tang ye jing fa* 湯液經法 (Methods of the Canon of decoctions and fluids) that is found in the 'Yiwen zhi' of the *Han shu.* See *Han shu*, 30.1777. There has been considerable discussion regarding the *Tang ye jing* and its possible relationship to a manuscript discovered at Dunhuang titled, *Fuxingjue zangfu yongyao fayao* 輔行訣臟腑用藥法要 (Secret Actions to Assist Methods Essential for Using

the purview of the Master Physician.[376] In both cases they were used to rescue people from maladies/disease, thereby enabling people to live a complete life, and live out their natural life span.

Therefore, the sage officials of ancient times cared for their lords, along with their people, presumably not just for their lifetime, but to prolong it and nothing more. When people have disease, they sit watching their perilous suffering, and nothing can relieve or cure them, but for their part being like this, in their heart they are unable to bear it. It can be regarded as nothing more than the state receiving the natural mandate from heaven to govern the four seas.[377]

If His Majesty uses his humaneness to extend to everything under heaven, to lighten the duties and decrease conscription, relaxes laws and reduces

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Medicines on the *Zangfu* Organs). For more see Wang Shumin, "Tangye jingfa," 322–344 and Sabine Wilms, *Celestial Secrets: A Dunhuang Manuscript of Medical Decoctions for the Zangfu Organs* (Whidbey Island: Happy Goat Productions, 2020).

[376] The Duke of Zhou refers to Duke Wen of Zhou 周文公 (fl. eleventh century BCE) whose given name was Dan 旦, is credited with numerous accomplishments in establishing and developing Chinese culture. He was the fourth son of King Wen of Zhou 周文王 (fl. twelfth and eleventh century BCE) and younger brother of King Wu 周武王 (d. 1043 BCE) who established the Zhou dynasty in 1046 BCE after defeating the Shang dynasty at the Battle of Muye (1046 BCE). When his brother passed away, the Duke of Zhou acted as regent for King Wu's son, King Cheng 周成王 (fl. eleventh century BCE) until he came of age. He is known for his integrity and is credited with writing, among many other works, the *Zhou li* 周禮 (The Rites of Zhou). The categories referred to here are from the 'Tian guan' 天官 section of the *Zhou li* where they are listed as *yishi* 醫師 'master physicians', *shiyi* 食醫 'physicians of dietetics', *jiyi* 疾醫 'physicians for general illness', and *yangyi* 瘍醫 'physicians for ulcers and wounds.' See *Zhou li* 周禮, in *Shi san jing zhu shu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), 4.166–173.

[377] "Four seas" refers to the known world.

punishments, dispenses as much grain [to the people] as they can carry, is flexible when dealing with the frontier people, then he devotes himself to using his innate power to nourish the people.

Therefore, the ministers serve[378] those below, and for their part all embody the state's care for the minds of the people. They ponder the inner and outer administrative workings of ancestral lords and cooperate with assistants, thereby jointly securing the blessing of heaven for unlimited enterprise. Where are their hearts then at this moment?

Presumably when the common people meet the flames of war, they obtain an understanding of peace and tranquility. If the borders are peaceful, and robbers and bandits have ceased, then people will not die from worry about spears and arrows. If punishments are made clear, and prisons are empty, then people will not die from fear of shackles and manacles. If the annual harvest is abundant, and the stores are plentiful, then people will not die from suffering in the gully.[379]

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[378] I am taking *fengcheng* 奉承 to mean 'to serve.' For a similar use see the "Jian ai" 兼愛 Universal Love section of Mozi where he asks who one would trust to serve and support his family if he were dispatched in military service. See *Mozi jiaozhu* 墨子校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 4.175.

[379] This refers to a line in *Mengzi* where Mengzi 孟子 (372–289 BCE) is critiquing the handling of a famine by Duke Mu 穆公 of Zou 鄒 where people were left dead and starving in the gutters. He states,「凶年饑歲，君之民老弱轉乎溝壑，壯者散而之四方者，幾千人矣；而君之倉廩實，府庫充，有司莫以告，是上慢而殘下也。」 "In years of poor harvest and famine, the old and weak of your people, who have been found lying in the gutters, and the able-bodied who have been scattered to the four corners, have amounted to several thousand therein, but the lord's

After this, Yang Yongdao brings his discussion of governance to a close and laments the struggles of humanity. He discusses the nature of formularies at the time, and then he echoes the challenges and frustration of Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing. He points to the complexity of medicine and how it cannot be grasped by the common people. This echoes Tao Hongjing's emphasis on the importance in precision in medicine in his preface translated above.

> 其所可虞者，獨民之有疾病夭傷而已，思亦有以救之，其不在於方書矣乎？然方之行於世者多矣，大編廣集，奇藥群品，自名醫貴胄，或不能以兼通而卒具，況可以施於民庶哉！
>
> As for my expectations, only people who have illness die young from injuries and that's it. One should also consider if one has the means to revive them. Could that be because [the method] was not in a formulary?
>
> However, there are many applications of the formulas in the world. In great compilations and broad collections there are wondrous medicines and a multitude of items. If famous physicians and eminent nobles are not able to completely master them or make maximum use of them, how can they be applied by the general population!

granaries are full and your officials failed to tell you. This is a case of those superior being negligent and causing harm to those inferior." See *Mengzi* 孟子, 13.104–105.

Yang Yongdao then mentions how he obtained his edition of the *Zhouhou beiji fang.* He next explains how he follows Tao Hongjing in his expansion of the text. He implies that the simplicity of the formulas therein is able to be grasped and utilized by anyone. He briefly explains his process and the importance of this update to humanity as a whole. He concludes the preface with the date, location, and attribution.

於是行省乃得乾統間所刊《肘後方》善本，即葛洪所謂皆單行徑易，約而已驗。籬陌之間，顧眄皆藥，家有此方，可不用醫者也。

其書經陶隱居增修而益完矣，既又得唐慎微《証類本草》，其所附方，皆洽見精取，切於救治，而卷帙尤為繁重，且方隨藥著，檢用卒難，乃複摘錄其方，分以類例，而附於肘後隨証之下，目之曰《附廣肘後方》，下監俾更加讎次，且為之序，而刊行之。

方雖簡要，而該病則眾，藥多易求，而論效則遠，將使家自能醫，人無夭橫，以溥濟斯民於仁壽之域，以上廣國家博施愛物之德，其為利豈小補哉！

皇統四年十月戊子儒林郎汴京國子監博士楊用道謹序

When I served in the Branch Secretariat,[380] I only then obtained an edition of a revised and edited *Zhouhou fang* from the Qiantong 乾統 period (1101–1110). This is the work about which Ge Hong said: "It has independently circulated, it is straightforward and simple, concise and easy to consult. Within the bamboo palings and field paths, with a single glance all of the medicines are there. If a household has this formulary, there is no need to use a physician."[381]

In his writings on this text, Tao Yinju expanded, refined, and filled in the gaps. Since then, I also obtained Tang Shenwei's *Zhenglei bencao*.[382] These are placed as 'Additional formulas.' These are all widely known prime picks that are essential to save and cure [patients]. But the *juan* are especially redundant and repetitive. Moreover, the formulas contain herbs that are [readily] encountered and can be collected and used to end hardships.[383] Then and only then did I copy passages of their formulas, divide them according to the categories, and append them to the *Zhouhou* to conform to the disease below. I call it the *Fuguang Zhouhou fang*. This lowly official at the Guozi jian 國子監 (Imperial

[380] See Hucker, 246.

[381] This quote is from a passage in the "Za ying" chapter of the *Baopuzi nei pian* where it discusses this text and the *Yu han fang*. See *Baopuzi nei pian*, 15.272.

[382] Tang Shenwei's *Zhenglei bencao* was mentioned previously in chapter 4.

[383] An alternative reading could mean, 'make death difficult'?

Academy)[384] made corresponding and subsequent additions. I also wrote this preface for it and printed it.

Formulas are only those that are simple and essential and for all disease [treat the] majority of them. The herbs are plentiful and easily obtained, and the application of theory is far reaching. They can be used to make family members themselves act as physicians, no one will die prematurely. By this vast contribution, then the common people make humaneness the dominion of long life by spreading over the country in broad dissemination, care for the innate power of reaches all things. If these are being used as an advantage, surely this is not a small benefit![385]

Respectfully prefaced by Scholar-Gentleman Professor of the Directorate of Education in Bianjing Yang Yongdao on the *wuzi* day of the tenth month of the fourth year of the Huangtong 皇統 reign (November 7, 1144).

Yang Yongdao provides another layer to the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and adds to the complexity of this text by expanding the timeline into the twelfth century. His additions are

[384] During the Song dynasty, *xia jian* 下監 was the name of a court office, "Second veterinarian directorate," that oversaw the care of sick horses. While this is possible since physicians often also treated animals, it is likely referring to his working at the Imperial Academy where at the end of his preface he states his title was Directorate of Education. See Hucker, 229–30.

[385] This section refers to Mengzi where he states: 「夫君子所過者化，所存者神，上下與天地同流，豈曰小補之哉？」 "Wherever a lordling passes, there is change. Where he resides, it is with a full spirit. Above and below flow just as heaven and earth. How can we say this is not a small benefit?" See *Mengzi,* 13.555.

unlike those of Tao Hongjing in that they survive separately from the main text. By placing his added formulas at the end of each section Yang Yongdao makes it clear what formulas were added by his hand. It does however not eliminate the possibility of his making changes to other parts of the text.

His "Additional formulas" section cites numerous texts such as those mentioned above. In his preface though, he states that the *Zhenglei bencao* by Tang Shenwei was the source of his additions. It is uncertain whether these citations are from those particular texts mentioned or if they are citations in the *Zhenglei bencao* only.

What is clear is that Yang Yongdao continued the process laid out by Ge Hong that was further developed by Tao Hongjing. The rational for his editing and expansion follow closely the intentions of his predecessors and present us with an even larger repository of emergency medical formulas. As mentioned above, we cannot be certain that the additional formulas appended to many of the sections were the only changes made by Yang Yongdao, we also cannot know who else may have played a role in editing this work in the centuries between.

TANG TRANSITION

The scholars discussed above are the individuals that we know had a hand in or were at least credited with a role in the creation of this compilation. It is also likely that others who remain unnamed also contributed to the creation of the *Zhouhou fang* as it passed through the centuries.

One example of an unidentified contributor is the anonymous author of a third preface composed at Deer Call Mountain. The title, *Lu ming shan xugu xu* 鹿鳴山續古序 (Continuation

of the Old Preface from Deer Call Mountain), indicates it claims to be a sequel to a previous preface. While it is possible that this short passage is an addition to either the preface of Ge Hong or Tao Hongjing, it is unlikely that it was written by either of these authors since the clarification of measurements points to a later date.

It is also possible that another preface by an unknown author was written for an edition of this work, and this is a continuation of that now missing preface. While this is indeed a possibility, no evidence of such a preface survives except for the title that this work implies. It is likely that this passage is an amendment intended to be attached to Tao Hongjing's preface. This short preface clarifies terms and measurements whose meanings have changed over the centuries.

觀夫古方藥品分兩，灸穴分寸不類者，蓋古今人體大小或異，臟腑血脈亦有差焉。請以意酌量藥品分兩，古序已明，取所服多少配之，或一分為兩，或二銖為兩，以盞當升可也。

Observing any given case of ancient prescriptions, medicinal items have [measurements of] *fen* and *liang*.[386]

That moxibustion point [measurements] *fen* and *cun* are not the same, is probably because there were sometimes differences in the size of ancient and modern

[386] There have been numerous changes to the weights and measures system in China at various times in history. For an overview of the various systems used during different time periods, See Wilkinson, 552–6.

people's bodies.[387] Viscera, bowels, and blood vessels, for their part, [also] have differences.

Allow me to suggest that one mentally evaluate and estimate the *fen* and *liang* of medicinal items. The ancient preface is already clear [on this point].[388] Choosing whether the dose is large or small in order to match it, in some cases one *fen* can be taken as a *liang* or two *zhu* can be taken as a *liang,* and actually using *zhan* to stand in place of *sheng*.

This discussion of dose and measurements is quite confusing and is a topic of discussion in medical texts throughout history. Notes in these texts to clarify values at different time periods are not uncommon.

Following his introduction, the author gives an example of how these measurements should be interpreted in a formula called *The Powdered Purple Pill Formula* where he states:

如中卷末紫丸方，代赭、赤石脂各一兩，巴豆四十，杏仁五十枚，小兒服一麻子，百日者一小豆且多矣，若兩用二銖四絫[389]，巴豆四，杏仁五枚，可療十數小兒，此其類也。

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[387] *Fen* 分 was used as a unit of measurement for both length and weight. See Wilkinson, 555.

[388] While it is not certain, this is likely referring to Tao Hongjing's preface, where he discusses measurements. See above.

[389] *Zhu* 銖 and *lei* 絫 are both units of measurement: 1 *lei* = 1/10 *zhu*. See Wilkinson, 555. More on this measurement below.

For example, the *The Powdered Purple Pill Formula* in the middle *juan.*[390] *Daizhe*, *chishizhi*, each one *liang*. Forty pieces of *ba dou* and fifty pieces of *xing ren*.[391] For a child, take [a pill the size of] a hemp seed.[392] For those [children] that are [less than] 100 days old,[393] taking one [the size of] small bean[394] will be too much. If *liang* are used for two *zhu* and four *lei*, then with four pieces of *ba dou*, and five pieces of *xing ren* it is possible to cure more than ten children. This is perhaps the category [of measurement].

In short, the author points out that the dosage should be approximately 1/10th of the dose given in the formula. This example that is used is striking for a number of reasons. The first is that *The Powdered Purple Pill Formula* is not found in the surviving editions of *Zhouhou beiji fang*. It is however found in both the *Yifang leiju* and the *Waitai miyao*. The dosing in the *Yifang leiju* is identical to the formula above, but the *Waitai miyao* entry suggests using only thirty *ba*

[390] Though this formula is not found in modern editions of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, it was likely found in the *zhong* or middle volume of a three-part "original" edition or an earlier edition that was in three parts.

[391] While *shi* 十 can mean whole or complete, thus eliminating the discrepancy, this use in medical formulas would be strange. The authors explanation of the changes in measurement seems more plausible.

[392] This could also mean, "take with *mazi* (*Cannabis* spp.)," but it is more likely the size unit.

[393] I think this is referring to "less than" because it would contrast children in general in the line before. It is possibly just elaborating on the dosage for children though.

[394] *Xiaodou* often refers to *chi xiaodou* 赤小豆 or *hongdou* 紅豆 (*Phaseolus angularis* Wight). Using a bean as a size reference for dosing is common in formularies.

dou.[395] The *Ishinpō* also contains this formula but has thirty for both seeds.[396] More on how the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is connected to other formularies and what we can learn from this is discussed in the next chapter.

According to the *Jiu Tang shu*, Li Yuan 李淵 (566–635), Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626), updated the measurement system in the fourth year of his reign, Wude 4 武德四年 (621) and this relationship of *er zhu si lei* 二銖四絫 and *liang* 兩 is discussed.[397] This not only gives context to the debate regarding measurements, but also sets a specific date for when this correspondence was established. This standardization by Emperor Gaozu then puts this portion of the preface after 621.

The remainder of this preface includes a brief note on length measurements for moxibustion and a discussion on dealing with poisons.

> 灸之分寸，取其人左右中指中節可也。其使有毒野狼虎性藥，乃急救性命者也。或遇發毒急，掘地作小坑，以水令滿，熟攪稍澄，飲水自解，石為地漿，特加是說於品題之後爾。

[395] *Uibang yuchwi* 醫方類聚 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1981), 241.81 and *Waitai mi yao* 外臺秘要 (1955; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 2000), 35.977.

[396] *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (Taipei: Shin wen fang chuban gongsi, 1976), 25.978.

[397] *Jiu Tang shu,* 48.2094.

> As for *fen* and *cun* [measurements] in moxibustion, we can consider perhaps that it is the [width across the] middle joint of a person's right, left, and middle fingers.
>
> If he uses medicines that have a poisonous nature, [as dangerous as] a wild wolf and tiger, then and only then can he revive someone back to life in an emergency. If perhaps someone encounters an emergency where poison was let out, dig earth to make a small pit, use water to make it full. Warm [the water] and little by little it will become clear.[398] Drink the water and [the poison] will be expelled by itself.

While this preface does not specify an author or clarify the authorship of the formulas within the text, it does move our timeline up several centuries creating a thin bridge of the gap between Tao Hongjing and Yang Yongdao. By updating the measurements, the author brings the text into the Tang dynasty 唐代 (618–907).[399]

In addition to the points mentioned above, there are several other interesting features that point to this time period. The first is the avoidance of several taboo characters from the Tang dynasty. One such example of this is the avoidance of *min* 民 for the Emperor Taizong of Tang, Li Shimin, who reigned from 626–649.

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[398] I agree with Shen Shunong's gloss of *shaocheng* 稍澄 where he takes it to mean "gradually become clear." See Shen Shunong, 14, n.2.

[399] For an in-depth study of the editing of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* in the Tang dynasty, see Xiao Hongyan 肖紅艷, Yan Jilan 嚴季瀾, and Qian Chaochen 錢超塵. "Tangdai yijia dui daojiao dianji 'Zhouhou beiji fang' de zengding kaozheng 唐代醫家對道教典籍《肘後備急方》的增訂考證," *Beijing zhongyiyao daxue xuebao* 35.5 (2012): 303–308.

In Tao Hongjing's preface we find the line, 夫生人所為大患莫急於疾疾而不治. In the *Yiwen leiju* version there is a corresponding line, 夫生民之所為大患莫急乎疾疹疾疹而弗治. While there are several other character substitutions and additions, the substitution of *min* for *ren* is likely due to an avoidance of this character during the Tang.

There are two other features appearing in the modern edition of the text that demonstrate the role of later editors in the Tang: the mention of Tang reign dates and the inclusion of Tang personalities. In the second *juan* the Tang reign date, Yonghua 4 永徽四年 (653) appears in the main body of the text.[400] This suggests this passage, or at the very least, this line was written after that date. The line that mentions this Tang reign date is also found in the *Waitai mi yao* and cites its source as the *Zhouhou beiji fang*.[401] This places the date between 653 and 752.

In addition to this date, two prominent figures who lived during the Tang dynasty, Xi Bian 席辯 (fl. 627–649) and Ruogan Ze 若干則 (fl. 622) are mentioned in the section on *gu* 蠱 poison in the seventh *juan* of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Xi Bian was prefect of Cangzhou 滄州 during the Tang Zhenguan 貞觀 reign period (627–649) and was known for his formulas on *gu* poison. Ruogan Ze, also known as Huanghua gong 黃花公 (Lord of the Yellow Flower), was a commander in chief of Hongzhou 洪州 in 622 and was known to have found a formula on *gu* poison.[402]

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[400] See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 2.21 (55.521a).

[401] See *Waitai mi yao*, 3.119a–b. For more on this See Hong et. al., 304.

[402] See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 7.22 (55.636a). For more See Zheng Jinsheng, et. al., 377 and 522, and Xiao Hongyan et. al., "Tangdai yijia dui daojiao dianji 'Zhouhou beiji fang' de zengding kaozheng 唐代醫家對道教典籍《肘後備急方》的增訂考證," 304–305. Zheng and Unschuld list Ruo Yuze 若於則 as the second person, but Hong makes a more compelling

While we cannot be certain to the extent of editing, these examples point to at least some tampering in the Tang dynasty. While Tao Hongjing and Yang Yongdao are known editors, the years in between largely remain a mystery. With so many years and uncertainties, the number of other hands that played a part bringing Ge Hong's original work to its current are unknown.

INTERNAL REFERENCES

While the previous mentioned physicians and scholars added to the work that Ge Hong began, it is also important to note that there were many individuals who contributed to Ge Hong's original work. As a compilation, Ge Hong makes clear from his preface that he was collecting formulas from a variety of sources. Thus, we can assume that many, if not all the formulas, were not of his own creation.

Tao Hongjing also explains how he brings various formulas together writing: 或名醫垂記，或累世傳良，或博聞有驗，或自用得力。 "In some cases, famous doctors handed down their records. In some cases, generation after generation transmitted those that were good. In some cases, erudite scholars had experimented [and proven formulas]. And in some cases, I personally [added] beneficial formulas that I have used."

As implied, throughout the text there are references to famous physicians and there are also scholars mentioned who have contributed their experiences. Some of the major names that are found in the text include Bian Que, Hua Tuo, and Zhang Zhongjing.

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argument for a character transcription error of *yu* 于 from *gan* 干 and identifying the person as Ruogan Ze.

Some scholars have argued that the mention of these early physicians is evidence of other editors, for their inclusion runs counter to Ge Hong's original intent to avoid complex formulas and mainstream medicine.[403] Since Ge Hong readily admits that his formulas were collected from his travels and research, nearly all the formulas have come from other sources. The manner in which some of the entries are included clearly indicates they were provided by another editor, but the inclusion of formulas from these famous physicians by Ge Hong also seems likely. While most remain unlabeled, there are several formulas that are clearly attributed to a known figure.

Several of these formulas, and many others will be looked at more closely as we examine how the received version of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is related to Ge Hong's *Zhouhou jiucu fang*. We have explored the contributions of major compilers and editors and discovered how they approached this text and expanded its usefulness. Let us turn now to the text itself and examine more closely the contents within to tell us more about the development of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and how this text fits in the broader context of formularies and medicine in China.

[403] See Ma Jixing 馬繼興, "Zhouhou beiji fang 肘後備急方," in *Zhongyi wenxian xue* 中醫文獻學 (Shanghai: Shanghai kexue jishu chubanshe, 1990), 158–161.

CHAPTER 6 – FILLING THE VOID

From the first mention of the *Zhouhou jiucu fang* by Ge Hong in his preface, until the incorporation into the *Zhengtong daozang* and formation of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* of today, the text gradually expanded. It grew from what was likely a small handbook, to a large, eight *juan,* comprehensive formulary that provides treatments for a rich array of ailments, injuries, and diseases and an even more abundant collection of formulas to address those situations. The text has not only grown, but also, over time, information has also been lost. In addition to the expansion of the text by the hands of Tao Hongjing, Yang Yongdao, and others, there is also a significant amount of material that has been lost due to the manipulations of editors through corrections, omissions, or errors.

Ge Hong's original text is said to have eighty-six headings. Tao Hongjing consolidated it to seventy-nine before expanding the text to 101 headings. It is unclear how many formulas were under each heading.

With only seventy-three headings and only sixty-nine containing formulas remaining in the current edition, we are missing thirty-two sections and an unknown number of corresponding formulas. It is possible that these are simply lost. Perhaps a missing *juan* or fascicle was misplaced and lost to time. It is also possible that another editor attempted to strip the text down to Ge Hong's original seventy-nine headings and we are only missing ten, or the text was consolidated into seventy-three intentionally. Whatever the reason or method, there are major discrepancies between what exists today and what is discussed in the historical record.

Yang Yongdao cites his sources, though whether they are directly from the texts he cites, or simply draws them all from an edition of the *Zhenglei bencao* that he had access to is uncertain. He is credited with adding approximately 621 formulas in the 'Additional formulas' portion at the end of most sections, but it is possible that he made changes to the main body of the text as well.

Evidence of Tang editorial changes is clearly found in the main body, and though the few examples can be identified by dates and names, it is likely that there were other changes that do not have temporal indicators. The extent of changes made during this stage remains a mystery.

Trying to ascertain which formulas were part of a text that was originally compiled by Ge Hong presents numerous challenges and may, in fact, be impossible to determine. By comparing the *Zhouhou beiji fang* with other formularies, *materia medica*, historical works, and by critically examining the surviving text itself we can tease out when and where these formulas may have been inserted into the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, and how they fit into the broader categories of emergency medicine and formularies.

As the text expanded and contracted, formulas have been lost and formulas have been added. By looking at several examples from within the *Zhouhou beiji fang* itself and examining formulas found outside of this compilation, we can better understand what Ge Hong's original work may have contained, how it may have grown, and how it is related to other formularies within the Chinese medical literature.

ZHOUHOU BEIJI FANG – 4TH CENTURY

JUAN ONE – HEADING ONE

1. FORMULAS TO RESCUE FROM BEING STRUCK BY THE MALIGN CAUSING [THE APPEARANCE OF] SUDDEN DEATH

Reviving someone who appears dead is not an easy task even with tools of modern medicine. The first three formulas of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* provide simple treatments using either a scallion or a tube to rouse the person back to the realm of the living. While the methods themselves might be simple, the explanation and structure of these formulas shroud that simplicity in confusion.

PRIMARY FORMULA (1.1)

Take the following passage which is the first formula listed in the entire text:

一方，取葱[404]黃心刺其鼻，男左、女右，入七八寸。若使目中血出，佳。扁鵲法同。是後吹耳條中。葛當言此云吹鼻，故別為一法。

[404] The character *cong* 葱 is used here, but in later editions it is nearly always substituted with *cong* 蔥. See *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (*Ming ban* 明版), *Tōyō igaku zenpon sōsho* 東洋醫學善本叢書 (Osaka: Tōyō igaku kenkyūkai, 1995), 1.1, *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (1956; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1983), 1.13, and also, *Zhouhou baiyi fang* 肘後百一方, ed. Kagawa Shūan 香川修庵 (1683-1755) (1746 (Enkyō 延享三年); rpt. Osaka, 1757 (Hōreki 寶曆七年). Digital Access via Kyoto Library RB00002987), 1.1.

Primary formula: Take the yellow center of a scallion and insert it into their nose. For men, [insert] it into the left [nostril], and for women [insert] it into the right [nostril]. Go in seven or eight *cun*. If it causes the eyes to become bloodshot,[405] then it is effective. Bian Que's method is the same. Immediately afterwards, blow into the ears and pierce the center. Regarding this phrase, Ge Hong says, "blow into the nose," therefore this is another separate method.[406]

It becomes obvious when reading the text cited above that there is more than one writer, and one of them is clearly not Ge Hong. Throughout the text there are references to earlier famous physicians such as Bian Que. While it is possible that Ge Hong compared his treatment methods to these earlier physicians and added these to his original work, it seems out of place in this formula and by looking more closely, the more complicated the situation becomes. The formula can be broken into seven lines:

a) 一方，

b) 取葱黃心刺其鼻，

c) 男左、女右，入七八寸。

d) 若使目中血出，佳。

e) 扁鵲法同。

[405] The line literally says that it "will cause blood to come out of the eyes."

[406] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang,* 1.1 (55.495a).

f) 是後吹耳條中。

g) 葛當言此云吹鼻，故別為一法。

Line a) could be part of the original text, but many commentators believe this was added later.[407] It functions merely as a way to organize formulas into primary and supplementary rankings. Supplementary formulas are typically marked, *you fang* 又方 (additional formula). If the original text was meant to be a small handbook, additional and largely unnecessary characters such as these would likely not be included.

Line b) is the most likely part of this passage that can be attributed to Ge Hong. It is listed as the primary formula just below the heading. It uses simple substances and gives short and concise instructions.

Line c) seems to be an extension of the main method. It clarifies details when treating men versus women and provides a measurement of distance for inserting the scallion. This too appears to be part of the primary formula.

Line d) is also likely part of the primary formula and was written by the same author. Following the instructions, it gives a prognosis of what to expect if the formula was successful.

Line e) is an attribution to Bian Que and is in line with Ge Hong's method of compilation where he sought practical formulas from well-known physicians. A problem arises with this attribution when we read the following line.

Line f) states a method, that given the previous statement of methods being the same, one would assume specifies an identical protocol. Clearly, though the author says that his method is

[407] Shen Shunong, 20, n. 5.

the same, the methods of inserting the scallion into the nose, and blowing into the ears are indeed not the same. Shen Shunong states that this line refers to the third formula below.[408]

Line g) recognizes the inconsistency here and states that Ge Hong's method is to blow into the nose (which it is not) and therefore these must be separate methods.

This is the FIRST formula of the entire text, and already there is much to unpack. There are several possibilities in how to make sense of this passage. The most straightforward interpretation is to take only part b) through d) as the root formula. Part e) and f) were added by an initial commentator, and part g) was added by a second commentator.

There are certainly other ways to view these lines as well. Another interpretation is that parts b) through f) are by one author, and part g) is by a lone commentator. This view presents additional considerations such as the possibility that part e) is a stand-alone statement and formula and f) is an additional part of the technique. This would make part g) a comment on that formula.

It is also possible that line e) was inserted by one commentator and line g) from a second commentator, but line f) is part of an original formula (possibly this formula or the one below). There are several other possible interpretations, but what does become clear is that the overall formula is not from a single author. By looking at formulas outside of this initial passage, one may be able to clarify some of the details.

[408] Shen Shunong, 20, n. 6.

ADDITIONAL FORMULA (1.2)

As we move down the text to the second formula, we notice some similarities to the first. Here we see a formula that uses a tube to blow into the ears of the person who appears dead.

> 又方。令二人以衣壅口，吹其兩耳，極則易，又可以筒吹之，並捧其肩上，側身遠之，莫臨死人上。
>
> Additional formula: Make two people use cloth to cover [the person's] mouth. Blow into both of their ears. When [one person] tires change [to another person].[409]
> Additionally, you can use a tube to blow [into the ears]. At the same time, hold their shoulders, but tilt your body away from them, and do not hover over the person [who appears] dead.

This formula seems to correlate much more clearly with line e), blowing into the ears. An immediate question then arises, should this formula be attributed to Bian Que and read with line d)? If that's the case, why are formulas 1.1 and 1.3 (as we'll see below) attributed to Bian Que, but this one is not?

[409] This scenario is similar to the process used by modern emergency responders today. When performing CPR or mouth to mouth resuscitation, practitioners routinely switch to maintain the intensity of breaths. An alternative reading could be, "blow as hard as you can and then there will be a change [in the person's status]." While this is possible, the above reading seems more likely. Shen Shunong also glosses *ji* 極 as *pilao* 疲勞. See Shen Shunong, 20 n. 7.

ADDITIONAL FORMULA (1.3)

We don't have to look far to find more information in a related formula or possibly part of the same original formula. The third formula listed in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* continues as follows:

> 又方 以葱葉刺耳。耳中、鼻中血出者莫怪，無血難治。有血是候。時當捧兩手忽放之，須臾死人自當舉手撈人，言痛乃止。
>
> 男刺左鼻、女刺右鼻中，令入七八寸餘，大效。亦治自縊死。與此扁鵲方同。

> Additional formula: Insert a scallion leaf into the ear. When it is in the ear, for those who have blood come out of the nose, do not think it strange. Without blood, it is difficult to treat. Having blood is the correct state. At that time, you ought to use both hands and quickly remove [them].[410] Then suddenly, the person [who appeared] dead, naturally should raise their hands as a person who is revived. The person will say that the pain has only then stopped.
>
> For men insert it in the left nostril, for women insert in the right nostril. Make it go in more than seven or eight *cun*, for greatest effect. [This formula is] also for

[410] This can either mean, 1) suddenly remove the scallions from the ear, or 2) release the person's body. This line will be discussed in more detail below.

treating a person who has hanged themself. This and Bian Que's formula are the same.

The first thing to notice is the graph used for scallion. The graph *cong* 蒜 is used in the *Daozang ben*. According to the *Yu pian* 玉篇 (Jade sections), compiled by Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581)[411] in c. 543, these two graphs have the same meaning, and 蒜 is a colloquial form of *cong* 葱[412] that is mentioned in formula 1.1. In later editions and the editions based on the *Li Shi – Liu Zihua ben* the graph *cong* 蔥 is used here and in formula 1.1.[413]

While the three graphs, 蒜/蔥/葱, all pronounced *cong*, and all identified with scallion, are used interchangeably, the distinct usage of two of these in formulas that are listed on the same page suggests two primary possibilities. 1) There were two different authors to these formulas, or 2) The graphs are identifying two unique drug substances. A third possibility is that the author simply decided to use a different graph, but this seems unlikely. Lastly, there is always the possibility of an error, whether by the original compiler, or someone later who transcribed the text.

There is little evidence to suggest an alternate identification other than the plant part description on the page (yellow heart vs. leaf). Because the part used is already clarified, it is more likely that the first and third formulas are from different authors. It is also possible that they are from the same author, just compiled by someone using various sources. This means that

[411] Gu Yewang 顧野王, whose *zi* was Xiping 希馮, was a historian and scholar of Chinese script.

[412] *Yu pian* 玉篇, *Sibu cong kan jing bu*, 13.23b.

[413] See the note above for other versions of this text where these variants can be found.

perhaps one of the formulas was copied into another text and edited to use a different graph for *cong* before making its way to its current position in the formulary.

Aside from the differing graphs in the first and third formulas in the *Daozang ben*, the three formulas seem to clearly be related with overlapping techniques and concepts. Here is a breakdown of some key elements:

Formula	**1.1**			**1.2**	**1.3**	
Substance used	葱/蔥				蒝/蔥 葉	
Method	刺	吹	吹	吹	刺	刺
Location	鼻	耳	鼻	耳	耳	鼻
Attribution	扁鵲	(扁鵲?)	葛洪		扁鵲	
Bleeding location	目				鼻	

Only the second formula seems clear as a single method. The other two formulas are likely an admixture of original text and commentary. While these first three formulas provide some interesting information, looking for references outside of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* will possibly shed some light on how these formulas are related. By looking at related formulas that stretch over the next thousand years we can see how treatments and formula writing were approached over the years and how the passing of formulas from text to text changed or preserved information.

BEIJI QIAN JIN YAO FANG 備急千金要方 – 652

The primary formula (1.1) cited above shows up in several major formularies that were compiled in later centuries. The first one that we find it in is in the *juan* twenty-four of the *Beiji qian jin yao fang* by Sun Simiao. Sun Simiao writes a short formula, followed by a brief commentary that cites the *Zhouhou fang*:

> 取蔥黃心刺鼻孔中。血出愈。
>
> Take the yellow center of a scallion and insert it into their nostril. If blood comes out, they will be healed.
>
> 肘後方云入七八寸。無若使目中血出佳。崔氏云，男左、女右。
>
> The *Zhouhou fang* says, "Go in seven or eight *cun*. No matter if it causes the eyes to become bloodshot, it is effective." Mr. Cui says, "men on the left, and women on the right."[414]

[414] *Beiji qian jin yao fang*, 24.445b. This line could also be understood as, "If it does not cause the eyes to become bloodshot, it is effective." While both are plausible, I will keep my translation in agreement with the *Zhouhou beiji fang* text.

Sun Simiao indicates that the line regarding men and women is an addition by a Mr. Cui.[415] If this attribution is correct and it was not in Ge Hong's original formula, the lines in the first formula (1.1) above, must be divided further with line c) being divided. This gives our first example of a possible editorial change that seems to have made its way into the main text. Also, he does not mention Ge Hong specifically, but only states "*Zhouhou fang* says." While the initial assumption is that he is referring to Ge Hong's text and since this formula survives in the later *Zhouhou beiji fang*, it is important to remember that Bian Que also had a *Zhouhou fang* text attributed to him that is now lost.

Sun Simiao mentions a treatment method similar to the second formula (1.2) as well. It does not appear under the same section, but rather, he lists it under "Formulas to treat someone who has hanged themself" (治自縊死方),

> 凡救自縊死者。極須按定其心。勿截繩。徐徐抱解之。
>
> 心下尚溫者。以氈毹覆口鼻。兩人吹其兩耳。

> In general, to rescue someone who [appears to be] dead from hanging themself, as hard as you can immediately press firmly on their heart. Do not cut the rope. Gently, while holding them, untie it. For someone where there is still warmth at their heart [area], use a felt carpet to cover the mouth and nose. Two people blow into both of their ears.[416]

[415] Cui Shi 崔氏 likely refers one of two possible famous Tang physicians. See more below.

[416] *Beiji qian jin yao fang*, 25.446a.

After the initial instructions specific to hanging, the remaining task is to revive a person who appears dead. This formula is similar to the second formula in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* where in both cases, the person's mouth is covered and those offering treatment blow forcefully into both of their ears. Sun Simiao is more specific in his use of a felt carpet as a cover, but otherwise, the methods are the same. While it is not mentioned in conjunction with the second formula, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* formula 1.3 specifically mentions that it is good for when a person hangs himself.

Waitai mi yao 外臺秘要 – 752

Wang Tao also has similar formulas and references to Ge Hong and Bian Que in his formulary the *Waitai mi yao*. In *juan* twenty-eight we find these three formulas listed under a section credited to Ge Hong (*Zhouhou* says…),[417] where the formulas are listed to treat "those who suddenly appear to have died from being struck by the malign or a corpse-like condition from [qi] recession."[418] Following the main formulas, Wang Tao adds notes in smaller text and below they are in parentheses.

[417] I am following the convention that this refers to Ge Hong's work, but as above, there is the possibility that this is referring to another *Zhouhou* formulary.

[418] See more on these terms under the chapter headings in chapter 4. The line directly before these formulas says they treat, *zhong e zhi lou* 中惡之顡 (struck by the malign to the bone). Some editors interpret *lou* as *lei* 類. I am reading *lou* 顡 as *lou* 髏 (skeleton).

取蔥刺鼻。令入數寸。須使目中血出乃佳。一云耳中血出佳。此扁鵲法。同後云吹耳中。葛氏吹鼻。別為一法。

（肘後集驗備急文仲必效等同。崔氏亦療中惡。）

Take a scallion and insert it into their nose. Make it go in several *cun*. One must cause the eyes to become bloodshot, only then it is effective. Another says if blood comes out of the ears, then it is effective.[419] This is Bian Que's method. The same [formula] afterward says, blow into the ears. Master Ge [Hong says] blow into the nose. This is another separate method.

(In the *Zhouhou* collected and proven emergency medicine writings, this second [method] is certainly modeled in the same manner.

Mr. Cui also [uses this formula] to treat being struck by the malign.)[420]

又方。令二人以衣壅口。吹其兩耳。亦可以葦筒吹之。

（肘後同）

Additional formula: Make two people use cloth to cover their mouth. Blow into both ears. You can also use a reed tube to blow [into the ears].

(The *Zhouhou* has the same [method].)

[419] This line is likely reading formula 1.3, "耳中、鼻中血出者莫怪" as "耳中鼻中血出者莫怪," and interpreting the meaning as, "blood coming out of the ears and nose."

[420] See below for more on Mr. Cui.

又方。以蔥刺耳。耳中鼻中血出者勿怪。無血難療之。有血者。是活候也。其欲蘇時。當捧兩手莫放之。須臾死人目當舉手撈人。言痛乃止。

男刺左鼻。女刺右鼻孔。令入七寸餘無苦。立效。亦療自縊死。此扁鵲法。（肘後集驗備急同）

Additional formula: Insert a scallion into their ear. When it is in the ear, for those who have blood come out of the nose, do not think it strange. Without blood, it is difficult to cure them. For those that have blood, they will certainly then live. If you perhaps wish for them to revive at a certain time, you ought to use both hands and do not release them. Then suddenly the person [who appeared] dead naturally should raise their hands as a person who is revived.[421] They will say that the pain has only then stopped.

For men insert it in the left nostril, for women insert in the right nostril. Make it go in more than seven *cun*, but do not make them suffer. [This formula is] also for curing a person who has hanged themself. This is Bian Que's method.
(It is the same as the collected and proven emergency medicines in the *Zhouhou*.)[422]

[421] I am reading *mu* 目 as *zi* 自 here as it appears in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* formula 1.3 above.
[422] *Waitai mi yao*, 28.754a.

The three formulas are largely the same. They add a little more information but, for the most part, do not change the overall meaning. The second formula suggests using a reed tube, and the third formula suggests not making the patient suffer when inserting the scallion.

The third formula does have one major graphic substitution that is very difficult to resolve. Compare the following lines:

時當捧兩手**忽**放之。

At that time, you ought to use both hands and quickly remove [them].

其欲蘇時。當捧兩手**莫**放之。

If you perhaps wish for them to revive at that time, you ought to use both hands and do not release them.

The additional graphs concerning time do not alter the meaning much, but the substitution of *hu* 忽 for *mo* 莫, changes the technique. While the first suggests rapidly removing the scallions or releasing the person, the second says specifically not to release them. However, the outcome is supposed to be the same. This variation between these two graphs appears in later texts. It could point to two different methods that the authors chose between, but it more likely points to how these formulas were passed down and which text they were copied from. If later compilers had access to both versions, then they would need to make a decision on which interpretation or method to use.

ISHINPŌ 醫心方 – 982

The *Ishinpō* contains numerous formulas that are similar to the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. In "Formulas to treat sudden death," in *juan* fourteen, there are formulas nearly identical to the *Zhouhou beiji fang* formulas 1.2 and 1.3 above.

令二人以衣壅（旁注：［壅］於隴反，塞也。）口，吹其兩耳，極則易人，亦可以竹筒吹之，并側身遠之，莫臨死人上。

Make two people use cloth to cover their mouth. Blow into both ears. When [one person] tires change to another person. You can also use a bamboo tube to blow [into the ears]. At the same time, hold their shoulders, but tilt your body away from them, and do not hover over the person [who appears] dead.

又方。以葱葉刺其耳，耳中、口中、鼻中血出者莫怪，無血難治，有血是治候也。

Additional formula: Insert a scallion leaf into their ear. If blood comes out of the ear, mouth, or nose, do not think it strange. Without blood, it is difficult to treat them. If there is blood, it will be a positive treatment outcome.[423]

[423] *Ishinpō*, 14.3a.

These two formulas help clarify some of the confusing aspects of the formulas cited above, but also add elements into the discussion that were not already there. First, Tanba no Yasuyori gives a fanqie 反切 spelling for 壅 and a definition. He also mentions the use of a bamboo tube in the first formula. The second formula in the *Ishinpō* is almost identical to the first portion of *Zhouhou beiji fang* formula 1.3. An important distinction is that Tanba no Yasuyori says that they will bleed from the ear, mouth, and nose.

TAIPING SHENGHUI FANG 太平聖惠方 – 992

The *Taiping shenghui fang* also contains a formula similar to *Zhouhou beiji fang* formula 1.3. In *juan* fifty-six, under the heading "Formulas to treat those who suddenly appear to have died from being struck by the malign or a corpse-like condition from [qi] recession." This is the first formula, and it addresses some of the ambiguities right at the onset.

> 右以葱刺其耳中鼻中。血出者，是活候也。其欲蘇時。當捉兩手莫放之。須臾死人自當舉手撈人。言痛乃止。男左女右鼻內。令葱入五寸為則。立效。

> Assist[424] them by inserting a scallion into their ear and nose. In the event that blood comes out, this will lead to a revived state. If you perhaps wish for them to revive at that time, you ought to use both hands and do not release them.

[424] I am reading *you* 右 as *you* 佑, meaning, "aid" or "assist."

Then suddenly the person [who appeared] dead, naturally should raise his hands as a person who is revived. They will say that the pain has only then stopped.

For men, the left and women, the right, insert it into the nose. Make the scallion go in five *cun* as a rule. This will be effective.[425]

As a major compendium with the goal of consolidating and clarifying, Wang Huaiyin and his team did just that with this formula. This formula removes the ambiguity about where to place the scallion and where bleeding may occur (the ear or nose) by replacing the first *er* 耳 with *qi* 其, thus giving one clear reading, "put a scallion into their ear and nose." It is possible that they had a text that showed this, and they assumed it was a transcription error, or they decided to change the text to make it clear. While chronologically it is over five hundred years after Ge Hong compiled the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, it was also compiled about five hundred years prior to the *Daozang ben*.

YOUYOU XIN SHU 幼幼新書 – 1150

The pediatric formulary compiled by Liu Fang in 1150 also has numerous formulas to treat emergency situations. Many of them show slight modifications for treating children. In *juan* thirty-two under formulas for "Being struck by the malign," these three formulas appear again.

[425] *Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖惠方 (1958; rpt. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1982), 1741.

《葛氏肘後》…右取蔥黃心刺其鼻，男左女右，入七、八寸。小兒量度之。若使目中血出佳。扁鵲法同。是後穴耳條中。

葛言此云刺鼻，故別為一法。

Mr. Ge's *Zhouhou* – Assist them by taking a scallion and inserting it into their nose. Men on the left, women on the right. Make it go in seven or eight *cun*. For children, measure it. If it causes the eyes to become bloodshot, then it is effective. Bian Que's method is the same. Immediately afterwards, make a hole in the ears by piercing the center. Regarding this phrase, Ge Hong says, "insert it into the nose," therefore this is another separate method.

《葛氏肘後》又方右令二人以衣壅口，吹其兩耳，極則易人。可以筒吹之，並捧其肩上，側身遠之，莫臨死人上。

Mr. Ge's *Zhouhou* – Additional formula: Make two people use cloth to cover their mouth. Blow into both of their ears. When [one person] tires change [to another] person. You can also use a tube to blow [into the ears]. At the same time, hold their shoulders, but tilt your body away from them, and do not hover over the person [who appears] dead.

《葛氏肘後》又方右以蔥葉針耳、耳中、鼻中、血出者莫怪，無血難治，有血是候。時當捧兩手忽放之，須臾，死人自當舉手撈人，言痛乃止。又男刺左鼻，女刺右鼻中，令入七、八寸餘大效。

小兒量度之。亦治自縊死。此與扁鵲方同。

Mr. Ge's *Zhouhou* – Additional formula: Assist them by inserting a scallion leaf to pierce the ear. When it is in the ear, for those who have blood come out of the nose, do not think it strange. Without blood, it is difficult to cure them. If there is blood, it will be a positive outcome. At a certain time, you ought to use both hands and quickly release them. Then suddenly, the person [who appeared] dead, naturally should raise his hands as a person who is revived. They will say that the pain has only then stopped.

Also, for men insert it in the left nostril, for women insert in the right nostril. Make it go in more than seven or eight *cun*, for greatest effect. For children, measure it. [This formula is] also for treating a person who has hanged himself. This and Bian Que's formula are the same.[426]

While these versions of the three formulas show similar discrepancies, they also show modifications of a base formula to make it safe and effective for children by saying in both the first and third formulas, *xiao'er liangdu zhi* 小兒量度之, "For children, measure [the distance]."

[426] *Youyou xin shu,* 幼幼新書 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1987), 32.1284–5.

Liu Fang also does not include the method of blowing into the ears or nose for the first method, but instead says only to insert the scallion.

BENCAO GANGMU 本草綱目 – 1596

The final text that we will look at for information on the *Zhouhou beiji fang* formulas is the *Bencao gangmu* by Li Shizhen 李時珍 (1518–1593). Published in 1596, after Li Shizhen's death, the *Bencao gangmu* was compiled after the *Daozang ben* and several other editions of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Li Shizhen says that he used over 800 medical references works to create his compendium and, in the case of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*, he does provide some additional useful information.

Under the heading for *cong* in *juan* twenty-six Li Shizhen cites two formulas that are related to the formulas above.

肘後方：急取葱心黃刺入鼻孔中，男左女右，入七八寸，鼻、目血出即蘇。

Zhouhou fang: Assist them by taking a yellow scallion heart and inserting it into their nose. Men on the left, women on the right. Go in seven or eight *cun*. If blood comes out of the nose and eyes, then they will be revived.

又法：用葱刺入耳中五寸，以鼻中血出即活也。如無血出，即不可治矣。相傳此扁鵲秘方也。崔氏纂要。

> Additional method: Using a scallion, insert it five *cun* into the ear. If blood comes out of the nose, then they will live. If no blood comes out, then they are unable to be treated. Tradition has it that this is Bian Que's secret formula. – Mr. Cui's *Zuan yao*.[427]

In the first formula we see a consistent treatment method in line with the initial lines of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* formula 1.1. Li Shizhen does not mention Bian Que or include any of the following lines, but rather keeps the formula short and specific. He only cites *Zhouhou fang*, and while most scholars assume this means the work of Ge Hong, another source text is still a possibility.

The second formula is also almost identical to the formula 1.3 in an abridged form. Li Shizhen attributes this formula to Mr. Cui in the text *Zuan yao* [*fang*] 纂要方 (Edited essential formulas). The *Zuan yao fang* is a Tang dynasty text that has two possible authors. The "Jing ji zhi" 經籍志 of the *Jiu Tang shu* lists the *Cui shi zuan yao fang* 崔氏纂要方 (Edited essential formulas of Mr. Cui) by Cui Zhiti 崔知悌 (c. 615–685).[428] In contrast, the "Yiwen zhi" of the *Xin Tang shu* lists the same text but attributes it to Cui Xinggong 崔行功 (d. 674).[429] While early scholars tend to follow the later attribution, modern scholars tend to view Cui Zhiti as the author. If we follow this line of thought, it means that Li Shizhen was likely referring to Cui Xinggong, but possibly cites the text by Cui Zhiti.

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[427] *Bencao gangmu*, 26.46.

[428] *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2050.

[429] *Xin Tang shu*, 59.1571.

Li Shizhen provides us a clear citation that is related to formula 1.3 of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*. Sun Simiao and Wang Tao also mention a Mr. Cui, but his name is attached to formulas related to 1.1. In the *Beiji qian jin yao fang*, the line connected to Mr. Cui appears more like an added note. This added note could apply to both formulas 1.1 and 1.3 as a simple clarifying point.

Though both physicians named Mr. Cui lived after Ge Hong and Tao Hongjing, as shown above, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* was edited during and after the Tang dynasty. With this example, that edited portion supplements information from later physicians into the main text. This seems to be the case, as the information from Mr. Cui appears to have made its way into the body of the main text.

EVOLUTION

Each of these citations provides information about the original formulas of Ge Hong. Not only do they clarify or provide alternate techniques, but they also tell a story of transmission. The formulas are plucked from one text, added to another, repackaged, and passed down from generation to generation. Sometimes they are cited, but other times they anonymously pass between hands. Occasionally the formulas are copied precisely from one text to the next, but more often, as shown above, compilers and editors add notes and anecdotes that clarify and elaborate techniques, provide notes on difficult graphs, and occasionally share personal experiences. Though they may mark these additions initially, those distinguishing features often disappear over time, and they make their way into the original text.

Additionally, much has been lost and formulas such as these give insight into the broader body of formulary literature. Two major figures are mentioned, Bian Que and Mr. Cui, both of whom seem to have written or at least taught formulas for these scenarios. The works of both of these individuals have been lost, but some of their information survives in formulas such as these.

The three *Zhouhou beiji fang* formulas only provide a snapshot of a much larger and more complicated picture. Not only are there sixty-eight more headings, each with numerous individual formulas that need to be investigated, but there are also various other formularies, *materia medica*, and historical references that also contain information and formulas that can add additional information. While the texts examined above each contain formulas attributed to Ge Hong, other compilation formularies such as the *Uibang yuchwi*, and *Taiping huimin heji jufang* also contain formulas that mirror those found in the *Zhouhou beiji fang,* not to mention the abundant category formularies such as those on pediatrics and gynecology that also share common treatment information.

In addition to the formulary texts there are also mentions of formulas by Ge Hong in *materia medica* such as the *Zhenglei bencao* as well as historical works such as the *Taiping yulan*, and the *Taiping guangji*. Each of these texts has formulas attributed to Mr. Ge (*Ge shi* 葛氏) or under the label "Zhouhou says," followed by a formula. In addition to these clearly labeled attributions, an unknown number of related formulas remain to be explored.

CONCLUSION

The *Zhouhou beiji fang* is a complex yet fascinating formulary with an equally complex and fascinating history. While creating his text, Ge Hong trimmed down, simplified, and streamlined carefully chosen formulas from his large compendium the *Yu han fang*, to create a template that continues to be followed to this day.

Ge Hong had a life of ups and downs. From prestige to poverty, and from military commander to recluse, his life experiences gave him insight into the trials and tribulations of people from all walks of life. As an avid bibliophile and lifelong student, he traveled widely and collected formulas that he states amounted to over 1,000 *juan*. His life ambitions and experiences gave him a unique perspective and exposure to opportunities to build his formulary.

In the Chinese medicine tradition (and in many traditions worldwide) formularies are built on the shoulders of their predecessors and Ge Hong's text is a perfect example of this process. While some formularies expand and grow into large compendiums, others are stripped down to simple and practical methods for the layperson or specialized manuals for physicians. Ge Hong created the compendium *Yu han fang* from which he extracted the *Zhouhou beiji fang* as a practical and intuitive text that could to be used by anyone.

Later editors Tao Hongjing and Yang Yongdao followed Ge Hong's method and while expanding the text, attempted to keep it accessible to the general population. Other practitioners also used Ge Hong's work and the formulas he compiled to build their own formularies. Sun Simiao, Wang Tao, Tanba no Yasuyori, Wang Huaiyin, and even Li Shizhen used formulas compiled by Ge Hong and other scholars and physicians to create formularies useful for their

own time periods. Whether large compendiums or specialized texts, they all built on the techniques, methods, and even theories of the practitioners that came before them. Even Li Shizhen's *Bencao gangmu*, though technically a *materia medica* work, contains thousands of formulas and preserves them as a snapshot in history to be extracted and used by later scholars and physicians.

Each of these later formularies selects and repackages formulas from their predecessors and passes them on to the next generation. By looking at this first set of formulas we can better understand the complexity of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and formularies in general in Chinese medical literature. As we have seen, these were not individual formulas that were passed down unchanged, but rather evolving treatment protocols that changed and were reevaluated and reinterpreted with the times.

With each successive step, information was added, removed, and/or reinterpreted. In many cases, the formula became clearer or more precise. Over time, the information swelled and became confused, disordered, or taken out of context. Lines were switched and commentaries become blended with main text, and over time, once again, the formula needs to be clarified and updated.

This ebb and flow of information into and out of formularies becomes a feature of the development of this genre. Even Ge Hong's original text, if we can call it that, mentions earlier, renowned physicians such as Zhang Ji, Hua Tuo, and Bian Que to either confirm or compare treatment protocols. While it may be difficult to determine the precise methods or formulas of these physicians, the information is still preserved if we patiently peel away the layering that accumulates over centuries. As we have seen, these formularies in Chinese medicine are

intricately connected, but often these relationships remain unseen until they are examined closely.

An extraordinary amount of medical knowledge has been lost over time and formulas such as these give insight into the broader body of information that has existed in Chinese medical literature. As mentioned, works of Cui Zhiti, Bian Que, and Hua Tuo, though lost, may survive on the pages of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and other formularies or medical texts. This preservation of earlier works is priceless, as over time texts became lost, but the information within them can survive in other works.

This borrowing, editing, and adapting creates a challenging scenario to determine which formulas within the now nearly two-thousand formula, eight *juan* edition of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* were included in Ge Hong's original *Zhouhou jiucu* [*fang*]. It also makes it nearly impossible to determine which formulas attributed to Ge Hong may have been from the *Yu han fang* and left out of his smaller compilation.

Despite these challenges, this study of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* points to a greater tradition that continues to this day. Chinese medical formularies continue to grow and expand, and current formularies are too numerous to count as Chinese medicine grows worldwide. Large compendium formularies are being developed for research and are used in teaching while categorical formularies for women's health, dermatology, pediatrics, and other specialties are also being published every year. As Chinese medicine continues to spread to non-Chinese speaking countries, new interpretations, translations, herbs, techniques, and ideas are once again layered upon an already dense tradition. The examples mentioned in the introduction about artemisinin and fecal microbiota transplantation, and their relationship to this text, are two cases of methods related to this formulary being incorporated into modern Western medicine. It is

only a matter of time before physician and family formularies begin to emerge in the West as well.

While this study demonstrates the complexity of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* and its development from Ge Hong until modern times, it also demonstrates its connection to other formularies and Chinese medical literature. While giving a glimpse into fourth century emergency medicine, its formulas, and ideas, it more importantly shows the interrelatedness of the medical knowledge that has passed down within this traditional formulary and continues to be passed down today.

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APPENDIX A

The primary reference text for drug identification is the *Zhongyao dacidian* 中藥大辭典. Additional resources such as the *Flora of China* 中国植物志, Paul Unschuld's *Bencao gangmu* translation and Bernard E. Read's *Chinese Materia Medica* series were also used to confirm identifications and address difficult names.

GE SHI CHANG BEI YAO 葛氏常備藥

This list of twenty-five drugs that Ge Hong always had ready is found in *juan* eight of the *Zhouhou beiji fang*.[430] Many of these are commonly found throughout the text and used in a number of formulas. Most are common herbs that are readily available, but there are several rare and expensive drugs such as *xi jiao* 犀角 and *shexiang* 麝香 that do seem contradictory to Ge Hong's stated goal in his preface.

Name	*pinyin*	Latin name
大黃	*dahuang*	*Rheum palmatum* L.
桂心	*guixin*	*Cinnamomum cassia* Blume
甘草	*gancao*	*Glycyrrhiza uralensis* Fisch. ex DC.
乾薑	*gan jiang*	*Zingiber officinalis* L.
黃連	*huanglian*	*Coptis chinensis* Franch.
椒	*jiao*	*Zanthoxylum bungeanum* Maxim.
朮	*zhu (baizhu)*	*Atractylodes macrocephala* Koidz.
吳茱萸	*wuzhuyu*	*Tetradium ruticarpum* (A. Jussieu) T. G. Hartley[431]
熟艾	*shou ai*	*Artemisia argyi* Lévl. et Vant.[432]
雄黃	*xionghuang*	Realgar (As_2S_2)

[430] *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 8.8 (55.651a).
[431] Another name for this drug that appears in the *Zhouhou beiji fang* is wuzhu 蕪荑. Other names for identification are *Evodia rutaecarpa* (Juss.) Benth. and *Evodia rutaecarpa* Hook. fit. et. Th.
[432] Another commonly used plant is *Artemisia vulgaris* L.

犀角	*xi jiao*	*Rhinoceres unicornis* L.
麝香	*shexiang*	*Moschus moschiferus* L.
菖蒲	*changpu*	*Acorus gramineous* Soland.
人參	*renshen*	*Panax ginseng* C. A. Mey.
芍藥	*shaoyao*	*Paeonia lactiflora* Pall.
附子	*fuzi*	*Aconitum* spp.[433]
巴豆	*badou*	*Croton tiglium* L.
半夏	*banxia*	*Pinellia ternata* (Thunb.) Breit.
麻黃	*mahuang*	*Ephedra sinica* Stapf.
柴胡	*chaihu*	*Bupleurum chinense* DC.
杏仁	*xingren*	*Prunus armeniaca* L.[434]
葛根	*gegen*	*Pueraria lobata* (Willd.) Ohwi
黃芩	*huangqin*	*Scutellaria baicalensis* Georgi.
烏頭	*wutou*	*Aconitum* spp.[435]
秦膠	*qinjiao*	*Gentiana macrophylla* Pall.[436]

The remaining lists are additional major drugs that are found within the text. This is not a complete list of the substances used throughout the text, but rather a sampling of the many drugs mentioned by Ge Hong and the other compilers.

BOTANICAL

Name	*pinyin*	Latin name
貝母	*beimu*	*Fritillaria unibracteata* Hsiao et K.C. Hsia
柏子仁	*boziren*	*Biota orientalis* (L.) Endl.
葱/蔥/蓯	*cong*	*Allium fistulosum* L.
大麻仁	*dama ren*	*Cannabis sativa* L.[437]
大蒜	*dasuan*	*Allium sativum* L.

[433] *Fuzi* is a major drug in Chinese medicine. It is typically identified as *Aconitum carmichaeli* Debx., but the study by Frédéric Obringer shares the more complicated situation. Frédéric Obringer, *L'aconit et L'orpiment: Drogues et poisons en Chine ancienne et médiévale* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1997), 139-43.
[434] *Armeniaca vulgaris* Lam. is another name that is commonly used.
[435] See the note above on *fuzi*.
[436] *Qinjiao* is also written 秦艽.
[437] Another common name for this drug is *huomaren* 火麻仁.

大棗	*dazao*	*Ziziphus jujuba* Mill. var *inermis* (Bge.) Rehd.
杜蘅	*duheng*	*Asarum forbesii* Maxim.[438]
防風	*fangfeng*	*Saposhnikovia divaricata* (Turcz.) Schischk
粳米	*gengmi*	*Oryza sativa* L.
鬼箭	*guijian*	*Euonymus alatus* (Thunb.) Sieb[439]
鬼臼	*guijiu*	*Podophyllum emodi* Wall, var. *P. chinensis* Sprague
桂心	*guixin*	*Cinnamomum cassia* (L.) J. Presl
厚朴	*houpo*	*Magnolia officinalis* Rehd. et Wils.[440]
胡豆	*hudou*	*Vicia faba* L.[441]
瓠子	*huzi*	*Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standl. var. *clavate* Ser.
桔梗	*jiegeng*	*Platycodon grandiflorum* (Jacq.) A. DC.
蒺藜	*jili*	*Tribulus terrestris* L.
橘皮	*ju pi*	*Citrus reticulata* Blanco[442]
苦參	*kushen*	*Sophora flavescens* Ait.
藜蘆	*lilu*	*Veratrum nigrum* L.
龍膽	*longdan*	*Gentiana scabra* Bunge.
麥門冬	*maimendong*	*Ophiopogon japonicus* Ker-Gawl.
馬蹄木	*mati mu*	*Eleocharis dulcis* (Burm f.) Trin. ex Henschel.
牡丹	*mudan*	*Paeonia suffruticosa* Andr.
女青	*nuqing*	*Cynanchum thesioides var. austral*
青蒿	*qinghao*	*Artemisia annua* L.
青木香	*qingmuxiang*	*Aristolochia debilis* Sieb. et Zucc.
漆葉	*qiye*	*Rhus verniciflua* Stokes
忍冬	*rendong*	*Lonicera japonica* Thunb.[443]
肉桂	*rougui*	*Cinnamomum cassia* (L.) J. Presl
桑	*sang*	*Morus alba* L.

[438] Unschuld gives *Asarum caulescens* Maxim. Forbes in his translation. Li Shizhen, 13.425.
[439] This drug is more commonly known as *guijianyu* 鬼箭羽.
[440] The identification above is the commonly accepted species name, but the field of modern botany continues to advance in China. The plant identified at *houpo* in the *Flora of China* is *Houpoëa officinalis* (Rehder & E. H. Wilson) N. H. Xia & C. Y. Wu. See *Flora of China*, 7.65.
[441] The more common name for *hudou* is *candou* 蠶豆. For more on *hudou* see Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran* (Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1919), 305-7.
[442] An alternative species identification is *Citrus tangerina* Hort. et Tanaka. Depending on the classification system used, *C. tangerina* is sometimes considered a variant of *C. retiulata*.
[443] *Rendong* is more commonly known as *rendongteng* 忍冬藤.

生地黃	*sheng dihuang*	*Rehmannia glutinosa* Libosch.
生薑	*sheng jiang*	*Zingiber officinalis* L.
升麻	*shengma*	*Cimicifuga foetida* L.
桃仁	*taoren*	*Amygdalus persica* (L.) Batsch,[444]
葶歷子	*tinglizi*	*Lepidium apetalum* Willd.
土瓜	*tugua*	*Imopoea hunaiensis* Lingelsh. et Borza
烏臼	*wujiu*	*Sapium sebiferum* (L.) Roxb.
烏梅	*wumei*	*Prunus mume* (Sieb.) Sieb. et Zucc.
香菜	*xiangcai*	*Elsholtzia splendens* Nakai ex Mackwa[445]
薤	*xie*	*Allium chinense* G. Don.
細辛	*xixin*	*Asarum heteropoides* Fr. Schmidt var. *manshuricum* (Maxim.) Kitag.
薏苡根	*yiyi gen*	*Coix lachryma-jobi* L.
皂莢	*zaojia*	*Gleditsia sinensis* Lam.
躑躅	*zhizhu*	*Rhododendron molle* (BL.) G. Don.[446]
貝母	*beimu*	*Fritillaria unibracteata* Hsiao et K.C. Hsia
梔子	*zhizi*	*Gardenia jasminoides* Ellis

MINERAL

Name	*pinyin*	Latin name
雌黃	*cihuang*	Orpiment (As_2S_3)
朱砂	*zhusha*	Cinnabar (HgS)
丹砂	*dansha*	Cinnabar (HgS)
礬石	*fanshi*	Alum, Potash ($KAl(SO_4)_2 \cdot 12\ H_2O$)
代赭	*daizhe*	Hematite (Fe_2O_3)
赤石脂	*chishizhi*	Halloysite ($Al_2Si_2O_5(OH)_4$)

[444] Another identification name is *Prunus persica* (L.) Batsch.

[445] In *juan* 1, the *Zhouhou beiji fang* has *xiangcai* 香菜,. An identical formula in the *Ishinpō* has *xiangrou* 香葇. See *Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang*, 1.30 (55.509b), and *Ishinpō,* 6.10b. Both of these drug names are identified in both modern and pre-modern texts as *xiangrou* 香薷. Unschuld gives *Elsholtzia ciliata* (Thunb.) Hyl. as another possible plant identification. Li Shizhen, 14.675.

[446] This is the common identification for *yang zhishen* 羊躑躅. Another identification is *dujuan* 杜鵑 or *Rhododendron simsii* Plancho.

ANIMAL

Name	*pinyin*	Latin name
雞冠血	*ji guan xue*	cockscomb blood *Gallus domesticus* Briss.
虎頭骨	*hutougu*	tiger skull *Panthera tigris* L.
羚羊角	*lingyangjiao*	antelope horn *Saiga tatarica* L.[447]
牡蠣	*muli*	oyster shells *Ostrea cucullata* Born.
牛蹄	*niu ti*	ox hoof *Bos* spp.
獺肝	*ta gan*	otter liver *Lutra lutra* L.
蜈蚣	*wugong*	centipede *Scolopendra subspinipes* Leach

[447] Another common name for this animal is *lingyang* 靈羊.

APPENDIX B

NAMES

Ban Biao	班彪
Ban Gu	班固
Bao Gu	鮑姑
Bao Xuan (Bao Jing)	鮑玄（鮑靚）
Bian Que	扁鵲
Cao Fang	曹芳
Cao Pi	曹丕
Cao Rui	曹叡
Cao Xi	曹翕
Chao Yuanfang	巢元方
Chen Jiru	陳繼儒
Chen Jiyan	陳霽巖
Chen Min	陳敏
Chen Qimou	陳奇謀
Chen Wenzhong	陳文中
Chen Zhaoyu	陳照遇
Chen Zhensun	陳振孫
Chen Ziming	陳自明
Cheng Yongpei	程永培
Choi Chongjoon	崔宗峻
Chunyu Yi	淳于意
Chunyu Yi	淳于意
Cui Jishu	崔季舒
Cui Wei	崔煒
Cui Xinggong	崔行功
Cui Zhiti	崔知悌
Cui Zhongshu	崔中書
Dai Ba	戴霸
Deng Yue	鄧嶽
Dezong	德宗
Dong Ji	董汲
Duke Mu	穆公
Duke Wen of Zhou	周文公
Cheng of Han	漢成

Gaozu	高祖
Fan Maozhu's	范懋柱
Fan Qin	范欽
Fan Zhongyan	范仲淹
Fang Xuanling	房玄齡
Gan Bao	干寶
Gao Cheng	高澄
Ge Hong	葛洪
Ge Ti	葛悌
Ge Wang	葛望
Ge Xi	葛系
Ge Xuan	葛玄
Gong Qingyuan	龔慶宣
Gu Mi	顧祕
Gu Yewang	顧野王
Guo Jizhong	郭稽中
Han Dai zhao	韓待詔
Han Ying	韓嬰
Hong Mai	洪邁
Hong Zun	洪遵
Hu Zunhua	胡遵化
Hua Tuo	華佗
Huangfu	黃父
Huangfu Mi	皇甫謐
Kagawa Shūan	香川修庵
Kajiwara Shōzen	梶原性全
Cheng of Zhou	周成
Jie of Xia	夏桀
Wen of Zhou	周文
Wu of Zhou	周武
Kojima Naomasa	小島尚眞
Li Baiyao	李百藥
Li Gao	李杲
Li Kuo	李适
Li Longji	李隆基
Li Shan	李善
Li Shi	李栻
Li Shimin	李世民
Li Shisheng	李師聖
Li Shizhen	李時珍

Li Xian	李賢
Li Yanshou	李延壽
Li Yuan	李淵
Li Zihua	劉自化
Lin Daoren	藺道人
Liu An	劉案
Liu Ao	劉驁
Liu Fang	劉昉
Liu Juanzi	劉涓子
Liu Kuang	劉貺
Liu Wansu	劉完素
Liu Xiang	劉向
Liu Xin	劉歆
Liu Yuanran	劉淵然
Lou Shou	樓璹
Lü Gui	履癸
Lü Yong	呂顒
Lu Zhi	陸贄
Ma Yuan	馬援
Mengzi	孟子
Ouyang Xiu	歐陽修
Ouyang Xun	歐陽詢
Qi Zhongfu	齊仲甫
Qian Yi	錢乙
Qin Yueren	秦越人
Qiu Peiran	裘沛然
Ruan Xiaoxu	阮孝緒
Ruogan Ze	若干則
Setsuyō shyorin	攝陽書林
Shang Tang	商湯
Shen Gua	沈括
Shen Nong	神農
Shi Bing	石冰
Shi Kan	史堪
Sima Qian	司馬遷
Sima Rui	司馬睿
Song Qi	宋祁
Su Shi	蘇軾
Sugawara Minetsugu	菅原岑嗣
Sun Quan	孫權

Sun Simiao	孫思邈
Sun Xingyan	孫星衍
Taizong	太宗
Tan Yunxian	談允賢
Tanba no Yasuyori	丹波康賴
Tang Shenwei	唐慎微
Tao Hongjing	陶弘景
Tu Youyou	屠呦呦
Wang Haogu	王好古
Wang Huaiyin	王懷隱
Wang Qiu	王璆
Wang Tao	王燾
Wang Yaochen	王堯臣
Wang Yu	王祐
Wang Yuanlu	王圆禄
Wei Xian	魏峴
Wei Zheng	魏徵
Wenren Gui	聞人規
Wu Hou	烏侯
Wu Ningji	吳寧極
Xi Bian	席辯
Xi Han (Jundao)	嵇含（君道）
Xi Kang	嵇康
Xi Shao	嵇紹
Xia De	夏德
Xu Anguo	徐安國
Xu Chunfu	徐春甫
Xu Guozhen	許國楨
Xu Sibo	徐嗣伯
Xu Wenbo	徐文伯
Xuanzong	玄宗
Xue Ji	薛己
Xue Qinglu	薛清錄
Xue Xin	薛辛
Xue Xuan	薛軒
Yan Xiaozhong	閻孝忠
Yan Yonghe	嚴用和
Yang Qingsou	楊清叟
Yang Shiying	楊士瀛
Yang Shoujing	楊守敬

Yang Tan	楊倓
Yang Yongdao	楊用道
Yi He	醫和
Yi Xu	義姁
Yi Yin	伊尹
Ying Qu	應璩
Yongle	永樂
Yu Fu	俞跗
Yuan Hong	袁宏
Yue Shi	樂史
Zan Yin	昝殷
Zhang Chang	張長
Zhang Fangxian	張方賢
Zhang Ji	張機
Zhang Xiaoniang	張小娘
Zhang Yuchu	張宇初
Zhao Yizhen	趙宜真
Zheng Chunfu	鄭春敷
Zheng Qi	鄭奇
Zheng Qiao	鄭樵
Zheng Yin	鄭隱
Zhengtong	正統
Zhou Qi	周玘
Zhou Ting	周頲
Zhu Duanzhang	朱端章
Zhu Zuo	朱佐
Zuo Ci	左慈

APPENDIX C

TITLES

Aheuichaulyo bang (Ch: *Yuyi cuoyao fang*)	御醫撮要方
Ban lun cui ying	癍論萃英
Baopuzi nei pian	抱朴子內篇
Baopuzi wai pian	抱朴子外篇
Baopuzi	抱朴子
Bei Qi shu	北齊書
Beiji danyan yao fang	備急單驗藥方
Beiji qian jin yao fang	備急千金要方
Bencao gangmu	本草綱目
Bencao huiyan	本草彙言
Bencao jizhu	本草集注
Bencao tongxuan	本草通玄
Bencao yuanshi	本草原始
Bian Que Yance zhenjiu tu	扁鵲偃側鍼灸圖
Bian Que Zhouhou fang	扁鵲肘後方
Bielu	別錄
Bu Zhouhou jiucu beiji fang	補肘後救卒備急方
Buque Zhouhou baiyi fang	補闕肘後百一方
Cang gong jue shengsi miyao	倉公訣生死秘要
Cang gong jue si sheng miyao	倉公決死生秘要
Chan bao zalu	產寶雜錄
Chan bao zhu fang	產寶諸方
Chan lun	產論
Chan yu bao qing ji	產育寶慶集
Chen shi xiao'er bing yuan fang lun	陳氏小兒病源方論
Chen shi xiao'er douzhen fang lun	陳氏小兒痘疹方論
Chongwen zongmu	崇文總目
Chu shi yishu	褚氏遺書
Cui shi zuan yao fang	崔氏纂要方
Daozang jiyao	道藏輯要
Dong shi xiao'er ban zhen beiji fang lun	董氏小兒斑疹備急方論
Dou shen chuan xin lü	痘疹傳心錄
Uibang yuchwi (Ch: *Yifang leiju*)	醫方類聚
Feng xuan fang	風眩方

Fu ren liang fang 婦人良方
Fuguang Zhouhou fang 附廣肘後方
Fuke taichan wenda yaozhi 婦科胎產問答要旨
Furen daquan liang fang 婦人大全良方
Furen daquan liang fang 婦人大全良方
Fuxingjue zangfu yongyao fayao 輔行訣臟腑用藥法要
Ge Hong Beiji baiyi fang 葛洪肘後備急百一方
Ge Hong Zhouhou jiucu fang 葛洪肘後救卒方
Ge Xianweng Zhouhou beiji fang 葛仙翁肘後備急方
Guang Hongming ji 廣弘明集
Gui wei fang 鬼遺方
Gujin yitong daquan 古今醫統大全
Han dai zhao Zhouhou fang 韓待詔肘後方
Han shi waizhuan 韓詩外傳
Han shi yi tong 韓氏醫通
Han shu 漢書
Hongshi ji yan fang 洪氏集驗方
Hou Han shu 後漢書
Hua Tuo shen yi mi chuan 華陀神異秘傳
Huang su fang 黃素方
Huangdi liuzhu mai jing 黃帝流注脈經
Huangdi mingtang yan ren tu 黃帝明堂偃人圖
Huangdi nei jing ling shu 黃帝內經靈樞
Huangdi nei jing 黃帝內經
Hui hui yao fang 回回藥方
Ishinpō (Ch: *Yi xin fang*) 醫心方
Jia zhuan chan hou gejue zhi yan lu 家傳產後歌訣治驗錄
Jiajian ling mi shiba fang 加減靈秘十八方
Jiaoqi zhifa zong yao 腳氣治法總要
Jijiu xian fang 急救仙方
Jin gui lüzhi 金匱綠秩（金匱綠囊）
Jin shu 晉書
Jing xiao chan bao 經效產寶
Jingshi zhenglei beiji bencao 經史證類備急本草
Jingui yao fang 金匱藥方
Jingui yaolüe 金匱要略
Jingui yu han jing 金匱玉函經
Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書
Jiuji xian fang 救急仙方
Jiyi zhuan 集異傳
Kaiyuan Guangji fang 開元廣濟方

Kinranhou 金蘭方
Kunyuan shi bao 坤元是保
Lei bian Zhu shi jiyan yi fang 類編朱氏集驗醫方
Liangli zhuan 良吏傳
Lianshiju cang shu ji 廉石居藏書記
Liu Juanzi gui wei fang 劉涓子鬼遺方
Liu Kuang zhenren Zhouhou fang 劉眖真人肘後方
Liuli zhai yi shu 六醴齋醫書
Lu xin jing 顱囟經
Lun hanshi san fang 論寒食散方
Luofu ji 羅浮記
Ma'anpo (Ch: *Wan an fang*) 万安方
Ming yi bei lu 名醫別録
Mingtang liuzhu 明堂流注
Mingtang liuzhu yance tu 明堂流注偃側圖
Nan jing 難經
Nan shi 南史
Nanfang caomu zhuang 南方草木狀
Nei wai shang bian huo lun 內外傷辨惑論
Nü yi za yan 女醫雜言
Nuke bai wen 女科百問
Nuke cuo yao 女科撮要
Nuke ji yang yao yu wanjin fang 女科濟陽要語萬金方
Nuke wanjin fang 女科萬金方
Pi wei lun 脾胃論
Puji fang 普濟方
Qi ji fang 奇疾方
Qi lu 七錄
Qi lüe 七略
Qian jin fang 千金方
Qian jin yi fang 千金翼方
Renzhai xiao'er fang 仁齋小兒方
Renzhai zhi zhi xiao'er fang lun 仁齋直指小兒方論
San xiao lun 三消論
Sanguo zhi 三國志
Sanhuang wen 三黃文
Shanghan lun 傷寒論
Shanghan za bing lun 傷寒雜病論
Shen rou wu shu 慎柔五書
Shennong bencao jing 神農本草經
Shenxian zhuan 神仙傳

Shi yao shen shu 十藥神書
Shi yi xin jing 食醫心鏡
Shi zai zhi fang 史載之方
Shi zhai baiyi xuan fang 是齋百一選方
Shiji 史記
Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要
Song shi 宋史
Soushen ji 搜神記
Su Shen liang fang 蘇瀋良方
Sui shu 隋書
Taiping guanji 太平館際
Taiping huanyu ji 太平寰宇記
Taiping huimin heji jufang 太平惠民和劑局方
Taiping shenghui fang 太平聖惠方
Taiping yulan 太平預覽
Taishi Huangdi Bian Que, Yu Fu fang 泰始黃帝扁鵲俞拊方
Tang ye jing fa 湯液經法
Tang ye jing 湯液經
Ton'ishō 頓醫抄
Tong zhi 通志
Waike fang 外科方
Waike ji yan fang 外科集驗方
Waike jing yao 外科精要
Waike mi chuan 外科秘傳
Waitai mi yao 外台祕要
Wei sheng jia bao chanke fang 衛生家寶產科方
Wei sheng jia bao fang 衛生家寶方
Wei shi jia cang fang 魏氏家藏方
Wei shu 魏書
Wen xuan 文選
Wenren shi douzhen lun 聞人氏痘疹論
Wushi'er bing fang 五十二病方
Wuyue zhenxing tu 五嶽真形圖
Xia Ziyi qi ji fang 夏子益奇疾方
Xian shou lishang xuduan mifang 仙授理傷續斷秘方
Xianchuan waike mifang 仙傳外科秘方
Xiao er yao zheng zhi jue 小兒藥証直訣
Xiao yan fang 效驗方
Xiao'er bing yuan fang lun 小兒病源方論
Xiao'er douzhen fang lun 小兒痘疹方論
Xin Tang shu 新唐書

Xinju beiji jiujing	新集備急灸經
Xue shi ji yang wanjin shu	薛氏濟陽萬金書
Xue yuan	學苑
Yan shi ji sheng fang	嚴氏濟生方
Yang shi jia cang fang	楊氏家藏方
Yan shi xiao'er fang lun	閻氏小兒方論
Yijian zhi	夷堅志
Ying er zhi yao	嬰兒指要
Yinyi zhuan	隱逸傳
Yiwen leiju	藝文類聚
Yixue faming	醫學發明
Yongju yi fang	癰疽異方
Youyou xin shu	幼幼新書
Yu han fang	玉函方
Yu pian	玉篇
Yu yao yuan fang	御藥院方
Yuan heji yong jing	元和紀用經
Yufeng Zheng shi nuke michuan	玉峰鄭氏女科秘傳
Zhen gong man lü	折肱漫錄
Zhenglei bencao	證類本草
Zhengtong daozang	正統道藏
Zhenjiu jia yi jing	針灸甲乙經
Zhenyuan Guangli fang	貞元廣利方
Zhizhai shulu jieti	直齊書錄解題
Zhongguo yi ji da cidian	中國醫籍大辭典
Zhongguo zhongyi guji zongmu	中國中醫古籍總目
Zhou li	周禮
Zhouhou baiyi fang	肘後百一方
Zhouhou beiji fang	肘後備急方
Zhouhou fang	肘後方
Zhouhou jiucu beiji fang	肘後救卒備急方
Zhouhou jiucu fang	肘後救卒方
Zhouhou jiucu	肘後救卒
Zhouhou yaoji fang	肘後要急方
Zhouhou yaoji fang	肘後要急方
Zhu bing yuan hou lun	諸病源侯論
Zhuangzi	莊子
Zuan yao fang	纂要方
Zuanji Han dai zhao Zhouhou fang	纂集韓待詔肘後方

VITA

Sean Bradley is a practicing Naturopathic Physician (ND) and practitioner of Chinese medicine. He owns and manages a private medical clinic, *Insight Natural Medicine*, where he focuses on sports medicine with both amateur and professional athletes.

His research focus is early Chinese medical literature and formularies with a special interest in the transfer of medicines along the Silk Road particularly the exchanges between Chinese and Indian traditions. He aims to use his research to apply ancient trauma medicines and techniques to modern sports medicine to improve the care and performance of high-level athletes.

Before his doctoral work at the University of Washington, Bradley received degrees in Naturopathic medicine (ND) and Acupuncture and Oriental medicine (MSAOM) from Bastyr University after completing an intensive study program at the Shanghai University of Traditional Chinese Medicine. He also studied Chinese language and literature (MA and BA) at the University of Washington, and botany (BS) at Colorado State University. Bradley travels often to further his studies and continue to research the use of ancient medicines in modern practice.

In addition to treating and working with patients, he enjoys writing, researching, and collecting to build a library to further the study of traditional medical practices. He is also an avid martial artist, and hiker, but appreciates most, spending time with his family.