

# Antiquarianism, Language, and Medical Philology

*From Early Modern to Modern Sino-Japanese  
Medical Discourses*

*Edited by*

Benjamin A. Elman



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

# Contents

Contributors VI

- 1 Rethinking the Sino-Japanese Medical Classics: Antiquarianism, Languages, and Medical Philology 1  
*Benjamin A. Elman*
  - 2 Reasoning with Cases: The Transmission of Clinical Medical Knowledge in Twelfth-Century Song China 19  
*Asaf Goldschmidt*
  - 3 Illness, Texts, and “Schools” in Danxi Medicine: A New Look at Chinese Medical History from 1320 to 1800 52  
*Fabien Simonis*
  - 4 Ancient Texts and New Medical Ideas in Eighteenth-Century Japan 81  
*Daniel Trambaiolo*
  - 5 The Reception of the Circulation Channels Theory in Japan (1500–1800) 105  
*Mathias Vigouroux*
  - 6 A Village Doctor and the *Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders (Shanghan lun 傷寒論)*: Medical Theory / Medical Practice in Late Tokugawa Japan 133  
*Susan L. Burns*
  - 7 *Honzōgaku* after *Seibutsugaku*: Traditional Pharmacology as Antiquarianism after the Institutionalization of Modern Biology in Early Meiji Japan 148  
*Federico Marcon*
  - 8 Japanese Medical Texts in Chinese on *Kakké* in the Tokugawa and Early Meiji Periods 163  
*Angela Ki Che Leung*
  - 9 Yang Shoujing and the Kojima Family: Collection and Publication of Medical Classics 186  
*Mayanagi Makoto, with Takashi Miura and Mathias Vigouroux*
- Index 215

# Yang Shoujing and the Kojima Family: Collection and Publication of Medical Classics

*Mayanagi Makoto, with Takashi Miura and Mathias Vigouroux*

## Introduction

The mid-Edo period saw the rise of the Ancient Formulas School (Kohō-ha 古方派), spearheaded by Yoshimasu Tōdō 吉益東洞 (1702–1773). This school not only reinvigorated the “Japanization” of traditional medicine but also critiqued and made corrections to Chinese medical classics on the basis of its unique interpretations. In the late Edo period, the method of Qing Evidential Studies was applied to the study of medical classics, and this led to the establishment of the School of Evidential Studies of Medicine (Kōshō igaku-ha 考證醫學派), with its center at the Edo Medical School (Edo igakukan 江戸醫學館) and many of its contributors being *bakufu* medical officials. This school began to expand its influence as a counterpart to the Ancient Formulas School.

Proponents of the School of Evidential Studies of Medicine engaged in extensive analyses of Chinese and Japanese classics and produced many works on medical texts from an empirical standpoint.<sup>1</sup> As the foundation for these endeavors, they edited and published many medical classics of good quality<sup>2</sup> and restored Chinese medical texts and pre-Tang pharmacological texts that had been lost. Many rare books and documents were collected for this purpose. Results of their analyses were the compilation of the *Iseki kō* 醫籍考 (*Investigation of Chinese Medical Books*), consisting of eighty *juan*, by Taki Mototsugu 多紀元胤 (1789–1827) in 1826 and the *Keiseki hōkoshi* 經籍訪古志 (*Bibliography of Rare Chinese Classics in Japan*), consisting of eight *juan*, by Mori Tatsuyuki 森立之 (1807–1885), Shibue Chūsai 澁江抽齋 (1805–1858),

1 Machi 2004; Kosoto 2004.

2 *Iryaku shō* 醫略抄, *Honzō wamyō* 本草和名 (1796); *Nan jing jizhu* 難經集注 (1804); *Shengji zonglu* 聖濟總錄 (1816); *Bencao yanyi* 本草衍義 (1823); *Hama jing* 蝦蟇經 (1823); *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (1829); *Zhenben qianjinfang* 真本千金方 (1832); *Zhujiie Shanghan lun* 注解傷寒論 (1835); *Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方 (1849); *Yifang leiju* 醫方類聚 (1852–1861); *Jingui yaolue* 金匱要略 (1853); *Suwen* 素問 (1855); *Songban Shanghan lun* 宋板傷寒論 (1856); *Ishinpō* 醫心方 (1860).

and others in 1856. With these major accomplishments, the School of Evidential Studies of Medicine was at the peak of its influence on the eve of the Meiji Restoration.

Meiji Japan adopted the policy of the exclusive promotion of Western medicine. Factions in favor of traditional medicine engaged in a variety of activities to oppose this trend, but these efforts vanished completely by 1902.<sup>3</sup> As a result, traditional medicine in Japan lost both its foundation and its successors at this time. Works on traditional medicine, which had reached an unprecedented level of sophistication by the late Edo period, began to be circulated in antique book markets. Qing scholars and merchants who were in Japan at this time purchased some of these medical books and introduced them to China. One of them, Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1839–1915), who was born to a merchant family in Yidu of Hubei, pioneered this movement and bought the largest quantity of books during his stay in Japan.<sup>4</sup>

From his teens, Yang Shoujing aspired to reach the rank of “Presented Scholar” (*jinsi* 進士) through the imperial examination. By the age of twenty-four, he had passed the first four levels of examination (the district, prefectural, academic, and provincial examinations); however, he failed the subsequent metropolitan examination in Beijing ten years in a row. During his years in Beijing, Yang collected books in the Liulichang district of Beijing and interacted with the city’s literati. Toward the end of 1879, Yang received an invitation to go to Japan from He Ruzhang 何如璋 (1838–1891), Qing China’s first minister (*kōshi*, *gongshi* 公使) to Japan.<sup>5</sup> Yang arrived in Japan in 1880, after having failed the metropolitan examination one more time, and remained in Japan until 1884. During his stay there, he purchased many rare books of good quality (*zenpon*, *shanben* 善本).

Yang used *Keiseki hōkoshi* as a reference in searching for and collecting rare books. Mori Tatsuyuki, one of the compilers of the book, served as an intermediary for Yang.<sup>6</sup> Mori was a physician belonging to the School of Evidential Studies of Medicine, and he helped Yang collect many medical books. In 1884 Yang compiled and published his findings in Japan as *Guyi congshu* 古逸叢書 (*Series of Old Books Lost in China*) while still in the country. After returning to

3 Yakazu 1977, 1–35.

4 For full details on Yang’s collection of texts, which will be analyzed in the following sections, refer to the original version of this article, Mayanagi 2008. Also see <http://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/handle/2433/88025>.

5 Wu 1974, 1–30.

6 In the introduction of Yang Shoujing’s *Ribenfangshu zhi*, he notes, “I ... had an association with the country’s medical officer Mori Tatsuyuki and saw his work *Keiseki hōkoshi*. I eventually searched for these [books], using his work as a reference.”

China, he published in 1901 a meticulous record of the books he had purchased in Japan under the title *Riben fangshu zhi* 日本訪書志 (*Bibliography of Old Books Obtained in Japan*). In the section titled “Yuanqi” 緣起 (“The Origin”), written in 1881, he claims that within a year of arriving in Japan, he had purchased over 30,000 *juan* and that many of these were old texts formerly owned by physicians.<sup>7</sup> He also writes that he obtained the majority of medical books from members of the Kojima family—namely, Naokata 尚質, Naomasa 尚眞, and Shōkei 尚綱. There are no documents that corroborate the exact number of books Yang purchased in Japan or the background of how he obtained them. It is possible to gain insight, however, by turning our attention to the Kojima family, who have not received much academic attention thus far.

Moreover, in the past, scholars have done much to analyze the relationship between Yang and Mori. However, not enough attention has been given to Yang’s publication of medical texts and his motives in doing so. The goal of this essay is to shed light upon these hitherto-neglected points. By doing so, we can learn how the knowledge of collation and revision from *bakumatsu* Japan was transmitted to China and how it impacted scholarship and publishing in the late Qing period.

## The Kojima Family’s Scholarship and Collection

### *Scholarship*

The progenitor of the Kojima family was named Ensai 圓齋 (?–1657). He was appointed in 1648 to the position of *oku ishi* 奥醫師 (in-house medical officer for the Tokugawa shogun and his family). His descendants inherited the position as *bakufu* medical officials until the end of the Tokugawa regime during the time of the tenth-generation head of the household, Shōkei.

The eighth-generation head of the household, Naokata (1797–1848), had the Chinese-style name (*azana* 字) of Gakko 學古 and the pen name (*gō* 號) of Hōso 寶素. He began his study at the Edo Medical School at an early age, became *ban’i* 番醫 (the highest-ranking medical officer attending to *bakufu* bureaucrats) at the age of twenty-five, obtained the ranks of *hōgen* 法眼 (the second-highest rank bestowed upon a medical officer) and *oku ishi* at forty-five, and was appointed *igakukan sewayaku* 醫學館世話役 (supervisor) at fifty. He died at the age of fifty-two. Naokata excelled in the collation of medical books, and his work was continued by his sons Naomasa and Shōkei. The work of text collation involves searching for identical or similar contents in old

7 Yang (1901) 1967.

texts and analyzing the reasons for similarities and differences. Text collation is useful for understanding the lineage of a particular text as well as the relationship between the original and its copies.

The ninth-generation head of the household, the third son of Naokata, was Naomasa (1829–1857), with the Chinese name of Hōchū 抱沖, the common name of Shunki 春沂, and the pen name of Shōin 櫻蔭. At the age of eleven, he became a disciple of Taki Motokata 多紀元堅 (1795–1857) and, from then on, participated in a study group hosted by Naokata on *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方 (*Recipes Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces*). At the age of seventeen, he was appointed *sodoku yaku* 素讀役 (reader) at the Edo Medical School, and at twenty-one, he became the head of the Kojima family and was also appointed *ban'i*. At the age of twenty-five, he was appointed *igakukan sewayaku*, and at twenty-six, *yoriai ishi* 寄合醫師 (the second-highest medical officer for bureaucrats). He died at the age of twenty-nine. The collation work of Naokata and Naomasa resulted in Naomasa's *Iseki choroku* 醫籍著錄 (*Catalog of Chinese Medical Books*; now in the collection of the National Palace Museum 故宮博物院 in Taipei) and is also reflected in various sections of *Keiseki hōkoshi*.

The tenth-generation head of the household, the fourth son of Naokata, was Shōkei (1839–1880), with the Chinese name of Tanki 瞻淇 and the pen name of Shikin 子錦. He inherited the household by being adopted by his childless older brother Naomasa. At the age of eighteen, he began to live in the dormitory of the Edo Medical School (*igakukan kishukuryō* 醫學館寄宿寮). He became head of the household when he was twenty and was appointed *kishukuryō tōdori yaku* 寄宿寮頭取役 (director of the dormitory) at the age of twenty-four and *sewayaku* of the dormitory at the age of twenty-nine. He lost his official post after the Meiji Restoration and died when he was forty-two. The room in which the Kojima family's texts were kept during these three generations was called Hōso-dō 寶素堂 (the Hall of Hōso).

### Collection

We can get a glimpse of the Kojima family's collection by looking at *Hōso-dō zōsho mokuroku* 寶素堂藏書目錄 (*Catalog of the Book Collection in the Hall of Hōso*), edited by Naomasa. The catalog offers information exclusively on Chinese medical texts, including their titles, the number of *juan*, and their bibliographic records—522 titles in total. Of the texts cataloged, the number of medical texts from the Song period is the highest by far. The majority of the texts in the catalog are of good quality. It is highly unlikely, however, that the Kojima family's collection consisted exclusively of quality texts. It is safe to say that more than half of the family's collection, including those texts not

included in the catalog, consisted of old texts of average quality. If we accept this estimation, then it follows that the Kojima family's entire collection contained more than 1,000 titles, counting just Chinese texts.

Furthermore, in *Kōkoku iseki mokuroku* 皇國醫籍目錄 (*Catalog of Japanese Medical Books*), Naomasa records 78 rare medical texts of good quality from or predating the Keichō period (1596–1614). Approximately half of the Kojima family's collection is now stored in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, for reasons that will be explained below. In the National Palace Museum, 35 Japanese titles on medicine are identified as originally belonging to the Kojima family, including 5 written by members of the family. Those not written by members of the Kojima family mostly match the records found in *Kōkoku iseki mokuroku*. The museum also has 147 Chinese titles formerly belonging to the Kojima family, including 14 titles on medicine. If one were to do a simple calculation based on the ratio between the numbers of Japanese and Chinese titles in the museum and the number of texts in the Chinese collection as recorded in *Hōso-dō zōsho mokuroku* ( $147/35 = 522/x$ ), then the number of Japanese titles on medicine that the Kojima family owned can be estimated at 124. However, just as with the collection of Chinese texts, the Kojima family most likely did not exclusively collect quality texts related to medicine. If we take this into consideration, the number of Japanese texts held by the Kojima family, including those on medicine, can be estimated roughly at around 300 titles at the very least.

Given these estimates, the Kojima family probably held at least 646 rare medical texts of quality from China and Japan. If one were to include average-quality texts into the count, the Kojima family's collection would exceed 1,000 Chinese titles and would include at least 300 Japanese titles. Since the Taki family's *Seijukan iseki bikō* 躋壽館醫籍備考 (*Remarks on Medical Books at Seijukan*, 1877) records 1,390 titles on medicine,<sup>8</sup> it is not farfetched to estimate that the Kojima family's collection, including texts not related to medicine, was around 1,300 titles. I use "title" to mean one complete piece of work, which can consist of multiple *juan*. A title may consist of one *juan* or maybe even forty *juan*. If one were to convert 1,300 titles into the number of *juan*, the number would definitely be in the several thousands, perhaps as high as 5,000. In Japan's Cabinet Library 内閣文庫, one of the best archives in the world of rare Chinese medical texts of good quality, there are 1,632 pre-Qing Chinese medical titles.<sup>9</sup> From this number alone, one can appreciate the scale of the Kojima family's collection.

8 Mori Junzaburō 1985, 276.

9 Mayanagi and Wang 1998.

## Old Medical Books Obtained by Yang Shoujing in Japan

### *Obtaining Books from the Kojima Family*

Yang arrived in Japan in April 1880 at the age of forty-two and returned home in May 1884.<sup>10</sup> As already mentioned, he claims to have collected over 30,000 *juan* in less than a year and that many of the rare medical texts he obtained came from the Kojima family's collection. Why was he able to obtain so many books from the Kojima family? The last of the three generations of the Kojima family discussed above, Shōkei, lost his official position after the Meiji Restoration and died on December 5, 1880.<sup>11</sup> Yang had arrived in Japan in April of the same year. Under the entry on *Waitai miyao fang* 外臺祕要方 (*Medical Secrets from the Royal Library*) in *Riben fangshu zhi*, Yang writes, "Following the advice of Mori Tatsuyuki, I first purchased this book on which Kojima Gakko [i.e., Naokata] had written notes concerning variations between texts."<sup>12</sup> It is not clear, however, exactly when Mori recommended that Yang purchase Naokata's *Waitai*. This information is also not available for *Shinkyaku hitsuwa* 清客筆話 (*Conversations through Writing with a Guest from the Qing*), a record of written communications between Mori and Yang. *Shinkyaku hitsuwa* begins with an entry on January 21, 1881, and Yang's business card is pasted into the text at this entry.<sup>13</sup> Yang and Mori probably met for the first time on this day, and Mori most likely introduced Yang to the Kojima family's collection sometime after this. Yang thus became aware of the Kojima family's large collection of quality books and eventually purchased many of them.

### *Obtaining Books from Sources Other Than the Kojima Family*

The medical texts that Yang purchased in Japan were not limited to those of the Kojima family. As evident in *Riben fangshu zhi*, Yang purchased books from a number of families. After Yang's death, the majority of his collection was purchased by the government of the Republic of China. Today, these books can be found at the National Palace Museum in Taipei and the National Library of China 中國國家圖書館 in Beijing.

I have examined the entirety of Yang's collection that can be found in the National Palace Museum. Based on the ownership stamps and handwritten notes left in the books, I was able to figure out where these books had come from. In order of quantity, books in Yang's collection had come from (1) the

<sup>10</sup> Wu 1974, 30.

<sup>11</sup> Mori Rintarō 1979, 360.

<sup>12</sup> Yang (1901) 1967, 654.

<sup>13</sup> Ishida 1990.

Kojima family, (2) the Edo Medical School and the Taki family, (3) individuals affiliated with the Edo Medical School, and (4) others. As already mentioned, the Kojima family probably held at least 646 rare medical books from China and Japan. Yang most likely purchased the majority of them. At the National Palace Museum, 169 medical books can be identified as having originally come from the Kojima family. These books constitute roughly 37 percent of the collection of old medical books formerly belonging to Yang (451 titles). Based on a simple calculation ( $169/451 = 646/x$ ), it can be estimated that Yang purchased 1,724 old medical books in Japan. Thus, a very large quantity of old medical books, possibly comparable to the holdings of the Cabinet Library, moved from Japan to China with Yang.

### Yang Shoujing's Publication of Medical Books

Yang edited and published many books, including *Guyi congshu*, *Riben fangshu zhi*, *Liuzhen pu* 留眞譜 (*Facsimile of Rare Books*), and *Shui jing zhu* 水經注 (*Commentary on the Waterways Classic*). Wu Tianren and Zhao Feipeng compiled catalogs of Yang's publications, but the only medical title covered in the catalogs is *Daguan bencao* 大觀本草 (*Materia Medica of the Daguan Period*).<sup>14</sup> Chen Jie mentioned Yang's involvement in the publication of *Bencao yanyi* 本草衍義 (*Augmented Materia Medica*), *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 (*Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders*), and *Maijing* 脈經 (*Classic of Pulse Diagnosis*).<sup>15</sup> Yang was involved in the publication of other medical books as well; however, the background of these publication activities and Yang's motives in carrying them out have not been discussed extensively. What follows is an examination of Yang's contributions to the publication of individual medical books.

#### *Reprinting of Books Related to the Taki Family*

After returning to China, Yang headed to Huanggang to work as a teacher in June 1884 and most likely began teaching in July. In August, using woodblocks purchased in Japan, he reprinted some works of the Taki family—thirteen titles, consisting of seventy *juan*—as *Yuxiu Tang yixue congshu* 聿修堂醫學叢書 (*Medical Series of Yuxiu Tang*). The introduction to this series notes, “Taki Motoyasu 多紀元簡 and his sons are authorities of Japanese medicine. The documents in this series demonstrate their erudition. Even in China, there

<sup>14</sup> Wu 1974, 1–12; Zhao 1991, 45–63.

<sup>15</sup> Chen 2003, 532–536.

have not been many physicians who can match them since the time of the Yuan dynasty.”

There is an entry for December 19, 1882, in *Shinkyaku hitsuwa* concerning Yang's purchase of the woodblocks.<sup>16</sup> The Taki family, who for generations had presided over the Edo Medical School as *bakufu* medical officials, lost all their official positions due to the Meiji Restoration and even had to let go of their woodblocks for book production, the very embodiment of generations of family scholarship. Thanks to Yang's reprinting in China as *Yuxiu Tang yixue congshu*, however, the Taki family's scholarship was transmitted to later generations. The publication of this series was the beginning of a systematic introduction of Japanese scholarship on traditional medicine to China. After this, many scholarly works on traditional medicine from Japan, including works not belonging to the Evidential Studies tradition, were published in China. Furthermore, with the publication of *Keiseki hōkoshi* in 1885 and *Riben fangshu zhi* in 1901, Chinese intellectuals became increasingly aware of the existence of numerous rare books of good quality in Japan, later resulting in many Chinese visitors to Japan looking for and purchasing these rare texts.

#### *Collation and Publication of Maijing* 脈經

In 1893, Yang published *Maijing*, comprising ten *juan*. In the introduction, Yang lists various editions of *Maijing* since the Song period and stresses the rarity of quality editions. He furthermore explains that he purchased in Japan a Southern Song He Daren 何大任 edition from 1217 as well as editions from the Yuan and Ming periods and that he collated them and published the result as his *Maijing*. However, according to *Keiseki hōkoshi* and *Iseki choroku*, He Daren's Song edition did not exist in Japan, and the only edition available in Japan was a facsimile of a He Daren edition from the Ming period, kept at Kaisen kaku 懷仙閣 (formerly called Yō'an in 養安院) and several other places (fig. 1). In addition, at the end of *juan* 6 of Yang's *Maijing*, it says, in accordance with the original, “kept at Yō'an in” (*Yō'an in zōsho* 養安院藏書). Therefore, the Song period He Daren edition Yang claimed to have obtained was actually the Ming facsimile from Kaisen kaku. Since Yang held both *Keiseki hōkoshi* and *Iseki choroku* in his possession, he was undoubtedly aware of the two documents' assessment of the Kaisen kaku edition as a Ming replication. Nonetheless, Yang still claimed that he used a He Daren edition from the Song period as the source text for his publication. In the title and introduction, he presents his work as a facsimile of the Song edition (*ying Song* 景(影)宋).

16 Chen 1997, 538.

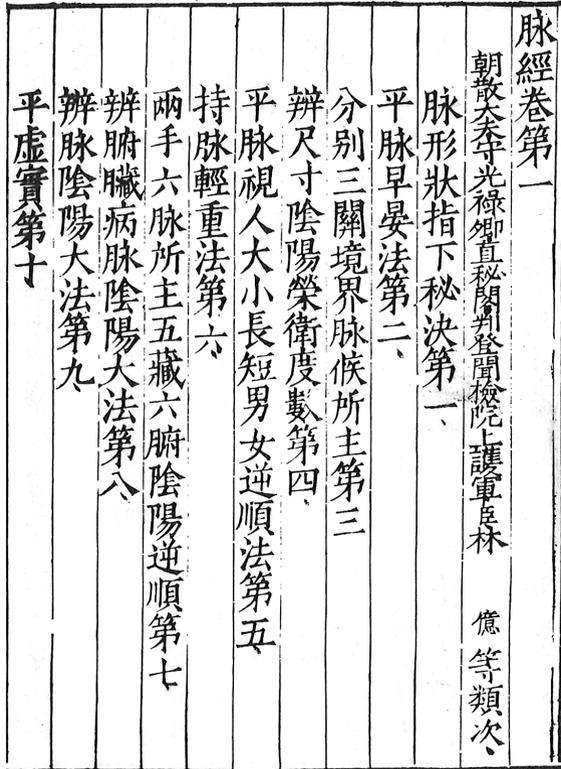


FIGURE 1 *The Ming facsimile of the He Daren edition of Maijing. Neither character count nor worker's name is given at the center of the woodblock. (Book number 10-63, Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo)*

There are other questionable points concerning Yang's *Maijing*. On many pages in Yang's edition, one can find a character count at the top of the center of the woodblock and the woodcut worker's name at the bottom (fig. 2). But in the Ming facsimile, there are no such indications. Does this mean that Yang did after all use the genuine Song He Daren edition and faithfully recorded the information found in it? Workers' names recorded in Yang's edition are mostly one-character names. Of these, only Wen 文, Lin 林, and Lü 呂 are listed in *Kegong renmin suoyin* 刻工人名索引 (*Index of Woodcut Workers' Names*) by Wang Zhongmin 王重民.<sup>17</sup> Many workers' names from the Song consist of two to three characters, including surnames. Therefore, if Yang had used the Song edition, it is unlikely that his edition would contain mostly one-character names. At the end of the Yang edition, it is recorded, "Worked on by Tao Zilin

<sup>17</sup> Wang 1983, Supplement, 100–104.

of Sanfoge, E Province" (*Esheng* [Wuhan] *Sanfoge / Tao Zilin chengke* 鄂省 [武漢] 三佛閣 / 陶子麟承刻). It is likely that the names Lin 林 and Lin 麟 refer to Tao Zilin 陶子麟 (林刻) and that other names found in the edition refer to workers at his shop. No index of woodcut workers was available when Yang's *Maijing* was published as a facsimile of the Song edition. Given this, it is reasonable to presume that Yang purposely added the workers' names and character counts, which are not recorded in the Ming facsimile of the He Daren edition, knowing full well that such manipulations would mislead people into thinking that he had used the Song He Daren edition as the source text.

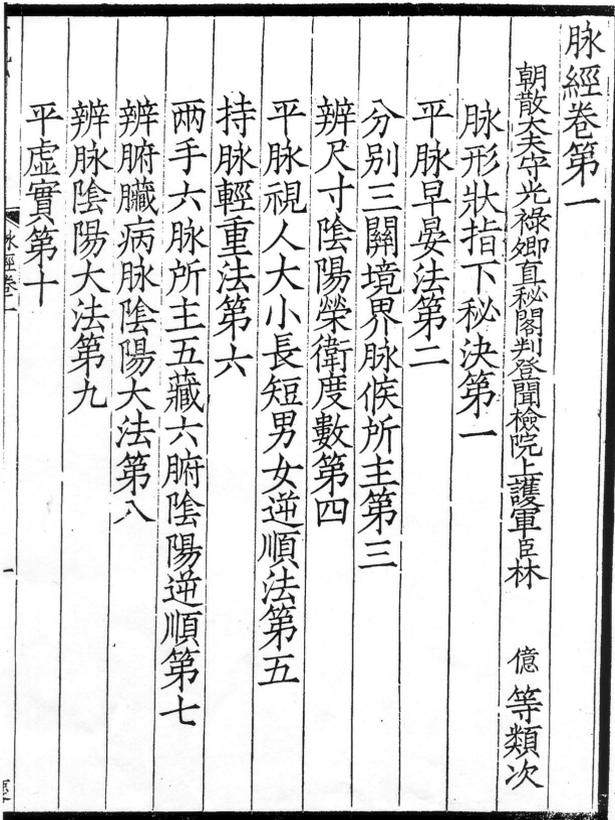


FIGURE 2 *The Yang edition of Maijing. The character count and the worker's name are recorded at the top and bottom of the center of the woodblock. (Book number 21513, National Library of China, Beijing)*

Why did Yang publish *Maijing* with such manipulations? Here it should be recalled that Yang interacted frequently with Mori and obtained books formerly belonging to the Taki and Kojima families. It is possible that, after

purchasing so many of the two families' books, Yang had come to identify himself as an inheritor of their tradition of scholarship. In his *Riben fangshu zhi*, Yang offers many words of praise for the Taki and Kojima families. Through his writing, Yang also engages actively with bygone scholars of the two families, at times seeming to want to emulate them and at other times to refute them. Members of the Taki and Kojima families once worked at the Edo Medical School and carried out numerous projects, including collation and publication of reliable medical books (such as those mentioned in note 2). However, there were projects on quality pre-Tang and Tang medical books that the Edo Medical School was not able to carry out for a variety of reasons. These included *Lingshu* 靈樞 (*The Divine Pivot*), *Maijing*, *Zhenjiu jiyi jing* 鍼灸甲乙經 (*The Classic of Acupuncture and Moxibustion*), *Mingtang jing* 明堂經 (*The Classic of the Luminous Hall*), *Taisu* 太素 (*The Ultimate Foundation*), and *Waitai miyao fang*. Yang perhaps hoped to continue the work left unfinished by the Edo Medical School.

Of these unpublished works, Yang had obtained facsimiles of *Taisu* and *Waitai* in Japan, both of which were of good quality. However, these two titles were too voluminous for Yang to publish all by himself. Two less-voluminous books that Yang had also purchased were *Mingtang jing* and *Maijing*. *Mingtang jing* was lost in China, but Kojima Naokata had copied it from a facsimile preserved at Ninna Temple 仁和寺, and Yang then made a copy of this Kojima edition held by Mori. According to Chen, Yang had prepared *Mingtang jing* for publication by 1891, but its printing was never completed due to the 1911 revolution.<sup>18</sup> After his work on *Mingtang jing*, Yang turned to the collation and publication of *Maijing*.

After its publication, Yang's *Maijing* was generally regarded as a facsimile of the Song edition and was received favorably. However, *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 (*Four Branches of Literature*) soon presented to the world a photographic reprint of a Yuan edition of *Maijing*. Furthermore, Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版社 published an abridged version of the *Sibu congkan* edition, and in Japan also, a photographic facsimile of a Ming He Daren edition was produced in *Tōyō igaku zenpon sōsho* 東洋醫學善本叢書 (*Series of Rare Eastern Medicine Books*), published in 1981. Because of these developments, Yang's *Maijing* was reduced to obscurity, and its publication process has been left unanalyzed.

<sup>18</sup> Chen 2001.

*Yang's Contribution to the Publication of Wuchang yiguan congshu*  
武昌醫館叢書

Besides publishing books on his own, Yang was also involved in the publication of eight titles in *Wuchang yiguan congshu* (*Series of the Wuchang Medical School*), edited by Ke Fengshi 柯逢時 (1845–1912). Ke was a collector of books and had an association with Yang, who had moved to Wuchang in 1899. Given Yang's knowledge of the Edo Medical School's scholarship and publication of rare books, he must have offered helpful advice to Ke concerning the curriculum at Wuchang Medical School and its publication of medical books. There were many medical books of quality and rarity other than *Mingtang jing* and *Maijing* in Yang's possession that were worthy of publication and recognition in China. Ke was an individual with much political and financial power, and Yang assisted his publication activities perhaps with the hope that one day Ke would help him publish his own books. The following eight titles were published one after another by Wuchang Medical School under Ke's leadership and with his financial support:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1904 | 1. <i>Daguan bencao</i> 大觀本草 ( <i>Materia Medica of the Daguan Period</i> )                                     |
| 1910 | 2. <i>Daguan bencao zhaji</i> 大觀本草札記 ( <i>Record of the Collation of Daguan bencao</i> )                        |
|      | 3. <i>Bencao yanyi</i> 本草衍義 ( <i>Augmented Materia Medica</i> )   |
| 1911 | 4. <i>Shanghan buwang lun</i> 傷寒補亡論 ( <i>Treatise on Replenishment and Depletion in Cold Damage Disorders</i> ) |
|      | 5. <i>Huoyou xinshu</i> 活幼心書 ( <i>A Book for the Vitality of the Young</i> )                                    |
| 1912 | 6. <i>Shanghan zongbing lun</i> 傷寒總病論 ( <i>Comprehensive Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders</i> )                |
|      | 7. <i>Shanghan lun</i> 傷寒論 ( <i>Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders</i> )   |
|      | 8. <i>Shanghan baiwen ge</i> 傷寒百問歌 ( <i>Poetry of a Hundred Inquiries on Cold Damage Disorders</i> )            |

Numbers 1, 3, 6, and 7 were printed imitating the character style of the Song and Yuan periods. At the end of *juan* 19 of number 3, “worked on by Tao Zilin” (*Tao Zilin qinkan* 陶子麟鈐刊) is recorded; it is likely that the group of workers led by Tao Zilin in Wuhan worked on many of these texts, as they did on Yang's *Mingtang jing* and *Maijing*. What follows is an analysis of the publication of numbers 1, 2, 3, and 7, to which Yang contributed in various ways.

*Jingshi zhenglei daguan bencao* 經史證類大觀本草 and *Daguan bencao zhaji* 大觀本草札記

In this edition of *Daguan bencao*, consisting of thirty-one *juan*, there is an introduction written by Ke Fengshi, but no information is given here as to the dating of the source text. On the other hand, in *Daguan bencao zhaji*, in two *juan*, there is an introduction by Ke dated June 1910, and from this, the following points can be extracted. Yang provided Ke with a facsimile of *Daguan bencao* sometime around 1901. Ke published it preliminarily in 1904 and added an introduction to it. However, there were problematic characters and phrases in this first edition. These errors were corrected, and the second edition was published in 1910 along with *Zhaji*, which explains why and how the corrections were made (fig. 3). *Zhaji* not only points out the differences in characters and phrases between the two editions but also explains that some revisions were made to the original after the differences were evaluated. Many of the revisions are based on *Zhenghe bencao* 政和本草 (*Revised Materia Medica of the Zhenghe Period*), but some are also based on the Chosŏn edition of *Daguan* and *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 (*Revised Materia Medica of the Tang Dynasty*) in Japan.

Ke's *Daguan bencao*, with an official seal in red ink, can be found today in the National Palace Museum in Taipei. This document is filled with Yang's detailed revisions and corrections written with a brush. As the basis for his revisions, Yang cites various medical classics and also some collated works by Japanese writers. One work Yang relies on heavily is a Wanli edition of *Zhenglei bencao* 證類本草 (*Revised Materia Medica of the Ming Dynasty*), which can also be found in the National Palace Museum. In this book, there are handwritten notes by Kojima Naokata and others from 1814 based on collation works with a Yuan edition of *Daguan bencao*. Ke notes that he borrowed facsimiles of several texts from Yang, and from this, it can also be surmised that Ke borrowed from Yang the Chosŏn edition of *Daguan* and *Xinxiu* that he used for *Zhaji*. As is clear from the above, however, Yang did much more than just lend texts; he actively contributed to Ke's publishing endeavors in various capacities, including collation.

In *Zhaji*'s "explanatory notes" (*hanrei* 凡例), Ke comments on the source text of a facsimile provided by Yang: "In the beginning section of the Zongwen shuyuan 宗文書院刊 edition from Yuan, Dade 6 (大德 6 年, 1302), there is a colophon frame (*muji* 木記)... This book [borrowed from Yang] has the same typeface and format as the Dade edition but does not have Zongwen shuyuan's colophon frame following the introduction. Its imprint is especially beautiful. I use this as the source text." This facsimile can be found today in the National Library in Taipei (fig. 4). It contains an introductory remark by Yang dated 1913, which goes as follows: "This edition, which lacks the colophon frame as seen in

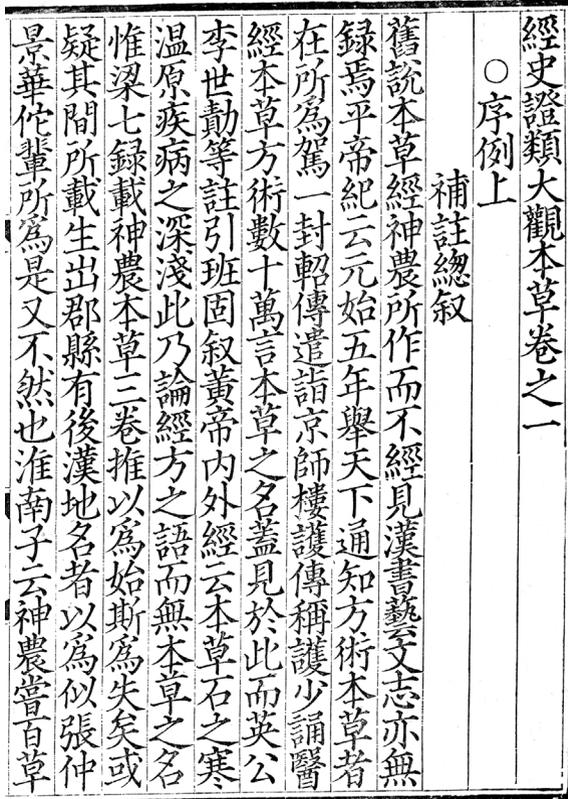


FIGURE 3 The Wuchang edition of Dagan bencao, Wuchang yiguan congshu (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1980). (Owned by Mayanagi)

the Zongwen shuyuan edition, is from the Southern Song period. Zongwen shuyuan made a facsimile of this Southern Song edition during the Yuan period, and at that time, Zongwen shuyuan's colophon frame was added in the back of the margin of the introduction." I have analyzed this document firsthand to assess Yang's claim and found that it is not the case that there is no colophon frame in the back of the margin of the introduction in Yang's edition; rather, the entire backside has been ripped off. On the basis of its format and typeface, there is no doubt that this document is actually a Zongwen shuyuan edition from the Yuan.

Judging from his comment above on how beautiful its imprint is, we can assume that Ke had looked at this document firsthand. It can also be inferred, from an account recorded in *Shizai Tang zayi* 世載堂雜憶 (Memories of Shizai

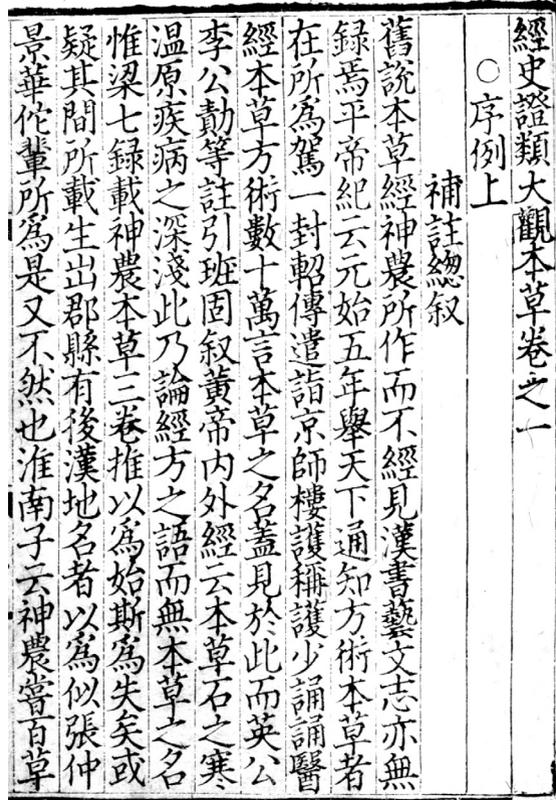


FIGURE 4 The Yuan Dade edition of Dagan bencao. (Book number 06212, National Central Library, Taipei)

*Tang*), that Ke knew that Yang presented the document as a Song edition.<sup>19</sup> In his explanatory notes, however, Ke does not admit that the text is from the Song but says only that “I use this as the source text.” This is most likely because he did not believe Yang’s claim that the document was from the Song period. The Ke edition of *Daguan* was published as a collated facsimile of the Yuan edition, along with detailed commentaries in *Zhaji*. The accuracy of the Ke edition becomes evident when compared with the edition available in the National Library. Ke’s *Daguan*, *Zhaji*, and *Bencao yanyi* (as will be discussed below) were reproduced in photographs and published together in Japan.<sup>20</sup> An impetus behind this was that many regarded Ke’s publications as complementing the Mongolian edition of *Zhenghe bencao* (held at the National Library of

19 Liu 1960, 84–85.

20 Kimura and Yoshizaki 1970.

China, printed by Renmin Weisheng chubanshe) and hoped to read them together side by side.

*Bencao yanyi* 本草衍義

This work, consisting of twenty *juan*, was published in 1910 (fig. 5). In its afterword, Ke mentions two documents he received from Yang. The first document contained Yang's handwritten notes discussing similarities and differences between the Qingyuan 1 (1195) edition of *Yanyi* from the Southern Song and *Tuzhu bencao* 圖注本草 (*Materia Medica with Illustrations and Annotations*). The Qingyuan edition of *Yanyi* is mentioned in *Hōkoshi*. Yang had borrowed this document while in Japan and had compared it with *Tuzhu bencao* (the Qingyuan edition is now held by the Imperial Household Agency). The second document is a Yuan edition of *Yanyi*. Ke writes that this Yuan edition is similar in style and format to the already-published *Daguan*. He also writes that in carrying out the collation work for this document, he compared characters and phrases from different editions and also referred to Yang's handwritten notes mentioned above. In "records of collation" (*jiaoji* 校記), Ke lists key characters and phrases from different editions for each *juan* and the table of contents. From the afterword and "records of collation," it is evident that Ke relied heavily on Yang's advice and materials provided by him.

Yang's Yuan edition of *Yanyi* that matches the Wuchang edition can be found in the National Library in Taipei (fig. 6). The library catalog describes the document as "a Yuan facsimile based on the Xuanhe 1 宣和元年 (1119) edition from the Song." Characteristics of this Yuan edition are well reflected in the Wuchang edition. This Yuan edition contains an introductory remark by Yang dated 1887. However, in Yang's *Riben fangshu zhi*, there is only one entry on *Yanyi*, and it is recorded as "a Song edition." This entry on *Yanyi* in *Fangshu zhi* is identical with Yang's introductory remark in the Yuan edition, save for a few phrases. In other words, Yang wrote the introductory remark in 1887 and copied it for *Fangshu zhi*, which was published in 1901, describing his *Yanyi* as a Song edition. Since Ke published a facsimile of the Yuan edition in 1910, it is likely that Ke had obtained the document from Yang several years earlier. It goes without saying that Ke had also read *Fangshu zhi*. What this means is that in presenting his *Yanyi* to Ke, Yang withdrew his claim that it was a Song edition—as had been argued in his own work—and admitted that it was a less-prestigious Yuan edition. This was a rather self-demeaning gesture on the part of Yang. Yang and Ke were both renowned text collectors in Wuchang, but there was a significant difference between them in their social status and financial power. Forgoing his ego, Yang relied on Ke's high social standing in order to achieve his objective of publishing the books he had collected.

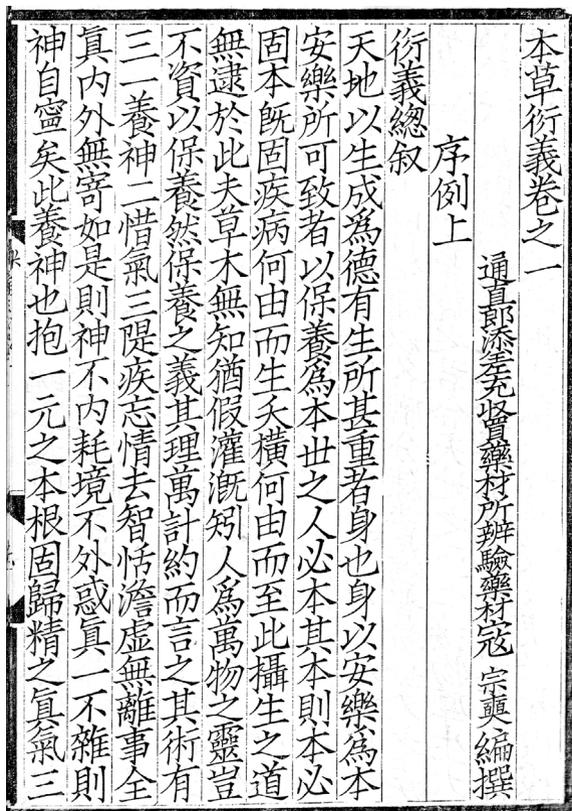


FIGURE 5 The Wuchang edition of Bencao yanyi, Wuchang yiguan congshu (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1980). (Owned by Mayanagi)

In the National Palace Museum in Taipei, there is a *Daguan* that formerly belonged to Yang (Case Number 64). It is cataloged as “Published by Zongwen shuyuan in Yuan, Dade 6.” In reality, however, this document is an early Ming facsimile of the Zongwen shuyuan edition. In this document, one can find Kojima Naomasa’s ownership stamp and Yang’s handwritten introductory remark from 1885. Save for the last forty-seven characters, this introductory remark is almost identical with the one found in *Riben fangshu zhi*, which introduces the text as a Yuan document. The forty-seven characters, deleted in *Fangshu zhi*, say, “When reproducing the Northern Song *Daguan* based on this Yuan edition [in reality, a Ming facsimile], it would be ideal to also publish together with it my Song edition *Yanyi* [in reality, a Yuan edition].” Two years after this, at the end of the introductory remark to what he calls the “Song-edition” *Yanyi* (in the

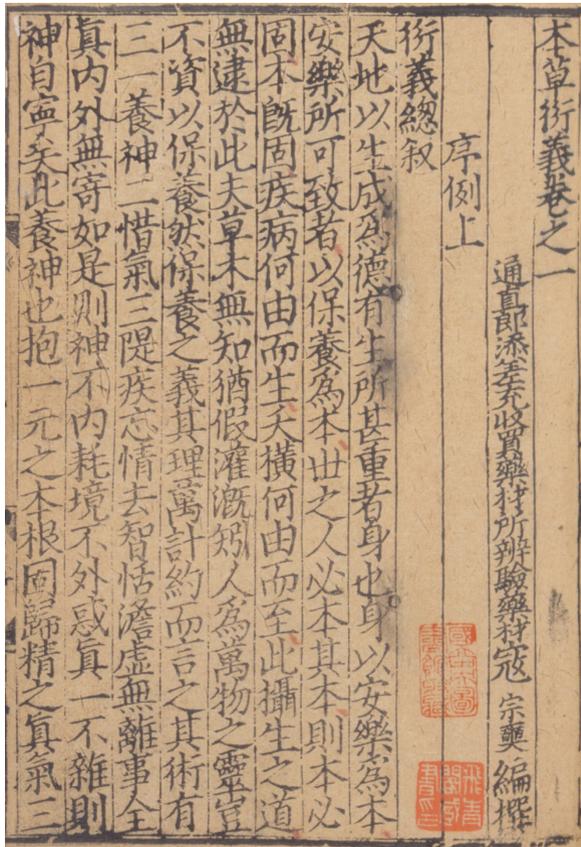


FIGURE 6 The Yuan edition of Bencao yanyi. (Book number 06211, National Central Library, Taipei)

National Library in Taipei, the abovementioned Yuan edition), he wrote, “Because *Yanyi* was never published during the Ming dynasty, it does not appear in *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要 [Annotated Catalog of the Imperial Library]. Therefore, this work must be made known quickly.”

As mentioned above, Ke made corrections to the first *Daguan* he published and also compiled detailed commentaries on these corrections as *Zhaji*. This can be understood as an attempt to reproduce the Northern Song *Daguan*, as described by Yang. *Yanyi* was published in 1910, the same year that Ke's second version of *Daguan* was published along with *Zhaji*. Yang's goal of collating and publishing the rare books of good quality he had obtained in Japan and of introducing them to China was thus accomplished.

*Shanghan lun* 傷寒論

This *Shanghan lun*, consisting of ten *juan*, was published in 1912 by Wuchang Yiguan (fig. 7). In it, one finds no commentary by Cheng Wuji 成無己 or others but finds the order of publication for a large-letter edition of *Shanghan lun* in Zhipin 2 of the Northern Song (1065) and one for a small-letter edition in Yuan-you 3 (1088). Orders of publication identical with the above two can also be found in *Songban Shanghan lun* 宋板傷寒論 (*Song Edition Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders*) in *Zhongjing quanshu* 仲景全書 (*Zhongjing's Complete Works*), which was published in 1599 during the Ming period with a foreword by Zhao Kaimei 趙開美. However, the Zhao Kaimei edition and the Wuchang edition are significantly different in format and typeface. The typeface of the Wuchang edition is in the style of the Song period and closely resembles the typeface of Yang's *Maijing*. The only existing edition of *Shanghan lun* with these particular characteristics is the Wuchang edition. On the other hand, in

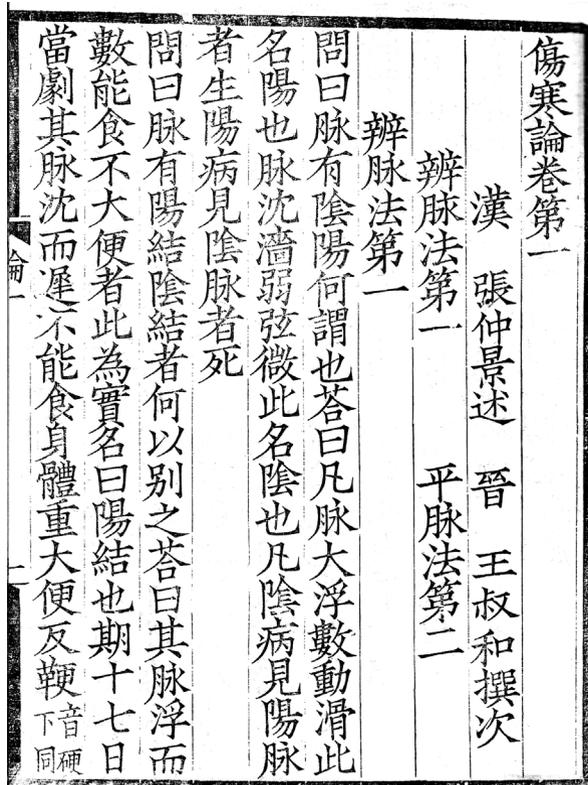


FIGURE 7 The Wuchang edition of *Shanghan lun*, Wuchang yiguan congshu (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1980). (Owned by Mayanagi)

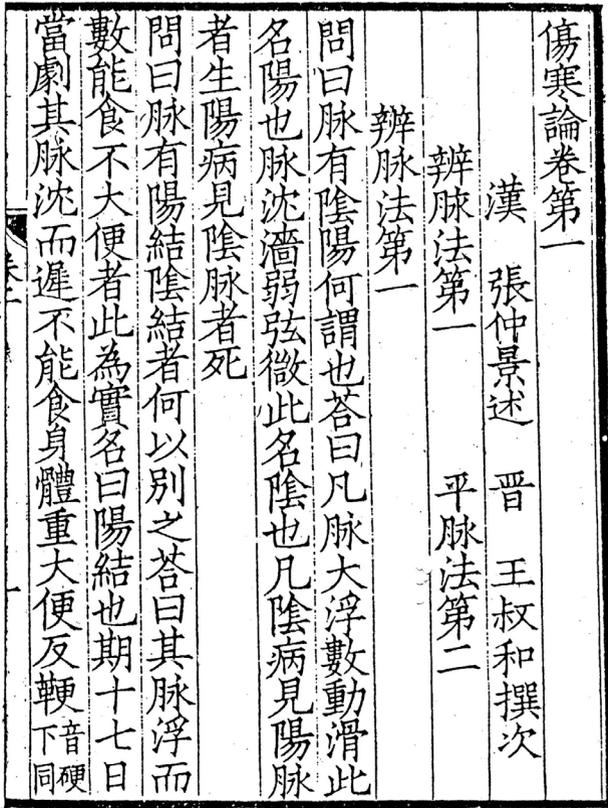


FIGURE 8 A document that Yang claimed to be a facsimile of the Northern Song edition of *Shanghan lun* (printed in *Liuzhen pu chubian* [Taipei: *Guangwen shuju*, 1972])

Yang's *Liuzhen pu*, published in 1901, one finds a photograph of *Shanghan lun* (fig. 8) that closely resembles the Wuchang edition.<sup>21</sup> The only difference is that in the Wuchang edition, the center of the woodcut is black, while in *Liuzhen pu*, it is white. Furthermore, Yang's *Fangshu zhi*, published in the same year, refers to a document presented as “*Shanghan lun*, ten *juan*, a facsimile of the Northern Song edition.” The two orders of publication mentioned above are also inserted in the second half of the bibliographic remark on this work.<sup>22</sup>

The format Yang describes in his bibliographic remark on what he calls “a facsimile of the Northern Song edition” matches the format of the Wuchang edition and the edition shown in the abovementioned photograph in *Liuzhen*

21 Yang (1901) 1972, 643.

22 Yang (1901) 1967, 603–615.

*pu*. Under the entry on *Shanghan lun* in *Fangshu zhi*, Yang claims, “I obtained this facsimile of the Northern Song edition in a bookstore in Japan. According to my analysis, the Zhao Kaimei edition relied on the Song edition. However, at the beginning of each *juan* of the Zhao Kaimei edition, there are two lines that say, ‘engraved and revised by Zhao Kaimei and also revised by Shen Lin’ (*Ming Zhao Kaimei jiaoke / Shen Lin tongjiao* 明趙開美校刻／沈琳全校). This edition, therefore, does not follow the original style of the Song edition. Nonetheless, this facsimile, judging from its format and the level of detail, is doubtlessly based on the Northern Song edition. After returning to the country, I encouraged some individuals to reprint this facsimile of the Northern Song edition, but nobody complied.” A document formerly owned by Yang that matches the description in this comment and the image shown in *Liuzhen pu* is now in the National Library in Taipei (fig. 9). The document was handwritten on *gampi* paper 雁皮紙, which was produced only in Japan. Then the entire text was cut out and pasted onto a thin Chinese mulberry paper. On the document, one finds the ownership stamps of Yang, Zhang Shiyuan 張適園 (1872–1927), and his son Zhang Qinpu 張荇圃 (1891–1942).

I have examined this document in person, and according to my investigation, the document is clearly based on Zhao Kaimei’s *Zhongjing quanshu*. However, I must note that besides Zhao Kaimei’s first edition and revised edition, there also exists an anonymous pirated edition of *Zhongjing quanshu*, based on Zhao’s first edition and printed in the late Ming or early Qing period (held by Momijiyama bunko 紅葉山文庫 during the Edo period and by the Cabinet Library today; fig. 10).<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, there is also *Sōbon shōkan ron* 宋本傷寒論 (*Song Edition Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders*), an 1856 facsimile published by Horikawa Imanari 堀川未濟—a student of Taki Motokata’s—based on Momijiyama bunko’s pirated *Songban Shanghan lun*. This Horikawa edition corrects errors in the pirated edition. Comparing Yang’s cut-and-paste book with the editions above, the only edition that completely matches the cut-and-paste book is the pirated edition. Judging from its paper quality and scripts, the cut-and-paste edition was most likely copied by a calligrapher toward the end of the Tokugawa period. Because it was copied not from the published Horikawa edition but from the *bakufu*’s Momijiyama bunko edition, which was not available to the general public, the copy must have belonged to an individual who had influence within the Edo Medical School circle. Relating to this, in the National Palace Museum in Taipei, there is a document that is most likely a Japanese copy of *Jingui yaolue* (*Synopsis of Golden Chamber*) based on the pirated *Zhongjing quanshu* (Case Number 503). This copy was

23 Mayanagi 2006.

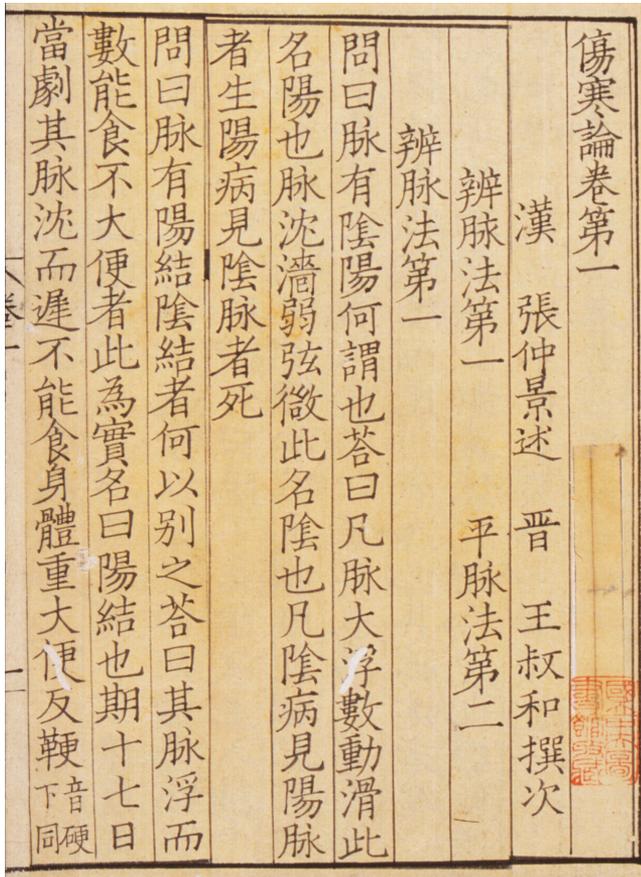


FIGURE 9 The cut-and-paste edition of *Shanghan lun* (Book number 05895, National Central Library, Taipei)

also made by a calligrapher on *gampi* paper. This *Jingui* contains a remark by Kojima Naomasa from 1855 and his commentaries pointing out the calligrapher's miscopies. Given this, it is not much of a stretch to imagine that Naomasa also had *Songban Shanghan lun* in the pirated *Zhongjing quanshu* copied. If we hypothesize further that the corrections of miscopies in the margins of Yang's cut-and-paste edition were also left by Naomasa, then we can conclude that Yang's cut-and-paste edition was based on the *Songban Shanghan lun* that Naomasa had copied and stored.

As mentioned above, Yang once wrote that the two lines “engraved and revised by Zhao Kaimei” and “also revised by Shen Lin” found in the Zhao Kaimei edition were evidence that this edition was not made in the authentic Song

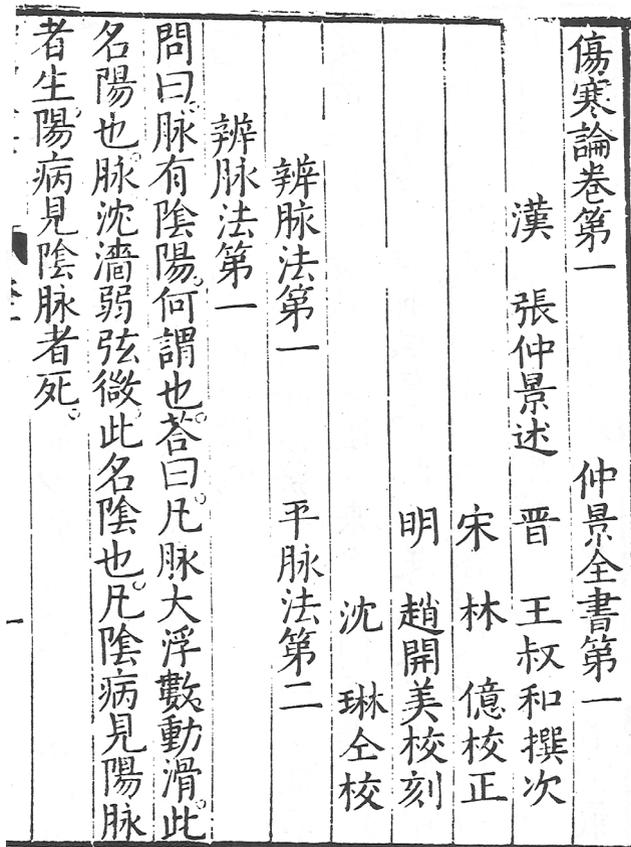


FIGURE 10 Songban Shanghan lun in the anonymous edition of Zhongjing quanshu from the late Ming to early Qing period. (Book number 45-13, Cabinet Library, National Archives of Japan, Tokyo)

style. These two lines and also the line “revised by Lin Yi” (*Lin Yi jiaozheng* 宋林億校正) were removed from Yang’s cut-and-paste edition. Because of these removals, the number of lines in the edition decreased, and this caused the center of the woodblock to shift from its original position. To fix this, the original woodblock center was cut out and a new white center with a “fish tail” (*yuwei* 魚尾) sign was added. For each page, there were five to six cut-out pieces, and these pieces were recombined by being pasted onto paper. The result of all this was the cut-and-paste edition in the National Library. Since the pieces were pasted onto Chinese mulberry paper, the actual work of cutting and pasting was done in China. It should be obvious to the reader who was responsible for this work.

The cut-and-paste edition contains Yang's bibliographic remark from 1913. In it, he laments that although he was able to produce a reprint of the document, no one appreciates its value, and therefore, his objective remains unfulfilled. The "reprint" mentioned here must refer to the Wuchang edition published in 1912. By 1913, Yang had evacuated to Shanghai, and from the above remark, it seems that no one was aware of the existence of the Wuchang edition. Due to the hardships of living as a refugee, Yang eventually had to let go of the cut-and-paste edition. He at some point added the bibliographic remark to it and passed it on to Zhang Shiyuan and Zhang Qinpu, whose ownership stamp can still be seen on the document. However, the Zhang family's *Shiyuan zangshu zhi* 適園藏書志 (*Catalog of Shiyuan's Books*), published in 1916, describes the document as a Japanese copy and expresses doubts concerning Yang's claim: "Although Yang says that the document is based on the Northern Song edition, there is no evidence of this."<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps because people doubted its authenticity, no one paid much attention to the Wuchang edition of *Shanghan lun*. However, there were a series of publications of *Shanghan lun* following the Wuchang edition. Yun Tieqiao 惲鐵樵 of Shanghai published a facsimile of what was claimed to be Zhao Kaimei's *Songban Shanghan lun* in 1923, followed by another publication, by Shanghai Zhongyi shuju 上海中醫局書局, in 1931. In 1955 *Xinji Songban Shanghan lun* 新輯宋本傷寒論 (*Newly Published Song Edition of Shanghan lun*) was published by Chongqing renmin chubanshe 重慶人民出版社. Judging from the quality of characters and phrases in these editions, it is evident that their source book is not the actual Zhao Kaimei edition but the Horikawa edition. Whatever the case, the Wuchang edition seems to have played a pivotal role in raising people's interest in Zhao Kaimei's *Songban Shanghan lun* in China.

## Conclusion

In this essay I have examined Yang Shoujing's large collection of rare medical books purchased from the Kojima family during his stay in Japan and his publication activities after returning to China, which involved both collation and reprinting of the obtained texts. Yang's goal was to make these books recognized widely in China. I have also pointed out that in order to stress the rarity of his texts, Yang presented Ming and Yuan editions as Song editions and also manipulated some of the texts. Finally, I have analyzed the hitherto-neglected

<sup>24</sup> Okanishi 1969, 355.

influence exerted on Yang by the Kojima family's scholarship. The following is a list of Japanese authors to whom Yang refers in his *Fangshu zhi* and the number of times he refers to them:

Naokata / Gakko / Hōso (15)  
 Kojima (2)  
 Shunki (Naomasa) (1)  
 Mori / Tatsuyuki (10)  
 Taki (3)  
 Nishiki Kōji 錦小路 (1)  
 Asada Koretsune 淺田惟常 (1)

As should be clear from this, Yang referenced members of the Kojima family significantly more often than the others. These references furthermore were often accompanied by Yang's words of praise for the Kojima scholars. I cite a few examples:

*Mingtang jing*—"the handwritten copy of Kojima Naokata is extremely precise, allowing the reader to get a feel for the original manuscript and the handwriting of the Tang author."

*Qianjin yifang*—"Naokata wrote his collation notes in the margin of the first printed edition from the Medical School using vermilion ink .... [T]he work was completed after about twelve years. One does not need to be reminded of his precision and accuracy."

*Maijing*—"Kojima collated this using vermilion and blue ink.... [H]is work is precise and intricate."

*Zhouhou fang* 肘後方 (*Handbook on Prescription*)—"Kojima Naomasa put together a supplementary edition of this and revised this work in intricate detail."

*Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 (*Theory on the Cause of Various Diseases*)—"Kojima Naokata relied on the Song edition .... [H]e made over several thousand revisions. His work represents an epitome of precision, and there is no room for criticism."

*Qianjin baoyao* 千金寶要 (*Precious Recipes Worth a Thousand Gold Pieces*)—"Kojima Naokata made many collation notes with vermilion ink."

*Waitai miyao fang*—"Kojima investigated piles of books, overlooking nothing."<sup>25</sup>

25 Yang (1901) 1967, 587–657.

The Kojima family's work on collating and publishing medical classics had deeply impressed Yang. In comparison, Yang's references to Mori Tatsuyuki, the runner-up in terms of the number of references, are mostly simple citations of Mori's analysis of medical texts. In studying Yang's own work on medical classics after returning to China, we need to consider the influence the Kojima family's scholarship had on him.

But why was Yang so persistent in his work of collating and reprinting medical books? What is helpful here is to recognize that Yang devoted himself to the work that the Edo Medical School left unfinished. The collation and publication of *Daguan*, for example, was of profound historical significance, although it was Ke Fengshi who played the leading role. Yang, having learned of the Edo Medical School's large-scale project of collating and reprinting rare medical books, felt the need to carry on a similar project in his own country.

Reprinting rare books, however, requires financial power. This led Yang to cooperate with Ke in the publication of the Wuchang editions. Ke, who owned a Ming edition of *Jiayi jing* with detailed annotations by Kojima Naokata and Naomasa (now owned by the Chinese Academy of Chinese Medical Sciences 中國中醫科學院藏), also praised the work of the Kojimas as extremely accurate and detailed. Following the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, Chinese intellectuals began to pay attention to—and began to be wary of—Japan's advancement. Chinese intellectuals were also becoming aware of the need to discard their traditional Sinocentric complacency. Within these larger developments, Yang and Ke recognized the importance of rare classical texts and sought to carry on the work of collation and publication that remained uncompleted in Japan. Their endeavors were also partly motivated by a desire to analyze rare books from Japan side by side with classic texts in China and accomplish more effective collation.

However, time was against them. Ke died immediately after the 1911 revolution. Yang traveled to Beijing seeking a government position in the Republic of China but died shortly thereafter before fulfilling this hope.<sup>26</sup> Their contributions should not be understated, nonetheless. Many books that had lost value in Japan were collected by Yang and subsequently bought by the government of the Republic of China, preventing these books from being lost. As mentioned earlier, the scholarly value of the Wuchang *Daguan* is also immeasurable. Today, these books that Yang and Ke helped preserve are once again serving the needs of scholarly communities in the Chinese cultural sphere (*kanji bunka ken* 漢字文化圈).

26 Chen 2001.

## References

- Chen Jie 陳捷 1997. “Shinkyaku hitsuwa” 清客筆話 [Conversations through writing with a guest from the Qing], in Xie Chengren 謝承仁 ed., *Yang Shoujing ji* 楊守敬集 [Collection of Yang Shoujing’s works], vol. 13. Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe.
- 2001. “Yō Shukei to Ra Shin’gyoku no kōyū ni tsuite—Yō Shukei to Ra Shin’gyoku ate shokan wo tōshite” 楊守敬と羅振玉の交友について—楊守敬の羅振玉宛書簡を通して [On the association between Yang Shoujing and Luo Zhenyu: Examining letters from Yang Shoujing addressed to Luo Zhenyu], *Shoron* 書論 32: 126–138.
- 2003. *Meiji zenki Nicchū gakujutsu kōryū no kenkyū* 明治前期日中學術交流の研究 [A study of academic exchanges between Japan and China in the early Meiji period]. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin.
- Ishida Hajime 石田肇 1990. “Yō Shukei to Mori Tatsuyuki” 楊守敬と森立之 [Yang Shoujing and Mori Tatsuyuki], *Shoron* 26: 163–173.
- Kimura Kouichi 木村康一 and Yoshizaki Masao 吉崎正雄, eds. 1970. *Fukkoku bon Keishi hōrui Taikan honzō* 復刻本經史證類大觀本草 [Reprint of *Classified materia medica of the Dagan period*]. Tokyo: Hirokawa shoten.
- Kosoto Hiroshi 小曾戸洋 2004. “Kōshō igaku no hitobito to sono gyōseki” 考證醫學の人々とその業績 [Proponents of Evidential Studies of Medicine and their achievements], *Kyōwu* 杏雨 7: 93–107.
- Liu Ousheng 劉禹生 1960. *Ji Yang Shoujing xiansheng* 記楊守敬先生 [In memory of Master Yang Shoujing]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Machi Senjurō 町泉壽郎 2004. “Igakukan no kiseki” 醫學館の軌跡 [The trajectory of the Edo Medical School], *Kyōwu* 7: 35–92.
- Mayanagi Makoto 眞柳誠 2006. “Chō Kaibi no Chūkei zensho to Sōban shōkan ron” 趙開美の『仲景全書』と『宋板傷寒論』 [Zhao Kaimei’s *Zhongjing quanshu* and *Songban Shanghan lun*], *Journal of the Japanese Society for the History of Medicine* 52: 144–145.
- 2008. “Yang Shoujing to Kojima ke: Koiseki no shūshū to kōkan” 楊守敬と小島家:古醫籍の蒐集と校刊 [Yang Shoujing and the Kojima family: Collection and publication of medical classics], *Tōhō gakuho* 東方学報 83: 157–218.
- Mayanagi Makoto and Wang Tiece 王鐵策 1998. “Ribei Neige wenku suocang de Zhongguo sanyi gu yiji” 日本内閣文庫所藏の中國散佚古醫籍 [Japan’s Cabinet Library’s collection of medical classics lost in China], *Chinese Journal of Medical History* 28: 65–71.
- Mori Junzaburō 森潤三郎 1985. *Taki shi no jiseki* 多紀氏の事蹟 [Accomplishments of the Taki family]. Kyoto: Shibun kaku shuppan.

- Mori Rintarō 森林太郎 1979. *Ōgai senshū* 鷗外選集 [Selected works of Ōgai], vol. 6. Tokyo: Iwanami shoten.
- Okanishi Tameto 岡西爲人 1969. *Sōizen iseki kō* 宋以前醫籍考 [An analysis of pre-Song medical books]. Taipei: Guding shuwu.
- Wang Zhongmin 王重民 1983. *Zhongguo shanbenshu tiyao* 中國善本書提要 [An overview of rare and quality books in China]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe.
- Wu Tianren 吳天任 1974. *Yang Xingwu xiansheng nianpu* 楊惺吾先生年譜 [A chronicle of Master Yang Xingwu]. Taipei: Yiwenyin shuguan.
- Yakazu Dōmei 矢數道明 1977. *Meiji no nen kampō igaku no henshen to shōrai* 明治110年漢方醫學の變遷と將來 [110th year of Meiji: The past developments and future of Chinese medicine]. Tokyo: Shun'yō dō shoten.
- Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 (1901) 1972. *Liuzhen pu chubian* 留眞譜初編 [The first edition of *Liuzhen pu*], in *Shumu wubian* 書目五編 [Five bibliographies]. Taipei: Guangwen shuju.
- (1901) 1967. *Riben fangshu zhi* 日本訪書志 [Bibliography of old books obtained in Japan], in *Shumu congbian* 書目叢編 [A collection of bibliographies]. Taipei: Guangwen shuju.
- Zhao Feipeng 趙飛鵬 1991. *Guanhai Tang cangshu yanjiu* 觀海堂藏書研究 [A study of the collection of the Guanhai Hall]. Taipei: Hanmei tushu yuoxian gongsi.