

3. THE MAJOR COMMENTATED *SU WEN* VERSIONS SUBSEQUENT TO GAO BAOHENG ET AL.

3.1 *Ma Shi's Huang Di nei jing su wen zhu zheng fa wei*

Ma Shi, zi: Zhonghua, original *hao* Xuantai,³¹ wrote the *Huang Di nei jing su wen zhu zheng fa wei* (The *Huang Di nei jing su wen*, commented, validated, its subtleties elucidated) in nine chapters in 1586. Ma Shi was a physician during the final years of the Ming era. First he studied Confucian literature; later he practiced medicine. His *Su wen* commentary did not receive much praise in subsequent centuries; for example, the *Si ku quan shu zong mu* wrote: "[Ma Shi's] comments do not elucidate anything; his frequent criticism of the comments written by earlier authors is exaggerated."³² Nevertheless, Ma Shi offered interpretations that were adopted by later, more famous authors. For example, *Su wen* 11 states: "Whenever one treats a [patient's] disease, one must examine his below."³³ While Wang Bing considered "his below" to refer to the region "below the eyes,"³⁴ Ma Shi commented: "'Observe the below' is to observe whether the lower orifices are passable or not." This interpretation was repeated as correct by Zhang Jiebin (1563-1640), Xue Xue (1681-1770), and others later on.

Ma Shi is best known for the first comprehensive commentary on the *Ling shu*, published under the title *Huang Di nei jing ling shu zhu zheng fa wei*.³⁵

3.2 *Wu Kun's Huang Di nei jing su wen zhu*

Wu Kun, zi: Shan fu, *biehao* Hegao shanren, second *hao* Canhuangzi (1552-1620), was a famous physician and prolific medical author of the Ming era. He was born into a family with an established medical tradition and a comprehensive medical library. His father, a renowned author and clinician himself, is reported to have been poisoned after his many successful treatments at the court had aroused the envy of the Imperial physicians.³⁶

In 1594 Wu Kun wrote the *Huang Di nei jing su wen zhu* in twenty-four *juan*; it was published in 1609. This book became one of the most influential commentated versions of the *Su wen* with changes and supplementations inserted into the original text. Wu Kun's ability to explain difficult passages in simple words received much praise in later times; his liberal attitude toward altering the original text was occasionally severely criticized.

The *Xu xiu si ku quan shu ti yao* characterized his work as follows: "His comments often follow statements by former authors. He abridged those that were too voluminous and he enlarged on those that were too short. In the arrangement of the treatises, he followed the precedence set by Wang Bing, but he introduced some changes as far as the headings of the individual sections are concerned."³⁷

Wu Kun appears to have been the first author who employed his extensive clinical experience in commenting on the *Su wen*. An example is the disease *fu liang*, "hidden beams," which may not have been familiar to medical scholars without clinical practice. A passage in *Su wen* 40 introduced the term:

[Huang] Di: A disease is [as follows]:

The lower abdomen [gives the patient a feeling of] abundance.

Above, below, to the left, and to the right, everywhere are roots.

Which disease is that?

Can it be treated, or not?

Qi Bo: The name of the disease is Hidden Beams.

[Huang] Di: Hidden Beams, through which cause is this [disease] acquired?

Qi Bo: [The lower abdomen] holds massive pus and blood, located outside of the intestines and the stomach.

This must not be treated.

If one treats it, each time one presses the [lower abdomen] this brings [the patient] closer to death."

[Huang] Di: How is that?

Qi Bo: When this is moved downward, then it is by way of yin [passageways].

It is inevitable that what moves downward is pus and blood.

When this is moved upward, then it presses against the stomach duct where it generates [the disease] ge-jia.³⁸

Wang Bing had stated: "[The term] 'Hidden Beams' [refers to] accumulations in the heart." Gao Baoheng et al. disagreed: "This [disease of] Hidden Beams is very different from the Hidden Beams of the accumulations in the heart. These diseases have the same name, but in fact they differ and are not alike."³⁹ Wu Kun was aware that the same term appeared in the *Nan jing*, but he attributed a different meaning there and relied on his clinical knowledge to clarify the difference: "X is to say: like hidden bridge beams. This name was chosen because the suffering is deep inside. The [occurrence of the term] here is not identical with the discourse on 'Hidden Beams' in the *Nanjing*. There it refers to accumulations in the heart, that is, to yin qi in the depots. Here it refers to accumulations of pus and blood, that is, to yang poison."⁴⁰

3.3 Zhang Jiebin's *Lei jing*

Zhang Jiebin, zi: Huiqing, hao: Jingyue, second hao: Tongyizi (1563-1640), a famous physician during the Ming dynasty, is the author of the *Lei jing* (*The [Contents of the] Classic Categorized*) in thirty-two *juan*, published in 1624. The *Lei jing* constitutes a revised edition of the contents of the *Su wen* and the *Lingshu*, rearranged according to topical categories. In the judgment of the *Si ku quan shu zong mu ti yao*: "This book has divided the contents of the *Su wen* and of the *Ling shu* into the following sequence of topical categories: 1. Nourishment of life. 2. Yin yang. 3. Condition of the depots and their outer signs. 4. Pulse and complexion. 5. Conduits and network vessels. 6. Tips and roots. 7. Qi and flavor. 8. Therapies. 9. Illnesses. 10. Needling. 11. [Five] Periods and [Six] Qi. 12. Summary of different views. Altogether the book consists of 390 paragraphs, with an appendix including the *Tu yi* in 11 *juan* and the *Fu yi* in 4 *juan*. Even though it was unavoidable that the original

text was severely cut, the [new] order makes sense, and lends itself to easy consultation. The comments are quite illuminating too."⁴¹

In fact, Zhang Jiebin often added commentaries that were much longer than those of his predecessors, as if he had aimed at eliminating any possibility of a misunderstanding. For example, in view of the meaning of the passage "observe his below" in *Su wen* 11, which had been interpreted by Ma Shi as a reference to the two lower orifices, Zhang Jiebin added the following exhaustive comment:

"Below" is to say: the two yin [orifices; i.e., the openings for urine and stools]. The two yin [orifices] are the orifices of the kidneys and the gate for [shutting or opening] the stomach. *Su wen* 17 states "If the granaries cannot keep what they store, the door gates are not under control." Those who keep their guard survive; those who lose their guard, they die. Hence stools and urine are the lock to the stomach qi, and they are closely linked to the uncritical or critical state of the original qi of the entire body. Hence one must observe the "below."⁴²

Despite his erudition and diligence, Zhang Jiebin could not escape criticism by subsequent commentators for some of his own interpretations. For example, *Su wen* 77 states: "The practice [of medicine] has five faulty and four virtuous [ways of therapy]."⁴³ The character *de* was interpreted as "virtue" by Wang Bing; Zhang Jiebin followed him: "In medicine one distinguishes between the ignorant and the sages. The ignorant commit many mistakes; hence there are the five transgressions [in treatment]. The Way of the sages is perfect; hence it embraces the four virtues."⁴⁴ Zhang Qi, the author of the *Su wen shi yi*, of 1829 (see below), was not the first to doubt Zhang Jiebin: "The text does not refer to the 'four virtuous ways of behavior' again. Hence his text is corrupt. Another author states: X is an error for Y, as can be seen from the title of the next treatise: XXX."⁴⁵ More recently, though, Qian Chaochen may have been the first to arrive at a correct interpretation: "X is the opposite of Y, Z is 'fault,' 'mistake.' XX refers to five types of mistakes. X is a loan character for the homophone V used here in the sense of 'correct medical procedure.' X must not be read here as the Y of Z, but as, 'gain and loss,' 'success and failure.' Wang Bing was wrong."⁴⁶

In its combination of the *Su wen* and the *Ling shu*, Zhang Jiebin's *Lei jing* may be comparable to the *Tai su* and the *Jia yi jing*. Since the *Tai su* had brought the two texts together in the second half of the seventh century, no one else had followed this example. However, Zhang Jiebin's *Lei jing* differed from earlier commentated *Su wen* versions in that his was the first to rearrange the heterogeneous text on the basis of thematic categories. A contemporary of Wu Kun, Zhang Jiebin too let his clinical experience enter his comments on the *Nei jing*, in that he was the first to quote entire case histories he had encountered as a practicing physician to elucidate the meaning of obscure passages.

3.4 Zhang Zhicong's Huang Di nei jing su wen ji zhu

Zhang Zhicong, zi:Yin'an (ca. 1619-1674), was a famous physician of the Qing era. He practiced medicine professionally. He established a center called Lü shan tang in Hangzhou and invited colleagues and disciples to join him there to discuss and study medicine. His research on the *HuangDi nei jing* resulted in two major publications, the *HuangDi nei jing su wen ji zhu. it* (The

from the one attributed to them conventionally, thereby, possibly for the first time in centuries, clarifying their original significance.

In addition, he consulted numerous ancient dictionaries and nonmedical texts to search for appropriate meanings of characters in obscure passages. Not infrequently, he discovered that if a given character was exchanged for its homophone a wording was understandable. Finally, Hu Shu applied a method developed by Wang Niansun (1744-1832) in his *Du shu za zhi, Huai nan zi jiao hou ji*, taking into account the rhyme structure of certain passages to delete erroneously inserted characters or to invert the order of a sequence of characters and reconstruct what he regarded as the original wording.

3.8 Yu Yue's Nei jing bian yan

Yu Yue (1821-1907), *zi*: Yinfu, *hao*: Quyuan jushi, took his *jin shi* degree in 1850. Subsequently, he served in various positions at the Hanlin Academy. Later he devoted himself to the study of the Confucian classics and medicine. At some point he became a lecturer at the Zi yang shu yuan College in Ziyang and at the Gu jing jing she College in Hangzhou. He compiled the collection *Chun zai tang quan ji*, including the two medical texts *Du shu yu lu*, with forty-eight paragraphs of *Su wen* exegesis, and *Shen shang san zi jue*. The exact dates of compilation of these texts are not known.

In 1924 a man named Qiu Qingyuan gave the title *Nei jing bian yan* (Discussion of the Words in the *Nei jing*) to Yu Yue's *Su wen* commentary in the *Du shu yu lu* and included it as an individual text in a collection with the title *San san yi shu*.

The forty-eight paragraphs of the *Nei jing bian yan* are comments on phrases quoted from the *Su wen*. The author applied methods of literary criticism of the Confucian classics to the language of the *Nei jing*, thereby elucidating issues that had not been considered noteworthy by earlier commentators. Like Hu Shu, Yu Yue was influenced by the philological methodologies developed by Wang Niansun and his son Wang Yinzhi (1766-1834).⁵³

4. TWO JAPANESE COMMENTATED SU WEN VERSIONS OF THE EDO PERIOD

4.1 Tamba Genkan's Su wen shi

Japanese scholarship has contributed significantly to the exegesis of the *HuangDi nei jing*. The first Japanese scholar to compile a completely annotated version of the *Su wen* was Taki Genkan (1755-1810). He is usually quoted under the name Tamba Genkan; occasionally, Chinese and Japanese literature refers to him as the "great Tamba" to distinguish him from his two sons, Tamba Gen-in and Tamba Genken, both of whom also were noted *Su wen* scholars.

Tamba Genkan was educated as a traditional literary scholar; in addition, he studied medicine to follow his father, a renowned physician and medical professor. Eventually Tamba Genkan succeeded his father in his teaching position; his unique erudition enabled him to write and publish numerous philological studies of ancient medical texts.

In compiling his *Su wen* study, the *Su wen shi* (*Understanding the Su wen*), Tamba Genkan quoted numerous Chinese authors, beginning with Wang Bing, and added his own views at the end of his list of previous comments on a specific issue. Whenever he decided to correct what he thought was an erroneous interpretation by an earlier author, his point succeeded the error directly. Where he quoted

only one earlier author and did not add a comment of his own, he was convinced that the earlier comment was correct. Among his predecessors, he considered Wang Bing, Ma Shi, Wu Kun, Zhang Jiebin, Zhang Zhicong, and Gao Shishi most important.

Tamba Genkan used ancient and more recent philological tools to justify his arguments; hence he quoted from the *Shuo wen*, the *Er ya*, the *Guang ya*, and others, and also from the writings of Duan Yucai (1735-1815) and Wang Niansun (1734-1832). Whenever possible, he provided evidence on the meaning of a term or phrase from its occurrence in nonmedical literature, referring to the *Shi jing*, the *Chu ci*, the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Gong yang zhuan*, the *Shi ji*, the *Li ji*, and the *Lü shi chun qiu*, among other sources. An example is the introduction of Huang Di in the opening statement of *Su wen 1*. Tamba Genkan quoted more than ten ancient titles to substantiate his view on the correct interpretation of these lines.

Like his Chinese contemporaries, he also applied more recent methodologies in his comments, in particular, pointing out rhyme structures and homophones.⁵⁴

4.2 Tamba Genken's Su wen shao shi

Tamba Genkan's son is usually quoted under the name Tamba Genken (1795-1857). The major difference between his *Su wen* edition, *Su wen shao shi* (Continued [Attempts to] Understand the *Su wen*), and that of his father was his inclusion of references to the *Tai su*, fragments of which had meanwhile been discovered in Japanese libraries.⁵⁵ In addition, he drew on the most recent Chinese scholarship that had reached Japan only after his father's death. An unknown portion of his comments stem from his brother Tamba Gen-in.⁵⁶

Unschuld's Footnotes (pp. 359-360)

1. Wang Hongtu 1997: 128.
2. Based on Zhuang zi, plan 28, Rang wang: "The true object of the Dao is the regulation of the person. Quite subordinate to this is its use in the management of the state and the clan." *Zhuang zi yin de*, p. 77, line 27.
3. See the opening lines of *Su wen 67*.
4. A quote from the section Hong fan in the *Shu jing*. The translation here follows James Legge .
5. A reference to the documentation of a physician named He of Qin in the *Zuo zhuan*, Chao gong 1st year. *Shi san jing zhu shu*, vol. 2, p. 2025, top. In the *Zuo zhuan*, He drew attention to the relationship between disease and "six qi," i.e., yin, yang, wind, rain, darkness, and brightness.
6. A Zhou-era official or institution responsible for recording teachings of lasting value.
7. I.e., Bian Que. See his biography in *Shi ji*, chap. 105.
8. I.e., Chunyü Yi. See his biography in *Shi ji*, chap. 105.
9. I.e., Zhang Ji, author of the *Shang han za bing lun*.
10. See *Lü shi chun qiu zhu zi suo yin*, chap. 14.2, ben wei, p. 71, line 15.
11. Ji Zi is the man, recorded in the chapter Hong fan of the *Shang shu*, who spoke of several pentic categorizations, including the *wu xing*.
12. *Huang Di nei jing su wen* 1983: 3-4.

51. Ibid., 142 f.

52. Qian 1990: 157 f.

53. Wang Hongtu 1997: 152.

54. Ibid., 161-165.

55. See above, III.3.

56. Wang Hongtu 1997: 165-167.