
Alchemy, Medicine and Religion: Cultivating Perfection

After this lecture you should be able to outline the unique characteristics of Chinese alchemy. You should also be able to identify those parts of alchemical practice that have earlier roots in Han longevity cultures, and those alchemical ideas that have an impact on medical writings and illustration. Alchemy is often thought to be the preserve of a putative ‘Religious Daoism’ and we will also examine this idea.

[Image of The Chart for Cultivating Perfection]

Alchemy

‘Alchemy’, as we name it, comes from the Arabic Al-kiem yak and deals with the transformation of base metals into gold. It is seen by those keen to identify the roots of a modern science [at the expense of the social and cultural history of knowledge] as the ‘origins’ of chemistry. Pregadio suggests that the term derives from the medieval Chinese kiem yak 金液 (jinye in modern Chinese), meaning ‘Golden Liquor’ or ‘Golden Elixir’. In China the Golden Elixir was a potent symbol suggesting the search for the power over life and even time itself.

(search Fabricio Pregadio’s website [http://venus.unive.it/dsao/pregadio/index.html] using terms such as Alchemy, Tao Hongjing and Sun Simiao)
In Chinese Alchemy the significance of gold is almost entirely symbolic. Gold did not have the monetary significance that we now attach to it. For the early medieval Chinese value was more likely to be measured in grain, jade and, most especially, bolts of silk. However gold was the most intriguing of substances to the scholar and seeker of knowledge. Un-tarnishing, un-reactive, malleable, stable - however often it was heated, melted, mixed or manipulated it always returned to its pure state. Gold could therefore represent the perfected matter of the universe.

The classic objective of Chinese alchemy was to investigate and understand the universe through examining its material nature. By studying a substance as it moved from its original state and then following it through every stage of transformation the alchemist and scholar could draw analogies with sequences of time, from the very origin to the end of time followed by a return to the beginning and the source (see Sivin). Thus the alchemist would try to speed up time by carefully regulated and repeated heating and cooling in order to turn an imperfect substance into a perfected one - base metal into ‘gold’. This was Waidan 外丹 ‘external alchemy’ which had its heyday from the 3rd to the 9th centuries CE.

As we have seen in earlier lectures the search for physical immortality was already part of the self cultivation practices of the early empire – in this context the most relevant practice being various forms of drug-taking. We noted that traces of lead, mercury, cinnabar and arsenic were found in the corpse of the near perfectly preserved countess of Dai, buried in the Mawangdui burial mound in 168 BCE. She had taken all of these minerals for a long period during her lifetime. Her clothes were also soaked in cinnabar. The alchemists’ mastery of the material world naturally extended their authority into this realm. The fact that mercury, derived from the highly symbolic ore, cinnabar, plays an important role in the refining of gold would have reinforced this connection.

Neidan 内丹 ‘internal alchemy’ uses a language that bears marked similarities to that of external alchemy, but the focus of its practices are the essences of the human person. Trained on perfecting an immortal being within the physical body, adepts of internal alchemy worked on the ingredients of the elixir i.e. their own prime physiological constituents: the qi 氣, jing 精 and shen 神 that we have met in previous lectures. While there are a set of key ideas and concepts that pervade alchemical theory, as in medicine or divination we can identify a great plurality of traditions with different practices. PERIOD/ITALICISAITON

Drug taking and immortality
Having noted the consumption of cinnabar and other heavy metals in immortality cult practices that date to the early part of the Han empire it is important to describe other practices concerned with combating physical deterioration that were also current at that time.

One of the prescriptions for immortality was to abstain from eating grains. Consuming *shiwei* (pyrrosia) was part of an early Chinese dietary regime to aid in breath cultivation, a practice described in both philosophical and technical treatises that date to the late Warring States and early empire. Associated with cults of immortality, *shiwei* is used to treat urine retention and possibly ameliorates some of the physical effects of not eating. Adepts refining themselves on a diet of pure *qi* could ‘lighten the body’ by literally shedding weight and the base substance of their body that might seem to be the substance of their mortal being. Sometimes the practice represented a political urge to return to an idyllic pre-agricultural state of simplicity, an impulse also found in the reclusive lifestyles advocated in Warring States compilations such as the *Daode jing* (The Way and the Virtue, see below).

*Wushi* (the 5 stones) was another type of drug taking associated with long-life and the treatment of illness, in the latter case a specific medical prescription for sores and heat first mentioned in the second century BCE. In Wei/Jin times (3rd - 4th centuries BCE) it was also used as a stimulant aimed at ‘an illumination of the spirit and the clarity of heaven’. The recipe contained arsenic which, when taken over a long period of time, had the effect of nerve poisoning, the symptoms being lapses in consciousness, weakness and heart paralysis, whole body numbness, delusions, and diarrhoea. But the gradual nature of the pathology, coupled with bouts of ecstatic hallucination, might have deceived the user as to the nature and outcome of their habit. Eventually it is said that over the course of some three centuries millions of literati and some of the Tang emperors died and that this saw the decline of external alchemy.

Mediaeval medical *materia medica* categorised drugs into three grades. The highest rank of drugs were those aimed at longevity and, being the mildest, could be taken for a long time. For immediate treatment of disease there were the lowest ranking drugs, which were also the most effective and potentially poisonous. None-the-less a residue of associations common in sympathetic magic might suggest that to achieve an extreme goal, such as immortality, one needs to take extreme measures. Thus the risks and obvious shortcomings of alchemical drug taking might be explained away – the last lethal dose simply had not been the true elixir, it had not been prepared correctly.

While the widespread search for immortality through drug taking came to be associated with certain strands of Daoism, it seems unlikely that it was a genuine or specifically Daoist practice. It is simply that by virtue of their knowledge of alchemy and *materia medica*
significant Daoist masters like Ge Hong or Tao Hongjing (456-536) achieved led others, particularly powerful political parties, to demand the elixir of immortality of them. This certainly seems to be the case with the imperial patronage enjoyed by Tao Hongjing – however he seems to have been cunning enough to make sure the elixir was never ready for consumption.

Religion in China
Since so many of the sources for the practice of alchemy are in the Daoist canon it is important to give a brief introduction to the religious background of mediaeval China. The three teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism all co-existed in China from early mediaeval times [late 2nd – 3rd CE] and received patronage or censor from the central authorities. Underlying formal religious institutions was always the common ‘religious’ practice of the general population and their worshipping of the gods - a combination of ancestor worship and local folk cults.

Confucianism
Confucius Kong Qiu (551 – 479 BCE) was a would-be government adviser, who wandered around the courts of the fifth/sixth century BCE courts looking for patronage. He preached about a kind of humanist state philosophy based on the regulation of all human relations through bonds of obligation and ritual. Imagining a golden age under the Western Zhou [1045 –771 BCE], a time before the social decline and increasing political instability and tension of his age, he styled himself as guardian of their early rituals. In fact, in his lifetime he had absolutely no success and never attained a post as a royal advisor. While not denying the existence of the spirit world his writings explicitly ignore that realm in favour of a focus on the relationships and rituals of human society. In so doing he laid the foundation for the moral philosophy of the most famous of his followers, Mencius 孟子, and the emphasis on the value of ceremony and punishment in Xun zi 荀子 [4th to 3rd centuries BCE]. Through disciples of Xun zi, the latter teachings were to have a great influence on the political statecraft and realpolitik of the advisors of the first emperor of China. While the religious culture of early imperial China was diverse Confucian writings continued to underpin the state ideology of the Han Dynasty and to define the cultural mores of the scholar classes.

State cults.
A great multiplicity of acts of state worship were directed to the sacred mountains and rivers of the empire. Rites on the heavenly mountains came to be regarded as one of the most profound imperial rituals by which the emperor could align heaven and earth. The first emperor of China, himself, made the arduous ascent of Mount Tai in 219 BCE. Mountains
were also seen as the homes of the immortals and were sites associated with healing. Mount Hua, was particularly famous for its healers of all kinds.

_Buddhism._

The first signs of Buddhism arrived in China by around turn of the millennium (0CE). For a number of centuries problems of translation led it to be regarded as a foreign form of Daoism, which also began to take shape towards the end of the Han period. From the third century onwards good translations of Buddhist texts became available. Over the ensuing centuries Buddhism became an increasingly powerful force in Chinese society. Monastic orders gained wealth and power through their ability to organise the lives of the peasants in the face of declining state power. The Buddhist doctrines of universal salvation had a strong appeal to those many classes of society for whom traditional Confucian teachings offered little. Buddhists regarded their own teaching as the ultimate medicine – texts and relics having magical curative properties. Good health could also be engendered by pious works and the role of practical ‘medicine’ was really only to remove the obstructions to spiritual development posed by illness. Some orders permitted no medical intervention other than nursing treatment. Those monks or nuns who had a special knowledge of herbs and treatments were banned from using them on ordinary people.

(Demieville –trans Mark Tatz. 1985)

_Daoism_

There is much confusion about the nature and history of Daoism and its relationship to science and medicine in China. Many records of alchemy and longevity techniques, not exclusively Daoist, are recorded and therefore preserved within the Daoist canon. And it is certainly true to say that medicine often figured prominently in the range of interests of many of the great figures of Daoism, but much more than that is difficult to state with confidence.
Dao is explicitly a treatise on political philosophy, but in the Warring States era itself all philosophers and scholars were searching for the Dao 道, which simply meant the ‘Way’, the proper path toward harmonising human behaviour and society with the underlying patterns of the cosmos. The grouping together of the books and writers now known as Daoist was first made as the historian Sima Tan 司馬談 [died 110 BCE] classified Six Schools of thought for ancient China. We may think of the term Daoism at this point as a categorical convenience for writings that Sima correctly ascribed some commonality of outlook rather. He explicitly endorsed the value of these writings above those of the other categories he identified (eg Confucian, Mohist etc.) (see Graham 1989: 31 and 377-8).

Since the early twentieth century Daoist studies have identified a distinction between two types of Daoism broadly called, philosophical Daoism and religious Daoism. This is a distinction that is largely discredited, but you will come across it in the way the material is presented to you and in the prejudices of scholars. A ‘philosophical Daoism’ was traced to the works, Zhuangzi 莊子 [Master Zhuang] and Laozi 老子 [Master Lao], and has become increasingly fashionable and attractive to both academic and lay readers since the 70’s. Your most recent exposure to Zhuangzi maybe at the start of the film the Matrix where they quote the following famous passage to emphasise the fragility of our perceptions of the world:

Last night Zhuang Zhou dreamed he was a butterfly, spirits soaring he was a butterfly (is it that I showing what he was he suited his own fancy?), and did not know about Zhou. When all of a sudden he awoke, he was Zhou with all his wits about him. He does not know whether he is Zhou who dreams he is a butterfly or a butterfly who dreams he is Zhou. Between Zhou and the butterfly there was necessarily a dividing; just this is what is meant by the transformation of things.

Modern Daoist literature often sustains the prejudice that there is a philosophical Daoism that can be made distinct from ‘religious Daoism’. But this largely arises from an intellectual attraction in Western scholars to the writings of the former and a confused and uncomprehending rejection of the ‘superstitious’ rites practiced by the latter.

By legend Laozi was a contemporary of Confucius. In reality, unlike Confucius, there is no evidence of his existence and it is likely that the Daode jing 道德經 (The Way and the Virtue) attributed to him is in fact a compilation by scribes of a range of writings retrospectively identified as ‘Daoist’. Daode jing is explicitly a treatise on political philosophy, but in advocating a non-aggressive position during the period of the Warring States it sets out a unique worldview, which has more than a little contemporary resonance.

The text famously begins:

The dao [Way] that can be spoken of is not the constant dao [Way]
Its writings are full of paradoxes, deliberately accepted realities upside down: glorifying passivity, the power and endurance of the malleable, the virtue of the gentlest element water to wear away stone, women, babies, it recommends a return to the simplicity of childhood and is therefore anti-Confucian, anti form and ritual, anti service to the state, anti-materialist, anti-worldliness. It advocates the doctrine of non-action, rejecting conscious busyness, motivation and success. Contrary to belief that finds it source in popular histories of Asian culture Daode jing makes but one mention of Yinyang doctrine and only then as an illustration of the burdens of the ordinary people in everyday life.

While the writings in Zhuangzi share the anti authoritarian stance of Laozi, they are consciously less political and more concerned with the techniques and lifestyle of the aspirant sage. There is perhaps one important association we might make with ideas that are later current in inner alchemy. In one passage we find a reference that bears similarity to the excavated texts from Mawangdui [buried 168 BCE] and Zhangjiashan [tomb closed 186 BCE] that speak of self-cultivation and circulating qi in the body. The statement reads:

the realised man breathes with his heels

but there were many paths to perfection and at other times Zhuangzi criticises exactly those people we saw at their exercises on the Mawangdui silk manuscript in Lecture 4:

To huff and puff, exhale and inhale, blow out the old and draw in the new, do the 'bear-hang' and the 'bird-stretch', interested only in long life - such are the tastes of the practitioners of 'guide-and-pull' exercises, the nurturers of the body, Grandfather Peng's ripe-old-agers.
Zhuangzi prefers a less physical approach to self-cultivation, one which refines the spirit rather than the body, but stops short of aiming for eternal preservation of the physical body. Breath cultivation can also be seen in two other Warring States texts, a miscellany of writings about statecraft Guanzi 管子 [compiled 4th to 2nd centuries BCE], and in Mencius.

The earliest textual instructions for cultivating the breath appear in Guanzi 管子, the neiye 内業 ‘Inward Training’ chapter which introduces basic elements of physiology that will recur in mediaeval writings on inner alchemy. The aim is for the ruler to strengthen 精 jing [the finest form of qi, associated with semen and reproduction], 神 shen [spirit] and qi through a form of meditation:

Settle the heart within,
And the ear and eye are keen and bright,
The four limbs are hard and firm,
And can be a lodge for the jing.
The jing is the essence of qi.

The training is concerned the sage ruler, who must refine his body as a conduit for Heaven’s will. Mencius, on the other hand, differentiates between the benefits of breathing qi in the early morning and that of the evening. Cultivating the haoran zhi qi 浩然之氣 [flood-like qi] in the early morning is better for nurturing a person’s original heavenly nature and is inseparable from cultivating courage and a true moral character.

Rise of Daoism
In the early part of the 1st century CE millennial cults started to emerge and threaten the state. Wang Mang’s 王莽 [r. 9 – 23 CE] short lived Xin dynasty was brought down by a group called the ‘Red Eyebrows’. Little is known about their teaching but by the mid second century CE groups based around cults of popular healing through confession of sins, spirit possession, and worship of the deified Lord Lao (Laozi) were active.

In 184 CE one of these groups, the Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jue 張角, rebelled against the Han ruling house. The rebellion was suppressed, but the empire never recovered, finally disintegrating in 220 CE. The Yellow Turbans converted people to their cause through healing practices, including old methods such as incantation and doses of water infused with the ashes of talismans. In 215 CE the Han General, Cao Cao 曹操, obtained submission from a Laoist/Daoist cult group founded by Zhang Daoling 張道陵 that controlled much of Sichuan, ‘The Five Pecks of Rice’ movement – so named after the tithe levied for entry. In return from
their compliance the group was allowed to continue its teaching and became the source of the organised religion of Daoism. To this day the Tian Shi Dao [The Celestial Masters] claim direct descent from Zhang Daoling’s original church.

The Celestial Masters taught that illness was caused by sin and could be healed by confession and good works such as roadbuilding and distributing free food. Their religious practices were centred on a ritual space called the ‘chamber of purity’ and were conducted by priests – both male and female – who were also the highest local officials. They were primarily healers, garnering celestial powers to effect cures.

A text that was important to the Daoist movements of this era was the Taiping Jing (Canon of heavenly peace). It provides general principles for life and governance and is an early source for classic Daoist prescriptions for longevity including meditation, moral self-cultivation, dietary control, qi and breath cultivation, medicinal substances from plants and animals and talismanic medicine. (see Kaltenmark 1979. pp41-44)

Shangqing Daoism (Highest Clarity Daoism)
The Shangqing tradition grew out of that of the Celestial Masters. The early history of Daoism is not only one of ritual, meditation and reclusivity, but is also very political. With pressure from North, the Celestial Masters, northern tradition begin to move south, making trouble for local religious people and structures. From fifth century we find the rise of Shangqing Daoism, which can be seen as a reassertion of southern values, guided by Tao Hongjing. Tao Hongjing had been a court official who had pleaded ill health in order to retreat to his southern mountains where he pursued his studies in Daoism, Alchemy and Medicine. He was a seminal figure in all three areas. In the creation of the Shangqing tradition Tao took the revelations of the earlier visionaries and prophets and transformed them into a coherent teaching. Part of what Tao Hongjing did was to devise a full divine hierarchy from the jumble of Daoist spiritual hierarchies that existed in south China at the time. The text presents more than 500 deities in a seven-tiered pantheon with four celestial realms. His mountain retreat became part of the Daoist tradition that enjoyed royal favour with state-sponsored activities – particularly in the alchemical field.

The reunification of China under the Sui and Tang after hundreds of years of division was a time of great prosperity for both Daoism and Buddhism. The Sui ruling house were great patrons of Buddhism, but Buddhism was still seen as ‘foreign’ and while it continued to enjoy support from the ruling Li family of the Tang dynasty, Daoism assumed greater importance. The Li family were a sinified semi-turkic clan who styled themselves as descendants of Laozi, whose family name, so legend goes, was also Li, thereby conferring religious authority upon their family lineage. Daoists of the Shangqing (Highest Purity) school enjoyed particular
royal favour. For example, when the emperor Xuanzong 皇帝 entertained the famous Shangqing patriarch Sima Chengzhen 司馬承禎, he was, in return, honoured with an advanced *falu* 法籙 ‘certificate’, conferring full Daoist mastership.

Many healing cults existed in Chinese culture that came to be labelled Daoist. These include all the magico-technicians e.g. *fangshi*, fortune-tellers, astrologers, *wu* etc. They are not necessarily Daoists. What happened from the Tang onwards and especially under the Song was that the organised Daoist churches and in particular the Celestial Masters were effectively licensed by the Emperor to subsume and regulate all these cult groups. Thus the educated literate Daoist priesthood were able to use their status to impose their authority on local communities, carrying out rites and ceremonies on their behalf, while in fact regarding many of these activities as little more than superstition themselves. The key to the Daoist priests’ power was his register of gods that enabled him to interact through prayer and meditation with the energies of the cosmos. (see Kristofer Schipper. 1993. The Taoist Body)

The work of Daoists in the community was in large part directed towards healing and renewal, protecting the propel from evil forces and summoning the power of benevolent spirits. Although the early schools of religious Daoism warned against popular forms of magic many Daoist priests engaged in such practices. They would be called upon to provide protective amulets talismans, potions and cures, to perform magic spells and exorcisms.

For the Chinese, writing has always been a powerful means of communication with the spirit world, and Daoist magic relied greatly on charms amulets and talismans to imbue them with magical power and texts in classical Chinese which were believed to have been revealed by the Gods were read, memorised and chanted. Daoists employed special paper talismans to control spiritual beings. They were widely used by all the Daoist sects, but especially associated with the Shangqing and Lingbao traditions. Daoist priests were commonly employed as exorcists to appease earth spirits inhabiting the site of a planned new building (this was a form of Fengshui), or to dispel demons causing mental or physical distress.

Talisman in the Lingbao tradition

The concept of spirits resident in the organs...
In the *Taiping jing* of the later Han Dynasty [and in the Daoist meditation traditions at least from the fifth century CE if not much earlier] we find the concepts of spirits or gods being actively invited into the body. The *Huangting jing* (Canon of the Yellow Court), a meditational manual used in the Shangqing tradition and later as an integral part of xiu zhen ‘cultivating perfection’ texts and practice, describes radiant gods resident in both the inner and outer body. **Xiu zhen** was a synthesis of the Way of the Heavenly Masters and the traditions of the immortality seekers that date to the Han, involving a taking of religious practice into the interior landscape of the body. Here we begin to find the development of Daoism and inner alchemy.

Illustrations from editions of *Huangting jing* material contained in a compendium of writings collected for the Emperor Zhangzong (r. 997 – 1022), the *Yun ji qi qian* (Seven tablets from a cloudy basket), focus on the outward appearances of the creatures dwelling in the body. In this work we find basic notions of cosmology, theories related to classical medicine and visualisation of the human body as an administrative system governed by inner gods that adepts should visualize, practices based on the circulation of inner energies and fluids, and early prefigurations of *neidan* (inner alchemy).

Internal alchemy was based on the analogies between macrocosm and microcosm, of earlier native contemplative and meditative disciplines, and of practices of Buddhist origin, and certain aspects of Neo-Confucianism.
Among the practices was the recommendation that one should regularly observe the precise moment of the first emergence of the sun at sunrise. Face the emerging sun in the east and knock your teeth together nine times. This complete, you should in your mind secretly invoke the spirits, calling the names of the cloud souls of the sun and the bynames of the Five Emperors of the sun and saying;

Cloud souls of the Sun, Orbed Phosphors
Envelope of Reflectivity, Green Glare,
Red lads of the revolving Auroras
Dark Blaze, Whirlwind Simulacra

Having invoked the spirits in your mind calling these sixteen words, then close your eyes and seal your fists. Visualise the flowing auroras in five colours from within the sun all approaching to receive your body down to your feet.

The literary quality of the texts associated with this tradition is rated very highly. And we know from the later work of Sun Simiao that the meditative forms were included in medical works, which shared social milieu in Daoist circles.

Three worms/three cadavers

Even at birth the body is marked with the potential for harm and destruction - - initially the mother’s diet of grains is the potential for corruption of the physical condition, but then one’s own lifestyle is called to account.

On the physiological level the body nourishes three worms - also called the three cadavers or three sisters which gnaw away at the body and lodge inside the body. On a moral level they act on the three spheres of desire, wealth, food and lust. They go to heaven to expose the sins of the body that feeds them. There are seven po 'bodily souls' that perform the same function; Gluttonous Thief, Flying fish, Filth, Stinking Lung, Dog Cadaver, Flabby Piss, Bird’s Sex. These spirits have only one desire to kill us and bring us back to the earth to which they belong.

The Charts

Xiu zhen ‘cultivating' 

The charts show the shape of the body.
As a culture it dates to the fourth century. Adepts would identify deities living within the body with cosmic deities, through imagining and absorbing their astral manifestation as the stars and constellations. At the same time as summoning, visualising and uniting various deities that dwelled in the adepts' own bodies they would seek to project perfected replicas of themselves outward to meet the deities in the astral realms where they dwell.

*Yunji qi qian* has 54 sections that describe the ritual, contemplative and medical practices expected of a Daoist priest, which constitute his ‘cultivating perfection’.

Dao is the most perfect of the tenuous void the arts are the mysterious crafts of transformation. Since the Way is without form, it depends on the arts to save humans. Since humans are numinous, they can cultivate themselves and merge with the Way. When humans are able to learn the Way, they transform the essentials of the spontaneous Way. All of this is profoundly simple and easy to understand. The secrets of the arts lay only in talismans, qi and medicines.

The earliest versions of the *Xuuzhen tu* 修真圖 [Chart of Cultivating Perfection], originally called *Neijing tu* 内凈圖 [Chart of the Inner Realm] from the 13th century, most likely derived from Song dynasty anatomical diagrams, taken from the execution ground. These diagrams are lost, but reputedly portrayed the inner organs and vessels.
Six diagrams which bear the name of *Yanluozi* 煙蘿子 [Master of the Smoke Curtain] who was active during the Tianfu era (936–941 CE) of the Later Jin dynasty are preserved in the thirteenth-century Daoist encyclopedia *Xiuzhen shishù* 修真十書 [Ten Books for Cultivating Perfection c. 1250]. Their titles contain the term *neijing* 內境 [internal view, inner landscape, inscape], and they were presumably intended for people who practised the inward visualisation of the internal organs (the images are accompanied by a text by *Yanluozi* on inward contemplation, *neiguan* 內觀).

The first two diagrams in this series present us with the head of a literatus.

A) the inner spaces (9 palaces) of the adept’s head and resident divinities

B) the diagram for paying respects to the perfected, focuses on the imaginary flight that the adept makes to pay court in the supernatural realm.

*Yanluozi*

Note the seven *po* 作为 well as the astral deities

What we know as the **Diagram of Cultivating Perfection** took shape in illustrative and written materials in the literati culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, associated with traditions of medicine and inner alchemy in Fujian and Jiangxi. There were many sects and subsects which develop this interiorisation of the Shangqing traditions in different ways within a highly literate tradition.
Around this same time we have two images which are the earliest depictions of what has come to be known as the Diagram of Cultivating Perfection. They appear in a collection by Li Jiong 李駉 dated to 1269, The Illustrated and Annotated Canon of the 81 Difficulties of the Yellow Emperor. The diagram depicts the ‘regular view of the Inner Realm’. Li Jiong’s illustration is copied into a 15th century encyclopaedia’s in the Section on Medical Learning. These texts circulated during the Yuan and were included in the 1445 Ming Daoist Canon. They become integrated into medical ideas.

Revision Reading:


