Buddhist Medicines in Chinese Literature

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ABSTRACT

Buddhism was introduced into China around the first century CE. It became widespread via Silk Road in Northwest China. For two thousand years, it exerted tremendous impact on Chinese culture. The Buddhists made great endeavors to sinicize and indigenize Buddhism. They established Chinese Buddhist schools and infiltrated all segments of the population. The Buddhist influence can be seen in literature, music, painting, paintings, dance, architectures and medicine. When we investigate the cultural exchanges between China and India, we can easily find that the integral tradition of Indian medicine, which combined a secular elemental doctrine with aspects of demonology, mythology, and moral-macrocosmic concepts, was introduced into China by traveling monks and the texts they brought with them.

I. Introduction

One of the characteristics of Chinese religions indicates that Chinese tend to welcome any religion that can cure diseases. When Buddhism was introduced into China in the first stage, the Chinese took Buddhists as a magicians, similar to Fangshi (方士). For centuries, educated Chinese considered the Buddhist doctrines to be a new variant of religious Daoism. The famous monk Fo Tudeng (佛圖澄 232 – 348) was reported to possess the skills of breathing exercises and making magic. He could spend days without eating grain. Being good at incantations, he was able to cure difficult and complicated cases and rescue the dying. He repeatedly demonstrated his knowledge and the value of his teaching through various magical and clairvoyant activities, including raising the dead, rain spells, and divination. Fo Tudeng was not a sole example. We can find more reports about monks like Fo Tudeng who were able to cure diseases in the early stage of Chinese Buddhism.

According to *Kaiyuan Shijiao Lu* (A Catalogue of the Buddhist Canon Compiled in the Kaiyuan Period 713 – 741), An Shigao (2 century), who was a Parthian of royal lineage, came to China and translated more than 34 Buddhist works, totaling 40 fascicles in the second year of Jianhe (142). *Fo Shuo Wenshi Xiyu Zhongseng Jing* (《佛說溫室洗浴眾僧經》 Sūtra on Jīva's Inviting Many Priests to Wash Themselves in a Bath-House) was one of the earliest translations that contains the knowledge of medicine "cikitsā Vidyā." Zhu Lüyan and Zhi Yue, two translators of the Three Kingdoms Era (220 – 280), translated *Fo Shuo Fo Yi Jing* (《佛說佛醫經》 Buddhavaidyā Sūtra, T17-737). These translations had impact on Chinese medicine in its development. [3] In the Tang dynasty, two

eminent monks, Master Xuanzang (玄奘 600? - 664) and Master Yijing (義 淨 635 – 713), went to India in search of Buddhist scriptures and knowledge, recorded how Indian monks cured diseases with various medicines.

This essay is going to discuss the Buddhist influence in Chinese traditional medicine. The paper is divided into four parts:

- I. The Medicinal Literature in Buddhist Canon
- II. The Dunhuang Medicine Manuscripts
- III. Buddhist Medical Literature in China's Dynasty History Records and Other Sources
- IV. Conclusion

I. The Medicinal Literature in Buddhist Canon

In India, the knowledge of medicine "cikitsā Vidyā" is considered one part of the upaveda, or Āyurveda. When Buddhism was introduced into China, the knowledge of medicine also entered China. There are many records of knowledge of Indian medicine which were utilized to cure diseases in these days.

First, let us look at the Chinese Buddhist Canon. Buddhists have translated and worked out a huge Buddhist canon. Since the Northern Song Dynasty (960 – 1127), the Chinese Buddhists have produced more than eighteen editions of Buddhist canon. The Taishō Edition contains 3493 works, totaling 13520 fascicles.

In the Buddhist canon, we can find over 400 works that touch upon the knowledge of medicine and medical treatment of diseases. They are records of medicine, hygiene, physiology, pathology, meditation, cultivation, etc. In fact, they are of great value for further investigation and research. For example, the Buddhist works on ophthalmology and meditations exerted great impact on traditional Chinese medicine. Quite a number of medical works were published with the authorship of Nāgārjuna and Jīvaka. They have been popular among traditional Chinese medical doctors. According to scholarly statistics, more than 4,600 terms of medicine can be found in various Buddhist scriptures. Here we just name a few:

- Fo Shuo Nainü Qipo Jing《佛說奈女耆婆經》Āmrapāli Jīva Nidāna Sūtra (Taishō, 14 – 896)
- Fo Shuo Wenshi Xiyu Zhongseng Jing《佛說溫室洗浴眾僧經》 Sūtra on Jīva's Inviting Many Priests to Wash Themselves in a Bath-House (T. 16 – 802).
- Da Anban Shouyi Ji 《安般守意經》Mahānāpāna Dhyāna Sūtra (Taishō 15 – 163).

- Fo Shou Fo Yijing 《佛說佛醫經》Buddhavaidya Sūtra, (Taishō 17 737)
- Fo Shuo Baotai Jing 《佛說胞胎經》Garbha Sūtra, (Taishō 11-886)
- Fo Shuo Zhou Shi Qi Bing《佛說咒時氣病》Sūtra on Relieving Epidemic By a Spell (Taishō 21 489)
- Fo Shuo Zhou Chi Jing《佛說咒齒經》Sūtra on Relieving Toothache by a Spell (Taishō 21 491)
- Fo Shuo Zhou Mu Jing 《佛說咒目經》Caksur Viśodhana Vidyā (Taishō 21 – 491)
- Fo Shuo Zhou Xiaoer Jing《佛說咒小兒經》Sūtra on Relieving a Sikc Child by a Spell (Taishō 21 491)
- Chan Mi Yaojue 《禪祕要訣》Sūtra on the Hidden and Important Law of Meditation (Taishō 15 – 242)
- Yi Jin Jing《易筋經》Muscle Bone Strengthening Exercise^[4]
 Bukong Juan Suo Zhou Jing 《不空買索咒經》Amoghapāśa Hridaya Mantra Sūtra (Taishō 2 – 399)
- Fo Shuo Liao Zhi Bing Jing《佛說療痔病經》Buddhist Sutra Explaining the Treatment of Haemorrhoids (Taishō 21 490)
- Manshu Shili Pusa Zhou Zang Yizi Zhou Wang Jing 《曼殊師利普薩咒藏一字咒王經》Mañ juśrī Bodhisattva Mantrapitaka Ekāksara Mantrarāja Sūtra.(Taishō 20 – 781)
- Jingang Yaocha Chen Nu Xi Zai Dawei Shenyan Niansong Yigui 《金剛藥叉瞋怒息災大威神驗念誦儀軌》 Vajrayaksādhyā Kalpa (Taishō 21 98)
- Da Yao Cha Nü Huanxi Mu Bing Ai Zi Chengjiu Fa《大藥叉女歡喜母並愛子成就法》Mahāyaaksamātri Ānanda Puri Yaputra Siddhi Kalpa (Taishō 21 – 286)
- Chu Yiqie Jibing Tuoluoni Jing《除一切疾病陀羅尼經》
 Sarvarogapraśamani Dhāranī Sūtra (Taishō 21 489)
- Neng Jing Yiqie Jibing Tuoluoni Jing《能淨一切疾病陀羅尼經》
 Caksuviśodhana Vidyā Dhāranī (Taishō 21 940)
- 《觀世音菩薩如意摩尼陀羅尼經》Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva Cintāhridaya Dhāranī Sūtra (Taishō 20 - 200)
- Da Ban Niepan Jing 《大般涅槃經》Mahāpari Nirvāna Sūtra (Taishō 1-191)
- Nanhai Ji Gui Neifa Zhuan《南海寄歸內法傳》Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia: A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas by Yijing (Taishō 54, No. 2125)
- Da Zhi Du Lun《大智度論》Mahā Prajñā Pāramitā Sūtra Śāstra (Taishō 25 57)
- *Chan Mi Fa Yao Jing* 《禪祕法要經》 Sūtra on the Hidden and Important Law of Meditation (Taishō 14 242)

- Xiu Xi Zhiguan Zuochan Fayao《修習上觀坐禪法要》An Outline Law on Sitting in the Practice of Meditation (Taishō 46 – 462)
- Liu Miao Famen《六妙法門》Satsaddharma Paryāya (Taishō 16 549)
- Luo Mo Na Shuo Jiu Liao Xiaoer Jibing Jing《囉嚩拿說救療小兒疾病經》 Rāvanabhasita Bālavyādgubgusahyā Sūtra (Taishō 21 491)
- *Mohe Zhiguan*《摩訶止觀》The Great Concentration or Mahāśamatha Vipaśyanā (Taishō 46 1)
- Yan Shou Jing 《延壽經》(Fangshan Stone Carvings, 9 172, 9 173, 9-238)
- Fo Shuo Yi Yu Jing 《佛說醫喻經》Bhisaj Upamāna Sūtra (Taishō 4 802)^[5]
- Yaoshi rulai Benyuan Gongde Jing(《佛說藥師如來本願經》 Bhaisajyaguruvaidūryaprabha Vaidūryaprabhāsa Tathāgata Pūrvapranidhāna Guna Sūtra,No.449), Taishō 14 – 401, Yaoshi Liuliu Guang Rulai Benyuan Gongde Jing(《藥師琉瑠光如來本願功德經》, No.450), Taishō 14 – 404, Yaoshi Liuliu Guang Rulai Qifo Benyuan Gongde Jing(《藥師琉瑠光七佛本願功德經》Bhaisajyaguru Vaidūrua Prabhāsa Saptabuddha Pūrvapranidhana Sūtra, No.451)Taishō 14 – 409, are popular among Chinese Buddhists. In many Buddhist temples, the Medicine Buddha is enshrined in a special place. He is always worshiped at the right side of the Sakyamuni Buddha by common people. The scripture records the twelve great vows that the Medicine Buddha made to save the sentient beings. He heals the afflictions of the body and the mind.

Two eminent Chinese monks, Master Xuanzang (Hsuan Tsang (玄奘 600? – 664)) and Master Yijing (義淨 I-Ching 635 – 713) went to India in search of Buddhist scriptures. Their works contain important information about medical treatments as they observed and experienced. Chapters 3, 5, 8, 20, 23, etc. recorded the hygienic habits of Indian Buddhists. Chapter 27 discusses the treatment of disease and Chapter 28 dwells upon the rules for taking medicine.

Yijing says:

According to the lore of medicine, one of the five lores of India, a physician should first examine the voice and countenance of his patient, and then prescribe for him in accordance with the eight branches of medical knowledge. If he does not understand the secret of this knowledge, he will cause adverse effects though he intended to produce advantageous results. The eight branches of medical knowledge are: (1) the treatment of all kinds of ulcers; (2) the treatment of ailments of the head by acupuncture; (3) the treatment of diseases of by body; (4) the treatment of illnesses caused by demons; (5) the treatment of sickness with agada (antidotal) medicine; (6) the treatment of children diseases; (7) the art of longevity; and (8) the method of strengthening the legs and body. [6]

Chapter 28 deals with the rules for medicine. It starts with the causes of diseases: the disorders of the four elements and the eight seasonal changes. The Buddha himself delivered a scripture on medical prescriptions. Yijing carefully recorded how Indian Buddhists treated the diseases with indigenous methods and various medicines. He admired the ways that Indian monks cured the diseases, "If the internal organs remain quiet, and evil air is dispersed, violent wind will cease by itself. Nothing will go wrong if one regulates the physique in this manner. One need not trouble a physician to feel one's pulse, nor is it needful to consult a doctor. Each person is then a king of physicians, and everyone becomes a Jīvaka [a well-known physician at the time of the Buddha]." Indeed, Yijing's record is not only a travel note, but also a trustful medical literature.

II. Dunhuang Manuscripts

When Buddhism was introduced into China along the Silk Road, it brought with it medicines and surgical techniques from India as well as a Buddhist emphasis on compassion. This last was expressed in charity in general, including charitable medical care. Buddhist monasteries started to dispense drugs freely to those in need and, during the Tang dynasty, hospitals were founded in the larger cities, often under imperial patronage. Indian drugs included powdered sandalwood to relieve fever and Indian laburnum, also known as purging cassia. Cataract surgery was also an import from India. [8]

In the early twentieth century, manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang Cave in Northwest China reveal more than eighty ancient medical documents. Chinese medical scholars divided these documents into eleven sections. One section contains a number of medical documents that were related to Buddhism.

1. Fojia yifang, di 1 zhong (佛家醫方第一種 Buddhist remedies, I)

Incomplete scroll.

Bibliotheque nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue no. P.2665.

Buddhist prescriptions, compiler unknown

The beginning and end of the scroll are damaged. It has texts on both sides. On the front is a fragment of a Buddhist sutra; on the reverse Buddhist remedies, votive texts, etc. as the title and authorship of the medical text are unknown, it has been identified as Buddhist remedies, I. It gives four prescriptions for diseases of the eyes and ears and for back and leg pain. The use of this MS of the new Wu-Zhou forms of the characters (ren) and (yue) enables it to be dated to the reign of the Empress Wu Zetian. [9]

The prescription aims to cure diseases in the eye, ear, and backache, foot ache, and other diseases.

According to Chen Ming, this incomplete scroll was a copy of *Qifo* Bapusa Suo Shuo Da Tuoluoni Shenzhou Jing (《七佛八菩薩所說大陀羅尼神咒 經》Saptabuddhabhāsita Riddhimantra Sūtra), translated in the Eastern Jin dynasty (317 – 420), but the translator's name is lost. By comparing both documents, Chen found the incomplete scroll not as an independent medical book, but a ritual used by Tantric Buddhists to exorcize diseases. [10]

2. Fojia yifang, di 2 zhong (佛家醫方第二種 Buddhist remedies, 2)

Incomplete scroll Bibliotheque national de France, Paris, Catalogue no. P.5598 Buddhist prescription, author unknown Title supplied by editors

The beginning and end of this scroll are damaged. It contains 38 columns of text, the first 24 columns of which are taken from Buddhist scripture. The remainder, from 1.25 onward, is a prescription for a Buddhist remedy namely a complete set of instructions for the preparation of magical pills for fortifying the heart. The precise date of composition and copying are unknown.

17 kinds of herbs are listed in this manuscript:

Gan shuyu 干薯蕷 Gan dihuang 干地黃	Dried dioscorea opposita Dried Rehmannia glutinosa (glutinous rehmannia)
Duzhong 杜仲	Eucommia ulmoides olive
Baijie 百節	Glomeris nipponica Kishda
Fangfeng 防風	Saposhnikovia divaicata
renshen 人參	Panax ginseng
danshen 丹參	Red ginseng
Fuling 茯苓	Poria cocos (Tuckahoe)
Fushen 茯神	Tubers of the above
Beimu 貝母	Fritillaria cirrhosa; Fritillaria delavayi and other varieties of Fritillaria (fritillary bulb)
Rutang 乳糖	Sugar
Wuweizi 五味子	(Fruit of) Schisandra chinensis (Chinese magnolia vine)
Shichangpu 石菖蒲	Acorus tatarinowii or <i>Acorus</i> graminueus Soland
Maimendong 麥門冬	Ophiopogon japonicus (dwarf lilyturf)
Gancao 甘草	Glycyrrhiza uralensis (liquorice)
Yuanzhi 遠志	Polygal sibrica; Polygala tenuifolia
Baiziren 柏子仁	Platycladi Seed

The above-mentioned 17 ingredients are to be made into powder and then into sugar balls. The patients take one piece daily, and slowly for ten days as a stage, twenty days..... (incomplete) pure and delicate. In thirty days (incomplete) the patients feel secure without doubt. They feel happy and benefit intellectually. (incomplete). Indescribable.

Wei Yilin危亦林, a writer of the Yuan period, includes in his book *Shiyi de Xiao fang* (世醫得效方Efficacious Prescriptions from a Hereditary Physician) a recipe for *Tian Wang buxin dan* (天王補心丹Heavenly Ruler pills for fortifying the heart), which is substantially identical to the prescription in the MS with regard to its designation, uses and formulation, with certain minor substitutions of ingredients. This demonstrates that the original recipe for *Tian Wang buxin dan* was already in existence by the late Tang or Five Dynasties period (907 – 960). [12]

3. Fojia yifang, di 3 zhong (佛家醫方第三種 Buddhist remedies, III)

Text A: Bibliotheque nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue No. P.3230

Text B: British Library, Catalogue no. S. 6107 Buddhist prescription, compiler unknown

Title supplied by editors

There are two exemplars of this text from Dunhuang, both fragmentary at the beginning and end but clearly similar in content, which we distinguish as Text A (*jia ben* 甲本) (P. 3230) and Text B (*yi ben* 乙本) (S. 6107).

The text is a prescription for a medicinal wash (xi yu yaofang 洗浴藥方) taken from the Buddhist sacred text Jin Guangming zui sheng wang jing, da bian cai tian nü pin, 15 金光明最勝王經,大辯才天女品第十五 (Suvarna prabhasa-sūtra, 15, section on the goddess Sarasvati). It is followed in the MSS by an incantation. The prescription, which is untitled, lists 32 ingredients, each with a transliteration from the Sanskrit. So far as it is possible to determine, given the fragmentary state of the MSS, this is a Tantric prescription involving the medicinal use of fragrant herbs. [13] According to Ma Jixing, it is likely to be a prescription for fragrance by Tantric sect. [14] Here I listed the medicine in Chinese and Sanskrit transliterates in the brackets. For Romanized Sanskrit, I refer to Johannes Nobel's Suvarnaprabhāsottam Sūtra: I-Tsing's Chinesise Version und Iher Tibetische Übersetzung, [15]R.E. Emmerick's version of The Sūtra of Golden Light and also refer to Chen Ming's Yindu Fanwen Yidian Yi Li Jing Hua Yanjiu (《印度梵文醫典《醫理精華》研究》A Study of the Siddhasāra):

菖蒲 (跋者 vacā)^[17] 牛黃 (瞿嚧折娜 gorocanā) Acorus calamus

Bezoar, stone from the gall bladder, bile duct or hepatic duct of an ox/water buffalo

buff 苜蓿香 (塞畢力迦 Luc

sprkkā)

Lucerne, alfalfa fragrance (Emmerick: coriander-seed^[18]), (Johannes Nobel:

麝香 (莫訶婆伽 mahābhāga) 雄黃 (末^[20] 捺眵羅 manaśilā)

合昏樹 (尸利灑 śirīsa)

白芨(因達囉喝悉哆 indrahastā) 芎藑(闍莫迦 jñāmaka)

枸杞根 (苫弭 śamī)

松脂 (室利薛瑟得迦śrī-vestaka, or śri vibhitaka) 桂皮 (咄者 tvacam)

香附子(目□ 哆 ^[21]Musta) 沉香(惡揭魯 aguru/agaru)

旃檀(旃檀, candana) 零陵香 (多揭羅 tagara)

丁子(索瞿 者?lavanga^[22]) 鬱金(茶炬麼 kunkuma)

波律膏(曷^[23]羅婆?gālava)

蔞^[24]香(捺剌柁 narada)

竹黄(鳥路戰娜 Gorocanā)

Trigonella corniculata^[19]). Musk, (Emmerick: Acacia Seeressa, p.44) and (Nobel: Moschus, p.233.) Realgar, red orpiment, (Emmerick: śāmyaka, p.44) and (Nobel: Realgar, rotes Arsen, p. 234.) Albizzia julibrissin (Emmerick: Prospopis spicigera, p.44) and Nobel: Albizzia lebbek BENTH, p.234) the tuber of hyacinth bletilla (Nobel: Bletilla hyacinthine) the rhizome of chuanxiong (ligusticum wallichii) (Nobel: conioselinum univittabum TURCZ, p. 234) the fruit of Chinese wolf berry (Nobel: Lycium chinense, p.234) rosin, turpentine, pine resin

cassia-bark tree; Chinese cinnamon tree, cassia bark the rhizome of nutgrass flatsedge (Nobel: cyperus rotundus, p.234) agalloch eaglewood (Aquilaria agallocha; Aquilaria sinensis) (Nobel: Aquilaria agallocha ROXB, p.234) sandalwood coumarouna odorata, aubl (Nobel: Tabernaemontana Coronaria Br.; melitotus officinalis LAM, p.234). jambosa carvophyllus (Nobel: Caryophyllus aromaticus L., p.234) the root-tuber of aromatic turmeric (Curcuma aromatica) (Nobel: Crocus sativus L., Curcuma longa, L., p. 234) diptero carpus (Nobel: Dryobalanops aromatica GAERTN., 'Kampfer', p.234)betel fragrance? (Nobel: nalada, Nordostachys jatamansi DC.; Bedeutung zweifelhaft, p.234. tabsheer, tabaschir, tabaxir, concretio silicea bambusae or Shiraia bambusicola (Emmerick: sarocanā, p.44. Nobel: vamśarocanā genannt, Tabaschir, p.234)

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細豆蔻 (蘇泣迷羅 round cardamom (Amomum cardamomum) (Nobel: sūksmailā, sūksmelā) Elettaria cardamomum MATON.,

p.234)

甘松 (苫^[25] 弭哆 valeriana officinalis

misganta^[26])

藿香 (鉢坦羅 patra) wrinkled giant hyssop (Agastache

rugosa)

茅根香 (濕尸囉 Andropogon muricatus (Nobel: Andropogon squarrosus, p.234.) uśīra) olibanum (Nobel: Boswellia serrata

叱脂 (薩洛計

Roxb, p.234) śallaki)

艾納 (世黎也 Blumea (Nobel: Anethusm graveolens,

p.234)śaileya)

安息香(窶具攞 benzoin (the plant, the resin, or the perfume) (Nobel: Styrax benzoin guggulu)

DRYAND, p.235)

mustard seed 芥子 (薩利殺跛

sarsapa)

馬芹 (葉婆你 Cuminum cyminum

sophaghni or sosani^[27])

龍花鬚 (那伽□^[28] juncus balticus (Nobel: Mesua ferrea

L.; p.235) nāga-keśala)

白[29]膠(薩折羅婆 Rhus semi alata (Nobel: Liquidambar

formosana HANCE. sarjarasa)

青木 (短瑟佗 aucuba japonica (Nobel: Aristolochai

kustha^[30] recurvilabra HANCE)

I copied the Chinese words from Mr. Ma Jixing's Dunhuang Gu Yi Ji Kao Shi (《敦煌古醫籍考釋》), Nanchang: Jiangxi Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1988, p.493. Due to the printing problems, it is not clear enough to identify the small characters. Then I used other editions of the Buddhist canon to work out the missing or unreadable words. The Dunhuang MS is useful to correct the mistakes of later printed Buddhist canons. But we have to be aware of the fact that in some cases, the variant words were used in the Dunhuang MS. For these transliterated words, it is difficult to collate them unless one knows the Sanskrit language and the rules of transliteration. Unfortunately, very few editions for the Buddhist canon could do this proofreading work.

4. Jiu Zhuzhong Sheng kunan jing zhong de shi zhong sibing 救諸衆生苦 難經中的十種死病(The ten fatal maladies from the Sutra of Succouring All Living Beings in Adversity)

British Library, Catalogue no. S. 3417

Jiu zhu zhong sheng kun nan jing is a Buddhist text exhorting the faithful to rid themselves of evil and follow virtue.

It names ten apparently contagious diseases which were prevalent at the time of writing, that is nübing 虐病(intermittent fever), tianxing 天行(a generic term for epidemic diseases), zubing 卒病(fatal diseases), zhongbing 腫病 (inflammatory diseases), chanbing 產病(disease of childbirth), huanfu 患腹 (suffering in the abdomen), huanyong 患癰 (boils), fenghuangbing 風黃病 (wind yellow disease, normally associated with jaundice), shuili 水痢 (water diarrhea), yanbing 眼病(diseases of the eye).

Nineteen other editions of the *Jiu Zhu Zhong Sheng (yiqie) Kunan Jing* (Sutra of succouring all living beings in [every] adversity) were discovered in the manuscript cave at Dunhuang. About 30 copies of various versions of the *Xin pusa Jing* 新菩薩經 (New Bodhisattva Sutra) were also found, all of which mention the ten diseases named here. A latest date for this MS can be set at CE 803 (nineteenth year of the Zhenyuan reign period).

5. Quan Shan jing Zhong de Qi Zhong Sibing (勸善經中的七種死病 Seven Fatal Maladies from the Sutra Urging Kindness).

Bibliothque nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue no. P. 3036

Quan shan jing 勸善經 is a Buddhist text advocating kind and virtuous behavior.

It mentions seven potentially fatal diseases which were prevalent at the time, i.e. nüe 虐 (intermittent fever), tianxing 天行(a generic term for epidemic diseases), chili 赤痢 ('red' diarrhea, probably containing blood) and baili 白痢 ('white' diarrhea), chiyan 赤眼(red eye, normally associated with conjunctivitis), shuili 水痢('water' diarrhea), nanchan 難產 (complications of childbirth) and fengbing 風病(wind illnesses).

This MS is a copy made by the monk Baoxuan 寶宣 in ce 938 (third year of the Tain Fu reign period of the Later jin dynasty) of a MS which claims to be a reproduction of a manuscript dating to ce 803 (nineteenth year of Zhenyuan reign period of the Tang dynasty). The back has a line written in the Tibetan language. The original manuscript says:

This year the weather was too hot for people to harvest because they died of diseases. The first one was intermittent fever. The second one was epidemic disease. The third was red diarrhea. The fourth one was 'white diarrhea.

6. Fo Shuo Xingshi Chao Zhong de Zhi Bing Suo Xu 佛說行事鈔中的治病 所須 (Requisites for curing disorders from Transcript of Topics in Buddhist Theory)

Bibliotheque nationale de France, Paris, Catalogue no. P. 2215

The beginning of the scroll is defective, but the end is intact. The text is the first volume of Si Fen lü Shan Fan Pu Que Xingshi Chao 四分律刪繁補缺行事鈔 (Condensed and supplemented transcript of topics in the Vinaya in four sections). It bears the subheading Liang chu zhong qing wu yi '量處重輕物儀' (Method for the allocation of 'heavy and light' objects) and concludes with the words 'Shamen sejia Dao xuan shu 沙門釋迦道宣述' (Described by the Monk Daoxuan (ce 596 – 667) and a note that the MS was written in the third year of the Long Shuo 龍朔reign period, i.e, CE 663. The three passages concerning the 'requisites for curing disorders' (zhi bing suo xu 治病所須) are valuable source material for the history of medicine. [32]

7. Fo Shuo zhi bing jing' zhong de bingming 佛說寿病經中的病名 (Medical terminology from Buddhist Sutra Explaining the Treatment of Haemorrhoids)

Intact MS
British Library, Catalogue no. S. 5379

Translation from the Sanskrit as the beginning reads: "Tripitaka Master Yijing translated at the decree."

The MS contains 23 columns of text and identifies by name at least ten types of haemorrhoids. It also includes two incantations. The abstract here is concerned with medical terms only.

NB Ishinpō 醫心方 Vol. 7, Zhi zhushi fang, 15, 治諸痔方第十五 Treatments for various hemorrhoids, 15) cites this text in substantially the same form under the heading Liao Zhibing jing 療痔病經 (Sutra Explaining the Treatment of Haemorrhoids).

8. Bai Yi Wu Ben Zhong de Yi Yong Wupin 百一物本中醫用物品 (Substances for medical application from the Book of One Hundred and One Items)

British Library, Catalogue no. S. 4636

There is a text on each side of the scroll. Of the text on the front, only the concluding part survives. It is followed by the words: bi qiu Daohui suo gong yang jing 比丘道惠所供(恭)養經and ... Xiangzhi shu 比丘項知書. On

the reversed is *Baiyi wu ben* (The Book of One Hundred and One Items), a detailed catalogue of various objects required in the monastic life. This text, which is good state of preservation, lists among other things medical and pharmaceutical requisites. It is of great value as source material for the history of medicine. [33]

III. Buddhist Medical Literature in China's Dynastic History Records and Other Sources

According to "Yiwenzhi" in *Suishu* (《隋書·藝文志》the bibliographical treatise of the *Suishu*), more than eleven books introduced from India:[34]

- Longshu Pusa Yaofang 《龍樹菩薩藥方》(Pharmaceutics of the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna), 4 fascicles
- Xiyu Zhu Xian Suo Shuo Yaofang 《西域諸賢所說藥方》(Pharmaceutics of Saints Coming from the West), 23 fascicles
- Xiyu Boluo Xian Ren Fang 《西域波羅仙人方》(Pharmaceutics Collected by Immortal Pala, 3 fascicles.
- Poluomen Zhu Xian Yaofang 《婆羅門諸賢藥方》(Pharmaceutics Collected by Brahmin Saints), 20 fascicles.
- Xiyu Mingyi Suo Ji Chongfang (《西域名醫所集方》(Pharmaceutics Collected by Renowned Physicians of Western Lands), 4 fascicles.
- Poluomen Yaofang 《婆羅門藥方》(Brahmin Pharmaceutics), 5 fascicles.
- *Qipuo Suo Shu Xianren Minglun Fang* (《耆婆所述仙人命論方》 (Prescriptions for Immortals Described by Jīvaka), 2 fascicles.
- Longshu Pusa he Xiangfa 《龍樹菩薩和香法》(Methods of the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna for Compounding Perfumes, or Incense), 2 fascicles
- Longshu Pusa Yangsheng Fang 《龍樹菩薩養生方》(Macrobiotic Prescriptions of the Bodhisattva Nāgājuna),1 fascicle
- *Qiantuoli Zhigui Fang* 《乾陀利治鬼方》(Gandhari Recipes to Treat Demons)10 fascicles
- Xin lu Qiantuoli Zhi Gui Fang 《新錄乾陀利治鬼方》The Newly Recorded Gandhari Recipes to Treat Demons), 4 fascicles

Many of these works got lost but the prescriptions were copied into other medicinal works and kept intact.

Tao Hongjing (陶弘景 452-536), the renowned Daoist and author of medical works, wrote a supplement to the prescription collection *Zhou Hou Fang* 《肘後方》 of Ge Hong (葛洪 281-341) entitled *Zhou Hou Pai Yi Fang* (《肘後百一方》Prescription Handbook Enlarged by 101 Prescriptions). In a preface dated 500 – the only portion of the work that has survived – the author acknowledged Buddhist influence. [35] He quoted words from a Buddhist scripture,

"Human body is made of four elements. One element makes 101 diseases." Tao Hongjing obviously accepted this theory and changed his book's title as One Hundred and One Prescriptions. [36]

Xintangshu (《新唐書》New History of the Tang Dynasty) records the following titles of books which were written by Buddhists.

- Zhu Yao Yi Ming (《諸葯異名》Different Medicine Names for the Same Medicines), 10 fascicles, written by Monk Xingzhi 行智
- *Hu Jushi Zhi Bai Bing Yao Fang*(《胡居士治百病要方》Prescriptions for Diseases Used by a Buddhist Devotee Hu), 3 fascicules, written by Hu Qia 胡洽
- Ji Fang(《集方》Collection of Pharmaceutics), 30 fascicules, written by Sengshen 僧深
- *Diaoqi Fang* (《調氣方》Prescriptions for Adjusting Vital Energy), 1 fascicule, written by Sengluan 僧鸞

Poets in the Tang wrote poems recording the fact that monks from India cured the cataracts of patients in that dynasty. Bai Juyi (白居易 772 – 846) wrote a poem describing the eye illness he suffered and expressed a wish to have his eyesight recovered by a surgical operation performed by doctors.

Nāgārjuna's book on eye illness is placed on the desk. I touched the empty box of eye medicine. All medicines must be useless. I must call a doctor with an art to comb it. [37]

Liu Yuxi (劉禹錫 772 – 842), a contemporary of Bai Juyi, composed a poem expressing his own or somebody's gratitude and surprise about a successful operation. The poem, entitled "The Brahman-Priest Physician Who Bestowed Eyes" reads:

Three autumns [ago] injury harmed my vision.

I wept all day; my journey had come to an end.

With both eyes dark henceforth,

I was an old man in the middle of my life.

I gazed at vermillion, gradually it turned to jade-green.

I was afraid of the sun; no longer could I endure the wind.

This master knows an art to comb it out entirely!

How did he life the covering? [38]

This technique got lost in both India and China. In 1970s -1980s, Chinese doctors tried to regain this ancient technique. They were able to treat patients who suffered from cataract. The most famous doctor was Tang Youzhi 唐由之 (1926 –), who treated top state leaders by using Chinese medicine for anti -

glaucoma surgery--Pars plana filtration technique. Later Tang led a group of doctors to visit India. They showed a film about the surgical operations with ancient Indian techniques.

Early during the reign of Emperor Gaozong (650 - 683), a doctor was asked to treat the emperor's headache with a needle. When the doctor got the permit to do it, the emperor cried, "My eyes can see things!" Obviously, the doctor used the techniques brought into China by Indians. [39]

The "Yiwenzhi" in *Songshi* (《宋史·藝文志》 the bibliographical treatise of the *History of the Song Dynasty*) records the following titles:

- *Qipo Mai Jing* (《耆婆脈經》Jīvaka on Impulse), 3 fascicules.
- *Qipo Wu Zang Lun* (《耆婆五藏論》Jīvaka on Five Internal Organs), 1 fascicle.
- *Qipo Liushisi Wen* (《耆婆六十四問》Sixty-Four Answers by Jīvaka), 1 fascicle.
- Qipo Yao Wen (《耆婆要問》Answers by Jīvaka), 1 fascicle.
- Longshu Yanlun (《龍樹眼論》 Nāgārjuna on Ophthalmology), 1 fascicle.
- Seng Zhixuan Fabeilun (《僧智宣發背論》Venerable Zhixuan on Medicine), 1 fascicle.
- Poluomen Seng Fu Xian Yao Fang (《婆羅門僧服仙茅方》Pharmaceutics of Gingseng by Brahmins), 1 fascicule.
- Seng Wen su Bi Xiao Fang (《僧文宿必效方》Effective Pharmaceutics by Monk Wensu), 3 fascicles.

The Shaolin Temple has a long history of more than 1500 years. The temple is known for its Shaolin Gongfu. The masters have not only been good at boxing, but also at medicine. In 1217 Venerable Zhilong, abbot of the Shaolin Temple, established a hospital (original Chinese word means a bureau of medicine) in the temple. The masters did not only cure disease, wounds and muscle strains of monks, but also serve the people. All medical treatment and medicines were free. But they accepted the donations of the patients. Afterwards, many temples in other areas in China followed the suite -- they set up similar bureaus of medicine to serve the local people. Thus people called such service as Chinese Buddhist medical school.

Yuan Haowen (元好問 1190 – 1257), a famous poet and writer in the Jin Dynasty (1115 – 1234), recorded the Shaolin Temple Hospital in his "Shaolin Yaoju Ji" ("少林藥局記" Note to Shaolin Temple Hospital in *Yishan Ji* (《遺山集》Collection of Works by Yuan Yishan). [41] Yuan Haowen visited the temple and was deeply moved by the spirit of Shaolin masters. Thus he wrote this traveling note which recorded how Shaolin Buddhist monks offered medical services to local people. Ven. De (僧德) and Ven. Jia (僧浹), two masters of medicines, were invited to take charge of the hospital because both were careful in their

planning and generous. They did not only provide free medical treatment, but also their room and board. Yuan Haowen spoke with deep emotions about the lack of good doctors in the area. It was never easy for Confucian scholars and Buddhists to be engaged in medical profession. Certainly, very few monks became good doctors. Yuan admired their profound knowledge of medicine, especially in the making of medicines. He compared these good medical monks to good commanders in the army. Yuan's work is an important and good source for our study of Buddhist medicine today.

At the beginning, Shaolin Temple hospital kept more than 100 secret prescriptions. With the passage of time, monks accumulated more than 1000 prescriptions until the early Republican Period in the 20th century. For more than seven hundred years, the Shaolin Temple hospital has offered good services to the Chinese. Venerable Dechan, the 36th abbot, has compiled varieties of secret prescriptions inherited from early period. He passed these treasures to his disciple Deqian and published them to the world. A number of books will be published, including *Shaolin Si Mifang Jijin* (《少林寺秘方集錦》Collection of Secret Prescriptions of Shaolin Medicine), *Shaolin Si Shangke Mifang* (《少林寺 傷科秘方》Secret Prescriptions for Traumatology), and *Shaolin Si Dian Xie Fa* (《少林寺點穴法》The Shaolin Secret Touching on Vital Points of the Adversary's Body to Cause Internal Injury).

In Longmen Cave, Luoyang (龍門石窟), there is a famous cave called Yaofang Cave (藥方洞 medical prescriptions cave). According to statistics, there are more than 127 Chinese medical prescriptions, and 27 prescriptions for acupunctures. The prescriptions could be used to cure malaria, hysteria and quench thirst and many other diseases. Some of them are still used today.

More than 62 caves in Dunhuang are related to Buddhist medicine. In Cave 285, there are seven paintings in which bodhisattvas are sitting in meditation for good health. Cave 272 shows how people were in physical exercises. A painting in Cave 296 demonstrates how a medical doctor was diagnosing the patient while Cave 217 shows an emergency treatment. These paintings clearly indicate how Buddhists attached importance to medicine to cure people.

IV. Conclusion

The arrival of Buddhism offered China, through certain concepts of Indian medicine, an opportunity to become familiar with the analytic views of the body and the world that ultimately, in the Occident, led to modern science. But for various reasons, conditions were unfavorable for the reception of these ideas. Attempts in China to awaken an understanding for the Indian doctrine of the elementary structure of the organism were evidently much too superficial, and, consequently, the analytical beginnings remained unshakably rooted in categories

of correspondence and wholeness. [42] In the past two thousand years, Chinese learned Buddhism as well as Buddhist medicine. Similar to the way that Buddhism has been sinicized, Buddhist medicines have been received, accepted and digested in Chinese scene.

Medicine always plays an important and easy way for the propagation of any religions in China. Chinese indigenous Daoism was an example. The early Daoists practiced fangshu, the magic arts, to exorcise evil spirits and cure the patients. Other religions followed the Daoists' suit. We can find the same thing with Christianity.

Buddhism attaches great importance to the achievement of both spiritual and physical salvation. The purification of mind and the physical transcendence of the body aim at improving a sound mind and a sound body. In general, there are two aspects in which Buddhism has exerted influence on Chinese medicine. One is medical ethics and the other is psycho-therapy. The former is fully demonstrated by the great compassionate love and strong sense of rescuing the masses from sufferings. The latter, the psychotherapy, aims to emancipate people from secular troubles. The teachings of the Buddha help sentient beings to cure their mental traumas. In addition, the Buddhist doctrines emphasize the spiritual cultivation, which is beneficial to a sound mind and sound body. It is natural to find that many Buddhists enjoy longevity because they are able to keep their mind in a healthy state.

The system of healing introduced by Buddhism differed from purely Chinese systems. The integral tradition of Indian medicine, which combined secular elemental doctrine with aspects of demonology, mythology, and moral-macrocosmic concepts, entered China with traveling monks and the texts they brought with them. But like the medicine of systematic correspondences, for instance, Buddhist medicine also combined a primarily non-normative science, that is, the doctrine of Four Elements – which, at least, superficially, resembled the Chinese doctrine of the Five Phases -- with ideas that derived directly from the normative moral system of Buddhist religion. An understanding of Buddhist medical writings in China is impossible without a knowledge of the basic concepts of Buddhist religion. [43]

Buddhism has made great contributions to human health. From the early times, the Buddha taught people how to get released from sufferings. When we view his teachings in the modern medical perspective, we can see his profound knowledge and wisdom. The treasures of Buddhist medicine remain to be further explored.

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國文化》). Beijing: Kunlun Chubanshe.

Notes

^[1] Fangshi方士were gentlemen of remedies in ancient China. It is a term which covers all kinds of people who were proficient in a great variety of arts such as astrology, astronomy, spirit healing, prophecy, geomancy, breathing and sex cultivation, alchemy, the science of calendars, etc. They were in possession of prescriptions for attaining immortality. The fang 方 refers to pharmacological prescriptions, to divination or ritual interdictions – a collection of heterodox arts. The status of the scholars physicians was largely founded on the possession of fang. Indeed the fangshi 方士 might be any of those people who generated, used or sold skills based on the myriad techniques labeled fang. These people made contributions to ancient Chinese medical science, chemistry, astronomy and military science. Some fangshi showed concern for the society by practicing medicine for the suffering patients.

[2] Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 1985), p.148.

[3] Li Jingwei, Zhongwai Yixue Jiaoliu Shi (《中外醫學交流史》A Chinese-Foreign Exchange History of Medicine), Changsha: Hunan Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1998, pp.18-19. [4] This scripture is not found in Chinese Buddhist canon. According to Ven. Yanwang, who is believed to be the transmitter of this scripture in Shaolin Temple, China, there exist scores of editions of this scripture. The word "yi" (易) means to change, and the word "jin" (筋) refers to muscle or tendon. Therefore, the title of this scripture means to transform the muscle. There are many stories about this scripture. According to the story from Shaolin Temple, about 1500 years ago, Bodhidharma came to Mount Songshan and faced the wall for nine years. Monks discovered an iron box after Bodhidharma's departure. They found two scriptures in the box. Both scriptures were written in Sanskrit language. Venerable Huike, the Second Patriarch, the only person who knew Sanskrit in the temple, left this scripture in temple and took the other to travel around. Other monks in Shaolin knew a little Sanskrit and began to offer their versions. One monk took this Scripture to Transform the Muscles to Mount Emei. He met a monk named Pramiti from India and asked him for help. Thus came into existence the Chinese version of this scripture on transforming the muscles.

http://edu.people.com.cn/BIG5/1054/4081222.html

[5] Li Liangsong and Guo Hongtao, Zhongguo Chuantong Wenhua yu Yixue (《中國傳統 文化與醫學》Traditional Chinese Culture and Medicine). Xiamen: Xiamen Daxue Chubanshe, 1990. p. 29

- [6] Yijing, A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas. Translated by Li Rongxi, (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2000), pp.118
- [7] This scripture is not recorded in Chinese Buddhist canon. It was probably not translated into Chinese language. See Wang Bangwei, Nanhai Ji Gui Nei Fa Zhuan Jiaozhu (《南海寄歸内法傳校註》A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas with Annotations), Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1995, pp.157 – 158.
- [8] Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.xvii.
- [9] Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.428.
- [10] Chen Ming, "Suitang Wudai Shiqi Xiyu Wailai de Yanke Zhishi jiqi Yingyong," 隋唐 五代西域外來的眼科知識及其應用in Dunhuang Tulufan Yanjiu (《敦煌吐魯番研究》), volume 8, Bejing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2005), pp.150 – 151.
- [111] Ma Jixing 馬繼興ed., Dunhuang Gu Yi Ji Kaoshi (《敦煌古醫書籍考釋》Annotations on the Ancient Medical Texts from the Dunhuang Cave Library). Nanchang: Jiangxi Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1988, p. 492.
- [12] Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.429.
- [13] Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.428
- [14] Ma Jixing 馬繼興ed., Dunhuang Gu Yi Ji Kaoshi (《敦煌古醫書籍考釋》 Annotations on the Ancient Medical Texts from the Dunhuang Cave Library). Nanchang: Jiangxi Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1988, pp. 493 – 494.
- Johannes Nobel, Suvarnaprabhāsottam Sūtra: I-Tsing's Chinesise Version und Iher Tibetische Übersetzung (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), pp.233 234.
- [16] Chen Ming陳明, Yindu Fanwen Yidian Yi Li Jing Hua Yanjiu (《印度梵文醫典《醫 理精華》研究》A Study of the Siddhasāra), Beijing; Zhonghua Shuju, 2002, p.102 – 107. Chen quoted the Sanskrit words from Indian scholar Bagchi's Suvamaprabhāsasūtram, (Buddhist Sanskrit Text - No. 8), The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit learning, Darbhanga, 1967.
- Here the Qianlong Edition of the Buddhist Canon engraved in the 1733 1738 prints the word 跋 (ba) as 跛 (bo). By using Dunhuang MS, we can easily make certain the former 跋 is correct.
- [18] R.E. Emmerick, The Sūtra of Golden Light: Being a Translation of the Suvarnabhāsottamasūtra (London: Luzac & Company LTD, 1970), p. 44.
- [19] Johannes Nobel, Suvarnaprabhāsottama-sūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. I-tsing's chinesische Version und Ihre Tibetische Übersetzung (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1958), p.233.
- [20] The Qianlong Edition prints this word 末 (mo) as 未 (wei).
- [21] The missing word should be 窣 (su), CF Taishō Edition, No 665, p.434. Cong Chunyu made up the missing character with 率(shuai). See Cong Chunyu叢春雨,

Dunhuang Zhongvivao Quanshu (《敦煌中醫藥全書》Complete Medical Works

- Discovered in Dunhuang Caves), Beijing: Zhongyi Guji Chubanshe, 1994, pp.695.
- [22] Chen Ming陳明,*Yindu Fanwen Yidian Yi Li Jing Hua Yanjiu* (《印度梵文醫典《醫 理精華》研究》A Study of the Siddhasāra). Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2002, p.109. This medicine is not recorded in The Sūtra of Golden Light. Dr. Chen is not certain whether layanga is the transliterate word of 索瞿者(sugguzhe) because the difference in pronunciation is striking.
- [23] This word曷in the Taishō Edition is 揭.

- [24] This word "蔞" as printed in Ma Jixing's *Dunhuang Gu Yi Ji Kaoshi* (《敦煌古醫書籍 考釋》Annotations on the Ancient Medical Texts from the Dunhuang Cave Library), Nanchang: Jiangxi Kexue Jishu Chubanshe, 1988, p. 493 should be corrected as "葦"(wei). I checked *the Koryo Edition, the Taishō Edition, the Jin Edition, the Puning Edition* and *the Qianlong Edition and* found this word "葦" has been used. According to *Bencao Gangmu* (《本草綱目》Compendium of Materia Medica), the word should be "葦" (wei). See *Bencao Gangmu* (《本草綱目》Compendium of Materia Medica), juan 12, volume 2, Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 1983, p. 105.
- [25] The Koryo Edition, the Taishō Edition and the Jin Edition print this word苫 (zhan) as 苫 (ku). These three editions shared the same master copy. The Qianlong Edition puts it in different order as 弭苫哆.
- [26] CF the Taishō Edition, volume 16, p.434c, footnote 33. Dr. Chen quotes Lauffer's study by saying that the Sanskrit transliterate word for 甘松 should be māmsī, or nalada, or jatā. Its Latin name is nardostachys jatamansi. See Chen's book, pp. 110 -111. [27] CF the Taishō Edition, volume 16, p.434c, footnote 33.
- [28] The missing words should be 雞薩羅 (jisaluo) according to the Korvo Edition.
- [29] Suvarnaprabhāsottama-sūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. I-tsing's chinesische Version und Ihre Tibetische Übersetzung prints this character 白(meaning white) as 白(self). See p.235.
- $^{[30]}$ The word 矩(ju) is used in the Koryo Edition, the Jin Edition, the Qianlong Edition and Taishō Edition, instead of 短 (duan). The four editions of the Buddhist canon print the word 佗 (tuo) as 侘 (cha). The Puning Edition prints this word as 它 (ta).
- ^[31] Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.430. ^[32] Ibid., pp. 431 432.
- Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen, *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), p.432.
- [34] Sui Shu (《隋書》History of the Sui Dynasty), volume 2, (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1973), p.1047-1049.
- Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p.149.
- [36] Xue Keqiao 薛克翹, Fojiao yu Zhongguo Wenhua (《佛教與中國文化》Buddhism and Chinese Culture). Beijing: Kunlun Chubanshe, 2006, pp.330 331.
- [37] Quantangshi (《全唐詩》Collections of Poems in the Tang Dynasty), juan 44
- [38] Paul U. Unschuld, *Medicine in China: History of Ideas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p.146.
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