

THE PICTURE OF THE TAOIST GENII PRINTED ON THE COVER of this book is part of a painted temple scroll, recent but traditional, given to Mr Brian Harland in Szechuan province (1946). Concerning these four divinities, of respectable rank in the Taoist bureaucracy, the following particulars have been handed down. The title of the first of the four signifies 'Heavenly Prince', that of the other three 'Mysterious Commander'.

At the top, on the left, is Liu *Thien Chün*, Comptroller-General of Crops and Weather. Before his deification (so it was said) he was a rain-making magician and weather forecaster named Liu Chün, born in the Chin dynasty about +340. Among his attributes may be seen the sun and moon, and a measuring-rod or carpenter's square. The two great luminaries imply the making of the calendar, so important for a primarily agricultural society, the efforts, ever renewed, to reconcile celestial periodicities. The carpenter's square is no ordinary tool, but the gnomon for measuring the lengths of the sun's solstitial shadows. The Comptroller-General also carries a bell because in ancient and medieval times there was thought to be a close connection between calendrical calculations and the arithmetical acoustics of bells and pitch-pipes.

At the top, on the right, is Wên Yuan Shuai, Intendant of the Spiritual Officials of the Sacred Mountain, Thai Shan. He was taken to be an incarnation of one of the Hour-Presidents (Chia Shen), i.e. tutelary deities of the twelve cyclical characters (see Vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 440). During his earthly pilgrimage his name was Huan Tzu-Yü and he was a scholar and astronomer in the Later Han (b. +142). He is seen holding an armillary ring.

Below, on the left, is Kou Yuan Shuai, Assistant Secretary of State in the Ministry of Thunder. He is therefore a late emanation of a very ancient god, Lei Kung. Before he became deified he was Hsin Hsing, a poor woodcutter, but no doubt an incarnation of the spirit of the constellation Kou-Chhen (the Angular Arranger), part of the group of stars which we know as Ursa Minor. He is equipped with hammer and chisel.

Below, on the right, is Pi Yuan Shuai, Commander of the Lightning, with his flashing sword, a deity with distinct alchemical and cosmological interests. According to tradition, in his early life he was a countryman whose name was Thien Hua. Together with the colleague on his right, he controlled the Spirits of the Five Directions.

Such is the legendary folklore of common men canonised by popular acclamation. An interesting scroll, of no great artistic merit, destined to decorate a temple wall, to be looked upon by humble people, it symbolises something which this book has to say. Chinese art and literature have been so profuse, Chinese mythological imagery so fertile, that the West has often missed other aspects, perhaps more important, of Chinese civilisation. Here the graduated scale of Liu Chün, at first sight unexpected in this setting, reminds us of the ever-present theme of quantitative measurement in Chinese culture; there were rain-gauges already in the Sung (+12th century) and sliding calipers in the Han (+1st). The armillary ring of Huan Tzu-Yü bears witness that Naburiannu and Hipparchus, al-Naqqāsh and Tycho, had worthy counterparts in China. The tools of Hsin Hsing symbolise that great empirical tradition which informed the work of Chinese artisans and technicians all through the ages.





SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA

Among the Chinese frequent examples are to be found of discoveries, especially in the arts, which other nations made independently whereas the Chinese had come upon them long before.

WILLEM TEN RHIJNE

De Arthritide (+1683)

And if we look so far as the Sun-rising, and hear *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle and *Island* thereof, wee shall finde that those Nations have sent out, and not received, lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civill, the farther West the more salvage.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH
'History of the World', +1614 (+1652)
Pt. I, Bk. 1, ch. 7, § 10, sect. 4, p. 98

I take my own intelligence as my teacher.

A-NI-KO, master-artisan of Nepal, addressing the emperor Shih Tsu, +1263 (Yuan Shih, ch. 203, p. 12a)

I hear, and I forget.

I see, and I remember.

I do, and I understand.

Ten thousand words are not worth one seeing.

Chinese proverbs.

I am not yet so lost in lexicography, as to forget that words are the daughters of earth, and that things are the sons of heaven.

SAMUEL JOHNSON

Preface to his 'Dictionary of the English Language' (+1755)

By studying the organic patterns of heaven and earth a fool can become a sage.

So by watching the times and seasons of natural phenomena we can become true philosophers.

LI CHHÜAN Yin Fu Ching (c. +735)

中國科學技術史

李约瑟肴

其朝鼎



SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{Y}$

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T₀ WU HSÜEH-CHOU

sometime Director of the Chemical Institute of Academia Sinica

and

CHANG TZU-KUNG

sometime Chemical Adviser to the National Resources
Commission

in warmest recollection of long and enlightening discussions at Kunming and Nan-wên-chhüan 1942 to 1946

as also in memory of an earlier friend

LOUIS RAPKINE

sometime Professor of Biochemistry at the Institut de Biologie Physico-Chimique, Paris

in our youth colleague at the Marine Station at Roscoff compass-needle for truth and social justice Spinoza redivivus

this volume is dedicated





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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the text and footnotes. For abbreviations used for journals and similar publications in the bibliographies, see pp. 511ff.

В	Bretschneider, E. (1), Botanicon Sinicum.
CC	Chia Tsu-Chang & Chia Tsu-Shan (1), Chung-Kuo Chih Wu Thu Chien (Illustrated Dictionary of Chinese Flora), 1958.
CCIF	Sun Ssu-Mo, Chhien Chin I Fang (Supplement to the Thousand Golden Remedies), between +660 and +680.
CCYF	Sun Ssu-Mo, Chhien Chin Yao Fang (Thousand Golden Remedies), between +650 and +659.
CHS	Pan Ku (and Pan Chao), Chhien Han Shu (History of the Former Han Dynasty), c. +100.
СЈС	Juan Yuan, Chhou Jen Chuan (Biographies of Mathematicians and Astronomers), + 1799. With continuations by Lo Shih-Lin, Chu Kho-Pao and Huang Chung-Chün. In HCCC, chs. 159ff.
CLPT	Thang Shen-Wei et al. (ed.), Chêng Lei Pên Tshao (Reorganised Pharmacopoeia), ed. of +1249.
CSHK	Yen Kho-Chün (ed.), Chhüan Shang-Ku San-Tai Chhin Han San-Kuo Liu Chhao Wên (Complete Collection of prose literature (including fragments) from remote antiquity through the Chhin and Han Dynasties, the Three Kingdoms, and the Six Dynasties), 1836.
CTPS	Fu Chin-Chhüan (ed.), Chêng Tao Pi Shu Shih Chung (Ten Types of Secret Books on the Verification of the Tao), early 19th cent.
EB	Encyclopaedia Britannica.
HCCC	Yen Chieh (ed.), <i>Huang Ching Chieh</i> (monographs by Chhing scholars on classical subjects), 1829, contd. 1860.
HCSS	Hsiu Chen Shih Shu (Ten Books on the Regeneration of the Primary Vitalities, physiological alchemy), c. +1250.
HFT	Han Fei, Han Fei Tzu (Book of Master Han Fei), early -3rd cent.
HHPT	Su Ching et al. (ed.), Hsin Hsiu Pên Tshao (Newly Improved Pharmacopoeia), +659.
HHS	Fan Yeh & Ssuma Piao, Hou Han Shu (History of the Later Han Dynasty), +450.
HNT	Liu An et al., Huai Nan Tzu (Book of the Prince of Huai-Nan), - 120.
ICK	Taki Mototane, I Chi Khao (Iseki-kō) (Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Medical Literature [Lost or Still Existing]), finished c. 1825, pr. 1831; repr. Tokyo 1933, Shanghai 1936.



xxvi	LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
ITCM	Wang Khên-Thang & Chu Wên-Chen (ed.), <i>I Thung Chêng Mo Chhüan</i> (Complete Collection of Works on Medicine and Sphygmology), +1601.
K	Karlgren, B. (1), <i>Grammata Serica</i> (dictionary giving the ancient forms and phonetic values of Chinese characters).
KCCY	Chhen Yuan-Lung, Ko Chih Ching Yuan (Mirror of Scientific and Technological Origins), an encyclopaedia of +1735.
KHTT	Chang Yü-Shu (ed.), Khang-Hsi Tzu Tien (Imperial Dictionary of the Khang-Hsi reign-period), +1716.
Kr	Kraus, P., Le Corpus des Écrits Jābiriens (Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte, 1943, vol. 44, pp. 1-214).
LPC	Lung Po-Chien (1), Hsien Tshun Pên Tshao Shu Lu (Bibliographical Study of Extant Pharmacopoeias and Treatises on Natural History from all Periods).
LS	Tsêng Tshao (ed.), Lei Shuo (Classified Commonplace-Book), + 1136.
MCPT	Shen Kua, Mêng Chhi Pi Than (Dream Pool Essays), +1089.
N	Nanjio, B., A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist
MOOG	Tripitaka, with index by Ross (3).
NCCS	Hsü Kuang-Chhi, Nung Chêng Chhüan Shu (Complete Treatise on Agriculture), +1639.
NCNA	New China News Agency.
PPT/NP	Ko Hung, Pao Phu Tzu (Nei Phien) (Book of the Preservation-of-Solidarity Master; Inner Chapters), c. +320.
PPT/WP	Idem (Wai Phien), the Outer Chapters.
PTKM	Li Shih-Chen, Pên Tshao Kang Mu (The Great Pharmacopoeia), + 1596.
PWYF	Chang Yü-Shu (ed.), Phei Wên Yün Fu (encyclopaedia), +1711.
R	Read, Bernard E. et al., Indexes, translations and précis of certain chapters of the Pên Tshao Kang Mu of Li Shih-Chen. If the reference is to a plant see Read (1); if to a mammal see Read (2); if to a bird see Read (3); if to a reptile see Read (4 or 5); if to a mollusc see Read (5); if to a fish see Read (6); if to an insect see Read (7).
RBS	Revue Bibliographique de Sinologie.
RP	Read & Pak (1), Index, translation and précis of the mineralogical chapters in the <i>Pên Tshao Kang Mu</i> .
S/	Stein Collection of Tunhuang MSS, British Museum, London, catalogue number.
SC	Ssuma Chhien, Shih Chi (Historical Records), c90.
SF	Thao Tsung-I (ed.), Shuo Fu (Florilegium of (Unofficial) Literature), c. + 1368.
SHC	Shan Hai Ching (Classic of the Mountains and Rivers), Chou and C/Han.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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SIC	Okanishi Tameto, Sung I-Chhien I Chi Khao (Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Chinese Medical Literature in and before the Sung Period). Jen-min Wei-shêng, Peking, 1958.
SKCS	Ssu Khu Chhüan Shu (Complete Library of the Four Categories), + 1782; here the reference is to the tshung-shu collection printed as a selection from one of the seven imperially commissioned MSS.
SKCS/TMTY	Chi Yün (ed.), Ssu Khu Chhüan Shu Tsung Mu Thi Yao (Analytical Catalogue of the Complete Library of the Four Categories), + 1782; the great bibliographical catalogue of the imperial MS. collection ordered by the Chhien-Lung emperor in + 1772.
SNPTC	Shen Nung Pên Tshao Ching (Classical Pharmacopoeia of the Heavenly Husbandman), C/Han.
SSIW	Toktaga (Tho-Tho) et al.; Huang Yü-Chi et al. & Hsü Sung et al. Sung Shih I Wên Chih, Pu, Fu Phien (A Conflation of the Bibliography and Appended Supplementary Bibliographies of the History of the Sung Dynasty). Com. Press, Shanghai, 1957.
STTH	Wang Chhi, San Tshai Thu Hui (Universal Encyclopaedia), + 1609.
SYEY	Mei Piao, Shih Yao Erh Ya (The Literary Expositor of Chemical Physic; or, Synonymic Dictionary of Minerals and Drugs), +806.
TCTC	Ssuma Kuang, Tzu Chih Thung Chien (Comprehensive Mirror (of History) for Aid in Government), +1084.
TFYK	Wang Chhin-Jo & Yang I (eds.), <i>Tshê Fu Yuan Kuei</i> (Lessons of the Archives, encyclopaedia), +1013.
TKKW	Sung Ying-Hsing, <i>Thien Kung Khai Wu</i> (The Exploitation of the Works of Nature), +1637.
TMITC	Li Hsien (ed.), Ta Ming I Thung Chih (Comprehensive Geography of the Ming Empire), +1461.
TPHMF	Thai-Phing Hui Min Ho Chi Chü Fang (Standard Formularies of the (Government) Great Peace People's Welfare Pharmacies), +1151.
TPKC	Li Fang (ed.), <i>Thai-Phing Kuang Chi</i> (Copious Records collected in the Thai-Phing reign-period), +978.
TPYL	Li Fang (ed.), <i>Thai-Phing Yü Lan</i> (the Thai-Phing reign-period (Sung) Imperial Encyclopaedia), +983.
TSCC	Chhen Mêng-Lei et al. (ed.), Thu Shu Chi Chhêng (the Imperial Encyclopaedia of +1726). Index by Giles, L. (2). References to 1884 ed. given by chapter (chüan) and page. References to 1934 photolitho reproduction given by tshê (vol.) and page.
TSCCIW	Liu Hsü et al. & Ouyang Hsiu et al.; Thang Shu Ching Chi I Wên Ho
	Chih. A conflation of the Bibliographies of the Chiu Thang Shu

by Liu Hsü (H/Chin, +945) and the *Hsin Thang Shu* by Ouyang Hsiu & Sung Chhi (Sung, +1061). Com. Press, Shanghai, 1956.



xxviii	LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
TSFY	Ku Tsu-Yu, Tu Shih Fang Yü Chi Yao (The Historian's Geographical Companion), begun before +1666, finished before +1692, but not printed till the end of the eighteenth century (1796 to 1821).
TT	Wieger, L. (6), <i>Taoïsme</i> , vol. 1, Bibliographie Générale (catalogue of the works contained in the Taoist Patrology, <i>Tao Tsang</i>).
TTC	Tao Tê Ching (Canon of the Tao and its Virtue).
TTCY	Ho Lung-Hsiang & Phêng Han-Jan (ed.). Tao Tsang Chi Yao (Essentials of the Taoist Patrology), pr. 1906.
TW	Takakusu, J. & Watanabe, K., Tables du Taishō Issaikyō (nouvelle édition (Japonaise) du Canon bouddhique chinoise), Indexcatalogue of the Tripiṭaka.
V	Verhaeren, H. (2) (ed.), Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Pé-T'ang (the Pei Thang Jesuit Library in Peking).
WCTY/CC	Tsêng Kung-Liang (ed.), Wu Ching Tsung Yao (Chhien Chi), military encyclopaedia, first section, + 1044.
YCCC	Chang Chün-Fang (ed.), Yün Chi Chhien (Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel), Taoist collection, +1022.
YHL	Thao Hung-Ching (attrib.), Yao Hsing Lun (Discourse on the Natures and Properties of Drugs).
YHSF	Ma Kuo-Han (ed.), Yü Han Shan Fang Chi I Shu (Jade-Box Mountain Studio collection of (reconstituted and sometimes fragmentary) Lost Books), 1853.



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Theories.

