

(angespielt wird auf die 1968 von der JAMA initiierte Diskussion der Todesdefinition). Der «Hirntod» – bis heute umstritten, wie die aktuelle Debatte im Deutschen Ethikrat zeigt (Februar 2015) – wurde vom Ethik-Komitee der Harvard Medical School zunächst als «irreversible coma» eingestuft. Es war der Ausgangspunkt einer endlosen Debatte, bei der, wie auch dieses Buch zeigt, das letzte Wort immer noch nicht gesprochen ist. Anhand einiger prägnanter Beispiele wird die inzwischen gut erforschte Geschichte der christlichen *ars moriendi* aufgezeigt (Luigi Canetti), die im Wesentlichen von Paulus, aber auch von den Kirchenvätern konzipiert wurde. Schon im Stil des Sterbens, in der Aura des Todes zeigt sich demnach die Moral des Individuums. Heilige sterben anders als Menschen, welche ihr Leben lang nur auf Reichtum setzten oder das Böse symbolisierten. Besonders gefürchtet war die *mors improvisa* (Maria Pia Donato), das Sterben ohne den sakramentalen Beistand eines Klerikers, das schreckliche Qualen im Jenseits suggerierte. Die Furcht vor dem Scheintod stellte ein weiteres Schreckensszenario dar. Der päpstliche Leibarzt Giovanni Lancisi schrieb um 1707 ein Werk *De subitaneis mortibus*, das die Mythen und Theorien des spontanen Sterbens rein naturwissenschaftlich analysierte. Die aufgeklärte Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhundert sah engste Zusammenhänge zwischen Elektrizität und Physiologie. Elektrische Potentiale galten als Bedingungen tierischen und menschlichen Lebens, was diverse Forschungen nahelegte, die letztlich über Galvani zu Emil du Bois-Reymond und der modernen Elektrophysiologie führten.

Die Psychologisierung des Todes – wenn auch unter säkularen Vorzeichen – war vor allem für das frühe 20. Jahrhundert charakteristisch. Physiologie und Philosophie versuchten das Leben gemeinsam zu klären. Der Italiener Pietro Paolo Fusco entwarf eine «Psychologia della morte», welche die letzten Lebenszeichen und Entdeckungen wissenschaftlich zu klären suchte. Bildgebende Verfahren spielten schon damals eine wichtige Rolle – und wurden bis heute immer weiter verfeinert («Neuro-Imaging»). Wie Dario De Sanctis zeigt, gab es nach 1900 in der europäischen Wissenschaftsszene, was die Erforschung des Sterbens betraf, regelrechte Modewellen. Voller Ehrgeiz und ohne Skrupel versuchte man Verbrecherleichen unmittelbar nach der Exekution zu analysieren, wobei die Erfahrungen mit Gefallenen und Verwundeten des Ersten Weltkriegs die Forschung weiter anspornten, aber auch an ungeahnte Grenzen führten.

Das Buch mit dem eher bescheidenen Titel *Storia della definizione di morte* bietet – nicht nur diachron – eine umfassende Information über Definitionen, Konzepte, Forschungsmethoden und (naturgemäß in Grenzen) die philosophische Akzeptanz des Todes sowie den sozialen, psychologischen und religiösen Umgang mit diesem heiklen Thema, das den Menschen des 21. Jahrhunderts nicht weniger erschüttert als jenen des Mittelalters.

Klaus Bergdolt, Universität Köln (DE)

Unschuld, Paul Ulrich; Zheng, Jinsheng: **Chinese Traditional Healing**. The Berlin Collections of Manuscript Volumes from the 16th through the Early 20th Century. Leiden, Brill, 2012. 3 vols. xx+2828 p. Ill. (Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series, 10). € 419.–. ISBN 978-90-04-22525-1 (hardback, set), 978-90-04-22909-9 (e-book)

Manuscript sources for the history of Chinese medicine fall roughly into three main groups: (a) archaeologically discovered manuscripts on bamboo slips, wooden tablets or silk fabric, from the formative period of Chinese medicine, dating from the third century BCE to the first century CE,¹ (b) medieval manuscripts mainly on paper, found at Dunhuang, dating from the Tang to Song dynasties;² and, last but not least, (c) the Berlin collection of manuscripts of 881 handwritten texts, dating to the past 400 years, and now housed at the *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (main part), and the *Ethnologisches Museum* (58 manuscripts). Research on the first two groups has intensified in recent years, as more and more technical texts covering juristical, mantical, divinatory, philosophical and medical subjects were excavated, and as the Dunhuang materials were studied in international projects.³

The work under review gives a comprehensive overview and annotated catalogue of the third group of diverse and more recent materials collected by Paul Unschuld. Volume One contains an “Introductory Essay” of 200 pages, together with black-and-white sample pages of the manuscripts (35 figures),⁴ which are followed by very detailed indices. There is an English index, a Chinese pinyin index (covering 1. Titles of books, chapters, sections, and poems; 2. Names of persons, firms and organizations; 3. Names of recipes/prescriptions/formulas/spells; 4. Names of pharmaceutical substances; 5. Technical terminology; 6. Place names; 7. Designations of health problems; 8. Acupuncture/moxibustion terminology, and 9. Phrases/quotes/varia), as well as an Index of Chinese recipe names.

The authors use the heuristics of “mainstream” or “regular” medicine in contrast to “folk medicine” in order to deal with plurality and the diverse and manifold historical developments, and at times assign class-specific actors (like “common folk” tied to so-called “nontheoretical” recipes, p. 21) to certain text-specific features found in source texts. One can certainly put in doubt the analytical value of such sweeping dichotomies for the historical treatment of the interaction of social groups over long time periods.⁵

1 See Unschuld, Paul Ulrich and Zheng, Jinsheng: “Manuscripts as sources in the history of Chinese medicine.” Translated from German by Mitch Cohen. In *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang medical manuscripts*, eds. Vivienne Lo and Christopher Cullen. London; New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2005 (Needham Research Institute Series), 19–44; Pian, Yuqian 駢宇騫, Duan, Shu’an 段書安: *Ershi shiji chutu jianbo zongshu* 二十世紀出土簡帛綜述. Beijing; Wenwu 文物, 2006, 280–294.

2 See Despeux, Catherine (sous la direction de): *Médecine, religion et société dans la Chine médiévale: Étude de manuscrits chinois de Dunhuang et de Turfan*. Paris; Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2010. 3 vols., and the website of the International Dunhuang Project at <http://idp.bl.uk/>.

3 Recent overviews include Lo, Vivienne: “But is it [History of] Medicine? Twenty Years in the History of the Healing Arts of China.” In *Social History of Medicine*, 2009, 22.2, 283–303, and Pfister, Rudolf: “Körper- und Medizingeschichte des alten und mittelalterlichen Chinas, 1997–2007.” In *Gesnerus*, 2008, 65.1/2, 86–107.

4 A leaflet informs the reader of the reviewed work that Cygnus Publishing Co. offers a print-on-demand, soft bound, four-volume collection with colour scans of sample manuscript pages (1864 pages in all). Contact address is uhu.mun@gmx.de. These scans are meant to inform researchers about specific features before the inspection of the manuscripts in Berlin.

5 For a more complex approach and elaboration of the early and medieval constitution of a medical tradition, see now Brown, Miranda: *The Art of Medicine in Early China. The Ancient and Medieval Origins of a Modern Archive*. New York; Cambridge University Press, 2015.

The subtitle of the reviewed work implies “manuscript volumes from the 16th through the early 20th century”. Indeed only late copies of 16th century printed texts can be found in the Berlin collection, as actual copying dates start in the 18th century (e.g. ms. 8055 in a copy of 1731, of which extant print editions date to 1829, see pp. 864–868), and the main bulk was copied in the 19th and early 20th century. The careful collation of manuscripts with counterparts in printed editions remains a research desideratum.

Recently the study of Chinese blockprint illustrations and diagrams in technical texts, as well as the visual anthropology of medical illustration gained traction.⁶ The Berlin collection adds much valuable material to this research field. The diversity of pictorial diagrams is considerable (see sample pages on pp. 204–232). We find in 214 manuscripts illustrations of lamp-wick cauterization, smallpox, pulse lore, acupuncture points, throat and skin conditions, ulcers, pediatric and adult massage, tongue diagnosis, eye diseases, fetal development, etc. Notably, in the late imperial manuscripts survived remnants of apotropaic healing.⁷ 127 manuscripts contain at least one or up to 238 (ms. 8070) ink drawings of talismans (*fu* 符, e.g. p. 206, fig. 9, ms. 8012). These are composite symbols, made up of Chinese characters, which can be used in spirit-writing rituals and, when they are written on paper and burnt to ashes, serve as orally administered remedies.⁸

The manuscripts’ writing style varies with the major groups of authors producing them, i.e. the medical recipes of physicians, the medication lists of pharmacists, or the itinerant physicians conveying insider knowledge. The discussion of linguistic features of the medical manuscripts should not miss (a) the use of popular and regional expressions for pharmaceutical substances in “folk manuscripts” (pp. 144–149), (b) the special writing forms of numbers in prescriptions (pp. 149–154, figs. 3–6), or (c) the use of argot by itinerant physicians (pp. 75–87, 97–99).⁹

Contents with considerable news value: Deceit and fraud are hardly treated in the historiography of Chinese medicine. The rare find of the first roll of the private manuscript of the otherwise unknown Tang Tingguang (and others), called by the editors “hand-copied collection of medical formulas” (ms. 8051¹⁰, pp. 58–65, 835–857), will certainly be of foremost interest for those trying to get a pragmatical picture of the trade secrets available towards the end of the 19th century. This collection of recipes

6 See Bray, Francesca; Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, Vera; Métaillé, Georges (eds.): *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China. The Warp and the Weft*. Leiden, Brill, 2007. (Sinica Leidensia, 79). Medical illustrations are treated in Wang, Shumin 王淑民, Luo, Weiqian 羅維前 (eds.): *Xing xiang Zhongyi 形象中醫: Zhongyi lishi tuxiang yanjiu 中醫歷史圖像研究*. Beijing, Renmin weisheng, 2007.

7 For the medieval uses of talismans, see Bumbacher, Stephan Peter: *Empowered Writing: Exorcistic and Apotropaic Rituals in Medieval China*. St. Petersburg, FL, Three Pines Press, 2012, and Mollier, Christine: *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2008.

8 For the use of talismans in medicine, see Strickmann, Michel: *Chinese magical medicine*. Edited by Bernard Faure. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2002, pp. 123–193; 4 *Ensigillation. A Buddho-Taoist Technique of Exorcism*.

9 The authors make use of the interesting work on argot by Xue, Mo 雪漠 (pseudonym): *Jianghu neimu heihuakao 江湖內幕黑話考* [Study on the secret trade argot of itinerant traders]. Shanghai, Shanghai yiwu, 1991.

10 Digital copy at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000603200000000>.

copied from many sources and written over a period of about hundred years by three generations of physicians describes with considerable detail some of the practical tricks used (pp. 850–856). One could omit effective ingredients at the beginning of the cure, upgrade recipes by more expensive ingredients, or even fake expensive ingredients; or write ‘courtesy prescriptions’ (placebos, with no curative effect), and use various other strategies to increase profits. A physician would buy necessary ingredients from two or three apothecaries in order to keep his formulas secret. Disease and drug names, and further technical terms identify the manuscript’s writers as Cantonese, i.e. as having local characteristics of Southern China. The rich personal notes to individual recipes on clinical practice and succinct introductory ‘discourses’ that theorize symptoms indicate considerable training and expertise.

Ten manuscripts were identified as forming the literary companions of itinerant physicians.¹¹ A short overview of their rhetorical style, specific physiological notions, command of theoretical knowledge and guild regulations is given (pp. 82–106).

The main bulk consists of an exhaustive survey of the manuscripts (Volume Two with mss. 8001–8449, and Volume Three with mss. 8450–48963) in overwhelming detail. Entries for each manuscript consist of Title; ID; Type; Appearance; Measure; Binding; Cover; Title page; Paper; No. of Volumes; No. of Pages; Layout; L./P., Ch./L.; Diagrams; Amulets; First Line Main Text; Final Line Main Text; Tabooed Characters; Additions; Author of Text; Year of Text; Name of Copyist; Year of Copy; Former Owner; Present Owner; Table of Contents (in Chinese); Abstract of Contents; Concluding Remarks. The absence of a feature is marked with “no” or “unknown”, dependent on the case.

Provenance is not entirely clear, if the “former owner” is marked “unknown”, or the entry too terse to allow identification; the seller and collector (Unschuld) remain unmentioned. This could be infelicitous in cases where doubts about the authenticity of a given manuscript come up in the future.

Tracing potential sources of the copied texts was and will be a challenging, ongoing task. The authors provided us with an immensely useful tool and basic database, all thoroughly indexed, to accomplish refinements in future research.¹² The example of excerpts of Chen Shiduo’s work *Bianzheng qiwen* 辨證奇聞, translated by the authors as “Unheard of stories of differential [treatments] of pathoconditions” (ms. 8060, copied as late as in the early Republican era), may serve here to illustrate these difficulties, as it is necessary to update and correct the respective catalogue entry (pp. 878–880).¹³ In the absence of text critical editions of Chen’s repeatedly printed,

11 Mss. 8011, 8253, 8297, 8555, 8664, 8722, 8811, 48008, 48041, 48045.

12 The editing of the three volumes, which contain such an impressive amount of details, is exceptionally good, errors and typos are relatively few. We noted in passing: p. 25 “oposthotonos” should be ‘opisthotonos’; p. 60 “Tingguangalso” needs a space “Tingguang also”; p. 76 n. 111 in “Shanghai yiwen chubanshe” read “Shanghai”; p. 88 n. 145 in “Ms. ID 48041” delete ‘ID’; p. 246 delete the second r in ‘illustratrions’; pp. 345, 1694 “xiaji” read ‘jiaji’; p. 878 “Unheard” should be ‘Unheard’; pp. 906, 907 the book title “Maixue qiyaoyao” should be ‘Maixue jiyao’ (as it is in the index, p. 262); p. 1304 name of copyist “Zhengton zhenren” should be ‘Zhendong zhenren’ (the authors prefer to read the personal name 鎮洞真人 elsewhere as “Zhentong zhenren”); p. 1819 “taboos on certain character” is missing the final -s in ‘characters’.

13 Digital copy at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000603B00000000>.

augmented, changed and redacted oeuvre, one may easily come to erroneous conclusions. As the authors did only consult a modern edition of the source text to ms. 8060, which does not detail all the differences between editions and print runs, they failed in this case to recognize that the manuscript text excerpts the text of *Bianzheng lu* 辨證錄, “Record on Discerning Disease Patterns” (reviewer’s translation).¹⁴ This is the alternative title of *Bianzheng qiwen*, and these titles were used promiscuously. All quoted text in the catalogue entry could be traced to *Bianzheng lu*.¹⁵ Seen in this light, the conclusion “the manuscript is much richer in content than the printed version available today” (p. 880) seems to be unwarranted, unless a renewed inspection does not bring up additional elements, which are not found in any of the *Bianzheng lu* or *Bianzheng qiwen* editions.¹⁶ With this test case in mind the reviewer can testify to the usefulness of the indices, and the fully searchable e-texts of the reviewed volumes. It actually works fine as a reference tool. In countless cases, the authors traced source texts, and provided very detailed and specific, but concise information that of necessity will be starting points for further enquiries by the research community.

Unschuld and Zheng do their best to make accessible the manuscript sources for a wide audience, and achieve to present us with a magnificent reference tool, and to introduce largely neglected aspects of late imperial Chinese medicine. The authors must be recommended to have usually noted where further research is necessary. This work will bear even more fruit once the manuscript collection is fully digitized by the Staatsbibliothek, and openly accessible for researchers worldwide.¹⁷

Rudolf Pfister, Basel (CH)

- 14 The authors made use of Chen, Shiduo 陳士鐸 (author), Wen, Shoujiang 文守江 (compilation), Wang, Shufen 王樹芬 et al. (punctuation, collation): *Bianzheng qiwen* 辨證奇聞. (Zhenben yiji congkan 珍本醫籍叢刊) Beijing, Zhongyi guji chubanshe, 1993. On p. 1775 they correctly referred to this modern edition, but failed on p. 879 to correct the erroneous note “printed by Wenshoujiang 文守江 Publishers” (sic). But the name Wen Shoujiang is unlikely to invoke a publishing house. It appears nine times as the author designation of comments (pi 批) to *Bianzheng qiwen*, and on the title page of rolls 1–7 in the commentator function, with the line “respectfully commented by mister Wen Shoujiang – [style name] Nanji – of Ningxiang [county]”, which, however, is omitted for rolls 8–15.
- 15 All the cited Chinese text examples can be found in the facsimile of the 1747 edition of *Bianzheng lu* in fourteen rolls: (a) 10.9: 668 [26a] “summer possession”; (b) 10.5: 661 [13a] “persistent erection”; (c) 10.19: 690 [72a-b] “beget offspring”. (Cited – in the order of appearance in the catalogue entry – after *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書. Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe, vols. 1023: 353–739 and 1024: 1–63.) The manuscript’s feature to add ‘entry’ (門) to the chapter titles (p. 879) – while absent in *Bianzheng qiwen* – is also present in *Bianzheng lu*.
- 16 Extant editions in Chinese libraries are listed in Xue, Qinglu 薛清錄 (ed.): *Zhongguo zhongyi guji zongmu* 中國中醫古籍總目. Shanghai, Shanghai cishu, 2007, pp. 415–416, nos. 05630–05632, and p. 902, no. 13034.
- 17 At the time of writing more than three hundred manuscripts of the “Sammlung Unschuld” can be found at the site “Digitalisierte Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin” at <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/> (search ‘Slg. Unschuld’).