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Jesuit Medicine in the Kangxi Court (1662-1722): Imperial Networks and Patronage¹

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¹ This article is a revised version of one of the chapters of my PhD thesis "De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París: La Misión jesuita francesa como *interlocutor médico* en la China de la era Kangxi (r. 1662-1722)", Tesis Doctoral con grado Europeo, Ciencias Sociosanitarias y Humanidades Médicas, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2009, section 2.1. This was a work carried out under the academic supervision of Prof. Catherine Jami (REHSEIS-UMR 7219 (CNRS & Université de Paris-Diderot)) and Prof. Luis Montiel (Department of History of Science, Unit History of Medicine, Faculty of Medicine, Complutense University of Madrid). A preliminary version of this paper was presented at "Interaction & Exchange: An International Symposium on Westerners & the Qing Court (1644-1911)" organized by the Qing History Institute, Renmin University of China, Beijing, and the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the Center for the Pacific Rim, University of San Francisco, in Beijing, 17-19 September, 2008. I would especially like to thank Dr. Wu Xiaoxin from the Ricci Institute for having made possible my participation in this event. The article was then revised during my stay at the Department of Sinology of K.U. Leuven from 2009 to 2010 as F+ postdoctoral researcher, and was finished at the same institution while being supported by the postdoctoral program of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange from 2010 to 2012. I especially want to express my gratitude to Prof. Nicolas Standaert, my academic supervisor during my stay in Leuven, and to Dr. Ad Dudink for providing me with invaluable information on Western and Chinese sources. I would also like to thank EASTM's anonymous referees for reading and commenting on this paper.

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Abstract: This article investigates how “Jesuit medicine” and “Jesuit medical practices” under the Kangxi Emperor’s (r. 1662-1722) patronage of Western Learning functioned within a wider context of multi-ethnic medical practices. Missionaries at the court in general, and those specialized in medicine in particular, became medical interlocutors of European medicine to China and of Chinese medicine to Europe. Practicing medicine in the service of the Kangxi Emperor provided them with an opportunity for personal and even intimate access to the Emperor and his environment. Manchu and Chinese Medical Palace Memorials, the main type of primary sources used for this study, bear witness to the transmission of Jesuit medicine and practice to the Kangxi court. By highlighting the private and confidential nature of these documents and the factional court politics they reflect, it is shown how medicine became one of the fields of Western Learning that was systematically patronized by the Emperor. In addition, this article identifies a number of important actors belonging to a wide network of imperial power and privilege. Power and privilege are especially manifest in cases of the health problems of important officials, officers, and members of the imperial family when the Kangxi Emperor took a personal interest in their illnesses, sometimes even distributing Jesuit medical drugs to them.

I, Duo Luo [Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon],
received extraordinary favours from the Emperor.

As there is no way to show my gratitude to Him
in my service, it only remains for me to chant this liturgy
and to pray respectfully [for Him].²

Palace Memorial of He-shi-heng in KXMZ,
KX 45/7/11 (18/8/1706)

Tendió las redes, ¡qué pena!
por sobre la mar helada.
Y pescó la luna llena,
sola, en su red plateada.

Rafael Alberti, *Elegía del niño marinero*

² KXMZ 916, 437.

The translation, edition and publication of the Palace Memorials in Manchu of the Kangxi reign (1662-1722) in 1996 by members of the China First Historical Archive in the Forbidden City³ was a crucial event, especially for Sinologists untrained in reading Manchu. As this source contains new information on the early period of the Qing dynasty, it became an essential resource for research, including my own investigations. The focus of my research is the analysis of a group of archival documents termed by me 'Medical Palace Memorials' (see definition in section 2 below). However, for reasons of comparison, I took into account not only the Manchu series of memorials, but also the Chinese ones compiled in eight volumes.⁴ One of my research conclusions is that an important amount of information about the illnesses of officials, officers, advisers, confidants, imperial relatives and the Kangxi Emperor himself can be found in Palace Memorials, though predominantly in the memorials in Manchu and referring to patients mostly of Manchu ethnicity. This information was hitherto unknown and provides, as I will show below, an essential element for a deeper understanding of the history of medicine during the Qing dynasty, especially court medicine.⁵ It would appear that this information is almost exclusively contained in the Manchu memorials and is neither reproduced in Chinese Palace Memorials nor in other sources of traditional Chinese

³ *Kangxichao manwen zhupi zouzhe quanyi* 康熙朝滿文硃批奏折全譯 (Complete Translation of Imperially Rescripted Manchu Palace Memorials of the Kangxi Period), edited by the China First Historical Archive, Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996.

⁴ *Kangxichao hanwen zhupi zouzhe huibian* 康熙朝漢文硃批奏折彙編 (Collection of Imperially Rescripted Chinese Palace Memorials of the Kangxi Period), edited by the China First Historical Archive, Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, 1984-1985.

⁵ The following selected bibliography includes different stages in the research of the history of court medicine during the Qing dynasty, occasionally also including the Kangxi period: Zhang Zhejia 張哲嘉 (Chang Che-chia) (1999), "Qinggong yiyao dang'an de zhijia yu xianzhi" 清宮醫藥檔案的價值與限制 (Value and Limits of the Medical Archives in the Qing Palace), *Xinshixue* 新史學 (New History) 10.2: 179-180; Chang Che-chia (Zhang Zhejia) (1998), "The Therapeutic Tug of War: The Imperial Physician-Patient Relationship in the Era of Empress Dowager Cixi (1874-1908)", PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania; Chen Keji 陳可冀 (ed.) (1990), *Qinggong yi'an yanjiu* 清宮醫案研究 (Research of Medical Cases in the Qing Palace), 2 vols, Beijing: Zhongyi guji chubanshe, pp. 27-51; Chen Keji 陳可冀 and Li Chunsheng 李春生 (2003), *Zhongguo gongting yixue* 中國宮廷醫學 (Court Medicine in China), Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, vol. 2, p. 599-609; Chen Yongsheng 陳永生 and Zhang Sumeng 張蘇萌 (1997), "Wan Qing xi yixue wenxian fanyi de tedian ji chuban jigou" 晚清西醫學文獻翻譯的特點及出版機構 (Characteristics of the Translations of Medical Works and their Publication during the Late Qing Dynasty), *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中華醫史雜誌 (China Medicine History Magazine) 27.2: 76-81.

historiography. This is in distinct contrast with the diarchic organization of Qing institutions that seems to imply –deceptively though– that events were described both in Chinese and Manchu.⁶ As a consequence, this underlines the importance of the consultation of sources in Manchu when researching Qing history –an aspect that has been stressed by Pamela Kyle Crossley, Evelyn S. Rawski, Beatrice S. Bartlett and Mark C. Elliott, and that is considered as one of the most seminal innovations of the so-called “New Qing History” approach.⁷

The Palace Memorials were a means of communication and control, one that was created and reached its first apex during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor. This form of communication was utilized by the Emperor as a private channel to obtain confidential information from his most trusted officials and officers, as has been explored by, among others, Silas H. L. Wu, Jonathan D. Spence, Beatrice S. Bartlett, Pei Huang, Pierre-Étienne Will and

⁶ For a discussion of this contrast, see Beatrice S. Bartlett (1985), “Books of Revelations: The Importance of the Manchu Language Archival Record Books for Research on Ch’ing History”, *Late Imperial China* 6.2: 25; Mark C. Elliott (2001a), “The Manchu Language Archives and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System”, *Late Imperial China* 22.1: 2, note 3.

⁷ Without going into detailed discussion of whether the Manchu can be considered an ethnic group, as Elliott claims, or a group of tribes, as stated by Rawski and Crossley, I want to underline that both authors agree on the importance of Manchu identity, and moreover on the importance of Manchu sources. See Pamela K. Crossley and Evelyn Rawski (1993), “A Profile of the Manchu Language in Ch’ing History”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 53.1: 65-102; Evelyn Rawski (1999), *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 201; Pamela K. Crossley (1999), *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 177-178; Mark C. Elliott (2001b), *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, p. 16. Moreover, for a definition of Manchuria, see Mark C. Elliott (2000), “The Limits of Tartary: Manchuria in Imperial and National Geographies”, *Journal of Asian Studies* 59.3 (Aug.): 624-632. For a detailed description of Manchu Archives, see Elliott (2001a), pp. 1-36; Huang Pei (1990), “New Light on the Origins of the Manchus”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 50.1: 240-253; Bartlett (1985), pp. 25-26. Opposing the idea of Manchu identity, Ho Ping-ti supports the idea of Manchu sinization. See Ho Ping-ti (1998), “In Defence of Sinicization: A Rebuttal of Evelyn Rawski’s ‘Reenvisioning the Qing’”, *Journal of Asian Studies* 57. 1 (Feb.): 126. For a general overview on the field, see especially Joanna Waley-Cohen (2004), “The New Qing History”, *Radical History Review* 88: 193-206, but also Zhao Ma (2008), “Research Trends in Asia: ‘Writing History during a Prosperous Age’: The New Qing History Project”, *Late Imperial China* 29. 1 (June): 120-145; Sudipta Sen (2002), “The New Frontiers of Manchu China and the Historiography of Asian Empires: A Review Article”, *Journal of Asian Studies* 61.1: 165-177; and Frank Dikötter (1992), *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Mark C. Elliott.⁸ The core aspect of privacy and confidentiality, which characterized the Kangxi period, changed later under his successors, especially the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1795), when a process of bureaucratization gained momentum. Thus, the Palace Memorials of the Kangxi reign allow us a particular insight into imperial thinking and the Emperor's relationships with his confidants.⁹ As I will show in this article, the Emperor was informed promptly of illness among family members, ministers and high-ranking civil officials and military officers, most of them Manchu and mainly through memorials in Manchu. Moreover, it will also become clear that, surprisingly, the Kangxi Emperor was not merely a passive observer, but was actively involved in these medical cases, sending doctors of the Imperial College of Medicine (*Taiyiyuan* 太醫院) and prescribing drugs, especially those that were rare and difficult to acquire. These two categories, i.e. drugs and physicians, also included Jesuit medical practice, namely, *per definitionem*, drugs imported by the Jesuits and Jesuits physicians, who were involved in court medicine mainly due to the initiative and intervention of the Kangxi Emperor himself. Both Jesuit drugs and Jesuit physicians were subjected to the control of the Son of Heaven, who monopolized their allocation.

In this article, however, I will neither deal with the details of the Kangxi Emperor's medical activities, nor with the Jesuit drugs under his quasi monopoly, as these are topics that I have dealt with elsewhere.¹⁰ I will leave for future research an analysis of the biographies of the actors involved in this imperial medical network. Instead, I will concentrate on the institutional dimension of the actors, i.e. the political and administrative organs to which they belonged, as well as on an analysis of the political meaning of the Kangxi Emperor's medical expertise and the role it played in the up-

⁸ See Silas Hsiu-liang Wu (1970), *Communication and Imperial Control in China: Evolution of the Palace Memorial System 1693-1735*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (Harvard East Asian Series; 51), p. 3; Silas Hsiu-liang Wu (1970), "Emperors at Work: The Daily Schedules of the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng Emperors 1661-1735", *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 (Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies) (New Series) 8.1&2: 213-214; Jonathan D. Spence (1974), *Emperor of China: Self Portrait of K'ang-hsi*, New York: Vintage Books, p. 42; Bartlett (1985), p. 28; id. (1979), "Ch'ing Palace Memorials in the Archives of the National Palace Museum", *National Palace Museum Bulletin* 13.6: 1-21; Pei Huang (1994), "The Confidential Memorial System of the Ch'ing Dynasty Reconsidered", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57.2: 335; Pierre-Etienne Will (1972), "Transmissions secrètes et succession impériale à l'époque mandchoue", *T'oung Pao* (Second Series) 58.1/5: 120; Elliott (2001), p. 46n65.

⁹ See Bartlett (1985), p. 27; Beatrice S. Bartlett (1990), *Monarchs and Ministers: The Grand Council in Mid-Ch'ing China, 1723-1820*, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 66-67.

¹⁰ See Puente-Ballesteros (2009), chap. 2.2 and chap. 3.

keep of his imperial network (see section 2 for a definition) and thus his Heavenly Mandate.¹¹ Another major issue I want to address in this article is how the transmission of Jesuit medical practice to the Kangxi court took place, both in Beijing, but also when the court was “on horseback”. This is a topic which is linked to the Emperor’s explicit desire to obtain Europeans with medical training and European drugs, a wish that arose from his convincing experiences learning European mathematics from Jesuit tutors. In a Chinese document dated 16 March 1685 the Emperor informs Ferdinand Verbiest, SI (1628-1688) of his interest in receiving European experts in the fields of astronomy and medicine. In his response, Verbiest recommends to him the Jesuit Antoine Thomas, SI (1644-1709) for astronomy, but has to admit that he knew of no expert in medicine. Precisely to remedy this shortcoming Verbiest wrote a letter on 1 August 1685 to the General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Charles de Noyelle (1615-1686) in which he requested that medical specialists be sent.¹² From then on Jesuit surgeons, physicians and pharmacists were sent to the court in Beijing to work in the service of the Kangxi emperor during the next thirty years. In addition Jesuits with or without medical training made regularly available drugs to the Kangxi emperor. In order to highlight the characteristics of this Jesuit medical practice, I will present a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the informants and patients mentioned in the Medical Palace Memorials.¹³

¹¹ See also Puente-Ballesteros (2009), chap. 2.1.

¹² See *Xichao ding’an* 熙朝定案 (Settled Cases of the Kangxi Reign), Paris, BnF Chinois 1330, pp. 1a-1b, as cited by Catherine Jami (2007a), “A Discreet Mathematician: Antoine Thomas (1644-1709) and his Textbooks”, in Noël Golvers and Sara Lievens (eds.), *A Lifelong Dedication to the China Mission: Essays Presented in Honor of Father Jerom Heyndrickx, CICM, on the Occasion of his 75th Birthday and the 25th Anniversary of the F. Verbiest Institute K.U.Leuven*, Leuven: F. Verbiest Institute, K.U. Leuven (Leuven Chinese Studies; 17), p. 451.

¹³ Jesuit medical practice in the Kangxi Court has been researched by very few scholars, who have not dedicated much attention to the aspect of imperial patronage. See Kuroda Genji 黒田源次 (1943), “‘Kintei Kakutai zenroku’ (Kokitei to seiyo igaku)” 『欽定各体全録』 (康熙帝と西洋医学) (*Qinding geti quanlu* (The Kangxi Emperor and Western Medicine)), *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 (Journal of Japanese History of Medicine) 1318: 275-284; Spence (1974), pp. 95-112; Guan Xueling 関雪玲 (1994), “Kangxichao gongting zhong de xiyang yishi huodong” 康熙朝宫廷中的西洋醫事活動 (Western Medical Activities in the Kangxi Court), *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宫博物院院刊 (Palace Museum Periodical) 1: 99-111; id. (2008), *Qingdai gongting yixue yu yixue wenwu* 清代宫廷医学与医学文物 (Medicine at the Qing Court and Medicinal Relics), Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, pp. 204-220; Chen Keji and Li Chunsheng (2003), vol. 2, pp. 609-614; Dong Shaoxin 董少新 (2004), “Xiyang chuanjiaoshi zai Hua zaoqi xingyi shiji kaoshu” 西洋传教士在华早期行医事迹考述 (An Investigation of Western Missionaries and their Medical Activities in Late Ming-Early Qing China), PhD diss., Guangzhou, Zhongshan daxue (Sun Yat-

This approach will allow me to evaluate the limits of the application and circulation of Jesuit medical information within the broader framework of the Emperor's patronage of medical practice in two respects: First, through the analysis of the institutional positions of the historical protagonists it will be possible to show that almost all of them belonged to the high-ranking elite, including those in the most trusted political and military circles around the Kangxi Emperor, as well as other persons close to him, such as relatives of the imperial family. Second, through an analysis of the rhetoric in these memorials, I will evaluate the personal and affective, but at the same time also patriarchal, relationship the Kangxi Emperor established with his patients. This will also provide clear evidence for the fact that the interventionism of the Emperor in medical practice was an additional tool for exerting power over his ministers, officials, officers, relatives, and other confidants. Both approaches will also help in defining the leeway in thought and action that was available within the Palace Memorial communication system.

One of my conclusions will be that under the direct intervention of the Kangxi Emperor medicine and power went hand in hand, and were enacted in a unique context which we can summarize in the following words: *The health of the Kangxi Emperor's trusted family members, as well as his key ministers, officials and officers, guaranteed the well-being of his empire.*¹⁴

sen University), pp. 77-81; and id. (2008), *Xing shen zhi jian: Zaoqi xiyang yixue ru Hua shigao* 形神之间: 早期西洋医学入华史稿 (Between Body and Spirit: History of the Early Introduction of Western Medicine in China), Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, pp. 216-234; Cui Wujiao 崔勿驕 (ed.) (2006), *Manzu yiyao wenhua gaishu* 滿族醫藥文化概述 (An Outline of Manchu Medical Culture), Jilin: Jilin Renmin chubanshe, pp. 62-65; and Marta E. Hanson (2007), "Jesuits and Medicine in the Kangxi Court (1662-1722)", *Pacific Rim Report* 43 <http://www.pacificrim.usfca.edu/research/pacrimreport/pacrimreport43.ht>.

¹⁴ This is a pattern showing some similarities with, but also clear differences to, emperors of the Song dynasty, such as Taizong (r. 976-997), Zhenzong (r. 997-1022) and particularly Huizong (r. 1100-1126). These Song emperors displayed a personal interest in medicine not only through the distribution of remedies to members of their personal circle, but also through the promotion of institutions of public health, such as the Imperial Pharmacy and the system of Poor Houses. These institutions fulfilled the Confucian ideal of caring for the people and spreading imperial benevolence throughout the empire. See Asaf M. Goldschmidt (2010), *The Evolution of Chinese Medicine: Song Dynasty, 960-1200*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 20-25; and id. (2005), "The Systematization of Public Health Care by Emperor Song Huizong: Benefiting or Policing the Sick", in Jiang Xiaoyuan (ed.), *History of Science in the Multiculture: Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia*, Shanghai: Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press, pp. 325-329. In contrast to this, the Kangxi Emperor, by providing "his patients" with medical care, likewise demonstrated his paternalistic attitude and insinuated that he was both an

1. Disease as a Confidential Issue: Anatomy of the Medical Palace Memorials

While the Palace Memorial system was established within the framework of Manchu institutions that were, in many respects, founded on those of the Ming period, it introduced a number of novel structures aiming at the promotion of the figure of an autocratic emperor exerting rigid control from the center. It is the aim of this section to briefly introduce—on the basis of research carried out by other scholars—the main characteristics of Palace Memorials in order to bring into sharper focus the questions that I want to raise in this article. The Manchu imperial autocracy has been analyzed by several scholars, for instance Pierre-Étienne Will and Catherine Jami, who both describe the Kangxi Emperor as the crucial node in the structure of communication and decision-making.¹⁵ Another purpose of this power structure with the Emperor at the apex of a highly centralized system was the limitation of the control traditionally exercised by the bureaucratic elite.¹⁶ Silas H. L. Wu mentions that the Kangxi Emperor himself protected the secrecy and privacy of the Palace Memorials by ensuring that only he and the author of the report knew their content. They were received by the Emperor personally, and he then, in vermilion script, endorsed or annotated them before they were sealed again and sent back to the memorialist, i.e. the original informant. Pei Huang has underlined the small number of informants (no more than 200) involved in submitting Palace Memorials during the Kangxi reign, in contrast to the larger number under subsequent emperors.¹⁷ This makes the Kangxi Emperor's Memorials substantially different from those of his successors. Beatrice S. Bartlett has analyzed the process of consolidation of the Palace Memorials system under the Yongzheng (r. 1723-1735) and Qianlong (r. 1736-1795) emperors,

ideal Confucian and Buddhist monarch, but he directed his attention mainly to the limited circle of his Imperial Network in which he thus created bonds of gratitude and loyalty. Thus, patriarchy, medicine and power were inextricably bound together.

¹⁵ See Will (1972), p. 121; Catherine Jami (2002), "Imperial Control and Western Learning: The Kangxi Emperor's Performance", *Late Imperial China* 23.1: 29; and id. (2007), "Western Learning and Imperial Scholarship: The Kangxi Emperor's Study", *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* 27: 150-151.

¹⁶ John K. Fairbank and Teng Ssu-yu (1940), "On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 5.1: 20; Zhu Jinfu 朱金甫 (1988), "Qingdai zouzhe zhidu kaoyuan ji qita" 清代奏折制度考源及其他 (Study on the Origin of the Palace Memorial System during Qing Dynasty), in Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (China First Historical Archive) (ed.), *Ming Qing dang'an yu lishi yanjiu* 明清档案与历史研究 (Ming and Qing Archives and Historical Research), Beijing: Zonghua shuju, p. 522.

¹⁷ Huang Pei (1994), p. 338.

where it acquired distinct administrative-political characteristics, and the informants were mainly high-ranking officials of different provinces with specific missions.¹⁸ Besides, as we will show, the inherently private nature of the information contained in Palace Memorials in general was further increased in those with medical content due to another factor, namely that medical information was mostly reported in Manchu, by Manchu officials, and that it related mostly to Manchu patients. This medical information, therefore, was all but inaccessible to most of the Chinese officials. In sum, the Kangxi Palace Memorials can be described as a system of confidential, secret communication between the Emperor and a privileged group of high-ranking ministers, officials, officers, and members of the imperial family. It was a means of controlling communication and power, while at the same time maintaining the hierarchical structure headed by a patriarchal and autocratic emperor.

Why did the Emperor decide to use a private channel like the Palace Memorial system for reporting on matters relating to illness? The answer lies in an explanation of the anatomy of the Palace Memorials presented above. In an emerging empire under the dominance of a foreign minority, as was the case with Manchu China, medical administration by the Emperor himself through the Palace Memorial channel signalled that the patients in most cases were key civil or military officials whose illness engendered a potential weak point in political domination. In other words, the illness of one these crucial figures was not only a personal crisis, as can be gauged from the rhetoric of the Memorials that provides clear evidence of the close relationship between the Emperor and some of "his patients", but could constitute also a serious administrative problem. Put another way, it was a private and confidential problem that had to be made known to the ruler as soon as possible so that there was enough time for him to think about an adequate replacement. These aspects of secrecy, confidentiality and concern are made especially clear by the dissection of the concrete cases reported in the Medical Palace Memorials. At the same time, the special case of Jesuit medical practice constituted a part of the Kangxi Emperor's particular pattern of patronage of court medicine, as we will see in the following sections.

2. Dissecting the Imperial Network: Informants and Patients in the Medical Palace Memorials

Understanding the function of the Medical Palace Memorials is a precondition for a full comprehension of the context in which Jesuit medicine operated. The Palace Memorials that are defined as medical due to their content are differentiated in the following four ways: First, those describing

¹⁸ Bartlett (1990), pp. 66-67; Bartlett (1985), p. 27.

the episode of an illness of a patient or a group of patients, with or without a medical report by physicians attached. Second, those that show how the Kangxi Emperor attentively followed the course of a patient's illness, but which do not contain medical reports *per se*. Third, those containing vermillion rescripts by the Kangxi Emperor. These may variously include information about his own state of health, his comments on a patient's disease, his orders for doctors to see a patient or change therapeutic measures, commands that drugs be sent, or enquiries about a therapy or drug unknown to him [among other matters related to medical practice]. Fourth, those informing the Emperor about the arrival of drugs or physicians, and about foreign or unknown therapies. These reports were mostly answers to questions previously raised by him.

It is in these Memorials that we find information about the application of Jesuit medicine. This information can be differentiated in several ways: situations where a Jesuit himself acted as physician; first-hand testimony of Jesuit drugs having been integrated into therapies, but without mentioning direct Jesuit intervention; a Jesuit is himself a patient, the Kangxi Emperor indicating the therapy for them or simply following the course of their illness; and finally reporting to the Emperor the arrival of Jesuit drugs or Jesuit physicians from abroad.

The Medical Palace Memorials report a substantial number of actors who took part as witnesses in these cases. However, in order to arrive at a consistent conclusion, I will concentrate on two different, clear-cut categories, namely "informant" and "patient". Both enjoyed imperial privilege, though not in a totally uniform way. I define "informant" as the author of a memorial, the person eventually responsible for the information submitted to the ruler. This group, the "ears and eyes of the Emperor", as Pei Huang calls them,¹⁹ comprised a limited group of high-ranking civil and military officials and members of the imperial family who had the privilege to inform the Emperor directly on crucial matters, including the illness of eminent persons. The "patient" category includes those whose state and course of illness were reported to the Emperor.²⁰ In other words, "patients" were all those who enjoyed the privilege of being monitored and attended to by the Emperor, with or without Jesuit drugs. Both categories, "informants" and "patients", show a different, but very often overlapping, form of privilege that had to do with the importance of their special or specific relationship with the Kangxi Emperor.

As a next step, let us come to the definition of the imperial network as it can be traced in the Medical Palace Memorials. First of all, it comprised a

¹⁹ Huang Pei (1994), p. 329.

²⁰ In those memorials in which a disease of a whole group of patients belonging to the same institution is reported, I have treated them in my statistics not as individuals, but as a set.

“network of power” composed of historical actors who, as we will see, belonged to the empire’s political and military elite. This aspect is especially clear in the case of the informants. A second and different network revealed by the Medical Palace Memorials is based on closeness to the Emperor. To it belonged a number of actors who, in some instances, may have had an influence on the ruler, but who normally did not share in the official exercise of power. Members of this group had a close personal relationship to the Emperor and enjoyed privileged treatment from him due to kinship ties, familiarity or his paternalistic support. I call this the “network of closeness”. In the case of informants, trusted bondservants belonged to this category, while in the case of patients, this could include female relatives of the Emperor, retired officials, eunuchs, and female servants, as well as the Jesuits. This distinction between these two different, though in many cases overlapping, networks reflects the complexity of the situation to be described in detail below.

For this article, I checked the surviving 3,200 memorials in Chinese from the Kangxi period as well as the 4,297 memorials from the same period that were translated from Manchu to Chinese by a committee of the China First Historical Archive. Here one should keep in mind the evaluation that Mark C. Elliott made on the quality of these translations: “My own close comparison of twenty or so translations of individual documents persuades me that they are, on a whole, accurate and reliable.”²¹ At the same time Elliott notes that some elements, for instance the more colloquial nature of the rhetoric of the memorials in Manchu, are not reflected in the translations. Some important details are also omitted, such as the fact that, in periods of mourning, the Emperor’s endorsement was not written in vermilion, but in blue or black ink.²²

Medical Palace Memorials also take on a special significance when one considers their frequency in the Manchu and Chinese documents. Out of the 4,297 Memorials in Manchu,²³ 377, or circa 8.8 percent, are related to

²¹ Elliott (2001), p. 41.

²² Elliott (2001), p. 44.

²³ According to Elliott the complete number of Manchu palace memorials located in the China First Historical Archive is 5,048. Another 741 memorials are stored in the National Palace Museum of Taiwan. So the complete series would be 5,789 memorials. In the introduction to the Chinese translation, it is explained that the main reason why a number of memorials were not included was because they were illegible, irrelevant—among them “greeting memorials”—or in very poor condition. Elliott, however, maintains a critical stance against the labeling of some memorials as “irrelevant”. See Elliott (2001), pp. 37 and 45. From my research I agree with Elliott’s stance. In fact, in a number of cases, medical information consisted of “spontaneous” comments by the Kangxi Emperor included in vermilion rescripts attached to “greeting memorials.”

medical matters, while in those in Chinese, 222 out of 3,200, or ca. 6.9 percent, are. Although these proportions are quite similar, the number of Memorials in Manchu is substantially larger and they are much more detailed. Moreover, they include medical reports from the physicians of the Imperial College of Medicine (*Taiyiyuan* 太醫院), which are rarely found in the Chinese series. This shows that the real importance of medical information in the Manchu Memorials lies beyond their sheer number.

A similar salient feature is that the number of patients explicitly mentioned in the Chinese Memorials is limited: only 34, in contrast to the 213 patients in the Manchu series.²⁴ There is also an obvious difference between the two series in terms of the total number of informants: in the Manchu series there are 64, while only 28 in the Chinese case. In addition, we should stress the differences in the ethnicity of patients mentioned in both series. The figures for Han Chinese (29 + 16 = 45) patients, and for those belonging to Manchu or other ethnicities (197 + 5 = 202) clearly show the preponderance of non-Han patients, mostly Manchu (see Table 1).

Finally, my investigation reveals that there is a preponderance of Manchu patients among the the Memorials that include Jesuit medical information, where 31 were Manchu and only 5 Chinese. Later on I will analyse the network for the circulation and adoption of Jesuit medicine within a wider framework defined by the reach of the Medical Palace Memorials. First, however, I will undertake an institutional analysis of these archival documents using the categories of “informant” and “patient” based on the official positions they held.²⁵

²⁴ The total number of patients in Manchu Memorials is 213, but the positions of three of them cannot be identified, so their cases are not included in Table 6. However, I have included them in Table 1, because, although their positions are unknown, their ethnicity is clear. The same pattern occurs in the Memorials in Chinese, where the total number of patients is 34. There, two patients' positions are unknown, while another, Gao Shiqi 高士奇, was a retired official. He has thus not been included in the table of institutional affiliations of the patients mentioned in the Chinese Medical Palace Memorials, and all three cases have not been included in Table 8.

²⁵ For the office held by each patient and informant I have strictly followed their titles as mentioned in the Memorials. The translations of these official positions are based on Charles O. Hucker (1985), *A Dictionary of Official Titles in China*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press; Hippolit S. Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom (1912), *Present-day Political Organization of China*, Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh Limited; and Elliott (2001b).

Table 1
Ethnicity of Patients Mentioned in Medical Palace Memorials of the Kangxi Period

	<i>Han</i>	Manchu and Other Ethnicities
Patients in memorials in Manchu	16	197
Patients in memorials in Chinese	29	5
Grand total of patients	45	202
Patients treated with Jesuit medical practise (included in the above sum of memorials in Manchu or Chinese)	5	31

2.1. Memorials in Manchu: Informants

In the Manchu series, the imperial network is identical with the network of power, as the informants are those who had the right to memorialize and therefore held high institutional positions. In the description of this network provided in Table 2, we can see that informants coming from the Central Government submitted the highest number of Medical Palace Memorials (272 out of 377). Among them, members of the imperial family constituted most of the informants, authoring 184. Yinzhi 胤祉 (1674-1732), the third son of the Kangxi Emperor, submitted 48 of the Manchu series alone, and 85 with other brothers. Other imperial sons who acted in a similar, though less intensive, way were Yinreng 胤禛 (1674-1725; second son), Yinyou 胤祐 (1680-1730; seventh son), Yinzhen 胤禛 (1688-1756; fourteenth son),²⁶ and Yinzhen 胤禛 (1678-1735; fourth son and the later Yongzheng emperor), the latter submitting altogether 21 Memorials with his brothers, their sons or sons of other princes.

At this point it is important to underline that although the majority of the Medical Palace Memorials were submitted by Yinzhi, Yinreng was the first to do so, being the only one of the Emperor's sons reporting about medical cases (15 memorials) during the period from KX 35/5/6 to 36/3/4 (5/6/1696-26/3/1697). Indeed, he appears in these documents under the designation of *Huang taizi* 皇太子, i.e. the Heir Apparent. As is well known, this designation changed later.²⁷ Thus, from KX 43/6/10 to 55/11/10 (11/7/1704-23/12/1716) Yinzhi either alone or together with his brothers submitted Medical Palace Memorials. Still later, this task seems to have shifted to Yinzhen 胤禛, who, under the title of General-in-Chief for Pacifying Distant Regions (*Fuyuan dajiangjun* 撫遠大將軍), reported in the period from KX 58/1/19 to 59/6/2 (9/3/1719-6/7/1720).

Another member of the imperial family submitting medical information was Ya-er-jiang-a 雅爾江阿, son of a Prince of the Blood of the First Degree,

²⁶ Not to be confused with Yinzhen 胤禛, later to become the Yongzheng Emperor.

²⁷ Cf. Bartlett (1990), p. 68.

who sent in 19 Memorials. Hua-qi 華齊, a Prince of the Blood of the Second Degree, also reported in 1 memorial. Apart from the Memorials, medical information is also provided by 10 separate “vermillion edicts” (*zhuyu* 硃諭) issued by the Emperor.

Sons of the imperial sons, i.e. nephews of the Kangxi Emperor, were also among the informants, though only in subsidiary positions, and thus always listed after the principal informants, the sons of the Emperor. These include Hongxi 弘皙 (1694-1742) and Hongjin 弘晉 (1696-1717) (both sons of Yinreng 胤禛), Hongsheng 弘昇 (1697-1759, son of Yinqi 胤祺 (fifth son)) as well as Hongshu 弘曙 (1697-1738, son of Yinyou 胤祐 (seventh son)), Hongzhi 弘智 and Hongxi 弘曦. It seems that here the next generation were included into the network of power in order to provide them with insights into the art of ruling.

In a subsidiary position in one of Yinzhi’s memorials we also find two other men, E-lun-dai 鄂倫岱, Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council or Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department Concurrently Controlling the Imperial Guardsmen, and Guan-bao 觀保 (d. 1776), perhaps a bondservant of the Manchu Socolo clan.

Among other institutions of the Central Government, the Imperial Household Department is represented with 14 Memorials and 10 informants, the Grand Secretariat with 29 Memorials and 7 informants, and the Six Ministries with 41 Memorials and 9 informants. None came from the Censorate. Finally, a small group of Jesuits (see Table 3 and Appendix A) handed in 4 Memorials, all of them “greeting memorials” (*qing wan’an* 請萬安). Among the Jesuit memorialists we can find three Jesuit physicians, i.e. Giuseppe Baudino (1657-1718), Miguel Vieira (1681-1761), and Giovanni Giuseppe Costa (1679-1747).

In the Military, no informants came from the Green Standards. Rather, all were from the Eight Banners, and all were high-ranking Manchu officers. 25 (11+14) Memorials were submitted by 8 (4+4) informants, who belonged to the Imperial Guard, the Vanguard or to Garrisons of the Eight Banners (i.e. the larger Garrisons in Xi’an, Jilin, Shengjing, and Heilongjiang).

Finally, we have to mention a group of 78 Memorials coming from the Territorial Administration. These are by 20 informants, mainly Governors-general, Provincial Governors and a Superintendent of Imperial Manufactory in Hangzhou, though none from the Dependencies. The jurisdictions they governed were Gansu, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Shandong, Chuan-shaan 川陝, Huguang 湖廣, Liangjiang 兩江, Jiangnan 江南, Fujian, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Caoyun 漕運 (i.e. the jurisdiction related to Tribute Grain Shipments), Minzhe 閩浙, and Hangzhou 杭州.

Informants on Jesuit medicine can be found at all the levels, as they were circumscribed by the system of the Medical Palace Memorials. They were, however, few in number, an aspect that contrasts with the consi-

derable number of patients that at some point of their treatment received a Jesuit drug. This characteristic shows that the net woven around Jesuit medicine was quite small. In fact, as we will see in detail in the following section (2.3 Memorials in Manchu: Patients), for the 21 patients out of a total of 32 treated with Jesuits drugs and/or by Jesuit physicians the informants are sons of the Emperor, especially Yinzhi 胤祉, the third son of the Emperor, who reported alone or with other brothers (among them Yinsi 胤祀, Yinzhen 胤禎 and Yinzhen 胤禎) in 20 cases. This circumstance is remarkable, as Yinzhi (1677-1732), gifted in science and geometry, was described by the Jesuit Jean-François Foucquet (1665-1741) as a proud and hard man, appreciated by only a few, and someone who did not like Europeans.²⁸ In the remaining case, the report was submitted by Yinreng 胤禛, the *Huang taizi* 皇太子 or Heir Apparent. Moreover, Yinreng and another son of the Emperor, Yinyou 胤祐, did memorialize, but not about patients treated with Jesuit medicine, but about Jesuit drugs *per se*. Lastly, the Kangxi Emperor himself, who gave an account of his famous miraculous cure with cinchona in the vermilion rescripts attached to the memorials submitted by Fo-lun 佛倫, Governor-general of Chuanshaan 川陝.

Among the Central Government informants reporting on Jesuit drugs or patients treated with Jesuit medicine, three belonged to the Grand Secretariat: He-shi-heng 赫世亨, Zhao-chang 趙昌 and He-su 和素. He-shi-heng, a Manchu, was on good terms with the Jesuits and was baptized in 1707.²⁹ Zhao-chang was a Manchu courtier and acted as mediator between

²⁸ In the *Changchunyuan* 暢春園, the “Park of Luxurious Spring”, the Emperor had founded a kind of scientific academy, where he instructed, in Manchu, his third son Yinzhi on the basis of lessons he had received from his Jesuit teachers. The Prince later headed this academy and became the teacher of his younger brothers, 12th son Yintao 胤禔 (1685-1763), 15th son Yinyu 胤禩 (1693-1731), and 16th son Yinlu 胤祿 (1695-1767). Although Antoine Thomas, SI acted as teacher of mathematics to Yinzhi, Foucquet described Yinzhi as being in profound disagreement with the Europeans (i.e. the court Jesuits), and that, paradoxically, he wanted to beat them using their own science. See Claudia von Collani (2005), *Joachim Bouvet, S.J.: Journal des voyages*, Taipei, Taiwan: Taipei Ricci Institute (Variétés Sinologiques New Series; 95), pp. 54n166 and 75n201. The source quoted there is ARSI, Jap. Sin. II, 154, ff 1-83, transcribed in an appendix in John W. Witek (1974), “An Eighteenth-century Frenchman at the Court of the K’ang-hsi Emperor: A Study of the Early Life of Jean-François Foucquet”, PhD diss., University of Georgetown, pp. 466 ff.

²⁹ In the Jesuit reports Heshiheng was named “Hesihen”, “Hesecken” or “Hekama”. He was baptised as Petrus by José Soares, SI (1656-1736) on 28 June 1707. See Claudia von Collani (1999), “The Report of Kilian Stumpf about the Case of Father Joachim Bouvet”, *Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 83, p. 246. It is quite probable that Wang Daohua 王道化 was the Chinese name of Heshiheng, also called Wang laoye 王老爺, “Grandpa Wang”.

the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuits, though in general he appears to have disliked the French Jesuits. He also was baptized shortly before his death.³⁰ Both He-shi-heng and Zhao-chang were Prefects of the Yangxindian 養新殿 (Hall of the Nourishment of the Heart), where the Kangxi Emperor also had his imperial workshop in which all kinds of instruments were made for mathematics and astronomy, and also for medicine and botany. This was largely staffed by Europeans, most of them Jesuits, so He-shi-heng and Zhao-chang were also responsible for everything concerning Europeans.³¹ He-su, a teacher of Manchu and Chinese to the Emperor's sons, became renowned as translator of important Chinese works into Manchu, for which he was also praised by the Jesuit Dominique Parrenin (1665-1741).³² Another informant was Li Guoping 李國屏 from one of the Six Ministries who, together with He-shi-heng and Zhao-chang, often reported to the Emperor about the affairs of the Europeans at court.³³

Finally, aside from Fo-lun mentioned above, the Territorial Administration is represented by Jue-luo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯, like Fo-lun also a Governor-general of Chuanshaan. None of the informants came from the Military (Eight Banners and Green Standards). In fact, as we will see in the following section, although the number of patients from the Military was very high, and some of them also received a Jesuit drug, only very rarely did they report by themselves. Almost exclusively they are reported by the Emperor's sons, in most cases by Yinzhi.

However, more research has to be done in this respect. See, for instance, Antonio Sisto Rosso (1948), *Apostolic Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century*, South Pasadena: Perkins, pp. 286-287 and 305.

³⁰ His Manchu name was *Chuliam* or *Joochang*. See Collani (2005), pp. 86-87 and footnote 208.

³¹ With almost forty people, most of them court Jesuits, working there at the same time, the Yangxindian was quite crowded. Other scientific activities pursued in this workshop concerned music, physics and geometry. See Collani (2005), pp. 101-102, footnote 224.

³² See Arthur W. Hummel (1943), *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, Washington, DC.: U.S. Government Printing Office, vol. 1, p. 281. See also "Lettre du père Parrenin au père Du Halde: Préceptes de morale des Chinois", in LEC (1843), p. 780.

³³ See Rosso (1948), pp. 287 and 291. For instance, Li Guoping together with He-shi-heng and Zhao-chang reported to the Emperor about the research carried out by the Jesuit Joachim Bouvet (1656-1730) on the *Yijing* (Classic of Changes). See, Rosso (1948), p. 305.

Table 2
General Institutional Affiliation of Informants in the Manchu Medical Palace Memorials, Kangxi Period

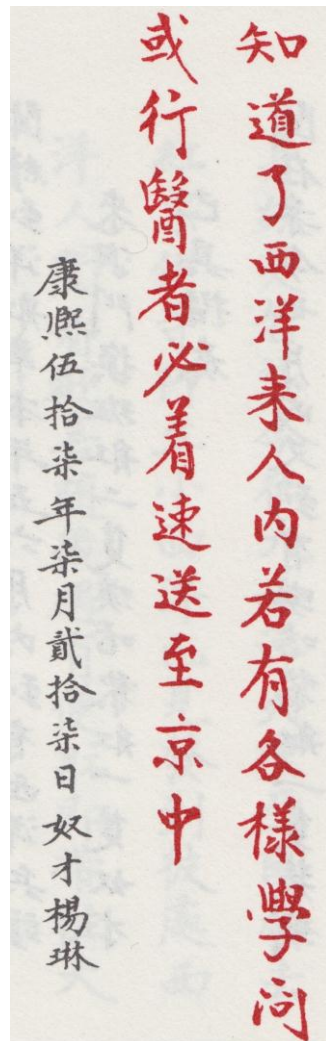
Administrative Divisions ^a	Number Memorials ^b	Number Informants	Administrative Sub-divisions	Centre-Periphery	Number Memorials	Number Informants	Administrative Sub-divisions	Number Memorials	Number Informants			
Central Government Level	272	36	Imperial Family		184	9						
			Eunuchs, female servants		0	0						
			Imperial Household Department		14	10						
			Grand Secretariat		29	7						
			Six Ministries		41	9						
			Censorate		0	0						
			Jesuits, Westerners		4	1						
			Eight Banners				Capital	11	4	High-ranking Officers	0	0
					25	8				Imperial Guard (Bodyguard, Vanguard and Guard)	11	4
										Others	0	0
			Green Standards		14	4						
				Garrisons	0	0						
Territorial Administration & Dependencies	78	20										
Grand Total	375	64										

■ Included informants reporting on Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

^a With regard to the categorizations into "Central Government", "Military" and "Territorial Administration" we follow Hucker (1985), 83-96. For the definition of Dependencies, see Brunner and Hagelstrom (1912), pp. 441-442.

^b Here the sum of memorials given is 375, but as I said before, the real total is 377. As I noted in Table 3, in two of these cases the informant and his position were not indicated in the Palace Memorial, which is why I have not taken them into account in this table.

Figure 1: Imperial Vermilion Rescript in a Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, Governor-general of Liangguang, dated KX 57/7/27 (23/8/1718)



SOURCE: *Qing zhongqianqi Xiyang tianzhujiao zai Hua huodong dang'an shiliao* 清中前期西洋天主教在華活動檔案史料 (Archival Material on the Western Catholic Activities in China during the Early and Mid-Qing Period), edited by the China First Historical Archive, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003, vol. 1, p. 22b.

NOTE: The imperial rescript reads as follows: "Noted! If among the people from the Western Ocean that have arrived [now] are such with all sorts of learning or practicing medicine, they by all means have to be sent rapidly to the capital."

Table 3
Institutional Positions of Informants and Number of their Memorials
in the Medical Palace Memorials in Manchu

Name	Institutional Position/Translation	PM
Kangxi	Emperor, vermilion edict (<i>zhiyu</i> 硃諭)	10*
Yinreng 胤礽***	<i>Huang taizi</i> 皇太子/Heir Apparent	15*
Yinzi (a) ^a	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi***	Imperial son	48*
Yinzi	Imperial sons	16
Yinsi 胤祀		
Yinzi (b)***	Imperial sons	5
Yinzi (c)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi***	Imperial sons	12
Yinzhen 胤禛		
Yinzi***	Imperial sons	1
Yinzhen 胤禛		
Yinzi (d)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (e)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (f)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (g)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (h)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (i)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (j)	Imperial sons	4
Yinzi (k)	Imperial sons	2
Yinzi (l)	Imperial sons	11
Yinzi (m)	Imperial sons	2
Yinzi (n)	Imperial sons	4
Yinzi (o)	Imperial sons	2
Yinzi (p)	Imperial sons	2
Yinzi (q)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (r)	Imperial sons	2
Yinzi (s)	Imperial sons	7
Yinzi (t)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzi (u)	Imperial sons	1

^a The letters refer to the list of constellations of collective informants submitting Medical Palace Memorials. See Appendix A.

Yinzhi (v) Yinzhen 胤禛	Imperial sons <i>Fuyuan daijiangjun</i> 撫遠大將軍/General-in-Chief for Pacifying Distant Regions [Imperial son]	1 4*
Yinyou 胤祐	Imperial son	1*
Yinzhi (w)	Imperial sons	2
Yinzhi (x)	Imperial sons	1
Yinzhen 胤禛 (y)	Imperial sons	1
Ya-er-jiang-a 雅爾江阿	<i>Shizi</i> 世子/Son of a Prince of the Blood of the First Degree <i>Heshuo jianpinwang</i> 和碩簡親王/Prince of the Blood of the First Degree, Rank 10 ^b	16 3
Hua-qi 華齊	<i>Duoluo Yijunwang</i> 多羅濟郡王/Prince of the Blood of the Second Degree ^c	1
Su Lin 蘇琳 (z)	José Soares (Portuguese Jesuit)	1*
Su Lin (aa)	José Soares (Portuguese Jesuit)	1*
Su Lin (bb)	José Soares (Portuguese Jesuit)	1*
Su Lin (cc)	José Soares (Portuguese Jesuit)	1*
Name not given	<i>Neiwufu</i> 內務府/Imperial Household Department	4*
Tu-ba 圖巴	<i>Neiwufu zongguan</i> 內務府總管 Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department	2
Hai-la-xun 海拉遜		
Tu-ba 圖巴	<i>Neiwufu zongguan</i> 內務府總管 Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department	1
Tu-ba 圖巴	<i>Neiwufu zongguan</i> 內務府總管 Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department	1
Hai-la-xun 海拉遜 Le-de-hun 勒德澤 Ming-zhu 明珠		
Tu-ba 圖巴	<i>Neiwufu zongguan</i> 內務府總管 Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department	1
Zhu-ji-bo 朱齊伯 Ma-si-ka 馬思喀	<i>Yuannailang</i> 員外郎/Vice Director of a Bureau in one of the Six Ministries <i>Neiwufu zongguan</i> 內務府總管 Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department	1

^b See Brunnert and Hagestrom (1912), p. 4, husbands of Imperial Princesses.

^c See Brunnert and Hagestrom (1912), p. 5, husbands of Imperial Princesses.

Ling-pu 凌普	Neiwufu zongguan baoyi 內務府總管包衣 Imperial Bondservant, Grand Minister Supervisor of the Imperial Household Department	2
Yang Jinchao 楊進朝	Guanti Yuyaofang baoyi da shi fu baoyi da 管理御藥房包衣總事副包衣達 Assistant Imperial Bondservant, managing the Affairs of the Imperial Bondservant of the Imperial Dispensary (under the Imperial Household Department, headed by a Grand Minister of the Department serving as Manager)	1*
Shang Zhishun 尚志舜	Changchunyuan xihuayuan yuancheng 暢春園西花園苑丞 Inspector for Garden of Western Flowers in the "Park of Luxurious Spring"	1
He-shi-heng 赫世亨	Wuyingdian zongjianzao 武英殿總監造 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory	13*
He-shi-heng 赫世亨	Wuyingdian zongjianzao 武英殿總監造 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory	2
Zhao-chang 趙昌		
E-lun-dai 鄂倫岱	Yizheng dachen 議政大臣/Grand Minister of the Deliberative Council ^d	1
Song-zhu 嵩祝	Neige daxueshi 內閣大學士/Grand Secretary of the Grand Secretariat	4*
He-su 和素***	Wuyingdian zongjianzao 武英殿總監造 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory	6
He-su 和素***	Wuyingdian zongjianzao 武英殿總監造 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory	1
Li Guoping 李國屏	Yuanwailiang 員外郎/Vice Director of a Bureau in one of the Six Ministries	
Wen-da 溫達	Wenhuan daxueshi 文華殿大學士 Grand Secretary in the "Hall of Literary Splendour"	1
Xiao Yongzao 蕭永藻	Daxueshi 大學士/Grand Secretary	1
Li Guoping 李國屏	Yuanwailiang 員外郎/Vice Director of a Bureau in one of the Six Ministries	3

^d In 4/9/1718 (KX 57/8/bingxu), i.e. about five months prior to the date of the Palace Memorial (KX 57/12/14), Elundai was called *Lingshiwei neidachen* 領侍衛內大臣 (Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department Concurrently Controlling the Imperial Guardsmen). See QSL, 280, 2293 (KX 57/8/bingxu).

Li Guoping 李國屏 Ai-bao 愛保	Yuanwailiang 員外郎/Vice Director of a Bureau in one of the Six Ministries	19
Jiang Xie 蔣燮	Taijiyuan daifangmai daiifu 太醫院大方脈大夫 Physician from the Imperial College of Medicine, Department for Adults Prescriptions	2
Huang Yun 黃運	Taijiyuan zuoyuanpan 太醫院左院判/Left Administrative Assistant of the Imperial College of Medicine	1
Huo Guifang 霍桂芳	Yuji 御醫/Imperial Physician	2*
Lai-du 賴都	Xingbu shangshu 刑部尚書/Minister in the Ministry of Justice	4
Fu-ning-an 富寧安	Lihu shangshu 吏部尚書/Minister in the Ministry of Personnel	2
Xun-zhu 遜柱	Bingbu shangshu 兵部尚書/Minister in the Ministry of War	8*
Name not given	Lifanyuan 理藩院/Court of Colonial Affairs	1
A-ling-a 阿靈阿	[Zhenghaiqi] lingshitai neidachen [正白旗領侍衛內大臣 Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department Concurrently Controlling the Imperial Guardsmen [Plain White Banner]] ^e	1*
La-xi 喇錫	Qianpingmen touleng shizui 乾清門頭等侍衛 Imperial Guard of the First Rank of the Qianqing Gate	7*
Long-ke-duo 隆科多	Bijun tongling 步軍統領 General Commandant of the Gendarmery (Banner not mentioned in memorial) ^f	2
Tuo-he-qi 托和[=合]齊	Bijun tongling 步軍統領 General Commandant of the Gendarmery (Banner not mentioned in memorial) ^g	5*
Bo-ji 博濟	Xi'an jiangjun 西安將軍/Garrison General of Xi'an	4
Xi-zhu 席柱	Xi'an jiangjun 西安將軍/Garrison General of Xi'an	4*
Jue-luo Meng-e-luo 覺羅孟戩洛	Jilin jiangjun 吉林將軍/Garrison General of Jilin	4*

^e The Banner is not mentioned in the memorial, but see QSL, 206: 1690 (KX 40/9/*guiden*), stating that A-ling-a was appointed *Zhenghaiqi lingshitai neidachen* in 30/10/1701.

^f Before he became Acting, and then regular, General Commandant of the Gendarmery in 29/11/1711 (KX 50/10/*yihai*) and 14/12/1711 (KX 50/11/*gengyin*) respectively, Long-ke-duo was first appointed Vice Commander-in-chief (*fidutong* 副都統) of the Han Bordered Yellow Banner in 15/11/1701 and thereafter Vice Commander-in-chief of the Mongol Plain Blue Banner in 18/10/1704. See QSL, 206: 1693 (KX 10/10/*jis*), 217: 1782 (KX 43/9/*dingsi*), 248: 2024 (KX 50/10/*yihai*), and 248: 2027 (KX 50/11/*gengyin*).

^g Before becoming General Commandant of the Gendarmery in 27/6/1702 (KX 41/5/*guidou*), Tuo-he-qi 托合齊, as he is written in the QSL, had been Vice Commander-in-chief (*fidutong* 副都統) of the Mongol Plain White Banner since 23/5/1700. See QSL, 198: 1629 (KX 39/4/*wuchen*) and 208: 1710 (KX 41/5/*guiden*).

Tang-bao-zhu 唐保柱	Shengjing jiangjun 盛京將軍 / Garrison General of Shengjing	1*
Fu-la-ta 傅拉塔	Liangjiang zongdu 兩江總督 / Governor-general of Liangjiang	3
A-shan 阿山	Liangjiang zongdu 兩江總督 / Governor-general of Liangjiang	1
Jue-luo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯	Chuanshaan zongdu 川陝總督 / Governor-general of Chuanshaan	6
Q-shi-wu 齊世武	Chuanshaan zongdu 川陝總督 / Governor-general of Chuanshaan	3
Shao-mu-bu 邵穆布	Jiangnan zongdu 江南總督 / Governor-general of Jiangnan	2*
He-shou 赫壽	Caoyun zongdu 漕運總督 / Director-general of Grain Transport	3*
Yintai 殷泰	Chuanshaan zongdu 川陝總督 / Governor-general of Chuanshaan	1
Jue-luo Man-bao 覺羅滿保	Fujian xunfu 福建巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Fujian	1
	Minzhe zongdu 閩浙總督 / Governor-general of Minzhe	8*
E-lun-te 額倫特	Huguang zongdu 湖廣總督 / Governor-general of Huguang	1
Chang-nai 長賴	Liangjiang zongdu 兩江總督 / Governor-general of Liangjiang	2
Fo-lun 佛倫	Shandong xunfu 山東巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Shandong	9
	Chuanshaan zongdu 川陝總督 / Governor-general of Chuanshaan	7*
E-hai 鄂海	Shaanxi xunfu 陝西巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Shaanxi	1*
Ca-li 噶禮	Shanxi xunfu 山西巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Shanxi	12*
Shu-tu 舒圖	Gansu xunfu 甘肅巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Gansu	1
Su-ke-ji 蘇克濟	Shanxi xunfu 山西巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Shanxi	5
Man-pi 滿丕	Guangdong xunfu 廣東巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Guangdong	3*
Xu Yuanmeng 徐元夢	Zhejiang xunfu 浙江巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Zhejiang	4
Fa-hai 法海	Guangdong xunfu 廣東巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Guangdong	1*
De-yin 德音	Shanxi xunfu 山西巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Shanxi	1
Sun Wencheng 孫文成	Hangzhou zhizao 杭州織造 / Superintendent of Imperial Manufactory in Hangzhou	3*
Unknown	**	2

■ Included informants reporting on Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

* These informants reported in palace memorials not only about diseases, but also about other aspects related to medicine.

** Because the official position of the informants could not be determined, these memorials are not included in Table 2.

*** This refers to informants who mentioned in their report a foreign drug which possibly, though not certainly, was a Jesuit drug. Included are informants providing information on Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

2.2. Memorials in Chinese: Informants

In the Chinese Medical Palace Memorials, as with those in Manchu, the imperial network of informants is only composed of members from the network of power, in most instances from the Territorial Administration. Of the 28 informants in the 222 Chinese Memorials only 5 belonged to the Central Government, submitting 45 Memorials. Though it is mainly the Emperor's sons who report about medical cases in the Manchu Memorials, in the Chinese ones only one informant came from the Imperial Family, the Emperor himself, by means of a "vermillion edict" or *zhuyu* 硃諭. Furthermore, none of the informants from the Central Government came from the Imperial Household Department or the Censorate. The Grand Secretariat supplied 3 informants, the three Chinese Grand Secretaries Li Guangdi 李光地, Wang Yan 王揆 and Zhang Yushu 張玉書, who together submitted 43 Memorials. Just a single Memorial came from another Central Government institution, the Six Ministries.

Informants from the Military are represented in substantial number by members of the Chinese army known as the Green Standards. As might be expected, there are no informants from this institution in the Manchu Memorials. In the Chinese Memorials, 5 informants supplying 8 Memorials belonged to the Green Standards from Guangxi, Jiangnan, Suzhou and Ningxia. In addition, there were 2 informants, with a total of 6 Memorials, who were high-ranking Chinese officers of the Eight Banner troops, more specifically from the Garrisons of Fujian [Garrison of Fuzhou] and Zhensui 鎮綏 [Garrison of Suiyuan].

Another major difference between the informants in the Medical Palace Memorials in Manchu and Chinese is that in the Chinese series the informants from the Territorial Administration submitted most of the Memorials, but the number of memorialists is very limited. Thus 16 informants authored 162 Memorials. It is important to emphasise that of this total of 162, 90 were sent by Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮, Provincial Governor of Liangguang. In most of them, the Kangxi Emperor himself monitored Zhao Hongxie's illness. We will explore this case later in more detail (see 2.4). Informants from the Territorial Administration also held the following positions: Governor-general, Provincial Governor, and Director and Vice-Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory. Their jurisdictions comprised Panyuan 偏沅, Henan, Chuanshaan 川陝, Sichuan, Jiangnan 江南, Jiangning 江寧, Jiangxi, Suzhou 蘇州, Minzhe 閩浙, Liangguang 兩廣, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Guizhou.

While in the Manchu Memorials informants of cases involving Jesuit medicine were found at nearly every level of political organisation, in Chinese Memorials all the relevant informants—with the exception of Li Guangdi 李光地 (Grand Secretary in the Central Government)—belonged to the Territorial Administration. From Li Guangdi we know that he tried his

best to satisfy the Emperor's interest in Western science and to win his favour, while at the same time being in competition with the Jesuits at court.³⁴ The institutional positions of informants in cases dealing with Jesuit medicine were Governor-general, Provincial Governor, and Director and Vice-Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory, and involved the jurisdictions of Suzhou 蘇州, Liangguang 兩廣, Guangdong and Jiangxi (Table 5), some of them close to the commercial ports of China. As we will see in the section on patients, most of these memorials had nothing to do with illness, but with the arrival of Western physicians and drugs—among them also Jesuit ones. The only case in which undoubtedly a Jesuit drug, cinchona, was assigned by the Emperor to a patient is that of the well-known episode of the Kangxi Emperor's closest Chinese bondservant Cao Yin 曹寅, as described by Jonathan E. Spence.³⁵ This case was reported from the Territorial Administration by Li Xu 李煦, Vice-Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou.

³⁴ Li Guangdi invited Mei Wending 梅文鼎 (1633-1721) to teach and study mathematics in his house upon his arrival Beijing in 1689. As a result of this Li Guangdi presented the Emperor with a copy of Mei's "Queries on Mathematical Astronomy" (*Lixue yiwu* 歷學疑問). The final aim of his strategy was to try to please the Emperor at a time when the Rites Controversy was beginning to force the court to recognise the limitations in relying on Jesuits expertise for astronomy and mathematics. See Benjamin A. Elman (2005), *On their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550-1900*, Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, p. 154. For a monograph on this topic, see Han Qi (1996), "Junzhu he buyi zhi jian: Li Guangdi zai Kangxi shidai de huodong ji qi dui kexue de yingxiang" 君主和布衣之间: 李光地在康熙时代的活动及其对科学的影响 (Between Emperor and Common People: Li Guangdi's Activities during the Kangxi Reign-period and its Influence on Science), *Qinghua xuebao* 清華學報 (Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies) 26.4: 421-446.

³⁵ Jonathan D. Spence (1966), *T'sao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press (Yale Historical Publications Series), pp. 255-261.

Table 4
General Institutional Affiliation of Informants in the Medical Palace Memorials in Chinese, Kangxi Period

Administrative Divisions	Number Memorials	Number Informants	Administrative Sub-divisions	Centre-Periphery	Number Memorials	Number Informants	Administrative Sub-divisions	Number Memorials	Number Informants
Central Government Level	45	5	Imperial	Capital	1	1			
			Family		0	0			
			Eunuchs, female serves		0	0			
			Imperial Household		0	0			
			Department		0	0			
			Grand Secretariat		43	3			
			Six Ministries		1	1			
			Censorate		0	0			
			Jesuits, Westerners		0	0			
			Eight Banners		0	0			
Military	14	7	Capital		0	0	High-ranking Officers	0	0
							Imperial Guard (Imperial Body-guard, Vanguard and Guard)	0	0
Territorial Administration & Dependencies	162	16	Green Standards	Garrisons	6	2			
					8	5			
Grand Total	221	28							

■ Included informants reporting on Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

^a Here the sum of memorials is 221, but as I mentioned above, the real total is 222. As noted in Table 5, Gao Shiqi 高士奇 was a retired scholar and hence I do not include him in this table.

Table 5
Institutional Positions of Informants and Number of their Memorials in the
Medical Palace Memorials in Chinese, Kangxi Period

Informant	Institutional Position/Translation	Number of Memorials
Kangxi Emperor (<i>zhuyi</i> 硃諭)	Emperor	1
Li Guangdi 李光地***	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士/Grand Secretary	27
Zhang Yushu 張玉書	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士/Grand Secretary	5
Wang Yan 王孫***	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士/Grand Secretary	11
Name not given	<i>Bingpu</i> 兵部/Ministry of War	1
Pan Yulong 潘貞龍	<i>Zhensui jiangjun</i> 鎮守將軍/Garrison General of Zhensui [Garrison of Sujiuan]	1
Zu Liangbi 祖良璧	<i>Fujian jiangjun</i> 福建將軍/Garrison General of Fujian [Garrison of Fuzhou]	5
Zhang Zhaowu 張朝午	<i>Guangxi tidu</i> 廣西提督	2*
	Provincial Military Commander of Guangxi, Green Standards	
Zhao Po 趙珀	<i>Jiangnan tidu</i> 江南提督	1
	Provincial Military Commander of Jiangnan, Green Standards	
Shi Yide 師懿德	<i>Jiangnan tidu</i> 江南提督	3
	Provincial Military Commander of Jiangnan, Green Standards	
Liu Hanye 劉漢業	<i>Suzhou zongbingsuan</i> 肅州總兵官	1
	Regional Commander of Suzhou, Green Standards	
Fan Shujie 范時捷	<i>Ningxia zongbing</i> 寧夏總兵	1
	Regional Commander of Ningxia, Green Standards	
Li Xu 李煦	<i>Guanti Suzhou zhizaoyuan wailang</i> 管理蘇州織造員外郎 (Concurrently to his main position) Vice Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou	23*
	<i>Jiangning zhizao langzhong</i> 江寧織造郎中	
Cao Yin 曹寅	Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning (Nanjing)	9
	<i>Jiangning zhizao langzhong</i> 江寧織造郎中	
Cao Yin's son	Cao Yin's position: Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning (Nanjing)	1
	<i>Guanti Suzhou zhizaoyuan wailang</i> 管理蘇州織造員外郎	
Li Xu 李煦	(Concurrently with his main position) Vice Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou	1
	<i>Jiangning zhizao langzhong</i> 江寧織造郎中	
Cao Yin 曹寅	Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning (Nanjing)	
Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燾***	<i>Liangguang zongdu</i> 兩廣總督/Governor-general of Liangguang	90*

Liang Nai 梁楷	Minzhe zongdu 閩浙總督/Governor-general of Minzhe	3
Yue Shenglong 岳昇龍	Sichuan zongdu 四川總督/Governor-general of Sichuan	2
Nian Gengyao 年羹堯	Sichuan xunfu 四川巡撫/Provincial Governor of Sichuan	4
	Chuanshaan zongdu 川陝總督/Governor-general of Chuanshaan	1
Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燾	Liangguang zongdu 兩廣總督/Provincial Governor of Liangguang	1*
Fan Shichong 范時崇	Guangdong xunfu 廣東巡撫/Provincial Governor of Guangdong	2*
Yang Lin 楊林	Liangguang zongdu 兩廣總督/Governor-general of Liangguang	
Yang Zongren 楊宗仁	Guangdong xunfu 廣東巡撫/Provincial Governor of Guangdong	
Song Luo 宋濼	Jiangning xunfu 江寧巡撫/Provincial Governor of Jiangning	6
Lu You 鹿祐	Henan xunfu 河南巡撫/Provincial Governor of Henan	4
Fan Shichong 范時崇	Guangdong xunfu 廣東巡撫/Provincial Governor of Guangdong	3
Zhao Shenqiao 趙申喬	Pianyuan xunfu 偏沅巡撫/Provincial Governor of Pianyuan	2
Lang Tingji 郎廷極	Jiangxi xunfu 江西巡撫/Provincial Governor of Jiangxi	5*
Liu Yinsu 劉蔭樞	Guizhou xunfu 貴州巡撫/Provincial Governor of Guizhou	1
Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍	Guangxi xunfu 廣西巡撫/Provincial Governor of Guangxi	1*
Yang Lin 楊林	Guangdong xunfu 廣東巡撫/Provincial Governor of Guangdong	1*
Yang Lin 楊林	Liangguang zongdu 兩廣總督/Governor-general of Liangguang	2*
Gao Shiqi 高士奇	Retired official because of illness or old age (not included in Table 4)	1

■ Included informants reporting on Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

* These informants reported in Palace Memorials not only about diseases, but also about other aspects related to medicine.

** Because the official position of the informant could not be determined, these memorials are not included in the statistic in the previous table.

*** This refers to informants that mentioned in their report a foreign drug which possibly, though not certainly, was a Jesuit drug. Included are informants providing information on Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

2.3. Memorials in Manchu: Patients

Turning now to the patients, the high degree of privacy characterising the Memorials becomes even more evident than in the case of the informants. Indeed, in a high percentage of cases it is the patient himself who reports directly to the Emperor about his illness, so that medical information went straight from the patient to the Emperor and *vice versa*. In other documents informants report to the Emperor about illnesses of their family members, so here, too, communication was relatively direct. Evidence of these two patterns can be found in both Manchu and Chinese Medical Palace Memorials.³⁶

The imperial network of patients depicted by the Memorials is more complex than in the case of the informants. While in the latter case it comprised only members belonging to the network of power, in the former case it also contained those in the network of closeness, men or women with a personal relationship to the Emperor, but with no governmental position and thus mostly no share in the exercise of official power. This group of patients was composed of female relatives of the Emperor, among them his grandmother, the second and eighth princesses, his Mongolian nurse-maid Su-ma-la 蘇麻拉, the wife of a Commandery Prince,³⁷ and the wife of the first son of the Emperor. It was the Emperor's sons, mostly Yinzhi, who reported about their illnesses. Some female servants and eunuchs also belonged to this group. Moreover, it included Jesuits and other foreigners, as we will see in detail later. Though they were privileged by being attended to by the Emperor himself, and thus belonged to the imperial network, they have to be strictly differentiated from the patients who belonged to the network of power. Contrary to the situation of the informants, however, who were chiefly sons of the Emperor, patients belonged mostly to the military elite, and sometimes to the Central Government or, more specifically, the Imperial Family. In the following analysis we will deal with all the complexities of the imperial network as revealed by information contained in the Manchu Medical Palace Memorials.

A more detailed description of the group of patients appearing in the Manchu Memorials shows that out of the 210 patients reported, 64 belonged to the Central Government. Among them were Manchu patients,

³⁶ In the cases where an official reported about a relative's illness, it is the position of the informing official which is taken into account for the institutional analysis of patients. This is done for both Manchu and Chinese patients (tables 7 and 9). The reason for this procedure is that it is reasonable to assume that the Emperor showed special favour more to the informing official himself than to the informant's relative.

³⁷ Commandery Princes (*junwang* 君王) are Princes of the Blood of the Second Degree. See Brunnert and Hagelstrom (1912), p. 5 (17).

Westerners (Jesuits included), and Chinese. More specifically, a very relevant group of patients, 30, came from the Imperial Family. We also come across one eunuch and one female servant. In addition, 6 patients came from the Imperial Household Department, 11 from the Grand Secretariat, and 6 from the Six Ministries. None came from the Censorate. Finally, 9 patients were Westerners and Jesuits, whom I will describe later.

In contrast with the category of informants, where I have shown that only 8 members of the Eight Banners submitted memorials, Banner members, in all probability overwhelmingly of Manchu origin, represent a very remarkable group of patients.³⁸ It is composed of 124 persons who belonged mainly to the Imperial Bodyguard, Vanguard and Guard (79 patients), that is, officers entrusted with the personal security of the Emperor. We also can find in the same category a small number of patients who were high-ranking officers from the Banner troops (17 patients). With the exception of a few cases in which members of this institution acted as informants, in most of the cases patients were reported by the Emperor's sons, principally by Yinzhi. As a final remark regarding the institutional position of patients in the Military, a minority came from the Banners in garrisons in Xi'an, Jilin, and Fuzhou (3 patients from the total 7 patients) and the Green Standards in Jiangxi (1 patient).

The large number of Manchu patients among Banner troops in the capital (117), the course of whose illnesses was followed by the Emperor, prompted me to undertake further research. The results are shown in Appendix B, which consists of four tables representing the institutional division of the Banners according to two well-established categories: Upper Banners (*shang san qi* 上三旗/*dergi ilan gūsa*) (Tables 11, 12, 13) and Lower Banners (*xia wu qi* 下五旗/*fejergi sunja gūsa*) (Table 14).³⁹ In this appendix I classify each patient according to his Banner and position. This allows a more complete analysis, highlighting the hierarchical positions of the Banner troop patients of whom the Kangxi Emperor took special care. First of all, it is clear that most of the patients belonged to the Upper Banners (Plain Yellow Banner, Bordered Yellow Banner, Plain White Banner), i.e. those that were controlled directly by the Emperor. Thus, 92 patients belonged to the Upper Banners, but only 10 to the Lower Banners, which

³⁸ The informants mostly reported collectively about a group of individual Bannermen patients. Elliott underlines that during the Qing period most of the Bannermen were illiterate. This situation worsened during the eighteenth century, when even high-ranking officials were hardly able to write in Manchu and/or Chinese. See Elliott (2001a), p. 48.

³⁹ For the Manchu terms of the Banner divisions, see Elliott (2001b), p. 79.

were under the supervision of the Imperial Princes (Bordered White, Plain/Bordered Red, Plain/Bordered Blue).⁴⁰

It is evident that the patients from the Upper Banners belonged mainly to the imperial guard (69),⁴¹ i.e. the Imperial Bodyguard, the Vanguard and the Guard. 59 came from the Imperial Bodyguard, a clear majority of them (55) belonging to the ranks of Senior Bodyguard of the First, Second and Third Grade.⁴² It is important to note here that the Imperial Bodyguard consisted of Manchu only. The remaining 10 of the 69 came from the Guard. No member of the Vanguard is mentioned, though we may assume that they may also have received the privilege of imperial medical attendance, as this was indeed the case for one Vanguard Colonel from one of the Five Lower Banners (see Table 14). Both the Vanguard and the Guard were composed primarily of Manchu, but also of Mongols. Considering the information that we have on the ethnic composition of the imperial guard and the fact of the generally non-Chinese names of the patients, these figures are corroboration that most of the patients were of Manchu ethnicity, although some individual Mongols may have been included among them.

The remaining Memorials written in Manchu were submitted by the Territorial Administration and refer to 17 patients. All of these were Governors-general, Provincial Governors and Surveillance Commissioners, whose jurisdictions were Gansu, Shanxi, Chuanshaan 川陝, Zhejiang, Liangjiang 两江, Huguang 湖廣, Fujian, and Jiangnan 江南. In this group of patients there also appear four cases from the Dependencies. These concerned four Mongolian patients: the Mongolian Pontiff, the Tsetsen-Khan of the Khalkha, the mother of Se-leng 色棱 (Prince of Kharach'in), and the Ongniot Prince. Here it should be underlined that none of the Chinese memorials report on any patient from the Dependencies.

Within the group of patients mentioned in Manchu Memorials, Jesuit medical information related mainly to the members of the Imperial Family, from whom also most of the relevant informants came. As we saw in the previous section, the network of informants of Jesuit medicine was very restricted, limited to a small number of actors: sons of the Emperor, three members of the Grand Secretariat (He-shi-heng 赫世亨, Zhao-chang 趙昌, He-su 和素), and only one informant from the Six Ministries (Li Guoping

⁴⁰ The total number of patients coming from the Eight Banners in the capital is 117, but the total number of patients for whom the exact Banner colour is indicated is 102. This is the reason for the asymmetry between these two figures.

⁴¹ As stated in Table 6, altogether 79 patients from the imperial guard are known. 69 came from the Three Upper Banners and 6 from the Five Lower Banners. In the case of 4 patients we do not know to which banner they belonged.

⁴² 20 in the Plain Yellow, 18 in the Bordered Yellow, and 17 in the Plain White Banner (out of 28). See Tables 11-13.

李國屏). Two others came from the Territorial Administration (Jue-luo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯 and Fo-lun 佛倫), but they reported only about their own illnesses, so that information about Jesuit medicine came directly from them to the Emperor.

From the total number of 32 (Manchu or other ethnicities) patients that at some point during their treatment received Jesuit medicine, 21 were reported by the Emperor's sons. Yinreng 胤礽 acted as relevant informant only in a single case, namely the illness of Sa-bu-su 薩布素, Garrison General of Heilongjiang. Most of the Memorials came from Yinzhi 胤祉, alone or with his brothers, who reported on 20 of the patients, as can be seen in Table 7. These patients belonged to almost all institutional levels of the government, as indicated in Table 6. Below I will give a summary of these patients reported by Yinzhi and the institutions to which they belonged.

Among members of the Imperial Family are the seventh and eighth sons of the Emperor, Su-ma-la 蘇麻拉 (nursemaid of the Emperor), Bao-shou 保壽 (a Manchu nobleman with the title of Viscount of the Second Degree), and a Commandery Prince (name not mentioned) as well as the wife (name not mentioned) of a Commandery Prince, i.e. a Prince of the Blood of the Second Degree. Other Memorials refer to patients from the Central Government, such as the Grand Secretary Zhang Yushu 張玉書 (Grand Secretariat), Hua-se 華色, Vice Director of the Storage Office (Imperial Household Department), and Jian-liang 薦良, Vice Minister in the Court of Colonial Affairs. A number of patients belonged to the Eight Banners, especially high-ranking officers in the Upper Banners, such as Ban-da-er-shan 班達爾善 (Former Commander-in-chief, Bordered White Banner) and his son, Po-er-pen 頗爾盆 (Grand Minister Commander of the Imperial Guardsmen, Plain Yellow Banner), Wu-da-chan 吳達纏 (Commander-in-chief, Manchu Plain Blue Banner) and members of the Imperial Bodyguard of the Kangxi Emperor such as Na-er-shan 那兒善, Jing-si-le 井四勒 and Bi-ya-er-bu-ha 畢亞爾布哈. From the Lower Banners there is only the high-ranking officer Mo-er-hong 莫爾洪 (Regimental Commander in the Guards Brigade and Imperial Bondservant, Plain Red Banner). Lastly, one patient, Wu-wei-ke-yi 烏黑克依, Tsetsen-Khan of the Khalkha (Mongolia) came from the Dependencies.

Yinzhi also memorialised on the Chinese official Chen Bingheng 陳秉恆 (position not indicated, but presumably from the Banner troops⁴³) who also received a Jesuit medicine. Eventually Yinzhi also presented accounts of the illnesses of two Jesuits: Zhang Cheng 張誠 (Jean-François Gerbillon)

⁴³ Cf. Zhou Junfu 周駿富 (comp.), *Qingdai zhuanji congkan suoyin* 清代傳記叢刊索引 (Index to the Series of Qing Biographies), Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1985, vol. 3, p. 1715, where a Chen Bingheng is listed in the *Baqi hualu* 八旗畫錄 (Records of Painters in the Eight Banners).

and, paradoxically, the Jesuit pharmacist Bao Zhongyi 保忠義 (Giuseppe Baudino).

Other patients who received a Jesuit medicine, but were neither reported by Yinzhi nor by any other of the Emperor's sons, were officers that memorialised directly to the Kangxi Emperor about their own illnesses, namely Jue-luo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯 (Governor-general of Chuanshaan) and He-su 和素 (Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory). In addition two patients were reported by He-shi-heng 赫世亨 as having been prescribed a Jesuit drug. These were Ban-di 班第 (Ongnioid Prince), and La-bu-tu 拉布圖 (Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard, Plain White Banner). Finally, a Jesuit drug was also applied during the therapy of the Chinese Grand Secretary Li Guangdi 李光地, as we know from the Memorials submitted by He-su 和素 and Li Guoping 李國屏.

It should be underlined here that, with the exception of one case, all the other documents in which an illness of a Jesuit is described were Palace Memorials in Manchu. Apart from Yinzhi, the informants of such cases were Li Guoping 李國屏 and He-shi-heng 赫世亨. The following are mentioned among the Jesuit patients: Ji Li'an 吉利安 (Kilian Stumpf, 1665-1720), An Duo 安多 (Antoine Thomas, 1644-1709), the surgeon Fan Jixun 樊繼訓 (Pierre Frapperie, 1664-1704), and Bo Jin 博津 (Joachim Bouvet, 1656-1730), as well as the afore-mentioned Zhang Cheng 張誠 (Jean-François Gerbillon, 1654-1707) and Bao Zhongyi 保忠義 (Giuseppe Baudino, 1657-1718).

Belonging to the group of Western missionary patients in China, though not to the Jesuits, is the remarkable case of Duo Luo 多羅 (Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, 1668-1710), the Pope's legate to China, who maintained a close, but conflictive relationship with the Jesuits during his stay in China. Maillard de Tournon's illness was reported in detail by Yinzhi as well as by He-shi-heng together with Zhao-chang, in a series of five Memorials, as we will see in the following section. Another non-Jesuit Western patient was the Scottish physician Thomas Garwin, sent by the Tsar of Russia and known under the Chinese or Manchu name Ga'erfen 噶爾芬.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See Fu Lo-shu (1966), *A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations, 1644-1820*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, vol. 1, pp. 129 and 136.

Table 6
General Institutional Affiliation of Patients in the Medical Palace Memorials in Manchu, Kangxi Period

Administrative Divisions	Number Patients ^a	Administrative Sub-divisions	Centre-Periphery	Number Patients	Administrative Sub-divisions	Number Patients
Central Government Level	64	Imperial Family		30		
		Eunuchs, female servants		2		
		Imperial Household Department	6			
		Grand Secretariat	11			
		Six Ministries	6			
		Censorate	0			
		Jesuits, Westerners	9			
Military	125	Eight Banners	Capital	117	High-ranking Officers	17
					Imperial Guard (Imperial Body-guard, Vanguard and Guard)	79
					Others	21
Territorial Administration & Dependencies	21	Green Standards	Garrisons	7		
				1		
Grand Total	210					

■ Included patients related to Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

^a See footnote 20. The total number of patients is 213, but in three cases the position is neither mentioned nor could it be found, leaving a final total of 210.

Table 7
Institutional Positions of Patients in the Medical Palace Memorials in Manchu, Kangxi Period

Informant	Patient (Name)	Position/Translation
Kangxi Emperor (<i>zhuyi</i> 朱諭)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Yinreng 胤禔	Imperial son
	Third son of the Emperor	Imperial son
	Second princess	Imperial daughter
	Name not given	<i>Efu</i> 額駙 / Consort
	Fan Jixun 樊繼訓	Pierre Frapperie (French Jesuit)
	Name not given	<i>Jiangjun</i> 將軍 Garrison General (jurisdiction not mentioned)
Yinreng 胤禔	Yinreng 胤禔	Imperial son
		Third son of the Emperor
	Ban-di 班第	<i>Wengniute wang</i> 翁牛特王 / Ongniud Prince ^a
	Tu-na 圖納	[<i>Xingbu</i>] <i>shangshu</i> [刑部]尚書 Minister [in the Ministry of Justice] ^b
	Cha-han-xi-da-er Ha-shi-ha 察罕西達兒哈什哈	<i>Xiansan dachen</i> 閑散大臣 Unassigned Bannerman and Grand Minister
	Ba-lin 巴林	<i>Meile zhangjing</i> 梅勒章京 / Banner Vice-Commander-in-chief (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
	Sa-bu-su 薩布素***	[<i>Heilongjiang</i>] <i>jiangjun</i> [黑龍江]將軍 Garrison General [of Heilongjiang] ^c
	Shu-shu 舒樹	<i>Gansu xunfu</i> 甘肅巡撫 / Provincial Governor of Gansu
	Name not given	<i>Zhebu zundanba hutuketu</i> 哲布尊丹巴呼圖克土 <i>Jebsundamba khutuktu</i> , i.e. Mongolian Pontiff ^d
Elderly son of Niao-le 烏勒		**
	Eighth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Yinzhi 胤祉 (a) ^e		
Yinzhi	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Yinzhi 胤祉	Imperial son
	Bao-shou 保壽	[<i>Erdeng jingqinihafan</i> 二等精奇尼哈番 / Viscount] ^f

^a The Ongniuds were one of the eight tribes belonging to the Chao Uda League, one of the six administrative and military divisions in Southern, or Inner Mongolia. See Brunnert and Hagelstrom (1912), pp. 456-457.

^b The Ministry is not mentioned in the original Memorial, but from the many entries in the QSL we know that Tu-na was Minister of the Ministry of Justice.

^c His jurisdiction is not mentioned in the Memorial, but it is clear from many QSL entries that it was Heilongjiang. On Sa-bu-su (Sabsu), see also Elliot (2001b), p. 85.

^d The first *Jebsundamba khutuktu*, the spiritual head of the Gelug lineage of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia, was Zanabazar (1635-1723) who was identified as the reincarnation of the the scholar Taranatha of the Jonang school of Tibetan Buddhism. He became the spiritual head of the Khalkha Mongols. See Charles R. Bawden (1968), *The Modern History of Mongolia*, New York: Praeger Publishers, pp. 261-263.

^e The uppercase letters refer to the constellations of collective informants submitting Medical Palace Memorials as listed in Appendix A. However, because some of the Memorials did not report about patients, but about the arrival or sending of drugs or physicians, some of the constellations do not appear in this table.

Yinxiang 胤祥	Imperial son
Fifteenth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
E-fei 鄂費	<i>Fuguogong</i> 輔國公/Bulwark Duke
Liang Qi 梁琪	<i>Neiwufu zongguan</i> 內務府總管 Supervisor-in-Chief of the Imperial Household Department
Hua-se 華色	<i>Guangchusi yuanwailang</i> 廣儲司員外郎 Vice Director of the Storage Office (Imperial Household Department)
Chang-zai 常載	<i>Kuaijisi zhushi</i> 會計司主事 Secretary in the Office of Palace Accounts (Imperial Household Department)
Chang-shou 常壽	<i>Wubeiyuan kuzhang</i> 武備院庫掌 Storehouse Keeper of Court of Imperial Armaments
Zhu-shu 朱恕	<i>Shujishi</i> 庶吉士/Hanlin Bachelor
Zhang Yushu 張玉書	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士/Grand Secretary
Li Guangdi 李光地	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士/Grand Secretary
Jian-liang 蔣良	<i>Lifanyuan shilang</i> 理藩院侍郎 Vice Minister in the Court of Colonial Affairs
Bao Zhongyi 保忠義	Giuseppe Baudino (Italian Jesuit)
Zhang Cheng 張誠	Jean-François Gerbillon (French Jesuit)
Nie Yunlong 聶雲龍	Probably Giovanni Gherardini (Italian painter)
Wu-da-chan 吳達纏 [=禪]**	<i>[Zhenglanqi Manzhou] dutong</i> [正藍旗滿洲]都統 Commander-in-chief [Manchu Plain Blue Banner] [§]
Suo-nai 索奈	<i>Dutong</i> 都統/Commander-in-chief of a Banner (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
Son of Ban-da-er-shan 班達爾善	Ban-da-er-shan's position: <i>Xiangbaiqi yuanren dutong</i> 鑲白旗原任都統 Former Commander-in-chief (Bordered White Banner)
Zhu-ma-la 朱瑪喇	<i>Xianghuangqi yideng shiwei fudutong</i> 鑲黃旗一等侍衛副都統 Vice-Commander-in-chief and First Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Gong-tai 龔泰	Subordinate ^h of Na-mu-sa-li 那木薩里; Na-mu-sa-li's position: <i>Xianghuangqi baoyi niulu</i> 鑲黃旗包衣牛錄 Company Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Yellow Banner); Gong-tai's position: <i>Baitalabule</i> [Baitalabure] <i>hafan</i> 拜他喇布勒哈番 Commandant of Cavalry

^f The title is not mentioned in the original Memorial, but see QSL, 229: 2288 (KX 57/6/*wuxu*), where both the illness as well as the title of Bao-shou can be found (18/7/1718).

[§] The banner is not mentioned in the Memorial, but we know from the QSL that Wu-da-chan 吳達禪, as his name is written in the QSL, was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Manchu Plain Blue Banner in 9/11/1705. See QSL, 222: 1821 (KX 44/9/*jiashen*).

^h In the case of patients who are reported as subordinate to an official of higher degree, it is the latter's institutional position that is taken into account in Table 6.

Jiu-ge 赳格	<i>Xianghuangqi baoyi niulu Baitalabule [Baitalabure] hafan</i> 鑲黃旗胞衣牛錄 拜他喇布勒哈番 Company Commander, Commandant of Cavalry and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Xi-la-dao 錫喇到	<i>Shengjing zhenghuangqi baoyi niulu zhangjing [nirui janggjin]</i> 盛京正黃旗包衣牛錄章京 Company Commander in Shengjing and Imperial Bondservant (Plain Yellow Banner)
Zha-nu-ka 扎努喀	<i>Xianghuangqi niulu zhangjing [nirui janggjin]</i> 鑲黃旗牛錄章京 Company Commander (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Jue-se 覺色	<i>Niulu zhangjing [nirui janggjin]</i> 牛錄章京 Company Commander (Banner no referred)
Xi-fu 希福	Subordinated to Sa-ha-lian 薩哈連; Sa-ha-lian's position: <i>Zhengbaiqi baoyi niulu</i> 正白旗包衣牛錄 Company Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Plain White Banner); Xi-fu's position: <i>Adaha hafan</i> 阿達哈哈番 Commandant of Light Chariots
Po-er-pen 頗爾盆	<i>Zhenghuangqi neidachen</i> 正黃旗內大臣 Grand Minister Assistant Commander of the Imperial Guardsmen (Plain Yellow Banner)
Bo-si-ge 伯四格	<i>Sanzhi dachen</i> 散秩大臣 Grand Minister Assistant Commander of the Imperial Guardsmen (according to the context he may have belonged to the Plain Yellow Banner)
Shuo-dai 碩岱	<i>Sanzhi dachen</i> 散秩大臣 Grand Minister Assistant Commander of the Imperial Guardsmen (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
Liu Zhanxin 劉占心	<i>Zhenghuangqi toudeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗頭等侍衛 First Grade Imperial Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Jue-luo Wai-san 覺羅歪三	<i>Xianghuangqi toudeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗頭等侍衛 First Grade Imperial Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Wei-ba-er-tu 衛巴爾圖	<i>Zhenghuangqi toudeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗頭等侍衛/First Grade Imperial Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Na-er-shan 那爾善	<i>Zhenghuangqi yideng shiwei</i> 正黃旗一等侍衛 First Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Sha-ke-du 沙克杜	<i>Zhengbaiqi yideng shiwei</i> 正白旗一等侍衛 First Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Hai-qing 海清	<i>Yuqian yideng shiwei</i> 御前一等侍衛 First Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard at the Imperial Antechamber
Jing-si-le 井四勒	<i>Xianghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Jue-luo Na-tai 覺羅那泰	<i>Xianghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Mother of Jue-luo Duo-er-ji 覺羅多爾濟	<i>Xianghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Du-dai 杜岱	<i>Zhenghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)

Tai-yun 泰運	<i>Zhenghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Du-tai 杜泰	<i>Zhenghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Gan-sheng 甘生	<i>Zhenghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Cheng-xi-tai 成希泰	<i>Zhenghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Du-tai 都泰	<i>Zhenghuangqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
La-bu-tu 拉布圖	<i>Zhengbaiqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正白旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Hua-shan 華山	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei weizhangjing</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛委章京 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard and Company Commander (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Guo-lian 郭廉	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Ji-er-hai 濟爾海	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Zhao Hong-wei 趙宏偉	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Fo-ti 佛替	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Ga-na-shun 噶那順	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Wang Deng 王登	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Jue-luo Ma-er-tai 覺羅馬爾泰	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Wu-da-ha 吳達哈	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Sun-si-zhi 孫思治	<i>Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Jue-luo Mai-tu 覺羅邁圖	<i>Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Bao-zhu 寶珠	<i>Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Zha-ke-dan 札克丹	<i>Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)

Wu-shi-er 五十二	Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
De-shou 德壽	Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Tu-ke-shan 圖克善	Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Qi-shi 七十	Zhenghuangqi sandeng shiwei 正黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Wa-er-da 瓦爾達	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
De-er-te-yi 德爾特依	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Wu-er-tu-na-su-tu 馬爾圖那蘇圖	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Sen-te-he 森特赫	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Zhao-min 趙敏	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei zongshi 正白旗三等侍衛宗室 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner), Imperial Clan
Sai-er-bi 塞爾弼	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Wu-er-ding-a 吳爾丁阿	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Xu Ying 徐應	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Suan-zhu 算柱	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Xing-hui 興輝	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Bang-ai 邦艾	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Guo-su-na 郭素那	Zhengbaiqi sandeng shiwei 正白旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Duo-po-er 朵頗爾	Sandeng shiwei 三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
Bu-le-su 布勒蘇	Zhenghuangqi sideng shiwei 正黃旗四等侍衛 Fourth Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Ha-qing-a 哈青阿	Yizhang shiwei 儀仗侍衛/Imperial Insignia Guard (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
Ying-ge-qi 英格齊	Zhengyiwei 整儀尉/Rectifier-Commandant of Decorum

Bi-ya-er-bu-ha 畢亞爾布哈	Zhenghuangqi lanling 正黃旗藍翎 Junior Guardsman (Plain Yellow Banner)
Tun-tai 屯泰	Xianghuangqi lanling 鑲黃旗藍翎 Junior Guardsman (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Zhu-lu-se 朱魯色	Xianghuangqi lanling 鑲黃旗藍翎 Junior Guardsman (Bordered Yellow Banner)
A-lu 阿魯	Zhenghongqi qianfeng canling 正紅旗前鋒參領 Regimental Commander in the Vanguard Brigade (Plain Red Banner)
He-shen 和伸	Zhengbaiqi baiyala jiala zhangjing 正白旗擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Plain White Banner)
Shuo-se 碩色	Zhengbaiqi baoyi lajiala zhangjing 正白旗包衣喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Plain White Banner)
Da-la-ge 達喇咯	Zhenghuangqi baiyala jiala zhangjing 正黃旗擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Plain Yellow Banner)
Shang-zhi-jie 尚志傑	Xiangbaiqi baoyi baiya jiala zhangjing 鑲白旗包衣擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Jing-se-leng 景色楞	Xianghuangqi baoyi baiyala zhangjing 鑲黃旗包衣擺牙喇章京 Regimental Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Bao-zhu 保朱	Xianghuangqi baiyala jiala zhangjing 鑲黃旗擺牙喇甲喇章 Regimental Commander (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Ba-lu 巴魯	Xianghongqi baiyala jiala zhangjing 鑲紅旗擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Bordered Red Banner)
Fu-ge 富咯	Xianghuangqi baiyala jiala zhangjing 鑲黃旗擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Wu-li 烏裏	Xiangbaiqi baiyala jiala zhangjing zongshi 鑲白旗擺牙喇甲喇章京宗室 Regimental Commander, Imperial Clan (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Shan-fu 善福	Xianghuangqi erdeng shiwei baoyi weibaiyala jiala zhangjing 鑲黃旗二等侍衛包衣委擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander, Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Xu-jia 徐嘉	Zhengbaiqi baoyi baiyala jiala zhangjing 正白旗包衣擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Plain White Banner)
Da-la-ha 達拉哈	Zhenghuangqi baiyala jia zhangjing 正黃旗擺雅喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Plain Yellow Banner)

Hao-shan 豪善	<i>Xianghuangqi weishu shiwei baiyala zhangjing</i> 鑲黃旗委署侍衛擺牙喇章京 Regimental Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Bo-jing 博精	<i>Zhengbaiqi guanling</i> 正白旗管領 Chief Clerk in the establishments of Imperial Princes and Commandery Princes ⁱ (Plain White Banner)
He-sai 赫塞	<i>Zhenghuangqi guanling</i> 正黃旗管領 Chief Clerk in the establishments of Imperial Princes and Commandery Princes (Plain White Banner)
Ba-shi 巴什	Subordinate of: Guan-bao 管寶; Guan-bao's position: <i>Zhenghuangqi guanling</i> 正黃旗管領/Chief Clerk in the establishments of Imperial Princes and Commandery Princes (Plain Yellow Banner); Ba-shi's position: <i>Fuguanling</i> 副管領/Vice Chief Clerk
Hong Yuanyi 洪遠義	Subordinate of: Xie-ni 謝尼; Xie-ni's position: <i>Zhengbaiqi baoyi guanling</i> 正白旗包衣管領/Chief Clerk in the establishments of Imperial Princes and Commandery Princes and Imperial Bondservant (Plain White Banner); Hong Yuanyi's position: <i>Qipinguan</i> 七品官/Official of Seventh Rank
Tai-wu-ba-di 台烏巴迪	<i>Zhengbaiqi guanling</i> 正白旗管領 Chief Clerk in the establishments of Imperial Princes and Commandery Princes (Plain White Banner)
Ya-tu 雅圖	Subordinate of Zao-bao 皂寶 (position not mentioned in the memorial); Ya-tu's position: <i>Fuguanling</i> 副管領 Vice Chief Clerk (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
He-er-ku-ne 和爾庫訥	<i>Chashangren sandeng shiwei</i> 茶上人三等侍衛 Tea Attendant and Third Degree Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
He-da-zi 何達子	<i>Zhengbaiqi chashangren</i> 正白旗茶上人 Tea Attendant and probably Imperial Senior, Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Hei-bao 黑保	<i>Chashangren</i> 茶上人 Tea Attendant and probably Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
Hei-ge 黑格	<i>Zhenghuangqi baoyi tuoshahafan</i> 正黃旗包衣托沙哈番 Commandant of Cavalry Second Class and Imperial Bondservant (Plain Yellow Banner)
Fei-yang-gu 費揚固	<i>Xianghuangqi shouchengbin fumenling</i> 鑲黃旗守城兵符門領 Probably Commandant of the Fu Gate of the City Guard Troops (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Name not given	<i>Zhangjia hutuketu</i> 章嘉呼圖克圖 <i>Changkya khutukhtu</i> or Changcha Pontiff ^j
Bi-li-gun-da-lai 畢里袞達賴	<i>Keerqin'gong</i> 科爾沁公/ <i>Khorch'in</i> Prince ^k

ⁱ Imperial Princes are Princes of the Blood of the First Degree, while Commandery Princes are Princes of the Blood of the Second Degree.

^j *Changkya khutukhtu* (*Zhangjia hutuketu*) is the title of one of the four highest lamas of Tibetan Buddhism. The second incarnation of this lama was Ngawang Losang Chöden (1642-1714), who was a student of the fifth Dalai Lama and was brought to Beijing by the Kangxi Emperor in 1701. See http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ngawang_Losang_Chöden.

Yinzhi, Yinsi 胤祀	Bao-shou 保壽	[<i>Erdeng jingqinihafan</i> 二等精奇尼哈番 Viscount of the Second Degree]
	Seventh son of the Emperor	Imperial son
	Su-ma-la 蘇麻拉	Nursemaid of the Emperor
	Name not given	Wife of <i>Zhijunwang</i> 直郡王 Prince of the Blood of the Second Degree
	Wife of the first son of the Emperor	Imperial relative
	A-xi-tan 阿希坦	<i>Neige xueshi</i> 內閣學士 / Academician of the Grand Secretariat
	Seng-tu 僧圖	<i>Qianqingmen shiwei</i> 乾清門侍衛 Imperial Senior Bodyguard of the Qianqing Gate
	Se-bu-teng-ban-shu-er 色布騰班殊爾	<i>Zhenghuangqi yideng shiwei</i> 正白旗一等侍衛 First Degree Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
	Mo-er-hong 莫爾洪	<i>Zhenghongqi baoyi hujun canting</i> 正紅旗包依胡軍參領 Regimental Commander in the Guards Brigade and Imperial Bondservant (Plain Red Banner)
	A-se-mu-ba 阿色木巴	<i>Jiala zhangjing</i> 甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Banner not mentioned in memorial)
	Fu-dao 富道	<i>Xianghuangqi baiyala jiala zhangjing</i> 鑲黃旗擺牙喇甲喇章京 Regimental Commander (Bordered Yellow Banner)
	Wu-ge 吳格	<i>Zhenghuangqi guanling</i> 正黃旗管領 Chief Clerk in the establishments of Imperial Princes and Commandery Princes (Plain Yellow Banner)
	Ling-ba-shi 領巴什	<i>Zhenghuangqi chouke fuguan</i> 正黃旗紬科副管 Adjutant (Plain Yellow Banner)
	Guo-bu-su 廓布素	<i>Xianghongqi qianfeng zhangjing</i> 鑲紅旗前鋒章京 Vanguard Colonel (Bordered Red Banner)
Chen Bingheng 陳秉恆	Probably belonged to the Eight Banner Troops	
Yinzhi (b)	Seventh son of the Emperor ***	Imperial son
Yinzhi (c)	Eighth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Yinzhi, Yinzhen 胤禛	Eighth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
	Eighteenth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
	Second Princess	Imperial daughter
	Bao-shou 保壽	[<i>Erdeng jingqinihafan</i> 二等精奇尼哈番 Viscount of the Second Degree]
	Name not given	<i>Duoluo Xinjunwang</i> 多羅信郡王 Prince of Blood of the Second Degree
	Ba-ha-da 巴哈達	<i>Nanyuan liuguan zongguan</i> 南苑六館總管 Supervisor-in-Chief of the Southern Park
	Ban-da-er-shan 班達爾善	<i>Xiangbaiqi yuanren dutong</i> 鑲白旗原任都統 Former Commander-in-chief (Bordered White Banner)
	Cao Weicheng 曹衛誠	<i>Zhengbaiqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正白旗二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)

^k The [Aru-]Khorch'in tribe belonged to the Chao Uda League, one of the six administrative and military divisions of Southern, or Inner Mongolia. See Brunnett and V. V. Hagelstrom (1912), pp. 456-457.

	Wu-er-de-yi 烏爾德依	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei zongshi</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛宗室 / Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard, Imperial Clan (Bordered Yellow Banner)
	Hu-na 胡納	<i>Xianghuangqi sandeng shiwei</i> 鑲黃旗三等侍衛 Third Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Bordered Yellow Banner)
	Mo-er-hong 莫爾洪***	<i>Zhenghongqi baoyi hujun canling</i> 正紅旗包依胡軍參領 Regimental Commander in the Guards Brigade and Imperial Bondservant (Plain Red Banner)
	Name not given	<i>Xianglanqi baiya jiala zhangjing</i> 鑲藍旗擺牙喇章京 Regimental Commander in the Guards Brigade and Imperial Bondservant (Bordered Blue Banner)
	Wu-hei-ke-yi 烏黑克依***	<i>Keerke Chechenhan</i> 喀爾喀車臣汗 Tsetsen-Khan of the Khalkha (Mongolia) ¹
Yinzhi, Yinzhen 胤禎 ^m	Mo-er-hong 莫爾洪***	<i>Zhenghongqi baoyi hujun canling</i> 正紅旗包依胡軍參領 Regimental Commander in the Guards Brigade and Imperial Bondservant (Plain Red Banner)
Yinzhi (e)	Su-ma-la 蘇麻拉	Nursemaid of the Emperor
Yinzhi (f)	Fourteenth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Yinzhi (g)	Eighteenth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Yinzhi (h)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (i)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (j)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (k)	Eight princess	Imperial daughter
	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (l)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (m)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (n)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (o)	Emperor's grandmother	Imperial relative
	Hua-se 華色	<i>Guangchusi yuanwailang</i> 廣儲司員外郎 Vice Director of the Storage Office (Imperial Household Department) Subordinated to Lao-ya-tu 勞雅圖; Lao-ya-tu's position: <i>Zhengbaiqi baoyi niulu</i> 正白旗包衣牛錄 / Company Commander and Imperial Bondservant (Plain White Banner); Xu-ke-gui's position: <i>Xianyuan</i> 閑員 / probably <i>sula</i> (Manchu), i.e. a Bannerman at large garrison without position or pay
	Xu-ke-gui 徐可貴	<i>Xianghuangqi Asihanifan</i> 鑲黃旗阿思哈尼哈番 Baron of the Bordered Yellow Banner
	Shuo-se 碩色	
Yinzhi (p)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (q)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (r)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (s)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Yinxiang 胤祥	Imperial son
Yinzhi (t)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yinzhi (v)	Eighth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Yinzhen 胤禎 (y)	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor

¹ The Tsetsen-Khanate was one of the four tribes of the Khalkha in Outer, or Northern Mongolia. See Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom (1912), p. 442.

^m Yinzhen 胤禎 might be a scribal error by the Chinese translators of the Manchu memorials, as in the previous Memorial dealing with Mo-er-hong's case Yinzhen 胤禎 is mentioned.

Yinzhen 胤禛	Kangxi Emperor Seventh son of the Emperor	Emperor Imperial son
Yinzhì (x)	Eighth son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Ya-er-jiang-a 雅爾江阿	Ya-er-jiang-a 雅爾江阿	<i>Shizi</i> 世子 / Son of a Prince of the Blood of the First Degree
	Father of Ya-er-jiang-a 雅爾江阿	Ya-er-jiang-a's position: <i>Shizi</i> 世子 / Son of a Prince of the Blood of the First Degree
	Zhang Han 張含	<i>Neike daifu</i> 內科大夫 / Doctor of Internal Medicine [Imperial Palace Physician]
	Jue-luo Le-ben-te-yi 覺羅勒本特依	<i>Qingche duwei</i> 輕車都尉 Commandant of Light Carriages
Hua-qi 華齊 ⁿ	Da age 大阿哥 ^o	Son of a Prince of the Blood of the Second Degree
Neiwufu 內務府	General report about patients in the <i>Yangxindian</i> 養心殿 (Hall of Moral Cultivation)	
	General report about patients in the <i>Neiwufu</i> (Imperial Household Department)	
Tu-ba 圖巴	Name not given	<i>Gege</i> 格格 / Imperial Clanswoman
Tu-ba 圖巴 Hai-la-xun 海拉遜 Le-de-hun 勒德渾 Ming-zhu 明珠	Second Princess	Imperial daughter
Tu-ba 圖巴 Hai-la-xun 海拉遜	Emperor's Grandmother	Imperial relative
	Suo-ning 索寧 Nu-su-te 努蘇特	Female servants
Tu-ba 圖巴 Zhu-ji-bo 朱齊伯	Second son of the Emperor	Imperial son
Ma-si-ka 馬思喀	<i>Huang taizi</i> 皇太子	Heir Apparent
Ling-pu 凌普	Son of the Kangxi Emperor (Name not given)	Imperial son
E-lun-dai 鄂倫岱	Ma-hai 馬海	<i>Xi'an youyi</i> [<i>zhengbaiqi Hanjun</i>] <i>fudutong</i> 西安右翼[正白旗]副都統 Vice Commander-in-chief in Xi'an (Right Wing) [Han Plain White Banner] ^p
Shang Zhishun 尚志舜	Liang Jiugong 梁九功	Imperial eunuch
He-shi-heng 赫世亨	Ban-di 班第	<i>Wengniute wang</i> 翁牛特王 Ongniud Prince ^q

ⁿ Probably Hua-qi 華玘 (d. 1719) is meant, son of Margun (1663-1709), whose father was Yolo (1625-1689). See Hummel (1943), vol. 2, pp. 934-935.

^o This is probably a mistake for Da age 大阿格.

^p The Banner is not mentioned in the original Memorial, but we know that he was appointed Vice Commander-in-chief of the Han Plain White Banner in Xi'an in 1/3/1717. See QSL, 271: 2212 (KX 56/1/*jiaxu*).

^q The Ongniud tribe belonged to the Chao Uda League, one of the six administrative and military divisions of Southern, or Inner Mongolia. See Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom (1912), pp. 456-457.

	He-shi-heng's son Wang-jia-bao 旺佳保	He-shi-heng's position: <i>Wuyingdian zongjianzao</i> 武英殿 總監造 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory
	Bo Jin 博津	Joachim Bouvet (French Jesuit)
	Duo Luo 多羅	Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (the Pope's legate)
	La-bu-tu 拉布圖	<i>Zhengbaiqi erdeng shiwei</i> 正白旗 二等侍衛 Second Grade Imperial Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
He-shi-heng 赫世亨 Zhao-chang 趙昌	Duo Luo 多羅	Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (the Pope's legate)
Song-zhu 嵩祝	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
He-su 和素	He-su 和素	<i>Wuyingdian zongjian</i> 武英殿總監 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory
	Li Guangdi 李光地	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
He-su 和素 Li Guoping 李國屏	Li Guangdi 李光地 ***	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
Wen-da 溫達	Wen-da 溫達	<i>Wenhudian daxueshi</i> 文華殿大學士 Grand Secretary in the "Hall of Literary Splendour"
Xiao Yongzao 蕭永藻	Xiao Yongzao 蕭永藻	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
Li Guoping 李國屏	An Duo 安多 Ji Li'an 吉利安	Antoine Thomas (Belgian Jesuit) Kilian Stumpf (German Jesuit)
Li Guoping 李國屏 Ai-bao 愛保	He-shi-heng 赫世亨	<i>Wuyingdian zongjianzao</i> 武英殿總監造 Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory
Jiang Xie 蔣燮	Chun-xi 純禧	<i>Heshuo gongzhu</i> 和碩公主 Imperial Princess [born from a concubine]
Huang Yun 黃運 Huo Guifang 霍桂芳	Bu-le-su 布勒蘇	<i>Zhenghuangqi siding shiwei</i> 正黃旗四等侍衛 Fourth Grade Senior Bodyguard (Plain Yellow Banner)
Fu-ning-an 富寧安	Kangxi Emperor Fu-ning-an 富寧安	Emperor <i>Bingbu shangshu</i> 兵部尚書 Minister of the Ministry of War
Xun-zhu 遜柱	Su-nu 蘇努 De-sen-te 德森特	<i>Xianghong manzhouqi beizi dutong</i> 鑲紅滿洲旗貝子都統 Commander-in-chief (Bordered Red Manchu Banner), Prince of the Blood of the Fourth Degree <i>Ningguta pijia</i> 寧古塔披甲 Armored Man of Ningguta
Lifanyuan 理藩院	Sun Chengyun 孫成運 Ga'erfen 噶爾芬 A-ling-a 阿靈阿 Se-ne-ke 色訥克 Ji-luo-bo-zang-gu-mu-bu 吉羅卜藏古木布	<i>Efu</i> 額駙 / Consort Thomas Garwin <i>Lifanyuan shangshu</i> 理藩院尚書 Minister in the Court of Colonial Affairs <i>Lifanyuan Gelaqin shiwei</i> 理藩院喀喇沁侍衛 Kharach'in Imperial Guard in the Court of Colonial Affairs <i>Yuqiantai</i> 御前臺 / Palace Guardman (Probably <i>Yuqian shiwei</i> 御前侍衛 Guard at the Imperial Antechamber)
A-ling-a 阿靈阿	Dan-ji-la 丹濟拉	<i>Elute gong</i> 厄魯特公 / Prince of the Oelöt

Long-ke-duo 隆科多	Kangxi Emperor Mother of Bai-tang-a-ba-tai 柏唐阿巴泰	Emperor Position of Bai-tang-a-ba-tai 柏唐阿巴泰: <i>Xianghuangqi goushang</i> 鑲黃旗狗上/ Probably Attendant of the Imperial Kennels (Bordered Yellow Banner)
Tuo-he-qi 托和[合]齊	Tuo-he-qi 托和齊	<i>Bujun tongling</i> 步軍統領 General Commandant of the Gendarmerie (Banner not mentioned in memorial) ^r
Bo-ji 博濟	Bo-ji 博濟	<i>Xi'an jiangjun</i> 西安將軍 Garrison General of Xi'an
Xi-zhu 席柱	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Jue-luo Meng-e-luo 覺羅孟俄洛	Jue-luo Meng-e-luo 覺羅孟俄洛	<i>Jilin jiangjun</i> 吉林將軍 Garrison General of Jilin
Fu-la-ta 傅拉塔	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Yan Liuqi 詹六奇	<i>Jiangxisheng Nangan zongbing</i> 江西省南贛總兵 Regional Commander of the Green Standards of Nangan in Jiangxi
A-shan 阿山	Zhang Daoqian 張道乾	(Position not mentioned in the memorial)**
Jue-luo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯	Jue-luo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯	<i>Chuanshaan zongdu</i> 川陝總督 Governor-general of Chuanshaan
Qi-shi-wu 齊世武	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Shao-mu-bu 邵穆布	Shao-mu-bu 邵穆布	<i>Jiangnan zongdu</i> 江南總督 Governor-general of Jiangnan
He-shou 赫壽	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yintai 殷泰	Yintai 殷泰	<i>Chuanshaan zongdu</i> 川陝總督 Governor-general of Chuanshaan
Jue-luo Man-bao 覺羅滿保	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Huang taizi 皇太子	Heir Apparent
	Zu Liangbi 祖良璧	<i>Fuzhou jiangjun</i> 福州將軍 Garrison General of Fujian [Garrison of Fuzhou]
	Chen Bin 陳璘	<i>Fujian xunfu</i> 福建巡撫 Provincial Governor of Fujian [Garrison of Fuzhou]
E-lun-te 額倫特	E-lun-te 額倫特	<i>Huguang zongdu</i> 湖廣總督 Governor-general of Huguang
Chang-nai 長鼐	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Chang-nai 長鼐	<i>Liangjiang zongdu</i> 兩江總督 Governor-general of Liangjiang
Fo-lun 佛倫	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Fo-lun 佛倫	<i>Chuanshaan zongdu</i> 川陝總督 Governor-general of Chuanshaan
	Ge-si-tai 葛思泰	[<i>Chuanshaan</i>] <i>zongdu</i> [川陝]總督 Governor-general [of Chuanshaan] ^s
Ga-li 噶禮	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Ba-ha-bu 巴哈布	<i>Anchashi</i> 按察使 Surveillance Commissioner
	Shu-he-de 舒赫德	<i>Anchashi</i> 按察使 Surveillance Commissioner
Shu-tu 舒圖	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor

^r See the note in Table 3 under Tuo-he-qi.

^s The jurisdiction is not mentioned in the Memorial, but QSL, 133: 1008 (KX 27/2/*jiazi*) makes clear that he was appointed Governor-general of Chuanshaan from 22/3/1688.

Su-ke-ji 蘇克濟	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Zhao Fengzhao 趙鳳詔	[<i>Taiyuanfu zhifu</i> 太原府知府 Prefect of Taiyuan Prefecture] ^{†**}
Xu Yuanmeng 徐元夢	Su-ke-ji 蘇克濟	<i>Shanxi xunfu</i> 山西巡撫/Provincial Governor of Shanxi
	Xu Yuanmeng 徐元夢	<i>Zhejiang xunfu</i> 浙江巡撫 Provincial Governor of Zhejiang
	Mother of Xu Yuanmeng 徐元夢	Position of Xu Yuanmeng 徐元夢: <i>Zhejiang xunfu</i> 浙江巡撫 Provincial Governor of Zhejiang
De-yin 德音	De-yin 德音	<i>Shanxi xunfu</i> 山西巡撫/Provincial Governor of Shanxi
Unknown	Mother and younger brother of Che-ling-wang- bu 車凌旺布	Che-ling-wang-bu's position: <i>Wang</i> 王/Imperial Prince
	Fu-jin 福晉, mother of Se- leng 色棱	Se-leng's position: <i>Kelaqinwang</i> 喀喇沁王/Prince of Kharach'in ^u

■ Patient for whom Jesuit medical practice is mentioned in Manchu Palace Memorials.

** Because the official position could not be determined, these Memorials are not taken into account in the statistics in the previous table.

*** Patient who perhaps was treated with a Jesuit drug, though final corroboration is lacking.

[†] Position not mentioned in the original Memorial, but see, e.g., QSL, 265: 2166-2167 (KX 54/10/*dinghai*). Cf. also Hummel (1943), vol. 1, p. 80, stating that Zhao Fengzhao was accused of having committed bribery as Prefect of Taiyuanfu in 1715 and was finally executed in 1718. Zhao is also listed in the following work: Wenshizhe chubanshe bianjibu 文史哲出版社編輯部 (Editorial Department of the Wenshizhe Publishing Society) (1982), *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoysin* 明清進士題名碑錄索引 (Index to the Stele Records of Ming and Qing Metropolitan Graduates), Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, vol. 2, p. 1792. In the imperial rescript to the relevant Manchu Memorial the Kangxi Emperor inquired about the veracity of Zhao's illness because he suspected that in view of the investigation against him it was feigned. See KXMZ 2897, 1150.

^u The Kharach'in was one of the two tribes of the Chosot'u League, one of the six administrative and military divisions of Southern, or Inner Mongolia. See Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom (1912), pp. 456-457.

2.4. Memorials in Chinese: Patients

The direct flow of information between patients and the Emperor is especially evident in the Chinese Medical Palace Memorials, as out of a total of 34 patients 17 reported directly to the Emperor. Among them were Cao Yin 曹寅 (Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning), Li Guangdi 李光地 (Grand Secretary) and Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮 (Governor-General of Liangguang) (Table 9). This fact reduces the complexity of the imperial network of patients in comparison with the Manchu series, since the actors belonged mostly to the network of power, or, more precisely, the echelon of the Territorial Administration. The network of closeness is reduced to two patients, the Emperor's wife—who is referred to by the Emperor in two spontaneous comments included in the vermilion rescripts of two Memorials—and the French Jesuit Jean-François Foucquet.

A more detailed analysis of patients mentioned in the Chinese documents shows that only 9 patients belonged to the Central Government, which is represented particularly by the imperial family in the person of the Kangxi Emperor himself, his wife and his first son. In addition, 5 patients came from the Grand Secretariat. In contrast to the constellations described in the Manchu Memorials, in the Chinese ones the Military is represented by only 9 patients. 3 of them belonged to the Eight Banners, a Senior bodyguard (Plain White Banner) and two Chinese officials from the garrisons in Fujian [Garrison of Fuzhou] and Zhensui [Garrison of Suiyuan], as well as 6 to the Green Standards in Jiangnan, Suzhou, Ningxia and Sichuan.

A distinct characteristic of the Chinese Memorials is that they clearly were the most important conduit for information about the health of high-ranking officials working in the Territorial Administration. In fact, 162 memorials out of a total of 222 report on patients belonging to this category. The 14 patients mentioned in them, all high-ranking officials holding eminent positions as Governor-general, Provincial Governor, Director and Vice Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory or Surveillance Commissioner, memorialized in most cases personally to the ruler. Their jurisdictions included Suzhou 肅州, Sichuan, Jiangnan 江南, Minzhe 閩浙, Liangguang 兩廣, Jiangning and Guangdong. Among them the most remarkable is Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮, Governor-general of Liangguang (*Liangguang zongdu* 兩廣總督). He was the second son of Zhao Liangdong 趙良棟, a controversial Chinese general, who in 1645 had joined the Manchu forces in their conquest of Shanxi.⁴⁵ Zhao Hongxie alone submitted 90 Memorials, in 64 of which he reports about his own health problems. This is clear evidence of the close relationship between the Kangxi Emperor and this trusted—and thus privileged—Chinese official.

⁴⁵ Hummel (1943), vol. 1, pp. 78-79.

Regarding the patients for which Jesuit medical information is provided in the Chinese Memorials, as has already been indicated in the sections dealing with informants, there is a big difference to those reported in the Manchu series. In the Chinese Memorials only four patients are mentioned who were treated with a Jesuit drug: Li Guangdi 李光地 (a Grand Secretary whose case, as we have seen, was also reported in Manchu memorials), Wang Yan 王掞 (Grand Secretary), Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮, and Cao Yin (Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning), who received cinchona from the Kangxi Emperor. In addition, the illness of a French Jesuit, Fu Shengze 傅聖澤 (Jean-François Foucquet), was also reported.

All the other relevant Chinese Memorials deal with the arrival of Western drugs and physicians—among them the French Jesuit surgeon Étienne Rousset (An Tai 安泰; 1689-1758), the Italian Jesuit surgeon Giovanni Giuseppe da Costa (Luo Huaizhong 羅懷中; 1679-1747) and the Portuguese Jesuit pharmacist Miguel Vieira (Wei Ge'er 巍哥兒; 1681-1761). From this we can draw the important conclusion that Jesuit medicine, through the intervention of the Kangxi Emperor, was applied mainly within the Manchu network of patients, and that it was assigned only to a very limited number of Chinese patients.

Table 8
General Institutional Affiliation of Patients in the Medical Palace Memorials in Chinese, Kangxi Period

Administrative Divisions	Number Patients ^a	Administrative Sub-divisions	Center-Periphery	Number patients	Administrative Sub-sub-divisions	Number Patients
Central Government Level	9	Imperial Family		3		
		Eunuchs, female servants		0		
		Imperial Household Department		0		
		Grand Secretariat		5		
		Six Ministries		0		
		Censorate		0		
		Jesuits, Westerners		1		
Military	9	Eight Banners	Capital	1	High-ranking Officers	0
					Imperial Guard (Imperial Body-guard, Vanguard and Guard)	1
			Garrisons	2	Others	0
Territorial Administration & Dependencies	13	Green Standards		6		
		Grand Total				
	31					

■ Includes patients related to Jesuit medicine and medical practice.

^a See footnote 23. The total number of patients is 34, but three have not been included in Table 8. The positions of two of them are unknown, while the third, Gao Shiqi 高士奇, was a retired official.

Table 9
Institutional Positions of Patients in the Medical Palace Memorials in Chinese, Kangxi Period

Informant	Patient	Institutional Position
Kangxi Emperor (<i>zhuyi</i> 朱諭)	Wang Yan 王揆	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
Li Guangdi 李光地	Li Guangdi 李光地***	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Zhang Yushu 張玉書	Zhang Yushu 張玉書	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
Wang Yan 王揆	Wang Yan 王揆***	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
	Wang Yan's son	Wang Yan's position: <i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士 Grand Secretary
Bingbu 兵部 (Board of War)	Ba-er-zhu 巴爾住	<i>Zhengbaiqi yideng shiwei</i> 正白旗一等侍衛 First Grade Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner)
Pan Yulong 潘育龍	Pan Yulong's son: Pan Xiang 潘祥	Pan Yulong's position: <i>Zhensui jiangjun</i> 鎮綏將軍 Garrison General of Zhensui [Garrison of Suiyuan]
Zu Liangbi 祖良璧	Zu Liangbi 祖良璧	<i>Fujian jiangjun</i> 福建將軍 Garrison General of Fujian [Garrison of Fuzhou]
Zhao Po 趙珀	Zhao Po's niece	Zhao Po's position: <i>Jiangnan tidu</i> 江南提督 Provincial Military Commander of Jiangnan, Green Standards
Shi Yide 師懿德	Shi Yide 師懿德	<i>Jiangnan tidu</i> 江南提督 Provincial Military Commander of Jiangnan, Green Standards
Liu Hanye 劉漢業	Liu Hanye 劉漢業	<i>Suzhou zongbingguan</i> 肅州總兵官 Regional Commander of Suzhou, Green Standards
Fan Shijie 范時捷	Fan Shijie 范時捷	<i>Ningxia zongbing</i> 寧夏總兵 Regional Commander of Ningxia, Green Standards
Li Xu 李煦	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Huang taizi 皇太子 (Heir Apparent)	Imperial son
	Emperor's wife	Imperial relative
	Zhang Yunyi 張運翼	<i>Jiangnan tidu</i> 江南提督 Provincial Military Commander of Jiangnan, Green Standards
	Cao Yin 曹寅	<i>Jiangning zhizao langzhong</i> 江寧織造郎中 Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning (Nanjing)
	Li Xu 李煦	<i>Guanli Suzhou zhizao yuanwailang</i> 管理蘇州織造員外郎 (Concurrently with his main position) Vice Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou
	Li Xu's wife	Li Xu's position: <i>Guanli Suzhou zhizao yuanwailang</i> 管理蘇州織造員外郎 (Concurrently with his main position) Vice Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou
	Li Xu's mother	Li Xu's position: <i>Guanli Suzhou zhizao yuanwailang</i> 管理蘇州織造員外郎 (Concurrently with his main position) Vice Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou
Li Siqian 李斯佺	<i>Yanfadao</i> 鹽法道 Salt Control Circuit Intendant	

	Li Chenchang 李陳常	(Position not mentioned in the memorial) ^{a **}
Cao Yin 曹寅	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Xiong Silü 熊賜履	<i>Daxueshi</i> 大學士/Grand Secretary
	Cao Yin 曹寅	<i>Jiangning zhizao langzhong</i> 江寧織造郎中 Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning (Nanjing)
Son of Cao Yin 曹寅	Cao Yin 曹寅	<i>Jiangning zhizao langzhong</i> 江寧織造郎中 Director in the Imperial Silk Manufactory in Jiangning (Nanjing)
Cao Yin 曹寅 Li Xu 李煦	Li Siquan 李斯佺,	<i>Yanfadao</i> 鹽法道 Salt Control Circuit Intendant
Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
	Emperor's wife	Imperial family
	Zhao Hongxie 趙弘燮***	<i>Liangguang zongdu</i> 兩廣總督 Governor-general of Liangguang
	Zhou Zhizhen 周之楨 ^b	(Position not mentined in the memorial)**
	Song Qi 宋起	<i>Shoudao</i> 守道/General Administration Circuit
Liang Nai 梁鼎	Liang Nai 梁鼎	<i>Minzhe zongdu</i> 閩浙總督 Governor-general of Minzhe
	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Yue Shenglong 岳昇龍	Yue Shenglong 岳昇龍	<i>Sichuan tidu</i> 四川提督 Provincial Military Commander of Sichuan, Green Standards
	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Nian Gengyao 年羹堯	Yue Shenglong 岳昇龍	<i>Sichuan tidu</i> 四川提督 Provincial Military Commander of Sichuan, Green Standards
	Nian Gengyao 年羹堯	<i>Sichuan xunfu</i> 四川巡撫 Provincial Governor of Sichuan
	Li Yude 李育德	<i>Sichuan anchashi</i> 四川按察使 Surveillance Commissioner of Sichuan
	Kangxi emperor	Emperor
Song Luo 宋犖	Gao Shiqi 高士奇	<i>Zhishi</i> 致仕/Retired official because of old age or illness (Because of this reason he is not included in Table 8)
	Song Luo 宋犖	<i>Jiangning xunfu</i> 江寧巡撫 Provincial Governor of Jiangning
	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Lu You 鹿祐	Lu You 鹿祐	<i>Jiangnan xunfu</i> 河南巡撫 Provincial Governor of Jiangnan
Fan Shichong 范時崇	Kangxi	Emperor
	Fan Shichong 范時崇	<i>Guangdong xunfu</i> 廣東巡撫 Provincial Governor of Guangdong
Zhao Shenqiao 趙申喬	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor

^a Li Chenchang is mentioned as Salt Distribution Commissioner of Lianghuai (*Lianghuai yunshi* 兩淮運使) in 20/9/1714. See QSL, 260: 2121 (KX 53/8/*xinsi*).

^b See Wenshizhe chubanshe bianjibu (1982), *Ming Qing jinshi timing beilu suoyin*, vol. 3, p. 2206.

Lang Tingji 郎廷極	Fu Shengze 傅聖澤	Jean-François Foucquet (French Jesuit)
Liu Yinshu 劉蔭樞	Kangxi Emperor	Emperor
Gao Shiqi 高士奇	Gao Shiqi 高士奇	Zhishi 致仕/Retired official because of old age or illness (Because of this reason he is not included in Table 8)

■ Patient for which Jesuit medical practice is mentioned in Chinese Palace Memorials.

** Because the official position could not be determined, these memorials are not taken into account in the statistics in the previous table.

*** Patient who perhaps was treated with a Jesuit drug, though final corroboration is lacking.

3. Conclusions of the Quantitative Analysis: The Importance of Manchu Sources

What picture would we have had were only the Palace Memorials in Chinese at our disposal? First of all, the informants would have been restricted to a group of Chinese officials coming mostly from the territorial administration who personally reported to the Emperor the state of their health and that of some of their family members. Thus, in the absence of the Manchu Memorials the decisive role of the Kangxi Emperor's sons, especially of Yinzhi as the dominant informant, would not have been apparent. This enhances the private nature of the information contained in the Memorials, not only due to the characteristics of the communication means itself and because medical information was transmitted predominantly in Manchu, but also because medical information circulated intimately between son and father and vice versa.

Secondly, if we had focused exclusively on the Chinese Memorials, we would have concluded that most of the patients were Chinese. Likewise, due to their limited number, the real underlying structure of the network could not have been identified. What the Manchu Memorials reveal is a rich spectrum of patients of Manchu identity and other nationalities, including the Jesuits themselves, who were monitored and attended to by the Emperor. In general, they bring to light a large and complex imperial network, one that consisted of two different sub-networks. In the case of those written in Manchu, the network was centre-based and restricted mostly to the inner parts and the outskirts of the Imperial City.⁴⁶ The

⁴⁶ This does not mean that the "informants", as members of the Central Government, were always present in Beijing. They might have been sent on a special mission or formed part of the "court on horseback", that is, accompanying the Emperor on one of his many imperial tours and excursions. This also holds true to some extent for the "patients". Moreover, this could also be the other way round, namely, that informants and patients of the Dependencies or Territorial Adminis-

patients were not only members of the network of power, but also belonged to a different network, the network of closeness, defined by their personal relationship with the Emperor. In contrast, the network designed by the Emperor through the Chinese Medical Palace Memorials, was oriented towards the periphery. It focused on the Territorial Administration and was basically composed of members belonging to the network of power.

Finally, regarding the transmission of Jesuit medical practice to the Kangxi court (both in Beijing and “on horseback”), if we only had taken the Chinese Memorials into account, the phenomenon of the transmission of Jesuit medical practice would have remained hidden, as it would have been confined to two isolated cases only. Indeed, most of the information on Jesuits in the Chinese Memorials had to do with the arrival of drugs and Jesuit physicians, but not with their involvement in the treatment of patients. In clear contrast to this, the sources in Manchu show how Jesuit medical practice was controlled by the Kangxi Emperor, and that it was the Emperor himself who personally reserved and distributed Jesuit drugs and physicians to a select and privileged group of patients. The inclusion of Manchu sources in this research, therefore, has resulted in a very different and more nuanced reconstruction of the picture of court medicine during the Kangxi reign-period and its relationship to the networks of power and closeness.

4. Diagnosis of the Rhetoric of Power: Evidence of the Kangxi Emperor’s Patriarchal Attitude in the Medical Palace Memorials

For the Kangxi Emperor the patronage of Jesuit medical practice was an instrument of which he made use in his imperial network, as defined by me above. This was a network with a clear Manchu identity consisting of imperial relatives, ministers, high-ranking officials and officers from the Central Government and the Territorial Administration, but mostly from the Manchu Banner troops, and including also some Jesuits. However, rather than being a member of the political decision-making elite, some of these actors belonged to the network of closeness, i.e. the personal circle surrounding the Emperor, and thus shared some degree of intimacy with him.

trations were not at their place of affiliation, but somewhere else, particularly in Beijing. For a description of the imperial tours during the Kangxi reign, see Michael G. Chang (2007), *A Court on Horseback: Imperial Touring & the Construction of Qing Rule, 1680-1785*, Cambridge (Mass.) and London: Harvard University Press (Harvard East Asian Monographs; 287), pp. 75-87.

By describing the medical attention which the Kangxi Emperor paid to his closest advisers, officials, officers, bodyguards, and relatives, the Medical Palace Memorials offer an insight into a unique characteristic of his imperial attitude. The Emperor turned illness into a means of access to the patients—and, to some degree, also to himself. Medicine thus became a means of communication with the patients, and an instrument for further exerting power over them. In this relationship, the Emperor acted as a patriarchal figure, making available to patients therapeutic treatments that were kept under his patronage. This may also have been in line with the Kangxi Emperor's initiative for a revival of the ancient philosophical and cosmological tradition summarized in the "Great Learning" (*Daxue* 大學), or can be even perceived as a syncretistic idealisation of a ruler combining paternal benevolence with Buddhist compassion. At the same time the Kangxi Emperor no doubt profited from medical knowledge that was inaccessible to Chinese Imperial Palace physicians and other doctors, and which clearly placed him in an advantageous and pre-eminent position. Thus, by patronizing Jesuit medical practice, that is, Jesuit drugs and physicians, the Emperor converted them into a private and personal instrument, while limiting their circulation within close confines defined by the Emperor himself. Practising medicine at the court embodied, however, also a beneficial potential for the Jesuits as it provided them with an opportunity for personal and even intimate access to the Emperor and his environment. Hence medical practice was considered by the Jesuits as another tool to consolidate their position in the court.

In the following paragraphs I will dwell, first, on different episodes attested to in the Medical Palace Memorials that clearly elucidate the Kangxi Emperor's intervention in medical practice, as well as the personal and power-driven relationship that existed between him and several of the actors belonging to his imperial network. In the second part of this section we will see how these documents also reveal to us the role that Jesuit medicine played in this personal and private network.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Here, as elsewhere, I rely in the case of Manchu documents on their translation into Chinese. For a further refinement of this study, my future research on this topic will proceed in the following two directions: First, in terms of rhetoric, I will attempt to carry out, on the basis of the original Manchu documents, a comparative analysis of the discourse of power that the Emperor established through the assignment of physicians and the prescription of drugs. It will be especially important to find out whether there exist different styles of rhetoric in the communications between the Emperor and various actors in accordance to the latter's affiliation to different groups, such as the imperial family, military and civil personnel, or members of the Banner troops. This might allow us to fine tune the elucidation of the hierarchical power structure during selected periods of the Kangxi reign. Secondly, in the historico-medical dimension, the identification of

The first case that I am going to introduce is that of Jue-lo Hua-xian 覺羅華顯, and is a typical example for the patriarchal role adopted by the Emperor towards his officials. In the Memorial submitted by the patient himself in Kangxi 42/11/21 (28/12/1703), Jue-lo Hua-xian, then Governor-general of Chuanshaan, expresses his gratitude to the Kangxi Emperor for sending him a physician and drugs while he was ill. Moreover he states: "Because the Emperor also worried that I would force myself to get up to see him off, HE issued a special imperial edict not allowing me to do so. Moreover, HE ordered me to cure my illness and not to wear myself out."⁴⁸ In his rescript to this Memorial the Emperor not only expresses his concerns towards Jue-lo Hua-xian as a "patient", but also as a person in the framework of the asymmetric power relationship that we are going to describe in this section. In his rescript, the Son of Heaven writes:

You should be a bit more patient and relaxed. You have shown yourself able to exert all your energies in serving Us in response to the favours bestowed time and again upon you. This indeed can be considered as showing gratitude. The only time that you have been ungrateful for Our compassionate and special favours shown to you is [exactly] now by your being excessively worried and depressed. You have indeed served Me for a long time.⁴⁹

The second case is that of He-shi-heng 赫世亨 (Supervisor-General of the Hall of Military Glory), in which the personal relationship of the Kangxi Emperor to him is revealed by the ruler's closely following the course of his illness. This case is documented in 15 Memorials submitted by Li Guoping and Ai-bao (both from the Ministries), especially in the sixth month of the forty-sixth year of the Kangxi reign-period (July 1707) when communication gained in frequency. The Emperor actively participated in the therapy, and He-shi-heng expressed his gratitude to him in a Memorial of Kangxi 46/7/14 (11/8/1707). The ruler imparted to his officials an impression of his expertise through the prescription of a strict diet, as is reflected by He-shi-heng in the following way:

different transcriptions of drugs of Jesuit and other origin into Manchu should be clarified. In addition, I plan to take into account the therapeutic suggestions and prescriptions as they were written down in Manchu by the Kangxi Emperor. This will help us to better understand the phenomenon of appropriation of Jesuit medicine in China not only in terms of sinicization, but also their *manchurization*. Both the approaches outlined above will permit us to bring to light further important nuances in the study of this topic.

⁴⁸ KXMZ 558, 302.

⁴⁹ KXMZ 558, 302.

The Emperor has rescued me from serious danger. Upon hearing of my substantial recovery, He was very pleased. Moreover, He compared my advanced age with that of a turtle. He also ordered that I take the ten crucian carps conferred by Him upon me and to eat them little by little, and not to eat too much. It was only by relying on the sagely favours of the Emperor that I recovered even better from my illness than before. Now the strength of my legs has improved so that I am able to force myself to stand up again.⁵⁰

The patriarchal figure of the Kangxi Emperor and the power he exerted by demonstrating that he was the repository of a certain knowledge that was not available to the general public—among them the Chinese physicians—appears even more clearly in the Emperor's vermilion rescripts. At the same time they exemplify again the intimate relationship that existed between the Emperor and his officials within the framework of a power structure with the Son of Heaven at its top. An example of this is a rescript to a Memorial dated Kangxi 46/7/17 (14/8/1707), in which the Emperor jokingly reproaches He-shi-heng for not having followed his advice: "Wait until We have returned to the palace, then We will be very intolerant with him. We certainly will hand him over to his wife so that she chokes him to death."⁵¹ In his memorial three days later, He-shi-heng responds: "Sage wisdom is the Emperor's; moreover His knowledge is infinite. And even jokes are something that He masters completely. I also would like to play with one or two sentences in order to make Him laugh, but I am simply not capable of doing so."⁵²

The third and fourth cases that I shall adduce here reflect how this personal relationship of the Kangxi Emperor with his select circle also included the missionaries and other Westerners. To start with, we learn from 5 Memorials how the Emperor attended the illness of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710), the Pope's legate in China, who appears under the name of Duo Luo 多羅. The informants were He-shi-heng 赫世亨 (Supervisor-General of the Hall of Military Glory) and Yinzhi 胤祉, the Emperor's third son. The Kangxi Emperor took part in the therapy by sending physicians and drugs, thus again showing his patriarchal face. In a Memorial dated Kangxi 45/7/11 (18/8/1706) it is reported how Maillard de Tournon, aware of the attention that has been paid to him by the Emperor, expresses his gratitude in a form of rhetoric that reminds us of that used by He-shi-heng in the previous case:

⁵⁰ KXMZ 1157, 527-528.

⁵¹ KXMZ 1159, 529.

⁵² KXMZ 1164, 532.

I, Duo Luo, received extraordinary favours from the Emperor. As there is no way to show my gratitude to Him in my service, it only remains to me to chant this liturgy and to pray respectfully for Him.⁵³

The fourth case shows how other Westerners installed in the court also received the attention of the Kangxi Emperor. Yinzhi 胤祉 reports in Kangxi 43/7/4 (4/8/1704) what He-shi-heng has told him about the illness of the Italian painter Gianni Gherardini (Nie Yunlong 聶雲龍). Since the painter was suffering pain in his shoulder, maybe due his intense work at the court, He-shi-heng asks for an acupuncturist. Yinzhi, therefore, requests that the Emperor send Ling Yifeng 凌易風 and Yin De 尹德. After they examine the patient, they decide that acupuncture is the appropriate treatment. Gherardini refuses this treatment, however, so Yinzhi requests an Imperial decision on the matter. In the Kangxi Emperor's vermilion rescript we read the following: "If the Westerner does not want to be treated with acupuncture, do not force him."⁵⁴

In the second part of this section the objective is to describe, using two examples, how, within the framework of the personal relationship of the Kangxi Emperor to his "patients", Jesuit medicine (and also medicine of other origins) was not only a means to communicate with the patient, but also to gain closer access to the person and, simultaneously, to exert more power over him through the prescription of those drugs not usually available to the general population. One relevant case is that of Li Guangdi 李光地 (Grand Secretary), whose illness was described in the Manchu Memorials submitted by He-su 和素 (Work Superintendent in the Imperial Printing Office in the Hall of the Military Glory) and Li Guoping 李國屏 (Vice Director of a Bureau in one of the Six Ministries) to the Kangxi Emperor. There is, however, also a Chinese Memorial written by Li Guangdi 李光地 himself. In his vermilion rescript to this Memorial dated ninth month of Kangxi 50 (between 12/10/1711 and 9/11/1711) the Emperor proposes balneotherapy as a treatment, accompanied by a specific diet. The Emperor also criticizes Li Guangdi by explaining to him the cause as to why he is not getting better:

I explained to you before that the time you were spending at the springs was too short. Now everything is very dry. This is the reason why this cure was unsuccessful. The beginning of springtime is very close. This is the best time to go to the springs, and thus will be more effective. But

⁵³ KXMZ 916, 437.

⁵⁴ KXMZ 627, 331.

your diet is also important. Do not take anything cold or raw.⁵⁵

In response to the attention he receives from the Emperor, Li Guangdi expresses his gratitude to him in subsequent Memorials. In one of these dated the fifty-second year of Kangxi (1713) he writes:

... In past years I often suffered from dysentery (*pixie* 脾洩) during the autumn months, but in this year I felt that it was especially protracted, sometimes stopping, but soon thereafter appearing again. Especially in the beginning I did not think of eating or drinking at all, but in the past few days I have again some appetite. When receiving the care of His Majesty and learning of His Majesty's inquiries, I could not but feel ashamed. Moreover, I have been favoured previously by His Majesty, who by an Imperial Edict ordered He-su and others to present me *Mugua gao* 木瓜膏 and *Zhixiegao* 止瀉膏 medicine. In the Imperial Rescript I was advised about how to take them and apply them. Sufferings of us dogs and horses [i.e. the officials of the Emperor] indeed receive the concern of the Ruler! But how can I feel myself at ease in view of the Emperor's Heart being full of worries day and night. This [all] certainly shows the favour of the Emperor in His having pity with [one of] His old officials.⁵⁶

In this case one of the drugs provided by the Emperor is *Mugua gao* 木瓜膏, which can probably be considered of Jesuit origin.⁵⁷ No such doubts exist in the second case, a report about the illness of Cao Yin and the Kangxi Emperor's prescription of cinchona. Here, I will focus on an analysis of this Memorial's rhetoric, which clearly reveals the personal relationship between the Emperor and his official. Jonathan D. Spence has already highlighted this aspect, but I will present it in the context of its significance for the Kangxi Emperor's policy of patronage of Jesuit medical practice.⁵⁸

Cao Yin's disease was reported in four Palace Memorials. Cao Yin himself first directly addresses the Emperor, but the following two

⁵⁵ KXHZ 994, vol. 3, 894.

⁵⁶ KXHZ 1498, vol. 5, 335.

⁵⁷ This drug appears as a present given by the Jesuits to the Kangxi Emperor for his sixtieth birthday. See Ma Qi 馬齊 (1983-1986) [1717], *Wanshou shengdian chuji* 萬壽盛典初集 (First Collection Regarding Imperial Benevolent Favours during the Sixtieth Birthday of the Emperor), in *Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 影印文淵閣四庫全書, Taipei: Taibei shangwu yinshuguan, 54: f° 14.

⁵⁸ Spence (1966), pp. 255-261.

Memorials were authored by Li Xu 李煦 (Commissioner of Imperial Silk Manufactory in Suzhou), stating that Cao's illness had become much worse. The last Memorial was submitted by Cao's son, who after the patient's death expresses his infinite gratitude to the Emperor for the personal attention he had shown to his father right from the start. Each of the Emperor's rescripts is clear proof of his concerns over the aggravation of the illness. For instance, in the Memorial dated Kangxi 51/7/18 (18/8/1712), Li Xu requests cinchona to cure Cao's *nueji* 瘧疾.⁵⁹ In his vermillion rescript the ruler expresses his concern, and confirms that he has sent the medicine to treat Cao. He has ordered that the drug be sent by courier on horseback so that it should arrive in time.⁶⁰ Here, Kangxi writes the name of the drug in Manchu, which has the meaning of "sagely medicine" (*shengyao* 聖藥). He also provides very detailed instructions about dosage and contraindications for its use.

In the next report in Kangxi 51/7/23 (28/8/1712), Li Xu reports that the cinchona—transliterated this time in Chinese as *jinjina* 金雞掣—had unfortunately not arrived in time, and that Cao had passed away. Despite this, Li expresses tremendous gratitude for the Emperor's kindness.⁶¹ The rhetoric of this Memorial makes clear that the Kangxi Emperor's attitude towards Cao Yin went far beyond the usual Emperor-bondservant relationship. It is a paradigmatic case exemplifying the Emperor's personal style of communication. At the same time it provides another example underlining the private-personal nature of the Medical Palace Memorials, and the role the Kangxi Emperor allowed Jesuit medicine to play in the strengthening of his power and the exaltation of his patriarchal figure. This was achieved through the exercise of his power of knowledge by the prescription of a drug—in this case a Jesuit drug that the Emperor made available only to a limited circle of the political and military elites, as has been repeatedly shown in this article:

... [From the Imperial Rescript I, Li Xu, learnt] how much the Emperor was concerned by Cao Yin's illness getting worse so that He promulgated [an order] to present the Sagely Medicine of *jinjina* [cinchona] [to Cao Yin]. Moreover, the Emperor's Mind was also worried about the delay that might be caused by the huge distance and therefore issued a special order to bring it to the south to Yangzhou on horseback along the Imperial Courier Service within a deadline of nine days. How perfect and extreme are the fatherly love of the Emperor's Heart and the disregard of usual rules in His Imperial Grace!

⁵⁹ KXHZ 1154, vol. 4, 325.

⁶⁰ KXHZ 1154, vol. 4, 325.

⁶¹ KXHZ 1158, vol. 4, 330.

Unfortunately, however, Cao Yin's share of luck [assigned to him by fate] was but small, so that he suddenly died of his illness before the sagely drug arrived. Nonetheless, when reminding ourselves of the tremendous amount of Imperial Favour never having been bestowed to such a degree [by a ruler] since antiquity, this not only moved Cao Yin to shed tears that flowed like water, but also prompted my selfish heart, [one of the Emperor's] dogs and horses [i.e. officials], to be deeply moved. ...⁶²

5. Conclusions

The research presented here demonstrates how important Manchu-language sources are for an analysis and better understanding of the history of court medicine during the Qing dynasty. As I have shown, the Medical Palace Memorials in Manchu offer fresh insights into the personal style of an emperor—here the Kangxi Emperor—when dealing with medical matters of concern to his court. His interest, as described in these documents, focused on the prescription of those drugs over which he exerted some degree of control, and which were therefore of limited access to the general public, whatever their status. These medicines also included Jesuit drugs and those of other foreign origin. At the same time this type of therapeutic diversity reflected a certain degree of admittance of cultural diversity, an attitude supported by the Kangxi Emperor within the boundaries of his empire for political reasons. As my comparative research on both Manchu and Chinese Palace Memorials has revealed, evidence of the Kangxi Emperor's medical diversity finds its reflection almost exclusively in those in Manchu only, very rarely in the Chinese ones.

Another important result of this research is what may be called the Manchu identity of this medical information, which is evidenced by the Manchu identity of the historical actors (informants and patients) testified to in the Memorials. They represented a confidential imperial network that allowed the Kangxi Emperor to learn about health problems among members of an elite circle, who, occasionally, also informed others about his own illnesses. This circle was composed mainly of the Emperor's relatives, ministers, high-ranking military officers and civilian officials, as well as some Jesuits. What must be emphasised, though, is not only the clear preponderance of patients belonging to the Three Upper Banners, which were under the Emperor's direct control, but also their membership in the imperial guard, i.e. the exclusively Manchu Imperial Bodyguard and the exclusively Manchu/Mongol Vanguard and Guard. This is not only

⁶² KXHZ 1179, vol. 4, 401.

evidence of the importance attributed by the Kangxi Emperor to his and the imperial family's personal security, in particular, and Manchu military institutions in general, but at the same time reflects the martial character of the early and high Qing rulers. Moreover, information culled from the Memorials allows us to obtain an impression of the composition of the decisive political and military network of power, and the character of the relationship between the Kangxi Emperor and his most trusted and influential supporters.

Another important facet reflected in the Medical Palace Memorials is power shifts within the hierarchy of the Imperial Family. As we have seen, the role of main informant first belonged to Yinreng, originally appointed by the Kangxi Emperor as his heir apparent, but then shifted to Yinzhi, third son of the Emperor, and finally in the last stage of the Kangxi reign probably to Yinzhen 胤禛.⁶³ Apart from the power dimension, a number of other actors can be identified who neither held an official position nor partook in the execution of power, but were nonetheless privileged due to kinship ties or familiarity with the Emperor. To this group belonged female relatives of the Emperor, palace eunuchs and female servants, retired officials, as well as the Jesuits and other Westerners. All these actors, though belonging to the imperial network in general, were not members of the network of power, but of a network that I have termed "network of closeness".

The information contained in the Medical Palace Memorials thus helps us to understand who were the key ministers, officials and officers of the Kangxi Emperor, a ruler of foreign origin and the second Emperor of a not yet secure empire, whose power holders represented a numerical minority and were considered invaders and culturally inferior by the Chinese. In view of this, it hardly comes as a surprise that the illness of any of the Kangxi Emperor's key military and civil supporters and trusted family members was a matter of utmost importance, as it signalled a potential weakness in the empire's foundations, and required the necessity of swiftly finding adequate replacements. This fact turned the sickness of any of these key pillars of power into a confidential and private matter of high priority that could only be transmitted adequately by means of the secret Palace Memorial system, and furthermore in Manchu, a language that was not understood by most of the Chinese. Hence, it is hardly surprising that so much medical information is found in the Manchu Memorials only. This confidentiality and privacy was further enhanced by the limited number of informants, or, as Pei Huang called them, "ears and eyes" of the Emperor, most of whom were sons of the Kangxi Emperor. Among them the crucial

⁶³ Not to be confused with Yinzhen 胤禛, later to become the Yongzheng emperor.

role played by Yinzhi should be noted, and thus the almost direct flow of information from father to son and *vice versa*. The confidential and private nature of the communication channel is also evident in those cases where neither Yinzhi nor other sons were the informants, but rather an official or officer who reported personally about his own illness or that of one of his relatives or subordinates. In these cases, too, the communication channel between the patient and the Emperor was quite direct.

The Kangxi Emperor's strategy of exercising power and control through his selected intervention in medical treatment has different readings. On the one hand it can be interpreted as an attempt at supervising and controlling the evolution and recovery of "his people" by assigning doctors from the Imperial College of Medicine, Jesuits physicians or doctors of other origin, and through the prescription of drugs over which he exerted some kind of control. On the other hand, it exemplifies a patriarchal power strategy, as is clearly reflected in the rhetoric of the Medical Palace Memorials. Through the Emperor's medical actions and by offering his "service" and "advice" to his civil and military key personnel, a network of gratitude and indebtedness was created which contributed to the consolidation and strengthening of a strict hierarchical structure, with the Emperor at the top.

On an ideological level, the personal intervention of the Kangxi Emperor in matters of medicine related to close members of his network can be also interpreted as being part of his initiative for a revival and re-evaluation of ancient philosophical and cosmological traditions, especially that encapsulated in the "Great Learning" (Daxue 大學). This Confucian text establishes a close relationship between self-cultivation, ordering family matters, and excellence in government. Thus, caring for the members of his family, his bondservants and his trusted advisers, officials and officers not only constituted an instrument to promote harmony and good government, but could also be perceived as a syncretistic way combining paternal benevolence with Buddhist compassion.

Health, disease and death are a part of the human condition from which nobody can escape, not even an Emperor who did not hesitate to quasi-monopolize drugs of proven effectiveness—among them drugs of Jesuit or other exotic origin—and to use them himself or distribute them selectively among the actors integrated into his network. We have seen that this was a network with a very clear Manchu identity, both with regard to the actors as well as the language of communication, and this also holds true for the way in which Jesuit medical information was conveyed. Most of the patients to whom Jesuit drugs were granted were Manchu, thus reinforcing the aspect of Manchu identity, confidentiality and privacy. Jesuit medical practice and its patronage by the Kangxi Emperor was an integral part of the power structure he controlled—a network of which I have given a

detailed description in this article through the enumeration and analysis of its actors, their institutional positions and affiliations, as well as the degree and nature of application of Jesuit medicine through the direct intervention of the Son of Heaven. We may suppose that this constellation had an impact on the transmission and spread of Jesuit medicine beyond the sphere of the Kangxi Emperor's patronage, in so far as the presumed small quantities of drugs the Jesuits sent to China limited further distribution to a degree. The well-known case of the transmission of Jesuit cinchona to the Kangxi Emperor may provide here some parallels with the use of cinchona in the West. In Europe, too, cinchona was difficult to acquire, available only to elites, its import and distribution controlled by the Jesuits. How far Jesuit medicine reached out to other parts of the Chinese population is, however, a question for which additional research has to be undertaken.

Appendix A

Table 10
List of Constellations of Collective Informants Submitting Medical Palace Memorials

(a) ^a	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛 E-lun-dai 鄂倫岱, Guan-bao 觀保
(b)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛
(c)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔
(d)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinli 胤禮 Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇
(e)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinsi 胤祀, Yintao 胤禔
(f)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yinsi 胤祀, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛
(g)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛
(h)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinli 胤禮 Hongxi 弘皙, Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇
(i)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinqi 胤祺, Yintang 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinli 胤禮 Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇
(j)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinqi 胤祺, Yintang 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔 Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇
(k)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintao 胤禔, Yinzhèn 胤禛
(l)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔
(m)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yinxiang 胤祥, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinli 胤禮 Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇
(n)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinqi 胤祺, Yin'e 胤禔, Yinxiang 胤祥, Yinzhèn 胤禛
(o)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinqi 胤祺, Yin'e 胤禔
(p)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔
(q)	Yinzhì 胤祉, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinxiang 胤祥, Yinzhèn 胤禛, Yinli 胤禮 Hongxi 弘皙, Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇

^a I have reproduced the exact order in which the informants appear in the Palace Memorials.

(t)	Yinzhi 胤祉, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔, Yinxiang 胤祥, Yinli 胤禮, Hongxi 弘皙, Hongjin 弘晉, Hongsheng 弘昇
(s)	Yinzhi 胤祉, Yinzhen 胤禛, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yinxiang 胤祥
(u)	Yinzhi 胤祉, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔
(v)	Yinzhi 胤祉, Yinzhen 胤禛, Yin'e 胤禔
(w)	Yinzhi 胤祉, Yinzhen 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintang 胤禔, Yinxiang 胤祥, Yinzhen 胤禛, Yin'e 胤禔, Yinli 胤禮
(x)	Yinzhi 胤祉, Yinzhen 胤禛, Yinqi 胤祺, Yinyou 胤祐, Yintang 胤禔, Yin'e 胤禔, Yintao 胤禔
(y)	Yinzhen 胤禛, Hongshu 弘晷, Hongzhi 弘智, Hongxi 弘曦
(z) ^b	Su Lin 蘇琳 (José Soares, SI), Ji Li'an 吉利安 (Kilian Stumpf, SI), Bao Zhongyi 保忠義 (Giuseppe Baudino, SI), Bo Jin 博津 (Joachim Bouvet, SI), Ba Duoming 巴多明 (Dominique Parrenin, SI), Du Demei 杜德梅 (Pierre Jartoux, SI), Fu Shengzhe 富生哲 (Jean-François Foucquet, SI), Lu Bojia 魯伯佳 (Jacques Brocard, SI), Lin Jige 林吉格 (Franz Stadlin, SI), Tang Shangxian 唐尚賢 (Pierre Vincent de Tartré, SI), Mo Dacheng 默大成 (João Francisco Cardoso, SI), Mu Jingyuan 慕敬遠 (João Mourão, SI), Yang Bingyi 楊秉義 (Franz Thilisch, SI), De Lige 德利格 (Teodorico Pedrini, CM), Ma Guoxian 馬國憲 (Matteo Ripa, secular priest), Luo Huaizong 羅懷總 (Giovanni Giuseppe Costa, SI), Lang Shining 郎世宁 (Giuseppe Castiglione, SI)
(aa)	Su Lin 蘇琳 (José Soares, SI), Ji Li'an 吉利安 (Kilian Stumpf, SI), Min Ming'e 閔明鄂 (Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, SI), Bo Jin 博津 (Joachim Bouvet, SI), Shi Kesheng 石克勝 (Leopold Liebstain, SI), Kong Lushi 孔魯石 (Luigi Gonzaga, SI), Lu Bojia 魯伯佳 (Jacques Brocard, SI), Lin Jige 林吉格 (Franz Stadlin, SI), Wei Ge'er 威格爾 (Miguel Vieira, SI), He-su 赫蘇
(bb)	Su Lin 蘇琳 (José Soares, SI), Ji Li'an 吉利安 (Kilian Stumpf, SI), Bao Zhongyi 保忠義 (Giuseppe Baudino, SI), Kong Lushi 孔魯石 (Luigi Gonzaga, SI), Fei Yin 費茵 (Ehrenbert Xaver Frädelli, SI), Lu Bojia 魯伯佳 (Jacques Brocard, SI), Lin Jige 林吉格 (Franz Stadlin, SI)
(cc)	Su Lin 蘇琳 (José Soares, SI), Ji Li'an 吉利安 (Kilian Stumpf, SI), Bo Jin 博津 (Joachim Bouvet, SI), Bao Zhongyi 保忠義 (Giuseppe Baudino, SI), Kong Lushi 孔魯石 (Luigi Gonzaga, SI), Lu Bojia 魯伯佳 (Jacques Brocard, SI), Lin Jige 林吉格 (Franz Stadlin, SI)

^b In the case of the Jesuits as memorialists I have also followed the exact order of how the informants were listed. I am indebted to Dr. Ad Dudink for help in the identification of their Chinese names. They are mainly based on Joseph Dehergne (1973), *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I., pp. 378-396.

Appendix B

Table 11^a
Table of Patients in the Upper Banners (Plain Yellow Banner)

Capital Banners	Administrative Divisions	Administrative Sub-divisions	Administrative Sub-sub-divisions	Sub-total	Total	Grand Total
Plain Yellow Banner	Officer Ranks in the Capital	Banner Commander		0	1	28
		<i>Commander-in-chief of a Banner</i>		0		
		Banner Vice-Commander		0		
		<i>Vice Commander-in-chief of a Banner</i>		0		
		Lieutenant Colonel		1		
		<i>Regimental Commander</i>		0		
		Captain		0		
	Imperial Guard	<i>Company Commander</i>		0	22	
		Lieutenant		0		
		Imperial Bodyguard		0		
			Chamberlain	0		
			<i>Grand Minister of the Imperial Household Department Concurrently Controlling the Imperial Guardsmen</i>	1		
			Senior Assistant Chamberlain			
			<i>Grand Minister Assistant Commander of the Imperial Guardsmen</i>			
			Senior Bodyguard	First Grade (4)		
				Second Grade (6)		
				Third Grade (8)		
				Fourth Grade (1)		
			Others (Junior Officials)	2		

^a For the institutional division of the Eight Banners, see Elliott (2001a), pp. 365-368. Titles in cursive script refer to Hucker's translation. This is also the case in tables 12, 13, 14.

	Vanguard	Vanguard Commandant	0	0
		Vanguard Colonel		
		Vanguardsman		
	Guard	Captain-general General Commandant of the Gendarmerie	0	1
		Colonel Regimental Commander in the Guards Brigade	1	
		Lieutenant	0	
Others	Chief Clerk (<i>Guanling</i> 管領)		3	4
	Unknown position		1	

Table 12
Table of Patients in the Upper Banners (Bordered Yellow Banner)

Capital Banners	Administrative Divisions	Administrative Sub-divisions	Administrative Sub-sub-divisions	Sub-total	Total	Grand Total	
Bordered Yellow Banner	Officer Ranks in the Capital	Banner Commander		0	5	36	
		Banner Vice-Commander		1			
		Lieutenant Colonel		0			
		Captain		4			
		Lieutenant		0			
	Imperial Guard	Imperial Bodyguard	Chamberlain		0	20	
			Senior Assistant Chamberlain		0		
			Senior Bodyguard	First Grade (1)			
				Second Grade (6)			
			Third Grade (11)				
			Others (Junior Officials)		2		
		Vanguard	Vanguard	Vanguard Commandant			0
				Vanguard Colonel			
Guard	Guard		Vanguardsmen		6		
			Captain-general	0			
			Colonel	6			
			Lieutenant	0			
Others	Others	Zhengyitai 整儀尉		1	5		
		Rectifier-Commandant Unknown Position		4			

Table 13
Table of Patients in the Upper Banners (Plain White Banner)

Capital Banners Plain White Banner	Administrative Divisions	Administrative Sub-divisions	Administrative Sub-divisions	Sub-total	Total	Grand Total	
	Officer Ranks in the Capital	Banner Commander		0	3	28	
		Banner Vice-Commander		0			
		Lieutenant Colonel		0			
		Captain		3			
		Lieutenant		0			
	Imperial Guard	Imperial Bodyguard	Chamberlain	0	17		
			Senior Assistant Chamberlain	0			
			Senior Bodyguard	First Grade (3) ^a			
				Second Grade (2)			
				Third Grade (12)			
			Vanguard	Vanguard Commandant			0
				Vanguard Colonel			
Others	Guard	Vanguardsmen	0	3			
		Captain general	3				
		Colonel	0				
		Lieutenant	4				
		Vice/ Chief Clerk (Fu 副/Guanling 管領)	1				
	Unknown Position						

^a An additional Manchu patient namely Ba-er-zhu, First Grade Senior Bodyguard (Plain White Banner), is reported in a Chinese Memorial. This patient has not been included in this table as here only patients from the Eight Banners mentioned in Manchu Memorials are analysed.

Table 14
Table of Patients in the Lower Banners

Capital Banners	Administrative divisions	Administrative Sub-divisions	Administrative Sub-sub-divisions	Sub-total	Total	Grand Total	
Five Lower Banners: Bordered White, Plain Red, Bordered Red, Plain Blue, Bordered Blue	Officer Ranks in the Capital	Banner Commander		3	3	10	
		Banner Vice-Commander		0			
		Lieutenant Colonel					
		Captain					
		Lieutenant					
	Imperial Guard	Vanguard	Vanguard Commandant		0		6
			Vanguard Colonel		1		
			Vanguardsman		0		
		Guard	Captain-general		0		
			Colonel		5		
Others	Unknown Position			0	1		

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