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Paper Dolls
An Architectonics of Translation in Early Modern Eurasia
[A Working Paper]

Gathering Our Materials

Find a piece of paper. (Using plain, white, unlined paper was traditional in my household when I was growing up, but any kind will do.) Fold the paper into eight equal sections of accordion-style pleats. Keep the cut edge of the folded paper to the right, and draw half of a human form along the left (folded) edge. Make sure the arms of the human form extend to the cut edge of the paper. Then, hold the folded paper firmly and cut carefully around the outline that you've just drawn. Finally, unfold the paper strip to reveal your chain of dolls.

Many of us probably have experience with this very simple technique for making short garlands of hand-holding playmates. We may not, however, have thought of the activity of paper doll-making as an analogue of the process of generating stories about Eurasia. This paper is going to use the practice of paper doll chainmaking as a model to work through the Silk Road as idea and ideal, especially from the perspective of the history of early modern science.[1] The process of producing this miniature, connected paper community involves actions that can be mapped onto some of the practices that generate our historiographies: folding, drawing, cutting, unfolding. You'll see what I mean as we move through the paper.

I've chosen to do this, in part, to nod to a transformation in my own approach to Silk Road studies. I study the history of science and medicine, and most of my work is based in documents and materials that roughly span the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. When I first started talking about something like the "Silk Road" in relation to my work – and thus when I first began to follow and consider myself to potentially be a part of something called "Silk Road studies" – I had a fairly simplistic notion of what "exchange" and "translation" looked like. I was working with bilingual medicine-related materials that reflected translation and exchange between Arabic- and Persian-speaking communities and Chinese-speaking communities in the late Yuan (1271-

[1] It's worth taking a moment to lay out my commitments with respect to two key terms in this sentence: "early modern" and "science." Let's start with "early modern." The "early modern" in China has been located anywhere from the tenth through the nineteenth centuries. It has been defined, defended, and disparaged in many ways by many historians: while some balk at the concept and worry that such periodizing is fundamentally imperialist and Eurocentric, others happily locate Ming trade networks or Qing imperial expansion within a globalizing early modern world, or cite Song commercialization as evidence of a dynastic early modern identity. Several essays arguing for or against the concept of a Chinese early modernity are collected in Lynn A. Struve (ed.), *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004). I typically work on a period that extends from the early fifteenth century through the eighteenth century. I have no particular theoretical commitment to periodizing that span in terms of "late imperial," "Ming and Qing," or "early modern": each of these notions carries a history of discourse along with it. I'm not interested in debating the nature of the "medieval" vs "early modern" as they apply to China (my area of focus) and/or point to some sort of global modernity: instead, I treat historical periods instrumentally and use them to create particular kinds of conversations. The conversations that I'm interested in having tend to be cross-disciplinary and trans-regional, and I have found that framing my work in terms of early modernity haps create those sorts of conversations more readily and sustainably than when I work in terms of China-specific historiographical periods like "late imperial" or "Ming." When I invoke the history of "science" in this paper I am doing so as a form of shorthand to encompass what might otherwise fall under the rubrics of science, technology, and medicine: here, the history of science is broadly a history of and with an attempt to understand the relations among bodies of all sorts.

1368) and early Ming (1368-1644) dynasties. And I thought, this is a fourteenth-century text that's showing some sort of travel of ideas, texts, and people across central Eurasia in the fourteenth century! This is some Silk Road stuff! I'm doing Silk Road history! After giving the architecture of the project some serious thought, however, I realized that my own methodology for understanding these texts, and for integrating them into a larger story about global exchange and translation, was faulty because of the assumptions that I brought to it. Briefly put, by looking at exchange, circulation, and translation I was holding too much stable, including the idea of a written Chinese language, the idea of a bounded geographical space that corresponded to a geo-political unit like a dynasty or empire, the notion that there is a set of conceptions or ideas (of anatomy, of pharmacy, of cosmology) that can be counted up and mapped and called a "tradition," and the very idea of some stable historical actor called "China," among other things. (And I haven't even gotten to all of my assumptions about what we were talking about when we talked about the Silk Road or silk routes.) In short, I realized that in an effort to map a particular kind of motion I was holding too much stable. I was a historian committed to breaking things open to show their multiplicity and plurality, and I had conceptualized a project that did exactly the opposite of that.

And so I took that project off the front burner of my mind-stove, and I put it aside to wait until I was able to develop a way of thinking about and (much more importantly) *practicing* history that was more deeply informed by a critical perspective on histories of and with exchange and circulation. Was it possible to write a history of this kind of movement that didn't treat ideas like "China," "Chinese language," and "Chinese" as stable objects? Was it possible to write in a way that kept everything in motion, that understood objects as fundamentally changing and multiple entities? What would it look like to tell a Silk Road history as a history not of objects[2] in motion, but of motion itself as the object?

While I don't think I've quite accomplished that here, this Sawyer Seminar has given me an opportunity to put that project on the burner once again and revisit the problem of the Silk Road as it animates my work and hopefully contributes a critical perspective to a larger discussion of the possibilities of Silk Road studies in contemporary historiography. Rather than looking back to that earlier project of fourteenth-century Sino-Arabic exchange – which was flawed in its conception in all the ways I've described and more – I'll instead share a more recent project that, I think, gets at the heart of the points I'll be trying to make about Silk Road studies. Some features of the project will seem very unusual in the broader context of the field that we're here to talk about, but it's that unusual-ness that draws me to integrating this kind of example into the conversation in the first place.

<u>Time</u>: The text I'll share is a late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth century document. This is much later than we're usually talking about when we talk about science and medicine on the Silk Road (which tends toward the medieval) but in doing so it emphasizes what I will be calling "Silk-Roading" as a process that is not restricted to particular times.

<u>Space</u>: The text was produced at the Qing (1644-1911) court, and it inscribes a kind of conversation among scholars working across Europe and Asia in a way that allows us to talk about a kind of "Eurasian" history. The text was composed in Manchu, a language that I have previously described as a medium of translation across "Eurasia." Indeed, in the title I have described the subject of my study as "Eurasian." Put briefly, then, the nature of the text that I've chosen allows us to call forth the figure of "Eurasia" as a topic of conversation. What I will hope to do by the end of this paper is to ask whether it's possible to invoke "Eurasia" as an analytic instrument without needing to simultaneously reify it as a descriptor of a kind of historical space (or a way of moving through space).

<u>"Translation"</u>: The text was a translation insofar as it explicitly marked its contents as deriving from not-Qing, while simultaneously inscribing them in the language of the Qing, but without marking any particular origin for the knowledge contained therein (aside from "Western.") This is a kind of translation that questions traditional notions of what translation is and how it works.

I'm mentioning all of this, and using an unusually self-referential mode of writing to do so, because the rest of the paper is going to argue for understanding "Silk Road" (and specifically the process of "Silk-Roading")

[2] I'm using "objects" here in the broad sense of objects of study. Thus a ceramic bowl can be an object, but so can the notion of "China," a word, a geographical concept.

as a process, and as a process that is located in the historian rather than in the objects studied by her. (Put another way, I'm going to be talking about Silk-Roading as an analytic category rather than an actor's category.)[3]

I'm particularly interested in how this kind of analysis can inform the history of science. In the context of work on the histories of science and medicine, the "Silk Road" trope has emerged most commonly in the wake of increasing historiographical attention to what has alternately come under the rubric of global history or connected histories. With some noteworthy exceptions,[4] we don't yet have a highly-developed historiography that integrates the notion of the Silk Road into dominant North American historiographical discussions of the history of science (including medically-inflected histories of science). This paper will be devoted to considering the historiographical question of the "Silk Road" as it might meaningfully contribute to, and in turn be informed by, the historiography of science and medicine. The question is simple: would it be meaningful to bring a sustained discussion of the Silk Road (or silk routes, etc.) to bear on the way we write and talk about the history of science right now? If so, why and how? If not, why not? The crux of this question will lie in way we practice and conceptualize spatial relationships in the historiography of science. Much scholarship on the "Silk Road" (or more generally, silk routes) tends to approach the Silk Road as a historiographical object that can be defined and located in particular ways. Arguments for or against the coherence of the notion consist in debating the content of that definition or location: "Silk Road" means X, and thus we can see evidence of it Y place at Z time. (Or more commonly, "Silk Road is incoherent as a descriptor of any specific, singular place, but it locates the importance of a particular kind and/or itinerary of movement in a particular period.) Even the most helpful of these tend to treat the concept of the Silk Road insofar as it is a term that has meaning, or put another way, a kind of object (here, a semantic term) that has content (here, a way of describing the world at a particular place and time). Treated thus, the central issues at stake are decided by a consideration of whether, and how widely, that content applies. I'm less interested in rehashing the debate about that content (about the essential nature of the Silk Road and/or its adequacy to describe historical spaces and phenomena as we already know them, beating the "there was no single Silk Road" horse) and more concerned with considering the work that this historiographical concept has done or might do for us in the history of science, and how a careful consideration of Silk-Routing science might help us ask new questions and develop new ways to create historical dialogues. I'm going to take an approach here that looks carefully (if briefly) at the ontology of the "Silk Road," especially in light of my own current research on recipes and translation in the early-mid Qing, paying special attention to some of the fundamental assumptions involved in talking or asking about the historiographical "Silk Road" as a process for generating space and time. I'd like to make a case here for the usefulness of "Silk-Roading" as a creative action, a practice, a process, and a way of generating spatial and temporal relationships" especially in the history of science.

The intended innovation here will be through juxtaposition this paper intends to do its work by reframing the conversation in terms of process and relationality, using this colloquium as an opportunity to start to bring tools for thinking about performance and ontology into the conversation about history and its times and spaces. Process-oriented thinking is increasingly a topic of conversation among scholars of science studies – if not yet among historians of science in North America – thanks to work by a number of scholars who have been turning back to the philosophy of Alfred North Whitehead and turning toward the work of speculative philosophies and new materialisms.[5] In thinking with the Silk Road, historians of science can take inspiration from that work in what I think is a productive re-orientation. So let's get to what that might look like, and why we might want to do that it first place.

Folding

As we move further into what might be described as a global turn in the historiography of science, the terms of the conversation are changing. No longer centered on European powers, places, and peoples, the field is

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[3] It pains me to write those words because I'm not sure I buy the notion of an "actor's category" and I'd really like to have a conversation about that, but I'm invoking this dichotomy above – a dichotomy that I may not believe in –in case it makes things clearer.

[4] I'm thinking specifically of the work of Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim and Piece Salguero, here.

[5] I can talk more about this in the seminar, if you'd like!

in the process of embracing – or at least trying to embrace – non-European stories in non-European terms, replacing histories of the march of scientific progress with stories about itineraries of exchange, agents of empire, and translations across trading zones.[6]

Enter "Eurasia." Eurasian stories have come to the fore in global history – and, to some extent, in global historiographies of science – as more historical accounts of the emergence and movements of science begin encompassing both European and Asian terms, places, and phenomena. Whether focusing on the Mongol empire and its discontents, highlighting more recent movements across Central Asia, or attempting to tell stories about the impacts of empire on the practices with which knowledge of the world has been made and re-made, historians have been invoking the language of "Eurasia" (or related terms and notions) to try to speak beyond univocal stories rooted in Area Studies or Europe-focused historiography.[7] While generally well-meaning, this is not without its potential problems: each time I have invoked "Eurasia" at a conference or symposium, or have been present when it was invoked, a chorus of complaints has followed. Isn't this notion ultimately derived from the imperial gaze of Russian historiography, and isn't that a problem? Why prioritize a continental landmass as a historiographical unit? Doesn't "Eurasia" further blur together important local differences? Isn't this just another European imperialist historiographical move that disempowers Asia?

I take the ongoing Eurasia-debate to point to a broad acknowledgement among historians (of science and other topics) that we need to think about changing the terms of our conversation to encourage a historiography of translation and movement, and I engage the term in my title as a marker of this need, and a provocation to think more deeply about the spatial and temporal units that we're evoking in our histories.[8] Any unit of historical time or space is fundamentally relational. Making historical periods is a way of establishing and talking about objects and their relationships in time, and making geo-political units does the same with space. Both are acts of translation that create dialogues among what otherwise might remain disparate and unconnected entities, creating relationships across space (e.g., as the "early modern" might connect the "modern" in different places) and time (e.g., as the "early modern" might connect the "medieval" and what comes before or after).

I invoke Eurasia here because it is, for me, deeply entangled with the other spatio-temporal notion that we're collected to discuss. The "Silk Road" is a moving target, and historians thereof have been particularly self-reflexive about their object. Still, despite our self-reflexivity we tend to write and discuss the Silk Road (or Silk Routes) *as* an object, engaging discussions that proceed to talk in terms of nouns: THE Silk Road, THE Silk Routes, THE space of exchange and engagement across Central Eurasia (or wherever), THE concept, etc. The discussion often focuses on defining, defending, or demeaning the object. Instead, I'd like to propose that we consider Silk-Roading as a historiographical process, and that we ask what work that process does, and can do, for our craft. We'll get to that in a little while.

In recent literature on the Silk Road, invoking the "Silk Road" is a kind of historiographical performance.[9] Historians have performed the "Silk Road" by understanding it as a kind of space characterized by emerging global or transnational networks of people, artifacts, and ideas. In this sense, an attentiveness to the Silk Road in history is part of a broader trend of globalizing history, with the constitution and nature of the "global" taking different forms and debates in different ways in the context of different kinds of conversations.[10] This literature calls attention to the urgency of studying the relationships among contemporary empires before modernity, effectively moving East and Central Asia from the margins of a "West and the Rest" story about global history into its central networks.[11] The need to refocus our historiographical attention onto new kinds of

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[6] For more of my thoughts on the consequences of this move for the historiography of science, see "The Global and Beyond: Adventures in the Local Historiographies of Science." *Isis* 104.1(March 2013): 102-110.

[7] This trend has taken root more firmly among historians of the Qing, for example, than historians of science specifically.

[8] I won't attempt to resolve the Eurasia problem, but I'm happy to have a more extended conversation about it during the seminar, and one of my reasons for raising the Eurasia-issue here was to encourage that to happen.

[9] That is, a performance enacted by a historian in telling a story about the past.

[10] This global turn has powerfully shaped the recent historiography of science.

[11] This most often takes the form of a story about early, medieval, or otherwise pre-modern empires.

relationships and new ways of thinking about the times and spaces of history has been articulated recently by Carol Symes in a critique of contemporary practices of historical periodization:

> These acts of naming do not create historical reality; they create an appearance of it, a false ontology. And these fictive efforts, the efforts that have created "the modern world," "the Middle Ages," "the Enlightenment," "the fall of Rome," the "prehistoric era," are not just methodologically troubling (which is troubling enough) but ideologically suspect. Although we do not necessarily choose our areas of concentration for political reasons—often we do not even consciously choose them—these choices have political implications. And ultimately, no one benefits from our current habits of historical periodization. At best, those who accept "the fact" of the Middle Ages will continue to build "modern" houses on its shifting sands, while medievalists will remain trapped within terms that have somehow survived the circumlocutions of the linguistic turn. Scholars of the vaster ages that stretch to the distant horizons of our species will continue to be imprisoned in similar "archaic" and "classical" cages. So what if we refused to perpetuate these periodizations, or at least subjected them to the same rigorous critique that we now apply to other contemporary evils, including belligerent nationalism and racism? What new historical paradigms could we develop? Would the subaltern societies of the past be able to speak in clearer voices?[12]

Names make things easier. We are seduced by names: their solidity, their stability, their simplicity. Symes asks us to consider the implications of this problem, both for political and historical praxis. Her concerns apply to our current problem as well. By taking on Symes's challenge and incorporating inspiration from a transdisciplinary community of scholars who have thought carefully about the relationship between naming, causality, time, and objects, how might we recast the question of Silk-Roading the history of science?

For the historian who is looking for tools to help rethink historiographical objects as processes – moving, for example, to discussions of Silk-Roading instead of the Silk Road or silk routes – there are several spaces to explore. Many of these spaces are being created by scholars whose objects of inquiry lend themselves to this kind of alchemy because they are fundamentally relational: diseases, parasites, palimpsests, voices. We might consider an approach like that of anthropologist Annemarie Mol, for example, whose influential study of atherosclerosis convincingly argued for understanding a disease as a multiplicity of different objects that are each enacted by different communities but that hang together in such a way that they can be translated into each other and into a single concept.[13] In a co-authored work with John Law, Mol also proposes a way to think about and write disease in terms of multiple, overlapping spatialities.[14] (When reading Mol, objects of inquiry become less important, for me, as my attention is re-directed to the processes that create meaning and map a historical actor's thought-world.) We could instead follow cultural theorist Michel Serres, whose concept of objects as parasites treats them as relationships, or as travellers constantly in motion.[15] Linking the "atoms" of Lucretius with atomic physics, Serres treats the passage of time as a chaotic, turbulent fluid rather than a progressive line. He reminds us that even the act of saying that two phenomena are historically "contemporary" is a creative act, and that limiting the "contemporary" only to events that happen in chronological proximity entails a particular, and very limited, way of understanding what it means to exist in time, and reveals only a very limited range of historical phenomena to the interested observer or storyteller.[16] (When reading Serres, I'm reminded that even the most basic elements of

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[12] Carol Symes, "When We Talk about Modernity," *AHR* 116.3 (June 2011): 724-5.

[13] Annemarie Mol, *the body multiple* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002)

[14] Annemarie Mol and John Law, "Regions, Networks and Fluids: Anaemia and Social Topology." *Social Studies of Science* 24 (1994): 641-71.

[15] Michel Serres, *The Parasite* (University of Minnesota Press, 2007). This is particularly fun to consider, because Serres has been famous for an approach to periodization and time that emphasizes the constructed nature of historians' time by creating dialogues among ideas and authors from very different periods. See the discussion of this in Michel Serres with Bruno Latour (tr. Roxanne Lapidus), *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 43-76, esp. 57-62.

[16] Serres and Latour, *Conversations*, 45.

our historiographical discourse, those that we tend to take for granted, depend for their continued existence on our constant acts of creation and re-creation.) We might also take a cue from Jonathan Gil Harris (as he in turn took a cue from Serres) in considering all objects to be palimpsests that simultaneously contain multiple periodizations and times.[17] (When reading Harris, I'm struck by the figure of the palimpsest and moved to consider objects not as static things but instead as processes that create kinds of temporality.) We may also learn from Isabelle Stengers, whose excellent and stimulating work in *Thinking with Whitehead* includes a consideration of the voice of the Beowulfian monster Grendel from John Gardner's eponymous book. For her, thinking with Grendel becomes a stimulus for asking, "How does a dragon talk?" and thus for exploring the problem of how to give voice and agency to nonhuman knowledge.[18] (When considering this problem, I'm inspired to be attentive to our own voicing of our concepts, as historians, and the ways that our concepts – like Silk Road – are perhaps better considered as speech-acts, as practices, as processes that bring about events, understandings, and kinds of communication.)[19]

In considering how productively to engage Silk Road studies from a "critical" perspective – as this Sawyer Seminar asks us to do – I'm inspired by this kind of work and see many opportunities to inform the conversation that we're creating this year in our physical and virtual gatherings. What all of these authors have in common is a commitment to two ways of understanding objects. First, they all take the temporality of objects as fundamental to exploring how they are created, exist, and change the world and our understanding of it. Second, they understand objects as multiplicities. In both respects, we can think about the larger significance of this work in broader terms as a way of activating objects in time and challenging their coherence and stability, which (for me) are accomplished simply by moving from understanding historical objects-of-study as processes.[20] What ways of conceiving and of doing Silk Road studies emerge if we bring this critical apparatus to the task of reconsidering how to "Silk Road" history?

To borrow a metaphor from Serres and Harris, we might begin to do this by thinking in terms of the *folds* of history. If we consider time as a surface, like a handkerchief, it's possible to tell stories by travelling along that surface in multiple ways. We could keep the handkerchief flat (this is what we usually do) and trace history by traveling along it from event to event in a linear and progressive way: this happens, and then that happens, and then this other thing happens, etc. If we instead crumple the handkerchief, suddenly we can juxtapose points on the surface of the handkerchief in unexpected ways. It gives us a way to travel through the spaces between events to put unexpected events, ideas, and phenomena into a historical dialogue. The historian thus becomes an envoy (to borrow Serres's term), a translator of events in time who can move between and among different ways of conceptualizing time and space, simultaneously creating a story out of that movement, and in doing so, bringing otherwise disparate stories into dialogue.[21] Through the fold, events become related and relatable in ways that they wouldn't otherwise be. To fold, in a way, is to translate.

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[17] See Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). In urging that we reconsider how time acts on objects in history and the way objects exist in historical time, Harris compares a historian's temporal periodization into chronologically progressive units to the division of the modern globe into nation-states in what he calls a "national sovereignty model of temporality" (2).

[18] Isabelle Stengers (tr. Michael Chase), *Thinking with Whitehead: A Free and Wild Creation of Concepts* (Harvard University Press, 2011),

[19] There is a wealth of wonderful recent work that, often in conversation with Stengers's reading of Whitehead, has begun to explore the ways that a process-oriented philosophy can inform new ways of thinking and writing in the humanities. One very clear recent touchstone, for me, has been Steven Shaviro, *The Universe of Things: On Speculative Realism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

[20] We could talk at much more length about this, and I'm happy to do so in the course of the seminar later this month!

[21] The figure of the envoy, here, is reminiscent of the figure of the diplomat in recent work by Latour and Stengers. Thinking about time and history as folded, and using this idea of a folded surface to talk about events and objects as simultaneously transcending different times and spaces, also takes a cue from Gilles Deleuze's treatment of history and modernity in *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (University of Minnesota Press, 1993). My

Following the metaphor of the handkerchief, then, I'm going to proceed from here to suggest that the way we typically treat the Silk Road in history is by keeping the handkerchief flat and tracing patterns and movements upon it. What I want to move toward is a way of thinking instead about how the kinds of texts, contexts, and questions that emerge from Silk Road studies might allow us to crumple the handkerchief, how in doing so we might be able to tell different kinds of stories, and how that crumpling can be reconsidered as "Silk-Roading."

Drawing

Silk Road studies is, in many ways, an ideal field in which to experiment with this kind of folding, crumpling, and translation. Both within and beyond the historiography of the field, the notion of a "Silk Road" has become an instrument for mapping connected histories, and for telling stories about the circulation of objects, ideas, images, terms, texts, or individuals. Let's turn now from thinking about the Silk Road(s) as a space or time (albeit one defined plural), and toward considering Silk-Roading as an activity undertaken by the historian. In other words, we're going to turn from noun-ing the Silk Road to verb-ing it.

So what exactly is Silk-Roading? I'm going to start with a relatively complex statement of what I mean and then simplify from there. To "Silk Road" our historical objects is to approach them in the spirit that does not take for granted the temporal and spatial substrate in which they exist, but instead allows them (and allows our storytelling of and with them) to produce spatiality and temporality. Rather than approaching work with a medical recipe (for example) by first drawing spatial and temporal boundaries around it (e.g., this recipe was composed by X person in Y place at Z time, which keeps X, Y, and Z stable and treats them, from the outset, as coherent entities) a Silk-Roading approach instead allows our reading of the recipe itself to help us understand the ways in which it created experiences of spatiality and temporality for its readers (which readers include us, twenty-first century translators) by drawing particular kinds of connections and creating particular kinds of relationships, and thus by enabling particular kinds and directions of movement. (E.g, this recipe enables B kind of conceptual work, which places the reader in time in C ways, and draws them to connect D and E, which connection creates an experience of spatiality that looks and feels like F.)

To illustrate the contrast in approaches that I've just described above (i.e., studying the Silk Road vs Silk-Roading our objects of study) I'll use a particular example from the context of my current research. Let's look at Manchu medical recipe that I've spent a lot of time with. Here it is:

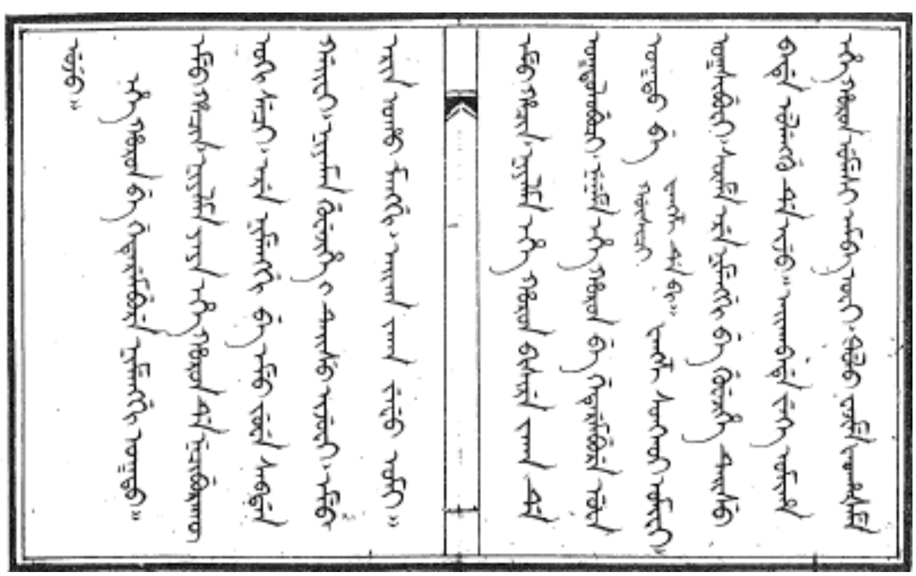

Figure 1 A recipe from the first page of the *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe*

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hope is that we don't need to weave complicated linguistic tapestries in order to make this idea into a workable, clear, useful way forward in thinking about time and objects in Silk Road history.

This is an image from the first page of the *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe* (Ch. *Xiyang yaoshu* 西洋藥書) [Handbook of Western Drugs], a collection of medical recipes produced at the Qing court in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.[22] Composed using the Manchu language, the book is usually credited to French Jesuits Joachim Bouvet (1656 – 1730) and Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707), but its composition was undoubtedly the product of a multilingual and unacknowledged team that included language tutors, scholars, and others who worked with these Jesuits and helped render terms and concepts from Manchu, French, Chinese, and Latin (among others) into this work on medicinal cures.[23]

This medical text was intended as a translation, and it announced itself as such both in its title and the nature of its drug descriptions and recipes. The text was rendering knowledge, materials, and experience from "the West" (*si yang*) into the form and language of a Manchu book (*bithe*). Though the recipes were effectively translations of "Western" medical knowledge, they were not necessarily based on any particular European-language text: instead, they incorporated a range of oral knowledge and textual material from French, Latin, and Chinese[24] that was transliterated or translated into Manchu. We can think about this hybrid text as a space for bringing together elements of distinct medical literatures that each had their own particular characteristics and qualities, including specific (and not necessarily mutually comprehensible) ways of naming drugs, explicating the nature of drug materials, elaborating rules for putting them together, and directing the user to read signs of efficacy or transformation on the body. Translating the recipes here involved negotiating practices of equivalence: choosing equivalent drug names (which involved deciding what "equivalent" meant in each context), using local equivalents of foreign processing materials and techniques, and deciding what body parts or concepts were functionally the same. Manchu was modified as necessary to express and, when possible, to combine these different notions. These Qing translators thus used the tools of the translator to navigate among words, objects, and rules in many languages, and Manchu was treated as being flexible enough to accommodate their needs. This translation was accomplished using a written documentary language that was still fairly young.

I'll give you a sense of the larger structure of the text before we zoom in to look at an exemplar recipe. The original manuscript, now held in the Gugong Library, was a pocket-book thread-bound edition with 9.7 x 8 cm pages.[25] The text begins with a series of thirty-six recipes for treating myriad illnesses, many of them broken down into varieties. Most pages of the manuscript contain six lines of Manchu text, with occasional interlinear commentary added. The recipes are labeled with numbers in Manchu (1 *uju* – 36 *gvsin ningguci*) in the body of the text, with corresponding Chinese numerals (recipe 1 *yi* – recipe 36 *sanshi liu*) marking the pages.

The transcription of the recipe that begins on the right-hand side of the page above looks like this:

> emu hacin. niyalma ehe horon bisire jaka de oktolobuci. neneme ehe horon be geterembure ufa okto be [gvsici fangdz de bi..] fangdz songkoi omifi. oksibufi. sirame ere nimenggi be guwejihe teisu bade ulenggu de iju.. aikabade jeke omiha ehe horon umesi amba ofi. dolo wajime fathaxame gvwaliyaxame bucere de isiname ujen oci. ere nimenggi okto be tofohon sabdan ci wesihun orin sabdan ci fusihvn gaifi. eici yali bujuha tarhv sile de. eici sun nimenggi suwaliyaha sun de suwaliyafi omi.. guwejihe teisu bade ulenggu de. ere nimenggi be juwe erin ome emgeri dasame ijume. jai inenggi geli juwe mudan iju.. aikabade ehe horon kemuni majige getereke akv

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[22] *Xiyang yaoshu* 西洋藥書 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), 289-442. The image is from page 289.

[23] I've written elsewhere about the use and nature of the Manchu language and script in the history of science. Please see me for references to some of that work – which I'm happy to share the as-yet-unpublished bits of – and/or we can talk about it at more length in the context of the seminar.

[24] It's possible that I'll find more as I work further through the recipes!

[25] In modern terms, this makes the volume smaller than a passport. The edition I used for this paper was a reprint from the Gugong Library collection. The Gugong edition actually incorporates substantial repetition: after the end of the first copy of the text, another copy of the first half, in a different hand, follows immediately. I infer from this that there may have been multiple copies of this manuscript available, but we have as yet no record of how many were produced. I am in the process of working through Gerbillon's letters to try to find a discussion of this issue.

oci. ere nimenggi okto be geli emu udu sabdan gaifi fangdz songkoi omifi fangdz songkoi ijuci sain..

And a tentative translation into English for the sake of the kind of work we're doing in this seminar looks like this:

> [Used] if a person has just been poisoned. Before eliminating the poison, after taking a flour-based drug [found in the thirtieth prescription] in accordance with the prescription, and after that drug causes the poison to be vomited up, spread this oil on the navel part of the stomach. If one has consumed a lot of the poison, so much so that a lot of internal things are going wrong and the condition has become very serious, take between 15 and 20 drops of the medicinal oil, combine it with either the fatty broth from boiled meat or butter combined with milk, and then drink it. Having already smeared this oil on the navel part of the stomach again after 2 *erin* periods, the following day smear it again two times. If this has still not eliminated all of the poison, if you take one or more drops of this medicinal oil and smear it again according to the prescription, all will be well.

The form of this recipe is exemplary of the others in the *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe*. This numbered section of the text (designated *uju*, or "one") is devoted to the general drug category of "medicinal oil eliminating poison." Several different ways of using this oil are listed, set off from the main text by the phrase *emu hacin*. The oil, here, is specified for use under specific circumstances (various stages that the patient could experience after ingesting a significant amount of poison). Noticeable here are the ways that the text cross-references itself (here directing the reader to the thirtieth prescription in the recipe manual) and the media used for administering the drugs in the prescription (milk, butter, and meat broth): the latter are not typically found in the prescriptions included in Chinese-language medical formularies at this time, though later recipes in the *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe* do explicitly incorporate significant elements from Chinese-language formularies.

The first part of the text continues with thirty-five more numbered sets of recipes like the one described above.[26] The second half of the manuscript continues with many pages describing different compound drugs and types of illness. Thirty-eight of these drugs and illnesses are included, each with an accompanying description of types and varieties.[27] A finder's guide is provided in lieu of page numbers, with the names of drugs or illnesses given in Manchu or transliterated into Manchu script. These names include *yinzi tu* 印子土 [*durun i boihon*], a kind of medicinal earth and the only entry in the finder's guide that is not in Manchu; a series of entries corresponding to Manchu transliterations of European drug names *ulebe berledu*, *sidibdirg'a*, *balasamun weite*, *eliksir*, and *bas di liyo*; a series of pages that are either unnamed or named only according to drugs identified by color; and entries devoted to influenza, malaria, diarrhea, paralysis, madness, poisonous wounds and bites, women's illnesses, large and small pox, stomach illnesses, and many other named ailments. The finder's guide also includes entries for cinchona (*gingina*), as well as directions for using and making many different types of compound drugs and panaceas.

Phew! Ok, so that's the overall structure we're working with. Now, let's get back to the main event. What would approaching this recipe by studying it in the context of the Silk Road (as a noun, as an object or stable concept in place or time) look like? Certain kinds of questions emerge out of taking that attitude toward the text. When was it written? Where was it written? By whom? How did the terms or objects or disease concepts that emerge from this recipe circulate from context to context, from place to place? From where did the recipe/ideas/terms in this text originate? From what original text(s) was this recipe translated, if any? What was

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[26] As far as I can tell, none of these numbered sets of recipes specifies the names of the ingredients to be used in the medicinal oils and other preparations that the recipes describe, aside from indicating the general media that the drugs in question ought to be mixed with (wine, flour, oil, milk, etc.) Such silences may indicate this text was perhaps meant to be used in accordance with a set of numbered medicinal compound drugs that were also kept at court, but this is a hypothesis that I have yet to confirm.

[27] The Gugong Library edition of this manuscript continues after these thirty-eight drugs with another copy of the first set of thirty-six descriptions, and cuts off after repeating the first compound drug listed once again.

the Qing court context in which this text was written, and how did that context shape the nature of the document? And we can imagine more questions along those lines. What all of these questions have in common[28] is a tendency to hold some parameters stable as a way of generating the context, the substrate, the terrain on and within which this text needs to be analyzed. By asking (and expecting answers to) questions that take the form of when, where, or who, this approach necessitates that we treat time and space as stable and measurable. In doing so, it holds a particular conception of time and space constant.

For a historian who is interested in challenging some of the taken-for-granted geo-political units, identies, and actors that have long shaped our stories about world and local histories, assuming a stable spatio-temporal grid undermines that work.[29] But for everyone else, the questions above are just fine if they motivate the kinds of stories that you want to tell. But even in that case, what the questions also have in common is the unfortunate fact that we simply do not have the kind of documentary archive to meaningfully answer many of them. That's unfortunately true for many of the kinds of texts that emerge from an attempt to integrate Manchu materials into the historiography of science and medicine. All is not lost, though. One of the most significant aspects of recent Silk Road studies is the ability of practitioners to work with and build from fragments.[30] And it's an attentiveness to that model of building from a multiplicity of fragments – if not strictly an interest in reproducing the ways that other Silk Road historians have built up from fragments – that I'm inspired by in moving to the next question.

In contrast to what I've just described, what would approaching this recipe by Silk-Roading it look like? To explain that, I need to first explain a little bit more about what I mean by Silk-Roading as a process. Research on central Eurasian topics before the (relative) stabilization of modern nation-states tends to proceed by following objects as they move, whether those objects are people, terms, documents, ceramics, etc. *Following* here is key to that work: much historiography of "Silk Road"-related topics charts itineraries in space or time.[31] Another key element of that work is the piecing together of fragments to imagine the wholes that they might have been part of.[32] This is another kind of following, albeit in time rather than just in space: to understand text, ceramic, clothing as a fragment (a bit of, a shard of, a frayed sleeve of) we must first accomplish the kind of time-travel that understands that bit, shard, or piece as part of an original whole. In other words, we must follow its fragmentation (even if recreating that process is impossible) in time.

For me, one of the most significant aspects of the kind of work that can emerge from the *following* that characterizes much of Silk Road studies – by regularly acknowledging how difficult and fraught that following can be – is a turn toward greater self-reflexivity about the practice and craft of the historian in creating our Silk Road stories. When we are thoughtful about the gaps in our knowledge (which comes from working with fragmentary evidence and being explicit about that fact) and the plurality of possible ways to interpret the evidence we do have (which comes from the importance of translation and translations in the study of Silk Road topics), that thoughtfulness opens a space to turn a potential weakness (lack of sources to establish clear causal lines of transmission, insecurity about the correctness of a translation) into a strength, and to open the space even wider to experimentation with Silk Road storytelling. This is the root of the process I'm calling Silk-Roading, and it's a process that I'll try to articulate the features of now.

In order to "Silk Road," we would do the following:

1. Refuse, in our histories, to treat particular geopolitical units of time, space, language, or community as if they were stable and static objects with fixed identities that can be taken for granted and that persist in space and time. This means moving away from stories about "China," the "Chinese language,"

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[28] And there are likely other commonalities that we can discuss, as well.
[29] I'm interested instead in looking at the ways that this text produces multiple temporalities and spatialities, and how we might tell multiple histories with it. In case I don't have time to write explicitly about that before I have to send this paper to you, we can talk more about that during the seminar!
[30] For more about the importance of fragments to Silk Road historiography, see my "Recycling History," *Tang Studies* 31 (2013): 161-176.
[31] That might involve following the itinerary of the concept of "Silk Road" itself as it has emerged from and traveled within particular historical contexts. See the recent work by Tamara Chin on this.
[32] I explore this in the *Tang Studies* piece.

"medieval," even "Eurasia" that aren't self-reflexive and plural in their approaches to these historical objects.

2. Acknowledge instead that these identities have constantly to be re-made and un-made for the purpose of our stories. In invoking "the Manchu language," for example, we are always creating a whole out of a set of fragments (pages, documents, terms, ideas, histories).
3. Instead, we would cheerfully and unapologetically treat the spaces of our analysis – a page, a book, a unit of land, a year, a script, a language, a term – as arbitrarily bounded sites in which to observe movements and the making and undoing of relationships. (The cheerfulness and lack of apologies are key, here.)
4. We would understand that our own practices of following – as historians, piecing together traces to tell larger stories in which they are embedded – create the very spaces of our analysis: we are bounding the spaces that constitute "China," "Eurasia," "Dunhuang," etc. in tracing the movements of the inscriptions and objects that we follow.
5. It would be self-evident that translations were happening all the time in those sites. We would incorporate that knowledge more centrally and organically into our analyses.
6. In bringing the act of following to the center of our analyses, and because to follow is to move from trace to trace, and because moving from one trace to another creates relationships among those traces, we would be telling histories not of objects (a statue, a drug, a text) but of relationships. And we would embrace the fact that we, as historians, created those relationships.
7. We would celebrate our histories as histories of relationships.

It's this craft of making histories of relationships that I'm calling "Silk-Roading." Not every historian should be doing it.[33] But if some of us did, what would that do for our collective field? To start on a smaller and less ambitious scale, what might it do when attempted in a single case? To explore that possibility, let's turn back to the recipe above and ask once again, what would approaching this recipe by Silk-Roading it look like?

As a way to explore that possibility, I have been experimenting with writing a history of the recipe in a mode that's consonant with what I'm calling Silk-Roading. In an ongoing series for The Recipes Project, I've been generating multiple translations of this particular recipe (and some related ones) as a way to both understand recipes as forms of storytelling, and understand my own craft as a reader/translator/historian. You can find the ongoing series of posts by heading over to Translating Recipes or by turning to Appendix 1 included at the end of this paper. In fact, please go ahead and take some time to do that now, in order to get a sense of the nature of the project and the work I'm doing there. There's no need to read the whole thing, but reading across some of the entries (and making sure to read 7 and 8, the last two in the series) will help understand what I write below.

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All done? Good! Now back to the main event. Here's what I claimed above about what Silk-Roading might offer us: "a Silk-Roading approach…allows our reading of the recipe itself to help us understand the ways in which it created experiences of spatiality and temporality for its readers (which readers include us, twenty-first century translators) by drawing particular kinds of connections and creating particular kinds of relationships, and thus by enabling particular kinds and directions of movement. (E.g, this recipe enables B kind of conceptual work, which places the reader in time in C ways, and draws them to connect D and E, which connection creates an experience of spatiality that looks and feels like F.)" So let's see if we can make that happen.

First, what do I mean by "experiences of temporality and spatiality"? What I mean here is a way of approaching this recipe that looks at the rhythm of the language (as in 2 and 4); the impact of technologies of "before," "after," and "meanwhile" (which will be taken on explicitly in a later set of entries in this series but

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[33] Granted, this approach won't satisfyingly answer the kinds of questions that a more traditional approach (building on the Silk Road as context and as noun) accomplishes. But it succeeds in asking and answering other – and for me, more interesting and arresting – kinds of questions.

which are introduced in principle in 7 and 8); the ways that terms in the text orient the reader in space and in relation to other materials (see especially 7 and 8 in that context); the points in these recipes when the translators assume a potential *failure* in translating a concept into Manchu and thus resort to explanations that take the general form of, "XYZ is similar to this or that phenomenon or object [that you may have experienced earlier and that you will now experience differently after reading this]" (even when that bracketed bit is implied and not articulated explicitly). I'm *not* telling a story about how certain substances moved across central Eurasia on the Silk Road and enabled this kind of combination and translation of ingredients, thus hybridizing existing medical cultures that had until then not been in contact: that kind of story assumes too much about the coherence of the spaces across which substances moved, the coherence of medical cultures that existed before contact, the coherence of languages before translation into or out of them. It's that assumed coherence that needs troubling.

The Translating Recipes project is clearly not an attempt to write a history of Manchu recipes as part of a history of the Silk Road(s). Instead, the historical approach to this recipe is an example of what I'm calling Silk-Roading. Let's revisit the list above to understand what I mean by that.

Essentially, this project is an example of the following:

1. In the earliest stages of the project (in the first posts) I was conceiving these recipes as part of a larger story that would be written in terms of "Eurasia" and of "early modern China." As I've focused my analysis less on the geographical space of empire (across landmasses and states) and more on the space of the page, I've begun to move away from considering "Eurasia" and "China" as meaningful, stable actors in the story that is emerging. The more I work on this project, the more I'm wondering how an idea of "China," of "the West," and of particular pharmaceutical objects (like butter, pearls, wine, cinchona) instead emerge and recede from the interactions that their traces leave on individual recipes.
2. I'm trying to stay conscious of how I am making and re-making the concepts and objects in these recipes through my decisions and practices as a reader and translator. To keep my reader conscious of it, I'm highlighting my own practice in the texture of my narrative. I'm building a series of different wholes out of the same set of fragments. And the history of these recipes and the text and contexts that they are part of is emerging gradually, over time, out of a series of fragments.
3. The series treats the spaces of the study – a recipe, a text, a page – as sites for observing relationships of various sorts.
4. As the series progresses, I'm trying to get to a place where I'll be able to zoom out of the individual posts in the series and re-consider what kinds of spaces have emerged from our reading and translating of the recipes. Does "China" exist as a space, in the world of this recipe text? If not, what kinds of spaces do the movements and relationships of the text produce? As we begin to explore the sections of the text that discuss diseases and types of illness in more detail, will it make more sense to think about epidemic-spaces, or wine-drinking spaces, or fever-inducing spaces, than geo-political spaces? And if we do that and then zoom back out to understand this single text in a wider framework, will this different spatial approach scale up beyond Manchu medical recipes, and if so, what kinds of new stories will it allow us to tell?
5. The project foregrounds translation as a creative process, as a process that is absolutely central to the way we understand the past, and as an activity that is coextensive with that of the historian
6. The project is moving toward a mode of reading and translating that is explicitly focused on seeing and translating the technologies that generate relationships in the recipe text that I'm looking at (see especially the last two posts, 7 and 8). In doing so, the project is trying to understand the linguistic and conceptual technologies – like prepositions – that enable readers and translators to experience relationships among elements in a text, and thus to follow the connections that integrate the parts of a text into a whole. In this way, the project is gradually trying to create a space for observing the technologies that produce relationships in a text and that make *following* possible. A later stage of the project will consider what is involved in attempts to translate those technologies – with, and, of, in – and look at contexts in which there are constraints or barriers to such a translation.
7. The history emerging out of this project is not a history of Jesuit translators, drugs, diseases, terms, or concepts. It is a history of relations and relationships.

Histories of the Silk Road(s) often take spaces for granted, either explicitly (by identifying a space and calling it a Silk Road or silk routes, etc.) or implicitly (by identifying a kind of circulation and exchange happening among peoples based in or traveling through various localities, and thus holding those localities fairly stable as spatial units). In contrast, Silk-Roading (as exemplified briefly here) produces space and time, by drawing explicit attention to the ways that relationships between terms, ideas, and other objects produce spatial and temporal experience. In this latter kind of story, multiple overlapping kinds of spatiality and temporality can emerge in the course of a single history. In this way, my proposal to think about Silk-Roading is a proposal of a kind of architectonics: a study of spatial and temporal structures and experiences thereof.[34]

We might compare this approach to the stage of paper-dollmaking when we draw the outline of the doll. In tracing that form, we only draw half of the body: we trust that, in cutting out the shape, we will be producing two symmetrical halves. By drawing half of the body, we determine the shape of the whole. Similarly, in Silk-Roading, we trace spaces and itineraries that are always fragmentary and incomplete, but the way we map those spaces and times determines the outcome of our stories.

This is an unusual and idiosyncratic case – both because of the text that I've chosen to highlight, here, and because of the shape of my approach to it. However, on some level we can consider all of our historical engagements in this way. For now, I'll propose at least that we can think of this approach in the context of the history of science and medicine. Let's turn to that now.

Cutting

You'll recall that the *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe* is, on some level, announcing itself as a translation of pharmaceutical knowledge. The history of this text is thus part of broader histories of both pharmacy and medicine, and of science and/in translation. In foregrounding translation as both an integral aspect of the work that the text itself does for its contemporary composers and readers, and as an instrument with which we are reading, understanding, and re-composing the text, translation becomes central to the histories that this text is part of. In Silk-Roading the text, we embrace and demand multiple overlapping stories in our study of it.

Here's why this matters in practical terms for the history of science. There are a lot of people interested in having more global, multi-sited conversations about what and where the history of science has been. There's a lot of interest in bringing a more "Eurasia"-wide approach to the history of science that incorporates attention to the spaces and people associated with the Silk Road. The way this has often happened, recently, is by bringing together specialists in the languages and documents of Silk Road history into a room with historians of science who are not specialists in those languages and documentary corpora, and carving out time for everyone to share research and have an extended conversation.[35] This seems like a great idea, in principle. But what winds up happening is that we're largely talking past one another, or treating one another as sites of knowledge or expertise rather than co-adventurers seeking to transform each other (and to transform our own questions and historiographical approaches) as we work together for a common purpose. In my experience of these gatherings, the conversation only rarely moves from mere co-location or juxtaposition of papers (with everyone, at the end of the day, still largely asking the same kinds of questions and approaching their documents in the same ways they were at the beginning) to a conversation that translates these individual papers and parts into a larger and more potentially transformative whole. The training practices, historiographical approaches, and ways of performing expertise that characterize area studies and the history of science are still quite different. The kind of collaboration that is necessary for telling global and multi-sited stories that move across time, space, and several linguistic contexts depends on having a shared language and shared questions that can be asked and answered collaboratively, rather than the "You take care of the China bit, I'll take care of the Africa bit" approach that tends to characterize global histories of science. If we continue to let this kind of approach shape the way that

[34] If I had more time, I would explore another side of this last point, urging that Silk-Roading can describe not just a historian's practice, but also describes the practice of some of the historical actors that we study, and specifically describes the activity of translators.

[35] There have been recent efforts to bring area studies scholars and historians of science together into common conversations about something like a "global" history of early modern or medieval science, for example.

we're building our archives, doing our research, and telling our stories, we're left with a situation wherein Area Studies scholars and historians of science and medicine will continue to speak past each other, or speak in different conversational spaces that don't meaningfully inform and transform each other's practices and approaches to texts. In effect, we're carving up the historiographical globe and asking one another to stake claims to bits of it. Like the cutting stage of paper dollmaking, once we scissor over the map that we've drawn, we've determined the shape of the resulting community and the resulting conversation.

If we instead let go of that and authorize each other to voice different, overlapping kinds of stories that reflect different kinds of expertise and fluency in the skills needed to work with and tell stories from our texts, we would be laying the foundation for a very different historiography of (global, Silk Road, Eurasian, etc.) science. We would move from a conversation that largely took the form of, "Tell us what it's like in China, in Japan, in Tibet, etc." toward a conversation that took a very different form – "Here's a text. Tell me what you see here. How and with what does this connect, for you? What kinds of stories can you tell with this?" – in which all participants were translators.

Playing

So let's return to our early question: Would it be meaningful to bring a sustained discussion of the Silk Road (or silk routes, etc.) to bear on the way we write and talk about the history of science right now? For all of the reasons above, my answer is a resounding Yes, but with some caveats.

It's a good thing, I think, to build more of a dialogue between the history of science and area studies. But to be productive and mutually transforming, that dialogue needs to allow participants to come to the table as equal partners who can communicate in the same historiographical language. We can do this if we move away from a model that authorizes participation by defining participants as experts in particular fields whose job it is to speak for those fields, and instead by encouraging all of us to come together as translators. We may not share research languages or familiarity with particular fields of historiography in common, but we can share a commitment to Silk-Roading. We wouldn't be asking, What was science like on the Silk Road? We would not expect a single, correct story to emerge from our gathering. Instead – using documents in Manchu, Tibetan, French, or English, or none of these – we would ask, How can I bring the kinds of questions that I take from my documents over to your materials and help you see them in a different way? (And how might I come to understand your historiographical approach and commitments enough to understand how to talk with you about my perspective, how to translate my perspective into terms that will be meaningful for you?) How might we collectively think with this statue, recipe, idea, or astronomical table in a way that enabled us all to return home after our gathering and approach our historical objects afresh, and with a greater appreciation for the multiplicity of times and spaces that any single statue, recipe, idea, or astronomical table is simultaneously embedded in?

Silk-Roading thus becomes deeply embedded in a practice of coming together, of joining and breaking apart and rejoining: of ourselves as scholars, of ourselves as bodies and voices, of our historical objects of study, of our notions of geo-political space and historical time. Silk-Roading becomes a kind of constant translation and movement. And according to this vision, "Critical Silk Road Studies" becomes a way to activate the kinds of translational practices that we may take for granted as practitioners of Silk Road studies, and think about how those practices can and should extend well beyond studies of Sanskrit or Tibetan or Chinese documents and into fields that may on the surface seem to have little in common with them. Critical Silk Road Studies, here, involves Silk Road scholars developing critical methodologies that have broad humanistic value beyond the study of Eurasia. And Silk-Roading becomes, with any luck, a very productive way to generate stories, and thus a very productive kind of play.

Appendix 1: *Translating Recipes* Posts So Far

1. **Narrating Qing Bodies**

I study and write about the history of science and medicine in early modern Eurasia, with a focus on China in that context. In particular, I'm interested in how medical and culinary recipes were translated in the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, and how the recipe format became a medium of epistemic exchange across early modern Eurasia.

A text that has been particularly exercising me lately is the *Xiyang yaoshu* 西洋藥書 [Handbook of Western Drugs]. It was written by two French Jesuits, Joachim Bouvet (1656 - 1730) and Jean-François Gerbillon (1654-1707), some time after they had arrived at the court of the Kangxi Emperor in 1688. The book itself was smaller than a modern passport. It begins with a series of thirty-six recipes for treating myriad illnesses, many of which were broken down into varieties on a common theme. After this, the text opens out into almost forty further discussions of drugs and illnesses, many roughly translated from European-language texts about health and the body.

Importantly, the text was written in a language called Manchu, one of the official languages of the Qing court and a crucial medium of translation of scientific and medical knowledge during the Kangxi Emperor's reign. Many of the recipes used the Manchu script to transliterate the names for drugs in Chinese, French, Latin, and other languages. The text contains many recipes for making remedies for poisons of all kinds.

Reading through this text, I began to think deeply about these recipes as literary objects. What if we understand a recipe not just as a kind of text, but also as a form of storytelling? If a recipe does tell a story, what kind of story might that be? And how might understanding recipes in this way change the way we read and experience them?

Thus began the *Qing Bodies* project, a long-term multi-media foray into considering various forms of scientific and medical writing in the Qing period from the perspective of a history of storytelling. *Qing Bodies* asks a very simple, but potentially transformative, question: how might reading Qing medical and scientific texts with an eye to narrative form open up creative possibilities for working and writing with the history of Eurasian science and medicine? This has been tremendous fun, to put it mildly!

One recent experiment stemming from this project (and inspired by the work of Raymond Queneau) has led to me thinking about the relationship between recipes and drama. Can we map a recipe onto--for example--a traditional three-act dramatic form? And how might that change how we experience recipes as literature?

If Act I of the recipe introduces the protagonist (or protagonists), sets out the conflict, and presents the incident that will set the ensuing events in motion, Act II introduces an obstacle for the main character and brings the protagonist to a moment of crisis. Act III resolves the crisis. Here, the recipe becomes a story involving characters (drugs, a body in crisis) that are transformed through their interactions in time.

In tomorrow's post, I'll share the result of this experiment with you...

2. **A Drama of Butter and Pearls**

Translation 1

A medicinal oil eliminating (harmful) poison.

One kind [of oil] used if a person has just been poisoned.

Before eliminating the poison, after taking a flour-based drug in accordance with the 30th prescription, and after that drug causes the poison to be vomited up, spread this oil on the navel part of the stomach.

If the person has consumed so much poison that a lot of internal things are going wrong and the condition has become very serious, after taking 15 - 20 drops of the oil and combining it with either the fatty broth from boiled meat, or butter combined with milk, drink it. Having already smeared this oil on the navel part of the stomach again after 2 *erin* periods, the following day smear it again two times.

If this has still not eliminated the poison, after taking one or more drops of this medicinal oil again according to the prescription, if you smear it according to the prescription all will be well.

The text above is a fairly straightforward translation of a Manchu medical recipe into English, preserving the structure and form of the original. But what if we were to read the recipe in another way, translating it instead (in light of my previous post) as another kind of narrative altogether?
I've incorporated Manchu phrases to give a sense of the disorientingly multilingual character of the original, with includes Latin, French, Manchu, and Chinese. The story is intimate, reflecting the sensual nature of the relationship that this recipe creates among its ingredients and the human body. Some of the plot is playful. For example, "nure" is the Manchu term for wine or alcohol, leading to the "drunken conversation" with her. "Manju beye" is a term for the Manchu body.
There are resonances that aren't obvious on the first (or fourth) reading. Partly, this reflects the obscurity of some references in the original recipe. With that, I bring you the second translation of the recipe.
Translation 2
Act I, Scene 1.
You are incense. You are pearls. You are amber, roses, sugar. You are urine and clay, saliva. You are cinnamon and bile.
It is the end of the seventeenth century and you are the protagonist. (You are always the protagonist.)
You are booxi or nicuha. You are aisin, ding hiyan, gu-i pi. You are gingina okto.
You have just arrived at the court of the Kangxi Emperor. (Or maybe you're still at the capital, en route to the court.)
You've spent the last months stuffed into close quarters with different ones in different languages: Eliksir, Mei Gui, Balsamun. At the beginning, you didn't understand each other. Some muttered uncomfortably in Latin. You thought you heard a few of them complaining to each other in Chinese. There was a very quiet one in the corner that may have been French, but you're not sure.
The only way you've managed to communicate is by using some of the words you've picked up from the world outside your temporary home. Cold words like xahvrun, watery words like muke. You had a drunken conversation with a mysterious one about nure: though you don't remember much of it, it seems to have been heated and she's been stealing looks at you since.
This last one, actually, might have potential: it's a short life, and a lonely one, and any chance for intimacy before the final, sudden coming together…well, it gives you some sense that something might be in your control. Your first words are halting, but as they melt the silence she starts to turn toward them: uju. nimenggi okto. Ge-te-rem-bu-re nimenggi okto.
The first whispers of a response reach you…ehe horon be ge-te-rem-bu-re nimenggi okto…
And then you turn away as you realize that the words are coming from outside: someone has been poisoned, and everything changes.

Act II, Scene 1.
Everything in you has led to this moment.
The foreignness of the others to you, and yours to them, stops mattering.
You come together and now the only words you have are sounds that felt dissonant before but now flow like music. They surround you and come sliding out of you like the oil you're feeling yourself dissolve into.
You see her - she's also dissolving and you start dissolving into each other niyalma yaya ehe horon de neciburakv and you're both moving toward the poisoned one and you're absorbing into each other emu juwe sabdan gaifi and into him
and you're moving and
he retches aikabade jeke omiha ehe horon umesi amba ofi and…
…And it doesn't work. There was too much poison.
And now what do you do? She's also half-dissolved and looks at you, disbelieving, not comprehending.
This is it. You can't do anymore. This can't be all there is…

Act II, Scene 2.
Here is what you do.
You don't give up.
You collect what there is left of yourself and you wait and you wait and the others wait.
You turn away from each other, embarrassed, having forgotten how to communicate.
You've lost your language and you're starting to reel from the swaying of the poisoned one, who is jerking as his systems shut down.
You have nothing to say.
And then. And then you smell something.
Butter…?

Act III, Scene 1.
Butter.
You smell butter and milk, and you feel some of it against you, and you look in surprise as she feels it too,
…and you start to speak and eici yali bujuha tarhv sile de and you find yourself moving down the poisoned one's throat together and dissolving together, again, and you look at each other expecting to be torn apart again…
…try to get as much out of this brief time as possible eici sun nimenggi suwaliyaha sun de suwaliyafi omi and you sing to each other this time gu-we-ji-he teisu bade ulenggu de…and…
…and…and you stop singing. You start to drift. You lose the sense of a center, of your own boundaries. You become her, become the once-poisoned one, become beye, Manju beye, and you sleep.

3. **Fairy Tale Drugs**

Hello again! When last we met, I was telling you about a recent and ongoing experiment in translating Manchu-language medical recipes into different storytelling forms as a way to get at the narrative power of drug texts and their formulae. If you don't recall that, take a moment to check out the previous two posts in this series and you'll get the most out of what follows: Part 1: Narrating Qing Bodies and Part 2: A Drama of Butter and Pearls

All done? Good to have you back! Now, let's reminisce a bit. Whether it was worrying over Little Red Riding Hood or wondering at the fate of Cinderella, many of us spent our childhoods reading and living a dream-life in fairytales. Many of these stories have common elements. Often, they incorporate some kind of magic or enchantment. They usually include conventional, stock characters that don't change much over the course of any given story. And importantly, the stories move across time and space: different versions of a story might be found in very different contexts; often a fairytale story is transmitted orally rather than depending on a specific textual materialization of the narrative. In his introduction to *Fairy Tales From The Brothers Grimm: A New English Version*, Philip Pullman thus characterizes fairy tales as being in "a perpetual state of becoming and alteration."

If you think about it, an early modern medical recipe shares many of the same narrative features as a fairy tale. (At least, this is true of the early modern Manchu medical recipes that we've been exploring together.) These recipes often incorporate ingredients with (at least reputedly) incredible powers: gold, pearls, precious animal horns. They also feature a limited number of stock directions (mix this, smear that) and basic ingredients (wine, fat, water). There often exist many versions of the same formula, with the core identity of a particular recipe not dependent on its materialization in a particular text. And like Pullman's fairy tales, if we consider how these recipes are used, they are also in a constant state of alteration and variation. Put another way, both Manchu medical recipes and fairy tales exist in a continuing state of translation. Like a fairytale, the recipe becomes a kind of basic storyline that is recorded into textual form but doesn't depend on any single, specific textual inscription and can be adopted and adapted into different local contexts.

So what would happen, I wondered in the course of considering this parallel one afternoon, if we read a medical recipe *as* a fairy tale? Are there stories hidden in the lines of these Manchu texts, and how might looking for them change (at least in some small way) how we think about the kind of work a medical recipe does? Translating a recipe as a fairy tale does a few useful things for us. It emphasizes the translatability, literary form, and movement of these texts, and of the bodies within them. It puts a different spin on early modern medical recipes: sometimes, the formula (or, storyline) was more important than the identities of the individual ingredients it combined. And it highlights the fact that, for many readers, there was a kind of magic at work in an early modern medical recipe: powerful, unfamiliar ingredients were invoked in powerful, unfamiliar language. (Plus, it's a whole lot of fun.)

In the next post, I'll share the result of this experiment with you.

4. **The Girl, the Scorpion, and the Doctor**

Hi there! In my previous post, I described an experiment in translating a Manchu medical recipe into a fairy tale. This is the second half of that discussion.

What you have below, similar to what we did in Part 1: Narrating Qing Bodies and Part 2: A Drama of Butter and Pearls, is a comparison of two translations of the same Manchu medical recipe. This is a short recipe from the *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe* [Handbook of Western Drugs], in *Xiyang yaoshu* 西洋藥書 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), 294.

You'll notice several things as we move from the first to the second text. This recipe concludes with directions that are specifically geared toward use in children, and I've used that to inspire the second rendering of the text. Once again, as we saw previously, the power and danger of (Manchu) language is at the center of the story. And repetition, as it is central for both drug and fairy tale literature, is an important feature of the story of the girl and her family. There are additional little tricks hidden in the fairy tale for the savvy reader to spot. Enjoy, and I'll see you again for the next installment in Translating Recipes!

Translation 1:

Fourth recipe. An oil to expel worms inside the body. [Can be used for] each kind of worm that forms inside a person's body. Heat this oil and smear it on the navel, on the place of the opening on the stomach, or on the nose, and all worms inside the body will be expelled. After drinking this oil, each person's worms will be expelled. It is very good to use this with small children who otherwise aren't able to take drugs. If one is poisoned by scorpions and similar creatures and the wound develops worms, smear this oil on the place where the person was stung or bitten.

Translation 2:

I. Once upon a time, there was a little girl who lived with her parents. They lived by a forest, and the little girl would often run into the woods and play for hours with the other animals that lived there. Her parents knew the forest creatures well and they didn't mind, but there was one rule that they insisted on. "If you ever come upon the scorpion, make sure to run straight away. It is proud and fickle, and it doesn't like to be looked at. Play with any of the other creatures you like, dear daughter, but you must not bother the scorpion."

One day, while running through the woods the little girl came across a very small and very beautiful animal she hadn't seen before. She realized immediately that it must be the creature her parents had warned her about. "What would be the harm in giving it just a tiny peek?" she thought, and bent down to admire it. The scorpion stared back at her without moving. "What would be the harm in giving it just a tiny touch?" she thought, and reached out her hand to stroke it. When she moved to touch the scorpion it flicked its tail and stung her on the hand. She cried out in pain and ran home to her parents. Her mother put her in bed and her father ran to summon the doctor.

II. The doctor came and looked at her wound, which was now swollen and red. He rummaged in his bag for a handful of herbs, which he gave to the mother. He pointed to the stove and the wine, and the mother went off to boil the herbs into a hot potion. She returned a while later with a steaming cup and gave it to the daughter, but the daughter refused to drink.

The doctor looked again at her wound, which was now oozing and green. He rummaged in his bag for another handful of herbs, which he gave to the mother. He pointed to the honey and the spoon, and the mother went off to dissolve the herbs into a sweet potion. She returned a while later with a sweet, sticky bowl and gave it to the daughter, but the daughter refused to eat.

The doctor looked again at her wound, which was now black and crawling with worms. He rummaged in his bag for a bottle of oil, which he gave to the mother. He pointed to the fire and the brush, and the mother went off to warm the oil. She returned a while later with a warm bowl and a brush, and smeared it on the daughter's wound. In no time at all, the girl fell asleep. After several minutes, the worms dropped away. After several days, the bite had nearly healed. After a week, the doctor came in to check on the girl's wound, which was completely healed.

III. The father asked the doctor, "Doctor, what was in the oil that you gave our daughter?" The doctor was silent. Then the mother asked, "Oh doctor, please tell us what was in the oil that cured or daughter!" But the doctor still did not utter a single word. Finally the daughter asked, "Dear doctor! I must know what was in the oil that saved my life! If you don't tell me, I shall run back into the forest and find the scorpion once again!" At this, the doctor looked at the girl and finally opened his mouth. "Jai hiyedz i jergi ehe horon bisire umiyaha de xexebuhe saibuha de ere nimenggi be julergi songkoi ijuci sain..," the doctor cried, and left the house.

Neither the father, the mother, nor the daughter understood a word of what the doctor said, and they looked at each other, perplexed. The mother opened her mouth to comment on the strangeness of the doctor's behavior, but all that came out was, "Hefeli i dorgi umiyaha be wasimbure nimenggi!" The father, having no idea what his wife had just said, worriedly asked, "Okto omici ojorakv ajige juse…" and then covered his mouth in disbelief. The daughter, frightened and confused, cried out, "…baitalaci ambula sain!" as she and her parents stared terrified at one another. They ran out of the house to look for the doctor, but he was nowhere to be found.

From that day on and until the end of their days, the family could only speak to each other in this language that none of them understood. The daughter cared for her parents as they grew old, and none of them ever went back into the forest again.

5. **<u>Fluid Translation 1</u>**

[This is the first post in a two-part series on Fluid Translation. For the second post, check back tomorrow!]

Welcome back to the "Translating Recipes" series! For the next two posts, we'll continue to think about the relationship between translation, recipes, and storytelling. In previous posts we've done that by considering what it looks like to translate a recipe into a fairy tale and a drama. Today and tomorrow, we'll move to our third experiment: translating a recipe into a song.

The inspiration for this experiment comes from an attempt to use this series to not only challenge our assumptions about the narrative form (or lack thereof) of recipes, but also to think differently about translation. With that in mind, think with me, for a moment or two, about fluids. (By "fluid" here I don't mean simply a synonym for one part of the liquid-solid-gas triptych that most of us have learned about when studying phase changes in elementary chemistry: I mean, instead, any stuff that flows.) The reason for this will become clear as you read.

When we think about translation, we tend to understand it in terms of a process in which static, individual entities (terms, ideas, sentences, etc.) are made equivalent to other static, individual entities. If we understand a medical recipe book as a collection of individual elements (ingredients, terms, ideas) to be changed and transposed in that way, understanding how a recipe is translated means understanding how translators equate individual elements, how they find an A (Panax ginseng), B (water), and C (spirit) that are roughly equivalent to X (orhoda), Y (muke), and Z (sukdun). A history of translation (of a recipe, for example, or of drug knowledge) thereby becomes a kind of comparative history. Like any comparative history, this approach both benefits and drawbacks: though a comparative approach lets us see new facets of something (let's say, the English language) by putting it into a relationship with something else (let's say, Manchu), in order to compare two things we typically need to hold them steady and solid (for example, considering "the English language" and "Manchu" as coherent objects) and ignore differences and complications within the contexts that we're comparing. Some people refer to the latter move as "essentializing" the objects or contexts being compared.

Instead, what if we thought about translation not in terms of solid objects, but in terms of fluids? When we think about fluids and fluidity, we tend to think about motion: movement, flow. If we treated translation as an explicitly fluid process, we would emphasize flux and flow in the practice of translation: we would consider the terms, objects, and ideas of translation as always and explicitly in motion and already in the process of transformation. If we understood a medical recipe and the context from which it emerges to be fluids (rather than collections of solid entities), then the translation of a recipe becomes not a transposition of individual elements, but instead a process of redirecting flows. In that case, comparing the nature of the change from A to B is no longer the goal of the translator: instead, the goal is trying to understand the kind of work done by the flow of a recipe in a new context, the path it cuts in its new contextual ground, taking into account, perhaps, the degree of turbulence of the flow. (For the purpose of understanding our Manchu translators and the recipes they composed, the goal then is not to understand how they came up with individual Manchu things (orhoda, muke) that were equivalent to other, non-Manchu things (ginseng, water), but instead to understand how they learned to move within a language, embed themselves in its flow, and redirect that flow into another context.

Sometimes understanding and moving with that flow is just as much about the sound of words, their rhythm, the relationships they create with one another, as it is about their semantic meaning. In the case of a recipe, understanding and moving with the flow of the text is about understanding how some of those textual processes create bodily experiences, and seeking to recreate resonant experiences in a different context. Since Manchu was a medium of translation, and a language that incorporated sounds, terms, and materials from many other languages, it could be used by translators to redirect and consolidate flows from many different contexts. This is just the kind of work that our Manchu medical recipes did.

In addition to this conceptual fluidity that I've only just begun to introduce here, flows of fluids - water, wine, oil, breath - were also materially crucial in Manchu recipe literature. Fluids saturated human bodies: they bathed them, flowed within them, and were poured upon them. Paying careful attention to the particular ways that fluids suffused Manchu bodies and putting this into dialogue with other (not as obviously material) forms of fluidity helps us see some of the ways that fluidity provided a bridge between text and matter in this context, and possibly beyond.

How might thinking about this inform our experiment in translating Manchu recipes? Thinking in terms of fluidity allows us to conceptualize language in terms of the properties of fluids: in a text, how might language flow like water, like oil, like wine? How might we (our practices, our movements, our awareness of our experiences and the actions we take in conjunction with them) flow in time and space, and how might the language of a text enable that flow? What kinds of textual forms embody movement and fluidity? The next post in this two-part series will continue to think about recipes and their translation in these terms by experimenting with a style of translation inspired by these ideas. It will attempt to translate a Manchu recipe that we've seen before into musical terms, in an effort to start to get at the movement and fluidity of recipe language. Stay tuned!

6. **Fluid Translation 2**

[This is the second post in a two-part series on Fluid Translation. Read the first post in the series here.]

One way of thinking about how to convey a sense of fluidity, flow, and movement to a text is to think about it in terms of musical form. Considering a text in terms of the components of a song invites thinking in terms of the structural elements used by songwriters: verse, chorus, bridge, etc. Their relations help words collectively mediate bodily movements and transformations. When we sing a text we're making it part of our body in a way that's beyond mere reading. Thinking about the ways that a text engenders physical transformations seems resonant, for me, with the ways that we're thinking in this series about the kind of work that medical recipes do.

Informed by the ideas of fluidity and flow, this translation begins with the same Manchu recipe used in "Translating Recipes 2," but renders it here into a form inspired by and modeled on Ed Sheeran's "Bloodstream." (also here). There are a lot of ways that I find that song inspiring for this purpose: it's really thoughtful about making the sonic elements embody and reflect what's happening in the story, it's about fluids inside and outside of the body, it's related (in a way) to drug history. Before reading the translation below, I recommend listening to "Bloodstream." Then, come back to the translation and you'll hear the way that the recipe is modeled on that structure (and how it explicitly evokes some of the phrasing of "Bloodstream" as a kind of homage): imagine the "ehe horon" as a kind of humming to open the recipe. Then we move to the first verse (which is also the first part of the Manchu recipe: "To avoid a lot of poisons…"). Then a kind of pre-chorus ("Wait and rest…"). Then the chorus ("This is medicine…"). Then the second verse, which corresponds to the second part of the Manchu recipe. Then another pre-chorus, Then the chorus again. The recipe-song ends with a kind of outro ("When the poisoning inside…").

The music and text of the original song work together to embody the story, and the recipe attempts to at least begin to do similar work. The intro sets the pacing and rhythm. The first verse introduces the context and scene, the narrator and main tropes. (This is also true of the recipe translation below.) Ideally, the language here should act like a fluid: long sentences that are melodic and flow, a careful alliteration and rhyme in the sentences. (The recipe translation only begins to get at this. The "poison/reason/season/conclusion" rhyme was chosen in part because the action that sound asks of your mouth, when pronounced, is a kind of opening up and then swallowing motion appropriate to the later action of the recipe.) The pre-chorus of the song takes the tone higher and moves to the refrain, asking the main question and explaining the problem, introducing more tropes and objects that will continue to be important to the song in later verses: the idea of red, of mind. (In the recipe translation, the "time/wine" sounds also move the register higher than it had been, and introduce the themes of waiting, time, and consumption that will recur later.) The refrain of the song brings together the argument: here, the listener realizes how the pacing and form of the song evoke the topic, with resonances between the sonic and semantic fading, bloodstream, chemicals. (The recipe translation doesn't really do this, yet - but in a later edit that would be the goal.)

With all of this in mind, approach the following translation as a playful first draft. (Because deadlines are important, and draftiness is ok.) There are all kinds of ways that this can be refined and made much more fluid, but I offer it here as a way to open up and convey the spirit of this experiment. Thanks for journeying with me!

Ehe horon, ehe horon, ehe horon, ehe horon… To avoid a lot of poisons, For a myriad of reasons, Doesn't matter what's the season, You'll come to the same conclusion. Get a drop or two of oil ready, It'll help you when you're unsteady Spread it on your body, On your chest and tummy.
Wait and rest 'til some time has passed Don't rush it – you should never rush it. Once you've given it some time Have some food, have some wine…

This is medicine, It's soaking on through your skin. When you've been poisoned, Soak this oil into your skin. Now wait until it kicks in. Just wait until it kicks in.

When a person's just been poisoned Take a drug that's made of flour (You'll find it elsewhere in this book) You may throw up within an hour After vomiting the drug you took, Oil your belly and then take a look, But if things are bad because you're very poisoned,

Go and take 15, 20 drops Mix with meat broth, or milk with butter. Once you've given it some time, Drink with water or with wine…

This is medicine, Soak it through your belly skin. After you're poisoned, Go and smear it on again. Now wait until it kicks in. Just wait until it kicks in.

When the poisoning inside Doesn't much seem to subside (Repeat) Take another drop or two If it doesn't work then Take another drop or two You'll get better

7. **Recipes in Time and Space, Part 1**

> …There is not a conjunction or a preposition, and hardly an adverbial phrase, syntactic form, or inflection of voice, in human speech, that does not express some shading or other of relation which we at some moment actually feel to exist between the larger objects of our thought…We ought to say a feeling of and, a feeling of if, a feeling of but, and a feeling of by, quite as readily as we say a feeling of blue, a feeling of cold. - William James, *Principles of Psychology*

Welcome to a new year, dear readers, and a new installment of Translating Recipes! For this week's experiment in translation and storytelling, we're going to begin to consider the importance of time and space in reading and translating medicinal recipes.

As readers, our experience of a story can be profoundly shaped by those textual elements that are among the easiest to overlook. Terms like "to," "from," "with," "above," "on," and others are some of the most important linguistic technologies that we use. They orient and move bodies in time and space. They create intimacies among objects, bringing them together and tearing them apart. They create communities by situating objects relative to one another: inside/outside, above/below, possessing/possessed by, before/after. Different prepositions accomplish this in different ways. *And* creates proximity. *If* raises conditions and counterfactuals. *But* suggests alternatives, removes things, or places them outside. *By* positions things in particular spaces and times, creates motion, and specifies conditions of means and method. Taken together, prepositions make simple juxtaposition take a narrative shape, they produce directionality in time and space, and they create movement. Prepositions thus allow mere co-presence to become a story.

This Translating Recipes series has repeatedly suggested that we need to take the recipe form (or more properly speaking, the plurality and multitude of different recipe forms) seriously as a genre and mode of storytelling. In the interest of doing that, we'll now look at the work done by prepositions in producing a recipe's narrative. As we are focusing on Manchu recipes here, and the Manchu language doesn't include prepositions - instead favoring postpositions or verbal suffixes - we need to turn from prepositions to the many other kinds of language-technology that did the equivalent work. As I approach the kinds of relational technologies that do work equivalent to English prepositions in Manchu, then, I'll be talking about the kinds of terms that may more properly follow or be attached to words rather than preceding them: postpositions and tense markers.

In that spirit, the next posts will unfold in a mini-series of reflections that each take on a prepositional attitude in the context of the Manchu recipe that we've been variously translating and retranslating: on, while, from, etc. In each instalment of this mini-series, we'll explore the significance of parts of recipes that we tend to take for granted by creatively translating with them in mind. Check back tomorrow for the first experiment!

8. **Recipes in Time and Space, Part 2 – WITH**

[This is the second post in a multi-part mini-series on Recipes in Time and Space. For previous installments in this mini-series, see here.]

One of the most important aspects of a recipe is the work that it does to bring elements together. This can happen in many different ways. A recipe combines ingredients and objects, it combines bodies (human with nonhuman, living with inert, sick with healthy), and it combines directions and rules of practice, among many other kinds of combination that a recipe enacts.

Manchu medical recipes, specifically, combine much more than that. As we've seen, these texts function as translations that bring together object, terms, and bodily conceptions from several textual and medical cultures that don't otherwise have the chance to meet and inform one another. Each Manchu medical recipe in our *Si yang-ni okto-i bithe* (Ch. *Xiyang yaoshu* 西洋藥書) [Handbook of Western Drugs] also functions in conversation with other recipes included in the text, and these recipes often reference one

another in a wonderful inter-textual tapestry. In many ways, "with" – effecting combination, juxtaposition, conversation – is one of the key attitudes animating a Manchu medical recipe.
Future posts in this mini-series will consider the same recipe by zooming in on other attitudes (on, inside, etc.) to explore the ways that temporal and spatial orientations shape the kind of work that the recipe does to create relationships in the embodied world. We will conclude with a post that zooms back out to consider how these re-orientations can collectively help us read and experience medical recipes in general (and Manchu recipes in particular) in a new way, and ultimately generate new kinds of story-translations from them.
With that in mind, let's return to the recipe that we've been variously translating over the course of this series and re-encounter and re-translate it in the spirit of celebrating the way that the recipe situates bodies in time and space in a "with" kind of a way. (You can find alternate translations of the same recipe from previous installments of Translating Recipes here and here.) This is appropriate to the nature of the recipe, which is (as you'll recall) a remedy for poison. A poisoning, after all, is a relationship, and thus an event of with-ness: it is a meeting of substances and bodies whose coming-together creates an emergency. We might consider this a circumstance of being "with poison," analogous to (and perhaps the inverse of) the way we describe pregnancy as being "with child": in both cases, one body occupies another and transforms it. Both result from a with-ing of a body. Translation, like poisoning, accomplishes a roughly equivalent kind of work: the translators of a text, by joining with it, create an emergency that transform it into something new.
In the Englishing of the Manchu recipe provided below, I've emphasized some of the different sorts of combination, juxtaposition, and with-ness that animate the recipe in an effort to show how important this kind of relationship is to the work that the recipe does. There are also implied moments of with-ness that I haven't called attention to, but that this re-orientation will hopefully help us be more sensitive to even when it's not explicitly marked.

The Manchu text:
emu hacin. niyalma ehe horon bisire jaka de oktolobuci. neneme ehe horon be geterembure ufa okto be [gvsici fangdz de bi..] fangdz songkoi omifi. oksibufi. sirame ere nimenggi be guwejihe teisu bade ulenggu de iju.. aikabade jeke omiha ehe horon umesi amba ofi. dolo wajime fathaxame gvwaliyaxame bucere de isiname ujen oci. ere nimenggi okto be tofohon sabdan ci wesihun orin sabdan ci fusihvn gaifi. eici yali bujuha tarhv sile de. eici sun nimenggi suwaliyaha sun de suwaliyafi omi.. guwejihe teisu bade ulenggu de. ere nimenggi be juwe erin ome emgeri dasame ijume. jai inenggi geli juwe mudan iju.. aikabade ehe horon kemuni majige getereke akv oci. ere nimenggi okto be geli emu udu sabdan gaifi fangdz songkoi omifi fangdz songkoi ijuci sain..

The translation, in the spirit of "With":
Here is a medicinal oil that will help a body part ways WITH the poison inside it. This should be used if a person is WITH poison. Before being WITHOUT the poison, after taking a flour-based drug that will interact WITH the one being prescribed here [and one which is found in the thirtieth prescription that is collected WITH this one in this text] in accordance WITH the prescription, and after that drug causes the poison to be vomited up and thus no longer WITH the body, spread this oil on the navel part of the stomach so that it interacts WITH the skin. If the poisoned person has consumed a lot of the poison such that it's wreaking havoc WITH the body and the condition has become very serious WITH respect to what it had been earlier, combine 15-20 drops of the oil WITH either the fatty broth produced WITH boiled meat or butter combined WITH milk, and then drink the oil WITH the liquid. Having smeared this oil on the navel part of the stomach (blending oil WITH skin again) after waiting for one *erin* period WITH an additional *erin* period, the following day spread the oil two more times. If this has still not succeeded in removing all of the poison, take one or more drops of this medicinal oil and smear it on (blending oil WITH skin again) in accordance WITH the prescription. Good health will then be WITH you.