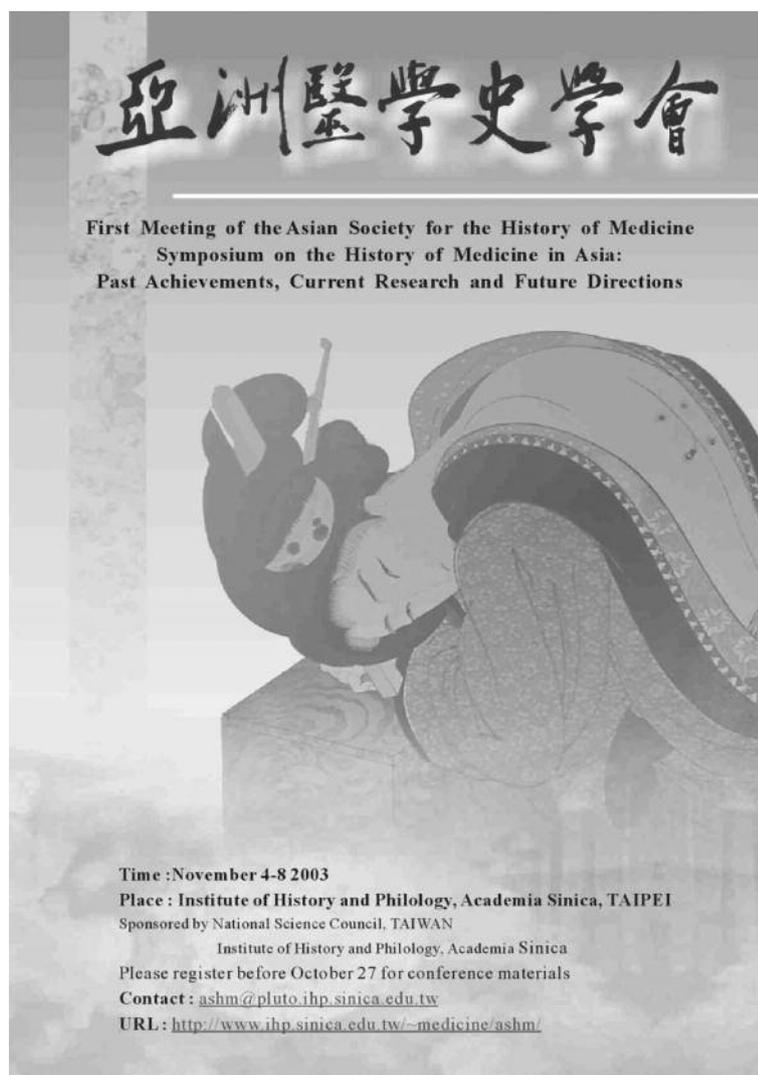


The Past as a Foreign Country:
Recent Research on Chinese Medical History in Taiwan



Jen-der LEE 李貞德
中央研究院歷史語言研究所副研究員

古今論衡 第11期 2004.09

“The past is a foreign country, they do things differently there.”^①

Chinese medical history is a new and flourishing field in Taiwan. A majority of the publications in this area have appeared in academic journals only in the past ten years, and the community is fairly small. Nevertheless these scholars have circulated quite a few reflections on their own research and their works have undergone a number of reviews in different occasions.^② This may have several reasons, ranging from the activeness of the participants to their needs to clarify and to defend their research interest in the academic community at large. Since most of the pioneers are trained as historians, and their followers are junior scholars in the field, they face challenges not only from their more conventional colleagues but also from medical professionals, who often consider physicians the best qualified to do medical history. Shengkun Chen (1951-1989), a medical doctor with a master's degree in history, claimed just that in his publication, which stimulates a historian's

① “The past is a foreign country. They do things differently there” is the opening sentence of L.P. Hartley's novel *The Go-between* (New York: New York Review Books Classics, 1953/1996). David Lowenthal, a British historian, uses the phrase for the title of his book, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), which focuses on the way modern people make use of historical material to their present interest, especially in the Anglo-American civilization, and the author's somewhat disapproval of it. This review, although not disagreeing with Lowenthal's assessment on modern history and historiography, applies the novel's opening sentence to denote another dimension in historical research in which the foreignness of the past is taken seriously enough that historians feel compelled to conduct an anthropological observation in order to overcome the difficulties of understanding those who lived in the worlds before us. This foreignness and the efforts involved to overcome it may have and perhaps should have existed in historical research in general, but they are, as will be shown in this review, particularly evident when scholars in Taiwan work on the history of Chinese medicine.

② These reviews take various forms from correspondence notes in academic newsletters to review articles in conference and academic journals. For instance, Cheng-sheng Tu, “A note on medical history as social history: introducing the achievements of the ‘disease, healing and culture’ research group,” *New History* 6:1(1995), pp. 113-151. Cheng-sheng Tu, “Medicine, society and culture: an alternative perspective on medical history,” *New History* 8:4(1997), pp. 143-172. Jianmin Li (review of and co-author with Jinsheng Zheng), “Origins of medical history in modern China,” *The Continent Magazine* 95:6(1997), pp. 26-35. Jianmin Li, “Probing a new area of study: how the study group on life and medical history at the Institute of History and Philology came about,” *Disquisitions of the Past and Present* 1(1998), pp. 59-62. Pingyi Chu, “A prospect of researches on history of science, technology, and medicine in Taiwan: an analysis of a contemporary Taiwan's scholarly community,” *Taiwan Historical Research* 4:2(1999), pp. 157-174. Most recently, Chia-Feng Chang, “A General Review on the History of Chinese Medicine in China and Taiwan, 1919-1999,” paper presented in the International Workshop on Médecine en Chine, Techniques de Santé et Histoire Sociale, Paris: CNRS/EHESS; et l'Institut des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Collège de France (2000), 14pages.

long and thorough review article on his works as well as his assumptions.^③ Before his premature death, Chen researched Chinese medical history and interacted with medical historians in the academy on many occasions, both aided with and confined by his knowledge of modern medicine.^④ There are other physicians since Chen who have devoted themselves to the study of traditional Chinese medicine, and their major goal lies in the integration of Chinese and western medicine in clinical applications.^⑤

For most of the historians in recent Taiwan who work on China's medical past, however, neither clinical values nor a degree in medicine typify their research or their affiliation.^⑥ Some of them may not even consider themselves primarily "medical historians."^⑦ Their scholarship includes so many subjects and their convictions involve such diversities that that which holds the scholars together as a community can only be recognized through comparison with other groups of researchers. To this reviewer, what characterizes these scholars is their anthropological approach toward the Chinese medical tradition, which is still very much practiced in contemporary Taiwan.

③ See Jianmin Li, "A Reappraisal of traditional medical historiography: perspectives on *The Collection of Dr. Sheng-k'un Ch'en*," *New History* 3:3 (1992), pp. 123-148.

④ For the merit and limitation of Shengkun Chen's application of modern medicine in his historical research, see Jianmin Li, "A Reappraisal of traditional medical historiography: perspectives on *The Collection of Dr. Sheng-k'un Ch'en*," pp. 123-148.

⑤ For Taiwanese doctors' efforts to integrate Chinese and western medicine through the study of medical history, see Chia-feng Chang, "A General Review on the History of Chinese Medicine in China and Taiwan, 1919-1999".

⑥ That is not to say, however, that their works do not originate from or reveal their concerns for medical practices of their society. It is that the inspirations are treated with more sophistication and the suggestions are expressed in indirect manners. This is the position taken by Sean Hsiang-lin Lei when he concludes his research on doctor-patient relationship of the early twentieth century. See Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, "Accountable doctor and loyal patient: transformation of doctor-patient relationship in the republican period," *New History* 14:1(2003), pp. 45-96. This attitude may be taken by some scholars as part of the conventional ideas about "scientific and objective" historiography, but it is also strongly inspired by a new understanding of historical research as a constant revisits and reconstructions of the past.

⑦ Some see themselves as social or cultural historians who apply medical documents in research while others may consider history of science their primary subject and medicine is only one section of it.

For quite a long time and well into recent decades, researchers in China, most often medical practitioners themselves, have borne the burden to make known the enormous discoveries in, or tremendous accomplishments of, traditional Chinese medicine in its progressive history.⁸ Scholars in Taiwan, however, view historical research not as a tool to prove or to discredit the validity of traditional Chinese medicine, but rather as a venue to explore the past. When Ping-chen Hsiung and Angela K.C. Leung, both historians based in the Academia Sinica in Taipei, first published their articles on late imperial Chinese medicine in the late 1980s, their main concerns were not to show the progress of medicine but to tackle issues such as regional differences in population growth and interactions between state and society through medical care.⁹

In 1992, when Cheng-sheng Tu started the “Study Group of Disease, Healing and Culture” with some of his colleagues and students in the Institute of History and Philology of Academia Sinica,¹⁰ his primary goal was to “put flesh to the skeleton of social history”

⁸ Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) has been entangled with China’s nationalism since the early twentieth century, fighting for legitimacy not only against western trained physicians but also imperialism as a whole. Some of the devoted researchers in the trend were categorized either as *fangxianpai* (the group that identifies discoveries) or *chengjiupai* (the group that identifies achievements), and their works bear the responsibility of preserving a nation through its heritage. For these terms and their meanings in medical historiography of the twentieth century China, see Jianmin Li (review of and co-author with Jinsheng Zheng), “Origins of medical history in modern China,” pp. 26-35. Also, see Jianmin Li, “Review of Zhao Hongjun’s *The Epoch of Huangdineijing*,” *New History* 8:4 (1997), pp. 173-186. For arguments and competition between western medical doctors and traditional Chinese medical practitioners, see Sean Hsiang-Lin Lei, *When Chinese Medicine Encountered the State, 1910-1949*, Ph.D. dissertation (Chicago: Conceptual Foundation of Science, University of Chicago, 1999). Recent reviews on medical history in China, however, suggest changes in research subjects but not much in scholars’ background or the ambition to identify the many “firsts of the world” in China’s medical past. See Jingwei Li and Zhibin Zhang, “Zhongguo yixueshi yanjiu liushinian” [Sixty years of study on Chinese medical history], *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* [*Chinese journal of medical history*] 26:3 (1996), pp. 129-136.

⁹ For instance, Ping-chen Hsiung, “Preliminary studies on the regional development of pediatric medicine in Qing dynasty China,” *Proceedings on Regional Studies of Late Imperial China* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1986), pp. 17-41. Ping-chen Hsiung, “Newborn and infant care in early modern China,” *Papers on Society and Culture of Early Modern China* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1987), pp. 387-428. Angela K.C. Leung, “Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region,” *Late Imperial China* 8:1(1987), pp.134-166. Angela K.C. Leung, “Smallpox preventive measures during the Ming and the Qing,” *Inquiry on Chinese history* (Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe, 1987), pp. 239-253.

¹⁰ The study group was renamed in 1997 as “Research Group of the History of Health and Healing” and continues to be one of the most active groups in the institute. For its past and current projects, see <http://www.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/%7Emedicine/>

rather than simply identifying medical achievements.¹¹ Although some of his publications since early 1990s have investigated the conceptualization of *qi* and *jingmai*, two of the most important elements in traditional Chinese medicine, his self-reflection in 1997 still claims that both he and his colleagues are not working on the “internal history” of medicine, a task he courteously declares belonged to trained medical practitioners. However, reluctant to categorize the works of his group as “external history” either, Tu settles with a new term, “alternative medical history.”¹²

Since its definition relies more on “what it is not” than on “what it is,” this “alternative medical history” includes subjects and approaches of many kinds. Tu stands by his social and cultural proposal even when he examines the interactions between medicine and the ideas of life in China’s antiquity.¹³ Some of his colleagues, while studying the regional lifestyles and related public policies of early imperial China, take a step further by conjecturing names of parasites and diseases as recorded in historical material, with the help of modern parasitology and pathology.¹⁴ To recruit modern medical knowledge in identifying historical terms is a major approach in medical history since the early twentieth

¹¹ Cheng-sheng Tu first proposes the study of medical history in his publication when he reviews the state of field of Chinese social history in 1992. In the article, he evaluates earlier research on social strata and social systems as have displayed only the “skeleton of the society” and suggests more studies of the “flesh” so that a fuller picture of traditional society can be portrayed. To explore the “flesh” of society, Tu proposes several sub-fields and includes the history of diseases and medicine in the category of “history of conceptions and experiences of life.” See Cheng-sheng Tu, “What is ‘New Social History?’” *New History* 3:4(1992), pp. 95-116.

¹² Tu publishes two reflection-reviews on the works of his and his colleagues’, one in 1995, the other in 1997. In the first one, he categorizes their works as social history and in the second, as alternative medical history. See Cheng-sheng Tu, “A note on Medical History as Social History,” pp. 113-151, and Tu, “Medicine, Society and Culture: an Alternative Perspective on Medical History,” pp. 143-172. For his works on *qi*, the vital air, and *jingmai*, the vessels and channels system, see Cheng-sheng Tu, “Body, Vitality, and Soul: the Understanding of ‘Self’ in Chinese Tradition,” *New History* 2:3(1991), pp. 1-65, and Cheng-Sheng Tu, “On the Formation of Traditional Vessels and Channels System and the Historical Status of the Texts on Vessels and Channels from Mawangdui,” *Collection of Research on the Archaeology of Mawangdui Han Tomb* (Hunan: Hunan chubanshe, 1992), pp. 99-106.

¹³ Cheng-sheng Tu, “From venerability to longevity: changes in ancient Chinese concepts of life,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 66:2(1995), pp. 383-487.

¹⁴ Fan Hsiao, “The physical environment and endemic diseases in ancient south China and their impact on human activities as viewed from the documents of Han through Song times,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 63:1(1993), pp. 67-171. Also, Fan Hsiao, “On a human parasitic disease: Sparganosis Mansonii in Chinese history,” *New History* 6:2(1995), pp. 45-66.

century. This approach is still used by advocates of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and their opponents either to prove the advancement of TCM or to question it. Historians, not necessarily in either of the opposing camps, who apply such methods in research, often feel the need to ascertain “real nosological units” in history. ¹⁵

However, most medical historians in Taiwan seem to have refrained from such an approach, considering traditional Chinese medicine and modern biology two totally different categories of knowledge, which undergo continuous changes that call for historical examination. Shang-jen Li, one of the junior members of the group, expresses his disagreement with this approach in his recent study of leprosy in late nineteenth century China. ¹⁶ He points out the importance of practices, such as the standardization of research tools, training of practitioners and constant revisions of theories, in modern science. Since nosological units are inseparable from these practices, it is both unnecessary and futile to identify modern medical terms in historical materials. ¹⁷ His position is not without precedent. In her study of *li* and *lai*, two of the Chinese terms most often taken as denoting modern leprosy, Angela K.C. Leung examines their conceptual and categorical changes throughout history and demonstrates a nosological world foreign to the germ theory. ¹⁸

Other scholars who work on the history of diseases also find it rewarding to free historical material from modern nosology. Chia-feng Chang examines epidemics in medical texts of early imperial China and portrays a contemporary etiology in which a disorder could be set off by several different causes. Since diseases that appeared to have been “contagious” could also be triggered by reasons such as fatigue or dietary imbalance, the care and cure of patients became diversified. ¹⁹ Fu-shih Lin investigates conceptions of

¹⁵ Paul Unschuld, “Traditional Chinese Medical Theory and Real Nosological Units: the Case of Hansen’s Disease,” *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 17:1(1985), pp. 5-8.

¹⁶ Shang-jen Li, “British medical studies on Chinese leprosy in late nineteenth century,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 74:3(2003), pp. 445-506.

¹⁷ Shang-jen Li, “British medical studies on Chinese leprosy in late nineteenth century.”

¹⁸ Angela K.C. Leung, “The Historical nosology of *li* and *lai* in China,” *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 7:2(1999), pp. 339-433.

¹⁹ Chia-feng Chang, “The Conceptions of Contagion in Chinese Medicine: a Case from *zhubing yuanhou lun* (610),” *Historical Inquiry* 27(2001), pp. 37-82.

diseases, the body they inflicted as well as the advice solicited both in religious and medical texts and argues that the distinction between religion and medicine in traditional China was hardly decisive.²⁰

Changing nosological systems in various historical periods reveal different conceptions of the body, the nature as well as the society. Since medicine is considered intertwined with the society in which it was practiced, careful studies of a certain historical period instead of general surveys covering thousands years of China's past becomes an important feature in the writings of medical historians in Taiwan.²¹ In order to provide thick descriptions for the many-faced practices of medicine, historians pore over all kinds of materials, not just medical documents, do textual analysis on related issues, and make use of theoretical literature from other fields. For instance, Cheng-sheng Tu pays tribute to the ethnographers of the early twentieth century for his understanding of traditional Chinese medical practices. Such is also the case for Jianmin Li, who acknowledges the influence of anthropological and ethnographical works in his pursuit of medical conceptualization of the body in ancient China. Fu-shih Lin, on one occasion, categorizes the research of his and his colleagues as "historical anthropology." On the other hand, Jen-der Lee's serial articles on women's medicine shows a feminist flavor and dialogue with gender studies. For many of the young scholars trained in the Anglo-American universities, science studies become an important

²⁰Fu-shih Lin, "A discussion of the concept of illness in the T'ai-p'ing-ching," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 62:2(1993), pp. 225-263; Fu-shih Lin, "Epidemics and religions in late Han China," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 66:3(1995), pp. 695-745; Fu-shih Lin, "Shamans and healing in China during the Six Dynasties Period (3rd-6th Century A.D.)," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 70:1(1999), pp. 1-48; Fu-shih Lin, "Medical activities and healing arts of Taoists in medieval China: a preliminary study based on hagiographic material of the Han, Wei-Chin and Northern and Southern Dynasties," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 73:1(2002), pp. 43-118.

²¹This of course could only be the partial reason. Since most departments of history in Taiwan's universities design the curriculum and recruit new faculties based on dynastic periodization instead of specialty of fields, most historians are trained to study and required to publish first and foremost within their specialized dynastic periods. The curriculum is somewhat changed since Taiwanese history and world history become important compartments of the field in the last decade of the twentieth century. But most of the publishing conventions seem to have sustained, although not without merits. For more discussion on the impact of curriculum and recruitment on the development of historiography, see Pingyi Chu, "A prospect of researches on history of science, technology, and medicine in Taiwan: an analysis of a contemporary Taiwan's scholarly community," pp. 157-174.

intellectual resource in their quest of medical history.²² Full of information and arguments, their articles are often loaded with notes.²³

In addition to nosology, scholars also take note of historical changes in different medical areas and are therefore very careful in applying names of modern medical specialties to designate the fields of their research. Without taking the specialization in modern medicine for granted, historians try to place their subjects in a historical context and to grasp the process in which these sub-fields were either born or transformed. In her studies on women's medicine, Jen-der Lee demonstrates how reproductive techniques shifted from the "arts of the bedchamber" to medical recipes, both belonged to the same division of scholarship in early imperial China, and thus not only transferred the reproductive responsibility from men to women but also gave birth to "Chinese gynecology" through a gendered discourse of the body.²⁴ Different conceptualizations of the body reveal different medical systems and vice versa. In his long and winding intellectual journey to explore

²² For the self-claims and reflections of these scholars and their intellectual resources, see Cheng-sheng Tu, "A note on medical history as social history: introducing the achievements of the 'disease, healing and culture' research group," pp. 113-151; Jianmin Li, "A Reappraisal of traditional medical historiography: perspectives on *The Collection of Dr. Sheng-kun Ch'en*," pp. 123-148; Fu-shih Lin, "Historical Anthropology: Old Tradition and New Development," in *Historical and Methodological Reflections on the Development of Modern Chinese Humanities: A Collection of Papers in Celebration of the Seventieth Anniversary of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 1998), pp. 365-399. Jen-der Lee, "Distinguished women, gender and historical studies," *Bulletin of Women and Gender Studies* 50 (Taipei: Center for the Population and Gender Studies, National Taiwan University, 1999), pp. 19-26. Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, "Techno-science, democracy, and society in transformation: challenges for STS," *Taiwan: a Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 45(2002), pp. 123-171; and Pingyi Chu, "A prospect of researches on history of science, technology, and medicine in Taiwan: an analysis of a contemporary Taiwan's scholarly community," pp. 157-174.

²³ The lengthy and footnote-loaded feature does not appear exclusively in the articles of medical history. In her review, Chia-feng Chang points out that many of the young scholars from the Institute of History and Philology, "following the traditional spirit of the Academia Sinica, excel at collating medical sources and at delicate textual research." See Chia-feng Chang, "A General Review on the History of Chinese Medicine in China and Taiwan, 1919-1999." For the history of applying footnotes in academic historical writings in Taiwan, see Jen-der Lee, "Readers Dis/Oriented in Historical Writings: Footnotes in the *BIHP*," *Disquisitions of the Past and Present* 9 (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2003), pp. 35-50.

²⁴ Jen-der Lee, "Reproductive medicine in late antiquity and early medieval China: gender discourse and the birth of gynecology," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 68:2(1997), pp. 283-367.

Chinese medicine, Jianmin Li explains the significance of *shushu*, the techniques of numbers used in ancient China to conceptualize nature, the world and the human body.²⁵

Since the body was understood through references different from what it is in modern medicine, the precious record of dissection in China's antiquity will be better interpreted, according to Jianmin Li, as a display of power instead of the foreground of "Chinese anatomy."²⁶ Likewise, as Chung-lin Chiu impressively shows in his studies, the "cutting of one's flesh to heal one's parents," allegedly practiced by generations of filial youngsters since the 7th century, concerns more than a few issues ranging from the political economy of health care to the widely held notion of the body as medicine.²⁷ Therefore, rather than finding faults in classical ethics, Daw-hwan Wang suggests the lack of anatomy in China's long medical history requires scrutiny from within the medical conceptualization of the body, which still influenced what Chinese doctors would have seen in early modern times, when they finally opened the cadaver.²⁸

In fact, the interaction between traditional Chinese medicine and its western counterpart is understood neither as a lineal progression nor as competitive relation. Pingyi Chu's research on the seventeenth century contact suggests constant reconstruction of political and religious ideas through medical discourse for both the Jesuits and their Chinese followers.²⁹ Toward the end of the imperial period, doctors and patients in the highest echelons engaged in a therapeutic tug of war, as informatively illustrated by Che-chia

²⁵Jianmin Li, *Mai and the Development of Medical Knowledge in Early China* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2000, December 2001 third edition), 435pages.

²⁶For the meanings of dissection in early China, see Jianmin Li, "The Body on Display: Human Dissection in Han China," *New History* 10:4(1999), pp. 1-30.

²⁷Chung-lin Chiu, "The human-flesh as medicine and the idea of 'vitalism': the medical idea of the behavior of 'cutting flesh to heal parent' from Sui-Tang dynasty to modern China," *New History* 10:4 (1999), pp. 67-116.

²⁸Classical ethics that forbade a filial son to harm his own body, not even his hair or skin, was once easily picked up as the reason for the lack of anatomy in Chinese medicine. For early modern Chinese doctors' experience in human anatomy, see Daw-hwan Wang, "Wang Ch'ing-jen on Human Anatomy," *New History* 6:1(1995), pp. 95-112.

²⁹Pingyi Chu, "The Flesh, the Soul and the Lord: Jesuit Discourse of the Body in Seventeenth-Century China," *New History* 7:2(1994), pp. 47-98; and Pingyi Chu, "Medicine East and West: Wang Honghan's Synthesis of Medicine, Christianity and Confucianism," *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 70:1(1999), pp. 165-201.

Chang, which involved all sorts of prescriptions and their political as well as cultural ramifications.³⁰ For modern historians, the encounter between the east and the west in the early twentieth century is an even more sophisticated network in which the nation state, cultural heritage, and professional communities were formed, transformed and translated. As Sean Hsiang-lin Lei points out ingeniously, when Chinese drugs were singled out by western trained physicians and opponents of traditional Chinese medicine as the best representative of TCM, Chinese doctors, for fear of their own exclusion from the whole scene, began to found societies, to embrace “experience” as their expertise and to debate about the embarrassing essentiality of the two-thousand-year old medical theories.³¹

Through an unpredictable process of changes, traditional Chinese medicine, as we understand it today, in the end wears a different face from how it existed in earlier historical times. Research on the “modernization” and “scientification” of Chinese medicine in the last century gives a vivid example of how medicine is not just “embedded in” society nor does it simply “interact with” culture. It is in fact, through different sets of time-specific and place-specific practices by different people, a certain kind of society and culture.³² To view medicine from such perspective, scholars find it not only useful but also crucial to conduct anthropological observations of the subjects under study.³³ Just like research on any other subjects in the history of science, the “internal” and “external” division of medical history becomes insignificant, and the humbly self-declared “alternative medical history” may now discreetly move to the front.

³⁰ Che-chia Chang, *The Therapeutic Tug of War - The Imperial Physician-patient Relationship in the Era of Empress Dowager Cixi (1874-1908)*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1999).

³¹ Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, *When Chinese Medicine Encountered the State, 1910-1949*; Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, “From Changshan to a New Anti-Malarial Drug: Re-Networking Chinese Drugs and Excluding Chinese Doctors,” *Social Studies of Science* 29:3(1999), pp. 323-358; Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, “How Did Chinese Medicine Become Experiential? The Political Epistemology of *Jingyan*,” *Positions* 10:2(2002), pp. 333-364.

³² Chia-feng Chang also argues for this understanding of medical history in her review. See Chia-feng Chang, “A General Review on the History of Chinese Medicine in China and Taiwan, 1919-1999.”

³³ Sean Hsiang-lin Lei proposes this from his knowledge in science studies. See Sean Hsiang-lin Lei, “Technoscience, democracy, and society in transformation: challenges for STS,” pp. 123-171.

Interestingly, the dismissal of the internal/external division of medical history in Taiwan coincides with the time when some young scholars join the community, only a few years ago. They come from different backgrounds but have something in common: their first degrees are not history, but are those from either medical school or college of sciences, and they often receive their Ph.D. from an Anglo-American academy with a focus on either science studies or history of science. Some of them regularly write in English and submit their papers to academic journals of science studies and history of science in the west. They aim at intellectual exchanges not only with Sinologists but also with historians of science and medicine in other cultural heritages. Encouraged by scholarly communities of STS (Science, Technology and Society) on the Internet and aided with the recent promotion of both local history and world history in Taiwan, this small group of medical historians so far seems to have found no difficulties in lively intellectual conversations and collaborations.³⁴

In Taiwan, traditional Chinese medicine never leaves people's daily lives, yet China's medical past is researched as an anthropological topic from the onset and now this approach has been transformed in part into a new development of science studies. The subject under research is so familiar as if it required a certain intellectual distance to see it clearly. Nevertheless, the recognition of its foreignness has so far served the historians well and has enhanced curious exploration and thorough examination. Hopefully, this attitude toward our past will continue to work as a motive for inquisitive studies and also as a promise to continuous growth of not only medical history but also Taiwan's historiography in general.

³⁴The STS website set up by Daiwie Fu at the National Tsinghua University (Xinzhong), which started out as a mailing list in 1998, has now become a virtual community constantly filled with lively input from young scholars on all kinds of STS subjects related to Taiwan, China and beyond. See <http://sts.nthu.edu.tw/>

Selected Bibliography

Chang, Che-chia, 張哲嘉

1998, *The Therapeutic Tug of War – The Imperial Physician-patient Relationship in the Era of Empress Dowager Cixi* (1874-1908), Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

1999, “Qinggong yiyao dangan de jiazhi yu xianzhi” 清宮醫藥檔案的價值與限制 [The value of the Ch’ing palace medical archives], *Xinshixue* 新史學 [New History] 10:2, pp. 171-194.

2002, “Funu yian de xingbie lunshu – yi cixitaihou de yian weili” 婦女醫案的性別論述—以慈禧太后的醫案（1880-1881）為例 [Gender discourse of women’s medical cases: a case study of Empress Dowager Cixi], *zhongguoshiyanjiu* 中國史研究 [Chinese Historical Research] 20, pp.169-180.

2004, “Medicine and Astrology: Their Encounter at a Cross-Cultural occasion,” to be published in *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine* (EASTM).

Chang, Chia-feng, 張嘉鳳

1996, *Aspects of Smallpox and Its Significance in Chinese History*, Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London.

1998, “Shenghua zhiyuan yu liming zhimen: jinyuanming yixue zhongde mingmen shitang” 生化之源與立命之門：金元明醫學中的命門試探 [The gate of life: the conceptions of *ming-men* in traditional Chinese medicine in the Chin, Yuan, and Ming periods], *New History* 9:3, pp. 1-48.

2000, “A General Review on the History of Chinese Medicine in China and Taiwan, 1919-1999,” paper presented in the International Workshop on Médecine en Chine, Techniques de Santé et Histoire Sociale, Paris: CNRS/EHESS; et l’Institut des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Collège de France, 14pages.

2001, “Jiyi yu xiangran: yi Zhubing yuanhou lun weizhongxin shilun weijin zhi Sui-Tang zhijian yiji de jibingguan” 疾疫與相染：以《諸病源後論》為中心試論魏晉至隋唐之間醫籍的疾病觀 [The Conceptions of Contagion in Chinese Medicine: A Case From the *Zhubing Yuanhou Lun*(610)], *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 [Historical Inquiry] 27, pp. 37-82.

Chen, Yuan-peng, 陳元朋

1995, “Songdai de juyi: jianping Robert P. Hymes youguan Song-Yuan yizhe diwei de lundian” 宋代的儒醫：兼評Robert P. Hymes有關宋元醫者地位的論點 [Ju-I of the Song dynasty with comments on Robert P. Hymes’ “Doctors in Sung and Yuan”] *New History* 6:1, pp. 179-204.

1998, “Tang-Song shiliao gainian yu xingwei zhi chuanyian: yi *Qianjin* ‘shizhi’ weihoxing de guanacha” 唐宋食療概念與行為之傳衍－以《千金·食治》為核心的觀察 [Food and healing in the T’ang and Sung: the *shih-chih* chapter in Sun Ssu-miao’s *Ch’ien-chin yao-fang*], *Zongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiuso jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 [*Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*] 69:4, pp. 671-726.

Chiang, Chu-shan, 蔣竹山

1995, “Ming-Qing huanan diqu youguan mafengbing de mingjian liaofa” 明清華南地區有關麻瘋病的民間療法 [Folk healings for leprosy in south China in Ming-Qing dynasties], *The Continent Magazine* 90:4, pp. 38-48.

Chin Shih-ch’i, 金仕起

1995, “Gudai yizhe de jiaose: jianlun qi shenfen yu diwei” 古代醫者的角色－兼論其身分與地位 [A study of medical doctors in ancient China with special reference to their social positions], *New History* 6:1, pp. 1-48.

Chiu, Chung-lin, 邱仲麟

1997, *Buxiao zhixiao: Sui-Tang yilai ‘geguliaoqin’ xianxiang de shehuishi kaocha* 不孝之孝：隋唐以來割股療親現象的社會史考察 [A Social-historical study of the phenomenon of ‘cutting flesh to heal parents’ from Sui-Tang to Modern China], Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Institute of History, National Taiwan University.

1999, “Renyao yu xieqi: ‘geguliaoqin’ xianxiang zhongde yiliao guannian” 人藥與血氣：割股療親現象中的醫療觀念 [The human-flesh as medicine and the idea of “vitalism”: the medical idea of the behavior of “cutting flesh to heal parent” from Sui-Tang dynasty to modern China], *New History* 10:4, pp. 67-116.

2004, “mingdai Beijing de wenyi yu diguo yiliao tisi de yingbian” 明代北京的瘟疫與帝國醫療體系的應變 [Epidemic in the Ming dynasty capital Beijing and the reactions of the imperial government], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 75:2.

Chu, Pingyi, 祝平一

1996, “Shenti, linghun yu tianzhu: mingmo qingchu xixue zhongde renti zhishi” 身體、靈魂與天主：明末清初醫學中的人體知識 [The flesh, the soul and the lord: Jesuit discourse of the body in seventeenth-century China], *New History* 7:2, pp. 47-98.

1999a, “Guantong tianxue, yixue yu ruxue: Wang Honghan yu mingqing zhiji zhongxi yixue de jiaohui” 貫通天學、醫學與儒學：王宏翰與明清之際中西醫學的交會 [Medicine east and west: Wang Honghan’s synthesis of medicine, Christianity and Confucianism], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 70:1, pp. 165-201.

1999b, “Zhangwang Taiwan de keji yu yiliaoshi yanjiu” 展望台灣的科技與醫療史研究 [A prospect of researches on history of science, technology, and medicine in Taiwan: an analysis of a contemporary Taiwan’s scholarly community], *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 [*Taiwan Historical Research*] 4:2, pp. 157-174.

2001, “Science and Medicine in Confucian China, 1600-1800” in *Cambridge Chinese History*, Ch’ng Dynasty II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming).

Hsiao, Fan, 蕭璠

1993, “Han-Song zhijian wenxian sojian gudai zhongguo de dili huanjing yu difangbing jiqi yingxiang” 漢宋之間文獻所見古代中國的地理環境與地方病及其影響 [The physical environment and endemic diseases in ancient south China and their impact on human activities as viewed from the documents of Han through Song times], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 63:1, pp. 67-171.

1995, “Guanyu lishishang de yizhong renti jishengchong bing: manshilietouyou bing” 關於歷史上的一種人體寄生蟲病：曼氏裂頭蚴病 [On a human parasitic disease: Sparganosis *Mansoni* in Chinese history], *New History* 6:2, pp. 45-66.

1998, “Changsheng sixiang hoyu toufa xiangguan de yangsheng fangshu” 長生思想和與頭髮相關的養生方術 [The thought of eternal life and hair-related methods for preserving health in traditional China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 69:4, pp. 617-726.

2000, “Zhongguo lishi shangde yixie shenghuo fangshi yu jizhong xiaohuadao jishengchongbing de ganran” 中國歷史上的一些生活方式與幾種消化道寄生蟲病的感染 [Life styles in Chinese history and some parasitic diseases in digestive system], *Proceedings on the History of Diseases*, Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 42pages.

Hsiung, Ping-chen, 熊秉真

1986, “Qingdai Zhongguo erke yixue zhi quyuxing chutan” 清代中國兒科醫學之區域性初探 [Preliminary studies on the regional development of pediatric medicine in Qing dynasty China], *Jindai Zhongguo quyushi yantaohui lunwenji* 近代中國區域史研討會論文集 [*Proceedings on regional studies of late imperial China*], Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, pp. 17-41.

1990, “Zhongguo jinshi de xinshenger zhaohu” 中國近世的新生兒照護 [Newborn and infant care in early modern China], *Zhongguo jinshi shehui wenhuashi lunwenji* 中國近世社會文化史論文集 [*Papers on society and culture of early modern China*], Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, pp. 387-428.

1991, “Mingdai de youke yixue” 明代的幼科醫學 [Pediatric medicine in Ming dynasty China], *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 [*Chinese studies*] 9:1, pp. 53-69.

1995a, “To Nurse the Young: Breastfeeding and Infant Feeding in Late Imperial China,” *Journal of Family History* 20:3, pp. 217-238.

1995b, *Youyou: chuantong zhongguo de qiangbao zhidao* 幼幼：傳統中國的襁褓之道 [*Childcare in traditional China*], Taipei: Lianjing publishing co., 200pages.

1998, *Anyang: jinshi zhongguo ertong de jibing yu jiankang* 安恙：近世中國兒童的疾病與健康 [*Disease and health of children in early modern China*], Taipei: Lianjing publishing co., 370pages.

Lee, Jen-der, 李貞德

1995, “Han-Sui zhijian de ‘shengzi buju’ wenti” 漢隋之間的「生子不舉」問題 [Child abandonment and infanticide from Han to Sui], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 66:3, pp. 747-812.

1996, “Han-Tang zhijian yishu zhongde shengchan zhidao” 漢唐之間醫書中的生產之道 [Childbirth in late antiquity and early medieval China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 67:3, pp. 533-654.

1997, “Han-Tang zhijian qiuzhi yifang shitan: jianlun fuke lanshang yu xingbie lunshu” 漢唐之間求子醫方試探：兼論婦科濫觴與性別論述 [Reproductive medicine in late antiquity and early medieval China: gender discourse and the birth of gynecology], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 68:2, pp. 283-367.

1999, “Han-Tang zhijian de nüxing yiliao zhaoguzhe” 漢唐之間的女性醫療照顧者 [Women healers in late antiquity and early medieval China], *Historical Inquiry* 23, pp. 123-156.

2000, “Wet Nurses in Early Imperial China,” *Nan Nü: Men, Women and Gender in Early and Imperial China*, Leiden: Brill, 2:1, pp. 1-39.

2002a, “Han-Tang zhijian jiating zhongde jiankang zhaogu yu xingbie” 漢唐之間家

庭中的健康照顧與性別 [Gender and domestic health care in early imperial China], in Ko-wu Huang ed., *Disanjie guoji hanxue huiyi lunwenji: xingbie yu yiliao* 第三屆國際漢學會議論文集：性別與醫療 [*Papers from the third International Conference on Sinology, History Section: Gender and Medical history*], Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, pp. 1-50.

2002b, “Han-Tang zhijian yifang zhongde jijian furen yu nüti weiyao” 漢唐之間醫方中的忌見婦人與女體為藥 [Forbidden but efficacious: women’s body in early imperial Chinese medicine], *New History* 13:4, pp. 1-36.

2002c, “Gender and Medicine in Tang China,” paper presented at New Perspectives on the Tang: an International Conference, Princeton University (2002.4.18-20).

2004, “‘Xiaoji’ kao: jianlun zhongguo zhonggu yizhe dui xile de taidu” 笑疾考：兼論中國中古醫者對喜樂的態度 [“Laughing disorders” and medical discourse of joy in early imperial China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 75:1, pp. 99-148.

Lei, Sean Hsiang-lin, 雷祥麟

1999a, *When Chinese Medicine Encountered the State, 1910-1949*, Ph.D. dissertation, Conceptual Foundation of Science, University of Chicago.

1999b, “From Changshan to a New Anti-Malarial Drug: Re-Networking Chinese Drugs and Excluding Chinese Doctors,” *Social Studies of Science* 29:3, pp. 323-358.

2002a, “Jubian zhongde keji, minzhu, yu shehui: STS de tiaozhan” 巨變中的科技、民主與社會：STS的挑戰 [Techno-science, democracy, and society in transformation: challenges for STS], *Taiwan shehui yanjiu jikan* 台灣社會研究季刊 [*Taiwan: a radical quarterly in social studies*] 45, pp. 123-171.

2002b, “How Did Chinese Medicine Become Experiential? The Political Epistemology of *Jingyan*,” *Positions* 10:2, pp. 333-364.

2003, “Fuzheren de yisheng yu youxinyang de bingren: zhongxiyi lunzheng yu yibing guanxi zai minguo shiqi de zhuanbian” 負責任的醫生與有信仰的病人：中西醫論爭與醫病關係在民國時期的轉變 [Accountable doctor and loyal patient: transformation of doctor-patient relationship in the republican period], *New History* 14:1, pp. 45-96.

Leung, Angela K.C., 梁其姿

1984, “Autour de la Naissance : la Mère et l’enfant en Chine aux XVI et XVII Siècles”, *Papers in Social Sciences* 84-6, Sun Yat-Sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy, Academia Sinica.

1987a, “Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region,” *Late Imperial China* 8:1, pp.134-166.

- 1987b, “Ming Qing yufang tianhua cuoshi zhi yanbian” 明清預防天花措施之演變 [Smallpox preventive measures during the Ming and the Qing], *Guoshi luncong* 國史論叢 [Inquiry on Chinese history], Taipei: Shihuo chubanshe, pp. 239-253.
- 1993a, “A History of Human Diseases - Late Imperial China” in *Cambridge World History of Human Diseases*, K.F. Kiple ed., Cambridge University Press, pp. 354-362.
- 1993b, “Diseases of the premodern period in China”, *Papers in Social Sciences* 93-1.
- 1995, “Variolisation et Vaccination dans la Chine prémoderne (1570-1911),” Sous la Direction d’ Anne-Marie Moulin, l’ Aenture de la Vaccination.
- 1996, “Mariolation and vaccination in Late Imperial China, ca. 1570-1911”, in S. Plotkin & B. Fantini eds., *Vaccinia, Vaccination, Vaccinology. Jenner, Pasteur and their Successors*, Paris: Elsevier, pp. 65-71.
- 1997, “Medical Ethics in China,” in H. Selin ed., *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 667-669.
- 1999a, “Mafengbing gainian yanbian de lishi” 麻風病概念演變的歷史 [The Historical nosology of *li* and *lai* in China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 7:2, pp. 339-433.
- 1999b, “Women practicing medicine in premodern China,” in H. Zurndorfer ed., *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past. New Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, pp. 101-134.
- 2001a, “Hygiène et santé publique dans la Chine prémoderne,” in Bourdelais, P. ed., *Les hygiemistes Emeux , modeles et pratigues*, Paris: Belin. pp. 343-362.
- 2001b, “Song-Yuan-Ming de difang yiliao ziyuan chutan” 宋元明的地方醫療資源初探 [Regional medical resources in the Song-Yuan-Ming dynasties], *Zhongguo shehui lishi pinglun* 中國社會歷史評論 [Review on Chinese social history] 3, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, pp. 219-273.
- 2001c, “Medical Learning from the Song to the Ming,” in Smith, P. & Von Glahn, R. eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*. Harvard University Press (forthcoming).
- 2001d, “Estratto dal VolumeII Cina, India, Americhe ”, *Storia della Scienza*, Istitoto della Enciclopedia Italiana Dondada da Giovanni Treccani.
- 2002, “Jibing yu fangtu de guanxi: Yuan zhi Qing jian yijiede kanfa” 疾病與方土的關係：元至清間醫界的看法 [Diseases and regions: doctors’ viewpoints from the Yuan to the Qing], in *Papers from the third International Conference on Sinology, History Section: Gender and Medical history*, pp. 165-121.

Li, Jianmin, 李建民

1992, “Chuantong yiliaoshi yanjiu de rougan xingsi: Chen Shengkun yishi chuanji duhou” 傳統醫療史研究的若干省思：陳勝崑醫師全集讀後 [A Reappraisal of traditional medical historiography: perspectives on *The Collection of Dr. Sheng-k'un Ch'en*], *New History* 3:3, pp. 123-148.

1994a, “Suibing yu changso: chuantong yixue dui suibing de yizhong jieshi” 祟病與場所：傳統醫學對祟病的一種解釋 [Locations: an interpretation of haunting diseases in traditional medicine], *Chinese studies* 12:1, pp. 101-148.

1994b, “Mawangdui Hanmu boshu ‘yucang maibaotu’ jianzheng” 馬王堆漢墓帛書禹藏埋胞圖箋證 [Textual research on the silk writing entitled *Diagram for burying afterbirths* from Mawangdui], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 65:4, pp. 725-832.

1997a, “Zhongguo gudai ‘jinfang’ kaolun” 中國古代「禁方」考論 [Jinfang: the transmission of secret techniques in ancient China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 68:1, pp. 117-166.

1997b, (review of and co-author with Jinsheng Zheng), “Xiandai Zhongguo yixueshi yanjiu de yuanliu” 現代中國醫學史研究的源流 [Origins of medical history in modern China], *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 [*The Continent magazine*] 95:6, pp. 26-35.

1997c, “Zhao Hongjun *Neijing de shidai*” 評趙洪鈞《內經的時代》 [Review of Zhao Hongjun's *The Epoch of Huangdineijing*], *New History* 8:4, pp. 173-186.

1998a, “Hanwei ‘pushi’ kaolue” 漢魏暴室考略 [Textual Research on “Pu Shi” of the Han-Wei Dynasties], *Zhonghua yishi zazhi* 中華醫史雜誌 [*Chinese journal of medical history*] 28:2, pp. 75-77.

1998b, “Yige xinlingyu de moso: ji shiyuso shengming yiliaoshi yanjiushi de yuanqi” 一個新領域的摸索：記史語所生命醫療史研究室的源起 [Probing a new area of study: how the study group on life and medical history at the Institute of History and Philology came about], *Gujinlunheng* 古今論衡 [*Disquisitions of the Past and Present*] 1, pp. 59-62.

1999a, “Mingtang and Yinyang: yi wushire bingfang ‘jiuqi taiyin taiyang’ weili” 明堂與陰陽：以《五十二病方》灸其太陰太陽為例 [Mintang and Yinyang: The case of wushier bingfang from Mawangdui], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 70:1, pp. 49-118.

1999b, “Zhongguo fangshushi shangde xingying guan” 中國方術史上的形影觀 [On body boundaries in traditional Chinese occult science], *Historical Inquiry* 23, pp. 279-299.

1999c, “Contagion and its Consequences: the Problem of Death Pollution in Ancient China,” in Yasuo Otsuka, Shizu Sakai and Shigehisa Kuriyama eds., *Medicine and the History of the Body*, Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica Inc., pp. 201-222.

1999d, “Wang Mang yu Wang Sunqing: ji gongyuan yishiji de renti kuapo shiyan” 王

莽與王孫慶：記公元一世紀的人體剝剖實驗 [The body on display: human dissection in Han China], *New History* 10:4, pp. 1-30.

2000a, *Fangshu, yixue yu lishi* 方術、醫學與歷史 [Occult science, medicine and history], Taipei: Southern Bookstore.

2000b, *Sisheng zhiyu: Zhou-Qin-Han maixue zhi yuanliu* 死生之域：周秦漢脈學之源流 [Mai and the development of medical knowledge in early China], Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, December 2001 third edition, 435pages.

2001a, “Great Display: a Note on Human Dissection and Spectacle in Han China,” in Kuriyama Shigehisa ed., *The Imagination of the Body and the History of Bodily Experience*, Kyoto: International Center for Japanese Research, pp. 51-54.

2001b, “Zhou-Qin maixue de wangguan yuanliu” 周秦脈學的王官源流 [Official origins of the mai knowledge in zhou-qin periods], *Keji, yiliao yu shehui* 科技、醫療與社會 [Taiwanese journal for studies of science, technology & medicine] 1, pp. 137-189.

2001c, “Handai yibing yanjiu” 漢代「移病」研究 [Beware of pity: the rhetoric of illness in Han China], *New History* 12:4, pp. 1-24.

2002a, “‘Bencao gangmu huobu’ kaoshi” 《本草綱目·火部》考釋 [Fire as medicine: the ‘fire’ section in Bencao gangmu], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 73:3, pp. 395-442.

2002b, “Aihuo yu tianhuo” 艾火與天火 [Fire and the origins of moxibustion], *Ziran kexue shi yanjiu* 自然科學史研究 [Studies in the history of natural sciences] 21:4, pp. 320-331.

2003, “Chugoku igakushi ni okeru kakusin mondai” 中国医学史における核心問題 [Essential questions in Chinese medical history], *Kikannaikei* 季刊内經 [Inner Canon Quarterly], pp. 16-36.

Li, Shang-jen, 李尚仁

1999, *British Imperial Medicine in Late 19th-century China and the Early Career of Patrick Manson*, Ph.D. dissertation, Imperial College, University of London.

2002, “Natural History of Parasite: Patrick Manson’s Philosophical Method,” *Isis* 93, pp. 206-228.

2003, “Shijiu shiji houqi yingguo yixue dui zhongguo mafengbing de yanjiu” 十九世紀後期英國醫學對中國癩瘋病的研究 [British medical studies on Chinese leprosy in late nineteenth century], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 74:3, pp. 445-506.

2004, “The Nurse of Parasites: Gender Concepts in Patrick Manson’s Parasitological Research,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 37, pp. 103-130.

Li, Zong-kun, 李宗焜

2001, “Cong jiaguwen kan shangdai de jibing yu yiliao” 從甲骨文看商代的疾病與醫療 [Disease and healing in the Shang as reflected in the oracle bone inscriptions], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 72:2, pp. 339-391.

Liang, Ken-yao, 梁庚堯

1999, “Nan-Song chengshi de gonggong weisheng wenti” 南宋城市的公共衛生問題 [The problem of public health in cities of the southern Song dynasty], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 70:1, pp. 119-164.

Lin, Fu-shih, 林富士

1993, “Shilun ‘taipingjing’ de jibing guannian” 試論太平經的疾病觀念 [A discussion of the concept of illness in the T’ai-p’ing-ching], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 62:2, pp. 225-263.

1995, “Donghan wanqi de jiyi yu zongjiao” 東漢晚期的疾疫與宗教 [Epidemics and religions in late Han China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 66:3, pp. 695-745.

1999a, “Zhongguo liuchao shiqi de wuxi yu yiliao” 中國六朝時期的巫覡與醫療 [Shamans and healing in China during the Six Dynasties Period (3rd-6th Century A.D.)], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 70:1, pp. 1-48.

1999b, “Medical Knowledge and the Uses of Hair in Traditional China,” in Yasuo Otsuka, Shizu Sakai and Shigehisa Kuriyama eds., *Medicine and the History of the Body*, Tokyo: Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, Inc., pp. 365-377.

2000a, “Toufa, jibing yu yiliao: yi Han-Tang zhijian de yixue wenxian weizhu de chubu tantao” 頭髮、疾病與醫療：以漢唐之間的醫學文獻爲主的初步探討 [Medical knowledge and uses of hair in traditional China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 71:1, pp. 67-127.

2000b, “Shilun Zhongguo zaoqi daojiao diuyu yiyao de taidu” 試論中國早期道教對於醫藥的態度 [Daoist attitudes towards medicine in early China], *Taiwan Zongjiao Yanjiu* 台灣宗教研究 [*Journal of Taiwanese Religion*] 1:1, pp. 107-142.

2001a, “Shilun zaoqi daojiao yu fangzhongshu de guanxi” 試論早期道教與房中術的關係 [Taoism and sexual arts in medieval China], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 72:2, pp. 233-300.

2001b, “Jibing yu xiudao: zhongguo zaoqi daoshi xiudao yinyuan kaoshi zhiyi” 疾病與修道：中國早期道士修道因緣考釋之一 [Illness and Taoist initiation in medieval China], *Chinese Studies* 19:1, pp. 137-165.

2002, “Zhongguo zaoqi daoshi de yiliao huodong jiqi yishu kaoshi: yi Hanweijin

nanbeichao shiqi de zhuanji ziliao weizhu de chubu tantao” 中國早期道士的醫療活動及其醫術考釋：以漢魏晉南北朝時期的傳記資料爲主的初步探討 [Medical activities and healing arts of Taoists in medieval China: a preliminary study based on hagiographic material of the Han, Wei-Chin and Northern and Southern Dynasties], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 73:1, pp. 43-118.

2003, “Zhongguo zaoqi daoshi de yizhe xingxiang” 中國早期道士的醫者形象：以《神仙傳》爲主的初步考察 [The healer images of early Chinese Daoist monks], *Shijie zongjiao xuekan* 世界宗教學刊 [Journal of world religions] (forthcoming).

Tu, Cheng-sheng, 杜正勝

1991, “Xingt, jingqi yu hunpo: Zhongguo chuantong dui ‘ren’ renshi de xingcheng” 形體、精氣與魂魄：中國傳統對「人」認識的形成 [Body, vitality, and soul: the understanding of ‘self’ in Chinese tradition], *New History* 2:3, pp. 1-65.

1992, “Shilun chuantong jingmai tixi zhi xingcheng: jianlun mawangdui maishu de lishi diwei” 試論傳統經脈體系之形成：兼論馬王堆脈書的歷史地位 [On the formation of traditional vessels and channels system and the historical status of the texts on vessels and channels from Mawangdui], *Mawangdui hanmu yanjiu wenji* 馬王堆漢墓研究文集 [Collection of research on the archaeology of Mawangdui Han tomb], Hunan: Hunan chubanshe, pp. 99-106.

1993, “Cong yiliaoshi kan daoia dui riben gudai wenhua de yingxiang” 從醫療史看道家對日本古代文化的影響 [Study of Daoist influence on ancient Japanese culture from the perspective of medical history], *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 [Beijing: Bulletin of Chinese historical museum] 2, pp. 19-25.

1995a, “Zuwei shehuishi de yiliaoshi: bing jieshao ‘jibing, yiliao yu wenhua’ yangjiu xiaozu de chengguo” 做爲社會史的醫療史：並介紹「疾病、醫療與文化」研究小組的成果 [A note on medical history as social history: introducing the achievements of the ‘disease, healing and culture’ research group], *New History* 6:1, pp. 113-151.

1995b, “Cong meishou dao changsheng: zhongguo gudai shengming guannian de zhuanbian” 從眉壽到長生：中國古代生命觀念的轉變 [From venerability to longevity: changes in ancient Chinese concepts of life], *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica* 66:2, pp. 383-487.

1997, “Yiliao, shehui yu wenhua: linglei yiliaoshi de sikao” 醫療、社會與文化：另類醫療史的思考 [Medicine, society and culture: an alternative perspective on medical history], *New History* 8:4, pp. 143-172.

Wang, Daw-hwan, 王道還

1995, “Lun Yilin gaicuo de jiepo xue: jianlun jiepo xue zai zhongxi yixue chuantong zhongde diwei” 論《醫林改錯》的解剖學：兼論解剖學在中西醫學傳統中的地位 [Wang Ch’ing-jen on human anatomy], *New History* 6:1, pp. 95-112.

1998, “Shiyuso de tizhirenleixue jia: liji, shiluguo, wudingliang, yangximei, yujinquan” 史語所的體質人類學家，李濟，史祿國，吳定良，楊希枚，余錦泉 [Physical anthropologists in the Institute of History and Philology: Li Ji, S.M. Shirokogoroff, Wu Dingliang, Yang Ximei, and Yu Jinquan], *Xinxueshu zhilu: zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiuso qishi zhounian jinian lunwenji* 新學術之路：中央研究院歷史語言研究所七十周年紀念論文集 [Along new pathways of research: essays in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Institute of History and Philology], pp. 163-187.