History of Medicine in China — Conference Course

Spring 2003 TJ Hinrichs

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An exploration of processes of change in medicine in China. Focuses on key transitions, such as the emergence of canonical medicine, of Daoist approaches to healing and longevity, of "Scholar Physicians," and of Traditional Chinese Medicine in modern China. Inquires into the emergence of new healing practices in relation to both popular and specialist views of the body and disease, "cultivating vitality" practices, modes of transmission of medical knowledge, and healer-patient relations. Course readings include primary texts in translation as well as secondary materials.

Requirements:

- Attendance and class participation (30%): Be assertive, but also respectful of everyone. If you cannot attend class because of illness or for other pressing reasons, please let me know, if possible in advance. A makeup assignment will be arranged.
 - As you read, consider the issues raised in the syllabus. From each week's primary readings, select one or more passages of particular interest to discuss in class.
- Response Papers (30%): Each Thursday by 9:00 a.m. all students are to submit a brief summary and analysis of the week's secondary readings by email, or by hard copy delivered to my box in the History Department office.
- Presentations (20%): For Unit I, a comparison of the translations and explanations of key concepts by major scholars, to be compiled into a class reference work. For Unit II or Unit III, an in-depth investigation of one of a week's questions, or review of an extra reading. Sign up in advance.
- Final paper (20%): 10-15 pages

Texts for purchase (also on reserve):

- *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*, trans. Ilza Veith, New Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949, 1966, 1972.
- Ted J. Kaptchuk. *The Web That has no Weaver: Understanding Chinese Medicine*. Chicago: Contemporary Books, 2000.
- Shigehisa Kuriyama. *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*. New York: Zone Books, 1999.
- Volker Scheid. *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Michel Strickmann. Chinese Magical Medicine. ed. Bernard Faure. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Also available for purchase (contemporary popular comic book): Zhou Chuncai, *The Yellow Emperor's Medicine Classic, Treatise on Health and Long Life*. Singapore: Asiapac, 1996.

1. Introduction

Unit I: Canonical Medicine

In the next four weeks, we will be comparing various scholars' explanations of canonical Chinese medicine, and examining canonical texts and their commentaries in translation. Although the "Classics" of Chinese medicine were compiled between the Han and Tang periods, centuries during which medicine continued to change in China, it has been difficult for scholars to unravel many of the conceptual and practical changes that occurred across these centuries. Modern scholars and translators often attempt to present a coherent description of Chinese medicine, and rely on the interpretations of contemporary practitioners, leading to anachronistic translations and interpretations.

Additional resources (on reserve) for presentations (see below), Weeks 2-4:

- Ilza Veith, trans. *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine*. New Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949, 1966, 1972.
- Paul Unschuld. *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Nathan Sivin. *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1987.
- Judith Farquhar. *Knowing Practice: The Clinical Encounter of Chinese Medicine*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.
- Optional, for contemporary popular perspectives: Zhou Chuncai, *The Yellow Emperor's Medicine Classic, Treatise on Health and Long Life.* Singapore: Asiapac, 1996.

2. Basic Concepts of Canonical Medicine: Body and Cosmology

What is the "body" of canonical medicine? How does this body relate to Han cosmology? What does it mean to say that the body is a microcosm? How does the language of politics appear in these descriptions of the body? How do physicians in the Greek and Chinese traditions "see" the body differently? What is the role of the *Nanjing (Nan-ching)* in the formation of canonical medicine? What sorts of issues were problematic for the authors of the *Nanjing* and its commentators?

Primary	The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine, Books 1-3, pp. 97-146. Paul Unschuld, trans, ann., Medicine in China: Nan-Ching: The Classic of Difficult Issues, pp. 11-28, 63, Difficult Issues #12, 16, 18, 25, 31, 36-39, 42.
Secondary	Ted J. Kaptchuk, <i>The Web That has no Weaver</i> , "Introduction," Chapters 1-3, Appendix H: "The Five Phases,". [Skim technical sections.] Shigehisa Kuriyama, <i>The Expressiveness of the Body</i> , Preface, Chapters 3-4.
Suggested	Nathan Sivin, "State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C.," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies (June 1995) 55.1:5-37. Ishida Hidemi, "Body and Mind: The Chinese Perspective," in Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques, ed. Livia Kohn, et. al. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1989), pp. 41-72. John Hay, "The Body Invisible in Chinese Art?" in Body, Subject & Power in China, eds Angela Zito and Tani Barlow, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 42-77. John Hay, "The Human Body as a Microcosmic Source of Macrocosmic Values in Calligraphy," in Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice, ed. Kasulis, Ames, and Dissanayake, (New York: SUNY Press, 1993), pp. 179-211. Roger T. Ames, "The Meaning of Body in Classical Chinese Philosophy," in Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice, pp. 157-177.
Presentations	Compare the descriptions and translations of key concepts (correlative cosmology (systems of correspondence), yin and yang, body, <i>qi</i> (ch'i), blood, <i>jing</i> (ching, essence), <i>shen</i> (spirit), organs (viscera), five phases) by Kaptchuk with those by Kuriyama, Ilza Veith, Paul Unschuld, Nathan Sivin, and Judith Farquhar.

3. Basic Concepts of Canonical Medicine: Approaching Illness

What is health? What is disease? What is the difference between a patient's experience of illness and a physician's diagnosis of disease? How have physicians in the Greek and Chinese traditions understood the sources of illness? How do their approaches relate to their views of the body?

Primary	The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine, Books 4-7, pp. 147-211. Nan-ching, Difficult Issue #51.
Secondary	Kaptchuk, <i>The Web That has no Weaver</i> , Chapters 4-5. [Skim technical sections.] Kuriyama, <i>The Expressiveness of the Body</i> , Chapters 5-6.
Presentations	Compare the descriptions and translations of key concepts (pulse/meridians/channels/vessels, acupuncture points, causes of illness/disharmony) by Kaptchuk with those by other scholars, as above.

4. Diagnosis and Treatment

How do physicians diagnose and treat patients? What is the importance of the patient's family? In what ways do the Greek and Chinese traditions of pulse diagnosis differ? What is the difference between treating a disease and treating a "pattern"?

Primary	The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine, Books 8-9, pp. 213-253.
	Tamba Yasuyori, <i>The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan</i> : <i>Yasuyori Tamba's <u>Ishimpô</u>, trans., Emil C. H. Hsia, Ilza Veith, Robert H. Geertsma, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), Vol. 1, pp. viii-ix, 43-60.</i>
	Nan-Ching, Difficult Issue #61.
	The Divine Farmer's Materia Medica, pp. i-xvi, selections.
Secondary	Kaptchuk, <i>The Web That has no Weaver</i> , Chapters 6-10 [Skim technical sections.]
	Kuriyama, The Expressiveness of the Body, Preface, Chapters 1-2.

Presentations	Compare the descriptions and translations of key concepts (signs and symptoms, patterns/syndromes/manifestation types) by Kaptchuk with those of other scholars, as above. Which of these concepts are explicated in The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine?
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5. Historical and Social Context of the Emergence of Canonical Medicine

How did early physicians distinguish themselves from other types of healers? How do scholars distinguish medicine from other types of healing? What are *fangshi*? In what respects do the ideals for physicians, such as Hua T'o, differ from those of other types of healers, such as Fei Ch'ang-fang?

Primary	Kenneth Dewoskin, <i>Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians of Ancient China: Biographies of Fangshi.</i> 1983, Fei Ch'ang-fang biography, pp. 77-81; Hua T'o biography, pp. 140-153.
Secondary	Donald Harper, <i>Early Chinese Medical Literature</i> , pp. 3-109. [Skim Section One.]
	Lo, Vivienne. "The Influence of Nurturing Life Culture on the Development of Western Han Acumoxa Therapy," in Elisabeth Hsu, ed., <i>Innovation in Chinese Medicine</i> , (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 19-50.
Suggested	Nathan Sivin, "Text and Experience in Classical Chinese Medicine," in <i>Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions</i> , ed Don Bates, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 177-204.
	Donald Harper, "Iatromancy, Diagnosis, and Prognosis in Early Chinese Medicine," in Hsu, <i>Innovation in Chinese Medicine</i> , pp. 99-120.
	Dewoskin, "Introduction," <i>Doctors, Diviners, and Magicians</i> , pp. 1-42.

Unit II. Diverse Perspectives

Although the literate traditions of Chinese medicine are dominated by the *Inner Canon*, this is not the total of Chinese healing practices. In the coming weeks, we examine traditions of healing or cultivating health whose streams of transmission did not always flow with the currents of canonical medicine. We will also examine the relationships of these practices and practitioners with those of canonical medicine.

6. "Nurturing Life"

Touched upon last week in regard to the emergence of canonical medicine, "nurturing life," "cultivating vitality," or "macrobiotic hygiene" practices have a long history in China. This history, however, is not a linear one. What are some of the major historical developments in the history of "nurturing life" practices? What do these practices include? What is the difference between "External Alchemy" and "Internal Alchemy." To what extent is this division apparent in the "Physical Practices" texts translated by Kohn? What do the manufacture and ingestion of gold and cinnabar elixirs have to do with to spiritual salvation? What is the role of "transformation" or "metamorphosis" in these texts?

Primary	Harold D. Roth, "The Inner Cultivation Tradition of Early Taoism," in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., <i>Religions of China in Practice</i> , pp. 123-148.
	Donald Harper, trans. and study, <i>Early Chinese Medical Literature: The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts</i> , (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998), pp. 385-411, 305-371, 412-422, 425-428 (<i>MS</i> IIA- <i>MS</i> IV, <i>MS</i> VI.A-B, <i>MS</i> VII.B).
	Livia Kohn, "Physical Practices," <i>The Taoist Experience: An Anthology</i> , pp. 305-319.
Secondary	Donald Harper, Early Chinese Medical Literature, pp. 110-147.
	Livia Kohn, "Medicine and Immortality in T'ang China," <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> 108.3 (1988):465-469.
	Charlotte Furth, "Rethinking Van Gulik: Sexuality and Reproduction in Traditional Chinese Medicine," in Christina Gilmartin, et. al., <i>Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State</i> , (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 125-146, 408-412 (fn).
Suggested	Stephen Little with Shawn Eichman, "Inner Alchemy and Its Symbolism," in <i>Taoism and the Arts of China</i> , (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with University of California Press, 2000), pp. 337-356.
	Tamba Yasuyori, <i>Ishimpô</i> , Vol. 2.

Taoist Meditation and Longevity Techniques, ed. Livia Kohn, et. al. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1989).
Douglas Wile, Art of the Bedchamber: The Chinese Sexual Yoga Classics Including Women's Solo Meditation Texts, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992).

7. Populated Bodies and Demonic Illnesses

In what ways and to what extent are the varieties of demons and demonic illnesses discussed by Strickmann related the views of the body and self described by Schipper? How do these views of the body and self compare to those of canonical medicine and of nurturing life traditions? Of our own modern (or post-modern) American views of the body, self, and even species? Donald Harper has drawn a contrast between the "functional" illnesses of Chinese medical cosmology (illness is a matter of imbalance or disharmony) and the "ontological" illnesses of demonic illnesses (caused by distinct entities). Does this distinction apply to the material we examine this week?

Primary	"Body Gods and Inner Vision: The Scripture of the Yellow Court," trans. Paul W. Kroll, in <i>Religions of China in Practice</i> , pp. 149-155. Tamba Yasuyori, <i>Ishimpô</i> , Vol. 2, pp. 55-59. Hong Mai (1123-1202), <i>Records of the Listener (Yijianzhi)</i> (1161-1198), selection.
Secondary	Kristofer Schipper, <i>The Taoist Body</i> , pp. 100-112. Strickmann, <i>Chinese Magical Medicine</i> , pp. 1-57, 238-270.
Suggested	Strickmann, <i>Chinese Magical Medicine</i> , pp. 89-238, 270-281. [Presentation: Treatments for demonic illnesses] Li Jianmin, "Contagion and its Consequence: The Problem of Death Pollution in Ancient China," presented at the 21st International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine — East and West, Taniguchi Foundation, Mishima, Japan, Sept. 1-7, 1996. Livia Kohn, "Kôshin: A Taoist Cult in Japan; Part II: Historical Development," <i>Japanese Religions</i> 20.1 (January 1995): 34-55. Feng, H. Y. and John K. Shryock, "The Black Magic in China Known as <i>Ku</i> , <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , 55 (1935):1-30.

8. Epidemics and Exorcism

What dangers to health were posed by the dead, demons, and the supernatural world? How did people respond to these dangers? How do these practices and views of health and disease compare and contrast with those of canonical medicine and nurturing life?

Primary	Donald Harper, <i>Early Chinese Medical Literature</i> , pp. 301-302, 423-424 (<i>MS</i> I.E.271-277, <i>MS</i> VII.B). Tamba Yasuyori, <i>Ishimpô</i> , Vol. 2, pp. 67-70.
Secondary	Derk Bodde Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances During the Han Dynasty 206 b.c a.d. 220, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 387-395, 75-138. Strickmann, Chinese Magical Medicine, pp. 58-88.
Suggested	Donald Harper, Early Chinese Medical Literature, pp. 148-183. Bodde Festivals in Classical China, pp. 302-316. Paul Katz, Demon Hordes and Burning Boats: The Cult of Marshal Wen in Late Imperial Chekiang, (Albany: State University of New York Press), pp. 39-76.

9. Gender and Healing in Late Imperial China

For the Song (960-1279), Ming (1368-1644), and Qing (1644-1911) periods, commercialization, the spread of printing, and literacy created wider markets for medical texts and other varieties of literature. The textual resources of this period give us rich materials for studying the lives of women and non-élite groups. In this section we look at scholarship on gendered bodies, and women as healers and patients. What were women's roles as patients, decision-makers, and healers? What were women healers' statuses, and when (and by whom) were they called in preference to other types of healers? How did canonical medicine theorize gender difference? How did Ming healers distinguish women's diseases from men's diseases? What diseases were specific to women? How were women able to assert control over their bodies?

Primary	Donald Harper, Early Chinese Medical Literature, pp. 372-384 (MSV). The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine: Review passages on the differences between the genders. Xu Dachun (Hsü Ta-ch'un), Forgotten Traditions of Ancient Chinese Medicine, pp. 333-334.
Secondary	Charlotte Furth, "Blood, Body, and Gender: Medical Images of the Female Condition in China, 1600-1850," in Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, eds., <i>Chinese Femininities/Chinese Masculinities: A Reader</i> , (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 291-314. Christopher Cullen, "Patients and Healers in Late Imperial China: Evidence from the <i>Jinpingmei</i> ." <i>History of Science</i> 31 (1993): 99-150.
Suggested	Charlotte Furth, <i>A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History: 960-1665</i> , (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). Yi-Li Wu, "The Bamboo Grove Monastery and Popular Gynecology in Qing China," <i>Late Imperial China</i> 21.1, (June 2000):41-76. Francesca Bray, "A Deathly Disorder: Understanding Women's Health in Late Imperial China;" in <i>Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions</i> , pp. 235-251. Francesca Bray, <i>Technology and Gender: Fabrics of Power in Late Imperial China</i> , (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Part III.

Unit III. Developing and Contesting Medical Orthopraxies

From the Song period (960-1278 C.E.) on, China's ruling élites became increasingly involved in the production and distribution of medical knowledge, and eventually in the practice of medicine. This introduced new types of political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics to medical knowledge and practice. In some periods, Chinese governments became involved in medical education and the compilation and distribution of medical texts, and in providing what we today would think of as public health. In this unit, we will concentrate in particular on the development and promotion of certain styles of medicine as right and proper, and the denigration and active suppression of other styles of healing.

10. Scholar Physicians

What were the technological, social, and political transformations of medicine in the tenth to thirteenth centuries? How did these factors contribute to the emergence of the "scholar physician"? What is a "scholar physician"? Which healing traditions did they embrace? Which did they reject? Why? Why might medical cases histories have been especially useful both for the new styles of medical practice developed by scholar physicians, and for the new ways in which many people were now learning medicine? What were the key points of Xu Dachun's (Hsü Ta-ch'un) moral agenda? How did textual study and historical analysis relate to this agenda?

Primary	Zhu Danxi, Extra Treatises Based on Investigation and Inquiry: A Translation of Zhu Dan-xi's Ge Zhi Yu Lun, Yang Shou-zhong and Duan Wu-jin, trans., (Boulder: Blue Poppy Press, 1997), pp. ix-xiii, 1-12, 29-35, 124-133. Xu Dachun (Hsü Ta-ch'un), Forgotten Traditions of Ancient Chinese Medicine, pp. 1-5, 51-52, 130-131, 154-155, 160-164, 169-170, 179-184, 213-214, 222-223, 228-230, 233-249, 276-277, 311-337, 356-392.
Secondary	TJ Hinrichs, § 32.2. "The social production of medical knowledge," Chap. 32 "Medicine," Part III. "Song-Yuan (960-1368): A Renaissance?" in K. Chemla, et. al., eds., <i>History of Science</i> , Vol. III <i>Le scienze extraeuropee</i> , (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Forthcoming). Charlotte Furth. <i>A Flourishing Yin</i> , pp. 224-265.
Suggested	Robert Hymes, "Not Quite Gentlemen? Doctors in Sung and Yuan;" <i>Chinese Science</i> , no. 8 (January 1987): 9-76. Chao Yuan-ling, "Medicine and Society in Late Imperial China: A Study of

Physicians in Suzhou," Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1995.
Christopher Cullen, "Yi'an (Case Statements): The Origns of a Genre of Chinese Medical Literature," in Hsu, <i>Innovation in Chinese Medicine</i> , pp. 297-323.

11. Medical Governance in Imperial China

Here, we examine the roles of medical bureaus (from the sixth century), imperially-commissioned medical texts (from the tenth century), government responses to epidemics, and general medical relief such as the distribution of drugs to the poor (especially in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries). Did government medical activities establish medical orthodoxy? Produce and spread medical knowledge? What were some theories of epidemics? How was contagion conceived? Why were quarantines uncommon in Chinese history?

Primary	Translations of passages concerning "Sagely Powder," from the writings of Su Shi (popular official, celebrated writer and cultural theorist, 1036-1101), Ye Mengde (official, 1077-1148), and Chen Yan (medical theorist, fl. 1174).
Secondary	Hugh Scogin, "Poor Relief in Northern Sung China." <i>Oriens Extremus</i> , no. 25 (1978): 30-46. TJ Hinrichs, Ch. 2, "Policies for Transforming Southern Customs," in "The Medical Transforming of Southern Customs in Song China (960-1279 C.E.)," PhD diss., Harvard University, forthcoming. Angela Leung, "Organized Medicine in Ming-Qing China: State and Private Medical Institutions in the Lower Yangzi Region;" <i>Late Imperial China</i> (June 1987) 8.1:134-166. Carol Benedict, <i>Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China</i> , pp. 100-130.
Suggested	The Washing Away of Wrongs: Forensic Medicine in Thirteenth Century China, trans. Brian E. McKnight, (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1981). Marta Hanson, "Robust Northerners and Delicate Southerners: The Nineteenth-Century Invention of a Southern Medical Tradition," positions (winter 1998) 6.3:515-550.

12. Medical Governance in Modern China

Some Western models of public health and sanitary policing were adapted in China in the twentieth century. Which groups advocated these innovations, and why? What factors slowed, sped, or shaped the process of adaptation? What have been some common themes in the history of public health in the twentieth century?

Primary	J. S. Horn, <i>Away with all Pests</i> , pp. 10, 70-80, 94-106. <i>A Barefoot Doctor's Manual</i> , (Bethesda: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health, 1974; repr. New York: Gramercy Publ., 1985), pp. ix-i, 35-50.
Secondary	Carol Benedict, <i>Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China</i> , pp. 131-164. Ruth Rogaski, "From Protecting Life to Defending the Nation: The Emergence of Public Health in Tianjin, 1859-1953," Abstract, pp. 262-312.
Suggested	Kenneth S. Warren, "Farewell to the Plague Spirit': Chairman Mao's Crusade Against Schistosomiasis," in John Z. Bowers, J. William Hess, and Nathan Sivin, eds., <i>Science and Medicine in Twentieth-Century China: Research and Education</i> , (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1988), pp. 123-140. Ralph Croizier, <i>Traditional Medicine in Modern China</i> . (Cambridge: Harvard
	University Press, 1964). Ka-che Yip, "Science, Medicine, and Public Health in 20th-Cent. China: Health and Society in China: Public Health Education for the Community, 1912-1937," Social Science of Medicine 16 (1982): 1197-1205. Ka-che Yip, Health and National Reconstruction in Nationalist China: The
	Development of Modern Health Services, 1928-1937, Association for Asian Studies Monograph and Occasional Papers Series, 50, (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1995).

13. Discourses of Modernity and the Creation of Traditional Chinese Medicine

As western models of medical knowledge and professional practice became increasingly influential among China's urban élites early in this century, different groups lobbied variously for the abolition, preservation, and modernization of Chinese medicine. What were the stakes for these groups? In what ways has Chinese medicine been transformed in relation to biomedical models? How has "syndrome differentiation" shifted in practice and prestige over the course of the twentieth century? What have been some common themes in the relations between Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Biomedicine?

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Secondary	Bridie Andrews, "Tailoring Tradition: The Impact of Modern Medicine on Traditional Chinese Medicine, 1887-1937," in <i>Notions et perceptions du changement en Chine</i> , Viviane Alleton and Alexei Volkov, eds., (Paris: College de France, 1994) pp. 149-166.
	Volker Scheid, Ch. 3, "Hegemonic Pluralism: Chinese Medicine in a Socialist State," <i>Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China</i> , pp. 65-106.
	Judith Farquhar, "Re-writing Traditional Medicine in Post-Maoist China," Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions, ed Don Bates, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 251-276.
	Jian Xu, "Body, Discourse, and the Cultural Politics of Contemporary Chinese Qigong," <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i> 58.4 (Nov. 1999):961-991.
Suggested	A Barefoot Doctor's Manual.
	Bridie Andrews, "From Case Records to Case Histories: The Modernisation of a Chinese Medical Genre, 1912-49," in Hsu, <i>Innovation in Chinese Medicine</i> , pp. 324-336.
	Bridie J. Andrews, "Tuberculosis and the Assimilation of Germ Theory in China, 1895-1937," <i>Journal for the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences</i> 52, no. 1 (January 1997): 114-157.
	Hugh Shapiro, "The Puzzle of Spermatorrhea in Republican China," <i>positions</i> (winter 1998) 6.3:551-596.
	Kim Taylor, "A New, Scientific, and Unified Medicine: Civil War in China and the New Acumoxa, 1945-1949," in Hsu, <i>Innovation in Chinese Medicine</i> , pp. 343-369.
	Nancy N. Chen, "Embodying <i>Qi</i> and Masculinities in Post-Mao China," in Susan Brownell and Jeffrey Wasserstrom, eds., <i>Chinese Femininities/Chinese</i>

Masculinities: A Reader, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp.
315-329.

14. Accounting for Plural Healing Practices in Contemporary China

Until recently, there were predictions that Chinese medicine would be displaced or subsumed by biomedicine or would become standardized, and that "superstitious" forms of healing would disappear. Nevertheless, Chinese medical epistemologies and views of the body have retained their vitality and are increasingly influential around the world, Chinese medical practices are in some respects proliferating rather than converging, and "superstitious" healing is having a revival in mainland China. What are the sources of plurality in Chinese healing practices?

Secondary	Volker Scheid, Ch. 4-8, Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China, pp. 107-260.
Suggested	Judith Farquhar, "Multiplicity, Point of View, and Responsibility in Traditional Chinese Healing," in Angela Zito and Tani E. Barlow, eds., <i>Body, Subject & Power in China</i> , (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 78-99. Arthur Kleinman, <i>Patients and Healers in the Context of Culture: An Exploration of the Borderland between Anthropology, Medicine, and Psychiatry</i> , (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 1-17, [60-90], 203-310.

