

## **Panel Title: Tracing Pharmaceutical Modernity through Japan and its Peripheries**

Co-organizers:

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This panel re-examines the notion of modernity from the peculiar aspect of medicine in and around Japan. Departing from linear approaches that tend to form traditions and modernity as their study subjects, considering them as essential in their thoughts and isolated from social changes, this panel hopes to understand how pharmaceuticals were conceived through various practices in the past and how they transformed along with social institutions, such as merchants, clinics, universities, and colonial authorities.

The five papers presented at this panel cover a wide range of time periods and regions. Based on primary sources from Doshumachi, Osaka, Chang Che-Chia's paper will reveal the Sino-Japanese network of herb trade in the Edo period, from which Japan's pharmaceutical business was born. Kuo Wen-Hua's work, on the other hand, presents a new account of the development of kampo, therapeutics practiced in pre-modern Japan, from a regulatory perspective. It argues that kampo cannot have reached its current state without continuous shaping through interactions with the modern state's regulations. Sharing the same concern on the intellectual conflict between medical paradigms, but placing significant emphasis on how it was perceived in everyday practice, Kato Shigeo's paper looks into general practitioners' clinics, examining how the drugs were distributed to the clinics where they were prescribed. Further, it will show how these drugs were incorporated into therapeutic treatments that bore the name of "modern medicine", following its dissemination from Japan to its peripheries. Being aware of the colonial tie behind this dissemination, Shin Chang-Geon's paper critically assesses the establishment of the Second Division of Pharmacology at Keijo Imperial University, the leading institution studying Korean traditional medicine outside of Japan. Unlike Kato's "bottom up" perspective, Shin's approach is more institutional and transnational; it elaborates upon how political interest and academic curiosity could work hand-in-hand with colonial expansion. Echoing Shin's investigation, Kim Ock-Joo will analyze the early development of post-war pharmacological research at Seoul National University, which was institutionally and intellectually influenced by its imperial predecessor.

As a whole, these papers compliment previous literature about the history of medicine and colonial science in East Asia. This panel hopes to contribute to a re-consideration of the process of Japan's modernization in a transitional/scientific context. As historians of medicine, we believe that pharmaceuticals are a salient example to demonstrate this vision.

## **Paper Abstracts**

### **Paper Title: The Demands for Chinese Medical Herbs in the Edo Japan**

Presenter: Chang, Che-Chia

Academia Sinica, Taiwan

Before the Meiji restoration, for one thousand years Japan mainly relied on the medical herbs imported from China to satisfy its needs. There is no way to tell to which extent Japan depended on China for most of the time, however, since the Tokugawa Shogunate maintained a national seclusion policy and tried to keep records for all its imports, it became possible to observe the imported amounts of Chinese medical herbs of Edo period. Despite only less than 100 years' records are available today, these data amazingly show the total imports of Chinese medical herbs for nearly a century, which data seems to reflect the demands of Chinese medical resources at that time. However, do they? And what these information could possibly tell us about the Edo medical history? This paper attempts to put them into the contexts of Shogun Yoshimune's efforts to transplant Chinese medical herbs, as well as the accounts of the Japanese *honso gakusha* (本草学者, scholars on materia medica), to suggest what these information might help to reveal about Edo medical history as well as their limitations.

### **Paper Title: Making a Tradition “Alternative”: Reconsidering Kampo in the Context of Regulatory Culture**

Presenter: Kuo, Wen-Hua

National Yang-Ming University, Taiwan

Kampo is the general term for traditional medicine, the main “alternative” medicine practiced in Japan. It is usually considered an insignificant deviation of Chinese medical thoughts, or an Edo legacy that has waned and been replaced by synthetic pharmaceuticals. Yet, these statements fail to explain why kampo drugs still are welcomed and popular today, without the state's sanction. Some kampo drugs remain available in proscriptive repertory; meanwhile, in the over-the-counter drug market,

where most products claim to have kampo components, the volume of consumption is quite large.

Departing from a naive cultural explanation that singles out Japan for its insistence on the uniqueness of its bodily composition, this paper tries to look at the role the state plays in shaping what policy researcher Sheila Jasanoff calls “regulatory culture” and hope to achieve a historical understanding of kampo’s regulation during the period of Japan’s modernization. It will investigate what the Japanese state did in forming and transforming this medical tradition and how this tradition continues sustaining as a living “alternative” to the mainstream without the state’s support. Complicating conventional understanding that considers kampo as just a ethnic science or business, this study hopes to question the seemingly perfect marriage between the Japanese bodies and kampo, as well as science and business.

**Paper Title: Western Medicine for General Practitioners and Pharmaceutical**

Companies: Pharmaceutical Modernity in Modern Japan

Presenter: Kato, Shigeo

Waseda University, Japan

This paper explores “pharmaceutical modernity” during the first half of the twentieth century in Japan, throwing light on general practitioners and pharmaceutical companies. Historical studies on modern western medicine in Japan have paid considerable attention to epidemics, medical theory, institutionalization, medical policy, research professors, and patients' behavior. The practice of general practitioners seems to have been disregarded in the debate about the triumph of modern western medicine over “Kampo medicine.” However, most of the pioneers of the revival movement of Kampo medicine, including Wada Keijuro (和田啓十郎) and Yumoto Kyushin (湯本求真), were originally general practitioners of modern western medicine. To what extent was modern western medicine in those days “modern” to general practitioners?

Since most of the drugs that are presently used were developed in the latter half of the twentieth century, until the mid-twentieth century, medication as a part of modern western medicine was different from how it is presently. When examining the conflict between traditional and modern medicine, it is important not to project the current image of modern western medicine onto the one that existed earlier. How did the general practitioners of those times perform medical examinations?

Further, how did they prescribe medication? Through an investigation of records of

medical education, medical journals, and prescriptions by general practitioners, this paper will examine the ordinary practices of general practitioners. And drugs were supplied through network of pharmaceutical companies. Because the medication prescribed by general practitioners depended on the performance of pharmaceutical companies, this paper also discusses how pharmaceutical companies supplied drugs to general practitioners, putting their expansion to colonial Taiwan and Korea into perspective.

**Paper Title: Institutionalization of Research on Traditional Medicine in Keijo Imperial University**

Presenter: Shin, Chang-Geon

Tokyo University of Science, Japan

One of the most remarkable events in the history of the School of Medicine, Keijo Imperial University (京城帝國大學) that was founded in 1926, was the establishment of the Second Division of Pharmacology. In this division, under the leadership of Professor Sugihara Noriyuki (杉原德行), scientific research on traditional Korean materia medica was carried out continuously until 1945. The division comprised three research fields: (1) Pharmacology (laboratory science) under Professor Sugihara, (2) Pharmacy (laboratory science) under Associate Professor Kaku Tenmin (加来天民), (3) Botany (field science) under Lecturer Ishidoya Tsutomu (石戸谷勉). What is the historical background that enabled the institutionalization of scientific research on traditional Korean materia medica in the mid-1920's Korea?

First, I will point out the three works of research that form the background for field research in the Korean Peninsula: (1) Research on forests by the Forest Section (Sanrin-ka, 農商工部殖産局山林課) of the Government-General of Chosen (朝鮮總督府), which started in the first half of the 1910s. (2) Research on medical herbs by Military Police (kenpei-keisatsu, 憲兵警察) of the Government-General of Chosen, which started in the second half of the 1910s. (3) Componential analysis of medical herbs in the Central Experiment Station (Chuou Shikenjo; 中央試験所), which started in the second half of the 1910s.

Second, I will indicate the following works of research that form the background for experimental research in Imperial University that was located in the Japanese homeland: (1) Chemical research on natural products, which started in the School of Medicine, Tokyo Imperial University (東京帝國大學) in the 1910s. (2) Pharmacological research on natural products conducted at the School of Medicine,

Kyoto Imperial University (京都帝國大學) and Keio University (慶應義塾大學).

Last, political recognition accorded to the importance of traditional materia medica was instrumental in the institutionalization that occurred in the mid-1920s. This political recognition resulted from the following factors: (1) The advantage of traditional materia medica over modern Western medicine in wartime (impact of World War I). (2) The Empire's cultural tool that was useful for advancing into China, as suggested by Goto Shinpei (後藤新平) and Keimatsu Shouzaemon (慶松勝左衛門).

**Paper Title: Legacy of Keijo Imperial University: Pharmacological Research in Korea 1950s - 60s**

Presenter: Kim, Ock-Joo

Seoul National University, Korea

After the Liberation from Japanese colonialism in 1945, the graduates from Keijo Imperial University became faculty members of the Departments of Pharmacology at medical schools in Korea. The faculties were the former students of the two Divisions of Pharmacology at the Keijo Imperial University: either the First under Professor Ohzawa or the Second under Professor Sugihara. The First Division had conducted research on biochemical pharmacology producing 36 Korean Ph.D.s, while the Second concentrated on Korean material medica producing 12 Korean Ph.D.s. Although the graduates from the First Division outnumbered the Second, the former students of Professor Sugihara successfully took headships of the Departments of Pharmacology at major medical schools as well as of the Korean Society of Pharmacology by early 1950s. The key figure was Oh Jin Sup (吳鎮燮), the Professor of Pharmacology at the Seoul National University College of Medicine. In 1932 Oh Jin Sup entered the Division of Professor Sugihara as an assistant and got a Ph.D. in 1941. In 1961, Professor Sugihara was invited as the first foreign guest speaker to the Korean Society of Pharmacology by his former students, taking a nation-wide reunion trip to visit the Departments of Pharmacology headed by his former Korean students.

This paper aims at analyzing the legacy of Keijo Imperial University on pharmacological research in Korea in 1950s and 1960s. First, I will seek explanation on how the former students of Sugihara became dominant in the Departments and the Society of Pharmacology in Korea between 1945 and 1950. Second, I will examine the impact of the predominance of Sugihara School on pharmacological research in Korea in the 1950s and 1960s. Last, by contextualizing changes in pharmacological research in early 1970s, I will elucidate what factors brought major changes in

research trend in pharmacology.