

## Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption

Takai Ranzan's *Shokuji kai*  
Introduction, Transcription and Translation. Part One

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Although a prolific writer, Takai Ranzan 高井蘭山 (1762–1839)<sup>1</sup> did not attract much attention from modern scholars. This is all the more astonishing, as his contributions to Edo-period literature extended over a broad variety of genres. Among the 123 works listed under his name in the *General Catalogue of National Writing*,<sup>2</sup> one finds fiction, dictionaries used in the composition of poetry, books on such diverse subjects as astronomy, the calendar, Buddhism, topography, history, and military affairs. There are paedagogic works with moralistic content,<sup>3</sup> household encyclopedias,<sup>4</sup> and a considerable number of

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- 1 Ranzan's gravestone gives the 23rd day of the 12th month (solar-lunar calendar) in the 9th year of the era Tenpō 天保 as date of death. This information is generally accepted. It corresponds to February 6, 1839 in the Gregorian calendar. Nevertheless, biographical information invariably gives 1838 as the year Ranzan died.
  - 2 *General Catalogue of National Writing* 国書総目録 (*Kokusho sō mokuroku*), vol. 9: 542.
  - 3 Ranzan wrote several commentaries on one of the most popular moral works from Chinese antiquity, the *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經 (Chin. *Xiaojing* / Jap. *Kōkyō*).
  - 4 Several works are classified as “compilation for occasional use or for [time]-saving use” 節用集 (*setsuyō shū*), “[helpful] things for the coming and going [of letters]” 往来物 (*ōrai mono*), or “records of weighty treasures” 重宝記 (*chōhō ki*). By Ranzan's times these originally distinct genres served common purposes, from providing practical knowledge on a variety of subjects, to giving moral exhortations or offering models for writing letters for diverse purposes. Cf. YOKOYAMA Toshio 横山俊夫: “The Setsuyōshū and Japanese Civilization”, *Senri Ethnological Studies*, vol. 16, 1984: 17–36; “Setsuyōshū and Japanese Civilization”, in: Sue HENNY, Jean-Pierre LEHMANN (eds.): *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History. Essays in Memory of Richard Storry*, London: Athlone Press 1988: 78–98; “Some Notes on the History of Japanese Traditional Household Encyclopedias”, *Japan Forum*, vol. 1, No. 2, 1989: 243–55; Esther RÜHL: “Frauenbildungsbücher aus der späten Edo-Zeit (1750–1868). Versuch einer Charakterisierung anhand beispielhafter Werke”, *Japanstudien* 9 (1997): 287–312; Michael KINSKI: “Basic Japanese Etiquette

guidebooks for practical use on a variety of topics, among them *Preserving One's [Allotted Span of] Life or Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* 保寿食事戒 (*Hoku shokuji kai*). Some of Ranzan's writings were republished after the Edo-period, for example the *Account of Seductresses from Three Countries as a Picture Book* 絵本三国妖婦伝 (*Ehon sangoku yôfu den*) – his first and arguably best known contribution to the genre of fiction.<sup>5</sup> So far, however, the only two attempts to introduce his life and work to a broader public are a biographical article<sup>6</sup> and a facsimile edition of the *Record of*

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Rules and Their Popularization. Four Edo-Period Texts, Transcribed, Translated and Annotated”, *JH* 5 (2001): 63–124; Markus RÜTTERMANN: “Urbane Schreib-Anleitungen zu femininer Sanftheit. Übersetzung und Interpretation eines Abschnitts aus dem japanisch-neuzeitlichen Frauen-Benimmbuch *Onna chôhoki*”, *JH* 6 (2002): 5–56. Among the works published by Ranzan there is, for example, a new edition of the long-selling *Records of Weighty Treasures for Women* 女重宝記 (*Onna chôhoki*) by Namura Jôhaku 苗村丈伯 (1674–1746), originally printed in 1692 (Genroku 元禄 5).

- 5 The story is based on the traditional motif of the malevolent fox Goldpelt Ninetail 金毛九尾 (Kinnô Kyûbi), who impersonates women of alluring countenance to work his wiles through time and space. Thus, legendary female figures of Chinese-Japanese tradition, epitomized for their detrimental effect on history, make their appearance in Ranzan's novel: from India Lady Huayang 華陽婦人, heartless consort of a king and taking pleasure in the slaughter of innocents; from China Daji 妲己, wife of King Zhou 紂王, last ruler of the Yin 殷 dynasty, Baosi 褒姒, wife of King You 幽王, last ruler of the Western Zhou 西周 dynasty; from Japan Tamamo no mae 玉藻前, who, according to legend, gained the affection of the Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽院 (1103–56), before she was revealed as an impersonation of Goldpelt Ninetail. Ranzan's work found consideration in two academic articles: GOTÔ Tanji 後藤丹治: “Sangoku yôfu den ni tsuite” 三国妖婦伝について (On the Account of the Seductresses from Three Countries), *Setsurin* 説林, 1951, No. 3; TAGAWA Kuniko 田川くにと子: “Ehon Sangoku yôfu den, Tamamo banashi” 絵本三国妖婦伝 絵本玉藻譚 (The Account of the Seductresses from Three Countries as a Picture Book and the Story of Tamamo), *Nihon bungaku* 日本文学, 1972, No. 2. Another work, the translation of the popular Chinese novel *Narrations from the Water Margin* 水滸伝 (*Shuihu chuan / Suiko den*), was selected for the *Collection of Famous Novels Old and New* 古今小説名著集 (*Kokin shôsetsu meicho shû*) (Koishikawa Shuppan 1892) and still later for the *Storehouse of Books in the Hall Where There Are Friends* 有朋堂文庫 (*Yûhō Dô bunko*) (Yûhō Dô 1917). Published as *New Edition of the Illustrated Narrations from the Water Margin* 新編水滸画伝 (*Shinpen Suiko gaden*) and planned as the joint work of two successful paragons of late Edo-period culture, Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (1767–1848) as translator of the Chinese original into Japanese and Katsushika Hokusai 葛飾北斎 (1760–1849) as illustrator, differences between the two led Bakin to step down after having completed the first volume. He was replaced by Ranzan who translated the following eight volumes, which were printed from 1828 (Bunsei 文政 11) onwards. Since the latter was not overly familiar with the style of colloquial Chinese the original was written in, Bakin later criticized his successors speedy way of translating.
- 6 FUKUDA Yasunori 福田安典: “Takai Ranzan den kô” 高井蘭山伝考 (Deliberations on the Biography of Takai Ranzan), in: YOMIHON KENKYÛ KAI 読本研究会 (ed.): *Yomihon*

*Weighty Treasures for Farming Households* 農家調宝記 (*Nōka chōhō ki*),<sup>7</sup> to which the editor, Sawato Hirosato, added an introduction to Ranzan's life and work.

### 1. Biographical Remarks and Classification

Not much is known about Ranzan's biography,<sup>8</sup> with the information offered in biographical dictionaries fragmentary and contradictory.<sup>9</sup> It is fairly safe to

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*kenkyū shinshū* 読本研究新集 (New Collection [of Articles] on [the Genre of] "Reading Books"), Kanrin Shobō 2000.

- 7 TAKAI Ranzan: *Nōka chōhō ki* 農家調宝記, ed. by SAWATO Hirosato 澤登寛聡, Iwata Shoin 2001. In this work, Ranzan not only offers knowledge pertaining to farming as such, but covers a broad array of subjects deemed necessary for conducting a successful daily life. Thus, the reader finds information on the social role of farming households, the tax system, the calendar and system of time reckoning, the market price of various items of produce, mathematics, Chinese characters, as well as advice for drawing up petitions or deeds and writing letters to members of different status groups. From its large number of readers among different strata of society it might be justified to surmise that this book contributed considerably to the formation of late Edo-period "common sense" and the concomitant worldview. SAWATO 2001: 307
- 8 Despite his contributions to the field of Chinese learning, neither the *Collection of Biographies of Scholars in Chinese [Learning]* nor the *Collected Survey of the Biographies of Scholars in Chinese [Learning] and Their Works* offer anything on him. TAKEBAYASHI Kanichi 竹林貫一 (ed.): *Kangaku sha denki shūsei* 漢学者伝記集成, Seki Shoin 1928 (reprint Meicho Kankō Kai 1978); OGAWA Kandō 小川貫道 (ed.): *Kangaku sha denki oyobi chojutsu shūran* 漢学者伝記及著述集覽, Seki Shoin 1935 (reprint Meicho Kankō Kai 1977). The *Survey of Scholars of Chinese Literature* has an entry on Ranzan but does not list any personal information except his names. NAGASAWA Kikuya 長澤規矩也 (ed.): *Kanbun gakusha sōran* 漢文学者総覧, Suiko Shoin 1979: 177.
- 9 Ranzan was of warrior status, but two separate traditions give him either the position of "chamberlain" 用人 (*yōnin*) in the household of an immediate retainer of the Tokugawa family of "bannerman" 旗本 (*hatamoto*) status or that of a lower-ranking warrior in the service of the shogunate with the position of "assistant" 与力 (*yoriki*; literally "[someone who] gives his strength/help"), or both. An early 'modern' dictionary, the *Biographical Dictionary of Great Japan* 大日本人名辞書 (*Dai Nihon jinmei jisho*) published in 1886, gives both versions with the modification of presenting Ranzan not as an "assistant" himself but as the son of one. Sawato lists the information found in major dictionaries. SAWATO 2001: 287. Fukuda draws attention to the fact that most later biographical entries owe their information to the appendix on authors' biographies in the *Deliberation on Pictures from a Floating World [According to] Kind* 浮世絵類考 (*Ukiyo e ruikō*) or the *Short Biographies of Writers of Fictitious Works* 戯作者小伝 (*Gesaku sha shōden*). Cf. NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHŪ BU 日本随筆大成編集部 (ed.): *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 日本随筆大成 (Great Compilation of the Essays of Japan), 2nd ser., vol. 11, Yoshikawa Kō

assume, however, that Ranzan did not possess a professional background in medical learning. However, as he avers in the introductory remarks to *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption*, his expositions on the subject of a wholesome and life-preserving diet are not merely based “on conjectures and personal views” but are founded on the “classical scriptures of doctors versed in Confucianism” 儒医 (*juī*). It is rather this role of a self-educated dilettante which makes him interesting. Ranzan will not be considered as representing the specialized discourse of professionals, but as a propagator of (popular) knowledge for practical purposes. In this role, it might be surmised, he stands much closer to the general reader, for whom he wrote, than to the scholars of medical learning.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* should not be taken as a medical treatise as such, but as an answer to the following question: How much and what kind of knowledge could the well-educated reader, preferably experienced in reading literary Chinese, by the turn of the 19th century glean from a more or less extensive perusal of medical literature? The absence of quotations from medical treatises written in Chinese as well as the notation of most Chinese characters with phonetic characters showing their reading, make this work a typical instance of the extensive literature for practical use, accessible to that part of the population consulting such books. In this respect it is on the same line as a famous predecessor in the field of popular medical guidebooks, *Principles for Nourishing Life* 養生訓 (*Yôjô kun*) (Shôtoku 正徳 3, 1713), written by the Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1704).<sup>11</sup> If length is any indication,

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Bunkan 1974: 298–99 (reprint of the 1928 edition). Both make Ranzan neither an “assistant” nor the son of one, but the father of the “assistant” Takai Tetsunosuke 高井鉄之助 / Takai Tetsu no Jô 高井鉄之丞. Fukuda concludes that there is no clue to identifying Ranzan himself as a direct retainer of the shôgunate, but he surmises that one Takai Shôbee 高井庄兵衛 mentioned as “chamberlain” to the “bannerman” Hiraoka Yorinaga 平岡頼長 in the *Mirror of Warrior [Houses]* 武鑑 (*Bukan*) might, in fact, have been Ranzan. But there is no conclusive proof for this view either. Cf. SAWATO 2001: 288. A remark in the introduction to Ranzan’s fictional work *Nights with Stars and the Moon in Kamakura or Record of Brightness and Darkness* 星月夜鎌倉顯晦録 (*Hoshizuki yo Kamakura kenkai roku*) that the author served as a “minor official of the Tokugawa family” 徳川氏の小吏 (*Tokugawa shi no shôri*) might lend a basis to the claim that he held the position of “assistant”, as Sawato argues, but this too cannot be substantiated. Ibid. In the end nothing more than Ranzan’s years of birth and death as well as a number of the names he used in different situations of his life can be ascertained.

10 Cf. n. 12.

11 EKIKEN KAI 益軒会 (ed.): *Ekiken zenshû* 益軒全集 (Ekiken’s Collected Works), vol. 3, *Ekiken Zenshû Kankô Bu* 1911: 476–604 (EZ hereafter). Cf. *Yôjôkun. Japanese Secret of Good Health*, transl. by Masao KUNIHURO, Tokuma Shoten Publishing Co., Ltd., 1974.

Ranzan's one-volume book might have been much cheaper than Ekiken's work in eight parts and four volumes and therefore, probably, more affordable than its famous precursor. Still, this is no reliable clue that Ranzan's *Admonitions* were widely read. Although the investigation of reading habits during the Edo-period and the scope of interest among readers has made progress, it is not possible to give precise figures on the degree that any one book was actually known.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. The Function of Dietetics

In his study of European thought on hygiene between 1765 and 1914 Philipp Sarasin emphasizes the belief that it is the individual human being, who is responsible to a large extent for preserving health or falling sick, or for even deciding on his or her moment of death. The emancipation of a person's bodily condition from religious determinism<sup>13</sup> came to the fore together with the enlightenment movement and, as Sarasin argues, found an exemplary expression in the articles on "Hygiène" and "Santé" in Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1765). To make his point he quotes Gerd Göckenjan for characterizing the matter of hygiene as being "historically as novel as bourgeois

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12 On book production, private book collections and reading behaviour during the Edo-period cf. Ekkehard MAY: *Die Kommerzialisierung der japanischen Literatur in der späten Edo-Zeit (1750–1868). Rahmenbedingungen und Entwicklungstendenzen der erzählenden Prosa im Zeitalter ihrer ersten Vermarktung*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1983: 108–22. Kornicki draws a vivid picture of the rare information concerning reading behaviour in the Edo-period. Peter KORNICKI: *The Book in Japan. A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2001: 258–69. The book inventories presented and analysed by Yokota convey an impression of the range of topics on which private owners in the countryside around Osaka collected books. YOKOTA Fuyuhiko 横田冬彦: "Ekiken bon no dokusha" 益軒本の読者 (The Readers of Books by Ekiken), in: YOKOYAMA Toshio (ed.): *Kaibara Ekiken. Tenchi waraku no bunmei gaku* 貝原益軒. 天地和楽の文明学 (Kaibara Ekiken. Learning for a Civilization of Peace and Accord between Heaven and Earth), Heibon Sha 1995: 315–53. YOKOTA Fuyuhiko: "Kinsei minshū shakai ni okeru chiteki dokusho no seiritsu. Ekiken hon o yomu jidai" 近世民衆社会における知的読書の成立. 益軒本を読む時代 (The Establishment of Reading for Intellectual Purposes amidst the General Populace in Early Modern Times. The Age that Read Ekiken's Books), *Edo no shisō* 5 (1996): 48–67. YOKOTA Fuyuhiko: *Tenka taihei* 天下泰平 (The Realm in Highest Peace), *Nihon no rekishi* 16 日本歴史 (The History of Japan, vol. 16), Kōdan Sha 2002: 320–41.

13 Belief in the meaning of disease as divine punishment for sin stayed in force well into the 18th century, only gradually undermined by the progress of hygienic discourse. Cf. n. 18.

culture” itself.<sup>14</sup> It is a result of this development that Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland’s (1796–1836) *Makrobiotik* (1796) was such a success.<sup>15</sup> This work, which by its subtitle “die Kunst Gesundheit zu erlangen und das menschliche Leben zu verlängern” (“The Art of Attaining Health and Extending Human Life”) is identified as a dietetic guidebook, not only expresses the belief that “health is the purpose of medicine, but long life that of macrobiotics”.<sup>16</sup> Its author is also convinced that by choosing the proper way of life it is then within man’s power to live the highest possible number of years in the physical framework of human existence.<sup>17</sup>

A similar belief in the individual human being’s responsibility for preserving his/her physical integrity and leading one’s life to the fullest can be ascertained in the *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption*. This is already indicated by the first part of the full title: *Preserving One’s [Allotted Span of] Life* 保寿 (*hoju*). In his “Personal Foreword” 自叙 (*Jijo*) Ranzan states this attitude more explicitly. The individual lifespan varies. This is decreed beforehand by “Heaven” 天 (*ten*)<sup>18</sup> and therefore beyond the reach of human interference

14 Philipp SARASIN: *Reizbare Maschinen. Eine Geschichte des Körpers 1765–1914*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 2001: 19. Gerd GÖCKENJAN: *Kurieren und Staat machen. Gesundheit und Medizin in der bürgerlichen Welt*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp 1985: 62.

15 Printed five times up to 1823, it has even been called the “most famous medical book of the Goethe era”. Klaus PFEIFER: *Medizin der Goethezeit. Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland und die Heilkunst des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau 2000: 96. Hufeland’s fame left traces in Japan where a substantial part of his *Enchiridion medicum oder Anleitung zur medizinischen Praxis* (1836) was translated from a Dutch edition by the scholar of “Dutch Learning” Ogata Kōan 緒方洪庵 (1810–1863) over the course of twenty years as *Mister Fu’s Experiences as an Admonition for Posterity* 扶氏經驗遺訓 (*Fushi keiken ikun*). *Makrobiotik*, too, was well received among Japanese practitioners of “Dutch medicine”. At least three partial translations are known, by Oka Kenkai 岡研介 (1799–1839) and Takano Chōei 高野長英 (1805–50) (prior to 1827), by Utsunomiya Saburō 宇都宮三郎 (1834–1901) (around 1862), and by Tsuji Jokai 辻恕介, which was printed in 1867. For Hufeland and his reception in Japan cf. SUGIMOTO Tsutomu 杉本つとむ: *Edo ranpō i kara no messēji* 江戸蘭方医からのメッセージ (Messages from Edo’s Doctors of the Dutch Method), Perikan Sha 1992. Sugimoto gives a list of nineteen late Edo-period works either based on Hufeland’s writings or containing (partial) translations. *Ibid.*: 159–60.

16 For this citation cf. PFEIFER 2000: 97–98.

17 Hufeland’s book dealt with such traditional subjects as the influence of outward climatic conditions, sexual temperance, preservation of equanimity, as well as a proper diet.

18 This has to be qualified. The moment of death is predicated, so to say, on physical factors lying within the bodily constitution of each human being. Death as the outcome of facts that do not arise from the pre-given make-up of the individual and that are due to happenstance for example by an unfortunate accident, does not fall under the “[decree of] Heaven”. In general, the lifespan of a human being was traditionally thought to be one

[1–2]. However, whether one lives right to the end of one’s preordained, or – one might be justified to say – natural lifespan, or whether one dies an untimely death far in advance of the rulings of “Heaven”, is solely due to the personal way of life and the care a person takes of his/her physical endowment.<sup>19</sup> Just as someone who dies due to taking inordinary risks – e.g. by standing below an unsteady wall – or in consequence of his own criminal actions, which bring him into prison, cannot attribute his untimely death to “Heaven”,<sup>20</sup>

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hundred years, a figure which is not too far removed from what can be expected under favourable circumstances. Cf. sentences [F-16a], [11], [46]. In a sense, the lifespan of one hundred years as preordained by “Heaven” is the objectivation of experience. What can be observed as the upper limit of life expectancy is stripped of the coincidental and reflected back into discourse on human nature in the rationalized form of a “Heavenly decree”. By comparison, European medical literature of the 18th century shows a resistance to coming to terms with the concept of ‘physiological health’ which is no longer subject to metaphysical design. F. Hoffmann (1660–1742), professor of medicine at the University of Halle, wrote his *Gründliche Anweisung wie ein Mensch vor dem frühzeitigen Tod und allerhand Arten Krankheiten durch ordentliche Lebens-Art sich verwahren könne* (3 Vols., Halle 1715, 1716, 1717) in the belief, that “life and death, disease and health depend on such external articles as we have to make use of day to day”. Ibid., vol. I, V; cited in GÖCKENJAN 1985: 64. Yet, the same author could postulate: “It is beyond doubt that disease and an early death are visited upon sinners by God in punishment.” Vol. I, IV; cited in GÖCKENJAN 1985: 62. As Göckenjan shows, Hoffmann tried to reconcile the belief in divine providence as the foundation of life and death on the one hand and human freedom and self-responsibility by identifying God with an “order of the highest wisdom” and this “order” with the “laws and rules of nature”. Ibid.: 63.

- 19 I hesitate to use the word “health” in this context, as the modern Japanese word for the concept, *kenkō* 健康, and the meaning behind it had no equivalent in Ranzan’s days. Cf. KITAZAWA Kazutoshi 北澤一利: “*Kenkō*” *no Nihon shi* 「健康」の日本史 (The History of “Health” in Japan), Heibon Sha 2000 (Heibon Sha shinsho 068). Ibid.: 12–38. The word *genki* 元気, too, had been central to Chinese and, consequently, Japanese medical thought from its beginnings, but it had an altogether different meaning from what is understood by it in modern language. Cf. p. 137. Ranzan makes use of words such as “strong/wholesome” 健 (*sukuyaka*) in [25] or speaks of people with a “sturdy” 堅固 (*kengo*) body [35, 52] or physical endowment [69] to express the condition of health.
- 20 The concept of divine or “Heavenly” retribution for sinful conduct of life in the form of sickness or fatal diseases does not occur in Ranzan’s account or in medical thought as such, although it had its place, for example in popular movements of Daoist religion in China as well as in prescriptions for priests and nuns, where the punishment could take the shape of a shortening of the allotted lifespan. Cf. OKAZAKI Hiroshi 岡崎裕司: “Minshū dôkyô” 民衆道教 (Popular Daoism), in: FUKUI Kôjun 福井康順 et al. (ed.): *Dôkyô* 2. *Dôkyô no tenkai* 道教 2. 道教の展開 (Daoism 2. The Development of Daoism), Hirakawa Shuppan Sha 1983: 144–48, 155–63; Florian REITER: *The Aspirations and Standards of Taoist Priests in the Early T’ang Period*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 1998: 57–74. In Japan, ideas of retribution found expression within the fold of Buddhist religiousness. In his *Old Records*, Kawachiya Yoshimasa 河内屋可正, a prosperous landowner in the province of Kawachi (part of present-day Osaka prefecture), criticizes the common belief

someone who contracts a disease through neglect of his/her bodily needs is not justified to do so either [3–4].<sup>21</sup>

Entrusting human beings with the responsibility for their own well-being might have been a new (or, better, a revived) conception in 18th century Europe.<sup>22</sup> In the case of Ranzan it was not an original idea but one of the central principles of traditional Chinese medicine. The key concept in this context, “caring for/nourishing/nursing life” 養生 (*yangsheng* / *yôjô*) already occurs in literary documents prior to the earliest known medical texts proper from the 2nd century BCE. The Confucian philosopher Master Meng 孟子 (Mengzi / Mōshi; trad. 372–289 BCE) employs the expression in one of two basic meanings: “taking care of the living”, especially one’s parents.<sup>23</sup> The second connotation can be ascertained in the *Master Zhuang* 莊子 (*Zhuangzi*

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inspired by Buddhist anthropology that diseases were the consequence of “worldly passions” 煩惱 (*bonnô*). He argues that the single factor leading to sickness lies in the quality of dietetic precautions. The *Old Records of Kawachiya Yoshimasa* 河内屋可正旧記 (*Kawachiya Yoshimasa kyûki*) cover the period from Genroku 6 (1693) to Hôei 宝永 3 (1706) and are cited in MATSUMURA Kôji 松村浩二: “Yôjô ron teki nashintai e no manazashi” 養生論的な身体へのまなざし (View of the Body in the Discussions of Nourishing Life), *Edo no shisô* 6, Perikan Sha 1997: 102.

- 21 Whereas Ekiken accords dietetics the place of a distinct “method” or “technique” 術 (*jutsu*) besides other “techniques” that characterize human endeavours, Ranzan does not elaborate on the position of “nourishing life” in the concert of man’s activities. For Ekiken’s use of *jutsu* cf. EZ 3: 486. Matsumura discusses the context in which Ekiken speaks of “technique” – namely not in the sense of a Daoist “technique of the mountain recluse”, which had been attacked by Confucian scholars. MATSUMURA 1997: 98–99.
- 22 Dietetic teachings have been the concern of medical writers in antiquity, as can be seen in the *Hippocratic Corpus* (e.g. *On Regimen* or *Peri diaites*). An early testimony to a special interest in food as vital for physical well-being is the fragment on leading a healthy life attributed to Diokles of Karystos (4th century BCE). Cf. *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* VI 2,2, pp. 141,10–146,4. For introductions to ancient medicine cf. e.g. Hellmut FLASHAR (ed.): *Antike Medizin*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1971; E.D. PHILLIPS: *Greek Medicine*, London: Thames and Hudson 1973. On its intellectual background cf. Geoffrey E. R. LLOYD: *Magic, Reason and Experience. Studies in the Origins and Development of Greek Science*, Cambridge, London, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1979. A comparative study of Chinese and Greek medicine is offered in Geoffrey LLOYD, Nathan SIVIN: *The Way and the Word. Science and Medicine in Early China and Greece*, New Haven: Yale University Press 2002. For a short introduction to dietetics, its history and further literature cf. Dietrich von ENGELHARDT: “Hunger und Appetit. Essen und Trinken im System der Diätetik. Kulturhistorische Perspektiven”, in: Alois WIERLACHER et al. (ed.): *Kulturthema Essen. Ansichten und Problemfelder*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1993: 137–49.
- 23 In this sense the expression contrasts with the care to be accorded the deceased, epitomized under the heading “mourning the dead” 喪死 (*sangsi* / *sôshi*). SBBY 1.3b.



/ *Sôji*). The third chapter of this book attributed to the Daoist philosopher Zhuang Zhou 莊周 who is traditionally believed to be a contemporary of Master Meng, bears the expression in its title. Here, the word takes on a self-referential note: “nourishing [one’s own] life”. The first paragraph of the text provides a short explanation of how this is to be achieved: “Make following the middle way 緣督 (*yuandu / entoku*)<sup>24</sup> your leading thread. By this you will preserve [your] body, maintain [your] life, nourish your parents, and live [your allotted number of] years to the fullest.”<sup>25</sup> This abstract notion could take the form of various techniques, among them a combination of breathing techniques with physical exercises in order to preserve the powers of the body and ensure longevity. The ideal of infusing oneself with breath and feeding one’s body thereon<sup>26</sup> was carried over into medical literature. Ranzan quotes the example of so-called “mountain recluses” 仙人 (*xianren / sennin*), who raised themselves above the more basic drives and needs of the human body by respiratory techniques and a simple way of life [F-6, 28–33]. The reader might wonder at the comparatively lengthy excursion into the world of legendary Daoist figures and ascribe this to Ranzan’s literary penchant. After all, it is those who will not be able to overcome their basic drives and bodily needs for whom he writes. It might only be speculated that as a writer of fictional prose Ranzan wanted to entertain as much as to give practical advice.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, the line between medical accounts and Daoist

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24 The word *du* translated as “middle path” here, can either mean the central blood vessel running along the back of the human body or the central seam on the backside of a garment.

25 SBBY 2.1ab. Note that the earlier connotation of “caring for the living” is mentioned as part of the program for “nourishing [one’s own] life” here.

26 Respiratory and gymnastic exercises found their place in the Daoist tradition, but they are only part of the regimen and have to be paired with the more important meditative techniques. In fact, as Harper points out, the *Master Zhuang* is quiet amused about people who admire the erstwhile approach and try to emulate it. Indeed, “Grandfather Peng” 彭祖 (Peng Zu) who was revered for the old age he achieved due to such exercises, becomes the object of ridicule. SBBY 1.3ab. Cf. Donald HARPER: *Early Chinese Medical Literature. The Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts*, London: Wellcome Asian Medical Monographs 1998: 113. And in the fifteenth chapter where “Grandfather Peng’s” methods are described he and others like him are considered as diverging from the “Way of Heaven and Earth”. SBBY 6.1a. The ideal “spirit man” 神人 (*shenren / shinjin*) “does not eat the five grains, but sucks wind and drinks dew”, and thus unburdened by bodily weight “mounts clouds and vapour, drives flying dragons [like chariot horses], and journeys beyond the four seas”. SBBY 1.6b; cf. HARPER 1998: 113.

27 A similar inclination may be observed in the comical tone of [20–24]. Ekiken offers advice on breathing methods, too. But he does this without allusion to “mountain recluses”

speculation on life-preserving and -prolonging techniques is a narrow one. The latter offered much motivation for the former and made for similar ramifications.<sup>28</sup>

This can be observed in the medical texts excavated at the Mawangdui 馬王堆 burial site in Hunan 湖南 Province (dated 168 BCE).<sup>29</sup> Several manuscripts express a marked interest in methods for “nourishing life”, respiratory techniques as well as dietetics among them.<sup>30</sup> However, Donald Harper argues, they did not focus on the “more philosophical and mystical programs” of the earlier partly Daoist tradition nor is their goal of longevity identical to the pursuit of “immortality and transcendence” that took shape in the “mountain recluse” motif. In recommending “a kind of baseline macrobiotic hygiene for the elite that focuses on care for the body”<sup>31</sup> they foreshadow the practical orientation that is the mark of later “nourishing life” literature, including Ekiken’s and Ranzan’s contributions.

### 3. Medical Foundations

In order to understand what *technologies of the self* mean in the context debated here, one cannot do without at least circumscribing the most basic tenets of traditional medicine.<sup>32</sup> The “oldest text surviving intact to summarize

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or life-prolonging techniques. Rather, he gives the biological reason for breathing – just as fish live in water and the water contained in their bodies is the same as that in which they live, so human beings partake of the “vital energy” (cf. pp. 137–39) between “Heaven and Earth” 天地 (*tenchi*) which surrounds them through respiration – and explains the need to exchange old with new “vital energy” through exhaling and inhaling. To benefit most from this exchange, however, it is necessary to do so without haste. It would be best to lie down once or twice a day, close the eyes, extend the legs, spread them a little, ball the fists and only breath in intervals. EZ 3: 505–506.

28 Cf. for example Paul U. UNSCHULD: *Medicine in China. A History of Ideas*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 1985: 106–8; Ute ENGELHARDT: “Longevity Techniques and Chinese Medicine”, in: Livia KOHN (ed.): *Daoism Handbook*, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill 2000: 74–108 (Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section Four: China 14).

29 The texts may be as old as the 3rd century BCE. Cf. HARPER 1998: 4.

30 Cf. HARPER 1998: 24–26. One of the texts bears the title *Recipes for Nourishing Life* 養生方 (*Yangsheng fang*), another *Eliminating Grain and Eating Vital Energy* 却穀食氣 (*Quegu shiqi*). Cf. *ibid.*: 328–62 and 305–309.

31 *Ibid.*: 114.

32 For substantial treatments cf. Manfred PORKERT: *The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese*

the thinking of Chinese medicine on the subjects of human anatomy, physiology, and the dynamic patterns of interaction that take place between human beings and their physical environments<sup>33</sup> is the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal [Medicine]* 黄帝内经 (*Huangdi neijing / Kôtei naikyô*). This work – its earliest parts might date from the 2nd century BCE<sup>34</sup> – bears testimony to the view that medicine's task is not so much to cure diseases in progress as to prevent them from occurring in the first place. To attain this aim, the correspondence between the movements of “Heaven and Earth” as macrocosmos and the physiological as well as pathological processes within the human body as microcosmos has to be scrutinized. Medicine, thus, has to go beyond anatomical knowledge and take a holistic approach to the inner workings of the cosmos that govern life. The discernment of regular patterns in the seemingly innumerable and unrelated signs of change in the natural world goes hand in hand with the realization that the same rules govern bodily functions and processes. These regularities were conceptualized as the workings of opposing and, at the same time, complementary forces. Two sets of ideas have to be distinguished, which until the end of the Period of “Warring States” 戦国 (*zhanguo / sengoku*) (403–221 BCE) merged into one comprehensive system of cosmological thought<sup>35</sup> spanning time as well as space: the dualism of Yin 陰 and Yang 陽 on the one hand, and the “Five Phases” 五行 (*wuxing / gogyô*) – “water” 水, “fire” 火, “wood” 木, “metal” 金, “earth” 土 – on the other. The theory of a “matter-energy” 氣 (*qi / ki*) governed by these agents completes this worldview.<sup>36</sup>

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*Medicine. Systems of Correspondence*, Cambridge, London: The M.I.T. Press 1974 (M.I.T. East Asian Science Series 3); UNSCHULD 1985; Nathan SIVIN: *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies 1987; Joseph NEEDHAM, with Lu GWEI-DJEN: *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 6: Biology & Biological Technology, Part 6: Medicine*, ed. by Nathan SIVIN, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 2000.

33 Ken ROSE: “New Foreword by Ken Rose”, in: *Huang Ti Nei Ching Su Wen. The Yellow Emperor's Classic on Internal Medicine. Chapters 1–34 Translated from the Chinese with an Introductory Study by Ilza Veith. With a New Foreword by Ken Rose*, Berkely, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 2002: vii. Henceforth quoted as “Veith 2002”.

34 The textual body in its present form dates from the Tang-period 唐 (618–907).

35 By the end of the 3rd century BCE this had taken recognizable form but continued to be developed well into Han 漢 times (208 BCE to 220 CE). The complementary thinking that lies at the heart of this theory does not only concern the phenomena of nature and human beings insofar as they are part of the former, but includes society and the moral values it is based on.

Neither the origins of the concepts Yin and Yang nor of the “Five Phases” are well documented, but it may be surmised that the observation of natural phenomena together with numeric speculation led to the notion of a world where all parts are caught in a dualistic as well as complementary relationship.<sup>37</sup> This made for a dynamic worldview governed by the notion of “change”. It has to be stressed, however, that the latter is not perceived as random but as the cyclical and regular waxing and waning of the constituent forces and that it can, therefore, be calculated to a certain degree.<sup>38</sup> The movements of Yin, Yang, and the “Five Phases” as seen in natural events like the alteration of day and night, the course of the seasons or different climatic conditions leave their mark on the “matter-energy” or *qi* which pervades everything and constitutes the substrate for the physical world of the “ten thousand things” 万物 (*wanwu / banbutsu*).<sup>39</sup>

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- 36 Nathan Sivin calls *qi* an “untranslatable term” and enumerates a “multitude of phenomena” for which the word was used before 300 BCE: “air, breath, smoke, mist, fog, the shades of the dead, cloud forms, more or less everything that is perceptible but intangible; the physical vitalities, whether inborn or derived from food and breath; cosmic forces and climatic influences that affect health; and groupings of seasons, flavors, colors, musical modes, and much else.” LLOYD, SIVIN 2002: 196.
- 37 Graham speaks of “correlative thinking”. Angus C. GRAHAM: *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking*, Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies 1986 (IEAP Occasional Paper and Monograph Series No. 6). For a concise introduction to the central concepts “Yin-Yang”, “Five Phases”, “vital energy” and their historical development cf. PORKERT 1974: 9–54 and MIZOGUCHI Yûzô 溝口雄三, MARUYAMA Matsuyuki 丸山松幸, IKEDA Tomohisa 池田知久 (eds.): *Chûgoku shisô bunka jiten* 中国思想文化事典 (Dictionary of Chinese culture of thought), Tôkyô Daigaku Shuppan Kai 2001: 18–28, 469–78. Introductions can be found in Alfred FORKE: *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, Hamburg: L. Friederichsen 1927: 46–50, 499–519; Marcel GRANET: *La pensée chinoise*, Paris: La Renaissance Du Livre 1934; LLOYD, SIVIN 2002: 193–203, 253–71; Joseph NEEDHAM, WANG Ling: *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 2: History of Scientific Thought*, Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press 1956: 216–345; Marc KALINOWSKI: *Cosmologie et divination dans la Chine ancienne. Le Compendium des cinq agents (Wuxing dayi, v<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris: École Française d’Extrême-Orient 1991.
- 38 How the worldview based on Yin, Yang and the “Five Phases” could serve as a foundation for divination cf. KALINOWSKI 1991: 139–602.
- 39 Similar to other keywords of Chinese thought, *qi* experienced a continuing process of change and accretion in meaning, starting out with probably referring to “vapour” or “air”. In the philosophical context it is often rendered as “matter-energy” to draw attention to the fact that this concept included both material and immaterial/energetic properties. Although it can be described as a universal force suffusing everything, at the same time it is prone to, so to say, a process of individualization, with many different kinds of “matter-energy” working side by side and acting on one another. This makes translation difficult as different contexts call for different renderings. Thus, I allowed for a pragmatic approach,

Put in a reductionist way, “matter-energy”/“vital energy” is essential to medical thought in two respects. It animates a human being and flows through his/her body. On the other hand, it exerts influence from the outside, in the form of climatic aggregates as well as substances consumed for nourishment. Human physical nature can be described as a composition of different components partaking either of Yin or Yang: Thus, the male is Yang, the female Yin. From the waist upwards a human body is Yang, downwards it is Yin. In the same way, the back and the skin correspond to the former, whereas the belly and the inside of a body are related to the latter. The organs can be grouped accordingly. One set known as the “five depots” (or repository organs) 五臟 (*wuzang / gozô*) – “kidneys”, “liver”, “heart”, “spleen”, “lung” – are Yin, while the “six palaces” (or management organs) 六腑 (*liufu / rikufu*) – “stomach”, “small intestine”, “large intestine”, “bladder”, “gall”, “triple burner” 三焦 (*sanjiao / sanshō*)<sup>40</sup> – are Yang.<sup>41</sup>

1. On the inside, “matter-energy” provides the raw substance from which the human body is fashioned and from which the energy that animates it rises. In the aspect of a force that courses through the body and upkeepes the vital processes, *qi* is translated as “vital energy”. Functional distinctions have to be drawn: For one, there is that part of *qi*, which is imparted by “Heaven” and one’s parents through the process of conception, known as “essence” 精 (*jing / sei*) or “original vital energy” 元氣 (*yuanqi / genki*). Contained in the “kidneys”, it is both the source for the fundamental life force as well as for the reproductive powers. Other manifestations emerge only after a human being is born and depend on what is absorbed from outside. The organs transform this energy into distinct types: Most important, perhaps, is “orthopathic energy” 正氣 (*zhengqi / seiki*) which supports all vital processes. It is both the result of the “original vital energy” as well as the “energy” generated

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e.g., giving *qi* as the force animating the human body as “vital energy”.

40 This “organ” without anatomical correspondence started to appear in lists from the Han-period onwards. Even after it became firmly established, speculation about its shape and location (mostly in three places above, around, and below the “stomach”) continued. Its function can be identified as contributing “to the transformation of raw materials, by means of heat, into useful products”, or as controlling the circulation of “vital energy”. UNSCHULD 1985: 81; PORKERT 1974: 158–62.

41 Cf. VEITH 2002: 111–12. As UNSCHULD 1985: 77 explains, the “five depots” are classified as Yin, since they are located within the body, which is Yin, while the “six palaces” are Yang because of their placement in the exterior sections, which, conversely, belongs to Yang. These groups of organs are not important so much for their correct anatomical shape and location as for the function they perform in the network of bodily processes.

from eating and breathing. In itself it serves as foundation for several other forms of *qi*. Mental faculties are due to the “spirit energy” 神氣 (*shenqi / shinki*). “Constructive energy” 營氣 (*yingqi / eiki*) contains the nourishment that is brought to the parts of the body. “Defensive energy” 衛氣 (*weiqi / eiki*) offers protection against inimical influences.

2. *Qi* that comes into contact with the body from the outside, can be either beneficial or hostile. As part of the food one consumes and the air one breathes it lends itself to the replenishment of “orthopathic energy”.<sup>42</sup> But it can also be encountered in the latter’s opposite – “heteropathic energy” 邪氣 (*xieqi / jaki*).<sup>43</sup> In the most classical form, it occurs in the form of climatic aggregates which have been classified in groups of “four energies”, “five energies”, or “six energies” 六氣 (*liuqi / rikki*). The last consists of “wind”, “heat”, “humidity”, “scorching heat”, “dryness/drought”, and “coldness”.<sup>44</sup> Individually, these do not necessarily harm the body. But under certain circumstances, they cause a person to fall sick. This leads to the question of what causes diseases.

3. Together with the *Classic of Internal [Medicine]* the idea of a system of transport channels that connect the two sets of organs and transport “vital energy” through the body took shape and became one aspect of diagnosis and treatment. The main channels are often known as “conduits” or “meridians” 經 (*jing / kei*), and – in accordance with the “depots” and “palaces” – they number twelve vertical or horizontal lines.<sup>45</sup> Lesser channels are called “network”- or “connecting”-conduits 絡 (*luo / raku*) which link the major “meridians”. Generally, these run below the skin and are open to the outside through 361 “vital energy holes” 氣孔 (*qixue / kiketsu*). Through these, “heteropathic energy” can intrude, if the defensive forces are not strong enough and cause diseases, in case the flow of “vital energy” through the body is not in perfect balance. Such a disruption may not only be due to external influences but

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42 The intake and digestion of food and drink, their transformation into nutritional substances as well as the excretion of useless components is the task of those organs called “six palaces”. The “five depots” produce and/or store “vital energy”.

43 I adapted these translations from Ute Engelhardt’s “orthopathic *qi*” and “heteropathic *qi*” in ENGELHARDT 2000: 97.

44 The number of six climatic influences correlates with the classification of six phases within the mutual waxing and waning of Yin and Yang. For these, three subcategories each are distinguished according to the variable strength of both forces. Cf. UNSCHULD 1985: 57, 182–85.

45 There are, however, other taxonomies as well.

also result from inner causes. If a person possesses one or several of the basic “feelings” 情 (*qing / jō*)<sup>46</sup> in excess, this too may harm the energetic equilibrium. Other than these “outer causes” 外因 (*waiyin / gaiin*) and “inner causes” 內因 (*neiyin / naiin*), morally dubitable as well as physically excessive behaviour may have averse effects on one’s life force and thus lead to sickness. Uncontrolled sexual activity may cause a dissipation of the “original vital energy.”<sup>47</sup> Heavy eating and drinking may cause physical damage. Foodstuffs are classed according to their generic tastes, which, again, are the mark of one of the “Five Phases”. “Sour” taste is associated with “wood”, “bitter” with “fire”, “sweet” with “earth”, “hot/pungent” with “metal”, and “salty” with “water”. The preponderance of one of these tastes in one’s food, therefore, is equal to the dominance of the corresponding member of the “Five Phases”. The effects this can have, are already described in the *Classic of Internal [Medicine]*.<sup>48</sup> They can also be conceptualized in terms of “material energy”. An excess of “sweet” food may lead to an increase in “sweet” energy which gathers in the “spleen”. The “spleen”, however, is “ruled” by the “kidneys” (associated with the “salty” flavour), and consequently may cause damage to the latter.<sup>49</sup>

Healing therapy, then, lies in restoring the balance of the “vital energy”. This can be achieved by either regulating its flow through the “meridians”, by reducing excess or bolstering up deficiencies, through treating the “vital energy holes” with needles (acupuncture). A second method would be the

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46 Ranzan recounts the “seven feelings” 七情 (*qiqing / shichijō*) of “joy”, “anger”, “sorrow”, “pleasure”, “love”, “hate”, and “lust” 喜怒哀樂愛惡欲 in [71].

47 The “kidneys” not only contain the “original vital energy” but also the semen. This is stored in the right kidney known also as the “gate of life” 命門 (*mingmen / meimon*).

48 “Hence if too much salt is used in food, the pulse hardens, tears make their appearance and the complexion changes. If too much bitter flavor is used in food, the skin becomes withered and the body hair falls out. If too much pungent flavor is used in food, the muscles become knotty and the finger and toe nails wither and decay. If too much sour flavor is used in food, the flesh hardens and wrinkles and the lips become slack. If too much sweet flavor is used in food, the bones ache and the hair on the head falls out. These then are the injuries which can be brought about by the five flavors.” cited after VEITH 2002: 141.

49 Like the flavour “sweetness”, the “spleen” is attributed to the “phase” of “earth”, while the “kidneys” are a “water” organ. In the system of mutual generation and destruction, “earth” overcomes “water”. If, therefore, the earth “energy” in the “spleen” grows too strong, the “water” organ “kidneys” will be negatively affected. The outward sign is that “the bones ache and the hair on the head falls out”, as the condition of both “bones” and “hair” is governed by the “kidneys”.

restoration of balance by countervailing the effects of excessive “flavours” with food or medicine of an opposite quality.

Better still to prevent imbalances from occurring. For, as the *Classic of Internal [Medicine]* teaches, it is too late to administer medicines once the disease has developed.<sup>50</sup> It is with this view in mind, that the literature on “nourishing life” makes its readers aware that they bear responsibility for their well-being. The method they propose is based on a balanced mode of living in all its aspects. One of these is the ingestion of food and drink.

#### 4. Medical and Dietetic Literature

There is no need to recount the history of dietetics and dietetic literature in China as this has been done by Ute Engelhardt, Carl-Hermann Hempfen and others.<sup>51</sup> Turning to nutrition, Shinoda Osamu and Tanaka Seiichi arrive at more than one hundred works written prior to 1850 dealing with food.<sup>52</sup> Leaving aside those whose dominant concern is with agriculture or geography, still more than seventy remain which H.T. Huang divides into texts on “the technology and mechanics of food preparation” and those on “the nutritive and therapeutic properties of food”.<sup>53</sup> Under the heading “classics of Materia

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50 “To administer medicines to diseases which have already developed and to suppress revolts which have already developed is comparable to the behavior of those persons who begin to dig a well after they have become thirsty, and of those who begin to cast weapons after they have already engaged in battle. Would these actions not be too late?” Cited after *ibid.*: 105.

51 Ute ENGELHARDT, Carl-Hermann HEMPEN: *Chinesische Diätetik*, München: Urban & Schwarzenberg 1997; ENGELHARDT 2000. A general introduction to the development of this concept in Japan (with emphasis on the Edo-period) is offered in TAKIZAWA Toshiyuki 瀧澤利行: *Yôjô ron no shisô* 養生論の思想 (The Thought of Discussions about Nourishing Life), Seiri Shobô 2003.

52 SHINODA Osamu 篠田統, TANAKA Seiichi 田中静一: *Chûgoku shokkei sôsho* 中国食経叢書 (Collection of Chinese Food Canons), 2 vols., Shoseki Bunbutsu Ryûtsû Kai 1972.

53 H.T. HUANG: *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 6: Biology and Biological Technology, Part 5: Fermentations and Food Science*, Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 2000: 121–22. The first category Huang sees as representing the classical genre of “Food Canons” 食経 (*Shijing* / *Shokkei*), whereas Shinoda applied this word for all texts on food, whether dealing with food preparation, dietetics, or menu composition. Cf. SHINODA Osamu: “Shokkei kô” 食経考 (Deliberation on Food Canons), in: YABUCHI Kiyoshi 藪内清: *Chûgoku chûsei kagaku gijutsu shi* 中国中世科学技術史 (History of Medieval Chinese Science and Technology), Kadokawa Shoten 1963: 307–20. Cf. also NAKAMURA Shôhachi 中村璋八, SATÔ Tatsuzen 佐藤達全: *Shokkei* 食経 (Food Canons),



Dietetica” he comments on fourteen works.<sup>54</sup> However, some of these only exist in fragments.<sup>55</sup> Others survived because they found their way to Japan and were preserved there. Numerous quotations from Chinese medical literature are contained in the *Methods at the Heart of Medicine* 医心方 (*Ishin hô*) a compilation completed by Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼 (912–95) in 984 (Eikan 永観 2) standing at the eve of Japanese medical writing.<sup>56</sup> But it is known that earlier works existed.<sup>57</sup> One of these, the *Hidden Excerpts of Essentials on Nourishing Life* 養生秘要抄 (*Yôjô hiyô shô*), seems to have dealt with dietetics but it was lost and its contents are unknown.<sup>58</sup> Probably it can be compared to *Book 27* in the *Essential Methods* which is concerned with the same subject and contains quotations from thirty Chinese books.

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Meitoku Shuppan Sha 1978: 11. The latter lists even 185 titles conforming to Huang’s categories. NAKAMURA, SATÔ 1978: 31–33.

- 54 HUANG 2000: 134–39. Besides these works, the therapeutic properties of food also figure in the extensive pharmaceutical literature.
- 55 As both Shinoda and Huang stress, many books on food were lost, among them the earliest works from the 6th and 7th centuries bearing the word “food canon” in their titles. SHINODA Osamu: *Chûgoku shokumotsu shi* 中国食物史 (A History of Chinese Food), Shibata Shoten 1974: 70–71; HUANG 2000: 136–37.
- 56 The *Complete Collection of Japan’s Classics* 日本古典全集 (*Nihon koten zenshû*; hitherto quoted as NKZ) contains a reprint edition of the original text in Chinese. Cf. NIHON KOTEN ZENSHÛ KANKÔ KAI 日本古典全集刊行会 (ed.): *Ishin hô*, 7 vols., Nihon Koten Zenshû Kankô Kai 1940 (Nihon koten zenshû 90–96). A partial English translation can be found in Emil C.H. HSIA, Ilza VEITH, Robert GEERTSMA: *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan. Yasuyori Tamba’s Ishinpô* 医心方, 2 vols., Leiden: E.J. Brill 1986. The existence of Chinese medical books in Japan by the 9th century can be concluded from the *Catalogue of Books Available in Japan* 日本国見在書目録 (*Nihon koku kenzai sho mokuroku*), compiled during the Kanpei 寛平 era (889–898). For an introduction to Japanese medical history cf. Erhard ROSNER: *Medizingeschichte Japans*, Leiden: E.J. Brill 1989; Takeo NAGAYO: *History of Japanese Medicine on the Edo Period. Its Social and Cultural Backgrounds*, Nagoya: The University of Nagoya Press 1991. See also the passages relating to medicine in Masayoshi SUGIMOTO, David L. SWAIN: *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan A.D. 600–1854*, Cambridge, London: The M.I.T. Press 1978 (M.I.T. East Asian Science Series 6). On medical literature cf. also Peter F. KORNICKI: “Japanese medical and other books at the Wellcome Institute”, *BSOAS* 60 (1997): 489–510.
- 57 Cf. ROSNER 1989: 24–25; SUGIMOTO a. SWAIN 1978: 88. One of these, the *Recipes Collected According to Kind [from the Era] Great Harmonification* 大同類聚方 (*Daidô ruiju hô*), has been studied in Otto KAROW: “Daidôruijuhô. Klassifizierte Rezepte der Daidô-Periode (806–810)”, in: Otto KAROW: *Opera minora*, ed. by Hans Adalbert DETTMER, Gerhild ENDRESS, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1978: 249–432.
- 58 This was compiled in 921 (Engi 延喜 21) by the official doctor Fukane no Sukehito 深根輔仁 who is also known as the author of *Materia Medica with Japanese Names* 本草和名 (*Honzô wamyô*).

The *General Catalogue of National Writing* lists more than eighty works alone with the characters for “nourishing life” at the head of the title, those from the Edo-period being dominant.<sup>59</sup> In the history of Japanese medicine the latter is treated as an age which saw a shift in the orientation of dietetic writings: At the turn of the 18th century, it is argued, the genre began to sever its bonds with the quest for longevity/immortality associated with the “techniques of the mountain recluses” and took on the shape of medical discussion in a Confucian setting.<sup>60</sup> Kabayama even introduces “dietetic discourse” as a new genre of medical literature, written for the general reader without medical background.<sup>61</sup> The next step, it is supposed, occurred one hundred years later when the encounter with European medicine,<sup>62</sup> progress in book manufacture as well as distribution and the rise of a new morality served as catalysts for further development.<sup>63</sup> What seems important in the

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59 Actual numbers are much higher of course. Kabayama counts more than one hundred works that were printed from the 18th century onward. KABAYAMA Kôichi 樺山紘一: “Yôjô ron no bunka” 養生論の文化 (The culture of dietetic discourse), in: HAYASHIYA Tatsusaburô 林屋辰三郎 (ed.): *Kasei bunka no kenkyû* 化政文化の研究 (A Study of the Bunka-Bunsei-[Period] Culture), Iwanami Shoten 1979: 436.

60 KABAYAMA 1976: 438–40. SUGANO Noriko 菅野則子: “Yôjô to kaigo” 養生と介護 (Nourishing Life and Medical Care), in: HAYASHI Reiko 林玲子 (ed.): *Nihon no Kinsei 15. Josei no Kinsei* 日本の近世 15. 女性の近世 (Japan’s Early Modern Age 15. Women’s Early Modern Age), Chûô Kôron Sha 1993: 372. As representative of this shift Kaibara Ekiken and his student Katsuki Gyûzan 香月牛山 (1656–1740), author of the *Grass for Nourishing [Life] Indispensable for Old People* 老人必用養草 (*Rôjin hitsuyô yashinai gusa*) and the *Grass for Long Life for Women* 婦人壽草 (*Fujin kotobuki gusa*), are given. Takizawa links this turn with an increase of studies devoted to practical matters. TAKIZAWA 2003: 58–62.

61 KABAYAMA 1976: 435. Actually, not many people may have been able to afford such books. Nevertheless authors gave their works the character of “educational literature for everyday use” 日用啓蒙書 (*nichiyô keimô sho*) and dealt with subjects such as hygiene, nutrition, basic physiological knowledge, birth, nurturing and bringing up children, medication, and simple methods for treating diverse illnesses. Ibid. In the breadth of their subjects Kabayama sees a feature that distinguishes such works from the earlier writing on “nourishing life” that take the much narrower approach of a quest for long life and immortality. With the rise of a new approach the earlier did not vanish, however. It can be traced until the end of the Edo-period. Ibid.: 438, 440.

62 A first attempt to use European medical knowledge in the context of dietetics can be observed in Sugita Genpaku’s *Seven Violations of [the Principles for] Nurturing Life* 養生七不可 (*Yôjô shichi fuka*; printed 1801, Kyôwa 享和 1). A more substantial work is Mizuno Takusai’s 水野沢齋 *Distinguishing [the Principles for] Nourishing Life* 養生辨 (*Yôjô ben*; first part printed 1842, Tenpô 天保 13; second part 1851, Kaei 嘉永 4). Ibid.: 440.

63 SUGANO 1993: 372. Sugano introduces the *Essential Techniques for Families of the [Com-*

context of this article, is the spread of medical and dietetic knowledge beyond the scope of learned treatises. Short introductions on medicine and the treatment of a number of diseases were included in the genre of household encyclopedia.<sup>64</sup> Such works contained all the practical information deemed necessary for daily life; the fact that chapters on medicine and dietetics could be found therein, is an indicator of the general interest with which techniques for “taking care of oneself” or the members of one’s household were viewed.<sup>65</sup> It is in this context that Ranzan’s *Admonitions* were written and read.

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*mon*] *Populace* 民家要術 (*Minka yôjutsu*, 1831). The author Miyaoi Yasuo 宮負定雄 (1797–1858) had studied with the “Nativist” thinker Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776–1843) and had come into contact with the latter’s religious thought. Perhaps that accounts for the religious current in *Minka yôjutsu* that contrasts sharply with the rationalistic orientation mentioned in n. 20. Miyaoi Yasuo explains suffering from malignant diseases as an act of retribution by “woe-[bestowing] gods” 禍神 (*kashin*). Thus, mothers who expose their newborn infants are punished for their misdeed by sickness, while women who rear a large number of children will not become ill. Cf. *ibid.*: 373. In other places the advice does not differ much from books such as Ekiken’s.

- 64 In the popular and influential *Records of Weighty Treasures for Women* 女重宝記 (*Onna chôhō ki*; 1692, Genroku 元禄 5) the entire third part predominantly deals with medical matters and dietetics, especially in relation to pregnancy. Thus, taking care of oneself during and after pregnancy figure as topics just as “nourishing the life” of the newborn child does. The reader learns what kinds of food should not be eaten together before delivery as well as which foodstuffs are to be preferred or shunned after giving birth. “Nourishing life in case of women after delivery” 婦人産後の養生 (*Fujin sango no yôjô*) is a topic of interest in many household encyclopedia, as for example the *Treasure Box with the Great Learning for Women* 女大学宝箱 (*Onna daigaku takarabako*). Cf. also the chapter “Excellent Medicines against the Diverse Diseases” 諸病の妙薬 (*Shobyô no myôyaku*) in the *Mirror of Wisdom for Use by Women* 女用知恵鑑 (*Joyô chie kagami*), also included in the reprint of 1729 and the revised edition of 1769 (*Precious Fabric of the Mirror of Wisdom for Use by Women* 女用知恵鑑宝織, (*Joyô chie kagami takaraori*). This chapter, incidentally, bears almost the same title as a similar one in the *Records of Weighty Treasures for Women*.
- 65 Two examples of the attempt to popularize dietetic knowledge are the famous single-sheet prints *Mirror for Nourishing Life [with Regard to] Drinking and Eating* 飲食養生鑑 (*Inshoku yôjô kagami*) and *Mirror for Nourishing Life [with Regard to] the Matters [Within the Sleeping] Chamber* 房事養生鑑 (*Bôji yôjô kagami*) published in 1855 (Ansei 安政 2). Cf. for example SHIRASUGI Etsuo: “Envisioning the Inner Body in Edo Japan. The *Inshoku yôjô kagami* (Rules of Dietary Life) and *Bôji yôjô kagami* (Rules of Sexual Life)”, in: KURIYAMA Shigehisa (ed.): *The Imagination of the Body and the History of Bodily Experience*, Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies 2001: 31–49 (International Symposium 15).

5. *Food and Dietetics*

As stated above, excesses in nourishment will be inimical.<sup>66</sup> But at the same time, imbalances in the relations of the various “material energy” / “vital energy” forces can be improved with food, too. The medical effect of eating and other external influences, of course, is a common notion. The six factors of “air”, “food and drink”, “sleep and watch”, “motion and rest”, “evacuation and repletion”, and “passions of the mind” were already recognized in ancient Graeco-Roman and Arabic medicine,<sup>67</sup> and they played an important part in the development of hygienic discourse in Europe since the 18th century.<sup>68</sup> The approach of Chinese medicine, as Anderson says, “is based on the commonplace observation that foods provide energy for the body.”<sup>69</sup> Insofar as by nourishing himself man can replenish his own stock of “vital energy” and maintain or restore equilibrium, there is no clear-cut borderline between food and medicine. Any kind of the former can serve as a kind of the latter.<sup>70</sup>

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66 An early reference to this idea is included in the writings (pre-Han/early Han) attributed to the philosopher and statesman Master Guan 管子 (Guanzi / Kanshi; trad. 7th century BCE): “Generally, [concerning] the way of eating 食之道, with excessive filling, [the breath/vital energy] will be harmed and the form 形 will not contain [it all]. With excessive abstention, the bones will dry up and the blood wither away. The midpoint between filling [oneself] and abstention is called moderation 和成. It provides a place for the essence 精 to dwell and knowledge to grow.” SBBY 16.6a. I took the translation in W. Allyn RICKETT: *Guanzi. Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China, Volume Two, Chapters XII, 35 – XXIV, 86*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1998: 53 for a clue.

67 Cf. L.J. RATHER: “The ‘six things non-natural’”, *Clio Medica*, 3, 1968: 337–47. The enumeration can be found in a 13th century Latin translation of Avicenna’s (973/980–1037) influential didactic “Poem on Medicine” (*Urğūza fī ṭ-ṭibb / Cantica Avicennae*). The earliest example of such a list, on which all later versions rest, is given in Galen’s (2nd century CE) *Techne iatrikê / Ars medica*. Cf. *ibid.*: 339–340.

68 With the rise of cellular pathology and bacteriology during the 19th century, Rather argues, interest in the six factors as constituent causes of disease or health diminished, but he quotes the author of a dietetic work, John Paris, who criticized contemporary medical scholars for dismissing the teachings too readily. *A Treatise on Diet*, London: 1837: 6 (1st edn. 1826). Quoted in RATHER 1968: 342.

69 E.N. ANDERSON: *The Food of China*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press 1988: 188.

70 This notion could give rise to the expression “eating for medicinal purposes” 藥食 (*kusurigui*) in Japanese, which was also a euphemism for consuming meat. Although regulations against eating certain kinds of animals remained in effect since the end of the 7th century and the meat of boars and deers was taboo, especially sick and older people frequently partook of it for its warming and invigorating qualities in winter. To render this behaviour inoffensive, the consumption of such food was termed the “eating of medicine”.

However, as the properties of various kinds of food may not be compatible, attention has to be paid to the balance of one's nutrition. This calls for a classification system including the effects of foodstuffs. Distinguishing five flavours as an ancient method has already been mentioned. Although it continued to be recognized in later ages, preference was given to list foods according to their "hot" or "cold" qualities.<sup>71</sup> Actual experience suggested that different kinds of nourishment led to an increase or a fall in bodily heat.<sup>72</sup> Therapy, then, could make use of these properties by prescribing cooling foodstuffs for treating symptoms attributed to a rise in body temperature like fever. The opposite held true for substances of a heating quality.<sup>73</sup> Distinct from this dichotomy and the diet therapy based on it is the identification of some foodstuffs as "replenishing" 補 (*bu / ho*) the body's "vital energy" in the case of deficiencies. The medical practitioner and author of the *Discussion of Spleen and Stomach* 脾胃論 (*Piwei lun / Hii ron*), Li Gao 李杲 (1180–1251), for example, based his theory on the classical notion that the digestive organs are of utmost importance for bodily welfare. According to his thought, therefore, measures have to be taken, to strengthen "stomach" and "spleen" or to "replenish" them in case of illness.<sup>74</sup>

Classification of foodstuffs led to the question of their compatibility and to a tradition of listing those which are excluded from combination due to their conflicting properties. Together with medical thinking and the classificatory

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71 This classificatory grid, as Sivin and Anderson surmise, may owe its origins to the influence of Greek medicine, which reached China in the period between the redaction of the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* and the herbal texts of the 5th century. Cf. Nathan SIVIN: "Science in China's Past", in: Leo A. ORLEANS (ed.): *Science in Contemporary China*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1980: 25; ANDERSON 1988: 189.

72 There was a "balanced" category for foodstuff that does not lean in either direction, as e.g. rice or fish. Through further differentiation – "warm", "hot", "cool", "cold", "balanced" – this system could be brought into accord with the older set of "five flavours". Thus, by associating the flavours with Yin and the "thermo-influences", as Unschuld calls them, with Yang, and by relating the two sets to one another, scholars in the Song and Yuan periods arrived at an elaborate grid for classifying the qualities of drugs/medicines and their effects on the body. Cf. UNSCHULD 1985: 179–86.

73 The identification of some foods as "hot", others as "cool" may owe something to the workings of sympathetic magic: red colour stands for heating, the green of many vegetables for cooling properties. However, the system held lasting attraction not for such optical or imagined correspondences but for empirically observable effects. Cf. ANDERSON 1988: 189–92.

74 This attitude led to the name "school of replenishing spleen and stomach" 補脾胃派 (*bu piwei pai*) for Li Gao and his followers. Cf. UNSCHULD 1985: 177–79.

approaches toward foods, the belief in harmful pairings spread to other countries influenced by Chinese culture. Known as “[things] to be eaten [or not to be eaten] together” 食合 (*kuiawase*), catalogues of mutually exclusive substances played an important part in Japanese dietetic texts. Ekiken as well as Ranzan give testimony to this.<sup>75</sup>

Ranzan’s account of food and its role in dietetics draws faithfully on the canon of classical tenets: Nourishment is a concomitant of life itself and indispensable for its sustenance [1–7]. However, this beneficial function of “food” is impaired by the use people make of it. Ranzan subscribes to the traditional view that man himself threatens his hopes for old age through a harmful way of life. Whereas the people of antiquity “took care of their bodies by being without desires” [F-5], in recent times men indulge in harmful drinking and sexual dissipation [F-7]. This insight is not only stated in moral and medical terms, but also placed in a model of historical development, which in itself is commonplace in Confucian historiography: At the beginning of time, men in their pristine state lived on what was provided by their natural surroundings. They did not have the means to prepare their “food”, nor did they eat beyond the dictates of thirst and hunger. This only changed with the advent of civilization, when “sages” 聖人 (*shengren / seijin*) together with other cultural advances taught men how to cook their meals by boiling and roasting [8–12]. Ranzan does not make any causal connection between this process of cultururation and the subsequent appearance of social vices and moral deficiencies nor does he imply criticism of the “sages”. However, without their contributions there would have been no grounds for the appearance of “extravagance and splendour” 奢美 (*shabi*) in “much later” times. As “food” was no exception to the general rule, it, too, became the object of

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75 EZ 3: 527–28. Ranzan deals with this subject in the last chapter of the *Admonitions*. A good example for an encyclopedic description of foodstuffs, their generic properties and their medical effects from Japan is the *Mirror of Foods in Our Country* 本朝食鑑 (*Honchō shokkan*) compiled by the medical practitioner Hitomi Hitsudai 人見必大 and published in 1692 (Genroku 元禄 5). Using the classificatory categories of Chinese medicine, for example the meat of the “wild boar” 猪 (*bota*) is given as “sour”, “cool”, and “not poisonous”. Its “fat” 脂膏 (*shikō*) is “cool” and “not poisonous” as well, but is “sweet” and does not meet with a fresh-water mussel called “crow mussel” 烏蛤 (*karasugai; cristaria plicata*) and “pickled plums” 梅干 (*umeboshi*). On the other hand, the meat of “sheep” 羊 (*hitsuji*) is classified as “sweet”, “hot”, and “not poisonous”. One of its properties lies in “replenishing” the energy lost through the “five enervations and seven injuries” 五勞七傷 (*wulao qishang / gorō shichishō*), disruptions of the “depots” and damages caused by an excessive state of the “feelings”. HITOMI Hitsudai: *Honchō shokkan*, vol. 5, ed. by SHIMADA Isao 島田勇雄 (Tōyō bunko, 395), Heibon Sha 1981: 244–49.

refined predilections [13]. Whereas luxurious “food” was originally the mark of the ruling, the process whereby the people “below” are shaped by the example of those “above” – a concept well known in Confucian thought – took place in the case of eating habits, too [14–17]. Thus, “people came to fancy dainty dishes and delicious treats”. But, “contrary to expectations”, these only served to cause damage and shorten life expectancy [20].<sup>76</sup> “Food”, that is meant to sustain, is corrupted by human tastes into something harmful, which makes men the laughing-stock of other animals [22–23].

In the following paragraphs, Ranzan describes the workings of the digestive apparatus and the replenishing of “vital energy” as well as adverse effects. He stresses the role of “spleen” and “stomach” for breaking down food like a “mortar” and drawing nourishing substances from it [80–85]. The direct result of this work is the processing of “blood fluid” from the most refined components of “drink and food” [48, 52]. Everything else is discharged from the bodily system. Blood courses through the body and from its circulation “vital energy” is obtained. The latter, conversely, sustains the blood flow, so that both substances necessitate each other [49–50].

Ranzan believes five principal causes disrupt the fine balance of bodily forces. The first is heavy drinking [36–47], which not only leads to “blood spitting” and “palsy” but to a “decay” of the inner organs and in the end to a shortening of one’s allotted lifespan [46]. Lack of movement, will cause indigestion which again “is the beginning of falling sick” [62–63]. Becoming sluggish is related to the vice of overeating. Through gluttony food will lie heavy in the “stomach” and impair its workings and that of the “spleen” [64–65].<sup>77</sup> For the same reasons a balanced diet is required, as the “availability

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76 In another “historical” aside, Ranzan gives information on the number of daily meals. “In former times”, there existed no uniform standard for all segments of society. Nobles and other persons of high rank “ate twice a day”, while “farmers” and others engaged in manual work, had four or five meals a day. This pattern can still be observed in rural areas, but for all other people – “noble” or “common, “men” or “women” – three meals became “common practice” [56–59]. Ranzan’s account agrees with modern scholarship. It is assumed that the transition from former patterns to three meals per day took place during the first half of the Edo-period. By Ranzan’s times it had become firmly established. The Confucian scholar Hosoi Heishū 細井平洲 (1728–1801) mentions eating three times a day in a lecture given to an audience of 3,000 people in the countryside. NST 47: 29. But even before a third meal at lunch time had become firmly established, a light form of snack was known in some groups of society. YOSHIKAWA Seiji 吉川誠次 (ed.): *Shoku bunka ron* 食文化論 (A Discussion of Alimentary Culture), Kenpaku Sha 1995: 134.

77 It is in this context that Ranzan mentions the transition to three meals per day. The larger number of meals call for a stricter control of the quantities of food consumed. Satiating

or lack of the stomach's vital energy" depends on it [86]. One should be aware that "raw, cold, dried, or hard" foodstuff are harmful, but especially people of weak constitution – "the elderly and small children" – should take care not to indulge in "hard things" or "strong[ly flavoured] ones" [94]. Another classical cause of disturbances is an excess of the basic emotions. Should they go beyond their proper measure, they will hinder the flow of "blood fluid" and "vital energy" [71].

Ranzan calls "spleen" and "stomach" the "pivot of the human body and the place on which life and death depend" [89]. Keeping them from harm is tantamount to ensuring the balanced flow of the body's energies. The "dietetics of food consumption" provide the knowledge to protect this system and should therefore be observed constantly [54]. Thereby Ranzan affirms the claim of traditional Chinese medicine as preventative. If, however, one falls sick, the *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* allow for a degree of self-diagnosis. A number of symptoms are listed and explained to allow the reader to decide for himself, if he is just suffering from a minor disturbance of the "spleen" and the "stomach", or if their functions have been seriously weakened [90–93]. Although self-diagnosis – or self-medication – after falling sick do not play a major role in Ranzan's account, the fact that he allows for it is of importance. It is a further indication of the trust in the faculties of the individual not only to regulate his/her existence according to a given model – in this case medical – but also to recognize and to interpret the processes of the body by himself/herself. As such, the advice book literature is an example of confidence in the human being's ability to follow model cases – be they morally, medically, or practically oriented as in the case of etiquette rule catalogues – as relevant to his/her own existence and to pursue self-cultivation in an autonomous manner without the authority or coercion of a superior institution.<sup>78</sup>

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one's hunger should be the measure of things [60]. Ranzan seems to insinuate that women are in danger in this respect, as men had to eat several times per day because of a busy daily life [57]. Ranzan seems to be thinking of the well-to-do city dwellers, only, voicing social cliché rather than actual experience.

78 Of course, in what manner people used advice books and adopted what was written for their own lifestyle cannot be answered. As to the question which parts of compendiums giving practical advice were used most intensively, some answers can be found in YOKOYAMA Toshio 横山俊夫, KOJIMA Mitsuhiro 小島三弘, SUGITA Shigeharu 杉田繁治: *Nichiyō hyakka gata setsuyō shū no tsukawarekata. Ji koguchi shutaku sō no densan gazō shori ni yoru shiyō ruikai sekishutsu no kokoromi* 日用百科型節用集の使われかた。地小口手沢相の電算画像処理による使用類型析出の試み (English title: Patterns of Usage of *Setsuyōshū*, the Popular Household Encyclopedias of Nineteenth-Century Japan. A Graphic



## 6. Conclusion

Ranzan strikes a marked contrast between the unrefined nourishment at the beginning of human history or in mountainous regions far removed from the centers of civilization and its concomitants – physical vigour and long life – on the one hand, and culinary excesses resulting in disease and early death in the ruling or affluent strata of society on the other hand [25–26]. In this way, he resembles the representatives of the contemporary European dietetic literature. There, the aristocratic culture of the day is characterized by the ostentatiousness and privileged abundance of its lifestyle, idleness, emasculation, and the delicacy of feelings.<sup>79</sup> In contrast, people at the bottom of the social rung living a simple life of labour and bodily hardship are presented as close to the “state of nature” so often idealized in contemporary thought.<sup>80</sup>

This contrastive description implies social criticism rooted in the self-image the bourgeoisie cultivates of itself, its work ethos and ideal of efficiency. It is paired with the expectation that people who heed the counsels offered in the medical literature will prove of use to the state and contribute to general prosperity.<sup>81</sup> However, in the *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* individual physical welfare and long life seem to be the sole objectives in question.<sup>82</sup> They are not even coupled with the moral overtones expressed in

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Analysis of Wear and Tear on the Bottom Surface of Surviving Copies), Kyoto: The Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University 1998; YOKOYAMA Toshio: “In Quest of Civility. Conspicuous Uses of Household Encyclopedias in Nineteenth-Century Japan”, *Zinbun* 1999, No. 34 (1).

79 GÖCKENJAN 1985: 67.

80 Göckenjan quotes from a dietetic guidebook by J. Ch. REIL: *Diaetetischer Hausarzt für meine Landsleute*, vol. 2, Aurich 1787: 64: “The exact opposite of these shadows [i.e. the effeminate elite] are people who live in the open air, wild nomadic tribes, waggoners, stagecoach drivers, day labourers, fishermen, sailors, and soldiers. [...] How vigorous they are in their muscles and nerves, how healthy, how industrious, how indomitably inured to the hardships of human life.” GÖCKENJAN 1985: 67–69 offers other examples.

81 Ibid.: 65.

82 Ranzan does not address any one recognizable group of readers and the same is true for Ekiken. Nevertheless it begs the question, whether the dietetic discourse in Edo Japan did not lend itself to marking off a “social distinction”. Matsumura Kôji gave an affirmative answer. The line of distinction that he draws, however, does not run along the lines of social stratification but focuses on the difference between those who own the means to follow dietetic prescriptions and apply these rules in their mode of living and those who do not. Matsumura shows that Kawachiya Yoshimasa clearly had the heads of prosperous merchant houses in mind as subjects of a dietetic regimen since they shoulder the obligation to safeguard the successful continuation of their family line. Poor men who try to emulate

the opening passage of Ekiken's *Principles for Nourishing Life*, where caring for one's body is explained as the obligation every human being owes to "Heaven and Earth" and "father and mother".<sup>83</sup> One may be inclined to attribute this absence of any political or moral perspective to the hedonistic culture which had developed during the 18th century – especially so in Edo – and that Ranzan, as a fictional writer, represented. Certainly the proliferation of different and even seemingly conflicting spheres of life had progressed since Ekiken's days. Life was not dominated by any one authoritative school of thought or belief. Nor did the different spheres of activity fall under the sway of strong political control. Nor did belonging to one or the other social strata or status group necessarily make for clear-cut careers. Confucian morals, Buddhistic beliefs, "Heart learning" 心学 (*Shingaku*) with its moral and religious messages could capture one's imagination and even emotions and expectations as the repeated vogues of popular mobilization in connection with Buddhist – and Shintô, for that matter – deities showed.<sup>84</sup> Growing affluence allowed the pursuit of personal predilections, engagement in poetry or other areas of fine arts among them as well as academic proclivities. In this context the role of various spheres of connoisseurship – collection of rare things or delight in food or the theatre – as distinct areas of life has to be stressed. Participation at the same time in different areas was possible and mostly went unfettered, except perhaps by economic means. And as for the determination of careers by status group membership, Ranzan himself is a fine example of the multiplicity of careers followed by one person alone. A member of the warrior status group, he gained some renown in the field of Chinese studies, made his name as the author of fictional works, and is of

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the rich and who pay untoward attention to "nourishing life" only become negligent of the real concerns of life – toiling hard for their upkeep – and are not worth further discussion. MATSUMURA 1997: 105–107. Ekiken, however, takes a broader approach. Not only does he suggest that working in a certain occupation in itself is a method of dietetics. "That the four [classes of] people exert themselves in their family occupations, all this is the way for nourishing life." He also hints at different methods of dietetics that accord with different ways of professional life. Cf. KAIBARA Ekiken: *Yôjô kun*, *Wazoku dôji kun* 養生訓, 和俗童子訓 (Principles for Nourishing Life, Instructions for Children in the Customs of Japan), comm. by ISHIKAWA Ken 石川謙, Iwanami Shoten 1961: 289.

83 It is interesting to notice that the moral dimension in Ekiken's work can also be found in Hufeland's *Makrobiotik* where it is grounded in the author's conviction that man is perfectible. He pursues a double aim, enabling human beings to live healthier and longer and bringing them nearer to a more perfect state of morality. Cf. citation in PFEIFER 2000: 97.

84 Cf. e.g. MIYATA Noboru 宮田登: *Edo no chiisana kamigami* 江戸の小さな神々 (The Small Deities of Edo), Seido Sha 1989.

interest here for his expositions of practical advice, medical among others. Ranzan's biography might not have been commonplace<sup>85</sup> and the above enumeration does not dwell on the conflicts and exertions of power and constraint that can be found in any society. What should be obvious, however, is that by the end of the 18th century an individual – at least if he were male and moderately affluent – had choices. At the same time, the spectrum of influences he was open to, and the question of where and how to get involved increased the search for guidance. Without an authoritative and dogmatic system of religious or moral thought enforced by society the need for orientation must have been keenly felt. The different genre of books with practical advice that developed during the Edo-period both catered to a variety of interests and provided guidance. Ranzan's *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* should be seen in this context. Outwardly they take the classical form of a medical advice book addressing the individual reader and his personal wish for a long life without any consideration for society as a whole. Seen in its time, this short text can perhaps be called a typical product of a “society in balance” that had neither experienced the turmoils of the onset of the industrial revolution reflected in the contemporary European dietetic literature nor had even started to systematically account for the social and economical dynamics in Japan at the turn of the 19th century.<sup>86</sup>

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85 But among those Edo-period writers who left testimony it was not exceptional either.

86 These of course are foreshadowed in the works of such writers as the medical practitioner Andô Shôeki 安藤昌益 (1703–1762) and the warrior Kaiho Seiryô 海保青陵 (1755–1817) with his background in Confucian political theory. However, the degree of recognition and the conceptual tools for analysis and solution finding among the politically active were not far developed. A nascent interest of Edo-period authorities in the medical control of at least one part of society can be recognized in the policies adopted with a view to pregnant women. As Sawayama Mikako shows, a growing concern to ensure the growth of population and to put a curb on practices such as abortion and exposing of newborns can be observed on different levels of administration since the end of the 17th century. Sawayama introduces the case of the lordship of Tsuyama 津山 (in present-day Okayama prefecture) where a system of registration for pregnant women and medical examination was adopted. SAWAYAMA Mikako 沢山美果子: “‘Umu’ shintai to kaitai, shussan torishimari” 「産む」身体と懐胎・出産取締り (The “Delivering” Body and the Control over Conception and Birth), *Edo no shisô* 6 (1997): 7–27.

## 7. Translation

Personal Foreword<sup>87</sup>

[F-1] Early death or long life 夭寿 (*yôju*) of a human being are [determined by] Heaven 天 (*ten*). [F-2] To reach [the lifespan] intended by Heaven 天然 (*tennen*)<sup>88</sup> and then fall dead is [due to the Heavenly] decree. [F-3] Master Meng 孟子 (Mengzi / Mōshi) said, “Someone who knows [Heaven’s] decree will not stand below a wall on the verge of collapse. Being [thrown] in handcuffs and fetters and dying [thereof] is not [due to] the true decree 正命 (*zhengming* / *seimei*).”<sup>89</sup> [F-4] If one looks at it from this [standpoint], how can someone put askance on the true decree, who did not take care of his body and [thus] brought disease [on himself]? [F-5] [The people of] oldest antiquity took care of their bodies by being without desires 無欲 (*muyoku*). [F-6] Therefore there were mountain recluses 僊 (*xian* / *sen*)<sup>90</sup> who mixed [the panacea] crimson snow 紅雪 (*kôsetsu*).<sup>91</sup> [F-7] Nowadays, [people] harm

87 This translation is based on the reproduction of the *Shokuji kai* in *Edo jidai josei bunko* 76. Numbers in square parentheses indicate sentences in the original. When a sentence in the original could not be equally rendered in one, I divided it into two or more parts, indicating the parts with small letters.

88 *Tennen*, literally “to be just as Heaven [willed/made it]”, generally is understood as meaning (a) something that has come about without human intervention (that is to say, in modern parlance, “naturally”), or that cannot be changed by human will, and (b) “Heavenly nature” that everyone is endowed with by birth. The expression *tennen o eru* could therefore be rendered more literally as “reaching/fulfilling what had been willed by Heaven”.

89 *Mengzi* 7A.2. SBBY 7.1b; James LEGGE (transl.): *The Works of Mencius*, The Chinese Classics, vol. 2, new edn., Hong Kong 1960 (1872): 450; D.C. LAU (transl.): *Mencius*, Harmondsworth, Victoria, Onatario, Auckland: Penguin Books 1970: 182. The whole passage in *Master Meng* runs as follows, “Master Meng said, ‘There is nothing that is not [due to Heaven’s] decree. One should [therefore] accept submissively its truliness [= what is truly in accordance with it] 正 (*zheng* / *sei*). Therefore, someone who knows [Heaven’s] decree will not stand below a wall on the verge of collapse. Giving one’s utmost [in following one’s] way [of duty and so on] and dying [thereof] is [in accordance with] the true decree. Being [thrown] in handcuffs and fetters and dying [thereof] is not [due to] the true decree.’ Where not otherwise indicated, translations from classical literature are my own; however, standard translations have been consulted.

90 Cf. n. 116, 117.

91 *Kôsetsu* can either be used literally meaning “crimson snow” or as an euphemistic expression either for “peach blossom” or “peach”. These are the explanations given in Morohashi 27243.216. The *Great Dictionary of the National Language of Japan* adds another one: “name of a medicine”. The quotations from classical literature identify it as a substance

their bodies through wine and lust. [F-8] Therefore, they envy the elderly who pass their sixtieth year.<sup>92</sup> [F-9] How can [untimely death] contrary to [Heaven's] decree just consist in [dying below] walls on the verge of collapse or in handcuffs and fetters? [F-10] This lowly simpleton 下愚 (*kagu*)<sup>93</sup> could not stop thinking about this. [F-11] During [hours lit only by] fireflies and [the light reflected by the] snow 螢雪 (*keisetsu no aida*)<sup>94</sup> [I] wrote down [my] thoughts and made [two] booklets. [F-12] One is called *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption*. [F-13] The other bears the title *Admonitions Regarding Licentiousness* 姪事戒 (*Inji kai*). [F-14] These are not [mere] conjectures and personal views. [F-15] Everything [in them] comes out of the classical scriptures of medical doctors versed in Confucianism 儒医 (*ju*).<sup>95</sup>

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that cures all diseases, resembles snow and is used by “mountain recluses”. *Nihon kokugo dai jiten* 日本国語大辞典, vol. 7, Shōgaku Kan 1974: 530. In the biographies of “mountain recluses” (cf. n. 116) reference to such a medicine could not be found, but taken together with the word 煉ル (*neru*) for “mixing”, “kneading together” the translation offered above seems to fit the context best. As will be explained in [31], the “mountain recluses” nourished themselves very simply as one means of severing the ties with the material world. “Crimson snow” might thus be interpreted as one substance that helped the user become independant of conventional food and furthered the quest for longevity.

- 92 Literally “to pass six [times] wood, elder brother” 歷六甲 (*rokkō o fu*). In the sexagenary cycle on which the Chinese calendar relies for counting years, twelve zodiac signs are combined with the “Five Phases”, each of the latter in two aspects (“elder brother”, “younger brother”), to arrive at a cycle of sixty years. The character 甲 (*kō*) represents the “phase” of “wood” in its elder aspect and thus comes to stand at the head of the whole cycle. I surmise that someone who passes “six [times] wood, elder brother” refers to a person who in his life passed all six combinations of 甲 with the corresponding zodiac signs. The last would be “wood, elder brother / tiger” 甲寅 (*kinōe tora*), no. 51 of the whole cycle. As ten years intervene before another such combination occurs, someone who has lived through “six [times] wood, elder brother” could be up to sixty years old. In fact, the expression probably means a full course of the sixty-year cycle, as the sixty-first anniversary of one’s birth 還曆 (*kanreki* or “one full course of the calendar) is also known as “flowery wood, elder brother” 華甲 (*kakō*). 華 (*ka*) should not be understood in a literal sense but, according to a popular interpretation based on breaking the character apart in its constituent parts, as meaning “six times ten plus one”. 甲 then stands for the first year of the sexagenary cycle.
- 93 *Kagu* means a very foolish person, but the word is also an expression of modesty for denoting the first person singular.
- 94 This expression serves as a metaphor for studying hard under adverse circumstances. It has its grounds in the biographies of two poor men, Che Yin 車胤 and Sun Kang 孫康, as related by the *Documents of the Jin-[Dynasty]* 晉書 (*Jinshu / Shinsho*), who were so poor that they could not afford to buy lamp oil and had to read by using the light given off by fireflies or reflected by the snow.
- 95 The 16th century saw new developments in medical science in Japan. One is the formation of a new school under Manase Dōsan 曲直瀬道三 (1507–74) which tried to sever the

[F-16a] Oneself as well as others control in advance their feelings with help of the way, [thereby] the evil of the desire for pleasure<sup>96</sup> which empties/ener-vates the stomach and the desire of the sleeping chamber which empties/ener-vates the kidneys will not occur,<sup>97</sup> and [thus] one will preserve a long life of one hundred years, and one will end one's body-[existence] according to [the lifespan] intended by Heaven. [F-16b] It is [only] proper to ask: What fortune could be equal to that?

[Era] Cultivating Influence 文化 (Bunka), [year of the] boar under [the phase of] wood, younger brother 乙亥 (*itsugai / kinoto i*),<sup>98</sup> beginning of summer 孟夏 (*môka*)<sup>99</sup>

Written down by Takai Tomohiro<sup>100</sup> 高井伴寛

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links between Buddhism and medicine. Because of its reliance on the scripture from the Jin- 金 (1115–1235) and Yuan-periods 元 (1279–1368) it became influential during the Edo-period as the “Latter-age Method” 後世方 (*gose hô*). In reaction to this, another school took shape around Nagoya Geni 名古屋玄医 (1628–1696) known as “Ancient Medical Method” 古医方 (*koi hô*). Under the influence of a similar tendency in Confucianism, this called for a return to classical writings from the Han- and Tang-periods. Many of this group's members in fact pursued Confucian as well as medical studies and, therefore, were known as “Confucian medical doctors”. Both these schools left works on dietetics, e.g. *Collecting the Essentials for Prolonging Life* 延寿撮要 (*Enju satsuyô*) by Manase Dôsan and *Main Arguments for Nourishing Life* 養生主論 (*Yôjô shuron*) by Nagoya Geni. Most likely, it is this context that Ranzan refers to.

96 The “desire for pleasure” 嗜欲 (*shiyoku*) can be understood as referring to enjoying food in particular. For a similar use cf. *True Essentials of Beverage and Food* 飲膳正要 (*Yinshan zhengyao / Inzen seiyô*), in: NAKAMURA Shôhachi 中村璋八, SATÔ Tatsuzen 佐藤達全 (eds.): *Shokkei* 食経 (Classics of Food Consumption), Meitoku Shuppan Sha 1978: 41 (*Chûgoku koten shinsho*).

97 The idea of “emptying/enervating” the “stomach” and the “spleen” will be treated more fully in [80–97].

98 This year corresponds to the twelfth year of the era Bunka, or 1815 in the Gregorian calendar.

99 This is a name for the fourth month according to the solar-lunar calendar.

100 “Tomohiro” is Ranzan's personal name which he received as a child. A second personal name, which is bestowed when a person comes of age, and which is used by others when calling him, is “Shimei”. The name under which Takai Ranzan is best known, “Ranzan” or “Orchid Mountain”, he chose for his pen name.

*Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* List of Chapters

1. That food in ancient times was simple
2. That those living along the seaside cannot compare with the longevity of [those living in] mountain valleys
3. Admonition against wine consumption
4. That food dietics should be practised daily
5. That [people in] antiquity cured sickness by means of food
6. Exposition that spleen and stomach resemble a stone mortar
7. Exposition that overeating [leads to] spleen and stomach enervation
8. Exposition that the five storehouse [organs] are harmed by the five tastes
9. The *Analects* prove the modesty of the sage towards food consumption
10. That daily food has to be [consumed in] measure
11. Knowledge that children are raised by means of milk
12. Admonition for women regarding foodstuff during pregnancy
13. Admonition regarding consuming [the meat of] four-footed [animals]
14. Admonition that extraordinary medicines and strange things should not be used
15. List of food articles [not to be] consumed in combination

*Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption*

[by] Takai Hankan Shimei 高井伴寛思明

from Eastern Mu[sashi] 東武 (Tôbu)<sup>101</sup>

[1] Heaven and Earth 天地 (*tenchi*) create living things in great numbers, and for this reason let their food come forth [as well]. [2] This is the minute unfathomability of creation 造化 (*zôka*) and the supreme skillfulness of [things] existing of their own accord 自然 (*shizen*).<sup>102</sup> [3] Therefore: [all living beings] that come forth between Heaven and Earth 乾坤 (*kenkon*),<sup>103</sup> from men and [his] livestock, [wild] birds, beasts, and water animals 魚鼈 (*gyobetsu*)<sup>104</sup> [down] to such small [creatures] as fleas, mosquitoes, ants, and mole crickets – as far as something is alive it also has its food. [5] In this way food is the root 根元 (*moto*) that sustains life. [6] As far as one eats one lives; if one does not eat one dies. [7] Indeed, concerning that on which life and death depend, there is nothing greater than food. [8] In ancient times, when living in mountain valleys, [men] nourished themselves by gathering fruits and catching [wild] birds and animals; and while living along the seaside, they nourished themselves by gathering seaweed and catching water animals. [9] Men all ate when hunger came, when they were thirsty they drank, and when they were satiated they stopped. [10] They did not have rare dishes and delicious food, and they did not feel a craving for filling heavy food 宿食 (*shukushoku*) and over-saturation 飽滿 (*hôman*). [11] Human life ended with one hundred years as the [span of] years [allotted by] Heaven. [12] Sages and worthies 聖賢 (*seiken*)<sup>105</sup> next made their appearance and deigned to teach

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101 Tôbu or Eastern Mu[sashi] could either be understood as meaning the eastern part of Musashi 武蔵 Province (part of the modern prefectures Tokyo, Saitama 埼玉, and Kanagawa 神奈川), or as another name for the shogunal city of Edo. In this case the word refers to the second meaning.

102 I have chosen the rather literal and clumsy translation “[things] existing of their own accord”, as the word *shizen* only took on the meaning “nature” with its ‘modern’ connotations after the Edo-period.

103 The characters Ranzan uses for “Heaven” and “Earth” are also the names of the first two hexagrams in the *Classic of Change* 易經 (*Yijing / Ekikyô*), where the first represents the active, and leading part (Yang), the second stands for the passive, following part (Yin).

104 Literally this word means “fish and snapping turtle”, but it designates generally all inhabitants of the sea.

105 In the traditional view, mythical “sage” rulers stand at the beginning of Chinese history who in the manner of cultural heroes gave shape to human society. One step below these “sages”, tradition knows “worthies” who often helped the rulers in their tasks. Whereas Confucius sometimes is considered the last “sage” although he did not achieve a high



men how to cook their meals, and [men thus] for the first time boiled or grilled [their] food.<sup>106</sup> [13] Much later the world leaned to extravagance and splendour 奢美 (*shabi*), the food of men moved with the times, the low and humble, too, thought of dainty dishes 厚味 (*kômi*),<sup>107</sup> and ordinary people, too, were satiated with delicious treats. [14] As for the simplicity of ancient times, when they saw that King Zhou 紂 of the Yin-[dynasty] 殷 used chopsticks [made from] ivory, the worthy ministers put a stop to it by admonishing this as being luxury.<sup>108</sup> [15] When considered from [the viewpoint of] present times, it probably would be seen as trifling that as lord of the whole realm with ten thousand chariots<sup>109</sup> one used ivory for chopsticks. [16] However, the superior men 君子 (*kunshi*) [of former times] deliberating [on the influence on] far away [ages] put a check on this. [17] This trend of the times sure enough led [to a state of affairs where] by learning from those above [things] moved to those below and chopsticks were made by drawing out silver or

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political office befitting his virtue, later propagators of the Confucian “way” like Master Meng and Master Xun 荀子 (trad. 298–238 BCE) are considered as “worthies”.

106 Descriptions of the primordial state of human society have a model in similar accounts in classical Chinese literature. The following passage can be found in the *Records of Rites* 礼記 (*Liji / Raiki*): “In ancient times [even] the former kings did not yet possess houses, in winter they dwelled in earth caves [dug out for this purpose], and in summer they slept on nests made from branches and twigs. The transformation [of food through] fire did not yet exist, and they ate the fruits of herbs and trees and the [uncooked] meat of [wild] birds and animals, they drank their blood, and consumed their pelts [together with the meat]. They did not yet have linen and [silk] garn, and [therefore] put on their feathers and skins. Then the sages of later ages appeared, and thereafter [men] learned the use of fire, they moulded metal, kneaded together earth [in order to fashion pottery], and built [earthen] platforms with roofed structures, buildings and houses, windows and doors. [With fire] they grilled [stuffed meat], toasted [other food], or cooked, or roasted it, and they made [sweet] wine and alcohol from milk. They worked with linen and [silk] garn and fashioned cloth.” SBBY 7.3ab; Séraphin COUVREUR (transl.): *Mémoires sur les bienséances et les cérémonies*, 2 Vols. in 2 parts, Paris: Cathasia 1950, I.2: 504–505. Ranzan does not mention individual “sages”, but traditionally the primordial Emperor Fuxi 伏羲 was credited with inventing the fishing net and teaching people its use, while his successor “Divine Husbandman” – Shennong 神農 – was believed to be the originator of agriculture.

107 Literally “strong/heavy taste”, this word is also used in the sense of “extravagant food”.

108 According to tradition, Zhou was the profligate and cruel last king of the Yin Dynasty (approx. 16th to 11th century BCE). When the king’s uncle, the Viscount of Ji 箕子 (Ji Zi), saw his nephew using ivory chopsticks, he recognized in this a foreshadowing of ever increasing luxury and the dynasty’s eventual downfall. His admonitions, however, proved fruitless. *Records of the Court Historian* 史記 (*Shiji / Shiki*), SBBY 38.2ab.

109 The rank of a lord could be expressed by the number of war chariots he was entitled to. “Ten thousand wagons” signifies the highest level and alludes to the king.

filing a unicorn<sup>110</sup> [horn]. [18a] In the *Essays in Idleness* 徒然草 (*Tsurezuregusa*) it says: “Taira no Nobutoki 平宣時, the Nobleman 朝臣 (*ason*), came to the place of the Lord of the Most Brightest Temple 最明寺殿 (*Saimyô ji dono*)<sup>111</sup> for a nightly talk, and as there was no relish 肴 (*sakana*) [to go along] with the wine, he said, ‘Even if one were to rouse the lowly ones 下々 (*shimojimo*) [it would only be trouble for them],’ went to the kitchen himself, found an earthenware plate with some bean paste left on it in the corner of a cupboard, exclaimed ‘Excellent,’ took [the plate] with him, and [thus the two of them] passed several cups [of wine] pleasantly with [the bean paste] as their relish.”<sup>112</sup> [18b] Thus [one can recognize that] even this time was not yet as [prone to extravagance] as the present. [19] People came to fancy dainty dishes and delicious treats and contrary to expectations damage [their bodies] with the [good] food [they now eat], [with the result that] the woe of early death and short life is numerous. [20] Therefore, concerning [wild] birds, animals, or water animals, it has been the same through all times: just as [among them] no luxury 奢り (*ogori*) that changes with the times can be found, in the mountains there are no [wild] animals that have fallen dead walking 行斃たる (*yukidaoretaru*), and there are no fish drifting [dead] in the sea.<sup>113</sup> [21] They solely lose their lives if they meet with an hunter’s arrow or bullet, or with a fisherman’s hook or net. [22] That men on account of their food, which should preserve life, on the contrary shorten their life[span], is even inferior to birds and beasts, [one could say]. [23] Fish and shellfish, too, probably laugh about it. [24] Should one not behave [more] carefully?

[25] At present times, those people who live in the deep mountains and dark valleys, eat simple fare of shallow and thin [taste], and work hard, boast strong/wholesome 健 (*sukuyaka*) bodies and do not know [any] sickness; not even those [people who dwell] along the coast and who eat delicious fish to the fill, can compare with them.<sup>114</sup> [26] [Due to the fact] that noble persons

110 The text writes 一角 (*ikkaku*) and gives the reading うんこふる (*unkôru*). This is an adaptation of Portuguese *unicorne* and probably means the narwhal.

111 This is a reference to Hôjô Tokiyori 北条時頼 (1227–63), fifth regent of the Kamakura government. Taira Nobutoki corresponds to Osaragi Nobutoki 大仏宣時, a great-grandchild of Hôjô Tokimasa 北条時政 (1138–1215), the first Hôjô regent.

112 *Tsurezure gusa*, SNKBT 39: 284–85 (§ 215).

113 The word *yukidaoru* implies that a living being falls dead while walking or standing due to sickness, hunger, or exhaustion. Here, it has to be seen in relation to the preceding sentence. As the animals of land and water do not harm their health with an extravagant style of eating they are not as prone to die of it as men are.

and [those of] high rank take pleasure in delicious food, sickness is numerous [among them] without fail and it is a rare event that their lives last long. [27] Perhaps it is for this reason that it says in a proverb, “Long-lived people are to be found in the mountains.”<sup>115</sup> [28] In order to obtain the technique of the mountain recluses 仙術 (*senjutsu*) of ancient times, to fly through the skies and to be able to sustain a long life of several hundred years, one first of all has to enter the mountains and exercise [there]. [29] [The character used for writing] “mountain recluse” 仙 (*xian / sen*) means “man of the mountains” 僊 (*xian / sen*). [30] Its meaning is that someone moves away and enters the mountains. [31] They do not eat cereals but nourish themselves with the fruits of trees and the nuts of the *Torreya nucifera* tree 榲桲 (*kaya*), and they moisten their throats with the dew on the plants.<sup>116</sup> [32] By gradually mastering [this way of living] it becomes nature 性 (*xing / sei*). [33] In the process of refining one’s heart/will, one will nourish oneself on fog and mist, eat the air 氣 (*qi / ki*) in the skies 宇宙 (*uchû, ôzora*) and not go hungry; and unfettered one will change and become a mountain recluse. [34] What appears in the *Biographies of Holy Mountain Recluses* 神仙伝 (*Shenxien zhuan / Shinsen den*) and in the *Collected Biographies of Mountain Recluses* 列仙伝 (*Liexian zhuan / Ressen den*) is all of this kind.<sup>117</sup> [35] Nowadays, once in a while one will see a monk who lives on [the fruit of] trees 木食 (*mokujiki*) reaching old age sturdy in body and mind: [but] if there is no one who succeeds in those exercises for leaving behind one’s body 捨身 (*shashin*), [this tradition] will be cut off, so that there will be no mountain recluses anymore.<sup>118</sup>

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114 Ekiken, too, writes that people living in the mountains lead long lives without falling sick, because they do not eat much meat, whereas those along the sea-coast and other places where fish is consumed in large quantity are often the victims of diseases and die early. However, he gives this as a quotation from the medical text *Essential Recipes Without Price*. EZ 3: 520. For the latter cf. n. 134.

115 This saying could not be verified.

116 In the *True Essentials of Beverage and Food* the way “mountain recluses” nourish themselves is explained. There for example pine seeds are mentioned. Ibid.: 80.

117 The *Collected Biographies of Mountain Recluses* are attributed to the Han-period scholar Liu Xiang 劉向 (79/77–8/6 BCE). The Daoist scholar and practitioner of life-extending techniques Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–363) compiled his *Biographies of Holy Mountain Recluses* as an enlargement of the earlier work. The biographies in both texts frequently state the kind of nourishment preferred by their subjects. The use of nuts of the *Torreya nucifera* tree, however, could not be ascertained, although pine seeds and others are mentioned.

118 Ranzan’s allusion to the methods of “mountain recluses” is surprising in its lack of criticism. As Kabayama stresses, a negative approach to the older tradition was a point of departure for the newer dietetic discourse. KABAYAMA 1976: 441–42. Ekiken e.g. takes

[36] Since in the times of King Yu 禹 of the Xia-[dynasty] 夏 a man called Yidi 儀狄 made wine for the first time,<sup>119</sup> until the present age several thousand years [later], people taking a pleasure in it have been numerous – irrespective of Japan or China, noble or mean [status]. [37] Used only a little bit it will usually let the vital energy and the blood 氣血 (*kiketsu*) course, it will let one endure the heat [of summer] and escape the cold [of winter], it will let one forget one’s troubles and bring delight to one’s heart. [38] When used on auspicious occasions [wine] enlivens the gathering, when used during an exchange of courtesies it deepens friendly feelings, and besides it is of benefit for the elderly. [39] In the *Annals of the Former Han-[Dynasty]* 前漢書

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the followers of the “techniques of the mountain recluses” to task for favouring exclusively “nourishing vital energy”, holding the “way-principle” 道理 (*dōri*), that lies behind all phenomena and lets them be as they should be, in slight regard and neglecting the rules of social intercourse as exemplified by “rites and propriety” 礼義 (*reigi*). EZ 3: 492. The *Admonitions* lack a foundation in the ethical tenets of Confucianism, but they do not rely on the “mountain recluse” speculation either. However, the length of the passage devoted to this subject would suggest that Ranzan does not use the motif just for reasons of literary embellishment either. Perhaps this is a sign of an eclectic approach by a dilettante at home in the world of literary fiction. In a rare mentioning of his name, Kabayama alludes to Ranzan as one of those writers who “betrayed” the efforts by authors with a sound medical background, who in their expositions of dietetics tried to enlighten people and destroy unfounded popular beliefs. He cites from Ranzan’s *Admonitions Regarding Licentiousness* as stating that having sexual intercourse and conceiving on the night of a day that in the Chinese calendar is a “metal as elder brother / monkey”-day 庚申 (*kanoe saru*; 57th of a cycle of sixty days) inevitable will end in the child turning to bad ways and becoming a thief. KABAYAMA 1976: 457. This may be read as a further instance of Ranzan’s dilettantism, as Kabayama does (*ibid.*), or of an eclecticism that does not hesitate to combine medical knowledge with the longevity cult in one case and calendric “expertise” based on Yin, Yang, and the “Five Phases” in another instance. The latter is not uncommon in the more learned medical literature. Manase Dōsan, too, in his *Collecting the Essentials for Prolonging Life* makes use of the same astrological and/or geomantic knowledge when he lists the kinds of food not to be eaten in certain months (“First month: tiger, badger, uncooked knotweed, raw leek, pear” and so forth). ZGR 31.1: 259. Even Ekiken does not hesitate to cite common beliefs that have their grounds in geomantic thought when he gives examples of foodstuffs that should not be eaten together. EZ 3: 527–28. In this respect, Ranzan is probably representative of the worldview espoused by his potential readers. Yokoyama’s investigation of house encyclopedia led to the conclusion that those pages offering calendric knowledge were among those which showed the strongest signs of “wear and tear”. YOKOYAMA, KOJIMA, SUGITA 1998: 23, 42–53.

119 This episode is related in the *Politics of the Warring States* 戰國策 (*Changuo ce / Sengoku saku*) where it is told how “the emperor’s daughter” ordered Yidi to make wine which was then sent to Yu 禹, one of the cultural heroes of tradition and legendary founder of the Xia dynasty. Yu found its taste delicious but feared that people might become addicted to it and cause the downfall of their states. Therefore, he forbade its further production and sent Yidi away. SBBY 23.8b.

(*Qian Hanshu / Zen Kanjo*) it says in the “Record of Nourishment and Riches” 食貨志 (*Shihuo zhi / Shokka shi*), “Salt is the commander of [all] food and relishes, and wine is the chief of the hundred medicines.”<sup>120</sup> [40] However, if one takes pleasure [in wine] and passes beyond a [safe] amount, if one drinks and oversteps the [right] measure, the blunder of inane inebriety 醉狂 (*suikyô*) will not be small. [41] For this purpose one will neglect one’s official duties and commit mistakes, one will be driven by sexual lust, forget one’s house and one’s body. [42] In a proverb it says, “In the beginning, man drinks wine, in the middle wine drinks wine, and in the end wine drinks man.”<sup>121</sup> [43] For this reason the sages of antiquity established the rites for wine-[drinking] as they are written down in the *Record of Rites* 礼記 (*Liji / Raiki*).<sup>122</sup> [44] It is only fitting that in both Japan and China on the eve of important events the ban on wine is severe. [45] Someone mindful of respect and modesty will never evince the conduct [typical of] uncontrolled wine [consumption] and inane inebriety. [46] Because of heavy drinking blood spitting 吐血 (*toketsu*), palsy 中風 (*chûbu*),<sup>123</sup> and internal damage 内傷 (*naishô*) will occur, the depot- and the palace-organs 臟腑 (*zôfu*) will ulcerate and decay, and the [Heavenly ordained] life of one hundred years will at one stroke grow shorter. [47] Is this again not foolish?

[48] Drink and food are digested 消化して (*shôka shite*)<sup>124</sup> and become blood fluid 血液 (*ketsueki*). [49] [The latter] courses through the whole body and

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120 SBBY 24B.20a.

121 This proverb is listed in SHÔGAKU TOSHO 尚学図書 (ed.): *Koji zokushin Kotowaza dai jiten* 故事俗信 ことわざ大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Proverbs with Events from the Past and Popular Beliefs), Shôgaku Kan 1982: 105 as: “With the first cup, man drinks wine; with the second cup, wine drinks wine; with the third cup, wine drinks man.” This saying can be found in the *Garden of Proverbs* 諺苑 (*Genen*, 1797).

122 Ranzan refers to the chapter “Meaning of the Wine Drinking [Ceremony] in the District [School]” 郷飲酒義 (*Xiang yinjiu yi / Kyô inshu gi*). SBBY 20.5a–8b; COUVREUR 1950, II.2: 652–67. Right at the beginning, the text explains that through acts of humility and respect, which structured the drinking event, quarrels and disorder were kept at bay. It was just for this purpose that the sagely rulers of antiquity instituted the “rites” of drinking. SBBY 20.5ab; COUVREUR 1950, II.2: 653–54.

123 Also read *chûbû* or *chûfû*, the word denotes a form of paralysis of arms or legs.

124 *Shôka* – this is the Sino-Japanese reading Ranzan gives on the right beside the characters – remains the word for “digestion” used in Japanese. However, on the left side one finds the alternative reading *konaru*, a verbal expression which has the basic meaning “to pulverize”, “to make/cut in small pieces”, and which besides “to digest” can also be used in the sense of “to mature”, “to grow used to”.

[in this respect] is like a river never stopping [its flow]. [50] The vital energy<sup>125</sup> originates from this [circulation], and the blood fluid circulates on account of the vital energy; [thus] vital energy and blood fluid are founded on each other reciprocally. [51] There are depot- and palace-organs, they separate 分利し (*bunri shi*)<sup>126</sup> the daily foodstuffs, and digest them thoroughly; and since there are nine body openings 竅 (*ana*) – [i.e.] [two] ears, [two] eyes, [two] nostrils, mouth, [openings] fore and aft at the bottom of the trunk – and they let leak out those things [resulting from digestion], they become phlegm, saliva, lachrimae, nasal mucus, and both [forms of] dejecta, while the remainder cannot be seen with the eyes. [52] From the sweat pores<sup>127</sup> of the whole body it leaks away like mist and since [this process] neither comes to a stop nor is hindered in its flow, the most refined part becomes pure blood fluid; but although the body might be sturdy, if someone is fond of idleness, pure blood fluid gradually turns impure. [53] The vital energy, too, will be bottled up, and this will be the cause of the one hundred [forms of] disease.<sup>128</sup> [54] For this reason the dietetics of food consumption should be [practiced] constantly; they are not meant for after one has contracted an illness. [55] As food is the foundation for preserving men’s lives, modesty/caution at all times is of foremost [importance]. [56] In former times, there was no fixed number of meals per day; those who were above and ruled the people, like [men] of high rank and noble offices, ate twice a day,<sup>129</sup> while those who stood below, like farmers and [other] vulgar people, and who tilled the fields or pursued other hard work took a meal four of five times a

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125 Cf. pp. 137–39.

126 Written with these characters, according to Morohashi 1853.406 the word means either distribution of profits, or, in medicinal parlance a considerable rise in fever combined with heavy perspiration and a sudden drop back to normal body temperature. However, the *Nihon kokugo dai jiten*, vol. 17: 583 lists an example of usage from the *Paths of Dutch Learning* 蘭学逕 (*Rangaku kei*), where *bunri* appears as the equivalent of Dutch *scheiden* (“to separate”).

127 Ranzan uses the word 腠理 (*sôri*) which means the “texture of skin” but attaches the reading *ase no ana* to the Chinese characters to make the intended meaning clear.

128 “One hundred” is synonymous for a great number.

129 These were a meal in the morning and in the evening. For example, Dôgen 道元 (1200–53), known for the propagation of Zen-Buddhism in Japan, wrote two treatises on the preparation of food in a Zen-monastery and the etiquette for its consumption – the *Precepts for the Quarter Master* 曲座教訓 (*Tenzo kyôkun*) and the *Rules for Proceeding [to the Hall] and for [Eating] Gruel and Rice* 赴粥飯法 (*Fu shukuhan hô*). The second title already suggests two meals, one of “gruel” for breakfast and a more substantial one based on boiled cereals/rice as the main meal of the day.

day. [57] Since the daily life of men is very busy they ate several times a day, [but] as the daily life of women is not busy, it was different [in their case]. [58] In present times, this pattern is still true with peasants and [people of] rural houses. [59] However, from a certain time onwards it became the common practice of noble and vulgar [people], of men as well as women to take a meal three times a day. [60] But as for these three meals one should fix their general quantity, make the satiating of hunger<sup>130</sup> one's limit, and by all means refrain from overeating. [61] If one eats too much, one will become idle/sluggish in daily life. [62] If one does not move one's body, food will be less and less digested. [63] This is the beginning of falling ill.<sup>131</sup> [64] The same, of course, is true for gluttony and for food lying heavily in the stomach. [65] Is it not extremely late to practise food dietetics after damaging spleen and stomach and resorting to medicine because of eating out of time or consuming cold food or strong things? [66] The proverb, "Disease enters through the mouth" stands to reason too.<sup>132</sup> [67] Therefore it is also said, "One keeps one's mouth as [tightly closed as] a jug 瓶 (*kame*)."<sup>133</sup> [68] Occasionally, there are people who are in the habit of eating and drinking heavily and who [nevertheless] live a long life. [69] These are people whose natural endowment is sturdy; people who move a lot, who are magnanimous, tolerant and know no grief in the ten thousand affairs [of life] belong to this type. [70] One has to know that people in general cannot compare with them.

130 Literally "[the point where] the belly has enough" 腹に足る (*hara ni taru*).

131 The *Methods at the Heart of Medicine* quote from the *Additional Commentary of Hua Tuo* 華佗別伝 (*Hua Tuo bie chuan*) where the legendary doctor Hua Tuo recommends to engage in manual work and bodily activity. "When the body can move about and shake, energy from food will be consumed, blood in the veins will circulate, and no diseases can occur." However, things should not be overdone. *Ishin hô*, ed. by MASAMUNE Atsuo 正宗敦夫, vol. 7, *Nihon Koten Zenshû Kankô Kai* 1935: 2514 (*Nihon koten zenshû* 96); HSIA, VEITH, GEERTSMA, vol. 2, 1986: 113–14. Ekiken, for the same reasons, counsels putting the body to work every day and taking a stroll of a few hundred paces after every meal. EZ 3: 482. However, an excess in physical toil is as harmful as too much idleness and sleep. EZ 3: 481.

132 The *Kotowaza dai jiten*, 1982: 1168 records this saying in its full version: "Disease enters through the mouth, and calamities leave through it." 病は口より入り、禍は口より出ず (*yamai wa kuchi yori iri, wazawai wa kuchi yori izu*). The original Chinese version (病從口入、禍從口出) can be found in *Master Fu* 傅子 (*Fuzi / Fushi*), a treatise on politics and ethics by the scholar and statesman Fu Xuan 傅玄 (213–78).

133 This saying (守口如瓶) can be found in a Chinese work from the Song-period with recordings from the capital district Hangzhou 杭州, *Miscellaneous Records from the Guixin* [Avenue] 癸辛雜識 (*Guixin zazhi / Kishin zasshiki*). Cf. *Kotowaza dai jiten*, 1982: 366.

[71] Although the seven feelings 七情 (*qiqing* / *shichijô*) of joy, anger, sorrow, pleasure, love, hate, and lust 喜怒哀樂愛惡欲 – sometimes being stronger sometimes weaker – invariably constitute human feelings 人情 (*renqing* / *ninjô*), they should reach the correct measure, as can be gleaned from the *Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸 (*Zhongyong* / *Chûyô*);<sup>134</sup> [for] when these feelings are in excess, the vital energy will consequently coagulate and [they] will hinder that circulation of the blood fluid. [72] By establishing oneself in the world, there are all sorts of worldly affairs [to be taken care of] and worries of the heart/mind are at all times numerous. [73] That one should decide well and manage [one’s work efficiently]: this, too, is something that should count as a foremost [concern] with nourishing life. [74] One has to recognize that the hundred diseases will not assault [oneself], if the blood fluid is pure and the vital energy tranquil.

[75] In the past, [people] cured diseases with the help of food. [76] For this reason Perfect Man Sun 孫真人 (Sun Zhenren)<sup>135</sup> said, “The person [practising]

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134 The passage Ranzan refers to, explains that “joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure” should reach their proper measure in order to achieve a state of “harmony”. SBBY 2a; James LEGGE (transl.): *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, and The Doctrine of the Mean*, The Chinese Classics, vol. 1, new ed., Hong Kong 1960 (1872): 384.

135 This honorific name refers to Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581?/601?–682?), a doctor from the Tang-period, who later was revered as a god of medicine. Together with medicine Simiao had studied the scriptures of Daoism and Buddhism and was also known as a “mountain recluse”. He escaped repeated invitations to the imperial court by withdrawing to the mountains where he devoted himself to his medical, Daoist, and Buddhist writings. Sun Simiao is especially known for his *Essential Recipes [Worth] a Thousand [Pieces of] Gold* 千金要方 (*Qianjin yaofang* / *Senkin yôhô*) and the longer version *Additional Recipes [Worth] a Thousand [Pieces of] Gold* 千金翼方 (*Qianjin yifang*). 方 *fang* can mean, among others, the techniques used by a “mountain ascetic”, medical treatments, as well as prescriptions of medicine. The literal translation of 千金 *qianjin* – “thousand [pieces of] gold” – hints at a large amount of gold or something valuable: Sun Simiao had considered a human life to be “precious as a thousand [pieces of] gold” and the saving of life through a doctor’s treatment as an act of high virtue. In the *Recipes*, the author reviews the treatment methods from the beginning of Chinese medical history up to his own days, and draws on his own experiences as a practitioner to offer medical advice. Thus, Sun Simiao recommended treating malnutritional diseases like beri-beri 脚氣 (*jiaoqi* / *kakke*), historically well-known in China as well as in Japan, through changes in nourishment, arguing for food, which according to modern standards is rich in vitamin B1. “Perfect Man” is an honorific term in Daoism referring to someone who has reached a penetrating understanding of the “way”. A second meaning alludes to a “mountain ascetic” far advanced on the path of mastering the practices for gaining immortality. On the legends concerning Sun Simiao cf. Paul UNSCHULD: “Der chinesische ‘Arzneikönig’ Sun Simiao. Geschichte – Legende – Ikonographie. Zur Plausibilität naturkundlicher und



medicine 医者 (*isha*) first perceives the origin of a disease, recognizes the place assaulted by it, he then cures it with the help of food, [yet still] treatment by food does not heal: [77] Only then should one prescribe medicine.”<sup>136</sup> [78] And so famous doctors throughout the ages do not say that with the help of drink and food [health disruptions] cannot be brought into order and [diseases] cured. [79] It is said to be a decline of the way of medicine/healing that in present times [one] knows that medicine/drugs will heal people but not that food heals people.

[80] A human being’s spleen and stomach are, to use an illustration, like a mortar. [81] The spleen is one of the five depot-organs and similar to a melon in form and positioned on top. [82] The stomach is one of the six palace-organs and lies below. [83] One speaks of the stomach as the palace-organ of the spleen. [84] The depot-organ of the kidney and the palace-organ of the stomach lie one upon another, and like a mortar revolving and turning things into powder, they are in movement and digest drink and food lying in the stomach. [85] Thus, the original vital energy of the human body is the vital energy of the stomach. [86] The availability or lack of the stomach’s vital energy rest with the balance or imbalance of food and drink. [87] If food and drink are well-balanced, the different depot-organs, too, will be strong, the various evils 諸邪 (*shoja*) will not assault, and even if the foes assault, it will be a light [attack]. [88] If food and drink are imbalanced, spleen and stomach will be harmed and damaged, diverse symptoms of illness such as stomach cramps 食積 (*shokushaku*),<sup>137</sup> or bellyache, or emesis, or diarrhoea will occur, the different depot-organs from then on will be damaged, the various evils from then on will arise and [this] will develop into a severe illness. [89] For this reason, spleen and stomach are the pivot of the human body and the place on which life and death depend.

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übernatürlicher Erklärungsmodelle”, *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994): 217–57.

136 This quotation from Sun Simiao’s *Essential Recipes [Worth] a Thousand [Pieces of] Gold* appears in the introduction to ch. 26: “Healing by Food” 食治 (*Shizhi / Shokuchi*). Cf. the wood block edition reprinted by Renmin Weisheng Chuban She 1955: 464.

137 The writing 食積 (which literally would translate as “accumulation of food”) is an alternative for 食癩 (*shokushaku*) and attested in other Edo-period texts as well. TATSUKAWA Shôji 立川昭二: *Edo yamai no sôshi. Kinsei no byôki to iryô* 江戸病草紙. 近世の病氣と医療 (Storybook on the Diseases of Edo. Early Modern Diseases and their Treatment), Chikuma Shobô 1998: 44–55. “Gripes” 癩 / 積 (*shaku*) is often mentioned as the name of a common ailment and generally seems to denote a sharp pain either in the chest or in the abdomen. Cf. *ibid.*: 55.

[90a] Although indigestion 食傷 (*shokushô*)<sup>138</sup> resembles spleen or stomach enervation, the reason [for the two] to be different [lies in the following]: [90b] If someone, once he has harmed [himself] through food and [now] suffers from it, is seized with emesis and diarrhoea, it will be easy to cure. [90c] [But] enervating one's spleen and stomach because of the food [consumed] will be difficult to cure. [91] In medical writings it says: "If one suffers from belly aches before emesis and diarrhoea and if the belly aches lessen after one has vomited and experienced diarrhoea, this is [a case of] indigestion 食滯 (*shokutai*)<sup>139</sup>. [92] [But] if after vomiting and experiencing diarrhoea the belly [still] hurts, this [is a case of] spleen and stomach enervation." [93] One should discriminate this by oneself and receive treatment [accordingly]. [94] For the elderly and small children it is difficult to digest the matter/energy of food, and if they eat hard things or strong[ly flavoured] ones, [these] will immediately be moved down to the dejecta without their essential properties being digested.<sup>140</sup> [95] [In this way] spleen and stomach again will easily suffer harm. [96] One should be constantly aware of this. [97] One should know that generally raw, cold, dried, or hard food will harm the stomach and not be digested.<sup>141</sup>

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138 Literally a "damage [to one's bodily condition] through food".

139 Literally a "delay in [the digestion of] food". Both *shokushô* and *shokutai* are used to describe the symptom of food remaining heavily in the stomach without being digested.

140 Among the twenty-eight general admonitions from the *Collection of Essentials on Nourishing Life* 養生要集 (*Yaosheng yaoji*; trad. 4th century CE) quoted by Tanba no Yasuyori, no. 27 warns against overindulging in the "five spices" and "flavours", since they will damage the "intestines" and the "stomach". *Ishin hô*, vol. 7, Nihon Koten Zenshû Kai 1935: 2531; HSIA, VEITH, GEERTSMA, vol. 2, 1986: 130.

141 Of the admonitions in the *Collection of Essentials on Nourishing Life*, no. 12 warns against the eating of hot things, as this harms the five "vital energies" produced in the "five depots". Number 16 gives cold food as the origin of constipation and a lack of bowel movement, and the twenty-first paragraph prohibits eating raw or live things, since this would cause damage to the stomach and the intestines. *Ishin hô*, vol. 7, Nihon Koten Zenshû Kai 1935: 2531; HSIA, VEITH, GEERTSMA, vol. 2, 1986: 129.

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 ○食傷と脾胃虚と似たれども、異なる所以は、  
 一旦に食に傷らるる病ものは、吐瀉あれば治し  
 易く、食のために脾胃を虚するものは、治するに  
 難し。医書に吐瀉の前に腹痛し、吐瀉して  
 後に、腹痛減するものは食滯也。若吐瀉して後、  
 腹痛するは、脾胃虚也といへり。みづからはを分別  
 して医療を受くべし。老人と小児は食氣消化  
 しがたく、硬きもの、強きものを食すれば、其性  
 を消さず直に便に下す。脾胃又傷やすし。別而  
 平常の心得あるべし。惣じて生冷乾硬の食は、  
 胃を損ふて消化せずと知るべし。  
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 或は食積、或は腹痛、或は嘔吐、或は瀉痢等の  
 諸症を生じ、諸蔵是より傷れ、諸邪是より  
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 ○人の脾胃は、たとへば磨のごとし。脾は五蔵の二ツに  
 して瓜の状のごとく、上に有。胃は六府の一ツにして、  
 下に有。脾の府を胃とは云也。脾の蔵と胃の  
 府と累り、磨の旋て物を未にすることく、  
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血液清潔氣穩なること、百邪犯すことならずと知るべし。

○古は食を以て病を治す。このゆへに孫真人がいわく、医者は、先病源を暁て、其犯所を知り、食をもつて是を治し、食療癒す。然して後薬に命せよと。されば歴代の名医、飲食をもつて調治せざと云ことなし。今薬の人を

愛悪欲の七情は、重きも軽きも隔なき人情なれども、是も又中庸にみへたるごとく、其ほどあるべきことにて、其情を過る時は、氣これがために結れ、かの血液の周流を滞らしむ。人の世に立は、百般の世事あつて心を勞すること常に多し。能決断して分處すべきこと、是も又養生の第一たるべきものなり。

俗に曰く、毎三度づつ食すること、貴  
 賤男女の通例とす。しかれば其三度の  
 食、大率の量を定め、腹に足るを期として、必ず  
 飽満すべからず。食過る時は起居懶惰になり、身  
 を動ざれば、食いよく消化ず、病をなすの始  
 なり。大食宿食は云も更也。不時の食冷物  
 強きものを食し、脾胃を損ふて医薬を用  
 るの後、食養生をなすは甚遅からずや。病は  
 口より入ると云諺も理也。されば口を守ること瓶の  
 ごとしともいへり。たましく大酒大食を常にして、  
 長寿なる人もなきにあらず。是は生得堅固  
 の人にて、動作をよくし、大度寛容万事に  
 憂なく、気を滞らすことなきの人はかくのごとし。  
 衆人の及ぶ所にあらずとしるべし。喜怒哀樂

俗に曰く、毎三度づつ食すること、貴  
 賤男女の通例とす。しかれば其三度の  
 食、大率の量を定め、腹に足るを期として、必ず  
 飽満すべからず。食過る時は起居懶惰になり、身  
 を動ざれば、食いよく消化ず、病をなすの始  
 なり。大食宿食は云も更也。不時の食冷物  
 強きものを食し、脾胃を損ふて医薬を用

然るにいつの比よりか、毎日三度づつ食すること、貴  
 賤男女の通例とはなれり。しかれば其三度の  
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 強きものを食し、脾胃を損ふて医薬を用

凡人食人の性命を保つ元なれば、平常  
 の慎第一なり。むかしは毎日の食に定れる数なく、  
 高位貴官、上に在て民を治るものは、一日に  
 二度も食し、農夫賤民の下に立て、耕耘力  
 役するものは、一日に四度も五度も食す。男子の  
 起居しげきは数度食し、婦女の起居繁から  
 ざるはしからず。今も田夫農家には此風あること也。

穀耳目鼻口前後腹尻あつて其物を泄すゆへ、痰唾涙涕  
 両便となり其餘眼にもみへず。惣身の腠理より  
 秀のごとく泄去て停ず滞ざるゆへ、其精粹潔  
 血液となりて、身体堅固なれども、若人安佚  
 を好ば、清き血液漸々に不潔となり。気も  
 又閉塞して、百病の因となる。されば食事  
 の養生は常にあるべく、病を得ての後のことに

酒の失少とせず。是が為に公務を怠、事を  
 差ひ、色情を熾にし、心を迷し、家を忘身を  
 傷ふ。諺に始は人酒を飲、中ごろ酒酒を飲、終  
 には酒人を飲とはかゝる族を云し也。故に古の聖  
 人酒礼を立給ふこと、礼記に書たることし。和漢共二  
 大事に臨では、酒禁厳なること宜なるかな。  
 敬謹を思ふ人には、酒乱酔狂の所行こそ

あらね。剛飲のために、吐血中風内傷の諸症を  
 発し、臟腑を腐爛し、百年の命を一旦に  
 縮む。又愚ならずや。

○飲食消化して血液となり。一身を周流して  
 河水の止ざるにひとし。氣此内に生じ、其血液は  
 氣をもつて順り、氣血互に相立もの也。臟腑  
 あつて、日々の食物を分利し、能消化し、九ツの

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せしより、数千歳の今に至りて、和漢貴賤となく、是を嗜もの多し。少しく用ひて常に氣血を廻し、暑を凌ぎ寒を避、憂を忘れ、心を樂しむ。慶事に用ひて席を賑し、交歓に用ひて親を深ふし、又老者に益あり。前漢書食貨志に、塩は食肴の將、酒は百薬の長たりといへり。しかるに嗜て量を超し、飲て度を超るときは、

○夏の禹王の時儀狄と云人始て酒を製  
 霧霞を食し宇宙の氣を食て飢ず脱然として化して仙となる。神仙伝列仙伝等に出る所皆是也。今適木食の僧が、身心堅固に長寿するをみるにこそあれかゝる捨身の修行を遂る人のなければ、後の世に絶て仙と云ものなし

の美味を嗜るは、必ず病多くして、  
 長寿の人は、  
 山に在るといへり。いにしへの仙術を得て、  
 虚空に  
 飛行し、  
 数百歳の寿を保てるも、  
 先山に入て  
 修行す。仙は僊也。人遷て山に入の義也。穀を  
 食せず木の実榧の実を食とし、  
 草露に咽喉  
 を潤す。漸々慣て性となり。意を煉に随て、

の矢炮漁者の釣網に遇て命を殞す。人と  
 して命を保つべき食の為に、かゝつて命を  
 縮るは、鳥獸にも劣れりと。魚介もこれを  
 笑べし。慎ざるべけんや。  
 ○今も深山幽谷に住、  
 淡薄の飢食して能  
 動くものは、  
 身健にして病なく、  
 海辺に在て  
 厚味の魚に飽ものは、  
 こゝに及ず。貴人高位

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なりとて持来肴にして心よく数献酌れしと  
 あれば、此時代すら今のごとくにはあらざりし。人々  
 厚味美饌を用るに至つて、却て食に傷ら  
 れ、短折天寿の憂多し。されば鳥獸魚鼈  
 は、古も今も同じく、時とともに、おしうつる  
 奢もなき程に、山に行斃たる獸もなく、  
 海に浮流れたる魚もあらず。ひとえに獵人

いふならんれとせせん。しかれども君子は遠きを  
 慮て是を制す。其ながればたして上を学ぶ  
 下におし移り、銀をのべ、一角を磨て箸とする  
 許へ夜話に來給ひ、酒の肴なかりしに、下々を  
 起さんもとて、みづから臺所に至り、棚の隅より、  
 小土器に味噌のつきてありしを尋得て、究竟

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多し。下めて食物を烹焼せり。はるか下り  
 世の中奢美にして、人の食物も時とともに  
 かゝる。卑賤も厚味を思ひ、匹夫も美  
 食に飽。いにしゑの素朴なること、殷の紂王  
 象牙の箸を用らんとて、殷の紂王  
 侈なりと諫止む。今をもつて思へば、一天万  
 乗の君として、箸に象牙を用ひたりとて、

まよひ活。食せざれば死す。実に死生の預る所  
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 渴して飲。飽て止。珍羞美味の饌なく、宿食  
 飽満の欲なし。人壽百歳天年をもつて  
 終。聖賢つぎ起て民に火食することを教へ

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 給ひ、はじめて食物を烹焼せり。はるかに下り  
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 象牙の箸を用られしをみて、賢臣奢  
 侈なりと諫止む。今をもつて思へば、一天万  
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食事戒  
東武 高井伴寬思明著

天地生類を蒸出し、又是が為に其食をせしむ。造化の濃なる不測自然の至妙也。されば乾坤のあいだに生ずる人畜、鳥獸魚鼈より蚤蚊蟻蝶の細小なるまで、其生あればその食あり。しかうして食は生命を保つ根元。食

○ 聖人食事は慎論語を證す  
○ 毎日の食を節にすべき事  
○ 乳味を以て子を育る心得  
○ 婦人妊娠食物の禁  
○ 四足を食する戒  
○ 異薬奇品を用へからざる戒  
○ 諸食喰合品目

目終

食事戒  
東武 高井伴寬思明著

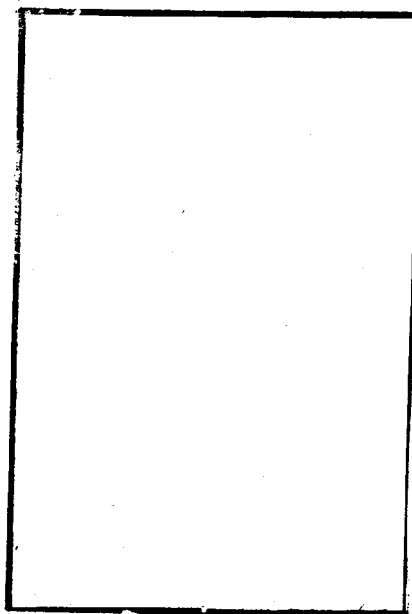
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- 酒を飲戒 ○ 食養生常にある事
- 古食を以て病を治る事
- 脾胃磨のごとき弁 ○ 食傷脾胃虚の別
- 五味に因て五蔵を傷る弁



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<p>煉紅雪之僂。今也損身以酒色。故羨歷六甲之老。非命豈啻巖牆桎梏哉。下愚思之不止。螢雪之間誌其意爲小冊。一曰食事戒。一曰姪事戒。非臆說私論。總出于儒醫之經。自他豫以道制。</p>	<p>情無嗜欲。虛胃房欲。虛腎之弊。而保上壽百年。以天然終身。乃何福如之乎。云爾。 文化乙亥孟夏 高井伴寬述</p>
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紅雪ヲ煉ルノ僂有リ。今ヤ身ヲ損フニ酒色ヲ以テス。

故ニ六甲ヲ歴スルノ老ヲ羨ム。非命豈ニ啻ニ巖

牆桎梏ノミナラン哉。下愚之ヲ思テ止マザルナリ。螢雪

ノ間、其意ヲ誌シテ小冊ヲ爲ル。一ハ食事

戒ト曰。一ハ姪事戒ト曰。臆說私論ニ非ズ。總テ

儒醫ノ經ニ出タリ。自他予シメ道ヲ以テ情ヲ制シ

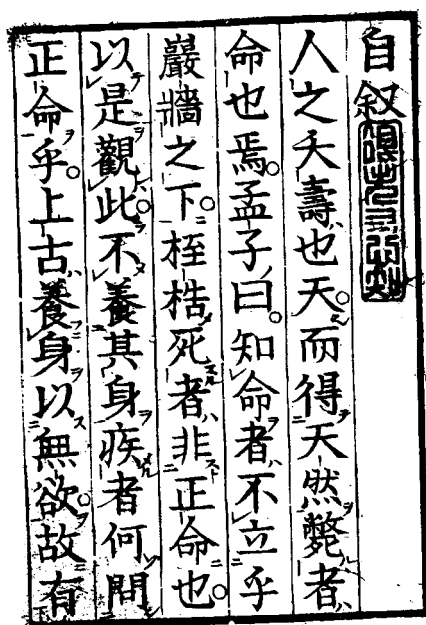
嗜欲胃ヲ虚シ、房欲腎ヲ虚スルノ弊無ク、

而シテ上寿百年ヲ保テ天然ヲ以テ身ヲ終ルヨバ、乃チ

何ノ福力之ニ如シヤト云コト爾リ。

文化乙亥孟夏

高井伴寬述



*Admonitions Regarding Food  
Consumption*  
§§ 1-7, pp. 180-67

The transcription accounts for the main text and reading notations given on the right side of ideographs. However, a number of words (or characters) is accompanied by aids for reading on the left side (invariably giving the “Japanese” rendering of compounds or individual ideographs) as well: p. 177: r(ight) 節 = ほどよく, l(left) 鳥獸 = とりけもの, 魚鼈 = うほかめ, 性命 = いのち. 176: r 谷 = たに, 果実 = このみ, 海濱 = うみはま, l 奢 = おごり, 卑賤 = いやしき, 奢 = おごり. 175: l 短折夭壽 = わかじに. 174: r 矢炮 = やたま, 鈎網 = つりばりあみ. 173: r 宇宙 = おほそら, l 慶事 = よろこびごと, 量 = はかり. 172: r 醉狂 = えいくるふ, 務 = つとめ, 禁 = いましめ, 敬謹 = つゝしみ, l 消化 = こなり, 周流 = めぐりなかる, 分利 = わかつ. 171: r 佚 = やす, 閉塞 = とちふさぐ, 因 = よりところ, l 賤民 = いやしきたみ, 耕耘 = たがやしくさぎる. 170: r 懶惰 = ものうしおこたる, l 喜怒哀樂 = よろこびいかりかなしみたのしみ. 169: r 周流 = めぐり, l 調治 = とゝのへおさむ. 168: r 消化 = こなす. 167: l 消化 = こなるゝ, 生冷乾硬 = なまひへるほすかたし.

自叙

人ノ夭壽ハ天也。而シテ天然ヲ得テ斃ル者ハ命也。孟子ノ曰ク、命ヲ知ル者ハ巖牆ノ下ニ立タズ。桎梏シテ死スル者ハ正命ニ非ズト也。是ヲ以テ此ヲ觀レバ、其身ヲ養ハズシテ疾メル者何ゾ生命ヲ問ハンヤ。上古ハ身ヲ養フニ無欲ヲ以テス。故ニ