

Materia Medica in Edo Period Japan
The Case of *Mummy*
Takai Ranzan's *Shokuji kai*, Part Two

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Takai Ranzan did not intend a bipartition of his *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption*. Nevertheless the contents of his work might justify such a division. In the first paragraphs, Ranzan gave a survey of the basic ramifications of food as a condition for a healthy life and of its general effects on bodily constitution. Although in the remaining passages a general preoccupation with nourishment can be ascertained – for example, when Ranzan deals with the eating habits of Confucius, as the paragon of circumspection in dietary life ([111a] – [162]¹) – most of the remaining passages show a concern with more specific subjects. This is especially true for the attention given to breast-feeding and a mother's diet ([166] – [186]), meat consumption ([187] – [193]), and the use of foreign *materia medica* ([194] – [209]).

All three subjects deserve notice. However, obstetrics as well as the role of meat in the history of Japanese culinary culture have been the object of scholarly scrutiny.² Thus, this article will only take a glance at Ranzan's

1 Numbers in square parentheses refer to sentences in the translation pp. 133–55.

2 Early expressions of an interest in pre-modern obstetrics are MASUDA Tomomasa 増田知正, KURE Shûzô 呉秀三, FUJIKAWA Yû 富士川游 (ed.): *Nihon sanka sôsho* 日本産科叢書 (Collection of Japanese Works on Obstetrics), reprint of the 1895 edition, Kyoto: Shibun Kaku 1971, and OGATA Masakiyo 緒方正清: *Nihon sanko gaku shi* 日本産科学史 (A History of Japanese Obstetrics), Tôkyô Tsukiji Kappan Seizô Sho 1919. A German version of the latter appeared in 1891 as the author's doctoral dissertation under the title *Beitrag zur Geburtshilfe in Japan*, Freiburg: Buchdruckerei H. Epstein. Earlier, one finds a series of articles by B. Miyake in the *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*: "Ueber die japanische Geburtshuelfe", in: *MOAG* 1, 1874.5: 21–27; 1875.8: 9–13; 1876.10: 9–16. Before this Philipp Franz von Siebold translated a work by Mima Junzô 美馬順三, which appeared as "Beantwortung einiger Fragen über die japanische Geburtshilfe", in: *Journal für Geburtshilfe*, Frankfurt a.M. 1826 (this was preceded by a Dutch version in 1825). Meat consumption is a central topic

attitude toward foreign remedies, as this permits insights into medicinal or pharmaceutical culture – European as well as Japanese – that has only rarely solicited scholarly comments. The context for this exposition is set by a highly sophisticated culture of healing – predominantly following the tradition of Chinese medicine³ but also adopting European influences to a certain degree. In the *Directory of Medical Houses in Edo at Present Times* 江戸今世医家人名録 (*Edo konsei ika jinmei roku*) of 1819 more than 570 doctors are given together with their specialization and address. Its successor of 1820 even lists about 2,500 persons. Thus, in the shogunal capital with a population of one million people there was one medical practitioner for every 400 to 500 inhabitants.⁴ During the Edo period, scholarly interest in *materia medica* increased conspicuously, and the commercialization of pharmaceutical articles developed rapidly, with a large range of drug stores and itinerant medicine peddlers colouring the scene. The competition among them is illustrated by the store signs and posters they left. Even the help of actors was enlisted to advertise their wares during performances. Drugs owing their provenance to the Chinese tradition dominated the market, periodically giving rise to popular concoctions treated like panaceae,⁵ but European articles, too, entered the stage and sometimes more than held their own as will be shown in the following.⁶

of much of the work of Harada Nobuo 原田信夫. Cf. n. 16; also Klaus VOLLMER: “Tötungsverbot und Freilassungszereemonie. Geschichte und Interpretation buddhistischer Rituale in Japan”, in: Klaus ANTONI (Hg.): *Rituale und ihre Urheber. Invented Traditions in der japanischen Religionsgeschichte* (Ostasien – Pazifik. Trierer Studien zu Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Bd. 5), Hamburg: Lit 1997: 77–104.

- 3 For a short introduction and reference works cf. Michael KINSKI: “Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption. Takai Ranzan’s *Shokuji kai*. Introduction, Transcription and Translation. Part One”, in: *Japonica Humboldtiana* 7 (2003): 132–38.
- 4 TACHIKAWA Shôji 立川昭二: “Isha” 医者 (Doctors), in: NISHIYAMA Matsunosuke 西山松之介 et. al. (ed.): *Edo gaku jiten* 江戸学事典 (Dictionary of Edo Studies), Kôbun Dô 1994: 416. Tachikawa sets this impressive figure in perspective by arguing that it included all kinds of quacks and opportunists only interested in money. He concludes, therefore, that the standard of medical care in Edo cannot have been very good. Ibid. However, by all indications, on the whole it was not worse than in contemporary Europe. Cf. n. 310.
- 5 To give only two examples: *Hangan tan* 反魂丹 or “pills for calling back the souls of the dead” contained rhubarb, *coptis japonica*, bear’s gall, the dried peel of a type of orange (*chinpi* 陳皮) and others. It was supposed to help against all kinds of disease and especially was applied in case of cholera nostra, belly aches and digestive disturbances. *Kiô gan* 奇応丸 or “pill of mysterious effects”, too, contained bear’s gall, ginseng and others for its main ingredients and was used for similar maladies. Moreover, it was especially valued for calming down weeping (or hysterical) infants and is still sold for this purpose.

1. Scholarly Perceptions

The reception of European knowledge and technical achievements on the one hand, and the subsequent development of “Dutch Learning” 蘭学 (*Rangaku*) – with medicine at its center – on the other, commanded considerable attention in Japan as abroad.⁷ These phenomena have been studied for their own sake as well as for their potential role in the development of a ‘modern’ consciousness in Japan prior to the so-called ‘opening’ of the country. Opinions diverged on the catalysatory potential inherent in Dutch Learning. Whereas Numata Jirô stressed the monopolization of foreign knowledge in the hands of scholars subservient to the government,⁸ others like Takahashi Shinichi and Itazawa Takeo identified those of its elements conducive to the emergence of “Ideologiekritik”.⁹ A third approach advanced by Satô Shôtsuke distinguishes between an earlier stage characterized by dependence on and service to the authorities and a second phase with more independent scholars on the rise. All delineations of the development and influence of Dutch Learning – or “Western Learning” 洋学 (*Yôgaku*) at a later stage – have one feature in common: When it comes

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- 6 Works such as NANBA Tsuneo 難波恒雄: *Kanpô kigusuri no nazo o saguru* 漢方・生薬の謎を探る (Questing for the Riddle of Drugs [Used in the] Chinese [Medical] Method), Nihon Hôtsô Shuppan Kyôkai 1998 (NHK Raiburari 85); SÔDA Hajime 宗田一: *Nihon no meiyaku* 日本の名薬 (Famous Medicines of Japan), Yasaka Shobô 1993 (1); SÔDA Hajime: *Torai yaku no bunka shi. Oranda sen ga hakonda yôyaku* 渡来薬の文化誌. オランダ船が運んだ洋薬 (A Cultural Account of Medicines from Abroad. The [Trans]oceanic [= Western] Medicines Transported [to Japan] by Dutch Ships), Yasaka Shobô 1993 (2); YAMAWAKI Teijirô 山脇悌次郎: *Kinsei Nihon no iyaku bunka. Miira, ahen, kôhî* 近世日本の医薬文化. ミイラ, アヘン, コーヒー (The Medical and Pharmaceutical Culture of Early Modern Japan. Mummies, Opium, Coffee), Heibon Sha 1995 (Heibon sha sensho 155); YOSHIOKA Shin 吉岡信: *Edo no kigusuri ya* 江戸の生薬屋 (Apothecaries of Edo), Seia Bô 1994 convey a vivid picture of the pharmaceutical culture of Edo Japan.
- 7 Two of the most recent additions to a long list of publications are W.F. VANDE WALLE, KASAYA Kazuhiko (ed.): *Dodonaeus in Japan. Translation and the Scientific Mind in the Tokugawa Period*, Leuven University Press, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto 2001, and Hartmut WALRAVENS (ed.): *A Japanese Herbal in the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. A Contribution to the History of the Transfer of Scientific Knowledge from Europe to Japan*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2005 (Asien- und Afrika-Studien der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 21).
- 8 NUMATA Jirô 沼田次郎: *Bakumatsu Yôgaku shi* 幕末洋学史 (A History of Western Learning in the Late Tokugawa Period), Tôkô Shoin 1950, and *Western Learning. A Short History of the Study of Western Science in Early Modern Japan*, Japan-Netherlands Institute 1992.
- 9 TAKAHASHI Shinichi 高橋稔一: *Yôgaku ron* 洋学論 (A Discussion of Western Learning), Mikasa Shobô 1939; ITAZAWA Takeo 板沢武雄: *Nichiran bunka kôshô shi no kenkyû* 日蘭文化交渉史の研究 (A Study of the History of Cultural Relations Between Japan and

to assessing contemporary reactions, especially those of a critical stance, towards the concern with and diffusion of European knowledge, modern scholarship almost exclusively evinces an interest in the way the government tried to control access to foreign knowledge, to draw scholars of Dutch Learning into its service, and to severely limit the propagation of their insights. Mention is sometimes made of, for example, Sano Antei's 佐野安貞 critique of Yamawaki Tôyô 山脇東洋 (1705–62) and the group around him witnessing the 1754 dissection of the body of a criminal and comparing the findings with the anatomical knowledge handed down by the tradition of Chinese medicine.¹⁰ But in general it seems that the view of Edo period scholars, who did not embark on Dutch Learning or even were averse to it – especially in

Holland), Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 1959.

- 10 Sano Antei, a doctor in the Chinese tradition, countered Yamawaki Tôyô's *Account of the Depot [Organs]* 蔵志 (*Zôshi*, printed 1759) with his *Refutation of the Account of the Depot [Organs]* 非蔵志 (*Hi Zôshi*, 1760). He emphasized the futility and uselessness of gaining information about the organs from a dead human body. Timon Screech cites Antei with the following words from the end of the work: "What makes the depots into depots does not lie in their outward appearance. It lies in the spirit [energy] 神 (*shin*) and the vital energy 氣 (*ki*) being deposited [in them]. Once the spirit [energy] has departed and the vital energy has dispersed, the depots are merely empty vessels; [without spirit energy and vital energy left in them], based on what could one recognize sight, hearing, speech and movement depending on these places? And based on what could one observe the rules [regulating the work] of the nourishing [energy], the defensive [energy], and the triple burner? Therefore, bright sight is not equal to dark [= blind] deliberation 冥々の察 (*meimei no satsu*). Brilliant attack becomes gloomy discussion. If one looks and does not [at the same time] seek [true understanding] in principle – how does that differ from making a child look?" Taimon SUKURÛCHI タイモン・スクリーチ: *Edo no karada o hiraku* 江戸の身体を開く (Opening the Edo Body), Sakuhin Sha 1997: 171–72. Cf. also AOKI Toshiyuki 青木菜幸: "Kagaku teki shikô no hattatsu to Rangaku" 科学的思考の発達と蘭学 (The Development of Scientific Thought and Dutch Learning), in: RAI Kiichi 頼祺一 (ed.): *Nihon no kinsei 13. Jugaku, Kokugaku, Yôgaku* 日本の近世. 儒学・国学・洋学 (Japan's Early Modern Period. Confucianism, National Learning, Western Learning), Chûô Kôron Sha 1993: 313. Aoki also mentions Mitani Boku 水谷模, a doctor and a pupil of the botanist Ono Ranzan 小野蘭山 (1729–1810), who in his *Uncovering the Darkness Concerning the Dissection of [Human] Bodies* 解体発蒙 (*Kaitai hatsumô*, 1813) criticized several anatomical works of his day, among them the famous *New Book on the Dissection of [Human] Bodies* 解体新書 (*Kaitai shinsho*, 1774). He argues that the knowledge offered in these treatises can already be gleaned from the medical classics of Chinese antiquity, e.g. the *Yellow Emperor's Classic of Inner [Medicine]* 黄帝内经 (Chin. *Huangdi neijing*, Jap. *Kôtei naikyô*; the translation of this title has to be tentative as pointed out in Paul UNSCHULD: *Medicine in China. A History of Ideas*, Berkeley et al.: University of California Press 1985: 382–83. It could be that 内 refers to the "inner [books]" vis-à-vis no longer extant "outer [books]"). Moreover, he reproaches Dutch Learning for being preoccupied with technical details, thereby losing an understanding for the harmonious cooperation of the different parts of the body. *Ibid.*

areas where the latter allegedly had their greatest merits, as in medicine – did not have much to offer to research in Edo period history of thought.¹¹ However, an understanding of the role Dutch Learning played in its time would not be complete (and indeed perhaps impossible) without inquiring into the reactions it elicited within the surrounding social fold – including the critical ones.¹² The *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* provide a small pigment of colour that might help to reconstruct the range of opinions held by those who – from the standpoint of professional or just common interest – regarded the influx of products of European intellectual and material culture with unease.

Sentences [194] to [209] turn on the consumption of hazardous foods and substances, including foreign medicines. It is Ranzan’s conclusion that people born in a certain locality should cure their diseases with indigenous medicines [203b]. This opinion is at odds with the trend of the times to which the *Admonitions* critically point: In recent years, a lot of foreign *materia medica* entered the country, many of which do not even have a Japanese name and are only known by “words in barbarian [language]” like *miira* 木乃伊 or *sarubô* サルボウ [199]. Many of these substances are brought to Japan by the Dutch [200].¹³ Ranzan does not provide an explanation for the two items he

11 This is somewhat different in the case of early encounters of Japanese scholars with European knowledge prior to the rise of Dutch Learning proper, as exemplified by such exponents of Confucianism as Mukai Genshō 向井元升 (1609–77) and Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725).

12 The multitude of examples adduced by Timon Screech or Uchiyama Junichi 内山淳一 testifies to the degree to which products of European intellectual and material culture entered the *lebenswelt* of Edo period society at large. Cf. TIMON SCREECH: *The Western Scientific Gaze and Popular Imagery in Later Edo Japan. The Lens Within the Heart*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996; UCHIYAMA Junichi: *Edo no kōki shin. Bijutsu to kagaku no deai* 江戸の好奇心. 美術と科学の出会い (The Inquisitiveness of Edo. The Encounter of Art and Science), Kōdan Sha 1996.

13 Trade with various medicines is mentioned since the beginning of Dutch activities in Japan, in the earliest accounts left by the factory heads of the first trade post in Hirado and, from 1641 onwards, in Nagasaki. Cf. NAGATSUMI Yōko 永積洋子 (ed.): *Hirado Oranda shōkan no nikki* 平戸オランダ商館の日記 (The Diaries of the Dutch Trade House in Hirado), 4 vols., Iwanami Shoten 1969–70; MURAKAMI Naojirō 村上直次郎 (ed.): *Nagasaki Oranda shōkan no nikki* 長崎オランダ商館の日記 (The Diaries of the Dutch Trade House in Nagasaki), 3 vols., Iwanami Shoten 1956–58; Ton VERMEULEN, Paul VAN DER VELDE, Cynthia VIALLE, Leonard BLUSSE: *The Deshima Dagregisters. Their Original Tables of Contents*, 11 vols., Leiden: Leiden Centre for the History of European Expansion 1986. According to the figures given by Takeuchi and Ishikawa, dyes, spices, and medicines made up 2.9 percent of the Dutch trade volume in 1636. By 1715 this share had risen to 7.9 percent. TAKEUCHI Makoto 竹内誠, ICHIKAWA Hiroaki 市川寛明 (ed.): *Hitome de wakarū Edo jidai* 一目でわかる江戸時代 (The Edo Period at a

explicitly mentions. *Miira* in modern Japanese translates as “mummy”; and *sarubô* is another name for “Dutch mountain recluse’s medicine” 阿仙藥 (*asen yaku*).¹⁴ But he goes into more detail concerning a third one, *rei tengai* 靈天蓋 or “soul’s heavenlike cover”,¹⁵ which is allegedly made by “grinding [human] skulls into powder” [207].

Glance), Shôgaku Kan 2004: 119. Medicines also figured prominently in the wares brought by Chinese ships to Nagasaki and among the goods imported from Korea through the domain of Tsushima. Early modern Japan’s “pharmaceutical culture” is the subject of YAMAWAKI 1995. For Chinese merchants’ trade with medicines cf. *ibid.*: 207–34.

- 14 SHIMIZU Fujitarô 清水藤太郎: *Nihon yakugaku shi* 日本薬学史 (History of Pharmaceutics in Japan), Nanzan Dô 1949: 111. *Asen yaku* is based on the wood of *Acacia catechu Willdenow*, *Acacia suma Kurz*, or the leaves and young sprouts of the *Uncaria gambir* plant (*rubiaceae* family), cultivated on the islands at the southern end of the Malay peninsula and in Indonesia. Engelbert Kaempfer mentioned it as an ingredient of other composite remedies. Cf. Wolfgang MICHEL: “Engelbert Kaempfer und die Medizin in Japan”, in: Detlef HABERLAND (ed.): *Engelbert Kaempfer. Werk und Wirkung. Vorträge der Symposien in Lemgo (19.–22.9.1990) und Tokyo (15.–18.12.1990)*, Stuttgart: Boethius-Verlag 1993: 249–93. *Asen yaku* was used to stop bleeding and to treat diarrhoea and other digestive troubles. I found no indication that *asen yaku* was a name borrowed from Chinese medicine, although Sôda Hajime tells of a Chinese remedy with similar properties (but of a different name and, it seems, ingredients). Unfortunately his entry on *asen yaku* holds no information as to its pharmaceutical properties nor to the origins and meaning of the name. SÔDA 1993 (1): 65–66. As this medicine probably entered Japan through trade with the Dutch, I therefore ventured to translate the name as “Dutch mountain recluse’s medicine” (the first character means “hill” or “mountain” but it is also used in the phonetical rendering of “Holland”). The *Dictionary of Japanese and Chinese Medicines* gives *asen yaku* as the Japanese name for what in China in the *True Essentials of Beverage and Food* 飲膳正要 (*Yinshan zhengyao* / *Inzen seiyô*, 1330) had been called “infant’s tea” 孩児茶 (*haier cha*) – the same remedy that Sôda gave as a Chinese equivalent based on other ingredients. TOYAMA IKA YAKKA DAIGAKU WAKAN YAKU KENYÛ SHO 富山医科薬科大学和漢薬研究所 (ed.): *Wakan yaku no jiten* 和漢薬の事典, Asakura Shoten 2002: 3. Porter Smith explained “infant’s tea” as prepared from *Acacia catechu*, so that one may assume that Chinese *haier cha* and Japanese *asen yaku* are similar in their ingredients. F. PORTER SMITH: *Chinese Materia Medica. Vegetable Kingdom*, revised by G.A. STUART, Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press 1911; 2nd revised edition by Ph. Daven Wei, Taipei: Ku T’ing Book House 1969: 2–3. One learns from Sôda’s entry that *sarubô* could also be written with the characters 猿胞 (*sarubô*) and that Fuseya Soteki 伏屋素狄 (1747–1811) in his *Talks about Dutch Medicine* 和蘭医話 (*Oranda iwa*, 1805) tried to offer an explanation for this name and the characters for writing it: *Asen yaku* was believed to come from a place called “Saratamarubarû” サラタマルバル, which led to the appellation *sarubote* サルボテ, and for this characters such as 猿胞 were used. The name therefore might derive from a distortion of “Saratamarubarû”. Incidentally, Soteki reports also about a domestic production of *asen yaku* by replacing the probably rare and expensive ingredients from Southeast Asia with other substances. SÔDA 1993 (2): 65–66. Matsuoka Gentatsu 松岡玄達 (1668–1746), too, mentioned in his *Necessary Knowledge about the Use of Medicines* 用薬須知 (*Yôyaku suchi*, 1726) the production of this remedy

All told, Ranzan draws an unfavourable picture of the influence exerted by Dutch trade activities on the pharmacopeia of Japan. By extension, his critique includes those of his contemporaries who deal in such substances or who consume them. He concedes that the Dutch excel in the “technique of external [surgery]” 外科術 (*geka jutsu*), and he is not averse to the idea that his own country can benefit from their achievements [205]. But Ranzan is uncompromising when it comes to using foreign substances of unknown origin and untested properties like *miira* and *sarubô* [201], even though they might be twice as efficacious as local drugs [202]. And a medicine like “soul’s heavenlike cover” is far from requiring further comments [210]. Ranzan’s abhorrence is obvious, and it is couched in terms of Confucian morality: The *Master Meng* 孟子 (*Mengzi / Mōshi*) already draws attention to the fact that men detest wild animals devouring each other [209]. How much more horrible would it be if men were to partake of the flesh of other human beings. Prescription of this medicine would be nothing else but incitement to perform a horrid act of cannibalism [208].

The strong moral overtones of Ranzan’s reaction against the use of *materia medica* made from human corporeal substances should not come as a surprise in a country where at that time the consumption of meat – at least that of mammals – was frowned upon.¹⁶ But what should the reader make of the

in Japan. Cf. TOYAMA IKA YAKKA DAIGAKU WAKAN YAKU KENKYŪ SHO 2002: 3.

- 15 I decided on this awkward literal translation to convey the ‘genuine’ connotations of the expression, although in the Buddhist context *tengai* served as name for the canopy hung above the statues of e.g., buddhas and bodhisattvas and *rei tengai* could thus be translated as “soul’s canopy”. Other authorities, Li Shizhen’s 李時珍 (1518–93) *Classification of Materia Medica* 本草綱目 (*Bencao gangmu / Honzō kōmoku*; printed 1596) e.g., give the characters for the name of this substance in different order as 天靈蓋 (*tianling gai / tenrei gai*). Cf. pp. 110–15.
- 16 Harada argues that first adumbrations of a taboo concerning meat consumption already became recognizable during the late Yayoi period. HARADA Nobuo: “Kodai Nihon no dôbutsu kyôgi to sesshō kindan. Nōkō girei to nikushoku kinki o megutte” 古代日本の動物供犠と殺生禁断. 農耕儀礼と肉食禁忌をめぐって (Animal Sacrifice in Ancient Japan and the Prohibition to Kill. On Agricultural Ceremonies and Meat Consumption Taboos), in: *Tōhoku gaku* 東北学 3 (Tōhoku Studies), Tōhoku Geijutsu Kōka Daigaku 2000: 150–77. As the title of this article suggests, Harada explains the development of meat taboos in the context of an agricultural society centered more and more on the cultivation of rice. Whereas in his first large work on rice and meat consumption he had argued that in Yayoi times the latter held a firm place in the alimentary culture with no restrictions discernable, he modified this position in a later reedition by assuming that such a taboo existed, at least in part. HARADA Nobuo: *Rekishi no naka no kome to niku* 歴史のなかの米と肉 (Rice and Meat in History), Heibon Sha 1993: 43 (Heibon Sha sensho 147); HARADA Nobuo: *Rekishi no naka no kome to niku*, Heibon Sha 2005: 69–70 (Heibon Sha

allegation that human corpses were explicitly used for the production of medicine to be sold in Japan? Should he take it at face value? Or did Ranzan perhaps exaggerate and make too much of an issue of only one or two obscure substances in order to slander foreign influences? In fact, what he said about “soul’s heavenlike cover”, he could have said with as much (or more) justification regarding the first substance mentioned: *miira*.¹⁷ Perhaps

raiburari). He elaborated this point by referring to the account of food habits contained in the *Record of the People of Wa* 倭人伝 (*Woren chuan / Wajin den*), which states how mourners abstained from eating meat. HARADA 2000: 153. Harada therefore concludes that in the Yayoi period restrictions on meat consumption spread at least among a part of the population in connection with ceremonial acts. HARADA Nobuo: “Shoku kara mita Nihon shi. Kome to niku o chûshin ni” 食からみた日本史. 米と肉を中心に (Japanese History as Seen from the Angle of Food. With a Focus on Rice and Meat), in: MORIEDA Takashi 森枝卓士, MINAMI Naoto 南直人 (ed.): *Shin Shoku bunka nyûmon* 新食文化入門 (New Introduction to the Culture of Food), Kôbun Dô 2004: 76. In written form meat taboos entered the records in the *Annals of Japan* 日本紀 (*Nihongi*). Harada discerns a growing tendency to view meat consumption (and the activities to procure meat) as an obstruction to agriculture – especially during the month of intensive rice field cultivation. Thus, he interprets edicts within the premises of Buddhist thought prescribing or prohibiting hunting, fishing, and eating meat as attempts on the part of the rulers to stabilize and to intensify agriculture and especially paddy field cultivation. HARADA 1993: 73–75, 81, 83; HARADA 2005: 85–86, 87–88, 93, 95; cf. also VOLLMER 1997: 93–95. These tendencies gained in force during the era of centralized government between the 8th and 12th century when not only the court nobility but also monks and the warrior gentry ate the rice produced on their landed holdings, whereas the rest of the population had to content itself with other field products and meat of wild animals. The view to consider the latter as impure, according to Harada, penetrated society during the Middle Ages. It gave rise to a dietary culture that outlawed meat consumption and conversely attributed high prestige to rice. This development culminated in Edo times. Harada adduces examples to show that taboos on meat stayed in force even until the recent past. Thus, a local history published before World War II in the Nanbu 南部 district of northeastern Japan states: “The meat of mammals and of birds was known as ‘four-footed’ and ‘two-legged’ just until the time prior to the Meiji Restoration, and people thought that by consuming it the body was either defiled or the mouth became crooked.” HARADA Nobuo: *Edo no shoku seikatsu* 江戸の食生活 (Food Life of Edo), Iwanami Shoten 2003: 36–37. For the text passage from the Nanbu region as cited by Harada cf. WAKAO Masaki 若尾政希: “Andô Shôeki no honzô gaku. Nikushoku o megutte” 安藤昌益の本草学. 肉食をめぐる (Andô Shôeki’s Pharmaceutical Studies. On the Question of Meat Consumption), in: TÔHOKU DAIGAKU BUNGAKE BU FUZOKU NIHON BUNKA KENKYÛ SHISETSU 東北大学文学部附属日本文化研究施設 (ed.): *Nihon Bunka Kenkyû Jo kenkyû hôkoku* 日本文化研究所研究報告 (Research Report of the Institute of Studies in Japanese Culture), vol. 25 (1989).

17 There was a tradition in Japan made known to the English-reading community as that of the “self-mummified Buddhas”. HORI Ichirô: “Self-Mummified Buddhas of Japan. An Aspect of the Shugendô (Mountain Asceticism) Sect”, in: *History of Religions. An International Journal for Comparative Historical Studies* 1/2 (1961), pp. 222–42. This practice had its place in the Buddhist context – at least since Heian times and similar to earlier

Ranzan did not comment on it because he could assume a general familiarity with this item among his readers.

Japanese scholars of the Edo period, of course, lacked the opportunity to empirically decide on the nature of mummies, to investigate their origins and history. Instead, they had to tackle these subjects solely on philological grounds

examples among adherents of Daoism and Buddhism in China – although it was not considered as mummification but, to the contrary, as a state wherein the person following the example set by the founder of Shingon Buddhism in Japan, Kūkai 空海 (774–835), continued to live on in meditation – only seemingly dead to the world. In the quest for enlightenment and the attainment of Buddhahood monks as well as hermits belonging to the movement of mountain asceticism (known as *shugen dō* 修験道 or “way of cultivating tokens [of power]”) sat in meditation while reducing their ingestion of food, striving for the state of *nyūjō* 入定 (“entering fixation”; “fixation” or skr. *samādhi* means a state of mental immersion with conscious thinking coming to an end) “wherein one attains absolute emotional stability and tranquility, [and] complete attenuation of all bodily and intellectual functions”. According to the Buddhist tradition, in preparation for his future coming Maitreya – as one of Shakyamuni’s disciples – achieved this condition in his desire to preserve his body – unchanged and alive. According to LaFleur, “the specific kind of religious praxis taught and demonstrated by Kūkai at Mount Kōya involved meditative states that were in some ways not unlike the state of the human corpse. For reasons that had nothing to do with mimicry, these practices, in fact, resulted in bodily states much like those of the deceased person even while the practitioner remained very much alive. These involved virtual immobility of the living body for long periods of time and inhalation and exhalation so slight that it resembled the non-breathing state.” William R. LAFLEUR: “The Afterlife of the Corpse”, in: Susanne FORMANEK, William R. LAFLEUR (ed.): *Practicing the Afterlife. Perspectives from Japan*, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2004: 488–89. For the followers of this example in Japan this actually led to a ‘natural’ state of mummification in the final phase. Their desiccated (mummified) bodies were preserved for centuries and venerated as holy objects. A number of them (some between 600 and 300 years old) have been extensively studied by the members of the “Group for Research of Japanese Mummies” 日本ミイラ研究グループ (Nihon Miira Kenkyū Gurūpu). Most of them come from the northeast of Japan, where the practice of ‘mummification’ concentrated around Mts. Yudono, Haguro, and Gassan. Cf. NIHON MIIRA KENKYŪ GURŪPU (ed.): *Nihon miira no kenkyū* 日本ミイラの研究 (A Study of Japanese Mummies), 1st edition 1969, Heibon Sha 1993. The members of the research group called the objects of their studies *nyūjō miira* or “mummies in the state of fixation”. However, congruent with the purpose behind this asceticism ending in mummification, in the times of their origin (the practice actually lasted until 1903) the bodies of these ascetics were called “Nyūjō Buddhas” 入定仏 (*nyūjō butsu*), “image of a corporeal body” 肉身像 (*nikushin zō*), or – especially in northeastern Japan – “Buddha[hood] while still in the body” 即身仏 (*sokushin butsu*). Ibid.: 6. The subject of the “mummies” in the Yudono area is taken up by Naitō Masatoshi 内藤正敏 in publications such as in *Nihon no miira shinkō* 日本のミイラ信仰 (Mummy Belief in Japan), Hōzō Kan 1999. Cf. also Kiyohiko SAKURAI, Tamotsu OGATA: “Japanese Mummies”, in: Aidan COCKBURN, Eve COCKBURN (ed.): *Mummies, Disease, and Ancient Cultures*, Cambridge et. al.: Cambridge University Press 1980: 211–23.

– by relying on Chinese written sources and European (Dutch) authorities, oral and documentary. Unfortunately, the accounts offered by these authorities were not in agreement. Widely differing explanations abounded, and Japanese scholars writing about mummies tended to settle on one version or the other on grounds of what seemed most plausible. Generally speaking, three strings of tradition prevailed, one of them Chinese locating the origin of mummies in the “Country in the Direction of Heaven” 天方国 (Tianfang guo / Tenpō koku),¹⁸ the other two European, one focusing on *miira* from Egypt, the second dealing with those discovered in the Saharan desert. These traditions can be followed through most Japanese accounts written between 1700 and 1800, culminating in the writings of Ôtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757–1827), the scholar of Dutch Learning who left the most comprehensive treatment of the subject.¹⁹ At the same time, the topic offers an instructive example of the extent to which Japanese authors were aware of foreign sources, Chinese or European, and of relevant contributions by their compatriots.

a. In the *Enlarged [Edition of] Deliberations on the Trade [between] the Flowering [Middle] and the Barbarians* 増補 華夷通商考 (*Zôho Ka i tsûshô kô*, 1708) Nishikawa Joken 西川如見 (1648–1724), a scholar with roots in the merchant milieu of Nagasaki, mentions *miira* ミイラ as one of the products brought to Japan by Dutch traders and he comments: “There are various explanations [about this]. It is said to be [made from] human flesh flavoured and mixed together [with other substances].”²⁰

b. Kaibara Ekiken 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) included a long article on *miira*²¹ in his *Materia Medica of Japan* 大和本草 (*Yamato honzô*, printed 1709). At

18 Cf. p. 67.

19 Cf. pp. 73–80.

20 NISHIKAWA Joken: *Nihon suido kô*, *Suido kaiben*, *Zôho Ka i tsûshô kô* 日本水土考・水土解弁・増補華夷通商考 (Deliberations on the Water and Earth [= geographic conditions and natural resources] of Japan, A Discerning Explanation of Water and Earth, Enlarged [Edition of] Deliberations on the Trade [between] the Flowering [Middle] and the Barbarians), ed. by IWJIMA Tadao 飯島忠夫 and NISHIKAWA Tadayuki 西川忠幸, Iwanami Shoten 1944: 141–42 (Iwanami bunko 3384–3385). For an introduction and a partial translation into German cf. Fritz OPITZ: “Ka-i Tsûshô-kô, ein Außenhandelsbuch der Edo-Zeit”, in: *NOAG* 121/22 (1977), pp. 63–81. Opitz translates the title as “Betrachtungen über den Handelsverkehr mit China und den Barbaren”, but judging from both the contents and from Joken’s view of Japan’s place in the cosmic order as expressed in the *Deliberations on the Water and Earth of Japan*, *ka* 華 could also refer to Japan.

21 Ekiken classifies this as a “[South] Barbarian type [of medicine] 蛮種 (*banshu*). EKIKEN KAI 益軒会 (ed.): *Ekiken zenshû* 益軒全集 (Ekiken’s Collected Works), vol. 6, Ekiken Zenshû Kankô Bu 1911: 423 (cited as EZ hereafter).

the outset he distinguishes between two writings of the word, one in Japanese phonetic script (みいら), the other in Chinese characters (木乃伊). Chinese sources, Tao Jiucheng's 陶九成 (also Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, 1316–69) *Record [after] Quitting Tillage* 輟耕錄 (*Chuogeng lu / Tekkô roku*)²² and in its wake Liu Shizhen's *Classification of Materia Medica* among them, use the characters 木乃伊. In Japan, Ekiken says, there has been a tendency to identify the word in Chinese characters with the *miira* written in syllabic script (*hiragana*). However, he quotes “Red Hair [Barbarian; i.e., Dutch] doctors” as denying the identity of the specimen called みいら or 木乃伊, respectively. According to them, the former does not come from China and India;²³ its origin is to be found in a country called “Kineya” きねや (Guinea?) and in countries bordering on “Red Hair [Barbary]”. Ekiken refers to Dutch sources as mentioning five different explanations for the nature of *miira* but discarding four as unreliable. According to the fifth, *mummy*²⁴ is made from criminals who are boiled in

22 This is a collection of memories and hearsay accounts relating to the Yuan imperial family, state institutions, and other contemporary matters. For this article, use was made of a Japanese edition printed in 1652. Cf. KOTEN KENKYŪ KAI 古典研究会 (ed.): *Wakokubon Kan seki yuihitsu shū* 和刻本漢籍隨筆集 (Collection of Chinese Essays in Japanese Printed Editions), vol. 2, Suiko Shoin 1972. Cf. also SBCK 102, 103.

23 This probably should be taken as an indication, at least in the understanding of Ekiken's Dutch sources, that the article referred to by Chinese authorities as 木乃伊 actually came either from China or India. The nature of Ekiken's sources – if he ever had contact to members of the Dutch community – cannot be ascertained here. Since a direct relationship to my knowledge has not been mentioned it is safer to assume that the scholar only had second or third hand knowledge. The year following Ekiken's birth, his father left Fukuoka to live in Hakata. Some years later the family moved to the neighbourhood of the harbour. For a living the father sold medicines and acted as a private teacher since he probably had lost his position as a warrior in the employ of the Kuroda family, regional lords of Fukuoka. Later, after a short period of service with Kuroda Tadayuki 黒田忠之 (1602–54), Ekiken himself became a masterless warrior. During these years he spent some time in Nagasaki, where the Dutch trade post had been transferred in 1641. Once again in the employ of the Kuroda family from 1655 onwards and serving as a doctor and Confucian scholar, he was in contact with other men of learning interested in medicine, pharmacobotany, and studies of nature such as Mukai Genshō, Inō Jakusui 稲生若水 (1655–1715), and Kurokawa Dōyū 黒川道祐 (?–1691). The most reliable source of information about Dutch medical knowledge, however, seems to have been his friendship with Narabayashi Chinzan 榎林鎮山 (1648–1711). The latter was a member of one of the families of Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki as well as a scholar of European medicine, who had asked Ekiken to write a foreword for his *Original Account of External [Surgery] Among the Red [Hair] Barbarians* 紅夷外科宗伝 (*Kōi geka sōden*, 1706). Mention of *miira* is made by a later member of the Narabayashi family; cf. n. 89.

24 In the following, *mummy* in italics (as well as Japanese *miira*) denotes the pharmaceutical article whereas the same word in plain script refers to the mummified body.

certain medical substances. It is this product, the Confucian scholar concludes, which is meant by *miira*. Of the other explanations, he relates only one in detail: *Miira* is supposed to come from the bodies of men who have died in the sand deserts of a country of blazing heat called “Nobisuhanya” のびすはんや.²⁵ People there travel in wagons made from iron which, however, are sometimes overturned by strong winds. The unfortunate travellers who so happen to tumble down “melt” in the sand and turn into mummies. These are collected by other passersby with the help of rakes. This theory, Ekiken states, cannot be true as “Nobisuhanya is not a hot country”. The remainder of the article enumerates the medical effects attributed to *miira* – in two distinct lists. The first is uncommented and the factuality of its wording conveys an impression of objectivity: In the case of bone fractures and injuries *mummy* helps “extremely” well when used externally and when ingested together with wine. Other internal applications concern states of enervation and blood or energy loss.²⁶ Ekiken apparently felt a need to dissociate himself from his second list, which bears the opening comment: “Here [I] relate the opinions regarding the effects of *mummy* as transmitted by the world of men [= society at large].”²⁷ A list of twenty two entries covering diverse pathological symptoms follows²⁸ and ends with the prescriptive advice: “For all [the diseases mentioned] above adults use three *bu* 分,²⁹ children one *bu*.” However, the reader should not construe that Ekiken condones the use of *mummy*. He condemns it on the same moral grounds advanced against cannibalism by Ranzan one hundred years later: “*Mummy* is human flesh. To make use of human flesh means that as a human being one eats another human being. It is not something [conforming to] benevolence and warmheartedness 仁厚 (*jinkô*). Even if [*mummy*] were efficacious, the superior man 君子 (*kunshi*) could not bear to do [something like eating another human being].”³⁰ The “superior

25 Cf. n. 49.

26 EZ 6: 423. For a full account cf. pp. 115–17. It is likely that Ekiken does not relate his own opinion but the effects attributed to *mummy* by his Dutch sources. Not only does he deny the efficacy of *mummy* in a round-about manner at the end of his article, the choice of words in his enumeration resembles the effects of *mummy* in Ôtsuki Gentaku’s much later treatment of the subject, which is based on well-known encyclopedic works from Europe. Cf. pp. 73–80.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.: 423–24. Cf. pp. 115–17.

29 Used as a unit for measuring medicine, one *bu* was equal to ca. 0.375 g.

30 Ibid.: 424.

man” keeps his distance “all the more so as the effects that have been explained above cannot be trusted at all!”³¹

c. *Collected Glances at Different Words* 采覽異言 (*Sairan igen*, 1713) is the title of Arai Hakuseki’s 新井白石 (1657–1725) description of various countries of the world as he knew it. Therein the Confucian scholar states that “Arabiya” アラビヤ is the origin of a certain medicine efficacious in case of diverse diseases and he relates the following explanation: As this country is extremely hot, the flesh of people who have died due to the high temperatures cooks and decays in the heat and changes into this medical substance.³² However, when Hakuseki asked the opinion of Dutch visitors to the shogunal capital, they were in doubt whether the product in question was really made from human flesh. Instead, they surmised that it was a mixture of various medical substances.³³ Hakuseki does not go into detail but it seems that he tries to reconcile conflicting bits of information, namely whether the Dutch word for mummy / *mummy* and the expression *munaiyi* 木乃伊 in Chinese sources meant the same. He draws his conclusions solely on a textual basis: The word 木乃伊 used by Tao Jiucheng and the names given by the “barbarians” 番人 (*banjin*) – *mumia* in Latin and *momii* in Dutch – sound similar. If an identity on the phonetic level is accepted, this could also mean that the Chinese author’s description of the “Country in the Direction of Heaven”³⁴ – where *munaiyi* 木乃伊 comes from – as lying at the extreme end of the “Western Sea” 海西 (*haixi* / *kaisei*) refers to the same place as “Arabiya”.³⁵

d. A dietetic text by Hara Seian 原省菴, the *Pearl of Light in the Night* 夜光珠 (*Yakô no tama*, 1728), has a short chapter entitled “A theory according to

31 Ibid. This sentence refers to the “superior man” as the model of moral superiority who would not make use of human flesh for medical purposes. As *mummy* is above all human flesh, Ekiken’s negative verdict concerning its medical effects seems to include both the opinions found among the populace as well as those listed in his first enumeration.

32 *Arai Hakuseki zenshû* 新井白石全集 (The Collected Works of Arai Hakuseki), ed. by IMAIZUMI Sadasuke 今泉定介, vol. 4, Kokusho Kankô Kai 1906: 831.

33 Ibid.

34 Tao Jiucheng did not use the expression *Tianfang guo* or “Country in the Direction of Heaven” but *Huihui tiandi* 回回田地. KOTEN KENKYÛ KAI 1972: 44; SBCK 3.15b. “Huihui” 回回 (the characters mean, e.g., “turning round and round” or “being in a state of confusion”) originally referred to the Turkish people of Central Asia, but – perhaps after their conversion – also came to denote Islam (*Huihui jiao* 回回教). By extension, 回回田地 can be taken as a name for Arabia. Li Shizhen read it in this way, as he substituted “Country in the Direction of Heaven” for *Huihui tiandi* when he quoted Tao Jiucheng’s entry on *miira*. LI Shizhen: *Bencao gangmu*, vol. 2, Beijing: Renmin Weisheng Chubansha 1957: 1831.

35 Ibid.

which mummy collectors by mistake turn into mummies” 木乃伊を取る者誤つてみいらに成ると云説.³⁶ The author recounts a popular story about the provenance of mummies: These hail from an extremely hot country, which lies below the equator. People there have to cross a broad desert of sand by riding on wagons made of earth.³⁷ When perchance they happen to fall off their vehicles they are scorched and turn into mummies. Others, who set out in order to collect these mummies sometimes share the fate of their unhappy fellows when their own earthen wagons fall apart. Seian calls this story a “groundless fabrication” 拠なき妄説 (*yoridokoro naki môsetsu*). Rather he favours the explanation given in the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage*: Elderly people of seventy or eighty years in the “Country in the Direction of Heaven” who want to rescue the world by sacrificing themselves give up all food and drink and nourish themselves only on honey until after a time their faeces and urine, too, turn into honey.³⁸ After death, they are interred in coffins

36 *Nihon eisei bunko* 日本衛生文庫 (The Storehouse for Japanese Writings on Health Care), ed. by ÔZAWA Kenji 大澤謙二, MIYAKE Shû 宮宅秀, reprint of the 1917 edition in three vols., vol. 3 (originally vol. 6), Kyôiku Shinchô Kenkyû Kai 1979: 315–16.

37 The saying that mummy hunters will turn into mummies themselves also found entry into belletristics. The *Masters' Line-up* 名人ぞろへ (*Meijin zoro*) contains the following paragraph: “The country from where mummies 木乃伊 come [hither] is to be found to the south of central India 天竺 (Tenjiku). Due to the sun being so strong [the place] should be called ‘Great Hell of Scorching Heat’ 大焦熱地獄 (*dai shônetsu jigoku*) [= one of the eight hells known in the Buddhistic traditon]. [People there] build boats from earth, fill water into crystals, make these into roofs, fix wheels to the boats, steer them near, and thus collect the mummies. If the kneading of the earth [used to make] the ships has been done badly, [the earth] bakes immediately and crumbles, and the one who had set out to collect mummies turns into a mummy [himself].” SNKBT 83: 8. The *Meijin zoro* is not dated but its editor, Kimura Yaeko 木村八重子, surmises that the paragraph above is a reflection of the *mummy* boom at the end of the 17th century. *Ibid.*: 2. Kimura remarks that the subject of *miira* as medicine also was taken up in a large number of *haiku* poems and that the anecdote of the mummy hunters can also be found in a number of other literary works. *Ibid.*: 7–8. (The author thanks Ms. Kuwabara Setsuko 桑原節子 of the Deutsch-Japanisches Zentrum Berlin for the information that mummies are mentioned in the *Meijin zoro*.)

38 It should be noted that Seian reads Tao Jiucheng’s account as representing a general social practice not just a singular event concerning only one person. Cf. pp. 78–79. For the account in the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage*, which was quoted by various Japanese authors remarking on mummies, cf. KOTEN KENKYÛ KAI 1972: 44; SKCK 3.15b–16a. In fact, Tao Jiucheng’s records contain another entry relating to the mummification of human corpses. In Part 14 under the heading “dried human meat” 人腊 (*renxi*) the author relates that once he had a chance to observe a specimen of what was advertised as “dried human meat”. This was about eighteen to twenty centimeters in length, its mouth, eyes, ears, and a nose did not differ from human beings, and it was of male gender. Measures to preserve

made from stone and filled with honey. After a hundred years have passed the sarcophagus is opened again, and by then its contents have completely turned into a medicine of honey. This is what is known as *miira*. When in case of fractures one partakes of it only a little bit, the injury will heal immediately. But even in Arabia it is difficult to come by this medicine. Another name for mummy is “honey man” 蜜人 (*mitsujin*). Seian concludes with the following words: “Anyway, these are the habits of “Western Barbarians” 戎 (*ebisu*), and such cannot be found in a country where the customs of the gods/spirits and the sages are practised.”³⁹

e. The negative attitude towards the application of human bodily substances for medical purposes is shared by the scholar Amano Sadakage 天野信景 (1661–1733). In his famous collection of notes, the *Saltheap* 塩尻 (*Shiojiri*), he laments the corruption of medicinal practice. The *Divine Husbandman's Classic of Fundamentals* 神農本經 (*Shennong benjing* / *Shinnô honkyô*)⁴⁰ totally relied on herbs and other plants for curing diseases and knew no need to kill living beings and use them as medicine. But cunning doctors 藤医 (*kitsui*) of subsequent ages condoned the killing of wild birds, animals, and insects for preparing their prescriptions. Still later, even such “impure and

this diminutive man had been taken after his death but Jiucheng is not sure whether the specimen he had seen really was identical with the original. He continues relating older accounts about countries with extremely small inhabitants of only a few inches height and wonders if it had been such a being that had been dried after death. KOTEN KENKYÛ KAI 1972: 139; SBCK 14.15ab. As far as I could ascertain, among Japanese accounts about mummies, it was only Yamaoka Matsuakira's 山岡俊明 (1712–80) that drew on the entry about “dried human meat”. Cf. p. 87.

39 *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (6): 315–16.

40 This certainly refers to the *Divine Husbandman's Classic of Fundamentals and Plants* [= *Materia Medica*] 神農本草經 (*Shennong bencao jing* / *Shinnô honzô kyô*). One of the primordial emperors of Chinese tradition, the Divine Husbandman was believed to be the originator of agriculture and medicine. He had tested the different herbs all by himself – in the process meeting with seventy two inimical plants in only one day – and instructed men in their medical use. An early reference to this belief can be found in the *Master Huainan* 淮南子 (*Huainan Zi* / *Enanji*). SBBY 19.1ab. The *Divine Husbandman's Classic of Materia Medica* as it is presently known was compiled and commented by Tao Hongjing (452–536) by making use of an earlier work of this title from the Han period, which was based on still older material. The *Documents of the [Former] Han-[Dynasty]* 漢書 (*Hanshu* / *Kanjo*) already speak of *materia medica* 本草 (*bencao* / *honzô*) although the expression can but must not refer to a book of that title. E.g. SBBY 12.7b. Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒 believes that records called “Materia Medica” and attributed to the Divine Husbandman first appeared in the Later Han period (25–220 CE). YAMADA Keiji: *Chûgoku igaku wa ika ni tsukurareta ka* 中国医学はいかにつくられたか (How Was Chinese Medicine Formed?), Iwanami Shoten 1999: 123–25 (Iwanami shinsho 599).

dirty substances” as “dead man’s pillow / bleached skull 死人枕 (or soul’s heavenlike cover 靈天蓋, *rei tengai*)” or the “human gall bladder” 人膽 (*jintan*) were used. Yet things got still worse: “And it is said that in recent years among the [South] Barbarian medicines 蛮藥 (*banyaku*) *miira* 木乃伊, too, is human flesh 人肉 (*jinniku*). Alas, that men are eaten by [other] men. The extremity of this breach of benevolence 不仁 (*fujin*) reaches to such heights; is it not something to be abhorred? Presuming that even if life can temporarily be prolonged by these things – what can they do about the number of life [years] that are limited [by Heaven]? And what is more, in general, books with recipes of a fabricated kind are numerous. How can one be confused [by them].”⁴¹

f. The article on mummies in the *Talks about the Red Hairs* 紅毛談 (*Kômô dan*, 1765) by the herbalist and botanist Gotô Rishun 後藤梨春 (1696–1771) resembles that by Kaibara Ekiken. It sets out with a general explanation and in the second half consists of an extensive list enumerating the diverse prescriptions for *miira*. Like Ekiken and Seian before him, Rishun does not mention the precise sources of his information. The entry in *Talks about the Red Hairs* commences with the phrase “in the tales of the barbarians 蕃人 (*banjin*) since ancient times” and thus would suggest written sources for the following account.⁴² However, both the format of the article as well as the narrative at the beginning resemble the corresponding passage in the *Materia Medica of Japan* to such a degree that one has to conclude that Rishun cannot but have been aware of Ekiken’s work. The main explanation for the origins of mummies concerns the country of “Nobisupanya” のびすぱんや. The details are identical with those in the *Materia Medica of Japan*. However, Rishun adds a further theory and his personal comment. The second explanation, too, has an equivalent in Ekiken’s work,⁴³ but Rishun provides more minutiae:

41 NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHÛ BU 日本隨筆大成編輯部 (ed.): *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 日本隨筆大成 (Great Collection of Miscellaneous Writings from Japan), 3rd period, vol. 13–18 (1930), reprinted as 3rd series, vol. 15, Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 1977: 285–86. Hayashi Wakaki already drew attention to this passage. Cf. HAYASHI Wakaki 林若樹 (Wakakichi 若吉): “Fushigi na yakuhin” 不思議な薬品 (Strange Medicines), in: *Fûzoku* 風俗 (Customs) 1.4, 1916: 8 (reprinted edition: Yumani Shobô 1993: 136). The reference to the limited span of life is based on the belief that “Heaven” had allotted man a lifespan of one hundred years. Cf. e.g. KINSKI 2003: 128–29.

42 GOTÔ Rishun: *Kômô dan*, in: KOKUSHO KANKÔ KAI 国書刊行会 (ed.): *Bunmei genryû sôsho* 文明源流叢書 (Library of the Primary Flow of Civilization), vol. 1, Kokusho Kankô Kai 1913: 441.

43 Namely the fifth explanation Ekiken mentions.

“According to another theory, it is said, that people who have been sentenced to death for their crimes, are cut open and their depot and palace organs⁴⁴ are removed, [then] one stuffs various drugs into their bellies, leaves them buried in the earth and [thus] makes mummies [out of them].”⁴⁵ Yet another version asserts that *miira* are made out of blood, that is “pressed” out from animals and then mixed with incense and resin.⁴⁶ But not even the “Red Hair people” 紅毛人 (*kômô jin*) are sure about these stories, and Rishun assumes “dubious/incredible explanations” あやしき説 to be numerous. Moreover, he is by no means convinced by the foreign visitors’ attempts to prove the existence of true mummies. The reason why the “barbarians” brought a complete mummy to Japan during the Genroku era 元禄 (1688–1704) as evidence that mummies do not in any way differ from human bodies was perhaps that they, too, had heard of these diverse “dubious/incredible explanations”.⁴⁷ Rishun’s comment on this is short: “Probably it was a fake.” He then relates the story told in the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage* and conjectures that this very narration provided the reasons for the production of man-shaped *miira* in order to convince people that such mummies really do exist.⁴⁸ It is interesting to notice that Rishun uses Tao Jiucheng’s account as a means to shed light on the origins of mummies as fakes. However, he does not seem to have doubted the efficacy of *miira* as a medicine either for generally strengthening the body when it suffers from internal maladies, or in the case of more specific ailments.⁴⁹

44 The “five depots” (or repository organs) 五臟 (*wuzang / gozô*) comprise “kidneys”, “liver”, “heart”, “spleen”, “lung”, while the “six palaces” (or management organs) 六腑 (*liufu / rikufu, roppu*) are the “stomach”, “small intestine”, “large intestine”, “bladder”, “gall”, and “triple burner” 三焦 (*sanjiao / sanshô*). 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 the “six palaces”. The “five depots” produce and/or store “vital energy”.

45 Ibid.: 441.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.: 441–42. In a short article on *miira*, the ethnologist Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠 (1867–1941) also cites Rishun’s explanation. He takes “Nobisupanya” to refer to Mexico. MINAKATA Kumagusu: “Miira ni tsuite” (On *miira*), in: *Minakata Kumagusu zenshû* 南方熊楠全集 (Complete Works of Minakata Kumagusu), vol. 3, Heibon Sha 1971: 320. This would seem correct as, e.g., in Shiba Kôkan’s 司馬江漢 (1738/47–1818) “Map of the Globe” 地球図 (*Chikyû zu*, 1792) Middle America bears the name “Nôhaisupanya” ノウハイスペインヤ (= Nova Hispania). It also meets with Ekiken’s statement that “Nobisuhanya” is not a hot country, at least not as hot as the place described in connection with the origins of *miira*. Minakata considers the tale about “Nobisupanya” to be the result of a

g. Still later, after the true advent of the intellectual movement known as Dutch Learning already had begun to take shape in earnest, one of its exponents, Morishima Chûryô 森島中良 (1754/6–1808/10),⁵⁰ in his *Miscellaneous Tales about the Red Hairs* 紅毛雑話 (*Kômô zatsuwa*, 1787) tells of trade caravans that set out from a country called “Barubariya” バルバリヤ in “Afurika” 亜弗利加 aiming for “Nêgorosu” ネーゴロス⁵¹ where large amounts of gold are produced.⁵² In order to reach their goal they have to travel a span of six months, two of which take them through a sand desert, where due to the extreme heat neither houses nor springs can be found. As there are no road markers either,⁵³ Chûryô calls this the world’s most arduous journey. Caravans are made up of two or three hundred persons who transport the necessary food and water on camels. However, as the travel groups often are beset by

time, when in Europe, too, certain knowledge about the origin of mummies was limited; matters got even more confused when in Japan European narratives met with those that had entered from China and were further amalgamated. He even suggests, that Rishun’s account – and by extension Ekiken’s which Minakata seemed to have been unaware of – may have been an adulterated version of the travels the Italian Ludovico di Varthema (ca. 1470 – ca. 1517) undertook in Arabia between 1502 and 1508. In the *Itinerario* (1510), Varthema described the desert between Medina and Mecca and commented on the fate of unfortunate travellers who died in the sands, turned into mummies, and ended up being used for the medical properties attributed to their desiccated flesh. Ibid.: 319. Minakata considers the tale about the “honey man” in the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage* not to be completely groundless, either, as Alexander the Great after death had been immersed in honey to preserve his body. Ibid.: 320. (This part of Minakata’s article was not part of his original version published in *Fûzoku* 2.4, 1917: 8–10 (reprinted edition: Yumani Shobô 1993: 384–86); it is contained as a later addition dated 1926.9.30 in the *Minakata zenshû*, vol. 3: 319–22).

- 50 Whereas one often finds the reading “Chûryô” (also “Nakayoshi”, “Nakara”) and 1754 as year of birth, “Chûrô” and 1756 are given by TOZAWA Yukio 戸沢行夫: *Katsurakawa ke no sekai. Edo geien no kiun* 桂川家の世界. 江戸芸苑の気運 (The World of House Katsurakawa. Trends of Edo’s World of Art), Tsukiji Shokan 1994: iii. As a member of the Katsurakawa family – prominent for their contributions to Dutch Learning and for the service some of its representatives rendered to the shogun as personal doctors – Chûryô is also known under the names Katsurakawa Hosai 桂川甫齋 and Hosan 甫齋. For convenience’s sake, I decided to follow the common reading “Chûryô”.
- 51 “Barubariya” can be easily recognized as Barbary, the northwestern part of the African continent (mainly the coastal districts of present-day Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia), whereas “Nêgorosu” most certainly is used as the name for “Black Africa”, especially the region around the “Gold Coast”.
- 52 MORISHIMA Chûryô: *Kômô zatsuwa*, in: KOKUSHO KANKÔ KAI (ed.): *Bunmei genryû sôsho*, vol. 1, Kokusho Kankô Kai 1913: 466.
- 53 Instead, Chûryô tells his readers, the travellers orient themselves by the position of the sun and – at night – of the stars.

strong northeasterly winds, they sometimes lose their way, and many travellers die. The dead are buried in the sand where they desiccate. Sometimes they are uncovered again by the winds, and if another caravan happens to pass by, these dried-up corpses are collected and treated as treasures of great value. The name for them is *miira* 木乃伊. Up to this point Chûryô had followed the explanations related by the “old writings” of “that country” 彼邦の旧書 (*kanokuni no kyûsho*).⁵⁴ Now he states that the “books of the barbarians” 蛮書 (*bansho*) give a different account: In the country “Ejitto” 厄入多 (i.e. Egypt) there is a prosperous place called “Arekisanteriya” アレキサンデリヤ, whose inhabitants are known for the extent of their “filial piety” 孝 (*kô*). They treat their dead with a variety of medical substances, wrap them in cloth and soak the bodies thus prepared in resin, before laying them in coffins. The latter are interred in caves where the bodies keep for more than a thousand years without decaying. With the passage of time the bodies of the dead acquire the qualities of a precious medicine. However, in recent years the inhabitants of that country open ancient burial chambers by force, destroy the coffins and sell the corpses at horrendous prices. In the “words of the barbarians” these corpses, which have been transformed into medicine are called *momii* モミイ, whereas in China the characters 木乃伊 were chosen to give an approximate phonetic rendering of the foreign word.⁵⁵ In Japan *miira* ミイラ is commonly used as the name for the same object. At the end of his account, Chûryô mentions that in the year he worked on the *Miscellaneous Tales about the Red Hairs*, the head of the Dutch trade post in Nagasaki brought a book to Edo, which showed the complete body of a mummy. But Chûryô’s curiosity did not end with just taking a sketch of this illustration. The reader learns that while Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733–1817), one of the most well-known figures of Dutch Learning, owned a skull, he himself had two pieces of *miira*, i.e. mummy, in his possession, a piece of spine and another bone. Chûryô even relates that these items still showed the imprint of the cloth which had been used to wrap the corpse.⁵⁶

h. Ôtsuki Gentaku’s 大槻玄沢 (1757–1827) treatment of mummy in the *New Account of Six Substances* 六物新志 (*Rokumotsu shinshi*, 1786)⁵⁷ probably

54 Ibid. “That country” is generally used as an expression meaning China; in this context it remains unclear as to which sources Chûryô had in mind.

55 Chûryô gives the sounds represented by the Chinese characters as *monoi*.

56 Ibid.

57 Another possibility for reading the title is *Rikubutsu shinshi*.

offers the most detailed exposition – amounting to twenty-one pages in the original – of the subject in Edo Japan.⁵⁸ It sets out with a description of how mummies were prepared in ancient “Egepute” 陋入多, a country belonging to the continent of “Afurika” 亜弗利加, what the Chinese call 利未亜 (Liweiya / Rimiya):⁵⁹ Priests prepared highly respected persons for mummification by removing the deceased’s brain matter (through the nostrils) as well as his intestines and filling the cerebral and abdominal cavities with various expensive medicines. Afterwards they laid the body in a coffin, which was then placed in a hall to be revered before being buried after some months. Less wealthy and honoured persons, however, could not afford such treatment and were buried according to “second-class rites”.⁶⁰ Since then already two thousand years have passed and mummification is no longer practised. After one thousand years the bodies have still not decayed, and if it happens that they are dug up they are considered a kind of “miraculous medicine” 奇藥 (*kiyaku*). In the country of “Arabiya” 亜蠟皮亜 this is called *momia* 摩蜜亜, which the Chinese write as 木乃伊. “However, these [mummies] were not prepared in order to be dispensed as medicine. Only for the reason that different medicines have imbued the blood and flesh and become one with them and [therefore] will make a good [= efficacious] medicine, are they considered as precious in [all the] world once they fall into the hands of men.”⁶¹ Gentaku’s enlightened view on mummies used as medicine is due to his reading of books from “West Oceania” 西洋. These he compared with older Chinese and Japanese

58 Yamawaki calls it “Japan’s first study of pharmaceutical mummy”. YAMAWAKI 1995: 165. A reproduction of an Edo period edition of this work in Chinese is included in *Edo kagaku koten sôsho* 江戸科学古典叢書 (Library of Classics on Science from the Edo [Period]), vol. 32, Kôwa Shuppan 1980: 83–103. The *Rokumotsu shinshi* was already considered an authority in the Edo period. In a short article on mummies explaining their geographical and historical origins in Ono Ranzan’s *Correction of [Ekiken’s] Materia Medica of Japan* 大和本草批正 (*Yamato honzô hisei*), the *New Account of Six Substances* is given as a reference work. Cf. EZ 6: 771.

59 The reading of the characters 利未亜 suggests that the name refers most likely to Libya.

60 This account bears close resemblance to the description given by Herodotus (Book II, 85–89) although the ancient Greek scholar had distinguished between three classes of mummy. Cf. *Herodotus. The Persian Wars, Book I–II*, with an translation by A.D. GODLEY, 1st ed. 1920 (rev. 1926), Cambridge Mass., London: Harvard University Press 2004: 369–73 (Loeb Classical Library 117). Gentaku probably drew his information on Egyptian burial habits and the process of embalming from one of the three European sources mentioned below.

61 *Ibid.*: 84. 然是本非為給藥用而作之者但以其諸藥血肉融合凝和而有可為良藥之理故遂落於人間之手而見貴重於世者也。

works replete with “distortions and forced meanings” 牽強傳會 (*kenkyô fu-kai*).⁶²

Gentaku mentions three European authorities, and in the following, he quotes extensively from them. Invariably, these are encyclopedic dictionaries. The first he attributes to the “Western doctor Hibuneru” 西医吸蒲涅兒. This refers to Johann Jacob Hübner (1668–1731), not a medical doctor but a paedagogue. Strictly speaking, he was not the author either, but responsible for the introduction to the work Gentaku used.⁶³ The Japanese scholar’s Chinese version of the article on “Mumia” is so close to the original as to be called a faithful rendering.⁶⁴ The most interesting passage occurs halfway through where it says that Egyptian mummies in Europe have a place in private collections – and in pharmacies. As to the latter, Gentaku writes: “Generally, for those [mummies] used in pharmacies one invariably chooses the items of the highest quality. The whole body is black-brown in colour, its meat is of a condition as if smoked. As for its quality, the lightest [in weight] is considered precious, while the desiccated one is not favoured. Only one full [of meat] and juicy is treated as an article of highest quality.”⁶⁵

62 These were due not to a deficit in wisdom when compared to European scholars but to a lack of precise information and the inability to gather exact knowledge due to the great distance (between East Asia and Egypt). *Ibid.*: 85.

63 In the German original the title is: *Curieuses und Reales Natur- Kunst- Berg- Gewerck- und Handlungs-Lexicon*, Leipzig: Joh. Friedr. Gleditschens sel. Sohn, 1712 (I compared Gentaku’s account with the 1736 edition of the *Natur-Lexicon*, published in Leipzig by Gleditsch). The descriptive subtitle introduces the work as an encyclopedic dictionary of expressions used in medicine, the natural sciences, commerce, production, and so forth. In his introduction, Hübner speaks of a large number of experts from diverse fields of science who worked on the book, with Paul Jacob Marperger (1656–1730) as the chief contributor, an economist and member of the Royal Society of Science in Berlin who was responsible for an earlier dictionary published in 1704, the *Reales Staats-Conversations- und Zeitungs-Lexicon*. Cf. “Vorrede”, 5ab. That Gentaku nevertheless considered the *Natur- Kunst- Berg- Gewerck- und Handlungs-Lexicon* as Hübner’s work probably is due to the Dutch translation (based on the sixth edition) by A.H. Westerhoff, which gave him as the author. Cf. *Algemeen kunstwoorden-boek der wetenschappen*, Leyden: D. Haak and S. Luchtmans 1734.

64 There are only slight differences. Thus, Gentaku has an additional sentence on people in contemporary Egypt who excavate mummies and sell them to foreign merchants that is not in the German edition. Cf. *Rokumotsu shinshi* 86–87.

65 凡藥局中所用者必撰其品之上好者總身其色黑褐而其肉恰如煙薰狀其質貴尤輒然不好枯燥但充實潤澤者為上之品也。 *Ibid.*: 87–88. In the original, this passage reads: “[...] oder man braucht auch solche Mumien in den Apothecken unter gewisse Artzeneyen. Die beste Art der Mumien ist, wenn sie gantz dunckel, schwartz-braun, wie hart geräuchert Fleisch aussehen, dabey aber auch hübsch fleischig, und doch leicht seyn.” *Natur-Lexicon*:

The second authority is “[W]ôetsu” 窩葉都, Johann Jacob Woyt (1671–1709), a professor of medicine in Königsberg and author of a successful medicinal dictionary, which contains an article on *mumia*.⁶⁶ Gentaku’s translation opens with a “pharmaceutical” description: “Mummies in their colour are black, their flesh is hard, of a condition like hardened resin. Their taste is bitter and pungent, the smell pleasant.”⁶⁷ In a later paragraph, the effects of treatment by this medicine are enumerated in some detail.⁶⁸ In between – together with some information on the custom of mummification – Egypt is given as the origin of mummies. But the medicinal concern is never far. The text distinguishes three classes of mummies – according to the substances used in preparation. For the first one an ingredient of the highest quality, a “resin [called] *barusamo* [= balsam]” 拔爾沙摩, as well as myrrh and other items were used. These were reserved for the burial of persons of the highest social rank, and their remains are the most precious among the imported mummies, even if extremely rare.⁶⁹ The other types were prepared with less expensive substances, but even then, only noble persons could afford the second best.⁷⁰ Of these the text says: “As for the [medicinal] efficaciousness of these corpses, although it falls behind that of the first class, there is no mistake in all of them being genuine mummies.”⁷¹

1364. The remainder of the article deals with the substances used for mummification, especially myrrh, the procedure, and the disability to reconstruct it in contemporary Europe with a similar result of making bodies impervious to decay. Gentaku cites an article on mummies from a second work that he attributes to Hübner, the *Comprehensive Record of the World* 坤輿統紀 (*Konyo tôki*; this might refer to the *Atlas Homannianus Illustratus*, Leipzig: Griesbach 1753). Cf. *Rokumotsu shinshi* 90–92. This contains a description of the pyramids, the burial chambers, and the way in which the ancient Egyptians laid their dead to rest. It also mentions the contemporary habit of breaking into burial sites and selling mummies to “visiting merchants from other countries”. *Ibid.*: 90.

66 *Gazophylacium medico-physicum, oder Schatz-Kammer medicinisch und natürlicher Dinge*, Leipzig: Lanck 1709. During the first half of the 18th century this work was brought up to date and reprinted more than fifteen times. A Dutch edition, *Gazophylacium medico-physicum, of schatkamer der geneesen natuurkundige zaaken*, was translated in part into Japanese by Hashimoto Sôkichi 橋本宗吉 (1763–1836) as *A Treasure Box with a Collection of Medical Subjects from West Oceania* 西洋医事集成宝函 (*Seiyô iji shûsei takarabako*) or, shorter, *A Treasure Box of Medical Subjects* 医事宝函 (*Iji takarabako*) in 1819 (the translated passages contain entries on inorganic substances – metals and minerals – and make no mention of mummy / *mummy*).

67 *Rokumotsu shinshi* 92.

68 *Ibid.*: 95. Cf. pp. 104–105.

69 *Ibid.*: 93

70 *Ibid.*

Gentaku's last source is a work by "Boisu" 撲伊私, Egbert Buys (d. 1769).⁷² This tackles the subject without medicinal references. Instead, the process of mummification is described in great detail and the custom explained as having developed out of a wish to preserve the dead body from decay.⁷³ In addition, the text mentions that in Egypt wild animals are mummified in imitation of the ancient method and sold to foreign countries, and it depicts a method of mummification, which achieves the preservation of the body without embalming.⁷⁴

The chapter ends with "Additional Deliberations" 附考 (*Fukô*). These contain an etymological explanation of the word *miira*,⁷⁵ as well as quotations from the *Classification of Materia Medica* and the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage* and some remarks on prior explanations of "mummy" by Japanese scholars.⁷⁶

71 Ibid.: 93–94. 其屍之功力亦雖劣於第一等亦皆不失真摩蜜亜也。In addition to these "genuine mummies" the text tells of a type found in Africa along the coast in white sand. These, the reader learns, have not been prepared by a process of embalming. Instead, the deceased persons have been washed with water and dried in the sun. As a result, their bodies have become extremely hard with no flesh except some tissue between the joints of bones. The text wonders how these, too, can be considered as medicine and denies them the status of *mummy*. It closes with refuting other views (e.g. that asphaltum used in preparing mummies could be used alone as a substitute to the same effect) and advises users only to choose the item of highest quality – to be found in pharmacies – which have been prepared by embalming and are black, glossy, of light weight, and with hard flesh. Ibid.: 95.

72 Ibid.: 95–98. Buys is the author of *Nieuw en volkomen woordenboek van konsten en wetenschappen. Bevatten de alle de takken der nuttige kennis, met naaukeurige beschryvingen, zo van de onderscheidene machines, werktuigen, gereedschappen, figuren, en ontwerpen dienende om dezelve op te helderen*, 10 vols., Amsterdam: S.J. Baalde 1769–78.

73 In vol. 7, Buys has an entry on "Mumie" in which he also explains the use of mummies – Egyptian ones as well as substitute articles – as a remedy. BUYS 1775: 536–38. The process of embalming, however, he explains in the entry "Balsemen" in the second volume. BUYS 1770: 34. It is probably from this text that Gentaku took the information in his opening paragraph on how in preparation of the corpse, the brain and intestines were removed and the cavities filled with myrrh and other substances. Also, the remarks on how the body is placed in a coffin and is then revered for several months in a hall before burial, resemble Gentaku's words at the beginning. Cf. *Rokumotsu shinshi* 96–97.

74 It is judged inferior to the "original method" since skin and bones become brittle. Ibid.: 98.

75 According to Gentaku, mummies are called *momia* 摩蜜亜 in Latin and *mômii* 摩蜜伊 in Dutch. Their names in Japanese are *miira* 蜜伊刺 and in Chinese 木乃伊. All these words are derived phonetically from *mômiafu* 摩蜜亜 (Gentaku gives *mômiafu* モーミアフ as the reading of 摩蜜亜 in two places), the Arab expression for bodies that have been buried after their embalming. Ibid.: 99.

Gentaku mentions that both Ekiken as well as Seian quoted from Tao Jiucheng's narration and that Hakuseki has a paragraph on the subject in his *Collected Glances at Different Words*, which he quotes in detail.⁷⁷ The exposition concludes with questions concerning the compatibility between Chinese and European explanations for mummies. Gentaku's argumentation focuses on two subjects. One of them is the question of the geographical origins of *miira*. Hakuseki had tentatively offered the opinion that the "Country in the Direction of Heaven" mentioned by Tao Jiucheng and "Arabiya" in "barbarian" sources are one and the same. Gentaku does not concur with this identification. For one, the name used by Chinese authorities does not denote one single location but refers to all "five [countries of] India" 五印度 (*Go Indo*).⁷⁸ Besides, mummies are not produced in "Arabiya" at all,⁷⁹ even though its merchants sell them to all parts of the world. Only because "Egepute", the place where they do come from, lies nearby they can easily be procured and traded to foreign countries.⁸⁰

Gentaku's second argument concerns his reading of Tao Jiucheng's account. Whereas Hara Seian had interpreted it as relating a general social habit, the scholar of Dutch Learning understands it as a singular event referring to just one elder person who turned into a "honey man" through his dietetics and the treatment accorded his body after death.⁸¹ This is not only clear from the

76 Ibid.: 98–103.

77 Ibid.: 100.

78 Ibid.: 100–101.

79 In fact, Gentaku emphasizes, Arabia does not even lie on the same continent as the geographical origin of mummies. Ibid.: 101.

80 Ibid.

81 This reading certainly is a valid interpretation of the Chinese original: 有年七八十歲老人自願捨身濟衆者. By contrast, Seian's rendering of the same sentence into Japanese suggests that he did not see the phenomenon of *miira* confined to one individual only: "As for *miira*, when people of the Country in the Direction of Heaven turn seventy or eighty years of age, there are those [among them] who wish to save the multitude [of their countrymen] by casting away [= sacrificing] their own bodies." 木乃伊は天方国の人年七八十歳になれば身を捨てて衆を濟はんと願ふ者あり (*miira wa Tenpô koku no hito toshi nana hachijûssai ni nareba mi o sutete shû o sukuwan to negau mono ari*). *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (6): 316. Cf. also n. 260. Scholars of Dutch Learning, of course were well versed in classical Chinese and, as Sugimoto Tsutomu so adamantly stresses, their knowledge of the European sciences owed much to their ability to read Chinese and thus had access to European works in Chinese translation. This is especially true of the scholarly generation to which Gentaku belonged. Cf. SUGIMOTO Tsutomu 杉本つとむ: *Edo no Oranda ryû ishi* 江戸の阿蘭陀流医師 (Edo Period Doctors in the Dutch Tradition), Waseda Daigaku

punctuation and reading notations Gentaku added to the words quoted from the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage*,⁸² but also from the following comment: “According to Tao Jiucheng’s explanation, there is only one body of mummy in all below Heaven.”⁸³ However, he argues, the amount of *miira* traded in all parts of the world through all the ages is unfathomable, and even in present times the supply is unbroken. As proof, Gentaku adduces the mummy skull kept in the house of his teacher, Sugita Genpaku,⁸⁴ as well as part of the spinal column in the possession of Morishima Chûryô. Both had been brought to Japan by ship, and he himself had a chance to see them.⁸⁵ Be it a single “state”, the whole “realm”, or all “six continents”, it cannot be measured how much mummy exists altogether. Certainly, that is the implicit suggestion, it amounts to much more than the remains of only one human body. This only shows that Tao Jiucheng’s explanation is based on a distortion of tradition; it does not deserve to be trusted. The same is even more true of a theory transmitted in Japan since olden times, which tells of a blazingly hot country in the extreme west where mummies can be found in the region of sunset. Rumour has it that those who set out to collect these often end as mummies themselves, and it is only a fortunate few who escape this fate and who are able to sell their booty in all the world. Gentaku calls this a “rotten tale of popular [imagination]” 世俗の腐談 (*sezoku no fudan*) and surmises that it might owe its origin to a distortion of the theory of a “white mummy” 白摩蜜垂 (*shiro momia*).⁸⁶ The existence of the latter is mentioned in the works of Woyt and another European authority, “Remerei” 列墨力伊.⁸⁷ They tell of people who are unable to bear the heat of “Rimia” 利未垂 (Africa) during their travels and die along the road. Their burned and bleached bodies are known as “white mummies”.⁸⁸ The chapter ends with a sharp warning: What

Shuppan Bu 2002.

82 Ibid.: 99–100.

83 Ibid.: 101. 又據陶氏之說則天下唯為一軀之木乃伊耳。

84 Gentaku calls him by one of his names as a writer, Isai 鷗齋。

85 Ibid.: 101–102.

86 Ibid.: 102. This anecdote is the same as the one recounted by Hara Seian. Cf. p. 68–69.

87 By this the French doctor and precursor of modern chemistry Nicolas Lemery (1645–1715) is meant. His pharmaceutical work was translated into Dutch as *Woordenboek of algemeene verhandeling der enkele droogerijen*, Rotterdam: Jan Daniel Beman 1743, and also came to Japan.

88 *Rokumotsu shinshi* 102–103. Lemery writes about this phenomenon in his article on *Mumia*. After explaining the ancient Egyptian method of embalming, he mentions that

Japanese and Chinese scholars relate based on hearsay or mere conjecture “is not far removed from the talk of children”. One has to be on guard against it.⁸⁹

mummies can also be found in the sands along the coasts of Libya. These are either dried or “calzinez par la chaleur du Soleil”. Nicolas LEMERY: *Dictionnaire ou traite universel des drogues simples*, 4th revised and enlarged edition, Rotterdam: Jean Hofhout 1727: 362. The entry is on a par with that found in the *Curieuses und Reales Natur- Kunst- Berg- Gewerck- und Handlungs-Lexicon* and the *Gazophylacium medico-physicum*. Concerning the medical use of *mumia*, Lemery states that genuine Egyptian mummies are extremely rare. What is sold in the drug stores are mostly faked articles made by “Jews and even Christians” from the “cadavres de diverses personnes”. One should look out for specimen that are “clean, nice, black, lustrous, and of a quite strong smell but not to the point of being disagreeable”. Such effects as “resisting gangrene”, helping to heal contusions, and keeping the blood from clotting in the body are attributed to its use. *Ibid.*: 363.

- 89 *Rokumotsu shinshi* 103. In *Distinguishing Confusions Concerning Theories about Holland* 蘭説弁惑 (*Ransetsu benwaku*, printed 1799; the introduction identifies this work as a collection of questions and answers exchanged by Gentaku and his students during a nocturnal meeting and written down by one of them, Arima Genchō 有馬元晁) *miira* みいら is mentioned in one question as a medicine about which many different theories circulate. However, the answer confines itself to the somewhat cryptic statement that explanations according to which *momia* もみあ is the “original name” and Chinese *monoi* (i.e. the Chinese reading given by Gentaku) 木乃伊 the phonetic reproduction are mistaken. The reader is advised to refer to the explanations in the *Rokumotsu shinshi*. *Bunmei genryū sōsho*, vol. 1, 1913: 501. — A “positivistic” approach to the subject of *miira* similar to Gentaku’s can be found in the *Miscellaneous Stories of Narabayashi [Jûbê]* 榎林雑話 (*Narabayashi / Yûrin zatsuwa*, 1799). Jûbê (1750–1801) was a member of one of the leading families of Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki and a scholar of Dutch Learning in his own right. Besides, he was acquainted with Ôtsuki Gentaku and participated in the latter’s celebration of the “Dutch New Year” 阿蘭陀正月 when staying in Edo in 1798. He also knew Isaac Titsingh (1744–1812; director of the factory in Nagasaki 1779–80 and 1781–83) from whom he received the Dutch edition of Noël Chomel’s (1633–1712) *Dictionnaire oeconomique*, which later became the focus of an ambitious translation project. This work, at least in its enlarged edition of 1767, contains only a short entry on *momie* stating that this is the name given in the area of pharmacy to “human fat” (*axonge humaine*). Noël CHOMEL: *Dictionnaire oeconomique*, revised and enlarged by L.-H. de LaMarre, Paris: Ganeau et al. 1767: 561. Probably Jûbê used other sources for his remark on mummies: “Miira 木乃伊. The original name is *mieumiyaa* ミエウミヤア (honey man). Comes from Italia イタリヤ, Persia ハルシヤ and other [countries]. As for these, when one stuffs the belly of a human corpse with a medicine called balsam バルサモ, even though many years pass its form will not decay. People who want the outward appearance of their ancestors to exist for a long time treat [their dead] in this manner, insert them into a box and [thus] preserve their corpses. There are buildings like temples where these are kept in large numbers. They are provided with inscriptions so that they are easy to find. Those among them that come out of these [buildings] are the *miira*.” This

2. Mummy and the Dutch Trade

In his study of the Dutch influence in Tokugawa Japan, C.R. Boxer identifies *miira* as “a sweet scented balm from Arabia, used for medicinal purposes and embalming corpses”.⁹⁰ The testimony given by contemporary Japanese scholars leaves little doubt that Boxer was mistaken in his conclusion. What the Dutch sold in Japan as *mumia* or *mummy* and what became known as *miira*⁹¹ there, were human bodies – whole or in parts – or supposed to be

explanation, as Hayashi Wakaki noticed, was quoted by Yamazaki Yoshishige (Bisei) [山崎美成 (1797–1856) in an entry from 1815 in his essayistic *Records from the [Four] Seas* 海録 (*Kairoku*). Therein Yoshishige mentions that a medicine called *miira* 木乃伊 is also known as “honey man”. It is so often in people’s mouths (figuratively speaking) that a proverb like “Questers for mummies turn into mummies themselves” could arise, and the subject of mummies could even turn into a bedside story for children. The *Classification of Materia Medica* has an article on *miira* and cites the passage from the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage*. But as commonly known, Yoshishige argues, this explanation is of dubious worth. Instead, he suspects that what presently courses as *miira* has been made by mixing incense and myrrh and is identical to what the *Classification* calls “genuine sweat” 質汗 (*zihan / shikkan*). HAYASHI 1916: 10 (138). Cf. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1374.

90 C.R. BOXER: *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600–1850. An Essay on the cultural, artistic and scientific influence exercised by the Hollanders in Japan from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff ²1950: 175.

91 Ranzan speaks of 木乃伊 and gives *miira* as a reading for this word. However, the characters were chosen – irrespective of their meaning – for their sound in Chinese – *munaiyi* – as a phonetic rendering of foreign words for “mummy”. Strictly speaking, therefore, *miira* is not the generic reading of the characters it has become combined with. Where the Chinese word for mummy is quoted, as e.g., in Morishima Chûryô’s *Kômô zatsuwa*, it is accompanied by reading helps, that are close to the Chinese sound: *monoi* ものい in Chûryô’s case. KOKUSHO KANKÔ KAI 1913: 466. In many Edo period documents, *miira* is written in *katakana*. In others, Chinese characters are chosen that in their Japanese reading sound like *miira*. Yamawaki gives some examples – 美伊良, 身伊羅, 身胃羅, 密伊刺 – and inquires into the origins of *miira*: It is his conjecture that the Chinese choice of characters and their sound did not at first enter Japan, as the Chinese rejected using human remains for pharmaceutical purposes on moral grounds and did not sell *mummy* in Japan. Instead, the item and the word for it came to the country via European – Portuguese initially – sources. An indication for this, in Yamawaki’s interpretation, is the classification of *mummy* as a “[South] Barbarian medicine” 蛮薬 (*banyaku*) in, e.g., Ekiken’s *Yamato honzô*. However, according to Yamawaki, trade with the foreigners may have caused the confusion of originally distinct articles: Portuguese ships sold both *mummy* and myrrh, the latter for its preservative properties. When advertising the former, for which no word existed in Japanese, they may well have explained it as a “desiccated human corpse preserved with myrrh”. Over the course of time, the distinction between corpse and the substance used for its preparation blurred and the human remains themselves took on the name “myrrh” (which in Portuguese is *mirra*). YAMAWAKI 1995: 162–63. Yamawaki does not give any documentary support for his theory. Indeed, he does not show that Portuguese traders already brought *mummy* to Japan. But still, the similarity between Portuguese

human bodies to which extraordinary medicinal properties were attributed. Ishida Chihiro reproduced some of the lists from the Dutch trade register at Nagasaki where *mumia* and the quantity delivered by boat is mentioned, but otherwise relies for his scanty information on this product on the work of Yamawaki Teijirô.⁹² The latter gives a general overview of the medical use of *mummy* in Edo period Japan and the learned discussions revolving around it.⁹³ The Dutch trade registers indicate *mummy* for the first time in 1648.⁹⁴

mirra and Japanese *miira* as well as the fact, that myrrh was used in the preparation of mummies might still provide the most plausible explanation for the origins of the Japanese word as due to a confounding of words and concepts. Minakata Kumagusu, too, had proposed the origins of Japanese *miira* in the Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian word for “myrrh” (*mirra*), which can be traced back to Greek and Latin roots. Thus, the encyclopedic *Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Three Agencies [=Universal Phenomena] of Japan and China* 和漢三才図会 (*Wakan sansai zue*, printed 1713) gives the “barbarian” word *meira* 女伊羅 for the Chinese name 没藥 (*motsuyaku*) under which “myrrh” is known, too. MINAKATA 1971: 315. According to Herodotus, Minakata observes, myrrh was used in ancient Egypt for embalming the dead, and he surmises that since myrrh was one of the main ingredients of the substance found in the cavities of embalmed bodies and called “mummy” (he writes *mamumi* マムミ) in Arabian sources, this substance at first came to be known as *miira* and in the end the embalmed corpses themselves were called *miira*. Ibid.: 315–16, 318.

92 ISHIDA Chihiro 石田千尋: *Nichiran bôeki no shiteki kenkyû* 日蘭貿易の史的研究 (A Historical Study of Japanese Dutch Trade), Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 2004: 37. No mention of *mummy* is made in Hattori Toshirô’s 服部敏良 voluminous contribution to the field of medical history, *Edo jidai igaku shi no kenkyû* 江戸時代医学史の研究 (A Study of the Medical History in the Edo Period). Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 1978, nor in Sakai Shizu’s 酒井シズ slightly less comprehensive *Nihon no iryô shi* 日本の医療史 (A History of Medical Treatment in Japan), Tôkyô Shoseki 1982. Sôda Hajime in his survey of imported medicines only mentions the use of mummies for medicinal purposes in medieval and early modern Europe in passing. SÔDA 1993 (2): 277.

93 Although both HAYASHI 1916 and MINAKATA 1917/1971 had written on the subject, they are not mentioned by Yamawaki. Minakata’s original article, however, is mainly devoted to the etymological roots of Japanese *miira* in European words for myrrh and myrrh’s usages.

94 In fact, *mummy* already makes an appearance somewhat earlier in the relations between the Dutch factory and the Japanese government. The factory head Pieter Anthoniszoon Overtwater mentions the presentation of *mummy* as a gift to the shogun during his New Year’s stay in Edo in the entry for the 25 January, 1645. MURAKAMI 1957, vol. 2: 28. Parallel to this, the shogunal records of the time, the *Honourable True Accounts of his Lordship Hall of the Grand Plan* (= Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光, r. 1623–51) 大猷院殿御実記 (*Daiyûin dono on jikki*) register the receipt of “five *monme* 匁 [= about 20g] of *miira* みいら” for the first year of the era Shôhō 正保, 12th month, 28th day (1645). KOKUSHI TAIKEI HENSHÛ KAI 国史大系編修会 (ed.): *Kokushi taikai* 国史大系 (Great Collection of Japanese History), vol. 40, Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 1964: 379. Five years later, a similar entry appears in the Japanese annals for Keian 慶安 3-3-7 (7 April, 1650):

The respective entry says that the “Great Inspector” 大目付 (*ometsuke*) Inoue Masashige 井上政重 (1585–1661) received a quarter pound of *momie* from the factor Frederik Coyett during the latter’s visit to Edo.⁹⁵ In subsequent years there are a number of records showing that *mummy* entered the country in small quantities,⁹⁶ until the two Dutch ships that arrived in 1673 brought a record sum of 648 lb of *mummy* into Nagasaki harbour.⁹⁷ Unfortunately the Dutch registers are incomplete for the following period. The next entry in Yamawaki’s account is from 1696, when four *kin* 斤⁹⁸ were sold to the Edo merchant Fushimiya Shirôbê 伏見屋四郎兵衛. Thereafter, *mummy* disappears from the Dutch records for several decades.⁹⁹

Yamawaki drew the conclusion from his data that two periods can be marked off in which the use of *mummy* for medical purposes evinced heightened popularity. The first centered around the Enpô 延宝 period (1673–81).¹⁰⁰

During Antonio van Broeckhorst’s New Year’s visit, *mummy* is presented as a gift from the Dutch “King” 国王 (*kokuô*). Ibid.: 637.

- 95 Ibid.: 159. According to Wolfgang Michel, Masashige suffered from haemorrhoids, bladder stones, and a catarrh. Since his own doctors could not help him, the medical members of the Nagasaki factory, beginning with Caspar Schamberger in 1650, were invariably invited to Masashige’s residence during their sojourns in Edo. The high official’s preoccupation with foreign medicine became so famous that it even left traces in a witty poem quoted by Michel: “Today there are *mummy*, bezoar, and unicorn – the good for nothing panacea of His Excellency Inoue”. Cf. Wolfgang MICHEL: “Hans Juriaen Hancko. Ein Breslauer in Japan”, in: *Dokufutsu bungaku kenkyû*, No. 46 (Fukuoka, 1996), pp. 59–88.
- 96 In 1650 the government in Edo was presented with “1 stuck *momie*”, and the *Journal of [the Eras from] Magnanimous [and Everlasting to] Enlightened [Calendar]* 寛明日記 (*Kanmei nikki*), an official record in annal style, lists the same item as *miira hyaku me* みるひゃく目 (“one hundred *me* [about 375g] of *miira*”, with *me* serving as a short form of *monme*). As Yamawaki comments, this is an early example for the identification of Dutch *momie* and similar words with *miira* in Japanese. YAMAWAKI 1995: 159. In 1653 one hears of a piece of *miira* weighing 120 *monme* (ca. 450g), for 1655 there are “three pounds and two ounces” of *mummy*, and 1660 lists another entry. All of these items were sold in Edo. However, in case of the example from 1660, of six *tael* (or *ryô* 両 in Japanese; about 225g), one half was given to the Nagasaki Commissioner as a gift, the other half disposed of in Edo. Ibid.
- 97 Of these, 628 lb (or 301.44 kg in Yamawaki’s reckoning) were sold. Yamawaki estimates that this equals more than 60 full *miira*, assuming a weight of five kg for a complete Egyptian mummy. Ibid.
- 98 One *kin* generally was the equal of 160 *monme* or about 600g. Taking fluctuating rates into account, Yamawaki arrives at 128 *monme* for 1 lb in the middle of the 17th century. Ibid.
- 99 Ibid.
- 100 Yamawaki speaks of a “*mummy* boom”. Ibid.: 167.

During these years, demand reached an extent that could not be satisfied with original mummies anymore so that surrogates entered the market. Testimony to this is given by Endô Genri 遠藤元理, a producer of pharmacopeia in Kyoto, in his *Distinguishing Doubts Concerning Materia Medica* 本草辨疑 (*Honzô bengi*, 1681). Genri describes two types of *miira*. One is of first class quality, and it can be recognized by the marks left on the pieces of mummy (or what is sold as *mummy*) by the cloth used for wrapping the corpses. The other is the “new delivery” 新渡り (*shinwatari*) type. It does not show any fabric traces, it still contains some humidity, and in most cases it is actually made from horse meat.¹⁰¹ In a collection of funny stories by the Master of Allegories 寓言子 (Gûgen Shi) the *Weed/Booklet of First [Bird] Songs as a Great Mirror of Stories* 初音草嘶大鑑 (*Hatsune gusa hanashi ôkagami*, 1698) cited by Hayashi Wakaki and Minakata Kumagusu, one reads: “Even though there existed the [notification] board [stipulating] the suspension of the selling and buying of faked medicines にせ薬種売買御停止の札 (*nise yakushu baibai on teishi no fuda*), [the fact] that in recent years *miira* became numerous is due to fakes [being available] in society in large amounts. When told to sell with more care, the apothecary got angry and said, ‘As proof that it is a true body I will show you the complete form and sell it to you.’ Looking at it the hemp garment, which stuck to the [body’s] skin, bore a crest with the character for ‘small’ 小 inside a square frame. [Bursting with laughter] people clapped their hands and said, ‘Well, well, so there is someone called Arashi Sanemon 嵐三右衛門¹⁰² in China/Overseas 唐¹⁰³, too; this probably is a fake.’”¹⁰⁴

101 Ibid.: 168. Based on a comparison of prices, Yamawaki surmises that the 648 lb of *mummy* that arrived in 1673, corresponded to this “new delivery” type. In 1648, Inoue Masashige had to pay more than thirteen *monme* of silver for a quarter pound of *mummy*, which adds to a little more than 55 *momme* in the case of a whole pound or, following the exchange rates of that time, about 69 *monme* for one *kin*. However, the price asked for by the Dutch factory in 1673 was less than one third of this, just twenty *monme* of silver to one *kin*. Ibid.

102 “Arashi Sanemon” is a name used by actors of the Kabuki theatre. The first Arashi Sanemon (1635–90) was active during the Genroku period in the late 17th century and a popular figure at the time this anecdote was written down.

103 The character for “Tang dynasty”, *tô* – or *kara*, as it can also be read – does not necessarily only mean China but includes other East Asian countries as well. One of the etymological explanations for *kara* holds that it has its root in the name for the Korean principalities (*Kara* 伽羅 in Japanese), which maintained strong ties with the Japanese rulers during the sixth century and which served as one of the channels through which elements of continental (Chinese and Korean) culture entered Japan. Thus, *karamono* (or *tômotsu* as the corresponding characters could be read in the Edo period – in contrast to

That a surrogate for the genuine item enjoyed widespread popularity can also be gleaned from the *Talks of the Past Long Ago by an Old Man of Eighty* 八十翁疇昔話 (*Hachijû ô mukashibanashi*):¹⁰⁵ Sixty or seventy years ago, between 1670 and 1680, a medicine known as *miira*¹⁰⁶ was in such great favour that everyone made use of it, whether high officials, regional lords or the common people. It was believed to have a remedial effect on diseases like abdominal convulsions 癩氣 (*shakki*) and “obstructions [of the breast]” 痞 (*tsukae*), as well as to invigorate the general disposition of a body’s “vital energy” 氣 (*ki*). No one suffering from digestive problems or various other kinds of ailments who did not ingest it. Pharmacies everywhere sold it, and especially a shop in Edo’s Akasaka district called Ôsakaya offered what became known as *Akasaka miira* at cheap prices. Whereas the Nagasakiya

tôbutsu ya as the appellation for dealers in such goods) could be foreign goods in general, and Chinese articles in particular. Records from the Heian period show that items were inventoried according to their origin in Korea (or one of the Korean kingdoms) or in China (the appellation *tô* was kept even after the demise of the Tang dynasty). Chinese goods entered the country in considerable quantities during periods of intense trade relations, ranging from articles of everyday use to luxury items (a peak in this respect was the Muromachi period). In Edo times, Chinese articles were in vogue, as were imported curiosities from other, even European countries, and so-called “merchants of Chinese articles” satisfied the demand for Chinese articles at first, and for other foreign items later. The funny remark in this anecdote can be understood as a clear indication that people were aware of the foreign origins of the medicine called *mummy*.

- 104 HAYASHI 1916: 8 (136); MINAKATA 1971: 318. Minakata concluded that this tale “suffices to see that in those times the sale of dried human meat thrived”. Ibid.
- 105 Originally written during the Kyôhō 享保 era (1716–36) and containing the author’s recollections of the past, this work is also known by other titles such as *Talks from Long Long Ago* 昔々物語 (*Mukashi mukashi monogatari*) and was printed in 1838. Due to the existence of handwritten copies of the text giving different authors there is some uncertainty as to whom it should be attributed. Yamawaki gives Shinmi Denzaemon Masatomo 新見伝左衛門正朝 (1650–1742), a minor shogunal retainer, as the author. Ibid.: 168. This view was contested by Mori Senzō 森銑三 in his “Deliberations on *Talks from Long Long Ago*” むかしむかし物語考 (*Mukashi mukashi monogatari kô*). Cf. Mori Senzō *chosaku shû*, vol. 11, Chûô Kôron Sha 1971. The *Great Collection of Miscellaneous Writings from Japan* (*Nihon zuihitsu taisei*) followed Mori’s argumentation and attributed the *Hachijû ô mukashibanashi* to Takarazu Shusō 財津種葵 (about whom nothing is known). Cf. NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHÛ BU (ed.): *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, 2nd period, vol. 2 (1928), reprinted as 2nd series, vol. 4, Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 1974: 2–3. In a newer edition, Kumakura Isao 熊倉功夫 adduces the arguments for both versions of authorship but concludes that decisive evidence is lacking for each case. There is consensus, however, that the *Hachijû ô mukashibanashi* was written in 1732 or 1733. Cf. TANIKAWA Kenichi 谷川健一 (ed.): *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryô shûsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成 (Collection of Historical Documents on the Way of Life of Japan’s Common People), vol. 8, Sanichi Shobô 1969: 387–88.

sold its wares at prices ranging from fifteen to thirty *sô* 双,¹⁰⁷ one could obtain *Akasaka miira* for a mere three to five *sô*.¹⁰⁸ According to the *Talks of the Past Long Ago*, this item was produced by mixing two or three different drugs together with resin. It had neither healing properties, nor did it cause harm. “It was a medicine without any benefits.¹⁰⁹ For seven, eight years it remained extraordinarily popular, then it gradually expired.”¹¹⁰ Nasu Tsunenori quotes a work¹¹¹ conveying a similar impression: At about the middle of the 17th century *mummy* gained popularity as a remedy among the regional lords who partook of it three or four times a day. But among the common populace, too, there was neither man nor women who did not make use of it. The text refers to the *Secrets of Medicinal Methods* 医方口訣 (*Ihō kuketsu*), which reports of the “barbarians” selling dried corpses since as early as the Tenshō

106 Whereas the writing for *miira* in the *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* edition is みいら, the version used in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* speaks of “honey man” 蜜人 (*mitsujin*). NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHŪ BU 1974: 152.

107 One *sô* here is equivalent to one *monme* (3.75g) of silver.

108 The *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* edition has an additional sentence in which the author surmises that despite the low prices the annual costs for *mummy* will amount to a considerable sum, as people who use this medicine are wont to take it three or four times a day. TANIKAWA 1969: 403.

109 And this, as the *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* edition says, although there are neither men nor women who do not partake of it. Ibid. Mizue Renko 水江漣子 in her annotations on the above edition cites further comments that explain *miira* as concoction of various ingredients: Yamazaki Yoshishige 山崎美成 (1797–1856), born the son of a merchant of medicines, introduced *miira* as a “[South] Barbarian medicine” 蛮薬 (*banyaku*) in his *Records from the Sea* 海録 (*Kairoku*) and explains it as a type of “olibanum and myrrh” 乳香没薬 (*nyūkō botsuyaku*). A work from the Meiwa 明和 era (1764–72), Wada Masamichi’s 和田正路 *Many Differing Claims* 異説まちまち (*Isetsu machimachi*), argued that *miira* was not made of human remains but from resin which was mixed together with “some other creature [= organic matter?]” 何か生類 (*nanika shōruū*). TANIKAWA 1969: 426. Wada Masamichi even relates that in the past a group of bandits in the vicinity of Mount Ōe 大江山 (near Kyoto) fabricated this false *mummy* and that this practice was forbidden by law. NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHŪ BU (ed.): *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, 1st period, vol. 9 (1927), reprinted as 1st series, vol. 17, Yoshikawa Kōbun Kan 1976: 140.

110 YAMAWAKI 1995: 169. Yamawaki’s version of the text is identical with the one on which the edition of *Hachijū ō mukashibanashi* in the *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* is based. Cf. *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, 2nd series, vol. 4, Yoshikawa Kōbun Kan 1974: 152–53. This account is also cited by Nasu Tsunenori 那須恒徳 in his *Talks about Medicine from this Court* [= *Japan*] 本朝医談 (*Honchō idan*, printed 1822).

111 Nothing was found about this *Shinmi / Niimi monogatari* 新見物語 (the title could mean *Tales of Things Recently Seen*, but “Shinmi” / “Niimi” could also be a name).

天正 and Bunreki 文禄 periods (1573–92 and 1592–96). No one knew how *miira* was produced, but its smell was extremely repulsive. Although its popularity gave it the status of a panacea the author wonders how such a vile substance could have been held in high esteem and he considers the pollution of one's "spirit/soul" by using it as "folly in the extreme" 愚の甚しき (*oroka no hanahadashiki*). He suggests that there are more proper medicines for all kinds of disease. "Why use vile and malodorous corpses?"¹¹²

Disbelief in the authenticity of *miira* as human bodily matter is also very pronounced in the *Deliberations on Famous Things Assembled According to Kind* 類聚名物考 (*Ruiju meibutsu kô*), an encyclopaedic work by Yamaoka Mitsuakira from the late 18th century. The author explains: "*Miira* みいら¹¹³ is a word of the South Barbarians. It denotes turning human beings into cured meat 乾物 (*himono*).¹¹⁴ [However], these things [offered as *miira*] in fact are not genuine. They are all fakes. In the countries of the West, too, one says so. In Elder Arai Hakuseki's *Collected Glances at Different Words* there is a detailed deliberation [on this]. Nowadays one finds this thing sometimes in apothecaries."¹¹⁵ Following this a full rendering of Tao Jiucheng's entry on "dried human meat" is given without any further comment.

The second phase of extraordinary *mummy* demand started around the middle of the 18th century. And then it was not the substitute type which dominated trade but "genuine" *mummy*, as evidenced by entries in the Dutch registers. After 1696 it is mentioned again in 1743 when, in compliance with an order by the 8th shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684–1751, ruled 1716–45), more than 6 pounds were delivered. In 1749 a Dutch ship entered Nagasaki harbour bearing "mumie off gedroogd menschevless 25 ponden" ("*mummy* of dried human flesh 25 pounds"), which had been ordered by the 9th shogun, Tokugawa Ieshige 徳川家重 (1711–61, ruled 1745–60).¹¹⁶ Ieshige had bought 25 lb already in 1746,¹¹⁷ and from 1756 onwards the Dutch resumed the trade in *mummy* in Nagasaki.¹¹⁸ The reopening of *mummy*

112 Ibid. Both passages from the *Honchô idan* can be found in SHIMIZU 1949: 117–18.

113 As synonyms for *miira*, the entry gives "honey man" and "dried human meat". "Honey man" is the heading of the following paragraph with the synonyms *miira* みいら and *miira* 木乃伊. This entry only consists of a quotation of Tao Jiucheng's account of mummification by using honey.

114 Literally "dried goods", the expression refers to salted and/or dried sea products.

115 YAMAOKA Mitsuakira: *Ruiju meibutsu kô*, vol. 6, Kondô Katsuhan Sho 1904: 647.

116 Ibid.: 158.

117 Ibid.

trade signifies, in Yamawaki's interpretation, that it was meant to satisfy the medicinal needs of the common populace.¹¹⁹ This assumption is borne out by the remarks on the relations with Japanese merchants described in the diaries of Dutch factory heads.¹²⁰ At the same time it can be interpreted as one moment in the general efforts by the Dutch authorities to give new incentive to the trade with Japan. From the middle of the 18th century, not only trade with *materia medica* but with other products such as wheat, sulphur, or timber, too, either was taken up again or widened in scale.¹²¹ From the *Journal van de Negotie des Comptoirs Nangasackij*, Yamawaki picked up the following amounts: 1756 = 24 5/8 pounds of *mummy*; 1757 = 23 5/8 lb, 1759 = 57 5/8 lb, 1766 = 48 1/4 lb, 1767 = 77 1/4 lb, 1774 = 112 1/4 lb, 1775 = 96 3/4 lb, 1776 = 96 5/8 lb, 1777 = 116 lb, 1778 = 123 2/8 lb, 1779 = 116 lb, 1780 = 116 1/4 pounds.¹²²

However, the resumption of *mummy* trade and the increase in volume caused a decrease of profits in the long run. Whereas in response to the orders by Yoshimune and Ieshige in 1743 and 1746 a trade price of eight Dutch *stuiver/stüiver*¹²³ per one pound of *mummy* had to be paid, in 1749 the amount had doubled. By 1756 it was at seventeen *stuiver* per pound and it continued to rise.¹²⁴ On the other hand, retail prices had been fixed by the Japanese authorities.¹²⁵ Thus, while the profit margin was more than 55 percent in 1755, it dropped to 39 percent in 1780.¹²⁶

Yamawaki does not trace the history of *mummy* in Japan to its end. He terminates his account at the end of the 18th century. Owing to the war between England and the Netherlands, trade activities of the Dutch East

118 The Dutch entries for the substance in question vary: *mumie*, *mumia*, *momie*. Ibid.: 159.

119 YAMAWAKI 1995: 170.

120 Cf. pp. 89–90.

121 Ibid.: 170–71. For a comprehensive study of Dutch trade activities cf. ISHIDA 2004.

122 YAMAWAKI 1995: 172.

123 Yamawaki gives twenty *stuiver* per one *florin*. Ibid.: 171 (in 1601 there were 28 *stuiver* to one *gulden*).

124 It went up to about sixty *stuiver* (or three *florin*) in 1778. Ibid. That the price in 1756, when the *mummy* trade in Nagasaki resumed, was nearly at the level paid for wares delivered to the shogun in 1749, is an indication for Yamawaki that the merchandise for the general consumer was of the same quality as that offered to the shogun, and therefore, contrary to the earlier boom of surrogates, “genuine” *miira*. Ibid.

125 The number given by Yamawaki is 34 *monme* of silver per one *kin* (about 600 g). Ibid.

126 Ibid.

Indian Company suffered from severe disruptions after 1780 and the *mummy* trade in Nagasaki nearly came to a close between 1781 and 1798. The year when the company was dissolved, 1799, saw again a delivery of 93 pounds. Thereafter, Yamawaki notes, *miira* entered Japan only sporadically and in small quantities.¹²⁷ Still, the demand on the Japanese side seems to have continued unabated: The *opperhoofd* Jan Cock Blomhoff¹²⁸ writes in his diary for Tuesday, 20 October, 1818, that he delivered newly arrived *miira* (as well as other medicines such as quicksilver) to the Japanese merchants in Nagasaki.¹²⁹ This probably was “genuine” *miira*, since Blomhoff enters it in the trade register as “Mumia Egiptica” with a price of just over twenty *tael* offered by the prospective customers.¹³⁰ But the demand could not always be met. There are no prices given in the lists for 1819 and 1820. Instead, on Thursday, 27 July, 1820, Blomhoff writes in his diary that he could not provide *mummy* and had to apologize to the merchants who had come in expectation of a new delivery.¹³¹ At the end of the same year, however, he mentions it as substitute for other goods that had been ordered but could not be delivered.¹³² Insecurities of this kind continue to mark the trade in medicines: For the next year, Blomhoff’s diary shows that he still accepts orders but feels obliged to make potential customers aware that he cannot promise a new delivery of *mummy*. At the same time he suggests other products as

127 Ibid.: 171–72.

128 Born in 1779, Blomhoff filled this position for six years beginning in 1817.

129 NICHIRAN GAKKAI 日蘭学会 (ed.): *Nagasaki Oranda shōkan nikki* 長崎オランダ商館日記 (Diaries of the Dutch Trade Post in Nagasaki), vol. 7, Yūshō Dō Shuppan 1996: 217. In 1803 *mummy* appears in the *Explanation of Various Products Delivered by Ship in Seventy Articles* 舶来諸産解説七拾条 (*Hakurai shosan kaisetsu shichijū jō*), a survey about medicinal substances left by Nakajima Shinbē 中島真兵衛, an official investigator of medicines in Nagasaki: “Red Hair [barbarian] word: *myumya*” ミユミヤ. Latin word: *myumiē* ミイミエ. Chinese word: *zhihan / shikkan* 質汗. Common name: *miira* ミイラ. Appears in Book 34 of the *Classification of Materia Medica* 本草綱目. Although it is said that [this substance] is made by mixing and then boiling different medicines with hot blood, the fact that this is a human body is completely obvious. In the case of various blood ailments it is powdered and ingested together with wine; moreover it stops the pain when fixed to the place ailing from injuries [incurred by] blows.” Cited according to the edition in SŌDA 1993 (2): 320.

130 Ibid., vol. 9, Yūshō Dō Shuppan 1998: 45.

131 Ibid., vol. 8, Yūshō Dō Shuppan 1997: 269.

132 Cf. Thursday, 2 December, 1820. Ibid., vol. 9, Yūshō Dō Shuppan 1998: 82. The trade inventory for this year includes an order of 100 pieces of *miira* on Wednesday, 29 November, which can be interpreted as signifying unabated demand. Ibid.: 78.

substitutes in case the ordered item does not arrive with the next ship.¹³³ The last entry of *miira* in the records left by Blomhoff occurs on Friday, 22 August, 1823. The doctor onboard of the newly arrived “De Drie Gezusters” had several pounds of *mummy* with him.¹³⁴ As this item was among the most important singled out by Nagasaki’s magistrate (*Nagasaki bugyô*), Blomhoff reserved it for storing in the warehouse with goods reserved for the government.¹³⁵ After Blomhoff’s term of office had come to an end, the trade register for 1825 has another entry of *mummy* amounting to about 35 lb. This was sold, as Ishida reckons, at a loss of 31 percent.¹³⁶ The imbalance between officially fixed selling prices in Japan and the ever increasing purchasing costs the Dutch had to shoulder made trade in this product unprofitable.

No exact date for the termination of trade can be given here. It is only conjecture that with the fall in profits and the decline of the popularity *mummy* had enjoyed in Europe, the Dutch experienced increasing difficulties satisfying Japanese demand until they were forced to stop trade entirely.¹³⁷

3. *European Background*

If one had any doubts as to the alleged use of human bodies – mummified or other – for medical purposes in Europe, Ranzan is one of a number of Japanese authors who provide collateral evidence, not only for the practice

133 Cf. Monday, 29 November, 1821. Ibid.: 213–14.

134 Could this doctor have been Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866)? Siebold arrived on board the “De Drie Gezusters” in August 1823. Unfortunately his account of the voyage from Batavia to Nagasaki ends with the mooring of the ship in the harbour bay and welcoming by representatives of the Deshima factory. There is no hint in Siebold’s account that there might have been another doctor on board the ship in whose possession the *mumia* mentioned by Blomhoff might have been. However, Siebold was aware of the Dutch *mumia* trade as he lists this substance as one of the Dutch trade articles. Philipp Franz von Siebold: *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern je zo mit den südlichen Kurilen, Sachalin, Korea und den Liukiu-Inseln*, ed. by Alexander and Heinrich Freiherr von Siebold, vol. 2, reprint of the 2nd edition (1897), Osnabrück Biblio Verlag 1969: 178.

135 Cf. *ibid.*, vol. 10, Yûshô Dô Shuppan 1999: 294.

136 ISHIDA 2004: 75.

137 If, on the other hand, there was a decline in demand on the Japanese side, it has to my knowledge not yet been documented.

itself, but also for the world-spanning dimensions and the extension in time of the trade in human corporeal remains as medicine.

The application of mummies for medicinal purposes has not received much attention among students of the history of medicine, universally or locally. To date, there is only one study that devotes itself entirely to the subject in the European context.¹³⁸ But even a superficial look into the occidental medicinal literature prior to 1800 yields an abundance of evidence. Drawing on the accounts offered by the few authors who devoted more than a spurious interest to the fate of the remedy known as *mummy*, it is possible to piece together a colourful picture.

For convenience sake it might be permissible to consider the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d’Alembert as a representative cross section of the knowledge available to educated Europeans in the second half of the 18th century. Thus, it may give an impression of the prevalent notions regarding mummies and their usage as medicine. The article on *momie* or *mumie* defines its subject as a *cadavre* (or skeleton) either “embalmed or dried in the manner of the ancient Egyptians”, but also specifies that the word *mumie* does not so much signify the corpse as the composition of substances used for its embalming.¹³⁹ The position of mummies in medicine takes up the largest part of the article: The first to put it to medicinal use was said to be a Jewish doctor who claimed that the embalmed flesh of the dead was an excellent remedy against a large number of maladies, its main properties lying in healing contusions and in preventing the coagulation of blood.¹⁴⁰ The *Encyclopédie* distinguishes between two types of mummy: The remains of people desiccated by the heat of the sun that can be found in the sand deserts of Libya¹⁴¹ are without any

138 Benno R. MEYER-HICKEN: *Über die Herkunft der Mumia genannten Substanzen und ihre Anwendung als Heilmittel*, Universität Kiel 1978 (Department of Medicine; unpublished doctoral thesis).

139 It is only in ordinary parlance, the article argues, that the word means the corpse itself. An etymological remark clarifies that according to one opinion *mumie* is derived from Arabian *mumia*, which has its roots in *muin* (wax). Other explanations are given, among them the view of some authorities that the Arabian word signifies a corpse either embalmed or treated with aromatic substances. Denis DIDEROT, Jean-Baptiste D’ALEMBERT (ed.): *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vol. 10, reprint in facsimile of the 1st ed. 1751–80, Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Fromann Verlag (Günther Holzboog) 1966: 634.

140 However, the text continues, the Turkish authorities of Egypt hinder the export of mummies to Europe.

141 According to different opinions, these people have either been intentionally buried in the sands or they have been travellers killed in sand storms. *Ibid.*

medicinal use and only kept out of curiosity. It is the second type, the embalmed corpses excavated from the tombs near Cairo where the Egyptians buried their dead, that is highly esteemed since “one has attributed such extraordinary virtues” to them. So far it might seem as if the *Encyclopédie* shared the belief in the properties of mummies. In fact, however, it avoids a definite statement. Instead, the following paragraphs introduce critical opinions, and they might even suggest that the article’s author, too, was in doubt as to the alleged efficaciousness. “One assures that all mummies sold in the shops of the merchants – may they have come from Venice or from Lyon, may they have come directly from the Levant via Alexandria – are [artificially] imitated and that they are the work of certain Jews [...]”. The latter, knowing the high esteem Europeans hold for genuine mummies from Egypt, are said to fabricate imitations by drying corpses in ovens after treating them with diverse substances including myrrh. The same, it seems, is true of “French charlatans”, who apply a similar method. All this leads to Ambroise Paré (1510–90) who wrote a “remarkable treatise on mummies”, in which “he explains all the abuse perpetrated and demonstrates that they [mummies] cannot have the slightest use in medicine”.¹⁴² Serapion¹⁴³ and Matthiolus (Pier Andrea Mattioli, 1500/1–77), “after him”, are adduced as authorities with similar views. “These two authors hold that even the mummies of Egypt are nothing but corpses embalmed with pissasphaltos.” The rest of the article introduces several other meanings of the word *momie*. The *Encyclopédie* gives it as the name of a natural substance found in the mountains and forests of Arabia and in other warm places around the Mediterranean and used for embalming corpses. Known as *pissasphaltus* in Greek and Latin it was mentioned already in the works of ancient scholars such as the pharmacist Discorides (1st century CE). *Momie* or *mumia* is also mentioned as the designation used by “some physicians” for signifying a sort of spirit that lingers in the body of the deceased once the soul has left it, as well as a “spirit” or “soul” that animates the living and that by “transplantation” can be transferred to others.¹⁴⁴

142 Ibid.

143 Besides being the name of the Greek doctor Serapion of Alexandria (c. 200 BCE), “Serapion” denoted three medicinal authors living between the 9th and 14th century. The first, Serapion senior from Syria (Yoḥannān bar Serāpyōn; arab. Yūhannā ibn Sarābiyūn), is known for a number of medicinal tractats, of which the one on *materia medica* circulated widely, not only in the Arabic world but in Europe, too, in a Latin translation (*Practica aliter breviarium nuncupata*). This work also contains remarks on *mumia*. Cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 21. Probably, the *Encyclopédie* had this work in mind.

Although the article may not share a belief in the medical properties of mummies it testifies to the fact that such a belief – at least in case of “genuine mummies from Egypt” – was still widespread in Europe in the middle of the 18th century and that it gave rise to the practice of producing mummies artificially. Meyer-Hicken’s inquiry into the role of *mummy* as medicine supports this impression. But it, too, falls short of answering the question when embalmed human remains were first attributed with healing properties and used to cure diseases.

Mumia and its vernacular forms in European languages was derived from *mum/mom*, which has its roots in Persian and was borrowed into Arabian. Originally it meant “(bees)wax”,¹⁴⁵ but in the course of time it took on various other meanings, among them “asphalt”, “bitumen”, and “pissasphaltos”.¹⁴⁶ It also came to signify one of the substances used for embalming the dead. *Mûmjâh* – “asphalt” or “bitumen” – is the Arabian name for the substance found inside the bodies of Egyptian mummies, which had sometimes been completely saturated with it.¹⁴⁷ It was this relationship between corpses and a certain material extracted from them that facilitated the later identification of *mumia* with the embalmed body itself.

144 Ibid. Although the *Encyclopédie* does not say so explicitly, this is one of the uses of the word *mummy* made by Paracelsus (Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, c. 1493–1542) and his followers.

145 Warren R. DAWSON: “Mummy as a Drug”, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 21 (1928), p. 34–39 (35); Beatrix GESSLER-LÖHR: “Mumia vera aegyptica im Abendland”, in: *Wikipedia. Die freie Enzyklopedie* (CD-ROM edition autumn 2004) (slightly altered version of the original chapter in GESSLER-LÖHR: *Weg zur Unsterblichkeit. Mumien und Mumifizierung im alten Ägypten*, Frankfurt a.M.: Senckenbergische Naturforschende Gesellschaft 1995 – Naturmuseum Senckenberg, exhibition no. 4); MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 7.

146 Ibid.: 7.

147 For further etymological details cf. *ibid.*: 7–13. The roots of the word “mummy” are also explained in E.A. Wallis BUDGE: *The Mummy. A Handbook of Egyptian Funerary Archaeology*, 2nd ed., rev. & greatly enl., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1925: 201–202. Meyer-Hicken gives “asphalt” and “bitumen” as equivalents for *mûmjâh*. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 7. And indeed bitumen for a long time was considered one of the main ingredients in the embalming process. However, according to Dawson this substance “was probably never used for embalming and has never been identified in many specimens”, which had been analysed for him. DAWSON 1928: 35. Cf. also GESSLER-LÖHR. Instead, the ancient Egyptians seem to have made use of natron for desiccation as well as resins, oils, and aromatic substances. These solidify and they, as well as the bodies treated with them turn black and take on a lustrous hue, thus looking similar to bitumen. The testimony of ancient authorities, e.g. Diodorus and Strabo, too, seems to have lent support to the identification of bitumen in mummies. Cf. DAWSON 1928: 35, GESSLER-LÖHR. However,

Natural *mumia* was already mentioned in the oldest known Egyptian medical treatise, the “Papyros Ebers” (1600 BCE?) for its efficacy in treating intestinal parasites, alopecia, and gynaecological disorders. In Greek and Roman times it was used as well, to heal diseases of the skin, the eyes, the lungs, toothaches, gastrical and digestive problems, gout, leprosy, and external injuries.¹⁴⁸

In Arabic-Islamic medicine, a distinction between the natural type of *mumia* and that extracted from embalmed corpses can be ascertained. The Persian doctor Abū Bakr Moḥammad b. Zakarīyā’ ar-Rāzī (Rhazes, 865–925) and Constantinus Africanus from Carthage (?) (c. 1020–87) used asphalt and pissasphaltos under the name *mumia* for healing a number of diseases. Both are exponents of the opinion that *mumia* also is a liquid found inside embalmed corpses.¹⁴⁹ Constantinus describes the natural type as a remedy e.g., for fractures, wounds, and scabies.¹⁵⁰ This partially corresponds to the list he gives for the second type: fractures, external and internal bleedings, nerve diseases, and headaches caused by a common cold.¹⁵¹

Meyer-Hicken surmises that *mumia* was introduced to medieval European medicine through the works left by Constantinus Africanus,¹⁵² for only a

Aidan Cockburn holds that bitumen was one of the ingredients that played a supplementary part in the process of mumification. Aidan COCKBURN: “Introduction”, in: COCKBURN, COCKBURN 1980: 1.

148 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 41–42. Herodotus in the 5th century BCE already mentions natural *mumia*. HERODOTUS I 179, IV 195; cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 14. Its medical properties are described by such authors as Celsus, Diodorus Siculus, Dioscorides, Josephus Flavius, Pliny, and Strabo, while Dawson mentions the Dead Sea, Babylonia, Phoenicea, and Sicily as some of its sources. Cf. DAWSON 1928: 34–35, MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 14. In the Middle Ages, the pilgrim Antonius Placentius speaks of a rock near Suez secreting a “liquid called stone oil”, which is used for healing the sick and the possessed. Hanns BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI (ed.): *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 6, photo-mechanical reprint of the 1935 edition, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter 1987: 617–18. Later authorities also mention places in other parts of Europe, such as Tirol, where natural *mumia* could be found.

149 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 21–22.

150 Among the prescriptions of natural *mumia* in Persian and Arabic medicine the one for physical injuries (fractures, contusions, lesions) was the most common. Abu Mansur-Muwaffaq (c. 970) and Avicenna (973/980–1037), ‘Abd al-Latif (1162–1231), and Ibn al-Baitar (c. 1190–1248) provide examples for the use of this substance. DAWSON 1928: 35–36; MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 22, 43. But there are other indications. Avicenna, e.g., mentions abscesses, eruptions, paralysis, affections of the throat, lungs and heart, debility of the stomach, disorders of the liver and spleen, antidote for poisons. DAWSON 1928: 35–36.

151 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 44, 50.

152 Ibid.: 22. Not much of his life prior to 1070 is known, but Constantinus arrived at the

little later (late 11th / early 12th century) Otho of Cremona composed the following poem: “Nigra vendetur, si mumia clara probetur.”¹⁵³ The so-called Nikolaos Myrepsos (14th century; Nikolaos the Apothecary) remains within the Arabic tradition when he considered *mumia* to be the blood of dead people mixed with aloe and myrrh as found in the cavities of preserved corpses – not their flesh or bones.¹⁵⁴ But the identification of *mumia* with the body of the embalmed dead itself had taken shape by the second half of the 14th century. In his textbook on surgery (1363), Guy de Chauliac (1298–1368), who practised in Montpellier, called *mumia* “the flesh of the embalmed dead” and recommended its blood staunching qualities.¹⁵⁵ From the Later Middle Ages its use spread, and the European medical and encyclopaedic literature provides abundant evidence as to the popularity of just this remedy: “the flesh of the embalmed dead”.

It is not clear how and why the word predominantly came to mean the entire mummified human body, neither when and where this exactly happened. If Meyer-Hicken is correct, it was the natural type of *mumia* – asphalt and pissasphaltos – that was highly valued. However, the demand in Europe could not be satisfied, as the places of its origin in the Near East were not easily accessible; moreover, export was often prohibited by the local (Islamic) authorities. But examinations had proved that “asphalt” could also be extracted from well-preserved Egyptian mummies. In any case this ingredient was thought to be responsible for the preservation of the embalmed corpses; and this met with the belief that the “asphalt” from the cavities of mummies also contained the bodily fluids and powers of the dead. At the end of a process of interpretation and identification that perhaps cannot be fully reconstructed stood the conclusion that one could use the flesh and bones of the embalmed dead just as well as the composite of “asphalt” and body fluids. In the meantime, the word *mumia* or its derivatives underwent a shift or expansion

medical school of Salerno c. 1075 and dedicated the rest of his life writing about the Graeco-Arabic medical tradition. He did not consider himself so much a translator as a compiler and abbreviator and his works show a didactical orientation. Cf. Heinrich SCHIPPERGES: *Die Assimilation der arabischen Medizin durch das lateinische Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag 1964: 17–54 (Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften).

153 “Black it is sold, if *mumia* should clearly be efficacious.” MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 22–23.

154 *Ibid.*: 23. In 1625, Louis Guyon recounts, how around the year 1100 or 1300 the Jewish doctor Elmagar of Alexandria treated the wounds of crusaders and Muslims alike with *mumia* won from human remains. *Ibid.*: 50.

155 “Mumie, la chair des morts embaumez...”. Cf. *La grande chirurgie*, ed. by E. Nicaise,

of meaning until it denoted not only the natural substance, but also the composite and, at last, the entire embalmed body.¹⁵⁶

However, this is more a rationalization than a convincing explanation. Why should it have been easier to procure human corpses from Egypt than the natural substance if this could be found on European soil? Moreover, the *Encyclopédie* already mentioned the attempts by the authorities to prevent the export of mummies. Even the Japanese accounts by e.g., Ôtsuki Gentaku had known about this policy. And Meyer-Hicken himself writes that the Arab authorities of Egypt took measures to guard graves containing mummies and to sentence European visitors of burial sites to high fines of money, beatings, or sometimes even death.¹⁵⁷ Other accounts place greater stress on the misinterpretation in the process of translating Arab medical texts in the schools of Salerno and Toledo, which led to confounding natural *mumia*, the substances discovered in embalmed corpses, and bodies, that had been prepared in such a way.¹⁵⁸ But reducing the process that focused belief in their medicinal powers on the mummies themselves to an aberration does not take seriously enough what might have made people in the Occident disposed to crediting dead bodies with beneficial powers in the first place. Without presupposing such an affirmative attitude it would become difficult to explain why in medieval Europe bodily remains of the saints were held in such high esteem; and it was not uncommon to attribute medicinal properties to them.¹⁵⁹ It

Paris 1890: 651. Cited in MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 24.

156 Ibid.: 24–25.

157 Ibid.: 84. As the reason for this policy Meyer-Hicken cites the fear of Muslims to meet with divine punishment if they allowed Christians to carry away and consume their “ancestors”. Ibid. Later, during the 16th century under Osman rule, the fear of sorcery among the Turkish authorities might have been responsible. They were afraid that the Christians could use the corpses of the dead to prepare evil spells for gaining control over their still living descendants. When, however, extensive burial places were discovered that did not show traces of a connection with Muslim beliefs, the authorities recognized the “heathen” origins of mummies and henceforth allowed their export (thus causing a drop of prices in the European markets). Ibid.: 85.

158 A prominent role is given to Gerard of Cremona (1115–87), a scholar and translator who interpreted *mumiya* as “the substance found in the land where bodies are buried with aloes by which the liquid of the dead, mixed with the aloes, is transformed and it is similar to marine pitch”. Quoted according to Heather PRINGLE: *The Mummy Congress. Science, Obsession, and the Everlasting Dead*, New York: Theia 2001: 197.

159 The blood of Thomas à Becket (1118–70), for example, enjoyed popularity over a long period of time. It was believed, that priests had collected and saved his blood no sooner than the Bishop of Canterbury had been killed. Diluted with water, it was handed out to worshippers in vials to be worn around the neck. But, as Watanabe Masami says, it also

might be more obvious to consider what made mummies unique on the level of simple appearances. Just as the physical remains of the saints or of items that had come into contact with them were identified with the power of a saint's holiness believed to reside within them, the well-preserved embalmed bodies of the ancient dead might have been identified with the substances that saturated them and that lend them a form of longevity. And it is also conceivable that not only the ingredients – having preserved the dead for such a long time – were believed to have similar effects for the living,¹⁶⁰ but that equal powers – as in the case of relics – were attributed to the embalmed bodies themselves.¹⁶¹

Meyer-Hicken sets off the natural product from mummified human remains by calling the medicine based on the latter “artificial *mumia*”. However, this category is not monolithic either. Once the medical use of the corpses of the ancient dead from Egypt was established, a further diversification of what could be considered as *mumia* took place. The *Encyclopédie* had drawn attention to the practice of faking *mummy*. But not only forgeries entered the market, there were also – unsuccessful – attempts to rediscover the method of mummification used in ancient Egypt and to arrive at similar results.¹⁶² To distinguish the original type from other artificial forms of *mumia* and to guarantee the quality and efficacy of the sold article, expressions like *mumia vera*, *mumia vera aegyptica*, or *mumia vera aegyptiaca* came into use. Still another case is the *mumia recens* or “fresh mummy”: In earlier times it was not unheard of to prescribe for example, fresh human blood to treat epilepsy.¹⁶³

was drunk. WATANABE Masami 渡邊昌美: *Chūsei no kiseki to gensō* 中世の奇跡と幻想 (Miracles and Visions of the Middle Ages), Iwanami Shoten 1989: 196 (Iwanami shinsho – New red series – 98). Generally, if not consumed themselves, the power of relics could be ingested by immersing them in liquids to be drunk like water or wine. Becket's blood was supposed to help in case of blindness, insanity, leprosy, and deafness. Roy PORTER: *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind. A Medical History of Humanity*, New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company 1999: 112.

160 This notion, for example, was expressed by Paracelsus. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 40.

161 Cf. pp. 121–22.

162 Cf. for example *Curieuses und reales Natur-, Kunst-, Berg-, Gewerck- und Handlungslexicon* 1736: 1364.

163 Pliny the Elder (c. 23–79 CE) had already recorded that epileptic patients were in the habit of drinking human blood: The “blood too of gladiators is drunk by epileptics as though it were a draught of life [...]. But, by Heaven!, the patients think it most effectual to suck from a man himself warm, living blood, and putting their lips to the wound to drain the very life [...].” PLINY: *Natural History*, Books 28–32, with an English translation by W.H.S. Jones, vol. 8, Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press 1963: 5

But at least in the wake of Paracelsus belief in the medicinal properties of the human body and its parts grew.¹⁶⁴ Thus it was a Paracelsan, Oswald Croll (1580–1609), who developed a recipe for extracting what he called *mumia recens* from the fresh corpses of recently executed young men, and some apothecarians followed his lead.¹⁶⁵ In the 16th century, the Italian doctor and botanist Matthioli proposed preparing the bodies of hospital patients not long deceased with aloe, myrrh, and safran in order to win *mumia* for the treatment of numerous maladies.¹⁶⁶

Between them, Dawson, Thorndike, and Meyer-Hicken offer an exhaustive number of examples illustrating the history of human body-matter used as medicine. To recount it fully “would not only occupy much space but involve a great deal of repetition”, as Dawson points out.¹⁶⁷

(Loeb Classical Library LCL 418). Pliny gives further details on the therapeutic value of blood and epilepsy in *ibid.*: 33.

164 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 16.

165 *Ibid.*: 16. Croll recommended to use the “fresh corpse of a red-[haired] and uninjured man without blemish, twenty four years old”. He should either have been hanged, broken on the wheel, or impaled. After leaving this “*mumia*” exposed to the light of sun and moon for one day and night, one should cut it in small pieces or stripes and sprinkle them with the powder of myrrh and a little bit of aloe (to prevent it from being too bitter). Then one steeps them in the “spirit of wine” for several days while hanging them in the air from time to time. In the end they are completely dried in the air until they have lost the odour of decay and only smell of smoked meat. The pieces of *mumia* treated in this way are used to extract a red tincture from them with the help of either “spirit of wine” or “Spiritus Sambucinus [= elder]”. Small pieces of dried *mumia* (still juicy they would cause nausea) can also be macerated with olive oil for a month. The tincture thus won lends itself for further concoctions. Oswald CROLL: *Oswaldi Crolli basilica chymica*, Venice 1643: 409f; cited in MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 37. In addition to corporeal forms of *mumia* the *Encyclopédie* had listed an abstract kind that also had been propagated by Paracelsus and his followers. According to their belief, an incorporeal force residing in and animating the body could be separated from it and used for its sympathetic powers. This *vis energetica* lingers on unused in the body especially when a man dies prematurely, i.e., by violence. Paracelsus called it *mumia*, too, and likened its effect to that of the “magnet des eisens”. *Ibid.*: 17–18. Cf. also Lynn THORNDIKE: *A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol. 8: The Seventeenth Century*, New York: Columbia University Press 1958: 333, 414. Interesting enough, belief in the efficacy of body-matter of someone killed violently was mentioned by Pliny: “Moreover, Apollonius put in writing that to scrape sore gums with the tooth of a man killed by violence is most efficacious [...]” *Natural History*, vol. 8, 1963: 7.

166 According to MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 53 this type of *mummy* survived until the 18th century.

167 DAWSON 1928: 36. Indeed, a comparison of entries in the larger encyclopedias of the 18th and early 19th centuries shows many similarities in the treatment of the subject

Here, only instances that are of import for the general picture or that bear a relevance to the position of *mumia* in Edo period Japan will be mentioned. The history of human physical remains used for medicinal purposes can be followed right up to the early 20th century.¹⁶⁸ The heyday of *mumia* therapy, however, lay between the 12th and 17th century. Descriptions of its healing properties took on a large extent in the literature on *materia medica* especially from the 15th century onward.¹⁶⁹ Belief in its efficacy and the consequent demand gave rise to an extensive trade between European apothecaries and their Levantine suppliers.¹⁷⁰ When in the course of time and due to an expanding market it became difficult to procure “genuine” *mumia* in sufficient quantities, substitutes entered the field that were medicated by the purveyors themselves.¹⁷¹

down to the choice of wordings. Thus, I will refrain from summarizing the extensive articles on *mummy* contained in Johann Heinrich ZEDLER: *Grosses vollstaendiges Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Kuenste*, vol. 22, Leipzig, Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler 1739: 735–51 (reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt 1961) and D. Johann Georg Krünitz's *oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopaedie*, continued by Friedrich Jakob FLOERKEN and Heinrich Gustav FLOERKE, vol. 96, Berlin: Joachim Pauli 1804: 656–90.

- 168 The well-known pharmaceutical company E. Merck, Darmstadt (Germany), according to its catalogue still offered “genuine Egyptian *mummy*” (*Mumia vera Aegyptica*) at twelve marks per kilogram in 1924, and at 17,50 marks some years earlier (“as long as the supply lasts”). *Grosso-Preisliste Nr. 50 der chemischen Fabrik E. Merck*, Darmstadt 1924: 316; cited in MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 59. Cf. also Oskar v. HOVORKA, Adolf KRONFELD (ed.): *Vergleichende Volksmedizin. Eine Darstellung volksmedizinischer Sitten und Gebräuche, Anschauungen und Heilfaktoren des Aberglaubens und der Zaubermedizin*, vol. 1, Stuttgart: Strecker & Schröder 1908–09: 316–17; Karen GORDON-GRUBE: “Anthropophagy in Post-Renaissance Europe. The Tradition of Medicinal Cannibalism”, in: *American Anthropologist* 90.2 (1988), p. 407. The *Merck's Index*, a reference guide for the pharmaceutical profession, explained in its 1910 edition that *mumia* was indicated as a blood-staunching medicine – “at present times almost exclusively used only among the common people [...] for treating domestic animals”. Emanuel MERCK: *Merck's Index*, [Darmstadt]³1910: 341; cited in MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 72.
- 169 An example mentioned by Meyer-Hicken is Adam Lonicerus (1528–86) who wrote about “Menschenfleisch-Mumia” in his herbal, the *Naturalis historiae opus novum* [...], Frankfurt 1551 (German as *Kreuterbuch / Von allerhand Baeumen / Stauden / Hecken / Kreutern / Früchten / unnd Gewürtzen*, Frankfurt 1560). *Ibid.*: 52. The English College of Physicians included *mummy* (and human blood) in the official London Pharmacopoeia in 1618 and mentioned it still in later editions. *The Pharmacopoeia Londinensis of 1618*, introduced by George URDANG, facsimile reproduction, Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1944: 40; GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 406. John Parkinson (1567–1650) described it as being “of much and excellent use in all countries of Europe.” It is “the very body of a man or woman brought chiefly from Egypt or Syria (no other part of the world so good).” *Theatrum Botanicum. The Theater of Plants*, London 1640: 1592; cited according to DAWSON 1928: 38.

“Medicinal cannibalism”, as Karen Gordon-Grube calls it, was not a phenomenon of groups on the fringe of society, but could be observed in the highest echelons.¹⁷² Famous is the example of King Francois I (1494–1547) of France. The monarch did not fear any injury if only he carried a little bit of this substance – pulverized and mixed with rhubarb – on his person. Members of the aristocracy even provided a special page who carried a small pouch with a piece of mummy or artificial *mumia* on all hunts and excursions. Pierre Belon (1517?–64), a French scholar of botany and zoology and the source for this information, also relates that during these times no other foreign article was imported with greater care, than the “candied [i.e., embalmed] corpses of Egyptians and Jews”.¹⁷³

In the wake of European culture the administration of parts of the human body as medicine spread to other parts of the world. An example from America is provided by Reverend Edward Taylor¹⁷⁴ who also practised as a lay physician in Westfield (Massachusetts). His medical “Dispensatory” lists human flesh, blood and other body parts, and he explains that these substances can be bought in “shops of Mummy”.¹⁷⁵

Dawson argues that although one could still find entries on *mumia* in medical works from the 18th century – at a time when this item experienced its second period of popularity in Japan – it went out of use in Europe.¹⁷⁶

170 Ibid: 34.

171 Ibid.: 34. As mentioned in Gentaku’s account, desiccated bodies from North Africa, and the mummies left by the indigenous population of the Canary Islands, were also exported to Europe and sold to the apothecaries. Cf. *ibid.*: 34. By the end of the 17th century substitutes of “genuine” *mumia* had become so widespread that buyers were advised only to “choose what is of a shining black, not full of bones and dirt, and of a good smell”. GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 407. This advice was also voiced by Gentaku’s sources. Cf. pp. 104–106.

172 GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 406.

173 Pierre BELON: *Bellonii Cenomani de admirabili operum antiquorum et rerum suspicientiarum praestantia liber primus. De medicato funere, seu cacauere condito, et lugubri defunctorum eiulatione. Liber secundus. De medicamentis nonnullis, seruandi cadaveris vim obtinentibus. Liber tertius*, Paris 1553: 34; cited in MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 50–51. Cf. also Ange-Pierre LECA: *The Cult of the Immortal. Mummies and the Ancient Egyptian Way of Death*, London: Souvenir Press 1980: 234. Other famous users or apologetes of *mummy* in those times were Catherine de Medici (1519–89) and Francis Bacon (1561–1626). PRINGLE 2001: 193.

174 A Puritan born in England he graduated from Harvard in 1671.

175 Edward TAYLOR: *Dispensatory*, manuscript at Yale University Library, ca. 1658–1702: 375–78; cf. GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 406.

However, though critical the *Encyclopédie* might sound, it does not state a decline in the remedy's popularity. And Nicolas Lemery's dictionary on the "drogues simples", a standard authority in the 18th century, lists diverse parts of the human body, and bodily products, as suited for medicinal use.¹⁷⁷ Robert James (1705–76) still recommends *mummy* in 1747.¹⁷⁸ And Samuel Johnson's (1709–84) dictionary provides further evidence:

What our druggists are supplied with is the flesh of executed criminals, or any other body the Jews can get, who fill them with the common bitumen [...], and adding aloes, and some other cheap ingredients, send them to be baked in an oven till the juices are exhaled, and the embalming matter has penetrated.¹⁷⁹

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- 176 DAWSON 1928: 38. For corroboration he cites, e.g., the following entry from a contemporary reference work: "*Mummy – Mumia*. – This is the flesh of carcasses which have been embalm'd. But altho' it yet retains a place in medicinal catalogues, it is quite out of use in Prescription. What virtues have been ascribed to it are the same with Parmasitty and other balsamics of the kind." James ALLEYNE: *New English Dispensatory*, 1733: 152; cited *ibid.* On the other hand, in the works given by Gentaku *mummy* is still advertised as a panacea.
- 177 A.C. Wootton quoted from the 1759 edition: "All parts of man, his excrescences and excrements, contain oil and sal volatile, combined with phlegm and earth. Skull, brain, and calculus are employed in medicine [...]. Moss of the human skull, human blood, and human urine all have their uses [...]" in medicine as well, as have other parts that are omitted here. A.C. WOOTTON: *Chronicles of Pharmacy*, vol. 2, London: Macmillan 1910: 4–5. Wootton's list based on the London Pharmacopoeias of the 17th century (1618, 1650, 1677) completes the picture. *Ibid.*: 3–4. For Lemery's remarks on the human cranium cf. p. 114. Cf. also n. 179.
- 178 Robert JAMES: *Pharmacopoeia Universalis: or A New Universal English Dispensatory*, London: J. Hodges 1747:511–12; cf. GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 406. In a later edition, James writes: "Officinal Simples, taken from the human carcass, are the *Mummy*, which is a resinous, hardened, black, shining Surface, of a somewhat acrid and bitterish Taste, and of a fragrant Smell. Under the Name of Mummy are comprehended first, the *Mummy* of the *Arabians*, which is a Liquament, or concreted Liqour, obtained in Sepulchres, by exudation from Carcasses embalmed with Aloes, Myrrh and Balsam. If this *Mummy* could be procured right and genuine, it would be preferable to other Sorts. The second kind of *Mummy* is the *Egyptian*, which is a Liquament of Carcasses seasond with *Pissasphaltus*. A third Substance, which goes by the Name of *Mummy*, is a Carcase torried under the Sand, by the Heat of the Sun; but such a one is seldom to be met with in our country." *Pharmacopoeia Universalis, or a New Dispensatory*, 2nd ed., London 1752: 340; cited according to DAWSON 1928: 38.
- 179 Samuel JOHNSON: *A Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 2, London: W. Strahan for J. and P. Knapton, T. and T. Longman et al. 1755: without pagination 1785. Cf. also GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 407. Johnson's explanation ("*Hill's Mat. Med.*" is given as a source) from the beginning turns to the medical uses of *mummy*: "I. A dead body preserved by the Egyptian art of embalming. We have two different substances preserved

While the demand for *mummy* seems to have continued unabated in Japan at the beginning of the 19th century, the Dutch factory found it more and more difficult to meet requests. This can be interpreted as a sign for the gradual decline of *mumia* therapy in Europe.¹⁸⁰ At exactly that time, the Brockhaus encyclopedia claimed that this substance has come out of use as a medicine.¹⁸¹ Johann Georg Krünitz shares this evaluation in 1804 but adds that one still finds it prescribed against treating clotted blot and tumors.¹⁸² Only in folk medicine *mumia* lingers on longer. Thus Joseph Wolfsteiner in 1860 reports that in some parts of Bavaria (“from Landsberg to Passau”) there is not an apothecary where country people do not demand “Mumia, which also is known as wild human flesh” (“wildes Menschenfleisch”).¹⁸³

for medicinal use under the name of *mummy*: one is the dried flesh of human bodies embalmed with myrrh and spice; the other is the liquor running from such *mummies* when newly prepared, or when affected by great heat, or by damps”. JOHNSON 1755. After describing their outward properties, Johnson turns to their respective value: The second type “is extremely dear, and the first sort so cheap, that as all kinds of *mummy* are brought from Egypt we are not to imagine it to be the ancient Egyptian *mummy*”. Ibid. After this doubtful comment follows the passage quoted above. At the end of the other parts of the human body used for the medicinal properties attributed to them are mentioned: The “skull, and even the moss have been celebrated for antiepileptick virtues; the fat also of the human body has been recommended in rheumatisms, and every other part or humour have been in repute for the cure of some disease”. However, Johnson distances himself from these opinions: “at present we are wise enough to know, that the virtues ascribed to the parts of the human body are all either imaginary, or such as may be found in other animal substances: the *mummy* and the skull alone of these horrid medicines retain their places in the shops.” Ibid.

180 Krünitz notes that in the past “3,000 to 4,000 hundredweights” entered Europe via Alexandria and Marseille, but in recent times “barely 80 to 100 hundredweights [...] because the article finds fewer customers”. *D. Johann Georg Krünitz's oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopaedie* 96: 662.

181 Cf. *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 6: 619.

182 *D. Johann Georg Krünitz's oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopaedie* 96: 662–63.

183 Wolfsteiner calls it a “popular remedy” for treating the maladies of men and domestic animals, above all “consumption” (pulmonary tuberculosis). JOSEPH WOLFSTEINER: *Volkskrankheiten und Volksmedizin. – Bavaria. Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreiches Bayern bearbeitet von einem Kreise bayerischer Gelehrter*, vol. 1, Munich 1860: 461; cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 59. Another niche where *mummy* survived up to the end of the 19th century was painting since the substance was used as a brown pigment. *D. Johann Georg Krünitz's oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopaedie* 96: 662, 663; GESSLER-LÖHR; SALLY WOODCOCK: “Body Colour. The Misuse of Mummy”, in: *The Conservator* 20 (1996), p. 87–94. Minakata was aware of the application of *mummy* for medical purposes in European countries until – in some parts – the middle of the 19th century and he mentions its artificial production from the bodies of executed criminals. He also states that Egyptian mummies were valued for the production of paints. MINAKATA 1971: 318.

4. Interlude: Intermediaries between Europe and Japan

Of the many European scientific treatises only a limited number – often works practical in orientation – reached Edo period Japan through the Dutch factory, and that often with a considerable delay. One of the better known is the herbal by Rembertus Dodonaeus (Rembert Dodoens, 1516/17–1585). Printed in 1583, *Stirpium historiae pemptades sex* was the “synthesis of all his preceding herbalist publications”.¹⁸⁴ An exemplar of the 1618 edition in Dutch (*Cruydt-Boeck*) had been presented to the shogun Tokugawa Ietsuna 徳川家綱 (1641–80) in 1659 by the head of the Dutch factory. But the first modest attempts to at least partially translate the book into Japanese did not occur until several decades later in Noro Genjō’s 野呂元丈 (1693–1761) *Japanese Explication of the Herbal from Holland* 阿蘭陀本草和解 (*Oranda honzō wage*, 1741–50).¹⁸⁵ A more ambitious project was sponsored by the statesman Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758–1829). When, however, a team of scholars from the field of Dutch Learning after thirty years of work planned the publication of their *Illustrated Herbal by Dodonaeus from the Far West* 遠西トドネウス草木譜 (*Ensei Dodoneusu sōmoku fu*), a fire destroyed the printing stocks.¹⁸⁶ The *Cruydt-Boeck* does not contain an entry on *mummy*, but it is mentioned in the two paragraphs on “aloe” and on “cedar”. In the first Dodonaeus states that according to some authorities aloe possesses all the powers attributed to *mumia*; they also consider the latter to be nothing but a mixture of aloe with human fat which had lain in the earth for a long time

— To provide evidence that what had been sold as “genuine” *mumia* indeed was won from ancient Egyptian bodies, the contents of an apothecarian jar displayed in the Senckenberg Natural Museum in Frankfurt were analysed. The black-brown clods could be identified as the right half of a vertebral body from the human spine in the lower breast area and as embalming matter, which showed nearly identical properties to material extracted directly from an Egyptian mummy. GESSLER-LÖHR.

184 W.F. VANDE WALLE: “Dodonaeus: A Bio-bibliographical Summary”, in: VANDE WALLE, KASAYA 2001: 39. Dodonaeus’ first comprehensive herbal was the *Cruydeboek*, Antwerpen: J. van der Loe 1554.

185 Rather than being a translation, even a partial one, this work consists of a list of Chinese and Japanese correspondences for a number of Latin and Dutch plant names in the original – together with some notes on the medicinal properties of the specimen in question.

186 Only a few drafts of the translation survived. The Kyōu Shooku 杏雨書屋 in Osaka is in possession of three fascicles entitled *Translation of the Materia Medica from Holland* 和蘭本草翻訳 (*Oranda honzō honyaku*), which correspond to pp. 47–191 and pp. 271–360 in Dodonaeus’ original. Included therein are copies of two thirds of the illustrations accompanying the original articles in the *Cruydt-Boeck*. However the *Oranda honzō*

(“[...] dat Mumie anders niet en is dan Aloë met menschen vet vermengt / en langen tut onder d’eerde geleyt hebbende”).¹⁸⁷ The article on the “great cedar tree” refers to “true Mumia or Momme” and explains that the *mumia* mentioned by the “Arabian masters” is identical to what the Greeks called pissasphalthos i.e., a mixture of substances such as pitch and bitumen.¹⁸⁸ However, Dodonaeus continues, due to erroneous translations it was believed “that Mumia is a mixture of aloe and myrrh and of some fluids of the human corpse that were added to them” (“dat Mumia een meninge is / gemacht van Aloë an Myrrha / en van eenige vochticheyt des menschen lichaems / die daer by gevoegt wozt”).¹⁸⁹ Although Ôtsuki Gentaku was in contact with the scholars working on the translation of the *Cruydt-Boeck* he does not seem to have known its passages concerning *mummy*, at least he does not mention them in his treatment of the subject.

Whereas the *Encyclopédie* explained *momie* in all aspects of meaning the word could take on, Gentaku’s authorities focus exclusively on the subject of mummified human bodies and in this context mention the medicinal use of mummies from ancient Egypt. In the *Gazophylacium* one reads:

Mumia, the mummies, is a black, hard and resinous substance, deriving from embalmed human bodies, of a somewhat pungent and bitter taste and good smell; comes from Egypt where it can be found in very deep pits and burial-chambers hewn into white rock near the famous pyramids.¹⁹⁰

Next, Woyt gives some details on the three graded methods of embalming that had already been explained by Herodotus; in addition he mentions “white mummies”, preserved human bodies, bleached by the sun and found in the sands of Libya. The latter, however, Woyt avows, are not used as medicine

honyaku did not consider the amendments by Ravelingen, editor of the edition used for the Japanese translation. The draft in possession of the library of Waseda University is more exact and contains these amendments. Cf. Kiyoshi MATSUDA: “The Reception and Spread on Dodonaeus’s *Cruydt-Boeck* in Japan”, in: VANDE WALLE, KASAYA 2001: 202. Cf. also WALRAVENS 2005: 7–14.

187 Rembertus DODONAEUS: *Cruydt-Boeck*, Leyden: Plantijnsche Druckerij van François van Ravelingen 1608: 633; Rembertus DODONAEUS: *Cruydt-Boek*, Leyden: Plantijnsche Druckerij van François van Ravelingen 1618: 584.

188 Avicenna is given as a source that shows this most clearly.

189 DODONAEUS 1608: 1454; DODONAEUS 1618: 1356.

190 WOYT 1709: 594: “Mumia, die Mumien, ist ein schwarzes / hartes und hartziges Wesen / von balsamirten Menschen-Cörpern herkommend / eines etwas scharfen und bitterlichten Geschmacks und guten Geruchs / kommet aus Egypten / allwo sie sich in sehr tieffen Gruben und in weissen Stein gehauenen Begräbnüß-Gemächern bey den berühmten Pyra-

since “there is nothing balsamic to be found in them”.¹⁹¹ There are some scholars who consider “only the resin or pitch of such embalmed bodies” as medically efficacious, whereas others make use of “asphaltum” as such instead of mummies. But a third group, the “materialists” (“Materialisten”), allow the use of flesh for medical purposes. Woyt himself calls the kind of mummy best that is “very black, light [of weight] and has a gloss” to it; a good smell is required and it should not reek of pitch.¹⁹² This type breaks up clotted blood, and it is effective for example, in treating lung diseases (“Lungensucht”¹⁹³), “maternal pains”, or external injuries.¹⁹⁴

The entry in the *Curieuses und reales Natur-Kunst-Berg-Gewerck- und Handlungslexikon*, too, commences with a general definition:

Mumia: embalmed human body; mostly comes from Egypt where in caves and graves and also under dilapidated pyramids even today one often encounters such although they all have to be spirited away in secret since the Egyptians do not like to let them leave. Now such mummies are nothing else but embalmed human bodies which have rested in this appearance already numerous hundreds, nay, even a thousand years within the earth, and through the powers of myrrh and aloe, which are the principal ingredients of such embalment, have been set free from decomposition.¹⁹⁵

Upon this, the entry describes Egyptian mummies and their sarcophaguses included in European art-collections. However, “one also uses such mummies in the apothecaries as part of certain medicines. The best kind of mummy is when it is completely dark, black-brown, looking like hard smoked meat, however being at the same time also nicely fleshy but light.”¹⁹⁶ For the embalming a considerable number of components are indicated – myrrh and

191 Ibid.

192 Ibid.

193 This might be pulmonary consumption (or tuberculosis) although the Grimm dictionary characterizes “Lungensucht” as *pneumonia*. Cf. Jacob GRIMM, Wilhelm GRIMM: *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, reprint of the 1885 edition, vol. 12, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1991: 1306.

194 WOYT 1709: 594–95.

195 *Curieuses und reales Natur- Kunst- Berg- Gewerck- und Handlungslexikon*, 7th ed., [Leipzig]: Joh. Friedr. Gleditschens sel. Sohn 1736: 1364.

196 Ibid. “[...] oder man braucht auch solche Mumien in den Apothecken unter gewisse Arzeneyen. Die beste Art der Mumien ist, wenn sie gantz dunckel, schwarz-braun, wie hart gerauechert Fleisch aussehen, dabey aber auch huebsch fleischig, und doch leicht seyn.”

aloe among them – but as the most important one among them figures the “incomparable balsam, which can be found in Egypt and Syria [only]”.¹⁹⁷ Although the ingredients are known, attempts to arrive at similar results in the preservation of the dead have failed. The entry surmises that this might partly be due to the inferior quality of the substances available in Europe. More important, however, the method for embalming used by the ancient Egyptians, especially the ratios for mixing the ingredients, is unknown. It might also be that the sand which filled the graves contributed to the degree of preservation, which is unequaled by contemporary techniques.¹⁹⁸

5. Criticism

Parallel to the high vogue of *mummy* therapy, a strand of worry and even severe criticism runs through the centuries.¹⁹⁹ Roughly at the same time that Pierre Belon reported about a conference held in Montpellier, one of the centers of medical learning in Europe, with the participating doctors, pharmacists, and merchants quarrelling among themselves which type of *mumia* should be considered the most efficacious,²⁰⁰ other voices condemned the use of at least artificial *mummy* in sharp words. The botanist and doctor Leonhart Fuchs (1501–66) only recognized the natural substance mentioned by ancient authorities like Dioscorides and made Arabian writers responsible for confounding *mumia* with embalmed human corpses.²⁰¹ He denigrated the valued remedy of his times as “stinking pus”.²⁰² Ambroise Paré’s is the most famous voice disdaining the prescription of *mumia*. In a work purporting to clear up

197 Ibid.

198 Ibid.

199 In connection with remedies extracted from the human body, Pliny the Elder expressed doubts as to their effectiveness as well as condemned the habit on moral grounds: “And, by Heaven!, well deserved is the disappointment if these remedies prove of no avail. To look at human entrails is considered sin; what must it be to eat them? Who was the first, Osthanes, to think of such devices as yours? For it is you who must bear the blame, you destroyer of human rights and worker of horrors (*eversor iuris humani monstrumque artifex*) [...]” *Natural History*, vol. 8, 1963: 5–7. On Osthanes cf. *ibid.*: 283.

200 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 41.

201 *Ibid.*: 25–26.

202 Fuchs considered artificial *mumia* as nothing but a “medicated corpse” (*medicatum funus*). Leonhart FUCHS: *Dispensatorium perfectum. De ratione et modo miscendi componendique omnis generis pharmaca*, Frankfurt 1767: 61; cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 28.

widely held superstitions – *Discours de la mumie, des venins, de la licorne et de la peste* (Paris 1582) – he accused apothecaries, doctors, and patients alike of lacking knowledge concerning the properties and origins of *mummy*.

This wicked kind of drugge doth nothing help the diseased, in that case wherefore and wherein it is administered, as I have tryed an hundred times, and as Thevet witnesses, he tryed it himselfe whe as hee tooke some thereof by the advice of a certaine Jewish physition in Egypt, from whence it is brought; but it also inferres many troublemsome symptoms, as the paine of the heart or stomacke, vomiting and stinke of the mouth [...] I, perswaded by these reasons, doe not only myselfe prescribe any hereof to my patients, but also in consultations, endeavour what I may, that it bee not prescribed by others.²⁰³

Paré's condemnation owes much to his information about dubious origins of what entered the market as *mumia*. One of his sources was his acquaintance Guy de la Fontaine, physician to the King of Navarre, who had visited Egypt in 1564. In Alexandria the traveller had collected first-hand evidence about the dubitable practice of producing fake *mumia*. A Jewish trader, who is identified as the principal figure of the mummy-trade, is claimed to have shown his visitors a stock of some forty mummies, which he himself – according to de la Fontaine's testimony – had prepared over the preceding four years using the bodies of slaves but also of other persons.²⁰⁴

The exposition of frauds is also the task that Rob Pitt set himself. In 1703 he wrote that *mumia* won from human corpses “ought to be rejected, as loathsom and offensive [...]”, in the same way as worms and dried fox lungs and other popular remedies.²⁰⁵

203 *The Workes of That Famous Chirurgion Ambrose Parey*, London, 1634: 448; cited in DAWSON 1928: 36.

204 In de la Fontaine's account, as summarized by Dawson, it was the traders' practice to fill the bodies with bitumen; thereafter bandaged and dried in the sun, preparation so closely simulated genuine ancient Egyptian mummies that the fraud was difficult to detect. It did not matter to him whether the corpses he used belonged to persons who had died of Hansen's disease or of bubonic plague. Dawson concludes that it was “scarcely surprising that the condemnation of the use of mummy should follow”. DAWSON 1928: 37; cf. also BUDGE 1925: 202–203; MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 88–89.

205 Rob PITT: *The Crafts and Frauds of Physick Expos'd*, 2nd ed., London: T. Childe 1703: 42; cited in Sarah BAKEWELL: “Cooking with Mummy”, in: *Fortean Times. The World of Strange Phenomena* (July 1999); internet edition http://www.forteanimes.com/articles/124_mummy.shtml (2 August, 2004).

Whereas Paré and others had taken issue with the belief in the medical qualities attributed to dead human bodies and especially the provenance of much that was sold under the name of *mumia*, in Japan, Ranzan positions himself against such usage on moral grounds. He has nothing to say about the pharmaceutical value, and he does not directly cast doubt on the efficacy of the *materia medica* provided by foreigners. As the author of practical guide books, one might surmise, he lacked the professional experience to have done so. For him, the ingestion of human bodily matter constituted an act of cannibalism. This reproach is not absent from the European context. As Meyer-Hicken recounts, it appeared beginning in the late 17th century when the internal application of *mummy* was likened to the alleged consumption among uncivilized savages.²⁰⁶ Augustus Rivinus and Georg Bernhard Hendewerck explicitly spoke of *mumia anthropophagorum*, thereby disclaiming the patient who ingested this substance as a cannibal.²⁰⁷

It has to be added, however, that in the larger context of the attitude towards anthropophagy in Christian Europe, at least cannibalism born out of need was not univocally condemned. The canonist Martin de Azpilcueta (1493–1586) had counted the consumption of human flesh (including that of corpses) among the mortal sins, but he recognized an exception in the case of great need (*circa maximam necessitatem*).²⁰⁸ The Jesuit Emanuele Sa (1530–96) stated this more positively: “In extreme need it is allowed to partake of human flesh.” (*Carnes humanas edere in extrema necessitate licitum est.*)²⁰⁹ A member of the same order, Giovanni Menochio (1576–1655), concedes that in the face of imminent starvation the consumption of human flesh is permissible as the last resort to preserve one’s life and he gives two arguments

206 Daniel LUDOVICUS: *Danielis Ludovici [...] de pharmacia moderno seculo applicanda; dissertationes III*. Editio secunda, cum augmento et indice locupletissimo, Gotha 1685: 245; Augustus Quirinus RIVINUS: *D. Augusti Quirini Rivini [...] censura medicamentorum officinalium*, Leipzig 1701: 12; Robert BOYLE: *The works of the honourable Robert Boyle in six volumes. To which is prefixed the life of the author*, vol. 2, London 1772: 451; cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 71.

207 RIVINUS 1701: 12; Georg Bernhard HENDEWERCK: *Dissertation inauguralis medica de mumia quam praeside D. Iohanne Henrico Schulze [...] pro gradu doctoris rite consequendo [...] publice defendet Georg Bernh. Hendewerck [etc.]*, Halle-Magdeburg 1737: 9; cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 9.

208 Martin AZPILCUETA: *Commentarii, et tractatus ad sacras confessiones, orationesque, ac Indulgentias omnino pertinentes*, vol. 2, Venice 1601: fol. 1213.

209 Emanuele SA: *Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti [...]*, edited by Andreas Victorellus, Cologne 1615: 70 (the work, originally published in Venice in 1595, later was put on the index).

in support: 1. God's omnipotence is not going to fail when faced with the task – on the Day of Judgement – of sorting out and making whole the bodies of the victims of cannibalism among those to be resurrected. 2. While not consuming them for their meat, extracting medical substances from human corpses is an accepted practice.²¹⁰

These arguments may be termed rationalistic insofar as they do not stop at repeating a general injunction but allow for measuring up the merits of preserving individual human life against the moral imperative to shun cannibalism.²¹¹ The same rationalism informs the arguments of those who defended the worth of medicinal substances that had fallen under suspicion on moral grounds. An example are the 17th century discussions concerning the use of *unguentum armarium* or “weapon ointment”.²¹² When the Belgian Jesuit Jean Roberti accused this preparation as depending on the power of the devil or of demons, Joan Baptista van Helmont (1579–1644), a famous Paracelsan, emphasized its character as a “magnetic remedy” (*remedium magneticum*): “What is superstitious about weapon ointment only because it is made from cranium moss (*usnea*), blood, mummy, and man's grease? After all, a doctor makes use of these things without reproach, and a pharmacist moreover may sell them without hesitation.”²¹³ As Heinz Schott remarks, a “bizarre” debate among Paracelsans revolved around “cranium moss” as one of the ingredients

210 Giovanni Stefano MENOCHIO: *Nützliche und sehr gelehrte Zeit-Vertreibung / Von Allerhand Unterweisungen / Geistlich / Sittlich / und Weltlich*, vol. 10, Augsburg 1699: 212f. For the last three examples cf. Daniel FULDA: “‘Wann die Menschenfresser nicht in Africa oder sonsten / sondern vor unser Hausthür suchen müssen’. Hungeranthropophagie im Dreißigjährigen Krieg und der europäische Kannibalismuskurs”, in: Hedwig RÖCKELEIN (ed.): *Kannibalismus und europäische Kultur* (Forum Psychohistorie, vol. 6), Tübingen: edition diskord 1996: 155–56.

211 Menochio's reference to extracting medical substances from human bodies as one of the reasons why cannibalism under desperate circumstances should be condoned may not come as a surprise anymore; his opinion gives further testimony to the acceptance of remedies won from human bodily matter, even among members of the church.

212 Since the Middle Ages this salve was believed to either protect the body against wounds or to heal combat injuries (even over a distance by applying it to the weapon or tool that had caused the wound). Cf. e.g., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 6: 566–67.

213 “[...] was ist doch Aberglaubisches in der Waffensalbe / Etwan weil sie von Hirn-Schalen-Moos / (Usnea:) Blut / Mumie / und Menschen-Fett gemacht ist? gebraucht sich doch ein Arzt dieser Dinge ohn Vorwurff; und mag sie ein Apotheker überdies ohn Scheu verkaufen.” Christian Knorr von ROSENROTH: *Aufgang der Arznei-Kunst* [Übertragung der Werke von J.B. van Helmont ins Deutsche], Sulzbach 1663: 1013; cited after Heinz SCHOTT: “Imagination – Einbildungskraft – Suggestion. Zur ‘Scharlartanerie’ in der neuzeitlichen Medizin”, in: *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 27 (2004): 102.

of the dubitable salve. While a medical professor from Marburg, Rudolph Goclenius the Younger, recommended only the use of *usnea* won from criminals that had been hanged, van Helmont argued that the ingredient's efficacy did not depend on particular kinds of persons. Experience had shown that moss from the cranium of those executed by other means was no less useful – as indeed that from the skulls of martyrs or Jesuits.²¹⁴

Paracelsan influence might have been one of the reasons, as Meyer-Hicken argues, why the disparagement of *mummy* by Paré and others did not convince all medical practitioners. With the teachings of Paracelsus, Croll and others, the idea of the interdependence of all cosmic phenomena gained in force and invigorated the belief “that the vital energy of people that had died in good health could be liberated and transmitted to the still living”.²¹⁵

6. Human Cranium or “Soul’s Heavenlike Cover”

Information on the second medicine derived from human remains mentioned in the *Admonitions Concerning Food Consumption*, “soul’s heavenlike cover”, is more scanty. The *Classification of Materia Medica* featured an article on it²¹⁶ where Li Shizhen gives a pertinent explanation of the name: “The roundness of a human being’s head is similar to a [vessel’s] cover, it is vaulted and its form imitates Heaven; it is the palace of the mud ball 泥丸 [= brain matter] and the place where the spirit-force / soul 神靈 gathers.”²¹⁷ In the next paragraph the *Depot Vessels* 藏器 (*Zangji*) is cited with the opinion that the more weathered human skulls the better suited they are. Here as well as in other places it is specified that only parts of the cranium²¹⁸ are prepared for medicinal use by baking – sometimes with condensed milk 酥.²¹⁹ The list of diseases against which “soul’s heavenlike cover” is said to help includes “lung consumption” 肺痿, “emaciation” 羸瘦, “bone steaming” 骨蒸²²⁰, and “corpse[like]

214 ROSENROTH 1663: 1012; cited in SCHOTT 2004: 102.

215 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 72.

216 *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1827–28.

217 Ibid.: 1827.

218 E.g. pieces with “the breadth of three fingers”. Ibid.

219 Ibid.: 1827, 1828. The *Depot Vessels* lists a number of consecutive steps of preparation including boiling in “boy’s/child’s urine”. Ibid.

220 This expression refers to symptoms of enervation and fever.

rigour” 尸症.²²¹ Li Shizhen refrains from giving his personal opinion on the use of the human cranium for medical purposes but he cites Chen Cheng 陳承 (ca. 1100) to this effect. The latter drew attention to the Divine Husbandman 神農 (Shennong)²²² as specifying only human hairs for use in medicine. The expediency to use all substances of the human body was conceived of by doctors, alchemists, and “dubious persons” of later ages. Recently, medical practitioners also use “soul’s heavenlike cover” in treating tuberculosis, but this did not have a positive effect even once. Rather, its application is an atrocity and an insult of the gods/spirits.²²³

In Japan, Kaibara Ekiken, in his *Materia Medica of Japan* in the part on medicine made from human bodily substances, adopts the order of characters as given in Li Shizhen’s compendium: 天靈蓋.²²⁴ On the left side of the word he gives the alternative reading *share kôbe* meaning “skull”. Ekiken writes: “Things like skulls, as well as human bones or human birth shrouds are used to cure diseases.”²²⁵ Whereas for *mummy* he provided a long list of effects attributed to this remedy, the paragraph on “soul’s heavenlike cover” is most of all a moralistic repudiation. Ekiken argues that the effect of such a kind of medicine has not yet been demonstrated; a person of high ethical disposition – the “man of benevolence” 仁人 (*jinjin*) – could not agree to using it. The Chinese authority, which is quoted next – *Understanding the Secrets of Materia Medica* 本艸通玄 (*Bencao tongxuan* / *Honzô tsûgen*; before 1655) shares this sentiment: While the men of antiquity considered it as “benevolence” to cover unburied bones, the practitioners of geomantic arts stoop so low as to prepare drugs with human bones. How can it be that men ingest the bones of fellow men when even dogs do not eat the bones of other dogs? Medicine is a “technique of benevolence” incompatible with administrating human bones as a remedy.²²⁶

221 Ibid.: 1828. The last ailment is said to be caused by the inimical “energy of ghosts”. It manifests itself as the inability to move the body and get up although one is awake. Ibid. The *Bencao gangmu*’s last entry on the application of this remedy lists other maladies, including, e.g., a kind of parasite which can be evicted with help of “soul’s heavenlike cover”. Ibid.: 1828.

222 Cf. n. 40.

223 Ibid.: 1828 / 535. Chen Cheng made allowance for the use of “soul’s heavenlike cover” only under inevitable circumstances. Ibid.

224 EZ 6: 425–26.

225 Ibid.: 425.

226 Ibid. The text speaks of an extreme contravention to “virtue” and a violation of the

Ekiken gives no indication that he was aware that “soul’s heavenlike cover” figured among the medical substances traded by the Dutch. However, human cranium is mentioned in Hirokawa Kai’s 広川獬²²⁷ *Explanation of Medicines [Used in] the Healing from Holland* 蘭療藥解 (*Ranryô yakukai*; printed 1806). This work offers short definitions for the more than three hundred pharmaceutical articles mentioned in the *Healing Methods from Holland* 蘭療方 (*Ran ryôhô*, 1804) translated by the same author from the Dutch.²²⁸ Each entry is headed by the Dutch name of the medicine in question, together with a notation in *katakana* giving its reading. In case of “soul’s heavenlike cover” this is *Menschenhooftpan* メンセンホーフトパン, or “human skullcap”. The corresponding Chinese expression – 天靈蓋 – follows, and a short explanation in Chinese prose reads: “[As for] the main effects: It removes bone fever, dispels turbid fluids, calms heart palpitations, and heals putrid boils; [in case of] the various blood diseases, whether one ingests it [alone] or mixes it, there is a miraculous effect 神驗 (*shinken*).”²²⁹ This positive evaluation is opposed in Ogawa Kendô’s 小川顛道 *Bag for Nurturing Life* 養生囊 (*Yôjô fukuro*, 1773). There, “soul’s heavenlike cover”²³⁰ is classed as one of many “dirty things” 汚穢の物 (*owai no mono*)²³¹ used as “miraculous medicines”. The following sentence leaves no doubt as to the author’s low opinion: “Besides, these [people] also use other worthless things けしからぬもの (*keshi-karanu mono*). One should be aware that this is the practice of those [following] popular medicine and evil methods. Therefore one hears that they let rich and noble persons ingest [these doubtful articles] pretending that they are other medicines”.²³² As in Ranzan’s case, Kendô’s reproachful attitude is

“harmony of Heaven and Earth”. Ibid.: 425–26. The question is repeated in the *Tales of Things Recently Seen*, quoted in Nasu Tsunenori’s *Honchô idan*: “How can it be that men eat men when not even dogs eat [other] dogs?” Cf. SHIMIZU 1949: 117.

227 Nothing is known about Hirokawa Kai except that he lived in Kyoto as a doctor in service to a member of the imperial family.

228 The original, about which nothing is known except the title – *Langleevenboek* – seems to have been in the possession of a doctor with the family name Okabe 岡部 in Nagasaki.

229 *Ranryô yakukai*, in: SÔDA Hajime (ed.): *Edo kagaku koten sôsho* 江戸科学古典叢書 (Library of Classics in the Natural Sciences from the Edo Period), vol. 27, Kôwa Shuppan 1980: 386.

230 Kendô gives another “Japanese name”: “Heavenly stone skull” 天石しやれこうべ (*tenseki sharekôbe*). *Nihon eisei bunko* 1 (1): 79.

231 The list also includes “human meat” 人肉 (*jinniku*), menstrual blood (“red lead” 紅鉛), a child’s urine, or faeces and so on.

232 Ibid.

based on the moral resentment professed in Chinese sources. Due to their “Heavenly nature” 天性 (*tensei*), the people of Japan have a love for purity, and they keep strictly to the “way of propriety” 義の道 (*gi no michi*). They even detest eating (four-footed) animals. How much more these disdainful medicines. Partaking of them would be an act of cannibalism; it would be on a par with the behaviour of wild beasts. Even should they be efficacious, it would not be impossible to find less repulsive medicines in their place.²³³

Despite these reprehensive voices, it appears that “soul’s heavenlike cover” held a place in the repertoire of *materia medica*. In his essayistic collection *Saltass*, Amano Sadakage reports that in search for “soul’s heavenlike cover” people do not even hesitate to devastate the tombs in the temple graveyards, and he deplors this as a shameful and frightening practice.²³⁴

Testimony to the actual use of “soul’s heavenlike cover” as a medicine is provided by no less than Sugita Genpaku. In his autobiographical deliberations on medicine, *Nightly Talks with a Shadow of [my own] Appearance* 形影夜話 (*Keiei yawa*) – written down in 1802 – the scholar devotes a passage to syphilis: There is no disease that is more widespread, more difficult to heal, and causing patients more pain than this. Therefore, Genpaku in younger years took it upon himself to find a cure for it. But although he studied all of the methods known in his days and eventually even turned to the gods for help, in the end he had to admit failure. But then, one night in a dream he had a vision that a compound of the “soul’s heavenlike cover” together with safflower 紅花 (*benibana*) should be efficacious. He immediately put it to the test but, alas, even this concoction did not help.²³⁵

As the entry in the *Classification of Materia Medica* suggests, the use of the human cranium for medical purposes had an indigenous tradition in China. Both the Tang period *Recipes [Worth] a Thousand [Pieces of] Gold* 千金方 (*Qianjin fang / Senkin hô*)²³⁶ and Chen Cheng in Song times refer to it. But, similar to *mummy*, the human skull was known as a component of medications in European pharmacology. Pliny the Elder attests to this: “There is extant a treatise of Democritus stating that one complaint is more benefited by bones from the head of a criminal [...].”²³⁷ And later he says that from

233 Ibid.: 80.

234 HAYASHI 1916: 8 (136); *Nihon zuihitsu taisei* 15: 285–86.

235 *Keiei yawa*, NST 64: 282–83.

236 Li Shizhen quoted Sun Simiao’s 孫思邈 (581?/601?-682?) work as one of the medical authorities administering “soul’s heavenlike cover”. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1828.

“the skull of a man hanged Antaeus made pills to cure the bites of a mad dog”.²³⁸

The cranium burned to ashes was listed as a remedy in *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*.²³⁹ Lacking *mumia*, in the 16th century Matthiolus recommended the use of pulverized human skull as a cure for epilepsy – advice still repeated at the beginning of the 18th century by Giuseppe Donzelli.²⁴⁰ The “tincture of skulls” listed in the 1682 *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* answered the same purpose.²⁴¹

The renowned Nicolas Lemery, gives a recipe in his *Pharmacopée universelle*, which includes “elk’s hoof” and “refined matter of the human skull”, one and a half ounces of each.²⁴² In the introductory part of his work, he strongly recommends using the cranium “of a person who died a violent death”. This should be broken into pieces and ground into a powder. One should give it preference above the cranium of those who died from a protracted malady or those “dug out of a cemetery” because it still “retains nearly all its spirit”. According to Lemery human cranium is efficacious for treating “epilepsy, paralysis, apoplexy and other maladies of the brain”.²⁴³

While these examples do not allow any conclusion as to the actual ingestion by the sick of remedies containing cranium a passage from a letter by Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Knowledge, addressed to Robert Boyle (1627–91), best known for his works in physics and chemistry and a founding member of the same Society, in

237 According to the translator’s note, Diogenes Laertius attributed to Democritus works on medicine and regimen. *Natural History*, vol. 8, 1963: 7.

238 Ibid.

239 *Handbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 8: 1093.

240 Cf. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 54.

241 “Digest filings of skulls with Juniper of Sage [...] in a Bolt-head well luted, with a gentle heat for fifteen days; then strain it out with a press, so you have a red Liquor; strain it again, and abstract in Balneo Vaporis to the consistency of Honey.” *Pharmacopoeia Londonensis*, London 1682: 196; quoted in BLAKEWELL 1999. The *Pharmacia Antverpiensis* of 1661, too, attests to the use of human cranium. PORTER 1999: 269.

242 Nicolas LEMERY: *Pharmacopée universelle, contenant toutes les compositions de pharmacie*, 1st vol., 5th ed, Paris: de Saint & Saillant et. al. 1764: 399–400. This “powder of silver” (“pudre de lune”; the author explains that alchemists and astrologues use *lune* as a name for silver, because of the resemblance and the correspondences they perceive between the moon and the metal) “is good against the falling sickness or epilepsy, against vertigo, against lethargy; it fortifies the brain, the heart and the stomach [...]”. Ibid.: 400.

243 LEMERY 1764 (1): 129. Cf. also n. 174.

1664 supplies a hint: “I owe you many thanks for a medicine against Fluxes, but give me leave to ask, whether the hot cinnamon and nutmeg may not claim as great a share in the effect as the cold deadman’s skull.”²⁴⁴

7. Questions of Mummy Efficacy

As stated above, Kaibara Ekiken detailed the effects of *miira* in two lists, of which at least the first probably reflected the opinion held by Dutch sources. It introduces *mummy* as a remedy against fractures and injuries. Furthermore, people suffering from a weakening in their “vital energy and blood” should ingest it as pills the size of a phoenix tree’s 梧桐 (*aogiri*) fruit²⁴⁵ once or twice a day together with hot water. In the case of “exhausting cough” 劳咳 (*rôgai*) (= tuberculosis), when nothing else helps, *mummy* proves efficacious in the form of pills. Ingestion is also recommended as effective against “blood desertion” 血脱 (*ketsudatsu*),²⁴⁶ “wounds after parturition” 産後金瘡 (*sango kinsô*),²⁴⁷ blood vomiting, “lower blood” 下血 (*geketsu*) (= bleeding from the anus), as well as chronic malaria. For alleviating “blood enervation” 血虚 (*kekkyo*)²⁴⁸ one should mix *miira* with an ointment and use it externally.²⁴⁹

The second list – made up of popular beliefs²⁵⁰ as Ekiken comments – mentions “exhaustion of the vital energy” 気つかれ (*kizukare*),²⁵¹ “breast

244 Cited in PORTER 1999: 233. And William Marshall quoted “the great Friedrich Hoffmann” (1660–1742), professor of medicine at the University of Halle, as recommending a prescription for epilepsy that contained among other ingredients “two *Loth* [ca. 30–33g] of burned human skull”. William MARSHALL: *Neueröffnetes / wundersames Arznei-Kästlein darin allerlei gründliche Nachrichten / wie es unsere Voreltern mit den Heilkräften der Thiere gehalten haben / zu finden sind*, Leipzig: Twietmeyer 1894: 80.

245 *Firmiana plantanifolia*, also known as “Chinese parasol tree”.

246 This expression in the system of traditional Chinese medicine signifies a loss of blood of dangerous proportions.

247 In general, *kinsô* (literally “wounds [caused by] metallic [cutting utensils]”) refers to wounds caused by knives and other types of blades. In this sense Ekiken uses the expression several lines later.

248 This expression describes a condition of weak pulse, coldness and numbness of limbs, dizziness caused by a loss of blood, inner bleeding, parasites, or excessive worrying. In degree, the lack of blood is not as strong as in the case of “blood desertion”.

249 EZ 6: 423. In the last example, the text also suggests cutting *mummy* and applying it together with other drugs.

250 Ekiken does not state clearly whether these are of European or Japanese provenance. The former would seem more probable, however.

ache”, and “mucus in the breast” 胸の結痰 (*mune no kettan*) in the first place, and suggests ingesting *mummy* with wine and/or hot water. The second entry starts with “hiccup” and again includes “breast ache”.²⁵² In the third place one finds tooth ache and caries²⁵³ for which a treatment by *mummy* mixed with honey is suggested. When suffering from headache, hurtful “accumulations,”²⁵⁴ and dizziness one drinks it with hot water. If bitten by poisonous insects or wild animals, using *mummy* as a salve together with *manteika*²⁵⁵ will help. If a pregnant woman falls and loses consciousness burning a *mummy* and making her smell its head is recommended. When afflicted by smallpox that does not heal, one should heat the mummy’s body and use it afterwards.²⁵⁶ It also heals injuries caused by a fall from a horse when ingested with “wine”. Bruises are best treated by applying *mummy* internally and externally at the same time. The prescription for “food poisoning” 食傷 (*shokushō*) is to drink it together with hot water, and in the case of “wine poisoning” 酒毒 (*shudoku*) an internal treatment with “cold wine” or “cold water” is recommended. Internal hemorrhage due to bruises can be cured by *mummy* taken together with “wine”, whereas a combination with hot water will prove efficacious to alleviate the secretion of phlegm. Men and women suffering from “vital energy enervation” should ingest parched *miira* or drink it as a powder mixed with hot water or “wine”. In another instance, spreading as a salve on the upper and bottom sides of the thighs (?) is suggested.²⁵⁷ For malaria the list has a treatment in combination with hot water early in the morning on days when this disease is rampant. *Mummy* should also be ingested when ailing from fits of coughing or when vomiting a yellow fluid. One gives it to patients suffering from “metal [blade] wounds” and uttering wild words, and it is taken in with hot water in the case of “vital energy enervation” caused by the same disease.²⁵⁸ Difficulties to pass water and gonorrhea are internally

251 In modern usage the word means “mental fatigue”.

252 The prescription, too, is identical to the first case.

253 Lit. “when a hole has opened in a tooth eaten by insects/vermin” 虫食歯穴あきたるには (*mushigui ha ana akitaru ni wa*).

254 Cf. n. 344.

255 This word is of Portuguese origin (*manteiga*) and means “boar’s fat”.

256 If these entries are to be taken literally, then mummies were sometimes sold whole. What kind of application should be made in the second case is not specified.

257 It can only be surmised that this entry hints at leg injuries. Literally, the text speaks of the “basic thick [one]” もとぶと (*motobuto*) and the “rear thick [one]” うらぶと (*urabuto*) without mentioning pathological symptoms.

treated with parched *mummy*. Taken together with cold water *miira* will soothe pains caused by a swelling of the belly as well as high fevers. For vomiting of blood or blood leaking from the anus an application with hot water is recommended. And in the case of a difficult birth a small amount should be taken together with “wine”. The last prescription is of a general character: “Whatever kind of disease, when suffering from “bad energy” 悪気 (*akki*) being confined inside the body, one uses [mummy] with [cold] water.”²⁵⁹

Despite Ekiken’s doubts concerning the benefits attributed to *mummy* and notwithstanding the outright denial of any medicinal merit – at least with respect to the surrogate – in the *Talks of the Past Long Ago*, on the whole *mummy* in Edo period Japan seems to have been appreciated as a panacea. Otherwise it is hard to explain the continued interest of the shogunal house in it as well as the renewed popularity among the merchants in Nagasaki up to the first decades of the 19th century. Tamenaga Shunsui 為永春水 (1790–1843) in his *Small Talk [beside] a Window in a Tranquil [Place] 閑窓瑣談 (Kansô sadan)* mentions *mummy* and gives an account of its miraculous effects based, as he states, on the *Record [after] Quitting Tillage*. He continues with a specification of the remedy’s properties: “Now if one were to inquire as to what kind of medicine *mummy* is used for, it is said to be a wonder drug for bone fractures, and whatever kind of injury one takes, if one drinks just a little bit of this *mummy*, it will heal immediately. As for this *mummy*, even for people living in the Country in the Direction of Heaven [= Arabia] it is difficult to come by, and for this reason it is said that it is revered as a wondersome medicine. Another name for it is ‘honey man’.”²⁶⁰ It seems that Shunsui himself did not think highly of *mummy*: “Anyway, this is the habit of the country of the Western Barbarians 戎国 (*ebisu kuni*), it is a practice that one detests in the Country of the Gods/Spirits 神国 (*shinkoku*) [= Japan].” This is much the same as Hara Seian’s attitude. But then Shunsui follows up on this criticism with words of his own: “A common proverb says that wishing to eat things one does not have [on hand] is man’s [bad] habit. In fact, human feelings esteem what is hard to come by, and they make light of

258 The list also states that *mummy* stops the flow of blood from “metal [blade] wounds”.

259 EZ 6: 423–24.

260 NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHÛ BU, 1st period, vol. 12, 1975: 158–59. Shunsui’s adaption of Tao Jiucheng’s narration uses exactly the same words as Hara Seian, which suggests that he copied the earlier work. In consequence, like Seian, he interpreted the Chinese source as referring to a general practice rather than a singular event.

things that at all times are available and that have great merits; they disparage them and do not believe in them.”²⁶¹

Neither wariness with regard to the medical benefits nor moral indignation concerning the consumption of human flesh are articulated by Ôtsuki Gentaku. The scholar of Dutch Learning enumerates the substances used in preparing mummies in ancient Egypt and also details their pharmaceutical properties.²⁶² Later on, he quotes Woyt’s *Gazophylacium*: “The main healing [property] entirely [lies in] passing along 融通ス (*yûzû su*) clotted blood.”²⁶³ For this reason, when one has taken a fall or received a blow, the blood capillaries have been hurt and dead blood clots in the skin or in case of a sickness of the lungs, in case of spleen ache [...], in case of an inflammation of the side and the ribs, or in case of sharp pains in the uterus it helps when mummy is used.”²⁶⁴ The causal connection between the two sentences in this passage suggests that the function of *mummy* here is understood as having a regulating effect on the flow of blood, either staunching it or removing obstructions. By

261 Ibid.: 159. Mizue reads the passage about the “honey man” as Shunsui’s own opinion and criticizes him for falling back behind the understanding reached in the *Hachijû ô mukashibanashi*. She does not seem to be aware that Shunsui modelled his passage on the one by Seian, and she neither mentions that the “honey man” anecdote is a citation from the *Chuogeng lu* nor that Shunsui comments critically on the *mummy* vogue by alluding to the predilection of human feelings for elusive things. Also, she does not seem to give credence to the possibility that beside ‘faked’ *mummy* there might have been “real” human *mummy* on sale. Cf. TANIKAWA 1969: 426.

262 *Rokumotsu shinshi* 88.

263 Ibid.: 95. Yamawaki’s interpretation that this should mean “discharging blood fluid from the body that has clotted inside” seems plausible when seen against the background of European medicine at that time. The most frequent operation of Occidental physicians was draining off fluids from the body – blood-letting, intestine purging by clyster or enema – as a consequence of the humoral theory. However, Gentaku’s *yûzû su* rather implies that the flow of something that had been obstructed is facilitated again. In support of his interpretation, Yamawaki gives an explanation from the *Deliberations on Famous Things* according to which myrrh 没薬 (*motsuyaku*) is “efficacious with all kinds of diseases where mucus hinders [the flow of fluids] in the body, [...]”. As Gentaku had identified myrrh as one of the substances used in the preparation of mummies, Yamawaki infers that Woyt attributed a similar effect to *mummy* itself. YAMAWAKI 1995: 167. But again, the choice of words in the *Meibutsu kô*, does not speak of draining clotted blood from the body, only of dissolving obstructions to the flow of bodily fluids. Cf. n. 264. How this is achieved is not further specified.

264 *Rokumotsu shinshi* 95. Woyt’s *Gazophylacium* explains that *mummy* “dissipates” (zertheilet) clotted blood. The respective passage reads: “Sie [genuine *mummy*] zertheilet das geronnene Geblüt vom Fallen oder Weh-thun; ist gut wider die Lungensucht / Milz-Weh und Seiten-Stechen / Mutter-Schmerzen und euserliche Wunden.” WOYT 1709: 594–95.

stating this assessment without further comments of his own, Gentaku seems to adopt his sources' belief in the potency of at least the most valuable type of *miira*. Convinced of the superiority of medical and scientific knowledge achieved by the "Red Hair [Barbarians]", he seems to countenance the expertise of "Dutch" authorities on the – at least latently – objectionable subject of human bodies used for medicinal purposes without giving vent to the reprehension evinced by some of his contemporaries.

Shunsui's sentiment that *mummy* was valued in Japan because it was hard to come by might be part of the truth. On the other hand, the lists of effects ascribed by Japanese authorities to this exotic medicine parallel those found in European sources and certainly owe their origin to them.²⁶⁵ In Europe, however, *mummy* was a much more common article. Even though over time it proved difficult to satisfy the growing demand with imports of *mumia vera* from Egypt, surrogates standing in the Paracelsan tradition or outright fakes catered to the expanding market. One has to conclude that it was a belief in the panacea-like qualities of this medicine that facilitated the ingestion of human flesh and led to its popularity. But while critical voices in Europe as in Japan might be correct in denying the therapeutic value of human bodily remains, the case is different for the natural type of *mummy*.

It has already been mentioned that the latter was valued for its properties in connection with diverse ailments as early as in the *Papyrus Ebers*. And when *mummy* is mentioned by the authorities of antiquity down to Dioscorides this generally refers to the natural substance. But even in the 19th century, the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* knows that products like *ichthyol* and *thalassol*, derived from slate and other minerals containing bitumen, enjoyed great popularity in medicine.²⁶⁶ To a certain extent this still holds true for modern times. In an article on the "Medical Drugs from Humus Matter. Focus on Mumie", Igor Schepetkin, Andrei Khlebnikov, and Byoung Se Kwon state that natural "mumie has pharmacological properties, and there are new pharmacological drugs with mumie (Shilagen, Abana, Cystone, Diabecon 400, EveCare and so on)".²⁶⁷ To be precise, the article distinguishes

265 According to the descriptions found in Meyer-Hicken's account for Europe, *mummy's* greatest powers lay in the curing of injuries and wounds. *Mumia* served as an anodyne, it helped to stop bleedings and to dissolve clotted blood. It was used in treatment of gynaecological disorders, poisonings, infections, rheumatism, and diseases of lung, heart, and stomach. In the course of time neurological ailments like epilepsy and apoplexy as well as paralysis were added. MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 50–52.

266 *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 6: 617–18.

between three different substances: “petroleum mumie”, “plant mumie (mumie-asil)”, and “mumie-kiem”. The second of these is the result of a “long term humification of *Euphorbia* and *Trifolium* (clover) plants and lichen”²⁶⁸, and it is this kind that shows the highest therapeutic quality. After describing the uses of *mumie* in “folk medicine” as well as in the Greek and Arabic tradition, a list of modern indications rounds off the picture. According to this, *mumie* is prescribed for “genitourinary diseases, diabetes, jaundice, adiposity, enlarged spleen, digestive disorders, epilepsy, nervous diseases, elephantiasis, tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis, asthma, anemia, amenorrhea, dysmenorrhagia, eczema, leprosy, anorexia, fracture of bones, and osteoporosis”, as well as being “useful as an aphrodisiac, rejuvenator, alternative tonic, internal antiseptic, diuretic, lithontriptic”.²⁶⁹

Correspondences to earlier medical traditions as well as to the properties ascribed to *mummy* based on human bodily substances – once the identification of the natural product with the mummified corpse had been achieved – will be noticed.

Natural *mummy* as mentioned for example, by Avicenna was not prescribed on its own but as a component of mixtures with herbs or with liquids such as wine, milk, and oil.²⁷⁰ The same holds true for the use European doctors made of human *mumia*. Following Meyer-Hicken’s list, they mixed it with wine, syrup, milk, butter, oil, the juice of certain plants, or spices such as oregano and dill, but also the essences of marjoram and roses.²⁷¹ For preparing such concoctions, which either could be ingested or applied externally as tinctures or salves, pieces of the dried balsam won from the body cavities of mummies or parts of mummified corpses were first ground to a powder and then mixed with other ingredients according to the intended use. Joachim Strüpe, a doctor from Frankfurt, in his short and unpaginated tract on “*mumia*

267 Igor SCHEPETKIN, Andrei KHLEBNIKOV, Byoung Se KWON: “Medical Drugs from Humus Matter. Focus on Mumie”, in: *Drug Development Research* 57 (2002), p. 140. Later, they provide a list of 28 preparations based on *mumie*. Ibid.: 143.

268 Ibid.: 141. The authors mention samples from the Altai with an age of between 500 and 1,500 years, whereas others from Central-Asia are up to 15,000 years old. Ibid. The other two kinds assumedly owe their origins to the “transformation of deep petroleum products of mountains” in one case, and to the “long-term humification of guano (feces) of alpine rodents” in the other. Ibid.

269 Ibid.: 143.

270 DAWSON 1928: 36.

271 MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 46.

vera aegyptica” (1574), advised mixing *mummy* together with goat’s milk for internally treating urological disorders. And together with fresh butter it was supposed to help against venomous bites and stings.²⁷²

Japanese texts follow this model. Ekiken’s list of prescriptions gives combinations of *miira* mostly with wine or water, both either cold or warm. Other ingredients for mixtures are honey, *manteika*, or ointments. But it seems that *mummy* could also be used singularly as when it was roasted and the smoke inhaled. As to the pills mentioned by Ekiken there is no indication that they contained other ingredients. The text only specifies the size of the pieces of *mummy* to be ingested.²⁷³ In pulverized form, however, it was mixed with other substances, as well as when used in a salve.²⁷⁴ Similarly, Gotô Rishun holds that pulverized *miira* with wine or hot water relieves various ailments (generally similar to those mentioned in the *Materia Medica of Japan*) – either by ingesting it or by applying it externally in a salve or liniment.²⁷⁵ But there is no correspondence in Ekiken’s work for using *miira* together with a little bit of ginger in order to cure belly aches located in one or the other side.²⁷⁶ And whereas for small children the older work only stipulated a smaller quantity than for adults, Rishun suggests that they should ingest it with hot water, cold water, and/or sugar.²⁷⁷

The reasons behind the belief in the medical properties of mummified human corpses – of ancient Egyptian or of much more recent provenance – can only partly be explained by the process of attributing to it the same qualities inherent in the natural type of *mumia/mumie*. The confounding of the two items does not offer sufficient reason why scruples concerning the ingestion of human flesh were overcome, both in Europe – all the more so in

272 Joachim STRÜPPE: *Consens der huernehmsten / beide Alten unnd Newen Historienschreiber / auch Medicorum, von etlichen koestlichen hochnoetigen frembden Artzneien / und erstlichen / Von der rechten warhafften Mumia / unnd dergleichen Materialien / im heiligen Lande / auch in Arabia und Egypten gebrauchlichen [...]*, Frankfurt: Johann Schmidt 1574. The tract is an explanation and a defense of the medicinal properties of *mummy*. The last two pages of text consist of an enumeration of applications covering diverse maladies – often of a common sort such as throat ache and coughing. The uses mentioned here appear on the last page. Cf. also GESSLER-LÖHR.

273 However, one is advised to take these pills together with warm water, once or twice a day. EZ 6: 423.

274 Cf. pp. 116–17.

275 *Kômô dan* 441–42.

276 *Ibid.*: 442.

277 *Ibid.*

periods of history when stories about the cannibalistic habits of non-Christian “barbarians” provided examples of fearful degradation of man as the image of God – and in Japan. In the Occident, due to Paracelsus and his followers the idea of *mummy* was linked with a belief in the vitalistic powers inherent in the human body that owed nothing to the value originally attributed to natural *mumia*. And in the Japanese context, the earlier history of the natural type of *mummy* used for medicinal reasons is lacking completely: The remedy was introduced from the outset as mummified human flesh.

8. Conclusion: In Search of an Explanation

The quest for a panacea is a universal phenomenon of archetypal dimensions. And *mumia* certainly was endowed with qualities of a universal remedy in the popular belief system. Joachim Strüppe in 1574 called it one of the “useful gifts of God”,²⁷⁸ while in 1636 the Jesuit Bernhard Caesius compared the healing properties of the human corpse embalmed with aloe and myrrh with the powers of the body and the wounds of Christ.²⁷⁹ Rather than interpreting *mummy* therapy either as due to an identification of natural *mumia*, the fluids contained in the cavities of embalmed bodies, and the corpses themselves, or as caused by mistakes of translation from Arabic works, indications are numerous that the phenomenon has to be considered in a much wider context of concepts revolving around the dead human body. Philippe Ariès calls attention to the notion of a *vis vegetans* or a *vestigium vitae* – as in the Paracelsan tradition – that was thought to lend the corpse a certain kind of sensitive awareness even after its owner had died,²⁸⁰ and adducing documentary evidence from 17th century France and Germany he recounts that “the people for a long time defied to admit that the loss of the soul [through death] deprived the body of all life”.²⁸¹ As long as the corpse had not been reduced to the state of a skeleton and some flesh still adhered to it a remnant of life was supposed to reside in the cadaver.²⁸² Belief in these residual powers

278 STRÜPPE 1574. This expression appears on the last page of Strüppe’s short tract, which ends with the word “Amen”.

279 Bernardus CAESIUS: *Mineralogia, sive naturalis philosophiae thesauri*, Leiden 1636: 371; cited in: MEYER-HICKEN 1978: 54.

280 Philippe ARIÈS: *L’homme devant la mort, II. La mort ensauvagée*, 1st ed. 1977, Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1985: 65.

281 Ibid.

supported the practice of extracting medically efficacious substances from the remains: A dead person's sweat was good for treating haemorrhoids; touching the dead's hand or rubbing the afflicted part of one's own body against it could heal.²⁸³ Charles II of England was reported to have ingested a mixture of extracts from the human skull during his last illness, and Ariès mentions the ideas of sympathetic correspondences that also characterize Paracelsan medicine which specified remedies based on certain parts of the corpse for treating their counterparts in the still living.²⁸⁴ Claims as to the efficacy of the powers residing in the body after the soul has left it cannot be distinguished from the therapeutical uses of *mumia*; they constitute a general cultural substrate on which belief in the potency of the corpse could develop.²⁸⁵ It should also be noted, that the prescription of embalmed human flesh was only one example out of the plethora of animal and human substances valued for their medicinal properties. In a long list, Moïse Charas included in his *Pharmacopée royale* (1676) not only numerous animals²⁸⁶ and their excre-

282 This is a notion not confined to Europe nor to early modern times, but of perhaps universal and timeless proportions.

283 Ibid.: 67; François LEBRUN: *Médecins, saints et sorciers aux 17^e et 18^e siècles*, Paris: Temps actuels 1983: 100. Executioners and apothecaries are known to have used the bones, skulls, flesh, skin and fat of executed criminals to prepare remedies. Belief in the medical powers of the executed body that these examples testify to, and that is also expressed in the recipes devised by Paracelsan scholars for extracting *mumia* from the corpses of young and healthy delinquents that had been hanged, may find an explanation on a deeper symbolic level: Markwart Herzog claimed a religious interpretation of the criminals death as supporting this belief. "The dying of the criminal is endowed with a soteriological dimension: It is the continuation of the vicarious punishment suffered by Jesus Christ." Markwart HERZOG: "Scharfrichterliche Medizin. Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Henker und Arzt, Schafott und Medizin", in: *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 29 (1994), p. 326. On the association of the criminal and the saintly body and the identification of the execution as an act of atonement with the suffering of Christ and the saints cf. also Katharine PARK: "The Criminal and the Saintly Body. Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy", in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 47.1 (1994): 1–33.

284 ARIÈS 1985: 67–68.

285 The best example for belief in the efficacy of the blood and flesh is the role played by partaking of the body of Christ in the Eucharist.

286 The use of animal substances is an invariant of early modern pharmaceutical treatises. The first edition of the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis* published in 1618 by the English College of Physicians under supervision of the Paracelsan Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655) – royal physician to several Stuart monarchs – "included dried viper lozenges, foxes' lungs, live frogs, wolf oil and crabs' eyes". PORTER 1999: 206. By the way, this official work and succeeding editions also listed recipes for *mummy*, human blood and other human substances. GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 406.

ments, but also “the skull, the *axonge* [a kind of fat different from lard and tallow], the blood, the hair, the faeces and the urine of man”.²⁸⁷

Drawing even wider circles, one is obliged to notice that the notion of a *vis vegetans* residing in the corpse at times led to peculiar forms of association with the dead. This cannot only be gleaned from what Ariès called the “cemetery of mummies” where since the 17th century after a short period of interment the desiccated or mummified corpses were taken out of their graves and openly exhibited.²⁸⁸ It can also be deduced from the rare but not uncommon custom to lay up the corpse of a beloved one in a mummified state at home. The most famous example adduced by Ariès is that of Jacques Necker (1732–1804), minister of Louis XVI., who according to the will of his wife, Suzanne Curchod, kept her body in a carefully embalmed manner for three months near him before it was transferred to a mausoleum prepared for this purpose.²⁸⁹ And if mummification could not be obtained, at least the heart – as the seat of life and personality – of the deceased could serve the same pretense of continued existence.²⁹⁰

287 Without exact page number cited in LEBRUN 1983: 70. Pliny’s report on blood as a remedy has already been mentioned. Cf. n. 163. The connection between epilepsy and human blood is documented in later ages as well. As Gordon-Grube says, executioners in early modern times enjoyed the privilege of selling the blood of decapitated criminals. It was given, still warm, to epileptics and other customers waiting in the crowds at the site of execution. GORDON-GRUBE 1988: 407. Human blood as a remedy for the falling sickness is also mentioned by Edward Taylor and Robert James in the *Pharmacopoeia Universalis or A New Universal Dispensatory of 1747*. Ibid.: 407. In his account on remedies made from animals and men, Pliny further elaborates on the use of human corporeal matter for medical purposes: “Others seek to secure the leg-marrow and the brain of infants. Not a few among the Greeks have even spoken of the flavour of each organ and limb going into all details, not excluding nail pairings [...]” *Natural History*, vol. 8, 1963: 5.

288 ARIÈS 1985: 91–94. The author differentiates this practice from the earlier custom of transferring the remains to a bonehouse (which occurred after much longer periods and did not include their exhibition). Ibid.: 90–91.

289 Necker as well as their daughter, Mme. de Staël, joined her body there later. Ibid: 95.

290 Ibid.: 96–97. The embalmed hearts of La Tour d’Auvergne and of Turenne (probably Ariès alludes to Henri de La Tour d’Auvergne, 1611–75, Vicomte de Turenne, 1611–75, and Théophile Malo Corret de La Tour D’Auvergne, 1743–1800) are still kept by their families, and that of Jean-Paul Marat (1743–93) was presented during a feast given in his honour on the 28th of July, 1793. Ibid. — A different line of inquiry could ask whether the use of the dead human body for medical purposes has to be viewed within the context of a current of anthropophagy among different European cultures in different ages. Edwald Volhard in his classical study intentionally ignored Europe. *Kannibalismus*, Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder 1939. And whereas instances of cannibalism motivated

As has been remarked in passing, many of the entries on *mummy* in European medical literature were similar not only in content but even in the choice of words. The inclusive character of many encyclopedias such as Woyt's *Gazophylacium* and Lemery's *Dictionnaire ou traite universel des drogues simples*, which passed on information about substances such as *mumia* was probably due to the lack of tools and methods of experimental verification prior to the developments of the 18th and 19th centuries. With the absence of means to reliably demonstrate the connections of cause and effect as well as in light of the ignorance with regard to the agents of disease, it is small wonder that printed books sought to cover any and every theory and seemingly abstruse formula.²⁹¹ In Edo period Japan, the effectivity of *mummy* could be vindicated or refuted on an experimental basis even less. That claims to its potency were trusted so readily can only be explained by a cultural propensity, by inclinations in the belief systems of the time. Including Ranzan, many scholars advanced arguments against anthropophagy by alluding to the *Master Meng* but in the number of their declamations they only confirmed that *miira* had captured the infatuation of the recipients against the prevailing attitude of considering meat consumption for nutritional purposes as defiling.

Belief in the afterlife of the corpse existed in Japan as it did in Europe and has been explored to some extent by W.R. LaFleur.²⁹² Here as there, as proof

by need are not denied, in her summary Hedwig Röckelein, too, cites skeptical views – beginning with William ARENS: *The Man-Eating Myth. Anthropology and Anthropophagy*, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press 1979 – as to the existence of ritual anthropophagy not only in European history but in all parts of the world. RÖCKELEIN 1996: 9, 15. What did exist, however, was “cannibalism” as a literary topos, and thus the contributors to *Kannibalismus und europäische Kultur* on the whole tackle their subject from the standpoint of psychohistory. This makes for interesting insights in the field of history of mentalities but it entails a dissolution of man-eating as a physical act and does not help to resolve the use of human body parts in the production of remedies. Rather it could be inquired how far currents such as the – intellectual, in the least – advocacy of necrophagy among Cynic and Stoic philosophers, as analyzed by Maria Daraki or the testimony of authors from antiquity concerning the use of human blood for therapeutical purposes and so forth, constituted the general frame of reference for the consumption of *mummy* as an acceptable physical act to find its legitimate place. Cf. Maria DARAKI: “Les fils de la mort. La nécrophagie cynique et stoïcienne”, in: Gherardo GNOLI, Jean-Pierre VERNANT (ed.): *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982: 155–76. Without such a framework it would be difficult to understand why the practical use of human corpses was obviously treated so nonchalantly by most sources mentioned here.

291 The inclusion of human *mummy* in the literature alone cannot therefore be taken as proof that it was actually applied.

292 LAFLEUR 2004: 485–504.

of the power still residing in a dead body, it has been claimed that after a person's death his or her hair and nails continue to grow.²⁹³ But for Japan, the popularity of *mumia* is even more astonishing as it was not the result of a long period of exchange between two adjacent cultural areas as in the Occidental case. Nor did it occur in the context of an endeavour to recover the medicinal knowledge of a classical age. However, two circumstances may shed light on the reception of *mumia* as medicine in Edo period Japan. 1. There existed a general preoccupation with the dead body in Japan, too. The reverence shown to the so-called *nyûjô miira* is only one instance in case. Even if it does not concern the human body there was a marked interest in the mummified remains of creatures believed to live on the pale of human civilization but known to make inroads into it. While dreadful in their powers to corrupt the rules regulating the intercourse in human society, at the same time they exerted a fascination on imagination. Thus, from the Edo period “devil's mummies” 鬼のミイラ (*oni no miira*), or parts of the bodies of “devils” – e.g., heads or bodies – are known²⁹⁴ and it would seem that it was popular to fabricate such remains – destined for temples or for private collections.²⁹⁵ Likewise, the mummified remains of another figure of popular imagination, the “riverchild = waterghost” 河童 (*kappa*), were conserved as well as revered in some temples. The “Temple of the Auspicious Dragon” 瑞龍寺 (Zuiryû Ji) in Osaka, for example, boasts the complete mummy of a *kappa*. This is said to have come from China and to have been bequeathed to the temple by a wealthy merchant from Sakai, Mozuya 万代屋, who had married the younger sister of the tea master Sen no Rikyû 千利休 (1522–91).²⁹⁶ It would seem that especially in the times of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536/37–98) mum-

293 E.g. ARIËS 1985: 66; LAFLEUR 2004: 487.

294 Some of these are exhibited in the “Museum for Communication with the Devils of Japan” 日本の鬼の交流博物館 (*Nihon no Oni no Kôryû Hakubutsu Kan*) in the Township of Ôeyama, Kyoto Prefecture.

295 Cf. “Naze setsubun de, oni wa soto?” なぜ節分で、鬼は外? (Why do the devils have to go outside on the *setsubun* day?), *Asahi Shinbun* (international edition), 22.1.2005, p. 16. Photographs of such mummies and the names and addresses of shrines and temples where they are kept can be found in: NAITÔ Masatoshi (ed.): *Nihon kaiki gensô kikô. Yôkai, hyakki meguri* 日本怪奇幻想紀行. 妖怪, 百鬼巡り (Itinerary of Japan's Extraordinary Phenomena and Illusions. A Tour of Ghosts and the Hundred Devils), Dôhō Sha 2000; YAMAGUCHI Bintarô 山口敏太郎 (ed.): *Hontô ni iru Nihon no michi seibutsu annai* 本当にいる 日本の未知生物案内 (Guide of Japanese Unidentified Creatures Really Existing), Kasakura Shuppan Sha 2005.

296 Cf. http://www.geocities.jp/nachtmahr_3rd/youkaien/kappa.html (24 February, 2005).

mies of “waterghosts”, mermaids, demons and so on (fabricated in China) entered Japan through the port of Sakai in large numbers and spread throughout the country.²⁹⁷ All these instances themselves can be placed in the wider context of a general interest in and fascination with the obscure, strange, and foreign that included the many articles of European material culture – clocks, automatons, and scientific apparatuses included – entering Japan throughout the Edo period.²⁹⁸ Such items, however, had probably a twofold meaning. They catered to aspects of a leisure culture that took delight in the strange or even the grotesque. At the same time, these articles, while being entertaining, played a practical role, too. The aura or charisma of the exotic and unknown, it can easily be imagined,²⁹⁹ was believed to possess powers out of the ordinary. It might be that a rationalization of psychological processes behind the interest in the foreign could help to explain why the claim, that human corporeal remains from a far place are endowed with medical properties, was so readily accepted and could overcome a resistance against what by some were abhorred as acts of cannibalism.

2. A marked growth in production and trade during the second half of the 17th century resulted in an overall increasing prosperity and social stability.³⁰⁰ Both, the governments attempts to promote production as well as to control and steer it and the consequences of a more stable and affluent mode of living for the outlook on life and its amenities had a bearing on health care.

297 <http://www.fitweb.or.jp/~entity/uma/kappa.html> (24 February, 2005).

298 The infatuation with things European, which also came to be termed “Dutch mania” 蘭癖 (*ranpeki*) was described by Sugita Genpaku: “From those times [= the years around 1780] people somehow came to consider the imported things from that country [= Holland] as curiosities, they took a fancy in all these kinds of strange goods from abroad, and men who somewhat had a reputation as dilettantes collected them in greater or smaller numbers and were ordinarily infatuated with them.” *The Beginnings of Dutch Learning* 蘭学事始 (*Rangaku koto hajime*) or *The Beginnings of Dutch [Learning] in the East* 蘭東事始 (*Rantô koto hajime*), NKBT 95: 482.

299 This conclusion, it has to be stressed, is based on imagination for lack of textual corroboration.

300 The idea of Edo period society as a stable one has especially been elaborated in YOKOYAMA Toshio 横山俊夫, FUJII Jôji 藤井譲治 (eds.): *Antei ki shakai ni okeru jinsei no shosô. Rôjin to kodomo* 安定期社会における人生の諸相. 老人と子供 (Various Aspects of Life in a Society Experiencing a Period of Stability. Elder People and Children), Keihoku chô: Kyôto Seminâru Hausu 1989; YOKOYAMA Toshio, FUJII Jôji (ed.): *Antei ki shakai ni okeru jinsei no shosô. Nenjû gyôji* 安定期社会における人生の諸相. 年中行事 (Various Aspects of Life in a Society Experiencing a Period of Stability. Yearly Events), Keihoku chô: Kyôto Seminâru Hausu 1992.

The importation of pharmaceutical articles figured largely in the commerce with Chinese and Dutch traders, and it was with a view to this that already Arai Hakuseki aimed at invigorating the domestic production of medicinal drugs.³⁰¹ Kasaya Kazuhiko situated this attempt in the context of a policy “aimed at promoting the interest and wealth of the whole country”.³⁰² The eighth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune, followed this “radical departure from the customary Bakufu-centred approach”.³⁰³ After Yoshimune had ordered the enlargement of the shogunal herb garden in Edo’s Koishikawa 小石川 district in the year following his accession, the long-term project of naturalizing and domestically cultivating ginseng as well as the countrywide detection and collection of medicinal materials are conspicuous in this respect.³⁰⁴

The interest in better health care is not only reflected in governmental activities, but can also be recognized in the spread of medical literature among the populace at large. As Yokota Fuyuhiko argues, this did not just begin with another of Yoshimune’s projects – the editing and dissemination of advice books on dietetics and disease treatment at affordable prices – but commenced at an earlier date without any initiative from above.³⁰⁵ It can be ascertained in the proliferation of books on “nourishing life” and a change in their orientation – away from the pursuit of life prolonging techniques standing

301 Kazuhiko KASAYA: “The Tokugawa Bakufu’s Policies for the National Production of Medicines and Dodonaeus’ Cruijdeboek”, in: VANDE WALLE, KASAYA 2001: 170. In an earlier article Kasaya evaluated Hakuseki’s policy in this respect as a model for the endeavours later undertaken during the reign of the eighth shogun, Yoshimune. KASAYA Kazuhiko: *Arai Hakuseki to Tokugawa Yoshimune. Tokugawa jidai no seiji to honzô* 新井白石と徳川吉宗. 徳川時代の政事と本草 (Arai Hakuseki and Tokugawa Yoshimune. Politics and Materia Medica in the Tokugawa Period), in: YAMADA Keiji 山田慶児 (ed.): *Mono no imêji. Honzô to hakubutsu gaku e no shôtai* 物のイメージ. 本草と博物学への招待 (The Image of Things. An Invitation to Materia Medica and Encyclopaedics), Asahi Shinbun Sha 1994: 320.

302 KASAYA 2001: 170–71.

303 Ibid.: 171.

304 Ibid. After a long process of trial and error the ginseng project succeeded almost thirty years after its initiation. Instrumental with regard to the second project was the dispatch of “herborizers” 採薬使 (*saiyaku shi*) to all parts of the country as well as the establishment of a “committee for the classification of Japanese pharmaceutica” 和薬改会所 (*wayaku aratame kaisho*) in 1722.

305 YOKOTA Fuyuhiko 横田冬彦: “Kinsei no gakugei” 近世の学芸 (Early Modern Arts and Sciences), in: REKISHI GAKU KENKYÛ KAI 歴史学研究会, NIHON SHI KENKYÛ KAI 日本史研究会 (ed.): *Nihon shi kôza 6, Kinsei shakai ron* 日本史講座6近世社会論 (Handbook of Japanese History 6, A Discussion of Early Modern Society), Tôkyô Daigaku Shuppan Kai 2005: 323–27.

in the Daoist tradition towards practical guidance for day-to-day health care.³⁰⁶ Ekiken's *Principles for Nourishing Life* 養生訓 (*Yôjô kun*, 1713) served as a model for following generations, and Ranzan's *Admonitions* might be classified as a later representative of such popular works.

This concern with health owes much to the general medical situation. "The number of people living in urban areas rose dramatically, but sanitary conditions in these crowded cities were poor, and contagious diseases spread easily."³⁰⁷ At the same time, the increasing density of social relations and the intensification of commercial traffic facilitated countrywide epidemics.³⁰⁸ Tachikawa Shôji's analysis of the *Sea of Stories* 譚海 (*Tankai*, 1795) and other sources gives a vivid impression of the medical situation and the vast number of different diseases and ailments (albeit including many overlappings in denomination) known in Edo Japan.³⁰⁹ Corroborative evidence is provided by foreign observers, Kaempfer and Siebold among them, who left their testimony of a populace vexed by numerous diseases. But it is open to the question whether Japan during the 18th and early 19th century saw more cases of sickness than European countries. There were local peculiarities – e.g. visitors were regularly struck by the large number of persons suffering from eye diseases – but on the whole the situation of health care and the contributions of professional medicinal knowledge were probably not inferior to conditions in Europe until the advent of clinical medicine paired with advances in hygiene and alimentation.³¹⁰ Still, with growing prosperity betterment of the

306 This argument is stressed by 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: 37–300. Cf. also ANDÔ Yûichirô 安藤優一郎: *Edo no Yôjô Sho* 江戸の養生所 (The Nourishing Life Center of Edo), PHP Kenkyû Jo 2005: 38–39 (PHP shinsho 334).

307 KASAYA 2001: 172. Consequently, life expectancy in urban areas was considerably lower than in the countryside, as the figures in TAKEUCHI, ICHIKAWA 2004: 34, 42 suggest.

308 YOKOTA 2005: 323–24.

309 TACHIKAWA Shôji: *Edo yamai sôshi* 江戸病草紙 (Edo Disease Book), Chikuma Shobô 1998: 44–57. The *Tankai* is contained in TANIKAWA 1969: 3–278.

310 For a critical evaluation of the contributions of medical therapy to health and the increase of life expectancy cf. Thomas MCKEOWN: *The Role of Medicine. Drama, Mirage or Nemesis?* Oxford: Blackwell 1979. Porter arrives at similar results. Roy PORTER: *Quacks, Fakery & Charlatans in Medicine*, Stroud: Tempus Publishing 2003: 44–45. TANAKA Keiichi 田中圭一 and ANDÔ Yûichirô stress the favourable ratio of medicinal practitioners per inhabitant not only in urban areas but also in the countryside as an indication of the comparably good health care situation in Edo period Japan. TANAKA Keiichi: *Yamai no sesô shi. Edo no iryô jijô* 病いの世相史. 江戸の医療事情 (A History of the Social

medical situation became an active pursuit. The quest for panacea-like remedies like *mummy* might be seen as the answer to rampant diseases. But at the same time it probably is the result of a change in living conditions. Money, growing affluence, an increase in leisure, and a broadening of the outlook on life and imagination that these brought about, nurtured the demand – and of course the financial means – for more efficacious and extravagant medicines. Thus a more stable and prosperous society saw the emergence of men who took fate into their own hands and looked out for all means open to them for ameliorating their living conditions. *Mummy* has to be considered as one of these means that became affordable and through its novelty held the promise of efficacy – with pragmatism winning over the moral reprove provoked by this expedient. It is here that Roy Porter’s observation from a different context has its bearing: “In terms of practical efficacy, the sick probably experienced little measurable difference between the rather mixed benefits of the physician-prescribed, apothecary-supplied medication, and the patent and proprietary concoctions of the nostrum-mongers.” What is suggested here about remedies provided by medical practitioners considered as respectable physicians or as quacks could be easily applied to the relationship in Japan between more conventional medicines and exotic ones reproachfully eyed by scholars of Confucian learning. It seems that in an age when the efficacy of medicines could not be demonstrated experimentally and the therapeutical knowledge more often than not was powerless to alleviate the suffering of the patient, experience and the constant quest for relief counted for more than moralistic concerns. Again, Porter’s characterization of the English situation is suggestive for Edo Japan:

High sickness levels led to high medical demand and to shoals of practitioners. And [...] they also sustained a proliferation of types of healer. Evidence from literate lay people shows that, when well, they tried to keep themselves well-informed about all manner of remedies and regimes, and the successes and failures of local practitioners, and that, when sick, they eagerly threw themselves into such healing options as were available. They would [...] go in for self-dosing, try family remedies, seek the advice of friends, use trusted local regular practitioners, inquire about new arrivals, perhaps travel up to a large city, or even London, to call upon a famous expert, or alternatively seek to persuade an eminent physician to diagnose and treat by post. But the sick – and not just the poor sick – would commonly try out folk remedies, buy

Environment of Disease. The Situation of Medical Care in the Edo Period), Chikuma Shobô 2003: 14–22, 160–81 (Chikuma shinsho 442); ANDÔ 2005: 36–38. Cf. also p. 56.

proprietary nostrums, visit some local adept of name or fame, sample the elixirs of a passing quack or do anything and everything else to satisfy that right and duty of self-help which counted so much in the culture of Protestant and Enlightened England. [...] Whichever way, the empire of disease, and the relative inefficacy of medicine, jointly paved the way for lively medical pluralism.³¹¹

A Final Note

In 1870 (Meiji 3), on May 15th (4th month, 15th day in the luni-solar calendar), the new government promulgated a law, which prohibited selling medical products made from human body matter – explicitly mentioning “soul’s heavenlike cover”.³¹² This marked the historical end point – at least in the legal domain – of the kind of remedies dealt with in this article.

9. Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption Part II

Nagoya Geni 名古屋玄医 (1629–96), known as the ‘founder’ of one of two influential schools of medicine in the Chinese tradition during Tokugawa times,³¹³ left a work on dietetics: *The Main Arguments of Nourishing Life* 養

311 PORTER 2003: 47–48. The last part of *Sea of Stories* gives a vivid impression of popular remedies known in Edo Japan. Cf. TANIKAWA 1969. Similar information can also be gleaned from the chapter on commonly practised charms in Takizawa Bakin’s 滝沢馬琴 (1767–1848) *Miscellaneous Accounts about Stones from [Mount] Yan [= Worthless Things Taken for Treasures]* 燕石雜誌 (*Enseki zasshi*). NIHON ZUIHITSU TAISEI HENSHŪ BU (ed.): *Nihon zuihitsu taisei*, 2nd period, vol. 10 (1929), reprinted as 2nd series, vol. 19, Yoshikawa Kōbun Kan 1975: 476–83.

312 NAIKAKU KANPŌ KYOKU 内閣官報局 (ed.): *Hōrei zensho* 法令全書 (Collected Law Edicts), vol. 3, Hara Shobō 1974: 173. Besides *rei tengai*, secretly selling human gall bladder and the male member, too, was forbidden. These substances are judged to be without medical efficacy – no mention of an infringement of the way of “humanity” is made (in the first half of the same promulgation it was prohibited to use the corpses of persons who had been executed on the grounds that this would be an atrocity) – a strict enforcement of the edict was demanded. 従前刑余ノ骸ヲ以テ刀劍ノ利鈍ヲ試来候右ハ残酷ノ事ニ候間嚴禁取締可致其他人膽或ハ靈天蓋陰莖等密売致ス哉ニ候處其功驗無之事ニ付是又嚴禁取締可致候事。

313 The older of these rose during the 16th century due to the efforts of men like Tashiro Sanki 田代三喜 (1465–1537) and Manase Dōsan 曲直瀬道三 (1507–94). Following the example of their precursors in China, Li Dongyuan 李東垣 (1180–1252) and Zhu Danxi 朱丹溪 (1280–1358), it became known as the “School of Later Ages” 後世派 (*Gosei ha*)

生主論 (*Yôjô shuron*, 1683). Therein he supported the curbing of “desires” 欲 (*yoku*) as one of the central techniques for “nourishing life”, and he positioned himself against clinging obstinately to life and worrying about longevity. “It is best to sever desires and to think nothing of life.”³¹⁴ He even went so far as to advise people – “from those above to those below” – to consider themselves as “dead persons”.³¹⁵ This does not mean, however, that longevity was of no importance to Geni, for the conclusions he drew from his recommendations against “desires” and a wish for long life are as follows: “Since there is nothing bothersome [anymore] if one forgoes desires, heart/mind and spirit will be free and calm and life will be long”.³¹⁶ Belief in being as if dead already is even styled as the “technique for prolonging life” 長生の術 (*chôsei no jutsu*).³¹⁷ These remarks sufficiently indicate that Geni’s concept of “nourishing life” not only includes an attention to the physical aspects of a dietetic program but also presupposes a cultivation of the necessary mental attitude. In contrast, Ranzan’s approach to “nourishing life” is down to earth and highly pragmatic. Just as the *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption* do without the moral overtones to be found in Ekiken’s *Principles for Nourishing Life*, they are free of any speculative program of mental discipline. Prevention of or resistance against disease and attaining long life lie completely in the observance of practical rules of consumptive behaviour open to all inclined to follow such prescriptions – even to the average citizen with no inclination to moral perfection and no leisure for mental cultivation.

or “Method of Later Ages” 後世方 (*Gosei hō*). In contrast, the school of Nagoya Geni and his successors was known as the “School of the Old Method” 古方派 (*Kohō ha*) or “Method of the Old Medicine” 古医方 (*Koi hō*). While in the areas of Chinese studies the proponents of “Old Learning” 古学 (*Kogaku*) had called for a direct examination of the earliest text of the Confucian tradition, the name *Kohō ha*, too, reflects a professed return to the spirit of ancient medicine as found in the works *Discussions about the Harm [Done by] Coldness* 傷寒論 (*Shanghan lun*) and *Summary of the Important [Teachings] in the Golden Chest [of Books]* 金匱要略 (*Jingui yaolue*), which are based on the work of Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (2nd century CE). This tradition of school classification is quite schematic and does not take into consideration that the members of the “School of Later Ages” not only stood in the tradition of the Li-Zhu Schools interpretation of the *Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Inner [Medicine]* but also studied Zhang Zhongjing and developed an eclecticism between the two strands among classical Chinese medicine. And whereas the proponents of the “School of the Old Method” are credited with a strong vein of pragmatism, which e.g., led to Yamawaki Tōyō’s and his group’s interest in anatomy, such a pragmatic approach can be found among those belonging to the “School of Later Ages” as well.

314 *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (5): 7; cf. also TAKIZAWA 2003: 42.

315 *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (5): 8; cf. also TAKIZAWA 2003: 43.

Translation³¹⁸

[98] In the summer months one especially should pay attention to food and drink. [99] As the various insects 諸蟲 (*shochû*) are numerous during this period, it also happens that harmful insects 毒虫 (*dokumushi*)³¹⁹ come into contact with food. [100] Moreover, in the heat foodstuffs easily go bad. [101] It often happens that improper food harms men all of a sudden, and that they loose their life on the spot without vomiting and purging. [102] [But] even suffering from the intense heat one should not indiscriminately drink cold water.

[103a] If one eats a lot of sour [tasting] things, the spleen will be harmed.³²⁰ [103b] If one eats a lot of sweet things, the kidneys will be harmed. [103c] If one eats a lot of bitter things, the lungs will be harmed. [103d] If one eats a lot of pungent things, the liver will be harmed. [103e] And if one eats a lot of salty things, the heart/mind will be harmed. [104] This is how the five flavours overwhelm the five depot-organs³²¹. [105] Moreover, by eating a lot of sweet [things], the flesh will be damaged, the lips will curve backward, the muscles

316 *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (5): 7; cf. also TAKIZAWA 2003: 42.

317 *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (5): 8; cf. also TAKIZAWA 2003: 43.

318 This translation is based on the 1815 (Bunka 文化 12) edition of *Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption*, which was printed in Edo by Suwaraya Mohê 須原屋茂兵衛. It is included as a reprint in the *Edo jidai josei bunko* 江戸時代女性文庫 (Bookstore for Women from the Edo Period), vol. 76, Ôzora Sha 1997 and reproduced at the end of this article together with my transcription. An older transcription – lacking the reading notations or *furigana* on the right and left sides of Chinese characters – can be found in *Nihon eisei bunko* 1 (2): 195–218. Numbers in square parentheses indicate sentences in the original. When a sentence could not be equally rendered in one, I divided it into two or more parts, indicating the parts with small letters.

319 Since this passage is concerned with food and the dangers of summer, *dokumushi* does not refer to “poisonous insects” in a literal sense but to organisms attracted by foodstuffs.

320 The correlation between the “five flavours” and the inner organs already plays an important part in the *Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Inner [Medicine]*. Cf. *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*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press 2002. There one finds explained how the preponderance of one “flavour” causes harm to certain parts of the body. The underlying rationale is based on the antagonistic relation between the “five phases”, which govern “flavours” as well as the parts of the body. For the influences of the “flavours” on the organs cf. e.g., *ibid.*: 109, 141. A short exposition is offered in KINSKI 2003: 132–38.

321 Cf. n. 44.

will ail, and the urine will stop flowing. [106] If one eats a lot of sweet things, breast and belly will be obstructed and suffer pain,³²² the bones will ache, the hair [on one's head] will fall out, the flesh will slacken, and vermin will move [in one's bowels]. [107] If one eats a lot of bitter things, the skin will become withered, the [downy] hair [of one's body] will fall out, spleen and stomach will be blocked up, and they will cause emesis. [108] If one eats a lot of pungent things, the spirit 神³²³ will [suffer] enervation, the vital energy of one's heart/mind will become hollow, the muscles will grow knotty, the nails will wither away, and sweat will run. [109] If one eats a lot of salty things, the blood vessels will harden and [the flow of blood] slacken, face colour will change, and the throat will feel thirsty. [110] This is how the five tastes harm the five depots and show [their effects] on the outside.

[111a] Even young children should read and know that the Sage 聖人 (*shengren* / *seijin*)³²⁴ was at all times circumspect about his food. [111b] An explanation of [the Master's] *Discussions and Instructions* 論語 (*Lunyu* / *Rongo*) [consists of] the following:

322 Ranzan describes this affliction with the word 滿悞 (*manmon*), which is not lexicalized. The two characters hint at writhing in pain because of a constricted breast due to a sluggish digestion.

323 "Spirit", in this context, is that part of the body and its energies representing the psychological disposition of man. For its preservation it is dependent on "vital energy" and "blood". Its seat is the "heart" from where it exerts control over the processes of life. Together with the "vital energy", and "essence" 精 (*jing* / *sei*), which is both the source for the fundamental life force as well as for the reproductive powers, "spirit" is one of the "three treasures" 三宝 (*sanbao* / *sanpô*) and considered as indispensable for the attainment of long life. Cf. also n. 10. As Ute Engelhardt emphasizes, "nourishing the spirit" 養神 (*yangshen*) is of great importance in the tradition of longevity techniques. Cf. Ute ENGELHARDT: "Longevity Techniques and Chinese Medicine", in: Livia KOHN (ed.): *Daoism Handbook*, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill 2000: 99 (Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section Four: China 14). One of the subchapters of Book 27 ("The Nourishing of Life") of the *Methods at the Heart of Medicine* 医心方 (*Ishinpô*, 984) is entitled "Nourishing the Spirit". Therein one finds the following quotation from the *Records of the Court Historian* 史記 (*Shizi* / *Shiki*): "What endows man with life is the spirit. The spirit resides in the body. Excessive use of the body will wear it out. Separating the spirit from the body means death." Emil C.H. HSIA, Ilza VEITH, Robert GEERTSMA: *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan. Yasuyori Tamba's Ishinpô* 医心方, vol. 2, Leiden: E.J. Brill 1986: 91. Given this role of the "spirit" it is not surprising that the *Master Wen* 文子 (*Wenzi* / *Bunshi*), also quoted in the *Ishinpô*, teaches that "The best is to practice the nurturing of the spirit". "Nourishing" the "physical being 形 (*xing*)" is secondary. Ibid.: 80. MASAMUNE Atsuo 正宗敦夫 (ed.): *Ishinpô*, vol. 7, Nihon Koten Zenshû Kai 1935: 2472.

324 Here, the "Sage" refers to Confucius or Master Kong 孔子 (Kongzi / Kôshi).

[112] “He did not dislike having the rice polished [until white]” [means] that he did not consider [such refinement] luxury, since the more finely the grains were hulled and polished the more spleen and stomach would be nourished. [113] “He did not dislike the minced food 膾 (*namasu*) to be cut quite small” [refers to the custom] that in China 唐土 (Morokoshi)³²⁵ beef, mutton, and diverse kinds of fish are thinly cut and turned into minced food. [114] [Sliced] as thin as possible is considered best. [115] This has got nothing to do with relishing dainty food. [116] It is just that [otherwise] there would be harm to people [eating unminced meat].

[117] “[Once] the rice had turned sour and [its taste] changed, [once] the fish had gone bad or the meat was spoiled, [the Master] did not eat them”: That is because rice being spoiled by heat or dampness, and fish gone bad or meat having started to rot do harm to people [who partake of them]. [118] “He did not eat what was discoloured. [And] he did not eat [food] that had a bad smell”: Although not yet gone bad, [the Master] was afraid that [food] which had changed its colour or taken on a [bad] smell would harm people.

[119] “He did not eat what diverted from [being] well-prepared. [And] he did not eat [food] that was out of season”: “Well-prepared” refers to “cooked properly”, and [this sentence speaks of] losing the right measure. [120] [The Master] feared that [food] not thoroughly cooked³²⁶ would harm spleen and stomach. [121] The five cereals not sufficiently grown, and fruits not yet ripe – they all have not reached the [proper] season [for consumption]. [122] Cereals as well as the [different] kinds of fruits are not sufficiently ripe in the case that their [proper] season has not arrived. [123] They are not well seasoned. [124] However, since the merchantfolk vie for profit, they market [things] that have not reached the [proper] season only to be the first. [125] The people all seek [such articles] considering them unusual/novel, and they do not mind that the high prices [on them] are twice as much as usual. [126] Commonly one calls them “[front] runners” 走もの (*hashirimono*) and [people] run to and fro [in search of them].³²⁷ [127] And despite all of this their taste

325 The characters used to write this common name for China could be translated as “Land of the Tang-[Dynasty]”. Cf. also n. 97. “Morokoshi” perhaps developed as the Japanese reading for 諸越, which literally means “all the [People] Beyond (Yue)” – “Yue” referring to the regions and their inhabitants along the south-eastern coast of China where ships from the Japanese isles were most likely to make landfall.

326 Ranzan speaks of *namanie* 生烹, which means that something had not been cooked long enough and was therefore still raw.

327 However, the expression *honsô su* 奔走す also can convey the nuance “to treat someone

has not yet grown sufficiently ripe. [128] They are harmful to people. [129] [In] drink and food originally one appreciates quality; they do not exist in order to enjoy their taste. [130] [People] do not know that their purpose lies in nourishing one's body.

[131] “[The Master] did not eat [food]³²⁸ that had not been cut properly. If not accompanied by the [appropriate] sauce, he did not eat [of the food]”: [This means] that the Sage did not divert even in the least respect from what was proper. [132] He liked the manner of cutting [his food] to be done without fail in an orderly fashion. [133] He did not eat what was cut crookedly. [134] [The Master] considered it favourable that, with [the help of] seasoning sauce 醬 (*aeshio*),³²⁹ one could achieve the [most] appropriate flavour of all [foods] – just in the same way as in Japan for example, for eating raw fish one uses vinegar, *miso* paste, or brandy 煎酒 (*irizake*)³³⁰. [135] If [the food] did not achieve [its proper taste] he did not eat it. [136] Although [these instances] do not go so far as to entail harm for people, they speak [of the Master] relishing propriety and not deigning to treat foodstuffs lightly. [137] In the past salt and plums were used for seasoning foodstuffs. [138] [The reason why] on grounds of this one even today uses the characters for “salt” [and] “plum” [with the meaning “seasoning”] is, that in the *Venerable Documents* 尚書 (*Shang shu / Shōsho*), in [the chapter] “The Charge to Yue” 說命 (*Yueming / Etsumei*), one finds [the words]: “If you make a well-seasoned soup 和羹 (*hegeng / kakō*), [be] you the salt and the plums.”³³¹ [139a] These

to something”. Thus the second part of the sentence could also mean that “[people] entertain [their guests] with them”.

- 328 Legge considers this a reference to meat that had not been cut in the proper way, therein following Zhu Xi's commentary. 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): 232 (henceforth cited as L 1); SBBY 5.10a. Cf. also YOSHIDA Kenkō 吉田賢抗 (ed.): *Rongo 論語*, Meiji Shoin 1998: 224 (Shinshaku Kanbun taikai 1); YOSHIKAWA Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (ed.): *Rongo*, Chūgoku koten sen 中国古典選 3-5 (Selection of Chinese Classics), vol. 1, Asahi Shinbun Sha 1978: 340–41. But Ranzan makes no indication that he read this sentence as a reference to meat only. I therefore inserted “food” in my translation, similar to CONFUCIUS: *The Analects*, transl. by D.C. LAU, Hammondswoth: Penguin Books 1979: 103.
- 329 The character 醬 here refers to a type of sauce or paste based on fermented wheat, rye, and beans and mixed with salt. The reading given by Ranzan, *aeshio*, can mean a variety of substances used for seasoning such as salt, rice wine, vinegar, ginger, mustard, or soy sauce.
- 330 This was made by mixing and heating rice wine together with soy sauce, vinegar, dried bonito flakes, and salt.

are words by which [King] High and Venerable 高宗 (Gaozong) of the Yin [dynasty]³³² deigned to order the worthy retainer Fu Yue 傅説. [139b] [They purport the following:] If in seasoning a soup there is an excess of salt it will be [too] salty [just as] if there is an excess of plums it will be [too] sour. [139c] [Only] when the seasoning achieves the [proper] middle [the soup] will acquire a [balanced] taste. [140] Since the retainer swaying [his] lord to the left and the right, assisting and leading him, and exemplifying virtue [on his account] is similar to these [effects of salt and plums], [his role] was thus illustrated.

[141] “Although there might be a lot of meat [in his food], [the Master] did not let it prevail over the vital energy [provided by] the [main] food [rice] 食の気 (*shoku no ki*)”.³³³ [This is to say that] because the food of men makes cereals its main [component], how many side dishes there might be on the eating table that one turns to [i.e., faces], one takes care that their quantity does not prevail over the vital energy [provided by] cereals. [142] “Although only in wine there was no [fixed] quantity [that the Master had set himself], he did not go so far as to become confused [by it]”: [This is to say that] because wine [serves to] share joy with [other] people and because one draws a line at drunkenness and should stop [before it], [the Master] did not set a limit in advance to the quantity [he would drink] but would not go so far as to allow the vital energy of the blood to fall into disorder [and become drunk].

[143] “[The Master] did not partake of wine and dried meat traded/sold [in the market]”: [As to this], meat cut up [in slices] and dried is called “dried meat” 脯 (*hojishi*). [144] As to [the meaning of] this paragraph, although that does not concern lowly persons, in keeping with a [social] standing such as Master Kong’s, the Master made wine at home, used dried meat prepared at home and did not deign to avail himself of [articles] traded/sold in the market.

331 SBBY 5.10b; James LEGGE (transl.): *The Shoo King, or The Book of Historical Documents*, The Chinese Classics, vol. 3, new ed., Hong Kong 1960 (1872): 260 (henceforth L 3).

332 This name of honour was bestowed on King Wuding 武丁 for temporarily restoring the fortunes of the Yin dynasty, according to L 3: 248.

333 In his footnotes, Legge offers “the breath of rice” and “the life-sustaining power of it” as possible translations, but explains that *qi* 氣 “can hardly be translated here”. L 1: 232. Other commentators, too, gloss this as a difficult sentence and interpret the expression as a reference to the quantity of the main food. YOSHIDA 1998: 211–12; YOSHIKAWA 1978: 341.

[145] The reason is that these are not clean and pure, and he feared that they would harm people [partaking of them].

[146] “[The Master] ate [his food] without removing the ginger”: [This means] that because ginger pierces [and thus enlightens] the spirit³³⁴ and prevents contamination he deigned at all times to eat it. [147] However, it was not the case that he partook [of it] voraciously. [148] Since [what he ate] corresponded to the right measure, [the text] says “He did not eat much.”

[149] Moreover, when the ancients turned to drink and food, they placed a little bit of every dish on the side of the eating table and revered the people who in remote antiquity prepared drink and food appropriate for men for the first time,³³⁵ [thereby] they expressed their heart/intention not to forget the roots [of human cooking culture], and only ate afterwards. [150] [The text] has it, that Master Kong, too, deigned to go about this respectfully in a grave manner when he deigned without fail to revere [the ancients] even though he [only] turned to an eating table of coarse dishes, described as “coarse rice and vegetable soup” [in the *Discussions and Instructions*]. [151] Furthermore it says “When eating [the Master] did not converse, and when sleeping he did not speak”, [meaning that] the Sage kept his heart/mind so that there was nothing besides [in it]. [152] When eating he ate, and when sleeping he slept. [153] [Both] were not times for conversing and speaking.³³⁶ [154] Besides, when Master Kong was sick, the Marquis Ji Kang 季康子,³³⁷ a high lord 上卿 (*jôkei*)³³⁸ of Lu 魯, gifted him with medicine through a messenger.³³⁹ [155] In accordance with the rites in general one would first taste of it and then bow respectfully [as a sign of one’s] gratefulness when presented with food. [156] However, Master Kong bowed respectfully and accepted it, [but then] he turned to the messenger [saying], “Does the nature of the medicine really

334 Ranzan writes *shinmei o tsûji* 神明を通じ, which is a quotation from the *Divine Husbandman’s Classic of Materia Medica*. SBBY 2.5b. There it says that partaking of too much ginger causes harm to “wisdom” 智 (*zhi / chi*), which is why Confucius did not overindulge in it. Ibid. Cf. also Ekiken’s *Materia Medica of Japan*, EZ 6: 115.

335 This may refer to the Divine Husbandman in the first place. Cf. n. 40.

336 Up to this point, Ranzan’s exposition is based on the eighth chapter of Book X in the *Analects*. SBBY 5.10a–11a, L 1: 232–33.

337 Ji Kang was head of one of the three branches of the Ji family, descended from a former Duke of Lu 魯, who vied for power in Master Kong’s home country.

338 The character 卿 (*qing / kei*) refers to the highest retainers – with the 上卿 (*sheng qing / jôkei*) at their head – or the ministers of a regional lord.

339 SBBY 5.11a, L 1: 234.

correspond to my illness? [157] I do not know its properties. [158a] Therefore I will not taste of it.” [158b] [Thus] he deigned to speak. [159] Bowing and accepting [the gift] accords with the rites. [160] Not tasting of it [means that the Master] deigned to be careful of his illness. [161] That he informed [the messenger] to that effect is [an expression of the Master’s] honesty.³⁴⁰ [162] [Given] above are [those] instances [showing] how the Sage deigned to be circumspect with drink and food, which should become the rule for ten thousand ages.

[163] Improper foods all generate impure blood fluid, while the proper flavour [of foods] turns into pure blood liquid and nourishes the body. [164] Therefore, if one is thoroughly circumspect at all times regarding food, preserves the right measure in the daily provisions and exerts oneself,³⁴¹ the body will be strong/wholesome and there can be no doubt that one will [suffer] no illness and [enjoy] a prolongation of life. [165] Even if by chance one meets with the harm [done] by wind and coldness, heat and humidity, it will be negligible.

[166] Women who are about to raise children with their own milk³⁴² should by all means exert the utmost attention concerning their own food. [167] There is nothing that comes in advance of caution [in this regard] when one wants to safeguard this child against sickness. [168a] [But] although this may be the case among those of high standing, such circumspection is not to be found among those below. [168b] Based on the ignorant prejudice that the various foodstuffs are without harm once they have changed into milk, [people] do not choose between beneficial and harmful things to eat. [169] Because they raise [their children] by giving them milk, they automatically cause them to be sick.³⁴³ [170] The child grows by making milk its nourishment. [171] It is not true that the mother’s bad food does not affect her milk. [172] [Bad food] causes placental venom,³⁴⁴ and [the child’s] measles and smallpox

340 Ranzan’s interpretation of this episode is in line with the opinions quoted in Zhu Xi’s commentary. *Collected Commentaries on the Discussions and Instructions* 論語集注 (*Lunyu jizhu*), SBBY 5.11a.

341 The need for physical exercise was also stressed in [61].

342 Ranzan literally uses the expression “flavour of milk” 乳味 (*nyûmi*).

343 “Automatically” is an anachronistic translation, but since *shizen to* denotes something that happens of its own accord without intentionally causing it I thought it fitting in order to render the first part of 自然と病者になす.

344 Eczema on a newborn child has traditionally been explained as the result of “placental venom” 胎毒 (*taidoku*). The expression is still in use and can include congenital syphilis.

will not be light. [173] Or becoming older it will harbour various diseases such as accumulations 積聚 (*shakujū*),³⁴⁵ phlegm 痰症 (*tanshō*),³⁴⁶ or the sweet disease 疝症 (*kanshō*).³⁴⁷

345 It is a feature of the history of medicine in Europe that, up to a certain point, it did not differentiate between a variety of diseases and their symptoms but subsumed them under general denominations such as “fevers”. This certainly was due to a lack of the necessary diagnostic methods and/or a concern with them. By the time Ranzan wrote his *Admonitions*, Chinese medicine had bequeathed its offshoot in Japan a large palette of denominations for diseases (the *Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Inner [Medicine]* gives more than 300 diseases in 44 categories), which in many cases can be interpreted as malfunctions in the balance or processes of various forms of “vital energy”. Still, despite attempts at systematization of disease names in Japanese medical literature, from the *Ishinpō* down to such works as the *Collected Explanations for the Names of Diseases* 病名彙解 (*Byōmei ikai*, 1686), the nomenclature found in popular literature and the descriptions of maladies often cover too large a number of disparate symptoms as to facilitate identification with modern terms. — The names *sen* 疝 and *shaku* 癩 often appear in Edo period documents. Generally, they refer to ailments accompanied by strong pain in the areas of breast, belly, and abdomen. TACHIKAWA 1998: 55; NAKAJIMA Yōichirō 中島陽一浪: *Byōki Nihon shi* 病気日本史 (A History of Japan Through its Diseases), Yūzan Kaku 2005: 161. A description in a European language can already be found in Engelbert Kaempfer’s *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan*, ed. by Christian Wilhelm DOHM, vol. 2, Stuttgart: F.A. Brockhaus 1982: 423–24. Nearly all diseases affecting the organs according to the popular medical knowledge were diagnosed as 疝, 癩, or as *shakuju* 積聚, a variant of the latter. TACHIKAWA 1998: 57. It is nearly impossible to say with certainty which modern disease name corresponded to the group of symptoms identified by these words. Identical expressions can be ascertained in the medical literature from the *Ishinpō* in the 10th to the *Byōmei ikai* in the 17th century, but the views of the learned cannot necessarily be set in one with the common usage found in the records left by the common observer without medical training. *Ibid.* Still, the *Ishinpō* and others explained *sen* as a malady characterized by abdominal pains, in case of the former caused by “cold wind” entering the belly. NAKAJIMA 2005: 109, 124. One of the phenomena known as *sen* consisted of pain caused by tapeworms and other parasites. TACHIKAWA 1998: 58–59. Pains of the waist, too, went by this name. *Ibid.*: 59. The combination of *sen* with a cold climate appears in the *Ishinpō* as one of the “seven *sen*”. *Ibid.*: 60–61. Problems with the liver or the kidneys as well were known as *sen*. *Ibid.*: 62. The same is true for diseases of the urinary passages, testicles, or in the case of hernia. NAKAJIMA 2005: 161. The 18th century *Sea of Stories* distinguishes between 疝 and 癩, but does not make differences in the therapy. Sometimes, the combination of both characters in the name of one disease (or one group of symptoms), too, is possible. TACHIKAWA 1998: 63. But often one finds the nuance to reserve 癩 for pain in the breast area, in the upper belly region, or for stomach cramps. *Ibid.*: 63–64; SUZUKI Akira 鈴木昶: *Edo no iryō fūzoku jiten* 江戸の医療風俗事典 (Dictionary of the Edo [Period] Therapeutic Habits of Edo), Tōkyō Dō Shuppan 2000: 14; NAKAJIMA 2005: 161. — As for the causes of *sen* in the medicinal literature, the *Ishinpō* explains that the “vital energy” of *yin* and *yang* accumulates and

[174] Women during pregnancy should be especially circumspect regarding their food.³⁴⁸

[175] If one eats hare [meat], one will give birth to a child with a harelip.³⁴⁹

[176] If one eats the meat of goats, the child will be of a sickly constitution.³⁵⁰

solidifies in the inner organs, thereby giving rise to a whole range of symptoms of sickness. Manase Gensaku 曲直潮玄朔 (1549–1631) follows this explanation in his *Igaku Tenshō ki* 医学天正記 (Medical Records of the Tenshō [Period]). And the *Byōmei ikai* states that one speaks of *seki* 積 in the case of the “vital energy” that gathers in the five “depot” organs, while *jū* 聚 denotes the “energy” accumulating in the six “palaces”. TACHIKAWA 1998: 65. This only repeats what had already been known to the *Ishinpō*: *Seki* belongs to *yin* and occurs in the “depot organs” while *jū* is of *yang* nature and has its place in the “palace organs”. Mochizuki Manabu 望月学 interprets *seki* as the equivalent of cancerous tumours or ulcers while *jū* may refer to both ulcers as well as the contraction of muscle organs. *Ishinpō. Shokuyō hen* 医心方. 食養篇 (Methods at the Heart of Medicine. On Alimentation), with a translation into modern Japanese by MOCHIZUKI Manabu, Shuppan Kagaku Sōgō Kenkyū Jo 1976: 122. Based on an anecdote related in Negishi Yasumori’s 根岸鎮衛 (1737–1815) *Bag of Ears* 耳袋 (*Mimibukuro*), Tachikawa surmises that *shakujū* could refer to stomach cancer. But this, too, would be a limitation on only one possible manifestation of what could be meant by 癩 or 聚 or both, since in other contexts 癩 also has to do with nervous maladies or psychic disturbances such as bouts of hysteria often attributed to women in the Edo period literature. TACHIKAWA 1998: 66; SUZUKI 15; NAKAJIMA 2005: 161.

346 In Chinese medicine *tan* served as the name for bodily secretions – not only those of the respiratory tract – that occurred out of the ordinary and indicated a disease caused by an obstruction of the flow of bodily fluids.

347 *Kan* is another denomination that serves for a variety of symptoms covering a broad span of ailments from anaemia to hysteria. The NKD 5:299 offers four explanations: 1. The name of a disease in ‘traditional’ Chinese medicine concerning the five “depot” organs. 2. Another name for *kanshitsu* 疢疾, which in NKD 5: 354 is explained as a sickness characterized by spasms due to an over-sensitivity of nerves and mostly observed in children. 3. The same as *kan* 癩 in the nuance referring to an excessive nervousness expressing itself in high irascibility. Cf. NKD 5: 301. 4. Small swellings on the skin or the mucous membranes. Often, *kan* 疢 refers to a disease commonly associated with children. Then it is also called *kan no mushi* 疢の虫 (cf. the second explanation for *kan* 疢 in NKD 5: 299 as well as for *kanshitsu* in NKD 5: 354). The expression defies translation. Following NKD 19: 44, *mushi* in this case is neither used for “insect” or “vermin”, nor does it denote in a more specific sense “parasites” residing inside the human body, nor is it a small organism living within the body and causing diverse diseases or exerting influence on the host’s feelings causing them to flair high (in this context a belief of early modern Japan is cited, that identifies nine different “worms” living in the “bowels”, the “heart/mind” and so on). Instead, the word serves as a generic term for all kinds of ailments found in children, without their cause being clear. Often, *mushi* refers to convulsive (epileptic) fits. And it is in this sense that *kan no mushi* or the word *kan* alone appear. NKD 19: 44 (*mushi*, no. 4). According to NKD 5: 299, *kan no*

- [177] If one eats chicken eggs and dried fish, the child will have numerous blotches/ulcers 瘡 (*kasa*).³⁵¹
- [178] If one eats mulberry fruits and ducks, one will give birth to an agrippa child 倒子 (*sakago*).³⁵²

mushi also refers to a form of *mushi* that causes the *kan* disease in children, which is described as a perturbation of nutritional habits: Eating excessive quantities, food is not properly digested, and only the abdomen swells with other parts of the body being emaciated. Sometimes the drive to eat leads to ingesting even inedible substances. Of some consequence is also the explanation for *kanshō* 癩症, 疳性 in NKD 5: 362 which corresponds to the combination 疳症 in the *Shokuji kai*. The first explanation has an irascible character at its heart whereas the second refers to a pathological drive for cleanliness. Rather than this entry the above explanations for *kan* and *kan no mushi* are perhaps nearer to what Ranzan had in mind. According to the *Collected Explanations for the Names of Diseases*, *kan* 疳 in common parlance refers to *kan no mushi* as observed in small children. It explains that the word can be interpreted as meaning “sweet”, written with the character 甘 and also bearing the Sino-Japanese reading *kan*. This is followed by the comment that eating meat or fat and sweet things will lead to sickness. The combination of *kan* 疳 with *mushi* 虫, the text says, is due to the accompaniment of “sweet disease” with *mushi*. But should *mushi* be taken to literally mean a small organism residing in a child’s body or does it refer to the phenomenon of convulsions or irascible behaviour – or perhaps to both? This is left open to interpretation. The text says, however, that in adults this sickness corresponds to “enervation” 虚劳 (*kyorō*), a state of depletion of “vital energy” in the organs. Cf. *Koji ruien* 古事類苑 (A Garden of Old Things [Collected and] Arranged According to Kind), vol. 25: *Hōgi bu* 方技部 (Methods and Techniques), reprint, Yoshikawa Kōbun Kan 1982: 1513 (henceforth KR). The same work cites an opinion that explains *kan* 疳 by the character 乾 also read *kan* and meaning “dry”. This is followed by the comment that *kan* shows itself as emaciation and anaemia. Five types of *kan* disease can be distinguished depending on the organ where it is located, and while in the case of persons under twenty years of age one speaks of *kan*, with older persons the same phenomenon is called “enervation” 癆 (*rō*). Cf. KR 25: 1513–14. In the end I can only reciprocate the sentiment given in *Sōkeitei’s Small Words on Medicinal Affairs* 叢桂亭医事小言 (*Sōkeitei iji shōgen*): “It is difficult to cover all forms of *kan* 疳 in small children.” Cf. KR 25: 1514. To make this statement clear the text cites a number of Chinese authorities. Among them one finds the *Discussion of Origins and Symptoms of [Various] Diseases* [諸]病源候論 (*[Zhu]bing yuanyou lun / [Sho] Byōgen kōron*, 610), which identified “sweetness” as the origin of *kan*. Eating too many things of sweet taste causes the “various worms” 諸虫 in the spleen and the stomach to move and to cause them harm (this explanation was already quoted in the *Methods at the Heart of Medicine*; cf. *Ishinpō*, vol. 2, Nihon Koten Zenshū Kai 1935: 705–706). The *Small Words on Medicinal Affairs* identify this and other theories that speak of *kan* as a sickness located in the “five depots” as corresponding to what is “nowadays” understood as *kan*. As an example for an “older” use of the name the text e.g., quotes the *Discussions of a Man in Submersion* 潜夫論 (*Qianfu lun / Senpu ron*) from the Later Han Dynasty. This identified *kan* as a common disease among children, related to the constant intake of the mother’s milk and interpreted it as sign of over-

- [179] If one eats sparrows and drinks wine, one will cause the child to be lascivious in character and to have no shame.³⁵³
- [180] If one eats chicken meat and glutinous rice 糯米 (*mochigome*),³⁵⁴ the child will suffer from tapeworms 寸白 (*sunbaku*).³⁵⁵
- [181] If one eats the meat of sparrows and soy sauce 豆醬 (*tôshô*), the child will develop a black birthmark 黥黥 (*kanten / hôriko?*).³⁵⁶

saturation. Other sources use the word in connection with caries or with parasites that appear around the anus. KR 25: 1514–15. As *Sôkeitei's Small Words on Medicinal Affairs* itself suggest, the dividing line between an older and a newer usage seems to be the integration of *kan* into the system of “five flavours” and its correspondence to the “five depots”. While in the past *kan* seems to have been used in connection with disparate empirical observations, its more recent usage thus appears as the result of a process of systematic rationalization centered on the idea of sympathetic correspondences. Returning to the *Shokuji kai*, one has either the option of interpreting “sweet disease” as a psychological (choleric behaviour) or a nutritional disorder (probably caused by intestinal parasites or malnutrition) leading to emaciation and abdominal swelling. The context of children’s diseases suggests the second explanation. This interpretation is also supported by NAKAJIMA 2005: 162.

- 348 With the exception of one minor detail in the first entry (and some differences in the choice of words) the following list is identical to the one found in the *True Essentials of Beverage and Food* 飲膳正要 (*Yinshan zhengyao / Inzen seiyô*, 1330). Cf. NAKAMURA Shôhachi 中村璋八, SATÔ Tatsuzen 佐藤達全 (eds.): *Shokkei* 食経 (Classics of Food Consumption), Meitoku Shuppan Sha 1978: 57–58 (*Chûgoku koten shinsho*; henceforth cited as *Shokkei*). Also, there are a number of correspondences with the *Record of Precious Treasures for Women* 女重宝記 (*Onna chôhō ki*, 1692), both the original by Namura Jôhaku 苗村丈伯, as well as Ranzan’s own re-edition. Cf. *Onna chôhō ki, Otoko chôhō ki. Genroku wakamono kokoroe shû* 女重宝記, 男重宝記. 元禄若者心得集 (Record of Precious Treasures for Women, Record of Precious Treasures for Men. Collections of Knowledge to be Minded by Young People in the Genroku Era), ed. by NAGATOMO Chiyoji 長友千代治, Shakai Shisô Sha 1993: 90–91 (Gendai kyôyô bunko); *Kasei gaku bunken shûsei. Edo ki II* 家政学文献集成. 江戸期 II (Collection of Documents on the Learning of Household Management. Edo Period II), ed. by TANAKA Chitako 田中ちた子, TANAKA Hatsuo 田中初夫, Watanabe Shoten 1966: 176–177 (henceforth quoted as KBS).
- 349 According to the *True Essentials of Beverage and Food*, ingestion of hare meat will cause the child to have no voice and no lips. *Shokkei* 1978: 57.
- 350 Literally the text speaks of a “sick body” 病身 (*byôshin*). The list in the *Yinshan zhengyao* warns that the child will be sick often 多疾. Ibid.
- 351 Ibid.; NAGATOMO 1993: 90; KBS 176. Instead of “blotches/ulcers” only, the *Onna chôhō ki* mentions *kankasa* 疔瘡, which Nagatomo explains as “goose ulcers”, a type of ulcer difficult to heal, causing severe itches, and exuding blood, pus, as well as a bad smell. NAGATOMO 1993: 90.
- 352 *Shokkei* 1978: 57; NAGATOMO 1993: 90; KBS 177. In modern Japanese a child born with its feet first is commonly written with the characters 逆子. The translation “agrippa child” was preferred to expressions such as “breech birth” in order stay close to the

- [182] If one eats the meat of snapping turtles 鼈 (*betsu, ôgame*), the child will have a long nape.³⁵⁷
- [183] If one eats the meat of donkeys 驢肉 (*roniku / usagimuma*),³⁵⁸ one will delay the month of birth.³⁵⁹
- [184] If one ingests cold drinks/flavouring paste 冰醬 (*hyôshô*), one will miscarry.³⁶⁰
- [185] If one eats the meat of mules 騾 (*ra*), one will cause a difficult birth.³⁶¹

original *sakago* or, literally, “reversed child”.

- 353 *Shokkei* 1978: 57; NAGATOMO 1993: 90; KBS 177.
- 354 In Japan, two different types of rice were in use. Of these, *uruchi* 粳 or ‘common’ rice is the standard form accompanying most meals. It is prepared by boiling until all water has evaporated. *Mochigome* is much stickier than *uruchi* and is suited for making “rice cakes” (*mochi*) through a process of steaming and pounding it into a smooth dough.
- 355 *Shokkei* 1978: 57; NAGATOMO 1993: 90; KBS 177.
- 356 *Shokkei* 1978: 57; NAGATOMO 1993: 91; KBS 177. Ranzan’s re-edition of the *Onna chôhō ki* gives *aza* as reading for 黥黥, whereas in the *Shokuji kai* one finds *kanten* on the right and *hōriko* on the left side of the Chinese characters 黥黥. *Shokkei* 1978: 57–58 explains this Chinese expression as referring to a disease by which the face turns black. Following the reading *aza* in the *Onna chôhō ki*, “black birthmark” has been chosen as a translation here, although the characters literally render “black face” (the first character can mean both “black” as well as a black face, and the second character, too, means “black” or “dark”).
- 357 In the *Yinshan zhengyao* as well as in both editions of the *Onna chôhō ki* mentioned above it says that the nape will be long. *Shokkei* 1978: 58; NAGATOMO 1993: 91; KBS 177.
- 358 Ranzan gives two readings for 驢肉, *roniku* on the right side which means “donkey meat, and *usagimuma* (literally “rabbit horse”; also written as 兔馬) on the left, another name for the animal generally called by the Sino-Japanese reading of 驢馬 (*roba*).
- 359 *Shokkei* 1978: 58. This warning has no parallels in NAGATOMO 1993 and KBS.
- 360 *Shokkei* 1978: 58. In both editions of the *Onna chôhō ki*, miscarriage is the result of eating 豆醬 for which *hishio* is given as the proper reading. NAGATOMO 1993: 91; KBS 177. *Hishio* is a precursor of soybean paste and soy sauce, which was also used for flavouring purposes or for accompanying other dishes. There are varieties made of fermented soybeans and wheat as well as of pickled fish, fowl, or meat. It is possible that Ranzan used the Chinese word that had appeared in the *Yinshan zhengyao*, but had *hishio* in mind. A hint for this might be that his list differs from the *Yinshan zhengyao* in using the character 醬 instead of 漿. *Shokkei* 1978: 58 explains 氷漿 as a kind of drink in keeping with the meaning of the character 漿. For lack of conclusive evidence, the translation considers both interpretations.
- 361 *Shokkei* 1978: 58. Again, the two editions of the *Onna chôhō ki* list the same result, but give a different cause. However, as in the preceding warning, the cause is written with similar characters. While it is 騾肉 in the *Yinshan zhengyao* and the *Shokiji kai*, the

[186] The above [warnings] can be found in the *Records for Achieving [a Safe] Birth* 達生録 (*Dashang lu / Tassei roku*).³⁶²

[187] Eating the meat of [wild] beasts 獸 (*kemono*) is not something one should be fond of. [188] In the land of the Han 漢土 (Kando) [= China] it may not cause any harm that high and low regularly eat [meat], as it is the habit of that land, but [on the other hand] it might be for this reason, that people who develop carbuncles 癰 (*yô*) and who suffer from boils 疽 (*so*) are numerous.³⁶³ [189] As for our [country] Origin-of-the-Sun 日本 (Nippon) I do not know about the past, but seen from the present age those who are full of youthful vigour and who eat meat build up impure blood fluids, and develop swellings in great numbers; if they eat snapping turtles 泥鼈 (*suppon*) and swans, they get head boils 頭瘡 (*zusô*), or their blood rises to their heads [so that they easily get excited] 逆上して (*gyakujô shite*) and they loose their hair, and they develop itches 疥癬 (*kaisen*). [190] There are not a few people who although they consumed [the meat of] wild boars and deers in the prime of their life and were unaware of any harm, suffer from carbuncles after several years have passed.³⁶⁴ [191] However, when used in small quantity for

Onna chôhō ki has 螺肉, read *nishi* i.e., snails. NAGATOMO 1993: 90; KBS 177.

- 362 This work was written by Du Yinchang 堵胤昌 during the Ming period. It was known in Japan at least as early as 1649 (Keian 慶安 2), when a copy can be ascertained in Kyūshū. That Ranzan referred to this authority leads to the assumption that he was not aware of the *Yinshan zhengyao* or any earlier source. Foodstuffs like the meat of goats, donkeys, or mules make it obvious that the list given by Ranzan does not suit the Japanese context in all instances (since these kinds of domestic animals were not common at all), but he refrained from making the same kind of revisions that can be deduced from the corresponding list in the *Onna chôhō ki*.
- 363 Nakajima cites late Muromachi period works (*Collection of New Elucidations of External Healing* 外療新明集, *Gairyô shinmei shû*; *Narrow Ditches of External Healing* 外療細澗, *Gairyô saizan*) according to which *yô* means a shallow swelling on the surface but rooted in the “palace organs”, while *so* refers to a hard, deeply immersed, and extremely painful swelling with its “roots” in the “depot organs”. NAKAJIMA 2005: 158. At the same time, however, *so* is classified as a subcategory of *yô*. Both are defined as malicious dangerous swelling, with the latter mostly appearing on the nape of the neck or the back. *Ibid.*: 151.
- 364 The detrimental effects of meat consumption are also described e.g., in the *Mirror of Foods in Our Country* 本朝食鑑 (*Honchô shokkan*, 1692). The author, Hitomi Hitsudai 人見必大, explains that in Japan one considers consumption of the “six domestic animals” 六畜 (*rikuchiku*: horse, cattle, sheep, pig, dog, chicken) as defiling. Especially by eating beef or the meat of deer one is in danger of falling under a curse, which appears in the form of deadly diseases. This can also happen with wild boars, domestic pigs, dogs, or sheep. HITOMI Hitsudai: *Honchô shokkan*, vol. 5, ed. by SHIMADA Isao 島田勇雄 (Tôyô

[relieving] the elderly feeling cold in the legs and [around] the waist, it should not be hindered.³⁶⁵ [192a] In case of the four-footed [animals] one says that there will be no pollution 穢 (*kegare*) if, according to the Way of the Gods/Spirits 神道 (Shintô), one [first] declares a number of days [on which one is defiled by] pollution,³⁶⁶ receives chopsticks from the Shining Spirit of Suwa 諏訪明神 (Suwa Myôjin), and [only] then partakes of [their meat].³⁶⁷ [192b] Or [it is said] that among the meat of the selfsame four-footed

bunko, 395), Heibon Sha 1981: 201–202 (*Tôyô bunko* 296, 312, 340, 378, 395). Although Hitsudai shares the popular belief in the powers of pork for healing wounds caused by knives and other metallic objects, he warns that when consuming it over a long period it will hamper the blood flow and weaken sinews, bones, and the skin. Ibid.: 214. A man who in younger years ate a lot of deer meat, lost all his teeth before turning fifty years old. Consumption of this meat leads to a strengthening of sexual lust, which in its turn causes the generative powers of the body to slacken; the gums are affected in particular, so that in the end the teeth fall out. Ibid.: 262–63.

365 Strengthening powers in the case of illness were especially attributed to beef. Despite opposing alimentary taboos, already in the Heian period a controlled consumption of beef was justified as “medicinal consumption” 薬喰 (*kusuri kui*) for therapeutic or prophylactic reasons. Under the same pretext the regional lord of Hikone 彦根 on the eastern shore of Lake Biwa 琵琶湖 provided the shogunal family and other lords with beef from among his own stock of cattle since the middle of the 17th century. HARADA Nobuo: *Edo no ryôri shi* 江戸の料理史 (A Culinary History of the Edo [Period]), Chûô Kôron Sha 1989: 189 (*Chûkô shinsho* 929).

366 As stated above, Harada argued that since the Heian period the view to consider the consumption of meat as defiling penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the court nobility before it began to spread through society at large. Cf. n. 16. At the same time a formalization of the conception of “pollution” occurred. This can be ascertained e.g., in the *Regulations of the [Period] Spreading Benevolence* 弘仁式 (*Kônin shiki*) from the early 9th century. This contains a list specifying the number of days for a state of “pollution” after committing a defiling act or coming into contact with it: “In the case of a person’s death thirty days, birth [of a child] seven days, death of [one of] the six kinds of domestic animals five days, birth [of an animal] three days, partaking of meat, mourning, and a call on someone sick three days”. SHINTANI Takanori 新谷尚紀: “Kegare” (Pollution), in: FUKUTA Ajio 福田アジオ et. al. (eds.): *Nihon minzoku dai jiten* 日本民俗大辞典 (Great Dictionary of Japanese Ethnology), vol. 1, Yoshikawa Kôbun Kan 1999: 565. Here the origins of notions concerning the “number of days [one is defiled by] pollution” can be ascertained.

367 Certain acts or events according to the popular views based on the “Way of the Gods/Spirits” entailed a period of ritual pollution for the concerned persons such as giving birth or the death of a household member. However, the meaning of “declaring a number of days of pollution” in this sentence is not quite clear. Does Ranzan hint at a pragmatism according to which the consumption of meat loses its danger if from the outset one declares oneself subject to the special conditions entailed by ritual defilement? Interpreted in this way, setting oneself ritually apart and furthermore receiving sanctified chopsticks from the “Shining Spirit” of Suwa one could formally eschew the risk of acquiring

[animals] only the hare is without pollution. [193] These explanations seem not to meet with the truth, but it is probably safe to go along with public opinion.

[194] If someone delights in eating things that others commonly do not fancy and makes a predilection/pleasure of it, people all will praise him as a man of eccentric taste in food 嘖物食 (*ikamono gui*). [195] These are fellows who do not know the decree [of Heaven],³⁶⁸ and they do not deserve further argument. [196] There are those among all [the different kinds of] mushrooms whose names are not even known, and as it often happens that they harm people [who partake of them], one should not thoughtlessly eat them. [197] It is of no avail to regret [the deed afterwards]. [198] Again, if one is sick, one should not be fond of alien substances and strange articles for the medical decoctions one uses. [199] Of late, all sorts of foreign medicines have been shipped [to our country], and those like *miira* 木之伊 and *sarubô* サルボウ³⁶⁹ whose names/characters are not even known and that are called by words in Barbarian [language] are not few in number³⁷⁰. [200] Things transported [hither] from the Red Hairs' [country] / Holland³⁷¹ are especially numerous. [201] Neither their [method of] production nor their nature can be discerned. [202] Even though their effect might be twice [that of others], one should be exceedingly circumspect. [203a] The Lord Divine Husbandman tasted the one hundred/innumerable herbs and wrote the *Materia Medica*,³⁷² whereas in Japan His Illustriousness Sukunahikona 少彦名命 (Gojô Tenshin 五条天神 is

further pollution by eating meat. The shrine at Suwa in present Nagano 長野 Prefecture is known for its connection with hunting and meat. A manifestation of this is e.g., the "Festival of the Honourable Heads" 御頭祭 (*Ontô matsuri*) when the heads of boars and deer (as well as fish and fowl) were offered as sacrifice. Also, the shrine provided dispensations for meat consumption which took the form of talismans known as "dispensation for eating deer" 鹿食免 (*kajiki men*).

368 Ranzan follows the tradition according to which Heaven had allotted man a lifespan of one hundred years. However, as he makes clear, death as the outcome of facts that do not arise from the predetermined endowment of the individual person and that are due to happenstance or inconsiderate behaviour, does not fall under the "[decree of] Heaven". Cf. KINSKI 2003: 150–52.

369 Cf. p. 60, n. 14.

370 Literally: "these are not only one or two" 一二ならず (*ichi ni narazu*).

371 Ranzan uses the characters 紅毛, which literally mean "red hairs", an expression used for the foreigners from Holland. But he also gives the reading *Oranda* and thus uses the word to denote the country.

372 This should be taken to refer to the pharmaceutical work attributed to the Divine Husbandman. *Japonica Humboldtiana* 9 (2005)

meant by this)³⁷³ deigned to spread the way of medicine. [203b] It is a constant of reason/principle that the people who are born in a certain place should heal [their] diseases with the medical articles produced in that place. [204] However, since the technique of surgery from the Red Hairs' [country] / Holland is very refined, to study it and to make use of it over here, conforms [to the principle] "widely adopt the strengths of others and make them one's own strengths". [205] Originally it was the true teaching of the sages and worthies that to cure [all kinds of] disease the root of herbs as well as the root and bark of trees 草根木朮皮 (*sôkon mokujutsuhi*) would suffice.³⁷⁴ [206] Why then seek after the strange and the alien? [207] Especially something

bandman, the *Shennong bencao jing*.

- 373 Sukunahikona was revered as the god of medicine and is mentioned both in the *Annals of Japan (Nihongi)* and the *Ancient Records (Kojiki)* as partner of the deity Ôkuninushi / Ônamuchi, sent by his father Takamimusubi (*Annals*) or Kamimusubi (*Kojiki*) to help in ordering the world. In Aston's translation the *Annals* recount the following: "Now Ohonamochi no Mikoto and Sukunabikona no Mikoto, with united strength and one heart, constructed this subcelestial world. Then, for the sake of the visible race of man as well as for beasts, they determined the method of healing diseases. They also, in order to do away with the calamities of birds, beasts, and creeping things, established means for their prevention and control. The people enjoy the protection of these universally until the present day." W.G. ASTON (transl.): *Nihongi. Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697*, Rutland, Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle 1972: 59–60; *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, NKBT 67: 128, 129. *The Collection of Remains [Concerning] Ancient Words* 古語拾遺 (*Kogo shûi*, 807), too, gives a similar account of Sukunahikona's part in the establishment of medicine. GR 25: 4. Gojô Tenshin or "Heaven's God/Spirit [near] Fifth Avenue" is the name of a shrine in Kyoto where Sukunahikona is venerated.
- 374 The expression "root of herbs as well as root and bark of trees" is also used as a synonym for the whole repertoire of drugs in Chinese medicine. In the edition included in the *Nihon eisei bunko* the character 朮 *jutsu* for "root [of trees]" is missing. *Nihon eisei bunko* 1 (2): 215. Ranzan probably refers to a certain passage in classical literature, the same upon which the following entry in Satô Issai's 佐藤一齋 (1772–1859) *Four Records of Words and Intentions* 言志四録 (*Genshi shiroku*) is based: "As for the smaller medicines, these are the roots of herbs and the bark of trees; as for the greater medicines, these are drink, food, and clothing. [But] as for the origin of medicine, this lies in ruling one's heart and in cultivating one's person." NST 46: 82, 245; OKADA Takehiko 岡田武彦 (ed.): *Satô Issai zenshû* 佐藤一齋全集 (Collected Works of Satô Issai), vol. 11, Meitoku Shuppan Sha 1991: 214, 303. However, I failed to identify a corresponding locus classicus. On the internet one finds the quotation "The roots of herbs, and the bark of trees – these are the smaller medicine. Needle and moxa – these are the middle medicine. Drink, food, and clothing – these are the greater medicine. [But] to cultivate one's person, and to rule one's heart – that is the origin of medicine", with the *Book of Documents* 書經 (*Shujing / Shokyô*) given as source. Cf. e.g., <http://hietori.cool.ne.jp/tex/silk.html> (26 October, 2005). However, in the *Book of Documents* these words could not be verified.

like extracting the fat/oil 膏脂 (*kôshi*) of people who have been cremated,³⁷⁵ or grinding [human] skulls into powder, calling [this substance] “soul’s heaven-like cover” 靈天蓋 (*reiten gai*)³⁷⁶ and using it for medicine – this has the meaning of making people eat [other] people. [208] In the [book] *Master Meng* it says: “Men even detest it that wild animals devour each other.”³⁷⁷ [209] How could more words be lost on these matters.

[210] As it is said in the *Materia medica* of the Divine Husbandman and in Shizhen’s *Classification*, all things that grow between Heaven and Earth are [both] beneficial and harmful.³⁷⁸ [211] However, one drinks tea at all times, and salt is not left out of daily food. [212] Who would call them harmful? [213a] It can be gleaned from medical books that when putting this salt into tea and ingesting them together it is not good when they enter the belly. [213b] It is [said to be] the same as urging robbers to intrude into [one’s] house. [214] Calcium nitrate 焰硝 (*enshō*) alone for example, does not achieve anything, but when made into gunpowder 口藥 (*kuchigusuri*),³⁷⁹ it propels the

375 It is not clear what Ranzan refers to or how he thought that fat could be extracted from the remains of a human body after cremation. Perhaps he used 火葬せし人 as an expression for “buried people” in general and had the extraction of medicine from mummies in mind.

376 Cf. pp. 110–15.

377 This is a quotation of *Mencius* 1A4.5: 獸相食、且人惡之。SBBY 1.5a; James LEGGE (transl.): *The Works of Mencius*, The Chinese Classics, vol. 2, new ed., Hong Kong 1960 (1872): 133. The sentence, of course, does not stand in the context of human cannibalism (Master Meng uses his words to remonstrate with a ruler who takes good care of his animals but lets his subjects die of hunger so that animals – metaphorically speaking – nourish themselves on men). But the locus classicus was adduced by other commentators on the application of *mummy* as well.

378 Rather than generally stating that all substances used as medicine are “beneficial and harmful”, the *Divine Husbandman’s Classic of Materia Medica* is organized according to a division in three categories. The first consists of “higher medicines” that are without harm and can be used over a long period of time. SBBY 1.1a. “Intermediary medicines” comprise both harmful substances and those without harm. SBBY 2.1a. The “lesser medicines” are harmful and should not be used for a long time. SBBY 3.1a. Li Shizhen cites this classificatory principle in *Bencao gangmu* 1: 352. However, he also adopts the view that certain substances are mutually exclusive and inimical when consumed together. He gives a list of these at the beginning of the *Classification* and includes further information in the individual entries. Cf. *ibid.*: 392, 393–94. It is this antagonistic relationship of certain foods and medicines that Ranzan comments on in the following.

379 *Kuchigusuri* or “[chemical] substance at the opening” is the name for the gunpowder used with the matchlock style firearms of 16th century Japan. The priming powder received this name from being placed in a pan near the touchhole.

bullet. [215] It also happens that things of safe flavour 平味 (*heimi*), if two of them stand together, become harmful. [216] It is all due to this reason/principle, that their effects are manifold when one mixes the [different] sorts of medicine – sometimes supporting, sometimes purging.

[217] In the following [I] write down a digest of items that should not be eaten together (○ is the symbol for “very harmful”).³⁸⁰

[218] Warm noodles 温飩 (*undon*)³⁸¹ with watermelon 西瓜 (*suika*).³⁸²

380 The dietetic tradition offers a large number of lists with foodstuffs that should not be eaten together. A fine example can be found in the *Collection of Essentials on Nourishing Life* 養生要集 (*Yangsheng yaoji*; trad. 4th century CE), which is quoted in Chapter 29 of the *Methods at the Heart of Medicine*. *Ishinpō* 7, Nihon Koten Zenshū Kai 1935: 2690–98. The *True Essentials of Beverage and Food* offer a similar enumeration. Cf. *Shokkei*: 127–31. The latter start out with different kinds of meats that should not be combined with certain other foodstuffs, coursing through fowl, seafood, fruits, and vegetables. Kaibara Ekiken in a paragraph on “taboos of eating together” 同食の禁忌 (*dōshoku no kinki*) follows this pattern. Cf. *Yōjō kun*, EZ 3: 527–28. In comparison, no structural features stand out in Ranzan’s list. His enumeration of warnings does not follow any logical order, and it is not representative of the large number of similar rules that he could have listed. It certainly owes its origin to the Chinese tradition of literature on the *materia medica* as some entries do not focus on foodstuffs commonly consumed in Japan but on substances used only for medical purposes. But whereas earlier lists e.g., Manase Gensaku’s in his *Selected Essentials for Extending the Lifespan* 延寿撮要 (*Enju satsuyō*, printed 1599), contained a large number of combinations with meat and fowl, these are absent from Ranzan’s enumeration (with the exception of [231]). He might consciously have excluded such examples that were nearer to Chinese than Japanese alimentary habits. But he also omitted the explanations given for the advice against combining the listed foodstuffs that can be found in other works, at least in some cases. I compared Ranzan’s list with the information in three comprehensive compendia of *materia medica* or foodstuffs, Li Shizhen’s *Classification of Materia Medica*, Ekiken’s *Materia Medica of Japan*, and the *Mirror of Foods in Our Country*, as well as with a number of dietetic advice books and listed all correspondences in the footnotes.

381 “Warm noodles” were made from wheat flour and (at least since the Edo period) drawn out in long threads and dried before cutting into shorter pieces. *Udon*, broader and thicker than other types of noodles, are served in a hot soup together with other ingredients.

382 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. Ranzan uses names for plants and animals as he found them in the classical literature. Often, these are of Chinese origin, and even if their Japanese equivalents (either indigenous or imported) often may have been close, in other cases they represented different variants. As Ranzan probably had specimens in mind that could (also) be found in Japan, I decided to give the Latin names used for the Japanese variants in the footnotes. For this purpose I relied in most cases on SHOKUBUTSU BUNKA KENKYŪ KAI 植物文化研究会 (ed.): *Zusetsu Hana to ki no jiten* 図説 花と樹の事典 (Dictionary of Flowers and Trees Explained with Illustrations), Kashiwa Shobō 2005 and GYORUI BUNKA KENKYŪ KAI 魚類文化研究会 (ed.): *Zusetsu Sakana to kai no jiten* 図説 魚と貝の事典 (Dictionary of Fish and Shells Explained with Illustrations), Kashiwa

- [219] Carp 鯉 (*koi*)³⁸³ with pepper 胡椒 (*koshô*)³⁸⁴ or with red beans 小豆 (*azuki*).³⁸⁵
- [220] Loquat 枇杷 (*biwa*)³⁸⁶ with crab 蟹 (*kani*).³⁸⁷
- [221] Quince 木瓜 (*boke*)³⁸⁸ with plum 梅 (*mume*).³⁸⁹
- [222] Red bayberry 楊梅 (*yamamomo*)³⁹⁰ with parched [soy] beans 炒豆 (*irimame*).³⁹¹
- [223] Kumquat 金柑 (*kinkan*)³⁹² with sweet potato 蕃薯 (*satsumaimo*).³⁹³
- [224] Purslane 馬齒莧 (*suberihyu*)³⁹⁴ with pepper.³⁹⁵

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383 *Cyprinus carpio*.

384 *Piper nigrum* L.

385 *Vigna angularis* Ohwi et Ohashi. The *Mirror of Foods in Our Country* refers to the popular belief that one will die if one eats carp together with pepper. However, the author is doubtful and stresses that the reasons for this view are not clear. *Honchô shokkan* 3: 233. The *True Essentials of Beverage and Food* list the warning against eating red beans together with carp. *Shokkei*: 130. The combination of carp and red beans as harmful is given in Manase Gensaku's *Selected Essentials for Extending the Lifespan*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (6): 281.

386 *Eriobotrya japonica* Lindl.

387 *Brachyura*. I did not find an exact equivalent, but Li Shizhen quoted an opinion that crabs should not be eaten together with persimons as this would cause digestive disturbances, and he himself agreed with this view. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1277. In his *Principles for Nourishing Life*, Ekiken warns against the combination of crab together with *tachibana* 橘 or “wild orange”, persimons, and dates. *Yôjô kun*, EZ 3: 527. Motoi Shishô 本井子承 excluded the combination of mandarine oranges and crabs. *Teachings on Protecting Life for Prolonging the Decreed [Span of Years]* 長命衛生論 (*Chômei eisei ron*, 1812), *Nihon eisei bunko* 2 (4): 290. Cf. also HANDA Kikumi 半田喜久美 (ed.): *Kanei shichinen kan Waka shokumotsu honzô. Gendai goyaku. Edo jidai ni manabu shoku yôjô* 寛永七年刊 和歌食物本草. 現代語訳. 江戸時代に学ぶ食養生 (Food as Materia Medica [Explained] in Japanese Poems, Kanei 7 Edition. Translation into Modern Japanese. Nourishing Life Through Food as to be Learned from the Edo Period), Gensô Sha 2004: 138.

388 *Chaenomeles speciosa* Nakai.

389 *Prunus Mume* Sieb. et Zucc.

390 *Myrica rubra* Sieb. et Zucc.

391 The *Classification of Materia Medica* for example, does not have this rule. Instead, it quotes a warning against eating red bayberry together with leeks. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1288. Hitomi Hitsudai follows this warning. *Honchô shokkan* 2: 74.

392 *Fortunella*.

393 *Ipomoea batatas* Lam.

394 “Purslane” or “little hogweed” are vernacular names of *Portulaca oleracea* L.

395 Ekiken, too, cites a popular belief that *Portulaca oleracea* and pepper are mutually exclusive and will lead to death when eaten together. *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 131.

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- [225] Eel 鰻魚 (*unagi*)³⁹⁶ with watermelon ○, quince ○, or vinegar.³⁹⁷
 [226] Mung beans 綠豆 (*yaenari*)³⁹⁸ with nuts of the *Torreya nucifera* tree 榲子 (*kaya no mi*).³⁹⁹
 [227] Pokeweed 商陸 (*yamagobô*)⁴⁰⁰ with water dropwort 芹 (*seri*).⁴⁰¹
 [228] Weather loach 泥鰌 (*dojô*)⁴⁰² with *Dioscorea tokoro* 蕁薺 (*tokoro*).⁴⁰³
 [229] Snails 螺 (*nishi*)⁴⁰⁴ with kelp 昆布 (*konbu*).
 [230] Meat of the racoon dog 狸 (*tanuki*)⁴⁰⁵ with buckwheat 蕎麥 (*soba*).⁴⁰⁶
 [231] Winter's wheat beard 麥門冬 (*bakumondô*)⁴⁰⁷ with crucian carp 鯽 (*funâ*).⁴⁰⁸

396 *Anguilla japonica*.

397 The advice against eating eel and quince can be found in the *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 298.

398 *Vigna radiata*, *Phaseolus aureus*. *Yaenari* is another name for *ryokutô* or *ryokuzu*, two possible Sino-Japanese reading of the characters given in the text.

399 In English *kaya* is also known as “Japanese plum-yew” or “Japanese nutmeg tree”. The warning against a combination of *vigna radiata* and *troceya* nuts is one that Ekiken and Ranzan share. *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 89. Ekiken’s *Principles for Nourishing Life* say the same. EZ 3: 527. Motoi Shishô and Hitomi Hitsudai, too, warn against eating them together; if one does one will die. *Chômei eisei ron*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 2 (4): 292; *Honchô shokkan* 2: 85. This injunction was mentioned in *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1140.

400 *Phytolacca esculenta* Van Houte.

401 *Oenanthe javanica* DC. Li Shizhen’s warning is different: Pokeweed should not be consumed in combination with dog meat. *Bencao gangmu* 1: 945.

402 *Misgurnus anguillicaudatus* (Amur weatherfish, Asian pond loach, dojo). For a warning against a combination with dog cf. *Honchô shokkan* 3: 376

403 *Dioscorea tokoro* Makino is a wild-growing yam species.

404 *Laminaria*. Ekiken mentions the popular belief that eating river snail (literally “paddy field snail”) 田螺 (*tanishi*; *Vivparidae*) together with *Brassica juncea* Czern et Coss. (*karashi* 芥子; leaf mustard) will lead to death. *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 380.

405 *Nyctereutes procyonoides*. Ogasawara Masakiyo’s 小笠原政清 *Writings about the Consumption of Food* 食物服用之卷 (*Shokumotsu fukuyô no maki*, 1504) also mentions the use of racoon dog for the preparation of certain dishes. ZGR 19.3: 332. And the same animal is still mentioned in the *Cuisine Tales* 料理物語 (*Ryôri monogatari*) of 1643 (Kanei 寛永 20). ZGR 19.3: 342

406 *Fagopyrum esculentum* Moench. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1114 warns against eating buckwheat together with beef or pork.

407 This translation tries to reproduce Li Shizhen’s etymological attempt in the *Classification of Materia Medica*, where the roots of the respective plant (*Liriope spicata*, *Ophiopogon japonicus*) are likened to wheat on which a beard is growing and characterized as winter resistant. Because the character for “wheat’s beard”, 麩, is complicated, the simpler 門 with the same pronunciation was substituted. *Bencao gangmu* 1: 899. *Bakumondô* is the Japanese name for the tuberoid thickening of the roots of *Liriope spicata* (*ko yaburan*) and *Ophiopogon japonicus* (*janohige* 蛇鬚; lily-turf, snake’s beard), which served therapeutical uses in Chinese medicine.

- [232] The thick [part] of the simple [magnolia] tree 厚朴 (*kôboku*)⁴⁰⁹ with kelp or with salted plum 塩梅 (*shiomume*).⁴¹⁰
- [233] Thistle 薊 (*azami*)⁴¹¹ with licorice 甘草 (*kanzô*).⁴¹²
- [234] Buckwheat⁴¹³ noodles 蕎麦麩 (*soba men*) with walnut 胡桃 (*kuru-mi*),⁴¹⁴ or with watermelon, or with red bayberry.⁴¹⁵
- [235] Makuwa melon 甜瓜 (*Makuwa uri*)⁴¹⁶ with rough potato 蘿摩実 (*kagaimo*)⁴¹⁷ ○.
- [236] Viper 蝮蛇 (*mamushi*)⁴¹⁸ with plum vinegar 梅酢 (*mumezu*) ○.
- [237] Persimmons on twigs 枝柿 (*edagaki*)⁴¹⁹ with azalea 躑躅 (*tsutsuji*).⁴²⁰

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- 408 *Carassius spp.* In its paragraph on “crucian carp”, the *Classification of Materia Medica* warned against a combination with *bakumondô* as this would harm the person partaking of them. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1602. This sentiment is repeated in *Honchô shokkan* 3: 260.
- 409 Again, this is the name of a remedy used in Chinese medicine. It is made from the bark of *Magnolia obovata* Thumb. (Jap. *hô no ki* 朴木). Li Shizhen explains the name as referring to the thickness of the respective tree’s bark, and the tree’s “simple” nature. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1386.
- 410 This is the type of pickled plum also known as “dried plum” 梅干 (*umeboshi*).
- 411 *Cirsium*. This is the collective name for a number of plants; the *Classification of Materia Medica* distinguishes between “large thistle” and “small thistle”, which in the Japanese edition have been identified as *Cirsium spicatum* and *Cirsium Maackii* by Makino Tomitarô 牧野富太郎. *Shinchû kôtei Kokuyaku Honzô kômoku* 新註校定 国訳本草綱目 (Classification of Materia Medica in Japanese Translation, Revised and with New Commentaries), ed. by KIMURA Kôichi 木村康一, vol. 5, Shunyô Dô Shoten 1974: 110.
- 412 Literally, *kanzô* means “sweet herb”. Latin names for the Chinese variant are *Glycyrrhiza glabra*, *Glycyrrhiza echiniata*; generally the plant is also known as *Glycyrrhiza uralensis* Fisch.
- 413 As the name suggests, “buckwheat noodles” were prepared from buckwheat, but since the end of the 17th century wheat flour was added as well. They were served individually and mostly eaten by dipping in a sauce (although they could be served in a hot soup as well). Originally small “buckwheat dumplings” 蕎麦掻き (*sobagaki*) were formed out of the dough and boiled. However, since the turn of the 17th century the dough was rolled out and cut into thin stripes.
- 414 *Juglans*.
- 415 Motoi Shishô’s *Teachings on Protecting Life for Prolonging the Deceased [Span of Years]*, too, warns against eating buckwheat and watermelon together. *Chômei eisei ron, Nihon eisei bunko* 2 (4): 288.
- 416 *Cucumis melo L. var. makuwa* Makino (Japanese cantaloupe; oriental melon).
- 417 *Metaplexis japonica*.
- 418 *Agkistrodon (Gloydus) blomhoffi*.
- 419 *Diospyros kaki* Thumb. This is the name either for persimmons harvested together with part of the branch on which they had been growing or for fruits harvested in a similar way and hung up for drying after peeling them. Cf. *Honchô shokkan* 2: 46–47.

- [238] Leaf beet 恭苳 (*tôchisa*)⁴²¹ with pepper.
 [239] River snail 田螺 (*tanishi*)⁴²² with redpepper 蕃椒 (*tôgarashi*).⁴²³
 [240] Leopard plant 藜吾 (*tsuwa*)⁴²⁴ with sugar 砂糖 (*satô*).
 [241] Shrimp/prawn 蝦 (*ebi*)⁴²⁵ with green rust 緑青 (*rokushô*).⁴²⁶
 [242] Crucian carp⁴²⁷ with sugar.⁴²⁸
 [243] Sculpin かじか (*kajika*)⁴²⁹ with licorice.⁴³⁰
 [244] Eel⁴³¹ with plum vinegar.⁴³²

420 *Rhododendron*.

421 *Beta vulgaris* L. var. *cicla* L.

422 Also called “mud snail”. Several kinds of freshwater snail of the *Viviparidae* family can be found in Japan, as for example *Cipangopaludina japonica* (*ôtanishi* オオタニシ; Japanese mysterysnail).

423 *Capsicum annum*. According to Hitomi Hitsudai, *tanishi* does not meet with musk 麝香 (*jakô*) and leeks. *Honchô shokkan* 5: 121. Ekiken mentions the popular belief that eating river snails together with mustard leaves will lead to death. *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 380.

424 *Farfugium japonicum* Kitam.

425 *Macrura*.

426 As the text explicitly gives the reading *rokushô*, this does not seem to be a mistake for *bundô* / *yaenari* 緑豆 / 緑豆青 or any other kinds of vegetables. The only meaning of *rokushô* that I could ascertain was the green patina that develops on bronze utensils.

427 *Carrasius auratus*.

428 Li Shizhen quotes a warning against combining crucian carp and sugar as this will cause the “sweet disease”. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1602. Motoi Shishô, Hozumi Hoan’s 穂積甫庵 *Miraculous Medicines for Succouring the People* 救民妙薬 (*Kyûmin myôyaku*, printed 1693), and Hitomi Hitsudai cite this warning. *Chômei eisei ron*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 2 (4): 290; *Kyûmin myôyaku*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (5): 206; *Honchô Shokkan* 3: 260. An earlier form of this advice can be found in the *True Essentials of Beverage and Food*. *Shokkei*: 129. Based on the latter is also Manase Gensaku’s remark. *Enju satsuyô*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (6): 281. The warning is an old one and can already be ascertained in the *Ishinpô* quoting Zhu Sijian’s 朱思簡 *Classic of Food Consumption* and in the *Collection of Essentials on Nourishing Life* as cited by Tanba Yukinaga’s 丹波行長 *Secret Explanation of Essentials for Protecting Life* 衛生秘要抄 (*Eisei hi yôshô*, 1288). *Ishinpô*, vol. 7, *Nihon Koten Zenshû Kai* 1935: 2822; *Eisei hi yôshô*, ZGR 31.1: 210. Compare also *Food as Materia Medica [Explained] in Japanese Poems*, HANDA 2004: 240, 264, 316.

429 Probably Ranzan does not mean the frog known by this name but the freshwater fish of the Cottidae family (*Cottus pollux* – *kajika*, Japanese fluvial sculpin – and others). The *Mirror of Foods in Our Country* gives the characters 加志加魚, which are used for their phonetic value, and identifies the fish with the 黄類魚 in the *Classification of Materia Medica*. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1613. *Honchô shokkan* 3: 380–87, 5: 158.

430 *Glycyrrhiza glabra* var. *glandulifera*.

431 *Anguilla japonica*.

432 The *Classification of Materia Medica* includes a warning against eating eel together with

- [245] Knotroot 草石蠶 (*chorogi*)⁴³³ with various [sorts of] fish.⁴³⁴
 [246] Glabrous greenbrier 土茯苓 (*sankirai*)⁴³⁵ with greens 青菜 (*aona*): tea, kelp, freshwater fish, rape 油菜 (*aburana*).⁴³⁶
 [247] Rehmannia 地黄 (*jiô*)⁴³⁷ with radish 大根 (*daikon*)⁴³⁸ or with leeks 葱 (*negi*).⁴³⁹
 [248] Globe-fish 河豚 (*fugu*)⁴⁴⁰ with soot 煤 (*susu*) one [should] avoid.⁴⁴¹
 [249] When drinking sweet wine 醴 (*amazake*) one should not enter hot [bath] water.
 [250] When eating buckwheat [noodles] one should not enter hot [bath] water.

End of Admonitions Regarding Food Consumption

the fruits of the Gingko tree. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1608. Near to Ranzan's advice is the one to be found in the *Genealogy of Fish in the Imperial [Country of] Harmony* [= Japan] 皇和魚譜 (*Kôwa gyofu*, 1838), which quotes the popular belief that eel and pickled plums (*umeboshi*) should not be combined. Cf. *Honchô shokkan* 3: 370.

- 433 *Stachys affinis* (*Stachys sieboldii*; Japanese artichoke, Crosnes-du-Japon) was cultivated for its edible root tubers since the Edo period.
- 434 The warning against eating *Stachys affinis* and fish together was already given in *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1227. It is also mentioned in Ekiken's *Yôjô kun*, EZ 3: 528.
- 435 *Smilax glabra* Roxb.
- 436 *Brassica campestris* L. (Chinese colza). According to Li Shizhen, the root of *Smilax glabra* should not be ingested together with tea. *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1033. Ekiken cites this opinion. *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 155. Later, the *Classification of Materia Medica* gives a longer list of warnings. This includes beef and mutton, chicken, fish, as well as alcohol and "excessive chamber activity" (i.e. sexual intercourse). *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1033.
- 437 *Rehmannia glutinosa* (Chinese foxglove), *Rehmannia lutea*, *Rhemannia purpurea*, *Rehmannia japonica*.
- 438 *Raphanus sativus* L. var. *acanthiformis* Makino (Japanese radish).
- 439 *Allium fistulosum* L. (Welsh onion, spring onion). For the warning against combining rehmannia with radish or leeks cf. *Bencao gangmu* 1: 892; also *Chômei eisei ron*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 2 (4): 289, 293; *Kyûmin myôyaku*, *Nihon eisei bunko* 3 (5): 206; *Yamato honzô*, EZ 6: 139; HANDA 2004: 154.
- 440 *Tetraodontidae*.
- 441 The injunction against "globe fish" and "soot" is mentioned in *Bencao gangmu* 2: 1614. The *Mirror of Foods in Our Country*, too, follows this warning and explains that one should take care against soot entering the dish when cooking the fish. The person eating it will die even if only one small soot particle has entered it. *Honchô shokkan* 4: 260.



Mummy collectors, *Meijin zoro* (c. 1700)



A mummy as shown in Gentaku's *Rokumotsu shinshi* (1786)

食事戒終

蝦に緑青 鯛に砂糖 かじかに甘草
 鰻魚に梅酢 草石蠶に諸魚
 土茯苓に青菜 茶 昆布 川魚 油菜
 地黄に大根又は葱 河豚に煤を忌
 醴を飲で湯に浴べからず
 蕎麦を食て湯に浴べからず

泥鰯に草薺 螺に昆布
 狸肉に蕎麦 麦門冬に鯛
 厚朴に昆布又は塩梅 薊に甘草
 蕎麦麩に胡桃又は西瓜又は楊梅
 甜瓜に羅摩実 蝮蛇に梅酢
 枝柿に躑躅 恭苳に胡椒
 田螺に蕃椒 素吾に砂糖

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毒世なり
 ○合食すべからざる品荒増左に記す○は大毒の印
 温飽うんぱうに西瓜すいか
 枇把びわに蟹かに
 楊梅やまももに炒豆いりまめ
 馬齒莧ばしやんに胡椒こしやう
 緑豆りくとうに樵子せうし
 鯉こゝろに胡椒こしやう又は小豆
 木瓜ぼけに梅うめ
 金柑きんかんに蕃薯さつまいも
 鱈魚うなぎに西瓜すいか○又は木瓜ぼけ○又は酢す
 商陸やまごぼうに芹せり

誰か是を毒といわん。其塩をもつて茶に投じ、
 ひとしく食ふ時は、腹中に入れて宜からざること、
 を駆て、家中に入るがごとしと、医書にみへたり。
 たとへば焰硝一味にては能することなきも、口
 薬に製すれば、炮を走しむ。平味なるものも、
 二物相ならびては、毒となること有。薬種を
 配剤して、或は補、或は瀉其功数端なる

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又病あつて湯薬を用るにも、異物奇品を好むべからず。近來は種々の異葉舶來して、木乃伊サルボウのとき蕃語を唱へ文字すら知れざるもの一二ならず。紅毛より携渡るもの殊に多し。其製其性、更に弁ふべからず。たとへ其効倍すといふとも、能々子細にすべし。神農氏百草を嘗て本草を作り、日本には少彦名命五條天神是なり医薬の

免のみは穢なしと。是らの説は、真理におめて當ざるに似たれども、世俗の意に任せて可なり。○世俗に人の好ざるものをこのんで食し、興なりとすれば、衆みな嘔物食也と嘆稱す。命をしらざるの族にして、論するに足す。すべて菌などには、名もしれざるあつて、人を傷ふこと多ければ、輕率に食ふべからず。後悔するに詮なし。

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又達生録にみへたり
 ○獣の肉を食ふこと、好べきにあらず。漢土にては、
 貴賤常に食すること、其国の風俗なれば害も
 あるべからざれども、是がゆへにや、癰を発し、
 疔を憂るもの又多し。我が日本も上古はしらず、
 今の時を以てみれば、血氣壯にして肉食する
 ものは、潔からざる血液を蓄、多く腫物を生じ、
 泥鼈白鳥を食して、頭瘡を生じ、又は逆上して
 毛髪ぬけ、疥癬を發するあり。壯年にして
 猪鹿を食し、何の害を覺ずといへども、年を経
 て癰を病もの、少からず。唯老人の足腰冷るに
 少しく用るは、又妨べからず。けだし四足をもつて
 神道に穢の日数を唱へ、諏訪明神より箸を
 うけ、食すれば、穢なしといひ、又同じ四足の肉に、

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 兎を食へば 欠唇の子を産す
 山羊の肉を食へば 子病身なり
 鶏卵 乾魚を食へば 其子瘡多し
 桑椹 鴨を食へば 倒子を産す
 雀を食し 酒を飲ばば 其子淫乱にして 恥辱こと
 なるしむ
 鶏の肉と 糯米とを食へば 其子寸白を愁ふ
 雀の肉と 豆醬を食へば 其子野黠を生ず
 籠の肉を食へば 其子頂長し
 驢肉を食へば 誕生の月を延す
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 くわのみかも くら
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の慎これにしくことなし。上つがたには其事あれども、
 下には其慎なく、乳味に化しては、諸食其毒あらず
 など、愚味の私意をもつて、食物に能毒を
 撰ず。其乳味を与へ育るゆへ、自然と病者に
 なす。小児は乳味を食として成長なす。其母
 の悪食、乳味に出すと云ことなし。胎毒を生じ、
 麻疹痘瘡軽からず。或は壯なるに従て、積聚

味は清き血液となつて身を養ふ。されば常々
 食物の慎ふかく、毎日の餉も節し、身を動ば、
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孔子をてこしき性文使えりて薬性果して
 我病に應ずるや、其宜所にいまだ達ず。かるがゆへに
 嘗すと宣ひけり。拝して受るは礼也。嘗ざるは
 病を謹給ふ也。其旨を告給ふは直也。以上は
 聖人の飲食を慎給ふ所、万世の法とすべき
 ものなり

○不正の食は都て不潔の血液を生じ、正き

むかひ給ひても、かならず祭給ふこと、齊如とつゝしみ
 給ふとあり。又食する時に語ず、寝る時に言ず、
 とて聖人は心を存して他あらず。食するに
 当て食し、寝るあたつて寝る。言語すべき
 時にあらざれば也。又孔子病ある時、魯の上卿
 季康子、使者をもつて薬を饋る。礼におよそ
 食を賜ふ時は、先嘗て後に、忝きを拝す。然に

孔子をてこしき性文使えりて薬性果して
 我病に應ずるや、其宜所にいまだ達ず。かるがゆへに
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 当て食し、寝るあたつて寝る。言語すべき
 時にあらざれば也。又孔子病ある時、魯の上卿
 季康子、使者をもつて薬を饋る。礼におよそ
 食を賜ふ時は、先嘗て後に、忝きを拝す。然に

薑を撒すして食ふとは、生姜は神明を通じ、穢を去ゆへ、常に食し給ふ。しかれども貪食するにあらず。其節にかなふゆへ、多く食すとあり。此外古人飲食にむかへば、其品毎に少許を膳のかたはらに置、往古始て人に宜しき飲食を為の人を祭て、其本を忘れざる心を表し、其後に食す。孔子も蔬食菜羹とて、魚菜の膳に

飲酒を合せ、酔を期として止べきなれば、予じめ量の限をなさず、血気を乱しむるに及ず。沽酒市脯は食すと、肉を切て乾たるを脯と云。此一条は、輕き者には及ざることなれども、孔子程の分限にては、家に酒を製らしめ、乾たる肉も、家に製するを用ひ、市に売を用ひ給す。その清潔ならず。しかも人を傷んことを恐るゝゆへ也。

煎酒を用ふ事、各其塩梅の宜處を得よし
 とす。得ざるは食ず。これらは、あへて人に害あるに
 あらねども、正しきを好んで、食物を仮初にし
 給わざるをいへる也。むかしは食物を調るに、塩と
 梅とを用ゆ。是をもつて今も塩梅の字を用るは、
 尚書説命に、若和羹を作ば、爾は惟塩梅と有。
 殷の高宗、賢臣傳説に命ぜらるゝ詞にて、羹を

調るに塩過れば、鹹。梅過れば酸。塩梅中を得て
 味をなす。臣の君に左右して補導き徳をなす
 こと、是に同じければ、これを以てたとへられし也。
 肉多しといへども、食の氣に勝しめずとは、人
 の食は穀を主にすれば、何菜の膳に向ふとも、
 其分量穀氣に勝ざるやうにする也
 唯酒は量なけれども乱に及ずとは、酒は人の為に

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酒ず。人に害あり。飲食もと其品を賞し、其味
 を樂たためにあらず。一身を養ふためなるをしら
 ざるなり
 割正しからざれば食ず。其醬を得ざれば食ずとは、
 聖人は造次にも正を離ず。切目かならず方正
 ならんことを好む。斜て切たるものを食ず。醬は
 日本にたとへば、生魚を食するに、酢味噌、あるひは

かりを削り、煮る。生煮の食物、脾胃を敗ん
 ことと恐て也。五穀の能成ざる、果実のいまだ熟
 せざる、皆時に及ざる也。穀も果の類も、其時來ら
 ざれば能成ず。克熟す。然るに商民利を競ふ
 がゆへ、我先に時ならざるを出す。人みな是を珍
 しとて求め、價貴きこと、常に倍するを厭ず。
 世俗に走ものと号して奔走す。しかも味未だ

食體して鰯魚餃て肉敗るる食ずとは、飯の
 熱濕に傷れ、魚爛肉の腐たるは、人を損故也
 色の悪きは食ず。臭の悪きは食ずとは、いまだ
 敗れざれども、或は色変じ、あるひは臭つきたるは、
 人を害せんことを恐るゝ也
 飪を失るは食ず。時ならざるは食ずとは、飪は烹調

五蔵を傷て、外にあらわるゝもの也
 ○聖人は常に食を慎給ふこと、小兒も読て知る
 べき、論語を釈すること左のごとし
 食は精を厭ずとあるは、穀を舂精ること粹き程、
 脾胃を養ふがゆへ、奢とせず。膾は細を厭ずとは、
 唐土に牛羊魚類を長て膾に製。成たけ
 細を善とす。是美食を好にあらす。人に害有

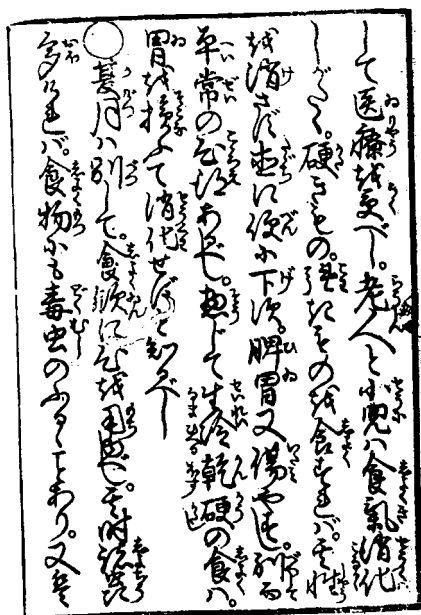
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 飪を失るは食ず。時ならざるは食ずとは、飪は烹調

是五味の五臓に尅するもの也。又酸を多く食
 ものは、肉損じ、唇掲、筋病て、小便淋閉す。
 甘ものを多く食へば、胸腹満悦し、骨病、髪
 落、肉緩り、虫動。苦を多く食へば、皮槁、毛抜、
 脾胃塞り、嘔吐せしむ。辛を多く食へば、神虚、
 心気洞になり、筋急り爪枯汗出。鹹を多く
 食へば、血脈凝滞り、顔色変り、咽渴。是五味の

温熱に食物饑やすし。不正の食俄頃人に
 傷り、吐瀉せず、即時に命を殞すこと間多し。
 又炎暑を苦むとも、猥に冷水を飲べからず。
 ○酸ものを多く食すれば、脾を傷り、甘もの
 を多く食すれば、腎を傷り、苦ものを多く
 食すれば、肺を傷り、辛ものを多く食すれば、
 肝を傷り、鹹ものを多く食すれば、心を傷る。

Admonitions Regarding Food
Consumption
§§ 8-15, pp. 170-57



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. 169: l(left) 淋閉 = とまる. 165: r(right) 清潔 = きよくいさぎよし; l 飲食 = のみものくいもの. 164: l 不潔 = いさぎよからず. 163: l 麻疹 = はしか, 痘瘡 = もがさ. 162: l 野豨 = ほ[う]りこ, 鼈 = おほがめ, 驢肉 = うさぎむま. 160: r 歎称 = ほむる, 軽率 = かるゝゝしく; l 蕃語 = 多びすことば. 159: r 木朮 = きのね, 皮 = かわ, l 鬪體 = しやれかうべ. 158: r 補 = おきなふ, 瀉 = くだす.

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
へいぜい、こころえ、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。
○夏月は別して、食飲に心を用ゆべし。其時諸蟲
多ければ、食物にも毒虫のふるゝことあり。又は