

Envisioning the Inner Body in Edo Japan: The
' 'Inshoku yojo kagami ' '(Rules of Dietary
Life) and ' 'Boji yojo kagami ' ' (Rules of
Sexual Life)

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journal or publication title	『身体観』と身体感の歴史
volume	15
page range	31-49
year	2001-03-30
URL	http://doi.org/10.15055/00003047

ENVISIONING THE INNER BODY IN EDO JAPAN: THE *INSHOKU YŌJŌ KAGAMI* (RULES OF DIETARY LIFE) AND *BŌJI YŌJŌ KAGAMI* (RULES OF SEXUAL LIFE)

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1. Two Instructional Drawings on Healthy Living

The *Inshoku yōjō kagami* (*Rules of Dietary Life*) (Figure 1) and the *Bōji yōjō kagami* (*Rules of Sexual Life*) (Figure 2) are two ukiyoe drawings presumed to have been produced around 1850 by the artist Utagawa Kunisada (1786-1864), or possibly, an understudy at his shop.

The purpose of the two annotated drawings, one of a man and the other of a woman, is explained in the notes as twofold. One was to educate viewers about the functions of the five viscera and six entrails, i.e., the principal inner organs in the traditional East Asian conception of the body. The other was to admonish them against excessive eating, drinking, and sexual intercourse. The opening paragraphs of *Rules of Dietary Life* and *Rules of Sexual Life* read, respectively, as follows:

All human beings, whether rich or poor, wise or foolish, possess in common the following viscera within the stomach. We know not the filth of our feces and urine while within the body, and though unclean when evacuated from the body, the need for both is indisputable. Meanwhile, the soiling of the body by pus from eruptions, or maladies accompanying bleeding, are all caused by unhealthy drinking and eating. We urge you to study these illustrations carefully, consume healthy food, live a long life, and build the foundation for the future prosperity of your family for generations to come. (*Rules of Dietary Life*)⁽¹⁾

To be free of illness and enjoy a long life, you must learn to exercise moderation in your drinking and eating habits, as well as in your sex life. The avoidance of excesses in drinking and eating, and an explanation of the five viscera and the six entrails, as well as of their respective functions, are provided in detail in the drawing of a man titled *Rules of Dietary Life* which was pub-

1 All quotes from *Rules of Dietary Life* and *Rules of Sexual Life* are based on the typeset version produced from the original woodblock prints, which are in handwritten form, by the Naito Kinen Kusuri Hakubutsukan. No mention is made of minor revisions made in the quotes by the writer.

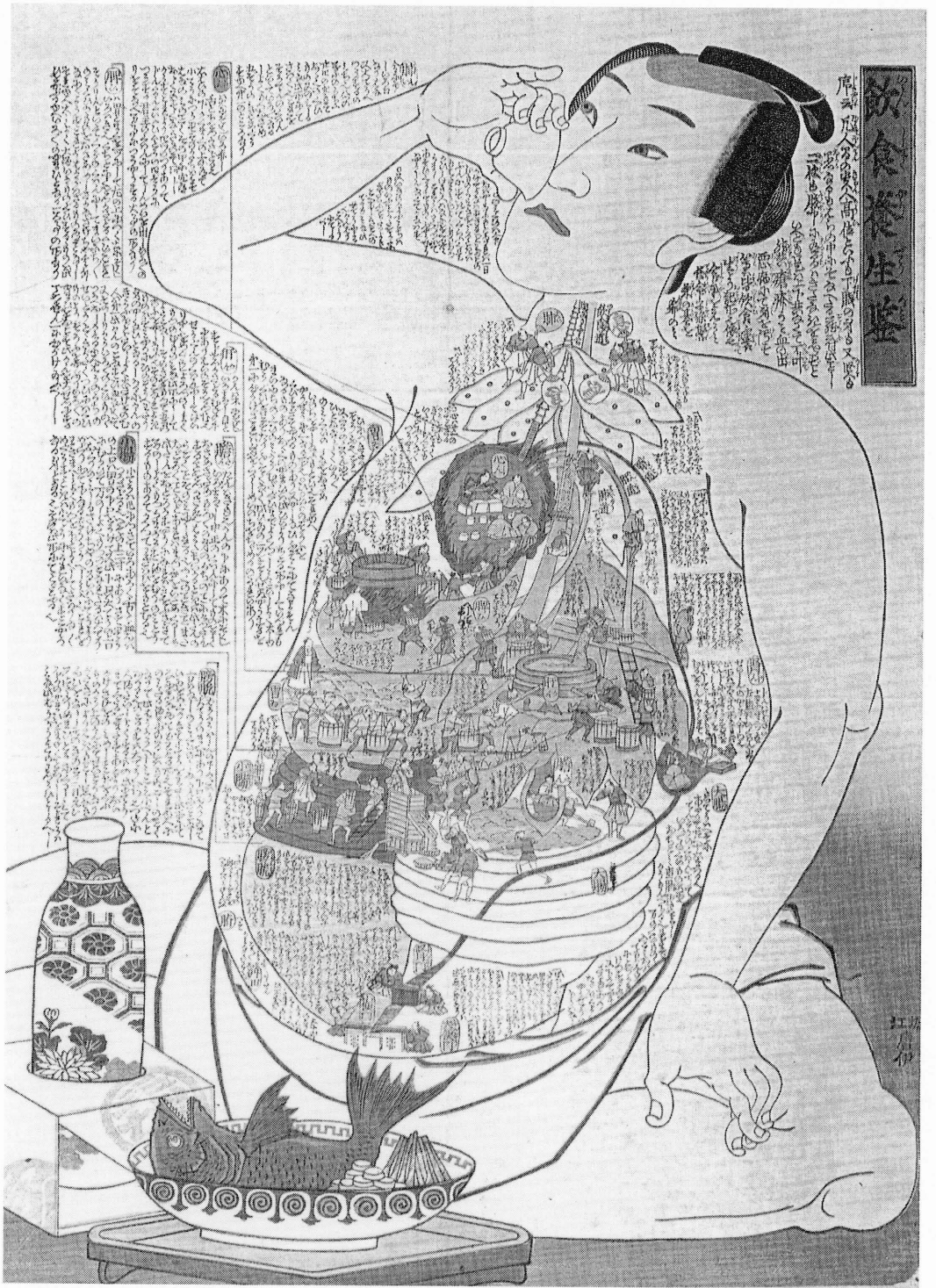


Figure 1 *Inshoku yōjō kagami* (Rules of Dietary Life), around 1850.



Figure 2 *Bōji yōjō kagami* (*Rules of Sexual Life*), around 1850.

lished earlier. We have hence focused, in this drawing of a woman, on the matter of sexual intercourse. Many are those who have suffered sickness or died young due to overindulgence in sex. In this picture we have dealt with this topic, which was left out in the drawing of the man, and have laid out the rules that should be followed by those who are overly inclined to sexual intercourse. (*Rules of Sexual Life*)

That "sickness is caused by inordinate drinking and eating" and "excessive sexual intercourse will lead to premature death" are two lessons emphasized in the *Yōjō kun* (*Lessons in Healthy Living*; 1713), written by Kaibara Ekiken, as instructions for living a healthy life.

Every person, if alive, will drink and eat every day. Hence, unless one constantly checks the appetite, one will unconsciously lapse into overeating and fall sick. There is an old saying that "evil exits from the mouth, while illness enters from the mouth." One must be always watchful of what goes in and out of the mouth. (*Lessons in Healthy Living* Vol. 3, Eating and Drinking, Part One)

One who has been strongly sexed since youth, and has lost a large part of his seminal fluid, will experience a loss of vigor in the lower part of his body, originally so robust. The roots of his five viscera (bodily constitution) will languish, and his life will definitely be short. The appetite for food and sex are the strongest desires in man, and therefore prone to indulgence. One must learn, above all, to keep these two desires under rein. Otherwise the ki of the spleen, which governs the appetite for food, and ki of the kidneys, which governs the appetite for sexual intercourse, will ebb, and efforts to supplement the loss by medicine and food will be in vain. (*Lessons in Healthy Living* Vol. 4, Sexual Continence)

Lessons in Healthy Living was a popular book, widely read by the general public during the Edo period. Hence the two lessons, echoed in the two drawings, were undoubtedly quite familiar to most readers.

The themes of this pair of drawings are also the human desires for drinking and eating, and for sexual intercourse. One shows a man drinking sake, holding a goblet in his hand. The other shows a woman, apparently a courtesan, holding a tobacco pipe to her mouth. The ingenuity of the drawings lies in their being contrived to permit the reader to view the interior organs of the body as if by magic sight. The explanatory notes on the internal organs are divided among the two

drawings to avoid overlapping. The notes in the *Rules of Dietary Life* deal with the five viscera and the five entrails⁽²⁾, along with the esophagus and the windpipe. Those in the *Rules of Sexual Life* deal with the nipples, the breasts, menstruation, and the womb. The explanations on the entrails are generally the concepts held by *kampō* (Japanese traditional medicine rooted in Chinese teachings) doctors of that time, although they deviate somewhat from the medical texts. These deviations may in fact reflect the popular understanding on the subject at that time. For example, the following is the explanation given on the heart.

Among the five natural elements, the heart belongs to fire, and its color is red. It governs the tongue and the mouth. It is located below the right lung lobe, and above the diaphragm, and is in an obverse and reverse relationship with the small intestine. Its shape is like the bud of a lotus flower, and has holes inside. The number of holes differs for each person. Four vessels lead out of the heart and connect to the kidney, the liver, the stomach, and the spleen. The heart is a crucial organ, being the ruler of all organs, and the seat of spiritual activities, sending out orders in every direction, and acting as judge on all matters. (*Rules of Dietary Life*)

The wording of this quotation is almost identical to that of the article on the "Heart" included in *Wakan sansai zue* (*Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia*; 1713) compiled by Terashima Ryōan:

The heart is the ruler of all organs and is the seat of spiritual activities. It is located below the lungs, above the diaphragm, and attached to the fifth vertebra. The heart houses the source of, and is the root of, all activities of life. It has the shape of a large ball, and resembles the bud of a lotus flower. It has holes inside, but the number of holes differs for each person. It is through these holes that the heart takes in the divine *ki* of heaven. It has a total of four vessels, connected respectively to the liver, the kidneys, the lungs, and the spleen. (*Illustrated Encyclopedia* Vol. 11, Acupuncture Tracts)

It was the publication of the *Illustrated Encyclopedia* that had made possible the wide public dissemination of the *Gozō roppu zu* ("Five Viscera and Six Entrails drawing") (Figure 3)⁽³⁾. In turn, this had inspired the "see-through five viscera and

2 Properly speaking, the reference is traditionally to the "Five Viscera and Six Entrails." However, since one of the entrails, called *sansho*, exists in name in only and has no form, it is not shown in the drawing.

3 See Sakai Shizu, "17 / 18 seiki no Nihon-jin no shintaikan," in Yamada Keiji and Kuriyama Shigehisa eds. *Rekishi no naka no yamai to igaku* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1997), 434-5.

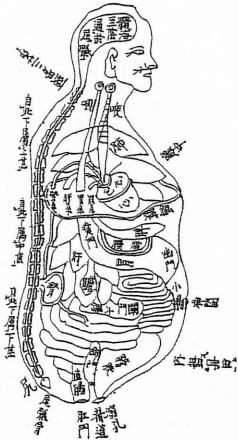


Figure 3 *Wakan sansai zue* (Illustrated Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia; nickname Illustrated Encyclopedia), *Keirakubu, Gozō roppu zu* ("Five Viscera and Six Entrails drawing"), Terashima Ryōan, 1713.

11 years. The second volume of the book included a drawing titled "*Inmon no uchi no makufuku wo muko yori miru sama*" (Interior of the Female Genitalia as Viewed from the Opposite Side) (Figure 4). The drawing includes the names and sketches of the ovaries and Fallopian tubes not known to kampō. Moreover, there is an annotation in the upper right corner of the drawing stating that the drawing was produced in the manner of the *Kaitai shinsho* (*The New Anatomy*; 1774), a Japanese translation of a Dutch book on anatomy. There can be no doubt about the influence on ukiyoe of *The New Anatomy* and other Western medical publications.

The Rules of Life drawings, then, were meant to instruct readers in the workings of the various internal organs of the human body and to caution them against overindulgence in food, drink and sex. The discussion of the internal organs incorporated knowledge not only from kampō medicine but also from Western anatomy. Moreover, the drawings were contrived to allow the readers to peer inside a living human body. They are interesting drawings that even we can still enjoy today.

However, the drawings do not merely offer precepts for healthy living. Ukiyoe drawings were an art form produced and supported by the populace of large cities, particularly of Edo, and were dependent on general public demand. Planned

six entrails drawings" contrived for the two *Rules of Life* drawings. The impact of these drawings was to show up shortly in later ukiyoe publications. For example, in one of the ukiyoe drawings by Nishikawa Sukenobu in his collection titled *Hyakunin jorō shinasadame* (*Grading the 100 Courtesans*), published ten years later in 1723, a see-through drawing of the viscera depicts a courtesan asleep facing upward.

In the male figure of the two *Rules of Life* drawings, the internal organs are depicted and explained according to the popularly accepted concepts of kampō medicine. In the female figure, however, organs not known to kampō, such as the ovaries and Fallopian tubes, are explained and shown. These are clearly based on Western medical knowledge.

Keisai Eisen (1791-1848) published the first volume of a sex manual series titled *Makura bunko* (*Pillow Library*) in 1822. Subsequent volumes followed, up to the fourth, over the next

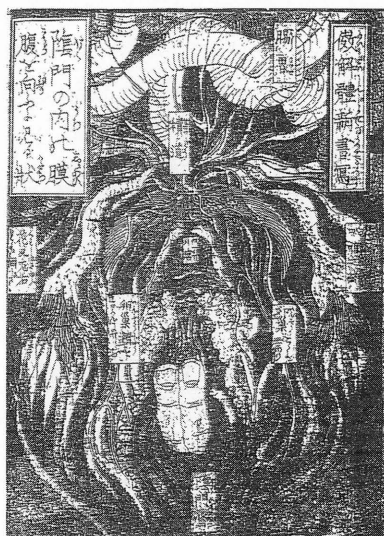


Figure 4 *Makura bunko* (*Pillow Library*), Vol. 2, Interior of the Female Genitalia as Viewed from the Opposite Side, Keisai Eisen, 1822-32.

or an imitation of the same drawing included in the third volume of Eisen's *Pillow Library* (Figure 5). The attempt to depict the internal organs of the body had thus already been made in sex manuals.

The contrivance in the two *Rules of Life* drawings, however, did not end there. Miniature sketches of people at work can be seen in them, performing the tasks believed to be that of each organ. By observing the work being carried out by the people, one could understand the organ's function.

The "Five Viscera and Six Entrails drawing" is an anatomical drawing originating in Chinese traditional medicine. The author of *Rules of Life* drawings converted this drawing into an educational device in physiology for explaining the functions of the internal organs of the living human body.

The men in *Rules of Dietary Life* are shown engaged in a variety of tasks. For example, at the Heart, identified as the ruler of all organs, a town magistrate

and produced for profit, they had to appeal to the sentiment and curiosity of the man in the street. Let us examine how the drawings sought to meet this need.

2. Picturing the Interior of the Body as Living Space

The artist of *Rules of Dietary Life* and *Rules of Sexual Life* presents the internal organs of the body as they might be observed by a viewer endowed with magic sight. The original picture from which these drawings were derived was probably the "Five Viscera and Six Entrails drawing" (Figure 3) in the *Illustrated Encyclopedia*. However, the immediate source may have been either Nishikawa Sukenobu's drawing of a courtesan asleep facing upward in his 100 *Courtesans* collection,



Figure 5 *Makura bunko* (*Pillow Library*), Vol. 3, Keisai Eisen, 1822-32.

appears to be speaking to his subordinate.

Magistrate: The heart is the most important organ in the body. It must keep careful watch over the entire body, and ensure the smooth flow of drinks and food, to avoid any stagnancy from arising. My problem is that the owner of this body is inclined to excessive drinking and eating, and I am truly at a loss as to how I should deal with this situation. Subordinate: Indeed, sire, your concern is truly justified.

At the lungs, a group of men are using large fans to send ki out from, or bring ki in to, the body. At the spleen, men are carrying food in buckets to a large cauldron placed over a fire. At the liver, several men are pushing a large millstone, grinding food into powder. These sketches of men at work illustrate daily scenes in the life of a large city, presumably familiar to the author.

In *Rules of Sexual Life* women are at work. At the heart, the proprietress of a brothel is leafing through a notebook, and chiding one of the courtesans, "I see that your patron has not been showing up recently." At the lungs, sketches of a blower and a fan are shown. At the spleen, women are cooking, with a pot set over a fire. At the liver, women are cutting, grinding, pounding and sifting foodstuff. The aged as well as the young are shown, so the scene must be that of the kitchen inside a large house. In other words, an additional feature of the *Rules of Life* drawings was that they depicted the functions of the internal organs as familiar scenes inside the home and at the workplace.

This scheme, again, was not an innovation of the author of the *Rules of Life*. Already in the *kibyōshi* (Yellow Cover) booklets⁴, the scheme of likening the interior of the body to a living space, and representing the various functions of the organs by the tasks being performed together with dialogue, of the people in the illustrations, had been adopted. *Jūshi keisei hara no uchi* (14 Courtesans inside the Abdomen; 1793) written by Shiba Zenko and illustrated by Kitao Shigemasa, was probably the first successful effort in this direction, citing Ryōan's *Illustrated Encyclopedia* and numerous medical texts. The title of the booklet was a play on the similar-sounding title of a medical work of a famous Chinese doctor of the Yuan Dynasty. An expository tome on this latter work was published by Okamoto Ippōshi entitled *Jūshi keiraku hakki wage* (Exposition in Japanese of the Chinese medical classic titled *Deployment of the 14 Acupuncture Tracts*; 1693). It is said that it was

4 Yellow Cover booklets were illustrated booklets with a yellow cover published from 1775 to 1806 in Edo. During this 31 year period, more than 2,000 of these booklets were published. They are said to have been the most popular type of literature during the Edo period. The illustrators for these booklets were top class ukiyoe artists.

from this tome that the inspiration for the title of the 14 Courtesans booklet was derived⁵.

In *14 Courtesans*, the interior of the body of a courtesan is likened to the store of a merchant, with the heart being the proprietress, and the other internal organs its employees, client traders, etc. For example, the liver is head clerk, the kidneys the water merchant, the lungs the prostitutes, the spleen and stomach the delicatessen shop, and so forth. The imaginary worm causing colic, the worms causing anger, phlegm, fire, etc., are all personified, and when the courtesan deviates from the regimen of healthy living, they go on a rampage, taking their toll on her health.

The analogies used in the two *Rules of Life* and the *14 Courtesans* differ. In the *Rules of Dietary Life* the function of the spleen is depicted by a large cauldron placed over a fire, and the boiling of food in the cauldron for preparation into a meal. On the other hand, in the *14 Courtesans*, it is represented by men pounding and threshing rice.

Hi-zo (Spleen) and I-zo (Stomach), the two young hands of the Hi-I (Spleen-and-Stomach) household, are pounding food into pieces (digesting food) in the manner of rice threshing, and handing them over to the Large Intestine and Small Intestine. That part which descends into the Large Intestine exits as feces, and that part which descends into the Small Intestine exits as urine. This process is similar to the threshing in Edo of brown rice delivered from Kyoto. Spleen and Stomach are panting "Hi-i, Hi-i," (a common Japanese cry of anguish) while at work. This is why workers pant "Hi-i, Hi-i" when engaged in strenuous work.

Stomach: Now I'll have to digest the seed of a pickled ume swallowed whole as well as two legs from an octopus.

Spleen: I digested yesterday's dumpling quickly, but today's *botanmochi* (rice cake) is taking me a long time. Perhaps it's because some non glutinous rice got mixed into it. (*14 Courtesans*)

The Spleen and Stomach are digesting a variety of foodstuff, while panting "Hi-i, Hi-i" in exhaustion. The hard work that is caused by the master's excessive drinking and eating is depicted in *Rules of Dietary Life* as well.

Spleen: Recently, he (the owner of this body) is eating continuously, both day and night. I don't even have time to get a decent amount of sleep.

5 See explanatory remarks in the article on *fūshi keisei hara no uchi* included in *Edo no gesaku ehon* (Vol. 4), Gendai Kyōyō Bunko, Shakai Shiso Sha.

Stomach: We're working so hard, but he (the owner of the body) doesn't give a bit of thought to us. I really don't know what we can do. (*Rules of Dietary Life*)

Although the analogies differ, the attempt to explain the functions of the internal organs of the body by citing familiar scenes from daily life remains the same.

14 Courtesans won wide acclaim, and was referred to as one of the 23 best Yellow Cover booklets in *Kusazōshi kojitsuke nendaiki* (*A Distorted Chronicle of Illustrated Storybooks*; 1802), written and illustrated by Shikitei Samba. In 1799, Jippen-sha Ikku published a booklet titled *Hara no uchi yōjō shuron* (*Guiding Principles for Health in the Abdomen*). The entire scheme of this booklet had been borrowed from *14 Courtesans* the only change being that of discarding the courtesan theme. Indeed, Kaibara Ekiken, the famous author of *Lessons in Healthy Living* appears in a dream to guide the reader in the activities taking place inside the body. The format of utilizing familiar scenes in city and residential living space to represent the interior of the body is followed in this booklet as well.

Another booklet born from a similar inspiration adopts a slightly different setup. Written by Santō Kyōden and illustrated by Utagawa Kuninao, the title of the booklet is *Fukuchū meisho zue* (*Illustrated Guide to Principal Sights in the Abdomen*; 1794). During his sleep, the author Kyōden observes Shen Nong, mythical emperor and founder of Chinese pharmacology, stepping out from a copy of the *Bencaoshu*, the canonical text of traditional Chinese medication. Kyōden sets out on a trip to visit the various internal organs of the body, accompanied by a sturdy youth called Dai-ō (Big Yellow), the name of an herbal medication effective for stomach and intestinal problems. In the center of the body Yoku-no-kawa (the River of Desire) is flowing, pictured as the site for hope and desire, where the Zenihasu (money-lotus) blossom is shown flourishing.

To summarize, we can probably say that the unique feature of the *Rules of Dietary Life* and *Rules of Sexual Life* drawings was in their fusion of two formats already in use. The two formats were those of the see-through body displaying the internal organs, and that of explaining the functions of the various internal organs in the form of familiar scenes from the living space of cities and households. Let us now examine of the reasons why people flocked to the see-through pictures of internal organs, and why the functions of internal organs were likened to scenes from the living space of cities and households.

3. See-through Illustrations of the Body's Interior

The increased demand for see-through illustrations of internal bodily organs was probably related to the rise in popularity of anatomy among the general public.

In 1754, Yamawaki Tōyō performed the anatomical dissection of a corpse, the first in Japanese history, and examined the internal organs of the body. In 1759, he published the results of his observations in a book titled *Zōshi (Record of the Viscera)*. This dissection having established a precedent, a flood of dissections followed, and anatomical knowledge in Japan took a quantum leap ahead. With the publication in 1774 of *The New Anatomy* a translation of a Dutch anatomy book, popular interest in anatomical drawings entered a new stage.

In 1775, the year after the publication of *The New Anatomy Koikawa Harumachi* succeeded in establishing the Yellow Cover Booklet as a new genre in Edo literature. The publication of such Yellow Cover booklet as *14 Courtesans (1793)*, *Illustrated Guide (1794)* and *Guiding Principles (1799)* testify to the rise in interest of the general public in internal organs and the interior of the human body. However, the authors of the Yellow Cover booklets did not depict the internal organs as if dissecting a corpse and observing the entrails, or showing the contents of a book on anatomy. Instead they arranged to show the interior of the body in see-through form.

Koganeyama Fukuzō jikki (The Real Life of Koganeyama Fukuzō; 1778), a Yellow Cover booklet written by Hayashi Sei and illustrated by Torii Kiyotsune. It is written as a fictional biography of Fukuzō, a child of mixed blood born between the head of the Dutch trading outpost in Nagasaki and a courtesan of the red-light district. Before sailing away from Nagasaki, the father leaves with his son two instruments. One is an odd-looking instrument with glass lenses (Dutch eyeglass). By placing one end of the instrument on the navel, one could see through the body and observe the internal organs of a person. The author has Fukuzō saying "I can see the complete setup of the five viscera and the six entrails." The author also remarks that "The navel is the hole that Nature has provided so that the structure and working of the internal organs of the body can be observed." The scheme of this booklet is the observation of the "interior makeup of the abdomen", i.e., "the structure and working of the five viscera and six entrails" by using a Dutch eyeglass, which appears to be a telescope. This Yellow Cover booklet was published a mere four years after the publication of *The New Anatomy* and only three years after the establishment of Yellow Cover booklets as a new genre of literature. The vigor of the author's curiosity, and the topicality of Yellow Cover booklets, are indeed impressive.

The idea of using a telescope or microscope to peek into the soul, or observe by see-through the interior of the abdomen, is a contrivance used repeatedly in

publications appearing after the *Life of Fukuzō. Ningen issjin nozoki karakuri* (*A Device for Peeping into People's Souls*), published in 1794, was written by Shikitei Samba and illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni. The principal in this story receives from a God called Ikichon Daitōjin (literally translated, this name means 'gallant playboy') a strange gift unfathomable by human intellect. The gift is in fact a telescope called *fukumei-kyō* (Soul Clarifying Mirror), by which the inside of the soul can be observed.

The scheme for *Hara no uchi gesaku no tanehon* (*Source book for Frivolous Literature in the Abdomen*) (1811), written and illustrated by Shikitei Samba is similar. Here, a microscope for peering into the soul, as well as into the activities of the five viscera and six entrails, is involved.

Samba: Since you are a good friend, I'll show you my *hara-no-uchi* (the inside of my abdomen, i.e., my soul). Can you see it clearly? You are probably dying to look inside the abdomen of your favorite courtesan, when she is enticing you with such words as "If my heart were a bamboo, I would break it open and show it, just to you!"

Guest: Of course I can see it (the inside of your abdomen). And very clearly too. I can see last evening's Tempura, shed of all its crust, hanging down inside the stomach. And it is causing a big commotion, angered by a piece of salted radish, which has gotten entangled with it at the top. Your *hara-no-uchi* (the inside of your abdomen) is in a state of chaotic uproar because of the skirmish.

The comicality of this dialogue lies in the characters speaking at cross-purposes with one another. Samba is speaking about the soul, whereas the guest is speaking of the digestive organs of the body, observed with the help of the microscope.

As can be judged from this conversation, the confusion arose between Samba and the guest because of the two distinct meanings in which the Japanese term *hara-no-uchi* ("inside the abdomen") was being used. One meaning was "the soul." The other was "the five viscera and six entrails," i.e., the internal organs of the body.

In Chinese traditional medicine, as well as in *kampō* medicine derived from it, the soul was believed to reside in the five viscera. Apart from a small number of scholars engaged in Dutch studies, there was virtually no perception among *kampo* doctors or the common populace during the Edo period, of the brain being the abode of consciousness and memory. Prior to the Meiji Restoration, when concepts of Western medicine became widely disseminated among the general public of

Japan, the seat of the soul was considered to be the heart and other viscera making up the five viscera ⁽⁶⁾. Hence, when one spoke of peeking "inside the abdomen," the first meaning of the expression was that of peeking into the soul.

For instance, *Hara no uchi nozoki karakuri* (*Device for Peeking inside the Abdomen*; 1826), written by Nansensho Somahito and illustrated by Shunsai Eisho, was a book about the behavior of the soul, not about the working of internal organs. The illustration shown on the book cover is that of a microscope. But under the microscope, there is a sheet with the Chinese character for "soul" written on it, placed there for inspection.

On the other hand, if it is stated that a telescope is used to observe the setup of "the five viscera and six entrails," or to examine "the structure of the abdomen," what is referred to can be construed as the observation, by see-through illustration, of the structure and functions of the internal organs of the body.

The expression "inside the abdomen" (Five Viscera and Six Entrails) can normally be understood as conveying both of the above meanings concurrently. And that is an indication of what the authors of the Yellow Cover booklets sought to convey. What they sought to write about and to illustrate were, on the one hand, the workings of the invisible soul of people, and on the other hand, the hidden structure and functions of the five viscera and six entrails. Moreover, for them, there was no essential distinction between the two. In *Hitogokoro nozoki karakuri* (*Human Soul Peeking Device*) (1814), written and illustrated by Shikitei Samba, the structure of the entire story is likened to that of a peeking machine, and both the inside and outside of the human soul is shown. In his preface, the author asserts:

Nature can be likened to a giant machine-work built by the creator. Device such as the Dutch eyeglasses are minuscule in comparison. The organization of society, and the people who live there, can be likened to a puppet stage and puppets manipulated by Shintoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. Here again, the puppet shows of master puppet craftsman Takeda Omi are minuscule in comparison. Joy, anger, sorrow and happiness all take place as manipulated by the strings, and high and low, rich and poor, likewise determined by the turning of the cogwheels. (*Human Soul Peeking Device*)

In this preface, the giant machine-work of living Nature is compared with the small device of lifeless Dutch eyeglasses. Similarly, the constantly changing human society is likened to a huge puppet stage, and human beings in varying states of joy, sorrow, success and destitution are likened to puppets on the puppet

6 See Sakai note 3 above.

craftsman's small stage. In this work, the author himself is the machine peering into the apparent and the true souls of real living persons.

In sum, the reason why the author of the two *Rules of Life* drawings had adopted the scheme of showing the internal organs in see-through form, and why this was readily accepted by the populace, was probably this. It was because of the widespread curiosity and desire of the people to peer into the souls of real-life human beings, as well as into the structure and workings of the internal organs (five viscera and six entrails) of the body. As if testifying to the public craving for peeping, there are many ukiyoe drawings of telescopes. There are also a considerable number of Yellow Cover booklets devoted to the "eyeglass" theme, such as telescopes, microscopes, mirrors, and the like.

Sakaemasu megane no toku (*The Virtue of Eyeglasses Enhancing Prosperity*) (1790), written by Koikawa Yukimachi and illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi, is about a poor man named Kohemon who comes to Edo to try his fortune. Over time, Kohemon becomes a rich man. Becoming bored with the traditional type of eyeglasses, he invents many new kinds of eyeglasses to permit the observation of unusual phenomena. His store comes to carry every variety of eyeglasses to satisfy the needs of his customers. In this Yellow Cover booklet, all sorts of imaginary eyeglasses, metaphors of the multitudinous desires of the public, are depicted.

Many of the "eyeglasses" (a term that also encompassed telescopes and microscopes) described in the Yellow Cover booklets conferred supernatural vision on the user. By using these wonder-working eyeglasses, one could view rare and new images, impossible to observe in actual life. To that end, new types of "Dutch eyeglasses," innovative and imaginary, were constantly being invented and illustrated.

4. Drawings Expressing the Conception of the Human Body

The *Rules of Life* drawings depict the interior of the human body by likened it to the living space of city life, and illustrate the different functions of the internal organs by daily tasks being performed on the streets and in the households. This is not particularly remarkable, since the same format was already in use by the Yellow Cover booklets, and the market for ukiyoe drawings was primarily the general populace of the cities. Moreover, since analogy is the likening of an object to another object, the analogy chosen, be it person or scenery, is always changed to fit the times and adapted to objects familiar in the daily lives of the people. Hence it may be sufficient just to note that the choice of analogies by the author and illustrator of the *Rules of Life* drawings was excellent. However, many analogies were chosen from classical tales and poetry. It would thus seem appropriate to examine whether, apart from the anatomical drawings, specific concepts on the image of the interior of the body existed, in the case of the *Rules of Life* drawings as well.

Generally, the human body is likened to *tenchi* (heaven and earth, nature, macrocosm). In his book *Isetsu* (*Medical Discourses*; no date), Takuan (1573-1645), a Zen Buddhist monk versed in medicine, explains:

Man is a microcosm (*shō-tenchi*) within the macrocosm (*tenchi*). In other words, man is a small macrocosm. Macrocosm and microcosm can be compared to a layered, round container made up of nine layers. Though there is a difference in size, they make up the same container, and if the outside container revolves, the inside container also revolves. Although man's body is small, its character is no different than the macrocosm. When the macrocosm revolves, the four seasons of spring, summer, autumn and winter revolve. Similarly, in man's body, the *ki* and blood revolve, and the pulse corresponding to each season manifests itself, with the pulse floating in spring, and sinking in winter. The reason why the head of man is round is because heaven is round. The reason why man has four limbs is because the earth is square, and has four sides.

In his *Tansuishi* (1688), Nagoya Gen'i (1628-96), an important figure in Japanese medical history, expresses similar ideas:

Question by pupil: You have written elaborate and scrupulous expositions on classical medical texts. You have also advanced the theory that exposure to cold is the cause of all sickness, and have promoted body-warming drugs such as cinnamon and aconite as the cure. However, in some cases, the patient is not cured. Why does this happen?

Answer by Nagoya Gen'i: The extreme cold of winter cannot halt the growth of wheat. The savage heat of summer cannot melt the ice on the snow-covered peak. Man is a microcosm. It is natural that some things in the body cannot be melted, as in the case of ice on the snow-covered peak.

That the human body is a microcosm in one-to-one correspondence with the macrocosm of heaven and earth, has been a broadly accepted concept since antiquity in China ⁽⁷⁾. *The Huangdi neijing* (*Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*), a canonical classic of Chinese medicine, is essentially based on the same concept. In Japan, this was also probably the view held by a relatively large number of intellectuals capable of reading Chinese. Was this the view of the general public as well? As a matter of fact, this concept was introduced in the *Illustrated Encyclopedia*:

7 See for instance, *Huainanzi*, "Jingshenxun," and *Chunqiu fanlu*, "Renfu tianshu pian," both of the Former Han Dynasty.

The human body is similar to the macrocosm. For instance, the head can be viewed as heaven, feet as earth, bones as rocks, conduits as pathways, hair as grass and trees, two eyes as sun and moon, blood as sea water, the two human wastes as rain, perspiration as dew, etc. Our ancestors also spoke broadly in the same vein. (*Illustrated Encyclopedia* Vol. 12)

I pointed out earlier that the popularization of the "Five Viscera and Six Entrails drawing" had been made possible by the publication of the *Illustrated Encyclopedia*. The idea of the human body as microcosm is also likely to have been popularized, to about the same extent, by this work. Ryōan elaborates the above quotation with further analogies:

To take another example, let us make the same comparison with a house... the head can be viewed as the ridge, feet as foundation, bones as pillars, flesh as walls, conduits as ropes, hair as roof tiles, mouth as gate, eyes as windows, blood as well water, bladder as water duct, lungs as entrance hall, large intestine as back door, small intestine as kitchen, kidneys as gold and silver, spleen and stomach as rice grain, and heart the proprietor. Rice grain is a daily necessity, while gold and silver are the foundation of a household's wealth. It is natural for those who are wasteful of these items to die before their time. (*Illustrated Encyclopedia* Vol. 12)

In the Yellow Cover booklets and in the two *Rules of Life* drawings, an analogy was drawn between the human body and housing space, and the functions of the internal organs were likened to the functions of items and doings familiar to us in daily life. They also provided guidance on the maintenance of good health. These were schemes pioneered by Ryōan's encyclopedia and were therefore either widely known, or at least widely knowable, at that time.

Were there other drawings of the interior of the body employing analogies similar to those of the *Illustrated Encyclopedia*? Regrettably, I know of none, except for a number of Yellow Cover booklets referred to earlier such as *14 Courtesans*, *Illustrated Guide*, etc., and the two *Rules of Life* drawings. However, if we do not insist on analogies similar to those applied by Terashima Ryōan, there are other drawings of imagined interiors of the body, such as the Daoist drawings.

An illustration known as the *Daoist Body Drawing* is included in the *Xiuzhen jiuzhuan dandao tu*, a volume kept by the Yoshida Collection of the Tenri Library. It is one of a series of images illustrating the *naitan* (inner alchemy) process⁽⁸⁾. The original is presumed to have been made in China during the Ming dynasty, and copied in Japan (possibly during the Muromachi period). The special feature of this

drawing is that important parts of the body such as the three *tanden* (vital centers) are pictured as palaces and towers. The residents of the palaces are gods, i.e., the gods reigning over the interior of the body.

Chinese Daoism views the body as the composite union of an infinite number of gods and *ki* ⁽⁹⁾. Alternatively, the human body is viewed as a self-contained world of gods, complete in itself. In that world, the various organs of the body represent the palaces, towers, and palace gates, where the gods respectively reside, and preside over the numerous activities of human life ⁽¹⁰⁾. This conception of the body appears already in early Daoist scriptures ⁽¹¹⁾, and a variety of drawings reflecting it have been produced in subsequent years. The *Daoist Body Drawing* can be deemed as clear evidence of the transfer of this Daoist notion of the body into Japan. Nevertheless, during the Edo period, when the Neo-Confucian traditions of Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming were firmly established as official orthodoxy, the Daoist conception of the body appears to have had little impact in Japan.

On the other hand, there is an example of a mixture of the Daoist conception of the body and Buddhist beliefs having gained acceptance among the common folk. This was the Daoist theory of the *sanshi*, which was incorporated in the belief in *kōshin*. According to this belief, there are three worms (the *sanshi*) in the human body from the time of birth. Every sixty days, on the day of *kōshin*, the *sanshi* are required to report the evil doings of their master to the god governing his life span. However, the *sanshi* could leave a person's body only when asleep. Consequently, people would get together and stay awake all night on the day of *kōshin* to keep these spies from leaving their bodies to report to the gods. The belief in *kōshin* began to spread to the provinces from the middle of the fifteenth century onward, and by the start of the Edo period, it had reached virtually every nook of the entire country ⁽¹²⁾.

The theory of *sanshi*, the core concept of the belief in *kōshin*, first appeared in *Baopuzi* written by Ge Hong, a Daoist active in the fourth century. In that volume, the *sanshi* were described as "formless demonic deities" or "demonic deities in human form." In Chinese literature around the tenth century ⁽¹³⁾, the *sanshi* were illustrated as gods or demons.

8 All information regarding this drawing is based on the report delivered (July 30, 1999) by Ishida Hidemi at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies as part of the research project on the "Cultural History of the Body: Pictorial Perspectives."

9 Ishida Hidemi, *Ki -- nagarerushintai* (Tokyo: Hirakawa shuppansha, 1987), Chapter 3.

10 Mugitani Kunio, "Kōtei naikeikei shiron," *Tōyō bunka* 62, Tokyo Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo.

11 For instance, *Taiping jing* (Latter Han Dynasty, with some alterations made in later periods), *Baopuzi*, "Dizhen pian" (circa 317), *Huangting neijing jing* (between end of 4th and beginning of 5th centuries), etc.

12 Kubo Noritada, *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū - Nitchū shūkyū bunka kōryūshi*, Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1961.

13 Anonymous, *Taishang chusanshijuchong baosheng jing* (end of the Tang Dynasty to the Five Dynasties Period).

The theory of sanshi that took root in Japan was a version fully adapted to Japanese culture and Buddhist teachings. Briefly, the conception of the human body was as follows. There were 900 million worms inside the human body, and sanshi were their Shogun. The inside of the human body was conceived as a world in which worms of human shape, demon shape and worm shape lived together. The worms referred to here were not merely parasites. Of course they did in part possess that character, but they also possessed the character of demonic deities. The higher ranking demonic deities were imagined as having human shape. Of the three Shi, the Upper Shi caused the person's desire for material goods, the Middle Shi the desire for drink and food, and the Lower Shi the desire for sexual intercourse. The three Shi were born together with the person, and hence were original components of the person. Thus those who were born into this world, and continued to maintain their bodies, could not avoid maintaining the three Shi as basic constituents of the body.

The Japanese conception of the body, based on the theory of sanshi, was a modified version of the Chinese Daoist conception of the body. The common people of the Edo period imagined an infinite number of worms residing in the body and governed by the sanshi as Shogun. The worms manipulated their desires, and were involved in the activities of their bodily organs. The image of the interior of the body was thus not limited to that provided by the medical profession. The Zen Buddhist monk Takuan states in his book *Kottōroku* (1644) "The birth of worms inside the body is like the birth of human beings in nature. It is a natural event. If worms are considered a disease for the human body, then human beings are a disease for nature."

In the two *Rules of Life* drawings, you may recall the miniature people toiling inside the body. They are shown as industrious urban workers, complaining about the laxity of the lifestyle of the proprietor of the body, who is indulging himself in lavish drinking and eating as well as in sex. The miniature people are true to their knowledge of healthy living and medical teachings. In contrast, the master of the body tends to be swayed easily by his desires for drink, food, and sexual pleasure.

In the *Rules of Life* drawings, there is no clear evidence of influence from the Daoist conception of the body, nor from the theory of sanshi. However, the theme of drinking and eating, along with sex, being the strongest desires of human beings, and the need to control those desires, is common to both. In addition, the theory of sanshi teaches that, although the 900 million worms led by the sanshi as Shogun, are all capable of causing disease in the body, they will do no harm if the person leads an ethically correct life, and cultivates the body and soul.

Every person lives in a specific age and a specific society, bearing on his or her shoulders a specific cultural tradition. The image of the body, and that of the interi-

or of the body, that he or she carries in the mind, is influenced by history and culture, and is a composite product.

From the mid-15th century through the end of the Edo period, the theory of *sanshi*, included in the belief on *Kōshin*, was widely accepted among the common people. After entering the 18th century, Chinese medical knowledge and anatomical drawings became available through such publications as Kaibara Ekiken's *Lessons in Healthy Living*, and Terashima Ryōan's *Illustrated Encyclopedia*. As sex manuals, Yellow Cover booklets, and ukiyoe publications, incorporated and disseminated the newly acquired medical knowledge, the medical conception of the body gradually became the common sense view among the men in the street. It is my view that at least these two conceptions and images of the human body coexisted in the minds of the populace during the Edo period. The two *Rules of Life* drawings can be viewed as the product of bringing these two together into one. And at the same time, they were contrived to satisfy the curiosity and desires of the people, by allowing them to "peek" inside the body for exotic and novel images and information.

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