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INTRODUCTION

Sir Henry Wellcome (1853-1936), the founder of the Wellcome Trust, left at his death a superb collection of books and manuscripts relating to medicine which is now preserved in the Wellcome Library in London. Although he had a keen interest in China, which is reflected in the substantial collection of Chinese materials, he never made any systematic efforts to acquire Japanese books and manuscripts. The pre-modern Japanese collection that he left at his death included both medical and non-medical books, and the entire collection was described by me in a catalogue which was published in 1997. The present catalogue includes all the medical and scientific items from the earlier catalogue, together with a number of important and rare Japanese medical books acquired over the last twenty years. Some of these came from the collection of Richard C. Rudolph, the founder of Asian studies at the University of California Los Angeles, and they were bought when the collection was sold. These items contain impressions of Rudolph’s personal seal, which reads Ludefu 魯德福, a rendering of his name in Chinese characters.

This catalogue, like its predecessor, provides a full English description for each item together with a Japanese bibliographic description which conforms to the principles used in the catalogue of the Cambridge University Library collections. The books listed here are divided into a small number of categories that correspond with cataloguing practices in Japan, and within each category they are listed in chronological order.

The English descriptions contain some technical terms relating to the various forms of writing used in Japan. It will be helpful to explain them at the outset, for they have a bearing on the projected audience for each work:

*kanbun*: this term refers to literary Chinese written in Chinese characters. In the case of expert Japanese writers, it differs not at all from mainland literary Chinese but many Japanese writers departed in various ways from the standard. Texts printed in *kanbun* in Japan usually come equipped with *kunten* (see below) to enable Japanese readers to ‘decode’ the text and read it as Japanese.

*kunten*: these are small diacritics and additional Japanese inflections attached to texts in literary Chinese emanating from China or Korea or to texts in *kanbun* of Japanese authorship. Japanese who were unable to read ‘raw’ Chinese relied on these diacritics to construe literary Chinese and undertake an oral or mental translation into Japanese.

*katakana-majiri*: this is Japanese text written using Chinese characters and the angular *katakana* syllabary; this was usually used for sinological and more formal texts; scholarly medical texts, when not in *kanbun*, were often in this script.

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1. See Kornicki 2 in the list of abbreviations.
3. For an account of the cataloguing principles see the the previous footnote.
hiragana-majiri: this is Japanese text written using Chinese characters and the cursive hiragana syllabary; this script was used for popular texts, and in the case of medical texts implied ordinary readers.

furigana: these are small glosses placed to the right of characters to indicate the pronunciation; extensive use of furigana indicates that readers were expected not to have a high level of literacy.

It will be clear from the above that the choice of script has significant implications for the readership of the medical works described below. One further term needs explanation:

kabusebori: this was a technique for the production of a facsimile of a printed text. One copy of the text to be reproduced had to be taken to pieces and the individual pages pasted onto woodblocks for the production of a new set of printing blocks. Since the carving was done by hand, there are inevitably small differences between the original and the facsimile. This technique was often used to reproduce texts in literary Chinese imported from China or Korea, though it was common to add kunten before the carving was undertaken, in order to assist Japanese readers.

It remains to thank those who have helped make the completion of this catalogue possible. At the Wellcome Library, Dr Nikolai Serikoff afforded me every convenience over many years when I was examining the collection, and more recently Dr Alexandra Eveleigh’s assistance enabled me to complete the catalogue. Professor Kosoto Hiroshi identified some of the more puzzling untitled manuscripts, Professor Mayanagi Makoto answered some of my queries about the older manuscripts, and Professor Hayashi Nozomu assisted with the identification of ownership seals.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


Kotenseki = 日本古典積総合目録データベースの著作 ID. This is the identifying code of each work in the Union Catalogue of Early Japanese books maintained on the website of the National Institute for Japanese Literature (http://base1.nijl.ac.jp/infolib/meta_pub/G0001401KTG): if the code is inserted in the top (全項目) search box, the database will produce the full record of that work held in the Union Catalogue.


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4 A useful index to Mestler’s five articles has been published: Gordon E. Mestler, *An index to Japanese medical literature of pre-Meiji times* (Los Angeles: Dawson’s Book Shop, 1964).


1 JAPANESE EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF CHINESE MEDICAL WORKS

Jūyaku shinsho
‘Book of the ten medicines’
[Japanese 112]
This is a very rare Japanese edition of a Chinese treatise on ten supposedly miraculous drugs for treating tuberculosis, which was written in the Yuan dynasty by Ge Qiansun (1305-1353). The Japanese edition was published in 1690 by Kashiwara Yozaemon. The text is in the original Chinese but kunten have been added by Asai Shūhaku for the convenience of Japanese readers. Some of the illustrations show what are purported to be some of the organisms causing tuberculosis. [Fig. 1]

Kosoto 475; Rudolph #6; Tōkyō 26; Ken’ikai #2827, #2828.

十薬神書 1巻  元・葛乾孫著、元・葛可久(乾孫)編、明・胡雲翱伝、浅井周璞校
元禄3＜1690＞序刊（[]、柏原屋與左衛門）大1冊
＊序題「治癒十薬神書引」（元禄3年付け）。尾題「玉堂宗言治傳屍勞虫法」。
【研医会図書館所蔵図書目録】によれば、同図書館蔵元禄3年刊本2点はいずれも富倉太兵衛版。

Fig. 1.
Jūyaku shinsho: on the left are illustrated some of the organisms, said to look like a fetus, a demon and a prawn, which are to be found in the human body.
**Jūshi keiraku hakki wage**

*The fourteen bodily tracts explained in Japanese*

[Japanese 3]

A Japanese commentary on the *Shisijing fahui* (see entry *Jūshikei hakki* below) published in 1693 by Kosaji Han’emon of Kyoto. The commentary was compiled by Okamoto Ippō (1686-1754), who started as a student of medicine under Ajioka Sanpaku but offended his teacher and was expelled from his school. He subsequently made a career for himself as a popularizer and disseminator of medical knowledge, and he went on to publish a large number of medical works aimed at a popular market. He is said to have ceased writing such works when his elder brother, the famous dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon, warned him that he was in danger of doing harm by peddling inexact knowledge. This copy lacks the supplement.  

Kotenseki 33114; Kokushi 2:756; Gardner 100-101.

十四経絡発揮和解 存3巻（附録欠） 岡本一抱著・画
元禄6＜1693＞刊 （京、小佐治＜金屋＞半右衛門） 大3冊
＊外題「十四経和語抄」、版心題「針灸和解附録」。

**Jūshi keiraku hakki wage**

*The fourteen bodily tracts explained in Japanese*

[Japanese 4]

This is supplement to *Jūshi keiraku hakki wage* (see above), published in 1693. The supplement consists of anatomical sketches drawn by Okamoto Ippō (1686-1754), who also compiled the commentary.  

Kotenseki 33114; Kokushi 2:756; Gardner 100-101.

十四経絡発揮和解 存附録「銅人輸穴図」 岡本一抱著・画
［元禄6＜1693＞］刊 （刊記欠）
＊原題箋欠。墨書「大関長庵」。

**Jūshi keiraku hakki wage**

*The fourteen bodily tracts explained in Japanese*

[Japanese 5]

Another copy of the supplement to *Jūshi keiraku hakki wage* (see above). It carries the external title *Dōjin yuketsuzu*.

Kotenseki 33114; Kokushi 2:756; Gardner 100-101.

十四経絡発揮和解 存附録「銅人輸穴図」 岡本一抱著・画
［元禄6＜1693＞］刊 （刊記欠）
＊外題「左十四経右経脈篇銅人輸穴図」。

**Jūshi keiraku hakki wage**

*The fourteen bodily tracts explained in Japanese*

[Japanese 6]

Another copy of the supplement to *Jūshi keiraku hakki wage* (see above). It carries the external title *Dōjin yuketsuzu*.

Kotenseki 33114; Kokushi 2:756; Gardner 100-101.
十四経絡発揮和解 存附録「銅人輸穴図」 岡本一抱著・画
〔元禄6＜1693＞〕刊・〔後印〕（刊記欠）
＊外題「左十四経右経脈篇銅人輸穴図」。

Jūshikai hakki
‘The fourteen bodily tracts explained’
[Japanese 1]
A Japanese edition of *Shisijing fahui*, a study of the theory and practice of acupuncture focusing on the fourteen bodily tracts. It was written in 1341 by Hua Shou (1304–1386), a distinguished physician of the Yuan dynasty, and was first printed in 1364. It was first printed in Japan in 1596 and was one of the first books to be printed with movable type. Later movable-type editions are recorded from 1604, 1618 and 1625; block-printed editions are recorded from 1631, 1649 and 1665, and on numerous other occasions up to 1805. It is clear, then, that there was a very considerable market for this work in Japan in the Edo period. This copy is an example of the edition of 1709 published by Yoshidaya Gonbei of Osaka; this was a *kabusebori* edition, in other words, it is a facsimile of a Ming edition.

Tōkyō 14; Kosoto 410; Lu & Needham 156-7; Naikaku 191; Ogawa 73-4; Kawase 332-3, 707-8, 753-4.

十四経発揮 3巻
元・滑寿著、明・薛鎧校
宝永6＜1709＞刊 （［大坂］芳野屋権兵衛） 大合1冊
＊題箋欠。序題「新刊十四経絡揮」。覆明版。

Yōso shinpi kyūkei
‘Acupuncture for tumours’
[Japanese 15]
The first and only Japanese edition of *Yongju shenmi jiujing*, a book on the treatment of tumours by acupuncture written by Hua Yuanqing of the Yuan dynasty. This Japanese edition was published in 1729 by Kawanami Shirōemon of Kyoto; the *kunten* were provided by Sano Koan and Hara Taian, both of whom are otherwise unknown. The title appears in a booksellers’ catalogue published in the same year, but in no earlier catalogues. Purchased from Probsthain’s booksellers in 1911.

Ogawa 161; Shidō 3.127.3; Walravens 37.

癰疽神秘灸経 1巻 元・胡元慶著、明・薛己校補、日本・佐野古庵・原泰庵校
享保14＜1729＞刊 （京、河南四郎右衛門） 大1冊
＊封面前に「鉄研斎繡行」とあり。（印記）「W」「WAKISAKA」。

Jūshikai hakki
‘The fourteen bodily tracts explained’
[Japanese 2]
Another Japanese edition of *Shisijing fahui* (see previous entry but one). This copy was printed from the blocks used for the edition of 1762, but the name of the original publisher has been excised from the blocks and a new colophon added, which indicates that it was printed by
Kawachiya Kihei of Osaka. These are the same blocks as those used to print the copy held in the British Library (16028.b.31), which bears an additional colophon indicating that it was printed in 1796. At the end of this copy is a catalogue of books available from Kawachiya Kihei, including a work published in 1786, so this impression must date from that year or later. According to Kuroda, the external title of this edition, which is issuing from both this copy and the British Library copy, was *Shinkan Jūshikei*.

Kuroda 183.

十四経発揮 3巻 元・滑寿著、明・薛鎧校
宝暦12<1762>刊・後印 （大坂、河内屋喜兵衛）大合1冊
＊題箋欠。序題「新刊十四経絡揮」。宝暦十二年刊書肆名删去。巻末に「摂陽書林柳原積玉圃医書版目録 大阪河内屋喜兵衛」（1丁、天明6年刊『痘疹手引草』等所収）を附す。

*Muenroku jutsu*

‘Avoidance of injustice explained’

[Japanese 120]

This is a partial Japanese translation in *katakana-majiri* script of an early Chinese work on forensic pathology, *Wuyuan lu* 無冤錄 by Wang Yu 王與 (1260-1346) of the Yuan dynasty, which seems to have been completed in 1308. The translator was Kawai Naohisa, whose dates are unknown and who lived in the province of Izumi; this is his only known work and all that is known about him derives from the details provided in this book. He translated the text in 1736, according to his preface of the same date, although it was not published for some thirty years. What is more, it is not a complete translation, for he explains in the preface that he omitted those parts relating to the laws of ‘that country’ (i.e., China) and selected only those parts that he deemed useful for Japan; thus, the entire first volume of the original is omitted. It is clear from a note attached by the publisher to the inside front cover that the translation was made not from a Chinese edition but from an annotated Korean edition of the Chinese text, and this is confirmed by the inclusion of the three original prefaces and one postface from the Korean edition, *Sinju muwŏnnok* 新註無冤錄.

The publisher’s notice affixed to the inside front cover and dated 1768 bears the name of Sûbundô 崇文堂 (=Maekawa Rokusemon) of Edo (Fig. 2); this firm was the presumably the original publisher, but the only surviving copies of the 1768 edition bear instead the names of two other Edo publishers, Suwaraya Kasuke and Tanbaya Rihei. As the colophon of this copy makes perfectly clear, the original blocks were later purchased by Maekawa Rokusemon for a reprint in 1799. It seems likely, therefore, that the publisher’s notice was actually produced in 1799 and backdated to 1768. In 1854 a new edition was published, possibly using some of the original blocks, and in 1891 a modern typographic edition was published, which had gone through six impressions by 1901. It is evident, then that the perceived utility of this text lasted until the early 20th century. This copy bears the ownership seal of Shirai Mitsutaro (1863-1932), a botanist who was the first plant pathologist in Japan. [Fig. 2]

*Kotenseki* 60128; *Meijizen* 5: 209-212; Rudolph #16.

無冤錄述 2巻 元・王與原著、河合尚久訳・編
明和5＜1768＞刊・寛政11＜1799＞印 （江戸、前川六左衛門）大2冊
＊（刊記）明和五年戊子六月刻成／寛政十一年己未八月求版／東都書誌 前川六左衛門。元文元年＜1736＞自序。（刊記）「岡田真之蔵書」「白井氏蔵書」「魯徳福」。識語「白井氏蔵」。
Fig. 2
*Muunroku jutsu*: the publisher’s notice, backdated to 1768, refers to the Korean origins of the version of the text upon which the Japanese translation was based.
Shinkyū kotsukyō
‘The basic classic of acupuncture’
[Japanese 8]
A Japanese edition of *Zhenjiu jiayijing*, the oldest extant classical work exclusively concerned with acupuncture and moxibustion. It was written by Hunagfu Mi (215-282), a scholar and writer who never took an official position and who is said to have turned to medicine partly from filial piety, for his mother was paralysed. This work broke new ground in its systematic treatment of both theory and practice, and by the 7th century it was in use as a text in both Korea and Japan. It was first printed in 1069. For this edition *kunten* were added for the benefit of Japanese readers by an unnamed editor. This copy is undated, as are all the other extant copies. Judging by the style of the blocks, it was probably published around the middle of the 18th century, but there were earlier editions in the Edo period: Kosoto records an edition of 1648, and early booksellers’ catalogues list copies for sale in the 1660s and 1670s under the title *Kotsukyō*.

Kosoto 468; Lu & Needham 119, 263-5; Naikaku 190; Ogawa 87; Shidō 1.42.2, 1.92.1, 1.139.2, 1.194.2, etc (see index); Walravens 35.

Jūshī keiraku hakki
‘The fourteen bodily tracts explained’
[Japanese 7]
A Japanese translation of *Shisijing fahui* (see *Jūshikei hakki* above). As the external title of this edition, *Kanayomi jūshikei hakki*, indicates, it was translated into Japanese for readers unable to read *kanbun*. Japanese reference works state that the Japanese editor was Hoshino Kumayuki, but not such name appears in this copy and the preface, dated 1805, states that the translator was one Yata Taikyō. The same reference works that it was published in two volumes, but in this copy there are three. The copy in the Royal Library in Copenhagen is dated 1805 and was published by Subaraya Heizaemon of Kyoto *et al*; this copy, which was published by Kawachiya Usuke of Osaka *et al*. and is undated, is evidently a later reprint from the same blocks. Purchased from Probsthain’s booksellers in 1911.

Kotenseki 33114; Ogawa 29.
**Kōka shishō**

‘Guide to laryngeal medicine’

[Japanese 14]

The first and only Japanese edition of *Houke zhizhang*, a Chinese work on laryngeal medicine by Zhang Zongliang of the Qing dynasty; it was first published in China in 1757. The Japanese edition was prepared by Nakagawa Shugyō and published in 1826 by Sakaiya Ihei of Kyoto *et al.* It seems to be very rare: the only other copies I have been able to find are in the Ishizaki Bunko in Osaka Prefectural Library and in the library of the Zhongguo Yixue Kexueyuan in Beijing.

Kosoto 491; Walravens 21; *Quanguo zhongyi tushu lianhe mulu* 全国中医図書聯合目録

(Beijing: Zhongyi Guji Chubanshe, 1991) 584.

喉科指掌  6巻  清・張宗良著、日本・中川守業訂正
文政9＜1826＞刊  （京、堺屋伊兵衛等）  大2冊
※（呉附書肆）書林／大阪、加賀屋善蔵／京都、堺屋伊兵衛。（印記）「佐伯図書」。
蔵書票「Dr. Saiki’s Library 京都産印文庫蔵書」。

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**Zentai shinron**

‘New treatise on the whole body’

[Japanese 131]

This is the Japanese edition of *Quanti xinlun*, a treatise on physiology by Benjamin Hobson (1816-73) which was translated into Chinese by Chen Xiutan and originally published in Canton in 1851. Hobson went to China with the London Missionary Society in 1839, after having completed his medical training at University College, London. He worked mostly in Hong Kong and Canton, although for the last year before his return to England in 1859 he was in charge of the Shanghai Hospital for Chinese. This work, which was one of several he wrote for a Chinese audience, was published in Japan in 1857 in the original Chinese translation with minimal *kunten*; in the 1870s two separate Japanese translations were published.

Kotenseki 4374386; Ogawa 101; Nagasawa 144; a digital version of the copy in Waseda University Library can be seen here:


全体新論 2巻・附図巻2巻  英・合信著、清・陳修堂訳
安政4＜1857＞刊  （二書堂）大2冊
※刊年は封面上「(尾上「安政四丁己晚秋」)清本翻刻／全体新論／二書堂発兌」とあるによる。（印記）「鎌田医院」。

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**Zentai shinron**

‘New treatise on the whole body’

[Japanese 9]

Another copy of *Zentai shinron* (see above) consisting only of the volume of monochrome illustrations. It therefore lacks a date but is indubitably from the 1857 edition. Donated by Captain Archibald Hobson, the author’s grandson, in 1963.

全体新論 存図巻 英・合信著、清・陳修堂訳
［安政4＜1857＞］刊  （刊記欠）大1冊
※刊年は前記の『全体新論』による。
Seiî ryakuron
‘Brief account of Western medicine’
[Japanese 11]
A Japanese edition of an illustrated introduction to Western medicine by Benjamin Hobson (see Zentai shinron, above) and Guan Maocai. Kunten were added for Japanese readers and it was published in 1858. This Japanese edition is a kabusebori facsimile of the Chinese edition of 1857. Donated by Captain Archibald Hobson, the author’s grandson, in 1965.

西医略論 存上下巻（中巻欠） 英・合信著、清・管茂材編
安政5＜1858＞刊 （桃樹園三宅氏蔵版／江戸、万屋四郎発行） 大2冊
＊刊年は封面による。覆清咸豊七年刊本。

Fuei shinsetsu
‘New study of obstetrics’
[Japanese 10]
A Japanese edition of Fuying xingshuo, a work on obstetrics by Benjamin Hobson (see Zentai shinron, above) and Guan Maocai. It contains a Japanese preface, dated 1859, by Andô Keishû, who added kunten to the text for Japanese readers, and was published in that year. This Japanese edition is a kabusebori facsimile of the Chinese edition of 1858.

婦婴新説 存巻上 英・合信著、清・管茂材編
安政6＜1859＞刊 （天香堂増販） 大1冊
＊刊年・藏版者は封面による。覆清咸豊八年刊本。（印記）「安藤氏蔵書記」。
2 JAPANESE MEDICAL MANUSCRIPTS

Shinnō kōtei yōchō kuden no maki
‘Emperor Shennong’s advice on carbuncles’

This manuscript in katakana-majiri script purports to contain advice on carbuncles, boils and other skin eruptions orally transmitted by the legendary Chinese healing emperor Shennong. The manuscript is anonymous and was probably made in the late 16th century; some erasures have been made and there is a partly erased inscription at the end with the name Mitsui [...]ro, which it has not proved possible to identify. It contains hand-coloured illustrations of various kinds of boils and carbuncles, which are divided into a number of different named categories. One of the recommended treatments is cautery, and the initial portion of the text states that 300 leeches are needed to deal with the after-effects of the cautery: the therapeutic use of leeches for dealing with boils and subcutaneous pus was mentioned in volume 15 of the oldest extant Japanese medical text, Ishinpō, which was written in kanbun in the late 10th century. It is also recommended in Fukudenhō, an exhaustive medical treatise written in Japanese in the late 14th century, and the reference to the use of leeches here is further evidence of the therapeutic use of leeches in late medieval Japan. [Fig. 3]

Gozō roppu jūnikeimyaku
‘The meridians with the five viscera and six bowels’

This is a manuscript copy, probably executed around 1600, of the anatomical sections of an early 14th-century work by Kajiwara Shōzen (1266-1337): little is known about him except that he was a Buddhist monk as well as a doctor and that he lived in Kamakura, to the south of modern Tokyo. His Ton’ishō 頓医抄 and Man’anpō 万安方 are the two best-known medical treatises of the Kamakura period: the former, unusually for the time, was written in katakana-majiri so as to be more accessible and thus help alleviate suffering, while the latter was written in kanbun and was thus aimed as fellow medical scholars. Both cover the whole range of medicine as it was known at the time and bespeak the author’s extensive familiarity with Chinese medical literature, but neither work was printed before modern times. Both contain the same illustrations of dissections, which were derived from a lost Chinese work on the dissection of executed prisoners, Cunzhen huanzong tu 存真環中図 (1113), by Yang Jie 楊介. It appears that Gozō roppu jūnikeimyaku was copied from Ton’ishō; it contains polychrome and line illustrations showing internal organs and acupuncture charts and is written in katakana-majiri. The cover, which gives the title, is not contemporary with the text and was added later. [Fig. 4]


Meidō dōjin sokushin no zu
‘Mingtang and Tongren acupuncture and moxibustion chart’

A large-scale colour picture of human body showing acupuncture and moxibustion points: manuscript of the 17th century, later remounted. Supposedly based on the two Chinese acupuncture and moxibustion texts, the Tong ren zhen jiu jing 銅人鍼灸經 by Wang Weiyi 王惟一 (fl. 11th century) and the Ming tang jiu jing 明堂灸經. The picture was executed by Henjuken Keian, who appears to have been an acupuncturist in the 17th century.

Blondelet #32.
Shinkyū ryōchisho
‘Treatment by acupuncture and moxibustion’
[Japanese 82]
An anonymous manuscript in *katakana-majiri* concerning acupuncture and moxibustion in cases of carbuncles, boils and other skin eruptions, and other matters; it was copied in 1671 but undoubtedly composed much earlier. [Fig. 5]

Fig. 4
*Gozō roppu jūnikeimyaku*
One of the many acupuncture charts included in this book. The figure is Chinese in appearance, for the illustrations were copied from a Chinese manual.
[Shinkyū hidensho]
‘Secret tradition of acupuncture and moxa’
[Japanese 27]
An illustrated manuscript on acupuncture and moxibustion with text in katakana-majiri: there is no title. Contains a colophon giving 1610 as the year of composition and 1722 as the date of copying.

[Tōshin seiyō]
‘Detailed account of poxes’
[Japanese 63]
These two exquisitely illustrated manuscript volumes, showing in lurid colour the symptoms of smallpox, measles and other afflictions producing pustules on the skin, are attributed on the title page to Kanda Gensen (c.1670-1746). Gensen produced a number of illustrated albums on subjects such as fishes, whaling and materia medica, not one of which was ever published, and a couple of medical works including a study of dietetics. Many of these works survive in a number of copies, which suggests that he was deliberately avoiding publication and restricting circulation to his followers. This volume appears to combine his talent for illustration with his interest in medicine, but it was revised and supplemented by one Enomoto Gensen (dates unknown), a doctor in Kiyomizu domain (modern Gifu Prefecture).
The illustrations were executed on separate sheets of paper in the 18th century and were then cut out and pasted into place sometime in the early 19th century. It is possible that the illustrations were cut out of Gensen’s holograph or a copy of it. There does not appear to be any record of a manuscript with this title in Japan, though there are records of a work by him bearing a similar title, *Tōshin kuketsu* 痘疹口訣, in collections that are now lost. The manuscript appears to be incomplete: one volume starts *in medias res* while the other starts with an internal title identifying it as the second volume. Thus, there ought to be at least one other volume or part of a volume containing the beginning of book one with prefaces and other preliminary material. However, the two volumes bear inscriptions indicating that, when they belonged to the Ishibashi family (in the early 19th century?), there were no more than two volumes, so these two must have parted company with the rest long ago. [Fig. 6]

痘疹精要 2巻 神田玄泉著、権本玄昌新補、平貞国元龍校
[江戸中期]写 半2冊
※（巻末識語）二冊之内／石橋家重珍。

Fig. 6
*Tōshin seiyō*. Detailed and carefully coloured illustration of distribution of pustules on the skin.
[**Shinkyūkei ryakuzu**]
‘Picture of the meridians for acupuncture and moxibustion’
[Japanese 103]
This pair of manuscript scrolls illustrated the meridians and the points for moxibustion and acupuncture on the front and back of the body. They were probably produced in the 18th century.

[針灸経略図] （仮題）
[江戸中期] 写 2 軸

**Gozō roppu keirakuzu**
‘The meridians with the five viscera and six bowels’
[Japanese 99]
This manuscript scroll includes three illustrations of the five viscera and six bowels, one of points for acupuncture and moxibustion, one of a hand, two of body measurements, twelve of the body with meridians and acupuncture points shown and two of the body with vessels shown. The figures are Chinese in clothing and facial appearance. The text, which is in kanbun but with some kunten added later in red ink, contains references to *Shisijing fahui* 十四経発揮 (J. Jūshikei hakki) by Hua Shou (1304–86) and other works. This manuscript was probably produced in the early 18th century. [Fig. 7]

Kornicki 1: 194, 197.

[五臓六腑経絡図] （仮題） 1 巻
[江戸中期] 写 1 軸
※墨筆、朱筆訂正等あり。漢文（朱筆訓点および振り仮名）、墨筆書入れあり。
Tōsō shinzetsuzu
‘Illustrations of smallpox on the lips and tongue’
[Japanese 94]
This is an autograph manuscript produced in 1795 by Ikeda Zuisen (1734-1816) on smallpox lesions on the lips and tongue: there is one copy extant in Japan and a further one in the library of UCLA. The illustrations, which show tongues with various lesions, are graphically illustrated in colour. The author was born in a village in what is now Yamaguchi Prefecture in the south-west of Japan and learnt what he knew of medicine there. He developed an interest in smallpox but since the domain in which he lived had a strict segregation policy for smallpox sufferers he had few opportunities to observe the symptoms until he had the chance to stem an outbreak on the island of Itsukushima. As a result, his fame spread and in 1797 he entered the service of the Bakufu in Edo as a specialist in smallpox. He wrote a number of works on smallpox but none of them were ever published. [Fig. 8]
Kotenseki 3615552; Mestler 5: 200 n. 32; Kornicki 1:200.
痘瘡唇舌図（序題）1巻 池田瑞仙著
寛政7＜1795＞写（池田瑞仙自筆）1帖

Fig. 7
Gozō roppu keirakuzu.
The bearded figures are copied from Chinese illustrations.
Fig. 8
*Tōsō shinzetsuzu: some pathologies evident from the lips*
Makimomenzu
‘Bandages illustrated’
[Japanese 83]
A manuscript containing sketches of various types of bandaging and their application. The last illustration is copied from Geka shūkō (see entry below). The subtitle identifies this type of bandaging as coming from the West, describing it as ‘Red-headed style’ (i.e., European style). This manuscript was probably made in the late 18th century. [Fig. 9]

Fig. 9
Makimomenzu
The last illustration, taken from Geka shūkō, clearly shows a figure in Western military uniform.

Seiganryū mokuisho
‘The Seiganryū book of ophthalomology’
[Japanese 28]
This katakana-majiri manuscript, copied in 1816 by Matsuura Genshun, contains illustrations of acupuncture points and of various conditions of the eye with an explanation of the diseases illustrated. The Seiganryū school of ophthalomology, usually known as the Majimaryū, was founded by Majima Seigan 馬島清眼 (d. 1379), who was the first abbot of the Iōzan Yakushiji temple in Owari province following its refoundation; every subsequent abbot was a practising ophthalmologist and the tradition survived into the 20th century. This was a secret tradition, communicated orally and in manuscript. No other manuscript survives with this title, though Kyoto University possesses a copy of Seiganryū ganka hiden 清眼流眼科秘伝.


清眼流目医書
文化 13＜1816＞写 （松浦玄駿写） 大 1 冊
＊書写奥書「文化十三歳丙子八月吉旦／松浦玄駿」。
(Chūjō hiden) Zengo ichien shū
‘Collection of Chūjō school writings on before and after childbirth’
[Japanese 29]
An illustrated manuscript representing the Chūjō school of midwifery and perinatal medicine, which was supposedly founded by Chūjō Tatewaki 中条帯刀 in the late 16th century. The techniques of the school, which were based on Chinese pharmacology and expounded in Chūjōryū sanka zensho 中条流産科全書 (compiled 1668, published 1751), remained for the most part a secret tradition passed on to pupils orally. No other manuscript of the same title as this one is recorded, but related works also in manuscript are extant, such as Sanzengo hiden and Chūjōryū sanzen sango kuden hisho. This copy was made in 1830 by one Tōunzan Gyokusui.

Makimomenzu sōkō
‘Draft: bandages illustrated’
[Japanese 84]
A guide to bandages and binding techniques by Yoshio Kensaku, who was a practitioner of so-called Dutch medicine in Nagasaki. The techniques are said on the title page to be those of Joseph Jacob Ritter von Plenck (1738-1807), an Austrian dermatologist who wrote a large number of medical treatises in the 18th century, some of which were translated into Japanese in the Edo period. This copy was made in the first half of the 19th century. [Fig. 10]

Kotenseki 4201541; Mestler 3: 151-2.
巻木綿図草稿 1巻 吉雄献作著
〔江戸後期〕写 半1冊
＊内題「八凡湿襲入／布連喜伝／崎陽吉雄献作先生／木綿図草稿」。布連喜とは Joseph Jacob Ritter von Plenck (1738-1807) のこと。

Fig. 10
Makimomenzu sōkō.
Application of a poultice to a patient’s arm.
Kyūten zukai
‘Moxibustion points illustrated’
[Japanese 125]
This illustrated guide to use of moxibustion was written in kanbun by Kagawa Shūan (1683-1755) and only survives in a number of manuscript copies, so it appears that it was never published. Shūan spent some years in Kyoto studying Confucianism with the celebrated Ito Jinsai and the ‘Ancient School’ of medicine with Gotō Konzan, and he later became well known for his conviction that the roots of Confucianism and medicine were identical. This copy was made in the first half of the 19th century by Satō Shūsaku.

Kotenseki 998732; there is a digital version of the copy in the Kawamura Bunko at Shiga University of Medical Science that can be viewed here:
http://www.shiga-med.ac.jp/library/kawamura/content/K0030/K0030v01s0001.html.

灸点図解 1巻 香川修庵著
[江戸後期]写（佐藤集作写）半1冊
＊書外題「台州灸点図解」。宝暦6序。巻末に「酢月精舎蔵／図解／翻刻必究／藤原本生／佐藤集作写之」。印記「石神文庫」。

Kaitai hatsumō zushō
‘Anatomy revealed: selected illustrations’
[Japanese 88]
Thirty anatomical illustrations clearly based on Kaitai hatsumō (see entry below) but some of the captions and some of the illustrations are omitted.

解体発蒙図鈔（仮題）1巻
[江戸後期]写 1帖
＊折本28.2 x 19.1.『解体発蒙』の数図を写して彩色したもの。

Shiryoku bōjaku byōron
‘On weakness of sight’
[Japanese 119]
As a note following the title informs us, this is a translation by Ogata Kōan (1810-1863) of a Dutch book published in 1816. This Dutch book was in turn a translation of John Stevenson’s *On the morbid sensibility of the eye, commonly called weakness of sight*, which was first published in London in 1810 and went through two subsequent editions in 1811 and 1819, as well as an American edition in 1815. The Dutch translation, which was made by Henricus Franciscus Thijsse (1787-1830), bears the title *Praktikale verhandeling over eene ziekelijke gevoeligheid van het oog, gewoonlijk zwakheid van gezigt genaamd* and was published in 1816 by Lodewijk van Es of Amsterdam. A copy of this Dutch translation had evidently been imported into Japan via the Dutch Factory on Deshima; it was then translated by Ogata Kōan, but his translation was for some reason never published. At least four copies are known in Japan. Ogata Kōan was a scholar of Dutch and Western medicine who founded the Tekijuku school in Osaka, which survives to this day. [Fig. 11]

Kotenseki 1033234; Rudolph #28.
視力乏弱病論 1巻 西ヨーンステヘンソン著、和蘭テイスセン訳註、緒方洪庵訳
Seikotsu zukan
‘Album of joint manipulation’
[Japanese 109]
A manuscript album showing bone-setting and joint manipulation; probably produced in the early 19th century.
整骨図巻（外題）
〔江戸後期〕写 2巻2軸

Fig. 11
Shiryoku bōjaku byōron: the beginning of the text carefully attributing authorship to John Stevenson.
(Otsumi) Honzōkai buppin mokuroku
‘Catalogue of exhibits at the materia medica exhibition of 1835’
[Japanese 116]

From the late 18th century exhibitions of materia medica were held with increasing frequency in Edo and other large cities in Japan, and this is the catalogue of one such exhibition held in Nagoya on 15th day of the 3rd month of 1835 by a group calling itself the Shōhyaku-sha 酉百社. The exhibition was organised by Ishiguro Saian 石黒済庵 (1787-1836), Ōkōchi Sonshin 大河内存真 (1796-1883), Yoshida Takanori 吉田高憲, Ōkubo Masaaki 大窪昌章 (1802-1841) and Itō Keisuke 伊藤圭介 (1803-1901), the last of whom was active as a botanist before the Meiji Restoration, subsequently became, in 1881, a professor at the newly-established Tokyo University and was, in 1888, the first person in Japan to receive the degree of Doctor of Science. The exhibitors were the five organisers and 27 other individuals.

The catalogue of the exhibition was published in 1835 and, according to a note on the cover, this manuscript copy was made in the 7th month of 1835; it is based on the printed edition, but it only includes the botanical exhibits.

Kotenseki 4022188; Bartlett & Shohara 138; Rudolph #24; Meijizen nihon seibutsugaku shi 明治前日本生物医学史 , 2 vols (Tokyo: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1960-63) 1: 392-402.


Sanron yoku
‘Sanron supplemented’
[Japanese 78c]

A partial manuscript copy of the illustrations contained in Kagawa Genteki’s Sanron yoku (see entry below), a treatise on obstetrics published in 1775. A few of the illustrations are from a different source.

産論翼 存下巻図 賀川玄迪著 〔江戸後期〕写 大 1 冊
＊刊本図を写したものなれども図や解説の相違があり、また刊本にない図もあり。

Jūshikei gozō roppu
‘The fourteen meridians, the five viscera and the six bowels’
[Japanese 100]

According to the notes in English accompanying this item, it was executed by Yoshida Ikiu, is dated 1688 and was formerly property of the Yoshida family, but there is no evidence to support any of these claims. It consists of a coloured diagram of the human body with acupuncture points
and some internal organs named. The text is written in both kanbun and katakana-majiri and was copied in the first half of the 19th century.

十四経五蔵六府（尾題）

［江戸後期］写 1 軸
※ 箱題「十四経絡之図」、内題「禁灸之部、禁鍼之部」。図中に「天道」「針殺」などと題する文章あり。

*Sanka tangan zuketsu
‘Obstetric instruments illustrated’

[Mizuhara Yoshihiro wrote several works on obstetrics, the most important of which was San'iku zensho, published in 1848. Sanka tangan zuketsu deals with some traction instruments invented by the author and their use is shown in the illustrations. Sanka tangan zuketsu was published in 1836 but this is a manuscript copy made in 1859.]

Kotenseki 1004928; Blondelet #27.
産科探頷図訣 2 巻 水原義博著
安政 6 <1859>写（猶林龍石）半 2 冊
※ 天保 7 <1836> 年刊本写。上巻末に「安政六己未正月下旬／猶林龍石／寫之」。

*Kanshin biyō
‘Essentials for resuscitation’

[This manuscript consists of text in kanbun and illustrations showing thirteen techniques of resuscitation for people who have drowned, hung themselves or lost consciousness. The figures in the illustrations are of Chinese appearance, with Chinese dress and with beards. The author, Kagami Bunken (1755-1819), practiced as an orthopaedic surgeon in Osaka and in 1810 published Seikotsu shinsho, a manual of orthopaedic medicine. He had been deeply impressed by the publication of Kaitai shinsho (see entry below), a pioneering translation of a European anatomical atlas, and in 1800 he and his wife stole the corpse of an executed criminal and dissected it with Fuseya Soteki, another Osaka doctor.]

This copy of Kanshin biyō, which was made as late as 1905, includes two large sheets showing a Chinese man with vital points and internal organs identified. The illustrations are very similar to those contained in what appears to be the author’s holograph in Waseda University Library. The manuscript was apparently copied at an institution called the Bunbukan: there were several institutions of this name, but this is probably the one established by Matsuda Hidehiko (1852-1939) in 1894 for instruction in martial arts.

Kornicki 1: 199; for a digital version of the copy in Waseda, see:
http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko08/bunko08_b0093/.
環神備要（外題） 1 巻 各務文献著。
明治 38＜1905＞写 半 1 冊
※ 漢文無点、または片仮名まじり文。書写奥書「絶／明治三十八年十一月十五日／文武館ニ於テ」。松田秀彦創設の文武館のことか。印記「渡辺」。
3 JAPANESE PRINTED MEDICAL BOOKS

Shoshitsu no kinkōshū
‘Recommended and forbidden foods for all illnesses’
[Japanese 126]

This is one of a number of books published in the early 17th century which provided information about the treatment of illness in terms of foods to eat and to avoid; many of them used furigana and simple language to make them accessible to readers without medical or sinological knowledge. The author of this work, a man named Baiju, was himself a doctor who had been a pupil of Yoshida Sōjun (also known as Ian) 吉田宗恂（意安）and he was also a prolific publisher of medical books in the early years of the 17th century. This work was first published in 1626 in the form of a typographic edition (there is a copy in the Ken’ikai Toshokan in Tokyo) and was then reproduced shortly afterwards in a woodblock facsimile with added furigana.


諸疾ノ禁忌好集 1 巻 梅壽著
寛永3＜1626＞刊・[後印]（著者）横1冊
＊木版本。目録題「諸疾禁忌好集」。刊記「寛永三年應汁鐘上澣梅壽撰刋」。後印と判断した理由は寛永三年刊古活字版を覆刻して振り仮名をつけたからである。

Fig. 12
Shoshitsu no kinkōshū: the beginning of the text, listing a number of foods not to be consumed when taking medicines. Almost every character has a hiragana gloss giving the pronunciation.
*Shinkyū bassui*

‘The essentials of acupuncture and moxibustion’

[Japanese 122]

This is a guide to the practice of acupuncture and moxibustion, written in *katakana-majiri* script but anonymous. This copy lacks the second volume with the colophon, but the only edition of this work seems to have been published in 1685; the preface is dated 1674. The copy belonging to the Shinkyūin in Kyoto has an undated preface and a colophon (inserted by *ireki*, that is inserting a new text into the printing block) that reads 貞享二乙丑年十月良辰/大坂心斎橋筋呉服町角/笠田三郎右衛門刊. There is no indication of the name of the author in this book. In 1699 Okamoto Ippō (see entry for *Jūshi keiraku hakki wage* above), a popularizer of medical knowledge, published a Japanese version under the title *Shinkyū bassui taisei*. [Fig. 13]

Kotenseki 1033723; Mestler 2: 476; a digital version can be found here: http://www.kyorindo.biz/edo/page/5/.

鍼灸抜萃 存上巻

[貞享2＜1685＞] 刊 （刊記欠）大1冊

＊刊年は京都市山科区の鍼灸院整骨院あんず鍼灸整骨院蔵本
（同版、http://www.kyorindo.biz/edo/page/5/参照）による。延宝2＜1674＞年序。
岡本一抱の『鍼灸抜粋大成』（元禄12刊）が有名であるが、書名や内容により、本書がその元になった事は明らかである。

**Fig. 13.**

*Shinkyū bassui.*

Illustration showing how the needle is to be held.
Isen zusan
‘Outstanding medical pioneers illustrated’
[Japanese 124]
This work contains portraits and biographies of the 36 ‘immortals’ of Chinese medicine, including such famous doctors as Zhang Zihe 張子和 (c.1151-1231) and Hua Shou 滑寿 (1304–86). The text is in kanbun without any kunten and therefore would only be accessible to readers with an expert knowledge of Chinese. The text was compiled by Hikita Ryoan, who is otherwise unknown. It was published in 1688 by Nakagawa Bunrindō of Kyoto.

Kotenseki 635596.

Zōfu keiraku shōkai
‘Detailed account of the organs and the meridians’
[Japanese 113]
This partly fanciful study by Okamoto Ippō of the internal organs is profusely illustrated (some illustrations are hand-coloured in this copy) and written in katakana-majiri script with profuse furigana, as were many of his writings. Okamoto Ippō (1686–1754) was a popularizer and disseminator of medical knowledge who published a large number of medical works aimed at a popular market. This book, which was published in 1690 by Nishimura Ichirōemon of Kyoto, contains a list of books cited in the text and at the end an advertisement for Okamoto Ippō’s other published writings. [Fig.14]

Kotenseki 1063827; Tōkyō p. 15; Rudolph #5; a digital copy can be seen here: http://edb.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/ml7/ml7cont.html.
Igaku shiyōshō
‘Summary of the essentials of medicine’
[Japanese 64]
The subtitle to this work, Jūshikei keibiki no ben (‘On the drawing of the Fourteen Meridians’), shows that it is based on the Shisijing fahui by Hua Shou (1304–86), a physician of the Yuan dynasty (see entry for Jūshikei hakki, above). This book is a guide to drawing the Fourteen Meridians and the pulses on the human body preparatory to undertaking acupuncture, and it recommends the colours for each so that they match the colours of the corresponding internal organs; it then gives detailed explanations of the location of each acupuncture point. It is written in katakana-majiri script and was published in Kyoto in 1699. The Japanese author, Ryūunken, is otherwise unknown.

Kotenseki 991855; Tōkyō 16; Rudolph #9.
医学至要抄 存正編 2巻 竜雲軒著
元禄 12＜1699＞刊 （京、林兵衛） 半2冊
**Fujin kotobukigusa**

*Auspicious notes for women*

[Japanese 23]

A study of obstetrics, covering conception, pregnancy, childbirth and post-natal complications, compiled by Katsuki Gyūzan (1656-1740). Katsuki studied medicine under Tsuruhara Gen’eki and Confucianism under the celebrated Kaibara Ekiken, and he was in service to the daimyo of Nakatsu for 14 years. He subsequently moved to Kyoto and achieved fame with his successful treatment of a number of influential people. *Fujin kotobukigusa* is one of his earliest published medical works: it is based largely on Chinese gynaecological works with the addition of some Japanese medical theory and reference to the practice of gynaecology in Japan. Unlike the Chūjō school of obstetrics (see *Zengo ichien shū*, above), Katsuki makes no reference to the use of medicines, referring instead to yin-yang divination and to the use of talismans and spells. This work was first published in 1708, but this is a later reprint by Kawachiya Kihei of Osaka: the original blocks had apparently worn out and some of them were replaced in 1796.

Kotenseki 54604; Ogata 92-6.

**Yōjōkun**

*Lessons on cultivating life*

[Japanese 129]

Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714) wrote this guide to living a long and healthy life when he was already in his eighties and it was published in 1713, the year before his death. In his view and in his experience, the route to a long life lay in a healthy lifestyle and morally upright conduct, and his advice includes self-restraint in matters of food, drink, sleep and sexual behaviour.

Kotenseki 62715; Ken’ikai #5678-5685; there is an annotated edition of *Yōjōkun* edited by Sugi Yasusaburō 杉靖三郎 (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1968).

養生訓 8巻・付録1巻 貝原益軒著、杉本義篤(付録)著 正徳3 <1713>刊 （〔京〕、永田調兵衛）半4冊

＊印記「佐伯図書」「石神文庫」「小財」。前表紙見返し識語「明治辛亥一月廿九日／濱寺快談ノ記念ニ／養生訓ヲ呈ス／工積山生／吉永軒主人／石神老兄観北」。
[Haimen keimyakuzu]
‘Illustration of the interior meridians’
[Japanese 104]
This is a printed sheet showing the meridians and points for moxibustion and acupuncture on the front of the body. It was produced by Hattori Noritada, who was mainly a specialist in materia medica but also published some books on medical topics.

Kotenseki 4380554.

背蓋経脈図 一枚 服部範忠著
享保 8 <1723>刊（江戸・西村市郎右衛門・大和屋孫兵衛）1軸
＊享保 7序刊。手彩色。

Fukyū ruihō
‘Compendium for the assistance of all’
[Japanese 128]
This guide to basic medical remedies was compiled on the orders of shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune, who took a considerable interest in medicine and in making medical knowledge easily accessible to those who could not afford a doctor. The compilers of Fukyū ruihō, which was written in Japanese that was easy to understand and was published in 1729, were two doctors working for the Bakufu government: Hayashi Ryōteki, who was attached to the medical clinic established by the Bakufu for the poor, and Niwa Shōhaku, who was a herbalist and wrote a number of other works.

Kotenseki 479709.

普救類方 7巻 林良適、丹羽正伯共著
享保 14 <1729>刊（江戸・和泉屋儀兵衛等）半 12冊
＊外題「（官刻）普救類方」、封面題名「官刻普救類方」。（東都書肆）東都書肆／松會三四郎・出雲寺和泉掾・升屋五郎右衛門・須原屋治右衛門・萬屋清兵衛・小川彦九郎・和泉屋儀兵衛。印記「内野木」「文堂」。

Gyōjin keiketsu no zu/ Naikē no zu/ Sokujin keiketsu no zu
‘The meridians and acupuncture points’
[Japanese 95]
These three sheets, based on a Chinese original either directly or at second hand, show the body with acupuncture points shown in frontal, internal and lateral views. They were produced by Okamoto Ippō (see the entry for Zōfu keiraku shōkai above) and although undated were printed in the early 18th century; the colours were added by hand.

Kornicki 1: 202.

仰人経穴之図／内経之図／側人経穴之図 岡本一抱著
［江戸中期］刊 絵 3枚
＊手書き題箋「人体内経図」。
**Shigenshi sanron**  
‘Shigen’s treatise on obstetrics’  
[Japanese 65]

Kagawa Gen’etsu (1700-1777), who was also known as Shigen and came from the castle town of Hikone, studied in Kyoto, and from his forties specialised in obstetrics. In 1768 he became the Tokushima-domain doctor in Shikoku. He was a pioneer in developing forceps that were harmless to both mother and child in cases of forced delivery, and he was the first to recognise that the normal position of the fetus was head downwards (cephalic presentation). This celebrated treatise stood the test of time, and a partial translation was published in the *American journal of obstetrics* in 1893. *Shigenshi sanron* was first published in 1765 but this copy belongs to a revision of the printing blocks made in 1775, when some headnotes were added. The original edition was privately published by Kagawa’s academy in Kyoto but was subsequently marketed by several publishers in Kyoto and Edo.

Kotenseki 215236; Veith 45-48; Mestler 2: 493-94; text reprinted in Masuda 114-133.

**Sanron yoku**  
‘Sanron supplemented’  
[Japanese 78a]

The author of this study of obstetrics, Kagawa Genteki (1739-1779), was the pupil and adopted son of Kagawa Gen’etsu, the author of *Shigenshi sanron* (see previous entry). This work, which was published in 1775, supplements the earlier work, relying on extensive clinical practice and observation, but does not exclude traditional practices such as massage of the abdomen, which Genteki considered to be of value. Amongst the additional topics tackled are fetal death, lactation and diagnosis of twin fetuses. Genteki, who came from Akita in northern Japan, later became a doctor in the employ of the Awa Tokushima domain, which rewarded him for the publication of this book.

Kotenseki 212475; Veith 48-51; text reprinted in Masuda 143-163.

**Sanron yoku**  
‘Sanron supplemented’  
[Japanese 78b]

Another copy of *Sanron yoku* (see previous entry), printed somewhat later. This copy contains extensive marginalia purporting to be by Minakawa Kōsai 皆川篁斎 (1762-1819), the son and
successor of Minakawa Kien; at the outset these give a biography of the author, Kagawa Genteki (1739-1779). [Fig. 15]

産論翼 2巻・付録「治験二十八条」1巻 賀川玄迪著
安永4＜1775＞刊・[後印] （江戸、須原屋茂兵衛等）大2冊
＊（安永4年奥付書肆）京師書肆、河南四郎兵衛・河南喜兵衛／発行／大坂、大野市兵衛／江戸、須原屋茂兵衛。封面に「産論翼（朱印なし）／平安諸世記蔵版」。朱・墨書入れ多い（封面識語末に「寛政七年冬十月 皆川允謹賛」）。

Fig. 15
Sanron yoku: inside front cover with extensive biography of the author by Minakawa Kōsai.
Idō nichiyō chōhōki
‘Treasury of everyday medicine’

The first edition of this medical handbook aimed at a popular audience was published in 1710, and there were subsequent impressions in 1718, 1723, 1733, 1747 and 1762; this revised and enlarged edition was published in 1780, and there were further impressions or editions in 1818, 1845, 1849, 1873 and 1875 (the bibliographical essay in Nagatomo 23, pp. 443-447, which gives details of copies of this work bearing these dates, does not, unfortunately, distinguish between new impressions using the same printing blocks and new editions with new sets of printing blocks). Its extraordinary longevity, mostly ignoring medical advances made in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, is doubtless due to the fact that it was without rival as a household medical encyclopedia. It is also of pocket-book size and printed in hiragana-majiri with extensive furigana, making it accessible even to those with a poor grasp of the written language. To make it even more useful as a reference book, it contains an index with page numbers, a rare feature in 18th-century Japanese publications. As is often the case with medical illustrations, the figures are identifiable from their clothing and beards as Chinese, perhaps with the implication that these techniques are in tune with Chinese practice.

The author, Hongō Masatoyo, wrote a few other popular medical books in addition to this one. The contents cover a huge range of afflictions and medical conditions from boils, headaches, constipation and childbirth to smallpox and other life-threatening diseases, and the remedies recommended include massage, acupuncture, moxibustion and medicines. There is an illustration of the five viscera and six bowels: this and other features of the book show that it takes a conservative line in following traditional Chinese medicine as practiced in Japan. [Fig. 16]

Kotenseki 12408; Tōkyō 36; Mestler 1: 304-5, 309; there is a facsimile of the 1849 revised edition in Nagatomo 23: 107-264; there is also a digital version of the 1818 edition here: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ya09/ya09_00966/.

医道日用重宝記 1巻 本郷正豊著
安永9＜1780＞刊（大坂、柏原屋清右衛門等）横小1冊
＊改表紙のため、原題箋欠。尾題「医道重宝記」。方面に「...／醫道日用綱目／...／長生寶蔵／增補」とあり。 宝永6年序。（安永9年奥付書肆）京、菊屋七郎兵衛／江戸、西村源六／大坂、柏原屋清右衛門／刊行。巻末に「蔵板略目录／...／書林／大坂心斎橋筋順慶町北江入渦川称贄堂柏原屋清右衛門」（10丁、『絵本野山草後編』『画宝』「七ついろは品々」等所収）。裏表紙見返し箋書「田渋氏蔵書」。印記「田渋」。
Kaiho geka chōhōki
‘Treasury of external medicine, revised and enlarged’

This anonymous summation of external medicine, in other words the treatment of external lesions, is written in hiragana-majiri with extensive furigana and gives details of various ointments and other treatments. The first edition, titled (Shinkan kokon) Geka chōhōki 新刊古今外科重宝記, was published in 1746 but this new edition it was published in 1785 in Osaka; there were later impressions in 1805 and 1806. The figures in the illustrations are Chinese in appearance and much attention is given in the first half of the book to identifying and naming the parts of the body, which implies that in the author’s view this was not knowledge that could be taken for granted. [Fig. 17]

Kotenseki 39644; Rudolph #13; there is a facsimile of the 1806 edition in Nagatomo 24: 119-318 and of the earlier edition of 1746 in Nagatomo 24: 5-117.

改補外科調宝記 （目録題） 1巻
天明 5 ＜1785＞刊 （大坂、柏原屋与左衛門） 横小 1冊

Fig. 16
Idō nichiyō chōhōki. The illustration shows a technique for massaging the foot which, according to the accompanying text, will bring relief from colds and many other ailments.
Kōkeisai kyūhō
‘Emergency treatments for the benefit of all’
[Japanese 25]
A manual for the treatment of emergency conditions, including loss of consciousness, injuries, accidents, poisoning and gynaecological and pediatric emergencies, with monochrome illustrations; it was written in hiragana-majiri by Taki Rankei (1732–1801), also known as Motonori, assisted by his eldest son, Taki Keizan (1755–1810), also known as Motoyasu. The Taki family were for generations in service to the Bakufu government as doctors. Rankei’s father, Mototaka (1695–1766), founded a medical school in Edo known as the Seijukan in 1765; Rankei succeeded to the headship of this in 1766 and it flourished in spite of having to be constantly rebuilt following fires. In 1791 the Seijukan was taken over by the Bakufu and became the Bakufu’s medical academy, the Igakkan, although the head of the Taki family continued to serve as its head.

Under the Takis, the Igakkan published various medical texts and also enjoyed the power of controlling medical publication by others; it appears that the Takis were hostile to the schools of medicine connected with the Dutch and to the introduction of Western medicine to Japan.
Rankei, who was given many honours, was the author of a number of medical works, most of which were never published. Keizan published several medical works, but he was also active as a collector and editor of medical texts. This work was published by the Seijukan in 1790 and distributed by Suharaya Kasuke of Edo et al. [Fig. 18]

Kotenseki 177786; Rudolph #14; Sōda 277; Bartlett & Shohara 116–17; Kornicki 1: 203.

広恵済急方 3巻 多紀藍溪（元徳）著、多紀桂山（元簡）校
寛政2＜1790＞跋刊 （躋寿館蔵版／江戸、須原屋嘉助等発行） 大3冊
＊外題「官準広恵済急方」。封面に「寛政元年開鐫」とあるが、刊年は跋年に従う。蔵版主は封面による。（奥附書肆）東都書肆／須原屋茂兵衛・須原屋市兵衛・須原屋善五郎・須原屋嘉助／発行。

Fig. 18
Kōkeisai kyūhō: illustrations accompanying the section of ways of reviving somebody who has drowned.
Kōkeisai kyūhō
‘Emergency treatments for the benefit of all’
[Japanese 26]
Another copy of the same edition of Kōkeisai kyūhō as the entry above but printed later by Hanabusa Heikichi of Edo. Purchased at J. C. Stevens’s auction, London, on 28 October 1930.

Kōkeisai kyūhō
‘Emergency treatments for the benefit of all’
[Japanese 67]
Another copy of Kōkeisai kyūhō, printed later by Hanabusa Heikichi of Edo.

Igaku shikken goshu sanka hatsumō
‘Obstetrics explained’
[Japanese 68]
Katakura Kakuryō (1751-1822) was adopted into a medical family at a young age and later studied with the Taki family in Edo (see notes on Kōkeisai kyūhō above). Subsequently he studied with Kagawa Gen’etsu in Kyoto (see notes on Shigenshi sanron above). He wrote many books on medicine and his fame was such that he was even called in to assist with a difficult birth in the Shogun’s household, even though he had no official standing. In this work, he drew upon Dutch and English (most probably via Dutch translations) works, reproducing some of the original illustrations, to deal with difficult births and how they were to be managed; he was the first to explain the uses and functions of forceps in Japan. As a scholarly text not intended for lay use, it is written in kanbun. The work was first published in 1799, but minor additions were made to the blocks in 1803 and 1822 and this copy dates from 1822 or shortly thereafter.

医学質験五種産科発蒙 6 巻 片倉鶴陵著、谷井敬英等校
寛政 11 <1799> 計・享和 3 <1803> 増修・文政 5 <1822> 通行
（江戸、須原屋茂兵衛） 大 4 冊
※外題「医学質験義集産科発蒙」。享和 3 年付け「治産外科序」を 増修、文政 5 年付け 扱を通行。各巻々頭、著者名下に「門人上毛今村長順子正」も入木修訂。巻末に「鶴陵片倉元周深甫先生著述…／発行書林／京都、勝村治右衛門／大坂、秋田屋太右衛門／江戸、須原屋茂兵衛」。識語「備賀足伊賀氏／天保三年八月 日調之」。
Fukushō kiran
‘Abdominal diagnosis illustrated’

This work, published in 1801, contains illustrations showing patients with various internal ailments, and in each the location of the pain or discomfort is indicated with printed patches of green. Each condition is discussed in katakana-majiri script and prescriptions for treatment are provided. Of the author, Inaba Katsu, nothing is known.

Kotenseki 1015141; Rudolph #18; several facsimile editions have been published and a digital version can be seen here:

http://www.zvdd.de/dms/load/met/?PPN=PPN3303599904.

Keiketsu ikai
‘On acupuncture’

A study of acupuncture in kanbun by Hara Nan’yō (1753-1820). Hara, whose father was a doctor in the service of the daimyo of Mito, studied obstetrics and other medical subjects in Kyoto; he subsequently spent some time in Edo in poverty until asked to treat the daimyo of Mito in his Edo residence. His treatment was successful, and he was subsequently appointed as one of the daimyo’s physicians, in which capacity he served successive daimyo for more than 30 years. He published a number of works and is particularly known for his Toridegusa 砦艸, which was published in 1811 and was the first work in Japan devoted to military medicine and hygiene. Keiketsu ikai was published in 1807 by the author himself and distributed for sale by commercial publishers from Mito, Osaka, Edo and Kyoto. Attached to the colophon is a list of Hara’s other publications for sale, including Toridegusa. Purchased from Probsthain’s booksellers in 1911.

Kotenseki 1000573; Ogata 300-316.

Kotenseki 1000573; Ogata 300-316.
衛門／大坂、秋田屋太右衛門／江戸、須原屋茂兵衛・須原屋伊八／水戸、須原屋安次郎。朱・墨筆の書入多し。（巻末に「于時明治十有九年」の年記あり）。（印記）「□野国□医王山下記」「名雖」「字子雖」。

Geka shūkō
‘Effective external treatment’
[Japanese 130]
This is a volume of illustrations taken from a treatise on bandages and bindings, but the accompanying two volumes of text are missing from this copy. It was originally written by the editor’s father, Ōtsuki Gentaku (see entry for Kaitai shinsho below), under the title Hōtai zushiki 繃帯図式, but Ōtsuki Genkan (1785-1838) edited the volumes for publication in 1813. Many of the bandages are applied to battlefield wounds. Most patients illustrated are Japanese in appearance, but the last illustration depicts a European in a leg-splint, presumably taken from some imported book (see the illustration following the entry for Makimomenzu above). Ōtsuki Genkan spent some years studying Dutch in Nagasaki and progressed far enough with the language to be able to write a grammar of Dutch. After spending some years as the Sendai domain doctor, he was employed by the Bakufu government as a translator of imported books.

Kotenseki 1000960; Mestler 5: 214.
外科収功 存図式1巻 (本文2巻欠) 大槻磐里 (玄幹) 編
文化10＜1813＞序跋刊 (無刊記) 半1冊
＊朱筆書入れあり。外題「(外科収功) 図式」。 三色図（顔などにピンク色）。

Anzan kōunroku
‘Problem-free childbirth’
[Japanese 30]
A work on childbirth aimed at a popular audience. The author, Kamo Yūsai, was not a doctor but a yin-yang practitioner, and he recommended the use of amulets and other devices to ward off harm. It contains practical information for mothers and instructions concerning yin-yang divination in connection with pregnancy. It was first published in 1839 but this is a reprint issued in 1844.

安産幸運録 3巻 加茂熊斎述、荒木峯挙・中西亀年画
天保10＜1839＞刊・天保15＜1844＞印 （著者蔵版／大坂、玉島屋民次郎等発行）
半3冊
＊外題「陰陽和合安産幸運録」。封面に「備岳館＜著者カ＞社中蔵板」。刊記に「天保十・・影刻」とあり。（天保十五年奥附書肆）三都書林／江戸、須原屋茂兵衛・山城屋佐兵衛／京都、吉野屋仁兵衛・田中屋専助／大阪、河内屋喜兵衛・玉島屋民次郎。巻末に「備岳館蔵板目録」（半丁）を附す。
Gyūtō hatsumō
‘Cowpox revealed’ [Japanese 77]
The author of this study on the principles behind vaccination, Kuwata Ryūsai (1811-1868), was of lowly samurai status from the remote province of Echigo. He went to the domain medical school but then went to Edo where in time he became the adopted son of Kuwata Genshin, a paediatrician in the Chinese medical tradition. Unlike most enthusiasts for Western medicine, he never went to Nagasaki but he eagerly publicised and promoted vaccination. In 1849 he published not only this book but also Intō yō ryakkai 引痘要略解 (‘A short commentary on vaccination’), an abbreviated edition in Japanese of a Chinese work, Yin dou xin fa quan shu 引痘新法全書 (also known as Yin dou lüe 引痘略) by Qiu Xi 邱熺 of the late Qing dynasty: this work had already been published in Japan in the original Chinese text in 1846, and in 1849 a translation by Koyama Shisei 小山肆成 was published in Japan under the title Hon'yaku intō shinpō zensho. The introduction to Gyūtō hatsumō describes the new discovery that had been made in the West for the vaccination of children so as to prevent them catching smallpox, and it states that vaccination had been introduced to Japan in 1849 to the great delight of the population of Japan although there had been some doubt at first. The frontispiece to Gyūtō hatsumō carries an image of the ‘Child-preserving cowpox Bodhisattva’ and an identical image appeared as the frontispiece to Intō yō ryakkai. At the end of the book there is a catalogue of books on vaccination. [Fig. 19]


牛痘発蒙 1巻 桑田立斎著
嘉永2<1849>序刊 （無刊記） 大1冊
＊巻末に「種痘書目」（1丁）を附す。（印記）「弐木文庫」「朝鮮医学研究図書」。

Fig. 19
Gyūtō hatsumō frontispiece: an image of the ‘Child-preserving cowpox Bodhisattva’.
Geka kihai
‘Life-saving surgery’
[Japanese 18]
This is a treatise on surgery by Kamata Keishū (1794-1854), which was dictated to his pupil Matsuoka Hajime. The blocks were carved in Osaka and it was privately published in 1851 in Ōzu, Iyo province (Shikoku). From 1809 Kamata studied for five years under the brilliant medical pioneer Hanaoka Seishū (1760-1835) of Kii province, who had already in 1804 successfully developed a technique for operating on patients under a general anaesthetic but who did not publicise his techniques. Kamata subsequently returned to his home province of Iyo, where his family had long been in service to the domain authorities as surgeons, and practised as a surgeon specializing in the treatment of breast cancer. Geka kihai outlines a number of his surgical practices in katakana-majiri script and it is equipped with numerous polychrome illustrations by an unknown artist. The date of publication given on the inside of the front cover is 1849, but both the preface and postface are dated 1851.

Shōni yōiku kogane no ishizue
‘The foundations of childrearing’
[Japanese 24]
A book by Ishida Teikan on childhood diseases and their treatment, written in hiragana-majiri and aimed at a popular market. It was published by a Kyoto pharmacist named Ishida Kenji, who appears to have had some connection with the author, for the patent medicines recommended by the author were produced by Ishida’s pharmacy. This book appears form a note at the end to have been originally published in 1813, but this is a new edition published in 1851, with further revisions and additions made in 1859. The author is otherwise unknown, but the book contains a portrait of him at the age of 95.
Acquired in 1969.

Kyūkyū tekihō
‘Methods for dealing with emergencies’
[Japanese 117]
As the subtitle (‘For military situations’) of this book indicates, it is primarily concerned with military medicine and covers gunshot wounds and other injuries likely to be incurred in battle,
but it also introduces Western bandaging techniques and deals with other conditions such as food poisoning and cholera. Although the Edo period had been remarkably free of warfare for more than two centuries by the 1850s, the humiliating encounter of China with Western military might in the First Opium War was well known in Japan and it is likely that some apprehension of a similar war in Japan stimulated interest in military medicine. The author, Hirano Genryō (1790-1867), studied medicine in Edo under Taki Motoyasu (see entry for Kōkeisai kyūhō above) and published a number of medical works in the closing years of the Edo period. Kyūkyū tekihō was published in two parts in 1853 and 1857.

Tassei zusetsu
‘Parturition illustrated’
[Japanese 127]
This work on obstetrics, written in katakana-majiri, was the work of Kondō Naoyoshi (also known as Taizō 退蔵 or Kenzan 謙山; 1814-1861), and was published in 1858. This is Kondō’s only work and little is known about his life: he was an official doctor in the Obama domain in the province of Wakasa; in 1858 he moved to Kyoto and began to practice medicine there, but he died in the same year. At the outset he provides a detailed explanation of the female genital organs and their relation to the womb and goes on to examination and diagnosis, all illustrated with line drawings. He recommends various kinds of massage, and when preparing for birth he, like others before him, insisted on the use of a rolled-up bed cover for the patient to sit up against and showed how this was to be folded. The process of birth is covered in numerous illustrations showing each stage, and he also deals with still births, post-partural problems and the care of babies.

Naika hiroku
‘Secret treatise on internal medicine’
[Japanese 19]
A treatise on internal medicine by Honma Sōken (1804-1872), who entered Hanaoka Seishū’s school of surgery (see Geka kihai, above) in 1827. He left the school after a short while to spend two months studying in Nagasaki with Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), the doctor in
Deshima who was later to achieve fame as a pioneering Japanologist. Honma’s view was that Hanaoka Seishū’s surgical techniques were superior to Siebold’s. *Naika hiroku* covers a number of Honma’s medical and surgical practices using *katakana-majiri* script, and is supplied with extensive polychrome illustration by an unknown artist. It was privately published by the author in 1864.

Kotenseki 390772; Sōda 233, 236.
内科秘録存巻 1-13 本間棗軒著
元治 1 <1864>刊（著者蔵版）半13冊
＊刊年・蔵版者は扉による。

**Zoku yōka hiroku**
‘Secret treatise on ulcers’
[Japanese 20]
A continuation of Honma Sōken’s treatise on ulcers, of which the first part, *Yōka hiroku*, was published in 1837. *Zoku yōka hiroku* introduces a number of Honma’s surgical practices, including his ground-breaking amputation of a gangrenous leg undertaken in 1857. It is written in *katakana-majiri* script and is supplied with numerous polychrome illustrations by an unknown artist. It was privately published by the author in 1859 and distributed for sale by a number of commercial publishers in Edo, Kyoto, Osaka and Nagoya.

Sōda 235-6; Kotenseki 352625.
続竪科秘録 5巻 本間棗軒述、川又誠等筆
安政 6 <1859>刊（著者蔵版／江戸、和泉屋金右衛門等発行）大5冊
＊刊年・蔵版者は扉による。（奥附書肆）三都書物問屋／京都、勝村治右衛門／大阪、河内屋喜兵衛／秋田屋伊八・河内屋茂兵衛／伊丹屋善兵衛／大坂、永楽屋東四郎／江戸、須原屋伊八・河内屋茂兵衛／岡本喜兵衛／各国元弘所(97所)」。嘉永4年刊本を覆刻。

**Shōni yōiku kogane no ishizue**
‘Foundations of child-rearing’
[Japanese 132]
Another copy of *Shōni yōiku kogane no ishizue* (see above). This edition was published in 1874 and is a facsimile (*kabusebori*) of the new edition which was first published in 1851 and was then reissued in 1859 with revisions and additions. It evidently enjoyed lasting popularity for other impressions are recorded for the years 1862, 1865 and 1870.

Kotenseki 1058748.
小児養育金礎 1巻 石田鼎貫著
明治7 <1874>刊（京、石田勝秀）半1冊
＊書外題「脾肝薬王園」。序題「脾肝薬王園乗法（振り仮名「しょうによういくこがねのいしつえ/ひかんやくおうゑんもちひやう」）」。明治5年の序末に「明治七年甲戌初春改補」、刊年はそれによる。巻末に「時文化十年癸酉仲秋/潜龍陳人鼎貫誌/本家製薬所皇都石田勝秀」。巻末に「本家製薬所 皇都...石田勝秀／出張弘所 東京...石田運平・大阪...岡本喜兵衛／各国元弘所(97所)」。嘉永4年刊本を覆刻。
"Seisetsu ihan teikō shakugi"  
‘Fundamentals of medicine according to Western writings with interpretive notes’  
[Japanese 69]
This is a manual of anatomy written by Udagawa Genshin (1769-1834) with the assistance of his follower, Suwa Shun; as Suwa explains in his introduction, Udagawa’s text was based on extracts taken from the works of the Dutch physicians Steven Blankaart (1650-1704) and Jan Palfijn (1650-1730), and from those of Jacob Winsløw (1669-1760), a Dane who became professor of anatomy in Paris and was famous for his *Exposition anatomique de la structure du corps humain* (1732). *Seisetsu ihan teikō shakugi* was published in 1805. Udagawa was unusual among scholars of so-called ‘Dutch studies’ in Japan in having a knowledge of French. The text consists of passages in *kanbun* with *kunten* to make it easier for Japanese to read, and explanatory notes written in a smaller size in *katakana-majiri* script. There are no illustrations but an anatomical atlas to accompany the text was published three years later (see entry for *Kaibō dōzu* below).

Udagawa as young man studied under the pioneers of anatomy in Japan, Sugita Genpaku and Ōtsuki Gentaku, and the ‘Gen’ in his pen-name reflects this intellectual genealogy. After being adopted into the Udagawa family of doctors in Tsuyama, in addition to practicing medicine he was employed by the Bakufu as a translator of Dutch astronomical texts and in his school, Fūundō, he taught not only medicine but also chemistry and other scientific subjects.

*Kotenseki* 97869; *Tōkyō* 91; *Mestler* 1: 315-317;
西説医範提綱釈義 3巻 宇田川玄真著、諏訪俊校
文化2＜1805＞刊 （江戸、須原屋善五郎等）大3冊
＊外題「西説医範」。封面「（和蘭内景）医範提綱／風雲堂裁版 宮商閣発奨」。内題に「榛斎宇田川先生訳述／門人勢州諏訪俊士徳筆記」とあり。
（文化2年奥付書肆）京都、勝村治右衛門／大坂、大野木市兵衛・河内屋太助・同儀助／江戸、須原屋善五郎。

"Kaibō dōzu"  
‘Copperplate anatomical illustrations’  
[Japanese 70]
This is the volume of illustrations produced for *Seisetsu ihan teikō shakugi* (see above). They were executed by Aōdō Denzen (1748-1822), the pioneer of copperplate printing in Japan, who spent four years studying the technique in Nagasaki. The plates for this book, which was published in 1808, were printed sheet by sheet and pasted onto thick card on which the commentary had already been printed using woodblocks. This copy formerly belonged to the Yokohama book-collector Okamoto Enmaan.

*Kotenseki* 995299; *Mestler* 1: 315-7.
[解剖銅図]（題箋欠）1巻 宇田川玄真著、亜欧堂田善画
文化5＜1808＞刊 （無刊記）1帖
＊銅版。刊年は扉絵年記による。印記「関魔庵図書部」「岡本蔵書」「三好図書松蘇□記」。
Kaitai hatsumō
‘Anatomy revealed’
[Japanese 71a]
A detailed account of human anatomy, based both on dissection and on earlier published work. Kaitai hatsumō was written by Mitani Boku (?-1823) and was published in 1810. It contains a number of multicoloured anatomical illustrations that make full use of the technology of colour woodblock printing that had been developed several decades earlier. [Fig. 20]
Kotenseki 995039; Mestler 2: 316-8; Blondelet #23; a digital version can be seen here: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ya09/ya09_01112/.
解体発蒙 4巻・付録1巻  三谷樸著
文化10＜1813＞刊  京、西村吉兵衛等 大5冊
＊外題「（蔵府真写）解体発蒙」。（文化10年奥付書肆）大坂書林、魚崎本三郎／京都書林、中川藤四郎・三木安兵衛・皆山三郎右衛門・小野喜兵衛・西村吉兵衛／発呉。
印記「國朝醫統學脈世家」 「澹虛齋圖書記」。
Fig. 20
*Kaitai hatsumō*: coloured illustration showing the arrangement of the internal organs.
Kaitai hatsumō
‘Anatomy revealed’
[Japanese 71b]
Another copy of *Kaitai hatsumō* (see above), printed somewhat later from the original printing blocks.

解体発蒙 4巻・付録1巻 三谷樸著
〔文化10＜1813＞〕刊・後印 （大坂、河内屋茂兵衛等） 大5冊
＊ (奥付書肆) 書林／京都・河内屋藤四郎／江戸・須原屋茂兵衛・山城屋佐兵衛・須原屋新兵衛・山城屋政吉・英大助・英文蔵・丁子屋平兵衛・岡田屋嘉七／大阪・河内屋藤兵衛／大坂、河内屋茂兵衛。

Rōba shinsho
‘Guidance for midwives’
[Japanese 118]
This manual on the care of young infants is based on lectures given by Hazama Sōgen and taken down by four of his followers, and it was published in 1817. The text is in *hiragana-majiri* script with abundant *furigana*, but, rather oddly for a book so clearly aimed at the lower end of the literate market, all the prefatory material including the introduction (*hanrei*) is in *kanbun* with no *kunten*. In a section on childhood palsy Hazama quotes enthusiastically and at length from *Yi xue yuan liu lun*, a study of the origins of medicine by Xu Dachun 徐大椿 (1693-1771), adding *kunten* to the original Chinese text; he does so on the grounds that few copies were available in Japan, and in fact it was not until 1851 that a Japanese edition was published, so Hazama must have had an imported copy. Also included are a picture of a child with hydrocephalus and some of Hazama’s written diagnoses in his own hand, which are reproduced in the form of a negative (white text on a black background).

Kotenseki 1029227; Tōkyō 52; *Meijizen* 4: 199, 5: 379; Rudolph, #20; a digital version can be seen here: http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/ya09/ya09_01075/index.html.

老婆心書 2巻 羽佐間宗玄口決、森宗哲等編
文化14＜1817＞刊 （桜寧軒藏板） 大2冊
＊封面に「羽佐間先生口決／桜寧軒藏板」とあり。巻頭に「門人／東都森宗哲／会津連沼栄碩／浜松田辺玄樹／備中松山鈴木三悦／交述」とあり。 （奥付） 老婆心書続編近刻／文化十四丁丑軒秋七月／書肆／京・植村藤右衛門／大坂、河内屋吉兵衛／東都、鴨伊兵衛。両冊裏表紙に墨書「于時昭和三年／土佐姓蔵」。

Bunsei rokunen kaizō zufu
‘Illustrations from a dissection carried out in 1823’
[Japanese 73]
This gives a detailed visual record of a dissection: at the outset there is a list of all those present, starting with the teacher, Komori Tōu 小森桃塢 (1782-1843), and the director of the dissection, Ikeda Tōzō (the author), and 41 artists, secretaries, dissectors, and other participants, 20 servants, 11 observers from Komori’s school, and finally 49 observers from other schools of medicine all over Japan. Ikeda (1786-1836) had studied with Komori. The illustrations are in colour, and the names of the block carver and printer who made it possible for such fine illustrations to be reproduced are given in the colophon.
The title on the opening page appears to have been altered so as to change the year to the 6th year of the Bunsei era (1823), while the preface refers to the 4th year (1821). Other copies of this work, published in 1822, bear a title referring to the 4th year so it seems that the title of this book was altered to match the date of publication in 1823.

Kotenseki 995006; Tōkyō 91; a digital version can be seen here:

Anpuku zukai
‘Illustrated account of massage’
[Japanese 121]
This is not so much a treatise on massage as a popular manual, as is obvious from the text: rather than katakana-majiri script, this is written in hiragana-majiri and and there are abundant furigana on the characters, even for the most familiar. The detailed account of the therapeutic uses of pressure on various parts of the body that is given in this book is often considered to be the origins of shiatsu 指圧, an alternative form of medicine relying on pressure and massage which developed in the early 20th century but which cannot be scientifically shown to have any beneficial effect. However, this book makes use of Chinese traditions of therapeutic massage which became popular in the Edo period.

The author was one Ōta Shinsai, whose dates are unknown and who lived in Kyoto. No other works by him are known. The extensive illustrations were provided by Murata Yoshikoto (1765-1836), who was a pupil of Motoori Norinaga and a scholar in the Kokugaku tradition. He followed in his father’s footsteps as a scholar but was also a talented artist and was responsible for the illustrations in Onna shisho geimon zue 女四書芸文図会 (1835) and several other works for women readers.

In one illustration, the technique of giving infants a therapeutic massage is shown: the mother and child are depicted with Japanese clothing and hair-styles, but in some of the other illustrations the figures are Chinese figures

Kotenseki 11303; Tōkyō 87; Mitchell 208; Rudolph #22
**Zettai zusetsu**

‘Disorders of the tongue illustrated’

[Japanese 76]

This rare book contains printed colour illustration of tongues in various states illustrative of internal disorders. It is partly based upon, and cites from, two Chinese works on the diagnostic value of tongues: one is *Shang han she jian* 傷寒舌鑑 by Zhang Deng 張登 (*fl. 18th century*) and the other is *Ao shi shang han jin jing lu* 敖氏傷寒金鏡錄 by Ao Jigong 敖繼公. The author of this book, Tsuchida Mōsai (also known as Joan; 1765-1837), published several other medical texts but the details of his life are unknown. The colophon contains details of some other works of his, but the last two, although listed as ‘forthcoming’, appear never to have been published. [Fig. 21]


Fig. 21

Zettai zusetsu. Left: the colophon, giving details of other works by the author. Right: colour illustration of a white tongue with black spots.
4 Translations of European medical works

*Kaitai shinsho*

‘New book of anatomy’

*Kaitai shinsho* is the most famous translation made from Dutch in the Edo period and it had a wide-ranging impact. It is based on *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*, which was itself a Dutch translation of *Anatomische Tabellen* by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689-1745), a work that had been published in 1722. The translation was undertaken by a team consisting of Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817), Maeno Ryōtaku (1723-1803), Nakagawa Jun’an (1739-1786), Katsuragawa Hoshū (1751-1809) and several others, some of whom had known no Dutch before they undertook the translation. They were inspired by the results of a dissection some of them had carried out in 1771, which had revealed the accuracy of the anatomical illustrations in *Ontleedkundige Tafelen*. *Kaitai shinsho* marked a significant step forward for Dutch studies and for the transmission of Western science to Japan, and it also constituted a powerful argument for empirical science and for the value of knowledge emanating from Europe.

The translation was not into Japanese but into *kanbun* with *kunten*. It was presented to the shogun and then, permission having been given to publish, it was published by Suharaya Ichibei in 1774, and this is a copy of the first edition.

*Seisetsu naika sen’yō*

‘The essentials of internal medicine according to Western writings’

This voluminous work, which was published in 1810, is the first Western work on medicine (rather than anatomy) to be translated into Japanese. It purports to be a translation of a work by Johannes de Gorter (1689-1762) and is generally considered to be a translation of his *Compendium medicinae in usum exercitationis domesticae digestum*, which was published in Leiden in 1731-1737 and in Venice in 1751; however, the *Compendium medicinae* was only published in Latin which it is improbable that anybody in Japan could translate. According to the introduction, the original was printed in 1744 which the reader is informed corresponds to the 19th year of the Kyōhō era, but that year in fact corresponds to 1734 so the translation of the year into Japanese terms is mistaken. The most likely candidate for the original translated by Genzui seems to be *Gezuiverde geneeskonst, of kort onderwys der meeste inwendige ziekten, ten nutte van chirurgyns, die ter zee of velde dienende, of in andere omstandigheden, zig genoodzaakt vinden dusdanige ziekten te behandelen*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1744 and is of course in Dutch, the only European language which was at all known in the Edo period. The translation was undertaken by Udagawa Genzui (1756-1798), who was born into a family employed as physicians to the Tsuyama domain and originally followed the family tradition of Chinese medicine, but he turned towards ‘Dutch medicine’ under the influence of the anatomists Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku.

Kotenseki 1043001; Tōkyō 94; Mestler 2: 321-22; a digital version can be seen here:
Jûtei kaitai shinsho dôban zenzu
‘New book of anatomy revised: copperplate illustrations’
[Japanese 133]
This is part of a new edition of Kaitai shinsho (see entry above) which was revised by Ôtsuki Bantaku (1757-1827) and published in 1812; this is the accompanying volume of newly-executed copperplate illustrations based on the plates in Kulmus’ Tabulae anatomicae and other sources.

Kotenseki 1056719; Mestler 1: 310-5.

Rireishi yakubutsugaku
‘Riley’s pharmacology’
[Japanese 87]
This translation of a pharmacological text-book was published in Tokyo by Shimamura Risuke in 1875. The translated preface is dated 1869 and identifies the original author, whose name is given only in Chinese characters, as a resident of Washington, USA. He was in fact John Campbell Riley (1828-1879), a Washington physician who in 1859 became a professor at the National Medical College in Washington DC. This book is a translation of what seems to have been the only book he published, A compend of materia medica and therapeutics, for the use of students (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1869). The English original is a somewhat obscure book and the only copy so far located of the first edition is to be found in the library of the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences; no copies of this are in the Library of Congress, though the revised edition of 1883 can be found in various libraries. The likelihood is that this work was chosen to be translated not so much because of its practical value as a manual for students as because of its chance transmission to Japan. There are in fact four copies of the 1869 in various Japanese libraries, so more copies survive there than in the USA.

The translator, Kobayashi Yoshinao (1844-1905), was born in rural Fukuyama but in 1863 he went up to Edo (=Tokyo), where he attended the Yōsho Shirabesho and Igakukan (the Bakufu institutions for the study of Western books and Western medicine, respectively) and also attended the private school of Tsuboi Hōshū. He subsequently returned to Fukuyama, where he taught English in the domain academy and was later instrumental in setting up a medical academy and hospital there. In 1872 he entered the Monbushō (Ministry of Education) and the
following year was attached to the Translation Department with responsibility for medical books. In 1875, however, he left the Ministry to devote himself to translation and he subsequently produced a number of medical translations, either on his own or in collaboration with Tsuboi Hōshū and others; these included a manual of gynaecology, *Kashi sanka tekiyō 華氏産科摘要* (1876), which was translated from an unidentified original and published by the same publisher as this book.

A notice attached to the end of volume eight indicates that the publisher, Shimamura Risuke, was the official publisher of books for the Army Medical Corps, the Naval Hospital and the Medical Academy and that he specialized in medical books and translations; a catalogue of his publications attached to the end of the last volume includes a number of medical works as well as *Saikoku rishihien*, a translation of Samuel Smiles’ *Self-help*. This copy bears the ownership stamps of two unidentified Japanese medical institutions probably of the early Meiji period.


**Furesu kaibō zufu**

*Fles’s anatomy illustrated*

[Japanese 123]

Joseph Alexander Fles (1819 - 1905) was a Dutch military doctor who wrote, amongst other works, *Handleiding tot de stelselmatige beschrijvende ontleedkunde van den mensch: ten gebruike bij het onderwijs aan’s Rijks Kweekschool voor militaire geneeskundigen* (Utrecht: Broese, 1855). *Furesu kaibō zufu* was based on the second edition of this work (Utrecht: B. Dekema, 1866). The translator was Naka Sadakatsu (also known as Naka Min’ya 中欽哉) and the translation was published in 1872.

Tōkyō 92; Mestler 1: 319.

布列私解剖図譜 1巻・附「布列私解剖図」1巻 布列私 (Joseph Alexander Fles) 著、中定勝訳述 明治5＜1872＞刊 （大阪、松田正助等）半1冊
＊木版、解剖図は銅版。前面に「思々斎蔵版（朱印「思々斎蔵版」）」。（明治5年奥付書肆）三府発弘書肆／東京、須原茂兵衛・稲田＜山城屋＞佐兵衛・佐久間＜岡田屋＞嘉七／西京、勝村治右衛門・湯浅治助・松本甚助／大阪、松村＜敦賀屋＞九兵衛・柳原＜河内屋＞喜兵衛・松田正助。
5 Other scientific books: astronomy, botany, meteorology

Tenmon zukai
‘Illustrated explanation of astronomy’
[Japanese 91]
This is the oldest and most well-known book of astronomy from the Edo period; it was written by Iguchi Jōhan and was published in 1689. Iguchi has left no other works and is largely unknown, but he wrote in the preface that he had been keen on mathematics since childhood and had built up a collection of books on calendrical science. As Iguchi mentions in his preface, the background to this work is the adoption of a new calendar in 1685. The Senmyōreki 宣明暦 calendar had been imported from Tang China in 862 and, with some adjustments, been used for more than 800 years while in China there had been numerous calendrical reforms. By the 17th century the calendar and the seasons were at odds with each other and Hōi Shunkai 保井春海 petitioned the Bakufu for a revision of the calendar on three occasions. His third petition in 1684 was successful and his new calendar, known as the Jōkyōreki came into force in 1685, the second year of the Jōkyō era: this was the first calendar devised in Japan. Later that year Hōi became the Bakufu’s first official astronomer (Tenmongata).

Much of this work is very technical and goes into the details of calendrical science, but it is written in katakana-majiri and it also covers the prediction of eclipses and the history of calendars in East Asia. It is not all scientific, for it includes the use of astronomy for the purpose of fortune-telling.

Kotenseki 46582; Watanabe 118-123; facsimile in Edo kagaku koten sōsho 江戸科学古典叢書, vol. 33 (Kōwa Shuppan, 1980).

Shogaku tenmon shinanshō
‘Astronomy for beginners’
[Japanese 93]
An introduction to astronomy and astrology by Baba Nobutake, who wrote a number of works on divination. It is written in katakana-majiri and was published in 1706 in Osaka.

Kotenseki 235461.
初学天文指南鈔 5 巻・首目 1 巻 馬場信武著
宝永 3 <1706>刊・[後印] （大坂、鳴井茂兵衛）大 6 冊
※外題「初学天文指南」。封面「金声玉振／天文指南／浪華書肆玉蓮堂蔵版」。
Tenkei wakumon
‘Exposition of the solar paths’
[Japanese 90]
This astronomical study by the Qing-dynasty astronomer You Yi was imported to Japan during the Edo period and introduced the notion of solar rather than lunar measurement of time well before Japan abandoned the solar calendar in 1872.
Nagasawa 117; Watanabe 479.
天経惑問 2巻・首目1巻・附「大略天學名目鈔」1巻 清·遊藝著、西川正休点
享保15<1730>跋刊・［後印］ (無書肆名) 大4冊
＊『和刻本漢籍分類目録』117頁によれば、享保15年刊本は書肆名が万屋清兵衛となっている。裏表紙見返識語「山田槌之助蔵書」。墨筆書入れあり。

Butsurui hinshitsu
‘Categories determined’
[Japanese 89]
This is a work of natural history covering selected items including liquids, solids like soap and coal, metals, precious stones, minerals, plants, grains, fruit, trees, insects, fish, shellfish and a few animals and it draws on the experience of the author, Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780) in organising and participating in exhibitions of natural produce (bussankai). As befits a book with scientific pretensions, it is written in katakana-majiri, and it gives the Chinese and Japanese names of plants, and sometimes Western names too. The first item shown, bara no tsuyu薔薇露, appears not only with its Japanese name but is also said to be named ‘rosewater’ in the ‘language of the red-headed people’, which usually means the Dutch; since the Dutch for rosewater is rozenwater it is apparent that the English term is intended. The fifth volume consists of botanical illustrations and the sixth deals with cultivation of ginseng. There are other occasional illustrations elsewhere in the book, such one which shows a machine for the extraction of sugar from sugar cane. Butsurui hinshitsu was published in 1763.
Kotenseki 484026.
物類品隲 4巻・図録1巻・付録1巻 平賀源内編、田村善之等校
宝暦13<1763>刊 （松籟館蔵板／大坂、柏原屋清右衛門等発行）
大6冊
＊（宝暦13年刊記書肆） 松籟館蔵版（印「松籟館図書印」）／鴻溪平賀先生嗣出書（三行略）／書肆／江戸、植村藤三郎・須原屋市兵衛／大坂、柏原屋清右衛門／全梓）。印記「伊藤篤太郎記」「神谷之印」「福田所蔵」「呉琅蔵書」。

Zōho min’yō seisui benran
‘Practical guide to the weather, revised and enlarged’
[Japanese 80]
This guide to meteorology and astrology and to weather phenomena in general was written by Nakanishi Takafusa (d. 1781), who published a number of works on calendars, astronomy and related subjects, and was published in 1767. It includes a paper engineering feature in the form of a rotating dial (f.10a of vol. 2) showing the passage of the sun. [Fig. 22]
Kotenseki 7534.
増補民用晴雨便覧 2巻 中西敬房著
明和4年（1767年）刊・[後印] （大坂、松村＜敦賀屋＞九兵衛） 半2冊
＊外題「（渾天）民用晴雨便覧」、封面題「（渾天）民用晴雨便覧」。封面に「洛東書舗 華文軒蔵版」とあるが、版元は明和4年刊記による。

Fig. 22
Zōho min'yō sei u benran: rotating dial showing the passage of the sun.
Ransetsu benwaku
‘Explaining Dutch views’
[Japanese 92]
This account of the Dutch and their ideas and practices was apparently dictated by the great scholar of Dutch studies, Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827), and written down by Arima Genchō, a doctor from Fukuchiyama. It takes the form of questions and answers, some of them very basic: the first asks how the Dutch write the word ‘Oranda’ (the Japanese term for Holland) and the answer points out that the Dutch do not use Chinese characters. This book therefore seems to be answering a need for basic information stimulated by the growing popularization of Rangaku in the late 18th century. Included are illustrations showing Dutch men and women clothed and unclothed, a bottle and cutlery, and amongst the topics covered are wine, glass, bread, balsam and ostriches. This copy lacks the second volume, but the two volumes were published in 1799.

Kotenseki 1027378; Grant K. Goodman’s translation of this work is contained in Occasional papers, Center for Japanese Studies, no. 3 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952) 71-99.

Shokugaku keigen
‘Exploring botany’
[Japanese 75]
This important botanical treatise introducing European botany and scientific methodologies to Japan was written in kanbun with kunten by Udagawa Yōan (1798-1846), who was the adopted son of Udagawa Genshin and who, like his adopted father, became an official doctor in the Tsuyama domain. In Nagasaki he became acquainted with Philipp Franz von Siebold, the Dutch doctor on Deshima, and with his father he wrote a number of works on Western medicine and pharmacology. The subtitle of this work, which was published in 1834, is ‘Introduction to science’ and as this suggests his wide scientific interests went beyond medicine and led him to publish a work on Western chemistry as well. In this work he provided Japanese translations of Dutch scientific terminology. It has been established by Yabe that Udagawa Yōan copied illustrations either directly or at second hand from a number of important European treatises: of these, Yōan’s personal copy of Job Baster’s Natuurkundige uitspanningen, behelzende eenige waarnemingen, over sommige zee-planten en zee-insecten benevens derzelver zaadhuisjes en eijernesten (an undated edition published in Utrecht; this work was first published in Haarlem in 1759-65) is preserved in Waseda University Library along with Udagawa’s handwritten copy of Nikolaus von Jacquin’s Anleitung zur Pflanzenkenntniss nach Linnés methode: zum Gebrauche seiner theoretischen Vorlesungen (first published in Vienna in 1785 and reissued in 1800). It is unclear whether the illustrations taken from Kurt Sprengel’s Anleitung zur Kenntniss der Gewächse (Halle, 1802), Marcello Malpighi’s Anatome plantarum (first published in London in 1671), Nehemiah Grew’s The anatomy of plants (first published in London in 1682) and Carl Linnaeus’s Systema naturae (first published in Leiden in 1735) indicate that he had access to these books or that he used copies of these illustrations reproduced in other books.
This copy of *Shokugaku keigen* bears several ownership seals of Takasu Shōsai 高須松斎 (1788-1869), a doctor who studied Dutch in Nagasaki and in 1815 conducted a dissection of the corpse of an executed criminal.


*Shinsō zenpen seigi* 'Complete account of physiognomy'

*Japanese 12*

This is a Japanese edition of *Shenxiang quanbian*, a Chinese work on physiognomy apparently written by Chen Zhuan of the Song dynasty and edited by Yuan Zhongche of the Ming dynasty, who was a practising physiognomer and the author of books on the subject. Richard Smith considers Yuan Zhongche to have been the compiler. For this edition, which contains a number of line illustrations, Japanese notes were added by Seki Ryūshi with the assistance of Seki Kōan.  

*Shenxiang quanbian* was one of the most influential and popular works in the field of physiognomy from the Ming up to modern times. It is principally concerned with the head and hands, which were thought to reveal most about a person, but it also pays some attention to other parts of the body, such as feet and belly. Much attention is paid to the identification and classification of physiognomic types, which are correlated with the Five Elements, the animals of the Chinese zodiac and other classificatory systems. There are many popular reprints of the text, and also some of a more scholarly nature which seek to place it in the context of Chinese belief systems. The first Japanese edition was published in 1651: it is listed in several booksellers’ catalogues of the 1660s, but the only copies known to me are in Niigata Prefectural Library and the Hōsa Bunko in Nagoya. The present edition, which includes headnotes and kunten, was published in 1807 by Umemura Ihei of Kyoto et al. The colophon states the the ‘original’ edition was published in 1651, but since Seki Ryūshi is the author of one of the prefaces, which is dated 1805, and clearly can have had nothing to do with an edition published in 1651, this must simply be a reference to the first Japanese edition. Appended to the end of the third volume is a catalogue of other books on physiognomy published by Umemura Ihei. This copy was purchased from Kegan Paul & Co. in 1931.

Shidō 1.88.1, 1.136.4, etc. (see index); *Kanseki shozai chōsa hōkoku* 漢籍所在調査報告, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1982) 87; Li Ling 李零, ed., *Zhongguo fangshu gaiguan – xiängshu juan* 中国方術概観相術巻 (Beijing: Renmin Zhongguo Chubanshe, 1993) 197 (this page precedes a full reprint of the text); Richard J. Smith, *Fortune-tellers and

神相全編正義 3巻 宋・陳搏伝著、明・袁忠徹編、日本・石龍子注、日本。石孝安校
文化4＜1807＞刊 （京、梅村伊兵衛等） 大3冊
※（文化4年奥附書肆）東都書林、須原屋茂兵衛／京師書林、勝村治右衛門・梅村三郎
兵衛・梅村伊兵衛。巻末「相書目録 梅村白玉房＜三郎兵衛＞蔵版」（1丁）を附す。
巻末に「原版慶安四辛卯歳（中略）／再校文化三丙寅際（下略）」とあり。

Shinsō zenpen seigi
‘Complete account of physiognomy’
[Japanese 13]
Another copy of the same Japanese edition of Shenxiang quanbian (see above), lacking the first
volume and original colophon. This copy was printed from the same blocks as the 1807 edition
at some time in the Meiji period by Nakagawa Jinzaburō of Tokyo.
神相全編正義 存巻中下 宋・陳搏伝著、明・袁忠徹編、日本・石龍子注、日本。石孝
安校
［文化4＜1807＞］刊・［明治中期］印 （東京、中川仁三郎） 大2冊
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