Rhythms of Medicine and Community in Late Sixteenth Century Japan:
Yamashina Tokitsune (1543-1611) and his Patients

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[Introduction]

This essay will explore aspects of the interactions between physicians and patients in the late sixteenth century. Three factors lie behind this choice. First, whereas prior to this time we have few records available that allow us to explore the medical history of individuals apart from that of some members of elite society,¹ and little sense that individual patient records may have been kept,²

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¹ Some examples are the noted Imperial regent Fujiwara Michinaga 藤原道長 (966-1027), for whom see Hurst (1979), and more broadly Hattori (1975), and Hattori (1959); or the priest Shaken 薫軒 (1421-1487), for whom see Shaken nichiroku 薫軒日録 (The Daily Record of Shaken) and Iwasaki (1944), who on p. 79 characterizes him as a “warehouse of ailments”.

² This does not mean earlier physicians did not keep some form of clinical records. It is clear from the works of Kajiwara Shōzen (1265-1337) in the fourteenth century—for which see Goble (2001a), Goble (2001b), and Goble (2009)—and the as yet unstudied Dōsan ryōji kikigaki 道三療治聞書 (Dōsan’s Manual on Treatment) of Nakarai Dōsan.
from the mid-1500s physicians began to keep treatment records. Some of the material that has been preserved permits a fairly detailed re-creation of the medical history of large numbers of people across the spectrum of society from aristocrats to commoners. Second, this period, marked by increasing urbanization, stable population clusters, monetization, and the emerging specialization of trades and occupations, is coincident with the beginnings of the professionalization of medicine. Third, the information available to us provides more than a brief snapshot. In some cases we can obtain multi-year information on individuals and families, and in general we are able to chart rhythms and details of interaction between patients and physicians over an extended period of time. All in all, the late sixteenth century provides a glimpse of the beginnings of the medical culture of the early modern period, one characteristic of which was the ubiquity and normative availability to the commoner population of medical treatment and community physicians.

In this essay I will draw most of my material from the *Tokitsune kyōki* 言経卿記 (TTK) of the aristocrat-physician Yamashina Tokitsune 山科言経 (1543-1611), which spans three decades, from 1576-1606. I will augment Tokitsune’s diary with the diary of his father Yamashina Tokitsugu 山科言継 (1507-1579), the *Tokitsugu kyōki* 言継卿記 (TGK), which covers (though not continuously in the extant version) nearly a half century from 1527-1576. Tokitsune spent most of his life in Kyoto, but also spent a period of continuous residence in the Nakanoshima Honganji 中島本願寺 temple in present-day Ōsaka, where he served as a community physician. All told, Tokitsune was active for several decades in the most heavily populated, urbanized, and socially diverse part of Japan in his time. Tokitsune’s diary is a particularly rich resource, and it is hoped...

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半井 道三 (?-1507), that some physicians did do so. It is also clear that Japanese physicians who were familiar with Chinese medical texts would have realised that keeping clinical records was an essential part of medicine—as, for example, Kajiwara Shōzen 京極重尊 would have seen when using Xu Shuwei’s 許叔微 普濟本事方 (Effective Prescriptions for Universal Relief). However, our point is that even in these instances we have little sense of the detail that such records may have contained, and whether they would have been kept as individual patient records.

3 The most common reference point for this is the *Igaku Tenshōki* 医学天正記 (The Medical ‘Record of the Tenshō Era’) of Manase Gensaku 曲直瀬玄朔; see also Takashima (2000-2009). *Igaku Tenshōki* covers eighty-one different types of ailment, and provides information on over 700 different people—almost exclusively members of the political and social elite—of which approximately 463 are males and 276 females. In 385 of these instances we have information on ages, ranging from infancy through the eighties.

4 *Tokitsune kyōki* 言経卿記 (hereafter TTK). For some useful information relating to the diary, see Hattori (1971), pp. 115-121; Hattori (1981b); Hanada (1970).

5 *Tokitsugu kyōki* 言継卿記 (hereafter TGK). For some comment on medical aspects of the diary see Hattori (1971), pp. 105-115; Hattori (1981a).
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the reader will also gain from the essay a sense of the type of material that is available for further exploration.

This essay is divided into the following sections. First, I will briefly touch on Tokitsune’s background and on the character of his patients. Second, I will look briefly at Tokitsune’s medical network. Third, I will look at records of illness, commenting on the phenomenon generally, and then presenting material about the illness of some Yamashina family members in order to gauge the type of information that patient records may have contained. Fourth, I will look at the dynamics of medicine in the community, examining in turn evidence of patient support networks, examples of illness in two commoner families, and finally a method devised by Tokitsune to build goodwill among his patients. I end with some concluding comments. As an appendix, I have included three examples of reconstructed family medical records.

Tokitsune’s Background

The Yamashina were hereditary aristocrats of many centuries standing when, like many aristocratic families, they fell into straitened circumstances from the mid-sixteenth century. The era was a turbulent one of civil war, destruction, and far-reaching social change that culminated in political reunification after 1600 under the leadership of the Tokugawa family. The Yamashina managed to survive the transitions of their age, in no small part due to their ability to interact with the old aristocracy, emerging military hegemons such as the Toyotomi and the Tokugawa, important religious movements such as the Honganji Pure Land sect (with which Tokitsune was linked through marriage), and with the economically dynamic urban population of Kyoto (a mixture of commoners, merchants and moneylenders). However, the path was not smooth. While the full details are unclear, Tokitsune’s position at the intersection of several competing elements led to his forced exile from the capital Kyoto in 1586. He took refuge with the Honganji community in Nakanoshima, where he remained for approximately six years. In 1591 he, along with the Honganji community, was permitted to move to Kyoto. In Nakanoshima Tokitsune had participated as a useful member of the community by serving as a general physician, and he continued in this field after his return to Kyoto.

In offering his services as a community physician Tokitsune drew upon a family interest in medicines and family health that dated at least to the late

6 For an overview of the family, see Imatani (2002), pp. 13-75. Also, see the background essay and reference material in TTK, vol. 14, pp. 95-150.
7 For an insightful survey of the tribulations of the sixteenth century aristocracy, see Butler (2002). For an evocative exploration of the rhythm of Kyoto’s social changes, see Berry (1994). For the broader political story, see Berry (1982).
8 For an informative guide to the dynamics of money, see Gay (2001).
fourteenth century. Most recently, from the mid-1500s his father Tokitsugu had
put his healing skills to use as a physician and pharmacist in order both to help
support his family and to provide a community service in an urban society
battered by disaster but which, as a matter of survival, was forming new bonds
across old class lines. Tokitsugu also had contact with a range of medical
specialists who served the old aristocracy, were active in Kyoto’s Buddhist
temples and monasteries, or who were secular physicians of commoner
background. These latter were the harbingers of a new medical culture in which
the locus of medical authority was to shift from Buddhist priests to secular
physicians.

Tokitsune succeeded his father as family head, as an avid chronicler of his
daily activities, and as a specialist in medicine. As his father had done in his
diary, but in considerably more detail, Tokitsune records such things as the
names, family relationships, occupations, sometimes the ages, and often the
addresses or residential location of patients and their families. He also records
the crude drugs that he purchased from his pharmacist(s), the names of the
prescriptions, the ingredients and the amounts that he used, what extra amounts
or ingredients he added to an original prescription, the doses he prescribed, and
the course and duration of treatment. We learn also that pulse diagnosis was a
key part of his examination.

Tokitsune provided treatment to people at almost every level of society. With
the apparent exception of members of the Imperial family and the highest-ranking
aristocrats, he treated the socially and politically prominent, including warrior
figures such as Toyotomi Hidetsugu and Tokugawa Ieyasu (founder of the
Tokugawa shogunate), middle-ranking aristocrats, the leadership of the powerful
and theocratic Honanji religious movement, and, as a sure sign that his skills
were regarded highly within the medical community, to other physicians.
However, most of his patients came from the urban commoner population. In
consequence, as far as I am aware, Tokitsune’s diary is the first source we have
that reveals commoners as individuals and as families, and which permits us to
view the non-elite population as people with names and histories rather than as
merely occasional presences or as an abstract entity. Tokitsune’s commoner
patients were primarily engaged in trade, commerce, and such urban service
industries as operating neighbourhood bath-houses (later a ubiquitous part of the
urban scene). They reflect a high level of occupational specialization, and in fact
it was this environment that provided Tokitsune and other physicians with the
opportunity to establish medicine as a specialized skill available to the general
population. Conversely, we know much about occupational specialization,
beyond the general, because of the information that Tokitsune provides.
Accordingly, before taking up some thematic topics, let us note some of the
occupations and medical concerns of Tokitsune’s patients and neighbours.
Tokitsune’s patients represented such occupations as pharmacist, sutra- and book-binder, carpenter, rosary beads-maker, bean-curd seller, fishmonger, tatami matting-maker, tatami installer, roof thatcher, umbrella-maker, candle-maker, paper-maker, artist, ricecake-maker, writing-brush-maker, lumber merchant, rice merchant, public bath-house owner, indigo-dyer, red-dyer, gold-beater, silversmith, thread merchant, wall painter, greengrocer, general goods merchant, rouger, salt merchant, rice-wine merchant, blacksmithe, ironmonger, small-gift seller, hairdresser, bean-dumpling-maker, fan-maker, dried-goods shop, cut-barley shop, leather-basket-maker, sweet-maker, sōmen noodle-maker, and an acupuncturist. And, as perhaps an indication of the origin of some of the merchants, we encounter such shop names such as Hirano-ya, Harima-ya, Shinano-ya, Kawachi-ya, Nara-ya, Mino-ya, Ise-ya, and Izutsu-ya.

Tokitsune’s patients ranged in age from new-born infants to the elderly, and, while a precise tabulation awaits, there seems to be a general balance among males and females. Some patients required “emergency” treatments for accidents or sudden afflictions, others required monitoring over varied periods of time, sometimes people and their problems are mentioned singly or on just a few occasions, and in other instances we are able to follow individual or family histories over extended periods of time. His patients sought treatment for a very broad range of problems.

Among them we note such things as the dysenteric and dehydrating kakuran 霍乱, kakke 脚気, falling from a horse and

10 The following citations are illustrative, not comprehensive: TTK Tensho 18 (1590).12.13 (4.144); Tensho 14 (1586).7.13 (2.161); Tensho 14 (1586).7.7 (2.158); Tensho 15 (1587).5.6, 5.7, 5.10, 5.11 (2.273-274, 276); Tensho 19 (1591).12.11 (4.311); Bunroku 4 (1595).10.23 (6.370); Keicho 1 (1596).8.28 (7.207); Tensho 14 (1586).11.19 (2.201); Tensho 19 (1591).9.22 (4.275); Keicho 1 (1596).6.11 (7.119); Tensho 18 (1590).5.5 (4.54); Tensho 15 (1587).11.14 (2.349); Tensho 16 (1588).intercalary 5.20 (3.81); Tensho 14 (1586).7.7 (2.158); Tensho 15 (1587).5.3 (4.272); Tensho 14 (1586).7.8 (2.159); Tensho 16 (1588).12.29 (3.161); Keicho 1 (1596).9.8 (7.214); Tensho 18 (1590).6.23 (4.73); Tensho 15 (1587).6.23 (2.292); Tensho 17 (1589).7.12 (3.148); Keicho 1 (1596).7.16 (7.154); Keicho 1 (1596).6.15 (7.121); Tensho 15 (1587).5.8 (2.56); Tensho 18 (1590).7.28 (4.76); Tensho 14 (1586).11.13 (2.200); Tensho 17 (1589).4.4 (3.207); Tensho 18 (1590).8.29 (4.103); Tensho 15 (1587).5.27 (2.281); Tensho 15 (1587).6.25 (2.293); Keicho 2 (1597).5.15 (7.383); Tensho 18 (1590).4.21 (4.49); Tensho 16 (1588).6.8 (3.90); Tensho 15 (1587).6.18 (2.290); Tensho 14 (1586).7.6 (2.157); Tensho 14 (1586).7.7 (2.158); Keicho 1 (1596).6.1 (7.111); Tensho 15 (1587).5.25 (2.280); Tensho 17 (1589).10.15 (3.296); Tensho 17 (1589).11.28 (3.314); Tensho 18 (1590).6.21 (4.72); Tensho 18 (1590).7.3 (4.77); Keicho 1 (1596).Intercalary 7.19 (7.180); Keicho 2 (1597).4.6 (7.353); Keicho 6 (1601).5.1 (10.63).
12 TTK Tensho 18 (1590).5.2 (4.53). Kakuran 霍乱 is sometimes translated as “sun-stroke.” The medieval Japanese understanding was that kakuran was an acute enteric
suffering a sore shoulder, fever-related rash associated with catching a cold, headache, ringworm, pemphigus, folliculitis, cuts and scratches, white abscesses on the tongue, coughing, swollen throat, heavy object falling on the head of a pregnant woman, people banging their heads, a small boy hitting his eye, having a foot trodden on by a horse, a carpenter stepping on a nail, a person whose foot was bitten by a cat, boils on various parts of the body, frostbite, hair loss (men, women, and children), infant bed-wetting, abortion, miscarriages, childbirth and labor, leukorrhea, female “blood-circulation” problems, dizziness, nose-bleeds, blood clots, smallpox, sword wounds, swollen tongue-tip, and diarrhea. While not giving a sense of relative frequency, these listings do provide us with some inkling of the quotidian medical needs of the community.

Tokitsune’s Medical Network

Tokitsune was well connected in the medical world of his day. His connections served him well over an extended period of time, providing him with access to ailments characterized by stabbing pains in the abdomen, expulsion of fluids from both mouth and anus, and dehydration.

13 TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).7.12 (2.161). While the term kakke 脚気 is in modern times used to indicate beriberi, through Tokitsune’s time at least it was also applied to such conditions as articular rheumatism and gout.

14 TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).8.24 (2.173). The inconvenience that could be caused by shoulder or arm injuries was pithily summed up by the poet Sōchō (1448-1532): “At the beginning of the ninth month I went home four or five 當 from here. On the way back I fell off my horse, and was half paralyzed. I could not use my right hand.”

What am I to do? Ika ni sen
Without the hand I use to write mono kakisusabu
For my amusement, te wa okite
How can I hold my chopsticks hashi toru koto to
Or wipe my behind? shiri noguu koto


15 TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).5.28 (2.141); Tenshō 17 (1589).6.8 (3.232); Tenshō 17 (1589).7.20 (3.254); Tenshō 16 (1588).9.21 (3.126); Tenshō 17 (1589).6.20 (3.239); Tenshō 14 (1586).10.4 (2.188); Tenshō 17 (1589).2.25 (3.186); Tenshō 17 (1589).9.5 (3.277); Tenshō 16 (1588).int.5.3 (3.75); Tenshō 14 (1586).9.16 (2.182); Tenshō 19 (1591).8.15 (4.262); Tenshō 16 (1588).10.19 (3.136); Bunroku 4 (1595).8.24 (6.338); Tenshō 19 (1591).6.14 (4.238); Tenshō 17 (1589).5.5 (3.217); Tenshō 18 (1590).12.22 (4.148); Tenshō 16 (1588).12.19 (3.156); Tenshō 14 (1586).7.24 (2.160); Tenshō 14 (1586).12.7 (2.208); Tenshō 15 (1587).6.23 (2.292); Tenshō 10 (1582).9.7 (1.296); Tenshō 14 (1586).7.3 (2.156); Tenshō 17 (1589).9.13 (3.282); Tenshō 17 (1589).7.12 (3.148); Tenshō 17 (1589).2.14 (3.182); Tenshō 16 (1588).1.24 (3.12); Tenshō 17 (1589).8.9 (3.264); Tenshō 18 (1590).1.11 (4.7); Tenshō 15 (1587).3.5 (2.245); Tenshō 18 (1590).10.2 (4.116); Tenshō 15 (1587).5.23 (2.280); Tenshō 15 (1587).5.12 (2.276); Tenshō 16 (1588).6.9 (3.91).
both publicly-available and proprietary medical writings, and to the advice of the leading physicians of his time. More generally, and while the topic has yet to be explored in detail, they alert us to the existence of medical information networks. Perhaps the highest profile contacts enjoyed by Tokitsune were with members of the Manase family, which, through its Keiteki-in medical school and the prolific writings of its founder Manase Dōsan, was in the process of establishing itself as the leading medical lineage of the early modern era. Dōsan and his son Manase Gensaku appear to have been social acquaintances of Tokitsune’s father Tokitsugu, and our first record of Tokitsune’s meeting with them comes from 1576 when on separate occasions both of them gave him medical treatment. The personal contacts continued for the next several decades, through at least 1605, and we note such interactions as Tokitsune receiving pulse diagnosis and medicines from Gensaku, or seeking Gensaku’s advice on matters pertaining to patients. Parenthetically, in Tokitsune’s diary one of the most common, almost routine, elements in the interaction between physicians was, when one or another might drop by, for one to give the other a pulse diagnosis. This seems to have been an almost ritual affirmation of professional intimacy and tacit acknowledgement of relative professional standing. Tokitsune also had access to various writings produced by the Manase school, and that access sheds some light on the dynamics of the circulation of medical information related to the Manase. While Tokitsune owned at least Manase Dōsan’s work on diet, the Gikin honzō 宜 禁 本 草, which he loaned out, a better indicator of his overall access to Manase school information is revealed by items that he was able to borrow that were not in general circulation. He was not a direct Manase disciple, but he was in the next tier and “in the loop”. One example is his borrowing of Dōsan’s three-volume work the Itō haizai 医 灯 配 剤. Tokitsune borrowed the first two volumes from one (Daibutsu 大 仏) Aisen’in 愛 染 院, and then some years later borrowed the third volume from, in turn, the physician Sōha 宗 巴 and then Dōsan’s son Manase Moritaka 盛

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16 For a useful overview, see Kyōto Ishikai (1980), pp. 231-267.
17 TTK Tenshō 4 (1576).12.6 (1.114), 12.16 (1.118): Manase Gensaku, and then both Gensaku and his father Dōsan, came and visited, and took Tokitsune’s pulse. It appears that they had treated him previously, since TTK Tenshō 4 (1576).12.3 (1.114) notes that Tokitsune had visited their residence with items to thank them for treating him when he had been sick two months earlier (for which the diary is not extant).
19 TTK Tenshō 11 (1583).8.8 (2.5), 9.18 (2.24); Tenshō 18 (1590).7.28 (4.91), 8.20 (4.99); Bunroku 1 (1592).4.10 (5.50), 5.28 (5.78), 6.6 (5.81); Keichō 6 (1601).10.29 (11.174).
More revealing of his connections was that Tokitsu ne was permitted access to the Manase’s highly restricted proprietary clinical information. The first example of this was when Tokitsu ne, through his contact with the physician Jōun 盛運, borrowed (though only for four days) Dōsan’s Shusshō haizai 出証配剤 (Symptoms and Prescriptions), a two-volume clinical reference work completed in 1577 that is based on individual case histories. The second example of this was when Tokitsu ne had the opportunity to copy out a full set of the proprietary Manase clinical work, the Kirigami 切紙 (Extracts), that Dōsan compiled between 1571 and 1581. Borrowing one portion at a time from an acquaintance in Kyoto, he copied them out, and then returned them; he prized them so greatly that some years later he had them bound as a set. This particular contact was a particularly useful one, and some years later Tokitsu ne also ordered a set of secret Manase school prescriptions from this same person.

Other physicians and schools also constituted part of Tokitsu ne’s medical network. Perhaps Tokitsu ne’s longest association with any one individual was that with the priest Sōjo 宗恕. Sōjo had been an acquaintance of Tokitsu ne’s father Tokitsugu from at least 1559, and Tokitsu ne records his own interactions with Sōjo from 1576 through 1604, when Sōjo died at the venerable age of 106. Some of their contacts were social visits during which they no doubt exchanged general information and news of mutual interest. But they also interacted on medical matters. For example, Tokitsu ne sought Sōjo’s advice on medical diagnoses, and Sōjo for his part made available to Tokitsu ne things as medicines for Tokitsu ne’s son, a work on medicines and prescriptions that contained the secret transmission for internal medicines for wounds (kizu naiyaku hiden no yakuhō shō 疮内薬秘伝之薬方書), medicines and secret traditions for making medicine (such as Anshinsan, Tranquil Deity Powder), the transmission “complete in one sheet of paper” (kotogotoku isshi 21).
sho 悉一紙書) on pulse diagnosis for the stomach (ikimyaku 胃気脈), and generally lending texts. Importantly, Sōjo also permitted Tokitsune access to, and permission to copy, the secret proprietary information of Sōjo’s Seihō’in 盛方院 medical tradition. As with the Manase case, we do not know how many people may have been granted access to such information, but clearly Tokitsune enjoyed special favor.

Tokitsune’s diary also attests to a broader range of contacts over the years, some occasional and some more sustained. From one Sōha 宗巴 (for whom he acted as an intermediary for a first meeting with Sōjo) Tokitsune was (as we have noted) able to borrow the third volume of Dōsan’s Itō haizai; Tokitsune also received from Sōha one volume of the Gokiyōaku 五気薬, which was one of Sōha’s own proprietary works (kirigami 切帋 [紙]). Tokitsune was in the habit of dropping by Sōha’s residence and asking him about medical works and to have his pulse taken. They talked about portable medicines (jiyaku 持薬), discussed prescriptions for Tokitsune’s wife Kitamukai 北向 and the course of treatment for his son Achamaru 阿茶丸, or discussed medical prescriptions (yakuhō 薬方) in general. Jimyō’in Mototaka 持明院基孝 was another contact, and in 1582 he lent Tokitsune a book on effective ointment medicines, the Manriki kōyaku hon 万力膏薬本, and another on drugs, and the two of them exchanged crude drugs. Years later, in 1597, Tokitsune taught Mototaka the secret transmission for medicine for palsy (chūfū 芝風薬), from which Mototaka seems to have suffered; and in 1600 Tokitsune gave him a book on the varieties of medicines made from mulberry root, the Sōkon yakusho 桑根薬種書. From Furuichi Sōchō 古市宗超 Tokitsune learnt “the most secret of the secret” (gokuhi 極秘) information about the internal medicine

31 TTK Bunroku 2 (1593).11.10 (5.425).
33 TTK Tenshō 11 (1583).9.24 (2.27), when Tokitsune visited and borrowed from Sōjo the first volume of the Secret Prescriptions of the Seihō’in. Over the next several months Tokitsune borrowed the entire eight volumes, one volume at a time (he occasionally borrowed other works as well): see TTK Tenshō 12 (1584).10.8 (2.48), 10.18 (2.53), 10.23 (2.55), 11.29 (2.57), 12.24 (2.75); Tenshō 13 (1585).1.9 (2.83). Two years later Tokitsune wrote out another clean copy of the work, which he referred to as the “backbone” of the Seihō’in: TTK Tenshō 15 (1587).6.4 (2.284); the next year Tokitsune had the copied sections bound into one book: TTK Tenshō 16 (1588) 4.21 (3.58).
34 TTK Bunroku 2 (1593).2.22 (5.233).
35 TTK Keichō 1 (1596).10.13 (7.233).
37 TTK Tenshō 10 (1582).9.26 (1.305), 9.27 (1.305), 9.last 晦 (1.306).
and the application medicine to be used as medicine for treating some women’s problems (taige yaku 帶下藥). From Yokota Fubokusai 横田不卜斎 Tokitsune borrowed such works as the Isho Taizen ron 医書大全論 and the Classic of Acupuncture (Jiujing 灸經). In the case of Fujii Sōchin 藤井宗珍 (珍), Tokitsune often provided information, such as the flavours to be added to Ninjin haidoku san 人参敗毒散, a prescription for swellings; three items of proprietary information (Isho kirigami 医書切紙); and a work, the Rōgyaku inpō sho 老瘧飲方書, dealing with prescriptions for medicinal drinks to be provided to old people who were suffering from malaria. Finally, Tokitsune records contacts that appear to have been more casual. From Kansai 闲斎, a visiting priest from the island of Shikoku, Tokitsune borrowed a number of Ming medical texts (or, medical works by famous doctors? meii zatcho 明医雑著), and provided him with a diarrhea medicine; from Takeda Kōan 竹田蒿庵, scion of a famous medical family, he borrowed the pharmaceutical work Shōrui honzō 證類本草 (ca. 1100, Classified Materia Medica); and from one Tōbō 東坊 he borrowed “a medical text”. And as a sign both that his learning was respected and that the literacy level among physicians was varied, we find one instance where Tokitsune was asked by one Kinzō 金蔵坊 to explain the contents of a medical work, evidently written in Chinese, by writing in it in Japanese phonetic script (kana).

In sum, Tokitsune was actively engaged with a variety of physicians over an extended period of time. He was no doubt regarded as a man of learning. We might also assume that his own habits and practices as a physician reflected those

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40 TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).11.11 (6.384); Keichō 1 (1596).5.4 (7.89); Keichō 1 (1596).3.50 (7.50).
43 TTK Tenshō 16 (1588).10.15 (3.135), 10.16 (3.135), noting that he had copied extracts from the work. Tokitsune had earlier contact with Kōan, such as in 1593 when he alluded to the high regard in which Kōan’s medicines were held: TTK Bunroku 2 (1593).1.24 (5.230). The Takeda were well placed in the medical community, and had earlier enjoyed shogunal patronage for their patent gynaecological medicines. See for example Eiroku 12 (1569).2.18 Muromachi bakufu hyōjōshū narabini bugyōinin renshō hōshō, in Imatani (1977), doc. 23. The document notes that those who are falsely marketing the patented Takeda brand-name pre-partum post-partum medicine are to be punished; and that the genuine Takeda pre-partum post-partum medicine is a recipe that has been handed down in secret in the family from of old.
44 TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.16 (3.237).
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of his peers, and conversely that we might understand the information that we uncover in Tokitsune’s diary as a guide to broader practices.

**Individual Records of Illness**

There are a number of references in Tokitsune’s diary to written records being kept by both doctor and patient. The prevalence of these records is unknown, but they suggest at the minimum that people were keeping track of symptoms in the expectation that regular diagnosis and treatment would be available, and that such records would have facilitated the physician’s understanding of the patient’s condition and thus his ability to prescribe medicines. We might also assume that there was some understanding that it was inherently desirable to keep track of the course of any affliction. Indeed, some of Tokitsune’s patients appear to have monitored their condition assiduously. The written records alluded to fall into two rough categories. The first relates to appropriate dietary regimes that an ill person might follow, or which might be appropriate to specific illnesses. The second category is that of memos and longer written descriptions of symptoms.

With respect to the first category, records relating to appropriate dietary regimes, lists or compilations of permitted and contraindicated foods (kinkōbutsu禁好物) for different ailments had long been known in both China and Japan, and at least in medieval Japan were an integral component in medical texts. For example, chapter forty of Kajiwara Shōzen’s *Ton’ishō頓医抄* provides extensive listings for some forty-two ailments or conditions; wound medicine texts, which are obviously concerned with recovery from traumatic injury, likewise include such information; specialised ophthalmological texts also have sections dedicated to the topic.

Accordingly, it is no surprise that Tokitsune would wish to be familiar with permitted and contraindicated foods, and to seek advice on the matter, as when he asked Manase Gensaku to write up a list for such afflictions as palsy, phlegm, and pains in the chest.

What is of interest here is that in Tokitsune’s record we have evidence, for the first time as far as I am aware, that detailed information concerning daily diet was being made available in extract form to patients in the general population, and in a range of situations. We have reference to Tokitsune writing out a list for a woman who was suffering from leukorrhea; to a “list of permitted and contraindicated foods before the fetus”, that is, a dietary guide for pregnant women; to a list for a woman who was suffering from a blocked bladder.

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46 On wound medicine, see Goble (2005).
47 See for example Sonoda and Okuzawa (2008), pp. 3-16.
48 *TTK* Keichō 10 (1605).8.27 (13.228).
50 *TTK* Tenshō 16 (1588).9.18 (3.124).
another occasion a patient sent along the “list of prohibited and contraindicated”, upon receipt of which Tokitsune brushed in his marks and returned it.\(^{52}\) We also note Tokitsune being asked by an acquaintance to write out for another patient what appears to have been a list of foods that were not to be taken in conjunction with certain medicines (kusuri kinmotsu 薬禁物);\(^{53}\) and on another occasion Tokitsune wrote out a general listing for somebody who simply wanted one.\(^{54}\) And, demonstrating that the practice of using dietary guides was common rather than occasional, we find Tokitsune asking Manase Gensaku to write out out a list of prohibited and contraindicated foods for a patient.\(^{55}\)

The second category of records, written descriptions of symptoms, may be divided into two types, what we may call short memos, and more fulsome records. Tokitsune refers to short memos in such instances as where he compounded medicines on the basis of a letter that described the child patient’s condition (yōtai issho 様書),\(^{56}\) adjusting a prescription based upon a letter describing the improvement in the patient’s condition,\(^{57}\) prescribing additional medicines having received a letter that described improvement in the patient’s condition,\(^{58}\) or sending medicines in response to a letter (issho 一書) that noted that someone “has improved”.\(^{59}\) However, these types of notifications attest less to the maintenance of longer-term written records (though we need not eliminate the possibility) than they do to the fact that sometimes people found it just as easy to send the doctor a message as it was to send someone to describe the condition orally. Still, people did do that, and Tokitsune notes occasions when an oral informant had come to describe a person’s condition (yōtai や ウ タ イ 様書), and on that basis he had prescribed medicines.\(^{60}\) Othertimes Tokitsune makes no specific reference to “condition”, even though it is quite apparent that the condition of the patient is being described, as in the instance where one Ōtsu Iyaji came as a messenger, noted that a woman’s legs were still cold but that she is recovering, and so Tokitsune “surmised” what might be best and gave them

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\(^{51}\) TTK Keichō 2 (1597).11.6 (8.102), 11.11 (8.106).

\(^{52}\) TTK Keichō 1 (1596).8.10 (7.193).

\(^{53}\) TTK Keichō 1 (1596).3.22 (7.56).

\(^{54}\) TTK Tenshō 15 (1587).12.9 (2.360).

\(^{55}\) TTK Bunroku 2 (1593).10.22 (5.412).

\(^{56}\) TTK Keichō 2 (1597).11.11 (8.106).

\(^{57}\) TTK Keichō 6 (1601).5.7 (11.67).

\(^{58}\) TTK Keichō 6 (1601).5.7 (7.293).

\(^{59}\) TTK Keichō 4 (1599).4.26 (7.82), a letter from one Iyaheiji.

\(^{60}\) TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.6 (6.281) for two separate instances that day, one from the Kataoka family regarding the condition a woman who is about to give birth, and the other about the condition of the illness (shorō yōtai 所労様書) of the wife of Terauchi Toemonnosuke.
some medicines.\textsuperscript{61} In fact, even when Tokitsune speaks to other physicians about a patient, only occasionally does he mention that they are “discussing the patient’s condition”.\textsuperscript{62} That is, it was probably so common for conversations to be about someone’s condition that Tokitsune may not always have felt the need to state the obvious.

Beyond these descriptions “of the moment,” there are also references to a variety of records that cover a longer period of time. While we sometimes have references to a document that describes a patient’s state—such as the “written description of the state of the illness” (shorô yôsho 所労様書) that Tokitsune supplied to another physician and on the basis of which that physician provided medicines for Tokitsune\textsuperscript{63}—the records are usually referred to as a “list” or “register” (mokuroku 目録), with a more specific description of the register depending upon the medical concern. For example, we have a medicine list (kusuri mokuroku 薬目録) of an old lady which, since Tokitsune notes that he has to provide the medicines based on his surmise of the situation, was most likely less a list of medicines than it was a listing of symptoms for which medicine was requested.\textsuperscript{64} Other cases refer to such things as the register of a man who was suffering from a severe cough (gaike no mokuroku 咳気之目録);\textsuperscript{65} an ailment record (shorô mokuroku 所労目録) that described the condition of a young lady;\textsuperscript{66} prenatal records provided by women, or by family members and others in attendance on them, might be referred to as a prenatal ailment record (sanzen shorô mokuroku 産前所労目録),\textsuperscript{67} or simply as the ailment record (shorô mokuroku) of a woman who is known to be pregnant.\textsuperscript{68}

These are scattered references to be sure, but we do have examples that suggest that providing the information was more than a one-time occurrence, and also that the information might be supplied in more than one form. Two examples suggest that some people at least kept a constant, and presumably good, record of their condition. For one patient, Yosaku, for whom over a three month period in 1596 Tokitsune provided medicines (as well as on occasion making a pulse diagnosis), we note that on three occasions Tokitsune provided medicine subsequent to receiving a mokuroku (presumably a listing of symptoms), and on

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{61} TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.2 (6.277-278).
\item \textsuperscript{62} For example, TTK Bunroku 2 (1593).2.20 (5.232).
\item \textsuperscript{63} TTK Keichô 5 (1600).5.2 (10.151).
\item \textsuperscript{64} TTK Keichô 5 (1600).6.22 (10.176).
\item \textsuperscript{65} TTK Keichô 4 (1599).3.5 (9.171).
\item \textsuperscript{66} TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).8.16 (6.333).
\item \textsuperscript{67} TTK Tenshô 18 (1590).7.21 (4.87), 7.29 (4.91)
\item \textsuperscript{68} TTK Keichô 8 (1603).3.10 (12.48).
\end{itemize}
another occasion medicine was prescribed pursuant to the receipt of a letter (issho) which was likely a memo description of his condition.\textsuperscript{69}

In a second case, that of the wife of one Terauchi Toemonnosuke, Tokitsune has approximately fifty references over a four month period in 1595. Tokitsune sent her medicines (all are named), visited to give pulse diagnosis, people came requesting that he give pulse diagnosis, and on two occasions he was consulted about whether the patient should receive moxibustion treatment. On two occasions the patient sent along her copy of a list of permitted and contraindicated foods, upon which each time Tokitsune added his marks, indicating which foods should and should not be ingested, perhaps in what amounts and with what frequency.\textsuperscript{70} On three occasions Tokitsune was sent written statements of her condition. On the first occasion Tokitsune received a letter (issho) that accompanied a list of prohibited and permitted foods,\textsuperscript{71} on the second occasion he was sent a memo on the current state of her affliction (wazairai yōsu issho 煩様子一書),\textsuperscript{72} and on the third occasion he was provided with a more extensive listing of symptoms (byōshō mokuroku 病證目録) which no doubt covered a longer period of time.\textsuperscript{73} Clearly this patient kept a very good record of her condition.

Yet while we have references to these illness records, we do not have any surviving examples of them. What might they have looked like? Some hint is provided by Yamashina Tokitsugu, who was a physician. His record (like that of Tokitsune for that matter),\textsuperscript{74} attests to a working medical ethic that physicians do not treat themselves or members of their family, but engage other physicians. For example, when Tokitsune contracted a debilitating case of sores in 1558 Tokitsugu engaged the services of both a Chinese physician and the head of the

\textsuperscript{69} For Yosaku, see TTK Keichō 1 (1596).3.23 (7.57) through Keichō 1 (1596).6.27 (7.134). There are some thirty-eight entries during this period, which usually mention the medicine prescribed and the amount provided (doses or packets). For reference to the lists and to the memo, see TTK Keichō 1 (1596).3.26 (7.60), 4.15 (7.76), 4.18 (7.77), and 5.8 (7.94).


\textsuperscript{71} TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.4 (6.279).

\textsuperscript{72} TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).8.28 (6.339).

\textsuperscript{73} TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).9.27 (6.356).

\textsuperscript{74} For the foot swelling of Tokitsune himself, and for other swellings that afflicted his wife, and for which they sought the services of swellings-specialists, see TTK Bunroku 2 (1593).12.22 (5.449) through Bunroku 3 (1594).1.21; Bunroku 4 (1595).8.24 (6.338) through Bunroku 4 (1595).9.15 (6.349); Keichō 8 1603).2.22 (12.32) through Keichō 8 (1603).4.11 (12.61). One amusing entry from Keichō 8 (1603).3.3 (12.44) reveals that when Tokitsune sent for the specialist that evening, he was informed that the doctor would have to come the next day because he was totally drunk.
Imperial medical services (*Ten’yaku no kami* 典薬頭). We might thus assume that the letter which Tokitsugu sent on 1558.2.15 (five weeks after the outbreak of the sores) to the head of the Imperial medical services in which he “spoke of” Tokitsune’s condition (*shojō wo motte yōtai wo mōshitsukawasu* 以書状樣体申遺), contained the same type of information that other patients or their families would provide to their physician. And, when we extract from Tokitsugu’s diary the entries relating to the illness of family members, we might suggest that these are indicative of what the actual contents of an illness record might have been. Let us look then at the information that Tokitsugu provides on afflictions suffered by a daughter Achacha 阿茶々, and by his wife Minami Mukai 南向.

The record for his daughter Achacha chronicles her ultimately fatal illness over a period of almost four months in 1565. For the first six weeks, from 5.26, she was treated with medicines, had her pulse taken, was diagnosed as having a problem with her vital energy and blood channels, and seemed to get a little better. But from 7.13 her condition took a rapid turn for the worse, and over the next two days she was vomiting and unable to eat food. Medicines (I have omitted specific details) were provided over the next few days, and apparently eased the condition. On 7.19 new symptoms appeared, when two worms (one red, one white) emerged from her mouth. On 7.21 new medicines arrived, along with a diagnosis that her stomach was not in order, a fact reconfirmed later that day when another large red worm emerged from her mouth. The following day she was again vomiting, unable to eat, and another three worms emerged. Medicines continued to be provided and administered on a daily basis. On 7.27 she complained that her stomach was hurting. More medicine was provided the next day, during which two more worms emerged. The following day (7.29) brought some relief, and she only vomited once, suggesting that the medicines were having some effect. But on 7.30 another worm emerged, and a pulse diagnosis and direct examination led to the diagnosis (she had now entered her tenth week of illness) that she was terribly afflicted, and was suffering intense stomach pains. The next day (8.1) saw “a little improvement.” The signs of improvement were sufficiently positive over the next few days that the attending doctor recommended the administration of a lesser dosage of medicine. Tokitsugu then began a daily round of visits to various temples where he prayed that she make a full recovery from the illness. However, neither medicines nor prayer proved effective, and she died some five weeks later. While the diary is not extant for this final period, it is

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75 For Tokitsune’s ailment see *TGK* Eiroku 1 (1558).1.8 (5.14), 1.8 (5.14), 1.20 (5.22), 1.21 (5.23), 1.23 (5.23), 1.30 (5.26), 2.1 (5.27), 2.2 (5.28), 2.3 (5.28), 2.4 (5.29), 2.5 (5.30), 2.6 (5.31), 2.7 (5.31), 2.8 (5.32), 2.9 (5.33), 2.10 (5.33), 2.12 (5.34), 2.13 (5.35), 2.15 (5.35), 2.16 (5.36), 2.18 (5.37), 2.21 (5.39), 2.26 (5.42), 3.1 (5.44).
likely that the provision of medicines, the constant care, and perhaps symptoms such as vomiting, continued until the end.\textsuperscript{76}

The record for Tokitsugu’s wife Minami Mukai chronicles her bout with malaria in 1566, which took just over nine weeks to run its course.\textsuperscript{77} Tokitsugu’s approximately forty-one diary entries (including almost one every day during the eighth month) on Minami Mukai’s condition during this period attest that she received continuous care. Even though we have no information on the number of people who were in attendance on her, it is evident that they were present day and night for an extended period. We find references to the onset of an attack: a general note that she had a temperature throughout the day, or that that an attack of malaria or the shivering commenced half way through the night, or (and far more frequently) that it began at a specific time (around 4 pm, 10 pm, 2 am, 5 am, 6 am, 7 am, 10 am, 11 am, midnight, 2 pm, 8 pm, 9 pm); and sometimes when it eased off (towards dawn, around 5 am). We also find general comments on her condition: running a temperature all day or all night; having a headache; that the attack might be a less severe than the previous one, or that it was a light one; that there was no attack “this evening” or during the day; that she was having multiple or single attacks of diarrhea, or was vomiting; that she might be in great pain; that she might be semi-conscious and unable to eat; that she might be feeling better and eating again.

We also have information on Minami Mukai’s medication. The diary notes the prescriptions from the doctor; occasions when other crude drugs were added to the original prescription; the ingredients that were sent from the doctor; the occasion upon which the doctor was going to be away for a few days and so sent them a note regarding medicines to which the family was to refer during his ab-


sense; what items were compounded personally by Tokitsugu for his wife; whether the medicines were administered as they had been the previous day, or were a little different; and whether recourse might be had to a reputedly potent ingredient, such as charred cuckoo. And of course there is record of when the doctor came to examine the patient (usually by pulse diagnosis) and discuss her condition with Tokitsugu.

Tokitsugu was not, it appears, continuously present with either his daughter or his wife, but it is likely that those who were in attendance would have imparted the details of their conditions to him so that he would be able to enter the information in his diary (they may also have kept their own separate notes and records). Obviously, many people were involved in keeping track of the progress of the illnesses, which collective information was provided to the attending physician to assist him in his diagnoses and prognostications.

The Dynamics of Medicine in the Community

Yamashina Tokitsugu and his son Tokitsune were both physicians, connected in the medical world, and thus would have understood what information might usefully be furnished to someone providing treatment. We might also expect that as physicians they naturally would have been predisposed to record that information. However, when we explore Tokitsune’s diary, we gain the sense that the keeping of information about the ailing and the attentiveness to people’s condition was common also among the commoner population. The information we find permits us to elicit a broader sense of the rhythms of interaction between doctor and patients. We learn about such things as support for people from friends, family and neighbours; the various dynamics in the relationship between doctor and different families; some sense of the “medical history” of families; and considerations of remuneration and gift-giving. We also need not overlook the fact that Tokitsune often records names, ages, and relationships, which information is substantially lacking in premodern sources; here, it reinforces our sense of a physician enmeshed in the fabric of the community. Let us look at a few examples of a “support network” for patients; then at two examples of “family case histories”, and then finally at one way in which Tokitsune created good-will among a defined patient-base.

Patient Support Networks

Let us start with some examples of pre-partum and post-partum support for women. In one example the wife of one Shin Emon 新 右 衛 門 visits Tokitsune and informs him that the woman next door was already overdue and having a difficult birth and they needed some medicine, so Tokitsune provided some
“quickening medicine” (*hayame gusuri* ハヤメ薬) to help facilitate the birth.\(^78\)

In another instance, a woman in service with the wife of an acquaintance informed Tokitsune that another woman had had a still birth (*taishi* 胎死), that the fetus had been expelled the previous day, but that she was suffering; Tokitsune then prescribed medicine for the patient. He learned the following day that the woman’s delirium had been treated successfully, and that her urination and bowel movements had been restored, but that she still had a bloated feeling. Tokitsune then prescribed medicine for that, and medicine to deal with her nausea. He was told two days later that she had largely recovered but was urinating profusely.\(^79\)

We find a similar concern in the case of a woman who suffered a miscarriage. An acquaintance of Tokitsune’s sent a letter, delivered by the person’s son Shinkurō, to the effect that the wife (a nun *bikuni* ビクニ of (the Honganji temple’s) Miedō Image Hall had had a miscarriage, and asked that Tokitsune come and check the pulse. Accompanied by Shinkurō, Tokitsune went there, checked her pulse, administered some sake rice-wine as a liquid (*suimono* 吸物), and later that day he provided some medicines. Over the course of the next week Tokitsune received two letters asking for more medicine (which he sent), was asked to visit and give a pulse diagnosis, and was asked for additional medicines. On one occasion the family treated him to some sōmen noodles. Upon the woman’s recovery he was given some money and some fans as thanks.\(^80\)

We gain an even more extensive sense of support networks by looking at the example of a local bath-house proprietor, Kurō Emonnosuke 九郎右衛門尉 and his wife. Tokitsune was their family physician, and the wife was very proactive in seeking treatment or having Tokitsune make house calls, at all times of the day or night, to attend to such things as an infant’s unspecified ailment,\(^81\) a child’s fever,\(^82\) diarrhea,\(^83\) the fever and swollen stomach which had been afflicting an infant since the previous evening,\(^84\) or the fever and phlegm of an infant who was suffering from nausea.\(^85\) Kurō himself required attention and medicine for such things as a sore shoulder resulting from a fall from a horse,\(^86\) for a

\(^{78}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).4.8 (2.126).


\(^{80}\) TTK Keichō 1 (1596).4.27 (7.84), 4.28 (7.84), 4.29 (7.86), 5.2 (7.88), 5.3 (7.89), 5.4 (7.90), 5.24 (7.106).

\(^{81}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).1.19 (2.117), 2.2 (2.119).

\(^{82}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).5.12 (2.135), 13 (2.136).


\(^{84}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).9.23 (2.184), 9.24 (2.185), 9.25 (2.185), 10.2 (2.187).

\(^{85}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).12.22 (2.213), 12.24 (2.214); Tenshō 15 (1587).1.27 (2.231), 1.28 (2.232).

\(^{86}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).8.24 (2.173).
The wife herself sought attention for such things as post-partum stomach pains after giving birth to a daughter, a swollen cheek, and for other stomach pains. That small daughter later suffered from boils on the ear and boils on the feet. Another child suffered a severe and feverish attack of what was first thought to be grass-boils, but turned out to be smallpox. Over the next sixteen days Tokitsune administered “secret medicines” to treat post-smallpox fever, vomiting, swollen stomach, and diarrhea.

This record of the bath-house family is of particular interest here since this family superintended one of the very few “public” places where people of all stations might interact outside of their daily activities. The bath-house was the physical center of a social network. It provided the opportunity to exchange information and gossip, to relax with snacks, to soak and ease various pains in the body, and of course to receive a pleasant cleansing experience. There is little doubt that those who operated them were kept well informed about goings on in the community, served as conduits for gossip and conversations, and of course would be well-known figures in their community. Naturally enough, we may expect that Kurō and his wife would have been well apprised of matters relating to health and illness, and since their constant contact with Tokitsune seems to suggest that they were not dissatisfied with the services he provided, they would have been well placed to introduce him to others. That is, they facilitated Tokitsune’s role as a community physician and they provide evidence of a community support network for those requiring medical attention. Let me offer some examples.

On one occasion Tokitsune records that the wife of Kurō Emonnosuke had come and informed him that the wife of a leather-basket maker was suffering post-partum illness, and requested that Tokitsune come and check her; Tokitsune then went and checked her pulse, provided two packets of Yonmotsu-tō medicine to which he had added Sichuan loveage, Fragrant angelica (Byakushi 白芷), and Purple perilla (Shiso 紫蘇); and he sent more

87 TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).10.4 (2.188).
88 TTK Tenshō 15 (1587).2.17 (2.239).
89 TTK Tenshō 15 (1587).3.3 (2.245), 3.5 (2.246).
90 TTK Tenshō 16 (1588).5.3 (3.65).
92 TTK Tenshō 15 (1587).5.17 (2.278).
93 TTK Tenshō 16 (1588).3.30 (3.47).
94 TTK Tenshō 16 (1588).5.17 (3.70), 5.23 (3.72).
97 For an excellent study of this fascinating topic, for which Tokitsune’s diary is a prime source, see Butler (2005).
medicine the next day. A week later he again checked her pulse and provided, on each of two days, three packets of Kōju-san 香薷散 medicine for her diarrhea. On another occasion Kurō Emonnosuke came by early in the morning and mentioned that the wife of an acquaintance was suffering from post-partum nose-bleeding, so Tokitsune went and took her pulse and prescribed for her two packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which he had added Ginseng (Ninjin 人参) and Cat-tail (Hōō 蒲黄), and also gave her a restorative medicine. Since the wife’s post-partum nose-bleeding stopped the next day, Tokitsune went and checked her pulse, and gave her three, and later another five, packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which he had added Pahnsia (Hange 半夏), Aloeswood (Chinkō 沈香), Cat-tail and and Ginseng. Eighteen days later one Suke Emonnosuke visited Tokitsune and informed him that he was from the family whose post-partum nosebleed had been mentioned by (Kurō) Emonnosuke, that the woman was now better, and that he had brought some small gifts as a token of appreciation. Tokitsune was asked for more medicine, and later he went and checked the woman’s pulse. The woman had recovered, they celebrated with a drink, and Tokitsune gave them five packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which he had added Ginseng and Aloeswood. In a final example of how networks might unfold, on the twenty-fifth of a seventh month Kurō Emonnosuke’s wife accompanied Tokitsune on a house call to her friend, the wife of Magosaburō 孫三郎 the bath-house proprietor in South Harbour (Minamihama  南浜), who was suffering from post-partum stomach pains. Tokitsune checked her pulse, and gave her three packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which he had added Nut-grass (Kōbushi 香附子), Evodia (Goshuyu 呉茱萸), Paishu (Byakujutsu 白朮) and Lily-turf (Bakumondō 麦門冬). The next day the woman’s husband Magosaburō came and said that his wife was a little better, so Tokitsune gave them three, and later another two, packets of the same medicine that he had provided the day before, with the further addition of Rhubarb (Daiō 大黄) and Cassia (Keishin 桂心). Magosaburō came by again the next day and said that his wife was a little improved, so Tokitsune gave him another two packets of medicine, being Yonmotsu-tō to which he had added Nut-grass, Rhubarb, Baikal Skullcap (Ōgon 黄芩), Cassia, and Lily-turf. Over each of the next three days Magosaburō or someone from the household came and reported on her condition and received some medicine. On the first of the eighth month, a week after the treatment began, Magosaburō came, said his wife was much better, and gave Tokitsune a tray of ten fresh shad fish; Tokitsune provided two packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which he had added Nut-grass, Ginseng, Rhubarb, and Baikal Skullcap. Four days later, on the fifth of the month, Magosaburō visited and gave Tokitsune a tray of persimmons, mentioning that he had come on behalf of his older brother Minamoto Emonnosuke 源左衛門尉 of Ōsaka Harbour 大阪 源 who was ailing, so Tokitsune visited the brother, checked his pulse, and

compounded two packets of medicine which contained Rhubarb, Baikal Skullcap, China-root (Bukuryō 蒜苓), Evodia, and Centipeda (Gafushoku 鵝不食). Two months later Magosaburō’s wife, who had recovered, visited Tokitsune, accompanied by the wife of Kurō Emonnosuke, and brought 200 mon cash as thanks for her treatment.100

In short, we have a picture of a community in which people were readily able to enlist the assistance of others when they needed medical attention. We have a further sense of ready access to medical services when we extract information about individual families. Let us look at two examples, that of the family of a tatami maker for 1586-1587, and for a Indigo-dyer’s family 1589-1590. I have selected them since they suggest different types of dynamics between patients and physician, reflecting it seems the extent of social interaction otherwise. The raw material upon which the discussion is based may be found in the Appendices.

A Tatami Maker and Family, 1586-1587

References to the tatami maker and his family essentially revolve around four illness episodes in that family. The first, covering a three day period in the fifth month of 1586, was when the young daughter suffered from diarrhea, in response to which Tokitsune made a house visit, and prescribed medicines on two occasions. The family expressed their thanks twice, first when the wife came to express thanks, the second when the mother (of the girl, thus being the wife? Or the mother of Ichi Emonnosuke? Or the mother of the wife?) came three days later and as thanks presented Tokitsune with two silver whiting. The second episode was more prolonged, commenced nine days later, and continued from the twenty-eighth of the fifth month through the fifth of the seventh month. In this instance the Tatami-maker’s fourteen to fifteen year-old young son Tora 虎 had various rashes and fevers. Initially the son visited Tokitsune seeking medicine, Tokitsune made house calls during which he employed pulse diagnosis along with visual examination, lanced a swelling and applied ointment, and prescribed medicines on sixteen occasions. As thanks for this treatment Tokitsune received one visit to express thanks, another visit when the thanks was tangibly conveyed


101 The Tatami-maker appears to have had at least one older child by a previous wife, a child by a new wife, and another child probably by the new wife, as suggested in entries from 1587: TTK Tenshō 15 (1587).5.25 (2.281) notes that medicines for the sore head and fever of the wife of the Minami machi Hairdresser’s wife were picked up by the Tatami-maker’s former wife; TTK Tenshō 15 (1587) 5.29 (2.282) notes that the former wife had a sore head and fever; TTK Tenshō 15 (1587) 6.6 (2.285) notes that Minami machi Hikoshirō’s wife Yaya, the former wife of the Tatami-maker, has fever and cold damage.
in the form of ten sheafs of sōmen noodles, and a final visit when he received thirty hiki 足 of cash. That latter amount also appears to have covered treatment for the wife, which had been given from the sixteenth through the twenty-fourth of the sixth month after she had become pregnant in that month, and suffered from sore stomach, measles, vomiting, and fever.

The third episode lasted from the sixth of the eighth month through the twenty-third of the ninth month, and again involved treatment for the son (I’m assuming that it’s the same son). This time, and it may well have been a continuation of the previous symptoms, the treatment was for Chinese Sores (Tōkasa 唐 瘡) (a term often equated with syphilis; this is also the youngest person to contract the problem that I have encountered to date). The treatment consisted entirely of providing the patient with supplies of the pellet medicine Sankō-en 三 黄 圓, thirty pellets constituting a one-day dose. Tokitsune provided him with a total of 930 pellets over a period of thirty-one days. Three months later, at the end of the year on the twenty-first of the twelfth month, the Tatami-maker made payment for the medicines, and gave Tokitsune thirty mon of cash (which calculates at roughly one mon per day, which means that “cost” or “fee” for one dose of thirty pellets was around one mon). The fourth episode, in the eighth month of the following year 1587, involved treatment for the Tatami-maker’s infant’s diarrhea: Tokitsune gave medicine over three days, examined him again on the fourth day, and then six days later was given ten hiki cash as payment, since the infant had recovered.

It is worth noting here that there is no indication that the relationship between patients and physician was anything other than a clinical one. The items received by Tokitsune were directly related to the services rendered. However when we turn to another family, we find that elements of goodwill, proximity, and reciprocity were also intertwined in the dynamics of the doctor-patient relationships.

An Indigo-dyer and Family, 1589-1590

The Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke 紺 屋 一 (市) 右 衛 門 尉 was Tokitsune’s tenant (renting four ken of space) on the west section of a house and plot that Tokitsune had purchased. Tokitsune was thus landlord and neighbour, and probably had a greater number of interactions than are recorded in his diary. We assume that Tokitsune received rent regularly, even though there is, as far as I can tell, only one reference in this entire two-year period to rent actually being paid, a note on 1590.7.14 that Ichi had paid his rent up through the seventh month portion. It is hard to account for the paucity of references, even allowing that rent may not have been regularly paid each month. It is not impossible that rent might occasionally have been paid in kind, if, for example, Ichi performed some service (such as being sent to the port city of Sakai, on three occasions in
the space of one week, to inquire into the state of the swollen foot of Tokitsune’s brother-in-law).

Apropos of this last point, Tokitsune provided medical treatment and medicines, and was given a combination of cash and kind as payment for services. However, while sometimes the payment for services can be related to specific treatments and occasions of illness, there are numerous instances where Ichi, his wife, or one of their children, brought Tokitsune some items (usually food) without it being immediately apparent that there was a direct quid pro quo involved. We might understand such instances as expressions of or contributions to the maintenance of longer-term goodwill. I hasten to add, however, that Tokitsune’s detailed records suggest that goodwill was not a vague intangible, but was based upon scrupulous accounting and recollection.

In late December 1588 Tokitsune moved into a house that he had just purchased. It is not clear whether Ichi was a pre-existing tenant, but in any event he requested that Tokitsune provide him with five doors for his rented four ken of space. Tokitsune upped the ante, and gave him six doors, and received from “Ichī’s woman” a small gift (suzu 銡 = 种 = 種) in return.

In the course of 1589, Tokitsune received from the family such food items as rice gruel, rice cakes, brown potato (karasu-imo 鳥芋), red gruel, other types of potatoes, sea-eel, and glutinous rice. The only mention of remuneration is 300 mon as payment for post-partum medicine; Tokitsune had supplied a total of thirty doses and one large packet. After the birth the husband sent sake and mochi rice-cakes as celebratory items (a normal thing to do). Tokitsune also received 200 mon from the wife’s friend for the post-partum attention and three doses of medicine that Tokitsune had provided to her.

Tokitsune for his part gave the family twenty carp (which he was actually passing on, having received them as a gift himself);[^102] he shared with Ichī’s wife and others celebratory items of sake rice-wine and mochi rice-cakes that he had been given by another person who was celebrating the safe birth of a child; and he made house calls and gave pulse diagnoses. He provided treatment for an employee whose foot had been bitten by cat; for the debilitating kakuran of the daughter; and for the wife’s headache. He also provided the wife with medicine to help expel an afterbirth, to ease post-partum “bad feeling” in the chest, and for other unspecified requests. He also provided medicine for an infant’s coughing. Tokitsune gave medicine on twenty occasions, dispensing a total of ninety-six doses, 100 pellets, and fifteen packets (one being “large”).

For the year 1590, there is more contact, primarily because of the greater occurrences of illness. The family provided Tokitsune with such things as kelp and skewered persimmons at New Year; ladles and toothpicks as travel-memento

[^102]: This was not the only occasion on which Tokitsune “recycled” gifts. Once, after receiving a gift of a game bird (yamatori 山鳥) from his odd-job gardener the kawaramono Iwatsuru, the next day Tokitsune used it to recompense a physician who had provided him with medicines: TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).1.12 (6.8), 1.13 (6.9).
gifts (*miyage* 宮箱) after Ichi and his wife had visited Yuyama hot springs; a tray of clams given as a “thanks” (*rei* 礼); another tray of clams; two jugs of sake rice-wine and 100 *mochi* rice-cakes (soon after Tokitsuine had dispensed some medicine); a bowl of *sōmen* noodles (also just after dispensing medicine); a tray of sticky rice apparently provided to help Tokitsuine recover from an illness that had laid him low for two days; ten sheafs of *sōmen* noodles provided for treating a cut and for dispensing ten doses and one packet of medicine; 100 *hiki* for agreeing to intercede on some public matter for an acquaintance of Ichi; some *sōmen* noodles (after dispensing some medicine); a bottle of sake and some eggplants as apparent thanks for giving medicine to the father of a former serving woman; twenty *hiki* as thanks for the wife’s recovery from an illness; three sheafs of *sōmen* noodles as thanks for the recovery from diarrhea of the serving woman’s father; 200 *mor* as thanks for the recovery of Ichi’s infant; a jug of sake, chestnut flour, woven goods; *manju* bean dumplings, chestnuts, and sea bream. In return that year Tokitsuine gave two jugs of sake rice-wine. He treated cuts, boils, diarrhea, sore stomach, vomiting and diarrhea, a sore head, and gave pulse diagnosis and moxibustion treatment. He provided medicine on thirty-three occasions, and dispensed a total of 400 pellets, thirty-two packets, two “shells”, and 104 doses of medicine.

Among the 104 doses of medicine were ten doses that Tokitsuine gave them as a present free and clear. In the context of the Indigo-dyer’s family we might be tempted to simply note it in passing as a small, even trivial, amount of medicine that was simply part and parcel of the exchanges between physician and patient. However, those ten doses have a larger import. They signal that the Indigo-dyer and his family were one of those people or households that Tokitsuine had come to consider a particular community of patients, “his” patients, with whom he had built up long term associations. As the final portion of our look at rhythms of patient and community, let us engage Tokitsuine’s “medicine packages”.

### Building Goodwill: Tokitsuine’s Medicine Packages

The medicine *Kōju-san* (香薷散), or Aromatic Madder Powder, comprised of Aromatic Madder (*Kōju*), Magnolia (*Kōboku* 厚朴), and Hyacinth Bean (*Hentō* 藥豆), was prescribed for such problems as fever, headache, vomiting or...
diarrhea (not accompanied by sweating, and perhaps due to dyspepsia), abdominal pain (notably when due to food stagnation), colds occurring in summer (especially those accompanied by chills); and it also promoted the flow of vital energy (qi/ki 氣). It was the medicine most frequently prescribed by Yamashina Tokitsugu,\(^{105}\) and on occasion he would have the name “Kōju-san” printed on wrappers containing the medicine. He also sometimes gave it as a gift to a small number of people, or provided a packet to someone going on trip.\(^{106}\) It is not unlikely that Kōju-san was regarded as something like Tokitsugu’s special or patent medicine.

Tokitsune too prescribed Kōju-san, particularly after he moved to Nakanoshima in the middle of 1586. From the fifth month he began prescribing it for such complaints as a sore stomach, fever, diarrhea, and the excruciating kakuran (though other medicines too were prescribed for enteric problems).\(^ {107}\) Thereafter it was a regular part of his medicinal arsenal, and was also one of the few medicines for which he makes specific mention of personally compounding.\(^ {108}\) Like his father, Tokitsune also gave out packets of this to people, quite separately from it being prescribed as a part of a treatment. While he may have drawn inspiration from his father’s example, Tokitsune took this occasional practice one step further, and transformed it into a mechanism for showing generosity to, and eliciting the goodwill of, a group of patients that seem to have been his core “patient community”. Gift giving was an accepted part of contemporary life, but Tokitsune regularised his habit into something of a mid-year custom (a seasonal practice later referred to as ochūgen お中元).

In the sixth month of 1586, Tokitsune provided a total of twenty-four packets of Kōju-san to twenty-four people. He distributed it to a mixed social group in the neighbourhood—fishmonger, bath-house proprietor, carpenter—and to relatives. It may have been a token gesture, but the fact that Tokitsune referred to the recipients as the “Kōju-san gift-group” (Kōju-san kubaru no shū 香薷 散賦之衆) makes it clear that he had decided to initiate a new practice that would be a reminder that he was an involved and reciprocating member of the community as well as a physician. As we will see, the mid-year practice grew, and it may even have reached the point that people would have valued the acknowledgement that they were a member of the doctor’s special group.

\(^{105}\) See the tables in Hattori (1971), p. 107.
\(^{106}\) See for example TGK Eiroku 10 (1567).6.14 (4.148); Eiroku 12 (1569).6.6 (4.345) for having the name Kōju-san printed on wrappers; TGK Eiroku 12 (1569).6.12 (4.347) for giving out the medicine to three named people; TGK Eiroku 9 (1566).8.1 (4.57) for giving a packet to a person taking a trip.
\(^{107}\) TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).5.17 (2.137), 6.3 (2.143), 6.5 (2.143), 7.3 (2.156), 6.12 (2.146).
\(^{108}\) See TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.10 (2.146), 6.15 (2.147), 7.4 (2.156), and 6.26 (2.153) for compounding another medicine, Ninjin chōkō san 人参丁香散.
We can chart the growth of that popularity from Tokitsune’s meticulous entries over the next several years. The precision of such entries readily suggests that he wanted a detailed, long-term reference record of exactly what he had given to who. The following year, 1587, Tokitsune distributed eight ryō and 110 packets of Kōjū-san to twenty-two people or places. In 1588, he distributed Kōjū-san to thirty people or places, in the amount of one big packet, three ryō, and 209 doses. In 1589, Tokitsune distributed 7.5 ryō and at least 709 doses of Kōjū-san to eighty-one people and places. In 1590, Tokitsune distributed, to eighty-three people or places, 800 doses and ninety-five packages of Kōjū-san. In 1591, a less active year because he was in the process of moving back to Kyoto, Tokitsune records seventy-one doses to people associated with new benefactors, and 389 doses otherwise. From 1592 Tokitsune was settled once more in Kyoto, had many new neighbours and patients, but still continued his customary practice. Thus, in mid-1592 he gave 436 doses to a total of fifty-four people or households. In mid-1593 he gave 1083 doses to 132 people or households. In mid-1594 he gave 1349 doses to 152 people or households. In mid-1595 he gave 627 doses to sixty-one people or places. In mid-1596 he gave out 1305 doses to 127 people or households. And we will end in mid-1597 when he gave 1809 doses to 172 people or places.

Obviously this practice had become an extensive endeavour that, we may assume, was a hallmark of Tokitsune’s medical services and an indication of his particular stature in society. But it would have represented a considerable

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110 TTK Tenshō 16 (1588) 6.28 (3.97-98), 7.1 (3.99).


115 TTK Bunroku 2 (1593) 6.21 (5.310), 6.23 (5.311), 6.25 (5.313).


118 TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.3 (7.139, 7.140), 7.4 (7.140), 7.5 (7.141), 7.7 (7.143, 7.144).

investment, of funds and of time. Information on the price of medicines is not as fulsome as we might like, but one entry from 1591 shows that he charged one patient the sum of fifty mon for twenty-five doses of Kōju-san. This is an equivalent of 100 mon for fifty doses, or 2 mon per dose. If we take this as a measure, then over the years 1586-1597 the 8787 doses that he handed out (not including packets or ryō) would have been priced at 17,574 mon. This may not have been what he paid for the raw ingredients, but it is a guide to what the custom was “worth”. It may not have been in total an inordinately large amount of money, but by the same token it does not seem to have been a trivial amount.

And it seems that the cost increased over time, for Tokitsune appears to have given out at least twice the amount of medicine in Kyoto that he had been giving out in Nakanoshima. And Tokitsune also had to spend time. He had to procure the materia medica, compound the ingredients, make up the individual doses, draw up or maintain lists of people and places to which the doses were to be distributed, and, most commonly, deliver the medicine gifts in person.

Moreover, that delivery visit was a social one. At the minimum, a visit required some salutations, it might further involve conversation and requests to give free diagnoses to people present in a household, and on occasion Tokitsune was invited to stay for dinner. Yet underlying all this was the fact that the physician was employing his own specialty product as a means, beyond actual treatment, of building social links and goodwill with his patient-base.

Concluding Comments

Further investigation of sources from this era, including of course more detailed attention to Tokitsune’s record, will undoubtedly shed considerably more light on issues of medicine and society than we have taken up in this introductory exploration. Nonetheless, let me make some general observations on what we have gleaned.

It seems that from the late sixteenth century, at least in built-up areas with sedentary populations, it had become not unusual for both patients and physicians to keep records of patient illness and treatment. While there are few (if any) surviving patient records of the type that might have been kept at a clinic (though further study of archives may unearth such), or records that we know were kept by patients themselves, we do have sources, notably diaries of daily activities.

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120 TTK Tenshō 19 (1591) 5. 22 (4.227). The entry more fully notes that one Shimomura was going to be going off for hot-spring therapy (tōji 湯治) the following day, and so gave Tokitsune fifty mon in exchange for which Tokitsune provided twenty-five doses of Kōju-san. The entry further notes that Tokitsune separately provided ten doses of Kōju-san to one Yōsuke; to Shimomura another ten doses of Kōju-san, seven doses of Aisuyaku 愛洲薬, one package of Kaiki-san 快気散 and 500 pellets of Haseki-gan 破積丸; and to Shimomura’s son he gave 200 pellets of Hodō-en 保童丸.
kept by physician or pharmacist authors, that contain much information of that nature. Indeed, and while I am leaving this for a future project, sometimes the information is sufficiently detailed that such records may in some measure be reconstructed (See the Appendix for three examples).

Patient records attest to a number of points not previously adumbrated in scholarly literature. First, the increasing urbanization that we note from the late sixteenth century, along with increasing commercial and economic specialization, provided the opportunity for medicine to itself become a professional specialty serving the general population. Concomitantly, that urban environment provided the patient base to support that specialty. Second, we see the emergence of a, if not new, increasingly ubiquitous common sense that recourse to a physician and access to medicines was considered normal and proximate; these facilities were previously available mainly to political elites. Third, the medical professionals that we encounter may not have displaced “quack” doctors or word-of-mouth folk remedies, but it is evident that the medicines and medical knowledge to which they had access reflected the latest in medical writing and clinical experience. That knowledge was likely circulated among a network of medical professionals. Fourth, physicians and patients considered themselves part of a shared community network, which network served to spread knowledge of the availability of medical services, as well, perhaps, supporting a general interest in the well-being of members of the community. In more detail than we have suggested above, Tokitsune’s record leaves no doubt that access to medicine created new bonds among neighbours.

Finally, and more generally, Tokitsune permits us to engage the texture of medicine and community that goes well beyond any information that we may gain from medical texts alone. The information on health issues confronted by actual women and children, for example, is a topic that invites serious study. Too, we are able to gain a good sense of what ailments were common and for which treatment was sought. We also discover the actual prescriptions that were employed, the range of crude drugs that were available and those which appear to have been employed most frequently, and the doses that were prescribed. We also have some sense of the price of medicines. But, while it is possible to get some sense of a physician’s income, we do not have a sense that there were precise or consistent “fees for services”. Payment was not only in cash and kind, but that payment was as yet part of a culture of exchange of gifts. That said, Tokitsune’s record makes it abundantly clear that some at least kept a precise accounting of all transactions.

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121 Hattori (1981b), pp. 94-95 touches on some aspects of this.
Appendix: Three Examples of Reconstructed Medical Records.

**Family record #1.** Tatami maker 畳屋 and his family, for the years Tenshō 14 (1586) and Tenshō 15 (1587).

**Family record #2.** Family of the Indigo-dyer Ichiemonosuke 緋屋市右衛門尉, Tokitsune’s tenant, Tenshō 16 (1588) into Tenshō 19 (1591).

**Family record #3.** Aburakōji Rokushōya Magoemonosuke 油小路六角門尉 and his family, Bunroku 2 (1593) through Keichō 5 (1600).

**Family record #1.** Tatami maker 畳屋, for the years Tenshō 14 (1586) and Tenshō 15 (1587).

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).5.14 (2.136). The nearby tatami-maker’s young daughter has diarrhea, so I checked it, and gave them three packets of Clove powder (Chōkō-san) 丁香散 to which I had added Oriole Chestnut 鶯栗.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).5.15 (2.136). The child of the nearby tatami-maker wanted medicine, so I gave them two packets of Chōkō-san that I had made into decocted medicine, to which I added Nutmeg 肉豆冠.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).5.16 (2.137). The wife came to thank me since the child has recovered.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).5.19 (2.138). The mother (of the tatami-maker) came to give thanks for the recovery, and gave me two silver whiting (kisu).

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).5.28 (2.141). The nearby tatami-maker’s 14-15 year old son had a fever-related rash associated with catching a cold (kasahoroshi), and came seeking medicine, so I checked his pulse. I gave them three packets of Ginseng poison-defeating powder (Ninjin haidoku san) 人参敗毒散 to which I had added Schizonepeta tenuifolia 荊芥 and Kudzu 葛根.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).6.2 (2.142). The nearby tatami-maker’s child’s fever-related rash has improved. They asked for some medicine so I gave them two packets to which I had added some flavours.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).6.3 (2.143). The tatami-maker’s son came, I checked the pulse, and gave him two packets of Kōso-san 香蘓散. From the previous night he had had a fever, and he said that it seemed to be swollen on the mouth so I lanced it and put some ointment on it.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).6.6 (2.144). Since the day before last the nearby tatami-maker’s child has been completely constipated, so I went and checked the pulse. I gave them two packets of medicine, being Jakō shōki-san 釈香正気散 to which I had added (text corrupt), Aloeswood 沈香, Betel nut 槟榔 and large Baikal Skullcup 大黄令.

**TTK** Tenshō 14 (1586).6.7 (2.144). I checked the pulse of the nearby tatami-maker’s child, and he is a little better. At a later hour I sent two packets (of medicine). In the evening I went and checked the pulse. I was told that he had had a bowel movement.
TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.8 (2.144). I checked the pulse of the tatami-maker’s child, and gave him two packets (of medicine). In the afternoon I checked the pulse again.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.9 (2.144, 145). I checked the pulse of the tatami-maker’s child; I gave two packets of medicine, adjusted. [Later that day] they came with thanks for the child recovering.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.10 (2.146). I checked the pulse of the tatami-maker’s child Tora (Torachiyo). He has recovered.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.11 (2.146). The tatami-maker father and son came, bringing as thanks ten sheafs of sōmen noodles.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.16 (2.148). Since they had requested it for the tatami-maker’s child I gave them two packets of Jukō shōki-san to which I had added some flavours. I checked the pulse. They said that it feels like he has malaria, and is constipated.

That night, I was informed that the tatami-maker’s wife (yome) is to give birth in the sixth month. She has a sore stomach so I gave her two packets of Yonmotsu-tō 四物湯 to which I had added Evodia 果茱萸.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.17 (2.148, 149). I was asked for medicine for the son of the tatami-maker, so I added Nut-grass 香附子 to the medicine I gave them yesterday and gave them two packets.

[Later] I checked the pulse of the wife. She had a sore stomach, measles, is vomiting, and has a fever. I gave her two packets of medicine, having compounded Sichuan loveage 川芎, Aromatic madder 香薷, Kudzu 葛根, Magnolia 厚朴, and Peony 芍薬.

[In the evening] I dropped by the tatami-maker’s. The wife is greatly improved. Tora the child had a large bowel movement. His fever has dropped. Both of them are greatly improved.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.18 (2.149, 150). The tatami-maker came and gave felicitations, since his wife is much better. I added Nut-grass 香附子 to the medicine I gave them yesterday and gave them two packets.

[Later] I went to the tatami-maker’s. Since they wanted medicine for the child Tora I gave it to them. I gave them two packets of Shōki-san 正氣散 to which I had added Rhubarb 大黃, Betel-nut 槟榔子, Tsaoko cardomon 草果, Masterwort 前胡, and Aloeswood 沈香. I checked his pulse.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.19 (2.150). I hastened to the tatami-maker’s and checked the pulse [of both the wife and Tora]. For the wife I compounded two packets of medicine made up of Sichuan loveage 川芎, Kudzu 葛根, Magnolia 厚朴, Peony 芍薬, and Aromatic madder 香薷. I did the same for Tora, giving him two packets of Shōki-san to which I had added Lily turf 寧慤, Baikal Skullcup 黄令, Aromatic madder 香薷, Pahnsia 半夏, Sichuan loveage 川芎, Tsaoko cardomon 草果, and Masterwort 前胡.

[Later] that day the tatami-maker came at the hour of the boar (9-11 pm), and since the wife had stomach pains I went to the house. I checked the pulse and gave her one packet of Yonmotsu-tō 四物湯 to which I had added Costus 木香 and
Aloeswood 沈香, two packets of Saisei-san 催生散, and two packets of Aisuyaku 留洲薬.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.20 (2.150). The tatami-maker came and thanked me since the wife’s stomach pains have stopped. Later I visited and checked her pulse. I gave her two packets of Tōki-san 当皈散 since she said that her stomach was sore again. I checked the pulse of Tora and gave him two packets of medicine, adjusted.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.21 (2.151). I went to the tatami-maker’s, checked both pulses [the wife and the son]. The wife was much better. I gave her two packets of Tōki-san for a restorative. Tora was the same, so I gave him two packets of Sanso-in 参蘓飲, to which I had added Costus, Aloeswood, and Tsaoko cardamon.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.22 (2.151). The tatami-maker came, and said that Tora is much better. He wanted some medicines, so I added to the ones I gave yesterday and gave him two packets.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.23 (2.151). I visited the tatami-maker, checked Tora’s pulse, and gave him another two packets.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.24 (2.152). I visited the tatami-maker, and checked both pulses. The wife has recovered. I gave her another two packets. Tora is much better, and I gave him two packets.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.25 (2.153). The tatami-maker came and said that his son Tora had recovered.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.26 (2.153). I visited the tatami-maker and checked (Tora’s) pulse.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).6.27 (2.154). I visited the tatami-maker, and Tora is well.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).7.5 (2.157). I visited the tatami-maker and checked (Tora’s) pulse. Tora has recovered.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).7.15 (2.163). The tatami-maker and Tora came, and gave me thirty hiki (of cash).

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).8.6 (2.167). The tatami-maker’s son has Chinese Sores (Tōkasa 唐瘡). I gave him ninety pellets of Sangō-en 三黄圆. (The dose) is thirty pellets per day.


[Later] I visited the tatami-maker, and gave them 210 pellets being seven days supply of Chinese Sores medicine.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).8.19 (2.171). The tatami-maker came, I gave them seven days worth of Chinese Sores medicine to be used from tomorrow.

TTK Tenshō 14 (1586).8.22 (2.172). I visited the tatami-maker, the Chinese Sores are greatly improved.
The tatami-maker came. I gave them Chinese Sores medicine, seven days worth being 210 pellets.

The tatami-maker came. I gave them Chinese Sores medicine, ninety pellets of Sangō-en being three days worth for use from tomorrow.

The tatami-maker came requesting Chinese Sores medicine. I gave them thirty pellets of Sangō-en being one day’s worth. I also gave them 210 pellets being seven day’s worth of Sores medicine.

I went to the tatami-maker at nightfall, the Chinese Sores are largely healed.

The tatami-maker brought 300 mon as payment for the Chinese Sores medicine (I had provided) from around last autumn.

The tatami-maker’s infant has diarrhea, so I gave them two packets of Chōkō-san with some added flavours.

The young infant came by, and is a little better. I gave them two packets of Chōkō-san.

The tatami-maker’s young infant came, and is a little improved. I gave them two packets of Chōkō-san.

The tatami-maker’s young infant is greatly improved. I gave them two packets of Chōkō-san.

The tatami-maker came with ten hiki as thanks for the recovery of the infant.

Family record #2. Family of Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke 紺屋市右衛門尉, Tokitsune’s tenant, Tenshō 16 (1588) into Tenshō 19 (1591).

Kodaiyu came twice today and we discussed the matter of a house.

I purchased a house - six ken 前 fromage, ten ken depth [Tokitsune was loaned money by three people, in the respective amounts of twenty, ten and sixteen kanmon 貫文; the house contract is included in the diary].

I went to look at the house.

I saw to renovations for the house.

The Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke requested that he be given five doors, I lent him another one on top of that. (Ichi Emonnosuke) is a tenant on the west side, renting four ken.

The Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke’s woman (onna) brought a small gift.

I sent a small gift to Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

The Indigo dyer’s woman came bringing some okoshi ヤヨシ sweets.
TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).1.12 (3.171). I was sent a tray of yakimochi grilled rice-cakes by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).127 (3.175). I was sent a a plate of karasu imo brown potatoes by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).2.25 (3.188). I was sent a bowl of red gruel (seki kayu) by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).3.14 (3.198). I was sent some potatoes (imo) by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).3.14 (3.198). At eight in the evening I heard from Hyōbu no gyō that the wife (yome) Chiho felt that she was about to give birth. He asked me for Saisei-san. I prescribed three packets. Also I added five doses of Chinese Anemone 百草霜 and Realgar 雄黃, and three packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which I added Evodia, Fragrant angelica 白芷, and Realgar.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).3.15 (3.199). I heard from Hyōbu no gyō that Chiho had had a safe birth today. That evening I received a keg of sake rice-wine, 100 mochi rice-cakes and some woven goods (amimono), so I invited the wife of the Indigo-dyer and others over and we had a drink.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).3.16 (3.199). I heard from Hyōbu no gyō that Chiho was experiencing post-partum stomach pains; I gave her three doses of Ninjin chōkō-san.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).4.5 (3.217). The foot of Yoshirō, in the employ of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke, was bitten by a cat. I gave him seven doses of Aisuyaku.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).4.6 (3.218). Yoshirō of the Indigo-dyer’s is a little better, I gave him another seven doses of Aisuyaku.


TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).5.22 (3.225). A serving woman of my tenant the Indigo-dyer has kakuran and is suffering severely, so I gave her one dose of Kaiki-san, and five doses of Kōju-san medicine.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).5.27 (3.227). (The Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke is one of the people to whom Tokitsune gave ten doses of Kōju-san as a gift).

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.8 (3.232). The wife of the Indigo dyer Ichi Emonnosuke came early in the morning. I checked her pulse. Since she had a headache I gave her three doses of Chachō-san.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.15 (3.236). I sent twenty carp (funa 鮒) to the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke. (Tokitsune had received twenty carp earlier in the day from one Seihō).

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.21 (3.239). I was sent three bundles of dried sea-eel (hamo 魚) by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.25 (3.242). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke is nearing term; I sent Saisei-san in the amount of three doses for two occasions each, three packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which I added Realgar, and ten doses of Aisuyaku.
TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.26 (3.242, 243). I visited the wife of Ichi
Emonnosuke in the early morning and checked her pulse. I gave her three doses
of *Yonmotsu-tō* to which I added Ginseng.

[Later that day] I heard that the wife of Ichi Emonnosuke had given birth.
Since the placenta had not dropped I gave her three doses of *Saisei-san*, and one
large packet of *Kaiki-san*.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).6.28 (3.243). I was sent two jugs of rice-wine and
*mochi* rice cakes from the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke. I gave ten doses of
*Aisuyaku* to the wife.

[Later that day] the Indigo-dyer Ichi E’s wife wanted *Aisuyaku*, so I gave her
ten doses.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).7.2 (3.244). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi
Emonnosuke requested more *Aisuyaku*. I gave her seven doses.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).7.4 (3.245). The wife of Indigo-dyer Ichi E is feeling
badly in the chest. I gave her three doses of *Chōkō-san*.

Emonnosuke requested *Aisuyaku*, I gave her seven doses.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).8.1 (3.260). I was sent a tray of “strong rice” by the
Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).8.2 (3.261). I gave the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi
Emonnosuke post-partum medicine. I was brought 300 *mon* as thanks.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).8.8 (3.264). The wife of the Indigo-dyer came. I gave
her seven doses of *Aisuyaku*.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).8.18 (3.268). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi
Emonnosuke came, I gave her ten doses of *Aisuyaku*.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).9.11 (3.281). The small infant of the Indigo-dyer Ichi
Emonnosuke has a cough, and was brought here. I compounded two packets
made up of Balloon flower 柿梗, Sichuan loveage, Schisandra 五味子, Mandarin orange peel 陳皮, Apricot 杏仁, Schizonepeta tenuifolia, and
Ginseng.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).9.17 (3.285). The small infant of Indigo-dyer Ichi
Emonnosuke has coughing. I gave three packets of *Hakkai-san* 八解散, to
which I added Mulberry bark (桑 白皮 being 桑 白皮), Paishu 白朮, Apricot, Lilyturf, and Schisandra.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).9.18 (3.285). The infant of Indigo Ichi E was brought
here. I gave three packets of *Sanso-in* 参蘓飲, to which I added Lilyturf, Schisandra, Apricot, and Paishu.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).9.19 (3.286). The small infant of the Indigo E was
brought here; is it measles? Since spots (*monobuki* 物吹) have appeared I gave
three packets of *Shōma kakkon-tō* 升麻葛根湯.
TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).10.26 (3.302). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke is said to have a headache; I checked her pulse and gave her three doses of Chachō-san.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).12.11 (3.320). The mother and the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke came, and we all drank sake rice-wine.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).12.17 (3.325). I sent 100 pellets of Hodō-en 保童円 to the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke for her infant.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).12.22 (3.327). I was sent one kake of sea-bream (tai 鰤) from Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

[Later] I gave a friend of the wife of Ichi two doses of Saiseiyaku. Since somebody from the household came and said that the placenta has not yet dropped I gave in addition to the same medicine one packet of Aisuyaku.

TTK Tenshō 17 (1589).12.27 (3.329). The wife of Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke brought me one indigo wax tea-bowl (アイノラウー茶椀).

[Later] the friend of Indigo-dyer Ichi’s wife who had the post-partum problem brought 200 mon as thanks. I gave her five doses of Aisuyaku.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).1.1 (4.3). The wife of Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke brought as a gift one sheaf of konbu kelp and some kushikaki skewered persimmons.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).1.5 (4.4). The wife of Indigo-dyer Ichi E came. I gave her 100 pellets of Gokan Hodō-en 五疳保童円 for her infant.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).1.26 (4.15). The Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke and his wife returned from Yuyama 湯山 (hot springs). As souvenirs they brought me ladles and toothpicks.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).3.3 (4.31). The wife of Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke came to express thanks. She sent a tray of hamaguri clams.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).4.19 (4.49). I was sent a tray of hamaguri clams by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).5.2 (4.53). I was sent two jugs of sake and 100 mochi from the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).5.6 (4.55). The daughter of the Indigo-dyer has a scratch. I gave her ten doses of Aisuyaku and one packet of application medicine for wounds.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).5.7 (4.55). I sent two jugs of rice-wine to Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke. At a later hour the wife came. I checked her pulse. I gave her charcoal moxibustion (灸治ニ墨ヲ付テ). I gave her three doses of Ninjin chōkō-san, and one packet of Kaiki-san.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).5.19 (4.60). I was sent a bowl of sōmen noodles by Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).5.23 (4.63). I was sent a tray of “strong rice” by Indigo-dyer Ichi E. [Tokitsune had been ailing the previous two days]. In the evening he brought me ten sheafs of sōmen. This was thanks for the medicine that I gave him for the infant’s scratch the other day (see 1590.5.6). I gave him ten packets of Aisuyaku that he took back that evening.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).6.9 (4.67). Small boils have appeared on the foot of the infant of Ichi Emonnosuke. I gave them three packets of Aokikō-tō 青木香湯.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).6.10 (4.67). I was asked by the Indigo-dyer Mago Saemonnosuke, a friend of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke, to intercede for him in some public matter (kuji). He brought twenty twenty hiki, and we had a drink.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).6.14 (4.69). (Tokitsune gave ten doses of Kōju-san to Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke, as one of many to whom Tokitsune gave the gift).

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).6.23 (4.74). I gave three packets of Aokikō-tō as foot-washing medicine to the infant of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).6.25 (4.75). At night fall Indigo-dyer Ichi E’s wife brought me some sōmen noodles.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.1 (4.76). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke has a severe cough. I gave her seven doses of Senkyō cha-chō-san 川芎茶調散. Heat rash pimples (natsubushi) have appeared on the face of the small daughter. I gave her one packet of Aokikō powder.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.6 (4.78). Since the father of a former servant girl of Indigo-dyer Ichi E was suffering from diarrhea I gave them two doses of Chōchū-san 調中散, adding Oriole Chestnut. They brought a bottle of sake and some eggplant (nasu).

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.6 (4.79). I was sent fifteen sheafs of sōmen noodles by Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

[Later] that day I sent chimaki 糰 rice-cake and one kumabiki クマヒキ to Indigo-dyer Ichi E (Tokitune had received larger amounts of these as gifts earlier in the day).
TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.7 (4.79). I checked the pulse of Kōbai of the Indigo-dyer's. I gave three doses of Ninjin Chōkō-san, adding Oriole Chestnut.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.8 (4.80). The diarrhea of Kōbai’s father has gotten better. I further gave three doses of Ninjin chōkō-san, adding Oriole Chestnut.

[Later] that day the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E has a sore stomach. I gave her one "shell" (貝) of Hihatsu-en 草撥円.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.9 (4.81). The wife of Ichi Emonnosuke brought as thanks for her recovery from her ailment twenty hiki of cash. I gave the small girl two packets of Gokō-san 五香散.

[Later] I was brought three sheafs of sōmen noodles as thanks for the recovery from diarrhea of Kōbai’s father.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.10 (4.81). Kōbai’s father has recovered. I checked the pulse as a recuperative measure. I compounded three packets of Ginseng, Oriole Chestnut, and Dried hajikami Ginger 干姜.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.10 (4.82). The small infant of an acquaintance of Indigo-dyer Ichi E has developed a fever; I gave three doses of Chōchū-san to which I added Golden-thread 黃蓮 and Oriole Chestnut.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.11 (4.82). I heard from the Indigo-dyer that the small infant has improved. Since they wanted more (medicine) I gave them three doses of Chōchū-san to which I added Oriole Chestnut.

[Later] the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E wanted Kaiki-san, so I gave her one packet.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.16 (4.86). I sent one packet of Aoki-kō 青木香 powder for the heat rash of the small infant of the same [Indigo-dyer] Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.20 (4.87). The small infant of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E has vomiting and diarrhea. I gave one packet of Jukō shōki-san to which I added Aloeswood, Kudzu, and Peony. I also gave one packet of the same to which I added Aromatic madder 香薑. I further gave one packet of the same medicine with the same flavours, to which I added Loquat leaves 枇杷葉, and I gave one packet of oral medicine (medicine to be swallowed).


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.22 (4.87). The small infant of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke has improved. I gave two packets of the same medicine to which I added the same flavours.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.23 (4.88). I gave two packets of the same medicine to the small infant of Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.26 (4.89). I gave five doses of Chōchū-san to the small infant of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.
TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.27 (4.90). I gave five doses of Chōchū-san to the small infant of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).7.28 (4.91). I gave five doses of Chōchū-san to the small girl of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).8 .2 (4.93). They brought 200 mon cash as thanks for the recovery of the small infant of Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).8.8 (4.95). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E has a headache and requested Chachō-san. I gave her seven doses.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).9.19 (4.109). I was sent two jugs of sake, chestnut flour, and some woven cloth by the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).9.21 (4.110). I was sent a tray of chestnuts by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).9.22 (4.111). I was sent some manjū bean dumplings by the Indigo-dyer Ichi E. I had dinner together with the serving woman and Ichi.


TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).9.25 (4.112). I gave ten shad to the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).10.7 (4.119). I gave one “shell” of Hihatsu-en to the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).10.14 (4.121). I sent Ichi to Sakai to Reizei (Tamenitsu’s). He has had swellings on his leg/foot for three to four days.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).10.19 (4.123). I sent Ichi to Sakai to check on the condition of Reizei Tamenitsu’s swelling [see 10.14, 10.16, 10.17 (4.122), when Tokitsune visits Tamemitsu in Sakai, returning the following morning after breakfast].

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).10.21 (4.124). I sent Ichi to Sakai to check on Tamemitsu’s swelling; by and large he has recovered. I sent him one ryō of Rhubarb.

[Later] I had some repairs done on the well. Ichi Emonnosuke and others checked on it; I said that I would give them an evening meal. I hired Ichi Emonnosuke. Ichi Emonnosuke further provided another person for one day. I gave them both meals.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).10.24 (4.125). I was sent ten manjū bean dumplings by the wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi E.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590).11.11 (4.131). (Tokitsune enlists Ichi Emonnosuke and others in the neighbourhood for a tea gathering for the seventh day memorial for Lord Anzenji).

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590),12.11 (4.144). I was sent sent a plate of chestnuts by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 18 (1590),12.21 (4.148). I was sent two sea-bream (tai 鯛) by the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke.

TTK Tenshō 19 (1591),5.6 (4.221). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke brought ten hiki. She wanted medicine. Since I was prostrate with stomach pains I said that I would send it later.

TTK Tenshō 19 (1591),5.10 (4.223). Since there was a message from the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke that he would come and get the medicine, I gave them fifteen doses of Aisuyaku and ten doses of Chachō-san.

TTK Tenshō 19 (1591),5.17 (4.225). The wife of the Indigo-dyer Ichi Emonnosuke brought ten hiki. I gave her fifteen doses of Aisuyaku and ten doses of Senkyō chachō-san, and I gave ten doses of Kōju-san. I also gave her ten doses of the same medicine for Ichi Emonnosuke.

Family record #3. Aburakōji Rokushōya Mago Emonnosuke 油小路六小屋右衛門尉 and his family, Bunroku 2 (1593) through Keichō 5 (1600).

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),3.15 (5.245). Mago Emonnosuke came to pick up some medicine. I gave him three packets.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),7.28 (5.341). The child of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came. I gave two packets of decoction medicine (sen'yaku).

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),7.29 (5.342). The child of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came. I gave two packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),7.30 (5.343). The wife of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came. I checked her pulse. I gave her three doses of Senkyō chachō-san. I also gave her two packets of decoction medicine for the child.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),8.1 (5.343). The child of Mago Emonnosuke from the same (Aburakōji) machi came. I gave two packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),8.3 (5.345). The child of Mago Emonnosuke from the same (Aburakōji) machi came. I gave two packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),8.8 (5.349). The child of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came. I gave two packets of decoction medicine. S/He brought 200 mon.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),8.16 (5.354). The wife of the Aburakōji carpenter came. I checked her pulse, and gave her two packets of decoction medicine and five doses of Kaiki-san. I placed marks on her stomach for where moxa should be applied. The wife of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke accompanied her.

TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),10.10 (5.406). The child of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came bringing two sheafs of paper (zōshi). That night I went to visit the patient.


TTK Bunroku 2 (1593),10.13 (5.408). The child of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came. I checked the pulse, and gave three packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).1.5 (6.5). I was sent jugs of wine and 100 mon by Roku Shōya from the same (Aburakōji) machi. Last winter I gave medicine to his child.


TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).3.11 (6.38). Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came with his child. I gave them two packets of decoction medicine and three packets of sore washing medicine.


TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).4.11 (6.52). Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came with his child. I give them three packets of sore washing medicine and two packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).4.13 (6.54). Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke sent as thanks for the medicine one mon of silver and one sheaf of paper (zōshi).

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).4.14 (6.54). I learnt from the wife of Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke that they are going to Arima hot-springs and want some tonic medicine (養生薬). I gave them ten doses of Aisuyaku, and ten doses of Kaiki-san for their child.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).5.16 (6.69). Aburakōji came with his child. I gave them two packets of Shōma kakkon-tō.

Tokitsune Bunroku 3 (1594).5.17 (6.69). The Aburakōji child came to get medicine, so I gave two packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).5.18 (6.70). Aburakōji came with his child. I gave them two packets of Ninjin haidoku-san.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).5.19 (6.70). Aburakōji Mago Emonnosuke came with his child, who is greatly improved. I gave a further two packets of Haidoku-san.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).6.22 (6.92). (Rokushōya 六しゃゆ is listed as one of the places to which Tokitsune sent a mid-year gift of medicines, receiving ten doses of Köju-san).

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).6.23 (6.93). The wife of Rokushōya came, and mentioned that the wife of a carpenter is ailing and wants her pulse checked. I accompanied her there. I surmised various types of things but she was insistent so I gave her two packets of Hakkai-san to which I added Aloe juice.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).6.23 (6.93). The wife of Rokushōya came. I checked her pulse. I gave her seven doses of Senkyō chachō-san, and two packets of Jukōshōki-san, for the child.

TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).7.6 (6.103). Someone came from Rokushōya accompanying the child in order to give thanks for having recovered. They brought a double jug of sake, chimaki rice-cakes, and mackerel.
TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).9.8 (6.141). The wife of Aburakōji Rokushōya had a miscarriage (danzan 斷産). I was asked for medicine, so I gave three packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which I added flavours.


TTK Bunroku 3 (1594).9.9 (6.141). I was sent from the wife of the Maruyama carpenter, as thanks for having given her medicine, a plate of persimmons and two mon of silver. The messenger was the wife of Rokushōya, who brought them with her.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.2 (6.278). The wife of Aburakōji Rokushōya came with her child. I checked the pulse. I also checked the mother’s pulse. They brought a sack of dried rice and some silver. The child wanted some medicine so I gave them two packets that I’d taken from the Jukōshōki-san.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.3 (6.279). Aburakōji Rokushōya came along with the child. I checked the pulse. I gave two packets of Shōma kakkon-tō升麻葛根湯 to which I added Mandarin orange peel 陳皮.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.4 (6.280). The child of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked the pulse. It is much improved. I further gave two packets of Shōma kakkon-tō to which I added Mandarin orange peel and Magnolia 厚朴. Since I was told that the mother has pre-partum bad feeling in the chest, I gave three doses of Ninjin chōchū-san.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.5 (6.281). Aburakōji Rokushōya came with his child. I checked the pulse, and gave two packets of decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.6 (6.283). Someone came from Aburakōji Rokushōya in the evening wanting medicine for the child. It is much improved. I further gave three doses of Chōchū-san. Until yesterday it had been decoction medicine.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.10 (6.284). The child of Aburakōji Rokushōya came, I checked the pulse, and gave a further three doses of Chōchū-san to which I added Kaiki-san.


TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.18 (6.289). The child from Aburakōji Rokushōya came, bringing two monme of silver. He said that since his stomach had improved he wanted further medicines.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.26 (6.295). (Rokushōya is among those to whom Tokitsune is giving gifts of medicine at mid-year, and received ten doses of Kōju-san).

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).6.27 (6.296). The child of Aburakōji Rokushōya was brought here. I checked the pulse, and gave two packets of Fukankin shōki-san.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).7.7 (6.305). I was sent one tray of mackerel from Aburakōji Rokushōya.


TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).9.15 (6.349). I heard from Aburakōji Rokushōya that the birth is near. They wanted “quickening medicine.” I gave them two packets of that and seven doses of Aisuyaku.


TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).11.30 (6.390). The child of Rokushōya of the same (Aburakōji) machi came. I checked the pulse and gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.


TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).12.2 (6.392). A person came from Rokushōya of the same (Aburakōji) machi to get medicine. I gave two packets of of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).12.3 (6.393). The daughter Mume 梅 of Rokushōya of the same (Aburakōji) machi came. She is improved. I gave I gave two packets of Ekihi-tō 益脾湯. I gave one dose of Gokō-san 五香散 for her younger sister (one year old).

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).12.10 (6.399). The daughter Mume 梅 of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked the pulse. I gave her two packets of Ekihi-tō 益脾湯. I gave two packets of Hakka-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Bunroku 4 (1595).12.5 (6.395). The child of Aburakōji Rokushōya came to get medicine. I gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).1.9 (7.11). Aburakōji Rokushōya brought his daughter (two years old). I gave I gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).2.17 (7.33). Aburakōji Rokushōya brought his child. I gave two packets of Hakkai-san.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).4.27 (7.83). The wife of Aburakōji Rokushōya came with her daughter. I checked the pulse. Since she had a slight fever along with diarrhea, I gave two packets of Fukankin shōki-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).4.28 (7.84). The daughter of Aburakōji Rokushōya came; I checked the pulse, and gave two packets of Fukankin shōki-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).4.29 (7.85). The daughter of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked the pulse, and gave two packets of Fukankin shōki-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).5.2 (7.87). The daughter of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked the pulse, and gave two packets of Fukankin shōki-san to which I had added flavours. I gave to her younger sister two packets of Gōkō-san and some Raiganyū.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).5.13 (7.97). The daughter Mume of Aburakōji Rokushōya came, bringing with her two momme of silver.


TTK Keichō 1 (1596).6.26 (7.133). Someone from Aburakōji Rokushōya brought the daughter. I checked the pulse. I gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.3 (7.140). (Rokushōya is one of seventy-eight people or establishments given presents of Kōju-san by Tokitsune; Rokushōya received ten doses).

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.7 (7.144). I went to the same (Aburakōji) Rokushōya. I checked the pulse of the wife who is ailing, and gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.8 (7.145). I visited Aburakōji Rokushōya. I checked the pulse of the wife, and gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours. I checked the pulse of the daughter Mume, I gave her two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.10 (7.147). The child of Aburakōji Rokushōya came, I checked the pulse. I gave two packets of decoction medicine.
TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.11 (7.148). The child of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked the pulse. I gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.13 (7.151). I was brought one momme of silver from Aburakōji Rokushōya.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.16 (7.155). I heard from Aburakōji Rokushōya that a daughter is suffering worms rising to the chest 胸へ ア カ ル. Since he came to get some medicine, I gave two packets of Hakkai-san to which I had added flavours. I heard that in the evening she vomited. So I gave two packets of Kaiki-san to which I had added flavours.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).7.25 (7.162). The daughter of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked the pulse. I gave two packets of Jukōshōki-san to which I had added White Plum floss 白梅花.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).8.23 (7.204). The daughter of the younger brother of Aburakōji Rokushōya came. I checked her pulse; I gave two packets of Shōma kakkon-tō to which I had added some flavours.


TTK Keichō 1 (1596).10.28 (7.241). Since someone has come from Aburakōji Rokushōya to get some medicine, I gave Jukōshōki-san as I had done yesterday. I gave an additional two packets of (a combination of) Nutmeg, Paishu, and Magnolia.

TTK Keichō 1 (1596).10.29 (7.241). Someone came from the wife of Aburakōji Rokushōya saying that she is as before, so I give a further two packets of Jukōshōki-san to which I had added Zedoary莪 and Bur-reed三棱.

TTK Keichō 2 (1597).1.10 (7.290). I was sent from Aburakōji Rokushōya 200 mon and a tray of okoshi sweets.

TTK Keichō 2 (1597).2.1 (7.304). I went to Aburakōji Rokushōya since I had been told that I had to come there. I checked the pulse of the wife.

TTK Keichō 2 (1597).2.2 (7.305). Someone came from the wife of Aburakōji Rokushōya to get some medicine. I gave two packets of Jukōshōki-san to which I had added Chinese Bugbane 薬 素 花. The daughter also came. I checked her pulse. I gave five doses of Ninjin chōkō-san to which I had added Krervanh豆冠.

TTK Keichō 2 (1597).2.3 (7.306). Someone came from the wife of Aburakōji Rokushōya saying that she is as before, so I give a further two packets of Jukōshōki-san to which I had added Zedoary莪 and Bur-reed三棱.

TTK Keichō 2 (1597).6.19 (7.416). (Rokushōya is among seventy one people and places who are given mid-year medicine gifts by Tokitsune; Rokushōya receives ten doses of Köju-san).

TTK Keichō 2 (1597).12.3 (8.126). Since someone came from Aburakōji Rokushōya mentioning that someone from the Yōsuke’s of the same (Aburakōji)
Nishi Nakakōji had come asking that the pulse of the wife who was ailing be checked. I went there. I gave two packets of Yonmotsu-tō to which I had added Chinese Wild ginger 細辛, China-root 伏苓, Peel of citrus fruits 枳穀, Fragrant angelica, Mulberry bark and Masterwort (倉胡 as a misreading for 前胡?). [For further on the case see 12.4 (8.126), 12.5 (8.127), and 12.6 (8.128)].

**TTK Keichō 3 (1598).5.14 (8.249).** Aburakōji Rokushōya brought his small daughter with him, and I checked the pulse. I gave three packets of decoction medicine.

**TTK Keichō 3 (1598).5.16 (8.251).** Someone came from Aburakōji Rokushōya to get medicine for the daughter, so I gave three packets.

**TTK Keichō 3 (1598).7.13 (9.11).** I was sent three (bolts?) of ramie (karamushi) from Aburakōji Rokushōya.

**TTK Keichō 4 (1599).11.24 (10.74).** I was sent one dried salmon from Rokushōya.

**TTK Keichō 5 (1600).6.23 (10.177).** (Rokushōya is listed as one of twenty-three people or establishments given Kōju-san by Tokitsune; Rokushōya received ten doses).

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