



## I INTRODUCTION

The choice of my topic is inspired by the celebration in Japan of the year of France. Before going into the subject proper, I would like to list a few major events that occurred in the years '98' of the past centuries and had a bearing on the cultural and scientific relations between Japan and Europe. Japan's existence was made known to the European royal courts and intellectuals by Marco Polo's description. A prisoner in Genoa after returning from a seventeen-year stay in the Mongol Empire and China, Marco Polo dictated his manuscript in 1298, exactly seven hundred years ago. This text, written in a medieval form of rude French had a major influence on the representation of Japan in the mind and imagination of the educated Europeans. This impact is also reflected in the illustration of Japan on the first surviving globe of Martin Behaim (1492), preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg. In 1498 Vasco da Gama succeeded in reaching the west coast of India by sailing around Africa. Thus he opened the sea route to the Far East for the Portuguese navigators and became a pioneer in the establishment of relations between Europe and Japan.

豊臣秀吉

The year 1598 was rich in important events that influenced the relations of Japan with Europe. The great ruler Toyotomi Hideyoshi died that year. He had succeeded in uniting the country after a long period of civil war and became the first major opponent to the Christian religion in Japan. In the same year died the Spanish king Philip II, under whose rule the Spanish Empire extended its influence and territorial conquests to the Far East. Not many Japanese medical historians are aware of the fact that the top of the title page in the Plantin edition of Juan de Valverde's *Anatomy Vivae imagines partium corporis humanis aereis formis expressae* illustrates the coat of arms of the Spanish

king. Equally in 1598, Pope Clement VIII issued an edict suppressing the exclusive right of missionary propagation of the Jesuitic Order in Japan. This initiative had disastrous consequences for the Japanese Christians.<sup>1</sup>

Serious conflicts marked the relationship between the Jesuits and the newly arriving Franciscans and Dominicans, leading ultimately to the expulsion from Japan of all the Catholic orders by 1640. In the same year 1598 the famous Padua professor of anatomy Johann Vesling was born. The illustrations of the Dutch version of his book entitled *Konstige ontleding der menschlijcken lichaems* (the Blasius translation of *Syntagma anatomicum*)<sup>2</sup> were the source of Yamawaki Tōyō's celebrated *Zōshi* which paved the way for the adoption of Western medicine and played an important role in the later rejection of the teachings of Chinese medicine in Japan.

山脇東洋  
藏志

The year 1798 is associated with two important events. In that year, Ōtsuki Gentaku completed the manuscript of *Chōtei kaitai shinsho*, considered the most complete Japanese anatomical treatise of the Tokugawa period (*Tokugawa jidai*, 1600-1868).<sup>3</sup> Udagawa Yōan, one of the most brilliant *Rangakusha* was born that year. Pioneer in the introduction of Western botany and chemistry into Japan, he was the author of the celebrated *Shokugaku keigen* and *Seimi kaisō*.<sup>4</sup>

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## II FRENCH SCIENTIFIC BOOKS IN JAPAN AND FRENCH BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO JAPANESE.

Let us examine now the names of the French physicians, surgeons and scientists whose treatises were partially translated into Japanese during the Edo period (*Edo jidai*).<sup>5</sup> TABLE I lists the title of the original French editions. The Japanese translations were always based on the Dutch versions and most often the Japanese physicians and scientists were not even aware that the source of the translated works was initially a French treatise. The Dutch translation was not necessarily made from the first French edition. Similarly, the Japanese translation did not always use the first Dutch edition.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE I

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|---|---|
| 1 | Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), <i>Les Oeuvres ...</i> , Fo., Paris, 1575, ed. G. Buon.  |
| 2 | Noël Chomel (1632-1712), <i>Dictionnaire Oeconomique ...</i> , Fo., Lyon, 1709, ed. imprimé pour l'auteur; with a supplement published in 1712. |



ILL I

- 3 François Mauriceau (1637-1709), *Des maladies des femmes grosses et accouchées*, Qto, Paris, 1668, ed. J. Héviault.
- 4 Nicolas Lémerý (1645-1715), *Traité universel des drogues simples*, Qto, Paris, 1698, ed. L. d'Houry.
- 5 Georges de la Faye (1710-1781), *Principes de chirurgie*, Oct., Paris, 1738.
- 6 Joseph Jérôme le François de Lalande (1732-1807), *Astronomie*, 2 vols. Qto, Paris, 1764, ed. Desaint and Saillant.
- 7 Pierre Lassus (1741-1807), *Pathologie chirurgicale*, 2 vols. Oct., Paris, 1805-1806, ed. Méquignon.
- 8 Laurent Antoine de Lavoisier (1743-1794), *Traité élémentaire de chimie*, 2 vols. Oct., Paris, 1789, ed. Cuchet.
- 9 Jean-Louis Baudelocque (1746-1810), *Principes sur l'art des accouchements ...*, Oct., Paris, 1781, ed. Méquignon l'ainé.
- 10 Antoine-François Fourcroy (1755-1809), *Philosophie chimique ou vérité fondamentale de la chimie moderne*, Oct., Paris, 1792.
- 11 Jacques-Pierre Maygrier (1771-1835), *Manuel de l'anatomiste*, Oct., Paris, 1811 (2nd ed.; the 1st ed. could not be found), ed. J. Merlin.
- 12 Anthelme B. Richerand (1779-1840), *Nouveaux éléments de physiologie*, Oct., Paris, 1801, ed. Richard, Caille et Ravier.
- 13 François Magendie (1783-1855), *Formulaire pour la préparation et l'emploi de plusieurs nouveaux médicaments*, 12mo, Paris, 1821, ed. Méquignon-Marvis.
- 14 Antoine Dugès (1797-1838), *Manuel d'obstétrique*, Paris, 1826.
- 15 Jean-Pierre Girardin (1803-1884), *Leçons de chimie élémentaires, faites le dimanche à l'école municipale de Rouen*, 2 vols. 18mo, Paris, 1836-1837, ed. Rouvier.
- 16 Claude Bernard (1813-1878) et Charles Huette, *Précis iconographique de médecine opératoire et d'anatomie chirurgicale*, Oct., Paris, 1846, ed. Méquignon-Marvis.

It is of interest to note that only a small part of the works of Paré, Lémerý and Lalande was printed in Japanese;<sup>3</sup> the translation of the other books remained unpublished, circulating among the specialists as manuscripts. Moreover, in the case of some of these authors it was not one of their major works, but a writing of minor importance that was brought to Japan and translated into Japanese. Thus no evidence is available that Baudelocque's *L'art des accouchements*, Bernard's *Introduction de la médecine expérimentale*, Magendie's *Physiology* and Maygrier's *Obstetrics* reached Japan during the Tokugawa period.

The number of French works that were translated during the Edo period was relatively high. This fact cannot merely be explained by their exceptionally important content. Another historically major event occurring in France at the end of the seventeenth century and totally independent from Japanese history, provides an adequate explanation. The French king Louis XIV desired to strengthen the unity of the country and curb the increasing influence of the Protestants. Therefore, he decided to repeal the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598 by Henry IV, which guaranteed the Protestants the free practice of their religion. The consequence of this royal initiative was a major disaster for France, both economic and intellectual. Many highly educated Protestants, endowed with an enterprising spirit, fled the country. Some of them

settled in the prosperous Netherlands, which was then at the height of its 'Golden Century'. They and their descendants distinguished themselves in various activities related to the printing industry and book publishing. **TABLE II** lists the names of some of the French refugees who achieved fame by translating and editing French books into Dutch and Dutch books about Japanese history into French.

TABLE II

1	J.A. de Chalmot, compiler of a monumental Dutch encyclopaedia in seven volumes <sup>8</sup> based on N. Chomel's <i>Dictionnaire Oeconomique</i> .
2	P. Desmaizeaux and F. Naud, translators into French of Kaempfer's <i>History of Japan</i> .
3	F. Halma, famous editor in the Netherlands of French books and an important Dutch-French dictionary. The latter was the source of the first Dutch-Japanese printed dictionary ( <i>Edo-Haruma</i> 江戸ハルマ) published in 1796 by Inamura Sanpaku 稲村三伯.
4	P. Marin, author of an important Dutch-French dictionary, source of Nishi Zenzaburō's 西善三郎 attempted compilation of a Dutch-Japanese dictionary. Nishi's manuscript helped Maeno Ryōaku 前野良沢 and his colleagues in the Japanese translation of Kulmus' <i>Ontleedkundige tafelen</i> .
5	P. Massuet, Amsterdam-based author of several books on history and medicine, French translator of Kulmus' <i>Ontleedkundige tafelen</i> and P. van Musschenbroek's treatise on Physics.
6	J. Morterre, famous editor of several French books in the Dutch language.
7	J. Neaulme, famous editor of several French and Dutch books in the eighteenth century (French translation of Kaempfer of 1729).
8	L. Renard, famous Amsterdam editor: a. <i>Atlas de la navigation et du commerce ...</i> , Amsterdam, 1715 (partially translated into Japanese and carrying for the first time Copernicus' name into the Japanese language); b. books on natural history.

In addition to the authors shown in **TABLE I**, the works of many French scientists were brought to Japan in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> Although no evidence is available at the present time about their partial Japanese translation, some of these books were widely consulted by the increasing number of *Rangakusha* who had learnt to read the Dutch language. Some of the natural history and medical books were also appreciated for their beautiful illustrations. **TABLE III** gives a partial list of French scientific authors whose writings were available in Japan during the last decades of the Tokugawa regime (1600-1868). The precise influence of these books is difficult to assess.

TABLE III

1	M.J. Brisson (1723-1806), <i>Ornithologie ...</i> (F).
2	Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), <i>Histoire naturelle ...</i> (F).
3	J.G. Cloquet (1790-1883), <i>Anatomie de l'homme</i> (D).
4	G. Cuvier (1769-1832), <i>Leçons d'anatomie comparée</i> (F).
5	G. Desargues (1591-1661), <i>Manière universelle de M. Desargues pour pratiquer la perspective</i> (D).
6	H.-L. Duhamel du Monceau (1700-1782), <i>Éléments de l'architecture navale</i> (D).
7	J.-P. Girardin, <i>Manuel de chimie appliquée</i> (D).
8	J.-P. Girardin, <i>Leçons de chimie élémentaire appliquée aux arts industriels</i> (this title is likely but cannot be ascertained) (D).

- 9 J. Guillemeau (1550-1612), *Les oeuvres de chirurgie* (D).  
 10 L.B. Guyton de Morveau (1733-1816), *Traité des moyens de désinfecter l'air* (D).  
 11 An unidentified book on botany by A. de Jussieu (1686-1758) or A.L. de Jussieu (1748-1836) (G).  
 12 Comte de Lacépède (1756-1825), *Histoire naturelle des poissons* (F).  
 13 Comte de Lacépède, *Histoire naturelle des quadrupèdes ovipares et des serpents* (G).  
 14 S.-F. Lacroix (1765-1843), *Éléments d'algèbre ...* (D).  
 15 P. de la Hire (1640-1719), *Tabulae Astronomicae* (D).  
 16 P. de la Hire, *Les éléments des sections coniques ...* (the title is likely but cannot be ascertained).  
 17 J.-B. de Lamarck (1744-1829), *Histoire naturelle des animaux sans vertèbres* (F).  
 18 J. Lieutaud (1703-1780), *Précis de la médecine pratique* (F).  
 19 A. Richard (1794-1852), *Botanique médicale* (D) and *Éléments d'histoire naturelle médicale* (F)  
 (These works are two editions of essentially the same book).  
 20 N. Savart (1765-ca. 1826), *Cours élémentaire de fortification ...* (D).  
 21 O.-G. de Ségur (1779-1818), *Lettres élémentaires sur la chimie* (D).

These are the titles of French works for which evidence is available from the Dutch Archives<sup>10</sup> and other Japanese sources<sup>11</sup> proving their presence in Japan in the first half of the nineteenth century. The books may have been any of the French editions, marked (F), any of the corresponding Dutch, marked (D), or German, marked (G) translations. This list does not claim to be exhaustive. (The presently available data from the archives are far from complete. The edition dates are often missing and the indicated ambiguous titles have to be clarified.)<sup>12</sup>

**TABLE IV** lists some of the French scientific books that had an impact on Japanese science through de Chalmot's encyclopaedia.<sup>13</sup>

TABLE IV

- 1 M.J. Brisson, *Ornithologie ...*  
 2 Comte de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle ...*  
 3 G. Rondelet (1507-1566), *Libri di Piscibus marinis*, Lyon, 1554-1555, M. Bonhomme, ed. (This book was a major source for Jonston's chapter on fishes in *Naeuckerige Beschrijving van der Natuur ...*, Amsterdam, 1660, I. Schipper, ed. and it is many times cited in it).  
 4 E.L. Geoffroy (1725-1810), *Histoire abrégée des insectes qui se trouvent aux environs de Paris*, Paris, 1762, ed. Durand.  
 5 R.-A. Ferchault de Réaumur (1683-1757), *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes*, Paris, 1734-1742, ed. Imprimerie Royale.
- French scientific books having had some indirect impact on the science of the late Tokugawa period via their numerous citations in de Chalmot's encyclopaedia.

In view of the limited space at my disposal, I am not in a position to discuss in detail the impact of all the partially translated French books listed in **TABLE I** on Japanese scientists. Therefore, I have selected for discussion the work of the French surgeon Ambroise Paré. He was chronologically the first French scientist to exert a considerable influence in Japan.

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But before going any further, let us first examine the situation of Japanese medicine at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans. It is generally accepted that at the end of the sixteenth century Western medicine was not more advanced than its Japanese counterpart, except in the fields of anatomy and surgery.<sup>15</sup> It is for example well known that for problems of internal medicine the Jesuit missionaries preferred to be treated by Japanese physicians rather than by the Western ship surgeons who were accompanying them on their long journey. The relatively underdeveloped state of Japanese anatomy and surgery has been rationalised in the light of Japanese medical history. From the seventh century on, Japan decided to fully adopt Chinese medicine. Under the influence of Confucian teachings dissections and bloodshed by surgical intervention were forbidden in Chinese medicine. As far as dissection is concerned, the situation was by the way not very different in Europe up to the end of the fifteenth century. Let us not forget that the prohibition of dissections was only lifted by Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84, r. 1471-84), the builder of the famous Sistine Chapel. A similar prohibition remained in effect in Japan up to the end of the eighteenth century.

In the field of surgery a revolution took place in Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> It was associated with Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), whose influence on Japanese surgery in the eighteenth century was immense.<sup>17</sup> A discussion of the accomplishments and innovations of Paré, physician in ordinary to four French kings, as well as of his tremendous impact on Japanese surgery, would actually require a special lecture if not a full symposium. Four of his discoveries had a tremendous impact on the surgery of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries:

His accidental discovery, during the Turin campaign in 1536, of the gentle dressing composed of egg yolk, oil of roses and turpentine, for the treatment of firearm wounds instead of cauterisation. He demonstrated that gunshot wounds were not poisonous (first disclosed in *La méthode de traicter les playes*, 1545).

The application of blood vessel ligation in amputations (first disclosed in *Dix livres de chirurgie*, 1564).

The precise location of bullets and their extraction from the body by placing the soldier back in the position in which he received the



shot, in order to determine the bullet's precise trajectory (Battle of Perpignan, 1542), (first disclosed in 1585; 4th enlarged edition of Paré's collected works entitled: *Oeuvres*).

Paré's revival of the podalic version in difficult deliveries re-popularised the procedure which had been described by Soranus of Ephesus, the leading authority on gynaecology and obstetrics of the Antique World (first disclosed in *Briefve collection*, 1549 and then in *Deux livres de chirurgie*, 1573).

It is well known that Paré did not follow the classical education of the physicians of his time and did not know Latin. For that reason, he published all his books in French.<sup>18</sup> Printing of the Fo. first edition of Paré's collected works was completed in 1575. The immense success of this edition should be understood in view of its outstanding scientific, artistic and typographic qualities and not least in view of its appropriate timing, responding as it did to an urgent need among the surgeons of late sixteenth century France. It contained 295 illustrations, most of them already featured in Paré's separate earlier works.<sup>19</sup>

The first foreign nation to discover Paré were the Dutch. The political conditions in the Low Countries, under Spanish rule during the sixteenth century, explain the particular attention paid to the war-experience of the French surgeon. The fourth enlarged edition of Paré's *Oeuvres* (1585) was translated into Dutch by the Ghent physician Carel Batten, who had had to leave his native town with the Protestant exodus. The book was published in Dordrecht in 1592. The translator produced a remarkable work complete with faithful reproductions of Paré's illustrations. Subsequently, twelve additional Dutch editions of Paré's work were printed in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century.<sup>20</sup> The unusual demand for and success of the Dutch versions after the establishment of peace in the Low Countries are quite surprising, especially when taking into account that some of the leading physicians in the Netherlands rejected Paré's invention of blood vessel ligation and kept using the old technique of cauterisation in amputations.

Medical historians agree that Paré's Dutch version, acquired by Narabayashi Chinzan (1648-1711) was the 1649 Schipper Amsterdam edition [ILL. 1].<sup>21</sup> In the light of the Japanese civil war of the sixteenth century in which firearms originally introduced by the Portuguese, were widely used in the struggle for power, it is highly regrettable that Paré's

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book did not reach Japan a hundred years earlier. By the time the Dutch version came into the hands of the Nagasaki interpreters, the treatise was considered in Europe as only of historical importance, except for the Book devoted to the Plague. However, at the end of the seventeenth century no advanced monograph on surgery was available in Japan.

小通詞  
大通詞  
出島

Narabayashi Chinzan,<sup>22</sup> member of a hereditary interpreters' family, was brought up in close contact with the Dutch language. At the age of eighteen he received the title of assistant interpreter (*ko-tsûji*) and by the time he acquired Paré's book, his knowledge of Dutch had improved so much that he became a chief interpreter (*ô-tsûji*). Learning the Dutch language must have been extremely difficult in the Nagasaki of those days. Contacts with the few foreigners at Deshima were limited and no dictionary or Dutch grammar book was available. It appears that Narabayashi's acquaintance with the Dutch physician Willem Hoffmann was the starting point for his interest in medicine. However, in Nagasaki he may have met such prominent scholars as A. Cleyer (1634-1697), W. Ten Rhijne (1647-1700) and E. Kaempfer (1651-1716). The stimulating atmosphere in the contacts with the Dutch physicians eventually induced Narabayashi to give up his position as interpreter and devote his energy and time only to medicine. He was rewarded in 1691, when the Shogunate decided to offer him a position of official physician. In 1706 he completed the manuscript [ILL. 2] that is considered to be a partial translation of Paré's Dutch version, but also contains medical knowledge originating from a treatise written in the seventeenth century by the Chinese physician Chin Jikko. Narabayashi's translation was the starting point of the long process that made it possible for Western medicine to be valued in Japan, culminating in its full adoption after the Meiji Restoration.

嵐山甫安 The second major physician interested in Paré's surgical work was Arashiyama Hoan (1633-1693).<sup>23</sup>

His Paré manuscript has been preserved in the Tokyo University Library. According to Mestler, although undated, it was produced even before the Narabayashi manuscript. Just how Arashiyama had become proficient in the Dutch language remains unclear. However, his close contacts with the Dutch physicians at Deshima are attested to by the extant certificate, signed by N. de Roy and D. Bush, which recognises his aptitude in the art of surgery. Narabayashi's original manuscript

entitled *Geka sôden* did not survive. However, several old copies are known to have existed before the Second World War. Doe reproduced<sup>24</sup> an illustration from Fujikawa's copy (1 volume, 36 leaves of text with 22 leaves of coloured drawings) and mentioned the existence of another copy at Nagasaki Medical College.

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According to Mestler<sup>24</sup> and Ôtori,<sup>26</sup> one complete set of *Geka sôden*, preserved at the Library of Tokyo University and prefaced by the famous botanist and Confucian teacher Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714), who referred to it as a new treatise and not a translation, is made up of six parts:<sup>27</sup>

貝原益軒

- 1 Shikake sho 仕掛之書 (on pathology and treatment of diseases)
- 2 Kinsô sho 金瘡書 (on treatments of wounds)
- 3 Kôyaku sho 膏藥書 (on treatments using unguents)
- 4 Abura no sho 油之書 (on treatments using oils)
- 5 Yushuyô shozu 油取様書図 (on the removal of oils)<sup>28</sup>
- 6 Kinsô tetsuboku-zu 金瘡跌撲図 (illustrations of the treatments of wounds).

Four other translators are known to have been involved in translating Paré's writings: Nishi Gentetsu (1681-1760), a certain Akitaka, Irako Mitsuaki (1737-1798?) and Ôtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827).<sup>29</sup> In addition to this list, three important surgeons, Yoshio Kôgyû or Kôsaku (1724-1800), Hanaoka Seishû (1760-1835) and Koshimura Norimoto used some illustrations derived from Paré's book in their own treatises.<sup>30</sup> Nishi Gentetsu's translation (1735) may be entitled either *Kinsô tetsuboku ryôji no sho* or *Kinsô fûboku ryôji no sho*. Irako Mitsuaki's printed translation (1769) is entitled *Geka kummô zu-i*. Full identification of the contents of Irako Mitsuaki's title page with Paré's work has not been successful yet. Irako's name in ILL 3 is shortened to one character (rô), the fourth and fifth Chinese characters of the second column read Mitsuaki (Kôken). Furthermore, the title page reveals that the translation involved two of Irako Mitsuaki's disciples whose identification appears difficult at present. The work seems to have been carried out under the direction or with the advice of Mitsuaki. The contents on the title page of *Geka kummô zu-i* seem to have been inspired by chapters III and IV, which are entitled respectively "Les signes & ingements des playes" and "Du prognostic des playes", as written on page 286 of book IX of the first French edition of 1575. However, it is difficult to recognise Paré's original writings in Irako's text. In addition to his printed book, Irako Mitsuaki drew a picture scroll in one roll, known as *Irako shi kinsô fûboku chiriyô no maki*, whose illustrations were those of Narabayashi's *Geka sôden*.<sup>31</sup> These figures represent sur-

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gical operations as performed by the Dutch. However, no explanatory text accompanied the picture scroll. Concerning Nishi Gentetsu's translation, the various comments agree that this most precise manuscript, quite faithful to Paré's Dutch text, was almost identical to the second part of Narabayashi's work.

An interesting mystery surrounds the origin of a unique printed two-volume book entitled *Geka kummô zu-i mokuroku*,<sup>32</sup> preserved in the Bibliotheca Walleriana at Upsala University.

This book, also derived from Paré and edited in 1764 or 1767, was reported to contain drawings different from those of Arashiyama, Narabayashi and Nishi [ILL 4 & 5]. The author of this book was probably a physician called Akitaka but this statement requires further confirmation.

ILL 4 is definitely derived and copied from Narabayashi after modification of Paré's woodcut (1575 edition, Book X., p. 392). However, the elaborate illustration of the triploid and its surgical application [ILL 5], although bearing some resemblance to Paré's woodcut (1575 edition, Book IX., p. 304), was derived from Scultetus' (1595-1645) *Armamentarium chirurgicum*, one of the most influential surgical treatises of the seventeenth century (second edition, Hagae, 1656, Plates nos. 3 and 32). Scultetus described in detail the precise use of his triploid and cited Paré as having used instruments for the same treatments. An enlarged Dutch edition of Scultetus' book, with illustrations, published in Amsterdam in 1672, must have reached Japan.

### III VARIOUS ASPECTS OF PARÉ'S INFLUENCE ON JAPANESE MEDICINE

Japanese authors write Paré's name in various ways, either phonetised in Chinese characters or in *katakana*:

an fu ro shi u · pa a re  
俺 貌 魯 止 烏 · 巴 亞 曆

by Ôtsuki Gentaku in *Kyûen tekiei*

an bu ru  
安 武 児

by Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 in *Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書

an bu ru shi su · pa a re  
安 勃 慮 悉 斯 · 八 空 列

by Ôtsuki Gentaku in *Chôtei Kaitai shinsho* 重訂解体新書

a n bu ro a su · pa re  
ア ン プ ロ ア ス · バ レ

by Sakai Shizu<sup>32</sup>

Paré's considerable influence on the evolution of Japanese medicine during the eighteenth century covers a wide range of areas. His teachings were transmitted to Japan through the various Dutch editions of his book. The various translated manuscripts were copied and widely circulated among Japanese surgeons. Mestler mentions Paré's treatise among those few books that "made the greatest impression on the Japanese historical mind".<sup>34</sup> Evidence is available to demonstrate Paré's impact in Japan beyond surgery, in such specialities as anatomy<sup>35</sup> and obstetrics.<sup>36</sup> In addition, physicians well known to the Japanese such as Blankaart (1650-1704), Kulmus, Palfyn (Palfijn) and Ruysch also propagated Paré's surgery through the numerous quotations in their own works, which were brought to Nagasaki by the agents of the Dutch East India Company. In the process of the compilation of *Kaitai shinsho*, a number of Western books were consulted by Sugita Genpaku and his colleagues, both for the comprehensive presentation of the text as well as for the appropriate anatomical illustrations to be entered.<sup>37</sup> Paré's Dutch treatise, in the possession of Maeno Ryôtaku, was amongst these books. However, the precise influence of Paré's anatomy on *Kaitai shinsho* has not yet been demonstrated.

Yoshio Kôgyû, the famous Nagasaki surgeon, Dutch interpreter and prolific translator, used to give a certificate of proficiency to his students on long paper rolls. At least one such certificate, dated 1790, has survived. It is decorated with a drawing that imitates Paré's technique of healing a dislocated shoulder.<sup>38</sup> Late in the eighteenth century, Katsuragawa Hoshû edited Ôtsuki Gentaku's translation,<sup>39</sup> entitled *Kyûen tekiei*, originating from Paré's *Génération de l'Homme* (Book XXIII in the first and XXIV in the enlarged fourth edition of his collected works). A fragment of Paré's Dutch version was brought to Nagasaki in 1724 at Shogun Yoshimune's order with a view to translating its index into Japanese. Thus the great Shogun must also have been acquainted with Paré's treatise.<sup>40</sup>

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九畹摘英

吉宗

#### IV AMBROISE PARÉ IN TWENTIETH CENTURY JAPAN

This short section is based on the special lecture<sup>41</sup> given by the famous Japanese specialist of Paré, Professor Ohmura (Ômura) Toshirô, on the occasion of the symposium held at Laval in 1990 to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the death of the great Renaissance surgeon. In his presentation, Professor Ohmura expressed the gratitude of the Japanese people to Ambroise Paré and informed the audience about



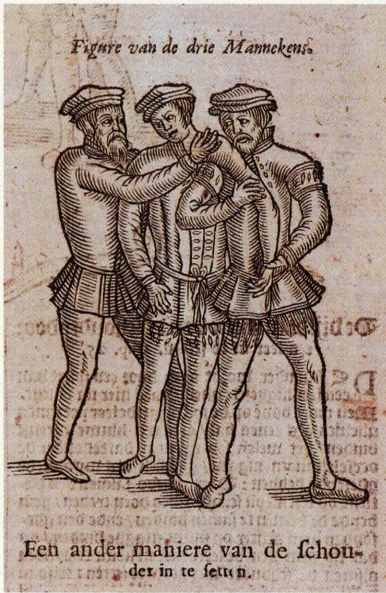
ILL 1A



ILL 1B



ILL 2A



ILL 2B



ILL 2B



ILL 2B

the visit of a team of the Japanese Television to Laval to pay a tribute to the French surgeon. Professor Morioka, surgeon to the Emperor, was also of the party that made the pilgrimage to Paré's native city. According to Professor Ohmura, the Japanese people were well acquainted with Paré's famous motto, printed for the first time in the fourth edition of his *Oeuvres*: "Je le pansay, Dieu le guarit" ('I dressed him, and God healed him'). However, most Japanese did not know that Paré was the original author of these words.

In view of the historical importance of Paré's work for Japanese medicine, Professor Ohmura translated into modern Japanese both *The Book of Fractures* and *The Book of Luxation or Dislocation* and published them during the 1980s. He also informed the participants of the symposium that a picture of Paré's famous statue by David d'Angers on the main square of Laval, illustrated the cover of the November 1990 issue of the *Japanese Surgical Review*. Moreover, a Japanese committee was established for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Paré's death and about four hundred participants gathered on that occasion. In addition, in 1991 a lantern was donated by the committee and placed in a garden in Laval to express the Japanese people's gratitude to the French surgeon.<sup>42</sup> Most books written in Japan about eighteenth century medicine mention the date of translation of the Narabayashi manuscript, 1706, as a landmark in Japanese medical history.

#### V A FRENCH PAINTING RELATED TO SIXTEENTH CENTURY JAPANESE HISTORY

The question also arises as to how Japan was represented in the European mind and more specifically in the French aristocracy's imagination at the beginning of Japan's seclusion period. In this regard I cannot resist the temptation to illustrate the only oil painting in the Louvre Museum pertaining to Japanese history.

The canvas [ILL 6] was painted by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), the most famous French artist of the seventeenth century. Its subject represents the miraculous recovery by St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) of the dead daughter of an inhabitant of the city of Kagoshima. The upper half of the painting (not shown on ILL 6) displays Christ in glory. Francis Xavier's companion Juan Fernandez Oviedo (1526-1567), probably the first Westerner to speak the Japanese language to some degree, shown from the back, is looking up to Christ expressing his gratefulness

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and admiration. Reflecting his modesty, Fernandez always remained a coadjutor brother, the lowest rank in the Society of Jesus.

The history of this painting, commissioned for the high altar of the Paris Jesuit Church of the Faubourg Saint-Germain (now rue Bonaparte) is well documented.<sup>43</sup> The church was demolished in the eighteenth century and the painting subsequently entered the Louvre. King Louis XIII was annoyed by the undisputed reign of Simon Vouet (1590-1649) over the Paris artistic world. As a result, to counterpoise Vouet's influence he asked Richelieu (1585-1642) to have Poussin return from Rome, where the painter had become highly successful under the protection of powerful patrons. Reluctantly, but yielding to the pressure, Poussin returned to Paris in 1640. He did not appreciate the atmosphere of the French capital and its cold and rainy climate. Nor was he happy with the new artistic commissions of decorative character. Taking advantage of Richelieu's and the King's death (1643) Poussin did not hesitate to return to Rome.

In the seventeenth century, the unveiling of a major altarpiece was considered an important event. The King, the royal court and those occupying a rank of some consequence in high society must have visited the church. On Poussin's painting they discovered the unusual physiognomy of Japanese men. However, the Japanese women were painted with Western features and the recovering young girl was lying in a European-style bed, unknown to the Japanese. If Poussin was familiar with the features of Japanese men, it was the result of his long stay in Rome. Poussin had not seen the face of any Japanese women. The first Japanese delegation was staying in Rome from February to August 1585. Although the Italian artists manifested little interest in representing the features of the Far Eastern envoys, the physiognomy of some of them was immortalised in works of art. One of the walls of the Vatican Library is decorated with a fresco showing the Japanese emissaries during a procession.<sup>44</sup> The Louvre owns a beautiful drawing by Federico Zuccaro (1540/43-1609) showing from the back one of the members of the Japanese embassy. During their short visit to Venice, Tintoretto (1518-1594) painted the portrait of one of the delegates and the canvas decorated the wall of the Senate's room for some time. Evidence is available that paintings on screen illustrating Japanese everyday life had already been imported to Rome and Lisbon at the end of the sixteenth century. The Louvain artist van Winghe made drawings of one such folding screen representing the gate and tower of Azuchi

castle.<sup>45</sup> Several Western artists and book illustrators equally tried to represent Chinese noblemen as well as scenes of everyday life in that Asian country. However, surprisingly, on most of these illustrations<sup>46</sup> it is impossible to recognise the specific facial features of the Japanese and Chinese. They are represented as hardly distinguishable from Westerners.

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The legendarised figure of St. Francis Xavier, his life and alleged miracles inspired several works of art during the Counter-Reformation.<sup>47</sup> Rubens painted a huge altarpiece for the Antwerp Jesuit Church (ca. 1617).<sup>48</sup> His disciple Erasmus Quellenius (1607-1678) was commissioned to decorate the Mechelen Jesuit Church with several paintings depicting the Saint's sermons, conversions and miracles. Giovanni B. Gaulli (called *il Bacciccio*), (1639-1709) painted Francis Xavier's solitary death on the small island of Shangchuan close to the Chinese coast (S. Andrea al Quirinale, Rome). Carlo Maratta (1625-1713) illustrated the moment when the Portuguese were about to bury the Saint's body (Gesù, Rome). However, in none of these works one can find any detail or person reminiscent of Asia. Jacques Stella (1596-1657) painted Francis Xavier lying on a mat while being visited in a dream by an angel. The heavenly messenger is holding a map in front of his eyes showing the countries where the great missionary will accomplish his future activities. Although Japan is on the map, the angel is pointing to the southern part of China. No Japanese city is indicated on the map.<sup>49</sup> It is interesting to note that in spite of the importance the Jesuits attached to art and its power to convey a message, they failed to make a substantial contribution to the visual representation of the continent they aspired to convert to the Christian faith. For instance, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) teaching astronomy to the Chinese, never became a subject for painters of the Counter-Reformation. Even at the end of the seventeenth century, when Father Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) was involved in the decoration of the Sant' Ignazio di Loyola Church in Rome and transformed the entire ceiling into a vast celebration of the Jesuit mission, the symbol of Asia still followed Cesare Ripa's obsolete *Iconologia* (1611). The latter did not have anything to do with the Chinese or Japanese world.<sup>50</sup>

Interestingly, a Japanese art historian, Kimura Saburô, has demonstrated recently that the subject of the altarpiece was a fabrication by the propaganda of the Catholic Church of the Counter-Reformation.<sup>51</sup> None of the numerous letters of Francis Xavier or his companions, sent from Japan to Rome, mention the depicted or, any other miraculous

events. However, the Jesuit historian Luis Frois described in his manuscript of 1584, that Luis de Almeida, a Jesuit priest, had visited the city of Kagoshima and healed an eighteen year old gravely ill girl. In the Japanese chronicle *Kakken uwai* dated 1583, i.e. about thirty years after St. Francis Xavier's death, the visit of a European priest to Kagoshima is likewise related.<sup>52</sup>

The spirit of the Counter-Reformation and the personality and missionary activity of St. Francis Xavier stimulated the publication of several biographies of this illustrious companion of the founder of the Jesuitic Order. The biography published by Orazio Torsellino in 1594 reproduced the narrative of Luis Frois about the recovery of the Japanese girl in Kagoshima. However, Luis de Almeida's name was substituted by Francis Xavier's. Kimura Saburô has convincingly demonstrated<sup>53</sup> that Poussin's source of inspiration was the French translation of Torsellino's book (1608).

The name substitution is easy to explain in the light of the evolution of the Jesuit Order's history at the end of the sixteenth century. As a consequence of the growing influence of Jewish converts within the Jesuit Order, the decision was taken in 1593 by the General of the Order, Claudio Acquaviva, to henceforth reject their application for admission. This rule was to be strictly observed for several centuries.<sup>54</sup> Although Luis de Almeida's merits were recognised as the first Jesuit physician to introduce Western medicine into Japan, he was the descendant of an old Portuguese Jewish family. Anti-Jewish sentiment combined with the renown of Francis-Xavier must have resulted in the substitution of his name.

## NOTES

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外科訓蒙圖彙卷之上

代水 郎光顯孝伯鑒定

門人

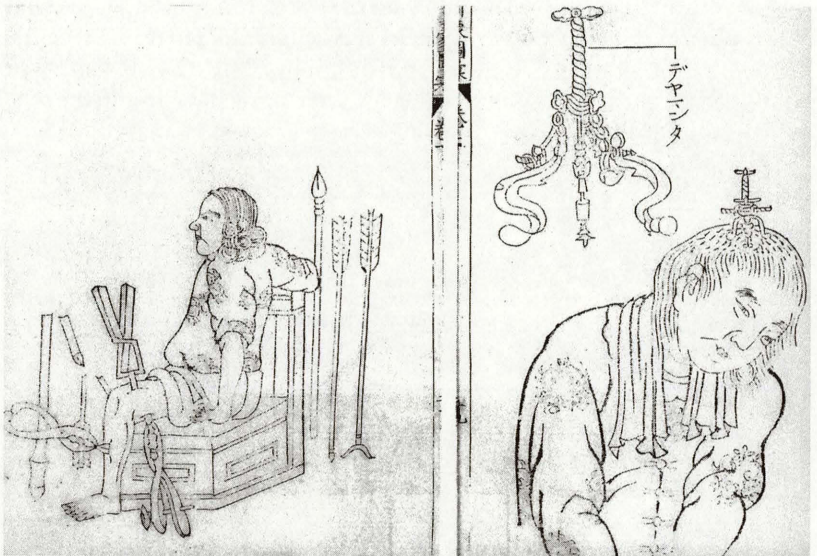
津中 田致信修庵  
播磨 嘉矩光雄治

全授

○金創總説

金創大小輕重ヲ分別スヘシ大抵大ヒナルハ治シ難ク小ナルハ治シ易シ然レトモ其臍膈經絡ノ善惡ニヨリ小疵ニシテ人ヲ害シ大疵ナリト雖モ治シ易キコトアリ總テ一際ニ決シ難シ病ヲ蒙ルモノニハツノ禁宍アリ大陽ノ兩穴兩ノ尺澤兩耳ノ下章門缺盆極尾結喉内股ノ際横

ILL 3



ILL 4



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- ILL 1A title page of the 1636 edition of Paré's book. *De Chirurgie ende alle de Opera, ofte Wercken van Mr. Ambrosius Paré, Raedt ende opperste Chirurgijn van vier Coninghen in Vranckrijck. Nu eerst uyt de Françoysche, in onze ghemeyne Nederlandsche Spraecke, ende uyt de vierde Editie gehetrouwelijck overgest: Door D. Carolum Battum, Medicijn ordinarius der Stadt Dordrecht. Ende in desen laetsten druck, van veel fauten verbeteret. Verdeylt in XXVIII Boecken.* Tot Amsterdam, gedruet by Cornelis van Breugel, MDCXXXVI (1636). Collection Université catholique de Louvain, Bibliothèque générale et de sciences humaines.
- ILL 1B the title page of the Schipper edition of Paré's book, Amsterdam 1649, Library of the University of Amsterdam.
- ILL 2 the repair of a dislocated shoulder from Narabayashi Chinzan's *Kôï geka sôden* (1706)
- ILL 2B Drawings in Ambroise Paré, *De Chirurgie, ende Opera van alle de Wercken/ van Mr. Ambrosius Paré, Raedt ende opperste Chirurgijn van vier Koningen in Vranckrijck Uyt de Françoysche in de Nederlandsche Sprake, uyt de vierde Editie ghetrouwelijck overgheset door D. Carolum Battum, Medicijn ordinarius der Stadt Dordrecht* (Vlissingen: Jacob Pick, 1655), pp.453-454. Collection Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Central Library, Tabularium, B 12361. These pictures served as the basis for the drawings in *Kôï geka sôden* (ILL 2).
- ILL 3 the title page of *Geka kummô zu-i* (1769), as reproduced by Doe from Fujikawa's copy in her bibliographical work published in 1937.
- ILL 4 drawings from the two different volumes of *Geka kummô zu-i mokuroku* by Akitaka? (1764 or 1767), Bibliotheca Walleriana, Upsala University, Sweden.
- ILL 5 Title page and frontispice of Scultetus, *Magazyn, ofte wapen-huys van D. Johannes Scultetus, Eertijds geluckigh Natuur-kender en Chirurgijn der Stadt Ulm* (Dordrecht: Voor Iacobus Savry, in 't Kasteel van Gendt, 1657). Collection Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Central Library Tabularium, A19358.
- ILL 6 the lower half of the *Miraculous Recovery by St. Francis Xavier of the Dead Daughter of an Inhabitant of the City of Kagoshima*, oil on canvas by Nicolas Poussin, 1641, Musée du Louvre, Paris.