Therapeutics and Botany in Medieval Japan: The Monk Shinjaku-bō in Context

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Abstract: This paper examines—and attempts to contextualize—a relatively obscure figure, the monk Shinjaku-bō 心寂房 (d. 1231), whose activities are only documented in the diary and letters of the famous poet Fujiwara no Sadaie 藤原定家.

Little is known about Shinjaku-bō. He was an accomplished practitioner of continental therapeutics and he appears in Teika's journal, in particular, as a frequent practitioner of moxibustion and herbalism. At the same time, Shinjaku-bō was also a skilled botanist, and Teika often resorted to his services for most garden-related issues, including numerous instances of grafting and gifts of trees.

Shinjaku-bō's pharmacological and botanical skills allow for a broader discussion of the locus of his practices within early medieval Japanese Buddhism. Plants and trees, whether as ingredients for medications or dried and used as aromatics, played an important role within the ritual domain of Japanese Buddhism. The paper attempts, from this perspective, to trace possible sources for the monk's mastery of these technical domains.

In the conclusion, the paper emphasizes the need to center the relationship between patient and healer in discussions of 'Buddhist medicine', arguing that quotidian aspects of that relationship are also important to understand the ascendancy of Buddhist healers among court elites in the early medieval period.

Keywords: Japan, microhistory, healing, moxibustion, botany

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I. Introduction

It would be hard to disentangle the history of Buddhism in the Japanese archipelago from the contributions of Buddhist monks to the domain of therapeutics. In an early episode recorded in the first official history of Japan, the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 [Chronicles of Japan; 720], the monk Pŏpchang 法藏 (Jp. Hōzō), who hailed from the Korean kingdom of Paekche, was dispatched to acquire *okera* 白朮 (also read *baijutsu*), a medicinal herb commonly used in continental pharmacopeia, in order to prepare a decoction for Tenmu Tennō 天武天皇 (r. 673–686), who at the time was unwell.[1] Numerous similar instances can be found in early sources, and even the case of Jianzhen 鑒真 (Jp. Ganjin; 688–763), whose contributions to the introduction and study of the precepts in Japan are very well-known, shows how important to Buddhism and Buddhists the knowledge and handling of *materia medica* were. Jianzhen is listed among the hundred and twenty-six monks who took care of Shōmu Tennō 聖武天皇 (r. 724–749) on the occasion of the illness that would eventually lead

[1] *Nihon shoki*, entry for Tenmu 14 (685)/10/8: 379. An infusion made with the herb in question would be presented to the ruler a month later, and Pŏpchang would make another appearance a few years later, in 692 (Jitō 6), where he is said to have become an instructor in the Bureau of Yin and Yang (*onmyō hakase* 陰陽博士). In English, this passage has been discussed, among others, by Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 76–84; and Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics*, 156–63. They have both described this episode in terms of 'Daoism', a label that I find unhelpful in this context, as it assumes the existence of clear-cut identities and traditions, while the activities of Buddhist monks on the ground seem to have been more complex and wide-ranging.

to his death in 756. Jianzhen's therapeutic skills are also mentioned elsewhere, most significantly in the short biography that is devoted to him on the day of his death in *Shoku Nihongi* 続日本紀 [Continued Chronicles of Japan; 797], the second official history of Japan, where we read that he was able to recognize the quality of a medication just by smelling it (it is worth noticing that, by the time he reached Japan, Jianzhen had become blind).[2] There is also mention of him in *Ishinpō* 医心方 [Recipes at the Heart of *i*(*jutsu*); presented to the court in 984], a compendium of continental texts on therapeutics compiled by the court physician Tanba no Yasuyori 丹波康頼,[3] in which a certain *Ganjin hō* 鑑真方 [Recipe (by) Jianzhen], a herbal remedy consisting of boiled *negi* 葱 (green onion or another plant from the genus *allium*) and other ingredients, is quoted in the sixth scroll as greatly efficacious in treating 'chest pain' (治心痛方). Jianzhen is also mentioned on two more occasions, but both are instances of remedies to reduce the side effects of *sekiyaku* 石薬, medications containing mineral ingredients. Tōno Haruyuki surmises that Jianzhen had mastered such techniques while in China, because of his contacts with people from the elites, who had a keen interest in drugs of immortality and would, therefore, sometimes get poisoned by them. In *Nihon kenzaisho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録 [Index of Existing (Chinese) Books; ca. 891], we see, in the section on books on therapeutics and *materia medica*, a text entitled *Gan shōnin hihō ikkan* 鑑上人秘方一巻 [Secret Recipes from the Eminent Monk Gan(jin) in One Scroll], which likely corresponds to the *Ganjin hō* quoted

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[2] *Shoku Nihongi*, entry for Tenpyō hōji 7/5/6, 3: 430–33.

[3] The study of *Ishinpō* in modern scholarship has focused on its second *kan*, which deals with moxibustion and acupuncture; and *kan* twenty-eight, which deals with the so-called techniques of the 'bedchamber'. Only mentioning some English language translations, see for instance Hsia, Geertsma, and Veith, trans., *The Essentials of Medicine*; Ishihara and Levy, *The Tao of Sex*. Some scholars have focused on other sections: see Lee, '*Ishinpo* and Its Excerpts from *Chanjing*' and Poletto, 'Pregnancy, Incantations, and Talismans' for studies that examine practices related to pregnancy and childbirth; and Triplett, 'Magical Medicine?' for quotes from Buddhist sources.

in *Ishinpō*.[4] While Jianzhen is today known for his contributions to issues pertaining to monastic regulations and the ordination of monks, it is clear that during his lifetime he was also highly esteemed for his mastery of *materia medica* and for his healing skills.

The monk I examine in this paper was also a skilled herbalist, but he, at the same time, also mastered other therapeutic technologies, including moxibustion and needles. In addition, he was an outstanding botanist. The monk in question, simply known as Shinjaku-bō 心寂房 (d. 1231), is not nearly as widely known as Jianzhen. A largely obscure figure, Shinjaku-bō's activities only survive as recorded in the diary of the famous poet Fujiwara no Sadaie 藤原定家 (better known as Teika, which is how I will refer to him hereafter; 1162–1241), and in some letters addressed to Teika and written on the back of the holograph manuscript of his diary. His descent, dharma name, and temple and lineage affiliations remain unknown, and he is only known by his *bōmyō* 房名.[5] Possibly as a consequence

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[4] Tōno, *Ganjin*, 161–62; Mori, 'Ganjin to iyakugaku'.

[5] In medieval Japan, monks were known under a number of names, which were used inconsistently and idiosyncratically in referring to them by lay patrons. By the time of Shinjaku-bō, the usage of *bōmyō* 房名 (or *bōgō* 房号) had become commonplace, and while most monks are also known under their ordination name (*hōgō* 法号 or *hōmyō* 法名; literally, dharma name), in his case that information is unknown. A *bōmyō* ends in 'bō' 房/坊, a character used to designate the living quarters of monks, but in most cases it seems unlikely that these names referred to an actual place. Contemporaneous sources do not follow any specific naming conventions, and therefore monks are often called by their dharma names, their *bōmyō*, a nickname, or a combination of these. For example, in *Gyokuyō*, his journal, the aristocrat Fujiwara no Kanezane calls the monk who is today generally known as Hōnen, 'Hōnen-bō' 法然房, 'Genkū shōnin' 源空上人, 'Hōnen shōnin' 法然上人, or 'Hōnen-bō shōnin Genkū' 法然房上人源空. While established in common usage, Hōnen is in fact his *bōmyō*. The case of Shinjaku-bō is comparatively straightforward, since he is exclusively known (at least in *Meigetsuki*) under his *bōmyō*. For a very brief discussion of some of these issues, see Yoshizawa, 'Hōmyō, dōgō, bōgō', 75–79. I hyphenate all *bōmyō* appearing in this paper to emphasize the disposable nature of the ending *-bō* in both contem-

of this lack of certain biographical information, Shinjaku-bō has not been the object of any systematic study, and, when mentioned, he is often brushed aside as a 'physician'.[6] I think, however, that there is much that can be learned from the detailed study of a figure like Shinjaku-bō. In this sense, a nuanced examination of Shinjaku-bō should not be taken as the display of—borrowing the words of the Italian microhistorian Giovanni Levi—a 'reversed interest for contents which are daily and insubstantial, against a traditional historiographical mode which is attentive to great changes and great events', and great innovators and great thinkers, I would add. What is important is not 'the relevance of [the microhistorian's] objects but how to place them within their contexts'.[7] This is what I will

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porary scholarship and contemporaneous usage, where it is in many cases omitted: hence Hōnen rather than Hōnen-bō, Butsugon rather than Butsugon-bō.

[6] In the *Nihon jinmei daijiten* 日本人名大辞典 [Great Dictionary of Japanese Names], he is defined a 'monk from the Kamakura period. Physician'. Most other historical and biographical dictionaries do not include entries on him. Gomi Fumihiko briefly discusses him, stressing his importance as a source of information and gossip for Teika. See Gomi, *Meigetsuki no shiryōgaku*, 275–77. Hattori Toshirō, in his classic study from 1964, *Kamakura jidai igaku shi no kenkyū*, presents Shinjaku-bō as part of his discussion of 'unofficial' healers in medieval Japan, where he provides excerpts from *Meigetsuki* entries (in another section where Shinjaku-bō is mentioned, the emphasis on Teika's history of illness). While this study was truly pioneering at the time of its publication, it now betrays a misunderstanding of the categories that were at work in medieval Japan, and should be used with care. A full discussion of these issues is well beyond the possibilities of this paper, but it will suffice to say here that Hattori conflates any healer monk under the vague label of 'popular monk (physician-monk)' [*minkan'i (sōi)* 民間医 (僧医)], regardless of the fact that many of these monks primarily dealt with patients of high status, or employed therapeutic techniques that were similar to those of official physicians (as in the case of Shinjaku-bō). This also leads him to describe a court physician who had taken the tonsure after a work-related disappointment, Tanba no Tomoyasu 丹波知康/Gakuren 覚蓮, as a 'popular physician'. See in particular 57–62 and 267–75.

[7] Levi, 'Un problema di scala', 76.

attempt in this paper: a micro-analysis of Shinjaku-bō, as detailed as our sources allow, that illuminates his ideas and actions within their complex web of contexts,. This allows us to get a glimpse, through him, of early medieval Buddhism on the ground, as understood and practiced in certain circles of court aristocracy at the turn of the twelfth century, and of its contributions to the treatment of illness and the welfare of bodies.

II. Who Is Shinjaku-Bō?

Shinjaku-bō is a regular presence in *Meigetsuki* 明月記 [Records of Clear Moon], the journal of Fujiwara no Teika, between 1225 and 1231, the year of his death. As far as I've been able to ascertain, Shinjaku-bō does not appear in any other contemporaneous sources; he is only mentioned in *Meigetsuki*, and in some of the letters he sent Teika and preserved on the back of the holograph manuscript of *Meigetsuki*. In other words, we can only know about Shinjaku-bō and examine his practices and ideas through Teika's brush, and insofar as they were recorded by Teika.

Despite this rather dire outlook, there are a few things that can be said with certainty about Shinjaku-bō: namely that, between 1225 and 1231 he resided in Saga 嵯峨, an area located in the western outskirts of the capital Heian; that he was a monk skilled in *ijutsu* 医術[8] and, in particular, a frequent practitioner of moxibustion and herbalism; and that he was an accomplished botanist. He also travelled with some frequency to Rokuhara 六波羅, an area located east of the Kamo River where the Taira family had been based until their defeat,

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[8] *Ijutsu* is often translated as 'medicine', but here I prefer to leave it untranslated. It designates a set of therapeutic modalities that originated in the Chinese continent and were later brought to Japan by immigrant Buddhist monks and other technicians. It includes herbalism, moxibustion and needles, but also a large body of divination methods, spells and incantations. Some issues related to *ijutsu* are discussed later in this paper. This topic is approached from a different perspective in Poletto, 'Pregnancy, Incantations, and Talismans'.

and where the shogunal commissioner (*Rokuhara tandai* 六波羅探題) was established after the Jōkyū disturbance of 1221. This shows that, other than Teika, he also served other important figures in and around the capital.

While his family background, temple affiliation and monastic rank are unknown, there are some passages in *Meigetsuki* that, albeit not conclusively, provide hints about other aspects of his life before 1225 and beyond his relationship with Teika. On the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the second year of the Kangi era (1230), after having Shinjaku-bō treat a swelling, Teika writes in his journal that the monk had received *byakusan* 白散, a powdered medication traditionally soaked in sake and drunk on the first day of the year, from the Bureau of Medications (*Ten'yakuryō* 典薬寮) the previous day, and the Medication Dispensary (*Seyakuin* 施薬院) on that very day. Interestingly, he also notes that 'for someone who has left his post, this is something exceedingly unusual' (前官之身, 頗存外事也).[9] Gomi Fumihiko has seen in this cursory remark the possibility that Shinjaku-bō had been, before taking the tonsure, a physician in either the Bureau of Medications or in the Medication Dispensary.[10] It is worth noticing, however, that nothing in this passage suggests that the monk had been an official specifically in those departments; the term 'kan' 官 is generic and could refer to any office. Moreover, receiving *byakusan* was not a privilege reserved to the members of Bureau of Medications or the Medication Dispensary; in article five of *kan* thirty-seven of the *Engi shiki* 延喜式 [Procedures of the Engi era; 927], we read that in the twelfth month, doses of *byakusan* would be produced and later distributed to court officials of the fifth rank and above.[11] Shinjaku-bō was, then, a member of the court

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[9] *Meigetsuki* 3: 309.

[10] Gomi, *Meigetsuki no shiryōgaku*, 275. I should note that Gomi is not that concerned with Shinjaku-bō's healing practices or his affiliation, and that he only remarks incidentally about his possible previous affiliation.

[11] *Engi shiki, maki* 37: 346–47. For an English translation of this article, and of the entire *kan* 37 of the *Engi shiki*, see Poletto, 'Procedures of the Bureau of Medications'.

bureaucracy who at some point decided to abandon the world of the Heian court to become a monk. While one might be tempted to associate his healing prowess with a purported past as a court physician, this paper will provide evidence to tentatively make the case that other possibilities should be kept in mind in making sense of Shinjaku-bō and his practices as a technician of healing.

Shinjaku-bō appears often in *Meigetsuki* as a source of information (and gossip) for Teika. As Gomi Fumihiko has noted, two topics the monk would often discuss with Teika were warrior society—based on what Shinjaku-bō heard in Rokuhara—and events in Saga, the area where he resided. There is, however, another domain with which Shinjaku-bō seems to have been unusually well acquainted: Mount Kōya 高野山. At the time, an armed conflict between Mount Kōya, one of the leading Shingon 真言 centres, and an institution that was under its jurisdiction, Kinpusen 金峯山 in Yoshino, was under way. This conflict culminated in the destruction of the Zaō Hall 蔵王堂, the main building of Kinpusen. On several occasions, Shinjaku-bō related episodes on the Kōya-Kinpusen conflict to Teika. For example, following the destruction of the Zaō Hall, Shinjaku-bō reported to Teika about rumors he had heard that the hall was to be rebuilt by the local governor, but that this had caused the reaction of Kinpusen's soldier monks, who planned to burn down Mount Kōya and had been engaging in a heated battle with soldiers, probably sent by the court to quell the unrest, for over twenty days.[12] While it is true that Shinjaku-bō had some powerful connections, for instance in Rokuhara, it is possible that he had become acquainted with this situation in such detail because of his status as a Shingon monk associated with Mount Kōya. In that case, it is also possible that he resided in Saga at a *bessho* 別所 (lit. separate places; offshoots of main temples) of Mount Kōya, but more research is necessary. Other elements suggest a Shingon affiliation; I will discuss them in due course.

Also unclear is how Teika got acquainted with Shinjaku-bō, but, once again, there are hints that broadly suggest the circumstances of their encounter. On the basis of *Meigetsuki*, it is possible to know

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[12] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 1 (1225)/5/27, 2: 569

that Teika and his family lived over the years in three residences within the capital proper. The first, the Kujō 九条 residence—which, as the name suggests was located near the ninth street (*kujō*)—appears in Teika's diary from 1199 to 1202; the second, the Reizei 冷泉 residence, located near Reizei and Takakura, appears in *Meigetsuki* from early 1202, and gradually became Teika's main dwelling. Teika would reside in Reizei for over twenty years, and his legacy is most closely associated with this residence. The branch of the Fujiwara family that claims Teika—and his son Tameie—as their founders is known as Reizei, and this branch of Teika's descendants, the Reizei family, still owns and houses the autograph copy of most of *Meigetsuki*, some of Teika's letters, his poems, and many of the texts he copied during his lifetime. Teika would eventually move to his third residence, located near *ichijō* 一条 (first street) and Kyōgoku 京極, and known as Kyōgoku, at the end of 1226.[13]

Aside from a main residence located within the boundaries of the Heian capital, Teika also possessed another residence located outside the boundaries of the city proper, in Saga. Here in the first year of Shōji 正治 (1199), Teika had a mountain retreat built on a small mountain known as Mount Ogura 小倉山. This is another toponym closely associated with Teika and his legacy; the famous collection of Japanese poems he edited while lodging at his mountain retreat is indeed known as *Ogura hyakunin isshu* 小倉百人一首 [Ogura Collection of One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets], or simply *Hyakunin isshu*.[14] Teika would periodically stay at his mountain retreat in Ogura to find respite from the disappointments and hardships of court life, as one entry clearly states: 'In the early morning I went to Saga to nurture my spirit' (早旦行嵯峨養心神).[15]

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[13] On Teika's residences, see Kanō, '*Meigetsuki* no teidai'.

[14] I should note that recent research trends have qualified Teika's contributions to the contemporary version of the text known as *Hyakunin isshu*. While almost entirely based on an earlier collection compiled by Teika, it also includes a limited number of poems not originally present in his earlier compilation. For a recent collection of essays on this topic, see Nakagawa, Tabuchi, and Watanabe, eds., *Hyakunin isshu no genzai*.

It is probably under these circumstances that Teika got acquainted with Shinjaku-bō. This possibility is also reinforced by the fact that some commemorative rituals for his dead relatives—most notably his mother, the daughter of Fujiwara no Chikatada, who passed away in 1193 (Kenkyū 4)—were held in Saga at least starting from 1205 (Genkyū 2).[16] In his late years, Teika would visit Saga not only to temporarily leave behind his court life, but also to visit Shinjaku-bō's abode. While most of their interactions recorded in *Meigetsuki* are cordial but professional, there is evidence in some of the letters that Shinjaku-bō addressed to Teika, and that have fortuitously been preserved on the back of some sheets of Teika's journal,[17] that the two also had a close personal relationship. In a letter dated eighteenth day of the eighth month (the year is unknown),[18] Shinjaku-bō

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[15] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kennin 3 (1203)/9/3, 1: 454.

[16] Teika's mother died on Kenkyū 4/2/13. Following that, until 1197, *Meigetsuki*'s entries for 2/13 are not extant, and from 1198 to 1204 commemorative rituals on the date of her death are held in the city residences of Teika's family. It is only from 1205 (Genkyū 2) that this ritual would be carried in Saga—in 1205, by monks of Shakadō 釈迦堂, the temple today known as Seiryōji 清凉寺.

[17] The technical term for this kind of document is, in Japanese, *shihai monjo* 紙背文書, which literally means 'document [written] on the reverse side of [a sheet of] paper'. The *shihai monjo* constitutes the document for which the paper was originally used, but which was later discarded to be eventually reused to record other information—paper was a commodity available in limited quantities even to court aristocrats. In this case, on the verso of the sheet of paper we have a letter that Shinjaku-bō sent to Teika, who later used it to write his journal on the other, still blank side, which became, in this scheme, the recto. It is important to notice that in this case recto and verso are defined not on the basis of their chronological order, but on the (perceived) importance of the texts recorded on them: since the original document had been discarded, it is considered to be the less important, and thus, 'verso'. On *shihai monjo*, see Tanaka, *Chūsei shiryō ronkō*, 174–89.

[18] This letter is written on the back of two separate sheets of *Meigetsuki*. Here I follow the editors of *Honkoku Meigetsuki shihai monjo*, who have noticed that

reminisces about a trip to Akashi 明石 they had taken together the previous year. That same letter opens with a poem, an interesting fact since Teika was an authority in the field at the time, and no poem exchange between the two men is recorded in *Meigetsuki*. In his verse, Shinjaku-bō makes a reference, again, to Akashi, while relying on another meaning of *akashi*, namely light.[19] Other verses from Shinjaku-bō can also be found at the end of another letter,[20] a fact that confirms the cordial relationship between the two men. It also gives us a glimpse of another side of Shinjaku-bō's personality: he also composed poetry.

III. Shinjaku-Bō, Herbalist

The first appearance of Shinjaku-bō in Teika's diary, *Meigetsuki*, is dated the eleventh day of the first month of the first year of Karoku (1225), but in this entry his conversation with Teika revolves around rumors concerning the spring *jimoku* 除目, a ceremony held to announce promotions and appoint officials in the various offices of the court bureaucracy. Shinjaku-bō as an 'informant' for Teika is a recurring theme in their interactions, as already seen, for instance, with regard to their conversations on the conflict between Mount Kōya and Kinpusen.

The great majority of Shinjaku-bō's visits to Teika's residence, however, involved either Teika's or his wife's poor health—disease is a constant presence in the last years of *Meigetsuki*. On the sixteenth day of the third month of the first year of Karoku (1225), Shinjaku-bō stopped by Teika's residence to examine his wife, who was sick. The monk instructed Teika to make her drink a concoction of *kengoshi* 牽牛子, the dried seeds of the Japanese morning glory (in modern Japanese known as *asagao* 朝顔), a herbal remedy used in continental traditions of pharmacopoeia as a laxative. In order to

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the letters numbered 40-14 and 40-17 constitute a single unit.

[19] *Meigetsuki shihai monjo*, 135–36.

[20] Ibid., 129

do so, first he would have to remove the outer skin, then grind the seed and dissolve it in hot water. On the one hand, Shinjaku-bō said this would counter her *kakke* 脚気;[21] on the other hand, he advised against moxibustion and rice gruel (*kayu* 粥), since they both could hinder bowel movements. The symptoms of Teika's wife are not explicitly mentioned, but Shinjaku-bō's words indicate she was suffering from constipation, a condition the monk attributed to *kakke*.

The preparation of infusions and other herbal remedies, as seen in this instance, was one of Shinjaku-bō's specialties. That same year, on the fourteenth day of the tenth month, for instance, Teika developed a swelling,[22] and applied to it a concoction made with deer antlers; later that day, Shinjaku-bō visited Teika to check on his health, and concluded that it was nothing serious and that deer antlers were an appropriate remedy. It seems to have been common for courtiers to maintain a stock of medications at their private residences, which would have then been used as instructed by court physicians or increasingly, by the medieval period, monks.

Another example will further clarify this point. On the eleventh day of the seventh month of the second year of Karoku (1226), Teika developed a pain so acute that he decided to go to Saga to see Shinjaku-bō. Once there, the monk reassured him, saying it was nothing

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[21] First used to designate beriberi in nineteenth century Japan, and commonly explained in modern-day scholarship following that same identification, *kakke* (Ch. *jiaoqi*; 'lower leg *qi*') has a complex history. On this topic, see for instance Smith, 'Understanding the *jiaoqi* Experience'. A mention in Eisai's 栄西 (alt. Yōsai) *Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記 [Record of Nourishing Life by Drinking Tea; 1211–1214] shows that *kakke* was seen as a particularly representative malady in early medieval Japan. Much has been written on this topic, but see for instance Goble, *Confluences of Medicine*, 8–10.

[22] The term that Teika uses—here and elsewhere—is *zōnetsu* 雑熱, which in medieval Japan indicated a swelling or tumor, and is thus synonymous with *haremono* 腫物. This definition appears already in the *Nippo jisho* 日葡辞書 [Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam; Japanese-Portuguese dictionary published in 1603–1604] and is also included in the *Nihon kokugo daijiten* 日本国語大辞典 [Great Dictionary of Japanese Language].

serious, just an attack of *kakke*, and instructed him to apply decoctions of Asian plantain (*shazensō* 車前草), and deer antlers (心寂房、雖非大事、脚病所為也、可付車前草、鹿角者). As for another ailment that was affecting Teika, which in the text is identified as 'eye heat' (目熱, here likely read *me no netsu*), Shinjaku-bō told Teika to rub yellow chrysanthemum in salt, and then apply it to the affected part in order to 'cool it down'. Teika concludes: 'at night, I applied these treatments' (目熱、以黄菊摺塩可冷、夜致此療治). The verb I have translated as 'apply' is, in the original text, a humble verb (致), which indicates that the subject of the sentence in question is Teika himself.[23]

Other episodes show the range of Shinjaku-bō as a herbalist. For example, on the twenty-ninth day of the second month of the third year of Karoku (1227), Teika noticed a patch of broken skin on his foot, and contacted Shinjaku-bō by letter. He instructed Teika to apply hog lard (*choyu* or *inoabura* 猪油) on the spot, and the following day personally visited him to examine his foot. He once again instructed Teika to apply hog lard, and then conducted *sunryū* 寸留 on him—a term with an unclear meaning—to finally return to 'the western outskirts' (*seikō* 西郊), in other words, Saga. A few days later, on the third day of the third month, Shinjaku-bō paid Teika another visit, probably to examine his foot; he informed him it had recovered, and recommended washing it with plantain-infused hot water (車前草之湯).[24]

Similarly, when on the ninth day of the eighth month of that same year Teika woke up in the morning and noticed his left eye 'full of red capillaries' (左目内赤筋) whose colour is 'like crimson <but without any pain>' (如紅色<但無苦痛>),[25] Shinjaku-bō instructed him to apply an infusion of lotus and chrysanthemum (蓮菊湯) on his eyebrow; later that day Teika followed his instructions and the following

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[23] *Meigetsuki* 2: 674.

[24] See *Meigetsuki* 3: 26–27 and 28 for these two episodes.

[25] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/8/9, 3: 64. < > (angle brackets) indicate an interlinear note in the original text, in Japanese known as *warigaki* 割書 or *warichū* 割注. The text that is part of the interlinear note in the original manuscript is in a smaller font; in modern typeset editions, it is usually rendered into two half-sized columns.

day writes: 'as for my eye condition, it has greatly improved' (目病頗宜). On the fifth day of the tenth month of the first year of Kangi (1229),[26] Shinjaku-bō, after examining Teika's 'face heat' (面熱), told him to cool it down using the leaves of yellow chrysanthemum (黄菊葉).

On a few occasions, disagreements concerning treatments can be observed between Shinjaku-bō and court physicians consulted by Teika. On the twenty-first day of the first month of the following year (Karoku 3 [1227]), for instance, Teika had Wake no Sadamoto 和気貞基, a physician from the Inner Office of Medications (*Nai-yakushi* 内薬司) visit him for a swelling on his face. Sadamoto used a needle to drain it, and then instructed him to apply salt on it, likely because of its antiseptic qualities. Later that day, Shinjaku-bō also visited Teika, and prepared an infusion of chrysanthemum, mulberry, lotus, Asian plantain, and salt (菊桑蓮<車前草>塩) for him to use to cleanse the area. He also added, after learning about Sadamoto's treatment, that in a situation like this, needles should not be used. Teika was understandably confused: 'This and that are different. I find it alarming' (彼是不同危思), he writes.[27]

Even more glaring is the conflict between Sadamoto and Shinjaku-bō on another occasion. In that same year, on the twelfth day of the second month, Teika's second wife, the daughter of Saionji no Sanemune 西園寺実宗—in the text referred to as *zenni* 禅尼[28]—started developing a swelling on her face that would eventually increase

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[26] *Meigetsuki* 3: 155

[27] *Meigetsuki* 3: 17.

[28] *Zenni* is a term used to designate women who have taken the tonsure without leaving their household, as Teika's second wife had done. The male correspondent term was *zenmon* 禅門. Despite the presence of the character *zen*, neither *zenni* nor *zenmon* bore any specific relation with Zen Buddhism, which was at the time in its infancy. Little is known about Teika's second wife; as it's often the case for women of the time, we don't know her real name (she is known either through her association with Teika or as the daughter of Saionji no Sanemune). With Teika she had several children, including Inshi 因子 (alt. Yoruko; b. 1195), and Tameie 為家 (1198–1275), the most prominent among Teika's successors.

in size over the following days. On the fourteenth day, Sadamoto assured Teika on the matter by saying that it was nothing serious, but Teika found his words 'extremely hard to believe' (極難信).[29] On the fifteenth day, since the swelling did not show any sign of improvement, Teika once again summoned the physician so that he could examine his wife, and once again he reassured Teika by minimizing her condition. Teika grew increasingly skeptical, especially because, as he notes, '[Sadamoto] changes her medications every time [he examines her]' (毎度替薬). He found Sadamoto's attitude 'extremely suspicious' (頗不審事歟), and probably for this reason, at the hour of the sheep (approx. 1–3 p.m.) on that same day, summoned Shinjaku-bō, who examined his wife and concluded that the swelling was due to *tandokusō* 丹毒瘡, a term that in modern Japanese designates erysipelas, a disease caused by a bacterial infection, but that is unclear in this context.

Shinjaku-bō, in stark contrast to Sadamoto's approach, stressed the severity of the situation: the woman's condition is 'extremely serious' to the point that 'now there is essentially no possible cure'; he nevertheless proposed to apply rhubarb (*daiō* 大黄) to the swelling, and also practiced *sunryū* 寸留 on her—a practice that, again, I have been unable to identify. Because of the gravity of the situation, Teika had Shinjaku-bō stay for the night at his residence in order to conduct incantations (*jujutsu* 呪術), an aspect that shows that while most entries in *Meigetsuki* concerning Shinjaku-bō deal with his skills in *ijutsu*, he was also skilled in incantations, in the ritual domain.[30] The following day, the sixteenth of the second month, the condition of Teika's wife improved, and Shinjaku-bō could finally return to Saga, but on the seventeenth day he would pay Teika another visit to check on his wife, whose condition had by that point greatly improved. He told Teika that there was nothing to fear now, and he was greatly relieved at the news.[31]

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[29] For these entries, see *Meigetsuki* 3: 23.

[30] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/2/15, 3: 24. See the same page also for the following two entries: 2/16 and 2/17.

[31] Edward Drott has also examined this sequence. For his analysis, see Drott,

In these vignettes Shinjaku-bō displays his skills as an accomplished herbalist. His abilities with respect to world of plants, however, went well beyond the concoction of medicinal remedies: he ran a lavish garden and was an experienced botanist.

IV. Shinjaku-Bō, Botanist

A number of entries in *Meigetsuki*, and some letters that survive on the back of the journal's original manuscript portray Shinjaku-bō as someone well versed in plants, both in theory and practice. We may say that they highlight the monk's activities as a botanist.

The first such instance appears at the beginning of the second year of Karoku (1226). On the twenty-second day of the second month, Shinjaku-bō visited Teika and grafted a Japanese pear (*nashi* 梨) tree in his garden. Grafting was something Teika himself had some familiarity with—some entries in *Meigetsuki* suggest that he cultivated a strong interest in flowers, plants, and trees, and that he also occasionally engaged in botanical operations. In an entry from the same year, for example, we read that Teika first pruned and then grafted onto a small tree in the front of his garden five or six branches of *yaezakura* 八重桜, a double-flowered type of cherry tree.[32] The following year he further notes that 'the [blossoms of the] *yaezakura* I grafted in the spring of the year before last have begun to bloom. Through them I nourish my spirit' (去々年春所継之八重桜花、又欲開、以之養心神).[33] On at least a couple of occasions, Teika also mentions blooming

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'Gods, Buddhas, and Organs', where he identifies Teika himself as the patient (252–53). While the text itself is somewhat ambiguous, on the basis of the context within which this episode takes place, I find that possibility unlikely. My analysis, therefore, reflects my understanding of Teika's wife as the patient.

[32] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 2 (1226)/1/27, 2: 625.

[33] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/U3/2, 3: 34. But notice that in the twelfth month of that same year the era name was changed to Antei. Karoku 3 and Antei 1 are both used to refer to what, according to the Gregorian calendar, roughly corresponds to the year 1227.

branches of *yaezakura* grafted by Ichijōdono (一条殿),[34] which again suggests that, at least to a certain extent, some familiarity with the basics of such pursuits was common among aristocrats.

That Teika was, more generally, capable of certain horticultural practices is confirmed by several entries in which he discusses working in his gardens out of boredom (徒然). For instance, in one entry he tersely writes, 'Today the weather is clear. Out of boredom, I plant trees in my garden' (天晴、依徒然、植庭樹); and a few days later, he writes again, 'Today I plant trees in my garden. I switched the place of a plum and a pine. This is due to boredom' (今日又植庭樹、梅松替其所、依徒然也).[35] In the Harvard scroll of *Meigetsuki*, another terse passage reads: 'The past two or three days, I've been so bored that I replanted some trees in my gardens' (此両三日、徒然之余、栽替庭樹).[36] Other than these episodes, which all involve planting or replanting trees, there are some cases, as mentioned previously, of grafting carried out likely by Teika himself, but all instances I have been able to identify seem to exclusively involve sakura trees. On the other hand, Teika relied on Shinjaku-bō for all sorts of plant-related needs, and he can be seen handling a broader range of tree species, such as the nashi tree we have seen in the case just mentioned.

In another case, Teika received, and then had planted in his gardens, a variety of plants and trees from Shinjaku-bō. The list includes 'summer pear' (*natsunashi* 夏梨)—another name for what is known in modern Japanese as *aonashi* 青梨, or Ussurian pear, which Teika notes had been grafted—yew plum pine (*maki* 真木), camellia (*tsubaki* 椿), citrus natsudaidai (*daikōji* 大柑子), mountain deutzia (*oyama utsugi* 御山ウツギ), white Japanese bush clover (*shirahagi* 白萩), kōsō pampas grass (*kōsō susuki* 高宗薄)—which, Teika notes, is

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[34] For instance, see *Meigetsuki*, entries for Kangi 2 (1230)/3/7 and Jōei 2 (1233)/3/11, 3: 227 and 391.

[35] *Meigetsuki*, entries for Kenryaku 3 (1213)/10/28 and 11/1, 2: 414.

[36] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 2 (1226)/9/15, 2: 695. On the Harvard scroll of *Meigetsuki*, which covers (with some lacunae) a month (the ninth) in the second year of Karoku, see Atkins, '*Meigetsuki*, the Diary of Fujiwara no Teika'. An alternative translation of this passage is at page 249.

different from the plant he was used to receiving—and, finally 'the usual azalea'.[37] What is striking here, other than the variety of plants mentioned, is that most if not all the shrubs and trees sent by Shinjaku-bō on this occasion are of the ornamental, flowering type. I will briefly return to this issue shortly, but it's worth noting here that this sets gardens of the time—from mid-Heian to early Kamakura—apart from the traditional Japanese gardens that survive to this day at temples and residences of local lords, where flowering trees and shrubs are a fairly uncommon view. This reflects Teika's aesthetic, and what we might call a certain 'classicism'. Readers of *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 [Tale of Genji; early eleventh century), for instance, will be familiar with the use of gardens as social spaces for poetry gatherings and other exchanges.[38]

There are other instances of Shinjaku-bō sending or bringing trees to Teika; on the sixth day of the second month of the third year of Karoku (1227), he brought Teika a small yew plum pine three *shaku* (90 cm) in height and a white *yaeume* 八重梅 (double-flowered plum), the latter meant to replace a tree planted the previous year but that had since withered and died. While only the Ussurian pear tree in the first entry is reported to have been grafted, the variety of flowering trees and shrubs Shinjaku-bō provided to Teika is remarkable and stands out in comparison to other gifts of trees Teika received from other individuals—for example a gift from a Ninnaji 仁和寺 monk, who sent him a little plum tree that he planted in the garden of his Reizei residence,[39] or an azalea that was given him by the ex-governor of Ise Province, Fujiwara no Kiyosada 清定, which he planted in his garden at the Kyōgoku residence.[40] In a separate entry, Teika mentions that since Kiyosada was experienced in dealing with plants and trees, he asked him many question on that topic during one of his visits.[41]

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[37] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 1 (1229)/9/8, 3: 149.

[38] For descriptions of gardens and their uses in the *Genji monogatari*, see for instance Kawahara, '*Genji monogatari* Nijōin sono ta no teien byōsha'.

[39] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kenpō 1 (1213)/9/24, 2: 409.

[40] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 2 (1230)/4/12, 3: 238.

[41] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 1 (1229)/8/26, 3: 147.

I have been unable to identify any other individual that may compare to Shinjaku-bō's offerings in terms of quantity and variety; in addition, there are a few situations that exemplify how Teika considered him to be truly exceptional in that regard. The first such instance can be seen in the entry for the twenty-fifth day of the second month of the second year of Kangi (1230).[42] On this day Teika was out at Bishamondō to see the cherry blossoms, but heard of Shinjaku-bō's arrival in Kyoto, and decided to go greet him. He informed Teika that he was in the capital because Yasutada 泰忠 (d.u.) was seriously ill, and afterwards planted a tree in Teika's garden, a red-and-white plum, warning Teika that such trees are not stable and that this one might also in the future be hit by some misfortune. Shinjaku-bō then uprooted a red plum tree and planted it elsewhere, for reasons that are not explained. Teika, however, offered no resistance and remarkably writes in his journal: 'As for plants and trees, I just follow what this monk does' (草樹事只随此僧之進止), thus showing the extent to which he trusted Shinjaku-bō.

A letter written on the back of a sheet of the *Meigetsuki* section covering the second year of Karoku (1226) shows that Shinjaku-bō was advising Teika in ways that are only partially recorded in his journal also through letters. Among the monk's letters that are still extant—because they were later reused by Teika as paper on which to write his journal—only one of them addresses botanical issues. It is dated the eleventh day of the seventh month (but the year is unknown), and it instructs Teika on how to protect trees from the winter chill. This was a recurrent issue for him, as several entries on trees and plants detail Teika's attempts to protect his orchard-cum-garden from the cold, for instance in the entry for the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Karoku (1225), when he builds a little thatched hut to protect his citrus tree from the piercing cold. We also see descriptions of the damage caused by the wintry weather, for instance in an entry for the twenty-third day of the third month of the second year of Karoku (1226), in which an unseasonal sudden wave of winter-like cold made all the flowers of his

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[42] *Meigetsuki* 3: 222.

pear and peach trees fall off. In his letter, Shinjaku-bō advises Teika to dig the earth around each tree and then fill that space with small *kyōgi* 経木,[43] paper-thin sheets of wood. Here they are meant to function as a form of insulation, but in *Meigetsuki* there is no mention of this practice. It's possible that the journal only provides a partial depiction of Teika's relationship with Shinjaku-bō. In the same letter, the monk also promises Teika some plants or trees for the coming fall and spring, but since the first part of the letter hasn't been preserved, not much is clear about its context. As previously noted, Shinjaku-bō brought and planted a number of plants in the poet's garden at the beginning of 1227, and it is possible that that episode recorded in *Meigetsuki* constitutes a follow-up to the monk's letter.[44]

It is worth noticing once again that Teika himself was able to carry out some basic botanical operations, like, as we have seen, grafting sakura trees, but also planting and transplanting a variety of trees and plants in the gardens of his residences. One example we have already seen is the entry for the sixth day of the second month of the third year of Karoku (1227), when Shinjaku-bō brought him two trees, a small yew plum pine and a white *yaeume*, which he planted in his garden. Again, on the seventeenth day of the eighth month of the same year, Teika transplanted three small sakura trees to the spot that was previously occupied by trees he had planted the winter of the previous year that in the meantime had withered and died because of a drought.[45] On the basis of the information contained in these

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[43] *Meigetsuki shihai monjo*, 128–29. See also Endō, 'Karoku nenjū no Fujiwara no Teika', 159–60.

[44] See above and *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/2/6, 3: 22.

[45] In this entry Teika writes that he 'had the tree that had withered because of a drought removed and thrown away' (旱天枯、今日令堀弃), with a causative expression that makes it clear that it was his servants who carried out the operation, and not Teika himself. Whether the transplanting was carried out by Teika himself is also somewhat unclear; while no causative auxiliary verb is used, these expressions were not always systematically employed. In general, however, it seems to be reasonably likely that Teika personally conducted at least some of these botanical activities, since, as we have seen, other court aristocrats also

entries, it becomes clear that Teika's reliance on Shinjaku-bō was based on the awareness of his superior skills with plants. One last entry will further buttress this point. On the second day of the tenth month of the second year of Kangi (1230), Teika was off to Saga for court-related business, but later visited Shinjaku-bō's residence. While there he had a chance to see the monk's orchard and was mesmerized. He called it 'refined and quiet' (幽趣), and added, 'I cannot believe my own eyes' (驚目).

In general, one can see that the relationship between Shinjaku-bō and Teika, despite being primarily defined as that between a healer and his patient, possessed several other facets. It has been noted earlier, for instance, that Shinjaku-bō also composed poetry, a fact that won't surprise those who know Teika through his poetic activities (which is also what he's most famous for). Gardens were important places of socialization in early medieval Japan, as one can learn glancing over literature from the time. Unfortunately, no gardens from this period survive to this day, and we can only rely on written descriptions and visual representations in illustrated scrolls.[46] Studies on gardens in the mid-Heian period—around the year 1000—reveal significant continuities between the plants most common at the time and those preferred by Teika. There was, for example, a preference for evergreens, such as pines; and deciduous trees, such as plums (especially the red varieties); but most notably various species of cherry trees. Fruiting trees, such as *nashi* (Japanese pear) and persimmons, and several flowering shrubs and meadow grasses, such as azaleas, bush clovers, and Japanese pampas grasses also appear prominently.[47]

While this study is not specifically concerned with Teika's garden per se, even only on the basis of this brief analysis of Shinjaku-bō's plant gifts we can notice the extent to which it showed continuities with residential gardens of the mid-Heian period. Their evergreens,

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engaged in similar pursuits.

[46] For a brief introduction to some of these topics, see Kuitert, *Themes in the History of Japanese Garden Art*, 5–54.

[47] Takei and Keane, *Sakuteiki*, 10–57; for plants in Heian gardens, see in particular 43–50.

flowering trees and plants, and meadow grasses, were cultivated to create a sense of 'nature', albeit one that was deliberately pursued.[48] In light of these continuities, one might get the impression that Shinjaku-bō was merely trying to please Teika by tailoring his gifts to his garden aesthetic, but I think Teika's visit to the monk's garden in the autumn of 1230 reveals something else: the two men shared similar tastes and sensibility.

V. Shinjaku-Bō, Practitioner of Moxibustion, Needles and Leeches

Shinjaku-bō's familiarity with medicinal herbs and the variety of his herbal prescriptions have already been examined. His skills in *ijutsu*, however, extended well beyond herbalism. He was an experienced practitioner of moxibustion, and also customarily employed needles on swellings and blisters. This practice should not, however, be mistaken for acupuncture, which in this period is not yet attested, despite the existence within the Bureau of Medications of a branch devoted to 'needles' (*hari* 針/ 鍼).[49] We also see Shin-

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[48] In the 1980s and 1990s, Kawahara Taketoshi published a series of studies on gardens in Heian literature and historical records, and some of them include descriptions from *Meigetsuki*. See for instance Kawahara, 'Heian, Kamakura jidai ni okeru teien shokumotsu no nyushu'; and *idem*, 'Heian, Kamakura jidai ni okeru teien shokusai no iji kanri'.

[49] This is a conclusion I have reached on the basis of quantitative (using databases of primary sources, including those compiled by the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo and the National Museum of Japanese History) and qualitative (close reading) analysis carried out on a range of journals from the mid to the late Heian period, and early Kamakura period (mid-tenth century to the thirteenth century). Despite the presence of a branch of the Bureau of Medications devoted to the practice of needles since its establishment, and despite the presence in *Ishinpō* of discussions of needles paired with moxibustion in book two, in practice we see no instances of needles used in contexts other than for draining or puncturing pustules and tumors, or for similar petty surgical operations. I should note that the absence of acupuncture in early sources has been

jaku-bō using leeches, typically to draw out 'bad blood' (悪血) and treat swellings.

Moxibustion is by far the most common practice Teika requested of Shinjaku-bō for himself and his family. During the six years he appears in *Meigetsuki*, there are dozens of instances of moxibustion carried out by Shinjaku-bō, the earliest of which dates to the twelfth day of the sixth month of the first year of Karoku (1225); Teika's left hand was in great pain, and thus Shinjaku-bō did moxibustion on three points on the hand and the wrist.[50] While Teika is the

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noticed before; for instance, Shinmura Taku has written that while 'shinkyū' 針灸 (needles and moxa) are treated as a unit, the use of needles (針治) is extremely rare and is limited to the treatment of swelling, tumors, dental issues etc. Shinmura reaches the same conclusion while seemingly focusing on late twelfth and early thirteenth-century sources (he provides quotes from, for instance, *Gyokuyō*, which covers the years 1164–1205, and *Kikki* 吉記 [Records of Yoshida no Tsunefusa], which covers the years 1166–1192). See Shinmura, *Kodai iryō kanninsei no kenkyū*, 392–94. Koremune Tomotoshi 惟宗具俊, a court physician who was active in the second half of the thirteenth century, repeatedly noted the sad state of affairs of acupuncture in his collection called *Idanshō* 医談抄, where he, for instance, wrote that, 'in this age of decadence (*matsudai* 末代, lit., latter age or final age) [acupuncture] has indeed become hard to use', or that 'since the techniques of acupuncture have ceased, they're no longer used'. *Idanshō*, 135 and 143. Tomotoshi wrote from the perspective of a reader of Chinese classics, in which moxibustion and acupuncture are often paired. For another analysis of the second passage mentioned here, see Macomber, 'Ritualizing Moxibustion', 195–96, where he notes that, '[n]eedles did see therapeutic use, but this was in the main relegated to dentistry and petty surgery, not quite the chief functions of acupuncture as Tomotoshi, versed in classical medical literature, might have understood them.'

[50] Entries involving moxibustion tend to be concise and generally indistinguishable from one another; this is why I do not look at these entries in detail. An inexhaustive inventory of Shinjaku-bō's moxibustion includes entries for Karoku 2/3/9, Karoku 2/4/17 (2: 636–37 and 648), Antei 3/3/6, Antei 3/5/17, Antei 3/8/6 (3: 106, 124 and 142), and a long sequence spanning from the ninth month to the twelfth month of Kangi 2 (3: 302ff.)

most common among Shinjaku-bō's patients, he also performed moxibustion, among others, on Teika's wife,[51] on Tokiie 言家 (d. 1239; Teika's nephew),[52] and, more generically, on 'the sick people in the house' (家中病者).[53] The practice of moxibustion is one of Shinjaku-bō's most meaningful contributions to Teika's care of the self, a fact that is made clear by the sheer quantity of instances that appear in *Meigetsuki*. As discussed in the next section, the monk who replaced Shinjaku-bō after his death was also proficient in the application of moxibustion, therefore showing how important the poet considered the practice.

Shinjaku-bō also employed leeches (*hiru* 蛭),[54] although in a more limited fashion, and in *Meigetsuki* there are only a few instances in which they are employed, always on swellings. An interesting aspect to note is that leeches were not necessarily applied by Shinjaku-bō himself, as the entry for the sixth day of the fourth month of the second year of Karoku (1226) makes clear; here Teika received leeches sent by Shinjaku-bō from Saga, and applied them to his chin because of a swelling (*zōnetsu* 雑熱) on his face.[55] Similarly, on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of the second year of Kangi (1230), Teika applied leeches to his jaw to treat a swelling caused by problems with his teeth.[56]

Another instance in which the monk used leeches is from 1230, when Shinjaku-bō visited Teika to treat one of his frequent swellings. He first practiced moxibustion, and then tried to draw pus from the swelling with a needle, in order to get rid of 'bad blood', but his attempt was unsuccessful. He tried once again with leeches, and the

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[51] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/U3/5, 3: 35

[52] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 2 (1230)/3/1: 226.

[53] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 2/8/28, 3: 66.

[54] The nominal expression *hirukai* 蛭飼 indicates the action of applying leeches, but 飼 (read *kau*) is also used as a verb that takes *hiru* as its direct object; this is written, in the *kanbun* used in premodern Japan, as '飼蛭'. Both expressions are used in *Meigetsuki*.

[55] *Meigetsuki* 2: 645.

[56] *Meigetsuki* 3: 246.

treatment this time was effective. At this point, he informed Teika he would get better soon, and instructed him to wash the area in question with salted hot water (*shioyu* 塩湯).[57]

As Shinmura Taku has noted, leeches were primarily employed on swellings and pustules in order to draw out 'bad blood'.[58] Teika customarily employed them more specifically for mouth swellings, as the entry for the thirtieth day of the eighth month of the third year of Karoku (1227) shows; on this day he was planning, 'as usual', to apply leeches to his face as a treatment for his teeth, but was unable to carry out this plan because of the cold weather that had exterminated the leeches.[59]

In similar fashion, needles were mostly utilized to draw out pus and 'bad blood'. This is also how they were used by court physicians—as previously mentioned, acupuncture was not yet practiced in this period, despite the presence in Japan of Chinese texts on acupuncture, and the establishment of an ostensible 'needle' specialization within the Bureau of Medications.[60] In an example I have already examined, Shinjaku-bō forcefully disagreed with a court physician when he used a needle to drain a swelling on Teika's face.[61] On another occasion, on the seventeenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Karoku (1225), Teika mentioned to Shinjaku-bō blisters (水袋)[62] he was experiencing on the toes of his left foot; the monk re-

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[57] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 2/12/27, 3: 309.

[58] Shinmura, *Kodai iryō kanninsei no kenkyū*, 384–88.

[59] *Meigetsuki* 3: 66.

[60] A twelfth-century painting, usually associated with the famous *Yamai no sōshi* 病草子 [Illustrated Scroll of Illness], depicts a similar scene of needle surgery or incision: a court physician in formal attire is handling a thick needle, with which he is most likely trying to drain a swelling on his patient's back. See *Yamai no sōshi*, 60.

[61] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/1/21, 3: 17, and above.

[62] This term, which literally translates as 'water pouch' doesn't seem to appear in technical literature or in other contemporaneous records; it can, therefore, be considered as Teika's own colloquialism. For this reason, it's likely that it should be read *mizubukuro*, using the *kun* reading of the Chinese characters

sponded it was nothing serious, cut them off with a needle-blade (針刀), removed the pus, and then applied plantain leaf on the wound.[63]

Another entry for the fourteenth day of the eleventh month of the second year of Kangi (1230) indirectly clarifies these needles' use. Shinjaku-bō discussed with Teika the possibility of using a needle around the moxibustion marks on his shin, but remarked that not much blood would come out, and thus decided against it; instead, he instructed Teika to wash the area in hot water for some days.[64] While it is unclear why Shinjaku-bō assumes he would not be able to draw any blood—possibly because of the marks from moxibustion?—it is nevertheless clear that needles were used to draw blood.

VI. Shinjaku-Bō and Buddhist *Ijutsu*

At the beginning of 1231 (Kangi 3), Teika received a letter containing the sudden news that Shinjaku-bō was seriously ill: he no longer eats, his abdomen is swollen, and the only thing that can be done is wait for the day of his passing. Teika laments the situation; Shinjaku-bō had been taking care of him for some years, years characterized by frequent illness and regular relapses.

'Although there are many people who practice *ijutsu*' (医術者雖多), Teika writes, Shinjaku-bō was a perfect match for him.[65] He bemoans: 'If his life is going to end, what am I going to do with the maladies of old age during the remaining years of my life?' (若終命者、老病之余命何為哉) The following day, the twentieth day of the first month, Teika sent an envoy to visit Shinjaku-bō, verify his health condition, and deliver some offerings to him. The updates he received, however, were not positive: the monk is unable to eat, his ab-

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in question. Teika further notes that, when Shinjaku-bō cut through it, the substance that came out of it was 'solely water' (偏水也), which suggests particularly thin serous drainage. *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 1/8/17, 2: 580.

[63] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 1/8/17, 2: 580.

[64] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 2/11/14, 3: 297.

[65] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 3 (1231)/1/19, 3: 321.

domen is still swollen, and moxibustion has proved ineffective. Two days later, Teika sent once again an envoy to Shinjaku-bō's bedside, and this time what he learned was even grimmer: now reduced to a vegetative state, the monk is unable to even take liquids. According to one of his disciples, he did not have more than four or five days to live. Teika was shocked at the sudden nature of his disease: on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the previous year, only a couple of weeks before, Shinjaku-bō had last visited his residence, and on the twenty-eighth he had sent one last letter; it was apparently on that same day that he fell ill. Eventually, on the twenty-fourth day of the first month, Teika received a visit from one of Shinjaku-bō's retainers who informed him of the death of his master. Teika was saddened, a sadness that reflects the long-lasting concern for the frailty and mortality of his own body: 'As for this body, threatened by the maladies of old age, how can it ever sustain the remaining years of my life?' (老病危急之身、以何扶余命哉).[66]

After Shinjaku-bō's death, Teika came to temporarily rely almost exclusively on the service of physicians from the Bureau of Medications, especially for moxibustion. Later in 1231, however, he would once again come to rely on a Buddhist practitioner of *ijutsu*, a certain Konren-bō 金蓮房 (d.u.), who would take care of him and his ailing health, together with Kōshin-bō 興心房 (d.u.)—who acted as master of precepts—and, albeit less frequently, court physicians, until the end of *Meigetsuki*. Konren-bō's specialization was similar to that of Shinjaku-bō's, and his treatments included decoctions,[67] herbal concoctions,[68] moxibustion,[69] and rudimentary needle surgery.[70]

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[66] For these entries (1/20, 1/22 and 1/24), see *Meigetsuki* 3: 322.

[67] E.g., on Katei 1 (1235)/6/13 (3: 530), he prepares a decoction of plum flowers and has Teika drink it as a laxative.

[68] E.g., entry for Tenpuku (1233) 1/7/8 (3: 429), where he applies a concoction of an unidentified plant, 山朝子, on a small pustule.

[69] Several instances; see, e.g., Tenpuku 1/5/3, 3: 405 and Katei 1/3/13, 3: 516.

[70] E.g., on Katei 1/7/22 (3: 533), he drained some small pustules on Teika's left foot's middle toe with a needle, and instructed him to put some *karasumi* 唐墨 (Chinese ink) on the wounds.

It is clear that Teika saw *ijutsu* as crucial to the preservation of his well-being during roughly the last ten years of his journal. Teika relied on both physicians and Buddhist monks for this type of treatments, and while the services of court physicians had been available to court aristocrats virtually since the establishment of a centralized state during the *ritsuryō* period, with the exception of some monks who engaged in herbalism, the more forceful partaking of Buddhist actors into specializations considered to be the domain of court physicians is a development of this period that can be seen in *Meigetsuki* and in other sources from this time.[71]

In his later years Teika suffered from frequent and severe illnesses, some of them recurring or chronic. A unique arrangement that derived from his increasingly frail health was the establishment of an informal welfare network, independent from that available to all other court aristocrats and consisting of physicians from the Bureau of Medications. Instead, Teika systematically resorted to the services of Buddhist monks from two specializations: *ijutsu*, and the bestowal of precepts. This arrangement was effective by early 1225 (Kennin 2),

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[71] It should be noted that moxibustion was not commonly practiced by court physicians either until the eleventh century. In the so-called 'six official histories' (*rikkokushi* 六国史), compiled between 720 and 901, one finds no mentions of moxibustion despite numerous records of illness, in particular affecting the *tennō* and their consorts. Before the twelfth century, instances of moxibustion are sporadic in private writings as well, with the only exception of *Shōyūki* 小右記, the journal of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046), which covers the years 978–1032 and includes around twenty cases of moxibustion, mostly concentrated in its last fifteen years. Compare this with the hundreds of instances found in sources from the period under consideration in this paper—*Meigetsuki*, but also *Gyokuyō*. This shows that, despite limited earlier use, what we might call the normalization of moxibustion took place in this period, and, almost simultaneously, among court physicians and Buddhist monks (while, it should be noted, it seems to have previously fallen under the almost exclusive purview of court physicians). An examination of these processes would be of great interest, but it is well beyond the scope of this paper. I will briefly return to this issue later in this paper.

and lasted at least until the end of *Meigetsuki*, in 1235,[72] and originally consisted of Shinjaku-bō as the *ijutsu* specialist, and Jūshin-bō 住心房 (1158–1233) as master of precepts (*kaishi* 戒師)[73]—but it should be noted that the services of both were not limited to these activities. When Jūshin-bō stopped appearing in *Meigetsuki*,[74] he was replaced as master of precepts by Kōshin-bō, a relatively obscure figure,[75] until the end of *Meigetsuki*. Likewise, after Shinjaku-bō's death in 1231, for a short time Teika relied on the services of exclusively court physicians for *ijutsu*,[76] to eventually find in Konren-bō a replacement that would also be operative until the end of *Meigetsuki*. This two-tiered Buddhist structure of healing, counsel, and support

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[72] It's worth noting that while *Meigetsuki* ends in 1235, Teika would eventually pass away in 1241, at the age of eighty. Arrangements surrounding his health during the final years of his life are, however, largely unknown.

[73] Jūshin-bō also exchanged some letters with Teika. See Endō, 'Karoku nenjū no Fujiwara no Teika', 154–56.

[74] Jūshin-bō's last active appearance in *Meigetsuki* is dated 1227 (Karoku 3/11/7, 3: 81), when Teika goes to him to receive the precepts (詣住心房許受戒), followed by a mention of offerings sent to Jūshin-bō the following day (3: 82). After this, the monk doesn't seem to be mentioned again until 1233, when Teika tersely writes that Jūshin-bō has finally passed away (遂以入滅), noticing he had a history of *chūfū* 中風 (wind strike), which explains his disappearance from the journal and Teika's life. *Meigetsuki*, entry for Jōei 2/1/30, 3: 382.

[75] Imamura, 'Teika to Kōshinbō'. Imamura, more generally, also notes the two-tiered welfare structure put in place by Teika that is being discussed here, but her emphasis, as the title of her article suggests, is on Kōshin-bō and his relationship with Teika.

[76] Following Shinjaku-bō's death, and before Konren-bō's first appearance, one can see that Teika began to rely more frequently on the services of physicians from the Bureau of Medications. On one occasion in 1231, Teika summoned the supernumerary deputy of the Bureau of Medications (典薬権助), Wake no Sadayuki 貞行 because of a swollen foot (*Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 3/2/1, 3: 325). On the twenty-eighth of the same month, Sadayuki paid Teika another visit to once again examine his foot, and afterwards applied moxibustion on several spots (3: 336).

was consciously pursued by Teika, which raises the question of why it would have been so important for him to have Buddhist technicians involved in the management of his health and, more specifically, Buddhist specialists of *ijutsu*, which conspicuously overlapped with the functions of court physicians. There is an episode concerning Kōshin-bō that might help shed light on this issue.

On the occasion of one of Teika's numerous health scares, in 1230, the poet sent a letter to Shinjaku-bō; he had, after feeling a sharp pain in his left knee, noticed that his crotch, shin, and foot were swollen. When later that day Kōshin-bō visited his residence, Teika discussed his condition with him, despite the fact, as he explicitly notes, the monk 'is not an *ijutsu* person' (非医術人).[77] The following day, Shinjaku-bō visited Teika, suggested that the swellings were due to *kakke*, and applied moxibustion on several spots. Afterwards, Kōshin-bō, who was also present, carried out a body-protecting (*goshin* 護身) ritual on Teika; the two monks then left together. This episode reveals the complementarity of these two approaches, but also their differences: Kōshin-bō performs a protection ritual on Teika that's obviously meant to address his health issues, but he is not an '*ijutsu* person', because *ijutsu*, as I have previously noted, doesn't generally indicate healing but specific therapeutic modalities, which here are represented by Shinjaku-bō.[78]

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[77] *Meigetsuki*, entry for Kangi 2/9/13, 3: 281.

[78] This taxonomical difference is something that has escaped even scholars who have otherwise written insightfully on some of these figures. Imamura, for instance, has attempted to distinguish between Kōshin-bō 'psychological care' (*seishintekina kea* 精神的なケア) and Shinjaku-bō's 'medical care' (*iryōmen de no kea* 医療面でのケア), but occurrences like the one discussed here make clear that, despite differences in specialization, their actions were equally intended to preserve Teika's bodily welfare, without the very modern distinction between psychology and physiology. See Imamura, 'Teika to Kōshinbō', 151. Writing on Kōshin-bō, who was often present at times when Teika was unwell, Kikuchi Hiroki has claimed that 'Kōshin-bō was also a physician-monk (*isō*) [i.e., like Shinjaku-bō and Konren-bō]'. Kikuchi, 'Jukai to chibyō', 62. But Kōshin-bō, as Teika himself notes, was 'not an *ijutsu* person' (非医術人), and the notion of

Here, and also in other contemporaneous sources, we see that some monks appear as able and famed healers, and as such they are praised and patronized while alive and ached for when gone; this treatment, however, is not specific to them, and is also given to other respected officials and prominent professionals, including court physicians,[79] so it is clear that individual capability and efficaciousness were discriminants. That said, the fact that Shinjaku-bō and, after him, Konren-bō were both Buddhist practitioners of *ijutsu* suggests that that very qualification was something Teika valued, as he could have otherwise relied on the support of court physicians, who had access to a similar therapeutic toolkit. It seems, then, that some Buddhist monks were seen by people like Teika as more skilled in certain therapeutic domains—including, for instance, moxibustion, and more in general with respect to the treatment of swellings and similar maladies.

Among these technicians of healing that Teika resorted to, Shinjaku-bō occupied a very special place. We may never know enough about Shinjaku-bō to determine with certainty what made him so special in Teika's eyes. Could it be his skills with plants and trees, displayed on several occasions and explicitly praised by Teika? Or his ritual prowess, which in *Meigetsuki* is only displayed once? While within the larger body of appearances this episode is certainly unusual, it occurs at a crucial moment when Teika's wife was in a condition that had been deemed desperate. In either case, it is beyond doubt that in Teika's worldview the eclecticism of Buddhist monks—or, at least, of certain Buddhist monks—made them outstanding and

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'monk-physician' (*isō* 医僧) rests on the mastery of *ijutsu* on the part of Buddhist monks. A 'monk-physician' should be understood not as a monk who cures at large, but as one who cures employing *ijutsu*.

[79] When Wake no Yasushige 和気定成 (1123–1188), the head of the Bureau of Medications, passes away on Bunji 4 (1188)/4/20, in *Gyokuyō*, the journal of the courtier Fujiwara no Kanezane, we read that he lamented his death, writing that he was an 'eminent physician of this generation' (当世之名医也) and that 'the way of *i*' (*idō* 医道) would decline as a consequence of his death. *Idō* and *ijutsu* are used interchangeably in this period.

worth of patronage. Shinjaku-bō—herbalist, practitioner of moxibustion and needles, botanist, but also Buddhist monk and ritualist—was from 1225 to his death in 1231, a central presence in Teika's life.

VII. Attempting to Make Sense of Shinjaku-Bō: Esoteric Buddhist Botany

The episodes examined above demonstrate that Shinjaku-bō was an accomplished herbalist who frequently employed decoctions and other plant-based—and occasionally animal-based—remedies to treat diverse conditions of various severity. As mentioned before, Gomi Fumihiko has surmised that Shinjaku-bō may have been a court physician in the Bureau of Medication or the Medication Dispensary before taking the tonsure.

The Bureau of Medications, among its specializations, included positions that involved at least a certain degree of botanical knowledge, such as that of *yakuenshi* 薬園師 (master of the physic garden), who was in charge of running the physic garden attached to the Bureau; and *yakuko* 薬戸, lower ranking workers who operated in the physic garden. It should also be noted that originally under the Inner Office of Medications operated a number of *yakushō* 薬生 (students of medications; ten, according to the *Ryō no gige* 令義解 [Expositions of Administrative Law]) who were in charge of compounding ingredients and producing medications, and who were later incorporated into the Bureau of Medications when the two were merged in 896.[80] These were, however, low-ranking, menial positions in charge of the physic garden, and it is unlikely that someone as accomplished as Shinjaku-bō would have been in the Bureau of Medications in such humble positions. We can turn to another direction to make sense of his eclectic expertise: esoteric Buddhism.

Shinjaku-bō's pharmacological and botanical skills discussed above, when paired with aforementioned elements suggesting his

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[80] Shinmura, *Kodai iryō kanninsei no kenkyū*, 19–23. In English, see Triplett, *Buddhism and Medicine in Japan*, 136–39.

Shingon affiliation, allow for a broader (albeit admittedly speculative) discussion of the locus of such practices within early medieval Buddhism, and their influence on Shinjaku-bō's therapeutic practices and botanic mastery. Plants, whether as components of medications and decoctions or as herbs dried and burnt as incense and aromatics, indeed played an important role within the ritual domain of Japanese Buddhism at the time, and of the Shingon tradition in particular. A corpus of texts surviving from a period dating from the late eleventh century to mid and late twelfth century make abundantly clear that there were monks specialized in the study of plants as *materia medica*, and in particular those that were employed in esoteric rituals such as *goma* 護摩 and *shuhō* 修法. Some of these herbs and plants were medicinal components that were used in *goma* rituals aimed at treating illness, thus showing a continuity between what we may designate, for the lack of better terms and categories, the practical dimension and the ritual domain.[81] *Materia medica* known to be efficacious against certain illnesses were burnt in order to unleash their healing potency; in this way, material elements that were not Buddhist per se—but that were not entirely alien to Buddhism as it had been practiced in Japan either—were reinterpreted through eminently Buddhist ritual frameworks. While we can see no evidence of Shinjaku-bō conducting rituals that involve the manipulation or use of plants or aromatics, I think that this aspect is key in thinking of and locating a figure like Shinjaku-bō within the cultural framework of early medieval Japan, and in understanding his botanical and pharmacological skills.

That aromatics and plants qua *materia medica* played a key role in particular in the Shingon tradition is evident from the fact that

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[81] Nihon'yanagi Kenji has published a series of fascinating studies that investigate the possibility that *materia medica* were used in the context of esoteric rituals not merely as symbolic presences, but also because of their practical (and likely, positive) effects on health when burned during *gegoma* 外護摩 (lit., external *homa*; *goma* in which substances are actually burned) rituals. Further studies are, however, necessary to further probe this possibility. See Nihon'yanagi, 'Gomahō ni okeru gohō goyaku gokō' (in two parts).

most eleventh and twelfth century extant compendia were produced by monks active in that tradition, or, when the compiler cannot be securely identified, show remarkably esoteric tendencies. An instance of this tradition is the *Kōjishō* 香字抄 [Annotated Excerpts on the Character 'kō' 香], possibly the oldest extant compendia on incense and aromatics in Japan, which is believed to have been compiled between the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century by an unknown author. This compendium takes its title from the opening section in which theories about the Chinese character for incense/aromatics (香) are introduced, and then tersely catalogues forty-six types of plants used in the production of incense and medications used in esoteric rituals. It presents all the information needed in ritual contexts (and beyond), such as effects, areas of production, collection method and alternative names, drawn from miscellaneous literature that spans from Buddhist scriptures to Chinese poetry and continental compendia of *materia medica* (Ch. *bencao* 本草, Jp. *honzō*).[82]

Later compendia of aromatic plants and *materia medica*, such as the *Yakushushō* 薬種抄 [Annotated Excerpts on Medicinal Herbs and Seeds], the *Kōyōshō* 香要抄 [Annotated Excerpts of Essentials on Aromatics] and the *Kōyakushō* 香薬抄 [Annotated Excerpts on Aromatics and Medicinal Herbs] were also produced and meant to be used within an esoteric Buddhist context. The *Kōyōshū*, as the title suggests, is a collection of aromatics used in esoteric rituals believed to have been compiled in the first half of the twelfth century by an unknown author, probably a Shingon monk.[83] The compilers of the other two texts mentioned above are known: the *Yakushushō* was

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[82] See *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, s.v. 'Kōjishō' 香字抄; and 'Kaisetsu' 解説, which presents facsimile reproduction of the manuscript and a typeset edition of the manuscript from the Kyōu shooku 杏雨書屋 archives. Another edition of the *Kōjishō* is in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従 [Classified Collection of Miscellaneous Texts, Continued] 31-1.

[83] The oldest extant manuscript of the *Kōyōshū* is conserved in the Kyōu shooku 杏雨書屋 archives and was published in 2008 and 2009 by Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan 武田科学振興財団.

compiled by Jōren-bō Ken'i 成蓮房兼意 (b. 1072), a Shingon monk, most probably at the beginning of the twelfth century. Ken'i received his dharma transmission at Ninnaji, but left the temple at the death of his master on 1101 to live in seclusion on Mount Kōya until his death. The text is a collection of short entries on medical herbs used in esoteric rituals, such as *goma* and *shuhō*,[84] and would later constitute one of the foundations of the *Kōyakushō*, a compendium of aromatic and medical herbs used within the esoteric ritual tradition. This text was based, other than on the *Yakushushō*, on the *Kōyōshō*, with additions by the compiler, Ken'i's disciple Busshu-bō Shingaku 仏種房心覚, who reported on the verso of the manuscript.[85] This perfunctory look at early medieval Buddhist compendia of plants demonstrates the existence of a botanical and pharmacological strand of discourse— and practice, most probably, since some of these texts also contain illustrations[86]—within Shingon lineages in particular. Because of the dearth of biographical information concerning Shinjaku-bō, we are unable to place him within any of these lineages, but if we look at his actions and body of knowledge against this historical and cultural background, his remarkable skills with plants and medications appear, to some extent, easier to contextualize.

This approach is, however, not without its limits, as mentioned earlier. In fact, attempts to locate Shinjaku-bō's herbalism within

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[84] For an introduction to the *Yakushushō*, see Koizumi Enjun's introduction to volume 1 (206–17) and volume 2 (216–31) of the Takeda kagaku shinkō zaidan edition.

[85] The only edition of the *Kōyakushō* I have been able to locate is in *Zoku gunsho ruijū* 31-1, which records separately the texts written on the recto and verso of the manuscript.

[86] See for instance the *Kōyaku zukan* 香薬図巻 [Illustrations of Aromatic and Medicinal Herbs] from the Spencer collection at the New York Public Library, where a copy of the *Kōyakushū* dating back to 1165 is also conserved. They were both originally held at Daigoji 醍醐寺, an important Shingon temple in the southern part of modern-day Kyoto city. The *Yakushushō* manuscript from the Kyōu shooku archives was also originally transmitted at Henchiin 遍智院, a sub-temple of Daigoji.

the broader context of the therapeutic arena of early medieval Japan don't yield particularly encouraging results, even if we zoom in on the remedies and ingredients he utilized throughout *Meigetsuki*. This is due to a series of issues; the very limited size of the sample, for instance, makes a quantitative analysis impossible. But there are broader circumstances that make such an analysis difficult: by Teika's time, in fact, there was no clear distinction between the *materia medica* utilized by court physicians and the substances employed by Buddhist monks, either in ritual contexts or on the occasion of drug-making for patients in more informal situations. Most of the herbal ingredients that appear in the compendia mentioned above, for example, were by the time of their compilation already part of a shared medicinal space that spanned from court officials to Buddhist healers.[87] *Kengoshi* (dried seeds of the Japanese morning glory), lotus leaves, yellow chrysanthemums—these are plant ingredients used by Shinjaku-bō to make infusions and other concoctions, as seen above, but they were also, by this time, part of the toolkit of most practitioners of herbalism, regardless of affiliation.[88]

Even some substances that were originally more closely related to Buddhism had undergone a similar process. See, for example, the notable case of *kariroku* 呵梨勒, whose name is a transliteration of the Sanskrit word *harītakī*, and whose nut-like fruits appear in several Buddhist scriptures.[89] *Kariroku* was later incorporated into *materia medica* compendia, most notably the *Xinxiu bencao* 新修本草 [Newly Compiled *materia medica*], and in Japan it makes an early appearance as part of a ritual offering to the Vairocana Buddha

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[87] This becomes clear by looking at the extensive lists of medications found in the *Engi shiki*. See Poletto, 'Procedures of the Bureau of Medications', 474–84, for a table of all medicinal ingredients that appear in scroll 37.

[88] For some useful charts and statistics on the usage of herbal ingredients as recorded in mid-Heian journals, see Seto, *Byōnō to chiryō*, 8–67.

[89] See Iijima, 'Heianki yakugaku kenkyū', and in particular 16–19 for a chart detailing the use of *kariroku* in *kanbun* journals from the mid-Heian period to *Gyokuyō*. For uses in Buddhist literature, see for instance Triplett, *Buddhism and Medicine in Japan*, 79–80.

of Tōdaiji 東大寺 in Nara that took place in 756.[90] Later, it appears in the 'Ten'yakuryō' 典薬寮 [Bureau of Medications] section of the *Engi shiki*. While the text doesn't specify which provinces were in charge of sending *kariroku* to the central government as annual tribute, one might reasonably surmise it would've been Dazaifu, where other imported medicinal substances were collected and sent.[91] We also see *kariroku* in several of the Buddhist compendia introduced in this section, for example *Yakushushō*, but this doesn't mean that *kariroku* (or other herbs and plants that appear in these texts) should be understood as being part of a specifically Buddhist form of herbalism.

We also see, on the other hand, common herbal ingredients utilized in ritual esoteric settings; this is the case of the *goyaku* 五薬 (five medicinal herbs) used in *goma*. While there are some differences between texts, the most common substances are all standard *materia medica*, including for instance, Asian ginseng (*ninjin* 人参), Chinese licorice (*kanzō* 甘草), *Wolfiporia extensa* (*bukuryō* 茯苓), or Chinese asparagus (*tenmontō* 天門冬). Other rituals could call for other herbs or roots, as in the case of the Kamakura period *Shishu gomaki* 四種護摩記 [Record of Four Types of *homa*], whose lists include, among others, *kariroku*, goji berries (*kuko* 枸杞), and Chinese cinnamon (*keishin* 桂心). One of the four types of *goma* described in this text, devoted to the subjugation of evil influences, calls for the use of poisonous substances (*dokubutsu* 毒物).[92]

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[90] Much has been written on this topic; for a detailed and accessible examination of this medicinal offering and of the text that was produced on that occasion, see Torigoe, *Shōsōin yakubutsu*, 72–166. In English, see for instance Triplett, *Buddhism and Medicine in Japan*, 142–44.

[91] In article 98, which records the early tributes sent from Dazaifu to the central government, we see other imported medicinal substances: *birōji* 檳榔子 (alt. *binrōji*; *Areca catechu*, commonly known as areca nut); and pulverized hematite known as *taisha* 代赭, in which 'tai' refers to Dai County in modern-day Shanxi Province. See Poletto, 'Procedures of the Bureau of Medications', 475 and 493.

[92] See Nihon'yanagi, 'Gomahō ni okeru gohō goyaku gokō', for a broad overview of some these topics. For the *Shishu goma ki*, see Shinmura, *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi*, 209–10. *Yakushushō* 1, 209 has handy tables of the *goyaku* used for

On the basis of these observations on the multivalent nature of *materia medica*, it's hard to reach any conclusion on the basis of Shinjaku-bō's preferred substances and methods. Even within this generally murky picture, however, there are two plants that stand out. They are unusual to some extent—they appear either sporadically in earlier and contemporary sources, or appear in *Meigetsuki* in ways that are novel. This is the case, among Shinjaku-bō's herbal treatments, of Asian plantain (*shazensō*), in particular the leaves; and mulberry (*kuwa*).

Plantain itself is a common occurrence in East Asian *materia medica* compendia, where the seeds are the more commonly used part of the plant, not the leaves or other parts. The name for that specific herbal ingredient is *shazenshi* 車前子 (where *shi* means seed), and it occurs widely in Japanese texts as well, including the 'Ten'yakuryō' section in the *Engi shiki* and *Ishinpō*. In the *Honzō wamyō* 本草和名 [Japanese Names of *materia medica*], an encyclopedia of continental *materia medica* and its Japanese correspondents compiled in or around 918, the translation of '車前子' is given as '於保波古',[93] which can be transliterated *ohohako*, but that in modern spelling would closely reflect the current Japanese name of the Asian plantain, *ōbako*.

If plantain seeds are a common view in *materia medica* texts, the leaves don't seem to be as widely used, and even when they do appear, they are used in ways that are different from Shinjaku-bō's use. In *Ishinpō*, for example, *shazensō* is most commonly associated with verbs that indicate 'pounding' or 'grinding' (搗, probably read *tsuku* in Japanese), 'spreading' or 'applying' (*shiku* 敷), and 'applying' (*nuru* 塗る).[94]

An interesting episode in which plantain leaves are 'spread' ap-

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some rituals listed in two important esoteric Buddhist collections, *Kakuzenshō* 覚禅鈔 [Collected Notes of Kakuzen] and *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄 [Collected Notes on the (Syllables) *a*, *sa* and *va*].

[93] *Honzō wamyō*, 261–62.

[94] See for instance *Ishinpō*, 261 and 305, where *shazensō* is first ground, then made into an infusion that is applied to the body (in the first case), or mixed with vinegar and applied to the body (in the second case).

pears in *Towazugatari* とはずがたり [A Tale Unasked For], a memoir written after 1306 by a courtwoman known as Gofukakusa no Nijō 後深草院二条 (or simply Nijō; b. 1258). In a scene in the latter part of book one, in which the writer's father is seriously ill, a man arrives with steamed plantain leaves in order to replace those that had been spread under the bed of the patient.[95] The editor of the 1999 Shōgakukan edition of *Towazugatari*, Kubota Jun 久保田淳, notes that the first instance of plantain leaves used in such fashion can be seen in *Meigetsuki* in an entry from 1196, where, in fact, we can see Teika applying *shazensō* on a small pustule that had appeared on his shin. The verb associated with it, however, is *oshitsuku* 押付 (to press against), which suggests a different usage than that found in *Towazugatari*.[96]

In this sense, Shinjaku-bō's usage of *shazensō*, while not unprecedented, is certainly unusual, first of all because of its frequency: in just the few years in which he appears in *Meigetsuki*, we have seen him employing *shazensō*-based remedies five times. In two cases Teika makes it explicit that what is being used are the leaves of the plantain by adding 葉 (*ha* or *yō*) after *shazensō*; in one case, these leaves are applied to blisters,[97] in the another, they are applied somewhere unspecified because of a fever or heat illness (*atsuke* 熱気[98]). In this latter instance, it's worth noting that *shazensō* had already been utilized the day before when Teika was accusing symptoms of *kakke*. On that occasion, it had been mixed with deer antlers.[99] While it's likely that in the first two instances the plantain leaves had been boiled or

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[95] *Towazugatari*, 227–28. *Shazensō* is given in the text in its Japanese pronounciation, 'をうはこ' ([*w*]*ouhako*, i.e., *ōbako*; but note that Kubota has standardized the spelling to *ohobako* おほばこ).

[96] For Kubota's note, see *Towazugatari*, 227. For the related passage in *Meigetsuki*, see entry for Kenkyū 7/5/16, 1: 86. The small pustule is mentioned on 5/14; on 5/16, Teika writes that on that day he 'pressed the leaves, just like yesterday' (押付草葉、如昨日), which clarifies that the part being used was in fact the leaves (1: 86–87).

[97] *Meigetsuki* 2: 580.

[98] *Meigetsuki* 2: 675.

[99] *Meigetsuki* 2: 674.

steamed, not unlike the passage in *Towazugatari*, in the latter case it appears more probable that they had been dried and ground, and then mixed with ground deer antlers together with water or another oily substance to produce an ointment. In the last two instances examined above, *shazensō* is part of an infusion, in one case mixed with chrysanthemum, mulberry, lotus and salt—the use of the verb *senzu* 煎 (to infuse or decoct) clarifies the drug in question is a decoction;[100] in the other, *shazensō* is followed by 湯, read *tō* or *yu* ('*shazensō* no yu'), indicating that it's medicated water or a decoction.[101] This cursory examination, then, shows that Shinjaku-bō's use of *shazensō* was unusual, but towards what conclusion should this observation sway us? This is unclear. Among the Buddhist *materia medica* compendia discussed above, *shazensō* only appears in *Kōjishō*, where it's briefly mentioned with no particular pathos. It is not mentioned in the *shojibon* 初治本 edition of 1211 of Eisai's *Kissa yōjōki*, but in the *saijibon* 再治本 version, completed in 1214, in a section concerning swellings and pustules (*sōbyō* 瘡病), it's emphatically written that '*shazensō* must not be applied' (不可付車前草). Eisai adds that in Japan it's often used, but out of ignorance of its medicinal properties (日本多用車前草、不識薬性故也).[102] On the basis of this passage, we can assume that he would disapprove of Shinjaku-bō's use of *shazensō*.

The other somewhat unusual substance that appears in Shinjaku-bō's herbal toolkit is mulberry. The mulberry tree occurs frequently in *materia medica* compendia in East Asia, and in Japan it can be seen in official texts, such as the *Engi shiki*, and the *Ishinpō*. It should be noted, however, that the part of the tree that is utilized in those contexts is the root bark (*sōkonhakuhi* 桑根白皮),[103] while

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[100] *Meigetsuki* 3: 17.

[101] *Meigetsuki* 3: 28.

[102] *Kissa yōjōki*, 375. On the different versions of the text and its complicated history, see Mori, 'Eisai Zenji Kissa yōjōki no kenkyū', 456–89.

[103] In the *Engi shiki*'s 'Ten'yakuryō' section, the root bark of mulberry appears as tribute sent to the central government from the provinces of Yamato, Settsu, Hōki, and Harima. It was also provided to envoys sent to Tang and Parhae. See Poletto, 'Procedures of the Bureau of Medications'.

Shinjaku-bō, in order to make an infusion with which Teika's wife cleansed her swelling, most likely utilized the leaves, as discussed above, mixing them with the dried flowers of chrysanthemum, lotus leaves, Asian plantain leaves, and salt (3:17). Other than as root bark, the use of mulberry in medications is extremely rare; the only instance I have been able to identify, going back two hundred years to the mid-Heian period, appears in the journal of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (957–1046), known as *Shōyūki* 小右記 [Records of the Onomiya Minister of the Right]. A few days before the episode in question, Sanesuke had tripped and hit his head; he describes the wound as being 'over one *sun*' (疵一寸余). No details are provided for a few days, until we read that the courtier was having the wound on his face cleansed on a regular basis with the medicated water of three types of leaves: *jizusuna* 地菘 (alt. *inunoshiri*; scientific name *Carpesium abrotanoides*), lotus, and mulberry.[104] It's unclear who prescribed the treatment, and mulberry makes no other appearance in *Shōyūki* or any other contemporary sources.[105]

Whether the specificities of Shinjaku-bō's herbal toolkit, as articulated in his usage of Asian plantain leaves and mulberry, are due to his knowledge of Buddhist *materia medica* compendia is, ultimately, hard to say, although one might be tempted to tentatively reach that conclusion, also given his contrasts with court physicians in one notable occasion.[106] In either case, this analysis, while unable to solve all knots, allows for a more granular understanding of Shinjaku-bō's therapeutic practices within the context of the early medieval Japan.

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[104] Shōyūki, entries for Jian 3 (1023)/9/3 and 9/8, 6: 203 and 205. A *sun* roughly corresponds to 3 cm, or little over an inch.

[105] In a recent study on mulberry in Eisai's *Kissa yōjōki*, Macomber has noted instances in which mulberry is employed, for instance as timber in moxibustion as a replacement for moxa (including one instance from *Meigetsuki*). He also notes, however, that Eisai discusses mulberry as a remedy for demonic disease, which is quite different from the contexts in which it is used by Shinjaku-bō (or in *Shōyūki*). See Macomber, 'Milking the Bodhi Tree', 5–7.

[106] This episode has been examined before, but see *Meigetsuki*, entry for Karoku 3/1/21, 3: 17.

VIII. Conclusion: Buddhism, Bodies and the Everyday

While he seems truly exceptional in his broad mastery of diverse domains, some of the skills Shinjaku-bō possessed were not uncommon in Buddhist practitioners. We have seen that, after his death, he was replaced by another obscure monk named Konren-bō who practiced herbalism, moxibustion, and needle surgeries. It is possible that this arrangement was to some extent influenced by Teika's personal preferences and idiosyncracies, but it's important to emphasize that we see monks handling similar therapeutic modalities also outside of *Meigetsuki*. In the diary of an older contemporary of Teika, Fujiwara no Kanezane's 藤原兼実 (1149–1207) *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 [Jade Leaves], for example, the monk Butsugon-bō Shōshin 仏厳房聖心 (fl. 1141–1194) makes numerous appearances as a practitioner of moxibustion and other healing modalities.[107]

Today a largely forgotten figure, Shinjaku-bō was once patronized by important members of Heian society, including the warriors who resided in Rokuhara, other than Teika himself. He was an accomplished *ijutsu* specialist: as we have seen, he regularly practiced moxibustion for Teika and his family members, and he also produced or recommended medicinal concoctions. He was also a botanist, with a penchant for infusions, plants, and trees. Because he was, as I have suggested, likely a Shingon monk, Shinjaku-bō must have also possessed ritual skills, but that side of him is not well portrayed in *Meigetsuki*, except for one notable instance when Teika's wife was seriously ill. After disagreements with a court physician, Shinjaku-bō took her care upon himself, first by employing herbal remedies, then by performing incantations while spending the night at her bedside. It's noteworthy that, even on the only occasion in which we see Shinjaku-bō perform rituals, this is paired with other therapeutic modalities. In this case, he

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[107] For general discussions of Butsugon, see for instance Obara, 'Butsugon-bō Shōshin to sono shūhen'; and the classic study by Ōya Tokujō, 'Butsugon to *Jūnen gokuraku iōshū*'. In English, see the brief biographical sketch in Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 303. Notice, however, that none of these studies focuses on Butsugon specifically as a healer.

uses herbalism and something unidentified called *sunryū*.

The fact that Shinjaku-bō didn't, as a rule, perform rituals on behalf of Teika doesn't mean, however, that Teika disregarded ritual as a form of healing or protection. We have ascertained this through a brief examination of his relationship with Jūshin-bō and Kōshin-bō, monks on whom he relied for body-protecting (*goshin*) rituals and precept conferrals. Within the two-tiered structure of protection and healing that Teika developed around himself, the *ijutsu* of Shinjaku-bō played a crucial role, as demonstrated by the frequent interactions between the two men, both in terms of in-person visits and epistolary exchanges. The very limited information we have on Shinjaku-bō makes it impossible to contextualize his relationship with Teika within the broader social and cultural context of early medieval Japan. There are, however, a few considerations that I would like to add on the basis of what we do know.

Shinjaku-bō embodied aspects, some old and some new, that were esteemed and sought-after by members of aristocratic families in early medieval Japan. The Buddhism we see embodied in Shinjaku-bō is quite different from that of doctrinal writings and sectarian narratives; it is deeply ingrained in the daily life of his patrons, and has concrete aspects of quotidian existence as its foci. It deals with diseased bodies, plants, pustules and needles, and not merely with soteriological discourses and otherworldly concerns. In this dimension, it is also quite different from forms of 'Buddhist medicine' that have in recent years attracted the attention of scholars of Buddhism and historians of medicine.

While there is no doubt that these studies have enriched our understanding of what Buddhist specialists did and thought concerning bodies and the maladies that afflicted them, it's also clear that there is a gap between several of these discourses, ritual innovations, and reframings, and the actual practice of monks who engaged with patients on a daily basis. I think it is under this perspective that Shinjaku-bō's therapeutic activities and his relationship with Teika shed new light on how some Buddhist actors interacted with their patrons and patients. For instance, recent studies have noted that monks from the Jimon branch of the Tendai school were engaged, roughly during the same time frame under discussion, in a refashioning of

moxibustion into a tool capable of dealing with demonic entities within a complex ritual framework.[108] This, however, stands in stark contrast with how a monk like Shinjaku-bō employed moxibustion, which is practical and straightforward, to the extent that the entries in *Meigetsuki* that deal with moxibustion are almost indistinguishable from one another. It is clear, then, that while an emphasis on discourses about the body is a necessary corrective to a study of Buddhism that had too often disregarded them, a microhistorical level of analysis shows dynamics at work that aren't otherwise visible. It might be tempting, in fact, to conclude that Buddhist monks were sometimes preferred to court physicians in the practice of moxibustion because of the ritual layers they had applied to that therapeutic tool, and such a conclusion would be supported by the existence of the aforementioned Jimon liturgies. It's important to emphasize, however, that there is no evidence that these liturgies were ever put into practice in the period in question, and that the moxibustion practiced by Shinjaku-bō is very conspicuously not ritualized.[109]

Other forms of Buddhist contributions to healing on which scholars have focused are large scale rituals carried out for members of the imperial family, and over time, other high ranking aristocratic clans. In two now classic studies, the Japanese scholars Hayami Tasuku and Yamashita Katsuaki traced the emergence of a process of appropriation by some of the highest echelons of the court of an arsenal of apotropaic rituals that were originally monopolized by the state, embodied in the figure of the *tennō* 天皇,[110] focusing respectively on

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[108] On this ritual use of moxibustion, see in particular Macomber, 'Ritualizing Moxibustion', 194–242.

[109] Macomber's research shows that these works enjoyed a certain degree of popularity within monastic circles and survive in several copies ('Ritualizing Moxibustion', 200–02), but the relationship between the production of ritual texts and practice needs to be further clarified. In the same article, see also his discussion of possible borrowings between the writings of court physicians and those of Buddhist monks; in particular 220–22.

[110] Still today the title of Japanese monarchs, *tennō* is most commonly translated as 'emperor'. Some scholars of premodern Japanese history have questioned

Buddhist and *onmyōdō* rituals.[111] Many of these rituals specifically dealt with personal welfare, provided protection from illness, or aided recovery from maladies caused by certain etiological agents. Some of these rituals were large-scale affairs that involved the mobilization of numerous ritual actors: various specializations of Buddhist monks, but also representatives of other ritual regimes, such as *onmyōji*. A recent English study has extensively studied one of these rituals, the *rokujikyō hō* 六字経法 (ritual of the six-syllable sūtra), a particularly complex and choreographed healing ritual attested from the eleventh century.[112]

Buddhist healing rituals of this type were, needless to say, very important. But they don't tell the whole story when it comes to the locus of Buddhist healers in early medieval Japan. There is, first of all, an issue of scale: an emphasis on them, for instance, runs the risk of effacing personal relationships or prioritizing the exceptional over the quotidian. This is where a microhistorical approach comes to our aid. In our analysis of Shinjaku-bō, we have seen that he was portrayed performing incantations one time; but other than that instance, his relationship with Teika is founded on regular epistolary communications, frequent in-person meetings, and common interests that included, among others, plants, poetry, and gossip. This is not to say, of course, that Shinjaku-bō wasn't a skilled healer. He mastered some of the therapeutic modalities that were most in demand at the time, such as moxibustion, which, as I have mentioned before, seems to have become popular in the decades preceding the events described in this paper. He also knew plants very

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the suitability of that translation for premodern contexts, for instance on the basis of its gendered nature (in ancient Japan there were, in fact, several female *tennō*) and the fact that it seems to designate a polity based on military conquest; see, for example, Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*. Some scholars have proposed alternative translations, such as 'heavenly sovereign', but I have left it untranslated in this paper.

[111] See Hayami, *Heian kizoku shakai to bukkyō*, 1–145; and Yamashita, *Heian jidai no shūkyō bunka to onmyōdō*, 21–97.

[112] Lomi, 'Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw-Dolls'.

well—he knew how to graft them, but he also knew how to produce decoctions and ointments with them, some of which possess, as far as we can tell, marks of originality. Understanding why Teika would resort to the services of someone like Shinjaku-bō rather than the physicians from the Bureau of Medications, in my opinion requires an understanding of these more quotidian, intimate aspects.

If discourses and theories on etiology, treatment, and ritual are all important pieces of that jigsaw puzzle we might call 'Buddhist medicine', the work won't be complete unless we also look more closely at the relationships between patients and healers, relationships that in the period in question often went well beyond the 'clinical' moment. We may know little about Shinjaku-bō, but we know a great deal about the way he interacted with one of his most notable patients. The study of his therapeutic practices and his relationship with Teika returns to us vivid images of a relationship between 'doctor' and 'patient' that is nuanced and fascinating in its complexity, and at times even touching. The study of more relationships like this will undoubtedly shed further light on what we call 'Buddhist medicine', and of the ways in which Buddhist monks partook in the daily lives of their patrons and patients, and how they were able to secure and maintain their support.

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