Heruman Bushofu: Tsūfū ni kansuru shousaina
kenkyū oyobi sono kakujitsu-na chiryōhō to
kikime no aru yakuzai ni tsuite : Yōroppa ni
okeru kyūjutsu ni kansuru hatsu no chosho

Michel, Wolfgang
Faculty of Languages and Cultures, Kyushu University : Professor : History of Euro-Japanese
Cultural Exchange

Michel-Zaitsu, Wolfgang

http://hdl.handle.net/2324/2936

出 版 情 報： 言 語 文 化叢書. 3, pp.1-118, 2003-03-20. Faculty of Languages and Cultures, Kyushu
University, Fukuoka (Japan)
バージョン：
権利関係：
ヘルマン・ブショフ: 病風に関する詳細な研究及び
その確実な治療法と効き目のある薬剤について
ヨーロッパにおける灸術に関する初の著書
（1676年英語版）

ヴォルフガング・ミヒェル 編著
九州大学大学院言語文化研究院
Wolfgang Michel (ed.): Hermann Buschoff, The gout, more narrowly searcht, and found out; together with the certain cure thereof. London 1676.

Kyushu University, Faculty of Languages and Cultures, Fukuoka-City, Languages and Cultures Series III, 2003.
言語文化叢書Ⅲ
Languages and Cultures Series

ヘルマン・ブショップ

痛風に関する詳細な研究及びその確実な
治療法と効き目のある薬剤について

ヨーロッパにおける灸術に関する初の著書（1676年英語版）

ヴォルフガング・ミヒェル編著

九州大学大学院言語文化研究院
2003年
目次

ヘルマン・ブショフの生涯と著作について
プショフ以前のヨーロッパ人が観察した経験 1
ヘルマン・プショフの生涯 5
プショフが体験した「もぐさ」 11
プショフの著作 13
『通風の詳細な解明およびその確実な治療薬』の内容 16

THE GOUT, MORE NARROWLY SEARCHT, AND FOUND OUT; TOGETHER WITH THE CERTAIN CURE THEREOF
To the Reader 24

FIRST PART
Chap. I  Of the Gout, and what it is 30
Chap. II Of the inward Tumour of the Gout, and how it is mostly invisible 34
Chap. III Of the next and always concomitant Cause of the Gout 36
Chap. IV Of the Qualities of the damps that cause the Gout 40
Chap. V Of the Part affected, and Seat of the Gouty matter 43
Chap. VI That the Gout is a general Disease of the lumbs, receiving its denomination from that limb which it seizes on; together with the place in which the Gouty matter is bred 46
Chap. VII How, and through which ways, the Gouty matter
comes to the Limbs 47
Chap. VIII  Of the Expelling Part 48
Chap. IX  Of the Diagnosticks, or Signs of the Gout 51
Chap. X  Of the Symptoms of the Gout 53
Chap. XI  Of the external Serous Tumor, which often manifests it self in the Gout 54
Chap. XII  Of the Dislocation 58
Chap. XIII  Of the Nodes 59

SECOND PART
Chap. I  Treating of the Cure of the Gout, in general 61
Chap. II  That the Gout is curable by Burning with Moxa 62
Chap. III  How, and for what this Remedy is used 63
Chap. IV  What Moxa is, and where to be had 64
Chap. V  Directing how this Remedy is to be used 65
Chap. VI  What is to be done after the Burning upon the places where it hath been made? 67
Chap. VII  Of the admirable Effects of this Caustick 69
Chap. VIII  Shewing, that this Burning with Moxa goes beyond all other Remedies of Europa hitherto used against the Gout 70
Chap. IX  Shewing, that this Burning is very tolerable 75
Chap. X  Of the Qualification required in the person that is to perform this Burning 76
Chap. XI  Of the little Aromatick sticks, and their Use 77
Chap. XII  Of the Place where the Burning is to be made 78
Chap. XIII  Treating of the mischiefs, inconveniences, and dangers of the Burning misused 81
Chap. XIV  Of the Serous swellings of the Gout, bred by accident, and the Cure of them 82
Chap. XV  Of the Nodes and Stony Tumors, and their Cure 83
Chap. XVI  Whether there be different sorts of the Gout, and an
Essential difference betwixt them 85
Chap. XVII Means useful to prevent the Gout 85
Chap. XVIII Of the Tooth-ach or the Gout of the Teeth, and the Cure thereof 86

APPENDIX CONCERNING THREE REMARKABLE OBSERVATIONS

Observation I About the Removal of the Faling-Sickness by our way of Burning with Moxa 91
Observation II Concerning the Cure of a Mad Female-Slave, by the Burning with Moxa 92
Observation III Touching a Strange Catalepsis or Stiffness cured by the Moxa 94

参考文献 95
索引 107
目次

ヘルマン・プショップの生涯と著作について
プショップ以前のヨーロッパ人が観察した炎術 1
ヘルマン・プショップの生涯 5
プショップが体験した「もぐさ」 11
プショップの著作 13
『通風の詳細な解明およびその確実な治療薬』の内容 16

THE GOUT, MORE NARROWLY SEARCHT, AND FOUND OUT; TOGETHER WITH THE CERTAIN CURE THEREOF
To the Reader 24

FIRST PART
Chap. I  Of the Gout, and what it is 30
Chap. II Of the inward Tumour of the Gout, and how it is mostly invisible 34
Chap. III Of the next and always concomitant Cause of the Gout 36
Chap. IV Of the Qualities of the damps that cause the Gout 40
Chap. V Of the Part affected, and Seat of the Gouty matter 43
Chap. VI That the Gout is a general Disease of the lumbs, receiving its denomination from that limb which it seizes on; together with the place in which the Gouty matter is bred 46
Chap. VII How, and through which ways, the Gouty matter
comes to the Limbs 47
Chap. VIII Of the Expelling Part 48
Chap. IX Of the Diagnosticks, or Signs of the Gout 51
Chap. X Of the Symptoms of the Gout 53
Chap. XI Of the external Serous Tumor, which often manifests it self in the Gout 54
Chap. XII Of the Dislocation 58
Chap. XIII Of the Nodes 59

SECOND PART
Chap. I Treating of the Cure of the Gout, in general 61
Chap. II That the Gout is curable by Burning with Moxa 62
Chap. III How, and for what this Remedy is used 63
Chap. IV What Moxa is, and where to be had 64
Chap. V Directing how this Remedy is to be used 65
Chap. VI What is to be done after the Burning upon the places where it hath been made? 67
Chap. VII Of the admirable Effects of this Caustick 69
Chap. VIII Shewing, that this Burning with Moxa goes beyond all other Remedies of Europa hitherto used against the Gout 70
Chap. IX Shewing, that this Burning is very tolerable 75
Chap. X Of the Qualification required in the person that is to perform this Burning 76
Chap. XI Of the little Aromatick sticks, and their Use 77
Chap. XII Of the Place where the Burning is to be made 78
Chap. XIII Treating of the mischiefs, inconveniences, and dangers of the Burning misused 81
Chap. XIV Of the Serous swellings of the Gout, bred by accident, and the Cure of them 82
Chap. XV Of the Nodes and Stony Tumors, and their Cure 83
Chap. XVI Whether there be different sorts of the Gout, and an
Essential difference betwixt them 85
Chap. XVII  Means useful to prevent the Gout 85
Chap. XVIII  Of the Tooth-ach or the Gout of the Teeth, and the
  Cure thereof 86

APPENDIX CONCERNING THREE REMARKABLE
  OBSERVATIONS
Observation I  About the Removal of the Faling-Sickness by
  our way of Burning with Moxa 91
Observation II  Concerning the Cure of a Mad Female-Slave,
  by the Burning with Moxa 92
Observation III  Touching a Strange Catalepsis or Stiffness
  cured by the Moxa 94

参考文献 95
索引 107
ヘルマン・ブショップの生涯と著作について

西洋医学が日本に及ぼした影響についてはさまざまな研究がなされているが、東洋医学がすでに16世紀後半からヨーロッパで受容されていたことは、ニーダム、魯桂珍や、その他の専門家でさえ認識していない。興味深いことに、中国が東へ進出するヨーロッパ人と接触を拒否していたため、「中国医学」と西洋人の最初の出会いの場は中国ではなくその周辺の国々であった。本論文で検討するお灸の場合もそうであった。もっとも古い記述は日本で活躍していたイエズス会士が残しているし、また、「もぐさ」（Moxa）という名称をヨーロッパにもたらしたのもバタビアの牧師ヘルマン・ブショップ（Hermann Buschhoff, 1620?-74）であった。彼の名前は、多くの先行研究に見られるが、その生涯および著作の内容についてはほとんど触れられていな

ブショップ以前のヨーロッパ人が観察した灸術

今日残っているお灸についての最初の記述は1584年1月6日付け、ポ

ルトガルのコインブラにあるコレジオの院長、ミゲル・デ・ソウサ（Miguel de Sousa）に宛てた書簡の中に見られる。その中で、日本からマカオへ戻ったロレンソ・メヒカ（Lourenço Mexica）神父が日本列島の土地と人々について、とりわけ、日本人の体調について詳細に述べている:

「一般に日本人は非常に健康で、これは非常に温暖で健康的な気候による。彼らは小食で、病因となりやすい冷水を飲まない。病気になっても、ほとんど薬を用いず短期間で快復する。彼らの習慣では、腹や腕、背中などが病気になった時はいつも銀製の鍍を刺す。同時に薬草から作った火のボタンも用いる。彼らの眠りは非常に浅く短く、そのためお茶を飲む。」

この書簡は1598年、有名な日本布教の書簡集で発表された。2 「火のボタン」（botão de fogo）についての記述は、以前からヨーロッパへ送られたようである。しかし「火のボタン」は本来、けがの治療や体内的汚物を出すための化膿を引き起こすことに用いられた、先が尖った焼きごてのことだったので、上記のような書簡の読者の間にさまざまな誤解を惹き起こしたことは容易に想像できる。そのためか、著名なルイス・フロイス（Luis Frois）は、その『日本教会史』（Historia do Japão）の序文で多少の説明を付け加えざるを得なくなっている:

「眼またはリュウマチを患っている病人を治療するのに、3、4 手の火のボタンを身体につけると書かれた（場合にも）同様の（ことが言い得る）。それは日本では非常に一般的なことであって（よほど）話割引いて、解してもらいたい。というのは、その火のボタンとは、当地では、乾いた（空白アリ）を豆粒もしくは大型の柚榴粒くらいの小球にしたもので、その上部に点火し、肉体の上に置き、すべて燃え（尽す）まで火をつけた（ままに）する。それは非常に手軽なことで、同じ場所に15か20個置いておくと、その箇所の肉はすでに厳しく鍛

2 Cartas, P. II, lib. 1, fol. 123v
えられているから、それ以上（置いても）ほとんど疼痛を感じなくなる。したがってそれらは私たち（ヨーロッパ人が言うような）「烙鉄」のごときものではない。私自身、その日本のを試みたことがあって、種々の疼痛や眼病のために3000個以上、背中や膝に（その小球を）置いたのであった。」

同じく1585年にフロイスが著した『欧日比較文化論』では、ヨーロッパ人は治療のため溜血を行うが、日本人は草による火のボタンを用いる、と記されている。

その後1601年にパルセロナで、東アジアでの布教の状況を紹介する『フィリピン諸島と王国としての中国、[…]及び日本の歴史』が刊行されている。著者のフランシスコ会士マルセロ・デ・リバデネーラ（Marcello de Ribadeneira）は、日本では漢籍を用いる医師が多いと報告し、さらに次のように述べている：

「彼らは小さな火のボタンを用い、これを痛む場所に置く。たとえば腹や背中に置いて、米について来た虫を追い出す。こうして絹毛のような小さな玉で肉を焼き、水泡を作る。この方法でいただいての病気は軽くなり、これは病気は全て冷えることが原因だからだ、と言う。」

1603年に長崎で印刷された『日葡辞書』（Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam. Nangasaqui 1603.）では初めて「もぐさ」という言葉が現れた。ここで、もぐさとヨモギは「火のボタン」を作るための薬草として説明され（Mogusa. Erua

3 Schurhammer, Voretzsch, p.9; 松田・川崎、p.81-82.
4 Frois, Chap.9, No.2; フロイス、p.587; 改題『ヨーロッパ文化と日本文化』、p.131.
5 Ribadeneira, p.324f.: Tambien acostumbran botones de fuego, dándolos en la parte adonde sienten el dolor, y en la barriga y espalda para las lombrices, que crián muchas con el arroz, y con esta medicina cautelizando con unas pelotillas corno de borra que queman y las aplican a la carne, hasta que hacen llaga y sienten notable provecho con este remedio para muchas enfermedades, porque dicen que cualquiera mal que sea nace de estar resfriado. Y como los japones se mantienen de manjares de tan poca sustancia, aunque tienen brió estando sanos y muestran aspecto de hombres mejor mantenidos, en dándoles cualquier dolor de cabeza o enfermedad, no tienen ánimo. Usan mucho de médicos y de medicinas.
この祭りはこの[陰暦]5月の初めに始まり5日に終わる。その日が明日にあたり、中国でも日本でも重要な日となる。この日には、午前中に家の軒全体を緑色の葛蒲（又はヨモギ）で覆う。これには緑色の別の草を混ぜるが、これはそれから1年間を通して保存し、乾かして小さな火縄を作る。足でも腕でもその他の場所でも痛みを感じたら、滝血をする代わりにこれで身体を焼く。つまり、私たちが通常、病人に滝血を施すように、彼らはこの草を燃やすのが常であり、この日に清めたものが最良だとされている。」 [1617年5月28日 = 元和3年5月4日] 

次の記述はオランダの東インド会社の関係者によるものである。ロンドンでRoyal Society for The Promotion of Natural Knowledgeの事務長を勤めたドイツ人ヘインリヒ・オルデンブルク（Heinrich Oldenburg）は、1660年代、アジアで長年過ごしたある匿名の人物に日本についての質問状を送り、フランス語で回答を得ている。この人物については東インド会社の資料により明らかになった。デン・ハーグ出身の商人エルンスト・ヴァン・ホーヘンフック（Ernst van Hogenhoek）で、1648年以降にバタヴィアに着き、出島商館の日記には1652年から1662年の間、たびたび言及されている

6 Vocabulario, fol.164v.
7 Vocabulario, 323v (Yomogui. Erua de que se fazem botões de fogo. No Ximo se diz, Futçu), fol.112r (Futçu. Erua com que se dão botoens de fogo. X. [...] No Cami se diz Yomogui), fol.201r, 316v, 338r.
8 Cocks, p.81; イギリス商館長日記, p.752.
その後、中国での交渉にも同行した。9

1669年7月、協会の機関誌「Philosophical Transactions」に英語で発表されたヴァン・ホーヘンフックの問答10には日本人の健康と医学について触れている箇所も含まれている。そこでは以下のような指摘が興味深い：

「日本人はヨモギの粉をある木綿の上に散らし、それを体のある

神経の上に置いて火を付けるような焼き付け方をする。」11

上記の例が示すように、灸術についての情報はニーダムなどの著者が推測したよりも遙か以前からヨーロッパへ伝わっていた。東アジアにいたヨーロッパ人はこの療法についてさまざまな観察を行っていたこともわかる。しかしながら彼らが残した記述はたいてい短く、多種多様な分野に散らばってい

たので、それらの情報に対する反応はなかったようである。お灸を本格的に

紹介した歴史的名誉は、オランダ人のヘルマン・ブショップに与えられる。

ヘルマン・ブショップの生涯

ブショップの生涯については断片的な資料しか残っていない。父ベルナルト

(Bernard)は牧師で1612年からオーデン（Ooien）で任に就き、16

17年にはズーレン（Zoelen）、1618年にはユトレヒトに移り、163

9年12月に没している。彼は詩人として小冊子『新しい贅沢歌及び宗教歌

』（Nieuwe lof-sangen en geestelyke liedekens）を遺している。12 『東インドの

牧師名辞典』によれば、息子ヘルマンは1620年にユトレヒトで生まれた

9 ホーヘンフックの生涯と彼による日本についての記述の詳細はMichel(2002)を参照。

10 1672年にはドイツ語訳も発表された(Arnold, p.358ff.)

11 Philosophical Transactions, Vol. IV (London, July 1669), p.984: There are many

Medicinal waters, and Hott Springs there, which the Inhabitants use in their distempers.

They have particular Medicines; but they let no Blood. They make much use of Causticks, by

applying upon some Nerve or other the powder of Artemisia or Mugwort, and Cotton, which

they set on fire. They always drink their liquors warme. 全文については

Michel(2002)を参照。

12 BWN II, 3, p.1649; NNBW, VI, p.241.
とされるが、13 ウトレヒト大学の学生名簿に彼の名はようやく 1650年に
なってから現れる。14 ライデン大学でも学業を続けたことになっているが、
その名簿には名前が見当たらない。いずれにせよ、ヘルマンは1642年に
はズーレンで聖職志願者（proponent）に任命された。今日でも改革派教会の
壁飾りに彼の名前を見ることができる。1653年、同じヘルデルランクトの
クレムボルフ（Culemborg）に転任になり、ブショフ的人生に転機が訪れる。
異教徒を教えるという思いに駆られたのか、旅愁、それとも逃避であったの
か、いずれにしても、彼がなぜ東方に赴いたのか不明である。

ブショフは1654年10月5日、アムステルダムでオランダ東インド会
社（Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC）の牧師として応募した。彼は改
革派教会のアムステルダム支部の委任で、フェニックス号に船室を与えられ
、1654年12月10日にテクセルを出港した。15 パタピアへの航海は長
く、危険を伴っていたため、会社は1651年4月から喜望峰に基地を置いて
いた。フェニックス号はここに1655年4月3日、錨を下ろし、水と食
料を補給し、病人に少しの休養を与え、船を修理した。偶然、3日後には指
揮官ファン・リーベーク（Van Riebeek）がここに基地を置いた3周年を祝い
、ブショフはその記念の礼拝を執り行う名誉に与った。16 その月の14日、
フェニックス号は船団の他の船よりも1日早く出航し、ブショフは約2ヶ月
後の1655年6月19日にようやくパタピアに着いた。17

同年の7月14日、ブショフはタイワンへ送られた。18 会社は272の
村に住む約5万人の原住民を支配下に置いており、特に西海岸と南海岸にあ

13 BWOP. また、ウトレヒトの市公文書館に照会したところ、ヘルマン・ブショフの
名は1612年以降の洗礼記録にはなく、そのためこれよりも以前に生まれたと思われる。
14 Album studiorum Academiae Lugduno Bataviae 1575-1875. ’s-Gravenhage 1875. これ
はウトレヒト大学図書館 E.H.A. Rutgers 氏の指摘による。
15 この渡航に関して全ての船名と資料はBruijn, Gaastra, Schöffer et al., p.118f. を参照
。
16 BWOP 参照。
17 BWOP 参照。また Valentijn, Boek 5/6, Deel 4, 8. Stuk, p.52。
18 Valentijn, Boek 5/6, Deel 4, 8. Stuk, p.52。17世紀の台湾についてはIlha Formosa及
びCampbellを参照。
る部族に、キリスト教の教えと読み書きをオランダ人教師によって教えさせていた。この「文明化政策」は順調にすすめられたが、タイオワンの熱帯気候では兵士や教師はばたばたと病死してしまった。

前年から4人の聖職者の派遣を要請したタイオワンの総督コルネリス・セサル（Cornelis Caesar）は、1655年11月19日に彼らの到着を確認している。ブショップはスーラン（Soulang）、パクロアン（Bakloan）と、総督府の北にあるテフォラン（Tevorang）地方を担当することになった。1648年と1650年の間、タイオワンに測量士として駐留していたドイツ人カスパル・シュマルカウデン（Caspar Schmalkalden）は、牧師たちが交代でゼーランディアの礼拝を行い、毎月担当の村に赴き、学校を視察し、老人を問いただし、新生児に洗礼を授けなければならなかった、と旅行記の中で書いている。ブショップの教区についてモンタヌス(Arnoldus Montanus)は否定的な言葉しか見出していない。スーランの村には「乞食のような、みすぼらしい、役立たずの、いわば人殺しのような人間」が住んでいる。彼らの土地は豊かだが、生活に必要なだけしか耕作しない。時には怠惰のために損をすることもある。シュマルカウデンも同調している。ブショップは、プロテスタントの労働倫理には見向きもしないこの人々への布教には大いに関心を持っていた。1656年8月14日の報告書で、原住民は、彼らには理解できないシンカン方言（Sinkan、新港）で授業を受けており、そのためキリスト教についてはあまり知られていない、と嘆いている。

おそらく彼はパタビアとゼーランディアの間でやりとりをしながら適当な授業用の言語、学校での授業内容、またオランダ人による系統的な現地語の学習などに関し
て重要な役割を演じていたと思われる。26

タイオワンは船から見ればエデンの園のように見えたが、ヨーロッパ人には犠牲を強いていた。南方の村には「毒気が漂い」、そこへ行けば「自分でもその臭いを感じる」ことができる、とシュマルカウルドンは熱帯のかび臭い瘴気を思い起こしている。「オランダ人は」、「確かに何日かは熱っぽい皮膚病に耐えなければならない」。めったにないことだが、それを生き延びた者は「持ちこたえられる」。27 彼の前任者に襲いかかった病苦からブショップも逃れることはできなかった。到着したときは健康体だったが、28 すぐに受難の道を歩むことになった。1657年1月31日の書簡によれば、彼は、南海岸の学校を間して回ったが、12日後には重病人になって帰ってきた。29 翌年の1月14日に、「牧師の疾患と急死」について嘆いていたバタビアの教会役員会は、ブショップについても触れている。30 彼は、忠実な仕事と確かな経験で教会に仕えたと、冷地オランダの高官に説明していたが、残留ながら、この地域の風土と気温は彼の身体には合わなかった。彼はほとんどいつも病気で、だいたい非常に重く、そのため転任を要請せざるを得なくなった。31 5月21日に結局彼は交代することになり、牧師のウィレム・フィンデルス（Willem Vinderus）が任に就いた。果たして彼の後任者は7月11日にはもう死んでしまった。32 タイオワン総督と議会の1657年1月19日の書簡は、ブショップがまもなくヘラクリス号で旅立つことを告げている。33 12月27日にバタビアへ着いたときには病状はいくらか良くなっていた。34

26 Campbell, p.302f. また Van Dam, p.164 も参照。
27 Schmalkalden, p.143f.
28 Campbell, p.299.
29 Coolhaas, Deel 3, p.119.
30 Van Dam, p.171.
31 Van Dam, p.173.
33 Campbell, p.312
34 Van Dam, p.173. また Valentiijn, Boek 5/6, Deel 4, 9. Stuk, p.55.
図 1 Zeelandiaの周辺

湿地帯にオランダ式の運河と水路で作ったバタビアは、タイオワンよりも健康的だったとは言いがたい。ここでも欠員が出るまでに長くはかからなかった。牧師のサムエル・テシェマケル（Samuel Tesschemaker）が死んだ後、

ブショップは後任として1658年1月24日、バタビアの5人のオランダ

人牧師に加わった。彼は自分の死を予期していたらしく、1659年12

月23日に公証人ホイスマンス（Huysmans）の前で最初の遺言を書いて

いる。1660年1月15日の文献によれば、彼はバタビア教会役員会の聖職者

としてトップの地位に就き、同年の10月には給与は130ギルダーに上

がっている。

35 Blussé, Opstall, Ts’ao の付録より。
37 Valentijn, Boek 5/6, Deel 4, 9. Stuk, p.55. また BWOP.
38 Van Dam, p.176. またBWOP.
39 BWOP 参照。
お災を讃える原稿をまとめたブショップは1674年1月30日に会社の取締役への献詞を書き終え、40息子ヘルマンにアムステルダムへ行くよう願ったが、まもなくブショップの病状は悪化した。1674年3月12日に、牧師ザス（Zas）が「病弱な」ブショップの任を勤めることに決まったことが、その病の深刻さを物語っている。41さらに、5月16日付けで夫人と共同の遺言も作成される。427月19日付けの『バタピ亞城日誌』には、彼が長患いの末に亡くなったと記されている。翌日、新教会で手厚く葬られた。43

東インド会社、ブショップの本を出版する気はなかったらしく、アムステルダムにいる弟のヨハンが動いてヤコブス社（Jacobus de Jonge）から刊行することになる。44この弟の名前は1643年に初めてユトレヒト大学の学籍簿に現れ、1649年3月15日に学位論文を提出している。45後に彼はユトレヒトで弁護士、またラテン語学校の副校長になっている。46ヨハン・ブショップはバタピアから運んだもぐさや、火を付けるために必要とされた線香も持っていた。

40 Buschof (1675), Opdracht
41 Valentijn, Boek 5/6, Deel 4, 11. Stuk, p.65.
42 Testament boek 1674, fol.73ff. (Arsip National Republik Indonesia, Djakarta). 残念ながら今日ではかなり損傷してしまっているので、内容はほとんど解読できない。
44 八つ折り版、93ページ、序文、索引、説明を含む。
45 ユトレヒト大学図書館 E. Hans Rutgers氏による。
46 Buschof (1675), p.97.
プショフが体験した「もぐさ」

祖父と同様にヘルマン・プショフは長い間足部痛風に苦しんでいた。1650年代末頃に痛みが激しくなり、バタピア在住のなじみのヨーロッパ人医
師があまり頼りにならなかったので、彼は、普段一家の奴隷たちの世話をする女医（Doctresse）を呼ぶことにした。彼女は今の大内戦の戦火市付近にあった小国「広南」（Quinam）出身であり、かつてブショップの娘のある種の喘息を治したことでブショップの信頼を得たと考えられる。その女医は「もぐさでの焼き付け」を提案したが、患者はこの「焼き付け」と最悪の想像を結びつけてそれを拒否することにした。しかししばらくすると、痛みに耐えられなくなり、その女医は再びブショップに呼ばれた。彼女は、「非常に注意深く足の患部を探った後で」、彼の足と膝に半時間の間にもぐさの小塊を約２０個置いた。効果は彼の期待をはるかに上回った。すでに治療の最中に、それまでは一晩も休めなかったブショップが気持ちよく眠り込んでしまい、２４時間後に目覚めたときは、膝と足はまだ腫れていたが、発作は治まり、何日もしないうちに仕事に戻ることができた。

西洋の定義と一致するような痛風という概念は、元々東洋医学には存在していなかった。あいまいに記された灸点から判断すると、女医はおそらく今日はBeriberi（脚気）だと診断したのだろう。しかし、中国の文献では、これは女性の場合「空の肝臓」から、男性の場合は腎臓や風、寒、熱、湿から起こる病気で、それぞれの病因によってさまざまな症状が現れるとされている：筋肉と腱がけいれんを起こす（寒）、腫れる（湿）、四肢の動きが鉄くなる（熱）、関節がふくれ、隙間が小さくなる（風）。ブショップの例からわかるように、その病が互いに異質の理論体系の中でさまざまな定義され、診断されても治療は不思議に成功したのである。

47 Wurmb, Wollzogen, p.132.
48 Buschot (1675), Voor-Reden aen den Lezer.
49 例えば、鍼灸重実記, p.181.
ブショフの著作

この劇的な治癒はブショフの頭から離れなくなった。何年もの間、彼はもうぐさの感動的な効用についてその原因を探ろうとした。50 最後にはこの研究の成果を小冊子にまとめた (『痛風の詳細な解明およびその確実な治療薬』):

Het Podagra, nader als oyt nagevorst en uytgevonden, middagsers des zelfs sekere Genesingh of ontlastend Hulp-Mittel. Door Hermanus Busschof de Oude van Utrecht, Predikant op Batavia in Oost-Indien. ’t Amsterdam, By Jacobus de Jonge, Boeckdrucker, aen de Weesper Kolck, achter ’t Koren-Meters Huys, in de Toelast, 1675.

この本に初めて目を向けたフォイヒトはさらに1674、1677、1678年版に触れているが、51 それを裏付ける証拠はまだ見つかっていない。容易に確認できるのはアムステルダムの開業医ヘンドリク・ファン・ローンホイス（Hendrick van Roonhuyse, 1625-1672）の論文と一緒に1676年に刊行された英語版である：

Two Treatises, The one, Medical, Of the Gout, And its Nature more narrowly search’d into than hitherto, together with a new way or discharging the same. By Herman Busschof Senior, of Utrecht, residing at Batavia in the East-Indies, in the service of the Dutch East-Indian Company.

The Other Partly Chirurgical, partly Medical; Containing Some Observations and Practises relating both to some extraordinary cases of Women in Travel and to some other uncommon cases of Diseases in both Sexes. By Henry van Roonhuyse, Physitian [= Physician] in Ordinary at Amsterdam. Englished out of Dutch by a careful hand. London: Printed by H.C. and are to be sold by Moses Pitt at the Chapel in St. Paul’s Churchyard 1676.

翌年にはドイツ語版も出版されたが、現存しているのはおそらくポーラン

50 Buschof (1675), Voor-Reden aen den Lezer.
ドのヴロツラフ大学及びドイツのヘルツォク・アウグスト図書館（Wolfenbüttel）の蔵書だけだろう：52

Das genau untersuchte und auserfundene Podagra Vermittelst selbst
sicher=eigenen Genügung und erlösenden Hülf=Mittels / Durch
Herrmann Busschoof den älteren von Utrecht / zu Neu=Batavien in
Ost=Indien wohnhaft / Niederländisch beschrieben / und anietzo ins
Deutsche übersetzt von einem aus dem Collegio Naturaе Curiosorum.
In Verlegung Esaiæ Fellgibels / Buchhändlers in Bréßlau. Im Jahr
1677.

1 6 9 6年の第2版はテオフィルス・ゲオルギ（Theophilus Georgi）の『図
書事典』に記載されているが、ここには1 6 7 7年の版は見当たらない。53 1
6 7 8年にフランクフルトで出版されたというラテン語版のHermanni
Busschofii Podagra proprius quam ante hâc investigata & inventaも同様である。上
記の版が全て確認できたわけではないが、ここから若干の結論を引き出すこ
とはできる。ブショップの本は医師よりも一般の読者を対象にしていたが、そ
の狙いは成功したようだ。読者にとって、それは単なる実用書の類であり、
そのため売れ行きもよかった。

しかしよく売れたのは本だけではなかった。『痛風の詳細な解明およ
その確実な治療薬』の最後でブショップの弟が、この妙薬の入手先を紹介してい
る。ブショップはもぐさの原料を明らかにしなかったため、東インド会社の「
焼き糸」（Brennwolle）は当分の間ヨーロッパで最高値をつけた。それは1
6 8 3年頃その実態が明らかになった後も続いたようである。ドイツの外科
医プアマン（Matthäus Gottfried Purmann, 1648-1711）によれば、「もぐさで奇
跡じめたこと」を起こし始めた頃、彼はアムステルダムで1ルートにつき1
2ライヒスターレルもの大金を払った。腰痛や四肢痛の患者を何人か治療し
た後にはもぐさがなくなってしまい、半ターレルで「外科医たちからほんの
少しだけ」手持ち分を買い取らなければならなかった。その後、それは以前

51 Feucht, p.3f.
52 Michel (1993)
53 AEB, Teil I, p.227. 当時の値段は1 1/2 Groschen。
ほどは使われなくなったと指摘している。54 1737年の同胞ヨーハン・クリティアン・クントマン（Johann Christian Kundmann, 1684-1751）によれば、火付けとして勧められていたアジアの線香は、アムステルダムではおよそ30年前には、「禁輸品だったため龍涎香の蝋燭という名目で」1ロートにつき3ギルダーだったが、もくさはそれよりさらに高価だった。55東インド会社の業務用書類には一般的な通称で「医薬品」とだけ記されているが、東南アジアや、あるいは日本からもくさが数年にわたってヨーロッパへ輸出されていたことは間違いない。

図 3 ブショップの「通風論」の扉絵（W・ミヒェル所蔵）

54 Purmann (1699), p.723.
『痛風の詳細な解明およびその確実な治療薬』

の内容

ブショフはまず、「痛風の実態」について説明を試みている。牧師にふさわしく彼はテオフィルス（Theophilus, een liefhebber der waerheydt）とテオデイクトゥス（Theodidactus, een leeraer off Doctor in de Heylige Schrift）との対話形式によって、Podagra論及びもぐさ論を立てていく。ブショフの考えによると、痛風は不自然で内的な骨膜の奥深く潜んだ小さな腫れで、それを引き起こすのは「乾いて冷たく、悪性の蒸気」（een drooge en koude quaedt-aerdige damp）である。この蒸気は「動脈から、心臓の排出にある、骨と骨膜の間を通って追い出さ」れる。これは関節の回りに起こり、例の蒸気がそこに関しみられ、それが非常に敏感な骨膜を広げて張りつめ、そのため激痛が走り、当該の四肢が動かせなくなる。56 痛風の腫れ（オランダ語、geswel、英語 swelling）は元々内的なもので、たいていは見えない。57 外から見える痛は症状の一種に過ぎない。58 この点では権威の多くが無力になり、病因学上の混乱をひき起こすだろうとブショフは判断している。59

この堂々たる主張で専門家の厳しい目にさらされるだろうことは、そもそも医学には素人の彼にはわかっていた。60 しかし彼はヒポクラテス（Hippocrates）、ガレノス（Galen）、（Guy de Chauliac）、パレ（Ambroise Paré）、フォン・ヒルデン（Fabricius von Hilden）、ゼネルト（Daniel Sennert）、ファン・ベーフェルヴェイク（Jan van Beverwijck）、ショリアク、バルベット（Paul Barbette）、ウィーランド（Melchior Wieland）など数々の、「旧学派」のみならず近代医学を唱える「新学派」の代表的な著書にも精通してい
た。彼の「蒸気論」に強い根拠を与えたのは特にゼネルト、ガイネリウス（Antonius Guainerius）とマテウス・デ・グラディプス（Matthaeus de Gradibus）だったが、バレについてもいくらか解釈し直している。彼がかなり多くを引用した医学書はバタビア市内の病院か、要塞の医局（medicinale winkel）にあったものと思われる。牧師としてプショップは困窮者を励ますため、その枕元に繰り返し呼ばれた。日曜日に教会に行った後も教区民と話す機会があった。また、故郷から遠く離れたバタビアでは、数少ない知識人同志の交流は緊密なものだったろうし、プショップの医学研究も医師たちと相談・議論しながら発展していったに違いがない。

興味深いことに、彼の後ろ盾になったのはヨーロッパ医学の権威だけでなく、彼が知り得た限りでは中国人の医師たち（Chinese Doctoren）も全て同一意見だった。本书の別冊の所では彼は、蒸気が痛風の病因だと初めて仮定したのは、灸の効き目を検討した時だった、と説明している。そのため、東洋医学からも重要な刺激を受けることになる。

プショップの「蒸気」（damp）は「気」を西洋風に模したものである。中国や日本などではこの気は身体の内外に存在し、極めて軽い物質で、まるでギリシアのプノイマ（pneuma）のようなものであるとしている。気は全ての動きの中に存在し、組織を守り、さまざまな変化を制御し、全てが定位置で機能するように配慮する。病気になるのは、大小宇宙の調和が妨げられたり、破壊されたりした結果であり、つまり局地的または全体的な気の不足、過多、または逆転がその原因となる。そのため、上下や内外への循環が、経絡の中で保たれることが重要である。

確かにプショップはバタビアの中国人からこのような説明を受けていた。言語上の問題以外にも、この病理学を理解するには多くの障害があった。結局、プショップは至る所で東洋医学から得たヒントを西洋医学にあわせながら、

63 Buschof (1675), p.15.
64 石田秀実『中国医学思想史』参照
その「蒸気」を「乾、寒」と特徴付け、「悪性の腐敗」と混同している。65 それぞれ「弱い暖気」により「腐った水分や血から、たいていは体内の器官」である胃、肝臓、脾臓「や頭部内でも」発生し、そこから血管を通って心臓へ運ばれる。心臓はこれを取除こうと、動脈を通してできるだけ遠くの四肢へ追いやる。66 そこでその蒸気は骨膜と骨の間に入り込み、激痛が生じる。

プショフの印象では、治療の目的は「患部に閉じ込められた蒸気を取り除き、排出させる」ことだった。68 もぐさは動脈の上に置くのが最良で、「痛みがひどく、悪性物質がまだ残っていて血液中に分かれていることを確認しておく」。それからもぐさが「悪性の物質または蒸気」を引き出すことになる。69 ここでも東洋医学の跡を見ることができる。しかしながら治療するのは血管の上ではなく、経絡の上であり、その指定された点で気をそらしたり移したりする。

灸を用いた療法の実践についてプショフは第2部で詳細に述べている。これまでヨーロッパの医師たちは知識の乏さから、さまざまな症状「（発作）を緩和して」きただけで、完治には至っていない。しかし、無害で確実なもっともぐさの焼き付けにより、これは過去の問題になり、今後は「気を落ち着け」出せるようになっている。その発痛風はまず立ち止まり、それから次第に静まり、ついに消え失せてしまう。70

日本人や中国人にはよく知られ、貢献を惜しまれないもぐさは、たいていの病気に効く。71 ウール状で柔らかく、地上で最も尊いある草から作られるが、その名はわからない。残念ながら中国人も日本人もその材料や作り方は秘密にしている。中国が薬用の草や根において隣り合った国々を凌ぐように、もぐさの製造でも抜きん出ている。彼らはもぐさを即効性の焼灼剤として

65 Busch (1675), p.16.
66 Busch (1675), p.24f.
67 Busch (1675), p.20.
68 Busch (1675), p.51.
69 Busch (1675), p.27f.
70 Busch (1675), p.50f.
四肢のあらゆる疾患に用いている。72

治療に際しては、指で極く小さな「綿の小球や小塊」に丸め、豆粒大で、上を尖らせ、下は広くして、指定された箇所に置く。白檀から作った「香りの棒」（=線香）で火を付ける。これも毎年もしぐさと一緒にアムステルダムの東インド会社で注文できる。73 その香りはやすらぎによって引き出された、臭くて悪性の痛風蒸気を完全に防いでくれる。74 中国人はもぐさを火付けにも用いる。火付きがよく、燃え尽きたた皮膚上に小さな灰色の跡が残る。治療を重ねても痛みに耐えられるのは、「素材がウール状で透明、堅くも厚くもない」からである。また、粒（popjens）も小さい。きしゃな手足には3回、かしきりしている手足には、必要な場合2〜5回までこれを繰り返す。75

後治療も東洋医学の伝統に従っている。ここで少しうぶしたニンニクを乗せ、唾液で湿らせたニンニク片を蓋にして、その上に香りの良い散剤かバジリコの葉を置く。2〜4時間後に「かさぶたが剥げかけているかどうか」を見る。水疱はハサミで切り開くが、かさぶたは自然に剥がれるまでそのままにしておく。これは暖めたオオバコの葉か、必要ならキャベツの葉で速めることもできる。76 このようにニンニクで少し化膿させる方法が、ヨーロッパの医師たちにとって非常にわかりやすかったのは、西洋でも中世から、いわゆる泉間（Fontanaella）による化膿を誘発する同様の療法が行われていたからである。

療法士にブショフが要求したのは「十分な知識」だけではなく、もぐさを誤った場所に置かない鋭い目と器用で確実な手だった。77 患部（locus dolendi）を見つけるには、「その正確な位置に至るまでその回りを」指で探らなければならない。

71 Busch (1675), p.51.
72 Busch (1675), p.53f.
73 Busch (1675), p.53f.
74 Busch (1675), p.69f.
75 Busch (1675), p.55.
76 Busch (1675), p.57f.
77 Busch (1675), p.71f., 68.
しかしブショフはヒポクラテスの原則である「患部を焼け」を知っており、その下に血管や腱があってもどこにでも焼き付けができるというとんどない結論に達してしまう。痛風の病由となる蒸気は動脈を通るので、その焼き付けは効果的でさえある。しかし不注意からあまりに長く深く焼かないようにしなければならない。さもなくとかさぶたが剥がれず、排出物が体内に留まり、深く食い込んで遂には不治の悪性潰瘍になり、麻痺してしまう。

78 Buschof (1675), p.71.
79 Buschof (1675), p.76f.
用いてはならない。この部分は実際に中国の灸点では「浮白」（VF10）、「完骨」（VF12）や「翳風」（T17）となっており、特に歯痛の際に効くとされている。しかし血管の上に置くのではなく、「足少陽膽經」や「手少陽三焦經」の上となっている。

ブショフは観察だけで満足してはいなかった。苦しむ上級外科医フランソワ・ド・レ（François de Rays）に彼は右手の包皮の上の硬性癌を焼くように勧めた。80 バタビアの鋳物工でプレッサウ出身のマルティン・シュミット（Martin Schmidt）は足部痛風に苦しんでいた。ブショフが自分で硬いこぶの上にもぐさを置くと、患者はすぐによくなり、工場へ戻って行った。目撃者である医師のトーマス・フロリ（Thomas Flory）と上級外科医ウエルネル・ラウレンティウス（Werner Laurentius）は驚いてそれを見ていた。81

論文の補遺には具体例をさらに3件記ることができる：バタビアの著名な外科医の息子が膝の腫れに苦しんでいたが、3度の焼き付けで完治した。同時にそれまで苦しんでいたかな亡くなりてしまった。

女奴隸が水死体を出て精神錯乱に陥った。ブショフの女医は彼女を固定し、髪の毛を上にまとめ、もぐさをその生え際で環を作るように置いた。彼女はすぐに眠り込み、夕方に目覚めたときは元に戻っていた。ブショフの家にいたもう一人の女奴隸は、さまざまな治療を行っても無駄に終わっていた極度の眠気をもぐさで治した。

ブショフの名は18世紀初めにはすでに忘れられていたが、彼の書が及ぼした影響は注目に値するものだった。彼が用いたMoxa（もぐさ）という語はほとんど全てのヨーロッパ語に根付いた。さらに、後になってテン・ライネ（Willem ten Rhijne）、ケンペル（Engelbert Kaempfer）、ツュンペリー（Carl Peter Thunberg）のような医師たちが日本での経験をもとに他の療法についても発表しているが、灸術は19世紀に至るまで足部痛風の主な療法であり続けたのである。

80 Buschof (1675), p.78.
81 Buschof (1675), p.10.
図 5 足部痛風と精神錯乱をもぐさで治療している様子を、ブショップの記述をもとに示した想像図（Valentini, Museum Museorum より）82

82 Valentini (1704), p.229.
Two Treatises,
The one, Medical,
Of the Gout,
And its Nature more narrowly search’d into
than hitherto, together with a
new way or discharging the same.

By Herman Busschof Senior,
of Utrecht, residing at Batavia in the
East-Indies, in the service of the Dutch
East-Indian Company [...]  

London: Printed by H.C. and are to be sold by Moses Pitt at the Angel in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1676.
To the Reader.

‘Tis now about 14 years since I laboured under an extraordinary pain in both my knees and feet, not knowing whether to turn my self for pain, having used in vain all those means by which I formerly had found some ease. After I had passed five or six weeks in those excessive pains, which sometimes, in spight of my teeth, extorted tears from my eyes, and consumed my flesh as well as my strength, keeping me in a manner always sleepless; I was perswaded to suffer an Indian Doctress to come to me, which was of Quinam,[83] (whom my Wife commonly employed for the curing of our slaves, and who also had been very succesful in recovering my only daughter [I] from a certain difficulty of breathing she had been troubled with for two years together). This Indian woman being demanded, whether she knew how to cure that painful disease which I was molested with; Answered, she did. But to tell you the truth, it was done by a way of Burning: Which means being by me rejected out of an apprehension I had of the pain that must needs accompany such a remedy; she said, that then she would prepare something to mitigate the pains I suffered, and bring me such a medicine in the afternoon; repeating still, that if I would endure the Caustick or Burning remedy, the pain should ever after stay away: But, for all that, I could not then resolve upon it.

The woman being gone, upon further consideration, I began to repent that I had refused the use of her Caustick; and thought with my self, that however this proposed

[83] クイナム（Quinam）、正確にはクアンナム（Quang Nam、広南）、現在のベトナム、フエ市の南の小国。
remedy should operate, I could feel but one pain at a time, either that of the Gout, or that [//] of the Caustick; longing to see my Doctress again; who being returned, and asked, whether she had ready her matter for the Caustick, answered smiling, she had: At the same time drawing it forth out of her pocket, and desiring me that I would suffer her to try her art and skill upon me; which having at last agreed unto, she went presently to work; having demanded a lighted candle, and solicitously search'd for that part of the place affected where the greatest pain was: And thereupon she burned with her Moxa (of which hereafter) on my feet and knees, (to my best remembrance) about twenty little Escars, which looked like little gray specks, without raising any blisters, or causing any after-pain; whereupon also all the pain of the Gout vanish'd. All this operation was finished within less than half an hour, without any bodies hearing me complain of pain. And I herewith declare, that even whilst the burning lasted, I found my self much inclined to sleep; and that in such a manner, [//] that after the operation was over, I was so overcome by sleep, that I slept very quietly near 24 hours together, without ever waking; whereas afore, by reason of the cruel pains, I had not been able to sleep at all for several days and nights together. Being awakened, I found, 'tis true, my feet and knees yet much swelled; but in a few days after I was also freed from those tumifying humours, by the little openings made by the same Caustick, so that I was able to return to the work of my vocation; most heartily thanking God Almighty for his goodness to me, and duly acknowledging the operation of this Indian woman, admiring withal the powerfulness of this remedy against so contumacious an evil, as is the Gout. There near passed full 27 months e're I heard any thing of a Gouty pain, and I began to be full of hope it would for ever have forgot and quitted me, according to the promise of my Doctress; which not long after, to my great sorrow, died. True it is, that after the time named, I had once, or at most twice [/] in one year some grudgings of that disease; but never any sore fit: Only about four years ago, when I fell into a very hot Fever of nine days continuance, without hope of life, that Fever changed, and ended in the Gout; all the pains of which, in a very short time, I freed my self from, by means of the said Caustick; so that I protest candidly, that being now in a Fever again, I long as much and more for a fit of the Gout, as I formerly was wont to dread it; knowing it to be an
argument of the strength of the heart, when a Fever determines in the Gout: Upon which score the famous Crato,[84] Physician to three Emperors, and the learned Sennertus,[85] were wont to comfort Gouty men, by telling them that this evil tended to health.

Now, from the day that I was so soon and with so slight pains cured of the Gout I have given my thoughts liberty to expatiating upon the nature of the Gout: And first of all, to call in question, whether Physitians hitherto had a right notion, and given a [//] true account of the nature and qualities of this disease: And after a rigorous enquiry into the matter, and upon the consideration of this sovereign remedy, I

[84] ヨハネス・クラフトまたはクラト（Johannes Krafft / Crato, 1519-1585）、ドイツ・ブラスラウ出身。ヴィィテンベルク大学で神学を専攻後、バドヴァ大学で医学を学び博士号取得。ブラスラウで町医者、3人の皇帝の侍医を務める。晩年はブラスラウでベストを専門とした。高等教育を受けた宗教改革信奉者としてクラトは16世紀の有名な人物の一人であった。医学において彼は生涯熱心なガレノス派であり、パラケルスス派とは対立する存在だった。重要な著作に以下のものがある。Isagoge medicinae (Venetia 1560), Ordnung und Präservations zur Pest (Breslau 1555), De morbo gallico commentarius (Frankfurt 1594), Parva ars medicinalis (Hanau 1619), Consiliorum et epistolarum medicinalium libri septem (Frankfurt 1654; 1671).
(ADB 参照)

[85] ダニエル・ゼネルト（Daniel Sennert / Sennertus, 1572-1637）、ドイツ・ブラスラウ出身。ヴィィテンベルク、ライプツィヒ、イエナ、フランクフルト・アン・デア・オーダー、ベルリンで学び、1601年、ヴィィテンベルクで博士号取得、1602年、ヴィィテンベルク大学教授に就任。彼は著書 Institutiones medicæで、ガレノスとパラケルススの教えに関連を持たせようと最初に試みた一人であったが、パラケルススの形而上学的思惟は認めなかった。自分自身の実験に基づき、すべての金属、植物、動物は、僅小の分割できない粒子から作られているとする原子論を展開した。彼の著書の多くは広く読まれていた。Institutiones medicæ et de origine animarum in brutis (Wittenberg 1611), Epitome scientiae naturalis （Wittenberg 1618）、De febris libri quatuor （Wittenberg 1619）、De consensu et disensus galenicorum et peripateticorum cum chemicis (Wittenberg 1619), De scorbuto tractatus（Wittenberg 1624）、Practicae medicinae libri VI（Wittenberg 1628-35）、Dissertatio de medicina universali et auro potabili (Wittenberg 1630), Hypomnemata physica （Frankfurt 1635）。全集は死後1645年ペニスで出版された。プッシュは論文 De arthritide を紹介しているが、この論文は1615年、1626年及び1630年に出版され、全集の複数の版にも収録されている。Danielis Sennerti Vratislaviensis [...] Operum Tomus Quintus, Quo continentur [...] De Arthritide [...] Editio Novissima. Lugduni [...] 1676, p.162-192。この著書は以下の8章から成り立っている。De Natura Arthritis, De causis Arthriticis, De signis Diagnosticis, De Prognosticio, De Indicationibus, & Curatione, De dolore Ichiadico, De ratione precaevandi Arthritidem, De Consolatione in Arthritide. ベネルトは文献的関心も示している。というのはギリシアの作家イキアノスの Podagra Tragice mit Podager, Chorus Podagricorum, Podagra, Nuncius, Duo Medici Tortores が続いていっているからである。（DSB 参照）
concluded, that this disease must needs have another immediate or proximate cause, seat, &c, than had been hitherto by any man clearly explained and proved.

Whereupon I thought good to discover to the world my thoughts of this whole matter, although at first I intended to have kept them only for my best friends and nearest relations. I think, I have herein detected some things for the improvement of Physick, and for the relief of those that are subject to this disease, which else is by most men exclaimed against as incurable; and does so disfigure many a comely person, that he seems not to be the same he was before. In the doing whereof, my design is to do good to my fellow-creatures, and to lay out this talent for their ease and comfort; as also to open a way for intelligent and studious men to search into, and [//] find out the nature not only of the Gout, but also of divers other diseases that have any affinity therewith; such as are Head-pains, Tooth-ach, Pleurisies,[86] Colick, and even the Falling-sickness[87] is self. As I shall be able, in time, if God vouchsafe me life, more clearly to make out; especially, if the truth here delivered be embraced, and this small work encouraged, and the remedy here recommended put in practice; which I heartily wish may be done according to my prescript, before it be prejudged, and rejected. [//]

---

86 Pleuris（胸膜炎、＜ギリシア語 pleura、脅腹）、当時は脅腹の痛み、「胸側面の刺すような痛み」（Zedler 参照）、現在の胸膜炎

87 癲癇
The Table of the First Part, Treating of the
Description of the GOUT.

Chap. 1. Of the Gout, and its Nature.
Ch. 2. Of the internal swelling of the Gout, and that for the most part invisible.
Ch. 3. Of the next and always accompanying cause of the Gout.
Ch. 4. Of the qualities of the Damps which cause the Gout.
Ch. 5. Of the part affected, and the seat of the Gout-making matter.
Ch. 6. That the Gout is a common disease of the limbs, taking its denomination
   from the limb it seizeth on; together with the place in which the peccant
   matter of the Gout is bred.
Ch. 7. How, and by what ways the peccant matter of the Gout comes to the
   several limbs.
Ch. 8. Of the expelling part.
Ch. 9. Of the marks of signs of the Gout. [//]
Ch. 10. Of the symptoms of the Gout.
Ch. 11. Of the external Serous swelling, which often manifests it self in the
   Gout.
Ch. 12. Of the dislocation caused by the Gout.
Ch. 13. Of Schirrus's and Nodes.

The TABLE of the Second Part, Treating of the
Cure of the Gout.

Chap. 1. Of the Cure of the Gout in general.
Ch. 2. That the Gout is curable by burning with Moxa.
Ch. 3. How this Remedy is to be used.
Ch. 4. What Moxa is, and where to be had.
Ch. 5. More particularly of the manner of the application of this Remedy.
Ch. 6. What is to be done after the burning is over.
Ch. 7. Of the admirable effects of this burning.
Ch. 8. That this way of burning goes beyond all Remedies of Europe, against the
   Gout. [//]
Ch. 9. That this kind of burning is very tolerable.
Ch. 10. Of the qualifications requisite in the person that shall perform this operation.

Ch. 11. Of the Aromatick sticks to be used in this operation.

Ch. 12. Of the place where this burning is to be made.

Ch. 13. Of the inconveniences and dangers attending a faultive operation.


Ch. 15. Of the Nodes and stony Tumors, and their Cure.

Ch. 16. Whether there be divers sorts of the Gout, and whether there be an essential difference betwixt them.

Ch. 17. Of the means conducive to prevent the Gout.

Ch. 18. Of the Gout of the Teeth, and its Cure.

An Appendix.

Of three very remarkable Cases. [// p.1]
THE GOUT,
More narrowly
SEARChT, and FOUND out;
Together with
The certain CURE thereof.

CHAP. I.

Of the Gout, and what it is.

_Theoph._ I Have understood with joy, Theodidactus, that you have a singular opinion of the Gout, its Cause, Seat, Passages and Ways; as also, that you know the true and genuine Remedy against this cruel Disease, which is also come to your door, no less than [//p.2] it had assaulted your Father and Father-in-Law, who were so grievously tormented therewith, that they became altogether helpless, and were so spent and consumed thereby, that before they arrived to any considerable old age, they fell into their graves. Whereas I see you, to admiration, advanced to so great an age, and in so much vigour, as if you had never known or had any Podagrical person in your Family, or among your Relations, or had never been subject your self to that merciless disease. Hence it is, that I most heartily intreat you, that you would be pleased to explain this matter to me, according to the good inclinations, which I have always perceived in you, of doing good to your Neighbour.

_Theodid._ My dear Theophilus, although in doing this I step somewhat out of my Vocation; yet Christian charity constricts me to comply with your desires herein, and 10: to consine this knowldg of mine to my particular Friends and Relations; on
condition only, that at this time you do ask me to more questions, that what shall be pertinent to make us come to the knowledge of the Gout and the Remedy thereof.

Theoph. I most kindly thank you for your goodness, and promise you to contain my self within the bounds prescribed.

Theodid. Very well; be pleased therefore to propose your questions in that order, and I shall answer you to the best of my knowledge.

Theoph. To recover gouty persons, and to free them from their pains (without which all the blessings of this life are insignificant,) what is above all things necessary?

Answ. To have a thorough knowledge of the Disease and of the true Remedy thereof; both which are equally necessary, insomuch that the one without the other is not valuable.

Quest. Why is it, that for accomplishing a happy Cure, there is first of all required a well-grounded knowledge of the Disease? 

Ans. Because tis impossible to cure a disease according to Art, if the nature thereof be hid from the Artist: And the want of this is the chief reason, why the care and pains taken by so many learned Physicians hath proved so ineffectual in the Gout.

Qu. What then are the Requisites to attain to the true knowledge of this Disease?

Ans. There is required a solid knowledge of these following particulars:

1. Of the next and ever-concomitant Cause of the Gout.
2. Of the Seat of this Evil.
3. Of the Part affected.
4. Of the Ways and Passages, through which this Evil takes its course.
5. What are the inseparable signs thereof?
6. What Symptoms commonly accompany it?
7. That the Symptoms of this Disease be rightly distinguished.

If you err not in these main points, you are in the right way of arriving to a happy cure of this Malady.

Qu. Do you understand by the name of Gout, all pain in the Limbs?

Ans. No; but that pain which in sharpness and fierceness exceeds all other, and that
which I mean to describe.

*Qu.* To let pass the name of the Gout, pray give me a full and plain description of the Disease itsel?  

*Ans.* The Gout is a preternatural, inward, deep-lurking, and for the most part invisible little swelling within in the periosium, that is, the membrane that enwarrants all Bones;\(^8\) caused from a dry and cold ill-natured damp or vapor, which out of the arteries, by the expelling vertor of the heart, is driven out into the place that is between the bone and the periosium, for the most part into such Limbs of the Body as are about the Joints; in which this vapor being and remaining impacted and inclosed, and distending that most sensible membrane, produces those violent and intollerable pains, whereby the motion of those Limbs is incumbred and dispoiled, and many other grievous accidents occasioned.

*Qu.* Doth this description differ much from that which hath been hitherto delivered of this Disease?  

*Ans.* It doth: Whence it is, that I exceedingly apprehend, I shall incur sharp censures from many.

*Qu.* But let this pass; let us weigh rather your description in its principal parts. And, First, I do remember, that you make the Gout to be a preternatural swelling; whereby you doubtless imply, that the Gout is a Disease wherein violence is done to nature in some part or other of the Body. But this is a novelty to me, that you add. viz.\(^9\) that it is an inward deepplurking, and for the most part invisible little swelling, and that that swelling is caused by a damp, &c. intreating you, that you would vouchsafe to express this more plain, and to render reasons thereof. And first, why you call it an internal and deepplurking tumor? \(^{[//p.6]}\)

*Ans.* The better to distinguish it from other windy swellings, in respect of its seat: For, whereas those other lye between the flesh and skin, this lies deep, underneath the membrane that covers the bone; as hereafter shall be more largely proved.

*Qu.* But why do you add, that it is a little and mostly invisible swelling?  

*Ans.* Because it is so indeed.

---

\(^8\) Physitian = physician  
\(^9\) 骨膜、Periost （<ギリシア語 osteon、骨）  
\(^{90}\) viz. = videlicet、すなわち
Qu. But pray, Sir, take care that you run not against sense, out of a blind zeal of producing a novelty. For, is not the tumor which namifests it self in the Gout, big and conspicuous enough?

Ans. You do not distinguish between the Disease it self and the Symptom, which is the stumbling stone of many even learn'd men. And the want of this very distinction seems to me to have been the main, if not the only obstacle, why they have not lighted upon the true cause of the Gout, and why they have taken quid pro quo? [//p.8]

Qu. What then is to be done, not to mistake herein?

Ans. You must ever make a difference between the swelling, which is caused by the morbific gouty matter, and that which is consequent to the Gout; and this is to be laid as a fundamental Truth, never to be remov'd, viz. That the humour, which makes the external palpable and visible swelling in the Gout, is not the Gout or dolorifisque matter. Which are not so much my words, as the words of that famous Physitian of Dort, called John Van Beverwyck91, deliver'd by him in his Book of the Gout, and which he hath borrow'd out of the description of that disera, which that learned and experienced Professor of Physick92 at Wittenberg, Daniel Sennertus, left behind him. Which also is the reason that I shall place that aqueous and serous tumor amongst the symptoms of the Gout; where also it is to be handled, and not here, where we speak

---

91 ヨハン・ファン・ベーヴェルヴェイク（Johan / Jan van Beverwijk / Beverovicius, 1594-1647）。1611年からライデン、カエン、パリ、モンペリエ、後にパドヴァで学ぶ。パドヴァのヒエロニムス・ファブリキウス・アブ・アクアベンデンテ（Hieronymus Fabricius ab Acquapendente / Fabrizio d'Acquapendente）のもとで博士号取得。パドヴァからポローニャへ移り、クラウディーニ（Claudini）とバルトレット（Bartholett）のもとで学問を続ける。さらにスイス、ドイツ、ベルギーへ旅を続け、1625年、故郷のドルドレヒトで町医者及び教授となった。著作を通じて彼はヨーロッパ内で有名になる。ラテン語、低地ドイツ語の詩人としても名声を得た。1627年、市の参事官に、1629年、陪審員に就任。ドルドレヒトの利益代表としてオランダ議会に数回出席。最後には政治活動により外科部長まで引き受けることになった。1647年1月19日、ドルドレヒトの王宮教会に埋葬された。重要な著書とされるものに以下のものがある。Medicinae Encomium （Dordrecht 1633）、Epistolica quæstio de vitae termino vitali an mobili （Dordrecht 1634）、Lof der Chirurgie（Dordrecht 1635）、Idea Medicinae veterum（Leiden 1637）、Introductio ad medicinam indigenam（Dordrecht 1644）。著作として出版されたのは以下である（Alle de Wercken soo in Medicine als Chirurgye. Utrecht 1651, Amsterdam 1652, 1656, 1660, 1663）。[NNBW 参照]

92 Physick = 医学（内科学）
of the Disease itself. [//p.9]

Qu. What, is not the humor, that causes the outward and visible swelling, the Gout or dolorific matter?

Ans. No, they differ very much from one another, and may be sufficiently distinguished by those that will attentively consider.

Qu. Wherein consists this difference?

Qns. In this, that the one is the cause of the Disease, the other a symptom; which will be made very clear, when we shall come to treat of this symptom. But in part to satisfy your curiosity, pray mark the ratiocination of the lately named Beverwyck, saying in the quoted Book: That the humour which makes the swelling, is not properly the peccant matter, is from hence evident; because that in the beginning, before the part swells, the greatest pain is felt, and the same grows less, when the swelling appears. 'Tis true, that that learned man adhereth still to the opinion of the saltish Serum, affirming that it is a serous humor, pervaded by a salin [//p.10] acrimony, that causes the Gout. But herein he, as well as the great Sennertus, hath mistaken. Mean time, 'tis certain, that the external tumor is not the morbid matter itself, for the reason given; and, which is more, some podagrical persons endure great pain, without the appearance of any visible swelling.

CHAP. II.

Of the inward Tumour of the Gout, and how it is mostly invisible.

Qu. I Shall for the present rest contented with the proof alleged, until we come to the symptoms: But, when this symptomatical or accidental swelling of the Gout is present, do you then observe two sorts of swelling in this Disease, one inward, the other outward?

Ans. I do so; of which two, the first is that which I say in the description to be a swelling that is little, and for the most part invisible? [//p.11]
Qu. Why do you say so?

Ans. Because it is indeed small, and for the most part cannot be seen by the sharpest eye of the body, though it be seen by the eye of reason. For, although you outwardly perceive no swelling, you may not thence infer, that there lurks none within, forasmuch as the contrary is true in these and other swellings. See the proof hereof in a couple of observations of the skilful Physitian and Chirurgian Hildanus, in his second Part, the 37th. and 38th, concerning dangerous and desperate tumors in the muscles of the stomach, in which nothing preternatural of swelling, or other disorder could be seen outwardly.

Qu. If this tumor cannot be perceived by the eye, whence do you then know that there is an inward one?

Ans. From the violent, pungent, beating, distending, and continual pain, to be easily perceived by ones finger.

Qu. But, it seems, by what you [//p.12] intimate in the description of the Gout, that sometimes this tumor may be seen?

Ans. Yes, it may; for at times it appears plainly enough, though few Artists take it for a gouty swelling, misled by the external appearance of it, which is in the form of a small hard pimple on the place of the part affected; of which you have a manifest proof in Pareus the French Chirurgian, treating of a distemper in a young woman at

93 ファブリキウス・フォン・ヒルデン（Fabricius von Hilden / Hildanus）、もとの名はヴィルヘルム・シュミットまたはシュミッツ（Wilhelm Schmidt / Schmitz）、1560年ドイツ・デュッセルドルフ近郊のヒルデンに生まれ1634年ベルンで死去。1576年からノイスで外科を習得、その後デュッセルドルフ、メス、ジュネーブで外科医の助手を務める。1589年、故郷のヒルデンに戻るが、1594年診療所をケルンに移す。1596年以来放浪を続けるが、ようやく1602年に、スイスのヴォー州バイエルヌに町医者の職を得る。そこで彼は1610年まで活躍。その5年後ベルンの町医者になる。当時の最も傑出した外科医とされ、四肢の切断術と破石術を決定的に向上させた。また多くの外科用具を発明し、中でも最初に磁石を使って眼から金属の異物を取り除いた。彼の全書（opus omnia）は1646年フランクフルトで出版。（ABD 参照）

94 Observatio 37: Ex abscessu musculorum abdominis interius rupto, mors sequata est.; Observatio 38: Quidam abscessu desperato musculorum abdominis laborans, magna cum admiratione omnium curatus fuit. (Hild. p.146-149)

95 アンブロワース・パレ（Ambroise Paré / Paræus）、近代外科学の父・パレは1517年、ラワル近郊のブルエルサン（Bourg-Hersent）で生まれ外科医の息子として生まれる。父親の後を継ぎ、まず軍外科医として勤務し、その後、非常に早い昇進を果たしアンリ2世、シャルル9世、アンリ3世の侍医になる。パレのおかげ
Bourdeaux, that had such a tumor on her thigh; though *Pareus* doth not record it for such.

*Qu.* When may this tumor be perceived by the eye?

*Ans.* Then chiefly, when the gouty cause attacks the limbs, but in or about the middle of those places, with a boying pain, wherein nature labours as much as she can (though she be not strong enough) to expel the peccant matter. At which time, if you observe it carefully, some tumor appears, [/p.13] as was said above. This I have found not only in my self, but very notably in another, that was a young man, employed here in the Foundery of Batavia, called *Martyn Smith* of Breslaw, who having the Gout in his right foot, without a considerable afflux of humors, the evil settled on the midst of his foot, in the form of a protuberant hard pimple or button: Which I also, by the help of God, did presently cure, so that he the same hour, without any pain, went out of the house to his Work-house, which can be attestes by the Physitian *Thomas Flory*, and the chief Chirurgian *Warner Laurentius*, as eye-witnesses, that saw it with great admiration.

**CHAP. III**

**Of the next and always concomitant Cause of the Gout**

*Qu.* After you have sufficiently made out, that the gouty matter causes a swelling, for the most part invisible; be pleased to explain to us what is the next and always accompanying cause of this tumour; which to know, I think to be of great importance.

*Ans.* You judg aright; forasmuch as the Cure hath always a respect to the Cause of
the disease; and since 'tis in vain to hope for a recovery, as long as there is an error or mistake about the peccant or gouty matter. [//p.41]

Qu. Have Physicians been of one opinion herein?

Ans. No: For some have assigned the cause to be a slimy and cold humor; some, a mixture of gall and slime; some, a crude, indigested and impure blood; others, a serous humidity, mix'd with an astringent saltiness; others, winds, with a mixture of the four known humours; others, ill-conditioned winds alone.

Qu. Whence, I pray, ariseth this great diversity of opinions?

Ans. From thence only, that (as hath been already intimated) they have [//p.15] not distinguish'd the Gout from its symptoms; which hath so abused them with the notion of the humors, that they have put those out of the list of gouty persons, who in their Gout perceived no afflux of humors, absolutely requiring the same in this disease; notwithstanding that such as find no serous swellings in their gouty distemper, do feel full as much pain as others that are wont to find that afflux, whose grievous pains also are considerably abated upon the swelling.

Qu. Which then is, in your judgment, the next and immediat Cause?

Ans. We have expressed it in our above-recited description of the Gout, to wit, that it is a Vapor or Damp, dry and cold, and mixed with malignity.

Qu. But many will look upon this as an airy and windy fancy, and no solid truth.

Ans. If men shall devest themselves of prejudice, and maturely consider all what hath been said, and is yet to [//p.16] follow; I shall then expect a more favourable judgment, and an unanimous consent, to my doctrine.

Qu. According to your theory, the Gout is to be reckoned among Windy swellings?

Ans. So it must be, because grounded upon experience, the Mistress of Fools.

Qu. But is not this a quite new opinion; or hath there ever been any learned man that hath delivered the same?

Ans. When I lately enumerated unto you the various opinions concerning the cause of the Gout, you may remember, that the last of them was that which placeth it in meer winds, Now, among those Doctors, Sennertus reckons Guainerius and

はラテン語、ドイツ語、英語、オランダ語に訳された。（BU参照）

96 materia peccans = 悪性の物質
97 アントニウス・ガイネリウス（Antonius Guainerius / Guaynerius, Guanerius, Gaynerius,
Matthaeus de Gradibus, two eminent Physitians; and, as far as I can find, the
Chinese Doctors are all of that mind. Besides, that ancient Physitian, Guido de
Culiaca (though in the Gout he follows the Humorists relates, that he had read
in some prescriptions of health given to the Popes of Rome, that this disease
did arise from winds; and the Royal Chirurgus Pareus, p. 534. assigns, for the
certain cause of the running Gout, a very thin fuliginous matter, which is nothing
else but a subtle smoaky damp, or spirituous substance.

Qu. But Pareus doth not speak so of the other kind of Gout.

Ans. 'Tis true, that he affirms it of the running Gout; but then I must say, that
that kind doth not at all in its essence, or next cause, differ from the other Gout, but
only in some qualities, relating to the thinness and thickness of damps; those, from
whence proceeds the running Gout, thinner and subtler; and those which cause the
other Gout, courser and thicker. And 'tis notorious, that almost all intelligent
Physitians assign damps for the next cause of Tooth-aches, Head-aches, Pleurisies (at

Gainier) パヴィア大学の医学教授を務め、1440年、パヴィアで死去、De arthritica
in juncturis などの彼の著作は、1497年 Practica Medicinae の書名で印刷され
、1518年パヴィアで、1525年ライデンで再出版された。（AGL、Zedler 参照）

98 ヨアネス・マテウス・フェラリウス・デ・グラディプス（Joannes Matheaeus Ferrarius
de Gradibus、?-1460）ミラノ近郊のグラドに生まれる。パヴィア大学の医学教授、
ミラノ公爵夫人ブランカ・マリア（Blanca Maria）の侍医を務め、両方の職で大い
に名声を得た。特に重要な著作は以下のものである。Consilia varia medicinali（Pavia
1514）。（AGL、Zedler 参照）

99 Guy de Chauliac（Guido de Cauiliaco）1300年、フランスのショリアック（Chauliac
）に生まれる。トゥルーズ、モンペリエ、ボローニャ、パリの大学に学び、リヨ
ンで医師として開業。やがてアヴィニョンの3人の法王の侍医となる。彼の著作
Chirurgia parva と Inventarium, sive Collectorium partis chirurgicae medicinae （
Venetia 1499, Lyon 1518）はのちにLaurent Joubertsによる訳書で Grande chirurgie
(Lyon 1592)の書名で普及した。これには多くの独自の観察や調査結果が含まれて
いる。4世紀に亘り、少なくとも129刷を重ねた『外大科学』は、規範の書と
される。特に結石や白内障の手術法は彼により著しく進歩した。痛みを伴う手術
の際は、麻酔剤も使用した。1348年、ベストに耐えて生き延び、詳細に記述した
。彼の正確な死亡日はわかっていない。（BU 参照）

100 体液病理学の支持者

101 パショフは Chirurgia Magna Guidonis de Gauliaco (Lyon 1585, p.242) の論文 De
arthritide & dolore ac duritie juncturarum を取り上げている。

102 すす状の物質（ふらん語 fuligo、松材を燃やして生じる油煙、すす）

103 移動性の痛風は現在では関節リウマチ (Polyarthritis rheumatica acuta) と呼ばれ
ているものである。
least bastard Pleurisies), Colicks, and Epilepsies: Diseases which in name indeed, place, and some symptoms, [/p.18] differ from the Gout, but not in their true essence; they being so near a-kin to one another, that they acknowledg but one and the same cause.

Qu. Tis true, that some learned men have affirmed, winds or damp to be the next cause of the Gout; but others have rejected that opinion, and for their ground of doing so, I shall produce but one argument for all, which M. Beverwyck alledged out of Sennertus in his Treatise of the Gout, saying, All sicknesses which arise from winds, do not last so long as the Gout; and making use of this reason for his denying the flatus or winds to be the true Cause of the Gout. And further in his Medecina, p. 62. treating of Tumors in general, he declares, That the windy swellings do vanish easiest of all. What you can say to this objection, I long to hear.

Ans. Those great men speak here only in general of windy tumors; and what they say is only true of such windy swellings as lurk under the [/p.19] skin, or in fleshy parts; not in those that lie in deep parts, and under firm and thick membranes, as in the Gout, and other hidden or manifest swellings, raised from latent winds: See the proof hereof in Hildanus, p. 6. obs. 40. in a Tympanites that was refractory to all remedies.

Qu. What then is the true cause why the Gout is so long a curing? Is the gouty cause (the damp) so difficult to be with speed removed and evaporated?

Ans. The gouty damp is easy enough to be evacuated, and 'tis even forward to be exhaled; but there is a notable obstacle which hinders the speedy performance of it. And that is this; The impacted and inclosed damp, which causeth the windy tumor in the Gout, seeks a passage to issue out at, but finds none; partly because of the grosness of the damp; partly and chiefly by reason of the close and firm membrane of the bone, under which it lurks; especially since the place, in which this cold damp [/p.20] lodgeth, enjoys but little warmth, for the attenuating of this gross damp, and expelling it through the small pores of that membrane.

Qu. But, I pray, Sir, let me know what is the chief motive that hath induced you to make Damps the only next cause of the Gout?

Ans. First, This remedy which I here offer, as that which suddenly cures this diserse: For, if it be true, that the Medecine declares the Disease, as Physitians affirm
with their Master Hippocrates; I must then conclude, that no humors, but only a Spirituous thing, is the cause of this Disease. Secondly, observing the sudden motion of the gouty matter, sometimes dislodging in a very short time from one limb to another, from the hand to the foot, from one foot to the other, &c. flying as 'twere with swift wings from above to beneath, and back again; I find my self obliged to judge, that these are not Humors, but some Spirituous matter able to do such things.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Qualities of the damps that cause the Gout.

Qu. Of what quality, I pray, are these gouty Damps?
Ans. The above-recited description saith, that are dry, cold, and ill-conditioned.
Qu. Why do you say they are dry?
Ans. The better to distinguish these Damps from windy Humors.
Qu. Why cold? Is there not a hot as well as a cold Gout?
Ans. As there is but one next cause, which for quality is always cold; so is the

104 ヒポクラテス（Hippocrates）は460年にコス島で生まれ、370年にラリッサで死去。当時まで普及していた宗教的呪術的な病気の解釈と治療から脱却し、経験的学問としての医学の基礎を築いた。彼によるとされるCorpus Hippocraticumの著書は60以上あるが、どれひとつとして、直接彼のものと断定することはできない。そのため、何かわかることがあるとしても彼自身についてではなく、この資料に見られるコス（及びクニドス）学派についてのみである。ヒポクラテス派の解釈では健康は体液の均衡、病気はそれらの不均衡であり、その際天候、季節、地理的状況、生活習慣、栄養が決定的な役割を果たしている。彼らによって病気の症状に関する数多くの経験観察が伝えられているが、彼らは自らの使命を主に診断と予防と見なし、治療においては自然治癒力を重視していた。ガレノスがヒポクラテス派の医学を規範と見なしたことにより、ヒポクラテス派は中世ヨーロッパの医学の士台となった。その後もヒポクラテス派は19世紀まで繰り返し復興を経験する。（DSB 参照）
distinction of a hot and cold Gout, vain: My opinion agreeing with that of Fernelius\textsuperscript{105}, that all Gout arises from a cold cause.

\textit{Qu.} But with what reasons can you maintain this opinion?

\textit{Ans.} Irrefragably by the remedy itself; as also by the pruriency and [\textit{p.22}] shivering which gouty persons, upon the motion of this cold damp, do commonly feel, especially in those parts through which it takes its course; as also happens in Epilepsies, Pleurisies, Colick, and the like, that come from cold damps.

\textit{Qu.} But soft and fair: Your last proof taken from shivering doth not hold, as Beverwyck objects; for then should the matter of hot Fevers be also cold, which passing through parts endowed with the sense of feeling, not only cause shivering, but also clashing of teeth.

\textit{Ans.} This is not said from wellgrounded knowledge; since it hath never yet (that I know) been satisfactorily proved, that Hot Fevers (as they are called) must needs proceed from an hot cause; and upon a thorough disquisition, it might perhaps be found, that they have been produced from some cold matter or other; which I think at least to be half proved, because sometimes an hot Fever ends in the Gout; as I have found, [\textit{p.23}] not to go far, in my self, when I was in the 50th. year of my age. It sometimes also comes to pass, that the Gout determines in an hot Fever; as appears from what Beverwyck saith in his Book of the Gout, p. 110. speaking of the ways through which the gouty matter takes its course. The damp, saith he, turns back into the veins, and ascends up again to the noble part (meaning the heart,) where it raises hot Fevers, Anguish, and the like evils; or shoots suddenly into some other limb, whereby the pain that is in the hand, is soon after felt in the foot.

\textsuperscript{105} ジャン・フェルネル（Jean Fernel / Fernelius）、「近代のガレノス」は1497年、フランス・モンディディエ（Mont-Didier）に生まれ、1558年に死去。最初パリで哲学、数学、天文学を学び成果をえるが、重病を経験したのち、医学に転向する。1530年、医学の免許を取得し、まもなくフランス中で有名になる。1534年、教授に就任、アンリ2世の侍医となる。フェルネルは最も傑出したガレノス主義の代表的的人物の一人とされ、アラブの教義を用いてガレノス主義に修正を加えている。彼の著作は当時の優れた学校医学の印象を伝えている。De naturali parte medecinae, libri septem（Paris 1542, Venetia 1547）, De abditis rerum causis libri duo （Paris 1548）, Medicina（Paris 1554）。（\textit{BU, DSB} 参照）

最後にあげたMedicinaはブショップが取上げているが、フェルネルの死後Universa medicina の書名で30回以上も版を重ねた。この著書には生理学、病理学、治療学の分野が見られる。彼の体系的な著述のおかげでその「生理学」、「病
Qu. But is not that notable ins amnation, which is often seen and felt in the Gout, sufficient proof that there is a sort of Gout which comes from heat?

Ans. This is a Symptom or accident in the Gout, which is not caused by the next and always accompanying cause of it, but by the violent pain; as I shall more clearly make out, when I come to speak of this Symptom; [/p.24] But 'tis a Symptom, (not to pass that by in this place) which hath strangely misled those who have mistaken it for a mark of the Gout, as Sennertus and others do acknowledge.

Qu. Is this damp also ill-conditioned and malignant?

Ans. So 'tis judged by considerable and experienced men, as well as by my self, and that from the intolerable pain and other accidents. So doth that old Master Guido de Culiacico; and Pareus in his 7th. Book, ch. 2. proves it by two Examples; and our new Medicine confirms the same. Besides, the foetid damp of the Gout do plainly speak this malignity, which is perceived both at the time of the act of burning, and after it; that being such, that sometimes both the Patient, and the Person that administers the Caustick, and dresses the part, are ready to fall away. And this is most of all found at the dressing of the little wounds, when they begin to omit good store of moisture. For as soon as you shall in a morning open the [/p.25] little Plaisters, you will be so struck with a strange stinking smell, that it will almost cast you into a swound. 'Tis very probable, that this stuff is already malign before it be cast out from the heart into the limbs; yet remaining for a while wedged in the limbs, from the evaporation obstructed, its malignity is heightned. Hence it is not advisable, to serve this burning or dressing upon any one that is fasting; but 'tis best, that both the Patient and the Agent should first breakfast, and take a cordial.106

Qu. But, is it possible for Winds to occasion to much mischief?

Ans. Very possible; and then especially, when they are more peccant by their quality than quantity: So Hippocrates in his golden Tract of Flatus's doth not without cause judg of Winds, that most of all the grievous and dangerous Diseases owe their original to them.

Qu. But can Winds breed such violent pain?

理学」の名称が定着した。
106 ZedlerによるとCordialは「心臓を強くする薬」と呼ばれていた。 （<ラテン語 cor, cordis 心臓）
Ans. They can; chiefly when the [/p.26] membranes (the main instrument of the sense of Feeling) are by them attacked and distended.

CHAP. V.

Of the Part affected, and Seat of the Gouty matter.

Qu. Which then, in this painful Disease, is the part that is attacked and offended by these Winds?

Ans. Principally, if not only, that sensible membrane called the periostium, that is, that membrane which immediately covers the bones.

Qu. Do you not think, that the membranous ligaments do also suffer here, or rather the membranes of the ligaments?

Ans. No; but I agree herein with Galen107, that they have no feeling; the which is also confirm'd by the learned Barrette108 in his Praxis, chap. 5. p. 30. [/p.27]

Qu. What do you understand by the Periostium?

Ans. The single membrane or film, whereby the Author of Nature hath outwardly invested and covered all the bones of our body, and which is a close and firm

107 ベルガモン出身のガレノス（129-199頃）は最初創立者を治療する医師として勤めたが、161年からローマの貴族、また皇帝一家の医師になる。彼はヒポクラテス派の体液病理学と診断技術・臨床技術と、アリストテレスとアレクサンドリアの医師たちによる解剖学と生理学と関連づけ、中世を越えるほどの長きに亘ってヨーロッパ医学を決定づける包括的体系を築いた。また医学書の他に数学や哲学の論文も執筆した。（DSB 参照）

108 ポール・バルベット（Paul Barbet, 1619-1665）はシュトラースブルル出身でモンペリエ、パリで学び、アムステルダムで開業し、存命中に並外れた名声を得た。彼は腹部外科学のパイオニアの一人で、特に空の内臓に風を通すための平らな套管を考案した。彼の死後に Opera anatomico-chirurgica（Leiden 1672）が出版された。BU 参照。
substance, extendible, and very sensible.

_Qu._ Doth the gouty matter fall from without upon this sensible periostium, fretting and biting it by its acrimony?

_An._ Not so; for then it could not cause so intolerable a pain, or the right Gout.

_Qu._ Where then are we to look for the true seat of the gouty matter?

_An._ No-where else but between the membrane and the bone.

_Qu._ Wherein then consists the genuine essence of this Disease?

_An._ In the violent distension or stretching of this sensible membrane by the Winds, whereby this membrane being forced out of its due and natural form and situation, excites so violent a pain. [//p.28]

_Qu._ Whence do you infer that the gouty matter lies so deep, and particularly between the membrane and the bone it self?

_An._ Not only from the distending pain, (which is to me proof sufficient) but also from the contumaciousness of the Gout, which made Hippocrates say in his 6th. Book, aph. 49.¹⁰⁹ That the Gouty fit doth not cease before the fortieth day. And truly, whereas all other windy tumors, that are not lodged so deep, are in a short time made to evaporate; this windy swelling of the Gout lying so deep, and lurking under so firm and close a membrane, (and besides, in a place of little warmth, and it self coming from a cold cause) cannot be easily brought to a quick evaporation, but by such a kind of remedy as ours is.

_Qu._ Have not the old and new Masters mistaken the Part affected, and the true Seat of the Gout?

_An._ Certainly they have: For, (to speak of the part affected, and the seat together,) I must first alledge the [//p.29] opinion of Galen, (as 'tis cited by Beverwyck;) he affirming, that the gouty moisture doth flow into the hollow of the joynts, and there forces asunder the bones; whereby the ligaments and membranes, that fasten them together,are so violently expanded, that they cause that excessive pain.

_Qu._ Hath this sentiment of the great Galen been generally judged and received to be conform to truth?

_An._ It hath been rejected by many, as by Beverwyck and others; and by others

¹⁰⁹ヒポクラテス『箴言』、第6巻、箴言49。
maintained.

*Qu.* Where do those that contradict *Galen*, find the Part affected, and the Seat?

*Ans.* In the ligaments and membranes that tye the bones together, being penetrated and ouzed thorough by a sharp humor.

*Qu.* What hath moved those that are of the later opinion, to reject *Galen's* Doctrine?

*Ans.* See and read *Beverwyck* and others. [//p.30]

*Qu.* But how doth *Galen* refute their opinion, who say, that the gouty matter ouzeth thorough the ligaments and membranes?

*Ans.* Thus, that never a gouty person hath been perceived to have convulsions or drawings of the limbs: Which yet must needs happen, if the warm humor did pass through the ligaments and membranes.

*Qu.* But these alledge, to strengthen their opinion; First, that the pain, as soon as the limb is but touched, presently increaseth. Secondly, the debility and troublesome motion of the part. Lastly, the laxity of the ligaments, which being ouzed thorough by the humor, do stretch, and sometimes cause dislocation, Are not these solid reasons to perswade you and all others that they have hit right?

*Ans.* Not at all; for their proof is lame in all its parts. And, not to repeat the irrefragable proof of *Galen* against their opinion, the pain doth not increase when the limb is but touch'd and moved, because, [//p.31] forsooth! the gouty matter hath ouzed through the ligaments and membranes: No; for, not these, but the peristium is the part affected in this evil, which being by the gouty damp already distended, is upon the touching, or least motion of the limb, irritated a new, and so causeth new pain. Where I establish this for a certain truth, that never the gouty matter, but only the accidental affluxed humor ouzeth through the ligaments, so as to occasion stretching and dislocation: Which we intend more fully to make out, when we come to speak of this accident of dislocation.

*Qu.* But against *Galen's* proof, the defenders of this opinion alledge, that 'tis no strange thing, that the acrimonious humor of the Gout ouzing through the ligaments of the joynts, causeth no drawing in the limbs, because, say they, the nerves themselves are not offended, but only the membranes and membranous ligaments, which do not cause the motion; and that therefore, although they are [//p.32] seized with gradt pain, they cause no convulsion; just as 'tis also found in the Tooth-ach, Pleurisie, and Colick.
Ans. This is an exception that concludes nothing, forasmuch as the Gouty matter provokes not the organs of Motion, but those of Sense.

CHAP. VI.

That the Gout is a general Disease of the limbs, receiving its denomination from that limb which it seizes on; together with the place in which the Gouty matter is bred.

Qu. Is the Gout a general Disease, (as Galen affirms) attacking all the joynts of the limbs of the body?

Ans. It is so general, that not one external part of any limb of the whole body is by its own nature exempt from it. The reason is, because that all parts and limbs are wrapped [p.33] about with this sensible membrane, called Periostium, the head, neck, jaw-bones, brest, back, and the teeth themselves, forasmuch as they are inclosed in their groves or pits.

Qu. Doth this Disease take different names, according to the limb which it infests?

Ans. It doth so: Hence 'tis called Podagra, when it falls upon the feet; Gonagra, when upon the knees; Chiragra, when upon the hands; Ischiatica, when upon the hips: And so, the Tooth-ach, when upon the teeth; the Pleurisie, when upon the skin that clothes the ribs, &c. All which I esteem to proceed drom one and the same cause; though many will think this strange.

Qu. What is the antecedent cause of the Gout?

Ans. Whatevsoever breeds these damps.

Qu. In what place grows this damp, being the next cause of the Gout?

Ans. The learned do as little agree in this, as they do in the next cause [p.34] it self; and Fernelius complains, that no man had thoroughly searched into this point, and that through the want of the knowldg thereof, the Gout had been left for
incurable.

*Qu.* Is this peccant matter bred only in the head, excepting the skull, as Fernelius would have it; or without the brain, as others think; or most of all in the Viscera, as the stomach, spleen, liver, gall, and the rest?

*Ans.* I give my voice for those that affirm the last, viz. that these Gouty damps are mostly generated in the inner parts, yet not excepting the head.

*Qu.* But can you tell, Sir, in what manner they are there produced?

*Ans.* Doubtless they are, through want of head, gathered and laid up in some or other of the aforementioned parts from corrupted humors, and particularly from corrupted blood. [//p.35]

**CHAP. VII.**

**How, and through which ways, the Gouty matter comes to the Limbs.**

*Qu.* Since these morbid damps do cause such grievous pains in the external limbs, but are bred in the inner parts; by what means and passages do they come to those limbs? [//p.37]

*Ans.* By means of the Circulation of the blood through the manifest ways of veins and arteries.

*Qu.* Do not these damps ascend or descend directly into the limbs, without passing the heart?

*Ans.* They must needs first pass into the heart.

*Qu.* By what ways?

*Ans.* Through the veins, which, gathering out of the inner parts the generated damps, carry them, together with the not yet sufficiently concocted blood, into the heart.

*Qu.* But do not these malign damps offend that noble part, seeing they [//p.36] cause such grievous pains in the limbs?
Ans. Certainly they do; and are the cause of Fevers, beating of the heart, and other distempers; and frequently cause death, when the heart wants strength and vigor to expel them.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Expelling Part.

Qu. Is the heart then the only strong expelling part, which drives those damps into the limbs?

Ans. It is, as is evinced by the strong motion and beating of the arteries in the Gout; whereby the heart labours to deliver itself from such a pernicious damp, and to discharge and purifie the nourishing blood of the same.

Qu. Through what ways doth the heart drive out these damps into the limbs? [//p.37]

Ans. Through the arteries.

Qu. Whence is it, that the Gout for the most part manifests itself in the extremities of the limbs of the body, as (for example) in the great Toe of the left Foot?

Ans. Because that the heart, undertaking the expulsion, drives this offensive matter as far as it can.

Qu. May one from the Gout judge of the vigor and debility of the heart?

Ans. You may probably do so from the suffering part: For, if that be far from the heart, then the heart is strong; if near it, then 'tis less vigorous, and unable to send that noxious matter far away.

Qu. But when the heart through the arteries doth expel into the limbs, together with the nourishing blood, these damps; must those limbs receive them?

Ans. They must receive them as well as the nutritive blood which accompanies it; the heart expelling them chiefly by the force of the [//p.38] arteries, nor resting till they be thrust out.

Qu. But why doth not the part aggrieved expel those damps, and fend them further
away?

Ans. Sometimes it doth so; namely, when the expelling force of such a limb is strong and vigorous; for then it suffers not this bad guest to harbour there, but forces it by the veins to retreat back to the heart; whence it not seldom, comes to pass, that by another expulsion from the heart it falls upon a weaker limb; as we see, that the pain which at first was felt in the hand, soon after is found in the foot, &c.

Qu. When and how comes it to pass, that the limb is not able to drive or send away this peccant matter, but is constrained to lodge that unwelcome guest?

Ans. When the expelling vertue and the natural heat of that limb is defective, and too weak.

Qu. But, Sir, can you fully make it out, that these malign damps take [//p.39] their course to the limbs, only through the arteries?

Ans. I can, my reasons being these: First, I prove it by the beating pain, which, amongst others, is in the Gout one of the sure marks; for, that beating pain sufficiently shews, that the Gouty matter comes out of the arteries. Secondly, 'tis plain from the swelling, distension, and quick pulsation of the arteries, as those through which this matter takes its course. Lastly, 'tis most evident from that remedy, which hath been used by the ancient famous Physitians, as likewise from our discharging medicine.

Qu. What remedy of the Ancients do you mean?

Ans. That of Arteriotomy\(^{110}\), or the opening of Arteries; by means whereof, they declare to have found incomparable more help and ease for the gouty Patient, than from the opening of veins; for a proof, that the gouty matter is protruded from the heart through the arteries. [//p.40]

Qu. But how doth it appear from your own Remedy?

Ans. Forasmuch as the same being applied to the Arteries, (when they by their strong pulsation give sufficient assurance that the peccant matter is not yet quite expelled, but in part still harbours there,) fetches out that offensive stuff, and frees them therefrom; as we shall more plainly shew in our manner of curing the Tooth-ach: where it will manifestly appear, that this Burning of ours is not only a discharging, but also an excellent exhausting aid, forcing these damps in the arteries.
and weins to evaporate.

_Qu._ Doth this painful matter cause no pain as long as it is included within the coats of the arteries?

_An_. It causes no pain until it does violence to the periosium, because the tunicles of the veins and arteries are void of feeling.

_Qu._ When the Arteries (in those that already feel great pain) do not cease to beat strongly, what conclude you thence? [//p.41]

_An_. That the Gouty matter in part still rests in the arteries.

_Qu._ May this matter be totally expelled out of the arteries?

_An_. Not only it may; but the heart, as the source of the arteries, never rests till it hath effected it.

_Qu._ Can this damp of it self, or by too strongly repercuent means, be turned back again through the arteries to the heart?

_An_. Some indeed are of opinion that it can; but I say that 'tis not possible: Nature, or rather the wise Author of it, having provided certain valves, which towards the heart are shut, and so hinder the return of blood and vapors thither through those vessels.

_Qu._ Through what vessels then returns this damp to the heart, as it often doth?

_An_. Through the veins, the Antagonists (as one calls them) of the Arteries; for this way is open and unobstructed, all the valves of them towards the heart being open. [//p.42]

_Qu._ How comes it to pass that this damp returns to the heart?

_An_. Either when the expelling virtue, and the natural heat of the part that receives the damp is great; or when strong repelling means are unwarily applied; by which latter way the Patient is exceedingly prejudiced, because thereby the pernicious damp is made to return to the heart, which with so much labour had discharged it self from it; and there it causes Fevers, Anguish, and the like distempers, and often Death it self.

\[110\] 動脈切開（＜ギリシア語 tome、切開）
CHAP. IX.

Of the Diagnosticks, or Signs of the Gout.

*Qu.* Is it necessary to know the proper Signs of the Gout?

*Ans.* Certainly it is; forasmuch as those only are fit to cure the Gout, who know well the proper Signs thereof. [//p.43]

*Qu.* Hath there been no mistake herein hitherto?

*Ans.* There hath; for men have made those to be signs of the Gout that are none, as Inflammation, Heat, Fever, &c.

*Qu.* Which then, in your opinion, are the proper signs whereby the Gout can be best distinguished from other distempers?

*Ans.* Vitiated motion and Pain: which signs are present from the beginning of the Gout, and as 'twere born with it, and do grow up with the same to its height, and abate also and vanish with it.

*Qu.* Are these the only and always concomitant signs, by which we may know this inward, and, for the most part, unseen windy tumor?

*Ans.* They are so; though swollen veins, and strong beating arteries, may also be put for signs of the same.

*Qu.* Those two first, are they Signs only, or also Symptoms?

*Ans.* They are sure signs, but they are also symptoms. [//p.44]

*Qu.* Inflammation, Heat, Fever, outward swelling from afflux of humors, &c. why may not they be esteemed to be proper signs here?

*Ans.* Because they do not immediately follow the Disease, nor any proper effects of the Gouty matter, nor do they always appear in the Gout; and therefore are deceitful signs, not to be trusted to, and such as have misled some of the most sagacious men.

*Qu.* Are they to be reckoned amongst the Symptoms?

*Ans.* Not among the proper symptoms of the Gout, but only such as proceed from some proper symptom of the same.

*Qu.* How is that pain conditioned, which you make to be a proper diagnostick or sign of the Gout, whereby the Gout, or the inward tumor in the periostium, is made
manifest?

*Ans.* Tis a pungent, distending and beating pain, which begins and ends with the Gout, and grows up, and declines with the same. [//p.45]

*Qu.* What denotes the pungent pain?

*Ans.* That the periostium suffers.

*Qu.* What the distending pain?

*Ans.* That the sensible membrane is raised and stretched by the Gouty matter.

*Qu.* What the beating pain?

*Ans.* That the gouty matter is already impacted and wedged in.

*Qu.* What signifies the intolerable pain?

*Ans.* Both the plenty and malignity of the damps, whereby the sensible periostium is forcibly severed from the bone, and stands by the sorce of the intruded winds bent, like a string upon a bent Bow.

*Qu.* What doth the Pain indicate, which not only pervades all the parts of the body, upwards and downwards, but also passes to the most extreme part, in such a degree, that the poor Patient can rest neither day nor night?

*Ans.* This plainly and palpably shews (besides what was just now said [//p.46] in the next foregoing answer,) that the membranes of the parts have a strict communication with one another, and a mutual sympathy.

*Qu.* What doth the Vitiated motion indicate, which increases and decreases as the Disease doth?

*Ans.* Not that the organs of motion are attacked, hurt or tormented, but only that the periostium is put out of its natural posture; which is manifest from hence, that as soon as this membrane is restored to its natural state, you cannot perceive the least defect in those organs.

*Qu.* Why then doth the pain increase, and grow more violent upon touching or moving the part affected?

*Ans.* This comes not to pass because that the organs of motion, or their membranes do suffer; but because that the membrane being already distended, by the touch or motion thereof it comes to suffer, and to stretch a new; whereupon new pain must follow. [//p.47]
Chap. X.

Of the Symptoms of the Gout.

Qu. Forasmuch as there are found many and different Symptoms in the Gout, will it not be proper to make a distinction between them, thereby to come to the true knowledge of them?

Ans. You will do very well to distinguish first the Symptoms in general from the Disease itself; and then to make a distinction between the Symptoms themselves.

Qu. What distinction is there to be made between the Symptoms of the Gout?

Qn. This; that the symptoms that arise and vanish with the Disease, are to be distinguished from those that are bred not from the Gout, but from the symptoms of the Gout.

Qu. Which are the Symptoms that do immediately accompany the Gout, and are born and dye with it? [//p.48]

Ans. Of these there are but two, already spoken of, viz. the Vitiated motion, and the Violent pain: These come and go away with the Disease, following the Gout as a shadow doth a body.

Qu. Which of these two Symptoms is the chiefest and most grievous?

Ans. The Pain; which is not the Disease itself, or the cause of the Gout, as hath been already said; yet it is a simple Symptom, in regard it is a cause of other symptoms, especially when it is violent.

Qu. What Symptoms are occasioned, or rather caused thereby?

Ans. Inflammations, Fevers, Faintings, Sleepiness, Loss of strength, Afflux of humors.

Qu. Is it certain, that all these six Accidents are caused by the raging Pain of the Gout?

Ans. Dr. Paul Barbette reckons them all amongst the effects of the Gouty pain, when he treats of the Symptoms of Wounds in his Chirurgery, [//p.49] p. 165. of his Dutch Edition. Besides that 'tis manifest, that most of these do then first appear when the pain grows violent, and disappear with the diminution and ceasing of the pain.

Qu. Whence comes it, that these Symptoms that are caused by the Gout, not only
in divers Patients, but also in the same, shew themselves at one time more than another, and differ so much from one another?

*Ans.* It comes from the greater or lesser intension of the efficient cause, the Pain; which receives its degrees from the quality and quantity of the gouty matter. For the more malign and abounding the damps are, the more grievous also are not only the proper Symptoms, but also these Accidents of the Gout.

*Qu.* Doth the raging pain excite in all Gouty persons these Symptoms all together, and at once?

*Ans.* Not so; for in bodies that have but little serosity in the blood, the first five Symptoms do appear; [//p.50] but not at all, or very seldom, the sixth and last which is the afflux of humors: In others, who abound in that serosity, the afflux of moisture will be perceived first of all, and often without inflammation. Again, when the gouty matter lurks deep, as in the Sciatica, and in the Gout of the shoulders, you are not then to reckon upon the change of colour, and the afflux.

*Qu.* That raging pains do cause inflammations, is easily understood; but how do they produce Fevers, Fainting, Sleepiness, and loss of strength?

*Ans.* The intolerable pain drawing to the heart, causeth there a Fever and Fainting; and passing to the brain, produces there Waking: whence must necessarily follow Loss of strength.¹¹¹ [//p.51]

---

**CHAP. XI.**

**Of the external Serous Tumor, which often manifests it self in the Gout.**

*Qu.* Is it worth while, to treat somewhat more largely of this Tumor, than of the

---

¹¹¹ この箇所にはオランダ語の原著では1ページ半に亘りブッシュフの父の痛風の詩が続く。Bushof (1675), p.35f.を参照。
other Symptoms caused by the Pain?

_Ans._ 'Tis very necessary, because by this Symptom many Learned men have been so misled, as to take it for the Gout-breeding matter it self, or at least not to distinguish it from the Sickness it self: Whence, as from a fruitful soil, have sprung so many errors about the Gout, and especially about the proxime Cause thereof. Yea this is the only cause, that so many Physicians and Chirurgians are so much wedded to the Notion of Humors, that they dare almost take it for granted, that the Gout cannot be without this Swelling and Afflux of Humors; insomuch, that if they meet with any Gouty [1/p.52] person, in whom they cannot find this Swelling or change of Colour (although they find great pain,) they will rather discard them out of the number of the Gouty, than acknowledg, that sometimes there are no humors at all accompanying the Gout.

_Qu._ But since the Affluxed humor, which breeds the external swelling, is neither in whole nor in part the Cause of the Gout, what shall we make of that tumor and its matter?

_Ans._ It is a Symptom, which is no inseparable companion of the Gout; yea never begins, and seldom ends with that disease: Which I think I can so plainly make out, as that the most ordinary capacity shall understand it to be so.

_Qu._ Does then this serous Swelling not always accompany the Gout as an inseparable Symptom?

_Ans._ No; for, besides that some Gouty persons seldom or never perceive this Tumor (caused by affluxed humors,) as I have experienced, and many Writers must witness; [1/p.53] commonly there is no affluxed Humor found in the Sciatica.

_Qu._ But does this Swelling never begin with the Gout?

_Ans._ 'Tis never perceived in the beginning of the Gout; for, though in many Patients this Tumor very soon follows upon the Gout; yet, if it be well observed, it is never of the same age with the Gouty tumor, which in order of time always precedes it: Yea, if care be had, its birth may sometimes be altogether prevented, by being timely ready to evaporate this dolorifick damp by a speedy application of my matchless discharging Remedy; as I have often experimented on my self, and shall further teach in the second part, treating of the Cure of the Gout.

_Qu._ But as this Symptom never begins with the disease, does it neither end always with it, as other Symptoms do?

_Ans._ No: This Symptom alone survives the Gout; yea the cause whence it rises
ends not with it. For, as [/p.54] for the most part it first appears when the sickness is at its height, and the pain rageth; so it is often seen a good while after the Gouty pain, and then by good means and some patience dispelled.

_Qu._ It seems then, that the pain, which is the cause of this Symptom, ceasing, the outward tumor doth not vanish at the same time?

_Ans._ No; for very often the limbs remain swelled as before, and it requires some days, and some trouble, before this Swelling can be removed; yea, if you do not take care, it not only lames the Patient, but also deforms him by Nodes and Schirres, whereby the Motion of the limbs is for ever destroyed.

_Qu._ What then is to be done, to judg aright of this Symptom?

_Ans._ You must hold it for a certain truth, that the Humors which in the Gout breed the Swelling, are not the peccant or Gout-breeding matter.

_Qu._ To make me the better comprehend this, pray give me a clear [/p.55] description of this Swelling, which hath been the occasion of so many Errors, and hath deceived so many Learned men?

_Ans._ It is a Preternatural swelling in the Fleshy parts, consisting of a serous humor pervaded with saltishness, by the sharp pain penetrated into the Limbs, and 'tis soft, pale, and cold.

_Qu._ But how may we best distinguish this Swelling from the Gout?

_Ans._ If it be view'd at the time when its Efficient cause is gone; for then it may be seen in its true essence and qualities, and looks no otherwise than a Serous humor is wont to do.

_Qu._ I see, you make two sorts of Swellings in the Gout?

_Ans._ I do so; the one is Windy, which is the Gout it self; the other Serous, which is a Symptom: And they differ exceedingly from one another.

_Qu._ Wherein consists that difference?

_Ans._ Chiefly in these particulars: 1. In respect of the Name, which they [/p.56] receive from their several Causes; for the Gouty tumor coming from Winds, takes the name of Windy tumor; the other, coming from a serous humor, is called the Serous tumor. 2. In respect of the Part or Place affected; for, whereas the Windy tumor distends the Membranes of the bones, the Serous fill the Carneous parts, as water a sponge, and render the Flesh very spungy. 3. In regard of the Signs; for, whereas the Inward swelling excites grievous and intolerable pain, the Serous none or little. 4. The Internal swelling is a proper disease; the other is raised by the pain, and is a
Symptom bred by Consent of parts.

Qu. But since that the Serous tumor in the Gout is not produced by any External cause, but by an Internal, what is this Cause?

Ans. The violent pain, as hath been often said, which is here the cause of the Afflux of humors, it being known by Artists, that Pain draws humors after it; which therefore is by them assigned to be one of the principal [//p.57] causes of the Afflux of humors.

Qu. But are these humors, of which this kind of Swelling consists, drawn into the suffering parts by the Pain alone?

Ans. Artists are wont to add, that sympathizing Nature, as a kind Mother, succours the suffering part by sending moisture to it; and accordingly this Swelling should be generated by Sympathy or Consent of the parts.

Qu. What benefit or ease doth the part affected receive from sympathising nature by her sending those humors thither?

Ans. That the raging pain is thereby mitigated, and rendred more tolerable.

Qu. In what manner is that done, or how doth the conveyed humor asswage the enraged pain?

Ans. Though this be difficult to explain; yet I cannot agree to the common opinion, importing, that the Pain-breeding matter by means of the conveyed humors is driven outward, [//p.58] and dispersed thorough the neighbouring flesh, and so the suffering member for a great part freed of the pain-causing matter: For, the conveyed humors can by no means approach or come to the dolorifick matter, much less fetch it out of its deep feat, and dislodge it, because 'tis so fast impacted and included under so firm and close a Bone-membrane.

Qu. What is then, in your opinion, the reason why the sharp pain is often diminished upon the afflux of moisture, not only in the Gout, but also in the Tooth-ach? &c.

Ans. Me thinks 'tis probable, that 'tis done after this manner: The musculus fleshy parts being by the conveyed humors rendred softer, plumper, and more sponigious, and consequently gentler, do not, in the first place, press against, or rather resist so much the sensible and distendend periostium, as before, when the carneous parts had but their own native and proper moisture. Secondly, the periostium being by the conveyed moisture from [//p.59] without made gentler, may with less pain be stretch'd; and it may also come to pass, that by that little warmth, which this serous
matter hath in it at first, it being now come near the periostium doth somewhat attenuate the included gross damp, and so the better dispose it to evaporate.

_Qu._ But doth the affuxed humor occasion no mischief?

_Ans._ Very much, and sometimes more than the Gout it self; for without care it causeth Dislocation of the suffering members, and the Nodes.

**CHAP. XII.**

**Of the Dislocation.**

_Qu._ How is it possible, that the Gout-breeding matter should cause a Dislocation?

_Ans._ By the plentious stock of humors conveyed and drawn in.

_Qu._ But how; doth this abundant moisture, falling into the cavity of the [//p.60] joynts, forcibly thrust the bones out of their cavity?

_Ans._ Not so; but 'tis done in manner following: Pain and Nature cooperating, the one by drawing in, the other by conveying, bring such a quantity of humors to the suffering part (for example, the Hipp,) that thereby, in time, the strong ligaments, which tye the bones together, are so ouzed thorow, that being debilitated they stretch and grow so lax, that the bone falls out of its cavity, and so causeth dislocation: Of which we have many sad Examples.

_Qu._ Doth not this mischief fall often out in other Cases?

_Ans._ It may happen in all the members of the body; and then especially, when an unskilful or imprudent Master by the use of wrong means occasioneth yet a greater afflux of humors than hath been already drawn in by the pain, and turnish'd by nature: Of which, Pareus records a memorable Example in the Dislocation of the knees, caused by a [//p.61] Parisian Master, called Greaulm, fol. 256.112

_Qu._ May this Dislocation be prevented by Art?

_Ans._ Very well; as shall be shewn in that part of our Book, which is to treat of the
Cure of the Gout, and its Symptoms.

**CHAP. XIII.**

**Of the Nodes.**

_Qu._ Is there yet more danger to be apprehended from this Symptom, or its matter?

_An_. There is; for if you take not great care, it will change into an incurable Scirrhus or hard tumor, which in the Gout are called Nodes, according to that of _Ovid_:

— Tolle nosopham nescit medicina pedagram. [_//p.62_]

_Qu._ When comes this swelling to change to such an hardness?

_An_. To borrow the words of _Beverovicius_; when the thin humor is insensibly exhaled, and the sediment rests behind, then will that turn into hard knobs, which bursting of themselves, or being opened, render a chalky or such like matter, whereby our limbs are not only deprived of motion, but also disposed to crookedness.

_Qu._ How many ways are these stony swellings generated?

_An_. Two; either of themselves, or by the unskilfulness of the pretended Artist.

_Qu_. When of themselves?

_An_. The Evaporation of the subtiler or thinner parts of these humors may be caused by the natural and innate warmth of the suffering part, assisted by the adjacent parts, as also by the preternatural heat of the inflammation of the same, without any other external cause: Whereupon the gross, thick, saltish, and carthy parts, [_//p.63_] as the sediment and relics remaining in the limb, are coagulated and concreted.

_Qu._ I understand you very well; but, I pray, tell me also, how many this come to

---

112 _Buschof_ (1675), p.43 にのみ

113 現在ではscirrhus（<ギリシア語skirrhos、硬い）は「硬性癌」と理解されており、たいていは腹、乳腺のものである。_Zedler_によると、「硬く痛みを伴う腫瘍で、身体のあらゆる部分に見られるが、特によく腋に発生する。硬くなった部分の血
pass by the Unskilfulness of Practitioners?

*Ans.* When they apply too strongly repelling, or drying, or too much cooling remedies, which drive the thinner parts inward, or dispel them, and so harden and render incurable the thicker stuff; whereas they should use moderately warm mollifying remedies, thereby to expel and consume the whole matter.

*Qu.* Do these Nodes, when they are caused without the application of perverse remedies, grow on leisurely?

*Ans.* They do so, when they are bred of themselves: For, the foundation of this chalky matter being once lais, 'tis raised and encreased more and more upon every new afflux, and from time to time scaled over, until it comes to that bigness, [//p.64] that it only hinders the motion of the limb, and renders it crooked; but can also stay or have room no longer under the skin, but making it first protuberant, bursts it at length in pieces.

*Qu.* Surely an ignorant Practitioner can bring this to pass much sooner?

*Ans.* So he can, and to such a degree, that the poor Patient in the very first fit of the Gout is for ever deprived of the motion of the suffering limb; of which we have in Banda an Example of a Lieutenant of ours, now lying here in Garrison, called *Jan van Haerlem*.

*Qu.* But may not this growing of Tophes or Nodes be prevented and hindred?

*Ans.* Very well; as shall be taught in the Cure of the Symptoms of the Gout.

*Qu.* Will you proceed now to the second principal you intended, viz. the Cure of the Gout?

*Ans.* I will, after you have heard [//p.65] what I had to say of the Nature and Cause of the Gout, its Seat and Part affected, its Diagnosticks, Symptoms, and the necessity of distinguishing these latter not only from the disease it self, but also from one another: All which have made way to judg the better of a fit Remedy to cure the same; seeing we cannot hope for Cure, before the Malady be throughly understood. [//p.66] [//p.67]
THE SECOND PART:
Of the CURE of the GOUT.

CHAP. I.

Treating of the Cure of the Gout, in general.

Qv. Have there not been at all times men that have pretended to the skill of Curing the Gout?

Qns. Yes indeed; but Experience hath put them to shame: For whereas they have promised cheap and sure remedies against this painful disease, their promise hath notoriously failed, and their Patients have been [//p.68] at last abandoned remediless. See hereof, amongst others, Fabricius Hildanus his second Part, p. 174. where he speaks of one, whom he calls a Monster, that highly bragged, he could conquer that great Enemy of Mankind, the Arthritis or Gout, but was confuted by very sad Experience.

Qv. Why doth he call him a Monster?

Ans. Because of that monstrous and mischievous means by him used, whereby he killed his Gouty Patients. See in the same Hildanus his second part, p. 87, that unhappy preparation of Quicksilver for the Gout.

Qv. But have none of the best Physitians of Europe in so many Ages found any sure Remedy against this Disease?

Ans. None that I know of; they rather call the Gout Ludibrium Medicorum, and the Disease of Rich men; though it seizes also on the Poor, who, if they could be helped, would soon lose that name. Hence [//p.69] 'tis become a Proverbial saying, viz. that he who undertakes to perform something extraordinary, is like him that pretends to Cure the Gout: Which pretenders are usually sent to the Courts of Kings and Princes, to practise their skill on them, who will not fail to make such men rich, as shall perform such undertakings.
Qu. What's the matter then, that the true Remedy hath not been found hitherto? is the fault in the Physicians, or in the Gouty Patients?

Ans. In both, but most in the former, as not knowing the true nature of this Disease, notwithstanding all their Disputes and Discourses about it.

Qu. What do you think of Cardanus\(^{114}\) his saying in the praise of the Gout, viz. That whosoever will stop the source of the Gout, stops withall the source of life: Doth not this imply, that the Gout is incurable?

Ans. He will say, that the Root of the Gout cannot be totally pulled out, though you may strip off the [//p.70] Leaves, that is, remove the outward Accidents thereof.

CHAP. II.

That the Gout is curable by Burning with

Moxa.

Qu. But pray, let me know your opinion in this matter: Is the Gout an incurable Evil, and Cardanus his saying true?

\(^{114}\) ジェロラモ・カルダーノ（Gerolamo Cardano / Hieronymus Cardanus）1501年にイタリアのパヴィアで生まれ、1576年ローマで死去。哲学者、数学者、医師で、ミラノ、パヴィア、ボローニャで教鞭を取った。医学の分野で、病理学、奇形学、感染症について重要な観察を行なった。彼は理論的分野としての医学を実践的医学と同列に置き、それにヒポクラテス・ガレノスの伝統に依存しない実验台を与えようとした。主な著作は以下のものである。De malo recentiorum medicorum usu libellus (Venetia 1536)、Practica arithmetice et mensurandi singularis (Milano 1539)、Artis magnae sive de regulis algebraicis liber unus (Nürnberg 1545)。全集は1663年にリヨンで出版された。（DBD1、DSB 参照）

Zedlerによると「彼は普通の人とは違った足痛風の治療法を持っていた。痛風の痛みに襲われると、彼は強力に中療になり、非常に深く真剣に願望するため、深遠な沈思により恍惚状態に置かれて放心したようになり、痛みについて考えなくなり、自らも気がなくなるのである」。

プロシュは Podagre Encomium を読んでいる。筆者はこの論文を集録本 De Studio Socratis; Encomium Neronis; Astrologicae; Podagre (Rotterdam 1664) の中に見つけた。
Ans. For the comfort of all the Gouty, I here openly and joyfully declare, that 'tis Curable:

Qu. But is not this a presumptuous Arrogance?

Ans. No; for the good God, in compassion to mankind, hath been pleased not only to bring me to the true knowldg of the nature and condition of this Disease, but also to direct me to a specifick and proper remedy thereof, which removes this sore Evil, it being now, through the divine goodness, in our power to quell and tame [//p.71] this Gyant, without making our selves guilty of any vanity.

Qu. What means this, I pray?

Ans. 'Tis the harmless Burning with Moxa, which being three or four or more times repeated, according to the condition of the place which the Gout hath seized on, pulls the Enemy out of his fastnesses. Mark it, the raging Gout in the height of its rage, is first stopp'd in its carrier, and soon after forced to pack away.

Qu. Is this possible?

Ans. It is; for I have succesfully experienced it on my self, and many others.

CHAP. III.

How, and for what this Remedy is used.

Qu. But to speak with order of the Cure of the Gout, what is above all to be considered in this Disease? [//p.72]

Ans. The suffering part and labouring nature is to be succour'd without delay, and the part affected to be delivered of the inclosed damp; the Cure principally consisting herein, viz. in giving an out-let to the Gout breeding or peccant matter, and even in forcing it to evaporate.

Qu. Which then is the remedy, that performs so great an effect? Is it not known in Europe? Where hath it been found out?

Ans. 'Tis Moxa, best known amongst, those of China and Japan; so celebrated, valued, and commended there, that no other remedies are to be compared therewith
upon the account of its excellent performances; considering that there are few pains
in the body, for which they do not use it with great benefit. [//p.73]

CHAP. IV.

What Moxa is, and where to be had.

Qu. But what is this Moxa?

Ans. 'Tis a very soft and wooly substance, made by a very skilful preparation out
of a certain dried Herb.

Qu. What name hath that Herb, out of which this woolly matter is prepared? Is it
not known amongst us?

Ans. The name is unknown to me; but I am well assured, that 'tis one of the best
Herbs under the Sun, and may very justly bear the name of Mater Herbarum.115

Qu. Is there requisite a particular skill to prepare it?

Ans. Yes verily; and there is none of all the Droguists of Europe that have that
skill.

Qu. Is the preparation of it much valued by the Chineses and Japaneses? [//p.7]

Ans. This Art is by those Nations so highly valued, that they will not for any mony
communicate it to other Nations, but do keep it for a great secret.

Qu. Do they in China and Japan publickly vend it?

Ans. They drive a good trade with it, and carry it in whole bales through those vast
Empires for sale.

Qu. Which of those Nations hath the reputation to prepare it best?

Ans. The Chineses do herein far excel the Japaneses; as they also do in preparing
and conserving all other sorts of Medicines.

Qu. Is this prepared Herb in great esteem with those people?

115 これはまるでもくさが何から作られるか、ブショップが知っていたかのようである
。というのはヨーロッパではヨモギは「薬草の女王」とされているからである。
Ans. In so great an one, that they are seldom found to be without it.

Qu. For what use do they employ this woolly substance?

Ans. For an actual Caustick, and an efficacious discharging remedy.

Qu. Against what Diseases, and in what places of the Body? [//p.75]

Ans. Against all indispositions arising from cold Damps and Humors, and in all places of the Body, none (that I know) but the eyes excepted.

Qu. Do they find good from this Caustick.

Ans. Exceeding great, and that with great safety; by vertue thereof freeing the Body from all lurking winds and cold humors.

CHAP. V.

Directing how this Remedy is to be used.

Qu. In what manner do they use this matter for a Caustick, and in what quantity?

Ans. They make between their fingers a little pellet of this woolly substance, which is scarce of the bigness of a small white pea, at one end somewhat sharp, and at the other end flat; and this they put with the flat end on the place where the Burning is to be made, [//p.76] setting fire to the upper sharp end by some small Aromatick sticks, expresly prepared for it, which yield a very gratetul scent.

Qu. Doth this woolly matter catch fire quickly?

Ans. When ’tis competently dry, it catches fire sooner than any tinder: whence the Chinesees employ it also in their Tinder-boxes.

Qu. Doth this pellet, when kindled, turn all to ashes?

Ans. Never wholly, but there always remeins a little bottom that is not incinerated.

---

116 現実の、つまり即効の焼灼器のことで、次第に効いてくる潜在的な焼灼、たとえばある種の薬品に対する。（<ギリシア語 kauterion < kaiein、燃える）
117 オランダ語版の popje、stupaetje に見られる。Buschof(1675)、p.53を参照。
118 芳香のある、つまり香りの良い稲香。
Qu. What may be the cause that 'tis not wholly turn'd to ashes?
Ans. The moisture which by this burning matter is drawn out of the suffering place; of which moisture indeed the greatest part flies away in fume, but yet some of it draws into the burning pellet, and so moistens it that it cannot all be converted into ashes.

Qu. Can the humors under the skin be seen with the naked eye to run towards the burning pellet? [/p.77]
Ans. Very well, it being done with more speed than men are wont to run to an house that is on fire.

Qu. Doth this Burning raise no blisters in the skin?
Ans. None at all; it only causes a little grey speck, though the pellet be divers times successively kindled upon the same place.

Qu. What reason is there for it, that the fire here raiseth no blisters?
Ans. None other, but that the pellet burns not quite thorough to the skin.

Qu. Doth not this Burning cause intollerable pain?
Ans. The pain is very tolerable, because the matter is woolly and soft, not close nor thick; and the pellet is small, and burns not unto the very skin.

Qu. How long lasts the Burning of one pellet?
Ans. About the time of telling fifty.

Qu. How often is the Burning repeated upon one place?
Ans. Ordinaril thrice upon weak [/p.78] and tender limbs; but upon other places, if need be, so often till the pain be removed, although you should (for example in the Sciatica) on one and the same place kindle 25. yea 50. pellets; of which you need not fear the least inconvenience, but may expect the better discharge.

Qu. But doth not this Burning occasion great after-pain?
Ans. None at all; but as the fire is out, you may handle the place burnt without causing any pain; and, which is more, you may crush and press it as hard as you please.

Qu. Doch this Burning take away the pain that is in the place or part, or only mitigate it?
Ans. It doth both, to admiration. [/p.79]

119 乾燥させてすりつぶしたMoxaも火をつけるのに用いた。
CHAP. VI.

What is to be done after the Burning upon the places where it hath been made?

Qu. So then, there is nothing to be done after the Burning upon the part burnt to case the after-pain?

Ans. I told you just now, there is no such thing as after pain: But yet you must not leave weak nature to her self alone, but you ought to aid her, and to use means to separate the little Escar as soon as is possible.

Qu. What is to be done herein?

Ans. Lay a little beaten Leek upon the said Escar, and over that, one of the outermost coats of the same Leek, a little moistned in the mouth; the which, like a plaister, keeps the beaten Leek fast upon the Escar. This being taken off together, some 24 hours after, more or less, you'll see the little Escar disposed to separation, appearing to have round about it a circle [//p.80] of clear skin, which sometimes also rises to a wound or blister, which may with scissers be opened to give it vent.

Qu. Is not this little Escar to be treated with incision, and to be taken away with little pincers or lancets, that so the ill which may lurk there may evaporate? Or is it better to leave it for nature further to open the Escar, and to throw it off?

Ans. Beware to use any severe means (from ill-grounded considerations) or any force; for great pain may thereby be occasioned: And therefore use only warm Platine-leaves to make the Escars fall off, patiently staying till they fall off by that means, and the part heal up; the which is effected by provident Nature her self, if it be good for the part affected.

Qu. But when the Escar seems to be already loose, and even to hang doubled in the little wound, is it not then to be taken away?

Ans. No.

Qu. If the Escar is sever'd, and [//p.81] taken away by Nature her self, and the pus
or matter looks like lard, is not this to be removed one way or another?

*Ans.* You are not so much as to touch it, but leave it to Nature to dispose thereof.

*Qu.* Must you not do your best with the greatest speed to heal up the burnt places?

*Ans.* No; but rather you are to keep them open as long as you can, yet without changing them into Issues by putting peas or pellets into them.

*Qu.* How is that to be done?

*Ans.* By laying upon them warm Platin-leaves, with the rough side to the skin. I say, they must be laid on warm, not cold: And this is to be done not by holding the leaves in warm water, but by laying them on glowing wood-coals; where they must lie until you see them begin to fall-in; and then they are to be taken off and rolled stiff together betwixt the palms of the hands, and then to [/p.82] be unrolled and displaid again, being yet warm and moist, and so laid on the Escar: Continuing this until it be time to heal up the wound; when the leaf, being prepar’d again after the former manner, is to be laid on with the smooth side to the skin; by which means it will heal up without leaving a mark upon the part, and much better than if you had employed the best plaisters.

*Qu.* Why must these [/p.83] Leaf-plaisters lie a great while upon the part with the rough side, and at last only with the smooth side?

*Ans.* Because the rough side draws out, and the smooth side heals?

*Qu.* Is there nothing else to be observed touching these vegetable plaisters?

*Ans.* They are to be kept from falling off by some compress of linnen rags; and to be refreshed or renewed twice in 24 hours.

*Qu.* But in case the burnt places could not well endure the use of linnen compress, how then may these Leaf-plaisters be secured from falling off?

*Ans.* You may lay over them a Diapalma or Basilicum-plaister, only to keep the Leaf upon the Escar.

*Qu.* But if Plantin-leaves be not to be had, may not other leaves serve?

*Ans.* In that case you may use red Cabbage or Colts-foot-leaves; and, if there cannot be had, employ the said Diapalma or Basilicum-plaisters: Which may

---

120 sol は「純粋の薬用、または散剤は薬用や、飲み物の中に、香として、
その他さまざまな意図で潰瘍や外傷に振りかける」。

121 Emplastrum basilicum
chiefly stand you in good stead, when you are travelling by water or land.

CHAP. VII.

Of the admirable Effects of this Caustick.

Qu. May a man rest in this application, and expect the desired cure?

Ans. You may, by God's blessing; and the Physitian may look for honour, considering that in so doing he [//p.84] cureth surely, without inconvenience, and even with pleasure.

Qu. Then, it seems, there is no danger in the right use of this remedy?

Ans. None at all; yea it is such an one, than which there will hardly be devised a better, and of which you will really see a wonderful effect for the good of the Patient.

Qu. Will it succour nature with most speed, and free her of the evil that encumbers and torments her?

Ans. It will; whereas Hippocrates l. 6. Aph. 49. saith, that the Gout requires 40 days to cure it; which Galen seconds, with the adding this condition, viz. if the Physitian understand his work, and the Patient do his part in observing carefully what is prescribed. But this our Moxa, by means of the Burning described, draws this Wolf with speed out of his den, and delivers the Patient instantly from his pains and anguish.

Qu. But is this way of curing sure?

Ans. So sure that it fails not, but is always [//p.85] beneficial; and the success of it is so manifest, that it cannot be doubted.

Qu. But you did add, that it would cure with pleasure; which I understand not, since you have above acknowledged, that this Burning is not without some pain.

Ans. I mean thus, that the Cure is pleasant, in regard that upon a little sharp pain, which lasts but a short time, there follows a great pleasure and joy; the fruits of this short pain being great and every way delightful, forasmuch as the poor Patient, discharged from the intolerable pain of the Gout, instead of his doleful lamentations
and outcries hath now cause to rejoice, and to break out into thanks.

Qu. But is this all, which the Burning with Moxa produceth?

Ans. No; for the same, being timely used, hinders the afflux of humors, though not always totally, yet at least in great part. [//p.86]

Qu. What benefit ariseth from thence?

Ans. Thereby is prevented all the mischief, which otherwise may be occasioned by the afflux of humors; such as is Dislocation and Nodes: Whereas 'tis certain, that those who use this way of Burning duly and maturely, shall never have cause to complain of those grievous effects.

Qu. If all this be true, this remedy may be extolled to the sky?

Ans. Not only that; but it enables the Patient to be upon his legs, and to follow his vocation, if it be not too toilsome; and even to travel without any considerable trouble: By tha same also he is exempt from all other tedious and costly stuff, salves, ointments, plaisters, &c. [//p.86]

CHAP. VIII.

Shewing, that this Burning with Moxa goes beyond all other Remedies of Europa hitherto used against the Gout.

Qu. But when the Physitians of Europe and other parts from hence have better understood the nature of the Gout, will they not be able to find out a better Remedy against it?

Ans. Tis probable, that upon the acquisition of the true knowledg of this disease, they will not deviate so far as before from the way of curing it, and that in all probability they will esehew many errors and mistakes; but they will never find out any better remedy than this Burning with Moxa, it being the best, because the speediest, cleanliest and safest, yea the most genuine, most secure, and most
accommodate means, that can be excogitated by men. [//p.88]

Qu. May not the enclosed wind, which you say causeth all the touble, be drawn out by Sudorificks, Cupping-glasses, Issues, Leeches, or common Causticks?

Ans. By Sudorificks possibly there might be effected the greatest ease, but the evil would not be fully removes, seeing that thereby only the subtilest of the gouty damps would be exhaled. And for Cupping-glasses, Issues, Leeches, and Causticks, none of them is able to fetch out this evil from its deep-lurking hole, which is under the close and firm membrane which invests the bones.

Qu. Is it not advisable to employ Anodines?

Ans. By no means, because the pain is thereby not removed, but only palliated and dulled; but is afterwards raised up into greater rage.

Qu. Is not Letting of Blood beneficial, as many would maintain?

Ans. Letting of blood is better omitted, for these reasons: First, because, according to the opinion of the best, [//p.89] 'tis not advisable, when the pain raging, to open a vein. Secondly, 'tis not the Blood that's peccant or faulty, but the ill-conditioned Damps, which indeed run together with the blood and spirits in the vessels, but do never so mix with the blood, as to make one body, but may easily be sever'd: Whereas 'tis otherwise with the Blood and Spirits, they two making up one body; as the heat and water constitute hot water, or as wine and the spirits thereof make one body of wine. Thirdly, by Blood-letting the noxious Damps are drawn inwards to the Heart, and there occasion much mischief, and the benefit you look for from it will not countervail the harm. Fourthly, the forces of the Patient are thereby diminished, and Nature is enervated in her conflict with the disease; whereas a good Artist ought always to befriend Nature by strengthening her against her enemy; and a wise Physitian will not be forward to shed blood, but preserve it as the treasure of life: And as a [//p.90] Seaman in a tempest will not throw his Bread over board, but rather such commodities as he can be without; so a good Physitian will keep the blood of his Patient, and drive out ill Damps.

122 発汗剂
123 泉門上に行う穿刺。以前はおざと傷をつけて、その中に異物を入れた。たいていは麻屑で巻いた皮の小片か、白いヘレボルスのかから、化膿を促して排出させようとした。
124 オランダ語版ではゲンセイ（Lytta vesicatoria）となっている。
**Qu.** What do you think of salves, oils, or other unctuous medicaments in this case?

**Ans.** They close the pores, and obstruct evaporation.

**Qu.** What opinion have you of hot Pickle, humane Urine, warm Cowdung, &c.

**Ans.** They are means which are apt to mitigate, yea sometimes to remove the pain; but not always, or very slowly, nor radically.

**Qu.** Would not an Hot iron be convenient to make this damp exhale, as was practised in the Sciatica upon *Jacobus Vincus*, Ambassador of the *Prince of Lansbergen*; witness Dr. *Nicolaus Tulpius*125, Burgemaster of Amsterdam, in his Observations, ch. 26. p. 228; by which means that Gentleman was freed from his trouble? [//p.91]

**Ans.** 'Tis too fierce, and withal too dangerous a remedy; practicable indeed, (notwithstanding the contrary judgment of *Fabrit. Hildanus* in his 6th part, p. 501;) but 'tis better to use our gentle way of Burning, which, by far, causes no such pain, and is more beneficial without putting nature so hard to it. To confirm this, I shall now only add, what Herls saith in his Examen of Chirurgery, p. 364. viz.126 The burning with a red-hot Iron is too violent a way for Chirurgiens, and too painful for Patients, and can seldom be used without burning the flesh and muscles. And doubtless all Physicians and Chirurgiens will be of the same mind, as soon as this way of Burning with *Moxa* shall come to their knowledg; my opinion being, that they will never make use more of an hot Iron but in such cases, wherein the said Burning is not powerful enough, as, for example, in the Rottenness of bones, and the like.

---

125 ニコラス・ディルクス（Nicolas Dirx，1593-1674）はNicolaas Tulp・Nicolaus Tulpiusと自称していた。アムステルダムの実家にチューリップのレリーフが掛かっていたためである。ライデンで解剖学と医学を修めた後、アムステルダムで開業、解剖学の専門学校も設立し、これはレンブラントの作品によりその名を残している。一般市民にも人気があり、市長に4度、また名誉職にも選ばれた。彼がいたことで、彼の故郷は特にオランダで最初の薬方を編集することになる（Pharmacopoea Amstelredamensis. Amsterdam 1636）。（NVBW 参照）

126 Cornelis Herls: Examen der Chyrurgie。この著者はオランダ東インド会社の採用試験を受ける若い外科医向けのハンドブックである。第1版は1645年刊。以降は1650年、1663年などとなっている。コルネリス・ヘルスは元書きの中で、この本が優秀で「理解力のある外科医」の採用、また船乗り及び旅行者の健康管理のために大変役立つに役立つことを望んでいる。
Qu. What think you of Spanish [//p.92] Flies, now of so frequent use; of which Jobus van Mekerem writes in his Observations, that he hath used them with much benefit against the Gout, following the advise of Dr. Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius\textsuperscript{127}?

Ans. I esteem, that all intelligent Physicians and Chirurgions will much rather make use of our Moxa for the good of their Patients, they knowing sufficiently the venemousness of those Spanish Flies, and how hurtful they are to the Bladder and other viscera; and having used them long enough of necessity, because they knew no better means. And 'tis remarkable what Aquapendente\textsuperscript{128} warms of the qualities of Spanish Flies\textsuperscript{129} in his Art of Chirurgery, ch. 3. p. 246. concluding with these words. That 'tis madness to use this deadly remedy.

Qu. Is the Burning with Moxa less painful than that with an Iron?

Ans. Incomparably less; nor is it so Dangerous, according to the golden rule of Hippocrates, lib. 2. Aph. 12. That to heat much, and suddenly, [//p.93] is dangerous; but to do it by little and little, and slowly, is without danger. And this is it, what the expert Physitian Guilandin\textsuperscript{130} confesseth in Prosper Alpinus\textsuperscript{131} de Medic.

\textsuperscript{127} ウォピスクス・フォルトゥナントゥス・プレンプ（Vopiscus Fortunatus Plemp, 1601-1671）は、ルーヴァン、ライデン、パドゥアで学び、1633年、ルーヴァンで医学教授に就任。彼はアヴィセンナの著書のラテン語からアラビア語への翻訳に30年を費やした。また重要な眼科学の書（Ophtalmographia）を執筆した。しかし特にデカルトに対する批評が有名である。ブショップはおそらく1644年から1665年にかけてルーヴァンで何度か出版された医学の基礎についての著書（Fundamenta medicinae ad scholae Acriboligiam aptata）を使用したと思われる。

\textsuperscript{128} ヒロニムス・ファブリキウス・アブ・アクワペンデンテ（Hieronymus Fabricius ab Aquapendente /Girolamo Fabrizio d'Aquapendente）は1533年あるいは1537年にアクアペンデンテ（イタリア）で生まれた。パドゥアに学び、1565年、解剖学教授に就任。彼の最も重要な解剖学の書（De venarum ostiolis. 1603）には、静脈についての詳細な記述がある。また卵の中のひなの発達についての研究も有名である（De formato foetu. 1600, De formatione ovi et pulli 1612 を参照）。ブショップはOpera chirurgicaの数多い版のうちのひとつを使用した。

\textsuperscript{129} この南欧産の色鮮やかな甲虫は、乾燥させて皮膚の発疹の治療薬や強精剤（Lytt vesicatoria またはCantharis vesicatoria）として使われた。

\textsuperscript{130} メルヒョア・ヴィーラント（Melchior Wieland, Guilandinus, Villandino）は1520年頃ケーニヒスベルクで生まれ、1589年パドゥアで死去。シシリア、パレスティナ、エジプトへ旅し、1561年パドゥアの植物園長となる。またパドゥア大学で薬草学を教える。彼の有名な著書（Melchior Guilandin: Papyrus: hoc est commentarius in tria C. Plinii maioris de papyro capita. Venetia 1572）はパピルスを扱ったものである。（Toni 参照）
Aegyptiorum, ch. 12. in that remarkable practice of the Burning in Cairo, and thereabout: Which Chapter highly deserves to be considered.

**Qu.** But, Sir, do you not apprehend, that the Aegyptian manner of Burning will go beyond that with your Moxa?

**Ans.** Not at all, being well assured, that the Aegyptians will be very glad to exchange their Cotton and Stramineous linnen with our Moxa, as soon as they shall know the admirable vertue and effect thereof. Nor is the Burning with Moxa by far so painful, as all the world will judg, when they shall see and compare both.

**Qu.** Then, I pray, Sir, be pleased to repeat in short, what remedy it must be, that shall free a man from this disease?

**Ans.** The genuine Cure of this Evil, which attacks suddenly, and will not [p.94] bear delay without great injury to the Patient, consists in the removal of the Cause, and requires a remedy, having these following proprieties. First, it must powerfully open not only the Pores of the Skin, but those also of the Membranes of Bones. Secondly, it must attenuate the cold thick damps, and resist their malignity. Thirdly, it must strengthen the innate heat, and the expulsive force of the part affected,
thereby the better to master and remove the Evil. Now the Burning with Moxa performs all this: It strongly draws out from the deep, and resists all malignity; it attenuates the cold and crasse vapors lurking under the membranes, consuming or extracting them, and so so disburthening nature of her enemy; lastly, it so corroborates the weak suffering par; that it will not so easily receive and lodge again Damps of that nature. [//p.95]

**CHAP. IX.**

**Shewing, that this Burning is very tolerable.**

*Qu.* But do you think, you can easily induce your Patients to undergo this Burning?

*Ans.* Certainly being well instructed they will quickly submit to it; though that kind of Burning which hitherto hath been used in Europe, hath made men very averse from that way.

*Qu.* How may they be best perswaded to it?

*Ans.* I would rather have them perswaded by other prudent and understanding persons, than by the Physitian himself. For as to him, it will be more advisable, he should seem himself cool in this business, and stay to be intreated.

*Qu.* But in case they will not be induced to it out of that perverse apprehension, what then? [//p.96]

*Ans.* If they be so delicate as not to submit to so slight a pain, they deserve not to be cured, and so must keep their Disease: But, I presume, it will be with you as 'twas at first with me, who having from an idle fear refused this Burning, was afterward constrained by the grievous and raging pain to desire the use thereof. And since that Gouty persons must day and night combat against the intolerable pain of the Gout, certainly they will not easily be afraid of this innocent way of Burning. I have seen weak and timorous women, and young maids, which made nothing of it, in respect of the pain they had indured in their teeth and head: Not now to speak of Children, who without much cry and tears have endured this Burning, to be cured of that kind of
Dropsie called the Tympanites, and of other infirmities, and particularly of Convulsions.

*Qu.* But many Doctors and Chirurgions are like to condemn this remedy as new and unknown, and so [//p.97] render it suspected among their Patients?

*Ans.* The Effect will soon silence you, and convince you of envy and ignorance.

*Qu.* But may not this Disease be cured by gentler remedies?

*Ans.* No: You may indeed mitigate the pain by gentler means, but not remove the cuase, vor root the Evil out of the part affected; which may best be done by this our Burning.

---

**CHAP. X.**

**Of the Qualification required in the person that is to perform this Burning.**

*Qu.* Is every one fit to perform this Burning?

*Ans.* No certainly; but it must be one that hath a perfect knowledg of what is requisite to it, both before and after, and that is experienced in it; because considerable mistakes may be committed therein. [//p.98]

*Qu.* What are the particulars, of which this Artist must be well instructed?

*Ans.* First, of the Disease, to the cure of which this Burning is to be used. Secondly, of the Remedy or *Moxa*, and its vertue, as also of the Herb, and the way of preparing it. Thirdly, he must know in what manner this Burning is to be made, and what is to be done both before, in, and after the same.

*Qu.* What else is required thereto?

*Ans.* The Practitioner must be a person of a good sight, not unwieldy of body, having sleady and dry, no trembling nor sweaty hands; for else he will not be able to give to the pellets their due form or shape, to put them fast upon the right place, and to make them catch fire: All which is to be done with a particular dexterity and expedition, that so the patient may not be held any time in fear.
Qu. Pray, will you teach me, how the good Moxa is to be distinguish't from that which is naught? [/p.99]

Ans. By your sight, smell, and touch.

Qu. How by the sight?

Ans. That which is good hath a fine gray colour?

Qu. How by the smell?

Ans. It hath a greateful scent?

Qu. How by the touch?

Ans. It must be soft like fine wool; if it be hard or stubborn, 'tis then unfit for this Burning. And if it have this last quality relating to the touch, though the colour and scent were somewhat decayed, it would not be unfit for this purpose.

CHAP. XI.

Of the little Aromatick sticks, and their Use.

Qu. But where is this Moxa to be had?

Ans. It must by the Commissioners of the East-India Company be sent for out of China: Which will be very well [/p.100] worth the while, since it will prove a gainful commodity in Europe, and be no burthen to ships.

Qu. What use is there of those Aromatick sticks you have mentioned?

Ans. They are necessary to kindle the Moxa with; and these must likewise be had every year out of China or Japan: They also by their pleasing scent when kindled, keep the Patient and Bystanders, and the Operator, from the ungrateful and offensive smell, which the gouty damps emit, when by the burning Moxa they anforced to evaporate; especially if it be considered, what ill the smell a such stinking vapors may cause in our Bodies.

Qu. Are these sticks prepared by Art?
Ans. They are so, and that of several sorts of well-scented wood, of which Santal[134] is the chiefest. And they must be very tenderly handled, being very fragile.

Qu. For what use do the Chineses and Japoneses employ these sticks? //p.101
Ans. For burning; but most for perfuming before their Idols.

Qu. May they be kept good for a long time?
Ans. For some years, of they be kept shut up in a dry box.

Qu. May they not be had at Batavia from China, together with the Moxa?
Ans. They may; but in case a great quantity were required to serve all Europa, it must be sent for from China or Japan.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Place where the Burning is to be made.

Qu. In what place is this Burning to be made?
Ans. In all places where the Goutbreeding matter is seated, and causeth great pain. And here the rule of Hippocrates may be applied: Burn where pain is. Wherefore the [/p.102] Physitian or Chirurgian must needs exactly know the very seat of the gouty pain, without which the operation is for the most part fruitless. And if the application be made but an inch wide from the very part that is in pain, it would not have the desired effect.

Qu. Since it is of that importance to know well the true seat of the pain how may it best be found?
Ans. By the Eye and Touch.

Qu. How by the Eye?
Ans. The Master ought to have Eagles eyes, and then by looking at tentively he will soon spy the place especially if the pain be very great and violent, and the gouty

134 白檀材 (Santalum album)
limb by the affluxed humor not much swelled: For then the Inflammation directs manifestly to the very seat of the pain and shews the hole of this raging wolf. And in this case one may easily see the genuine Gout- or Wind-tumor by taking notice of a little distension and standing out of the skin, appearing like a small pustule; on the [//p.103] extant head of which, if the burning be applied, the Patient will be freed of all pain, so as that the Bystanders will admire, and all Gainsayers be convinced of the vertue and power of this remedy.

Qu. But in case the Seat of the Gout should not be visible, how is it then to be found out?

Ans. Considering that this mostly happens in persons that are the first time attacked by the Gout, and often also in those that are subject to a great afflux of humors from the Gout; it will be incumbent on the Master to be very cautious in finding out the true seat of the pain, that so he may not put the Patient to unnecessary torment. And therefore he must with his fore-finger feel so long upon or about the place, where the Patient complains of most pain, until by the Patients greatest sense he do find out the true place; which, to avoid all mistake, he must touch again and again, and then perform the operation of Burning accordingly. [//p.104]

Qu. Pray, Sir, inform me, Whether the people in China and Japan are subject to the Gout?

Ans. This evil reigns as well in those parts of the World, as in Europe, and even among the Hottentots on the Cape of Good Hope.

Qu. Do these Nations cure them selves and others of the Gout, surely and speedily?

Ans. No, they do not, except it be casually: which may be wondered at.

Qu. What's the matter, seeing they have possessed this excellent means of Burning from immemorial times?

Ans. Tis not the want of a good remedy, but their stubbornness, superstition and perverse custome, that they do not cure the Gout but by chance or good fortune. For they have been taught indeed to burn in very many, but yet in certain determined and prescribed places of the body; not being to be induced to transgress those prescriptions, though the pain should require it. If then [//p.105] it chanceth, that the Gout sits just in the place, where they are accustomed to burn, it is cured; but if it happen to be seated one inch more or less from the place prefixed, and call for the operation of Burning, they let the Patient complain and cry out, and will not succour
Nature where she needs it. And this is the true cause, why they enjoy not that benefit against the Gout by this way of Burning, as they might do.

_Qu._ Is it then allow'd and advisable to burn upon all places where the gouty pain is seated, though there be Veins, Arteries and Nerves underneath?

_Ans._ Yes, without exception; forasmuch as this kind of Burning, being perform'd after my prescription, cannot hurt these parts or vessels; yea 'tis beneficial, by this burning to discharge the swollen veins and arteries of their damps: And therefore the prescribed pellets may and must be burnt out just upon them; as shall be more particularly directed hereafter in the Tooth-ach. [//p.106]

_Qu._ But now, the place being found out, is there nothing that may hinder the Burning?

_Ans._ If there be any hair upon the place affected, that must be shaved off with a rasor; in regard that the least hair impedes the Burning, because it keeps the fine pellet from perfectly touching the skin.

_Qu._ Is there nothing else in the way?

_Ans._ If the place, where the Burning is to be made, be fatty or moist, that fatness and moistness must be taken away, and the place duly cleansed and dried: That done, put the little pellet upon the right place, and there burn it, repeating it so often till the gouty pain be gone.

_Qu._ But how may it best be known what effect this Burning hath produced?

_Ans._ The Patient will soon find that by the diminution of the pain and of the inflammation, and the Master, that administers, must, (if the Burning have been made upon an ordinary [//p.107] place of any tender limb, to three, four or five times successively,) press with his fore-finger hard upon the Escar, to learn whether the dolorifick gouty matter be wholly drawn out or not, which the Patient is with freedom to declare, if he means to be fully cured, and not in part: For, if he deceives the Master, he most deceives and wrongs himself.

_Qu._ If the pain with three pellets be quite removed, as commonly it is, will it be necessary to trouble him with any more?

_Ans._ By no means.

_Qu._ But in case the Patient, contrary to expectation, should out of tenderness and effeminacy, in the burning of the first pellet, which causeth most pain, cry out and grow impatient, what then?

_Ans._ The Master in that case is not to mock or laugh at him, but only shew a
chearful countenance, and entertain the Patient with a discourse of the excellency of
the remedy, of the shortness of the time that the [p.108] operation will last, and of
the number of persons that have been cured thereby.

*Qu.* But pray tell me, Sir, what's the reason, that this Burning hath been so many
years hid from us Europeans, whereas it hath been experienced for so vast a time in
those Indian Kingdoms, where it is so common, and is used for the most part with
great benefit?

*Ans.* This is to be imputed to the carelessness and conceitedness of the Europeans,
because having so good an opinion of themselves, they are ashamed to learn any
good thing from those Pagans; as if they alone were possessed of all knowledg, and
those Nations had no share at all in it: Without which conceit and negligence, this
excellent remedy might have been long before communicated to these parts of the
World. [p.109]

**CHAP. XIII.**

**Treating of the mischiefs, inconveniences,
and dangers of the Burning misused.**

*Qu.* But, may any ill be occasioned by this Burning?

*Ans.* There may; and even in Japan, China, and other places, considerable mistakes
are committed in the Use of this Burning, whereby some, using it without fear or wit,
do cause not only grievous and fistulous wounds, but also lameness of limbs.

*Qu.* Pray, explain to us more particularly, how there evils proceed from this
Burning misused?

*Ans.* To be short, when, after the manner of some Japaneses, the Burning is made
too much and too deep, without due regard had to the places to which the Burning is
to be applied: Whence it comes to pass, that Nature being unable without help to cast
off the Escar (which is great [p.110] and thick) the purulent matter remains within,
and eating in from time to time, causeth a deep ulceration downwards.
Qu. What danger is there of lameness, in case of imprudent Burning?

Ans. When he that performs the operation, burns the Nerves and Ligaments too hard, that may easily occasion convulsions of limbs and lameness: Which evil yet needs not to be scared (no more than that above-mentioned,) if you employ a good Master, or follow my prescription.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Serous swellings of the Gout, bred by accident, and the Cure of them.

Qu. Of what matter do these Swellings consist?

Ans. Of a Serous matter, pervaded with faltness, mostly caused by accident through pain; being of little danger, [//p.111] and not troublesome to cure; especially in or about the Joynts of the limbs, in which these aqueous tumors are very easily bred by pain.

Qu. It seems, you make no great matter of the cure fo these swellings, which yet Physicians count very troublesome to cure, knowing that they are not to use any repercussive means in this case?

Ans. 'This serous humor cannot be better discharged than by our way of Burning; and that is so sure and safe, that no body ever needs to apprehend from these swellings any ill, much less incurable nodes or knots, forasmuch as by our Burning the humor and other feulent matter evaporates, whereby also the part affected is strengthned, and preserved from all putridness. [//p.112]
CHAP. XV.

Of the Nodes and Stony Tumors, and their Cure.

Qu. Whence arises that Stony or Chalky hard swelling in the external parts?
Ans. From the faeces or sediment of the serous swelling; as hath been taught in the Symptoms of the Gout.

Qu. Is there a difference to be made between these hard Tumors?
Ans. There is; for there is a great difference between a Schirrus that is hardned, unmovable and indolent, and such an one as is but coming on, and not yet hardned.

Qu. Are both these kinds curable?
Ans. The first yields to no remedies; the other is best and soonest cured by our Burning, whereby it is fully discharged, without any reliks remaining behind.

Qu. Have you experience hereof.

Ans. I had a notable one in our chief [//p.113] Chirurgery, Francis de Ray, a very skilful Master, who in his Art had serv'd our East-India Company near 30 years. He was exceedingly tormented by the Gout, and got a Schirrus upon the fore-part on his right hand, which though it took not quite away the Use of the hand, yet did very much disable and weaken it by a notable intumescence; which being by my advice burnt and so opened, was in a little time perfectly cured; the matter of the Schirrus, thence discharged, white like mixed chalk, which the Patient himself took up with a Spatula, and having laid it on a paper, shew'd it me, being dried; whereupon his hand was so strengthened, that he could use it at pleasure. In like manner the same person freed himself from such another impersect Schirrus, seated upon the great Joynt of the great Toe on his left foot.

Qu. When, I pray, is the best time to perform this Burning on the head of the imperfect Schirrus?

Ans. Then when the Gout returns [//p.114] again to the schirrous part; which very easily comes to pass in those that are much subject to the Gout; for, in following this Prescript, you kill two Birds with one stone, and cure at the same time the Gout and the Schirrus.

Qu. Will not this Burning mollify and cure a perfect Schirrus?
Ans. I have not tried this hitherto; mean time I trust, there are means to be found, if not totally, yet in part to remove this evil.

Qu. What then think you to be most advisable in this case?

Ans. To open, (as often is done and must be done) the skin, and to take out the matter of the Schirrus as far as is possible, and that done, to heal up with my Coridons or Leaf-plaisters the skin as well as you can.

Qu. But then, if this should succeed well, can you preserve the place thus weakned from a new afflux of humors?

Ans. I think, I can, and that after this manner: If the Schirrus were, for example, upon the knuckle of the [//p.114] fore-finger, I would then duly burn the limb under it on the hand, and thereby intercept all ill humors, and so keep them from flowing to the weak part.

Qu. But what, if that should fail you, and the Gout surprise the limb with a new afflux of humors?

Ans. Then should I resolve to hinder those humors from coagulation and induration by the advantage of our Burning remedy; by which means you may at least take away the disfigurements, which these nodes cause in the limbs, if you cannot restore the use of the limbs.

Qu. It seems, you have some hopes even of the last?

Ans. I have, because I know, that the nodes do lodg not in the very Joynts, but about them; and being discharged one way or another, 'tis found that the Joynts are free, provided only that the veins and arteries, yea the nerves too, be not so obstructed by the bigness, hardness and diuturnity of this stony tumor, [//p.116] that the pervasion of the Blood and Animal spirits cannot by fit means be restored; in which case the limb must needs remain stiff.

**CHAP. XVI.**

**Whether there be different sorts of the Gout,**
and an Essential difference betwixt them?

Qu. Are not almost all Physitians of opinion, that there are different kinds of the Gout, essentially differing from one another; or at least, that there is the Cold and the Hot Gout?

Ans. They are; but they mistake being misled by the external Symptoms: For, all Gout ariseth from cold, dry, and malign damps.

Qu. But yet the Gout may be distinguished?

Ans. It may, in divers respects, and principally, First, in respect of the Limb it seizes on; whence are the [//p.117] names of Chiragra, Sciatica, Podagra, &c. Secondly, in respect of the quantity, and quality, grossness or subtilty of the Gouty matter, more or less malignity; whence proceed the denominations of the Running and Fixed, Young and Old, Adventitious and Hereditary Gout. Thirdly, in respect of the greater or less afflux of humors. Fourthly, the Gout is either with nodes, or without nodes. Fiftly, there is a Gout which is seated in or about the Joynts, and another (though that be rarely perceived) which lodges it self in the midst of the limbs: And this is to be noted against all those, who will not acknowledg such a Gout for any Gout; which is a great mistake, and no longer tolerable, because Experience teacheth us otherwise. [//p.118]

CHAP. XVII.

Means useful to prevent the Gout.

Qu. What general means do you think to be good to prevent the Gout?

135 手首の痛風
136 膝関節の痛風
Ans. These following: First, you must beware of windy meat and drink. Secondly, you must avoid great and violent commotions of the mind, especially the passion of anger. Thirdly, neither must you put your body into too violent motions and exercises, nor afflict it with nightwakes. Fourthly, you must take continual care to keep your body soinble, and to prevent costiveness, not to remove the same too suddenly. Fifthly, 'tis beneficial, to take a gentle Vomitive after your meal, once a week. Sixthly, as soon as you perceive any signs of a Fever (the mother of the Gout,) then is it proper to take a sudorific, by the advice of some experienced Physitian, to open the pores, [/p.119] and to promote evaporation. Eighthly, since that many of the chief Physicians forbid wine to Gouty persons, as if it were poison to them; (though Sennertus is not so peremptory therein, but that he allows even to those that actually are in a gouty fit, a cup of good and sincere Rhinish wine, especially if the Patient cannot forbear it:) I see no reason in the World, why these Patients should be so quite debarr'd this strengthening and cordial liquor, (wine,) as in and after the fit; especially if it be a good condition'd wine. And my opinion is, that such a wine is so far from being noxious, that it is beneficial to them, for many reasons, which Van Helmont alledged at large in his Book of Fevers; whose judgment I cannot but subscribe to in this matter. [/p.120]

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Tooth-ach or the Gout of the Teeth, and the Cure thereof

Qu. Is there also a Gout of the teeth; for I have been inform'd by Dr. Wilhelmus de
Ryne, who lately is arriv'd here, that there is publish'd a treatise in Europe, entituled, Of the Gout of the Teeth?

Ans. Thus is very properly express that kind of tooth-ach, which hath the same proximate Cause with the Gout, and ariseth from cold Damps, as the Gout doth, which otherwise, according to the common opinion is bred from Desluxions.

Qu. But seriously, do you think, that the Gout and Tooth-ach come from the same Cause?

Ans. Ti's certain to me (whatever some may alledged to the contrary,) that the next cause, the part afffected, the seat, the ways, the signs and symptoms are the same in these [//p.121] distempers, and do agree together.

Qu. Is then the Cure of the Tooth-ach to be perform'd after the same manner as of the Gout?

Ans. By no means, the Tooth-ach is to be cured in another place, because that the place, where the pain hath its seat here, is within the mouth and the teeth, where you cannot come to burn with our Moxa?

Qu. Would you then have the Temporal Artery open'd with a lancet, (this seeming

---

137 ヴィレム・テン・ライネはオランダのデフェンター（Deventer）の出身で1668年、21才の時にライデンで医学の博士号を取得。1673年に、医師として東インド会社に入る。将軍が、大学教育を受けた医師に会いたがっていると考えた会社は、彼を先ず日本へ送った。出発前にバタヴァでヘルマン・ブショフに会って、刺激を受け、日本で炎法に関する情報を集めることにした。テン・ライネは1674年から1676年まで出島に滞在し、その間に西洋医学を指導したり、東洋医学についても熱心に調べた。その成果は1683年に、痛風やモグサ、鍼、及び経絡についての論文を含む著作集として発表された：Wilhelmi ten Rhyne M.D. &c. Transsilalano-Daventriensis Dissertatio de Arthritis: Manista Schematica: De Acupunctura: Et Orations Tres. I. De Chymiae ac Botanieae antiquitate & dignitate: II. De Physiognomia: III. De Monstris. Singula ipsius Authoris notis illustrata. Londini MDCLXXXIII.

1677年にバタヴァで名誉執事となりハンセン氏病院を経営する。スマトラでは金銀鉱山の管理を手伝い、1681年には東インドの最高裁判機関にあたる法律議会（Raad van Justitie）の委員に任命される。収入は1682年には100ギルダーになり、商人を除けば東インドの最高水準に達した。アジアにおけるハンセン氏病に関する書でも先駆者として知られている（Verhandelingen van de Asiatishe Melaatsheid na een naukeuriger onderzoek ten dienste van het gemeen. Amsterdam 1687）。上述の Dissertatio de Arthritis には発表当時、日本におけるモグサを用いた焼き付けについて非常に詳細な情報が含まれていた。エンゲルベルト・ケンベルが1712年に発表して有名になった論文（「中国及び日本でよく行われている灸」）で、テン・ライネの文章をかなり参考にしている。（Dorssen, Michel 2001 参照）
to be the way by which the evil damp may be expelled out of the teeth;) as some hath ventur'd to do, to the great ease of the pain?

Ans. This means is too dangerous, because it is very subject to occasion an Aneurisma, and spends too much of the vital spirits.

Qu. What do you say then of scarification in the neck or upon the shoulders; or of purging, or of blood-letting?

Ans. These are the like remedies seldom give ease.

Qu. Would you have then the aching Tooth pulled out? [//p.122]

Ans. Not at all; that way being a desperate one, and not only accompanied with great pain & mischief to the poor Patient, but also occasioning many evils, and even death it self. But take me right, I pray; for I here only speak of that kind of Tooth-ach, which is above described, not of that which comes from the Rottenness of teeth.

Qu. What then, may we follow Spigelius\(^\text{138}\), whole manual operation Scultetus\(^\text{139}\) mentions in the 18th of his Chirurgical Observations; who with h is knife, heated red-hot, did cut off that little branch of the temporal artery which runs through the Ear to the teeth; by which means the pain presently vanished and never return'd.

Ans. 'Tis true, that Scultetus speaks with great commendation of this device, calling it a Chirurgical remedy of wonderful vertue; which the Author hath first practised upon himself, and afterwards, in Scultetus his presence, upon others (always with good success:) And this hath been further improved by others: [//p.123]

\(^{138}\) アドリアン・ファン・デン・スピーゲル（Adriaen van den Spieghel / Spiegelius）は1578年にプリュッセルで生まれ、1625年にパドヴァで死去。マリーヌとパドヴァのFabrizio d'Acquapendenteのもとで学ぶ。博士号を取得の後にベルギー、ドイツ、モラビアを旅行し、それからパヴィアで解剖学と外科学の教えを得る。早逝の原因は、彼の無謀な働き方にもあると思われる。以下の著作がある：De lumbrico lato liber（Padua 1618）、De humani corporis fabrica libri X（Veneta 1627）、De formato foetu liber（Padua 1626）。

\(^{139}\) ヨハン・スクルテトゥス（Johannes Scultetus、本来はAnton Schultze）は1595年にウルムで生まれ、1645年にシュトゥットガルトで死去。イタリアのFabrizio d'AcquapendenteとAdriaen van den Spieghelのもとで学び、1621年にパドヴァで医学と哲学の博士号を取得する。特にSpieghelの信奉者とされている。パドヴァとパルマでしばらく開業した後、1625年に町医師としてウルムへ戻る。新たな医療器具、特に骨折用のものを多数開発した。唯一、名声を得た著作は死後に発表されたものだった。J. Sculctei Armamentarium chirurgicum（Ulm 1655）。（ADB参照）

BuschofはJ.B. LamzweerdeとP.H. Verduynによってかなり広まった1661年のオランダ語訳または1657年のオランダ語訳を使用していた可能性がある。
For whereas *Spigelius* made use of a red-hot knife, to cut off the said little branch on
the outside of the Ear; others have used a little slat cauterising Iron, in a silver case,
that they might go safely, and not burn deeper than was fit; and therewith they have
burnt off and sear'd within the Ear, the same ramification of the Carotid Artery, with
the like happy success: As I my self have experienced 26. or 28. years ago at
Arnheim, where Dr. *N. Coets* did, by this means, immediately free me from an
intolerable tooth-ach. I have also understood here in India from very credible
Persons, that D. *Godefridus Dellius*¹⁴⁰, Minister at Kooten near Wyck of Durstede,
hath cured many of that pain by this very means.

*Qu.* Since this is so excellent and effectual a remady, shall we then stand by it, or
is there something to be said against it?

*Ans.* So there is; and to deal plainly with you, it ought to yield to a better remedy,
viz. to our burning with [/p.124] *Moxa*, tha which in the Gout of the Teeth serves not
only for a discharging but also for a revulsive intercepting remedy, which always
produces good (if used according to my prescript) and never the least evil. For,
whereasby the former way, of using the red-hot knife and the cautery, the body loses
one of the necessary and the nobler kind of blood-vessels, to the detriment and
spoling of the teeth; by our way those vesels are preserved entire and unhurt. Tis true
indeed, that the pain of the teeth by the former art is so removed as that it never
returns (in case that whole branch be burnt off;) but this is also true, that by such a
cauterising operation there is for ever cut off that afflux of the blood and vital spirits,
through this fear'd artery, to the teeth; whereupon at last must follow an exiccation
and mortification of the teeth.

*Qu.* Since then you prefer your burning with *Moxa* before all other remedies in the
Tooth-ach also, pray, teach me, where it is to be applied? [/p.125]

*Ans.* Just upon the temporal artery, where the same in the Temples, not far from
the Ear, beats strongest in a violent Tooth-ach; which is that place where
Chirurgians are wont to apply their Mastick-plaisters¹⁴¹, &c.

---

¹⁴⁰ ホーデフリディウス・デリウスは、1680年代にアメリカへ行ったようである。
キングストン（アルバニー）の古いオランダ改革教会の洗礼と結婚の記録に、
Domine Godefrius Delliusなる人物が記載されている。彼は1683年から1699
9年までここで活躍した。（BMRDCK, Preface参照）

¹⁴¹ マスチック（くギリシア語 mastiche）はマスチック（Pistacia lentiscus L.）の樹脂
Qu. But is the burning with Moxa upon the temporal arteries not too dangerous?

Ans. Not at all, if your work be done carefully; yea it is a means very beneficial, and hath been practised by the father Physicians, of Hippocrates himself.

Qu. After what manner then is this Burning to be performed; must it be done as in the case of the Gout?

Ans. Just so; only you must in this case Kindle lesser pellets, and these to the number of three upon one place, and no more; though it be not forbidden, at some little distance from the burned place to perform anew the like burning; which may be done not only without fesring the least mischief from it, but also with an expectation of more ease.

Qu. Is this Burning followed by a [//p.126] Mitigation or by a Removal of the pain?

Ans. It performs both, in an admirable manner, and that instantly, or presently after, without fail; unless, unknown to the Patient and Operator, the Tooth-ach should proceed from a hidden rottenness of the Teeth.

Qu. But, Sir, how will you make it out, that this is a revulsive and intercepting remedy, and withal discharging the part affected from the evil which afflicts it?

Ans. This is as clear as the Sun at noon-day, and that from the effects: For the Damps, which were already by the expelling power of the Heart driven out into the place that is between the membrane and the teeth, and there produced so great pain by the expanding of the sensible membrane, are by this our Burning drawn back to the place where the Burning is made, and other Damps intercepted that were on the way, and so the body, according to with, disburthen'd from both, and the blood purified. [//p.127]

Qu. Mean time the learned Sennertus saith, that the true means duly to purge the blood hath not yet been found out: Is that true?

Ans. It is; for the ways hitherto found out to purify the blood do not deserve that name. For, the matter being well considered, they do something else than discharge the blood of its impurities: And I am of opinion, that unto this very time there hath been found out no better means for that purpose than what we here propose;

で香りが良く、フィリピン産はスペイン語の商品名で Goma almáciga と呼ばれた。包帯を固定したり、東洋では噛んで傷の臭いを和らげるのに用いられた。
forasmuch as thereby the Blood is suddenly and most safely purged of all noxious damps.

Qu. What is to be done after the Burning for the Tooth-ach?

Ans. After this slight Burning there remains only a little gray speck, which needs not to be look’d after, because it dries and heals up of it self, and serves till then for a vent to the evaporating damps. [/p.128] [/p.129]

AN APPENDIX
Concerning Three Remarkable OBSERVATIONS.

OBSERV. I.

About the Removal of the Faling-Sickness by our way of Burning with Moxa. 

Jacobus Jonas, about 13 years of age, Son of Jonas Aertz, who was chief Chirurgion in the Hospital of the Noble Company in Batavia, having taken a fancy (against his Fathers command) to see the sad and dismal agonies of dying persons in a place where desperate and incurable persons were lodged, did upon a Sunday morning see one of those give up the ghost in so affrightful a [/p.130] manner under such terrible convulsions, that being more than usually terrified therewith, he could not forbear to speak of it at Table with amazement: At which relation his Father being much troubled, did severely rebuke him for so dangerous a curiosity, strictly commanding him, never to repair to that place again, from an apprehension, least one time or other he should rue such a curiosity. But behold! The boy laying himself down upon a bench after dinner, to take (as ’tis common in that place) a nap in the afternoon, there appear’d to him (as he related afterwards) in a dream that fearful departure of the dead, so lively to his fancy, that in a fright he awaken’d, crying out a
loud, and, seized on with a terrible fit of the Epilepsy. To which distemper he remained a great while subject, and in such a manner, that upon the least disturbance he fell into new fits, of which his Father was not able by any of the means by him employed to free him. [//p.131] This did so grieve the good old man, that in all likelihood it contributed not a little to his hasty death.

It hapned, that upon occasion I visited the widow of this Chirurgeon, where seeing this Youth halting, I asked what the cause of it was. He shewing me a swelling above his left knee, accompanied with grievous pains; I was apt to conclude that it was a Gouty distemper, and resolved, thereupon, with the consent of the parties concerned, to treat it as such; employing my way of burning, which I did with three pellets consumed on one place: whereupon all pain being vanished, the youth instantly walked without any inconvenience. I put upon it a Coridons plaister, and order'd him to renew it twice in 24 hours. And since that time he never had any fit of the Falling-sickness; doubtless because that the venemous Damps, which caused this grievous distemper, had been evaporated out of the body, or rather had been thence drawn out by the Moxa.¹⁴² And 'tis [//p.132] observable, that (according to the relation made me by the Lad's Mother,) this Damp never caused in him a fit of the Falling Sickness, till it had first for a while tormented the place above-mentioned, no otherwise as if it had been the Gout. Now, when this peccant matter did ascend from the knee to the Head (which usually fell out every sixth or eighth da,) it was attended with a sensible Dold in the passage of this Damp, yet acting so slowly, that the Youth had time enough to give warning to his Mother of a new fit, that so she might take the better care of him.

**OBSERV. II.**

**Concerning the Cure of a Mad Female-Slave,**

¹⁴² エンゲルベルト・ケンペル（Engelbert Kaempfer, 1651-1716）の『囯奇観』（1712刊）にも同様の記述が見られる：「隣接諸国の黒い民族は癱瘓発作の場合と慢性症状の場合には、もくさを中国人以上に用いるが、実際に痛みが軽くなるらしい。彼らは、全上頭部皮膚に幅の広い長いもくさを置いて灸を立てるのだが、場合によって、すべての医者に見放された病気が、この方法で治ったと言われている。」『日本の歴史と紀行』、下巻、附録、491頁を参照。
by the Burning with *Moxa.*

Ursula, one of our Female-slaves, being sent out to buy some fish for our family, and come to the place where the Fisher-men use to be with their boats, and having seen one of them arrived with fish, she stept over several of those boats to get into that, where she might buy. Which having done, and stepping back again over those boats to shore, she was frighted at the sudden and unexpected sight of a drowned Humane body, she had stept over, that had been brought up to be viewed by the appointed Officer. Which fright did so seize her, that she fell down and quite fainted away. But being somewhat recovered, she was brought home with the fish in her hand, but out of her wits; which the same night was follow'd by such a fit of Madness, that at first we knew not what to do. But having recollected our selves, we resolved to send for the Guinam-Doctress, to hear her advice, since she had so successfully cures me of the Gout. She came the next morning, and being well inform'd of the circumstances of this case, and demanded whether she know any [//p.134] remedy for it, she answer'd, That she would use her Art, and hoped God would bless her operation. What doth she? She bids the other slaves that were present to hold this poor she-slave falt, and binds the hair of her head close together, into a knot; which done, she makes one of the most robust slaves to hold that hair-knot with his hand, and to turn the Patient's head which way she, (the Doctress) would have it. Whereupon she began to burn with her *Moxa* close under the hair, from the fore-part of the head unto the neck, and from the neck again to the fore-part, round about; performing this so artificially and gently, that hardly any mark cou'd be perceived: Whereupon this poor mad creature, to the admiration of us all, fell into a sweet sleep, of which she awaken'd towards evening in very good health and in her right wits, without ever after relapsing into that grievous fit of madness again; it being now about Ten years since her recovery. [//p.135]
OBSERV. III.

Touching a Strange Catalysis or Stiffness cured by the Moxa.

One of our she-slaves, which my Wife had lent to our chief Chirurgion William Persant (who a little while before had married one of my daughters,) was about evening, as she was at work without doors upon the wall, suddenly surprised with this distemper, so that in a trice she became as stiff as a statue, without any hearing, seeing, speaking, or moving any limb. The said Chirurgion having tried upon her the utmost of his skill to no purpose, and I being made acquainted with the condition of this wretched slave, my Wife and Son, upon my desire, went immediately to her, and according to my direction burned her upon the Arteries of her temples: Which was no sooner done, but she recover'd the use of her senses and the Motion of all her limbs, [/p.136] and she enjoys to this very day a good state of health.

I conclude with the advice of the never too much celebrated Nicolaas Tulpius, in the first Book of his Medical Observations, chap. 8. where he saith, You Chirurgions, take good notice of the wholesome Use of Causticks; it shall turn to your Credit, and to the Benefit of your Patients. [/p.137]

FINIS.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>県考文献</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BLHÄ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMRDCK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BWN

BWOP

Barbette

Beverwijk (1652)
Alle de Werken, soo in de Medycyne, als Chirurgye, van de Heer Dr Ioan van Beverwyck, oude Schepen der Stadt Dordrecht. Amsterdam 1652.

Bischko

Blankaart

Blussé / Opstall / Ts’ai
Bruijn / Gaastra / Schöffer et al.

J. R. Bruijn, F. S. Gaastra, I. Schöffer et al.: Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries.

Buschof (1675)


Buschof (1676)

Two Treatises, The one, Medical, Of the Gout, And its Nature more narrowly search’d into than hitherto, together with a new way or discharging the same. By Herman Busschof Senior, of Utrecht, residing at Batavia in the East-Indies, in the service of the Dutch East-Indian Company. The Other Partly Chirurgical, partly Medical; Containing Some Observations and Practises relating both to some extraordinary cases of Women in Travel and to some other uncommon cases of Diseases in both Sexes. By Henry van Roonhuysse, Physitian in Ordinary at Amsterdam. Englished out of Dutch by a careful hand. London: Printed by H.C. and are to be sold by Moses Pitt at the Chapel in St. Paul’s Churchyard 1676. [14], 136 p.; [6], 208, [4] p: add. engr. t.p., engr. folded plates; (8 vo)（W・ミヒェル蔵）

Buschoff (1677)

Das genau untersuchte und auserfundene Podagra Vermittelst selbst sicher=eigenen Genäsung und erlösenden Hüllff=Mittels / Durch Herrmann Busschoof den älteren von Utrecht / zu Neu=Batavien in Ost=Indien wohnhaft / Niederländisch beschrieben /

Campbell

Cartas
Cartas qve os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China [...]. Em Euora por Manoel de Lyra. 1598.

Cocks

Coolhaas

Copeman

DBDI

DSB

Dam

Delpeuch

ENI
ETM
大塚恭男（ほか）編『講談社東洋医学大事典
Encyclopedia of Traditional Medicine in East
Asia』東京：講談社 1988.

Feucht
Gerhart Feucht: Die Moxabehandlung in Europa.

Frois
Luis Frois: Kulturgegensätze Europa — Japan (1585).
(Monumenta Nipponica Monograph 15).

GOIC
Willem Wijnaedts van Resandt: De gezaghebbers der
Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare buiten-comptoiren in
Azië. (Genealogische Bibliothek 2) Amsterdam:
Liebaert 1944.

Gehema
& Med. Extraord. Eroberte Gicht / Durch die Chinesche
Waffen der Moxa. Worin aus gnugsamer Erfahrung
angewiesen wird / daß die beste / geschwindeste
kürzeste, sicherste und bequemste Genesung / so
bißhero noch erfunden worden / bestehet in dem alhier
angeführten Methodo oder Curirungs=Kunst. [...] 
Hamburg: Schultzze 1683.

Georgi
Theophili Georgi, Buchhändlers in Leipzig,
Allgemeines Europäisches Bücher-Lexicon: In
welchem nach Ordnung des Dictionarii die allermeisten
Autores oder Gattungen von Büchern zu finden, Welche
[...] noch vor dem Anfange des XVI. Seculi bis 1739
inclusive, und also in mehr als zeyhundert Jahren, in
dem Europäischen Theile der Welt, sonderlich aber in
Teutschland, sind geschrieben und gedrucket worden
[...]. Leipzig [...] 1742-58.

Grimm
Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm.

Hilden
Guilhelmi Fabrici Hildani observationum et curationum
cheirurgicarum centuria 2. epistolis nonnullis vironum
doctissimorum nec non instrumentis chirurgicis ab authore inventis illustrata. Genevae: Chouët 1611.

**Hüls / Hoppe**

**Kaempfer (1777 - 79)**

**Kaptchuk**

**Kraft**

**Kundmann**

**Leca**

**Lu / Needham**

**Michel (1993)**
Wolfgang Michel (Ed.): Hermann Buschöf: Das genau untersuchte und auserfundene Podagra, Vermittelst
selbst sicher=eigenen Genäsung und erlösenden

Michel (2002)  ヴォルフガング・ミヒェル「日本に関する観察 一
1 6 6 9年刊行の文献とその背景について」[Ernst
van Hogenhoek and his “Observations Concerning
Japan” (1669)]. 片桐一男編『日蘭交流史 一 その
人・物・情報』京都：思文閣出版、199-227頁。

Montanus  Denckwürdige Gesandtschaffen der Ost=Indischen
Gesellschaft in den Vereinigten Niederländern an unter-
schidliche Keyser von Japan [...] Aus den Schriften
und Reyseverzeichnüssen gemelter Gesanten gezogen
Durch Arnoldus Montanus. Amsterdam: Jakob Mors
 [=Meurs] 1670.

Montanus  Gedenkwaerdige Gesantschappen der Oost-Indische
Maetschappy in’t Vereenigde Nederland, aen de
Kaisaren van Japan [...] Getrokken uit de Geschritten en
Reiseaentekeninge der zelver Gesanten, door Arnoldus
Montanus. Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs 1669.

NGL  Nürnbergisches Gelehrten-Lexikon oder Beschreibung
aller Nürnbergischen Gelehrten beyderley Geschlechtes
nach Ihrem Leben, Verdiensten und Schrifffen zur
Erweiterung der gelehreten Geschichtskunde und
Verbesserung vieler darinnen vorgefallenen Fehler / aus
den besten Quellen in alphabetischer Ordnung verfasset
von Georg Andreas Will. Nürnberg, Altdorf: Lorenz
Schüpfel 1755-1808.

NNBW  Philip Christiaan Molhuysen, P. J. Blok: Nieuw
Nederlandsch biografisch Woordenboek: Met
medewerking van tal van geleerden. Onder red. van P.
C. Molhuysen en Pieter Johan Blok. Leiden: Sijthoff
1911-1937.

Paré  Les Oeuvres d’Ambroise Paré. Conseiller et premier
Chirurgien du Roy [...] Paris 1579.
Pauly


Porkert


Pschyrembel


Purmann (1692)


Purmann (1699)

Matthaei Gotof. Purmanni, Chirurgi und Stadt=Artztes zu Breßlau Herausgegebene Chirurgia curiosa, darinnen ein jedweder chirurgus nicht allein [...] finden kan, was in die gantze Wund-Artzney vor künstliche Operationes [...] gehören, sondern auch solche [...] mit [...] Observationen bewähret wird; In 3 Theil u. 73 Capitel abgetheilet [...]. Frankfurt, Leipzig: Michael Rohrlach 1699.

Purmann (1710)


Reichert

Karl E. G. Ritter von Reichert: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Moxa. Deutsches Archiv für die
Geschichte der Medizin und medizinischen Geographie. 1879, Band II, p. 45-76.


Ribadeneira Juan de Legísimá (ed.): P. Marcello De Ribadeneira / Franciscano / Historia De Las / Islas Del Archipiélag / Filipino Y Reinos De La / Gran China, [...] Y Japón. Barcelona 1601 (Reprint, Madrid 1947).


Scultetus Cheiroplotheke, seu D. Joannis Sculteti Armamentarium chirurgicum: XLIII. tabulis aeri elegantissime incisis, nec ante hac visis, exornatum; opus posthumum, medicinae pariter ac chirurgiae studiosis perute et necessarium in quo tot, tam veterum
Sennert

Sydenham (1681)

Toni

Unschuld

Valentijn

Valentini (1686)

Valentini (1704)
Museum Museorum Oder Vollständige Schau=Bühne Aller Materialien und Specereyen [...] Unter Augen geleget von D. Michael Bernhard Valentini, Ihr Hoch=Fürstl. Durchl. der verwittibten Frau Landgräfin zu Hessen=Darmstadt / Leib= und Hof=Medico, der Arztney und Natürl. Wissenschaften prof. Ord. zu Giessen / auch verschiedener Curiosen Academien in Deutschland und Italien Collegâ. Franckfurt am Main:

ac recentiorum instrumenta. Ulm: Balthasar Kühnen 1655.
Zunner 1704.

Valentini (1719)  
Viridarium Reformatum seu Regnum Vegetabile, das ist: Neu=eingerichtetes und Vollständiges Kräuter=Buch: worinnen [...] derer Vegetabilien als Kräutern, Sträuchen, Bäumen ... beschrieben werden, daß man [...] jedes Kraut zu seiner rechten Haupt-Art bringen [...] Teutsch verfasset; [...] auch vortreffliche [...] bewährte Recepte [...] als eine kurzgefasste Hauss-Apotheck beygefüget / [...] aus denen berühmtesten botanischen und medicinischen Schrifften [...] zusammen gebracht [...] von Michael Bernhard Valentini. Und endlich denen Liebhabern göttlicher Wunder [...] ein Opus mago-cabalisticum [...] beygefüget und communiciret. Frankfurt am Main: Heinscheidt 1719.

Van Dam  

Vocabulario  
Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam. Nangasaqui 1603. Supplemento 1604. （復刻版、勉誠社、1973年）

Wurmb / Wollzogen  

Zedler  
Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste [...] Leipzig und Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler 1732ff.

イギリス商館長日記  
東京大学史料編纂所『日本関係海外史料 イギリス商館長日記』東京大学出版会、1979年。

石田秀実  
石田秀実『中国医学思想史』東京大学出版会、1992年。

古賀十二郎  
古賀十二郎『長崎洋学史』下巻、長崎文献社、1
973年。

十四経絡発揮鈔 谷村玄仙纂輯『新刊 十四経絡発揮鈔』万治4（1661）年刊（九州大学附属図書館医学分館所蔵）。

日葡辞書 土井忠生・森田武・長南実編註『日葡辞書』岩波書店、1980年。

日本の歴史と紀行 エンゲルベルト・ケンペル著、今井正翻訳『日本誌』日本の歴史と紀行霞ヶ関出版会社、1973年、下巻、491頁を参照。

本郷正豊 本郷正豊著、小野文恵解説『鍼灸重宝記』横須賀：医道の日本社、1959年。

フロイス ルイス・フロイス『日欧文化比較』岡田章雄訳注、岩波書店、1965年（大航海時代叢書XI）。改題『ヨーロッパ文化と日本文化』岩波文庫、1991年。

松田・川崎 松田毅一・川崎桃太訳『日本史1 豊臣秀吉篇1』中央公論社、1977年。

魯・ニーダム 魯桂珍、J. ニーダム『中国のランセット - 鍼灸の歴史と理論』橋本敬造・宮下三郎訳、創元社、1989年。
acrimony, 44
Aertz, 91
after-pain, 66, 67
Alpino, Prospero, 73, 74
Alpinus = Prospero Alpino, 74
Ancients, 49
Anodines, 71
Aquapendente = Fabricius ab
Aquapendente, 73
Art of Chirurgery, 73
arteries, 32, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 80, 84, 90
arteriotomy = blood-letting, 49
Barbette, Paul, 16, 43, 53
Basilicum-plaister, 68
Batavia, 78
Beverwyck, Jan van, 16, 33, 34, 39, 41, 44, 45, 59
blood, 84, 91
blood, impure, 37
blood-letting, 71, 88
blood-vessels, 89
Book of the Gout, 41
botão de fogo, 2
burning, 24, 49, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 90, 91
burning, 79, 80, 81, 82, 90
burnt places, 67
Buschoff, Hermann, 1
cabbage, 68
Cape of Good Hope, 79
cardano, Gerolamo, 62
cardanus, Hieronymus, 62
catalepsis, 94
Cauliac, Guido de = Chauliac, Guy de, 38
Chauliac, Guy de, 16, 38, 42
China, 63, 64, 77, 78, 79, 81
Chinese, 64, 78
Chinese doctors, 38
chiragra, 46, 85
Chirurgery, 53
Cocks, Richard, 4
Coets, N., 89
colics, 27, 39, 41
cordial, 42
Coridon's plaister, 92
Caesar, 7
cupping-glasses, 71
curing the gout, 61
damp, dolorific, 55
damps, 16, 32, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 46, 48, 49, 50, 54, 58, 63, 71, 75, 80, 85, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92
damps, cold, 39, 41, 65
damps, cold thick, 74
damps, expelling, 39
damps, foetid, 42
damps, gouty, 39, 40, 45, 47, 71, 77
damps, gross, 39
damps, ill-conditioned, 71
damps, malignant, 47, 49, 52
damps, morbid, 47
damps, noxious, 91
damps, pernicious, 48
damps, smoaky, 38
damps, thinness and thickness of, 38
Dellius, Godfredidius, 89
Dirx, Nicolas = Tulp, 72
dislocation, 58, 70
Emplastrum Basilicum, 68
Emplastrum Diapalmae, 68
epilepsy, 39
escar, 25, 67, 68, 80, 81
essence of gout, 44
evaporation, 59, 63
Examen of Chirurgery, 72
expulsion, 48
Fabricius, 16, 35, 39, 61, 72
Fabricius ab Aquapendente, 73
Fabrizio d'Aquapendente, 73
fainting, 54
falling-sickness, 27, 91, 92
Fernel, Jean, 41, 46, 47
fevers, 41, 48, 50, 53, 54, 86
flatus or winds, 39
flesh, 24, 32, 57, 72
Flory, Thomas, 21, 36
Frois, Luis, 2
Galen, 16, 43, 44, 45, 46, 69
Georgi, Theophilus, 14
gonagra, 46
gout, 25, 26, 38, 44, 73, 79, 84, 85, 93
gout is curable, 63
gout of the shoulders, 54
gout of the teeth, 87, 89
gout, cold, 40
gout, definition, 32
gout, running, 38
gout-tumor, 79
Gouty, 55
Gradibus, Mathaeus de, 38
Gradibus, Matthaeus de, 17
Greulum, 58
Guanerius, Antonius, 17, 37
Guiladinus, Melchior = Wieland, 73
Haerlem, Jan van, 60
head-aches, 38
Herls, Cornelis, 72
Het Podagra, 13
Hilden, Fabricius van, 16, 35, 39, 61, 72
Hippocrates, 40, 42, 44, 69, 73, 78, 90
Historia do Japão, 2, 3
Hottentots, 79
humidity, serous, 37
humor, 45, 47, 59, 65, 66, 84
humor, affluexed, 45
humor, afflux of, 36, 58, 79, 85
humor, cold, 37
humor, serous, 34, 56, 82
humor, warm, 45
humor, acrimonious, 45
humors, 40, 57
humors, afflux of, 37, 51, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 70
humors, conveyed, 57, 58
humors, sharp, 45
humors, tumifying, 25
humors, windy, 40
Indian doctress, 24, 25, 93
inflammation, 51, 53, 59, 79
Ischiatica, 46
Japan, 63, 64, 77, 78, 79, 81
Japanese, 64, 78
Kaempfer, Engelbert, 21
knobs, 59
Krafft, Johannes (Crato), 26
Kundmann, Johann Christian, 15
Laurentius, Warner, 36
Laurentius, Werner, 21
leaf-plaisters, 68
leek, 67
ligaments, 44, 45, 58
ligaments, membranous, 43
locus dolendi (患部), 19
Lytta vesicatoria, 73
madness, 93
Mater Herbarum, 64
matter, 25, 64, 65, 80, 83
matter, burning, 66
matter, chalky, 60
matter, cold, 41
matter, dolorific, 33, 34, 57
matter, feculent, 82
matter, fuliginous, 38
matter, gout-breeding, 55, 56, 58, 78
matter, gouty, 33, 36, 37, 40, 44, 45, 46,
 bearing, 49, 50, 51, 52, 54, 85
matter, morbid, 34
matter, noxious, 48
matter, offensive, 48
matter, pain-breeding, 57
matter, pain-causing, 57
matter, painful, 50
matter, peccant, 34, 36, 37, 47, 49, 63, 92
matter, purulent, 81
matter, serous, 58, 82
matter, spirituous, 40
matter, woolly, 65
Medecina, 39
membrane, 43, 44, 46
membranes, 45, 52
Mexico, Lourenço, 2
moisture, 42, 54, 57, 66
moisture, abundant, 58
moisture, afflux of, 57
moisture, conveyed, 57
moisture, gouty, 44
motion, 52
motion, vitiated, 52, 53
Moxa, 25, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74,
  75, 76, 77, 78, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93
Moxa, use of, 63
nodes, 56, 58, 59, 60, 70
Observations, 72
Oldenburg, Heinrich, 4
Ovid, 59
pain, 24, 25, 26, 31, 34, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49,
  52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 61, 66, 71, 72,
  73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 88, 89, 90, 92
pain, beating, 52
pain, boiling, 36
pain, distending, 52
pain, gouty, 25, 53, 56, 78
pain, raging, 54
Paraeus, 35
Paré, Ambroise, 16, 35, 38, 42, 58
Paraeus = Paré, Ambroise, 38
pellet, 65, 66, 68, 76, 80, 90, 92
periostium, 43, 46, 51, 52, 57
Persant, Willem, 94
Philosophical Transactions, 5
plaister, 42
Plemp, Vopiscus Fortunatus, 73
pleurisy, 27, 38, 46
Podagra, 16, 46, 85
Podagra dentis (歯の痛風), 20
Praxis, 43
preternatural heat, 59
prevention of the gout, 85
pulsation, 49
Purmann, M. Gottfried, 14
Ray, 83
Rhijne, Willem ten, 87
Ribadeneira, Marcello de, 3
saltiness, acrimonious, 37
Schmalkalden, Caspar, 7
Schmidt, Martin, 21
Schultze, Anton = Scultetus, 88
Sciacia, 54, 72
scirrhous, 56, 59, 83, 84
Scultetus, Johannes, 88
Sennert, Daniel, 16, 26, 33, 34, 37, 39, 42, 86, 90
serum, saltish, 34
Smith, Martin, 36
Spanish Flies, 73
Spiegelius = Spieghel, 88
Spieghel, Adriaen van den, 88, 89
spirits in the vessels, 71
sticks = 線香, 65, 71, 77, 78
substance, spirituous substance, 38
swelling, 33, 34, 56, 59, 83, 92
swelling, accidental, 34
swelling, external, 55
swelling, gouty, 35
swelling, internal, 56
swelling, invisible, 32, 36
swelling, outward, 51
swelling, prenatal, 56
swelling, serous, 55
swelling, visible, 34
swellings, 32, 37, 59, 82
swellings in the gout, 56
swellings, two sorts of, 34
swellings, windy, 37, 39, 44
symptoms, 31, 42, 51, 53, 54, 55, 83, 85
ten Rhyne, Willem, 21
Tesschemaker, Samuel, 9
Thunberg, Carl Peter, 21
tooth-ache, 27, 38, 45, 46, 49, 57, 80, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91
Tract of Flatus, 42
Treatise of the Gout, 39
Tulp, Nicolaas, 72, 94
tumor, 35, 36, 39, 44, 51, 55, 56, 82, 84
tumor, external, 34
tumor, gouty, 55, 56
tumor, hard = scirrhous, 59
tumor, internal, 32
tumor, serous, 33, 56, 57
tumor, windy, 39, 51, 56
Tympanites, 39, 76
Ursula (Buschol’s slave), 93
Valentini, Michael Bernhard, 22
Van Helmont, 86
Van Hogenhoek, Ernst, 4
Van Mekeran, Jacobus, 73
vapour, 37
veins, 47, 50
vessels, 50, 80
Vincus, Jacobus, 72
Vinderus, Willem, 8
vital spirits, 89
Vocabulario da Lingoa de Iapam, 3, 4
Wieland, Melchior, 73
winds, 37, 39, 42, 43, 44, 56, 65
winds, intruded, 52
Wind-tumor, 79
windy tumor, 56
Zeelandia, 9
ヴィーラント、メルヒョア, 73
taiowan, 6, 7
dīlūx, 72
ブレンプ、ヴォビスクス・フォルトゥ
ナットゥス, 73
ヘルス, コルネリス, 72
マスチック, 89
火のポタン, 2
完骨, 21
喜望峰, 6
腫れ（オランダ語, geswel, 英語 swelling ）, 16
女医, 12
焼き綿（Brennwolle）, 14
蒸気（damp）, 17
線香 = sticks, 65
台灣, 6
日葡辞書, 3, 4
浮白, 21
翳風, 21