Readings in Tokugawa Thought

Third Edition

SELECT PAPERS, VOLUME NO. 9
The Center for East Asian Studies
The University of Chicago
READINGS IN TOKUGAWA THOUGHT

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THE CENTER FOR EAST ASIAN STUDIES
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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Preface to the Third Edition

In this third edition, we have included several new texts: Oshio Heihachirō’s Gekibun, Watanabe Kazan’s Shinkiron, Yoshida’s Shōin’s Ryūkonroku, Sakuma Shōzan’s Chokuyu Sōan and Jōi no sakuryaku ni kansuru kenshu atte tōshinsho, and Saigō Takamori’s Toda Taketoshi e no kyōkun. Additionally, we have also included an excerpt of a letter from Ernest Satow regarding the nature of the ishūn movement in late Tokugawa times.

T.N.
January 1998
Preface to the Second Edition

Continued support from the Center for East Asian Studies and a positive reception from our colleagues has made it possible to offer a revised and expanded edition of this *Tokugawa Reader*. The goal of the *Select Papers* series is to provide an opportunity for publishing quality translations and original scholarship and to make these works available at low cost to colleagues and students in East Asian Studies.

We are especially grateful, then, that two individuals generously offered their time and scholarship to provide additional texts to extend the temporal and thematic scope of the *Tokugawa Reader*: Robert Kramer, who translated part of *Nampōroku*, an important text on the tea ceremony; and John Breen, for his translation of *Bankoku Kōhō*, which offers a glimpse of late Tokugawa thought on the idea of an international community.

In response to the suggestions of several of our colleagues, two changes have been made to the present edition: fuller bibliographical references are provided in a note at the beginning of each essay, and we have provided short biographical notices on the authors at the end of the book.

Once again, special thanks must be extended to James St. André, who co-ordinated the project and proofread the new contributions. Thanks also to Trevor Anderson for having the patience to revise his translation of *Gōmō Jigī*; to Thomas Looser, who pointed out many of the all-too-numerous typographical errors in the first edition; to Sharon Hayashi, who assisted with the bibliographical and biographical work; and to R. Williams for his help in designing the cover.

*Tetsuo Najita*

*August 1994*
Preface to the First Edition

The following collection of translations is organized neither in terms of a coherent design, nor in terms of a prior editorial policy; rather, it reflects the interests of various faculty members and students engaged in formal seminars, advanced language courses, and informal reading workshops. It may be best seen as parts of each individual translator's larger enterprise. The translations have been used over the last twelve years at the collegiate level in courses such as the *Introduction to Japanese Civilization*, and we hope that collecting them together will offer like readers a glimpse into the intellectual history of the Tokugawa period (1600-1868).

Japan's modern consciousness is to a large extent shaped by the conceptual events that inform Tokugawa intellectual history, which may indeed be considered one of the most remarkable eras of intellectual and cultural achievement in all of East Asian history. Although this volume makes no claim to providing a comprehensive or composite characterization of Tokugawa thought, the translations touch on a number of conceptual issues containing long-term significance. These include discussions on the meaning of "history" (Ogyū Sorai, Hattori Nankaku and Itō Jinsai); "political economy" (Dazai Shundai); "agronomy" (Kaibara Ekiken and Miyazaki Yasusada); "Nativism" (Kamo No Mabuchi and Motoori Norinaga); and "action" (Miura Baïen and Aizawa Scishisai). There is also in the texts evidence of an eccentric willingness to take intellectual risks in a world in apparent crisis and decline (Tominaga Nakamoto, Hiraga Gennai, Shiba Kokan) and the suggestion of an intellectual history of thought and practice in castletowns and country villages (such as the villagers of Shimomuroga) - a history in which not just the aristocracy but the population as a whole was involved.
In compiling this issue, editorial interpretations and biographical notes have been deleted; the translations are to be read in the first instance as "texts". It is our view that the intellectual movements taking place within them are accessible through the mediation of translation to students who are not specialists of Asian history and culture.

Special thanks must be extended to the following for their work in the review of translations and in copy-editing the texts: Kei Ushimura, Takahiko Hayashi, Martin Pierce Griggs, Thomas Looser, and Arjun Mabey. James St. André co-ordinated the project in its final stages. We are also grateful to John W. Boyer, Dean of the College, for his encouraging support of the study of Japanese civilization.

_Tetsuo Najita_  
_Sepetember, 1993_
The Way is difficult to comprehend and explain to others because it is truly vast. Confucian scholars of recent eras claim their own individual perceptions to be the entire Way, but these perceptions are all only aspects of it.

The Way is in fact the Way of the Ancient Kings. From the days of Tzu Ssu and Mencius, however, the Confucian School has formed to contend for supremacy among the one hundred schools, inevitably diminishing the full meaning of the Way.

When we consider Tzu Ssu's *Doctrine of the Mean*, we find that it is a critique directed against Lao Tzu, who had said that the Way of the Sages was a fabrication. Tzu Ssu countered with the view that the Way conformed with human nature and that it was not a fiction. In the end his argument came to rest on the concept of human "truthfulness." The Mean, however, refers to only one among several forms of moral behavior, and therefore is said to be "chosen." Tzu Ssu relied on the idea of the Mean to explain the meaning of the Way and to show that Lao Tzu's views were not in accordance with his [own] ideas. However, the conclusion drawn by later scholars that the Mean is identical with the Way is erroneous. Those who were first to create things in the ancient world are called "Sages." Confucius was not one of these creators. Thus, to defend Confucius against the criticism that he was not a sage, Tzu Ssu advanced the view in *The Mean* that "realizing truthfulness" is a sagely virtue and that this also meant respect for goodness, [for] responsible behavior, and [for] status. Still, the concept of "truthfulness" is only one of the virtues of the Sages and certainly cannot be seen as exhausting the meaning of the Way.

When we examine Mencius's theory about the goodness of human nature, we find he follows the same trend of thinking as Tzu Ssu. Mencius erred in distorting the view of human nature explained fully by Kao Tzu through the metaphor of the pliant

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willow. Even Tzu Ssu, whose main intent was to show that the sages relied on human nature in building the Way, did not ask each individual to conform to his own nature so as to realize the natural Way within himself. Unlike other trees, the willow can be shaped into cups and bowls. But surely these utensils are no longer the same things as the willow in its natural state. Mencius uses the ideas of compassion and shame to substantiate the point that benevolence and propriety are essential to the human self. In truth, compassion does not suffice as an explanation of benevolence, and shame is not always in accord with propriety. Once these distorted ideas were set forth, small discrepancies became enormous fissures. The idealist schools of later times find their beginnings here. Actually, Hsün Tzu's critique of Tzu Ssu and Mencius was well taken. Thus, while Tzu Ssu and Mencius may be seen as defenders of Confucianism against its critics, Hsün Tzu is in our eyes a loyal sentinel for having spoken the truth.

The era we are dealing with, however, is not far removed from Confucius's own time, so that the customs of his age are still around and names and [the] things [to which they refer] are still [very] much in accord[ance with each other]. With Han Yu in the T'ang Dynasty, an enormous change in the language takes place. When we come to Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers, who were great men in their age, we find that they can no longer understand the ancient language. Finding that they cannot read and grasp the Six Classics, they rely on the easily understandable Doctrine of the Mean and on Mencius and persuade themselves that the polemical views found there explain the basic meaning of the Way of the Sages. They also filter the ancient tongue through the expressions of their own day and are unable to comprehend actual meanings: they separate name from reality and follow only abstract arguments that are disconnected from the original language. Thus it is that the teachings of the Ancient Kings and of Confucius fade from view.

In recent years the eminent scholar Itō Jinsai presented some ideas that were close indeed to the central meaning of the Way. However, he examined the Analects through Mencius and interpreted ancient texts in the light of modern language, so that, in the end, his position remained similar to the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi of the Sung Period. Also, he made a distinct division between the Way of the Ancient Kings and the Way of Confucius, and he favored the Analects over the Six Classics, which reveals that he had still read these Classics in a Japanese manner. When I peruse his treatise on the ancient meaning of the Analects (Rongo Kog), I doubt very much that it uncovers the meaning of things in ancient times.
Alas, with the passage of time the Way of the Ancient Kings splintered into the narrow interpretations of the schools of Confucian scholars. Chu Hsi and Lu Hsiang-shan followed Hsün Tzu and Mencius and contention among factions became increasingly intense, each splinter group becoming more narrow in its focus. How lamentable.

Blessed by the wondrous spirit of Heaven, I managed to obtain the writings of Wang Shih-chen and Li P'an-lung and through them discovered, for the first time, the existence of ancient literature. Since then I have read the Six Classics in small amounts over a long period of time and gradually acquired the ability to comprehend the relationship between terms and reality. Only after succeeding in this could I understand the meaning of the vocabulary I encountered and to speak with some confidence about the Six Classics. These Six Classics contain descriptions of essential things that comprise the Way. The Han Book of Rites and the Analects interpret their spiritual meaning. These explanations together with concrete examples constitute the Way. If concrete things are disregarded and only general explanations are stressed, the result, aside from exceptional cases, will be arbitrary thinking. Han Yü, Liu Tsung-yüan, the Ch'eng brothers, and their disciples all exhibit this failing.

I am now already past fifty. Should I die suddenly without having made the effort to achieve my aim in life, I will fail to realize Heaven's calling. In my spare moments, therefore, I write down my thoughts ever mindful of Heaven's grace. I have noted some of my basic ideas in several sections for students who may wish to study with me.

II

The Way that Confucius taught is the Way of the Ancient Kings, and the Way of the Ancient Kings is to bring peace into the world. Confucius always wished to restore the order of Eastern Chou in his home kingdom of Lu. In his teachings, therefore, he urged each of his students to fully develop his individual talent in order to best serve the administration.

But because he could not become a political leader, Confucius devoted his energies toward compiling the Six Classics and transmitting them to later generations. The Six Classics embody the Way of the Ancient Kings. It is erroneous to separate them from Confucius's teachings as has been argued in recent years. To bring peace throughout the land personal self-cultivation is essential, but the self must be nourished to want peace. This is what is meant by Benevolence.
With Tzu Ssu and Mencius a certain kind of Confucian school was established. A fanciful idea came to be promoted about the mission of the teacher: by studying and becoming a sage, it was said that a teacher could then dedicate himself to the kingdom and naturally bring about peace. This reminds us of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu who saw the virtue of the sage as being eternal, and treated external things, as compared to things of the self, lightly. This of course differs greatly from the actual teachings of the Ancient Kings and of Confucius. It is for this reason that Confucian teachers have not been able to fully develop the internal talents of the disciples in their schools, and have also failed to shape a tradition of effective rule. They stand to be criticized for arguing only in the abstract with a disregard for practical applications. Surely this situation is a result of the discrepancy between what they perceived to be the Way, and the Way as it actually is.

III

The term "Way" encompasses all things created by the Ancient Kings, such as rituals, music, the law, and statecraft. The Way does not exist apart from these concrete things. One gains a sense of this relationship in the saying "the wise understand the large frame of reference and those of lesser mind comprehend the details; yet in each of these details reside the Way of Wen and Wu." To cite another example, Confucius once chided Tzu Yu, one of his disciples, for governing the little town of Wu Ch'eng with majestic music, saying that it reminded him of a heavy-handed cook shredding a chicken with a cleaver. Tzu Yu responded correctly, however, by saying that both princes and ordinary human beings had access to the Way. The Han scholar K'ung An-kuo used this anecdote to explain that the Way was ritual and music. This suggests that Confucian thinkers in Han times continued to understand the meaning of ancient concepts.

In later periods, however, with such figures as Chou Lien Ch'i, scholars came to prize fine minutiae and to despise the coarse and unrefined. Lien Ch'i based his view of the Way and of concrete forms on the Book of Changes. The Way as specifically discussed in this book, however, referred to the idea that forms correspond to arrangements of yin-yang symbols, and various instruments are fashioned out of specific standards of measurements. Lien Ch'i seemed quite oblivious to the fact that the Book of Changes is really a book of divination and cannot be seen in the same light as the other Classics. Sung scholars, moreover, understood the Way to be the universal principle
operative in all things. Each of them equated his subjective intention as being that principle, however, and from that perspective sought to design rites, music, the law, and government. The Ancient Kings, however, were sages. It is wholly presumptuous, a failure to comprehend human limitation, to assume that anyone can grasp the extraordinary power of the Ancient Kings to create rites and music.

In recent years some scholars have based their teachings exclusively on the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Mencius*. They see the Way as being a combination of filial piety, brotherly respect, and the other five forms of virtuous behavior: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness. They simply do not understand that in the *Doctrine of the Mean* the five ways of behavior originally referred to a premise in the Way of the Ancient Kings - that there are five essential items that are applicable to everyone from the king on down to commoners. These items did not, however, explain the entirety of the Way. In addition to the reference in the *Mencius* - that the Way of Yao and Shun can be reduced to two points: piety to parents and respect for elderly brothers - it is actually saying, as did the *Doctrine of the Mean*, that one must always begin at the bottom to reach a high place. Surely it does not mean that piety and brotherly respect exhaust the various meanings in the Way of Yao and Shun. Consider also that in equating the Mean with the Way one tends to choose the Mean according to one's subjective wishes. Without identifying with the Way of the Ancient Kings what would one use as the normative basis to substantiate the Mean? There is the further view of the Way as ceaseless flow, which Itō Jinsai describes as the natural interaction of life and death, but here too is the same sort of thinking that prizes fine minutiae and despises the coarse and the unrefined. None of these views recognize that the term "Way" is a broad, inclusive term.

IV

The Way was constructed by the Ancient Kings. It is not natural. Possessing extraordinary intelligence and wisdom, these Kings received Heaven's mandate to be rulers. With total dedication, they set forth to establish peace under Heaven, and, committing their enormous spiritual and mental powers to the task, they created the Way to guide the actions of later generations. How could the Way of the Ancient Kings be located in nature?
Fu Hsi, Shen Nung, and the Yellow Emperor may be said to be Sages. What is important, however, is that they did not go beyond providing practical advice about survival, whereas the ancient regimes of Chuan Hsü and Ti K’u and those of Yao and Shun brought ritual and music into existence for the first time. With the following dynasties of Hsia, Yin, and Chou, the Way was shaped into its finest splendor. The Way was created over hundreds of years by a number of brilliant Sages and was not the achievement of a single individual over one lifetime. Confucius himself understood the Way only after much study. Regardless of this, how could one say that the Way of the Ancient Kings is located in nature?

The Doctrine of the Mean says that by conforming to one’s essential human nature one discovers the Way. When this view was stated, Lao Tzu had already denounced the Way of the Sages as artificial. Tzu Ssu thus wrote the Doctrine of the Mean, defending Confucian tradition, explaining that the Ancient Kings conceived of the Way by conforming to the realities of human nature. He did not say that this Way is to be found in nature, nor did he maintain that the Ancient Kings, by relying on human nature, did not engage in the creation of concrete things. This is best illustrated when a tree is cut to build a house. The natural essence of the tree must be relied upon, but the structure itself is no longer the same thing as the natural tree. In nature, things continue as they are in their natural form. Human beings build and order things that they take from nature. Later Confucian scholars did not understand this notion, and confused Nature and the Way to be the same thing, thus reducing their thinking to those of the Taoists Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu.

V

Great wisdom and intellectual power was given at birth to the Ancient Kings by Heaven. Human beings do not ordinarily achieve this kind of virtue with their own strength. Therefore, the theory that through study an individual might transform himself into a sage was never advanced in ancient times. Although the Virtue of the Ancient Kings embodied many different meritorious elements that are difficult to express with a single term, the use of the word “Sage” pertains primarily to one virtue: to their having created things; it is without question the only reason why the Ancient Kings are called Sages. Had they acted only in terms of their internal (private) virtue, they would not be worthy sons of Heaven. And if the name “Sage” was applied to all the wise kings of later ages who ruled on the basis of benevolence, then there
would be no difference between them and the Ancient Kings. Because the creation of rites and music was such a magnificent thing, the honorific Sage was used. However, it designates only one aspect of their Virtue. For example, in the *Book of History*, both "sageness" and cultural ability are prized as virtues. In the *Book of Songs* sageness and reverence are paired. And in the *Rites of Chou*, sageness is listed third among six virtues. How then can sageness be synonymous with the Virtue of the Ancient Kings? Once the Virtue of the Ancient Kings was termed "Sagely," the term "Sage" was considered the most dignified way of referring to them.

Tzu Ssu upheld Confucius as a Sage. There is no known evidence, however, that Confucius created anything. Tzu Ssu also made the outlandish assertion that the Way conforms with human nature so that he found himself arguing that through scholarship one could develop one's nature and become a sage. He concluded by thus identifying a sage as one who is in accord with internal human truthfulness. Later he postured as a sage for the political purpose of persuading King Liang and Ch'i to realize the glory of the kingdom of Chou. Even as he did this, however, he clearly doubted himself as being a true sage of the same order as Yao, Shun, Wen, and the Duke of Chou. Hence he even referred to mediocrities like Po I and Liu Hsia-hui as being sages.

Tzu Ssu lived at a time when the customs of Confucius's era were still within memory. Tzu Ssu's language, therefore, conveys a tone of reverence. In referring to the sages, he spoke of godliness and mystery. Mencius saw the sage as one who primarily avoids unrighteous action and does not kill a single innocent human being to seize an empire. But this designates a benevolent person merely, and not a sage. If we look at Mencius closely, however, we find that he too made allowances of the sort just mentioned about Tzu Ssu, because his time was relatively close to Confucius's time. But since these two figures were hasty in their reformatory polemics they relied on volatile language, so that the ancient meaning of the sage became obscured. It is a pity.

To repeat my point, kings and princes in later dynasties maintained and practiced the rites and music of Ancient Kings without criticism. These rites, music, laws, and government embody the Way through which the Ancient Kings promoted peace in their kingdoms. This is Benevolence. Kings and princes in later times are called "benevolent men" precisely because they relied on the rites and music of the Ancient Kings. One does not become a sage by studying, although through study one might become a benevolent person. Thus, while Confucius taught his students the idea of Benevolence, he did not once urge them to become sages. The foregoing is indicative of the greater faith that
later generations, in general, have placed on Tzu Ssu and Mencius, the Cheng brothers and Chu Hsi than on the Ancient Kings and Confucius. This is, of course, an unfortunate mistake.

VI

Confucian scholars direct their students to strive toward distant and ideal goals, which an ordinary human being cannot possibly attain. They say that these goals are the ultimate norms discovered by the ancient Sages. What a reckless idea. The saying that the Ancient Kings built norms refers to rites. Han Confucian scholars interpreted norm to denote the Mean. They knew moreover that Tzu Ssu used the Mean to convey the essential meaning of rites. Now, while this view is not entirely correct, its central theme does not divert too far from the original idea so that the ancient meaning could still be communicated from teacher to student.

The Ancient Kings created rites in such a way that the wise from above as well as the ignorant from below could identify with them. This is the meaning of norm - to be easily within the grasp of ordinary human beings. If this were not so, then ordinary people would find themselves seeking goals they could not attain and if they were urged to seek such goals mankind would be frustrated in its yearning for goodness. Certainly, this was not how the Ancient Kings intended to bring peace to the world. Therefore theories that say that the natural principle of all things represents an absolute ethical norm, or that human beings can transform their specific character to become sages through scholarship are all foreign to the teachings of Confucius and of the Ancient Kings.

In recent years, Itō Jinsai demonstrated his awareness of these erroneous ideas. However, he continued to identify the concepts of filiality, brotherly respect, benevolence, and righteousness as true norms found in human conduct. Is this a reasonable view to take? Do human beings in fact determine internally the meaning of norms such as filiality? What, indeed, is the normative basis of any ethical concept? Much of what we are told is merely arbitrary, as in calculating a meter without centimeters or using a ruler without gradations.

VII

For Confucius, Benevolence was the most important idea, because Benevolence embodied the essence of the entire Way of
the Ancient Kings. The Way of the Ancient Kings is to bring peace and well-being to the world. There are, to be sure, many facets to the Way, but what is crucial is the promotion of peace among men. What underlies the idea of Benevolence is reverence and devotion toward Heaven's imperative. When Heaven calls on individuals to become princes, lords, or retainers, they must have subjects below them to direct. When Heaven calls on persons to become gentlemen, they must support wives and kinsmen. These men must all dedicate themselves to the goal of achieving peace. Retainers and gentlemen, moreover, support the prince as they respond to their calling from Heaven. Benevolence is the greatest single virtue in the Way of kingly rule.

It might be added that it is a normal human feeling to love and be affectionate as it is to nourish, support, and protect others. Mencius himself taught that "an individual should behave as a human being ought to, and that the collectivity of such human behavior is called the Way." And Hsün Tzu observed that "the prince always means society." The Way of human existence, in short, never refers to a single individual but invariably to a myriad of individuals living together in some coherent manner.

If we looked far and wide in our world today, would we find a person living totally in isolation? Retainers, farmers, artisans, and merchants mutually support each other; they would not survive otherwise. Even thieves organize themselves in groups, or they too would languish. The figure who unifies a multitude of individuals is called the King. In unifying the people, the encouragement of generous feelings toward each other and nourishment in developing their natural abilities correspond to the Way of the Ancient Kings. Each individual who seizes this idea of the Way of the Ancient Kings and develops fully the virtue in himself may be called a benevolent person.

It should be added that the gentleman who develops his own virtue by studying the Way of the Ancient Kings must also be aware that this Way has numerous facets. Human nature is also highly plural. If each individual, grasping the peaceful intention of the Way of the Ancient Kings, strives to develop himself in light of Benevolence, then he will be able to discover in his own special character an identification with an aspect of the Way. Examples of individuals who fully realized their own special talents are Confucius's disciples: Yu in his courage, Tzu his pure intelligence, Ch'in his artistry. For realizing their own virtues, they may be seen as benevolent men who were capable of promoting peace and well-being. An additional point should be stressed regarding individuals seeking to realize their own virtue. When I and Chi realized their virtue of high-mindedness, Hui his gentleness, and Yin his loyalty, they did not sacrifice the specific character that
they possessed, and this in no way undermined their ethical stature as benevolent individuals. Had they not consciously identified themselves with Benevolence, they would not have been able to realize their special talents and virtues. The Hundred Schools disputed with each other because they failed to understand this. Yet it is for these reasons that Confucius and his disciples taught the value of Benevolence.

In Mencius’s concept of compassion, benevolence is explained as tender human feeling. Since in his theory human goodness was assumed to be essential to the human self, his reliance on the idea of affectionate feeling was unavoidable. Individual human beings do possess the spirit of loving others, but since political nurturance does not extend to all people, affectionate feeling cannot really be described as Benevolence. Mencius himself was aware of this and therefore spoke of benevolence as the basis of governance. Later Confucian thinkers, however, failed to take into account the fact that Mencius sought to incite the people of his day. Entirely convinced by the appropriateness of Mencius, these thinkers endeavored to achieve benevolence. They believed that by cultivating the feeling of compassion in themselves, they would realize the Benevolence of the Sages. This is of course mindless illusion.

The proponents of this view have said that “there is benevolence in Buddhism too, although not righteousness.” How can this be so when there is no principle in Buddhism that concerns itself with establishing ordered peace on this earth? In the case of Mo Tzu, benevolence was deemed to be the highest ideal of the Way of the Ancient Kings. But then he proceeded to believe that benevolence permeated all things. While it is true that the Great Virtue of Nature is called Life, and Benevolence is the Great Virtue of the Sages, Mo Tzu misunderstood the plurality of virtues. If the Virtue of Nature were “Life” alone, how can the different seasons be explained? If the Sages’ Virtue were only Benevolence, how would we account for courage, wisdom, trust, and righteousness? Mencius was thus correct when he cited the virtue of righteousness to refute Mo Tzu’s exclusive emphasis on benevolence. However, when Mencius placed benevolence and righteousness side by side, this move lessened the previous important position of Benevolence. Thus we see what happened to the idea of Benevolence as the Great Virtue. Seeking to somehow make consistent the idea of Benevolence as the Great Virtue and benevolence as that which compares with righteousness, Confucian scholars of Sung times proposed two categories of explanation, the one general, and the other particular. The general represented a comprehensive rendering of all of the virtues, while the particular referred to virtues that might be listed as
separate items. They felt that this approach would reconcile the
general view of Confucius with the particular one of Mencius, a
reflection of the tendency of Sung scholars to seek knowledge
through abstract ideas and to rely on linguistic terms. How could
the Way of the Ancient Kings be comprehended through such an
approach?

The Way of the Ancient Kings is made up of many
elements. To name specific examples, governments everywhere
forbid insurrections and use force and punitive means to execute
people. Is this Benevolence? The main aim, however, is to
maintain peace in the kingdom. The teachings of the Ancient
Kings are truly manifold. They teach of wisdom, courage,
righteousness, benevolence, which should not be confused one
with the other. The essential point, however, is that these
separate references do not undermine the central intent of the
Sages to provide peace and well-being for the people. It is for this
reason that “wisdom,” “courage,” and “righteousness” are called
virtues. Confucius’s saying “conform to your own personal virtue
and rely on Benevolence” is an instructive one. What he meant
was that no individual would lose his own special virtue if he
conformed to his true nature. He meant too that while human
nature may be infinite in variety, no human virtue can be harmful
to Benevolence. It is only when human virtues cannot be
nourished and consummated that there is deviation from the
Way. The Way of Human Nourishment is captured in Confucius’s
words: “Rely on Benevolence and gain mastery of an art.” The
meaning of “rely” is expressed in the phrase, “to sing one must rely
on the voice.” Music is the blend of poetry, of clear and deep tones,
and of rhythm and melody, each relying on the other. This is the
meaning of “rely,” and it has the same sense as when used in “rely
on Benevolence.” Although human beings possess a virtue that is
distinctive to each one, by relying on the Way of Peace and Well-
being of the Ancient Kings, all humans can realize fully their own
personal virtues. This was the teaching of Confucius and his
disciples.

The Way of the Ancient Kings and Confucius was
constantly dynamic and active. The vital aim is to enhance the
human nourishment and growth. However, superficially, with
abandon, scholars in later times explained all phenomena in
terms of Benevolence, even with complete leaps of reasoning,
calling it the universal principle underlying all things. A close
examination of this concept reveals it to be the Buddhist idea that
Buddhahood permeates all beings and natural things. This is poor
thinking indeed.
Many believe that benevolence and righteousness are as night and day are to the universe. They go on to say that these virtues express the Way in its entirety. But this is a view of later times. In examining the Ancient Kings and Confucius, how could we seek to explain the Way in a word or two? Those who wish to do this impose inappropriate distinctions on the Way of the Sages, which would have been unacceptable by the Ancient Kings and Confucius. In ancient times, for example, the concepts of ritual and righteousness were classed together. Benevolence, on the other hand, was the Great Virtue of the Sages and was not treated as belonging to the same order of things. Thus in Confucius's school, Benevolence was considered to be of the highest importance. Later, however, Mencius classed benevolence and righteousness as comparable ideas. Although such a strategy was useful in arguing against the mistaken views of Yang Chu and Mo Tzu, it is not at all permissible in the instruction of scholarly thinkers. The grouping of benevolence, righteousness, ritual, and wisdom also began with Mencius and is not to be found in Confucius. The technique here was to arrange together ideas not present in the thinking of Yang and Mo and thereby argue the superiority of the Confucian Way. In actual fact, ritual and righteousness are important elements in human existence, but Benevolence transcends these ideas.

Now for a few words about wisdom. Human beings enjoy their own intellectual abilities and like to see themselves in the best possible light. Such a tendency is due to their passionate nature. The Sages, therefore, avoided the concept of wisdom for purposes of instruction. References to wise or benevolent persons are descriptions of individuals who have realized their own special virtues, which differ according to the natural endowments granted by Heaven to each individual. I have not heard of a person who simultaneously possessed all the virtues: benevolence, righteousness, intelligence, propriety, and wisdom. In Han times, Confucian scholars tried to connect these virtues with the five natural elements of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water; for example, wisdom has been equated with earth, faith with water, sometimes wisdom with fire or water, and the like. As yet, there are no established theories to support these claims. It should simply be observed that such ideas did not exist earlier. In the Analects there are frequent references to a fondness for benevolence, righteousness, ritual, virtue, goodness, learning, and the ancient past. But in Confucian instructions there is not a single reference to a fondness for wisdom or faith. Wisdom and
faith, in other words, are not central to the teachings of Confucius. Hsün Tzu was not being outlandish at all in criticizing Tzu Ssu and Mencius for their ethical interpretation of the five elements.

IX

Benevolence is the Way of Nourishment. In governing the kingdom, therefore, it is proper to elevate the upright over the perverse so that the crooked will come to be straightened. Likewise, in regard to cultivating the self, what is virtuous in the self should be nourished so that evil will disappear of itself. This is the method of the Way of the Ancient Kings. Later Confucian scholars did not comprehend the Way of the Ancient Kings, thinking erroneously that by developing one's personal wisdom one would part from evil and, through realizing the natural principle of goodness in the self, eradicate passionate desires. Once these ideas were firmly implanted a spirit of reckless criticism spread throughout the land. After all the world of Yao and Shun no longer prevailed, human beings were no longer Sages, and evil tendencies always outnumbered the good ones. People could not tolerate the oppressive ideas imposed by Chu Hsi in his criticism of governance in the treatise called T'ung Chien and by other Sung scholars in their prescriptions of self-cultivation. They finally became convinced that Confucian scholars enjoyed being abusive. How sad. Actually since the days of the legalist Shang Yang, not only the imperial government but various scholarly schools have relied on legalistic methods. Surely these later ages cannot compare with the ancient dynasties of Hsia, Shang, and Chou.

X

The Way of the Ancient Kings is to establish peace and well-being under Heaven. In ancient times scholars of political economy unfailingly subscribed to this view. After the ancient period, however, the non-centralized form of governance was transformed into a centralized bureaucratic rule, and the Way of the Ancient Kings became mainly decorative. Those who referred to the Ancient Kings merely used classical scholarship to embellish bureaucratic rule. In general, non-centralized rule fostered the feeling of family relationships such as that between parents and children. Centralized bureaucracy relied on the law alone. Unduly formalistic and strict, it extinguished human feelings of kindness and affection. In addition, after the Sui and
T'ang dynasties, an examination system was instituted which greatly altered the tradition of learning among scholars. Primary attention came to be given to such skills as writing conventional lines with a clear hand. The scholars of that age were influenced to the marrow by legalistic thinking. Although these scholars discoursed on the Way and analyzed the Classics, their ideas were drawn from their own particular age. How could they, therefore, come to grasp the actual workings of the Way? Sung scholars excelled in constructing grand outlines and compiling minute details. While it cannot be denied that these scholars were careful in their deliberations, their accomplishments can hardly be compared with the Way of the Ancient Kings.

**XI**

It is in accordance with the Way of the Ancient Kings that, when the essential principles are in order, other lesser considerations will proceed of their own accord. Thus, Tzu Hsia remarked in the *Analects*, "Since the Great Virtue never exceeds normative bounds, the little virtues may come and go as they wish." If this were not the case one could not move about within the guidelines of the Way. Tzu Kung said, again in the *Analects*, "Wise men perceive the breadth of the Way, while the unwise see only narrow limits." Thus to know the vast scheme leads one to be wise; to seek only small portions of it leads one to be a fool. Later scholars failed by seeing only the fragments. If one weighs everything by the smallest gauge how can one accurately weigh a large mass? And if one relies on the shortest standard of measurement one is bound to err when it comes to calculating great distances. In developing their arguments by seeking ever more refined examples, they busied themselves with splitting silk threads and ox hair and were totally unaware of having missed the essentials. How then could they nourish human talent and promote peace in the realm?

A similar type of thinking can be seen in their view of the Sages. While identifying the Sages with the all-embracing principle of nature, later scholars denied them even the smallest amount of private human passion. This is simply an arbitrary viewpoint. The *Book of Rites* says, "To be serious and to be relaxed are both in the Way of Wen and Wu." In Confucius's words, "Should I finally get to study the *Book of Changes* in my fifties, I might then begin to rid myself of some of my grave faults;" while Tzu Ssu observed "Even Sages do not know everything and cannot do certain things." We know this is so from such examples as the following: Shun executing Kun, who Yao had previously entrusted with hydraulic
projects, Yu withdrawing his troops even though Shun had ordered him to attack the three Miao tribes; the Duke of Chou ordering Kuan Shu and Ts'ai Shu killed; and Confucius failing to lead a punitive campaign against three recalcitrant towns.

The Sages cannot be defended against derision for committing these errors. To cite an example of such a foolish defense, Confucius is said not to have set aside the ginger roots in his food, eating them instead because he liked the taste of ginger. King Wen too, according to the chronicles, liked marinated iris roots. Now even if the Sages had their likes and dislikes about food, what difference could this make; yet, we find Chu Hsi explaining in his gloss on the Analects that Confucius was fond of ginger root because of the divine nature of ginger. How farfetched can one be?

The Virtue of the Sages may be likened to the movement of nature. The Way of the Sages embraces vast and great elements, and its essence is the nourishment of all beings and things. If the grand principles are in order, the small items will naturally fall into place. Later generations saw only the immediately visible details and understood only the trivial.

**XII**

There is a method with which to cultivate one's virtue. Establish what is essential; lesser concerns, of their own accord, will find their proper places. This is why the disciplines of Confucius focused their thinking on the essential concept of Benevolence. There is also a method to eliminate one's evil traits. Let us compare it with covering the horns of a young bull or castrating a boar to blunt its tusks. People today seek, in a day, to embody all sorts of goodness, taking in one trait after another and being proud of themselves. This reminds us of the fable in which young seedlings are pulled from the ground to extend them and make them grow faster. Are they not aware of the natural tendency among human beings to do good? Thus, people today also strive to cleanse themselves of evil all at once and sometimes even bring physical damage to themselves. We are reminded of the quack doctor who pretends to cure an illness while paying no heed to its deeper cause. The general point is even of greater importance when it comes to teaching others.
The discussion about innate human nature began with Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, and is not to be found in the Way of the Sages. Let us assume someone aspires to discover the Way. Hearing that human nature is good, he will dedicate himself with increasing diligence to refine his nature. And if he hears that human nature is evil, he will strive to transform it into something good. On the other hand, supposing a person does not aspire to the Way, hearing that human nature is evil, he will simply resign himself and do nothing. Should he hear that human nature is good, he will simply rely on this and likewise do nothing. It was for these reasons that Confucius placed great emphasis on custom and not on human nature.

Aroused by the words of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, Tzu Ssu and Mencius, therefore, formulated a theory of human nature as one that was innately good in order to challenge the former's views. Meanwhile, fearing that the concept of innate human goodness would surely result in the destruction of rites and music, Hsün Tzu therefore countered Tzu Ssu and Mencius with the idea that human nature was inherently evil. These are all polemical views aimed at influencing the debates of their age and ought not be taken as absolute and unchanging principles. Ou-yang Tzu's advice was farsighted when he said, "The problem of innate human nature should not be a central concern of scholars. The Sages rarely spoke of it."

XIV

The concept of "transforming one's essential and specific character" was fabricated by Sung scholars. Its origins may be traced to the Doctrine of the Mean but it is not to be found in the Way of the Ancient Sages and Confucius. The so-called "change" in commentaries on the Ancient Kings is the way of bringing peace to the kingdom. This is not a goal that can be achieved by a single individual. It can be realized only with the combined strength of many. We are reminded that only after the seasons have run their course can the whole year be completed; only after the hammer, chisel, knife, and saw have been assembled can the carpenter do his work; and only when there are drugs to cool fever or warm the body, and to nourish and cleanse the stomach, can the physician practise the art of healing. The awl must be sharp, and the hammer blunt. Gypsum is a mineral substance that produces great coldness and can be used to reduce fever; aconite is a plant that can generate warmth. The Ancient Kings would not have been able to govern society without relying on the specific
character of each thing. Moreover, gypsum is prepared in fire and aconite is baked in ashes, reminiscent of the reliance by human beings on specific rules as in rites and music. Yet, while gypsum is fired, its essential character of producing coldness is not lost; and although aconite is buried in hot ashes, its inherent capacity to generate heat is not lessened.

Thus we learn the error of the idea that human beings can change their essential and specific character. Indeed, one's fundamental nature is endowed to that person by the grace of Heaven. However desirous, human effort cannot oppose and overcome the will of Heaven. Should a person be forced into striving to do something as humanly impossible as this, the result will only be bitterness toward Heaven and hatred toward one's parents. Certainly this is not the Way of the Sages. We need only observe that each of the disciples of Confucius fulfilled himself according to his own specific talents. The saying from the Analects, "A true gentleman is not a mere instrument" means that a gentleman is a benevolent man who has realized his personal virtue. Princes and ministers use instruments, roughly comparable to the use of tools and drugs by carpenters and doctors. There is no truth in the saying that "an instrument can be both a boat on water and a cart on land." By identifying with their personal virtues and by relying on Benevolence, human beings realize their specific talents. By grasping this essential principle all can certainly become benevolent human beings. And this is surely the meaning of the phrase in the Analects, "A true gentleman is not a mere instrument."

XV

Since Tzu Ssu and Mencius there has been a deceitful tendency to explain difficult ideas with many little details, thereby simplifying matters for the audience. This was the rhetoricians' technique in argumentation: to persuade others to accept their views as quickly as possible. The capacity to accept or reject their views, however, resided outside of them, in the audience. This is not the way to teach others. The capacity for conviction should reside in the teacher who should rely on his own strength and not on the listener's capacity to decide one way or another. The Way, after all, rests with those who are princes and teachers. Accomplished teachers always take their audiences into consideration and, applying gentle care over a long period of time, foster the intellectual growth of the listeners and alter their way of thinking and of understanding things. Thus the audience comprehends spontaneously, without any explanation. For those
requiring additional assistance all that is necessary is a suggestive word or two and remaining doubts will dissolve like melting ice. Teachers should thus not exert themselves vigorously, since students learn on their own with deep understanding. This is because even before teachers make assertions, students already understand much of what is about to be said.

The Ancient Kings and Confucius relied on this approach. Thus the Ancient Kings relied on concrete facts in presenting their ideas and did not rely on such terms as "rites" and "music," which had no explanatory significance. And Confucius was quite correct when he said, "I will not try to enlighten anyone who is not angry with confusion. Nor shall I teach a student who does not feel deep frustration within himself."

Mencius, however, sought to overcome his listeners by arguing in an authoritarian fashion when queries were raised and by carping over minor details. Those who rely on words to overpower audiences invariably fail to teach them how to understand reality. In the final analysis, a teacher can instruct only those who trust him. The populace trusted the Ancient Kings; the disciples of Confucius trusted him; consequently, their teachings were accepted. Mencius's ambition was to convince people who did not trust him on the basis of sheer rhetorical skill. Itinerant lecturers of the Warring States period used this technique. It is unsuitable for teaching the people. Mencius and Tzu Ssu debated with scholars of other schools. Later Confucian scholars used their polemical ideas to instruct students. They failed to distinguish debating from teaching.

XVI

Confucian scholars of later ages have clarified and classified such ideas as "pure goodness and human passion," "the identification of self with natural principle," and the "fostering of goodness in the self." But my readings have not uncovered discussions of these subjects by the disciples of Confucius or for that matter by Confucius himself. How then are we to explain the shortcomings of these scholars? The Ancient Kings and Confucius taught as they did in contrast to the Sung scholars, because the former knew that the fundamental way of teaching ought to be otherwise. How could later generations, however, have placed greater faith in Tzu Ssu, Mencius, Ch'eng Tzu, and Chu Hsi than in the Ancient Kings and Confucius?

The Ancient Kings relied on concrete artifacts and not on abstract theories in their teachings. When instruction is based on specific things, the teaching must conform to the facts themselves
while a reliance on abstractions makes the language of explanation convoluted in its detail. A concrete artifact is a convergence of ideas. It can only be comprehended after a thorough examination. A reliance on rhetorical expressions is not adequate, since rhetoric can express only one portion of what is true. Even if one happens to throw light on a subject without close study of facts free of abstract arguments, deep understanding cannot be gained. Even Śākyamuni said, "One can tell whether the water is cool or warm by drinking it." How could the Sung Confucianists believe that the Ancient Kings fell short of Śākyamuni! It is rare indeed for a person to be effective in life without first engaging with concrete facts. This is true not only of the Way of the Ancient Kings, but also of all the one-hundred other human arts.

XVII

In ancient times the Way was referred to as Culture. "Culture," in point of fact, was another expression for rites and music. Culture consists of a myriad of concrete artifacts that are inextricably woven together. It simply cannot be exhausted with a single abstract term. Ancient scholars believed that, “the Way of Confucianism is broad and its essential element elusive.” This is true of the fundamental character of the Way. Later Confucian scholars, however, prized simplification and reduction. To think in such manner, on the basis of emotional impulse, is the way of uncultivated minds. It is not the Way of the Ancient Kings. Confucius said, “although King Wen of the Chou Dynasty is dead, King Wen still remained with him.” Later Confucian scholars interpreted this as an expression of humility. Actually the reference to Wen was not to the King himself but to his Culture. Supposing Confucius humbled himself: does this mean that he referred condescendingly to King Wen himself? Confusion arose when Sung scholars divided the Way (“high principle”) and Culture (“somehow demeaning ordinary detail”) into antagonistic dualistic categories.

There is also the confused view regarding the concept of culture and quality. Culture actually means the Way and refers specifically to rites and music. Quality, on the other hand, means the basic character of human intelligence.

Special value is placed on truthfulness and trust only because they are basic to human learning. However, even if a person should be “truthful” and “trustworthy,” he would remain an unsophisticated country bumpkin without Culture. Thus, even in little villages and hamlets, Confucius did not admire
"truthfulness" and "trustworthiness" and prized instead the pursuit of knowledge. Later Confucian scholars sought to explain the differences between the high and the ordinary (and the basic and the peripheral) with a single unifying principle; but upon closer observation it becomes evident that they merely favored the subjective over objective and high principle over ordinary details, emphasizing always the simple, the clear, and the symmetrical. After this unfortunate misinterpretation, the Way of the Ancient Kings faded like autumnal leaves and intolerance spread throughout the world. The road led inevitably to the paths of the uncultivated. Surely the people have been led astray because of a failure to understand that in the ancient world the Way was called Culture, and that this meant the encouragement and nourishment of human virtues.

XVIII

Both good and evil characterize the human spirit. Mencius was certainly correct in observing that, "When evil grows in the human spirit, there will be failure in governance." However, there is no specific structure to the human spirit. It cannot order itself. In the Way of the Ancient Kings, therefore, rites are relied on to regulate the human spirit. To speak of a method of managing the spirit totally divorced from rites is an arbitrary and subjective idea. This is because the regulator and the regulated become identical. In short, the idea of regulating one's self with one's own spirit simply reminds us of a madman trying to cure his own madness. How is this possible? The various theories of later scholars, then, regarding the management of human spirit all lack an understanding of the Way.

XIX

The idea of "universal principle" has no form and thus is not a fixed norm. Sung scholars referred to the Doctrine of the Mean, justly regarding it as the highest example of refinement which pays close attention to detail. Their position would be more acceptable, however, if they had first understood the Way of the Ancient Kings and then pointed to the Mean with praise. To choose the Mean on a purely subjective basis and then to equate it to the Way of the Ancient Kings is a totally erroneous procedure. It would have been acceptable, too, had they interpreted the Way as the principle of acting as one ought to and equated it favorably with the Way of the Ancient Kings. But since
they sought to discover this ethical imperative on the basis of their subjective views and then identified it as the Way of the Ancient Kings, they were again in error.

It is obvious, after all, that "principle" is formless and lacks a normative reference. To take this concept and equate it with the Mean or to see it as the basis of ethical imperatives is nothing more than the imposition of one's subjective wishes. Perceptions differ from one individual to the next, and it is simply subjective to state dogmatically that this is the Mean or the Principle upon which one ought to act. In our world, when one views things from the north all else is to the south. Where should the normative reference be placed?

The explanation of a universal principle and of human desire by Sung scholars is overly refined. Again, there is no normative reference here. To clarify by analogy, when two villagers are involved in a boundary dispute, there is no explicit norm to refer to without calling on an official to adjudicate the dispute. As a consequence, there are no theories about a universal principle in the thoughts of the Ancient Kings and Confucius. The Sung Confucian scholars fabricated these useless arguments, relying invariably on the useless methods of the Logicians of the Warring States epoch to make distinctions between things on the basis of a play on words such as "hardness" and "whiteness."

The Way of the Ancient Kings was originally called the "Way of Artistic Technique." This referred to rites and music. Later Confucian scholars came to dislike the term "technique" and avoided its use. It would seem that they were completely unaware that under the Ancient Kings the people were nourished toward goodness without feeling spiritually coerced. Similarly, they were ignorant that those teachings enhanced the knowledge of scholars who, over the days and months, slowly and naturally came to realize their personal virtues. This is the meaning of "technique." It is similar to the example of the master of court music establishing the four arts of song, history, rites and music, and prescribing that rites and music be taught in spring and autumn, and songs and history in summer and winter. The concerns advanced by later Confucian scholars about the intensive observation of the principle of things, and about overcoming oneself to achieve spiritual unity with the Way, are brilliant concepts to be sure. But the scholarship of these men was shallow as they did not understand the Classics and failed to study the ancient age. They simply absorbed every idea they
encountered and made it their own. Their thinking was often quite strained.

Generally, when human beings and natural things are nourished properly they grow and flourish. If they are not they perish. Not only is this true in regard to the physical body but to human talent and virtuous behavior as well. The Way of the Sages, therefore, is indeed to nourish and foster all things. The Way of Nature is to move ceaselessly as in a state of flux, yet within it, as if guided by a divine spirit, each specific event brings about an inevitable effect; what is set in motion in the present reaches fruition in the future. Similarly, all activities within the Way of the Sages are carried out in terms of a design, not as if the results can be realized immediately but always with an eye toward consummation in the future. And if the results cannot be achieved within days, a year or more is an acceptable period, and if this still does not suffice, then the lifetime of an entire generation may be necessary. This is the attitude that encourages princes to nourish their minds and realize their virtues, and leads ordinary people to shape the customs within which they spontaneously seek goodness and avoid wickedness. The Way of the Sages, therefore, is intertwined with Nature, actively, continuously and endlessly developing both human and natural things into the vast and infinite future.

In recent years, the scholar Itô Jinsai has pointed out some of the errors of the Sung Confucian scholars. When we examine his view on morality all that we can say is that, having discarded the extreme views of the Sung scholars, he demonstrates a somewhat healthy purpose. He has not, however, departed from the tradition of relying on rhetorical arguments and it is thus a pity that in the end he was not able to escape the charge of confusing fifty strides with a hundred.

XXI

The Way of the Ancient Kings was based exclusively on a reverence for Heaven and the mystery of spirit. Quite simply, they valued the primacy of Benevolence; but because Confucian scholars of later generations prized knowledge and strove to investigate the principle in things, the Way of the Ancient Kings and Confucius fell into ruin. The evil of investigating “principle” was that heaven and spiritual mystery were no longer viewed with awe and the individual now came to assume an arrogant position between Heaven and Earth. This flaw is common to all later Confucian thinkers and it is not at all unlike the idea expressed in the Buddhist phrase, “Above and below Heaven I alone exist.”
Furthermore, where, I wonder, is the absolute ultimate norm in the vast universe to be located? Does "principle" completely solve this problem? When individuals claim to have total comprehension, this must be sheer illusion. And while they all ostensibly pay obeisance to the Ancient Kings and Confucius, they inwardly disregard them. They are convinced that they have focused on elements that had not been made clear by the Ancient Kings, and in so doing, seem not be aware of their selfish intent to surpass and rise above the Ancient Kings and Confucius. The teachings of the Sages are complete in themselves. They cannot be surpassed. The Ancient Sages refrained from discussing subjects that could not possibly be explained. If something required commentary, they would have already done so and not have left it for posterity to clarify. Later scholars simply have not given much thought to these matters.

XXII

The four arts of the Ancient Kings were songs, history, rites, and music. These were used to foster gentlemen scholars during the Shang, Hsia, and Chou dynasties. What Confucius transmitted were these four arts only. Each of these classical arts teaches something different. In a simplistic fashion, Confucian scholars of later times treated all of them as being alike. Why then should they be called the Four Classics?

In general, the Book of History contains the great precepts and norms set forth by the Ancient Kings. Confucius addressed it as such, with deepest reverence, as true utterances of the Sages themselves. In ancient times there were no books, so that references to the "book" always meant the Book of History. Kings and princes believed in and revered this book, as did the scholars who read and gained knowledge from it. The Way of the Ancient Kings to establish peace in the kingdom is to be found in this Classic. Later Confucian scholars, however, found it simplistic and looked elsewhere for more brilliant and elegant writings. This erroneous attitude simply reflects their superficial minds. Even the briefest expression of the Ancient Sages was related to enormous problems in the real world, such as the rise and fall of empires and such as order and disorder in human society. Without comprehending things in terms of its profound implications and without viewing distances with a broad vision, this Classic cannot be properly understood. Mencius had no faith in the Book of History. Yet where did he acquire the information to make comments on Yao and Shun? He was curiously uninformed of the
Way of the Ancient Kings as the Way of promoting peace among humankind.

The Book of Songs, however, is different. It contains lyrical language arranged to be sung and bears much resemblance to what later generations would call poetry. Some have said that Confucius deleted some of the songs but in fact he merely revised a few expressions. When scholars study the Songs it is solely to cultivate their [linguistic] expression. We are reminded of Confucius's comment: "Without having learned the Songs, one will not be able to express himself in a proper manner." Later generations, however, read the Songs in the manner that they read the Book of History and came to the conclusion that the Songs had been compiled for the moralistic purpose of "promoting good and punishing evil." Their explanations inevitably faltered when they stumbled upon passionate love poems such as those by Cheng and Wei. The didactic precepts they actually advanced were barely enough to fill a page. If their interpretations were correct one would have thought that the Sages would surely have created a separate book of ethical admonitions instead of using such a roundabout method.

The explanations offered by these scholars tell us that they knew precious little about the Songs. For instance, the "prefaces" of the various songs, they say, demonstrate how the ancients spontaneously understood the songs, describe the situation in which the songs were written, and explain the contents of the songs so as to make them easily understandable. In such cases, then, what need is there to rely on an understanding of the content itself? However, since the songs originally did not have explicitly detailed meanings, there is no reason at all for later scholars to accept the views suggested in the prefaces as if they contained unchanging truths. A case in point is the Great Preface. It explains the poem Kuan Sui. The ancients merely expanded on the original preface, commenting on the specific song itself as well as on some of the other songs in the Book, thus making it an extensive preface. Being unaware of this fact, later Confucian scholars called it the Great Preface as compared with the lesser prefaces of the other songs. This is truly absurd.

In general, the Songs embody subjects that deal with the Court above and continue on down to the byways of towns and also to the domains of princes, the noble and the humble, men and women, the wise and the ignorant, the good and the wicked. The Songs make us perceive, as if we were eyewitnesses, the changing conditions of society, the local customs, the human passions, and the natural landscape. The language is elegant and graceful and meshes with true human feelings; sung melodiously, it easily moves the human spirit. The Songs, moreover, deal with a
wide variety of small and large things; and they do not provoke feelings of narrow-mindedness. It is from within this frame that rulers gain an understanding of plain folk, of husbands, of their wives, and of the courts of lower society; and, in a time of tranquility, people gain [through the frame of these songs] an insight into the customs of a world in decline. Another good reason for appreciating the Songs is that, while not important in and of itself, the praise and criticism of politics and of customs that are found in them are to the point. Should the reader view them with an open mind, interpret them in terms of their broadest implications, and pry out the analogies embedded in them, he will find an endless source of inspiration in them. The ancients, therefore, relied on the Book of Songs to develop their hearts and minds, to promote the cause of governance, to give elegance to their expressions, and to be decorous in words and convivial in exchanging toasts as envoys to foreign lands. The Book of History describes actual things and events. The Book of Songs uncovers delicate and hidden meanings. The History announces grand principles while the Songs is full of delicate nuances. They are like the sun and the moon shining alternately, or like the positive and negative forces of the universe. Together, these two Classics therefore are justifiably called the repository of human virtues.

Rites and music are the regulatory underpinnings of human virtues. The concept of Central Harmony may be taken to mean the maximal point of virtue. It is the highest example of refinement and nothing can be added to it. But it does not have actual form and its substantive content can never be fully explained. Thus, rites are relied on to teach what is Central; and music is used to explain Harmony. The Ancient Kings gave concrete shape to the idea of Central Harmony. Without relying on words, rites and music nourish human virtues and alter the way humans think. When one's thinking is altered, one's perceptions naturally change. There is no better method to nourish human intelligence than through rites and music.

Moreover, the Ancient Kings relied on rites to establish criteria for governance and guidelines for human activity. Wise men reflect on and comprehend this meaning about rites; the unwise may not be able to do so but they will nonetheless rely on them. Wise men identify with rites from above and the unwise reach for them from below. Whenever one commits an act or expresses a thought, one weighs its propriety in accordance with rites; and one also knows thereby whether they are in accordance with the Way of the Ancient Kings. Rites are never unspecified. They are explicit prescriptions of the Way of the Ancient Kings.

Now despite the foregoing discussion, if rites are upheld with mindless rigidity without the ameliorating mixture of music
then the nourishment of virtue will be devoid of human enjoyment. Music gives life to the realization of virtue. Nothing is superior to music for stimulating the human mind and nourishing the growth and expansion of individual virtue. Thus rites and music may be likened to the Way of Nature in its creation and nourishment of the ten-thousand things in the universe. Rulers use rites and music to nourish their virtues. Ordinary people use them to give shape to their custom. The kingdom thereby lives peaceably and its spiritual life continues into the future. How divinely marvelous are the four arts: they give complete expression to the teachings in the Way of the Ancient Kings.

XXIII

When Confucius said "Our Way is unified by a single concept," he did not intend these words only for his disciples Tseng Tzu and Tzu Kung. All of his other disciples heard them. In praising Tzu Ssu and Mencius, the Sung Confucian scholars drew on Tseng Tzu as their basis for doing so, and thereby established their version of the lineage of the Way. I wonder, though: can this serve as a ground for their thinking? They interpret the phrase "single concept" to mean "universal principle" or a single "spirit" or "truthfulness." The theory of a single principle joins Heaven and earth and men and things all into an undifferentiated whole. It is identical with the Buddhist notion of an unchanging soul embracing all beings and things. The ideas of a unifying spirit and truthfulness place due importance on two of the virtues of the Sages, but they do not ascribe importance to the entire Way of the Ancient Kings. Confucius explicitly said "Our Way," by which he surely meant the Way of the Ancient Kings. We gather this from Confucius's comment: "Although King Wen is dead, Wen's culture is still with me now."

The Way of the Ancient Kings brings peace to human beings in the world. The Way of Peace rests on Benevolence. This is what Confucius was referring to when he said that "a single concept integrates all." What might be the basis for his saying this? Benevolence is one of the virtues. It is also, however, the Great Virtue: it integrates all of the other virtues. Although the Way of the Ancient Kings is truly many sided, Benevolence alone permeates all their teachings. We might liken it to stringing coins together, which makes it possible to speak of a unifying idea. On the other hand, the ideas of "principle" or "spirit" or "truthfulness" are single and exclusive concepts; they do not integrate other ideas. Thus when Tseng Tzu said there is only sincerity and
generosity in Confucius's Way, he actually implied that these were means by which to carry out Benevolence. The term "only," used by Tseng Tzu, is similar to Mencius's use of the term in his comment that "the Way of Yao and Shun is only filial piety." How can filial piety be the entire Way of Yao Shun? Similarly, sincerity and generosity cannot be said to express the entirety of the Way. It is true, of course, that one may, if one seeks it, somehow perceive the broad Way by depending upon sincerity and generosity. The language of the ancients is full of such allowances. The advocates of a universal principle in later times, however, manipulated things and facts without deliberation, so as to penetrate the "principle" in things. They spoke all too easily of sincerity and generosity as a manifestation of a "principle," and referred to the sincerity and generosity of Heaven, of the Sages, and of scholars and the like. The language at the time of Tseng Tzu, of course, had a very different meaning.

XXIV

Being unable to decipher ancient vocabulary, scholars of later times relied on the language of their own day to interpret ancient terms. The Way of the Sages has been obscured for this reason. An example will illustrate this important point. The idea of the "absolute ultimate," which is taken from the Book of Changes, simply means that the Sages referred to this idea in organizing that Book. It is said in this Book, therefore, that there must be an "ultimate" explanation of change, but there is not the slightest hint that this "ultimate" must exist in nature. Phrases such as "investigating principle" and "clarifying subtle movements" only celebrate the concept of change formulated by the Sages. It is unfortunate that later Confucian scholars would see these as prescriptions of scholarly duty.

There are other such examples relating to the Book of Changes. The term for "Heaven" refers simply to the vast natural sky above. The word "human nature" means the specific quality of a person. The term "pure" means constant, and to read it to mean truthful, affiliating it with the virtue of wisdom, is a farfetched interpretation. The compound "festive gathering" refers to such events as marriages and entertaining guests, and uniting it with the concept of rites means nothing more than creating harmony, as when voices unite in concert. There is no hidden meaning beyond the fact that affairs such as marriages and receiving guests frequently require rites. As for the "utility of things," it means simply using an object, or making a tool useful, as in sharpening it. The phrase "harmony with righteousness" means just that,
harmonizing oneself with righteousness. It is erroneous to interpret those to mean that righteousness is always located at a harmonious or convenient point. Not altering one's point of reference is the method by which one "maintains a basic position." But this is not necessarily identical with "wisdom." Thus, later in the Book of Changes, there is the phrase that one should practice being original, effective, useful, and firm; but to equate these activities with the normative virtues of benevolence, righteousness, ritual propriety, and wisdom is excessive and beyond reasonable bounds.

The phrase in the Book of Changes that says "Those who inherit this are said to be good" means inheriting and giving continuance to Heaven's will. "Good" simply refers to a "good person." Sung scholars interpreted "inherit" to mean the "continuous forward flow" of nature, and lost thereby the meaning of the term "inherit." The phrase "it is human nature that fulfills" what is inherited means that each person responds to his divinely endowed specific character and thereby dedicates himself to purposeful accomplishments.

In conventional terms, when people speak of virtue they contrast it to malice and sometimes to material wealth. Quite certainly, however, when "virtue" is used by itself, it means exclusively the "virtue" of one's Heaven-endowed human nature. Otherwise, the prescription in the Analects that one should "rely on one's virtue" would make no sense.

As for "human spirit," its original meaning in the Book of History is "the spirit of the people." Having no sturdy reins to guide it, the "human spirit" is said to be unsteady. The spirit of the Way guides the spirit of the people; but because the spirit of the Way moves in an extremely subtle fashion it was said that the spirit of the Way, like the human spirit, could only be faintly perceived.

The principal meaning of the title Great Learning comes from a sentence in the Historical Records which said that in the great learning of ancient times, rites were created to nourish the elderly and to regulate relations of respect towards age in society; the phrase did not refer to the scholarly activities of princes as interpreted by Chu Hsi. The term "Brilliant Virtue" mentioned in the Great Learning is the Virtue of the Monarch. This is verified in such works as the Tso Chuan. To clarify the Brilliant Virtue was to display it for all to see. It did not mean, as Sung scholars suggested, polishing it so as to make it shine. It meant quite specifically caring for the aged and showing respect in relation to age. In Mencius's words, "if human relations are clear above, the people below will interact with mutual affection." Thus we also find in the Great Learning the phrase "making the people affectionate." Chu Hsi understood this phrase to mean
"renovating the people," which is surely an error. The term renovating the people comes from the K'ang Kao chapter of the Book of History and it refers to the revolutionary overthrow of dynasties. There is no discussion of this subject in the Great Learning.

The term "thing" means concrete items that are appropriate for use in rites. The character kaku, used often in combination with "thing" to mean the investigation of things, indicates drawing things together. The character to realize, chi, means taking an act to its logical conclusion and does not mean an ultimate culmination. In the Way of the Ancient Kings, when the appropriate things which are to be used in rites are in proper order, human intelligence naturally realizes enlightenment. This was how the Ancient Kings taught their people. In citing the phrase "thoroughly comprehending principle" in the Book of Changes, Chu Hsi interpreted the verb "to draw things together" to mean the "intense investigation" of principle. Misunderstanding the meaning of key phrases in the vocabulary, he formulated a deceptive theory. Wang Yang-ming used the same term "to draw things together" to mean "correcting what is wrong," as in his reference to Mencius's comment about "correcting the wrong thoughts of a monarch." This term, however, implies the sympathetic attraction of things, so that Wang Yang-ming, too, was in error.

As for "reverence" which Chu Hsi used in the formula "disciplined investigation of principle," the foundation of it is reverence for Heaven. Reverence for the order, the people, and oneself all stem from this basic idea. How can one vaguely maintain reverence without an object of reverence? As for the compound "self-control," the correct interpretation of it is to discipline oneself and gain humility. The first character of the compound, koku, indicates the providing order as one does in one's own home. It would seem, therefore, that Chu Hsi's interpretation of the compound as "overcoming the self" is utterly opposed to the concept he advanced about relying on the self to become benevolent.

In sum, all the previous are egregious examples of how the meanings of ancient phrases have been misunderstood.

XXV

The Six Classics have not survived intact. Even if they are accessible in their entirety the language is ancient and the meaning of each word cannot be recounted precisely without
error. It is thus easy to understand why later interpretations of
the Six Classics are all seriously distorted. Later Confucian
scholars tended to think it shameful not to know every little
detail. They failed to realize that in ancient times, “to know”
meant valuing the knowledge of Benevolence. Not once did
Confucius teach the idea of cherishing knowledge for its own
sake. With this in mind, scholars today should dedicate
themselves to the study of ancient languages. To understand
those languages they must examine the meaning of ancient terms
in a systematic manner. Since the former Han Dynasty was not
too far removed from the time of Confucius, many of the ideas
handed down from the ancient period are still to be found in the
interpretations of this era. From the Later Han onward, ancient
ideas steadily lost their original meaning. It is true, of course, that
the scholar Han Yü had not yet appeared to so drastically alter
the language of the ancients. Old terms were still being used. If
one reads a wide variety of books from the Ch'in and Han up to
the Six Dynasties period and diligently examines and appreciates
these writings, one might gain insights into the meaning of
ancient language.

I do not wish scholars to disregard the theories of Sung
Confucianism and other later schools by uncritically accepting
what I have to say. There is a vast expanse of time between the
ancients and us. Portions of the Six Classics have been lost over
time, so that it is perhaps unavoidable that one should come to
use the abstract concept of “principle” to speculate on the
meaning of these Classics. The Sung scholars were the first to
employ this concept; a concept which unfortunately lacked
precision. Even less fortunate is the fact that they became captives
of the abstract idea itself and could not go beyond it. If the
scholars of Sung Confucianism and other schools had been more
exact and meticulous in their method of study, they would not
have committed so many errors.

In the end, of course, thoughtful reflection is crucial to
scholarship. And this means appreciating all forms of thinking
because they may be helpful and these include even Taoism,
Buddhism, and certainly Sung Confucianism and the related
schools.

Kyoho 2 (1717)

fifteenth day of the seventh Lunar Month
NANKAKU SENSEI BUNSHŪ (selections)
[The Writings of Nankaku]*
Hattori Nankaku (1683-1759)

Translated by Naoki Sakai

PART I: FAREWELL TO MASTER DAI-CHO (@ 1717)

There is a saying that there have never been such stylists since Tso Ch'iu-ming and Ssu-ma Ch'ien. But this saying must have been valid only until Li Meng-yang emerged. It is said Heaven created Tso Ch'iu-ming and Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and never created another Tso or Ssu-ma. But is this really true? How could it be so? Brave was Ssu-ma who, by storing his writings in the mountains and by distributing them among people in villages and towns, waited for future readers to really understand him. Then Han Yü and Liu Tsung-yüan emerged in times when literary style had degenerated and they endeavored to revive the ancient language. Their attempt, however, fell short of the full revival of the ancient language. However skillful they may have been, those who attempted to inherit the style of Tso and Ssu-ma just failed to conform their words to the standards of the ancient language. Or, rather, they themselves destroyed those standards by trying to force their words to adjust to them. As a result, their language was far from the ancient one. Accordingly, it is impossible for one who learns Tso and Ssu-ma to compete with them on equal ground. It is even less possible for one who learns those who learn Tso and Ssu-ma. Thus the style became more and more remote from the original as time passed until it finally seemed a thousand

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1 Dai-cho was a Zen Buddhist monk who socialized with people of Ogyū Sorai's school, the Ken-en school. This article is supposed to have been written in 1717. Being a monk who belonged to the Kobaku Sect of Zen Buddhism, he was fluent in Chinese, which must have been highly valued among students of Ogyū since one of the most important characteristics of Ogyū's teaching was his emphasis upon the study of languages.

2 Tso Ch'iu-ming and Ssu-ma Ch'ien are both famous writers of what is called Chinese antiquity by the people of the Ken-en school. Tso was a high ranking official of the Kingdom Lu and learned the classics from Confucius (fifth century B.C.). Ssu-ma is famous for his History and established the tradition of orthodox history in China (145-187 B.C.).

3 See note 5.

4 Han Yü (768-824) and Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819) are both famous writers and poets of the T'ang period.
miles away from the ancient one. Furthermore, by merely taking up superficial interpretations of style, imitators of later times argued that everyone would be able to write well if they understood the essentials of style, just as a wheel of a cart is fine if its frame and spokes are properly set. As they didn’t know, however, that all the parts had to be properly set, their wheels never worked. Those self-acclaimed craftsmen would then comfort themselves by saying: “Anyway, there is no occasion to use such an antique style of writing. A character of the book Chuang Tzu was right in saying, ‘[The] Arts cannot be imitated, but have to be learned through one’s own experience.’ Only those who are happy to let themselves be servants of Tso and Ssu-ma could imitate them well.”

Li Meng-yang, Wang Shih-chen, and Li P’an-lung had different ideas from each other, but as far as the revival of the ancient language was concerned, they were in perfect agreement. They mastered and deeply comprehended the ancient language. They were so involved in studying that they forgot to eat. They further elaborated their style and finally established their fame in the literary world. Thus after a lapse of more than a thousand years, the ancient language was eventually revived. They could have exclaimed: “If I could live in antiquity, I would immediately pick up a whip and a bow in my left hand, and a quiver and arrows in my right hand. Then I would venture into battles for the leadership of the middle kingdom.” Tso and Ssu-ma have lived a thousand years before, and Li and Wang lived a thousand years after. But it was as if Li and Wang had been socializing with Tso and Ssu-ma in everyday life. Although Li and Wang were as familiar with Tso and Ssu-ma as possible, they never lost their respect for the two writers because they lived in a time prior to their own: Heaven really created Tso Ch’iu-ming and Ssu-ma Ch’ien, but never created another Tso and Ssu-ma. Instead, Heaven created those people. But is this really true? How could it be so? Those who, like Li and Wang, managed to learn the ancient writers, Tso and Ssu-ma, must have been endowed with a mandate from Heaven.

However, writers of today argue that one should be able to write well if one understands the essentials of style properly, as a wheel of a cart is fine if its frame and spokes are properly set. Nonetheless they only see the logical rules of the ancient language and fail to comprehend that it has to be actually spoken. My

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5 Li Meng-yang (1475-1529), Wang Shih-chen (1526-1590), and Li P’an-lung (1514-1570), are all poets of the Ming period. They all advocated the use of ancient Chinese in poetry, a literary movement initiated by Li Meng-yang. Li and Wang extended it to its extreme.
fellow students would never be satisfied with the status of imitators of Wang and Li. Those who write well write well regardless of the form of writing they happen to adopt. My fellow-students may avoid Wang Shih-chen and Li P’an-lung. It does not, however, follow that they do so because they are afraid of becoming slaves of Wang and Li. They only accept Li Meng-yang and avoid Li [P’an-lung] and Wang. Master Dai-cho, likewise, pays more respect to the ancient writers than to their imitators and, I suspect, rejects Wang and Li on similar grounds. 6

The Master is from Hizen, a domain in western Kyushu. Master, you are about to leave us for home. Your native domain, Hizen, is rather close to a foreign country, which is Korea. If people from western countries should visit you, you should dare to contradict their view about Japan that Japan has never produced talent as far as literature is concerned. It should not be difficult for you to upset their prejudice. Your ancient Chinese, regardless of whether it is written or spoken, is fluent and comes out spontaneously. I wish I could be like you. How reasonable it is that you just ignore any poems after the Tali era during [the] T’ang Dynasty! 7

PART II: INTRODUCTION TO “POST T’ANG POETRY” (@ 1720) 8

You ought necessarily to know poetry, just as Confucius said “You must necessarily know music.” Why does the Book of Poetry say, “Feelings are expressed in poems,” and “The beauty of style must be stressed”? Because the beauty of style is the beauty of the author’s personality. Songs of [towns]people cannot be poems. (According to the Book of Rites, emperors of ancient China ordered officials to collect folk songs every fifth year in order to

6 Dai-cho never accepted Li P’an-lung and Wang Shih-Chen, claiming that one should not follow the imitation but imitate the original directly instead.

7 The Tali era (766-780) marks the point in history after which, it is believed, Chinese poetry of the T’ang time declined.

8 To Go Shi, “Post-T’ang poetry,” was originally planned by Ogyu Sorai and its first three volumes were published in 1720. Although the whole (10 volumes) has never been presented to the world, it was supposed to become the major text to be used among the people of the Ken-en school. It only included works by the Ming “Ancient Language School” poets. It was thus called “Post-T’ang.” However, as readers will soon realize, the emphasis is not on Ming poetry per se but on ancient or authentic forms of poetry: Han, Wei, and T’ang. As a matter of fact, Ming “Ancient Language School” poets as well as Ogyu Sorai rejected the use of contemporary language in poetry and proposed to revive what they regarded as the language of Antiquity. Strangely enough, the anthology was expected to contain post-T’ang rather than pre-T’ang or even T’ang poetry.
investigate the country's general atmosphere). How could these songs collected by poem-collectors be an indication of their composers' personalities? Then Confucius selected one-tenth of those collected songs and conveyed his teachings through his choice of songs. (Thus Confucius mentioned as the use of poetry): Poetry is that by which to criticize the government. This is why Confucius's screening was necessary.

A golden palanquin with a decorated yoke is impractical to ride. A dress with too much design is insufficient protection against the cold. Jewels hanging from a coronet make one feel uncomfortable around the neck. One cannot walk smoothly in trousers and belt with too many jewels attached. If it is true that what is important is real feelings, not manners (formalities or rites), the institutions set by the Sages would unnecessarily constrict the behavior of the people. Do we really have to conform to the rites? Why are such impractical conventions as manners or rites essential? There are barbarians who mint coins with [the] King's face on them, celebrate when someone dies, and marry their mothers when their fathers die. We cannot say they do not have human feelings. Western barbarians often kill two eagles with one arrow. If they are taught to respect the rites described in the *Book of Rites* and behave themselves according to those rites, they should be able to strike the right mode of behavior without felling awkward about the manners, just as they, with ease, shoot two eagles at once. Therefore, as the *Book of Rites* says, archery is a good example by which to understand the acquisition of value. Once you have done following the dictum of rites and music exhaustively and have paid proper respect to guest, lords, ministers, and gentlemen, you then would feel at ease and honored. Only after following the rules of rites and music should one who would claim to be a gentleman be concerned with whether he is really entering the right mode of behavior or not. Only those who can claim to be gentlemen should talk about rites. Only they can talk about poetry.

Prior to ancient Han and Wei, there had not been any kingdom where poetry had excelled as much as it had then. But there was no poetry in the T'ang style in Han and Wei. Consequently, when gentlemen talk about original forms of poetry as described in the *Book of Poetry*, they mention Han and Wei, not T'ang. Every era has seen its own poetry. Every era has seen its own gentlemen. Imitation is not always recommendable. However, one cannot compose good poems without models to imitate. And thus it is that since poetry of a later time reached its zenith in T'ang times, those who appreciate poetry do not attempt to invent a new style and only discuss and maintain the established forms of Han-Wei and T'ang poems. They estimate both Han-Wei poetry
and T'ang poetry as highly as [they estimate] the poetry of the Book of Poetry. Thus it is said: the old form of poetry found its zenith in Han and Wei and the new form in T'ang. It seems that, in these periods, humans could compose what only Heaven can today. The ultimate secret of the generation of Heaven and Earth seems to have manifested itself then. Thereafter Han-Wei or T'ang poetry degenerated so much that even the most skillful could not reverse the trend. When they added new forms, they always ended up producing something vicious or chaotic. Poems produced towards the end of the period of Six Dynasties (220 - 589) are so effeminate. Poems produced towards the end of the T'ang are minute and lacking in grandeur. Both kinds are not to be praised.

Let me discuss post-T'ang poetry for a while. The Sung era did not have poetry; or, it did, but its spirit was as follows: “Poetry is not a useless gourd. Poetry is nothing but feelings. You must compose poems as your feeling guides you to. You do not have to be a brilliant gentleman to make poems.” Although they followed a few ancient models, it turned out that they ended up with pictures of dogs while intending to create tigers and engravings of ducks while intending to carve swans. When they realized that they could not make good poems, they arbitrarily proposed...

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9 Ku-shih, the old form of poetry, is often contrasted with the newer, T'ang form. Compared with modern poetry (that is, T'ang poetry), it is freer in convention as far as rhythm and the length of the stanza goes. The new forms, Lù and Chüeh, were developed in the T'ang period. Lù is a stanza of eight lines while Chüeh is four lines long, both with specific rules regarding rhyme.
PART I: ADDENDUM TO "FOOD AND MONEY"

Question: It is a well-known fact of recent times that large and small daimyo alike are impoverished and lack financial resources. They are said to borrow from between 10 and 50 or 60 percent of their retainers' stipends. If this proves to be inadequate, the people of the domain are prevailed upon to produce the necessary funds to save the day. As this is often still insufficient, they borrow on an annual basis from the large merchant houses of Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka. Often failing to repay what has been borrowed, the interest on the loans accumulates several times. Some years ago during the Kanbun and Enpo eras [ca. 1661-1681], Kumazawa Banzan estimated that the volume of cash borrowed by daimyo was about two-hundred times the total of the available money in all of Japan. Today, some seventy years later, the amount borrowed is a thousand times more. Should the daimyo seek to redeem their debts where would this cash, which exists in name only, come from? Given this predicament, all that can be done is to spend the time of day devising ways to face the emergency at hand. There are some retainers of daimyo who excel at this and have put their considerable minds to formulate specific plans. For various reasons, however, they have not been able to realize their aims. Perhaps they acted too hastily. Perhaps by contesting the views of higher ministers, they were accused of misconduct and had their plans withdrawn. They may have angered the unenlightened and were defeated while carrying out their plans. They may have incited riots among the people. Perhaps they were simply unable to get their plans underway due to the continued extravagance of the daimyo. Or, perhaps, the daimyo himself is to be blamed for acting wrongly and failing to entrust the matters to his retainers. Any one of these can wreck a project, and having even the talent of Kuang Chung, or the faithfulness of Pi Kan and Wu Tzu-hsü will be of little use. On occasion, a retainer looks into the future and submits a carefully-worked out plan to encounter the emergency that is not quite yet at hand, but as things seem to be going well for the moment, the daimyo and his ministers fail to

1 In: Nihon keizai sōsha (Nihon Keizai Sosho Kankokai, 1914).
respond to the proposal. When the emergency does arise, a shrewd individual appears, proposing commercial schemes, deceiving money lenders, borrowing money and grain, and somehow coming up with a temporary solution. Such a retainer is then honored for his achievement by the daimyo and his ministers, and immediately given awards, an increase in stipend, and an advancement in status. We are reminded of the ancient fable about the householder who would not heed the warning that the firewood in his house, being piled too closely to the stove pipe, should be moved elsewhere and the stove pipe bent away. One evening, a fire did, of course, break out. The householder then rushed about the neighborhood for help, and, overjoyed that the fire was extinguished with this help, he hosted a feast of fine meats and wines to thank his neighbors. Had he listened to the advice to begin with and shifted the firewood and turned the stove pipe, there would have been neither a fire nor the expense of the feast. Not having profited from the advice of others and thus causing a fire, he then deigned to honor those who extinguished it for him. Similarly, failing to grasp the fundamentals, and indifferent to proper planning, tens of thousands in cash are borrowed to overcome sudden crises. But only the needs of the immediate moment are met. Falling short of comprehending the total context, only the needs of the immediate moment are met; much, as the saying goes, like splashing water over molten lava. When the crisis is over, the level of poverty is worse than before. Kumazawa Banzan was surely looking forward into our time when he observed that the domains were edging slowly toward disaster. Whatever the plan, nothing seems to work any more. Is there, then, a strategy that might still be found to save the current situation?

Response: In general, the technique of managing the economy is akin to a physician administering to an illness. The fundamental approach to curing an ailment is to seek out its basic source, although in an emergency the observable symptoms are directly treated. The same is true of the economy. The construction of a political system is central to any comprehensive form of rule. Without a political system, the customs of society are torn asunder and the needs of the country are not attended to. Under such circumstances, crises cannot be resolved. The reconstruction of the basic system of government in the entire country, however, cannot be achieved through the efforts of a single domain. The entire structure of government must be reorganized if there is to be effective management of the economy. Despite this fact, it would be foolish for a domain to ignore the specific things that might be done for its economy and to allow it to drift steadily toward
disaster. Comparable to the physician who ministers to the ailment at hand in an emergency, the pressing disorders within the economy today must be diagnosed and treated.

In ancient Japan, gold and silver were scarce and cash was not minted. Throughout society the use of gold and silver was rare. The needs for cash, too, were satisfied by importing it from other countries. Beginning in the early 1600's the supply of gold and silver increased enormously, and from about 1636 the minting of cash coins also increased. Large transactions were now carried out with gold and silver, and small ones, with cash coins. From this period on, people from throughout the land, regardless of status, began to flock to Edo. The tradition was established whereby all travelling expenses were paid for with money. Even those who did not travel came to behave in this way, relying less on grain and cloth, and more on gold and silver, and believing that wherever one lived, whether it be in the mountains or in the flatlands, the needs of grain and cloth could easily be met as long as one possessed gold and silver. Thus it is that we find ourselves in today's world of money.

Grain is viewed simply in terms of its adequacy for morning and evening meals. And fabric is similarly seen only in its relation to clothing needs. Beyond these considerations, everything is money. Large and small expenses are all paid for from one moment to the next so that the people of today value money a hundred times more than in ancient times. Indeed, though one may have adequate food and clothing today, one will find it difficult to make his way in society if short on money. Not only is this true for poor commoners, but also for the aristocracy, including the daimyo. Like merchants, therefore, stipended retainers and daimyo all tend to satisfy their needs with money and thus devise ways to acquire it. This may well be the most urgent task of the day. The best way to earn money is to trade. In one of the domains in the country, trade has been relied on to meet expenses since ancient times. The daimyo of Tsushima governs a small domain, having a rice yield for stipends of barely 20,000 koku. However, by buying commodities such as jinsen [ginseng] roots at an inexpensive rate from Korea, controlling these goods within the domain, and selling them at high prices, he has more financial resources to spare than another daimyo with a rice income of 200,000 koku. The daimyo of Matsumae rules a domain of 7,000 koku of rice. However, he controls the products within the domain as well as goods purchased from the Ainu, and then he sells them at favorable prices. The level of wealth he possesses is thus beyond the reach of other daimyo who may be worth 50,000 koku of rice. The daimyo of Tsuwano of Sekishū receives rice income of 40,000 koku. By controlling the manufacturing and sale of writing paper,
However, his wealth is comparable to 150,000 koku of rice. The daimyo of Hamada, also from that same region, learned from Tsuwano and manufactured his own writing paper, so that his wealth grew from 50,000 koku of rice to equal the value of 100,000 koku. Satsuma is an enormous domain to begin with. But by regulating the import and sale of goods from the Ryūkyū Islands, its wealth exceeds other domains within our seas. Large number of goods are also shipped from China through the Ryūkyūs to Satsuma, and thence to other parts of the country. Tsushima, Satsuma, and Matsumae are examples of domains that have a monopoly on the import and sale of goods from foreign lands so that other daimyo may not be able to emulate them. Others such as Tsuwano and Hamada acquire great wealth by maintaining a monopoly over goods manufactured in their domains, and then selling them through a single outlet. The daimyo of Niiya, who is also the chief minister for the domain of Kishū, receives a rice income of 30,000 koku. By controlling the produce of mountains and seas of Kumano, however, his wealth is comparable to 100,000 koku. Strategies can be devised based on the economic practices of these domains, since it must be concluded that every domain, regardless of its relative size, produces something. It may be that some domains will have more specialist produce than others. Where such produce is low, the people of the domain ought to be taught and supervised so that by relying on the natural advantages of the land they will plant, besides the usual grains, anything that might be useful for trade, whether these be trees or grasses, to maximize agricultural production. Moreover, the people should be taught appropriate manufacturing skills so that during moments of leisure when agricultural labor is not called for, they will produce other goods that are useful to human beings, and which will be traded with other domains to contribute to the maintenance of the domainal economy, Such is the technique of enriching the domains.

The domains as a rule calculate their taxes on rice production. Besides this, however, produce harvested in the mountains and the seas, and manufactured goods such as hemp, silk, thread, cotton, wicker baskets, mats, nets, and umbrellas, all sold directly by the people themselves, should also be treated as taxable commodities. The taxable amount may vary from between one-twentieth or one-thirtieth to about one-fiftieth or one-hundredth of the value of the commodity itself. It is also to be paid in cash. In customary language this is called a miscellaneous tax. What remains after the tax is paid is said to be privately owned [watakushi mono], and the income derived from trading these goods is entirely personal. This is consistent with ancient law. Many of our domains today, however, do not levy such a tax. The
reason seems to be the following. In olden days, farmer-warriors fulfilled their duty by collecting from among commoners a proper allotment of fighting men and horses. The tax on rice, therefore, was merely one part out of ten. A rice field with a yield of 100 koku, for example, would be taxed the equivalent of 10 koku of unhulled rice. Since the required number of men and horses need not be maintained on a continuous basis, the one-tenth tax on rice sufficed to meet domanial expenses. Since the warrior class is now separated from the peasantry, it is necessary for men and horses to be maintained on a regular basis where the daimyo resides. The tax on rice production is therefore usually about four parts out of ten. Out of a harvest of 100 koku, 40 unhulled koku are taken. Since the portion of rice production taken as tax is so large, additional taxes on other commodities would cause much suffering among the people. In many places, therefore, these taxes are not levied. Due to the inadequacy of financial resources, however, some domains in recent years have imposed special commodity taxes that did not exist traditionally. The people reacted against them, and in many instances rioted. Much prudence is, indeed, called for.

It would seem in the light of today's economy that the daimyo should purchase with cash the various agricultural and manufactured goods of the domain, and sell them in turn to whoever wishes to buy them then and there. The remaining goods should then be transported by boat or horseback to Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka. When the people, on their own, ship and sell their goods elsewhere, they invariably face transportation costs. A boat will have a shipping charge, and there will be a carrying charge for horseback. Selling goods elsewhere involves a reliance on merchant agents. There will be brokers. There will be meal expenses while spending nights at the agent's home. When the sales are transacted, a commission will be levied by the dealer. There will be workers' fees and offerings to the merchant's protective shrine. And when all is done, there will be some thank-you money for the agent. There are all sorts of fees of this kind involved so that when the various expenses are withdrawn, the remaining income from the sales for the people would not be large. Furthermore, merchants from other domains buy domanial products and sell them to other dealers. There are travel expenses for these merchants going to and from the domain. Should they spend several days where the goods are being produced, there will be meal expenses, in addition to the cost of transportation by boat and horse. These expenses are subtracted from the sales. These merchants invariably buy goods at the lowest possible price and sell them to make the most profit. Since the original producers do not themselves travel to sell their own products, they
agree to inexpensive rates, and though they are unburdened by labor and other costs, they still do not make much profit. Now then, the daimyo should apply his cash funds towards buying all the produce of the domain, and carefully measure the advantage of selling them either to a merchant or to an agent. Although the price may be somewhat unfavorable, because the goods would be collected in a central location and transported to large cities such as Osaka to be stored and sold when the market is favorable, the profits that accrue would be much greater than that of goods sold by individuals within the domain. These individuals do not have the workers to transport their goods nor, as mentioned, do they have the funds to cover transportation charges. Since they would welcome the greater profits rather than sell on their own to merchants, they ought not to conceal any of their products and deliver all that they have.

However, should corrupt officials purchase the goods of the people at a price lower than what the people could fetch by selling it on their own, there will be much displeasure among them and they will conceal and surreptitiously sell their products themselves. As there will be laws forbidding such sales, many will be found guilty and the people will rebel. It is generally the feeling among the populace that while taxes on rice to support the daimyo's fixed needs for stipends are reasonable, additional taxes on manufactured goods are not. Thus, they are forced to choose between enduring the hardship of delivering up taxable goods, or sending on inferior goods as tax and selling their better produce to merchants elsewhere. Officials who uncover such practices will seek out the offenders, bringing on additional misery. Failings of this sort emerge when special taxes are placed on domainal products. In our degenerate times, corrupt officials are arrogant in their treatment of the gentle commoners and produce a number of such evils. Were the daimyo to offer their own cash to buy all the produce of the domain and turn it into higher profits for the people, rather than have them sell it separately to merchants from other areas, the people would see the advantage and would be satisfied. After the purchase of domainal goods, items should be picked out for trade with neighboring domains. The bulk of the goods should then be sent to Edo and Osaka for storage. A good agent should be selected from among the commoners and be asked to take up residence in these cities as the chief of the stored goods, and be held responsible for selling them at favorable prices depending on the relative bids offered by other merchants. An honest official or two should be appointed from among the stipended retainers to oversee the entire operation. Today the various daimyo from the eastern and western domains sell their rice in Osaka. They generally use the method just outlined.
Actually it is because the writing paper from Sekishū is distributed throughout the daimyo's warehouses that it is commonly referred to as "warehouse writing paper." The daimyo of our day feels it imperative to have all the money to meet the financial needs of their domains. Finding it difficult to fulfill their duties, they plan ways to increase their income. No quicker way to accumulate money is to be found than through trade. To seek profit from trade may not be the best of all ways for a daimyo to govern a domain. It is, however, a technique that will bring relief to our current crisis.

An analogy is to be found in Kuang Chung's ancient plan to govern a kingdom. Chiao Jo of the Ming Dynasty has pointed out that the Fair Exchange law of Sang Hung-yang, while despised by many political economists then and in subsequent generations, was actually beneficial to the kingdom and did not bring harm to the people. Blame should not be cast on Hung-yang. He was of merchant origin, and the Fair Exchange Law is based on the principle of trade. He, too, chose to do the inevitable to save the situation. For our degenerate world to become one with the ancients, the needs of the country have to be met with a vastly reduced supply of money. Inconveniences reduced thereby would be welcomed among aristocrats and commoners. However, unless the political system of the entire country is reconstituted and the customary traditions of the people altered, such a goal could not be achieved. We are left with no alternative but to devise a plan to increase monetary income within each domain. The quickest way to do this is through trade. A retainer with the wisdom of Kuang Chung would most certainly execute such a plan of action. Surely within three to five years the domain would be enriched thereby. Look at the Bakufu today, buying commodities from abroad through Nagasaki and selling them throughout the country. This is, indeed, trade. Why then should the daimyo of the land be at all fearful of trading their produce to other domains?

**PART II**

*Question*: It is most lamentable when a daimyo has no heir to succeed him. Having many sons is also grievous, since they must all be provided for. A vulgar proverb in the Kyoto area says it this way: "If we only knew our son would not die, one son would be enough for us. If we only knew that the money would never run out, we would merely need a thousand ryō of cash in hand." These are marvelous wishes and all human beings, being equally passionate, have them. What Heaven determines, however, a human wish cannot alter. While it is, indeed, a tragedy for a
Daimyo not to have a son, there is nothing that men can do about it. If with good fortune a daimyo should have many sons, this would truly be a great wealth of the domain. While possessing this wealth, some may fail to see their responsibility to it. For example, were dominal property to be divided among these sons, the wealth of the domain would be dissipated, resulting in the grievous decline of the ancestral realm. Great financial resources are required to raise the son of a daimyo. Large domains need not debate this issue at any length. But domains with a 100,000 koku of rice and below lack both the space and the wealth for the stipends. As the strain of raising sons of daimyo in a special way is felt inquiries are made among other daimyo without sons, and without regard to their being of the same kin group or not, sons are sent to be adopted upon request. It may be reasonable that this would be practiced among daimyo bearing the same surname. Uncertainties arise when a daimyo seizes the income of another domain to relieve the burdens of his house by sending his children into adoption. Having sent the second and third son away, it sometimes happens that, unfortunately, the remaining son passes away, turns out to be incompetent, or becomes physically ill. The daimyo in question then seeks, usually without success, to retrieve the son of his who is being raised by a relative, or seeks to adopt a son from kin or from an unrelated family, thereby maintaining the continuity of the house. The daimyo of Takeda is an example of this in recent times. Considering all besides the eldest son to be an excessive burden, he sent his other sons away to be raised elsewhere. This is an evil practice. Some justification may be found for poverty-stricken retainers or commoners to do so, but it ought not to be practiced among daimyo. What ought to be done about second and third sons so that the course of conduct mentioned above is ended?

Response: This practice can be solved easily. In common parlance, the eldest son of the daimyo is called the "heir apparent" [seishi]. In ancient times, he was also called "crown prince" [taishi], although this term was not used until later times. The second sons and the ones following are termed "young nobles" [kōshi]. The heir apparent will succeed the ruling prince. Young nobles are all simply "retainers" [shin]. This is obviously true of sons of concubines, but of legitimate wives as well. From the moment of birth they are retainers. They are called young nobles only because they are the children of the ruling prince. The offspring of young nobles are referred to as "noble grandsons" [kōson]. These descendants are given new family names, which means the formation of a separate house, or as we say today, acquiring a "surname" [myōji]. In ancient times, lords generally possessed only
a single family name and did not branch out with new surnames. The lord of Ch'i had only the family name of Chiang; Yu, that of Chi; Sung, that of Tzu; and Ch'en, Kuei. A family name connects descendants in a common lineage. Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana are examples of this in Japan. Branch surnames were introduced to clarify the family genealogy as descendants separated and spread outward. In Japan, these would be families such as Niita, Ashikaga, Miura, and Hojo. The reason the branch surnames were given long ago to domainal lords and their offspring who were noble descendants, was that the number of young nobles and their offspring proliferated enormously, causing confusion, and so new names were granted to correct the situation. Since noble descendants are the offspring of young nobles, an ideograph of the ancestor's name was used in selecting the new family name. In this manner, the family line connecting the ancestral father through the young noble's house is made clear. Some examples of this are as follows: the grandson of Chan, who is the son of Lu, becomes Chan Tzu; and the grandson of Hua Fu, son of Sung, becomes Hua Shih.

There were no extended branch family groups in ancient times. These were created by decree later on. Since all of the daimyo today have these extended family groups, these should be clearly delineated. What causes displeasure among young noble families is the possibility of their being treated as mere retainers, in accordance with ancient law. Sons of legitimate wives and even concubines are treated from birth as though they were heirs apparent of the ruling prince. Ministers and retainers view them virtually as heirs to the ruler. Thus it is that care is lavished on them, their retinue indulge in luxury, and they become insufferable in their arrogance. Realizing that they cannot live within their limited stipends, they then seek landed estates carved out of the domain itself. The daimyo hopes to satisfy their requests out of affection for them but the domainal land is limited. There is, moreover, the unhappy prospect of reducing the size of the ancestral domain. Caught in this predicament, the daimyo looks elsewhere to another daimyo without sons, seeking to draw on the dominal wealth of others to provide for his own offspring. It may seem like a workable strategy to rely on the wealth of another domain, thus not risking one's own resources, but in the end, one's own domain will be vulnerable to others too. It is truly pitiful.

If all young nobles were made retainers in accordance with ancient law, this would be advantageous to the domain. This rule dictates that all sons from the second one onwards, regardless of their legitimacy, will not, from the moment of birth, be called "sons" of the ruling prince. From the very outset, special services
and everyday attention will be kept to a minimal. They will be taught, as in the raising of an ordinary member of the retainer class, to carry out the proper ritual toward the heir apparent; in the same manner, as it were, as a minister toward his lord. From an early age onwards they will be instructed in the ways of the proper behavior of a subject, and in the avoidance of extravagance. As they advance, they should observe with unswerving vigor the rules governing vassal-to-lord relations. At twenty, they should be granted a stipend and formally counted among the ranks of the retainers. Their stipends should not be large. Ordinarily, daimyo possessing between 10 and 30 thousand koku of rice income should grant about 200 koku to each of his young nobles; from 40 to 50 thousand up to 80 to 90 thousand koku, the allotment should be 300 koku each; above 100 thousand koku, about 500 koku each; above 200 thousand koku, about 1000 koku each; above 300 thousand koku, about 1500 koku each; and above 500 thousand koku, about 2000 koku each. Each daimyo, regardless of the size of his income, should gauge the relative wealth of his domain and not be bound by the above as if they were fixed rules.

To summarize a little further, young nobles rank below high stewards [taibu]. They are not assigned formal posts and, therefore, should not be entrusted with political responsibilities. They may be used as high-ranking envoys making ritual calls on the Bakufu. In military matters as well, they should be subordinated to the high stewards. Should a member of this group possess outstanding talent, he might be assigned, according to his special ability, to an official position. If he is endowed with moral virtue, he may also be promoted to the position of high steward and entrusted with political duties. Among the large domains, many young nobles and noble grandsons are advanced as retainers into the ranks of high stewards, and assigned political duties. On rare occasions, however, some of them are raised to the levels of middle and upper retainers, and given administrative posts. This is a good thing. A person such as this may rise up, perhaps, even become the ruling prince himself. Even if these nobles continued over some time as retainers or as administrators, should the lord not have a legitimate successor, one of these might then be allowed to succeed the lord. They might also succeed to the house of a kin who does not have an heir. As remarked above about these families, a young noble obviously should inherit the stipend granted to the noble as a retainer. And then, from one generation to the next, a son should continue to inherit that stipend. Should there not be a legitimate heir, an illegitimate son may be selected. If such a succession, unfortunately, is still unavailable, an appropriate candidate
should be sought from a related house in another area. If even then an heir cannot be found, the house should be done away with, by which is meant destroying it. The house should not continue by adopting sons of unrelated noble families. This is in accordance with ancient law. It is because, in defiance of ancient law, heirs are adopted from unrelated noble families to maintain the continuity of the house that the number of noble grandson families has proliferated, and with it, the amount of stipends needed has also increased, causing the decline of the governing house.

It is a common practice today for a daimyo above seventeen who does not yet have an heir to designate a successor in the event of an unexpected emergency while out on his travels. This is commonly referred to as “provisional adoption.” If young nobles were not sent out of the domain and raised entirely within it, such provisional adoptions outside the house would be unnecessary. If this were practiced, the ancestral domain would also be protected from outside usurpation. Now, if it is the misfortune of the daimyo not to have a son and also to lack young nobles and noble grandsons, the blood line of the house is then broken as an act of Heaven. Being enraged by it means nothing. If daimyo plan on making young nobles and noble grandson retainers, this should also be stated before such children are born, and then raised accordingly from birth. A lack of resolve about this ancient rule will result in children being raised at the first as princes and later being precipitously demoted, invariably causing much resentment. The decline and fall of a domain will have begun. Young nobles and noble grandsons are thus best handled according to ancient law. Given the social mores of our day, it will prove to be impossible to raise children bearing the title of “son of the lord,” even if the stipends mentioned earlier were to be increased fivefold.
The Way is just like a path. It is the means by which people come and go and move to and fro. Accordingly, it would seem the manner in which things undergo this movement is, in every case, called "The Way." And as regards referring to this as the Way of Heaven: it is by grasping one yin, one yang as ceaseless movement that the name "the Way of Heaven" is given.²

In the "Keiji" section of the Book of Changes it is said, "One yin and one yang: this is called the Way." Now, adding the character "one" to each of yin and yang is likely the means by which the implications are expressed of there being with every yin a yang and with every yang a yin (and so hereafter, "yin-with-yang"), and of the coming and going and ebb and flow, and of the moving around and around without end. It seems there is in Heaven-and-Earth (i.e., the unity that is the Universe) only a single fundamental energy. On some occasions this energy becomes yin, and on others yang. Both constantly wax and wane, ebb and flow, come and go, cause sensation and response in Heaven-and-Earth. This movement has never ceased. It is this, then, that comprises the entirety of the Way of Heaven. It is the generative force of nature. The proliferation of things occurs according to this force, and the differentiation of things likewise comes into being in accordance with it. The manner in which the sages theorized about Heaven reached this point and went no further. We must realize that to suggest anything more is simply illogical and leaves one no grounds from which to argue.

Chu Hsi appears to believe that "yin and yang are not the Way. Rather, the Way itself is the reason why there is yin and

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2 Paragraph breaks and parenthetical notes are those of the translator.
yang.” This is incorrect. Yin and yang are definitely not the Way. Indeed, it is the ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang that is the Way. Chu Hsi begins by making the Great Ultimate the first principle of everything, and then makes yin-with-yang the state of the Great Ultimate. Thus is his thought so completely at odds with the axiom from the Keiji section of the Book of Changes.

II

In the Way of Heaven there is the flow of movement; there is integral or balanced opposition (tsui-tai).

The Book of Changes says, “Yin-with-yang: this is called the Way.” This statement is made with reference to movement. To establish the Way of Heaven is to speak of yin and yang; and this in turn is to speak in terms of a balanced opposition. In point of fact, they are one. In regard to movement: the reference is to the ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang. In regard to balanced opposition: among everything of Heaven and Earth - the mountains and rivers, water and fire, the brightness of day and the darkness of night, the coming and going of coldness and warmth - there is no instance without opposition (tsui). Such a condition is balanced opposition. However, balanced opposition exists naturally within movement alone; it has no existence apart from movement.

III

What makes it possible to say that in Heaven-and-Earth there is only a single fundamental energy? This cannot be clarified by hollow theorizing. Allow me to explain this by means of a metaphor.

Now, if one were to combine six pieces of wood and make a box, placing the lid tightly on top, the interior would naturally be filled with air. If there is air filling its interior, the box would then naturally produce bacteria. Once it produced bacteria, then likewise it would naturally produce insects. This is the principle of nature. It would seem that Heaven-and-Earth is one large box, yin and yang the air inside the box, and the myriad things the bacteria and insects. Concerning this air, it is not produced from any one thing, nor does it come from any particular place. If there is a box, then there is air; if there is no box, then there is no air.
Thus we know that in Heaven-and-Earth there is just this single fundamental energy, and that is all.

We must recognize that it is not the case that there first exists principle and then energy; what is referred to as principle is nothing other than the principle within energy. As for the myriad things, they are based on the five elements; and the five elements are based on yin and yang. And so if one looks once again at what the base of yin and yang is, one cannot but of necessity end up back at principle. Here we have the way in which common sense inevitably reaches this point and cannot help producing subjective opinion. And here is the reason why Confucian scholars of the Sung had [metaphysical] theories of the Infinite and the Great Ultimate. If we reflect on the preceding metaphor, then the fact that this principle is at work becomes abundantly clear. Generally speaking, what the Sung Confucianists say is that first there is principle and then there is energy; and the sort of theories they proceed with, [for instance] the claim that prior to there having been Heaven-and-Earth there was in fact this principle, are all opinions based on conjecture, on the order of drawing a snake and adding legs or making a head on top of a head. This is not the way it actually appears.

IV

The Book of Changes says, “The Great Virtue of Heaven-and-Earth is called life.” Which is to say that life-life (as opposed to the mutually exclusive “life-death”) and ceaselessness are the Way of Heaven-and-Earth. Thus in this account the Way of Heaven-and-Earth has life but does not have death, has cohesion but no dissipation. Death, then, would be the end of life, and disarray would be cohesion that has dissipated, the reason in both cases being that the Way of Heaven-and-Earth becomes one in life. Even though the bodies of our ancestors cease to exist, their spirits are still conveyed to our descendants, who in turn convey this spirit to their descendants: life-life goes on uninterrupted. When we discuss this in terms of the Infinite, it is acceptable to refer to it as non-death. The myriad things are like this. How can it not be true that the Way of Heaven-and-Earth has life but does not have death? Thus it would be acceptable to say living things must die and that which coheres must dissipate.

It would be unacceptable to say that if there is life there must be death, and if there is cohesion there must be dissipation,
the reason being that in this formulation life and death are fixed in [a mutually exclusive, static] opposition.

V

There is one who is of the opinion that if we consider the Universe from the perspective of Heaven-and-Earth having already opened, there would certainly only be the one fundamental energy; and if we consider the Universe from the perspective of Heaven-and-Earth having not yet opened, there would only be Principle; and that is all. It is for this reason, then, that this person has said, "With the Infinite, there is the Great Ultimate." In their theorizing, the sages simply never managed to reach the fundament behind the ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang. I would say that such a theory is simply the product of imagination.

This moment prior to Heaven-and-Earth or at Heaven-and-Earth's beginnings - did someone witness it? Did someone report it? If there were still someone living who was born when Heaven-and-Earth had not yet opened, surviving to a ripe old age indeed he would have reached some hundreds of trillions of years; during which time he would presumably have borne witness [to this genetic moment] at first hand, conveyed it to succeeding generations who together would have made of it an enduring tradition, and thereby extended it to today; - only then would this imaginary idea be irrefutably true. And so with this in mind, if there exists in this world no one born prior to the opening of Heaven-and-Earth; and likewise, if there exists no one whose longevity has reached some hundreds of trillions of years; then all things considered the many thinkers who speak of theories concerning the opening of Heaven-and-Earth are one and all extreme in their arbitrariness.

It is said that that which is pure rises and becomes Heaven, while that which is impure descends and becomes Earth. Shōkō Setsu made one hundred and twenty-nine thousand, six hundred years into a single gen cycle; and continued by suggesting that first Heaven opened as shine or the first of the Twelve Directions/Hours, then Earth opened as ushi or the second Direction, then man came into being as tora or the third: - theories such as these are all from post-Han Confucianists who by absorbing the undependable, arbitrary old theories from the various writings of the Shin'i Divination School of the Warring
States period, simply jumbled all things together by force. They made these compatible with the earlier theories of the non-beginnning as it is referred to by the Buddha and with the Infinite as spoken of by the Daoist Rōshi. Again, these efforts are all simply unfounded. The directions of the compass and of above and below (i.e., space) are called "u," and the duration from antiquity to the present (i.e., time) is called "chū." If one understands the boundlessness of the six directions then one knows the boundlessness of past and present. Today's Heaven-and-Earth, then, is the Heaven-and-Earth of ten thousand ages past; and the Heaven-and-Earth of ten thousand ages past is thus the Heaven-and-Earth of today. How can this have a beginning and an end? How can there be a Universal founding moment? We must use this theory [of timeless continuity] to destroy millennia-old illusions. Indeed, using this theory should be called wise, not foolish.

There is one who says that once it is no longer possible to refer to Heaven-and-Earth as having a beginning and an end and a Universal founding moment, then likewise we cannot refer to there not being a beginning and end nor a Universal founding moment. I would say that if we can no longer refer to Heaven-and-Earth as having a beginning and an end and a Universal founding moment, then we most certainly cannot refer to it as not having a beginning and an end and a Universal founding moment. However, with regard to any ultimate moment or condition, even the sages could not conceive of this. How much more impossible for mere scholars. And so it would only be right to set this issue aside and refrain from making it an object of debate.

VI

The ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang is referred to as the Way of Heaven. Its significance is exceedingly clear. Why, then, does Shikō say that one is not supposed to take it up for

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3 The difference between the two statements seems determined by the structure of the respective conditionals. In the first, the implication is that the second part (not having a beginning, end, etc.) cannot be maintained because the first (having a beginning, end, etc.) is not tenable, while in Jinsai's response, the verity of the second part is not predicated on the status of the first: for Jinsai, neither can be maintained; they are equally unsupportable as absolutes. —The Translator.
questioning? Concerning the principle of the ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang, it would seem that scholars could perhaps take it up for questioning. When reaching the principle of this in one's argument, that is, the Will of Heaven being so utterly unfathomable and ceaseless, if the theorizer is not one for whom wisdom, honesty, and benevolence have become fully matured and insight truly attained, then he will be incapable of comprehending the Will of Heaven.

Concerning reference to the Will of Heaven being so utterly unfathomable and ceaseless, there is the following statement in the Book of Documents. "As for this Heaven, it itself has no affectionate concern. It is by wholeheartedly expressing reverence to Heaven that heaven appears to display affectionate concern." The Book of Documents also says, "The Way of Heaven rewards goodness and brings misfortune to vice." The Book of Changes says, "The Way of Heaven has the meaning of curtailing abundance and benefitting those in need." Confucius says, "Heaven has provided me with Virtue. What, then, Kantai could you possibly do against me?" Confucius also says, "If one commits a crime against Heaven, then no amount of prayer will help." This is also [an example of the kind of personified Heaven mentioned above]. What Shikō referred to as impossible to take up for questioning is perhaps another such example.

Goodness: this is the Way of Heaven. And so in the Book of Changes it is said, "That which is referred to as the fundament is the extent of goodness." In Heaven-and-Earth, it would seem that there is nothing which is not goodness among the directions of the compass and of above and below, nor among chaos and confusion, fullness and saturation, the absence of outside and inside. Thus when there is goodness one is going with the flow, and when there is evil one is going against it. If taking non-goodness and having it reside in Heaven-and-Earth is just like taking mountain grasses and growing them in a swamp or taking marine life and leaving them atop mountains and hills, then it is certain that the potential of these uprooted things cannot be realized even for a day. The instance of a person who is unable to take non-goodness and establish it in Heaven-and-Earth for even one day is just like this. As for reaching the limits of goodness, there is no instance in which one proceeds in that direction and yet finds non-goodness; likewise there is at the limits of evil no instance in which one proceeds and yet finds non-evil. As for quintessential goodness: it is here that the goodness under Heaven gathers; its blessings are inestimable. As for quintessential
evil: it is here that the evil under Heaven makes its return; its hardships are immeasurable. That which one should fear and be mindful of in the Way of Heaven is this. However, concerning what is referred to as goodness, could there really be something that palpably exists to be spoken of? Confucius said, “The life of man is putting things to right, and disregarding this fact and living on is to be in a state of ignorant bliss.” That which is goodness resides nowhere else; which is to say, it is the putting of things to right, and nothing else. It seems that when there is such a setting to right there is goodness, and when there is no such setting to right there is evil. It is not the case that there are two mutually exclusive orders of things.

When the Confucian scholars of the Sung speak of Heaven in its entirety, they refer to it as principle. They also say, “Heaven, then, is principle”; and so the argument lapses into meaninglessness. What is more, it is not the main precept used by the sages as a means to theorize the Way of Heaven. It seems that when one sees Heaven as having feelings, one then is inclined to see in natural calamities [Heaven’s prognosis for political dissolution on Earth]. The study of [Heaven’s prognostications for Earth as manifested in] natural calamities by Han Confucianists is an example of this. And when one considers Heaven as having no human feelings, then one lapses into meaninglessness. The Confucian scholars of the Sung with their theory that Heaven, then, is Principle, were like this. If scholars are struck with awe, pursue their studies with care, take up the Way of setting things to right, themselves exhaustively pursue it, and do away with the presence of even the smallest amount of non-rightness, then upon doing all this it would be natural for them to spontaneously comprehend the Way. It is not something they can comprehend through language.

VII

Certain people maintain that “The principle of the ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang can, perhaps, be known; but when it comes to the principle according to which the Will of Heaven is so utterly unfathomable and ceaseless, this
cannot be taken up for questioning." Why is it that with only one Way of Heaven there are two manifest principles?

I would argue that there are not two principles. The ceaseless coming and going of yin-with-yang is spoken of with reference to movement, the Will of Heaven being so utterly unfathomable and ceaseless is spoken of with reference to a subjectified controlling presence. As for movement, it is just as though one were describing a person with certain behavior patterns and a dignified manner. As for the subjectified controlling presence, it is just as though it were a person with thoughts and foresight. In point of fact, this movement and presence are one principle. And yet, when one theorizes the reason why the Way of Heaven becomes the Way of Heaven, then one is speaking exclusively in terms of a subjectified controlling presence. That which the Book of Documents, the Book of Changes, and Confucius refer to as the Way of Heaven is this. And so it is that by drawing on a poem concerning the Will of Heaven the Doctrine of the Mean explains this by saying, "It probably speaks of the way in which Heaven becomes Heaven." Although there appear to be two manifest principles, when we reach the point of theorizing the way in which the Way of Heaven becomes the Way of Heaven, the emphasis is placed entirely on the subjectified controlling presence. What the Book of Changes takes to be the Way makes of yin something good, pure, and refined like the gentleman scholar; and makes of yang something evil, impure, and vulgar like the lowly plebeian. When the scholar looks into the fluctuations of yin and yang, extinction and extension, and with those observations examines the principle of progression and retreat, existence and absence, then he is able to harmonize with Heaven's wishes. If, however, he does not undertake these studies, he cannot escape running counter to the wishes of Heaven. Thus, the way by which Heaven is made a subjective controlling presence should also be pursued and understood.

While there may appear to be two manifest principles, there is in fact only one principle.
In the human world there is, undeniably, the root (*hon*) of all things and the branches (*matsu*). Follow the roots and all can be easily accomplished. Follow the branches and, to the contrary, things are difficult to accomplish.

The entirety of the governance of the sages proceeds from the ways of doctrine and nurturing. The skills of farming are the basis of nurturing: these skills specifically being not only in raising crops but in the nurturing of the life of the people. The way of filiality and pedagogy is the basis of indoctrinating people; without indoctrinating these norms of filiality and pedagogy human ethics will not be known and the human way will be lost, leaving us rather like the animals. Thus in the revered time of Yao and Shun the ruler's grain was distributed so that farming should be widespread.

With Hsieh as advisor, the Way of Ethics was given to be indoctrinated, and ethics became widely known. Following from this, the governance of Yao and Shun has lasted countless generations in the realm under the supervision of the sovereign. Since that time, generations of sage kings and virtuous rulers have advanced farming in ruling the domains of the realm, thus becoming the ancestors by indoctrinating crop-cultivation. In holding the line of the Way of human ethics, the basis was given. The Way of human ethics is thus indoctrinated among those of higher status.

As for those of lower status, there are many people to lecture them on books on this Way. Although there are increasingly more books from China on the skill of working the fields the farmers of my country, being mostly illiterate, are not good at learning this way. As for the specialists in literature, they are not engaged in farming. Of old, although many of the good rulers of our court prized and assisted farming, there were no books instructing about farming skills which could be handed down, so the rules of farming were unrepresented. Despite the

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1 Translated from the *Nihon Keizai Taiten*, Vol. 3 [pp. 513-516].
accomplishment of good rule in the reign of Taihei, farming skills aren't investigated by those below because such books as were suited only for illiterate peasants were not handed down to this generation.

Of old, people were few and basic necessities were simple. The people engaged in nurturing, and so had free time. So the people concentrated on farming achievements, and those who directed themselves toward serving the basis were many. Those who were only eating without producing were few; grain was plentiful and the people were well-fed.

In recent times the consumption of the agricultural product has increased ten-fold. It would follow that the increase is because the basic necessities suffice. However, this generation has farming skills and is proficient in employing labor in fieldwork, so why is it unable to escape the fear of cold and hunger?

I have long been amongst the people and have carefully observed farmers at their daily work. Farming skill goes unrepresented. Those who cooperate in following the rudiments of farming are many, but they toil and go about their tasks without accomplishing much. I've witnessed times of scarcity when autumn days roll around. This isn't a problem of the soil of the domain or of not performing tasks - it is simply that none among the people knows farming skills and the Way of crop-cultivation. This is truly something to worry about. Knowledge and motivation must be coordinated if anything is to be achieved in matters of the realm.

So with the precedent of farming skills behind [one], those who follow [the Way] should carry out achievements in farming. When steadfastness arises it will be in the mind. When the principle of carrying out rites follows upon sufficiency and people practice the Way of cultivation, grain is sufficient and basic necessities are nurtured. When each has his place then greed and selfishness don't take hold, and the rites are carried out with fitting humility. With customs established, minds are at concord and all is at peace. All this is renewed daily and becomes more prevalent as the months pass.

As for the land of Japan: it is centered on the north-south axis; the ki of yin-yang is correct; it is moderate in seasons and without many natural disasters; there are many plains and vast lands for growing rice and millet. If the domainal land is exceedingly fertile many crops can be grown, and indeed there is nothing that cannot be grown.
It is said that there are no superior lands outside of Korea and China. Thus praises of good customs and fertile lands are sung by Ou-yang Tzu in the song about Japanese swords [Ō Yōshū].

Japan supplies all manner of goods to the world: not only crops but [other things] from silks to wood-products to medicines. From demands for all these different things were developed skills out of the rudiments [of production]; in developing these skills to the utmost, Japan became stocked with all sorts of necessities of life and comfort, including a variety of medicines. But as for obscure things or things whose cultivation isn't possible on this land, and things the cultivation skills of which are unknown and thus unsuitable, such things are many. In looking at the variety of products of the domains, we find that they follow the rules of cultivation there. Things that don't suit the soil are (like the musk-scented Daphne and such-like, things lacking in our domains) obtained from other countries to satisfy the needs of the people.

So from the unprofitable annual trade with ships of the T'ang in antiquity, our domains' goods have gone to the profit of other countries. How is it that the people of my domain have lost the fruits of the land by not knowing the rules of skillful cultivation? This is the same in our various domains, each carrying out the Way of cultivation and taking what can be gotten from the land, exporting most of the product, and finally having to worry about buying from other domains.

I have lived in the village for forty years. I have been toiling and overseeing matters of farming in the course of which I've tried many things. In doing these things I've often regretted the way that farmers grow their crops. So I launched into books on cultivation and thought of ways to follow their prescriptions together with the people. I reflected on the ways in Chinese books with regard to their application to our land, and on select aid to farming achievement. I traveled throughout the domains here in the Kinnai region and made inquiries of the most experienced farmers.

The draft result of my work comes to ten volumes, entitled *The Compendium on Farming*. There are many mistakes and dialects [in it, and] my judgement is poor and probably often off the mark. So I asked my old friend Kaibara Ekiken to go over the work. Because he appreciates and takes pleasure only in the study and wisdom of the sages, I feared that trying to polish this work on local matters would disturb his enjoyment of old age.
I must admit that I'm in error in many matters but do my best, hoping that this work is distributed widely for the benefit of farming achievement. It is my wish to make some contribution, however small. For another to add his literary abilities is some help. But just as with polishing a raw stone into a jewel, I fear that the crudity of my writing will show despite revision, and that the argument may be missed and criticism incurred. Despite this fear and my anticipation of the work of wiser men in farming service, I wish to make this small contribution for the sake of the present generation engaged in farming. Thus I've narrated my own views, having forgotten my own failings.

Prefaced by Miyazaki Yasusada, Genroku Nine (1697)
TAIGIROKU
[Record of Major Doubts]¹
by Kaibara Ekiken (1630-1714)

Translated by Martin Pierce Griggs

The Translation: The kanbun (Chinese character
only) text of Taigi Roku used for this translation appears on pp. 388-404 of Araki Kengo, Inoue Tadashi (ed.) Kaibara Ekiken, Muro Sanji [Nihon Shisō Taikei, v. 34] (Iwanami Shoten, 1970). A section in the same volume (Part I appearing on p. 12-33) supplying both modern Japanese grammar and annotations has been consulted.² Many of Wing-Tsit Chan's translations of philosophical terms have been followed.³

PREFACE

A Confucian from the past has said, "Without the element

¹ The following translation of the Taigiroku [Record of Major Doubts] is the first of a two part piece. George William Knox has published a translation which is both too dated and much too abridged and edited to be of any use to this translation. ("Ki, Ri, and Ten," Asiatic Society of Japan (1872-3) Vol. 20 (12), pp. 157-77, [Knox's partial translation of the text falling on pp.171-77]).

² A few notes regarding the translation itself may be in order at this point:
   1) Notes contain the material given in the Araki and Inoue volume (with some editing) unless indicated otherwise by the following symbol: [Translator]. The notes appearing in the Araki and Inoue volume supply citations for references in the text by chapter or the book or essay title. Almost all the lexical notes and a few notes on allusive references and a few references to lesser-known works have been deleted. For references to Mencius and Confucius's Analects, I have appended a passage number after the chapter number. The translations consulted were those by D. C. Lau of Meng Tzu, entitled Mencius (Penguin Books, 1970), and of Lun Yu, entitled Analects (Penguin Books, 1979), although my translation may differ somewhat.
   2) With the exception of Wang Yang-ming and Lu Hsiang-shan, I have substituted the personal or private names of persons for honorifics by which they are referred to in the text. I have added dates of birth/death, drawn from entries in Chung-kuo Ju-hsüeh Tzu-tien (Liao-ning Jen-min Ch'u-pan she, 1989).
   3) Wade-Giles romanization of Chinese terms is used throughout.
   4) Italicized words in parentheses in the main text are Japanese, while italicized words in the footnotes are in Chinese.

of doubt learning is jeopardized, for doubt brings advancement. This makes learning possible."\(^4\) The gentleman-scholar of novice learning cannot immediately get to the heart of things.\(^5\) The Way of learning should include doubt, for when one has doubt advancement is sure to follow. Chu Hsi\(^6\) said, "One without doubt must gain it, and the doubter must be able to do without his doubt."\(^7\) Furthermore, "Major doubts bring major progress, minor doubts bring minor progress, and without doubt there is no progress."\(^8\) I daresay that doubt accompanies learning, with doubt comes questioning, with questioning comes reflection, with reflection comes accomplishment: this is how the Way of inquisitive learning or scholarship (gakunon) comes to be.

This [Way of learning] is like following a path, proceeding step-by-step down the path without stopping. Of course, one does come to forks in the road whereupon one does not know the correct path. Possessing doubt, one becomes uncertain so that one can no longer proceed. So one cannot help but question. Those who cannot follow the path have no place for doubt. The key to proceeding stepwise down the road without stopping is to first doubt and then ask questions. The ancients who spoke of learning and questioning together truly got the matter right.

I have concentrated on the learning of the sages (shōgaku) since I was fourteen or fifteen. I have been immersed in reading the Sung Confucian works and become familiar with their arguments, taking their school as mine.\(^9\) I have come across points of major doubt, from time to time. Being of some ignorance, I have been unable to clarify matters myself, and have had no wise teacher to ask of. Now I've become old, and increasingly lack the energy to clear up confusion and to comprehend things. Despite over thirty years of reflection I am still confused and yet unenlightened, and this is the disquiet of my entire life. Therefore I bring up my points

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\(^4\) Lu Hsiang-shan Ch'üan-chi, 35. Lu Hsiang-shan (1139-93).

\(^5\) This suggests a passage in Chu Hsi's essay "Hsūeh-San": "Only in the deepest efforts and familiarity with investigating principles can the scholar get to the heart of things - which is the highest state."

\(^6\) Chu Hsi (1130-1200). For further biographical information see Chan, p. xxxvi-xxxix (or other studies by Chan).

\(^7\) Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu yü-lei, 11.

\(^8\) Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu yü-lei, 115.

\(^9\) See footnote to Chapter Four below about the other main figures in Sung Neo-Confucianism besides Chu Hsi.
of doubt and confusion in the texts in the hope that others can understand and answer them. Why else should I thus dispute the rectitude of those who came before?

*Spring, 1713, at Chikuzen*
RECORD OF MAJOR DOUBTS (Part One)

1

During the early ancient times, even among those who succeeded to the throne, the Way of the Sages was not known in form or teaching. By the time of the T'ang/Yu dynasties there was the transmission of expertise, and the mandate to promulgate the Five Teachings was honored. This is what is called the legitimate commencement of the proper indoctrination. During the succeeding Three Dynasties (of Hsia, Shang and Chou) the form [of the Way of the Sages] was spread, though it was not understood in detail. Then Confucius brought great understanding, and Confucius's Way was correctly understood by Mencius, who spread and elaborated it. The Material Force of Heaven-and-Earth (tenchi no ki) shifted as it has throughout the ages, by undergoing periodic shifts. So it is with the unfolding of culture (jinbun). Though it is pursued unceasingly, yet even the generation of sages of the Three Dynasties didn't complete the unfolding. The unfolding must await future generations. This is an inevitable principle (shizen no n). It follows that from now and for many generations to follow, there will be gradual and ceaseless unfolding.

After Mencius, from the Han through the T'ang dynasties, the transmission of the Way was cut like a thread. Then during the Sung dynasty a generation of Superior Men (kunshi) arose to succeed to it, and with them some perspective was restored. Thus the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi contributed their commentaries, a great work indeed.

Since the time of Mencius, there have been many outstanding gentlemen-scholars who knew of the Way and attempted its teaching, but the Ch'eng brothers have been unequalled, followed by Chu Hsi. It is true that their virtue was not that of the sages, nor was their learning up to sagely standards. Nonetheless, these men of later learning, notably the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi, are certainly to be valued and to be trusted.

There are also many whose arguments do not correspond with those of Confucius and Mencius and thus do not bear comparison. Indeed, learning is a matter of similitudes and discrepancies, of gain and loss. What one should do is clear the

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10 The Chinese term used here (Shi) later became the Japanese samurai.
mind, calm the spirit (ki), consider and examine carefully, believe what should be believed and doubt what should be doubted. The ancients said, "Learning is to sense and become aware of what is not known." Thus the way of learning lies in dispelling doubts and confusions. This means understanding is reached by taking learning as the ability to doubt, while lack of understanding is just the inability to doubt. So Chu Hsi wrote: "Major doubts bring major progress, and minor doubts bring minor progress, and without doubt there is no progress." Thus the correct and the wrong are discerned through doubt. He who first reflects thoroughly and arrives at doubt is correct, and he who puts aside doubt is like a blunt instrument and is not correct.

2

The arguments of Sung Confucianism are as follows: the Ultimate of Nonbeing is the basis of the Great Ultimate; non-action is the basis of possessing. Principle and Material Force are differentiated (as two different things). The idea of Yin/Yang is not considered to be the Way, being a concrete thing which takes existence after physical form. The nature of Heaven-and-Earth, and the nature of Material Force are distinguished from each other. Nature and Principle are without death or birth.

Such is the heritage of Buddhist and Taoist ideas, and it differs from the arguments made here of Confucianism and the Ancient Sages. The scholar must carefully discern different arguments. Some make claims for the forms of mental cultivation (shushin), saying one should take inner quietude as foremost and practice quiet sitting, or practice silent sitting and inner concentration to grasp the Principle of Heaven (tenri). They take quiet sitting as the practice of lifelong mental cultivation. All this is biased toward quietude, and does not allow the alternation of activity with quietude. It is all the practice of quietude of the Ch'an school, and not something advocated by Confucians.

Some claim that the form of mind (shintai) is an unencumbered and still spirit. They claim the Principle of Heaven

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11 Ki (Chinese pronunciation: Ch'i) is hereafter translated as "Material Force" in accord with Chan.

12 Cf. passage attributed to Ch'eng I, "What exists before physical form [and is therefore without it] constitutes the Way. What exists after physical form [and is therefore with it] constitutes concrete things. Nevertheless, though we speak in this way, concrete things are the Way and the Way is concrete things. So long as the Way obtains, it does not matter whether it is present or future, or whether it is the self or others." Chan, "On the Substance of the Way", p. 18. [Translator]
to be evanescent. This is the heritage of Buddhist and Taoist ideas, and differ from those of Confucius and Mencius. All of the Sung Neo-Confucian doctrine claims to have its ancestry with Confucius and Mencius, yet it is not rooted there in fact but rather in Buddhism and Taoism. The scholar really must make a choice. The Sung Confucians are quite critical in their exclusion of Buddhism and Taoism, yet how is it they accept other Ways in their ancestry? This sort of heresy is more than I can understand.

3

Among the countless materials since the Ch'in and Han Dynasties there are many fine works. They are beyond number. The principles are pure and kept distinct. The arguments are diverse and balanced, and the scholar can reap great benefits from these works. Chu Hsi's works are exemplary among them. The Principle of Heaven should be sought in his books, and indeed few fail to find it there. It is like entering a vast land where one seeks useful things; one finds everything one is seeking. We fortunate ones born after Chu Hsi's time can read his work, and derive endless pleasure for which we are very grateful. So I revere his work as divine revelation, and believe it as I would an oracle.

4

After Confucius, there have been those persons who transmitted the teachings of the sages, and became erudite in learning. Mencius was such a person, who was blessed in three respects. First, he was a talent (ken) in a remarkable age. Second, he lived close to the time of the sages. Third, he passed his life in places near those of the sages.

After Mencius, Chou Lien-Hsi, the Ch'eng Brothers, Chang Heng-chu, Shao K'ang-Chieh,13 and Ssu-ma Kuang14 were all wise and accomplished with respect to the Way. What Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers passed on was exceedingly correct, and their skills in learning were such as to make their work particularly wide-ranging and careful in comparison with other Confucians. So they set the standards for later learning. Following Mencius, their efforts are of the highest value, above all that of

13 References to the Five Masters of the Early Sung (960-1279), usually known by their personal names as Chou Tun-I, the Ch'eng Brothers: Ch'eng Hao (1032-85) and Ch'eng I (1033-1107), Chang Tsai (1020-77) and Shao Yung (1011-77). See Chan, p. xvi. {Translator}
14 Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086).
Chu Hsi. In conclusion, after Confucius and Mencius, only these two can truly be ranked among those who know the Way. From the point of view of one in learning, they should be considered the Ancestral Teachers.

5

Lu Yu\textsuperscript{15}, in an addendum to Chu Hsi's commentary on the *Book of Changes* wrote, "The Way of Changes is vast and no single person can arrive at all of it. One will certainly not attain any of it by adhering to the arguments of only one school.\textsuperscript{16} With these words, Lu Yu captured the meaning of what the people of ancient times meant by "learning."

6

A person who makes learning his purpose does not dare to invest all his confidence in himself, but instead takes full confidence in his teacher.\textsuperscript{17} This is good.

Since men are no longer sages, however worthy, they cannot help but fall short and become obscure through their errors. This is like the brightness of the sun and moon which is inevitably marred by clouds, or the moon-like pearls which have some discoloration. So in the case of such worthy ones, there is bound to be criticism that amidst their erudite ideas they have not broached the sublime. Thus we must choose to take and discard from among their ideas, believing what should be believed and doubting what should be doubted. Only this is choosing the good.

Choosing the good allows one to get hold [of the Way], and to try to get hold of it without choosing the good inevitably leads to problems and obscurity.

Between Heaven and Earth, only Principle is expansive beyond limits, and even among the most virtuous ones there is not one who can know and speak of it. So men of ancient times even made use of the discussion of the streets. More than once, they chose from the sayings of madmen\textsuperscript{18}, and they asked of the

\textsuperscript{15} Lu Yu (honorific Fang-weng) (1125-1210) was a famed lyric poet of the Sung.


\textsuperscript{17} The two characters here rendered as "takes full confidence" are the two characters of Kaibara's honorific, with which he signed the Preface. (Translator)

\textsuperscript{18} "Huang Wu-chun said, 'I've heard that even among one thousand thoughts of the wise there must be at least one mistake, while among one thousand thoughts of the foolish there must be something to be learned. So it is said, "The sages choose from the sayings of madmen."'" *Ssu-ma Ch'ien Shih-chi* (Chung-hua shu-chu,
mowers and wood-gatherers. They wished to inquire widely and know many perspectives, and thereby arrived at a point of highest good. This accords with the saying “The great wisdom of Shun is enjoying inquiry, and surveying mood and words.” Thus one abandons the self to follow others. So one inquires in the Four Peaks, the Four Gates, understands the Four Eyes, attains the Four Attributes. This is the Sages' ultimate openness (oyake) without self-concern (muga). This also means there are problems caused by reaching understanding by oneself. In the Huai-nan Tzu it is said, “The similar is not something that congeals, it is something that forms after difference has been received.” As Liu Liang of the Later Han said, “In carrying out affairs, there are cases of diverging yet attaining the Way, and cases of adherence yet losing principles.” These words are good advice for behaving as a Superior Man. From this comes the saying “In the case that the Way differs, why should there be any mutual plans?” This implies great difference (taigi). By contrast, what I mean by “difference” are the superficial differences that are found between converging paths. Thus different ways of learning do indeed eventually converge.

7

I have recited the books of Chu Hsi since childhood, and respect his way, teach his methods, and follow his teachings. So as far as the matters he didn’t explain, I've been pensive with doubts and have reflected carefully without finding any satisfaction. I await the fulfillment of enlightenment on some future day.

8


19 In the Book of Poetry, “Ta-ya;” “Pan,” Chapter 3, has “People before us have said, ‘Learn from the mowers and wood-gatherers.’” Shih-ching Chi-chieh (Fu-tan Ta-hsueh ch'u-pan she, 1983), p. 961.

20 Doctrine of the Mean, 6.


22 Ho Han-shu, Biographies of the Worthies 70 (2) “Liu Liang.”

23 Analects, (“Wei Ling Kung”) Book 15:40.
The Sages wrote the Six Classics. Their sayings set the standard for the countless generations to come. They should be trusted beyond any doubt. Of these the Book of Changes is the most subtle of books. It is the hidden depth of the Six Classics, and the divining source for countless generations. If it is not to be believed, then what can be?

"The Way is called the unity of Yin and unity of Yang." In this saying, the character "unity" signifies the motion and the stillness of the unity of Material Force (kt) - one unity being the Yin and the other unity the Yang. This endless circulation is called the motion of the Yin/Yang, which never ceases and is the mystery of inexhaustibility.

I venture that in adding the character "unity" to Yin/Yang, the Sages had deep intentions. They didn't add in any terms of "causality" because their explanation was self-sufficient. The words of the Sages are to be trusted for countless generations and should not be doubted. This sentence from the Book of Changes possesses the basis of the righteous principle in the realm, and there is not one character lacking in its construction. Any misunderstanding offers no shortcut at all, and only disfigures the passage.

The Way is the movement of Yin/Yang, which is pure and has specific principles. This basis of Yin/Yang is beyond dispute. Principle is the Principle of Material Force. Principle and Material Force cannot be treated as separate things. They exist without succession, without division and union, so I categorically define

24 Namely, the Book of Songs, the Book of History, the Book of Changes, the Book of Rites, the Book of Music, and the Spring and Autumn Annals.

25 I Ching Ta-chuan, which is a commentary which stresses the action of Yin/Yang. The "Hsi-Tzu shang" section has this statement. Kao Heng, Chou-i Ta-chuan Chin-chu, (Chi-lu Shu-chuang, 1979), p. 514.

26 Here Kaibara is refuting the interpretation of this sentence by Ch'eng I as "The Way does not lies within Yin and Yang, it results from the one of Yin and the one of Yang." Kaibara does not agree with the thesis that Yin and Ying can give rise to things independently of Principle; that is, he does not hold to the dualism of Material Force (linked to Yin Yang) and Principle. Chan, "The Substance of the Way," p. 26-27, is the passage on the relation of Material Force and Principle. Chan has included some important commentaries, including that of Satō Issai which was only a generation after Kaibara's commentary. (Translator)
Principle and Material Force to be one thing. Chu Hsi took them to be two, but this reasoning I simply cannot accept.

11

In another place in the Book of Changes the Sages stated that the Yin/Yang is the Way. Alas. When the Sages said "unity," it should be trusted for countless generations and never be doubted. How is it that such a dispute arose?

12

Chu Hsi stated, "Life and death is in the body, not in personal nature (sei)." In Li Hwang's Record of Reflections, it is said, "Life and death is in Material Force, not in Principle." There does not seem to be any discrepancy between the eminent Chu Hsi and the scholarly Li. But for my part, I just cannot fathom this, and I elaborate my doubts as follows so that a more clever person can explain it. I do so by my faith that "the Way is present and correct."

I claim that bodily form is born through the assemblage of Material Force, and it dies by the dispersal of Material Force. That which we call personal nature is that received by humans from Heaven's Principle of life. That which we call Principle is the Principle of Material Force. These two are not divided. For example, take the case of death of the bodily form: Where does the Principle of life go? Well, if Material Force is the basis of bodily form and Principle is the Principle of Material Force, then in life the Principle of Life is present while with death this principle disappears. So there is not any Principle for personal nature to exist after the death of the bodily form. With the body there is personal nature, and without the body the personal nature disappears with it. There is no place for it to go.

The same is true for fire and water which have the nature [sei] of alternating coldness and warmth, wetness and dryness. When the fire and water are gone, this nature disappears as well. How can we argue its continued existence?

13

27 Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu Wen-chi 45.
28 Li Hwang (1501-1570), a noted Neo-Confucian of Korea.
29 A reference to Confucius, Analects, Books 1 and 14, on how the Superior Man is cautious in word and action, thereby carrying the Way with him.
The argument that “nature is just Principle” is not the correct explanation of “nature.” The *Doctrine of the Mean* reads, “That mandated by Heaven is nature,” meaning that precisely those things mandated by Heaven are what people receive, and this is called their nature. This is the correct explanation of nature, and no other explanation is needed. The *Mencius* reads, “Our body and complexion are Heaven’s nature,” meaning that the appearance which we are blessed with is called “nature.” Confucius’s, Mencius’s, and Confucius’s grandson Tzu Ssu’s discussions of nature agree that it is something which is received.

In the case of things which are not received, there is no nature. When Mencius argued man’s nature to be good, he was speaking of the fundamental of received qualities. This is called the unity of Principle. Some have argued that Chieh and Chou represent the worst of the bad, and there have since been like acts of patricide and regicide. In the case of Tzu-Yüeh-Chiao, he was born with “the cry of a hyena-dog.” To speak of the nature of their Material Force, we wouldn’t consider them the faintest bit good, so why should their nature be likened to that of good nature? I say that the likes of Chieh and Chou, of Tzu-Yüeh-Chiao, of Sui T’ang-ti were undoubtedly of bad nature.

Principle everywhere has regularity of nature, while the bad is changeable of nature. What is changed is slight, and does not amount to regularity. Thus how could this harm the goodness of nature? The ones with a bad nature like Chieh and Chou are but one in a million, and do not constitute any regularity.

Similarly with eating, the regular principle is that people should like the sweet and spurn the bitter. One person in a million hates sweets and likes the bitter, and so that one does not make a regular principle amongst people. The same is true with the bad people amongst us. People of antiquity and the present, though they differ in sagacity, when their natures are similar then we should call that the good.

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30 See Chan, Chapter 1; Chapter 38, p. 28, “The nature is the same as principle.” [Translator]

31 *Mencius*, 7A: 38. Lau, p. 191, has “Our body and complexion are given to us by Heaven.”

32 A reference to a story in the *Tso chuan* in which a Tzu Liang gave birth to Tzu-Yüeh-Chiao which Tzu Wen stated should be killed because it had the cry of a hyena-dog and posed a threat to the future of the clan. (*Ch’un-ch’iu Tso chuan Chi-chiêh*, Shanghai, 1977) “Hsüan Kung Shang” (Hsuan/Chuan, Fourth Month, Third Day), p. 552-3.
14

Lo Ch'ın-shun's (1465-1547) idea, "one Principle, diversity in kind" was a simplification, for he didn't analyze or elaborate on the word "nature." For my part, I simply say that nature is unity. The nature of Material Force and of Heaven-and-Earth cannot be differentiated. As for the "one principle," I would call this the fundamental of nature, from which follows unity. As for "diversity in kind," this is variety in nature. We should all be like Yao and Shun. The diversity of kind follows upon the vitality which stems from the two Material Forces. So it's said that "Human nature is similar while in habits people are far apart from each other." It's also true that "the very wisest and the most foolish remain as they are." That possessing Material Force is the fundamental of nature and is what we call all those things received from Heaven. The nature of Heaven and Earth is simultaneously the source of all that received. So there aren't two natures. But there being two names established and the idea of two natures being an anathema, Lo resorted to "one principle, diverse kinds." It was simple and not open to doubt or confusion. As for the essential, that is the essential of Material Force - Material Force being all that is mandated by heaven, and not of dual nature. The same is true with the ebb and flow of current - that is the materiality of water. It is property of translucence that is the essence of water. Materiality and translucence - we are speaking of the same thing.

15

From antiquity to the present, there has been only one Confucius. Just as Po I and Liu Hsia-hui were exceptional and had sagely virtues, they nonetheless were too straight-laced and undignified, respectively. Thus they cannot be compared to Confucius. Having said they weren't the equal, the same must be true in comparing the Sung Confucians to Confucius himself. Although they claim credit for inheriting the tradition, they nonetheless are biased and willful, with accompanying

33 Reference to Mencius; 6B: 2.
34 That is, Yin and Yang.
35 Analects, ("Yang Huo") 17: 2.
36 Analects, ("Yang Huo") 17: 3.
37 Mencius, 2A:9, Lau, p. 84.
deficiencies. So among their arguments are those differing from the statement of the sages, which follows the principle of things. So despite their wisdom, how can we compare Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng Brothers to Confucius? It follows that one learning from their work should be careful to distinguish what should be retained or discarded.

16

People are no longer Sages. Among the talented there is much error. So in the natural course of their scholarship, there are both points of passage as well as points of blockage, the short and the long. Passage brings clarification, while blockage brings incomprehension.

In reading books, even the sayings of a talented person, it is extremely important to pick and choose. If one believes without questioning it will result in error or in confusion. So in studying the work of Confucians that came before us, one should both believe and doubt appropriately. That's how it should be. So in the picking and choosing one should be fair and unbiased, which acts constitute good learning. In recent generations of learning, we find many who appropriate what they like and show bias.

17

The ideas of the Great Ultimate, of Yin/Yang, of the Way (before form) and concrete things (after form), of Principle and Material Force, of the mind and nature - these ideas are of the single font of antiquity and are the Way of the Thousand Sages. All of the Four Books and Five Classics are textually systematic. There's no disputing what's been said about this heritage stretching from antiquity to the present. Since Mencius through the Han and Tang dynasties down to recent times, those who abandoned Ancient Learning and talked partially of New Learning (Shingaku) often contradicted the Ancient Kings. Even outstanding scholar-gentlemen had errors of bias. One must be careful in choosing and discarding. There are those who say

38 See Chan, p. 363 for K'ung Ying-ta's commentary on the Book of Changes which established the precedence of the Way over concrete things (with physical forms). [Translator]
things the Sages never said and claim those things to be the Way, but their claims are quite beyond the intentions of the Sages' arguments. No matter how good, such claims are all the same. Any divergence from the statements of the Sages must be considered heterodox. So in the case of a saying by some talent of the past, if there is discrepancy with the ideas of the Sages, one must investigate carefully.

18

The Ming Dynasty Confucians were critical of Sung Confucian ideas, and were presumptuous in disparaging Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng Brothers as if they were of low station. Or they said that the Sung Confucian ideas were heterodox and contrary to the Sages' correct school. They thereby tried to raise their own status. They simply do not know the measure of things.

For example, one who admonishes others of high status should show restraint by holding things back. Libelous criticism substitutes pettifogging for straight talk, takes small for great errors, and is just plain boorish. Despite the reasonableness of [such] crude statements, the person being admonished is [either] angered and refuses [to accept the] admonishment or is contrary and unrepentant. This is what a person who does not know the way of admonishing others does.

It's the same with discussions of the Sung Confucians by later Confucians. If the later Confucians do not know the reasoning behind what the Sung Confucians said, they usually take it to lack all reason. What they said was not obscure, but the reasoning behind it is difficult to apprehend.

19

Discussing what's right and what's wrong in matters of learning with people is generally like admonishing others. Those who can only adulate or criticize hope to gain credit for themselves by distorting others. This is how petty people flatter themselves. Such trivial matters have nothing to do with the Superior Man's Way of loyalty and consideration. For example, in trying to persuade others that their crude claims have credence, they play the role of mentor, while the listener remained unconvinced. By contrast, one who leads toward the good uses mainly sincerity. He is relaxed in tone and demeanor, outgoing and flexible, clear in speaking and overt about his intentions. This gives the listener confidence and inspires them to go along. This is the way of "loyal declaration of the good."
So in general, when discussing similarity and difference with others, one should not take a dominating tone or argue needlessly. One should be of compliant nature, of gentle speech, for then sincerity will be abundant and make words pale by comparison. In this way one can influence the actions of others. If one is not upright, then the Way will not become evident. By the same token, one should not willfully speak ill of others for their mistakes, but rather be tolerant and resourceful, wishing only that Principle be upheld. One should not wish to force one's personal views on others or contend in mere sophistry. If what a person says is taken lightly and that person is the sort to play at one-upmanship, then that person will fail to gain the confidence and accord of others. To the contrary, such a person becomes the object of dislike. As Confucius said, "To speak when one should not is to mis-speak." 39 Hsü Kan said, "The Superior Man does not speak of a person unless that person is present." 40 In the Kuo-yü it is written, "Only the good man fulfills his speech." 41 It follows that only a good man should speak, and that when one who is less than good speaks, it will be mis-peaking.

20

The Sages are "teachers to a hundred generations." 42 Mencius excelled in learning of the sages, and followed Confucius quite closely. As for Sung Confucian ideas, they are rooted in ideas of Mencius and Confucius and have the same origins. They are coherent in similar ways, and being systematic they truly exhibit the Way. These [Sung Confucian ideas] can be relied upon.

As for those ideas which aren't rooted in Confucius and Mencius and have not their coherence - having other origins and viewpoints - such ideas are common enough. Even if they are the saying of a talent, do not be misled.

21

41 Kuo-yü, “Chou yu hsia.” The Kuo-yü is a history of the later Spring and Autumn Period in 21 volumes, attributed to Tso Ch’iu-ming.
42 Cf. Mencius, 7B: 15.
The scale is for knowing weight and the rule is for knowing the long and the short. There are similarly measures to use when we wish to make distinctions with regard to accomplishments in matters of learning. In the case of the sage or the talent, each has his weight and length. Though the words may be those of an early Confucian, if they aren’t systematic then how can they be taken as the source of inspiration? One must have the scale and rule in mind in order to make measurements. Thus the Sung Confucian should not be compared to a Sage, however talented and learned he is.

There is inevitably variation. For example, since the Sung and especially with the scholars of perverse learning of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, there has been much adulation of Chu Hsi as well as all sorts of claims made with respect to the sages. This is the result of lack of internal standards. How is it that this adulation of Chu Hsi by later Confucians and others who chime in has become so common as to be fashionable? This cannot possibly be considered good learning of Chu Hsi’s teaching.

Among scholars since the Sung there have been those who respect the Ch’eng Brothers and Chu Hsi, and were resolute in their praise. They do not know how to distinguish the sages from the talented. Therefore, in their determinations they do not make distinctions along these lines. They take Sung Confucian ideas and treat them as they would the sages’ own. They abandon principles of justice and see no danger in doing so, fearing only that they might transgress Chu Hsi’s ideas. They are far gone in their sycophancy, and are self-serving as well. Thus the later generations of scholars have been corrupted in their habits.

The scholars of the Sung often interpreted what they heard quite literally and took what they liked quite personally. They didn’t locate themselves within the true heritage of Confucius and Mencius. Instead they made their own little faction, and got wrapped up in their own concerns to the point of becoming reclusive. Along the way, many found disagreements with how Confucius’s and Mencius’s teachings were carried on. Advocating no alternative in other teachings, they fruitlessly

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43 Mencius, 1A: 7; Lau p. 57.
reflected on the matter. They became familiar with vulgar things and didn’t consider them worthless, with the result that they became narrow-minded in the way petty gentlemen and cult followers often do. Unable to wash away their own stale ideas or adopt new ones, they were incorrigible and remained benighted to the end of their days.

24

The Way of the Superior Man is basically accessible and simple - accessible to know and simple to follow. Being accessible to know means that attaining the knowledge is not difficult. Being easy to follow means one can carry it [the Way] out with good results. Thus those who follow it are many. Mencius said, “The Way is like a big road - how could it be so difficult to find? It’s the fault of people that they fail to look for it.” Mencius also said, “One who proceeds slowly but surely (like the tortoise) is called a good learner. Surely going at a measured pace is not beyond everyone’s ability! It’s just a matter of being willing to do so.” So too in Confucius’s and Mencius’s teachings, the routine of learning is simple, and it’s easy to know and carry out. As for the higher attainments, they just follow from the accomplishment of fundamental learning.

In contrast to the preceding, the Buddhist learning is directed at reaching the high and distant. They wish to “enter in one leap.” The so-called ideas of the later Confucians tend to obscurity or great heights. So their statements make it difficult to know and carry out by comparison to the teachings of Confucius and Mencius.

25

The Confucian School established teaching that is based in filiality, loyalty and sincerity. It takes rigorous writing and

44 Following a statement of Chang Tsai: “To be without doubt about the principle of righteousness is to wash away old views and allow for new ideas.” Chang-tzu Ch’iu-n-shu, vol. 7.
45 Book of Changes. See Chapter 9 above.
46 Mencius, 6B: 2.
47 Mencius, 6B: 2.
48 Analects, Book 14.
49 This refers to the saying of the Buddhist monk of the T’ang, Hsüan Chueh. “To attain Nirvana in one leap.”
practice for learning, and is as accessible as a big road. Even the dim-witted can know and practice this, gradually gaining ability and interest until becoming both formidable and refined. This is fundamental learning which leads to higher attainments.

On the other hand, Sung Confucian learning takes the Great Ultimate and the Ultimate of Nonbeing (taikyoku/mukyoku) as the first task in attaining to the highest knowledge. It takes quiet sitting and inner concentration as the first task of activity, and takes analysis as the first task of writing. All this is simply abstraction and obscurity, and quite trivial. It honors things which are difficult and impractical. It differs from the teachings of the Sages’ schools which gives precedence to the values of respecting seniority and maintaining values of loyalty and belief in writing and behavior. Thus what they [Sung Confucians] call teachings are distant and obscure, being so hard to learn and carry out, much less enter into. So it is with learning since the time of the Sages - there is little desire to work hard and little progress is made.

26

The point of my questioning is to say that one should talk with those who are astute, broad-minded and fair. On the other hand, one should not talk with those who are narrow-minded and obstinate in their one-sided twisted learning. When one should not talk and does so nonetheless, it is mis-speaking.

27

Someone who merely surveys the books of men of ancient times and believes indiscriminately is deluded. He who does not understand them and doubts indiscriminately is either sycophantic or undisciplined. Believing what should be believed and doubting what should be doubted, this is what the astute gentleman-scholar (samurai) does. This is the correct method of learning. The perceptive person is like this, and does what one of deluded, distorted learning cannot.

50 The Ta-hsieh reads, “Attaining to knowledge is in investigating things.”
51 See note to Chapter 19 above. [Translator]
People aren't sages, and no one is above error. Thus even the foremost talent whose scholarship is not systematically correlated to that of Confucius and Mencius or who parrots the words of the sages. Thus one must investigate carefully.

28

The Analects is the text by which Confucians established their school. It set the standard for countless generations and set the rules for all time, to which nothing should be added or deleted. Across many generations of Sung Confucian ideas, their analysis became too detailed and their discussions too abstract. Their analysis became finer, and they became more carping and more factional until there was no exchange or interrelation. This is being disputatious and deluded, unlike the teachings of the Confucian school. The teachings of the Sages is an accessible Great Way. This great path could not be more different from those mountain goat-paths of learning, which analyze to excess and thus lead to confusions of wayward learning. Such petty learning cannot generate the Great Way, and therein differs from the Confucian school.

29

The notions of the Sung Confucians often differ from those of the Sages. The Book of Changes says that the unity of Yin and unity of Yang is the Way. This Way that founds Heaven is called Yin/Yang, and makes their interchange evident. The straight and unchanging is called the Way, and never the changeable or disorderly. So the Sages never entertained the idea of separating Material Force and Principle, while Chu Hsi definitely divided them. As Confucius said, when people's natures are similar (that's the good). Tzu Ssu said, "What Heaven mandates is called nature." The Mencius reads, "Our body and complexion are Heaven's nature." He also argued that man's nature is

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52 The Tso-chuan reads, "Who is without error? After making an error to correct the error is an act of the highest good." (Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan Chih-chieh, Shanghai, 1977) "Hsüan Kung Shang" ("Hsüan Kung," Year Two), p. 539.
53 See Chapter 9 above. (Translator)
54 Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu Wen-chi, 46 "Ta Liu shu-wen."
55 See Chapter 13 above. (Translator)
56 Doctrine of the Mean, Chapter One.
good. 58 These are statements about the basis of what man receives. All that receives from Heaven must be of one nature, never two.

Confucius's, Tzu Ssu's, and Mencius's statements all concur about those of similar nature. They mean that the core of good nature is receiving a mind which knows the meaning of compassion, shame, courtesy and self-effacement, and right vs. wrong - despite different inheritances of status, depth, and wisdom. 59 This is what human life is: there is always a nature which contains character and which is called "good nature." In this respect the nature of antiquity and recent times are not far removed, so that it is said that good stems from similar natures. From antiquity until recently, this realm has seen only one nature. There can be no division between the nature of Heaven and Earth and the nature of Material Force. The nature of Heaven and Earth must have a legacy of Material Force, for without Material Force from where would it receive Heaven's nature? Likewise with Material Force, how could it but be of that received as Heaven and Earth? It is also the nature of Heaven and Earth. Neither can be separated from the other. Therefore Confucius and Mencius didn't once argue for two natures. Heaven and Earth cannot be separated from Material Force, and the two are distinguished in understanding. Everything with a nature has been so distinguished by names received of Heaven. Tung Chung-shu said, "The substance of life is nature," which follows from what we argued. 60 Any discussion of the origin of nature must invoke the good, because it is singular (ichitai). To discuss the ramifications brings up the myriad types of things. So the nature of Yao and Shun differ from that of the multitude of people. Otherwise, how would Yao and Shun have their own nature while the multitude has its own nature? What they receive differs, and the two should not be conflated to one nature. This is the inequality of things which is their sentiment. For this reason there are the myriad types. Thereby that which has nature receives from the very beginning of life. Heaven's bequest is nothing but the good. Its beginning is nothing but the good, and it is singular. Subsequently it [life] comes to have nature by its inheritance, and


60 *Han Shu*, Vol 56, "Tung Chung-shu Ten."
from the point of initially received Material Force it has within it inequality as to purity and depth. So with receiving within the physical body individuation proceeds and becomes nature. Thus the talented and benighted differ from the very beginning [of their life].

The Sung Confucians, by contrast, described man according to their passion for investigation. Thus they took Principle and Material Force as two things. They made a point of dividing the nature of Heaven and Earth from that of Material Force, which was a very mistaken analysis. Only Confucius's and Mencius's statements about nature didn't attempt to analyze and yet had principles that were evident. When they spoke of those of similar natures, they meant the concordance of those of good nature. So Confucius's and Mencius's discussion of nature didn't involve discrepancies. They didn't analyze and yet their argument is self-evident. This shows the superiority of interchange over analysis.

With later generations of discussants, those who fall in with Confucius and Mencius are commendable while those whose lineage differs are heterodoxical and unacceptable. So the unfolding of things in Heaven and Earth is subtle and gradual and follows the patterns of movement in Material Force and the principle of self-generation [shizen].

Therefore it is certain that what was not said by the Ancients awaits coming generations. What was not said by Yao and Shun was said by Confucius, while what he didn't say, Mencius said. As for what these two didn't say, there have been many Sung Confucians with things to say. Their lineage is in line with Confucius and Mencius, and those who have commented upon Confucius and Mencius have made the Sung Confucian contribution to the learning of the Sages. Then there are those among them who do not accord with Confucius's and Mencius's ideas. They consider the Ultimate of Nonbeing to be the Great Ultimate, consider Principle and Material Force to be two things, consider Yin/Yang to be a concrete thing rather than the Way.61 They say there is the nature of Heaven and Earth, and the nature

61 Chu Hsi, T'ung-shu Chieh, "Cheng-shang Ti-i" has the statement, "Yin/Yang become Material Force. This makes it something which exists after physical form. The reason for the unity of Yin and unity of Yang lies with Principle, so it is something which exists before physical form. The Way is called Principle."
of Material Force. They use the idea of "good nature" and claim that nature is Principle. These all depart from the basic ideas of Confucius and Mencius and their lineage is not the same. Among the many scholars of the Sung, some were without such idiosyncratic ideas and were fair in mind and perspective, so they were observant of similitude and discrepancy.

30

In discussing the classic texts, minor differences such as differences in homiletics can arise. These do not violate the Way and are acceptable. Likewise with the Sung Confucian discussions of Principle and Material Force, of the Ultimate of Non-being, of the Way and concrete things, and of the Way and nature. These discussions are all rooted in correct principles and necessarily show no discrepancy with the words of the Sages. There is a place for divergent opinion; even in the case of an established idea rooted in the correctness of the past one should not thoughtlessly concur. There must be some comparison with the words of the Sages in order to know the similarity or discrepancy. If it is not right, the Way will not flourish in place.

31

Chu Hsi said, "Some discourse ranges outside the schools of thought or does not adopt an argument, and is accordingly wide-ranging and deals with many matters." When I look at this saying of Chu Hsi's, I cannot help but doubt. Why do I doubt? If we rely upon the Sages as did the seventy exemplary disciples of Confucius, then things would and should be as Chu Hsi said. The Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi were sagacious, devoted to the highest good and without partial ideas or faction, yet they were not the same as the Sages. It is true that if everyone adhered to one school or adopted only one argument, then there would be no broad perspective or open inquiry. Yet even in this there is the likelihood of a dangerous narrow-mindedness and obfuscating intelligence. Thus there arise obscure gentlemen who adulate and

62 See Chang Tsai, "Cheng-meng Ch'eng-ming Pien," which reads, "That after physical form is the nature of Material Force. The nature of Heaven-and-Earth is to be found in the return to the good."

63 "The Nature is the same as principle. Traced to its source, none of the principles in the world is not good." Chu Hsi, *Meng Tzu chi-chu*, Chapter 5, comment on *Mencius*, 3A:1, Translation by Chan, p. 28, n. 121.

sycophantically follow anything, or otherwise have the selfish purpose of finding discrepancy amongst the similar for the sake of factional disputation. This is more than I can understand.

32

In the learning of later times, there can be no looking down upon talents of the past or disparaging previous generations. Such disparagement is what the learning of today should abstain from. As for the men of antiquity, they were not without some error. It follows that when one distinguishes right and wrong, one should not have the slightest bit of hypocritical adulation.

33

Those who initiated speech were sagacious, but there were points at which not all the details were worked out. With the statements of the Ch'eng Brothers and Chu Hsi there are discrepancies. So subsequent generations emerge and discuss the people who preceded them, and judgements passed even by those of mediocre talent. This is the advantage of those of later generations. Therefore, in the discussions of later generations there are things of no value.

34

When the talents of the recent past are spoken of by the generations that follow them, their faults and strengths - the great and lowly, the shallow and profound, big and small, wide and narrow - cannot be discussed as if they were contemporaries. Thus my generation so honors the Confucians that came before, resolute in our praise. Yet when we compare these talents of the recent past with the Earlier Sages, how could we but see discrepancy and similarity of the great and lowly, of the correct and misguided. Even in the case of well-known arguments of the Confucians before us, we must align them with the statements of the Sages and not hypocritically distort them, in this manner believing what we should believe and doubting what should be doubted. The most important thing is to investigate and make one's choices.

35

Things became more frivolous by the day according to the changes accompanying the flow of time from antiquity to the present. By our age, relations have become strained to the point of
spoiling the consciousness of the essentials. Passing from antiquity to the present, the tendencies and moods of the age throughout the realm cannot but be like this. What is to be done is have the Way of many generations and the skills of advancing learning propel us forward, preventing proliferation in arbitrary directions and taking the essentials as the most important thing. We must not drift with the vulgar currents of the time. Confucius was born during the (later) weak period of the Chou dynasty when ornate prose was seen as the mark of the Superior Man and quality was the mark of the uncivilized man. Confucius wished to follow in the footsteps of the “initial disciples” who preceded him; he disliked the ornate prose of his age and wished to return to that firmness. Confucius’s day was not far removed from the purity of antiquity, but changes were under way and relations became so strained in subsequent generations that such firmness was eroded and things became more frivolous by the day. Since the Ch'in and Han dynasties times have so changed that the way of each generation is increasingly disputed and disorderly.

How should scholars of this day live with their age? They should take quality as essential, and from there gradually go along with the times. To either rebel or to completely subordinate oneself to one’s time are not the correct ways to live with one’s time.

36

Do the scholarly skills of Sung Confucians surpass those of the Han and T'ang dynasties? Far from it. Indeed the disputes among them became frustratingly intense, their allusions increasingly obscure, their references and explanations extremely far-flung. Following the fashion of the time, trivial vocabulary proliferated and petty factionalization proceeded apace. In subsequent generations things reached an extreme, just in the way high water can breach the dike and flood the plain with no chance of return. The consciousness of the essentials was spoiled and with it went the learning of later generations of Confucians. They were unable to rise up in frustration to reform old habits and simply became more dissolute.

Therefore one cannot get to the heart of things by acting on one’s own. Even a most notable gentleman will be unable to reform his habits and pursue the essentials. Therefore the way of

65 “The initial disciples of rites and music were rustics and were followed by the Superior men. I go along with the former.” Analects, “Hsien-chin” Book 11:1.
pursuing learning of these later generations must stress rising up to reform old habits, minimize the proliferation of pettiness and stress returning to the essentials, prevent fragmentation and pursue interchange. There is no doing without the way of adapting to the times. This is the meaning of the Sage following the initial disciples, and should be the direction for scholars that follow. This is my humble opinion. What would the Superior Man say?

37

The work of Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers is that of wise talents. Yet is it right to halt with the attainments in knowledge gained through their learning? On the other hand, we can take the greatness and rectitude of their moral practice as ancestral. Those of the unorthodox learning of later generations of the Ming Dynasty who spurned and criticized Chu Hsi and the Ch'eng brothers also despised their morality by the same token. To claim to favor the pursuit of learning and yet not know the creations of earlier Confucians, to disrespect their morality and rashly speak ill of them, these acts are born of vanity. To do so marks one as a mean Confucian rather than a Confucian after the Superior Man.66 To do so shows ignorance of others and of oneself, and is extremely foolish.

38

What was noble of Chu Hsi was that he dedicated himself to succeeding to the Sages that came before him and to widening the scope of learning. With him, discussion of the classics followed line-by-line analysis. This meticulousness was intended to benefit the generations to come. Succeeding generations are endlessly grateful to him for turning away from the vexing ideas of later Confucians. His (Chu Hsi's) ideas being so many and detailed, succeeding Confucians took stock by such prolificacy and mimicked his analysis, becoming prolix to no end. As to the proliferation of argument after him, it was mainly repetition and restatement (of his ideas). His successors were unable to finish what he had started. They were unable to do so even though some matters had been fully explored and/or completed. They could not reform their old habits.

66 *Analects*, Book 6:13, "Confucius said to Tsu-Hsia, 'Be a (Confucian) scholar after the Superior Man, don't be a mean (Confucian) scholar.'" Lau, p. 83.
Therefore, among those who followed Chu Hsi, aside from the efforts of two or three generations of respectable-scholars following him, the lot of Confucians became reclusive. They were wise to have kept their peace.

Chu Hsi severely censured the Buddhists with great energy and with all his might. Yet he once had some connection with the Buddhists, and had deeply explored their ways. In this exploration he used all his concentration and had no regrets.

Why is it then that it has been said that there are things in Chu Hsi’s vast corpus of work which resemble unorthodox (non-Confucian) learning? This is said because of his [Chou Tun-I's] T’ai-chi-t’u Shuo [Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate]. Chu Hsi praised Chou Tun-I highly and complimented him as he did the Sages. He then gathered up and took stock in things which Chou had not actually written. Moreover even the books that were actually written by Chou were products of his youth and were not statements of his full life’s experience. A reading of [Chou’s book] T’ung Shu reveals that it did not contain any argument of the Ultimate of Nonbeing, and its statements were not in accordance with Chu Hsi’s Explanation of the Diagram. Among the erudite works of the Ch’eng brothers there is also no argument of the Ultimate of Nonbeing. This is the entire basis for knowing of it.

The Superior Men among the Sung Confucians were all wise talents, and their skills of learning and behavior surpassed other humans. The Confucians of the Han and T’ang never attained such heights. But their ideas were close to those of Buddhists and Lao Tzu, so there is much that is suspect.

There is not a person alive who can be a Sage, and therefore no one is without some bias. Similarly, the bright of the sun and moon is inevitably marred by clouds, and even moon-like pearls have some discoloration. As Shao Yung wrote, “Heaven can create but cannot nurture, earth can nurture but cannot create; fire can cook things but cannot fertilize, water can fertilize

67 There is a passage from a discourse with Chu Yuen-hai from the second volume of Lu Hsiang-shan’s works which is the apparent source for Kaibara’s preceding argument of the originality of Chu Hsi’s concept of the Ultimate of Nonbeing.

68 See Chapter Four above. [Translator]
but cannot cook; Heaven and Earth do not make up everything, how could water and fire be able make up everything either?" I say that if Heaven and Earth do not make up everything, then how could the wise talents be without some bias? Therefore Sung Confucian learning, however close to the correct it may be, is incapable of making Sages of people. Thus there is a place as well for those biases of learning we fall into. After all, why should we make perfection a condition of wholehearted belief?

The Way of the Sages is truly that of the Great Mean and Highest Rectitude. "Maintaining virtue is magnanimity" and with it all can be completed. As to those who still lack this quality, however talented they are, they will not be able to pull it all together. The learning of the Sung Confucians, as pure as it is, is not up to the standards of the Sages, so how can they but have biases. Therefore, its (Sung learning's) ideas often differ from that of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. It takes the Ultimate of Nonbeing as the basis of the Great Ultimate, takes Principle and Material Force as two things, and bifurcates the Nature of Heaven-and-Earth from the Nature of Material Force. It claims there is no Way in the "unity of Yin and unity of Yang." Yin/Yang is taken as a concrete thing which takes existence after physical form. The reasoning starts from the claim that the unity of Yin and unity of Yang is the Way. It holds that Material Force and (physical) form contain birth and death, holding Principle and Nature to be without death or birth. It holds quiet sitting to be a necessary regular practice, and holds that "quietude is the greatest practice for establishing personhood." It takes both Confucius's and Mencius's arguments of Nature to apply to differences of Material Force and Heaven-and-Earth. This is ridiculous reasoning which we really must doubt.

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Su Tung-P'o [Su Shih (1036-1101)] has said, "Bad ideas can affect people, and there are some affected even amongst the outstanding gentlemen-scholars." Now certainly the learning of Su Shih was not correct, and he didn't reflect enough on where

69 Referring to the Analects, ("Tzu-Chang") Book 19:2.
70 The following reiterates the beginning of Chapter Two above. [Translator]
71 See Chapters Nine and Ten above. [Translator]
72 From the “Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate.”
bad ideas might lead. Yet what he said is all the more true. Even outstanding gentlemen-scholars unintentionally hear things from the followers of things beyond the pale, and find themselves amongst exponents of biased and overbearing notions. They cannot help themselves. In recent times, such biased gentlemen-scholars have taken the learning of some Superior Men of the Sung as comparable to that of Confucius and Mencius. They think this Sung learning is flawless and is endowed with all of the myriad good. I simply do not see how this is right. On the other hand, we have the scholars from the Ming and early Ch'ing who vigorously censured the learning of various teachers of the Sung, arguing it to lie outside the correct transmission of Confucius's and Mencius's ideas. Their argument too is slave to the ignorance and biases of unorthodox learning, and is not a good argument.

Wang Yang-ming of the Ming dynasty was a genius of this world. Those who spring up in a moment to get muddled under other learnings are completely lost. In the same way, Seidan (Ch'ing T'an) ideas current during the Chin Dynasty did great harm. Lo Ch'in-shun was a contemporary of Wang Yang-ming but refuted Wang, challenging him to respond. He was truly an intelligent and great person. The learning of Lo as seen in its argumentation does not bow down to the Sung Confucians. He wrote, "Principle is simply the Principle of Material Force," and "Principle must necessarily be ascertained after Material Force."

In my view, the Sung Confucians wrongly separated Principle and Material Force as two things, and many Confucians obsequiously followed this idea without any objections. Only Lo respected the Ch'eng Brothers and Chu Hsi without being obsequious, and his arguments are the most correct. Since the Sung Dynasty, throughout the Yuan and Ming, nothing has been said that is comparable. Even the famous Confucians of the Ming.

73 Kaibara follows Chu Hsi in disparaging Su Shih as carrying Buddhist and Taoist influences. See Chan on the disagreements between Su Shih and Ch'eng I (Translator).

74 Ch'ing T'an was a style of sophist philosophy that appeared during the Chin Dynasty (265-316) which came to be vilified as emphasizing mere rhetoric over substance.

75 Lo was a contemporary (1465-1547) of Wang Yang-ming who had an exchange of letters with Wang. (See Chapter Fourteen above for another citation by Kaibara.) The following two quotes are from his K'un chih chi, Volumes One and Two respectively.
Hsüeh Hsüan\textsuperscript{76} and Hu Chü-yen,\textsuperscript{77} were far inferior to Lo in vision.

\textbf{End of Part One}

\textsuperscript{76} Hsüeh Hsüan (1389-1464).

\textsuperscript{77} Hu Chü-yen (1434-1484) was noted for his revision of Chu Hsi’s ideas about Principle and Material Force.
These “Jottings” by a certain old man were lent to me by a friend. In “our decadent time,” there lived this wise old fellow who cast aside the teachings of Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism, and taught what he called the “Way of Truthfulness.” I, Nakamoto, agree completely with this old man; if his principle was put into practice, wrong-doings would surely disappear from our time. I asked my friend the name of the old man but he did not know it. There is no way of finding it out now. This old fellow is the kind who reminds me of those hermits of ancient times who lived in seclusion and freely spoke their minds. Desiring to make his Way the teachings for my house, and also wishing to convey its idea to others, I copied his comments down in their entirety. [The jottings follow below.]

11th Month, Genbun 3 [1738]. By Ban No Nakamoto

1. Buddhism, Confucianism and Shinto are the three teachings in today's world. Some think that they co-exist in the manner of India, China, and Japan; others seem to think they are all the same; and still others argue and contend among themselves of their differences. The basic principle about what is truthful, however, is entirely different from these three teachings. Clearly these teachings do not conform to what one should know as the Way of Truthfulness. Buddhism is the way of India; Confucianism is the way of China. As one country differs from another, so the teachings of these countries are not the way of Japan. Shinto is the way of Japan; but times change and Shinto is no longer the way of our age. Some may think that the way remains unchanging despite differences between countries and changes over time. What is called the way, however, appears when it is first put into practice. A way that cannot be practiced is not

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the Way of Truthfulness. And we must surely conclude that these three teachings are not practiced in Japan today.

2. Buddhist monks and priests in Japan emulate the customs of India. They regulate their own lives and lead people into salvation according to traditional customs. They deliver sermons using Sanskrit. Yet there has been no case where the audience has understood them. It is outlandish to believe that everything here, including the details of temple buildings, can be identical with India. In India, moreover, people greet each other by uncovering a shoulder and clasping their hands. It is also acceptable to expose one's thighs and legs. One of the sutras even describes the exposure of the Buddha's ankles, knee, and genitals. Even the buttocks are left uncovered. It is acceptable not to conceal them. It should follow that Buddhists in Japan should openly conform to these practices.

3. (Buddha once said: "When my teaching is not thought to be proper in a particular country, it need not be adopted, and if another teaching is deemed appropriate, this should be practiced." From these words of Buddha, we know that even he did not teach that a country must totally alter its customs according to those of India. Buddhists in Japan, however, are intent on emulating the customs of India. Indulging only in practices that are inappropriate to this country, they fail to understand the meaning of the true way. The old man detested this and ridiculed it.)

Moreover, since meat is central to the diet of the Chinese people, Confucian scholars in Japan should raise cattle and sheep, and live on meat instead of rice only. They should also remember that this diet is prescribed in the *Book of Rites*. At weddings, Confucians should perform the ancient rites where the groom personally welcomes the bride at the gate; at funerals, Confucians should designate someone to embody the role of a god; and in dress, Confucians should wear ancient Chinese clothing and hats. Instead, Confucians continue to wear Japanese clothing and arrange their hair in the Japanese style, neither of which is patterned on practices in China. They should also speak and write Chinese. There being many Chinese dialects, they should pronounce words according to the dialect in Confucius's ancient state of Lu, of the Chou Dynasty; similarly, there being many writing styles, they should emulate the ancient style of the Chou Period.
4. (When among foreigners, the *Doctrine of the Mean* prescribes, do as they do. The *Book of Rites* urges all to follow the customs of a country. Emperor Yu, the founder of the Hsia Dynasty, is said to have unclothed himself in accordance with the custom of a barbarian kingdom he happened to be visiting. Confucian scholars of China have never said that other societies must totally change their customs and become like China. In Japan, however, Confucianists are unquestioning in their emulation of Chinese manners and customs. To imitate Chinese customs that are foreign to this country is to misunderstand the essence of Confucianism.)

In the ancient times, the Japanese greeted one another by clapping their hands and bowing four times. They ate from oak leaves shaped into dishes. They sang during periods of mourning to conceal their tears, and they ended their mourning by purifying themselves in the clear water. Those who worship Japanese gods should really consider all these customs and practice them so as not to be different from the ancients. And, of course, since gold and silver, and other such things of today did not exist in the divine age, those who worship the gods should abandon their use. It should also be noted that the type of cloth used for clothing today was originally introduced from China and is called *gofuku* after the region south of the Yangtze River. Those who worship Japanese gods should not use it. In the matter of language, they should study the vocabulary of the ancients and use it. They should add to their names such ancient titles as *hiko no mikito* or *hime no mikoto* in referring to males and females.

5. (Just as everyone knows that the left should not be confused with the right and vice-versa, so Shinto does not teach that one should replace the prevailing customs of today with those of ancient times. However, Shinto today uses ancient models and practices quaint customs, an observance which does not conform to the true practice of Shinto. Even a person as knowledgeable of the ancient customs as the Minister Nonomiya has observed that today's Shinto is not in all its details the true Shinto. Actually, today's teachings are mere parodies of Shinto, Confucianism, and Buddhism, and are not accurate reflections of any of these. I would not have believed in this latter idea had I not read the *Jottings of an Old Man*, or the comment of Minister Nonomiya.)

All these sayings might seem like repeating false words. However, since it is true that people do wish to learn these
teachings, even though they are no more than idle chanting of empty formulae, all these teachings should actually be carried out as thus prescribed. To explain this by way of example, we know that it is difficult for the people of one area to incorporate the custom of another. This is true even if the two areas are separated by only ten miles or so; how much more so in transporting Chinese and Indian customs to Japan! Moreover only a few individuals remember those events even if they occurred only half a dozen years ago, and in learning the manners of the divine age in our world today we see quickly that these fruitless practices are simply inappropriate for our day. Even if customs could be initiated exactly, and people could then say, "this is it" and "this is perfect," it would be unlikely that they could be understood in the present. This being the case, the ways of these three teachings should not be practiced today. A teaching that cannot be practiced is not a true way. Thus, we can conclude that these three teachings do not compare with the Way of Truth.

6. One might then ask, "What is the Way of Truthfulness that is to be practiced in our Japan today?" The answer is simply doing what is reasonable, making daily work in the present to be of the highest importance, and being correct in thought, careful in speech, discreet in conduct, filial to parents. (The old man's footnote advises that we look at the Singalovada sutra, which is devoted to the five relationships. Confucianism stressed these relationships too, as does Shinto in the Shinryō. These relationships are essential to the Way of Truthfulness, just as they are said to be in Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto.) With diligence one should serve masters, educate one's children, guide those below, respect older brothers, be kind to younger brothers, care for the aged, be warm to children, remember ancestors, promote harmony in the home. One should be honest among men and not indulge in debauchery, respect superiors, and be compassionate toward fools. Above all, we should not do to others what we would not want done to ourselves. Be not sarcastic and mean, quarrelsome and stubborn, impatient and overbearing. In anger, seek self-control; in happiness, be certain of strength; be jubilant without being licentious; and never drown yourself in sorrow. Regardless of your fortune, believe in your personal well-being. Do not steal even a grain of sand. When you must give to others, give generously, even if this be the entire country. Let your food and clothing reflect what you are in life. Do not be conspicuous or miserly. Do not steal or lie. Do not immerse
yourself in wanton pleasure and drink. Do not kill a living thing that is not harmful to human life. Nourish yourself. Avoid unhealthy food and over-indulgence.

(In a note, the old man observed that in the Yogacarabhumi sutra, nine causes of premature death are presented: eating excessively, eating at improper times, eating too soon between meals and so forth. The Analects also advise that one should not eat meat that is improperly sliced, or dine at irregular times and in excessive amounts. Here is a sense of the Way of Truth.)

During spare time, study a special art that is beneficial to you personally, and seek thereby to increase your intelligence.

(Commenting on this view, the old man observed that the Analects advise one to do what is needed to be done and then if one is still energetic enough, to study the literary arts. The Mahiśāsakavinaya also notes that studying literary works is necessary to know order and rank in the monastery; and training to become a monk may also include the study of mathematics. These too, are insights into the Way of Truth.)

Rely entirely on today's script, today's speech, today's food, today's clothing, today's utensils, today's houses, today's customs, today's laws, today's social relations. Avoid doing wrong, and do what is correct. These are all within the Way of Truthfulness and ought to be practiced in our country today.

7. (Actually, these are explained in Confucian and Buddhist texts and there seemed little call to emphasize them. We should, however, respect the old man's aspiration in pointing out to these people, as if he was the first to speak these words, about the necessity to abandon the useless, and immediately take to the Way of Truthfulness.)

Now then, the Way of Truthfulness did not initially come from India, nor from China. Nor did it originate in the divine age of ancient times as it is taught today. It did not descend from Heaven, nor sprout from the earth. Simply put, it is a way of giving order to human life in the present. By abiding by it, human beings enjoy each other, gain reason and are unperturbed, and correct in conduct. Without it, human beings distrust each other and are easily imbalanced and disturbed. When the Way is not followed, problems multiply - which stands in stark contrast to the way that human beings actually live their lives. An additional point: the Way of Truthfulness is not an abstraction about which men speculate; nor is it a tool fabricated for mere convenience. It should thus be clear to all living in today's world that even if one
might have studied the three teachings, getting through even a single day is truly arduous without the Way of Truthfulness.

8. The following is additional evidence to show that philosophy cannot be conceived of apart from the Way of Truthfulness. Consider the Buddha’s Five Injunctions and Ten Virtues. As the essence of his ideas, he denounced greed, anger, and ignorance as the three deadly poisons; he emphasized filiality and loyalty as essential to one’s well being, taught the avoidance of evil, and doing good to cleanse one’s soul. Confucius attached great significance to filiality, brotherliness, loyalty, and tolerance, as well as to faith and judiciousness. Intelligence, humanity, and courage were virtues. He also taught the importance of self-control, restraint, reflection, and improving oneself in accordance with virtue. The gentleman is always content and self-assured, the lowly person is always anxious and troubled. Advocates of Shinto, meanwhile, speak of purity, simplicity, and honesty. These are all consistent with the Way of Truthfulness, wise and true statements that are comparable in essence. Thus, the followers of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shinto, who are aware of these precepts and live in this world in harmony among humans and avoid perverse and evil acts, ought to be called more properly followers of the Way of Truthfulness.

9. (Here the old man states the view that one need not discard Buddhism, Confucianism, or Shinto entirely, but should simply practice the Way of Truthfulness.)

However, the old man went on to explain what he intended to mean. It is usually the case that one who expounds on an ancient philosophy invariably founds his own philosophy under the guise of the other, seeking to improve on the views of his predecessors. His own view in turn becomes part of tradition, and later generations mistakenly follow this derivative philosophy without knowing its true origin.

10. Šākyamuni sought through his interpretations to improve on the views of non-Buddhist thinkers before him. Keeping in mind the six Buddhas preceding him, and Dipamkara who predicted Šākyamuni would become a Buddha, Šākyamuni developed the argument about “breaking the causal chain of life and death.” This was to outdo the view of non-Buddhists before him who believed in Heaven as their absolute authority and spoke of human souls “being born into Heaven.” Non-Buddhists before
Sākyamuni sought to improve on each other too. The Brahmin teacher Udraka Rāmaputra formulated a theory of non-being that bettered Arada’s view of the same subject. The exponents of the theory of non-being sought to surpass those who taught the doctrine of infinite wisdom; and these latter advocates of infinite wisdom improved on those who taught the theory of infinite space and autonomous gods. Thus, step by step, theological dogmas were formulated and, in time, Heaven came to be described as being divided into thirty-two groups of inhabitants. These ideas have nothing to do with Buddhism. A similar process can be seen with Sākyamuni’s religion. Students at Mañjuśrī formulated the Great Vehicle theory of the Wisdom Sutra, teaching of relativity, in order to surpass Kasyapa disciples who advocated the theory of existence from the Āgama sutras. The disciples of Samantabhadra meanwhile compiled the Lotus Sutra based on the idea of profound mystery, and those of Amogha explained the absolute character of reality by referring to Buddha’s sermon some forty years after he had attained enlightenment. Again, these ideas were shaped to advance one step ahead of Mañjuśrī and his doctrine of relativity. The Kegon Sutra, moreover, documents Buddha’s sermon twenty-seven days after his enlightenment. Likening Buddha’s enlightenment to the sun appearing over the high mountains, the Kegon Sutra was expected to surpass all previous teachings. In another example, the Nirvana Sutra was said to contain the sermon of Śākyamuni Buddha several days before his death. Comparing the sermon to the sweetness of milk, it seeks to outdo all previous doctrines. The patron saint of the Shingon sect, Vajrasattva used the Mahāvairocana Sutra to rank the Lotus Sutra eighth and the Kegon Sutra ninth, and advanced his own view of the esoteric character of Śākyamuni’s teachings. Thus, Vajrasattva departed from the previous doctrines which he called exoteric and sought to surpass them. In the teachings of the Zen school of sudden enlightenment, illusion is the source of confusion, and one attains the Buddhahood through the eradication of illusion. All Buddhist texts are said to be mere scraps of paper useful only for wiping grime. This view marked a radical departure from previous doctrines and aimed at bettering them, just as previous schools had done. Not knowing this history, the monk Bodhiruci observed that although Buddha spoke with only one voice, his audience heard different sounds. In the Tendai sect, in accordance with its theory of syncretism, the teachings of Buddha are said to have changed five times in his
lifetime. And Hsien-shou of Tang China believed that Buddhist doctrines varied according to the particular ability of each teacher. These views were biased, however, and on the whole did not get at the truth of things.

Now should you be interested in examining the foregoing subject in detail, you may wish to consult a book entitled *Shutsuyo Kogo* [A Critical Survey of Buddhism].

11. Confucius taught about Yao and Shun, Wen and Wu, and the way of the kings, in order to improve on the trend of the time for people to revere the likes of Duke Huan of Ch'i, Wen of Chin, and the other Five Princes of this period. Mo Tzu similarly revered Yao and Shun, and idealized the ancient Hsia dynasty. This was to improve on Confucius's emphasis on Wen and Wu. Then came the Taoist Yang Chu glorifying the imperial way of Huang-ti, thus seeking to surpass the way of kings as taught by Confucius and Mo Tzu. In a similar manner, Hsü Hsing emphasized Shen Nung, and the students of Chang Tzu and T'ieh Tzu did likewise of such ancient rulers as Wu Huai, Ko-t'ien, and Hung Huang to go beyond the views of predecessors, all of whom had sought to achieve the same end by bettering those who came before. These doctrines had nothing to do with Confucianism. Even within the Confucian school, eight different groups had different things to say about Confucius, and all sought to surpass him.

Kao Tzu said "human nature is neither good nor evil" to improve on Shih Tzu's theory that "human nature is partly good and bad." Mencius's view of innate human goodness is a betterment of Kao Tzu's view of human beings as neither good nor evil. Hsün Tzu, meanwhile, theorized on the innate evil character of men to outdo Mencius. Yüeh Cheng Tzu singled out the idea of filial piety, based on the dialogues of Tseng Tzu, to write a canon and thereby abandon a wide range of previous doctrines. Unaware of the details of this history, the Sung philosophers took all the various doctrines as part of a single orthodoxy. More recently, Itô Jinsai observed that only Mencius had a true insight into Confucius, and that the views of the others were all heterodox. And Ogyü Sorai argued that the ideas of Confucius were actually part of the Way of the Ancient Kings and that Tzu Ssu, Mencius,

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2 This piece was written by Tominaga himself earlier on: he thus refers the reader to his own work.
and others taught things that were adverse to that Way. So many of these views are mistaken as they fail to see what is true.

A detailed treatment of the subject can be found for those who wish to know more about it in a book called Seppet [Failings of the Classical Philosophers].

12. Despite the old man's arguments, it cannot be denied that Confucius chose Wen and Wu as models and taught the way of the kings because he lamented how the people took up the wrong ideas in praising the achievements of the Five Princes. Confucius, however, should not have sought so consciously to assert his superiority. And Śākyamuni, relying on the six Buddhas before him, said “Free yourself from the iron chain of life and death” because he grieved over those who did not believe his teachings and hence did not understand the true way. Śākyamuni, however, need not have used intellectual means to show how much better he was. Now, if the old man is correct in what he says, that Confucius and Buddha intentionally sought to assert their intellectual superiority over others, their ideas then must be deemed totally inadequate for people today to embrace.

As for Shinto, people of late antiquity called it the ancient way of Japan, and as being superior to Confucianism and Buddhism. In ancient India during the time of Ābhāṣvara, and in China during the time of Pan Ku, neither Buddhism nor Confucianism were carefully thought out doctrinal systems. Both were formulated clearly by later thinkers for their own particular age. And so, Shinto too did not have its origins in divine antiquity. It was first taught as Dual Shinto, combining elements from Confucianism and Buddhism in ways that were convenient and suitable for the time. Then came Honjaku Engi Shinto, which reflected the attitude of Buddhists who envied the growing popularity of Shinto and, while outwardly teaching Shinto actually reduced [its stature] to that accorded to Buddhism. There followed Yui Shinto, which separated itself from Confucianism and Buddhism, and claimed to be pure Shinto. These three forms of Shinto all flourished in antiquity. Recently, a new type of Shinto called the Kingly Way has gained prominence. Except to say that the Kingly Way is Shinto, it lacks specific doctrines. There is also a teaching which claims to be Shinto, but is essentially the same as Confucianism. None of these types of Shinto is derived

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3 As in the earlier case [footnote # 2, above] this piece, too, was written by Tominaga.
from [its roots in] divine antiquity. As just outlined, they competed for superiority under the pretense of teaching the people. Unaware of this fact, the fools of the world believed them to be true, practiced their erroneous teachings, and invariably quarreled among themselves. The old man thought this to be pathetic and ludicrous.

13. Each of the three religions have specific flaws. We should all be aware of them and not be deceived.

14. Buddhism is flawed by its reliance on the use of magic. By this, I mean using chicanery to create illusions. India is a country that finds fascination in sorcery, even as means with which to explain the Way. When magic is not woven into religion, the people will not be responsive to it. Buddha taught himself the techniques of sorcery, engaging in six years of ascetic exercises on the mountain to learn the art of creating illusions. The miracles, oracles, and supernatural events that are described in the various sutras are all magical illusions. Examples are the reference to the light on Śākyamuni's forehead revealing three thousand paradises; Buddha lifting his tongue until it reached heaven; Vimalakīrti seating 84,000 monks in his ten foot square hut; and a goddess transforming Śāriputra into a woman. All these are sorcery! To add still another point, Buddhists preach the transmigration of the soul and teach stories about the previous lives of Buddha's disciples and of the Buddha himself, and then they speak of these stories with various supernatural means. While these are expedient devices to convert the people of India to Buddhism, surely magic is unnecessary for Japan.

15. The old man explained his views in the above manner. There is of course a difference between magic and supernatural influence. Magic depends on human skill, while supernatural influence rests on ascetic exercises. The old man speaks with reason, then.

Confucianism is flawed by its use of rhetoric, or what is now called eloquence. The Chinese adore it. Even in explaining an idea to the people, if the language is not proper, the audience will not be responsive to it. Take for example the explanations of the meaning of the ideograph for rites. Originally the term for rites meant those ceremonies performed at puberty, marriage, mourning, and at festivals. Today it is used to mean the duties of a son to his father, and of a retainer to his lord. It is tied to the
moral character of human nature, as it is to sight, sound, speech, and action. As you are well aware, it is even said to transcend heaven and earth, and to embrace all things. The term for music merely meant amusing oneself by sounding bells and drums. However, it was Confucius who said: "They say it's music. They say it's music. Are bells and drums all there is to music?" Since then, as you well know, music has been said to harmonize the basic forces of the universe. The term for sage originally meant a wise man. Through popularization, however, the sage has come to mean a perfect human being, someone with superhuman power, one who can work miracles. Confucius taught humaneness, Tseng Tzu righteousness, and Tzu Ssu truthfulness; Mencius argued the four natural sources of human goodness, while Hstin Tzu theorized on the evil character of human nature; The Book of Filial Piety celebrated filiality, the Great Learning clarified the likes and dislikes of a gentleman; and the Book of Changes speculated about heaven and earth. All these examples demonstrate how in Confucianism commonsensical things are explained with rhetorical excess and verbosity so as to attract a popular following. Like Indian sorcery, Chinese verbosity is unnecessary for Japan.

16. (Thus the old man covered the familiar grounds outlined above. One wonders whether he realizes how complex the Way is?

Underlying truths are not easy to convey, as he should know. But then we should not be confused by his words alone and lose sight of the truth.)

Shinto is flawed by its use of divine mysteries, sorceries, and esoterism that conceal reality. Concealment is the source of deception and thievery. At the least, sorcery and verbosity may be worth either seeing or listening to, and hence may be tolerable. But obscurantism has no such redeeming feature. Since people in ancient days were simple-minded, these may have been useful for the purposes of instruction. In these degenerate times, lying and stealing are rampant and the teaching of Shinto priests reinforce these tendencies that are surely deviations from the true Way. Even teachers of the lowly Nō drama or tea ceremony are influenced by them. They even sell certificates for profit. How wretched they are. I asked these teachers as to why they did this, whereupon they replied that their students were not mature, and they also did not want their teachings to be stated too explicitly. This may seem satisfactory. However, any doctrine that is obscure,
demands a price, and is mystical, cannot be thought to be the Way of Truthfulness.
Sumera Ōmikuni (Japan) is the birthplace of the exalted sacred ancestral goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami.

This is the first reason why Japan is so manifestly superior to all other countries. Surely there is no country that has not received the virtue and blessings of this sacred goddess.

When Amaterasu took the heavenly signs into her hands - which are the three divine regalia which are transmitted as sacred symbols from generation to generation - and presented them to her descendant, she uttered the words: a thousand times ten thousand long autumns will the realm endure that my successors are to rule.

Thus the fact was immediately determined here that the throne of the successor of the heavenly sun should stand unchanged like heaven and earth.

The land was destined to be [the domain] of the exalted imperial descendant for as far [away] as the clouds of heaven extended and for as far [away] as the little frog made its way to the outer reaches: there was no seditious [lit. rough] Kami in this empire nor were there unruly men.

Who shall oppose the great rule which passes through countless generations? All the same, sometimes unruly and vile scoundrels rose up over the reigns, and then the great ruler would let his power rise resplendent as during the ancient affairs of the age of the gods, and soon the scoundrels would be destroyed.

Until the final generation after the thousand times ten thousand generations, the Emperor remains the son of the sacred goddess, Amaterasu Ōmikami.

The emperors of all times, therefore, will be sons of Amaterasu Ōmikami. For that reason they are also called “sons of the goddess of heaven” or “sons of the sun.”

The ruler makes the will of the goddess of heaven his own; in nothing does he give preference to his own judgement; rather, he behaves and rules only as has been customary since the

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ancient days of the Kami age. If doubt besets him, then he avails himself of August divination and thus inquires into the heart of the goddess of heaven.

The Kami age and the present age are not distant from one another.

One attended to one's own ranks and family: not only with respect to the successors to heaven, but also with respect to princes and nobles, right down to one's subjects. The duties and deeds (waza) of the family were transmitted to the children through many generations. Just as the divine descendants were regarded in the age of the gods, so they served the Emperor like a single family.

The land of the gods is a happy and peacefully ruled realm.

Hence one must not take notice of what is written in the Nihonshoki [Chronicles of Japan] in the illustrious section about Naniwa no Nagara no Mikado: “The phrase Kannagara [which] means to follow the Way of the Gods [Kami], or again to possess in oneself the way of the Gods” is equivalent to saying to rule the realm just as it has come down since the days of the gods without adding [anything]. The expression “also to enact the Way of the Kami” is supposed to mean the following: if the realm is well governed as in the age of the Kami, the Way of the Kami by itself is effective without the need of something else. Thus if one says that an Akitsu Kami (visible god, emperor) ruled over the great realm of the eight islands, it likewise only means that the dominion of the ruling Emperor at any given time is simultaneously the dominion of the sun goddess. Expressions like kannagara and so on, in the songs of the Manyōshū and elsewhere, are to be understood in this manner. Even the Koreans hit upon the correct idea when they spoke of Japan as the “land of the gods.”

In the age of high antiquity the concept of the “Way” was not known.

Thus even the “land of the abundant ears of the reed field” has long been said to mean the “divine, inconceivable land.”

There was only the Way which leads to things.

Michi (Way) or, as it is called in the Kojiki [Record of Antiquity], Umashi Michi means nothing more than “Way which leads to one thing.” The little word mi (a polite prefix), was simply placed before the Ji (Way) of yama-ji (Way of the Hill) or No-ji (Way

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of the Field, etc.). Outside of this meaning no Way was known in antiquity.

That things must have a deeper meaning and furthermore the question of the Way to which all teaching belong are problems only in foreign lands (probably China).

Since foreign lands are not Amaterasu Ōmikami's land, they have no definite ruling house. They have become a wrestling-arena for the wicked gods who plague them like flies in the summer. Their troubling effect is to be attributed to the fact that people's hearts have become corrupt and their customs have become depraved. The result of that is rebellion. Thus it happens that even people of lowly origin become rulers without much ado. Hence those who are above make provisions so that they are not destroyed by the people who are below; while the people who are below plot how they can destroy those (who are above). They have no regard for one another. So they harm each other reciprocally which makes the rule of the realm of olden times very difficult.

Under these conditions a powerful and clever man who won the affection of the people, wrested dominion (and took good care that it not be snatched away again), and ruled for a long time thus becoming a model for posterity was called a Sage (seijin) as in China. Just as, for example, good generals come forth quite automatically from a rebellious period through their acclimatization to combat, so too wise men were produced in times in which the most varying measures were devised and realized in order to [make it possible for one to] forcefully become sovereign of a land morally depraved and difficult to rule. But it is false to believe that the Sages, like the Kami, were exceptional and were automatically endowed with miraculous virtue. Now what these sages did devise and decide is the so-called "Way." Thus the Way in China, in the last analysis, only has but two goals, namely to snatch away dominion from others, and to take care that it not be snatched away from oneself.

As for the Sages, if they had conceived the plot to seize dominion from others, feared no physical pain, performed only good deeds and so won the affection of the people, they had, to be sure, all the appearances of good men. Also the manner of the Way which they had devised was satisfactory and praiseworthy in every way. But the Sages themselves first transgressed their Way when they destroyed their previous lords and seized dominion for themselves. So their teaching was falsehood and deceit, and they themselves were not truly good men, but rather the worst of all. Their Way was devised from impure intentions and was intended
to deceive people. In later times, too, people only acted externally: as if they respected the Way. But in reality there was not one who observed it. Hence the Way offered the government no support; only its name was widely known, but in point of fact it was nowhere transplanted. At all times the Way remained nothing but a fruitless rumor of the adherents of Confucius (Ju) who made their object the criticism of the people. It is a great deception, though the adherents of Confucius presumptuously claim, only on the basis of the Six Classics, that China is the land which possesses the upright Way. To assert such an upright Way, nevertheless, has its cause in the fact that formerly the Way was not upright. To represent such a deed as noble is silly; - and in any case, if the people of later ages had acted in accordance with this Way there is not a single such person in that country's history who can be perceived quite clearly as doing so.

Now what is the substance of this Way? Goodwill and integrity, propriety and modesty, love of parents and respect for older kin, loyalty toward the ruler of the land and faith in fellow men, and many other pretty names were then contrived and undertaken to instruct the people in a severe custom. The adherents of Confucianism complained that the laws of later times contradicted the Way of the kings of antiquity. But is the Way of the kings of antiquity anything more than the law of that age? Moreover, they believe they have grasped the meaning of the universe through the creation of the Book of Changes and very profound words. But all that is only deception to win people over and be master of them. The meaning of the universe is wholly the work of the gods. This is a very remarkable, wonderful, amazing work that no man can judge with his limited human understanding. How could one penetrate deeply therein and be able to understand it? It is exceedingly foolish, therefore, to view everything that the sages have uttered as the highest wisdom. It is a bad Chinese custom that men of later times take the activity of the sages to be a model and then want to investigate all things with their own wisdom. Those who want to concern themselves with Japan may take notice of that and in no case allow themselves to be deceived by the doctrine of the Chinese. Since everything in China was pursued down to the smallest detail, quarrelled about and defined, people grew cunning and evil. Under such conditions they aggravated the situation even more and the end result was that the realm was even more difficult to rule. Hence while the way of the sages was created in order to be able to rule the land it became the grain of seed for inner unrest. It is
better to undertake all [governmental] matters only in general terms: Japan has always done so and it is because of this that there were no rebels in ancient Japan despite the fact that not a single such doctrine was expounded. The realm was at peace and the successors of the heavenly sun ruled the entire time. Expressed in the words of China, this refers to the incomparable distinguished Great Way. Since Japan really possessed the better Way, the word for "Way" did not exist. So although the word the "Way" did not exist a Way did exist. Noteworthy is the difference that China especially emphasized the Way while Japan did not. That there was no dispute over the word for Way in Japan suggests that Japan does not fabricate useless words as China does. For example, just as a man who is distinguished in talent and everything else lets nothing become known about it, while an uncouth and uneducated fellow expresses himself far and wide about the most trivial things and thinks he is doing something great thereby, so China speaks only about the Way and nothing more since it is itself impoverished in the "Way." However, the adherents of Confucius are not aware of this and thus presumptuously maintain that Japan possesses no Way. That the adherents of Confucius are not aware of this may have its cause in the fact that they want to extol China above all others. Yet even in Japan scholars have not recognized this and envy China its so-called Way, and battle with each other because some claim that in Japan there is also a Way, while others argue in turn that there is no Way. It is exactly like a man who decided to feel shame if he were derided by an ape because he had no hair, and then who would show forth his short hairs and exhibit them to the ape with the words: "I am also a hirsute creature!" This man would just not know that it is something valuable to have no hair. It would be the act of a fool.

In later times, after books had come to Japan, and people began to read and study these, one learned so as to get to know the customs of China, and soon the time came when people entirely accepted them. The special name "Kami-Way" was given to the venerable pattern of customs of the ancient sacred land: "Kami," in order not to mistake it for any of the different Chinese ways, and "Way," because this conception had been borrowed from China. Why people said "Kami Way" will be pursued further on. As the taking possession of Chinese customs increasingly spread, the government of the land also assumed a Chinese form.

By the time of Naniwa no Nagara and Omi no Otsu political institutions all became Chinese. Ever since, the ancient
Japanese customs and usages have been used only in the festival of the Kami. Hence the Pattern of Japanese customs has, for the most part, been preserved down to later times only by means of the Kami festivals.

Even the hearts (kokoro) of the people have changed over to this Chinese spirit. By the taking over of Chinese thought, things have gone so far that no one any longer makes the will of the emperor his own, but each follows his own perverted will.

Where peace and tranquility had existed in Japan, unrest and rebellion developed; in time, events gradually came to resemble those that had occurred in China.

The extremely glorious Way of Japan was ignored. And when the subtly reasoned, wearisome precepts and codes of conduct of the Chinese were considered to be good and were imitated, the minds and the actions of people who had been good and pure until then completely deteriorated. Finally things went so far that the land could no longer be ruled without the severe Way of China. The reason why one arrives at the judgement in the observation of these later conditions [that] without the Way of the Sages the land could not be ruled, lies in the fact that such a Way of the sages is the reason why the land is so difficult to rule. For it must be noticed that in the “sacred age,” before the penetration of the Way of the Sages, the land had been extremely well-governed.

All things between heaven and earth exist according to the will of the Kami.

All things in this world, like the alternation of spring and autumn, rain and wind, and all good and evil that befalls the land and the people are, without exception, the work of the Kami. Now since there is good and evil among the Kami, and accordingly [in] their works too, they cannot be judged nor understood in general with the usual human intellect (Yono tsune no kotowari).

But why is it that all men of this world, the wise as well as the foolish, deceived by the Chinese teaching about the Way, do not recognize this truth? Indeed, even for those men who study Japan it is surely a matter which they must absolutely know by viewing the ancient texts. Yet, why have they not grasped it? Abroad all good and evil events are considered according to the Buddhistic Way as karma (inga), and, according to the Chinese Way, as heavenly mandate and as arrangements of heaven. That is all false! Since the Buddhistic teaching has been dissected well by scholars of many ages, we do not need to speak of it here. But the Chinese teaching of the heavenly mandate has deceived all clever men, and up till now no one has yet arrived at the
understanding that it is false. Hence, this [matter] is to be treated here in order to show its falsity!

The so-called "heavenly Mandate" was contrived only as a pretext by the Sages who destroyed the rulers in early Chinese ages and seized the government; this they did in order to escape accusation (tsumi). But since heaven and earth truly have no heart then it is also not to be assumed that they issue mandates. If heaven really had a heart and were endowed with reason, and if it were, moreover, to entrust the realm to good people who would govern well, then a Sage should have appeared at the termination of the Chou dynasty. But for whatever reason none then came forth! It is also a false interpretation if it is said [that] no more sages came forth in later times, because the Way had already been perfected through the Duke of Chou and Confucius. Perhaps this could have been said if, after the death of Confucius, his Way had circulated in the world and had granted good government to the realm. But soon his Way was abandoned in such a manner that his doctrine became empty and the land fell into increasing confusion. What kind of a perverse heart did heaven have if it nevertheless called forth no Sage at a time when it should have; if it did not pay attention to the unhappiness of the realm and finally entrusted it to so cruel a man (araburuhito) as Shih Huang-ti from the Ch'in dynasty and thus inflicted much suffering upon his subjects? That is really extremely suspicious! Even if the matter is turned round and someone says that rulers like Shih Huang-ti could not hold up long since heaven did not transmit dominion to them, a rationale is still not at hand [to explain how] dominion is transmitted to so evil a man if only for a short while. If there were a heavenly mandate, it would also be reasonable [to suppose] that it would reveal good and evil signs about the subjects as well as about the ruler [and] grant enduring happiness to the good, but quickly annihilate the evil. Nevertheless, by and large, it is not so. For otherwise how does it happen that among good men many are unhappy and among the evil many are happy - now as before? If the rule of heaven really existed then would things really be so perverted? To be sure, it can be granted that it was also bad when in later times many made it possible for the dominion of the realm to be at least transmitted from outside and when people gradually grew wise and no longer acquiesced in someone seizing control and claiming that it was the mandate of heaven. But did the Sages of antiquity proceed somewhat differently? And what kind of deception is it to believe the kings of later times received no heavenly mandate as truth! It is laughable
to claim there had been a heavenly mandate in antiquity and none in later times.

The claim which has been advanced that Shun seized control from Yao, and that Yü, in his turn, seized it from Shun, is probably true. Indeed, when it is considered that kings of later times like Wang Mang and Ts'ao Ts'ao claimed to be bequeathed the throne, but in reality violently seized it, then a parallel can be seen with Shun and Yü. Only in olden times the subjects were still naive enough to be deceived, and they considered it pure truth if someone told them it was a matter of accession of an heir. At the time of Wang Mang and Ts'ao Ts'ao, however, men had become wiser, and were no longer deceived. For that reason probably their evil deeds came to light. If such people had lived in olden times, undoubtedly they would have been respected like the sages.

The devastations which were caused by the will (mikikoro) of the Kami which bring about disaster (magatsubi no kami) are exceedingly sad.

The frequency of failures in this world, indeed all that which does not correspond to the correct principle of things and all that is wrong, is completely the work of these Kami. Since even Amaterasu Ōmikami can offer no support through the spirit of Takaki no Okami, when the evil gods carry on their wild conduct, then human effort is turned on its head, and evil befalls good men and good befalls evil men - all that is the work of these Kami. But since China possesses no direct traditions from the age of the Kami and hence does not know this cause, the teaching of the heavenly mandate is laid down and then the attempt is made to explain all things by natural reason which is quite hopeless.

Amaterasu Ōmikami is enthroned in Takamanohara and her sacred light shines forth over this world and it is never darkened by clouds. Also the heavenly signs (amatsumi shirushi) have been handed down intact, and her descendant of heaven rules as it has been charged to him. Abroad, however, there is no appointed ruler traced back to the beginning; a common man can become king, and a king, in turn, can become a common man, and thus the destruction of the realm has been a custom since antiquity. Whoever conceived the plot to seize control but had no success was contemptuously called a rebel. But he who was successful and seized control, was called a Sage and venerated. Thus the so-called Sages were nothing more than successful rebels. The illustrious majesty of our Tenno (sumeru mikoto) does not stand on the same plane with the kings of such a lowly land.
It sits on the throne of heaven which was entrusted to him by the
divine ancestors who created the empire. Hence the land was
appointed as his realm since the beginning of heaven and earth,
and the subjects cannot jealously judge whether the Tenno is
good or bad. Even in the decrees of Amaterasu Ōmikami, nothing
is said about one not having to obey, though a Tenno be bad. So
far as heaven and earth extend, so long as sun and moon
dispense their light, and however many tens of thousands of
generations have passed, our great ruler remains immutable. In
the ancient language, therefore, the Tenno was called “kami,” and
since he really is a kami, all quarrelling about whether he is good
or bad was put aside, and people, filled with respect, obeyed him
with all their power. The true Way consisted in that.

In the disorder of the Middle Ages, however, some opposed
this Way. There were coarse men who did not even esteem the
power of Amaterasu Ōmikami, men like Hojo Yoshitoki and Hojo
Yasutoki and Ashikaga Takauji, who turned against the imperial
court and caused the Emperor much injury. Given the
unfathomable will of evil kami, the men of the age submitted to
filthy rebels and flourished a long time to the last of their
descendants.

Moreover, there are people who know indeed that the
Amatsubi no Kami who illuminates the world must be
unconditionally venerated but [do not know] that the Tenno too
must be respectfully obeyed. Hence it happens that, led into error
by the spirit of the Chinese writings, they consider wise the
unbridled customs of that country while they have no
understanding of the upright Way of Japan. They do not believe
that the god of the heavenly sun who now illuminates the world
is Amaterasu Ōmikami; moreover, they have forgotten that the
current Emperor (Sumera Mikoto) is Amaterasu Ōmikami’s
derendant.

Only the significance of the name should be made self­
evident: “the majestic throne of the successor of the heavenly sun”
(Amatsu hitsugi no Takamikura).

“Successor of the heavenly sun” means the rank of the
Tenno because the Tenno makes the August heart of the sun­
goddess his own and continues her work. And that the illustrious
throne is called “majestic throne” (Takamikura) should not only
signify that it is elevated, but also [that] it is so-called because it is
the throne of the sun-goddess. Here one should think of the
ancient words which referred to the sun, words such as majestic
light, majestic sun, or even majesty of the sun. Since the throne of the sun-goddess is inherited and transmitted from generation to
generation and the Tenno occupies it no doubt exists that he
possesses it in the same way as the sun-goddess does. Thus
among men who come to know the goodness of the goddess of the
heavenly sun, who will not show respect for the emperor and obey
him?

Constant as heaven and earth, unchangeable and
unmovable is this world! Therein lies the true, exalted and noble
sign for the wondrous, magnificent excellence of the Way sup-erior
to all the Ways of China.

In China there was disorder from the very beginning -
even though they speak about the Way although there is no Way - and in the course of time the country became topsy-turvy until
it fell entirely into the hands of its neighbors. These had been
contemptuously called barbarians meaning that they could not at
any time be considered human beings; but then when they seized
the empire with great violence they were called sons of heaven
because nothing could be done about it, and homage was paid to
them. What shameful conditions these are! After all this perhaps
the adherents of Confucianism still wish to consider China a good
country.

Not only is there no appointed ruling house in China, but
there are also no distinctions pertaining to noble and common
families. It is claimed [that] up until the time of the Chou dynasty
the feudal system was in operation, and it seems that the
distinction did not endure in practice. And ever since the Ch'in
dynasty the Way increasingly deteriorated: thus it was not viewed
as a disgrace if even women of lowly origins soared to the rank of
queen by favor of the prince, or if princesses joined with men who
were not of noble extraction. If, for example, one who was until
yesterday still a lowly woodcutter, could rise effortlessly today to a
noble position to manage the government of the realm, then there
can be no determination according to which there is a noble or a
common station. These are conditions no different from those
[extant] among the animals.

Now if someone asks what kind of Way it is, [he is to be
told] it is not the Way which is inherent in heaven and earth.

One must be well aware of this. Otherwise one perhaps will
suppose it is the same thing that Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu have
taught. The way has also not been devised by men but rather was
created by the spirit of the exalted Takamimusubi no Kami.
All things of this world, without exception, have also come forth from the spirit of this Kami.

The kami descendants, Izanagi no Okami and Izanami no Okami, initiated this Way. All things of this world have also had their beginning from this pair of kami (futahashira-kami).

It is the Way which Amaterasu Omikami conceived, which she preserves and passes on.

That and nothing else is the reason why one says “Kami-Way.”

The name “Kami-Way” is seen for the first time in the *Nihonshoki*, in the illustrious volume about the reign of Iware no Ikenobe, but there he shows nothing else than proper public worship of the kami (Kami o itsuki matsuri-tamau). What is written in the *Nihonshoki*, in the illustrious volume about the reign of Naniwa no Nagara, namely that “The phrase Kannagara means to follow the Way of the Gods [Kami], or again to possess in oneself the way of the Gods,” correctly expresses for the first time the Way of Japan in the wider sense. The reason for this expression has already been mentioned above. Hence even if a Way is spoken of, in the last analysis it does not consist in extraordinary deeds but in the veneration of the Kami.

It is perverse and shows a want of knowledge of affairs if the authority from Chinese literature is quoted [who says that] “the Sages have established the Way of the gods,” and it is claimed [that] afterward the name originated here. For in the first place what the term Kami refers to, right from the beginning, is different in Japan and China. If one understands by this in China the incomprehensible marvelous something of the universe and of the Yin and Yang, then that is only an empty theory; in reality this something does not exist. The gods of Japan, on the other hand, are the descendants of the presently ruling Tenno. Japan, therefore, possesses no such empty theory like China. Is there not, therefore, a great difference in meaning when the Way of the gods is characterized as an incomprehensibly marvelous Way in Chinese literature, while in Japan the Kami-Way characterizes the Way which the ancestral gods of the imperial house have initiated and preserved?

Even today the spirit of this Way can be traced if the *Kojiki* and the other ancient books are understood well. But for generations the hearts of the scholars, bewitched by the Kami who bring about disaster, were completely captivated by Chinese books; what these scholars thought and said is all Buddhistic
and Confucian in intent. But they do not understand the heart of the true Way.

In antiquity, since the conception of the Way did not exist, there are words or meanings to be seen in the ancient writings that could point to a Way. Hence Toneri no Miko and the scholars of later generations did not know the meaning of the Way. At the bottom of their hearts they preserved only the teaching of the Chinese writings which only treated of Ways to the point of wearisomeness. And since they considered these the principles inherent in heaven and earth, they were naturally quite caught up in this teaching and were seen to be moving in this direction even though they had no intention at all to follow it. Since in general the teachings of China, like those of Yin, Yang, Ch'ien, K'un and all the others, were originally devised on suppositions by the Sages on the basis of their own wisdom, they sound very profound upon a mere hearing. However, if one separates oneself from its influence (kakiuchi, within the fence) and views them all from without, then they lose their importance and appear as exceedingly superficial doctrines. It is regrettable that at all times, even today, people have entered into such fenced areas and have become perplexed; it is regrettable that they have not been able to find their way out. Without the least human wisdom being added, on the other hand, the teaching of Japan, handed down from the days of the Kami, is still just as it was. Even though it is heard to be superficial, (asaasa), it is, in truth, infinitely profound, and possesses a deeper, more wonderful meaning which no human wisdom can fathom. Today, however, that is no longer known, since people are perplexed within the narrow confines of Chinese literature. And so long as they do not find their way out of such confines, such learnings are of no use to the Way [even] if they endeavored and studied hundreds and thousands of years. All effort will be in vain. Since the ancient books are written in Chinese, it is advantageous to be acquainted with Chinese conditions. Also it is not bad, if one has time for it, to occupy oneself with Chinese writings for the acquisition of the script. If the Japanese spirit is properly grasped then the study of Chinese literature will not be harmful.

Different things which are done under the pretext that the teaching of the Way of the Kami should be passed on individually, from one person to another, will also remain unharmful; these are private concerns which were first devised in modern times.

Grandiose esoteric doctrines which were entrusted only to selected people are nothing but false doctrines which were created
in later times. For the further all good things are circulated in the world, the better it is. It shows an extremely sordid disposition if one conceals something good and other men do not know about it, because one wants to make it a thing entirely one's own.

Tenno rules all under Heaven through the Way; how dare the subjects as subjects make it a thing of their own?

For when the underlings follow the will of the ruler in each and every thing, it corresponds to the Way. Even disregarding the Way of the Kami completely, is it not a selfish matter to disobey the ruler and to act differently than in the way one had been taught?

All people belong to beings which - just as they were born through the spirit of the Musubi no kami - know and perform well by nature the deeds limited to the body, like all things which these Kami themselves commence.

Among all living creatures of this world, which - down to the birds and insects - [were born] through the spirit of the Musubi no Kami, man has come into the world as an especially excellent being [which], by nature, knows about all things and does those which must be suitable to his nature at any given time. For these reasons (and more) since he (according to his prerogatives) knows the things he knows and does the things he must, [man needs no coercion]! If it is claimed that man can neither know nor do anything without instruction, then this is to place him below even the birds and the insects. Things like goodwill and uprightness, decorum and discretion, love of parents and respect before elder kin, loyalty toward the ruler, and faith in fellowmen belong unconditionally to the nature of man. To the extent, therefore, [that] they do belong to him, man, by himself, knows and does them even without being instructed about them. Basically the Way is nothing more than a doctrine which has been devised to subdue a realm difficult to rule. In doing so, when it exceeds the proper measure and purports to lay down absolutely rigid precepts, it does not correspond to the true Way. Thus, while all men paid lip service to it with grandiose speeches, there was in fact not one who would have acted in accordance with it. Nevertheless to believe that this Way completely corresponds to the "Heavenly Principle" (Tenri) is a great error. It is also incomprehensible that the heart which opposes this Way is called "human greed." From where and for what reason has this so-called human greed arisen? Since it must have arisen first through a rational law of its own, is not human greed also an expression of Heavenly Principle?
Thus even the rule according to which members of the same family are forbidden to marry among each other, even if hundreds of generations shall have passed, existed not since olden times in China, but rather is a rule from the age of the Chou dynasty. The severity of this system has its cause in the evil customs of this land. Illicit intercourse between parents and children, between brothers and sisters, was frequent and nothing special. Since its people know no limits and are difficult to rule, do not such severe laws reflect the shame of the country? In all other things too the severity of a law has its cause in the frequency of the transgression. So, to be sure, this law was established as law, but it was not the true Way. Since it did not correspond to the natural tendency of man, even the people who conformed to it were seldom seen. There exists no doubt about it for later times but even at the time of the Chou dynasty, even among ranks of lords, transgression against this law often occurred. Nevertheless, the adherents of Confucianism forgot that since antiquity the people of such an age no longer possess the state of mind necessary for the observation of laws. These Confucians grasp inefficacious rules and represent them as something great. Moreover, in order to do violence to Japan, they claim that in ancient times kin had often intermarried in Japan, and that the Japanese had, therefore, led lives like animals. Still, no scholar of Japan proved the contrary, but felt painfully disturbed and even judged that Japan at that time was not yet cultivated. So they [the scholars] attempt to get off by making excuses. But that only happens because they are completely overcome by the notion [that] the wisdom of the Chinese Sages is a reason which is given by nature; and furthermore they have completely given themselves to this teaching. But if one does not subscribe to it, it is also not difficult for one to be of another opinion. In ancient Japan, for example, only marriage to kin of the same mother was opposed, but people did not oppose kin of different mothers wanting to marry. The practice began with the Emperor and it became quite common; from the founding of the present capital until today it has not been abolished. The distinction between high and low, (respected and despised) was observed, and thus no confusion came of itself. That was precisely the true Way as the ancestral gods had determined it. In later times people gradually passed over to the observation of Chinese laws. Hence even half-kin were interpreted as true kin, and they were forbidden to marry among themselves. Ever since, [and] even nowadays, transgression against this law may be considered as something evil. But since the laws of ancient
times were valid in ancient times, one must not take Chinese laws as a constant guide in judging [these matters].

In antiquity everyone, down to the lowest subjects, conformed to the will of the Tenno. All served him just as he wished. Not even a trace of selfishness was present.

The Tenno was venerated in full devotedness; and saved under his sacred protection, all offered their veneration to the ancestral gods.

Since the Tenno admiringly venerates the ancestral goddess of his house, then it is also natural that the princes, and nobility of the land, [and] the peers down to the peasants (Omitakara), each venerates its ancestral gods. Moreover, as the Tenno prays to all kinds of heavenly and earthly gods for his court and for his realm, so too the subjects invoke the good Kami if they want to obtain happiness; or if they want to avert harm, [they invoke] the evil Kami in order to appease them; or they wash themselves clean if they are defiled by stain and offense (Tsumikegare). All of these are things which are indispensable to human nature. But the tendency which claims, “if only your heart of hearts follows the truth of the genuine Way...” may, to be sure, be correct according to Buddhistic doctrine and according to the Way of the adherents of Confucius, but it is entirely opposed to the Way of the Gods. Furthermore, in other lands, in venerating the gods only reason (ri) is placed in the foreground - and disputed about. Even the warning against immoral worship is only a shrewd production. Since the Kami, in contrast to the conception [of the] “Buddha,” are not all exclusively good Kami (there are also evil Kami, and their purpose and their deeds accordingly so) then it is understandable, if it is admitted, that people who do evil get along well, and those who do good, get along badly. Thus the Kami also cannot be judged according to whether they correspond to reason or not. Their anger should but be shunned, and respect from the deepest recesses of the heart should be rendered them. Hence, in venerating the Kami, the proper mental attitude must be present.

Also one should unconditionally undertake actions over which the Kami will rejoice; in this, first of all, everything must be pure and unstained by pollution. Then one should offer them many of the most beautiful sacrifices possible or delight them with Koto and flute playing, or with songs and dances or other lovely things. Everything that has its traces in the age of the Kami, consists of the Way of the Ancients. That it only depends upon the heart and not upon sacrifices and actions is an erroneous
Chinese teaching. Furthermore, high esteem and maintenance of the purity of fire precedes all other deeds in the veneration of the Kami, as it is current in the chapter about the underworld (Yomi) in the book about the age of the Kami. Not only as a religious deed but even in ordinary life fire must be attended to and in no case be falsely used. If fire is once defiled the Kami which brings about disaster seize the opportunity. Then they begin to rage and all kinds of disaster breaks loose upon the world. Thus it is desirable for the realm and the people to forbid the pollution of fire in the realm altogether. Nowadays, however, this prohibition is only observed on religious occasions and is confined, in addition, to the habitations of the Kami; but in general this ceremony no longer exists. The spread of the half-witted Chinese attitude is to blame for the fact that the pollution of the fire is considered nonsense. Is it not deplorable when even the scholars who have occupied themselves at all times with the interpretation of divine writings, adduce only rational arguments influenced by the Chinese to the point of wearisomeness, and completely overlook the doctrine of the prohibition?

What is indispensable to each person is that he pass through this world happy and content while not going beyond his means.

Besides this, what other teaching does he need? Even if children were instructed in antiquity, and they were taught all kind of crafts and skills, the doctrines of the adherents of Confucius, upon a closer view, are by no means of the same sort, even if they do not seem to be different from them upon a superficial observation.

Even if we are speaking here of a Way, there are still special teachings which must be accepted, and deeds which must be fulfilled!

This may seem similar, yet...

When someone once asked whether perhaps the Kami-Way was what Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu meant, I answered. Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu were only weary of the sophistries of the adherents of the Confucian scholars and hence highly esteem that which is "natural." Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu were not children of the sacred Kami land, but they were born rather in an evil land. Hence they learned only the doctrines of the Sages. Thus even their interpretation of the "natural" is entirely dependent upon the opinion of the Sages about what is natural. Likewise, they could not know that all things come forth from the will of the
Kami and are their work. Hence, Kami-Way and the teachings of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu are entirely different.

If you want to penetrate still further (into the spirit of the true Way) then purify yourself of the sordid thinking of Chinese literature and proceed to the study of the ancient texts with the pure spirit of the sacred land. Then you will also naturally realize that there is no Way that Japan should be obligated to accept from China. But to know that means that one takes the Way of the Kami upon oneself.

So actually even this explanation did not belong to the essence of the Way. But at the sight of the work of the Kami which bring disaster about I could not keep still. And so I wanted to attempt to make this harm good again through the power of the “Kami of the divine renovation” and the “Kami of the great renovation.”

In this treatise I have not set down my own ideas exclusively, but whoever heeds well will not doubt that everything corresponds to the ancient texts.

Most humbly signed,
in the eighth year [of] Meiwa (1771),
10th month on the ninth day.
Once someone said: “Trivial things like songs are not close to my heart, but rather the Way of China [is; and it is good] for the right administration of the land.” I laughed and said nothing. Later I encountered him again; he said: “When I explained the reasons for different things you only laughed. Surely there is an explanation . . . ?” To which I answered: “You speak of the teaching of Confucians [Ju] from China; it constrains the heart of heaven, reduces it: it is manmade.” He became angry and said: “How can you call this Great Way small?” “Sometime I would like to hear how well the land has or has not been ruled by means of it!” I replied.

Then he enumerated for me (the ancient sage kings): Yao, Shun, Hsia, Yin, Chou, and others. I said “Were there no more thereafter?” He answered: “No.” I asked further: “How many generations of tradition are there altogether in China?” He answered: “From Yao until today there are so many.” Again I asked: “How is it then that from Yao to Chou the situation was splendid but not thereafter? All good government is found solely in the hundreds and thousands of years of earliest antiquity. It is therefore merely olden legend. Behold, behold: there you see that sophistry does not succeed very well in the world!” Whereupon he grew more and more angry, and explained that in olden times things were really thus and so.

I say this is prejudiced, obstinately prejudiced. That Yao relinquished the throne to Shun of lowly origin certainly seems to have been salutary for the land. But in the noble imperial empire of Japan people use the expression “yoshi-kirai” [hateful, because too good] for what is good in excess. In later times men came of lowly origin and, without [there being] an abdication have struggled for the (highest) rank and murdered the ruler. Thus it became “ashi-kirai” [hateful, because too wicked]. If there exists

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an excess of goodness the danger develops that it will turn into an excess of wickedness.

Moreover Meng Tzu (i.e. Mencius) has said: “At the time of Yao and Shun, people could live in fief from house to house.” But I think that as it is reported, the father of Shun was blind, [and] probably the cause of this was that he was unable to see the good in his son. How could the latter then give him a fief?

After Shun came Yü. His father is said to have been a scoundrel and to have been banished. He found himself among the people of Shun and was the father of Yü. To him too, therefore, no fief should have been given. Meng Tzu’s words are like the hollow language of an alms-collecting monk.

Further, how long did the age of Yin last, on the whole? It can be conceded that the empire of Yü was yielded up at first to a good man. Why was it not subsequently passed on to good men? Eventually even the incomparably villainous Chou acceded. Only in the most ancient age, in the first or second generation, was the empire transferred to good men, and even that is not certain.

King Wen of Chou governed his share (of the land) well; had he not done so, disaster would have befallen it. Because of Chou’s malice he succeeded in winning the hearts of the people. At the time of King Wu, they killed Chou. This they speak of as a [well] founded principle. But Po I and Shu-ch’i have warned against it. And even K’ung Tzu (Confucius) has spoken of these two as admirable men. What, therefore, should be said of King Wu? Had he been just, he would have had to raise Chou’s successors to the throne. But did he not banish them to Korea and pass on the reign to his own children?

Finally it can be read in a work by Meng Tzu that the Duke of Chou, after his forceful seizure [of the throne] had many Yin princes killed, probably over forty. Were all these forty scoundrels? The Duke of Chou had them violently slain as his enemies. Can such an action be called fair play? The reign (of this dynasty) indeed amounted to 800 years, but it must be mentioned that it was governed well only during the first two generations, a period of about forty years. Great disorder soon developed and the land fell into decline. But even during the first forty years it is reported that evil was done to the Duke of Chou (whom they call a good man) by his younger brothers, and, as it is reported, he had to leave the land. The disorder of the land had its cause in the land itself. The malice between the older and younger brothers was one of the roots of the disorganization and of the exceedingly great
confusion in the land. So even during the forty years, then, [it] was probably not very well governed.

Later, during the Han dynasty, during the rule of Wen-ti, there was perhaps a brief period of good government. But then came upstarts of lowly origins who killed the ruler and called themselves emperor; and all the subjects of the land bowed their heads and served and obeyed them. Indeed, not only this, [but] also those called barbarians, from lands located in the four directions, lowly people, rose up from their barbarian countries if they became emperors of the Chinese empire, submitted to them, in their turn, and obeyed them. Is it then not foolish if they call the barbarians lowly and common? This word should not be permitted to be spoken of all in this manner.

Confusion has prevailed from generation to generation, and it [the empire] has not been governed well.

The way of Ju explains the principles [for use] in this world. If one heeds closely, one will suppose that there is nothing especially valuable about them. But because they theoretically interpret [things] in detail they have attained [the end] that the people heed them. (What must be regarded as the principal concern is good government of the land and that this [government] be peacefully transferred from generation to generation. It is said they are useful theoretical first principles. Certainly they seem to suit men who live in this world, but men's hearts are contrary. For that reason this teaching cleaves merely to the surface and does not penetrate to the heart. When this teaching came into this exalted land, it was said that China was well governed with rationalizing. But that is simply empty talk.) I would like these obstinate, prejudiced people to succeed sometime in seeing China. It would be like the return of Urashima no ko2 to his homeland.

In reality, this land was ruled in conformity with the heart of heaven and earth. Then there were no such trivial theoretical principles. Since the doctrines which were considered correct were conveyed all at once, existed in the simple meaning of olden times, and were thus considered [to be] true, they were widespread. Right from the beginning, throughout many generations, a golden age endured. But when these theories of Ju penetrated, great unrest broke out during the reign [of the emperor] Temmu Tenno, and in

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2 Japanese folktale about a young fisher-boy named Urashima. One day he befriends a tortoise caught in his net. The tortoise lets Urashima ride on his back down to the kingdom under the sea. Despite his enchantment Urashima misses his village and his family. In the end the tortoise helps him return.
the Nara Period (502-798?), palace clothing and effects in the Chinese style appeared. Everything was splendid in outer appearance but perversity of the heart gained the upper hand. The teaching of Ju made men crafty and cunning. They wanted to honor their ruler; but in doing so they transgressed the mean of stateliness and their subjects became vassals in their disposition.

Finally even the banishment of the Emperor to an island happened in an unheard of way. All such occurrences are consequences of the fact that Chinese teachings came to Japan from beyond. Many people pronounce Buddhism to be bad. It probably does cause the human heart to be foolish but the ruler cannot shine if the subjects' hearts are not foolish. For that reason Buddhism must not be viewed as so great an evil.

As a Way exists everywhere, in wild hills as well as in barren fields, so here a Way of the gods unfolded of itself. Since this natural, self-originated Way of our land endures, the splendor of Tenno (the Japanese emperor) must also endure. But the Way of Ju brought the land into disorder and made the people here crafty and cunning. This is very regrettable. Since people do not know the heart of the matter and cleave only to surfaces, people honor that [Ju] teaching and falsely believe [that] the land can be governed well only by it.

Songs wholly express the heart of man. To be sure, they do not seem to be of [any] use as [regards] the world. But if one understands them well, one also knows the human heart, and if one knows the human heart, one also automatically understands the causes of good government and of confusion. The great Confucius did not reject songs. According to him [the fact that] the work of songs must be learned first is because anything [which] clings only to theoretical reason is dead as it were. What heaven and earth create in common activity naturally is alive and active. It is probably not wicked to know things theoretically once in a while, but it is an evil tendency of the human heart to rely on it one-sidedly. When one knows, it is good to desist. Even among the songs there are those which crave what is evil; but the heart is not confused by them; songs make it tender and accommodating. The preference of songs has already been treated earlier.

Even if the Chinese teaching regarding the government of the country is known, it still does not render a good government possible if a calamity arises. In such a case, probably a wise, intelligent man will automatically come forth who will propose good measures. Even if, for example, a physician has read and knows well the Chinese writings, yet the healing of the sick only
rarely occurs. On the other hand, good medicines which are
downed in this country and which correspond to nature,
heal the sick with certainty without the necessity for theoretical
knowledge. If things are correctly penetrated with the heart it is
well: [the heart] does not thus incline one-sidedly. I would like to
bring Confucian scholars to accept once [that] this result is
considered [to be] good. They do not understand government
leadership, and often have not ruled well in China, which was
ceded to them.

II

Someone said: "In olden times a man took his wife from
his own family and was indiscriminately adulterous like the birds
and the beasts. When Chinese teachings came into the land it
was understood that this was not good. So everything has become
better through the teachings of Confucians." When I heard this I
laughed loudly. Someone else said: "In China there exists the
resolve not to take in marriage anyone from one's own family. But
since even intercourse with one's own mother has occurred, this
is merely a resolve. It is not known what evil things have
happened there. The former [speaker] probably has not seen that.
Of course, they say one must not take [anyone] in marriage from
one's own family: but surely it is foolish to believe that [this
custom: of familial intermarriage] has occurred elsewhere? [Had it
so occurred] would not they [the doers] have concealed such
things?"

In our land, in olden times, children by the same mother
were considered to be true kin. But if the mother was different, no
obstacle existed (for marriage). It is good if things are so ordered in
conformity with the individuality of different places. Many
flourishing years thus passed by. When the Confucian doctrine
came into the land, however, disorder gradually developed, and
finally things reached the condition depicted above. However
moral it may be to postulate such details (that, for example, one
must not marry within the family) in reality usurpation occurred
in every generation. Lowly men from the four directions usurped
(the throne). How could this be? With their incredibly foolish
hearts they did not know that good government cannot grow on
the basis of theoretical discussions. Like people used to say, they
"revere the hearing" and thus make the ear into a heart. It does
not pay to occupy oneself with such foolish people.
That man considers himself different from the birds and the beasts is [a form of] vanity and of contempt for the other: another Chinese immorality. The Chinese scorn their neighboring nations as barbarians, which in any case is incorrect. Are not all living creatures on earth "insects"? Among [them] all, why should man alone be honorable? Why should man alone be [considered] in a special way? The Chinese call man the "Spirit of all Things," and consider him to be the most esteemed. As I see it, man would have to be interpreted as the worst among all things. For heaven, earth, sun and moon do not change; also birds, beasts, fish, grass, and trees are immutable since the time of antiquity. Since they (men) know things only by halves and act accordingly, evil desires arise among them so that finally the world falls into disorder. Yes, even with peaceable governments, the danger always exists that people are naturally deceiving [each other]. If only one or two of the inhabitants of the earth possessed an understanding of things it would surely be good. But if all men possessed understanding they would fall to quarreling with one another until their understanding would be useless. Therefore, if one views [the situation] with the eyes of an animal one will be taught: "Man is the worst of all; he must in no way be imitated."

Right from the beginning man is divided from his kin. But to advance any special statement on that point is contrary to the course of heaven and earth. See, see how many do just that!

Again this someone spoke: "In this land there are no letters and the Chinese script is used. Everything can be inferred from that." (But we must bear in mind that:) To begin with, the state of the government in China is in disorder; it is unnecessary to say [anything] more about it. To proceed with the particulars: ideograph-like pictures have evolved there. As someone has reckoned, the ideographs now in daily use amount to 38,000. With reference, for example, to the one word "flower" alone, it is necessary to use the letters denoting "bloom," "decay," "pistil and stamens," "stem," and more than ten other [words]. In addition, for the name of countries, place-names, the names of grasses and trees, etc. a special ideograph is used which is otherwise not used. Is one who even takes the trouble supposed to be able to retain so many signs? There will either be confusion or the characters will change from generation to generation. Consequently they cause a great deal of confusion; hence they bring no advantage and are extremely burdensome.

But in India, with 50 letters, over 5000 writings of Buddha-sayings were handed down. With the knowledge of a mere 50
letters, an unlimited quantity of words are known from both ancient and modern times, and they have been handed down. They are not simply letters. Because the 50 voices are the voices of heaven and earth, what is contained therein is that which is of itself in nature. In the exalted Imperial land (Japan) letters probably existed after some fashion. But when the Chinese script was introduced, these erroneously deteriorated. The words from olden times have remained well preserved. Of course, these words are not exactly the same as the 50 sounds from India. But in accordance with the principle that everything can be expressed with 50 sounds, and that the 50 sounds accommodate everything, the words referring to the flower, namely “bloom,” “decay,” “sprout,” “wither,” “pistil and stamens,” “stem,” etc. . . , and thus all things, good as well as evil are expressed easily, without extraneous letters and without difficulty. I hear that in Holland there are 25 letters; in this country there are 50; perhaps in all other lands the manner of writing is similar. Only in China has this burdensome system of writing been produced. Therefore it is not well-governed there, and things are unmanageable.

The Chinese script probably has its advantages, but in olden times the sound of the ideograph [on] was simply assumed, and it served this land as a sign in the reading of the words. Later probably the meaning of the letters was also gradually absorbed and used. The Japanese manner of reading [kun] was exclusively employed without much concern about the (Chinese) meaning. In the first volume of the Manyōshū, in the stanza of the song composed by Ikusa no Kimi, it is written:

Yama koshi no
Kaze o tokijimi
Nuru yo ochizu
le naru imo o
Kakete shinuhitsu

In the mountain pass,
Winds blow all the time;
Every night of sleep
To my wife at home
My constant thoughts do cling.

Since there are 4000 songs, they cannot be specified. They should be examined and even understood. I have cited only one song which I do not recall exactly. It is perceived from the manner of reading that the kun and on were used exclusively.

So the words were the main thing, the ideographs the slaves. The ideographs were used as deemed proper. Later, this was reversed: the pre-eminence of the words was lost, and they fell as it were into servitude to the ideographs. This happened,
because the bad custom (of slaves becoming emperors in China) took hold (in Japan). Such a thing is absolutely abominable. Without reflecting on this, to consider the ideographs as something venerable is unutterably foolish.

Again someone said: "Everything possible happens with barbarians; only Chinese practice is refined. So it is." Then, of course, I looked up to the sky and laughed. What befalls refinement? Conditions in the world have fallen into confusion because of too much theorizing. It (refinement) prevails over theoretical thinking and does not remain laboring under it. The universe of heaven and earth manifests its order as it were and, of itself, pacifies and appeases the heart.

In olden times a cord was knotted there; later probably all forms of trees, grasses, birds, beasts, etc. were made into letters. The 50 letters of the Indian language may also have been originally forms of things. In any case writing is related to common life and has nothing to do with refined things. Later [the] round[ed] [script?] was written square. Thereupon arose what is called the art of pen-writing. This is extremely laughable. If somehow these letters should be obliterated we would naturally receive letters from heaven. The land would be well-ruled, and this conflict of opinion would also have to come to an end.

Since only the meaning and the words of the songs from olden times have been treated up to now, it might be desirable to think simply of the language of the songs. As it was said above, they (the songs) are the words which open [people's] hearts [who lived] in olden times. At the same time, through ancient songs, the words of the heart of the ancient era is known, and so the conditions of antiquity are also known. Furthermore one can finally regress still further into the past and even discuss things [existing during] the age of the gods.

In later times many have interpreted the eternal things of the age of the gods. If one listens to them they will explain everything by profound reasoning. They will speak about things of the age of the gods as if they had seen them with their own eyes, and they will decide about them [using] the criterion of the human heart. Only: how can they claim such [knowledge]? They are said, I think, to know well the things from ancient times. But if we see and listen to their books, etc., then [it will be observed that] they actually know nothing about it. How then are they supposed to be able to know the things of the age of the gods? They have read a little Chinese literature; they especially consider enviable the theorizing of later times, of the so-called Sung epoch.
- in which the very strict Way of Confucius was made still stricter and great value was placed on theoretical augmentation - and, without saying it, they thus (in this intellectual frame of mind) transcribe the things from the age of the gods. Therefore, whoever cannot read will admire them, but whoever understands even only a little Japanese literature and Chinese writing, knows that it is simply plagiarized, and laughs.

What then existed there (in China) in an older age? Since men later fabricated it (the history of the oldest Chinese period), do they indeed think [that] here too (in Japan) it must have been so fabricated? In the human heart there are many errors. If one reads what learned men have written then [it is evident that] they could not have used that [former] Way because they were not in harmony with the heart of heaven and earth.

What Lao Tzu said about the being-in-harmony with heaven and earth corresponds well to the Way of the land. Accordingly there was uprightness there in olden times. Here too everything was genuinely upright as was mentioned with reference to the heart of songs. In the ancient period there were few words and things. In the age when there were few things and the disposition of the heart was upright, no complicated doctrine was required. If the heart is upright everything runs well even without a doctrine.

When the human heart grew diverse, evil appeared. But [even] if one is of an upright heart, evil cannot remain concealed; unconcealed [at least] it does not become great, but remains a momentary confusion which soon expires. So also in olden times the teachings of good men was not completely absent, and the few light things said sufficed.

But in China, while the surface looked good, great evil ultimately arose, and since the disposition of the human heart in this land was wicked it threw the land into disorder despite the availability of deep doctrines. Since men of upright heart respected right from the beginning the little that was taught, and acted in harmony with heaven and earth, even without a doctrine, everything took a course for the good. Later, however, when the human heart was guided by Chinese doctrine, it turned evil. But even if instruction was given quite like [that] in China, such teachings, even if they were heard in the morning, were already forgotten by evening. In olden times the condition of our country was not thus. In harmony with heaven and earth the Emperor was like the sun and the moon, and the vassals were like the stars. If the vassals [acting] like the stars protected the sun and
moon, the stars in no way veiled, as they now do, the sun and the moon. As it is handed down of old about the sun, moon and stars in heaven, so too the situations of the Emperor in this land (who is like the sun and moon) and of the vassals (who are to be compared with the stars) have been transmitted unchanged from ancient times. Thus is the world ruled in peace. But those fellows came and the Emperor lost his power, and accordingly the traditional position of the vassals also deteriorated. That disposition (the upright disposition of ancient times) should be taken as an example, and the books [should] interpret the age of the gods in this way. In order to foster this one must discover the disposition of the heart from the ancient songs and from the sayings of ancient days, and for this purpose the cited texts should be examined.

Someone adds: “Since there was no ‘benevolence’ (jin), ‘honesty’ (gi), morality (rei), or knowledge (chi) in this land in olden times, the Japanese designations for these are also absent.” Thus he scorns (our land). But this is mistaken. In China in olden times they laid down these four virtues and considered wicked whatever opposed them. Everywhere on this earth there are these four [created] of themselves like the four seasons. Therefore, must such a disposition of the heart not be found everywhere? As far as the course of the four seasons is concerned: gradually it becomes spring and seasonally mild; by and by summer begins and it becomes summery hot. Thus the natural processes of heaven and earth develop harmoniously, as a whole and gradually. If it were as the Chinese maintain, it would have to turn warm immediately when spring begins, and would suddenly have to turn hot with the beginning of summer. This Chinese teaching is not in accordance with nature; it breaks up the continuity of nature suddenly (kitsukutsu naki). If one just listens it is indeed systematic, pleasing to hear and rational, but it is not suitably treated. For it contradicts the gradual, natural courses of spring, summer, autumn, and winter. How are the insects between heaven and earth (humans) supposed to be able to realize that teaching which is narrower than the meaning of heaven and earth? As there is the distinction of those four seasons in all things on earth, so too there is love and anger, thinking and understanding of their own accord [in] all ages in the continuous course of the four seasons. Since it is humans in particular who have established the designations “benevolence,” “honesty,” “morality,” and “knowledge,” on the contrary, the danger of rigidity arises. It is better to obey only the heart of heaven and earth
without names. Is it not known that this land has been well-governed for a long time? It is not worth the trouble to dispute with foolish people who only consider what they see before their eyes. But for young people still inexperienced in judgement, I want to add a further word.

Chinese learning was originally created according to human design. Hence it is artificial and easily intelligible. The Way of the Ancients of our illustrious Imperial Land, however, is in harmony with heaven and earth; it is harmonious and plain (Maruku hiraka). Human beings are able to express it completely with their heart’s-words only with difficulty, and their descendants can scarcely understand it. On that account, indeed, they say: “Is not the Way of the Ancients completely cut off?” But just as heaven and earth do not end, so too this Way does not cease. It has come into existence by means of the easily intelligible Chinese teaching. Viewed from the duration of heaven and earth, 500 or 1000 years are less than an instant. The Way of the Ancients is not of the kind which esteems the words of narrow-minded men.

All things, beginning with the sun and moon, exist originally by their own power, are in harmony with heaven and earth, and are spherical. They can be compared to the dew-drop on the blade of grass. If the dew-drop is placed on an angular blade, it assumes a different form corresponding to [that] of the blade. But if it falls back onto a flat surface, it returns again to its original spherical form. So too, the business of government will be well-handled if this sphere assumes its original form. But if one clings to the angular form, it will not be well-governed. One must know this when one views China. If, therefore, one [would] have one’s heart in harmony with heaven and earth, one must return in such times (of bad government) to the original form. But if one hastens into a common, narrow-minded disposition (to produce improvement), then, on the contrary, only greater confusion arises.

In China, it is said, those who stand above are supposed to have displayed power and splendor. But it is better to show straightforward simplicity. To display nobleness is the beginning of confusion; to make a show of power is the same as the Way of the Warrior. One should act without forgetting this. Observe how our August Land rests on this (Warrior) Way. To show straightforward simplicity is good. For if the people see straightforwardness in their superiors, they feel bound in gratitude. All will follow this example which requires little [effort]. And if [it] require[s] little [effort], they
[the people, will] also have but few desires. And if the desires are few, the heart is light, and if the heart is light, there is peace. But to deploy splendor is not good. The people who, if they see palaces and garments, the garment-decorations of the palace girls and the fashionable silk kimonos of the palace officials, will offer their respect in true reverence from the heart [and] will take it [as] no injury even if no splendor is displayed. Among these, however, will also be found sometimes people who, born as genuine men between heaven and earth, idealize such (splendor) and resolutely lead the way, leaving this short life to the discretion of heaven, and conceive of a plan to lay hold of it (splendor). Others, again, have not so much skill, but if they seek to suppress their appetites, how envious their hearts become! "Here I am! Surely somewhere confusion will arise! I will seize the opportunity! I will plot this!" All clever people probably cherish such ideas in their hearts.

But in this land everything was in harmony with heaven and earth as it was handed down of old. If the Emperor had further lived under the shingle-roof behind the earth-rampart and had worn hemp-garments, if he had girded on his sword with a sheath [made] of the mesh of the plant and had gone hunting with bow and arrow in hand, how could things have developed? Because the human heart cleaves easily to beautiful things and willingly becomes haughty \textit{[utsuri yukamu]}, people began to enjoy Chinese fashions. Only in the imperial palace were garments gorgeous; thus the nobility became all too filled with splendor; their hearts became foolish and effeminate \textit{[onna no gotoku]}. Clever in excess, they nevertheless disdained the highest rank of (emperor). So when the vassals contended for government, only the august body (the external status itself) of the exalted emperor remained; his illustrious heart was humiliated. The vassals became like the highest rank of olden times. They did not pretend to the name as in China, and they did not defile the highest rank; but even if the emperor existed under these circumstances, he had still become a non-entity. It is felt that the vassals should have been able to continue in this manner, but even in earlier times one [group] of vassals was pushed aside by the succeeding one, and only their names have been handed down to posterity.

Someone asked: "Then were there no evil men in olden times and was there no disorder in the world?" To which I answered: This question shows that one still does not know the meaning of the word "upright" \textit{[yoku naoki]}. If the whole disposition is upright, things are few. If things are few, the heart
does not become entangled in them. But even this "upright[ness]" does not exclude the possibility that sometimes people appear who do evil and want to rob the land. And if one still thinks on the basis of an upright heart this does not remain concealed. And if this does not remain concealed it is immediately intercepted. Thus no great evil arises. Limited evil will even appear in the age of "the upright;" for example, foolish people in the village will struggle for power. But to smooth over such things is easy.

To consider only man honorable among living creatures of the world is foolish. Seen with the paternal and maternal eyes of heaven and earth, humans, beasts, birds and insects are to be regarded in the same way. Among these none is so intelligent as man. One probably thinks it is good that man is intelligent. But if men are all intelligent they [nonetheless] use their intelligence against one another, and evil things develop among them. Ideas certainly go abroad in the world of their own accord. But since a person still considers (and simply does) what lies directly before his eyes in the world in which there are only a few things, then there is little intelligence and, for that reason, only small (evil) things happen, no great ones. If many dogs are added to the dogs of a village, the former obstruct the latter; or if friends quarrel about food or women, merely a passing anger arises which creates no lasting discord.

In China the people are allowed to know nothing. Only their superiors are supposed to possess knowledge and to rule. Thus they do everything in secret. For example, they represented Yao and Shun for the purpose of veneration, as Amida and Šākya were venerated in Buddhism. On the basis of it they rendered succeeding (dynasties), Hsia, Yin, and Chou as good. But Yao and Shun - just as Hsia, Yin, and Chou - in reality were not so good as was reported to posterity; indeed there were many wickednesses. So this cannot entirely serve the purpose of instruction. For they have obscured the origins in this way and deceived men.

Even in our land those who came later traditionally maintained this, considered it real and taught in this manner. I believe that the people do not altogether know this. The things of (Chinese) antiquity should have been disclosed to them without the least falsification, and it should have been brought to their awareness that there was nothing of significance in the land. Then suitable instruction should have been given as to how things should be in the future and how one ought to act.
Someone who has acquired a little learning says: "I teach people: I am contributing to the well-being of the country." But the teaching of Confucius which he adopts as a basis, has not been used in any generation there (in China). [So] how could it have been altogether to advantage when it arrived in Japan? For there they believe man is able to obey a doctrine, not understand the heart of heaven and earth. Without being instructed the hearts of a dog and a bird necessarily correspond to the course of things, just as the four seasons alternate.

Those [Chinese] consider it good [that] no one take as wife [anyone] from the same family, and they explain the mixture among kin in this land as comparable to the practice found among animals. Viewed from the heart of heaven, how could anyone pronounce men to be different from birds and beasts? All living creatures are of the same kind. If man advances a system [set], then this system must be different according to country and region, even as grasses, trees, birds and beasts are different. So the corresponding system in each country is the teaching of heaven and earth, which are father and mother.

In this country only children of the same mother were considered kin in olden times. Children of different mothers were not regarded as kin. Hence, in olden times, where human feeling was upright, there was conjugal intercourse among children of the same mother. Cases of the mixture of children of different mothers, however, are quite numerous. If occasionally sexual intercourse occurred between children of the same mother, this was condemned as a grave offense. To approach the reason for it: from mutual sexual intercourse of brothers and sisters, the human species is supposed to have arisen. And in human society the system respecting kin of the same mother arose of its own accord.

In a country, however, that establishes the distinction (of man) from the animals and forbids taking to wife [someone] from the same family, even rape of one's own mother has occurred. If it is taken into account that occasionally this was written about (then it will be asked) how wicked things may have occurred in secret. It is foolish to believe all subjects will preserve even into the future a system that was once established. If conditions were so good that the prohibition not to take to wife [anyone] from the same family was observed, how could the ruler be killed? The prohibition against regicide or patricide has been violated. How [morally] senseless it is then to boast (of the precept), that one must not take to wife [anyone] from the same family!
However small things may have been arranged the succession of the Emperor from generation to generation is good. If the succession is preserved [from] above then it will be preserved [from] below. As the Chinese say: “it is better if the land exist a thousand years with small occurrences than that it [should] endure a hundred years without a grain of dust being stirred.” With regard to the duration of heaven and earth, even a thousand or ten thousand years are less than an instant. Corresponding to conditions the sphere is good [both] in what is good as well as in what is evil; but angular argumentation is useless.

III

When Buddhistic doctrine was introduced it made the human heart extremely, yes unspeakably, corrupt and perverse. I suppose the true heart of Buddha is not like that. But driven by their passions, those who follow this doctrine have taken possession of the Way of the Buddha and taught boundless nullities. They have even said that only humans are sinful [tsumi]. Living creatures are all of the same kind. But then has any Buddha also instructed the birds and beasts? Moreover, many people consider such teachings as, for example, reprisal as real. And they take the trouble to prove this fact (of reprisal) by means of many examples from olden times. But [the remaining] people remain quite doubtful.

To cite a current example: reprisal for the sin of murder is supposed to be most severe. In former ages there was much confusion. For months and years [on end] everyone conducted war with everyone else and killed people. Whoever killed no one is considered just a common man even today. But whoever killed a few people is called Hatamoto [“Bannerman”: a military rank]. Whoever killed a few more became a Lord [daimyo]. Whoever killed still more became a great lord of an estate [itchikuni no nushi]. Whoever killed an exorbitant number became the most highly regarded person [shōgun] and flourished in well-being from generation to generation. Where is reprisal in this case? We see that ultimately the upshot is the same whether one kills men or insects.

All reprisal, like all remarkable phenomena, is evoked by foxes and badgers. Everything that exists under heaven has its particular talent, and among all visible things only foxes and badgers understand how to bewitch people. If there is someone
here who believes [that] because a person, [either] in olden times or in the present, has killed many people [and that therefore] reprisal will befall the children [of that person], then the badgers probably know this [person] and are playing with him in the guise of reprisal. But if someone thinks: killing many people ultimately brings honor . . . therefore, if the opportunity hereupon presents itself then I will kill even more men and thus increase my wealth and elevate my name . . . such a person the badgers have difficulty in reproaching. On the other hand, however, if there is someone who says during a peaceful reign - where such (human destruction) does not occur - that it is not permitted to kill even flies and mosquitoes, then he is hexed by the bonze as well as by the badger.

With regard to this, someone says that ultimately good government can develop through the bravery of the warrior: "If a person studies the methods of war, he will, I believe, wish: let a war somehow start and I will become a generalissimo!" And someone who understands well the way of war will think: "Ah, it is good that the world falls into confusion! For the defense of one side I will kill even the strongest on the opposite side. [But] this [phenomenon] is bad for the peaceful administration of the land." To which I reply: It is not so. He does not understand the human heart. Look into your own heart! Born in a time of peace, if there is nothing of the kind (like war), you will consider peace with ennui; are things then supposed to be [made] good with it [peace] alone? If I think of the deeds of my ancestors in olden times: in such times even I would have become [of] good quality [Yokishina - hero]. Thus life moves toward its end while one simply does what must be done. Whatever one may believe in one's heart, ultimately it still corresponds to the conditions of the time. Even if men who have practiced bravery think: "let confusion arise in the world," there is, nevertheless, no disorder by that alone. Even if one or two lead the way according to their inner dictates, the others still conceal (their ambitious plans). For even today one cannot live well or wickedly without obeying the currents of time. Thus is the human heart: if a bold power stands above, then the masses, even if inwardly dissatisfied, still provisionally obey.

Is it not also good, therefore, to practice the Way of Valor, as handed down by Sun Tzu, and pass [it] on to posterity, since surely it will be of use at some point in time? I suppose someone will say that such men (the warriors) are of a cruel and evil nature. But those who study it [warfare] well by no means turn cruel on that account. And even if there should be a brute among
them, are there not many brutes who also do not study warfare? Even if occasionally this is the case, one still cannot turn it into a rule. And if it comes to a case of war, these brutes are also undoubtedly reliable. And can it be conceived that in the country, it is always thus [continually only peace]? Down to the present day this is inconceivable. Those rulers [princes] who believe they are supposed to be inadequate to the momentary spirit of the time are foolish.

It is good if there are, among the numerous followers, some of a different type. As a principle of leadership, valor must be made the principal concern. The valorous and courageous who are hidden here and there should not be provoked. But those of them who put in an appearance must be inspired to fear by force. There is no other way. Even if everyone is outwardly gentle can it be thought that in their hearts they are so? In all men there is always falseness of heart.

Do those who stand above men truly suppose they can treat their followers at will? In time they will adjust to the inevitable. But even if the feudal oath is valid, then despite the usual demonstrations of kindness, they will still know no thanks. As for these proofs of kindness, all men easily forget good things though evil ones are impressed deeply in their memory. Thus it is foolish to believe that if something was good once it will not be forgotten. This should be well pondered! If there are more than a hundred good men among the retainers, they should all study warfare well. Somehow, I suppose, one understands in one case to so command things, in another case to so lead things, but such ordering and such leading come to nothing if there are no brave warriors. And even if there are some such, it is still no help if they do not obey from the heart. Now if someone wanted to dismount from his horse and the people did not obey him, he would probably automatically reflect: "What is to be done?" Even if he sought to bring the people into obedience, then presto, no one would obey. "I have parents, a wife, and children. If I should die now in this manner . . ." many would think and, hastening off, they would hide. And even if many finally were constrained to obey would they have exhausted their loyalty as a blessing? Thus, without making a great show, the relationship of the high and the low should be gently formed, [with] affection, and (subordinates) [should be] considered as one's own children. Besides the acknowledgment of the title of master, a grateful disposition must be deeply impressed. It is the custom of this land in such times not to spare one's own life, nor to permit parents and children to
be remembered. No men have any deep awareness of the feeling of things if a correspondence of sides is still absent. Therefore, Buddhist doctrine says, those who recognize it will be saved in this or in a future life; they will become rich and honored. Thus the doctrine attracts people. And people will adhere to it. The Way of Buddhism simply teaches that this is bad, and that that must not be, without any kind of correspondence [between them]. This is probably a rational teaching, but it does not attract the human heart. If the retainers are all of a truly grateful heart, then, even if they number only 100 to 500, they will find a hearing in the land. For if one leads a horse out (to the campaign), the people too will gather without a special summons. And thus one treads the Way of Victory. Therefore, nothing is equal to the study (of the Way) of Valor. It is probably believed this is so only during wartime. But if the relationship to the retainers is affectionate, flourishing well-being rules in the house without special anxiety. When the Way of Buddhism is truly upright, the house is well-conducted in peace without selfishness, and the land is well-governed.

Someone said, "The merits of the song that is mentioned in the Kokinshū is beyond question. Independent of that, has it any other importance?" I answered: in the Preface to it (the Kokinshū) it says: [that it is] "What moves heaven and earth, what moves [both] the gods and the demons to compassion, what sweetens the relationship between man and wife, and what comforts the heart of the brave warrior . . ." Since this is elegantly spoken it really is so. If one projects this and grasps everything, a gentle heart will grow. Because people are all egotistical [watakushi aru mono nite] in their hearts, they quarrel with one another, dispute and dismember things. But if they possess the disposition of song, they transcend argumentation and act with gentleness. Hence the world is well-governed and men live in peace.

If I may advance a comparison, then, it is like the four seasons. In the summer it must be hot. So goes the theory. But if at the beginning of the summer it were to become hot all at once, people would not be able to bear it. Since things change gradually and even heat and cold evolve in a suitable way, in the morning and evening and mid-day, it is therefore bearable. Who would be able to live in the world if such gentleness did not rule in it?

This is true of Chinese songs too. But in a later age they were composed without [any] special motive (without the complicity of feelings). "I would like to astonish men," or, "If I speak thus will people carp on it?" or, "They will probably not be
satisfied with that. . . " Because the songs were composed with such thoughts, no upright heart was present, and even the songs are not upright. But because this (upright) disposition was (preserved of old and) manifested, the gentle heart of old still fills the land, although, of course, the songs which are composed nowadays are poor. Since every genuine man knows this disposition, he succeeds, of his own accord, in transcending intellectual subtilizing. Speaking from [the point of view] of the mere intellect, a man of high official rank and power can despise all men and can succeed in all his desires with force. But even he who is of a high rank will add mildness, because humble people cannot be treated in this [forceful] way. And will the bold and strong all oppress the weak? Again, gentleness must be made the foundation in this case. By no means did the aim of gentleness originally exist in the composition of songs. But since the fragrance by which the heart thinks manifests itself of its own accord, song-composition has become, of its own accord, gentler and friendlier than formerly.

Someone said, "This is reasonable. So it was in the earliest of all past ages. In the present age morals have changed. Since the hearts of men have become perverse, how might we return to the days of antiquity? It is not good. We must, therefore, accept what corresponds to this (present) age. The things of olden times today are completely useless." To which I answered truly, I suppose, everyone will think thus. But whether we speak of the principles of warfare or the government of the country, first of all it means that the foundations must be put into order. [Even] if all things should be ordered in accordance with the heart of this ruler, [nevertheless] a good ruler is seldom born among many men. But if [the country] is governed in accordance with the heart of an evil ruler, can something good occur? Only if a good man appears occasionally can one say that everything is good. If a man is elevated to love the ancient age and wishes to restore uprightness in the world, then the land will be renovated in less than ten or twenty years. The idea that in general nothing can be improved is incorrect. The world is transformed in the heart of him who stands above. The battle in which life is risked is in the heart of the commander-in-chief of the war. Consequently everyone becomes unsparing towards his own life. Let us return to the uprightness of the original heart!
Section One

There was a time when Sōeki2 related the following anecdotes at the Shūnan hermitage. He said that although the daisu3 is the essential form of chanoyu, the style associated with the small room is that which involves the spirit. He often discusses the details of this style. The small room tea was, to Sōeki, a virtuous discipline following the Buddha's precepts.

The enjoyment of a fine home and delicious repast are matters of the secular world. It is sufficient if the roof does not leak and if there is enough food so that one can avoid starvation. This is the teaching of the Buddha and the orthodox form of tea.

Prepare fresh water, gather kindling, boil water and make tea. Serve tea to the Buddha, to those around you, and drink yourself. Display flowers and burn incense. These actions all follow those of the Buddhist patriarchs. For further details, you must rely upon your own enlightenment.

Section Two

2 The name Sōeki is used interchangeably in the text with Rikyū, Eki, and Kyū. The latter two are abbreviations of the former. As we are informed in section three, Rikyū's boyhood name was Yōjirō. As an adult he was known as Sen Sōeki. The name Rikyū, by which he is most commonly known, was conferred upon him by Hideyoshi when Sōeki joined the entourage of Hideyoshi as tea master during the visit to the Imperial Palace in 1585. In the translation, I have used Rikyū in order to avoid confusion.
3 The daisu is a set of two shelves used in the most formal tea service. It is most often used in a large room setting such as the shoin. Imported from China and widely used in the Higashiyama court, the daisu tea service became known as the most complex and secret form of tea presentation.
When Sōeki was present at a tea gathering, he would always carry a bucket of water to fill the hand washing basin.\(^4\) When asked about this he said that the first action for the host in the roji\(^5\) is to fill the basin; likewise the guest should first use the basin. This is the most basic requirement for the roji of the hermitage. The basin is for both host and guest who enter the roji to wash away the stain of worldly dust. Though it is cold, do not refrain from filling the water basin. In hot weather prepare a cool and refreshing draught. Together these are one form of consideration offered to the guest.

Water poured unbeknownst to the guest is lacking in the proper spirit. How much more refreshing it is when poured before the guest's eyes. However, as in the case of Sōkyū's water basin, when the basin is located near the waiting area, the basin should be filled before the guests arrive.\(^6\) Under normal circumstances, when the basin is in the middle of the inner garden or on the sunny side of the entrance hall, the host should enter and fill the basin. It is better if the bucket is made so that the water can be poured in a distinctive manner.

Section Three

The anecdotes of Rikyū tell of two followers of Shukō, Sōchin and Sōgo; Jōō was known to have practiced tea with them.\(^7\) Jōō was not Rikyū's only teacher. There was a person

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\(^4\) The hand washing basin known as the chozu bachi or tsukubai is found in the garden surrounding the tea house. Before greeting the guests, the host will enter the garden to fill the basin with fresh water. After salutations, the guests will refresh themselves at the basin and enter the tea room.

\(^5\) The roji is the garden within which the tea house is constructed. Often divided into inner and outer sections, the waiting area is in the outside (sotoroji) and the hand washing basin and tea room are found inside (nakaroji).

\(^6\) Tsuda Sōkyū was a merchant in the Tennojiya house of Sakai. Highly accomplished in the art forms of his day, he served as tea master (sado) to Ōda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi along with Rikyū and Imai Sōkyū. Records of his tea gatherings are preserved in the Tennojiya kaiki.

\(^7\) Takeno Jōō (1502 - 1555) is commonly included with Murata Shukō (1423 - 1502) and Sen Rikyū as one of the seminal figures in the development of the wabi cha form. In this text, he is linked with Rikyū as an arbiter of taste. Long associated with Sanjonishi Sanetsu as a student of linked verse (renge), Jōō was also involved in Zen practice in Kyoto and Sakai. His family traded in leather goods and prospered in a time when warring groups needed leather goods for horse trappings and for use in construction of armor. Anecdotes concerning the activities of Jōō and Rikyū appear in numerous texts from the Tokugawa era.
called Ukyō who, in his youth, acted as page to Noami and received instruction in tea from him. Later, he abandoned worldly affairs and removed himself to Sakai. There, taking the name Kūkai, he lived with a monk known as Dōchin. They got along well and Kūkai imparted detailed transmissions of the way of tea to Dōchin. Since relations were particularly good between Dōchin and Jōō, the practice of tea was shared by them.

From the age of seventeen, Rikyū, then known as Yōjirō, showed a strong inclination towards the tea cult and received instruction from Dōchin. Through Dōchin’s introduction, he became a follower of Jōō. The young Rikyū received his introduction in the daisu and shoin styles from Dōchin. For the small room style it is said that he largely worked out his own style in addition to consulting Jōō concerning details.

The founder of the Shūunan hermitage was called Kio; he originally underwent Zen discipline with Ikkyū Sojun. During this time his relationship with Ikkyū declined and, through the intercession of others, he moved to the hermitage called Shūunan. Up until his residency, the hermitage had been known as Shūunan; Ikkyū chose to change the name to Nambō. After that this hermitage was established and variously referred to as Nambō, Shūunan and Kio. Kio and Jōō enjoyed a good relationship; they took pleasure in speaking of tea related concerns. As I am a second generation resident of this hermitage, I am called Minami no Bō.8 As a recluse, I study only tea.

Section Four

At one occasion Rikyū was asked how to define the relationship between host and guest. He replied that shared understanding is essential between host and guest. However, deliberate attempts to achieve a shared understanding is bad.

Murata Shukō is noted here and in the Yamanoue Sojiki as the founder of the wabi aesthetic. Shukō is said to have learned the tea ceremony from Noami, who was one of the dōbōshū active in the service of Ashikaga Yoshimasa. This section attempts to establish the link between Shukō, Jōō and Rikyu through their various disciples.

8 Minami no bō gives his name to this text which is the Namōroku or Record of Namō. Minami no Bō is an alternate reading of Namō. The authorship of the text is widely disputed. It is probably the work of Tachibana Jitsuzan and dates from 1691 not from the 1590s as the text leads us to believe.
Within the way of virtue, mutual understandings arise naturally between host and guest. Attempts by the inexperienced to attain this state of mutual understanding can, through a single misstep, result in multiple errors. This being the case, mutual understanding is good and endeavors to achieve mutual understanding are to be avoided.

Section Five

The final splashing of water is referred to as *tachimizu*. It is said that Sōkyū questioned this last watering of the garden as it was tantamount to a request for the guests to depart. When Rikyū was asked about this matter, he replied that this is the great difference between common practice and the orthodox method.

In the case of *wabi* tea gatherings, the entire event must not overlap a four-hour time period. When a gathering requires more than four hours, a morning gathering would interfere with a noon schedule, and an afternoon gathering would interfere with an evening event. Furthermore, in the case of the wabi small room gatherings, the normal gathering is not a drawn out affair such as a pleasure outing. After thin tea has been served to the guests, the garden should be watered. For the host who aspires to the wabi ideal, the gathering can be finished with thick tea, continued with thin tea, or improvised at will. It is important for the guests to refrain from desultory conversation and depart forthwith.

When the guests are to leave, the inner garden should be watered again and the water basin filled without neglecting any detail. Water should be spread on the surrounding shrubs as well. Guests should be mindful of these preparations and wait accordingly. The host should see the guests off as far as the entrance to the inner garden.

Section Six

It was Jōō who decided that guests and hosts wear *geta* when entering or leaving the roji. The garden has paths where the shrubs are thick with dew; this is the reason for the geta. Participants in a gathering can distinguish between the adept and the amateur by the sound of their geta. With no undue clamor the
veteran enters at a moderate pace with a clarity of spirit. For those lacking in understanding, the correct sound is difficult to discern.

Rikyū recently has shown a preference for straw sandals with leather soles called sekida, made to order in the Imaichi section of Sakai for use in the roji. When Rikyū was asked about this matter, he replied that people are not especially clumsy at walking in geta nowadays; however, even in the days of Jōō's tea gatherings, there were no more than three people including himself who walked properly in geta. Today, in the combined areas of Kyoto, Nara, and Sakai, there are several handfuls of people actively participating in tea, yet there are fewer than five, including Nambō, who wear geta well. These people cannot be considered advanced in their understanding. For them, it would be better if they wore sekida in the future. You, Nambō, are special in that you enjoy things that make a racket.

Section Seven

The flowers in the small room should be limited to one shade, and to one or two blooms simply arranged. Of course, depending on the particular flower, they may be arranged in clusters. The fundamental concern is that a choice of flowers by attractiveness alone indicates a lack of discrimination. In the four and one-half mat room, depending on the flowers, two colors are permissible.

Section Eight

Flowers which cannot be displayed are described in the following verse.

Never belonging in a vase are sweet daphne
Star anise and the cockscomb;
The patrina, cherryblossom, spatterdock,
Marigold and all bright-hued flowers are rejected.

Section Nine
From long ago the use of flowers at evening gatherings has been disfavored. However, after considerable trial and error, Rikyū and Jōō decided that, depending on the flower, some could be displayed at evening gatherings. As a general rule, colored flowers should not be displayed. White flowers, however, are not objectionable.

There are a number of flowers that can be used in the tea room. Beyond this, there is a laudable precedent in the transmission concerning the tōka. Especially in ceremonial circumstances, the matter of the tōka merits extra consideration. 9

Section Ten

There was a person who asked Rikyū about the secrets of the art. He asked about the use of ro (sunken hearth) and juro (portable brazier) and about preparation of tea in summer and winter. Rikyū replied, "It is best if the tea is served so that it is palatable. Charcoal should be added to keep the water boiling. This should be done bearing in mind that the summer gathering should be as refreshing as possible and, likewise, the winter gathering should be as warm as possible. With this, all of the secrets should be clear." This placed the questioner in an ill humor. To Rikyū he replied, "Well, everyone knows that much." Rikyū answered, "If that is the case, show me that you can act according to the ideal of which I have spoken. Seeing that you can, I will become your student." Also in attendance at that occasion was Shōrei Oshō who added that Rikyū's words were true. He said that Hakurakuten reacted similarly to the reply that the essence of Buddhism was, "If you think it evil, do not act; if good, carry it through" given him by Chōka.

Section Eleven

The proper temperature of the fire is of great importance in the dawn tea gathering. This is part of the secret of santan. Rikyū said that there are people who heat water from the evening before; however, this should not be done. From the time that the birds

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9 One explanation of the tōka refers to the bright flame which is emitted from the carbon built up on the wick of an oil lamp. A rare occurrence, it is considered to be auspicious.
sing, the sunken hearth should be prepared, an ember should be placed in the hearth, and charcoal should be placed on the burning ember. After this, fresh water should be drawn from the well and brought into the preparation room, the kettle should be washed and filled with fresh, cool water and placed over the sunken hearth. This is the method of preparing to conduct any dawn tea gathering.

Guests should also consider the importance of the condition of the hearth and the water upon entering the roji. Some guests venture in early and observe the very beginning of preparation, from the first faintly smoldering embers to the placement of the still damp kettle on the hearth. Generally speaking, the conditions of the tea gathering at dawn are very difficult to complete for host and guest alike.

Section Twelve

Water for making tea throughout the day should be drawn at daybreak. This is one of the signs of the experienced tea practitioner. He must always be certain that an adequate supply of water is on hand from morning until night. For an evening gathering, water should be drawn before noon. Water drawn from evening until midnight is from the yin phase; there are noxious elements found in it. The water drawn at dawn is at the beginning of the yang period of the day; it partakes in pure spirits. This is water from the "flower of the well" (seikasui). Because water is such an essential part of tea, those who practice tea should take the greatest care with it.

Section Thirteen

Rikyü said that a paper covered lamp (andon) should be placed in the waiting area for both dawn and evening tea gatherings. The host should advance as far as the entrance to the garden carrying a hand lantern (tedōro), bow in greeting, and return to the tea house. Although there are those who carry a candle to light their way, on a breezy evening this can be a problem. Use of a candle is not particularly good form and the light from the candle is too bright.
Section Fourteen

Rikyū has said that one should take care not to leave unnecessary footprints in the snow at a tea gathering following a snowfall. Carefully melt the snow only on the stepping stones in the garden. Fill the basin without disturbing the surrounding area. If snow enhances the beauty of the trees and rocks around the wash basin, leave it undisturbed and place a pitcher in the waiting area for the guests to use.

Section Fifteen

It is not necessary to light lanterns in the garden for evening gatherings after a snowfall. Light should be low so that attention to the whiteness of the snow does not distract from the beauty of the scene. However, this cannot be set for all cases because this depends on the type of trees and shrubs in the garden.

Section Sixteen

It is important to contrast the nature of the deep three-mat room (fuka sanjō) and the long four-mat room (naga yojō). This is apparent in a diagram. The deep three-mat room has a
board 45 centimeters in width, which is set where the tea equipment is customarily placed. The mat is reduced by that much in length. The placement of the brazier and water jar, ladle stand, waste water jar, etc. is a long standing practice in the deep three-mat room. The tea container and tea bowl are normally carried in so that tea can be prepared. The muko ro came into use more recently. This is a sunken hearth cut in the floor, placed in front of the board in the deep three-mat room. The dimensions of this hearth were set at 42 centimeters square. In summer the ceramic brazier (doburo) also came to be placed on this board.

The long four-mat room, by contrast, has a fifteen centimeter wide board placed on the extreme end where the tea equipment is placed. The usual muko ro should have a board 7.5 centimeters in width on its far side. Up to 9 centimeters is unobjectionable in this case. Placement of the daisu should be made with due consideration of these dimensions.

Section Seventeen

The equipment in the small room is better when incomplete in some aspect. There are those who dislike any small flaw, but this indicates a lack of understanding. Ceramics made in the present day (imayaki) are difficult to use because of various imperfections. Tea containers from China, which are the most proper utensils, are used even though they have lacquered repairs.

Such combinations of equipment as a recently made bowl (Japanese) with a Chinese tea container should be used. In Shukō’s day, when all the utensils used were very refined, it is said that he used a special (hizō) ido tea bowl along with a
temmoku bowl, both in brocade bags. For the tea container, it is said that he always used a lacquered tea caddy (natsume) or a new ceramic tea container.

Section Eighteen

Owners of meibutsu hanging scrolls should have this knowledge concerning the alcove (tokonoma). When a horizontal or vertical scroll seems cramped in the alcove, the ceiling can be adjusted to suit the scroll. Though this adjustment may be unsuitable for the display of other scrolls, it does not matter. The alcove need only have the desired dimensions for the most famous (hizō meibutsu) scrolls.

Among picture scrolls, there are both right- and left-hand scrolls. Care should be taken for the placement of the alcove in the room according to the direction in which the residence faces.

Section Nineteen

There is no item as important as the hanging scroll. The message in the scroll is the one thing that leads to the single-mindedness of samadhi for both host and guest. Bokuseki are of the highest order. What is written should be respected and the virtue of the calligrapher, enlightened man, or priest should be revered. Secular calligraphy should not be hung. However, there are occasions when poetry expressing Buddhist sentiment is displayed. The atmosphere of the four and one-half mat room is very different from that of the thatched hut. These should be clearly distinguished.

The words of the Buddha and of the Zen patriarchs and the virtue of the calligrapher combined in the record of the brush are paramount. They are treasures to be preserved. When the virtue of the calligrapher is not the highest, calligraphy quoting the Buddha’s words and those of the patriarchs is of second order.

Pictures, depending on the artist, are also displayed. Among the paintings by Chinese monks, there are likenesses of Buddha, the patriarchs and many portraits as well. Some say that this makes the tea room seem more like a Buddhist prayer hall, so they do not display such scrolls. This is a grave error. They should be displayed and especially appreciated. According to Rikyū, conversion to Buddhism is necessary and merits special attention.
Section Twenty

The menu for the small room should consist of one soup and two or three vegetables, with saké in limited quantities. The meal for the wabi room should be less than this. Of course, the preparation of food should follow the understanding established for the preparation of thick and thin tea.

Section Twenty-one

In the daily manner of a Zen temple, a table similar to a writing desk can be used when serving a meal to two, three, or even four guests. To cite an example of a case like this, at a temple gathering involving Rikyū, Jōō and people from Daitokuji and Nanshūji temples, such a table was used. In the case of the very smallest room, the ichijō daime, the table is difficult to use because the space is limited. The table can be used for two-, three-, or four-mat rooms and is especially suited to a four-and-one-half mat room.

In the case of a tea room that has an entrance in addition to that reserved for the host, serving food through the host’s entrance is to be avoided. First the host should carry the table into the room and wipe it with a cloth. Then the rice should be transferred from the round container into the first bowl and covered. Then the soup bowl should be placed under this bowl. In this manner, each bowl should be served in order. A serving tray should be used to carry the bowls to the table and the bowls then placed on the table. The soup should then be carried out in a separate container. Vegetables chosen according to season can be served in a bowl or a cooking pot. Saké should be served in one or two rounds at most. The saké can be served in the lid of the first bowl. The guests should give attention to eating in the proper manner.

As a rule, meals served on a table are very simple. A single vegetable and soup, and two types of appetizer are served so that nothing need be served with the tea. One other practice sometimes observed in temples is to wrap each of the bowls and lids in clean cotton cloths. These are placed in a container, brought in, and distributed to each guest by the host. Of course, the table is never used when any type of meat or fish is served with the meal.
Depending on the vegetable to be served, one or two lids can be used.

Section Twenty-two

There are times when the storage jar for tea leaves is displayed in the small room. This is at the time of the opening of the storage jar (kuchi kiri). Before the guests enter, a scroll should be placed in the alcove and the jar placed directly in front of it. The display in the small room should include the seal and also the cord that binds the jar. Although the cord should be tied naturally, it should be done simply so as not to be distracting. Complicated methods of tying the cord abound, but they should be avoided because they are distracting. Although the net-like bag is generally not used in the small room, other than at the kuchi kiri, it can be used where appropriate to the jar.

Section Twenty-three

There is a thing known as the castoff tea-storage jar (sutetsubo). At one time, Kojimaya Dōsatsu obtained a very fine jar. Rumors circulated concerning this jar and many asked permission to see it. Saying that it lacked a name of any sort, he was not inclined to display it. When some guests had come for a gathering, one came forward from the waiting room and said, "Because we have met here today, we would very much like to see the fine storage jar. If you do not display the jar, we must hesitate to enter the tea room." Dōsatsu, perceiving the inevitable, greeted his guests after placing the jar turned on its side near the guests' entrance, next to the nijiriguchi. When the guests opened the door, they saw the jar tipped over at the side entrance of the room. Although it was suggested that the jar be displayed in the alcove, Dōsatsu came forth and said, "Though I have displayed the jar in accordance with your request, it is not a storage jar that merits

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11 The tea storage jar (hacha tsubo) is a glazed pot in which the new crop of tea leaves are tightly sealed to protect them from the humidity of summer. The opening of the jar (kuchi kiri) is a celebration of the new crop of tea leaves.
display in the alcove. I have acceded to your requests and displayed this castoff jar.” He made them welcome with a request to view the jar from that position.

Though he declined many requests, it is said that he displayed the jar in the alcove after this occasion. This is the story of the storage jar later referred to as Kojimaya Shigure. People found out about this and for a time, the “castoff storage jar” ploy became all the rage. Rikyū commented, “Although there may be times when such ingenuity is required, normally, if the jar is worthy of display, placement in the alcove is the prudent course of action. This castoff storage jar action is a complex one. Of course, it is not something that should be copied.”

Section Twenty-four

There should be no viewing of the arrangement of charcoal in the furo. It is unobjectionable if at the end of the gathering the guests view the ashes and the pattern of the fire through the charcoal.

Section Twenty-five

From a crouching position, the tsurube 12 should be correctly placed in position and not removed for the duration of the gathering. After the guests have stood to leave, it can be removed from the room. There are many different actions and traditions concerning this water jar.

Section Twenty-six

According to some people, the lacquered well bucket is placed with the handle in a horizontal position and the tsurube is placed in a vertical position. There are also those who say the opposite. Rikyū said that both should be placed in a horizontal position.

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12 The tsurube is a bucket with a fixed handle that bisects the opening. It was modeled after the style of bucket used by fishermen.
position. The handle of the container is a hindrance in the use of the ladle when the container is placed in a vertical position. Rather than being swayed by those who say that the rule indicates vertical placement, because there are no set rules, placement that is convenient is better. This well bucket should be used only with the sunken hearth. On no account should it be used with the portable brazier. The tsurube can be used in any season. It is especially appropriate at the kuchi kiri and at morning gatherings.

**Section Twenty-seven**

In the case of an unexpected gathering for tea, one or two pieces in the hizo meibutsu rank should be used and the style should be most formal. The spirit of the occasion is better if informal. There are traditions concerning this matter.

**Section Twenty-eight**

In small rooms, bamboo tubes, natural woven baskets, and containers made from gourds are good flower containers. Generally, it is better to use metal containers in four-and-one-half mat rooms. If they are suited to the smaller rooms, metal containers may also be used there.

**Section Twenty-nine**

Waste-water bowls of bent wood should be used with the bound side forward. Lid rests made from a chunk of cut bamboo should also be used with the base of the cut branch forward. These are Rikyū’s instructions. According to Dōan, both of these should face the guest. When we asked how this should be decided, Rikyū replied in the following manner. Whether one is arranging things on the dōgu tatami or on a shelf in any display, making tea or adding charcoal to the fire, all equipment should face the guest. However, the equipment that is to be used by the host is not arranged in order to show the guest. On no account should that equipment be placed facing the guest.

Along these lines, should the tea caddy be placed so that it can be seen by the guests? When it is passed to the guests for
viewing, of course, it should be turned to face the guests. This practice is of paramount importance.

Concerning the lid rest, at a time when Noami served tea with the seal of Rinzai on it, the rest was placed so that he could read it. Instructions indicate that this is so when the ladle is placed on the rest. Lid rests made in the form of animals should also be treated this way. If the lid rest is placed down with the cut facing the guests, should not a rest with a seal also be placed so that the guests can read the seal? In either case this would be a grave error. He added that the placement of the bound side of the bentwood bowl toward the host is the orthodox method.

Section Thirty

A bag for a tall caddy (cha ire) should be pulled down from the caddy. A shorter caddy should be lifted from the bag.

Section Thirty-one

There are such things as an invitation to a tea gathering in a field or at a hunt. Rikyū acted as a host of such a gathering at Daizenjiyama and I was there as his assistant, able to watch the proceedings closely.

What Rikyu said was that though there are no rules for the outdoor gathering, it is difficult to achieve success without observing all the basics. The greatest problem is that people are distracted by the natural setting and the tea gathering ends in failure. Therefore, it is essential that the attention of the guest be captured completely. For that reason, it is important to use a hidden treasure tea caddy, etc. At Daizenjiyama, Rikyū used the shiribukura tea caddy in a traveling box.

Always beg for indulgence. It is very important to rinse the utensils with fresh water and make them clean. If the attention of the guest is carried away by the scenery, the gathering can become a most dismal affair. If, in turn, he becomes drowsy, the surroundings will draw his attention away. For these reasons, unless the host is very experienced, the outdoor gathering will be a failure.

Section Thirty-two
Outdoor gatherings should be held in a beautiful and unspoiled part of the area. Good locations are under the shade of a large pine, by the side of a river, or in a grassy area. Also paramount is the purity of the hearts and minds of the participants. That is not to say that tranquility is only for this type of occasion. From the outset, tea has been the way of virtue. It has been difficult to participate in for those who are not pure-hearted recluses. Inexperienced men can only imitate the method of the gatherings in open spaces. There are no regulations concerning the procedure or prescriptions regarding tea utensils, but conventions and a general understanding are necessary. Those details are accomplishments on the path of one mind. As they are beyond mere surface forms, they are of no use to the inexperienced.

Section Thirty-three

Jōō has said that the spirit of wabi tea can be found especially in the poem by Teika from the *Shinkokinshū*.¹³

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\begin{align*}
mīwataseba & \quad \text{Gazing into the distance} \\
hana mo momiji mo & \quad \text{Seeing neither blossoms} \\
nakarikeri & \quad \text{Nor maple leaves} \\
ura no tomaya & \quad \text{An inlet with thatched huts} \\
akī no yūgure & \quad \text{Clustered in the dusk of autumn.}
\end{align*}
\]

The flowers and the maple leaves are likened to the form of the shoin daisu. As one is engrossed in searching for the bright blossoms and crimson leaves, the thatched hut becomes the boundary to the world of nothingness. Those who know not of

¹³ Fujiwara Teika (1162 - 1241) was a renowned poet and the chief editor of the Imperial poetry collection known as the *Shinkokin wakashū* (1216). The poem by Fujiwara Ietaka (1158 - 1237) is from his private collection, the *Minishi*. These poems both share the medieval concern for the evanescent quality of reality from which the aesthetic terminology of *wabi* and *sabi* were derived.
flowers and the blaze of autumn cannot begin in a thatched hut. The more one gazes and searches, the more the loneliness of the thatched hut comes into view. This can be said to be the basic spirit of tea.

It is said that Rikyū often recited this poem along with another from that collection by letaka.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hana o nomi} & \quad \text{To those who pine} \\
\text{matsuramu hito ni} & \quad \text{Only for flowers} \\
\text{yama sato no} & \quad \text{Shall I show spring} \\
\text{yukima no kusa no} & \quad \text{In the shoots of grass} \\
\text{haru o misebaya} & \quad \text{In the snow of mountain villages.}
\end{align*}
\]

This poem should be fully understood. People of the world wonder when this and that flower will bloom; they search for things only on the surface. They do not understand that flowers and maple leaves exist in the hearts of men. They find pleasure only in what they see. The mountain village is the same lonely dwelling place as the thatched hut on the inlet. The blossoms and maple leaves of last year buried now beneath the snow in the poor mountain hamlet, because of its completely lonely feeling, is similar to the isolated hut by the inlet. The actions that derive naturally from such an empty state also appear in nature. Young tender shoots pushing up from beneath the snow herald the arrival of spring. They come forth gradually, a few blades at a time. Their effortlessness is interpreted in the poem as a very basic principle. Although there are many aspects of the way of poetry, I record these insights into these two poems as transmitted from Rikyū and Jōō. The Way of Tea is both profound and multiple in its facets; it is impossible for one such as me to attain. Rikyū is a singular devotee worthy of our respect; his articulation of the Way of Tea corresponds to the manifestation of the way by the Buddhas and patriarchs. This is something which must be respected.
HÖHIRON
[On Farting (1771)]¹
by Fūrai Sanjin (Hiraga Gennai - 1728-1780)

Translated by William F. Sibley

There are fools who do not neglect to gulp down their daily
dose of ginseng just as they are about to wring their own necks,
but then there are those who devour blowfish stew and live to a
ripe old age. If some serving girls get themselves bastards from a
single fling, there are lackeys who keep their noses intact through
countless bouts with the cheapest whores. However extreme
men's fates may turn out to be, it is all predetermined by Heaven.
And so it is with the fads and fashions in society: it all depends
on whether the time is ripe or not and, to be sure, on the level of
the prevailing taste. Take for example the elaborate costumes of
Danjuro, the gestures of Tomijuro (Keishi), the finesse of Nakazo,
the feminine allure of Kinsaku, the macho style of Hiroji, the
presence of Sangoro - all are well tailored to the popular taste of
today. There are of course differences between the two great cities:
Kikugoro holds sway in Osaka while Tomozo conquers Edo. And
within the Edo orbit, each entertainment and pastime has its own
niche: Kawaguchi for the quiet pilgrimages, Asakusa for mob
scenes, Fukagawa for sumo matches, Yoshiwara for impromptu
skits; Sashu’s katō ballads take root in Kobiki-chō, Sumidayu’s
gidayū in Fukiya-chō; elsewhere one can see marionettes, plays
performed by children, charades, vocal impressions of well-known
actors, street-corner sermons, and so on. But even given the
countless and varied popular attractions of long prosperous Edo,
the feats of the fart expert who had recently appeared in the
vicinity of Ryōgoku, so I heard, were creating an unusual and
controversial notoriety.

To consider this phenomenon with all due attention, we
may first observe that within the microcosm of the individual
human body, farts correspond to the thunder of the macrocosm.
Being like thunder, the sound of yin and yang in contention,
sometimes farts explode, sometimes they silently escape - this is
their nature. Now this expert, so I heard, had somehow managed
to master not only such classics as the “farting scale” and the

“rosary routine,” but any number of novel numbers as well, for example, the fulling block, the Yoshiwara fanfare, the Kabuki curtain-raiser drum pattern, the No drum duet, various styles of koto accompaniment, and the Gion percussion rhythm. In addition, the dog’s bark and the cock’s crow, fireworks such as to rival the display at Ryōgoku itself, a watermill (very like the one on the Yodogawa), and the simulation of all sorts of ballad styles, including nagauta ("Dōjōji and "Kikujidō," in particular), Iseondo, Bungo-bushi, handayū katō . . . even the protracted phrases of gidayu ballads and, on request, the tours de force of "Chūshingura" and "Yaguchiwatashi."2

Although at one point I had heard of this unprecedented prodigy, without having seen him for myself I could scarcely address this subject; and so I said to a couple of friends, “come, I wish to attend this spectacle,” and we made our way from Yokoyama-čiō over the main approach to the bridge of Ryōgoku then turned to the right rather than crossing over the bridge. Above a milling crowd composed of priests and laymen, men and women, a waving banner boldly proclaimed: Celebrated Teller of Old Tales - Guaranteed to Make Your Hearts Bloom With Delight. Next to it, a placard was set up with a picture of a funny little man, buttocks thrust forward, surrounded by such legends as the aforementioned "Dōjōji," "Kabuki Curtain-raiser," etc. which projected from the same point in the drawing, all depicted with gray shading in the manner of illustrations of dreams, so that, as I muttered to my friends, some unsuspecting bumpkin might conclude that this man dreamed with his behind. I entered by a little wicker gate and saw this fart expert, flanked by his accompanists, seated on a slightly raised platform above which a red and white curtain was stretched.

The man was rather plump and pale of complexion. He sported crescent-shaped “plectrum” sideburns and wore a soft blue unlined robe over a red crepe undergarment. After a few introductory remarks delivered in a crisp and pleasing manner, he commenced, backed up by his little combo, with the curtain-raiser drum pattern - toh-ho-hyoro-hyoro-hitsu-hitsu-hitsu - and proceeded with a clearly articulated cock’s crow, then a watermill - boo-boo-boo - which he performed while doing cartwheels, contriving the effect of water pushing down from one side and turning him over and over. Soon, with resounding drum beats

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2 A play by the author.
and calls of "next group in for the new show," the performance was over.

I went out and rejoined my friends. My account of the fart expert's act stirred up debate on all sides. One person claimed that the man must have taken some sort of potion to get up so much wind, another maintained the sounds were produced by some hidden gimmicks, and so on in a similar vein - total disagreement all around.

Then I spoke to the multitude, saying: "Keep silent, my friends, for I am well acquainted with such potions. Kiyoemon of the Chikusaya in Osaka makes a hobby of concocting medicines with strange properties - 'Laxatives and Flatulence-Inducers for People You Hate' it says on his shop sign. But although I have taken the trouble to inform myself about the efficacy of these preparations, to my knowledge they only result in the general phenomenon of farting without creating any marvelous special effects. As for the suspicion that there are hidden gimmicks involved, I agree that on the face of it there would seem room for doubts - until one takes into account that the scene of this performance has not exactly been your up-to-date kabuki stage, equipped with all the latest devices, but a wide open space exposed on all sides to public view. Besides which, what sort of gimmick could possibly do the trick? If there is one, it has to be invisible so as to go undetected by a thousand pairs of eyes . . . and to employ such a gimmick, if it exists, is as clever as actually producing the farts. If the rest of the world is willing to say, truly, he has farted, then do not cut off your nose to spite your face, take a deep breath and believe!

"In this cunning age, with all manner of deceptive craft being lavished on schemes to separate people from their money, when all these tricked-up hot new items turn out to be mere marzipan imitations, when what seems original grows outmoded overnight while the old stuff only gets muster day by day - in such an age, for doubting Thomases like ourselves to see with our own eyes what we have only got wind of before, this prodigy of flatulence, is something wholly unprecedented in the two thousand four-hundred thirty-six years of this hoary land of Japan . . . from the beginning of Emperor Jimmu's reign down to this third year of An'ei nothing like it can be found, neither in our written records nor our oral transmission. Not only are these accomplishments unique in Japan; never has their like been heard of from China, Korea, India, not even from the various states of Oranda [viz., Europe]. What art! What farts!"
All who heard my praise were suitably impressed. Except for one whose voice called from the far fringe of the crowd, "The gentleman’s argument is seriously in error. I wish to respond." The voice emanated, I quickly discovered, from a samurai barely arrived from some distant province - let us call him Crankshaw Stonington, Esquire.

"I find this all exceedingly distasteful," old Cranky began. "I may remind you that those in authority have graciously permitted theatrical performances and public speeches in general only as an instrument for pacifying the people, and for elucidating the proper relations between lord and retainer, father and son, elder and younger brother, and faithful friends. For example, the character of Oboshi Yuranosuke [in "Chūshingura"] serves as a model for loyal retainers, that of Mumegae [in "Hiragana Seisuiki"], with her famous ringing of the fateful bell, as a paragon of chastity for all decent women to behold. Now whenever a spectacle departs from the portrayal of the righteous, it must do so only as a stern admonition, such as a freak who can demonstrate through his deformity how the sins of fathers are visited upon the sons (a misbegotten offspring of some wicked hunter would be an excellent example), or anything that tends to prove the general truth that we have to pay for our sins in the here and now. This is the way it should be. But nowadays these entertainments are put together with an eye to profit alone, and with no scruples about perpetrated the most outrageous displays. And this man who has the gall to give a regular concert of farts - he leaves me speechless.

"Flatulence is, after all, a personal matter and should not be aired in public. Any proper samurai would be mortified to the point of suicide if he were inadvertently to let, uh, fly in polite company. I have heard tell of a certain woman in the Shinagawa Quarter who broke wind in front of her guests, including such notable men-about-town as Rido of Odawara-machi and Mii of Sakai-chō. The laughter that greeted her indiscretion was intolerable to her. She retreated into the next room and prepared to kill herself. And when her colleagues pleaded with her and tried to mollify her, she said to them, 'Those two celebrities were right there, and you know them. Their snide remarks will soon be all over town. I absolutely can not live with that.'

"Rido and Mii then joined in the strenuous attempts to dissuade the woman from her desperate course. ‘We won’t say a word,’ they protested. ‘I know,’ she rejoined heatedly, ‘you are kind enough to promise that at the moment. But sure as fate, later on
you will talk. Rather than expose me to such humiliation, I beg of you, let me die now.' When she showed no sign of weakening in her resolve to do herself in, they resorted to the drastic remedy of drawing up a written contract pledging everlasting silence on the subject of the unhappy incident. Only then, so they say, did she consent to preserve herself.

"Nonsense, you may say. But it does go to show that even these women who sell their affections value their good names above life itself, and that the most conceited fops are not incapable of sensitive solicitude for the feelings of others. Is it not touching that they did not hesitate to draw up that childish contract in order to save her? And yet this man sets up shop in the midst of a public place and positively flaunts something that most normal people are deeply ashamed of. Utterly disgusting! He does, at least, have the excuse of making money at it. Those who pay to watch him gain nothing but the name of credulous fools. As for you gentlemen who are so quick to accept everything your learned friend tells you - you are beyond the pale. You should recall what the true sages have taught us in the classic texts: how the very nature of The Robbers' Spring kept Confucius from slaking his thirst there, how Tseng Tzu likewise refused to set foot in the village known as Mothers' Defeat. We should not so much as overhear or witness indecencies from afar, let alone commit them - that is what the true sages teach us."

Such was the harangue that the country samurai delivered, with an irascible swelling of the veins at his temples.

I replied, 'The Master's words are entirely correct. Yet I fear that he does not comprehend the great breadth of the Way. Confucius himself did not eschew childish ditties. No more do I exclude from my discourse the matter of farts. All things that lie between heaven and earth array themselves naturally into categories of high and low, lofty and base. Among them, surely the lowest of the low, the basest of the base, are urine and excrement. In China they have various pejorative figures of speech in which things are compared to 'ordure,' 'coprolith,' etc., while in Japan we simply say of things we don't care for that they're 'like shit.' Yet this loathsome filth, we should not forget, is turned into fertilizer and thereby nourishes the millions. Farts are different in this respect, it is true, being but the extraneous by-products of the perpetrators' quest for progressive relief from intestinal distress.

"It is written of the heavenly realms in the Book of Songs that they are 'without sound and without odor,' which is scarcely the case with farts. The attendant sound is not normally anything
like the stirring beat of drums, nor is their odor a suitable substitute for the fragrance of aloes or musk. In fact most people think they stink, as we can see in the common phrase 'smells like garlic and farts cupped in your hands.' From the ether they proceed and unto ether they shall return. Not even fit for fertilizer, they are totally useless, if a wonderfully apt attribute to confer on corrupt scholars, as indeed Shidōken has done, with considerate originality, in his epithet 'the Conpyewcianists.'

But to take this thing that is, beyond all else in the world, utterly useless and make of it such a great success that, aside from the main theaters, other shows have had to shut down for the lack of spectators - it is no mean feat, and ample proof of the little fellow's powers of invention in having arrived at all those intricate variations on a single theme. Now a wildly popular actor like Tomizo owes a good deal of his success to the prior patronage and tutelage of such as Kikunosuke. But where farts are concerned, needless to say, there are no tutors, no patrons, and no adoring fans, either. This sort of performance is especially demanding because of what you might call its transparency: your technique is on open display for all to see, with no room for the usual theatrical tricks. To knock the wind out of all rival sails with nothing more than what can pass through a two-inch asshole truly en-tales tremendous (if I may be allowed a pun) fartistry.

"By way of contrast, consider the current state of the various schools of vocal music. Plenty of pupils join up, equipped with proper mouths and proper vocal cords; they dutifully receive from their teachers direct transmission of the tradition; and they are certainly eager for lucrative engagements. But alas for them, a good voice can only come from birth as a gift from nature. They may cackle and caw with abandon like so may crows and herons on their nightly foray and faithfully mouth the stanzas they have been taught, but their renditions fail to bring a single spark of life to the old ballads. Having no real feeling for the overall dynamic flow of the pieces they attack, no control of diction and phasing, they destroy each new jōruri entrusted to them, and push their schools ever closer to their ultimate collapse. This man here, however, without benefit of any mentor or any oral transmission, has had to create his art through his ingenuity alone. From that inarticulate orifice, and out of undifferentiated flatulence, he has

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3 Shidōken is the eccentric hero, purportedly drawn from life, of another work by Gennai.
mastered breathing, diction, and phrasing, and he has contrived
to reproduce the varied effects of vocal coloring and all of the
twelve classical scales. He has, then, incomparably greater talent
between his buttocks than these third-rate musicians have
between their lips. Strange and wonderful indeed is this founder
of a new school, a true proctological pioneer.

"This favorable comparison holds up not only with respect
to musicians, but vis-a-vis any number of incompetent wretches
in other fields of contemporary endeavor. The scholars buried in
cast-off scraps of continental learning; the philologists who
dabble in classical Chinese poetry and prose, cloaking themselves
in the most threadbare shreds of Han Yü or Liu Tsung-yüan,
which they mistake for the full robes; our native poets who travel
nowhere in search of inspiration, preferring to sit back and wait
for grains of rice to stick to the soles of their feet. Then there are
the doctors, whether of the old school or of the latter-day post-
Sung faction, who for all their mutual backbiting, are equally
useless quacks, powerless to cure the diseases they claim to treat;
who, whenever influenza strikes, can only stand by idly as all
their patients die. As for the self-styled haikai experts, they merely
suck up to the droolings of Bashō and Kikaku, while those
charlatans who affect the style and substance of the tea masters
only munch on the turds left behind by Rikyū and Sōtan.

"All those other arts have fallen into the same deplorable
state. Those who practice them are unworthy of carrying on with
the achievements of their schools' long-dead masters as they are
lacking in the native talent necessary for the creation of
something new. Their most fundamental defect, the source of all
their other inadequacies, is their want of spirit. And spirit is
something this fartist has in abundance, for how else could he
have made his name known throughout the land with nothing
but these ingenious ass-backwards performances, and without
any masters to pave the way?

"As a young man, Ch'en Ping, having served a ceremonial
feast with great even-handedness, declared, 'If I were put in charge
of the realm, I would do with the affairs of state as with this flesh.'
I say likewise, if a wise man could be found who would devote to
the improvement of all our lives the same ingenuity as this man
here has lavished on his farts, we could expect great things from
him. It is spirit, spirit infusing each and every action, that makes
all the difference, whatever the field of endeavor, even farting. Oh,
if only those who propose to save and transform our world, not to
mention those supposedly engaged already in the humane arts -
if only they would apply themselves with this kind of spirit, then there would be joyful noise all around us such as to drown out the most resounding of farts.

"I have borrowed the more modest sounds made by this fartist in the hope of rousing from their dreamy lethargy all those dispirited, self-indulgent, unfinished men we see in our midst. But perhaps my argument itself smells a bit suspicious to you, sir . . . You may be saying to yourself, better silent-but-deadly than this. Well, say what you will, I don't really give a shit."
That which is called the West points to the territory west of China and Japan. Dividing the world longitudinally and calculating in a straight line from Japan, it is probably a distance of about 3,000 ri.\textsuperscript{2} If one actually crossed by sea, the route would be over 10,000 ri. That distant territory is named Europe. It is one of the great continents of the world, and within it are thousands of countries the size of Japan. The region known as the Netherlands is made up of seven states, one of which is called Holland. The style of painting in these various western countries is common to all of them, and since Dutch ships bring these works to Japan, there are now quite a lot of them in the country. As a general term, these paintings are called Dutch paintings.

The method of painting in these various western countries is based on something called imaging reality [\textit{shashin}]\textsuperscript{3} (reproducing the true form of things [\textit{shin o utsusu}]), and it differs greatly from the painting methods of our country. For this reason people who paint in the Japanese or the Chinese styles think that western-style painting is very strange, and not something from which they should learn.

There are even people who, not understanding how to appreciate western painting, think it is not painting at all, but rather [just] something made by elaborate craftsmanship. This is foolish. Craftsmanship originally referred to fine, detailed technique. Even in Japanese or Chinese painting, detailed paintings are all, in short, done meticulously, and there are some

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1] Published in 1799. This translation is based on the modern Japanese version in \textit{Nihon no meicho} (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1971), vol. 22, and the original version as published in \textit{Nihon shisō taikai} (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), vol. 64. All footnotes and notes in square brackets are the translator's.
\item[2] One ri equals 2.44 miles.
\item[3] \textit{Shashin} is the term now used for photography. There is no single term with which to translate this, so I am relying on the awkward idea of "imaging" to convey the sort of mimetic reproduction that Shiba is talking about here.
\end{footnotes}
in which a person's body or beard hairs are painted one hair at a
time. When hair is painted by western painting methods, the hairs
are painted with [just] one brush stroke; but when one looks at
the painting, neatly detailed hairs can be seen.

Western painting style is not punctilious about the power
and feeling of each brush stroke the way Japanese and Chinese
painting is. The brush was originally nothing more than a tool for
making paintings. Nevertheless, [now in Japanese and Chinese
painting] only the feeling of the brush stroke is expressed - for
example, in painting a cow, rather than showing that it is a cow,
the cow is indicated by just one brush of ink. This is exactly like a
doctor using medicine to cure an illness: the medicine, in other
words, is the ink, the doctor is the brush, and the illness is
equivalent to the picture. It is as if the doctor (the brush), using
good medicine (the ink), sets out to cure the illness - but without
knowing where the illness (the painting) was originally from, or
why it was created. Only the doctor's own mental attitude is
asserted. The logic is the same for painting.

Rather than the feeling of the brush stroke, the main
object of western painting is to capture the true state of things
(the heart of creation [zōka no i]). In comparison, Japanese and
Chinese painting is nothing more than simple amusement, and is
worthless.

Furthermore in western painting methods, through the
use of shading, the subject's lighting, texture, distance, and depth
are expressed, and the true form of things is exactly reproduced.
On the basis of this, western paintings are useful in the
transmission of information and knowledge in the same way that
writing is. In particular it is the shapes and forms of things that,
no matter how much explained in writing, will not be understood;
ultimately these cannot be conveyed except insofar as it is done by
painting. For this reason, there are many western books in which
things are explained through the use of pictures. Western
painting, therefore, would never be used as a simple hobby or
amusement, [in contrast to] the frivolous games that one finds in
Chinese and Japanese painting, such as the one-stroke sketches
done for entertainment at drinking parties. [Western painting] is
truly a technique of real utility, and a tool for governance and
education as well.

For example, there are a variety of descriptions of the
mermaid's bone⁴ - a rare medicine - given in Dutch books. Captured off the island of Amboina [Ambon]⁵ in Indonesia,⁶ and its living form sketched out by the islanders, an actual mermaid was then pickled and preserved in a medicinal liquid. Amboinawas originally a dominion of Portugal, and later became a Dutch territory.

I saw the illustration and preserved specimen of this mermaid, but in the Dutch books its color and form are delineated in paint, and this is offset with explanatory sentences. The actual [mermaid] stored in the liquid has changed with the passing months and years, and it no longer shows the original form; ultimately, if it were not pictured, one could not know the true reality of the thing (this mermaid is described in detail in Otsuki Gentaku's Rokubutsu shinshi (Tenmei year 4)(1786)). In this way, unless painting reflects true reality [shin], it is useless.

II

Western painting is oil-based rather than glue [nikawa]-based. Accordingly, even if they get wet, the paintings will not be damaged. These are called oil paintings. It seems that in our country of Japan there are some people imitating this western method of painting, but there are many people who still don't understand the true nature of it. Last year I took a research trip to Nagasaki, and at that time a Dutchman by the name of Isaak Titsingh gave me a picture book, called Konst Schild Boek.⁷ by looking at this book, my own western painting came together at last and now my brush paints just as I intend, unhindered. Whether mountains and water; flowers and birds; people; or animals, there is now nothing that I cannot paint.

If one thinks about it, painting a picture requires wide reading and extensive knowledge - at a different level from the rote memorization of written characters. As with birds, for example: from a large wild goose to a small sparrow, each is different - from the color and shape of its eyes, beaks, wings, and

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⁴ Presumably a dugong - a sea mammal living in the area to which Shiba refers.
⁵ Amboina is the principal town on the island of Ambon.
⁶ Shiba here uses indo, the Japanese term for India.
⁷ Shiba apparently means Kunst Schilderen Boek, faulty Dutch for "picture album".
legs to its impression overall. This is true even of the pattern of its feathers: if one tried to express it in writing, it would be like trying to paint the [feathers] with the single color of black ink; the differences of complex coloring and form could not be depicted. Therefore, in the various countries of the West, painting (as a medium for the transmission of knowledge) is placed above writing, and highly valued. In other words, painting, along with letters, is a tool in the service of the state, not something done merely for amusement.

III

Many people are under the impression that western painting consists of nothing more than ukie.8 This is truly a laughable misunderstanding.

To repeat, this is because painting images reality [shashin]9 - unless it reproduces true reality, it cannot be said to be a wonderful thing of real worth; as a picture it is incomplete. [By this method of] imaging reality, regardless of what one paints - mountains and water; flowers and birds; cattle and sheep; trees and stones; insects and bugs - each time one looks at them they seem fresh, and everything in the paintings is alive and jumping, as if one can see them moving. This cannot be done other than by the methods of the western style of painting.

Consequently, for people who have knowledge of this technique of reproducing reality and are practicing it, previous Japanese and Chinese paintings look just like child's play; they are incomplete and, as pictures, useless. Because people have grown accustomed to seeing these inadequate paintings, when they are shown the vividly exquisite works of western painting suddenly, they are disoriented. Saying that there's something strange about the paintings, and at a loss for other words, they might perhaps describe the paintings by a conventional term such

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8 *Ukie*, literally "floating pictures", was a genre of prints briefly popular around the mid-eighteenth century. Utilizing what was considered western-style perspective as derived from newly acquired foreign books, these prints typically portrayed interior scenes in such a way as to seem to have almost three dimensions - quite unlike the basically flat perspectives of other print genres at that time. Though these prints were thought to be mere curiosities, the form of perspective and spatial representation in *ukie* apparently had a strong influence on the landscape prints (of Hokusai, Hiroshige, etc.) that appeared later.

9 Cf. note 3, above.
as *ukie* - but this must be said to be a glaring mistake.

**IV**

Western books have illustrations, and these illustrations are all copper-plate prints. These pictures are used in the same way as writing - this includes books on plants and so on. For unless shown in a diagram, one cannot know the true form of plants. Or in making an unusual apparatus, if the mode or form of its construction does not appear in a diagram, one will not be able to put it together.

Western painting is based on imaging, and for that reason uses what is called the three facet method (*sanmen no hō*),¹⁰ which I will touch on later. By this method the lighting and shading of things is expressed. But adding the light and shade when using copper plates is technically very difficult. There is a table of plants executed by Rembertus Dodonaeus,¹¹ but because this was done before the current copper plate technique was contrived, the diagrams were extremely crude and did not resemble the real plants. Since most of my colleagues are studying Dutch to learn medical techniques, even among my colleagues in Dutch Learning (*rangaku*), some have occasionally made mistakes because they don't know anything about pictures and [simply] believed these.

But in other Dutch books, recently imported, starting with Jan Jonston's¹² table of living organisms, the diagrams are made with copper plates: they are exquisitely detailed, indeed approaching true reality. It is quite difficult to translate the accompanying explanatory writing into Japanese, but if one proceeds by looking at the diagrams and thinking hard, often the meaning of the words will come through. By this, too, one can see the superior utility of western painting methods. However, the sort of person who doesn't know anything about even Japanese and Chinese painting methods probably wouldn't understand the logic here at all.

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¹⁰ The modern version adds, "solid body painting" - *rittai gahō*.
¹¹ 1517-1585. Shiba had the first name wrong. The table is in a book titled *Cruydt boek*, published in 1644.
I mentioned above the three facet method. This must be well understood. One facet is pure white, the area lit by the direct rays of the sun. Another facet entails the dimming light—the parts where the sun shines obliquely. And the third facet is dark, as this shows the areas where sunlight is obscured in the shadows. As for engraving this lighting (into the copper plates), it is in the way that the lines are drawn—etching a line only once will make it pale, and twice will make it darker.

When I was young, I heard from Hiraga Gennai that some Dutchmen once loaded up ships with hundreds of their copper plate prints, and, trying to sell them off in Japan, showed them to the Japanese. But the thinking of people was shallow then, and they found the prints to be neither unusual nor technically remarkable; at length the Dutch went back [to Holland with their prints]. In any event, that was when the Japanese first came to know that in the West, pictures were made by forming copper into a plate and etching lines onto it. Yet since then much time has passed without anyone inquiring into the technique of how copper plates are etched. However, the copper plate printing method is described in a book by a Dutchman named Buijs. A few years ago, together with Otsuki Gentaku, I translated this book, and in the third year of Tenmei (1783), using this book, [we] made the first copper plate print in Japan.

But the character of western craftsmen is different from that of Asians, and for us it is extremely difficult to master the refinement [of copper plate printing]. In addition to my own dull nature, I am over fifty years old, and my energy is deteriorating; so in connection [with the above translation], I am including an [explanation of] the methods for preparing copper plates in On the Dutch Technique, and I hope that it will provide instruction to admirers [of copper plate printing], and will advance the technique.

V

The western method of painting is based on the mastery of principle [ri o kiyomeru], and similarly in the appreciation of these works it definitely would not do to look at them just as one

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14 Section 2 of shunparō gafū, which is no longer extant.
pleases. There is a correct way to appreciate them. In Holland, probably for that reason pictures are all set in frames as wall hangings. Even when one wants to look at an unframed picture for the moment, the picture must first be placed directly in front of oneself. Then, since there is in the middle of pictures a boundary line between upper and lower [tenchi], top half and bottom half, one should, focusing one's line of vision on this boundary, view the picture from five or six shaku\textsuperscript{15} away. If one does this, the distances and relations of precedence within the picture will not be missed. In the case of small paintings, the Dutch method is to look at them as if one were looking at a reflection in a mirror.

VI

As part of governance in western countries, the portraits of wise men and saints, and of men of prestige, are reproduced in paintings for posterity. There are also many cases in which sketches [of such people] executed during their lifetime are made into copper plate prints. When one looks at these pictures, it seems exactly as if one is in the immediate presence of these people. In contrast to this, Japanese and Chinese portraits are not based on a method of reflecting true form; each is done according to the individual artist's own way. Each bust and portrait of a holy man that one looks at will differ depending on who the artist is. Unless the picture conveys truth [shin], it cannot be said to be a portrait of the holy man. In reproducing a flower, too, unless the picture resembles that flower, it cannot be said to be a picture of the flower.

Depicting the true form of things can never be done by Japanese and Chinese painting methods. For when drawing a sphere [by these methods], a [flat] circle is drawn and is then taken to be ball-shaped. The roundness and height at the center [of the globe] cannot be represented. And in cases such as drawing a facial portrait from the front, the height of a person's nose cannot be drawn. Pictures, in essence [honrai], are not something composed of brush strokes. I will try to provide an account of the method for making western pictures in my "Commentary on Western Painting."\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} One shaku is slightly less than 12 inches.

\textsuperscript{16} Section 1 of Shunpar\d{a} gaf\d{u}, which is no longer extant.
GEKIBUN
[A Call to Arms]¹
Oshio Heihachirō (1793-1837)

Translated by Michael Eastwood

Received from Heaven itself
To all the common people throughout the world

"When throughout the four seas there is only suffering, the blessings of Heaven will be forever ended, and when petty men are allowed to govern the nation, catastrophes become commonplace." In this way the Ancient Sages firmly forewarned all succeeding generations of rulers and ministers of the people. Hence even the sacred founder of our regime [Ieyasu] embraced the extension of compassion to the discarded people as the basis of benevolent government. However, during the 240-50 years of the Great Peace, the people above increasingly lived in openly arrogant corruption and took bribes, and by relying on secret connections with the women of the inner chambers, lowly men with neither the virtues of benevolence nor righteousness rose to positions of high power and devoted themselves only to schemes to enrich themselves and their houses. These daimyo and retainers imposed excessive taxes on all the farming people; these are inhuman orders to issue on top of the heavy suffering of the existing taxes and corvée. As the volume of taxation piled up, suffering spread throughout the four seas, and everyone, without exception, came to hate those who ruled. From Edo at the center, all of the domains fell into the practice of such deeds. The emperor, since the rule of the Ashikaga house, has been kept apart as though in exile and lost the authority to prescribe rewards and punishments, and the common people, having no place to direct their protests, saw that they had no recourse and degenerated into disorder. Their spirit of anger rose up to Heaven, and year by year earthquake, fire, and disaster made mountains crumble and floods arise. Moreover, all of these disasters flowed from Heaven, and ultimately the five grains were blighted and people starved. These were all serious admonishments from Heaven which should be heeded, but all those above paid no attention. The wicked

ranks of men carried out important policies, fatiguing the polity, and schemed together to take money and rice. For that reason we who hide in the shadows of the grass sense the situation, but having neither the authority of the great kings Tang and Wu, nor the morality of Confucius or Mencius, we idly remained uninvolved. Yet in the recent upsurge in rice prices the Commissioner of Osaka as well as all the administrators ignored the benevolence which pervades all things. They carried out arbitrary governance, and though they sent rice to Edo, not only was none sent to the Emperor's residence of Kyoto, but people who tried to buy amounts of rice as small as five to ten shō² were apprehended. This is exactly like the [Chinese] daimyo, Ge Bo, who killed farming children for carrying lunches — unspeakable! In every land, the people are under the rule of the Tokugawa House without distinction, so the carrying out of such discriminatory acts is the result of a complete lack of benevolence by the commissioners and their subordinates. Moreover, they constantly circulated self-serving official orders, and, as detailed earlier, they treated only the parasitic Osaka people with consideration. It is because they are personages of low character, lacking basic moral virtues, totally lacking any human sensitivity. Among the three great cities, it is the wealthy of Osaka who for years have made loans to all the daimyo, commanding usurious interest and manipulating vast purchases of rice and accumulating unprecedented wealth. They live as if they were the senior retainers of daimyo despite their status as chōnin, and they dislocate all manner of farming lands for mansions, living lives without wants. Knowing of the recent disasters of Heaven, they do not tremble with fear, and although people die of starvation and beg in the streets they refuse to aid them, instead dining on delicacies and feasting extravagantly, they keep mistresses in special residences, and invite daimyo and their retainers to houses of pleasure, and drink expensive sake as if it were water. In this season of disasters they wear silk, hire jesters and dancing girls as if they were enjoying the pleasures of ordinary times, as if they were King Chou in his all night feasts. Just like King Chou, by inviting the commissioners and other officials to such entertainment, these people hold power in the palms of their hands, and it is impossible to save the common people. Day in and day out, they manipulate the rice markets of Dojima, making

² 9-18 liters.
themselves veritable salary-robbers. It is exceedingly difficult to realize the essence of the Heavenly Way of the Ancient Sages, and no attempt is being made to attain it. At this juncture, those of us who have watched from seclusion — although we have neither the power of T'ang nor the virtue of Confucius and Mencius — knowing that it is for the benefit of the world which has been left without champions, we bring disaster upon our families and unite with those of true purpose and punish these officials and the luxuriating wealthy chōnin of Osaka. We will attack and kill them, taking the wealth that they have hidden away in holes and storerooms, taking the gold, silver, copper cash and grains that are hidden in warehouses and mete out all of these. To the people of Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi and Harima, whether you have no fields or even if you do but have not enough to support your husbands, wives, children, and ancestors, in order to get some of the money and rice: if on any day you hear of an uprising in Osaka, depart immediately regardless of the distance and come running to Osaka where we will distribute the money and rice. The warehouses will be opened to the common people as were the fabulous storehouses by the last will of King Wu, saving the people from the present famine and misfortune. If moreover there are men with the equipment and abilities, they should all join together to form a military force to punish crooked men. This is most certainly distinct from a plan for ikki uprisings or the like. We will relentlessly reduce all the taxes and duties. We will restore everything to the political way of the Jimmu Emperor, and effect a management of things with grand magnanimity and bounteousness. Thereby we will also wash away completely the extravagant and corrupt habits which have multiplied with the years.

We will return to humble simplicity; with gratitude to the Heavenly blessings of the Four Seas, we will nourish fathers, mothers, wives and children. Rescuing them from a living hell, we will bring before their very eyes a living paradise. Though it would be difficult to return to the age of Yao and Shun or Amaterasu, we will restore the essential quality of the flourishing days of Jimmu. We want this document spread to each and every village, but as there are so many, let them be posted on shrines and temples of the large villages where many houses are gathered, and let them be spread quickly so that it may be communicated to all villages around Osaka, and yet so that their watchmen do not learn of it. If by chance it is discovered by any of the watchmen and they appear to intend to report it to the wicked scoundrels of the Four
Stations [of judgment], unite without hesitation and strike them all down without exception. To those who learn of the occurrence of a great uprising and, out of doubt, do not come running, or come late and the riches of the wealthy have all been burned to ashes such that the bounty of the country has been lost — do not in any way bear a grudge against us afterwards and whisper that we are bandits who destroy such stores; for we have given notice to all in order to prevent this. Moreover, shred and burn all documents that the headmen and other village officials have gathered for taxation. This can only be thought of as an act of deep consideration which has the intent of saving the people from great suffering. However, some may compare this event to the rebellions of our country's Taira no Masakado or Akechi Mitsuhide and the Han land's Liu Yu or Zhu Quan Zhong, and although there may be a connection, our actions do not arise in the least from a desire to seize rulership of the country, but from the Heavenly mirror of the sun, moon, stars and comets. In the final analysis, Tang and Wu, and the Han and Ming founders mourned for the people and acted only from sincere hearts to carry out the punishment of Heaven. If this seems suspicious to you, then simply open your eyes and observe closely how we end our enterprise.

One thing, priests and physicians, read this document with care to the common people. If you shrink from the danger of being espied by the shōya or toshiyori and hide yourself from them, then you will be sought out for punishment. Sacrificing to Heaven, we enact Heaven's punishment.

To the villages of Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi, and Harima
To the Shōya (officials), Toshiyori (elders), and common farmers:
Tempo 8 (lesser fire-Year of the Cock)
My domain, Tawara, is located in the southern edge of Atsumi in Mikawa. Extending into the Sea of Enshū, this stretch of about 13 ri\(^2\) from Arai to Irago is covered only by small farmers. Outside of Tawara there is no castle; therefore, since the coastal defense order issued by the bakufu in Genbun 4 [1739] my domain has been expected to assume strict responsibility for shore defenses. However, without gaining detailed knowledge of our foreign enemies we cannot make effective military preparations.

[Since I was appointed defense officer of my domain's coastline] I have been recording everything related to them including their geography, institutions, customs and any factual information as well as villager gossip, fictional stories and even the most insignificant details, though they often seem unreliable and unbelievable. Recently I heard from an indiscreet chatter-box that in the seventh month of this year [Tempo 9, 1838] the chief of the Dutch factory, Niemann\(^3\), secretly informed the bakufu of the following news: a British subject, Morrison, is planning to come to the coastal area near Edo to escort to us seven castaways from among our people for the purpose of opening up trade with our country.

According to my investigation, this fellow called Morrison comes from London in England and has served as the Trade

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1 In: *Nihon shisō taikei*, vol. 55 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten 1971). Watanabe Kazan wrote this thesis in October 1838 immediately after he heard about the rumor in his informal study group named *Shōshikai* that the Bakufu decided to expel a British ship from the coastal line of Satsuma (now Kagoshima prefecture). The ship was said to be led by the British missionary Robert Morrison (1782-1834) who was active in the Canton region and was also known for his prominent scholarship on China. In fact, the ship was a commercial ship called "Morrison" owned by an American trading company. Kazan, like others, was misinformed of the ship's identity, believing that the ship belonged to the British. However, this confusion should not be read as a mere accident for two reasons: there was hardly any distinction between England and America among the intellectuals in Japan at that time, and the British presence together with Russia in East Asia became increasingly a pressing concern to them.

2 One ri equals 2.44 miles.

3 Niemann (1796-1850) came to Nagasaki in 1830 and served as the chief of the Dutch trading house there from 1834-38. In his visit to Edo in 1838, he became acquainted with Kazan.
Commissioner in Macao, Canton for sixteen years. He is very well versed in Chinese scholarship, and from what I have seen, he has written numerous books on this subject [among his peers]. One of these was published as Gosha Inpu, and it is a book of his translations of Chinese terms. Furthermore in 1817 he translated into Western characters one volume of [Chu Hsi's] Tu shu tsa ch'ao [A View of China for Philological Purposes] and T'ung chien kung mu [The Dynastic History of China] as well as the I Ching, Tung hua lu [The Chronological History of the Ching dynasty] and Hsi yü pei wen [An Epigraph of Christianity in the Tang dynasty]. I have also heard that Morrison has written an account of China. In recent Dutch publications, references to China rely upon Morrison's accounts from this book. If one considers the year of publication of this book to be the Dutch year 1817, then that is equivalent to the first year of Bunsei in Japan, now twenty years past. However talented Morrison is, it is not hard to imagine that studying Chinese scholarship is a most laborious and difficult undertaking for Westerners. Therefore assuming that he began writing this book after the age of twenty, he must be between fifty and sixty. He is said to be talented and knowledgeable and in his country has high noble rank and a dignified presence; the Dutch often praise him for this.

It was ten years ago when Bürger, who once came to Edo with Siebold as his assistant, was on the way back from Nagasaki to Java, and he encountered a typhoon near Taiwan. With the ship's mast snapped and the stern damaged, he was washed ashore in Canton, and it was then that Bürger chanced to meet Morrison who had been studying there at that time. This Bürger is a schemer, and knowing of Morrison's personal influence, he worked into his favor and managed to marry a British lady through Morrison's good offices. Gaining special promotion by such means, Bürger came back to Nagasaki the year before last as a man of great wealth. During his first stay in Nagasaki, a child was born between Bürger and a Japanese woman. Upon his departure he asked a merchant called Fujiyoshi

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4 In Kazan's time, there was no equivalent notion to China. He used the notion which meant the Han or Han nation.

5 Heinrich Bürger (1806-58) was a German chemist and naturalist who came to Nagasaki in 1825 as an assistant to Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) and stayed there until 1835. Kazan was personally acquainted with him.

6 Siebold came to Japan in 1823 as a medical doctor for the Dutch merchants and officials who worked in the Dutch compound in Nagasaki. It was believed that besides his medical profession, Siebold had been sent by the Dutch authority to ensure and further strengthen Holland's exclusive commercial ties with Japan. He also opened his private medical school in Nagasaki and educated several youths including Takano Chōei (1804-50), who later became a close associate of Kazan.
Hideshige, who had access to the Dutch compound, to take care of the child. In the last year of the sheep [1835] he came back to Japan and in the spring of the next year told Hideshige the following: "I will be leaving in the autumn, but I am deeply concerned about the future of my child. I say this because Russia has been drooling over Japan for a long time, and before long disaster will befall Japan from the Northern Islands. Although Nagasaki is distant from the Northern Islands, as the saying goes, 'the sickness of one limb is the suffering of the entire body.'" This story seems to have come from an English source — when Bürger was to leave for Japan, he was secretly informed of this by his wife. After Hideshige heard this story, he was terrified and told an officer of the Mito domain the following:

"Because Bürger owes deep and secret debts to Morrison, one cannot know whether or not it is a kind of conspiracy. However, Russian ambition has been evidenced by its usurpation of Poland. Poland is a country that appears in such geography books as Shokuho gaiki and Konyo zusetsu as Polonia, and because it took the side of [Napoleon] Bonaparte, it was hated by all the countries of Europe. In 1815 Poland's king died, leaving the country leaderless, and the south was absorbed by Germany, the north by Prussia, and everything from the eastern corner to the interior was annexed by Russia. (The Dutch Annual Report on the Overseas Affairs of Bunsei 9, year of the dog)."

But although Poland was subjugated, from the beginning Russia only put a magistrate in position there merely to oversee [the political situation in Poland]. But the people of Poland had not given up on the idea [of recovering their independence] and in 1829 (Bunsei 12, year of the ox), the people of Poland secretly organized an opposition band which amounted to war with the Russian magistrate. (According to my investigations, The Dutch Annual Report on Overseas Affairs to the bakufu of Bunsei 13, year of the tiger, 1830, indicates that rebels of the Russian vassal state of Poland carried out an insurrection against Russia—word of this was sent from Russia itself.) In 1832, (Tempo 3, year of the dragon,

7 The bakufu required the Dutch to report on world affairs in exchange for the commercial privilege given to them on their every arrival in Nagasaki. It remains still unknown how an ordinary domainal official had access to such top secret information and how widely the information was circulated and shared among the commoners in early 19th century Japan. Yet, as the following account by Kazan indicates, he and his associates possessed synchronous knowledge of European affairs and had access to the Dutch report. Of course, it may not be entirely ungrounded to speculate that through his personal association with people like Niemann and Bürger, Kazan had the advantage of acquiring such information.
as summed up in the Dutch report) Russia completely captured Poland and it became Russian territory. A French account of that war has already come into Japan, and I have copied all of it. Therefore, what Burger said must not be completely a wild rumor.

While this may hold true, we must also consider Morrison. As a well known person, and the commander escorting the shipwrecked sailors to Japan, we should not doubt that his ship comes by the order of his country. Above all, since Morrison has studied Chinese scholarship [according to my knowledge, the introduction to Gosha Inpu was written in a colloquial style [of Chinese] and Morrison conveys its meaning quite fully. I cannot say how well the main body was done.] and is one who understands Asian sensibilities, it seems significant that Morrison was chosen [for this mission].

Now, the strictness of our country's isolation policy is acknowledged by the countries overseas. The proof of this is detailed in the Dutch Annual Report and also in the accounts by Russians such as Krusenstern (the author of Hoshi nihon kiji [A Diplomat's Record of Japan])8 and Golovnin (the author of Soyaku nihon kiji [A Record of Japan Through My Meeting With Misfortune]).9 Therefore, as they [the British] will come with clear awareness that to solicit trade in exchange for bringing back Japan's castaways will not be accepted, it is certain that Morrison will never follow in the footsteps of Rezanov10 [and simply return home upon being refused trade]. But, in accordance with the precedent of the bakufu's policy of expelling the Russian envoy, our national isolation policy will not be changed just for Morrison's country. No matter how these matters develop, isolation may remain firm as the great way of our country. Nevertheless, although the Way which both the western countries and our country follow is logically identical, this does not mean that there are not greater and lesser differences between them and us in regard to how to view the Way. Therefore, if we do not understand what differences exist [between them and us], our judgment will be like the imagination of a blind person who touches part of an elephant in attempt to imagine the whole animal. For the blind, a tail or a leg may be taken as an entire

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8 Krusenstern was a Russian commodore who escorted the Russian envoy, Rezanov, to Nagasaki in 1804. Rezanov was sent by the Russian empress, Alexandra I, to negotiate for the opening up of trade with Japan, but was rejected by the Bakufu who insisted on maintaining its seclusion policy.

9 V. M. Golovnin (1776-1831) was a Russian naval officer who was captured near Kunashir Island in 1811 by a Japanese and became a captive for two years and two months. This book was about his experience as a captive and was translated into Japanese in 1825.

10 See, footnote 8.
elephant. That is to say, if one holds only the tail and tries to describe the features of the elephant, how could one come to know that the hanging trunk or the long tusk [also constitutes the elephant's characteristics]?  

As for the Western countries, their systems may be corrupt or noble, their customs beautiful or low, the people wise or unwise depending on each country, they are in general calm, prudent and patient (to my knowledge, the people of the world are divided into four races—the Tartars, Ethiopians, Mongols, and Caucasians. In addition, Linnaeus divides people into seven races, among which he concludes that Tartars and Caucasians are superior. Westerners belong to the Caucasian race, while the people of our country belong to the Tartar race.), and their countries are governed by law. Those at the top are rulers and religious leaders. The rulership descends from the ruler to his child, and the religious leadership is handed down to the wise. Thus, the way of learning divides in two: governing and [religious] education. And beside these studies, there is the learning of skills and methods which is also divided into two studies. People are encouraged to choose the field of study in accordance with their natural endowment from Heaven. Therefore, one does not make any distinction of high and low as to one's chosen field and occupation, and instead is encouraged to fully realize one's endowment. For this reason, [in the West] skills and methods are of high standard and are broadly applied in diverse fields of inquiry, and this [Western] assistance and encouragement of education and governing is at a level that even the Chinese have not yet reached. Through such learning, they have detailed the four directions of the universe, and through the expansion of knowledge have enhanced the well-being of their nations. Here too even the Chinese have not reached this level.

Nowadays, among the five continents of the world, the three continents of America, Africa, and Australia are already in the possession of European countries. Even on the Asian continent, our country, the Han nation, and Persia are the only three countries [to have preserved their independence]. Among these three, only our country has not [pursued] contact with the Westerners. Although our fears are many, they are not in fact groundless anxieties. One must say that, from the Westerner's perspective, our country is like an abandoned piece of meat on the roadside. Is it not something hungry tigers and thirsty wolves would take a keen interest in? England, because we do not allow trade, [will likely] say to us: "Your country has maintained for a

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11 Kazan took this idea from Carl von Linne who divided people into four races in his writings.
long time strict seclusion without violation. However, at the beginning of one of our country's voyages overseas, we drifted, lacking food and fuel, with sick people aboard, seeking land and trying to avoid danger, while your country's staunch coastal defenses have caused our trip great inconvenience. [This is a case where] one country's gain is at the expense of all the other countries of the world. Though we all live under the same sky and walk on the same earth, can we call human those who cause harm to others? We hope your country understands this rationality, and listens to our appeal." When they say this, we will bring up their suspicious actions hitherto, and we will have no other recourse than to reason with them, stating our reasons for being unwilling to communicate. Thus, we will fall into a trivial debate which will in the end give them a pretext for filling their avaricious designs. Although one may call them Western barbarians, they will not enter into warfare without cause (when Napoleon invaded Egypt, he wrote of two reasons: one was the barriers to travel in the Mediterranean Sea set up by Egypt, the other was an old grudge). Therefore, such a trivial debate may induce Russia and England to initiate war against our country.

At the outset, Russia expanded its territory by advancing eastward from northeastern Siberia to the west coast of North America. Its territory now stretches over three thousand ri, occupying one quarter of the globe. England advanced westward, taking the area from the east coast of North America to the inland of Canada. It also possesses some Asian islands in the south including part of Australia. An estimate of the entire English territory is thus approximately two thousand ri. With its wisdom and strategy, England is strong in naval battle, whereas Russia is effective in land combat with its benevolent government. Since these countries are competing for self-interest on the basis of their respective strengths, if England takes action against us, Russia will be at an acute disadvantage and therefore will not remain motionless. Moreover Holland, seeking to mediate between the two, will attempt to devise hundreds of stratagems, and in the end this will harm our domestic polity.

However, although it appears that Russia has a carnivorous desire to snatch fortune from [Japan] by exploiting any vulnerability which we show, what makes their mouths water is in fact not us, but China (this point is evident in a Russian captive F. F. Mur's statement and is also identical with what the Dutch told us).

China has been strong in land warfare, but not in naval conflict. Knowing China's weakness, England aspires to take advantage and throttle them from the sea as well as striking them in the back by land attacks. What China was afraid of is to see us
under attack. As in the saying "without the lips, the teeth are chilled," such an event will imperil China. Knowing this well, England is looking for an opportunity to attack us with the precise calculation of its strategy and with the readiness to take sufficient time to carry it out. Therefore, even though we reject England's demands once, they will come back to make the same demands like flies coming back to a fishy smell.

Indeed, it is a universal principle that the world necessarily undergoes rise and fall, prosperity and decline. Once things develop to an extreme, they shift to another extreme. Likewise, after prosperity prevails, decline follows. The places where civilization flourished in the ancient times are now all conquered by the barbarians of the northern seas. It is needless to say that the Han nation is now under the rule of the Manchus. The birthplace of Buddha is located in Ceylon which is now occupied by England. The central part of India was once annexed by the Moghul empire and is now under the control of the Western trading firms. Arabia where Mohammed was born, Egypt where Judaism thrived, and Constantinople of the Eastern Roman Empire where Christ was born were all swallowed up by the Turkish. Even the Roman Empire which had governed the world failed in righteous system and the proper manner of communication, and thereby promoted arrogance, extravagance, and moral degradation. Thus past prosperity cannot provide certitude upon which to rely, and even the existing peace cannot be taken for granted. The rise and fall of a nation depends on whether or not the people are diligent.

Considering the geographical location of the Western nations, they are situated between 70 and 45 North latitude. Most of them are at or below North 55. To compare this with our country, their locations are at or below that of Inner Ezo. Their population is not so large. The land is not so vast; it is not productive enough to provide sufficient food or clothes. Therefore, they eat meat, wear hide, and are accustomed to the hardships of life and not afraid of chilliness. It was only after the culture of the south prevailed in the north that capable rulers appeared and brought prosperity and vigor to the region. Therefore, the possession of productive land itself cannot be a guarantee of a nation's well-being. Nor is large population the source of such a guarantee. A nation's success truly depends on whether the people are diligent or indolent.

A polity stands upon something that is dependable, and

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12 Ezo (literally means "barbarians") was the name widely used by the people on the mainland of the archipelago to designate what is now called Hokkaido. Ezo was not considered part of "Japan" before the Meiji era.
disasters emerge only when one relaxes one's efforts and attentions. The thing which we now rely on for defense is the sea, and with the sea we now feel confident in the absence of a threat from foreign enemies. Yet, as this reliable thing no longer guarantees the effective defense of our nation, we cannot feel confident in such a thing. It is out of the question to talk about the Great Peace with confidence. And it is anachronistic and inflexible to discuss the defense policy by advocating the ancient Chinese method of controlling barbarians or the strategies in Ch'in and Han times. Because Chinese people's land is divided into north and south by ranges upon ranges of mountains, and its western part is surrounded by a huge desert, even if foreign enemies were to make a concerted attack, only a small portion of its land would be taken. Moreover, the Chinese have been constantly making military preparations along the borders, and strengthening their fortifications with soldiers. With these factors, when war arises the soldiers do not have to exhaust themselves while waiting for their enemies to weaken. Therefore it is easy to defend their territory. In addition to these, as the aggressors [from the north of China] are merely wild and arrogant, even if there is any advantage for the northern barbarians, it is only through their northern fortress which an invasion to the south can be facilitated.

In contrast to China, our country is surrounded by the vast sea. And the sea has been something to be relied on to delineate the borders for all the nations of the world. As our coastal defenses have many inadequacies, however, the point from which an enemy's attack may come is not limited to one place. Therefore, even when we gather the strength of the entire nation to cope with the invaders, the danger is that, like a whip too short to reach a horse's belly [our armed forces will be inadequate]. Moreover, by acquiring knowledge of the entire world the cunning Westerners have dominated the world. They are arrogant fellows who have been disturbing the peace of the world. As their strength resides in the arts of navigation and gunnery, they will come to know our weaknesses and take advantage of them by obstructing our management of the seas. By so doing, they will be able to exhaust our nation. Everything will then be uncontrollable for us.

To consider the cause of our problems, it is because we have been influenced by the abstract scholarship of the Han nation and allowed the growth of this learning which is noble in rhetoric, yet empty in content. As a result, with our reason dimmed, we have become trapped like a frog in a well. This resembles the situation of the late Ming dynasty. At that time, although the danger of war was increasingly imminent day by day, they still valued luxury and elegance indulging themselves in
drinking, singing, and dancing about while beating on drums. The morale of the nation weakened and the country finally collapsed. Alas, even though one wishes to let our ministers know of the conditions surrounding us, from the start they have been spoiled and ignorant aristocrats. Even if one tries to make some suggestions to the vassals who are in the administrative positions from which to advise the shogun, they are the ones who have established their political careers through bribery. It is only the Confucian scholars in power who may understand such imminence of danger. Yet, they too are people of shallow views. They discard important matters and concern themselves with the trivial. This is nothing but a world governed by superficial peace and stability. Given such a reality, shall we merely fold our arms and await the enemies' attack?
This narrative tells the story of a dispute that broke out in 1784 between the headman and the villagers of Shimomuroga. Located high in the mountains of central Japan near Shiojiri at the head of the Kiso mountain range, the village fell under the jurisdiction of the Ueda domain, and it was to the magistrate of this domain that the peasants presented their petition accusing the headman of corrupt government. In the course of a year-long struggle some twenty of the peasants ended up in prison where one of them, Isonojo, died. After the dispute had been resolved, the peasants ostracized the headman's family until 1927. In that year the descendants of the people originally implicated in the dispute agreed to allow the former headman's family to participate in village affairs, they erected a new monument to Isonojo, and they had the rank of his posthumous name raised to the highest degree possible for a peasant. This chronicle of what happened was found by a local historian, Yokoyama Yoshio, in the possession of the Koyama family, who claim to be descendants of Isonojo. He published it in 1968.  

Well, in response to a request for the details of the quarrel, let me say that here in this village it began with a difference of opinion over village expenses and assessments.

Here there lived an evil, immoral youth named Shichizaemon. He embezzled everything he could from the villagers, then he petitioned the lord for an inspection of the government forest without caring that it would cause distress in the village, but also without realizing that it would cause his own ruin.

Once Shichizaemon had petitioned the lord for this inspections, officials came to the village immediately where they inspected the forest from the eighteenth day of the fifth month of

1784 to the twenty-first day of the fifth month.\textsuperscript{2} Indeed, the investigation finally ended on the twenty-eighth. In lieu of a heavier punishment, the lord in his compassion levied a fine of 6,000 mon for the medium sized trees that the villagers had felled illegally.\textsuperscript{3} By the twelfth day of the sixth month, as much as 42,000 mon had been collected from the village. This incident forced the peasants to be brave.

Then two young men, Min'emon and Isonojo, thought it would be a good idea to borrow the remainder of the wheat to be lent to the villagers out of wheat planted on the village commons in order to loan it to the peasants suffering hardships. They presented petitions to this effect on both the seventeenth and eighteenth of the seventh month at the village office to the village officials. The headman Rokurōji claimed:

"Not even a single grain of wheat remains that can be loaned to the villagers."

"So many peasants are on the verge of starvation right now that we'll go as high as we have to with our petition," the two men threatened.

"Go as high as you please," the headman replied.

Surprised at his attitude, the two men stiffened their resolve. Having said their farewells, they returned home.

After that, on the nineteenth day of the seventh month, a large crowd went to see Tomiharu, headman of Koizumi village, but he happened to come across them while they were still en route. This headman thought it was exceedingly strange for a large crowd to be going somewhere for reasons of its own.

"Where are all of you going?" he asked.

"We've come here to see you because there's a small matter we need to petition about," everyone replied.

"Well, what kind of petition is it? Once I've heard what it's about, I'll try to grant it, no matter what kind of petition it is. Speak and leave everything to me."

"That being the case, we'll try to overcome our fear of the authorities and offer up a petition," and everyone spoke frankly.

"Since we're destitute, on the seventeenth and eighteenth two of us went to petition the headman of this village, Rokurōji. We said, 'the peasants are suffering greater and greater hardships."

\textsuperscript{2} These dates follow Japan's traditional lunar reckoning.

\textsuperscript{3} A mon was the smallest unit of currency at the time. In 1784, 5,600 of them equalled one gold ryō, and a day laborer could expect to acquire 100 of them for a day's work.
Please lend us the wheat planted on the village common land so we can lend it to the villagers.' But that Rokurōji said, 'not even one grain remains of that wheat.' So, having come this far to appeal to you, we humbly ask you to forward our petition."

Once they had explained everything, the headman Tomiharu spoke: "This being the case, you ought to leave your appeal to me. Later on I'll have an inspection made of the village office. Now everyone, please go away."

No one agreed to this, however, but stayed right where they were. That night, the evening of the nineteenth, two men, the district overseer from Gosho village named Riemon and the headman Tomiharu were forced to go to Rokurōji's residence in this village. From the evening of the nineteenth through to the twenty-third they performed a thorough investigation of the accounts. As a result of their investigation, seventeen bags plus 5.3 to of wheat came to light.  

Then Min'emon and Isonojo spoke: "We humbly appeal to you to investigate what happened to the one hundred bags of government rice we received from the lord during the drought of 1770 and 1771 seventeen years ago and the 8.74 koku of relief rice we received in 1783. We'd also feel extremely grateful if you'd deign to investigate the records for the land tax and the tax exemption for 1782 pertaining to the village commons, the dry fields, and the highland rice, the ledgers showing the amount of the poor peasants' assessments, and in addition, the donations for the two temples, Gokuraku-ji and Chōsen-ji."

Riemon and Tomiharu replied saying, "From now on, leave everything to us. Go home, everyone, and send one or two men from each league to be the witnesses."  

Everyone agreed to this and went home.

The crowd of peasants held a number of discussions. They asked five men from each league to be the witnesses, a total of twenty men from the entire village: Min'emon, Wakichi, Matabei, Yaemon, Genzaburō, Heisuke, Seizō, Shoemon, Tōkichi, Shichirōemon, Yashirō, Tōzō, Takiemon, Jōhachi, Yūzō, Chōhachi, Zenshirō, Shōzaemon, Jinnojō, and Isonojō. On the

4 A to is a unit of capacity. One to equals 18 liters; ten to equals one koku, the amount of rice thought necessary to feed one man for one year.

5 The import of this request was for a complete audit of all the accounts kept by the headman.

6 These leagues, or kumi were generally composed of five or so families. They were the smallest formal unit of organization in the village.
twenty-third day of the seventh month, the two men, Riemon and Tomiharu, collected seals from these men and sent them home.

On the second day of the eighth month, Matsuoka Seizaemon, a samurai retainer of the Ueda domain and the intendant, summoned Min'emon and Isonojo, interrogated them, placed our two heros in handcuffs for having done outrageous deeds, and sent them both home in the custody of the village officials.

On the eleventh, three officials, the district overseer Riemon, the inspector Zeikichi, and Tomiharu imparted their opinion to the villagers saying, "if this affair is not settled informally, it will not be to your advantage." The villagers refused to listen to them at all.

After that, also on the eleventh day of the eighth month, Yuzo and Wakichi went together in making a direct appeal to the district magistrate Fujita Han'emon. He sent the petition back to the intendant's office where Matsuoka's staff performed an extensive investigation. The two petitioners were ordered to be placed in handcuffs and sent immediately to the castle town inn where plaintiffs were kept.

At that point the government clerks Mizuguchi Danji and Miyashita YuuHachi plus two policemen, the district overseer Riemon, the inspector Zeikichi and the headman Tomiharu, a total of seven men, put in an appearance at Rokuroji's residence in this village. On the fourteenth and after dusk on the fifteenth they summoned the twenty witnesses, whom they then interrogated and tried to force to sign a confession using threats and lies. The twenty witnesses refused to listen to anything said to them, nor did they bring out their seals.

On the evening of the seventeenth the headman Tomiharu and a village official called Seihachi went to Bodai-ji thinking that they might get the priest of the temple to give everyone his opinion if they made it an informal request. They explained all the circumstances in great detail, and the priest sympathized with them over what had happened. But when he didn't show up, messengers were sent for him again. Having been solicited twice, there was nothing he could do but bow before the Buddhist statue enshrined in the temple in making his farewells, leave a number of instructions with the servants, and go to Rokuroji's residence.

"It seems that the peasants have some complaint to make," he said. "I've had to come all this way because those two officials came to see me. Now then, Rokuroji, if there are no errors in the
way you keep your accounts, why aren't you willing to please show them to the peasants?"

At this Rokurōji immediately rolled up his sleeves and brought out cups and other things with which to entertain the priest. The chief priest noticed what he was doing. Wondering, "well now, have errors been made in the way the accounts are kept?" he drank the saké offered him and went home without saying anything.

In the meantime handcuffs were ordered for Tōkichi and Zenshirō. Then they were thrown into the district storehouse where their various leagues were made responsible for them. All the remaining witnesses and peasants were threatened and cajoled, but they refused to listen at all, nor would they put their seals to anything. A little past noon on the eighteenth day of the eighth month, handcuffs were ordered for Jinnojō.

Shortly thereafter the peasants of this village went in a crowd to make an appeal to the district overseer in Shiojiri called Kingorō. A gang of clerks sent from Ueda tried to trick the peasants gathered at Kingorō's into calming down, and in the meantime, they sent an official messenger to Rokurōji's residence in this village, but before the messenger arrived, all the government officials had gone their separate ways.

By doing his best to entertain the peasants, serving them their evening meal and providing other things as well, Kingorō talked all of them into calming down. Once he had asked them politely to go back home that night, everyone returned home feeling that there was nothing else he could do. Kingorō sent them off accompanied by men carrying lanterns and pine torches.

Then on the sixth day of the ninth month, the district overseer Kingorō, the inspector Zenkichi, and the headman Tomiharu appeared at this village office. For the next three days they talked to the village witnesses, pressuring and cajoling them in their desire to conclude this quarrel with an informal settlement. The witnesses did not listen to them at all.

On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month, the peasants made a direct appeal to the central government office for the Ueda domain. On the evening of the sixteenth, government clerks and policemen, five men in all, appeared in the village. During the night they put Den'emon, Shoemon and Matabei in handcuffs, summoned the men who had already been handcuffed to the district storehouse, and dragged all eight of them off to the castle town of Ueda. On the seventeenth, the eight were ordered to be imprisoned. On the twenty-second day of the eleventh month, the
interrogation began, concentrating on the people in prison and the remaining witnesses.

Later, on the second day of the fourth month of 1785, the remaining witnesses were summoned for interrogation. Up to that time, the prisoners had been interrogated thirteen times. Following the summons and interrogation, on the eleventh day of the fourth month, four men, Chōhachi, Kiemon, Shōemon and Yūji, were all imprisoned.

After that, on the twenty-second day of the fourth month, Jūemon summoned Zenshirō, Seizō, Heihachi, Kyūnojō, Yashirō, Takiemon, Jōnojō, Tōhachi, Isoemon, Ichigorō, Seiemon, and Unshichi, and put all twelve of them in prison. The person in charge that day was Jūemon.

Here we find an evil, immoral youth named Shichizaemon. He made false charges against people and tormented them. He was the sort of good-for-nothing coward who thought only of himself. Just like the thinking of a frog who lives in the wild and plops himself on a lotus leaf, he sent the lord all manner of gold and silver to keep the peasants under his thumb. With the short-sighted intention of keeping the village under his thumb by having the peasants put in jail, he did his best to bring the lord around to his point of view in order to trap the peasants. After he had sent in a list of names and explained everything in detail, the government officials at Ueda immediately sent summons addressed individually to twelve people telling them to appear in court on the twenty-second day of the fourth month.

The peasants in the village became ever more determined. That coward Shichizaemon had hatched a foul short-sighted plot. No matter how lowly the peasants were, would they allow Shichizaemon to use them as he pleased? Driven to desperation, they looked a sight more terrifying than demons in their fierce resolve to go wherever they had to and not retreat an inch, even if they were put in handcuffs or leg irons or prison.

Also in connection with the summons of the twenty-second, one of the people it affected was Heisuke, but he had been suffering from a tapeworm that day so he was left behind. When the summons came a second time by messenger, he went to the castle town inn where he stayed for two nights. Tōshirō was in charge that day. The person in charge of the prison was Kaemon. Including Heisuke, twenty-five people had been imprisoned. One person named Tōkichi had been placed in handcuffs and left in the custody of the village.
On the eighteenth day of the sixth month, Seiemon from Goka village went to the prison with the express purpose of somehow achieving an informal settlement. He summoned the prisoners to the inner gate where he tried to cajole them, then he came to this village and summoned the prisoners' families to the village office where he tried to talk them into following his instructions to put their seals to a petition for the lord's compassionate forgiveness.

"We'll sign the petition only if the prisoners receive an official summons," the families replied. "There's no way that we can sign anything before these men receive their official summons."7

The district overseer Seiemon was amazed. He told the families how he wanted to settle the matter informally and other things too, but nothing had any effect. Then, still on the eighteenth day of the sixth month he immediately put in an appeal to the government clerks at Ueda. The clerks went all the way to the prison where once again the prisoners were summoned to appear at the inner gate.

"Do you disagree with anything that Seiemon stated the other day?" the clerks asked the prisoners.

The prisoners replied: "As we said earlier, we'd be most grateful if, based on a careful investigation, the government would clarify the matter of the headman's accounts for us."

Well, on the ninth day of the seventh month, the twenty-four men were summoned from the prison to the government office. It turned out that once the matter of the relief rice from seventeen years earlier had been investigated, a discrepancy of 3.561 koku had come to light.

At that point everyone began to affix their seals to the settlement. Once Den'emon, Zenshirō, Tōkichi, Shōemon, Matabei, Takiemon, Jōhachi, Chōhachi, Kyūnojō, Yashirō, Jōnojō, Isoemon, Heihachi, Ichigorō, Seiemon, Heisuke, Seizō, Shoemon, Jinnojō, and Zenshirō had all affixed their seals, they were pardoned. After that they were allowed to go to the castle town inn where they adorned their hair with sacred leaves from the Sakaki tree for their return to the village. A crowd from the village came to meet them, and they returned in triumph.

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7 The peasants are rejecting the offer of an informal compromise which would have required them to apologize to the headman without him having to admit he had done anything wrong. Instead they are so confident of their cause that they are insisting that if come to a formal, official trial held before the lord's officials.
The four remaining men, Isonojo, Yūji, Min’emon, and Wakichi were summoned to appear before the officials on the twenty-eighth. Min’emon and Wakichi were thereupon tied up like prawns. On the fourteenth day of the eighth month there was another summons. On that day Isonojo, Tōkichi, Yūji, Min’emon, and Wakichi all made their confessions. On the eighteenth day of the ninth month Kiemon received his summons, and he too confessed.

On the nineteenth day of the tenth month, Kiemon was pardoned. On the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month Isonojo was sentenced to life imprisonment, Min’emon was banished from the domain, Tōkichi, Yūji, and Wakichi were all banished from the village, and Rokurōji was sentenced to house confinement. For having been the village’s representatives in this dispute, thirteen men - Matabei, Takiemon, Jōhachi, Zenshirō, Shōemon, Heisuke, Seizō, Shoemon, Jinnojō, Chōhachi, Yashirō, Tōzō, and Yūzō - were placed in handcuffs. Eight village officials were ordered not to perform their duties. They were Jūemon, Seihachi, En’emon, Hikogorō, Tomonojō, Zen’emon, Gennōjō, and Tōshirō.

On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month the village’s representatives and the eight village officials were pardoned.

Rokurōji’s ancestors had called themselves the Nakazawa family. At a time when they were living as humbly as the poorest peasant they adopted a son from the Ōi family in Takeishi village, and this man went by the name of Ōi. He intermarried with the ancestors of Koyama Jūemon, thus making himself into a close relative. After that both families dropped the names of Nakazawa and Koyama and called themselves Ōi. In the course of time they set up a number of branch families and fortified their compound. For the nine generations since Rokurōji’s ancestors had received orders to be village headman, the league leaders and the landholding peasants had worked as servants inside the compound, and no one else had been allowed to serve as headman.

Stories concerning the atrocities committed by Rokurōji

In this village there was a ninth generation headman called Ōi Rokurōji. Having no son of his own, he adopted one from a warrior family in Komuro. This son was called Shichizaemon,
and he was truly a wicked, immoral youth. The cause of this quarrel lay in Shichizaemon’s villainy.

As the ninth in his family line, Rokurōji regarded himself as a rural warrior. He considered the villagers to be his family’s subordinates and treated them like hereditary dependents. He never showed anyone the yearly tax assessments or explained how they were allotted. Not even one person in the village knew how much the tax was for the dry fields or its proportion of the total village tax. Many people did not even know what percentage of the tax they paid out of their holdings, let alone the total for the village. For each year’s land tax, he merely told them how many bags they had to send to the government storehouse, how many horseloads they had to send to the castle, how many ryō they had to pay in gold and by what day of what month. When people were unable to pay their tax assessment during the year owing to financial difficulties, Rokurōji paid it off for them with gold, but then charged them an interest rate of twenty-five per cent on the debt. Almost overnight he would claim that the debt had become a huge sum, enabling him to confiscate their fields. Good land he incorporated into his own fields and cultivated himself. Poor land he called commons. He assigned all the cultivation of these fields—tilling them, transplanting the rice, and even pulling weeds—to the villagers as part of the corvee labor performed by each household.

In autumn Rokurōji gathered laborers at his house for the harvest and treated them like his servants, not even letting them know how much unhulled rice had been harvested. Every year he said that the money to pay the labor assessment for the commons was short by so much and collected compensation from the village. In this fashion he intended to turn the peasants’ fields into commons, to make all these fields his sometime in the future, and to make all the peasants in the village into his tenants.

After the rice had been reaped on the commons, Rokurōji had wheat sown in these fields using corvee labor assigned to each household and promised to lend the crop to the most destitute villagers. After he had the wheat planted, however, he neglected to care for it, and he did not even spread nightsoil on it. Consequently, one sho of seeds harvested about twenty to thirty sho of wheat. Most of the wheat he used as fodder for his horses, lending only tiny amounts to each of the village poor. In addition

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9 A sho is a unit of capacity. Ten sho equals one to; one hundred sho equals one koku.
there was the straw for his horses. He collected one bundle of straw per thousand monme\(^{10}\) of the district's putative yield from the peasants, and this he used as bedding for his horses.

Calling it a commutation for the corvee labor assessment, Rokurōji collected saké, fish, tófu and candy from the villagers, gradually transforming his household expenses into official village expenses. Besides, he never divided up the league labor assessment commuted to copper coins, nor did he ever share the money collected for expenses at the castle town inn, the money to be paid the post station workers, or any other money collected in lieu of corvee labor. He never listened to the league leaders or the landholding peasants but just sent the league leaders a ledger in which he had written "so and so owes so much, so and so owes so much" and had them collect the amounts from the villagers. Moreover, in years of poor harvests when the crops were inspected and a tax reduction granted, he showed no one the official notice. Instead he divided the reduction up among the peasants a little at a time based solely on his own discretion. When there was a shortage of water, he appealed to the ruling authorities for an inspection, and he delayed irrigating fields that were part of the village tax base. Nevertheless he irrigated his own holdings as though nothing had happened and he also had the land inside his compound irrigated. The proof of this lies in the fact that many of the fields inside his compound were not taxed.

For the ceremonies on the first day of the New Year, Ōi Rokurōji, wearing ceremonial dress and his swords, took his seat on three cushions covered with a carpet in front of the alcove in his formal drawing room. Early in the morning the members of the village had to gather and wait together outside his gate before they were allowed to take off their footwear in the garden, enter the drawing room one by one, press their heads to the tatami, and perform their new year's greetings. Then they went out to the kitchen where they presented their new year's greetings to the honorable family members and the male and female servants. Having respectfully given grateful thanks for the cup of cold saké they received when they went around to the kitchen, they were allowed to return home.

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\(^{10}\) A unit of currency that designated a silver coin. In 1785 approximately sixty monme equaled one gold ryō.
Sometimes when a person would not participate in these seasonal ceremonies, Rokurōji would order him to appear escorted by his relatives and neighbors and scold him severely. On the second day of the second month, before people began their yearly search for employment, Rokurōji summoned to his house all the people who intended to go outside the village to find work. He employed those who pleased him, instructing them to leave their wages up to him. The others he sent to work outside the village until the eighth month, when he would summon them back to work in his sake brewery. Claiming that this was winter work, he forced them to work for thirty percent of normal wages.

Rokurōji designated the entire area from Ikegami to the Jingu-ji bog to be the space before his gate where people were not permitted to wear hats or ride horses. The people in the village suffered extreme hardships and found it really difficult to maintain their livelihood, but up to then not one person had ever said anything. This quarrel did not arise simply on account of Shichizaemon but because the hereditary headman's pride swelled and he thought no one was superior to him. Just like the proverb says though, "what goes up must come down;" in the end, even the whale in the ocean ends up in the mouths of men.

Once again the village officials raised the issue of the village ledgers and asked, "what is this, what is that?"

"What, do you think there are falsehoods in these ledgers," the headman said in a rage. "Tell me, where do you think they lie?" He thrust the ledgers at them, but the officials, Juemon, Tōemon, Kaemon and Kokubei, panicked.

"Of course you'd never make a mistake in anything," they said, much more politely. The headman calmed down.

"In the hamlets they worship me with flaming torches as a living god," he said. "Someone of my status would never dream of neglecting his affairs. No one anticipated the eruption of Mt. Asama. It caught off guard most people who were concerned solely with their own affairs. Some compassionate people brought out provisions to try to save the people of this world. I too racked

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11 In addition to the New Year's ceremony described above, the headman would grant audiences to the peasants on the third day of the third month, the fifth day of the fifth month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the ninth day of the ninth month.

12 Mt. Asama began to erupt on the ninth day of the fourth month of 1783 and continued until the seventh day of the seventh month. The eruption buried villages and devastated crops, then the cloud cover caused by the ash it emitted lowered temperatures enough to cause a crop failure.
my brains to try and figure out a way to help these people to the best of my ability in hopes of saving them. I indeed planned on helping them, for no matter how bad other people may be, if you yourself are always resolved to do good, then you will indeed rise in the world."

Rokurōji was happily living his life in high spirits when in the great storm caused by the dragon of 1784, a typhoon blew suddenly and swept away in an instant his swords, his surname and his crest. How he must have regretted the ruin of the house of Ōi. He thought his gold and silver would provide the purification for his prayers to be heard, but he prayed to the gods only in time of need. Even though he put his hands together in prayer, he had already sold himself to the devil, and thus the gods and buddhas did not accept his plea. Just as a snowball glitters and melts in the merciless rays of the rising sun so too did Rokurōji return to the water-drinking peasant status of his ancestors.

From the seventeenth day of the seventh month of 1784 to the fifteenth day of the tenth month of 1785, the members of the village suffered hardships, but then at the government office, Rokurōji and his son Shichizaemon, whose family had served as district overseer and headman for nine generations, were officially deprived of their office, their status, their surname, their swords, and even their ceremonial robes and crests and ordered confined indoors with the door nailed shut.

Thereafter the peasants' representatives negotiated with Rokurōji concerning the fields known as the village commons that the village had planted with 3.58 koku. Once these were turned over to the village and carefully examined, it turned out that for each sho planted, some fields produced an excess of one hundred mon above what they were rated at in terms of the village's putative yield while others produced about eighty or ninety mon with an average of one hundred mon per sho planted. The land was sold off for cash depending on its quality, and this money was then used to pay the expenses incurred in the course of the quarrel. Once the fields had been assigned owners, it turned out that the best quality land produced two hundred mon in terms of yield for every sho planted. This land was earmarked for the god with each league being responsible for planting three sho each for a total of twelve sho. Until the end of time the peasants planned to use the income from this land to offer sakē to the god of the

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13 The dragon was the zodiac sign for 1784.
district’s shrine and put aside the remainder for repairs to the torii at the main shrine in the village. Thereafter, on the fourteenth day of the sixth month every year messengers from the village office would go to the twenty men who had represented the village, and while they still lived, they would then go to the shrine to call the god’s attention to the sake. This was decided on the eighteenth day of the third month of 1786.

The wicked immoral Rokurōji did not think all of this had happened because he was evil but because the villagers were evil. Somehow or other he wanted to slake his resentment, so he summoned all the people in his compound to a meeting where after a discussion they decided on a firm agreement not to associate with any of the members of the village. They then apportioned each individual and each league among themselves as sites in the district where they would go every night without lanterns between the hours of six and ten to eavesdrop on the peasants. If they discovered any wrongdoing, they planned to expose it to the authorities and thus get their troubles removed. They made inquiries every night, but they never learned anything at all, let alone anything bad.

Perhaps as a punishment visited by the gods and buddhas, or perhaps as the result of human enmity, lightning burned down Rokurōji’s house and some of the people in his compound became insane. With bad things piling up all around him, Rokurōji suddenly realized that he could do nothing unless he enjoyed good relations with the other villagers, so he went to see the Koizumi village headman Tomiharu:

“I’ve come to see you because I’ve got a request I’d like to make of you,” he said formally. “This is my humble appeal. I really don’t want to put you out in any way, but I would like to enjoy good relations with the other villagers. I earnestly beg you to use your best efforts to intercede for me and bring this matter to a close.”

“This lack of association with the villagers is not due to their having estranged themselves from you, but from your not having any relations with them,” Tomiharu replied. “Unless you’re willing to commit some token of your sincerity, you won’t succeed with your apology.”

Rokurōji thought deeply for a little while, then said through his tears, “You have talked about a token of my sincerity and this really isn’t one. Still, I will pledge that no one in my household down to the members of my compound will ever again serve in any official capacity, either as headman, league leader, or
as any peasant with authority. With this token I apologize in order to restore harmony to the district."

The headman Tomiharu set out immediately for this village and summoned the members of the village to the district storehouse where he explained the gist of the conversation to them and promised henceforth to be a living guarantee of the firm agreement by the members of Rokurōji's compound never to serve in any official capacity. The villagers accepted this agreement at once, and harmony was restored. This is a record of what happened. The quarrel began on the seventeenth day of the seventh month 1784 and it ended on the fifteenth day of the eleventh month of 1785. On the eighteenth day of the third month of 1786, the expenses incurred in the course of this quarrel were paid up out of the proceeds of the village common land.
SHINRON: KOKUTAI
[Chapter One of "A New Thesis":
The National Essence (1825)]
by Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863)

Translated by J. Victor Koschmann

Introduction

The divine land of Japan is origin of the sun and source of energy for all living things. The imperial throne has been and will continue to be graced for countless generations throughout all eternity by descendants of the Sun Goddess. Indeed Japan is by nature at the head of the world and sets the standard for all other nations. The august authority and virtue of his imperial majesty radiates boundlessly to the ends of the earth.

Now however, the Western barbarians, who are by nature destined to act only as the legs and feet of the world, race across the four seas trampling other nations in their wake. Oblivious to their own weaknesses and the catastrophe which surely awaits them, they have even set their sights on the divine land of Japan. How can they be so arrogant?

(The earth appears to be perfectly round, without corners or extremities. Nevertheless, it seems that all things have their natural form. In the case of the world, the divine land of Japan occupies the position of the head. While it may not be imposing in size, it nonetheless reigns over the entire globe by virtue of having successfully avoided the revolutionary process of dynastic change. By the same token, the Western barbarians are naturally the legs and feet of the world. They are able, therefore, to travel around the earth at will. The great land in the middle of the sea which the Europeans have called America is the back of the world. Hence, its people are stupid and lack ability. It is all in the natural configuration of things.)

Therefore, it is only right that they should stumble and fall of their own weight. Nevertheless, the energy of Heaven-and-Earth

2 Portions in parentheses are parenthetical in the original, and brackets indicate editorial insertions. Ellipses indicate the deletion of parenthetical material only; the main text has been translated in its entirety.
waxes and wanes. As pointed out in the *Shih Chi* [Records of the Grand Historian] "When human forces gather sufficient momentum, they are able temporarily to prevail over the justice of Heaven." When that is the case, the whole world will be at the mercy of the deception and lies of the northern barbarians and meat-eating foreigners.

At the present time, people will inevitably greet with incredulity any plan designed to forestall such an eventuality. That is only because popular opinion is based on out-dated information and antiquated ways of thinking. In his *Art of War* Sun Tzu says, "Do not trust the enemy not to come; rather rely on your own military preparedness. Do not trust the enemy not to attack; rather rest assured that your preparations prevent him from attacking." We should insure that our country's political education is meticulous, its morals sublime; that those above and below in the social order abide in their duty; that the population is prosperous; and that military preparations are adequate. If such is the case, we shall not fail. Granted that we have not accomplished those things, however, what consolation is offered by the idle optimists?

People say, "They are no more than barbarians. They come in mere merchantmen and fishing boats rather than battleships. Surely they can do no serious harm." Those who put stock in such rationalizations are "trusting the enemy not to come." They depend upon the actions of the other side, but rely not at all on their own initiative. If you ask them what preparations we on our side have made to insure that the enemy will not dare to attack, they answer incoherently, betraying their ignorance. Right now we may hope that the foreigner will decide not to desecrate the rest of the world, including Japan, but when can we be certain?

Consumed with resentment and indignation over these circumstances, your servant has dared to offer his views on the true reliance of the state. First, in the chapter entitled "national essence" I will discuss how the gods founded the nation in accord with the principles of loyalty and filial piety, and then touch on their respect for the profession of arms and emphasis on the people's welfare. Secondly, in the chapter entitled "general situation," I have discussed trends among the nations of the world. Thirdly, in "intentions of the barbarians" I present facts concerning the designs on Japan embraced by the foreigners. In the fourth chapter, "defense," I will expound on measures prerequisite to a wealthy nation and a strong army. In the fifth, "long-range plan," I present a program for the strengthening of the
people and the rectification of morals. All five chapters are premised on the hope that "When the will of Heaven is determined, it will triumph again over men (of evil designs)." In broad outline, I have revealed herein the values on whose behalf I pledge my life to Heaven and Earth.

Chapter One: The National Essence

I

It is not by intimidating the people and forcing them into obedience for one dynasty at a time that an imperial sovereign is able to pacify the four seas, govern in peace for extended periods, and preserve the realm in perfect tranquility. His only bulwark is that the people should be of one mind, love their ruler and harbor no desire to leave him. It is, therefore, no accident that from the time of the separation of Heaven and Earth and the initial appearance of man right down to the present day, the descendants of Amaterasu have dominated the four seas in unbroken succession.

Righteous performance of duty by the subject toward his sovereign [is the great duty of Heaven-and-Earth]. Affection between father and son is the ultimate of human concern. This greatest of duties and ultimate of human concern are combined in Heaven-and-Earth, diffused, and distributed among the hearts of the people. On this there shall be no change for eternity. Those very qualities are the true reliance of the emperor while ruling the realm and governing the people in an orderly manner.

Long ago, when Amaterasu laid the foundation of the nation, she acted on behalf of Heaven, her virtue was Heavenly virtue and her deeds Heavenly deeds. All was the work of Heaven. Her virtue was symbolized by the jewel, wisdom by the mirror and authority by the sword. She united with Heaven's benevolence, usurped Heaven's wisdom and seized Heaven's authority, using them to exercise dominion over the world. When she passed them on to her earthly descendents, she made it clear that the three regalia (jewel, mirror and sword) should stand for the position of the emperor and symbolize the virtue of Heaven. She bade them do Heaven's work and transmit the regalia to their descendents unto eternity. Inasmuch as respect for the bloodlines of her Heavenly ancestors was to be strictly inviolable, she established
the distinction between sovereign and subject and clarified the paramount duty of the subject.

When Amaterasu transferred the regalia she took the mirror especially and said, "When you look into this mirror it shall be as if you look upon me." Thus down through the ages the mirror has been revered as the sacred body of Amaterasu Ōmikami, and as generations of emperors have gazed into the mirror they have seen her form. Appearing in the mirror is none other than the emperor but in his own image he clearly perceives her face. When that occurs, at the instant of supplication there is a mystical sense of mutual empathy between god and man. As a result the emperor will inevitably display a heart of filiality in worshipping his ancestors and never rest in the pursuit of virtue. In this manner affection between father and son is warmly observed and the ultimate of human concern is made to flourish. It was from these two principles [duty to sovereign, affection to father] that Amaterasu Ōmikami fashioned the moral way for human beings, and caused her teachings to be passed on through ages eternal. So the Way of ruler and subject, father and son, is the very apex of the Heavenly Way; affection as the ultimate of human concern flourishes within, the highest duty between subject and ruler is manifest without. Together they constitute the Way of loyalty and filial piety, which is the Great Way of Heaven and of man. Loyalty is reverence for the worthy; filial piety is love for one’s parents. Hence it is natural that the hearts of the people should be united and affection prevail between those above and those below.

But how is it that the doctrine of loyalty and filial piety should exist without being spoken and the people be unaware that they practice it daily? The ancestors are in Heaven, shining forth across the land, while the Heavenly descendants on earth display a true heart and boundless deference, taking care to repay their debt to the progenitrix. Government and religion (worship and administration) are one; the callings of governance and acting in Heaven's stead are both a matter of serving the Heavenly ancestors. Respecting the ancestors and governing the people go together, and to the extent that the emperor is one with Heaven it is only natural that his position should be as eternal as Heaven's. The Display of filial piety on the part of successive emperors, such as worshipping at ancestral tombs and solemnly carrying out ceremonies and rites, results from their efforts to observe the virtues of sincerity and reverence. Rites and ceremonies are abundant, but for showing gratitude to the origin and respect for
ancestors, the greatest among them is the *Daïjōsai* [Great Thanksgiving Ceremony].

The Thanksgiving Ceremony is the emperor's first taste of new grain in the autumn and his offering of it to the gods... When Amaterasu received good grain it occurred to her that by this means she could provide for the lives of her people. So she planted the grain in the divine fields. She also pulled threads from the silk cocoon she held in her mouth and that was the beginning of silk cultivation. Thus she provided the basis for food and clothing for the people at large. To her imperial descendants she gave rice ears from the field of the gods [yunuiwa]. That is how we know that she placed great importance on the livelihood of the people and was anxious that they have good grain. Accordingly, the Daïjōsai consists in cooking new grain and offering it up in great quantities... Each detail of the ceremony is designed to show gratitude to the source. *Misogi* ceremonies are carried out to purify the participants in body and soul, and the emperor enters the ceremonial hall in bare feet. His arrival is not heralded, indicating the extent of his pious regard for the occasion. The emperor's use of a head-piece of evergreen and plain silk clothing reveals his attitude of respect and desire to avoid ostentation.

When Amaterasu Ōmikami transferred the realm, she commanded Amenokoyane-no-mikoto to divine the will of the gods, and asked Amenofutodama-no-mikoto to assist her. The descendants of Amenokoyane-no-mikoto formed the Nakatomi clan; those of Amenofutodama-no-mikoto formed the Inbe clan. Hence on festival days the Nakatomi recite their prayer for the emperor, and the Inbe clan offer up the mirror and the sword. Generation after generation has meticulously followed the original ceremonies, and it is just as if the mandate of Amaterasu Ōmikami is bestowed anew on each emperor. The Inbe clan is also in charge of providing a variety of implements. Those who participate in various aspects of the ceremony have inherited their function through generations, never abandoning or forgetting it. The care which they take in judging performance insures that the ceremony remains just as when performed by the Heavenly ancestor. Hence neither sovereign nor subject is likely to forget the beginning of the world...

When the direct descendant of Amaterasu reverently carries out these rites in her honor, an indistinct image of her august countenance rises before the eyes of the celebrants. Neither sovereign nor subjects fail to sense her presence and become profoundly aware of her nearness to them. As the officials
respect and adore the emperor, they experience the spontaneous and irrepressible feeling that they are adoring Amaterasu herself. Their ancestors served Amaterasu, and her imperial descendants showed benevolence toward the people and correctly executed festive ceremonies. In turn, the leaders under them gathered members of their clan and led them in ritual worship... Inside they were filial to their own particular forebears, while outside they participated in the Daijōsai. In both cases they served their ancestors... Once they draw themselves up straight in remembrance of how their ancestors reverently served the emperor and the gods, how can they ever neglect their forebears or feel like they turned their backs on the emperor? That is how a spirit of filiality and sincerity is transmitted from father to child, child to descendants. The ancestral will and even occupations are passed down for countless generations. Filial piety gives rise to a spirit of loyalty to the sovereign, and loyalty is the result of following the will of one's ancestors.

Hence loyalty and filial piety become one; the education of the people and the refinement of customs is accomplished without a word being spoken. Worship becomes government, and government has the effect of education, hence there is no essential difference between government and the education of the people. If the people concentrate on revering Amaterasu and look up to her descendants, they will all face the same direction and never go astray. Their intentions will converge and people will become one with Heaven. That is precisely what the sovereign relies upon in ruling the four seas and is the final essence and ground upon which the founder established the nation.

All things originate in Heaven and people are born of their ancestors. They receive their bodies from their fathers, but their vitality is bestowed upon them by Heaven-and-Earth. Therefore, when there is talk of the spirits of Heaven-and-Earth even simple men and women are moved to awe. But if politics, education and laws are indicative of reverence for Heaven and gratitude to ancestors, there is no reason for the minds of the people not to be unified. The human mind is of Heaven-and-Earth, and when the minds of the people are unified their vitality wells up. Hence when people are of one mind, the mind of Heaven-and-Earth is collected together too and its vitality flourishes. When the vitality of Heaven-and-Earth flourishes, the source of human vitality is filled to the brim. When people receive maximum vitality from that source at birth, the ethos of the nation is gracious and close-knit. That is called man becoming one with Heaven. The people never
forget antiquity, their morals are sincere, they honor their origins and return to the source. In this there is never a change.  

(To quote the Book of Changes):

'Kwan shows its subject like a worshipper who has washed his hands, but not (yet) presented his offerings; - with sincerity and an appearance of dignity (commanding reverent regard).' - (all) beneath look to him and are transformed . . . .

When we contemplate the spirit-like way of Heaven, we see how the four seasons proceed without error. The sages, in accordance with (this) spirit-like way, laid down their instructions, and all under heaven yield submission to them . . .

(The trigram representing) the earth, and that for wind moving above it, form Kwan. The ancient kings, in accordance with this, examined the (different) regions (of the kingdom), to see the (ways of the) people, and set forth their instructions. 3

The trigram Kwan has to do with the one above looking down upon those below in order to examine them, and those below looking up to the one above in order to be taught. Each is ever mindful that, “Mutual regard and correct relationships, that is called sessa takuma [diligent application].” The wind also symbolizes commands from above . . .

Heaven covers all; the entire earth comes under its purview. Its virtue flows incessantly like a river, and its nurture is earnest. For commands to be sent down from on high and for those below to obey them is the spirit-like way of Heaven. Those below watch their ruler and are deeply moved. Nothing is more sincere than the spirits of Heaven-and-Earth, and the precise moment when the worshipper has purified his hands and is about to make his offering marks the height of communion between man and the gods . . .)

In antiquity the Kuni-no-miyatsuko [Provincial Governors] and Tomo-no-miyatsuko [Official Section Chiefs] carried on their ancestral functions and never discontinued the rituals of worship. In the Nara and Heian periods, nobles and courtiers maintained their court rank by controlling their own clans. In the Kamakura and Muromachi eras as well the warriors and generals placed great emphasis on their position as leader of a warrior band. They

cherished their own lineage and relations and therefore none failed to honor the descendants of the Sun Goddess. They knew well that the imperial throne was inviolable. Since the distinction between loyalty and treason was so clear, the people never supported traitors and indeed refused to tolerate their very existence. Rebels were even unable to gather together bands sizeable enough to engage in rape and pillage. As a result, while the nation faced occasional difficulties, respect for the imperial throne was unchanged. Occasionally an emperor or retired emperor was even driven into exile, but no one ever dared to entertain designs on the imperial regalia. At the lower levels of society retainers wielded great power, but none ever seized the position of his overlord.

Ever since the gods founded the nation on the principles of loyalty and filial piety, their ethos has been preserved among the people. Therefore it is not surprising that the lineage of the Heavenly ancestors is as unchanging as Heaven-and-Earth. The foundation upon which the gods established the nation is exceedingly firm and the flow of Heavenly blessings is eternal. But does that mean that there have been no lapses in the execution of benevolent administration and the dissemination of the imperial virtue? Naturally defects are never lacking in the things of this world, and the failings of the realm as it exists are innumerable. The first may be called jisei no hen [changes in the momentum of time; the tendency of virtue to dissipate]; the second jasetsu no gai [the evils of heretical doctrine]. If we are to straighten the warped and revive what has declined, we must pay particular attention to them.

What are these changes in the momentum of time [jisei no hen]? Long ago, when Amaterasu Ōmikami laid the foundation for the Heavenly undertaking, she nurtured the people and made them secure by establishing Ame-no-muragimi [village leaders] and pacified the land by selecting gods of martial courage. As a result, the people honored the court. But it was still a primitive age and the surrounding terrain was not yet peaceful. Powerful families and local chieftains were spread out and even after several generations failed to attain unity.

The emperor Jimmu, however, pacified the land and established provincial governors to keep it secure. They governed all the people and worshipped the gods. Old families and hereditary monarchs were controlled through the granting of titles and official positions. Thus both land and people were under the dominion of the court, and the realm was well-governed . . .
As ages passed, however, the institutions established by the emperor Jimmu became lax and from time to time rebels appeared. Now the emperor Sūjin punished the outlaws, extended political institutions, carried out a census, set up tax rolls, appointed an increasing number of provincial governors and pacified the borders. As a result of diligent administration, his achievements did not recede for many generations. Imperial benevolence was extended and the borders were widened. All land was imperial land and all people the emperor's people; the popular will was unified and the realm well-governed.

Subsequently, however, idleness became customary and time passed in peace without incident. The court lost its far-sighted wisdom and ministers of state used their authority for private gain. At the time there were miyaka [officials in charge of imperial rice fields] and mīnashirop [namesake groups]; there were also omi and muraji [titled officials], tomo-no-miyatsuko and kuni-no-miyatsuko. Since all these had their own private land and slaves, the land and people of the realm were gradually split apart.

Soon, however, the restorationist hero, Emperor Tenchi, punished the gangsters of the Soga clan and as imperial prince took a direct hand in government. He swept away outmoded practices and went through with the Taika Reforms. He overturned the former decentralized system and replaced it with a system centralized on the Chinese pattern of gunken by establishing governors to rule the provinces. He abolished all private holdings of land and people, attaching all to the imperial court. The realm now consisted only of royal land and royal subjects, and it was accordingly well-governed.

After several generations the Fujiwara seemed to have arrogated all power to themselves and it became normal for lesser lords and stewards to be forward and insolent. They fought among themselves and by establishing private estates [shōen] they brought land and people under private control. Meanwhile warriors attached themselves to powerful courtiers who divided public lands amongst themselves, took villages under their control and often made slaves of diligent peasants. The realm came to be decentralized into a collection of disunited principalities.

When Minamoto Yoritomo became Constable [sōtsulbushi] of the realm all lands and peoples were united to the Kamakura Bakufu. Once leaders of the Kamakura and Muromachi Bakufu were named Shogun, there was never the same degree of flux in the degree of political order. On the whole, however, the rule of the shoguns was based only on their coercive control of land and
people and they were prone to countermand the orders of the court. Moreover, old families and local clans seized land and people and fought amongst themselves; bandits rose up in succession as the weak fell prey to the strong. As the realm fell into disorder the people suffered endlessly. Split up as they were into a number of different bands, they fought bravely and died for their lords. Nevertheless, the supreme duty to the emperor and the principle of adherence to names and statutes were so unclear that their loyalty was not true loyalty and their filiality not true filiality. Hence the doctrine of loyalty and filial piety degenerated day by day.

The likes of Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu even got down on his knees to become a subject of the Ming dynasty in China. When he who embodies supreme power in the realm becomes known as a subject of a foreign country, our imperial court will be relegated to the status of a provincial satrapy. Even though it involved immeasurable harm to the national essence, no one in the realm rose to question his act. Devotion to duty and fidelity to principle were dashed to the ground and the overriding obligation of subject to sovereign was also abandoned. The ways and customs of the people daily became more corrupt and depraved. The principle of “showing gratitude to the origin and returning to the beginning” was forgotten. Instead of due regard for lineage, people thought only of their private interest in obtaining an heir to preserve the household. Some even adopted sons from totally unrelated families. If strangers can become father and son then father and son can become strangers. If that precedent is followed, who would realize that Heavenly principle is ineluctable? In extreme cases sons and descendants of the emperor joined Buddhist orders, and even when the imperial line was close to fading out altogether none protested. Ethics were flouted and affection between father and son declined . . .

If land and people cannot be unified, political doctrine cannot be effective. As a result, loyalty and filial piety will decline and the Great Way of Heaven and Man will crumble to the ground. Nevertheless, fluctuations between disorder and stability are common occurrences throughout history. Hence eventually, as if Heaven had grown weary of disruption, heroes rose up in succession. Toyotomi Hideyoshi came up from lowly origins to quell the fighting. As Kanpaku he dictated to the empire. He unified land and people and revered the imperial throne. Next, Tokugawa Ieyasu arose to construct a foundation of loyalty and filial piety which resulted in the achievement of two hundred years
of peace. His descendants carried on the ideals he left to them and worshipped their ancestors. From time to time they led groups of daimyo to Kyoto where the emperor decorated them with court ranks and titles. Now the land and people of the realm were governed uniformly and the entire country was unified. All paid respect to the benevolence of the imperial court and obeyed the just rule of the Bakufu. Truly, the realm was again well-governed.

However, it is natural to become bored and lazy after a long period of peace. Indeed, daimyos tend from birth to be idle. They are unconcerned when preparations against the possibility of a poor harvest are neglected, and they make no attempt to prohibit bandits from roaming freely across their land. The foreign enemy may probe our borders but they entertain no fear. Indeed, they have virtually abandoned the land and people of Japan. The people of the realm [including the samurai], on the other hand, consider only their own advantage and give no thought to the demands of loyalty or the need to rack their brains on behalf of their country. By their lazy indolence they insult their ancestors and neglect their duties to sovereign and father. How can the land and people be unified when both those above and those below engage in such self-abandonment? And how can the national essence [kokutai] be maintained?

When a run-of-the-mill leader, on the other hand, seeks to stay in power, he is afraid that the people will rise up [against him]. He therefore seeks to make everything appear peaceful and calm, and even when the foreign barbarians run rampant before our very eyes he equivocates, calling them traders and fishermen. Those above and below conspire in such deception. Even though a tendency to make light of the foreigner is the surest way to bring us to calamity, they look on serenely with folded arms. They congratulate themselves for a wise policy as they adopt one makeshift remedy after another. In fact, they are walking towards a precipice. They should be pitied. Anyone with an ounce of sense is moaning with grief.

Now the Bakufu has decisively ordered that foreign intruders should be driven away on sight. Finally it has been made clear that the entire nation must treat them as enemies. As the order was disseminated there was not a man who did not pluck up his courage and resolve to carry it out. Obviously the temper of the nation is still sound.

4 "The Order to Repel Foreign Ships" of 1825.
We have a "feudal" \([\text{ho\kern-0.05emken}]\) system of government because that is how it was established by Tokugawa Ieyasu. Furthermore, the system which he founded on the basis of loyalty and filial piety is heir to the immortal doctrines of Amaterasu Ōmikami. If we readjust that system with attention to the continued health of the national temper, administer the land in the spirit of the foundation laid by the gods, rectify the duty of subjects to their sovereign, deepen affection between father and son, and draw all corners of the nation into a coherent unity, there should be little difficulty. We have before us an opportunity that comes once in a thousand years. In order to meet the challenge, your servant has attempted through a discussion of \textit{jisei no hen} to detail some of the evils which should be overcome.

What are the evils of heretical doctrine \([\text{yasetsu no gai}]\)? In antiquity the divine sages laid down their doctrine in accordance with the Way of the Gods. They brought the hearts of the people together on that basis alone, and gave original determination to the Way. Their spirit of service to Heaven and worship of ancestors was conveyed to later generations and the meaning of showing gratitude to the origin and returning to the beginning was understood.

When the Emperor Jimmu served the gods by punishing the recalcitrant he never tired of worshipping the gods. Finally, he established a shrine on Tomiyama for the worship of Amaterasu. Emperor Sujin put great emphasis on the rituals, paid respects to Amaterasu Ōmikami, and propagated the order of worship. Thus, the true meaning of gratitude to the origin and returning to the beginning was spread across the land. The realm looked up to the imperial court in the same manner as they revered the gods. It served the sovereign in a spirit of filiality, its hearts were united and its intentions converged in the pursuit of loyalty. Public morals were warm and sincere.

Confucian texts entered Japan for the first time in the reign of Emperor Ōjin, and came to be widely accepted. They expounded the doctrines of Yao, Shun, the Duke of Chou and Confucius. But the land of China is next to Japan and its climate and culture are very similar to ours. The doctrines \([\text{of Confucius}]\) are based on the mandate of Heaven and the mind of man; they clarify loyalty and filial piety, teach service to the emperor and worship of ancestors. Hence they are largely the same as the immortal doctrines of Amaterasu Ōmikami.

(In the \textit{Doctrine of the Mean} it is written that "the ceremonies of sacrifice to Heaven-and-Earth are meant for the
service of the Lord on High, and the ceremonies performed in the ancestral temple are meant for the service of ancestors. If one understands the ceremonies of the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the meaning of the grand sacrifice and the autumn sacrifice to ancestors, it would be as easy to govern a kingdom as to look at one's palm. The ceremonies are the essential factor in making it "as easy to govern a kingdom as to look at one's palm," and they signify service to the Lord on High and worship of ancestors. This matches the intentions behind the divine establishment of doctrine in our nation.)

If we were to put those immortal doctrines into practice, clarify the government and doctrines of the founder, and forever foreswear idleness, the benefits would be innumerable. But in reality we have been scourged with heresy and delusion. Among us are believers in magic; Buddhism; rigid, hidebound and distorted forms of Confucianism; Christianity; and other creeds which disrupt imperial benevolence and public morality. They are too numerous to mention.

Amaterasu and her descendants consolidated the rites so that they, together with all the people of the realm, could serve heaven and worship the ancestors. The rites are of universal import and applicability, without differentiation. Nevertheless, there are some archaic families that remain bound to particularistic creeds that have not been purged of error. In outlying regions and in private quarters they continue to worship false gods, concerning themselves only with prayers for good fortune and the pursuit of happiness. They know nothing of such basic principles as worshipping ancestors and serving Heaven. Those who observe evil customs and crave the mysterious often weave distorted theories which blur the distinctions between gods and man. Eventually they become believers in magic. Moreover, in recent times they have dressed up their theories with words and ideas borrowed from Confucianism and Buddhism. As a result, while they may be said to be serving the gods, out of greed they act counter to the principle of showing gratitude to the origin and returning to the beginning which was propounded by Amaterasu and her illustrious descendants. Ultimately, the very basis for the subject's loyalty and respect for the sovereign and the son's filiality to his father becomes obscure and the will of the people is fragmented.

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When Buddhism was introduced to Japan there were those in the court who pointed out that since modes of worship had already been established in our nation it was not fitting that we should serve barbarian gods. Unfortunately, however, a traitorous courtier by the name of Soga no Umako became a believer in Buddhism and founded a temple in collusion with Shōtoku Taishi. From that time onward Buddhist bonzes proliferated, Buddhist doctrines were widely disseminated and the hearts of the people were turned away from the Way of the Gods. The Taisho Codes put the Shinto Jingikan in a position superior to the Daijōkan [Supreme Council] and placed bonzes and nuns under the Genbaryō [department in charge of foreign affairs], so the authors of the Codes obviously knew the national essence. But their separation of religion from government shows that the sensitivities and morals of the people at that time were not pure, as they had been in antiquity.

Under Emperors Jōmu and Kōken, Buddhist matters became more prominent and the new faith pervaded the politics and administration of the court. Eventually national [Buddhist] temples were established in connection with provincial offices. As their laws were promulgated throughout the provincial areas, the government became thoroughly Buddhist. Since those above carried out their administration according to the Dharma, those below, in turn, competed to adopt Buddhist ways. They moved with the prevailing winds toward the exclusive worship of barbarian gods. With the advent of the honji suijaku setsu 6 bona fide Shinto deities were capped with Buddhist names. Hence Heaven was flouted and the Japanese people deceived. Objects of popular veneration were made into offspring and followers of the Buddha. The Land of the Gods was turned into an Indian country and its people became followers of the barbarians. When people become barbarians of their own accord, how can the national essence survive? Even such an eminent former emperor as Go-Shirakawa complained of his inability to control the yamabushi [mountain priests]. It was the inexorable trend of the times.

With the advance of Ikkō-shū [Pure Land sect of Buddhism], it was forbidden to worship at even the most prominent [Shinto] shrines. Hearts accustomed to showing gratitude to the origin and returning to the beginning were oppressed and only the Buddha was worshipped. By that time the people were well-acquainted with India but were ignorant when it

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6 A syncretic theory equating Shinto deities with Buddhas or Bodhisattvas.
Shinron

Shim-an came to Japan; they were aware of bonzes and nuns but had forgotten about rulers and fathers. At the time of the Ikkō uprising those who called for destruction of the rebels in the name of justice were labelled enemies of the Dharma and in some cases loyal samurai took up arms against their fathers or lords. Those were truly extraordinary times, in which loyalty and filial piety declined and the will of the people was split . . .

The teaching of the Sages is none other than the Way of cultivating ourselves and teaching others. The narrow-minded Confucians and scholars who cater to the public mood do not understand the basic teachings of the Sages. They expound in an opportunistic manner, competing to be the most novel in their sophisticated interpretations of the classics. They flaunt their erudition and seek fame and favor by composing poetry or stylish prose. But they are harmless enough.

There are also, however, those who are so ignorant of their duty to the emperor and the need for discriminating names and statuses that they refer to China under the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties as the Land of Cultural Splendor [kakka] or Central Kingdom, thereby insulting Japan's national essence. Those who are swept up in the trends of the time [jisei], forget their supreme duty and disturb the correct order of status [taigi meibun], treating the emperor like a refugee in his own land - "above," they despise the august virtue of the unbroken line of emperors, "below" they deprecate the justice of the Bakufu; those make intricate calculations, studying profit and daring to call it the art of governance [keizai no gaku]; those who affect an austere manner in the study of Sung Neo-Confucianism - with high-sounding words and irresponsible conduct - but remain unmindful of the crisis facing the nation and therefore fail to respond to the needs of the time. None of them are loyal and none filial, nor do any follow the Way of Yao, Shun and Confucius.

Thus the teachings of Amaterasu and her descendants are disrupted by magic, modified by Buddhism and reduced by vulgar Confucianism. Doctrines contradict each other, splitting the hearts of the people. The supreme duty of subject to sovereign and affection between father and son are in disarray. Where on earth is the Great Way uniting Heaven and Man? Long ago those who corrupted the hearts and minds of the people were at least native Japanese. Now, however, the foreigners of the West, where every country believes in Christianity, seek to absorb other nations by force, putting temples and shrines to the torch, deceiving the people and seizing their land. They seek to make the ruler of every
country a subject and will not rest until the people are their slaves. Their onslaught is gathering momentum. Luzon and Java have already fallen under their sway and they have begun to covet the divine land of Japan.

Long ago they desecrated Western Japan, using the same methods they applied to Luzon and Java. It was certainly not villains and scoundrels alone who were deceived by Christian doctrine. Fortunately our enlightened rulers and wise ministers were able to see through their plot and as a result stamped them out so thoroughly that none survived. It is entirely by virtue of that wise policy that even the strongest Christian gangs have been unable to sink roots in Japan. For two hundred years the Japanese people have been free of their seductive doctrine.

Nevertheless, the Great Way of the Gods is still not clear and the people have nothing in which to place their trust. Wicked men are as numerous as ever. Usually they have followed shamans or bonzes at one time or another, and if not them then sometimes a vulgar Confucianist instead. Japan is like a patient who has barely escaped death from a usually fatal disease. The patient has not yet recovered full strength and does not know how to do so. And since he lacks a strong, inner constitution he is readily susceptible to infection from without.

Also, there has recently appeared a school of thought called *Rangaku* [Dutch Studies]. It originally began among interpreters and had to do with little more than reading and understanding Dutch. Thus it was not particularly harmful. However, some translators have come to believe the inflated theories Westerners banter about. They have extolled such doctrines, published books about them, and sought to remake our beloved Japan in the image of a foreign country. Moreover, unusual gadgets and mysterious medicines have caught the eye of some, mesmerizing their minds and leading them to yearn for Western ways. If their weaknesses should ever be exploited by the evil Westerners, these deluded ones would convert completely to the inferior customs and morals of the West, and it would be very difficult to stamp them out. It is written that “Light frost in early winter soon becomes a sheet of ice when trod upon.” Great evils should be wiped out completely before they grow and spread. We must endeavor to foresee serious problems far in advance and take timely preventive measures.

Right now, foreigners with lawless ambitions threaten our borders; internally, evil doctrines flourish. Hence we must ever be on our guard. If the enemy is let in, ordinary people will conspire
with him, officials will succumb to material desire in joining forces with him, and the realm will be cast into turmoil. When all of this is considered together, one wonders if this is really Japan at all. It could just as well be the Ming or Ch'ing dynasty, or even India or a Western country. What has happened to the national essence? Surely there can be nothing called a human being without a body. How, when a nation has lost its body, can it rightfully be called a nation?

Some say facilely that "building a wealthy nation and a strong army" [fukoku kyōhei] is the most essential task in providing for the national defense. But at this very moment foreign enemies are focusing on our lack of unity, surreptitiously attempting to lure away those living near the coast and capture their minds. Should the hearts of the people be won away, the realm will belong to the foreigner before the fighting even starts. Wealthy it may be, but the nation would no longer belong to us. The result would be like lending weapons to rebels and giving food to thieves. Surely we do not want to exhaust ourselves building a wealthy nation and a strong army only to deliver it into the hands of bandits. No one with the least knowledge of realities will fail to burn with indignation at the prospect.

Finally, the Bakufu has resolutely set down its command, that no one is permitted to enter into contact with foreigners. No longer will the cunning barbarians be able to seduce and disturb the minds of the people with impunity. As that order was promulgated throughout the land there was no longer anyone, whether intelligent or dull, who failed to realize that he should despise and detest the evil designs of the foreign devils. It is apparent that the fibre of the national will is still vibrant.

While we are admittedly a long way from antiquity, the emperor whom we solemnly revere retains the correct lineage of Amaterasu Ōmikami. Similarly, the people over whom he rules are descendants of those who loved her. If we rely on the hearts of those who are strong and upright; if we establish education, premising our efforts on the spirit in which the gods instructed and nurtured the realm; if we serve Heaven, worship our ancestors, show gratitude to the origin and return to the beginning; if we thereby rectify the duties of sovereign to subject, and infuse the affection between parent and child with warmth; if we educate the people so that their hearts and minds may be unified; nothing will be too difficult for us to accomplish. We are confronted with one chance in a thousand and must not let it pass. Toward that end, I have been obliged to dwell on the evils of
heretical doctrine in order that we might ascertain the source of evil. Nevertheless, heroism is capable of reversing a situation and bringing remarkable transformation; no task at any time is beyond its powers.

Imperial rule over the four seas depends upon the Great Way of Heaven and Man. Its outward form may change but its meaning is eternally the same. Therefore there is no reason why the fundamental principle according to which the gods governed Heaven-and-Earth - causing the people to manifest toward their ruler an inalienable affection - cannot be realized even now. At the present time changes in the momentum of time and the evils of heretical doctrine are causing the realm unbearable grief. Nevertheless, if we really want to galvanize the hearts of the people, all we need is a policy equal to the task.

II

The nation was established through military force, and since antiquity arms have been maintained in order to conquer surrounding territory. Bows and lances were already in use in the age of the gods, and the sword is one of the three imperial regalia. Hence Japan was known as Kuwashihokochitaru-no-kuni [the land of fine weaponry]. When Amaterasu Ōmikami granted the land of Japan to her Heavenly descendants she was accompanied by Amenoshihi-no-mikoto who led the soldiers of Kume. Again, when the Emperor Jimmu launched the Eastern expedition he used the armies of Kume as a special strike force against the enemy soldiers, and thereby pacified Yamato. He then joined the Kume band to the Mono-no-be and gave them the task of guarding the imperial palace and keeping order in the land. And when the Emperor Sujin sent generals out in the four directions to punish the recalcitrant Ebisu he granted rule over the land to Prince Toyoki.

When the peasants were not busy with farming they were allowed to hunt and present their game as tribute. They were also made to perform military duty in the campaigns. Once such a system was established, it was honored for generations. Our nation's borders expanded day by day as the Ezo were put down in the East, Kyūshū was purified in the West; finally Sankan, Benkan and Shinkan7 were pacified and a government office was

7 Located in the southern part of what is now the Korean peninsula.
established over them in Mimana. These were the benefits of an effort to create a powerful armed force.

During the reign of Emperor Nintoku the land was at peace and it was unnecessary to resort to arms. From the time of the Emperors Richū and Ankō the national strength began to wane. After ten or twelve generations the outpost at Mimana fell and Sankan, Benkan and Shinkan ceased their tribute.

The restorationist hero Emperor Tenchi was indignant over the failing of imperial benevolence, and took a position in a forward base established to reconstitute the government in Mimana, but fared badly in battle. The major government of the time, however, was directed toward the east where the Ezo were beaten back and an imperial outpost was established in Shiribeshi . . .

An expedition was sent out against Chinese pirates [shukushin] during the reign of Empress Saimei. Aid was provided by a crown prince who later became the Emperor Tenchi. Expeditionary forces advanced as far as the Gulf of Pohai, and Pohai itself sent emissaries bearing tribute. Japan again enjoyed the fruits of a strong army.

Even a hundred-odd years later, despite a decline in public morality and spirit, the Emperors Kanmu and Saga were able to put down internal rebellion and expel the Ezo from Honshū Island. It is apparent that military power had no yet dissipated. To suppress rebels and develop new land is the grand policy bequeathed to her descendants by Amaterasu Ōmikami, and her imperial descendants have ever maintained and developed that policy. Hence in the Norito, consisting of prayers to Amaterasu, it is written that, "Wherever the gods illuminate, whether the extremities of Heaven or the furthermost reaches of the earth, small places are made large, steep places level, and the far is made near as if hauled with many hausers." It is a prayer for the expansion in all four directions of the august virtue of the emperor. Obviously, for the sake of the founding of the nation the court knew the meaning of respect for military arms.

Nevertheless, it is the way of the world for things to change from age to age and military institutions are no exception. In antiquity the Kume and the Mono-no-be were the primary fighting forces while ordinary soldiers were recruited from the masses. Provincial officials such as the Kuni-no-miyatsuko and Agatannushi also developed forces and used them to protect the people. Such, on the whole, were the beginnings of the national military system. Subsequently, this changed to a system of military
detachments, and then changed again to a general military system. Under the latter system the military gradually became hereditary to families called *buke*, marking the beginnings of separation between the military and agriculture. In the Sengoku [Warring States] period, rivalry and strife broke out among local chieftains. Eventually that conflict developed into a trend toward "feudalism" [hōken] as the daimyo gained land in various parts of the country, and the military system changed accordingly. That is the broad outline of changes in the system over time.

Were we to characterize military changes in somewhat more detail we would note that the system was transformed in three stages. In ancient times, weapons were kept in the shrine and on the occasion of a military campaign the gods were invariably consulted. Even emperors did not rashly take matters into their own hands, but rather always sought the mandate of the gods prior to action. Therefore people were of one mind and there was no dispersion of power. The army consisted of soldiers of the gods.

The mind of the people was divided after Buddhism entered the country from India. No longer were the people united in their feelings of awe and respect for the emperor, and the meaning of receiving the command of Heaven became vague. Military affairs split away from religious affairs, becoming a purely secular matter. This was the first major change. The second change came following the emergence of Minamoto Yoritomo when the Kamakura and the Muromachi Bakufu gained control over the fighting power of the realm. Thirdly, soldiers had always been close to the land, but as disorder and rebellion spread heroic warriors left their plots and wandered about in search of a lord to lead them. Even after the fighting subsided, warriors who had given up their land now became concentrated in castle towns. Hence the third major change consisted of the split between warriors and the land. These three transformations were not just institutional, but also involved far-reaching changes in the trends of the time [ikioi].

When the warriors are on the land and the emperor receives the mandate of the gods [before military action], Heaven, land and man are one body. If standards were to be established with such a principle as the foundation, and then training carried out; if in times of peace weapons were still stored and then swiftly mobilized when it became necessary to clarify the authority of Heaven-and-Earth and aid the divine spirits, the glory that would be ours beggars description. In fact, times changed. After a while
people no longer revered Heaven and became estranged from it; the Way of unifying the hearts and minds of the people was lost.

When the Kamakura and the Muromachi Bakufu controlled military power, the great clans and famous houses were scattered in the provinces. With the Sengoku period some fell while others prospered. As they fought each other the warriors of the realm came to be attached to one or another of these houses and as the domestic scene fell into confusion military power was dispersed. Nevertheless, the warriors were reliable enough to stay on the land. For fighting men to live on the land is like the presence of water in the soil. No matter how remote the region, warriors inhabited its furthest reaches; no matter how small the area, protectors made it secure. Hence despite the decline of the court and the descent of the realm into confusion, the strength of its energy had not abated. Mongol pirates were destroyed and an attack was launched on the capital of Korea. Military might was wielded just as before, but this time on external enemies.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi was afraid there was excess energy in the realm so he forced all the daimyo to reside in Osaka. There he had them reconstruct the city or sent them off on campaigns. They did not have a single day to spend cultivating their own armies. Tokugawa Ieyasu, too, strove to strengthen the "trunk" [Bakufu] at the expense of the branches [daimyo, local areas]. He saw to it that warriors were concentrated in the various castle towns, giving them no chance to develop armies on their fiefs. The masses no longer heard the fanfare of troops and never laid eyes on weaponry. Hence the warriors declined in numbers, the people languished in ignorance and the energy of the nation at long last abated. Even those known as lifelong military heroes became silent and obeyed the command of the Bakufu. Such were the signs of Ieyasu's rapid success in pacifying the realm.

Wherever there is a private interest in the world there is damage. Weakness results, which in turn always ends in inactivity and stagnation. But why (at the time of establishment of the Tokugawa Bakufu) was weakness in the momentum [ikioi] of the nation not externally evident? Ieyasu's intention in founding the Bakufu was to train and harden warriors in fidelity to principle; for their part the warriors went forward to death unstintingly. None dared to stand up to such soldiers even when they greatly outnumbered them. Even after the realm was at peace, warrior retainers all remained sensitive to their reputation for fidelity and respected bravery at arms. Nor did the general populace soon forget the war; they never shirked even when asked
to help quell a disturbance. Hence even though the momentum of the realm had weakened, the strategic areas and cities where the warriors were concentrated did not betray evidence of that weakening.

However, once a system was established to support the warriors with taxes in kind, wealth tended to concentrate in the vicinity of the warriors. Of course, where wealth has collected, merchants also tend to swarm. And merchants are always caught up in the fashions of the moment. Forever in pursuit of outrageous profit, they are constantly moved by the strange and unusual. That is fine, if our purpose is to make brave and dashing warriors forget war and enjoy a period of unbroken peace. But as their bad habits continued they developed opulent lifestyles which were inconsistent with their social status. As they became slaves to desire, they soon forgot propriety and righteousness. Hence in a situation where they had wealth without learning cultivation they became haughty and proud, negligent and self-indulgent. As wealth and luxury overflowed, poverty appeared and along with poverty came weakness.

When one is poor but nevertheless constantly attracted to luxury, one focuses one's mind on the economics of life. Once one pays heed to the economic dimension of life one begins to worry about one's assets, and once one does that one thinks only of personal profit to the exclusion of any attention to duty. Those above as well as below are soon consumed by lust for profit and lose their sense of shame. When the realm loses its sense of shame weakness become apparent.

A warrior regulates his behavior between the poles of advance and retreat, fast and slow, attack and repose, in accord with the actions of his enemy and the lay of the land. But today's warriors live only in the castle towns. All they talk about is women, eating and drinking, actors and dramatic productions, gardening and floral arrangement, birdcatching and fishing. Their fencing practice and lance work are only for personal vendettas; their study of the bow and of gunnery are solely for show; their riding just for ceremonies. Armor and lances are kept only as ornaments. They cannot discriminate the varieties and uses of clothing and weapons, and have no idea what "far and near, impregnable and accessible, broad and narrow, death and life" [Sun Tzu] mean with regard to battle terrain.

A true warrior makes use of his physical strength. He is able to run, jump, make steep climbs with ease, bear wind and rain; he wears simple clothing and eats simple food, enduring
hunger and thirst. Hence when a strategist selects a warrior, he will choose first from those with the straightforward, honest ways of the country, no matter how rustic. He will stay far away from the slick youths from the city, no matter how smart they appear. Today's so-called warriors grow up with townsmen and therefore are frivolous in their manners and etiquette, appreciative of delicate beauty; they drink and eat well, so that their bodies are fat while their arms and legs are weak. They have a knack for indoor ceremonies and meetings, but they cannot stand privation or danger. It is danger that our strategists dislike the most because when wartime emergencies arrive the warriors are of no use.

The above circumstances are hardly conducive to the cultivation of fighting men. As it says in the Records of the Grand Historian, "Those raised in an ordinary manner will be of no use." Their weakness is obvious.

The original reason for providing the samurai with a stipend is so he might employ servants [such as ashigaru and chūgen]. If, on the other hand, he squanders the stipend on luxury and thus sows the seeds of his own poverty he will no longer be able to pay servants. Most samurai now employ only idlers from the city to perform such tasks, so when an emergency arises a generously stipended warrior is just as badly off as one with no stipend whatsoever. As long as that is the case, there will hardly be any real soldiers. At the present time commoners are all laboring to pay the high taxes which support the samurai class and therefore are no longer available to be drafted for battle as they once were. Not only that but they are cowardly and thoroughly incapable of aggressive struggle. That being the case, there are no real soldiers in the entire country even among the direct retainers [fudai] of the Tokugawa house. There is no one to protect the outlying reaches of the realm.

The samurai all live in the towns, and it is there they practice their fencing. If we look only at the towns the warriors appear numerous and they give the impression of strength. But from the point of view of the country as a whole, those available to defend the land are extremely few and their weakness is unimaginable.

The original function of the samurai is to defend the land. Conversely, the primary function of the land is to support the samurai. The two elements are by their very nature inseparable. If they are split apart the land becomes empty and barren, and the samurai few and weak. This is the natural course of things.
Therefore the samurai have languished in the towns far too long. The number of their houses has doubled but the number of true bushi [samurai] has dwindled markedly.

In our present situation both trunk and branches of the social order have deteriorated, and hence we are guilty of turning our backs on the intentions with which Tokugawa Ieyasu established the great peace. The system is supposedly designed to cultivate strong warriors but this is only nominally true. In fact, they are feeble. Can we afford to ignore the admonishment to "secure the foundations"? Of late our way of life has degenerated into luxury and the daimyo are profligate beyond their means and status. The reason they do not rebel, despite their lack of devotion to the Bakufu, is that they are preoccupied with their pleasures and have not the means. There is bound to be conflagration when the poor harbor resentment against their rulers, and in this case that is prevented only by cowardice and their ignorance of how to deploy troops. Bandits roam the outlying villages and believers in heresy fill the land. What are these but signs of impending calamity? The land is not yet in the throes of disorder only because central rule is lenient and compassionate, and prudent measures are instituted regularly. Sudden changes in policy are avoided so as not to spark a revolt.

It was intended that the realm should become weak, and so it is weak; it was intended that the people should be ignorant and they are. As long as they are weak and ignorant, they are incapable of rebelling even if they wanted to. In other words, the reason the realm is not in disorder is easy to see: "It is only that they are afraid to fight." Down through the ages, when those few words appeared in the Records of the Grand Historian it has been evident even to children that the country in question is weak. Is it not shameful for a nation with an illustrious tradition of arms to timidly submit now to fear of battle? It was not long ago that Japan gave up Mimana, and that Pohai stopped sending tribute. Hokkaido is being nibbled away bit by bit and foreign barbarians sail around right offshore from the main islands as if our seas belong to them. Like the people of Chou, as recounted in the Book of Songs, we have reason to lament that "The sages of old expanded the realm by a hundred li a day, but now it shrinks at the same rate." Languishing in a mood of contraction and retrogression, we now confront a foreign enemy who has developed considerable expansionist momentum; despite our fear of battle we pretend to be able to resist a veteran of a hundred wars. Surely this is a matter for grave concern.
Some commentators think only of the past in connection with military affairs, and persist in believing our armies to be just as strong as during the Bunroku and Keicho campaigns. They are sorely deluded. Of course the enemies we face are little better than dogs or sheep, so we need not dwell on their strong or weak points. Nevertheless, they are exceedingly cruel and war is an everyday pursuit for them. The foundation for a nation does not rest well on the ignorance and weakness of the people. As a result they are able to register and draft their entire population into a fighting force if necessary. They can also gather soldiers from overseas colonies, so they certainly cannot be underestimated in terms of numbers of troops. Moreover, since they make war their primary occupation and their people are accustomed to combat, they cannot be disdained for weakness either. They fool their people with mystical doctrines so that all are of common belief. Hence they are well-suited for war. Cannon and huge ships have always been their specialty, and they are more than adequate to menace other countries. Hence they already rule the seas and carry out aggression at will. They certainly cannot be despised as stupid.

If we are going to fight them, then, how can we continue to rely on a former policy of cultivating stupidity and weakness? Is it adequate to fold our arms idly, neglecting to develop a program that meets the needs of the time? Certainly, to make the people ignorant and the warriors weak can be called a smart policy in the context of domestic politics. But where there is advantage there is also disadvantage, so we must rectify that situation. Fortunately, the Bakufu has already decided to drive away foreign intruders, so naturally we will soon witness a turn from a small elite force to a mass army, and hence from weakness to strength.

In terms of training samurai in fidelity, above all we can learn from the grand design of Tokugawa Ieyasu how to strengthen the trunk [i.e., center, Bakufu]. On the other hand, to allow the daimyo to develop strong armies within their domains, and to let retainers cultivate their own troops on their fiefs, putting samurai and land back together again, is a policy of strengthening the branches. When both trunk and branches are strong, and both warriors and weapons abundant, the people will be brave and attentive to principle; the entire nation will be overflowing with a spirit of dutifulness. Only if domestic strength is completely mobilized in the formation of an expeditionary army, and if the foreign intruders never again dare to approach our borders, will the national essence be saved from disgrace.
Some critics will no doubt object that, "If those on the periphery are allowed to foster strong armies they will be extremely difficult to control." In my humble view, however, a heroic leader is able to steer the nation by reading the trend of the times, tightening and loosening the reins of power as appropriate, and carrying out his decisions with unrestrained vigor while at the same time avoiding any disruption of the realm. He is able to do so because his magnanimity is broad and open, he is able to adapt to change, and he rules the life and death of the nation through laws that are strict and impartial. Now the Bakufu's courageous decision is known throughout the land, and all who hear it are inspired to comply in unison. No one will dare to oppose it. Therefore, at this particular juncture, if all domains are treated with good faith and allowed to train their own strong military forces, I do not think any will oppose the Bakufu. Should any brutal, stubborn daimyo rely on his own forces to countermand the order, he should be punished decisively with a force drawn from the loyal warriors of the land. When I say, "strong armies should be raised on the fiefs" I do not mean totally revamping the old system in such a way that the cities will become barren and all will return to the countryside. The sages of old have often advocated a policy of returning the warriors to the land, and in that they were far-sighted indeed. Since they discussed the "feudal" system of their time only in terms of a model of centralized government [gunken seido] however, their policy could never be implemented. I have my own views on that subject but I cannot go into them in detail here.

When a hero exercises his power to loosen up in one place and tighten up in another, or to employ in one case and reject in another, he rejects only to use better elsewhere and loosens only to tighten at a later date. The realm is now in a tightened state; there is no alternative but to loosen up with regard to the concentration of taxes in kind and currency in the towns. There are certain standards to be applied in deciding to leave slack in one place but to tighten up in another, to pass over here but to employ over there.

Everything should be kept in daily use, for if set aside things will deteriorate. The daimyo, elders and retainers of the various domains must be encouraged to have spirit, and not be allowed to dissipate. In order to avail ourselves of this opportunity to beat back the foreigners we should encourage the domains to develop strong armies and bestow on them a sense of duty. A decision to use those troops today is only an expedient measure,
not necessarily a permanent system. Moreover, those who employ such troops should be admonished to great exploits and retained in the service of the *kokka* [Bakufu]. That is because the realm is a public implement [kōki] and should not be set aside as a private possession.

There are ways to make ad hoc decisions concerning the appropriate time to tighten and to loosen, when to use and when to set aside, and there comes a day when those ways should be put into practice. It is impossible to deal with such matters as the number of alternate residences in Edo, the length of time the daimyo and their retinues are required to stay, the amount of tribute, whether or not to require military duty, and so on, according to hard and fast rules. The secret of preventing the spread of resentment among the people is an ability to seize the moment. The only other alternative is to try and preserve the realm through blind adherence to precedent. However, should the small number of warriors who guard the shoreline be subjected to defeat by foreign enemies, the daimyo must return to the domain at all cost [from Edo]. Moreover, if the daimyo is allowed to return only after the situation has clearly worsened instead of taking the initiative in a decisive manner, the Bakafu will be ridiculed. It is truly said that, “he who arrives early will control others, while he who is late will be controlled.” If one would exercise control over the realm under present circumstances he must ... recognize the opportunity of the moment and swiftly make up his mind. The ancients also said, “If it is done decisively the spirits will leave it alone.” Indeed, if we take action the spirits should actually help.

Long ago Ieyasu respected arms in order to build a foundation and he rendered the people ignorant and weak in order to allow the realm to rest. In other words he tightened up and then allowed leeway. At the present time the barbarians are waging war day by day, setting their minds on aggression, and alternately probing our borders. Our situation is like that of Ieyasu when the Oda, the Takeda and the Hōjō territories surrounded Hamamatsu. Since it was not time for slackness, he had to tighten what had formerly been loose. Therefore, his intention of laying the foundation for the nation should continue to be honored, but there is no need to follow his precedent of rendering the realm ignorant and weak. This is a good example of changing times. It is written in *The Book of Changes*, “the inchworm shrinks in order to expand.” Hence that which has slackened is preparing to tighten and that which has been set aside is intended for use. What we are now using should be set
aside and that which has been loosened should be tightened; what has just been set aside should be employed and that which has just now been loosened should be tightened up.

Without getting caught up in details, we should focus all our energies on our urgent needs, disdain formality and seek out actual effectiveness; we should accordingly tighten what was tightened long ago and use what was used long ago. How this should be put into practice depends on the person. When leyasu was on the ascendancy his reputation was thundered across the realm by the powerful armies at Hamamatsu. To render all of Japan like Hamamatsu and spread its name to the ends of the earth, we should even now follow leyasu's policy of training his warriors [shishu]. Accordingly a foundation for administration should be laid, doctrine should be clarified and soldiers should invariably receive the command of the gods; Heaven and man should be unified, the multitude be of one mind, the virtue of the ancestors be made manifest and their meritorious deeds sung; the glory of the nation should be expanded across the seas, the barbarians expelled and the homeland reclaimed. Only then can the profound meaning of the oracle of Amaterasu and the great achievements of her imperial descendants be fully vindicated.

III

Amaterasu Omikami cherished her people and initially developed the basis for their clothing and food. The rice seedlings from her divine fields and the silk cocoons from her cultivators were disseminated across the realm, and the people have basked in their blessings to the present day. While this too is the result of Amaterasu's infinite grace, the land of the realm is highly suitable for grain. The divine land of Japan is by nature in the East, facing the rising sun. The Book of Changes says, "The empire arises in the East." In terms of the five elements, the East matches wood. It is therefore good for raising grain; also, of the four seasons it matches spring, which makes it suitable for the generation and growth of all things. It is not accidental, therefore, inasmuch as people long ago did not stoop so low as to eat meat, that Japan was known as the "Land of Rice Seedlings" [Mizuho-no-kuni].

In ancient times, the son of Heaven [tenshi: emperor] received the august grain from Amaterasu and it nurtured the life of the people . . . Wealth in the days of yore was based on the natural abundance of Heaven-and-Earth. In later ages natural
wealth was gradually dispersed, and soon passed into the hands of the samurai class; in a further transformation it moved into the hands of the merchants. As a result of the latter development the realm has been subjected to countless injuries, and I should like now to turn to a thorough discussion of this point.

Long ago, through the Daijōsai, the emperor together with the people of the realm worshipped the gods with sincerity and reverence. When grain ripened there was invariably a ceremony using the grain, and afterwards the emperor partook along with his subjects. The people of the realm were aware that the grain they ate originated in the seeds distributed by the gods. Hence they were in awe of the will of the gods and worked hard to develop the productive potential of the great Earth. The minds of men were united with the mind of Heaven and Earth, and all shared wealth equally. Hence there was no fissure between Heaven and Earth. However, in the early age the doctrines were not yet scrupulously observed and the imperial government experienced a number of reverses. Some seized the wealth of the realm as their own private possession. The emperor Tenchi reformed such deep-seated evils by prohibiting private ownership of land and the private accumulation of profits, thereby restoring unity between the realm and its wealth. The system was adjusted considerably by the time of the Taihō Codes. In olden times things were simple, and people sought only to exchange their labor for the labor and products of others. Production advanced in all directions and consumption was limited.

As the court grew attached to opulence, however, funds for the state were curtailed and squandered instead on women. Buddhist clergy were selfish in conduct and thus squandered state funds on temples and used the grain of the realm to nourish parasitic elements [Buddhist monks and nuns]. By the time the Fujiwara clan had gained an ability to manipulate the power of the realm at will, houses with influence began to accumulate private fortunes. They arrogated people to their private purposes and spread their private estates [shōen] across the land. Those who collected proper taxes and put them in the national coffers were few indeed. Furthermore, the constables [shugo] and land stewards [jitō] who were servants of the powerholders [the Kamakura shoguns] also accumulated private stores of grain. Soon, as their lust for riches grew, they came to completely monopolize the realm and the wealth of the nation passed into the hands of the warrior class.
Warriors, however, have the function of maintaining order in society and thus even though they gathered private bands of soldiers this did not entail the waste of food. Therefore, few suffered privation even during times of turmoil. Why, then, with the realm now at peace, are the exalted as well as the lowly restless and grieving from poverty? It is because the wealth of the realm is not employed and managed according to the proper way.

Inevitably, when the warriors leave the land they no longer employ and raise a large number of servants. They get by with the services of unemployed city dwellers, setting them to a wide variety of tasks. Although these idlers fill the castle towns, if it should ever come to war they will be of no use whatsoever. They saunter around feasting on whatever strikes their fancy, so the waste they incur is immense. Furthermore, Buddhist temples in the realm total about 500,000, and monks, nuns and other functionaries may number as many as several million... The huge tiled roofs of their temples exemplify the pinnacle of splendor. At any rate, a considerable number of artisans and merchants make their income by dealing with such unemployed idlers and religious practitioners. Who knows how many beggars pass their occupation down from generation to generation? Who can count the number of gamblers who constantly overrun rural villages? Or the healers and diviners who make their fortunes by bilking the people? Or the actors? The waste is overwhelming.

That is not all. The varieties of saké, rice cakes, dumplings and noodles that use up rice have proliferated endlessly. Moreover, all the rice converges on the towns, but in the course of being transported shipments are often destroyed by fire or sunk to the bottom of the sea. Cultivation of tea, tobacco, madder, sugar cane, pear-apples [nashi] and other crops that interfere with rice-growing has expanded tremendously. Because there are so many who eat without being productive, so much waste of rice, and so much production of other crops, our effective annual harvests are now relatively small. It is also very strange that while the realm constantly seems glutted with a surfeit of rice leading to cavalier handling, parts of the same realm continue to suffer the depths of poverty.

The rice available to the nation is by nature never abundant. It only appears so under certain conditions. When objects are dispersed to a number of locations they never appear numerous no matter what their numbers. When gathered together
in one place, however, they naturally look numerous no matter how few. Hence when a single *koku*\(^8\) of rice is stored in a household it will not be called a great amount, but when that is combined and thrown on the market together with the same amount from 10,000 households, no one would consider it small.

When the warriors live in the cities, spend their entire annual stipend on extravagant food and clothing, and take care to please their women, they have nothing left over to equip themselves with weapons and take care of attendants. Instead of storing their rice in a frugal manner they dump it all on the market for cash. The farmers, although poor, seek luxury and thus send their entire harvest to market. The more the rice sold in the market the lower its price will fall, and the lower the price the more each farmer must sell to make ends meet. He sells an increasing amount but makes no more than before. Hence he is forced eventually to abandon his home and become a drifter, leaving his land idle. While that land may be dormant, rice tax and corvee attached to the land remain the same. Hence income is continually inadequate to obligations. Obviously a daily increase in those who sell their rice means a daily decrease in the amount of rice available to support the people; moreover, corresponding to that decrease is a constant increase in the volume of rice brought to the towns. In other words, people suffer shortages because the towns have a surfeit. Moreover, there are few facilities in the towns for the large-volume storage of rice. Therefore, although one might say there is too much rice in the towns, that only means there is more than the population can readily eat. It does not mean that there is really a surplus.

In fact, while there is usually not much difference between the real amounts involved in a shortage as opposed to a surplus, the effective difference is like heaven and earth. If a man who has eaten his fill is given just one more bite it seems like far too much; by the same token if someone is not getting quite enough, the subtraction of just a little more from his portion makes him feel like he is the victim of a great shortage. The quantitative difference between a surplus and a shortage is not, therefore, very great. But from the point of view of someone experiencing a shortage, a situation of surplus seems an unbridgeable distance. Truly, as I have said, the rice available to the realm as a whole is certainly not abundant and neither is the rice available in the city.

\(^8\) See footnotes 3, 4, 9, and 10 of *De'iri Gunhoki* for this and other units of measurement referred to in this essay.
Some worry that the price of rice is too low and that there is insufficient currency in circulation. In fact, however, the rice price is not low and currency is not lacking. The problem is that commodity prices are inflated. If the price of one to is five monme and that of cotton quilt is supposed to be the same, one to of rice will be adequate to the purchase of one quilt. Under present circumstances, however, one must sell six or seven to of rice to have enough money for a quilt. That is because quilts are too expensive, not because rice is too cheap. Rice is only for the purpose of filling stomachs. Hence demand for it is limited to that function. In the case of commodities, however, there is no effective limit since they compete for buyers. A woman's necklace, for example, may cost as much as a middle-level farmer's entire output. If something for which demand is limited is chasing items for which demand is unlimited, the amount of the former it takes to purchase the latter is bound to rise. The problem is high commodity prices, not a low rice price.

Similarly, currency is only a standard for measuring value. When there are a large number of commodities, their value is low while that of money is relatively high. When the value of money is relatively high no inconvenience will be experienced even when circulation volume is low. Thus long ago, even when the volume of currency in circulation was small there was no fear of poverty. However, from the Keichō era (1596-1615) onward gold production increased markedly and currency manufacture also expanded tremendously. When the circulation of currency is increased, its value drops. As it drops, prices naturally rise. Moreover, even as prices drop people seem to think that the large volume of currency in circulation is insufficient.

(A foreigner has pointed out the following truths: "Ever since the Western Europeans started trading with the country in the east called America the gold and silver they gain from commerce has increased annually. As a result the value of gold and silver has dropped and the prices of grain and commodities have risen. It appears that men of intelligence predict that a surfeit of gold and silver will present problems in the future, but profits from trade are higher than ever so it is impossible to stop."9 Even the foreign barbarians are aware that a surplus of gold is a problem. Can we who are born in Japan afford to be ignorant of that fact?)

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9 From a geography book in Chinese by the Italian priest Giuglio Aleini.
Apparently it is possible in the world, when something is inordinately heavy, for other things to be considered light even if they are not. So when prices are inordinately "heavy," currency is seen as extraordinarily "light;" when prices are high, people think rice is too cheap.

The samurai are concentrated in the towns, so they must obtain on the market everything they need for the entire year. They take their rice stipend - which is further reduced each year - and exchange it for currency, which is constantly being devalued. Then, with that debased currency, they seek to purchase commodities at increasingly inflated prices. From the outset they are unable to meet their expenses, but the servants and help they employ are all accustomed to luxurious living so they cannot be maintained cheaply. As a result, the samurai are forced to turn to annual contract labor, but that also soon becomes too expensive. Now they resort to employing townsmen, but townsmen are also accustomed to luxury and their wages rise daily. Concern arises that even attendants of that sort are beyond the samurai's means. Moreover, household expenses, wives' and mistresses' allowances, entertainment, and such costs increase day by day. Soon it is no longer possible to make ends meet. As a result, the samurai become accustomed to receiving loans from the rich townsmen. Even among daimyo and other fief holders there are virtually none who do not borrow. Crafty plutocrats wield unlimited power in the area of finance, treating kings like children they can bounce on their knee. As a result wealth has largely passed into the hands of the townspeople.

Rice by its very nature is treated by emperors with great care. Even the son of heaven partakes of it reverently and only after giving thanks for the blessings of Amaterasu. So it must be, because rice was a gift bestowed by Heaven for the nurturance of the people. Now, however, the power to buy and sell rice is concentrated in the hands of hateful merchants. Princes and men of consequence are forced to kneel at their command without a word of protest. The life and death of the people is now in the hands of the townsmen; it is not surprising that no provision has been made for poor harvests, nothing has been put away for time of war, and it seems there is no rice in the country at all. They stand with arms idly folded, worrying that there is a surplus of rice. What sort of deception is this?

Amaterasu Ōmikami placed great emphasis on the welfare of the people, and her blessings have been perpetuated down to our own day. The grain we eat originated in the seedlings
distributed by the august progenitrix. But not only do people fail to treat rice with suitable respect and use it frugally, they also complain that there is too much rice and fret that stores should have been further depleted by now. They even dare suggest that Japan trade with the barbarians and solve the "problem" by shipping rice overseas. Despite their birth in the *Mizuho-no-kuni* they are unaware of the value of rice and think we could gain by casting it away to the foreign equivalents of dogs and sheep. Certainly that is inconsistent with the duty of the subject to repay the debt to his ancestors.

It should not be difficult to see that we ought to store rice in the countryside rather than send it overseas. There are approximately 25,000,000 *koku* of rice produced in wet fields nationwide. Peasant households average about ten *koku* production per household, so that means there are about 2,500,000 peasant households raising paddy rice. If each of those were to store one additional *koku* out of each harvest, the total would be 2,500,000 *koku*. That is more than annual sales at the Osaka market, which amount to about 2,000,000... One should also be able to estimate the volume of the other major markets. If in one year the total sales volume of rice could be reduced by 2,500,000 *koku*, and if daimyo and other fief holders would accumulate stores in addition to that, the value of rice would rise naturally. If the price of rice were to rise as a result, the farmers would be able to make a living without having to produce huge volumes. Moreover, if the rice sold at market were to decrease there could be no more outrageous waste even in the towns, and the people would continue to think only in terms of a shortage. Once the outflow of rice from the countryside were staunched, the country would actually become richer in rice according to the logic of surplus and shortage as outlined above. The reason the people would not be poverty-stricken even if rice were abundant is that it would be stored privately in widely-dispersed locations. Hence if we decide to set aside rice there are plenty of places where it could be done. Why is it necessary to even consider "saving" the land from poverty by shipping rice overseas? If we decide to store rice privately there are numerous methods and institutions by which to do so. Once we are enlightened about the need for rice to be set aside domestically, and then resolve to do so, we will be able at the right moment to select from among any number of suitable methods and institutions to accomplish that goal. If rice is stored and no one suffers poverty the stability of the people will have
been developed, and the abundance of Heaven and Earth will allow all equally to enjoy the blessings of Amaterasu Ōmikami.
In Holland there was a man by the name of Hugo, who founded a system of learning called international law. It appears that the discipline was developed in various nations of the Western world; there are certainly many there who now teach it. It is my view that it owes its origins to Westerners' dislike for the Chinese practice of dividing the world into 'flowering center' and 'barbaric periphery', with all its implications for the Chinese revering China alone and despising all other nations. International law was the foreigners' reaction to this practice.

There were in China, I hear, from an early period, Christian scholars who dismissed as 'national theorizing' the Chinese practice of calling their ruler 'son of heaven'. I made a similar point at the end of my essay Shinto Yōron. I explained there that in the Fourth Age of the Gods, when the two deities Onamuchi and Sukunahikona were travelling hither and yon, our theories [of nation building] reached China. It was under this [Japanese] influence, I argued, that the Chinese came to call their own kings 'sons of heaven'. There are many Japanese today who follow Chinese Confucianism. They typically confuse center with periphery, and they are wrong to do so. There are even those who believe that the Japanese practice of calling the Japanese Emperor 'son of heaven' or 'descendant of heaven' is derived from the Chinese. This is not the case, however. It is ancient tradition in Japan to call our Emperor the son of heaven or a descendant of...
heaven. The Chinese practice is derivative and a distortion. We know that there is but one true Emperor on this earth, and that it is our Emperor.

The new Western discipline of international law is not true international law either. One should think of Western international law as a precursor of true international law which will arise in this great nation of Japan, and extend eventually to all nations.

In recent years, foreign scholars have been coming to Japan. This is an opportunity for us to toughen our moral fiber; it is surely incumbent upon us to bear witness to the [great] ancient words and deeds of our nation. At the same time, however, we must learn about Western nations and engage in discourse with foreigners themselves. In Japanese learning of recent years, scholars have been vying with one another to praise things foreign, but they are at a loss as to what to say when faced with a foreigner. Among those now resident in Japan, there are bound to be experts in international law. It is imperative that we prepare to face them. I should like thus to comment now on those aspects of Japan's learning that we should expose in our discourse with foreigners.

Foreigners are bound to say this: All nations must conform to international law simply because there exists no single ruler over all the nations of the world. I hear that in Japan you have Shinto, but that this is a 'national' teaching confined to Japan. It is not worth listening to. You must have a change of heart, and follow international law.

The Japanese should reply along these lines: There is as yet in Japan none who can expound the truths of Japanese Shinto. We have no response, therefore, to your challenge that it is merely a 'national' theory. However, the deity we know as Amenominakanushi no kami is precisely the deity you in the West call the Lord of Heaven, the same deity, too, that the Chinese call their Lord of Heaven. The deities we know as Takamimusubi no kami and Kamumusubi no kami are what the Chinese refer to as their creator deity. The Lord of Heaven and the Creator gave instructions to Izanagi no mikoto and Izanami no mikoto to give birth to all the nations on earth. Izanagi no mikoto is the spirit of the sun, who temporarily adopted the form of a man, and from heaven bestowed the seeds of creation. Izanagi no mikoto is the spirit of the earth who, temporarily adopting the form of a woman, actually gave birth to all the nations and all living things on this earth. She created the other nations first and Japan last.
countries created first were the result of 'the woman having spoken first'; they are thus topsy turvy. Japan, created later once order was restored, was a country of superior birth, however. That is why, while other countries lacked a settled royal lineage, the lineage of Japan has never wavered from the Age of the Gods to the present day. Thus it is that we hold Japan to be the center and noble, and other nations the periphery and base. This is our ancient tradition. The proofs emerge yearly, monthly and daily. To assert this is by no means like the Chinese boasting of their country as the center and despising all others. Our ancient tradition is the true international law; we cannot accept as true the international law that has arisen in the West.

I find it unacceptable to say that, because there is no overall ruler in the world, all nations should abide by international law. There are good and bad people; everybody respects the good and everyone despises the bad. There are good and bad, noble and base countries, too. This explains, of course, why Westerners have adopted the practice of granting 'titles' to nations: 'imperial' nations, 'royal' nations, 'noble' nations and so forth. The nations of the world should, therefore, select the best among those of 'imperial' rank, style it a 'greater imperial nation', and revere its ruler as the greater ruler of all the world. Amongst the nations bearing the title 'imperial', it is Japan alone whose Emperor's rule extends from the Age of the Gods. What could be more natural, then, than to elevate the Japanese Emperor to a position of 'greater emperor', and have all nations revere him? It remains, however, that knowledge of the Japanese imperial line has yet to reach other nations, and they are bound to reject all this as 'national' theorizing. We have no choice but to wait for the day when all nations will acknowledge this truth.

We should, anyway, not countenance attempts by foreigners, with whom we have signed treaties, to have the Emperor communicate directly and on equal terms with the sovereigns of other countries, thus relegating the Shogun to a position of imperial vassal. The Emperor must be kept apart as the object of veneration. It would be appropriate for [foreign diplomats] to deal on equal terms with the Shogun. All this will come to

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4 This is a reference to the creation passage in the *Nihon Shoki*, where, just prior to the union of Izanami, the female creator deity, and Izanagi, the male creator deity, the former had spoken first. The product of this first union according to the *Nihongi* was a leech. (See *Nihongi*, p. 15.) Izanami was reprimanded by the deities in heaven for having destroyed the correct order of things, and the two deities 'reunited'. Okuni offers, here, a thorough reinterpretation of this passage.
pass, and when it does it will be due to the subtle workings of the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator. The Japanese must adhere strictly to this idea and brook no compromise. The nobility of our Emperor is greater by far; he should not be placed on a par with foreign royalty. The fact that people throughout Japan believe this to be true is, itself, something made possible by the laws of heaven and earth, the ‘good laws’, that is, of Japan. When I talk of the ‘good laws’ of Japan, I refer specifically to the Nakatomi no Harai, which has this to say: “The deities that reside in Takamagahara, with whom the sovereign is ‘intimate’, Kamurogi no mikoto and Kamuromi no mikoto...”.

This is not merely Japan’s ‘good law’; it is rather the true law that will spread to all nations on the earth. By comparison, the international law that Hugo set up can not be called true international law. Let us now take a closer look at his motive.

Both the Chinese and the Westerners say that the Lord of Heaven resides in heaven, is without change for ages eternal, does not age nor die, and watches over this lower realm and all its creation. This is a theory common to most nations on earth. International law inevitably partakes of this theory. Now, Takamagahara [as mentioned in the Nakatomi no Harai is [the true] heaven. When we talk of ‘deities that reside in Takamagahara’, we refer to the heavenly spirit that does not descend to earth, that resides rather in heaven and instinctively monitors all of creation. The words ‘with whom the sovereign is intimate’ refer to a special Japanese endowment, namely that, while there are kings in other nations, they are not intimate with the heavenly ruler; yet the Japanese Emperor is the son of the Heavenly Ruler and is, therefore, bound to the Heavenly Ruler by the most intimate of bonds. Kamurogi no mikoto is a reference to that creative spirit that in foreign nations is referred to as Creator. Kamuromi no mikoto refers to Amaterasu Omikami, the deity who, replacing Amenominakanushi no kami, governs all of creation beginning with the rays of the sun.

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5 The Nakatomi no Harai, a prayer used on the occasion of such major imperial rituals as the Daijosai, is found in vol. 8 of the Engishiki, a 50-volume compilation of laws relating to court ritual dating from the early Heian period.

6 Okuni formulated a unique relationship between Amaterasu and Amenominakanushi no kami. He wrote, for example, “Amenominakanushi and Amaterasu are one god, two spirits”; “Amaterasu is the manifestation in time of Amenominakanushi who existed before time”; and again “Amenomina-kanushi is the origin; Amaterasu is the manifestation”. (For the significance of this formulation, see Breen, op. cit., p. 590-1.)
In foreign nations, theories about heaven are little advanced; in Japan they have been handed down in the most detailed form. Amenominakanushi no kami is the supreme object of veneration, and so must be left out of consideration. We on this earth should venerate Amaterasu as ‘Ruler of Heaven’. What is important to realize is that the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator put their minds together, sent Ninigi no mikoto down to Japan, and made him lord of the land.\(^7\) Their plan was that, after the people’s hearts had been pacified, he and his descendants should be revered as supreme rulers of the world. The people of the distant lands, those lands that we call Western or ‘barbarian’ lands, do not yet know the ancient truths. This too is part of the secret heavenly plan of the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator, whose firm intention it is eventually to elevate Japan to the rank of greater imperial nation. Japanese must not lose sight of this truth, and must ensure we do not regard kings of foreign countries as equal to our Emperor.

Following Hirata’s theory of the greater and lesser numbers, I do not take the 1,792,470 year period that appears in the *Nihon Shoki* to be the period since Ninigi no mikoto’s descent to earth.\(^8\) Rather, like Hirata, I take the greater number to refer to the period since creation, with its four distinct ages: the first being that of the Five Separate Heavenly Deities;\(^9\) the second that of the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods;\(^10\) the third that of the Sacred Age of Amaterasu and the fourth that of the Sacred Age of Ōnamochi and Sukunahikona. That smaller number, namely the 2,470 odd years, I follow Ban Nobutomo in taking to be precisely 2,476 years since the Seven Generations of the Age of the Gods.\(^11\)

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7 For Ninigi no mikoto’s descent to earth, see *Nihongi*, pp. 77-91.
8 See *Nihongi*, p. 110. Hirata Atsutane was classified by Ōkuni as the fourth of the Four Great Men. See below, note 13. The theory of greater and smaller numbers was developed by Hirata in his *Kōninreki Unki*. See also *Nihongi*, p. 110.
9 These deities mentioned in the opening section of the *Kojiki* are Amenominakanushi no kami, Kamumusubi no kami, Takamimusubinuru no kami, Umashishikabi Hikoji no kami and Amenotokotachi no kami. See *Kojiki*, translated by Donald L. Philippi (University of Tokyo Press, 1968), p. 47.
10 These are set out in *Nihongi*, pp. 7-12.
11 Ban Nobutomo (1773-1846) put forward this theory in his essay collection *Higo Bai*.
generations of Hikohohodemi no mikoto, and I fix the 18th year of Emperor Jinmu's reign in the year 2,500, and the 19th, therefore, in the year 2,501. Counting on from this, I have calculated that the year Ansei 6 (1859) in the reign of the previous Emperor is the 5001st year since Ninigi no mikoto's descent to the earth. We should, then, regard the treaties with the foreign powers negotiated by Edo as marking the start of the 5,000 year revolution, 'skilfully woven' into history by heaven. Not to see this as the will of heaven is to fail to understand heaven's true will. There is proof. The proof lies in the eighth volume of the Engishiki where, in a prayer addressed to the Ise shrines, it refers to the "casting of eighty nets over distant lands in order to draw them near".

The fact that the last Emperor repeatedly called on the men-of-arms to expel the barbarians was also, surely, part of heaven's design. It was calculated to ensure that Japanese people did not lose courage. It is strange - is it not? - that the discipline of international law arose in Western nations in the year in which the 5,000 year revolution began. A scholar of international law then crossed to China, and in 1864 wrote down International Law in Chinese. He published it and disseminated it widely; it came to Japan, too, and was printed in Edo in Keiō 2(1866). Everybody has been able to read the book. It is surely strange, too, that it was at the same time that I, Takamasa, was in Kyoto telling everybody, in accord with the wishes of those Four Great Men, Hagura, Okabe, Motoori, and Hirata, that the true

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12 Hikohohodemi no mikoto was the son of Ninigi no mikoto. For his role in the myths, see Nihongi, p. 108 and Kojiki, p. 149.

13 Ansei 6 (1859) was the year in which the Bakufu opened Kanagawa, Nagasaki and Hakodate, and permitted trade there to the five nations of Russia, France, England, Holland, and America. The previous Emperor is a reference to Komei, Emperor Meiji's father, who reigned 1847-66. Okuni's calculation adds up if we recall that it took six years (Nihongi, p. 131) for Jinmu to progress east from Hyūga to the Yamato plain. To this needs to be added, then, the 18 years of his reign, plus the 2,476 years since the Seven Generations and the 2,500 counting back from 1859.

14 Engishiki, vol. 8, Jingi 8.

15 Emperor Komei's calls for the expulsion of foreigners were particularly strident in 1858, when he opposed the signing of the treaties with the foreign powers, and 1862, when the court came under the sway of Chōsū extremists.

16 The scholar referred to is very probably the American missionary William Alexander Parsons Martin (1827-1916), who went to China in 1850, and translated Wheaton's Elements of International Law into Chinese.
international law is to be found here in Japan.\textsuperscript{17} (For further information, the reader is referred to my \textit{Koden Tsükai, Onzu Shinkai} and \textit{Shintō Yōron}.)

The present work aims to show simply that, despite the existence of the Westerners' \textit{International Law}, true international law is to be found in the classics of Japan. It is not an attempt to give a thorough-going explication of Shinto.

Anyway, early in the winter of Keiō 1 (1865), foreigners came to Hyogo port, and engaged in discussion with the Edo government. The Emperor, divining the will of the deities, did not permit trade in Hyogo, but did give his approval for trade to be carried out in Nagasaki, Hakodate and Yokohama. Some people may be highly critical of this, but the Emperor's wish reflects the wish of the deities in heaven. One can only note that this was an example of the original wish of Amaterasu as evident in the earlier cited "casting of eighty nets over distant lands in order to draw them near". The previous Emperor's exhortations to the military to expel the barbarians were also a manifestation of heaven's wish that Japanese people do not lose heart.

Though these two heavenly wishes may appear to contradict one another, in fact they do not. It is narrow to think that expelling barbarians consists merely in raising an army to head off [foreigners]. For ten years or so before 1865, the year in which imperial approval for the treaties was granted, the Emperor's prayers were offered up ceaselessly at shrines throughout the land, and the Emperor himself progressed to the Kamo and Hachiman shrines. What must people have thought when the Emperor permitted trade without any sign that his prayers had been answered? People who believe that expelling barbarians consists only in confronting them with armed force might not be easily persuaded, and think the Emperor's prayers less than efficacious. But the will of the gods is not thus.

In the first place, the fact that international law has spread throughout the world, winning even Chinese approval, has actually put a stop to the unorthodox Chinese practice of dividing the globe into 'flowering center' and 'barbaric periphery' and calling the Chinese sovereign a 'son of heaven'. [This surely accords with the will of the gods.] Expulsion of the barbarians is at work when this same

\textsuperscript{17} Hagura is Kada no Azumamaro (1699-1736); Okabe is Kamo Mabuchi (1697-1769); Motoori is, of course, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata is the afore-mentioned Hirata Atsutane.
international law, having arrived here in Japan, put an end to the narrow Japanese Confucian habit of revering China as flowering center and despising as barbaric their own nation of Japan. The real ‘expulsion of the barbarian’ will take place, though, when, in years to come, true international law arises in Japan to thwart Western law, and when all nations pay obeisance to our nation. If we regard the winter of 1865, and the granting of trade [rights to foreigners], as the start of this process, then perhaps we can see that the Emperor’s prayers for barbarian expulsion were answered, and his rescript adhered to. We should broaden our minds and rejoice!

It would appear, then, that there are greater and lesser varieties of barbarian expulsion. The lesser form involves dispatching an army; the greater involves bringing other nations under our sway without resort to force. The imperial permission granted in 1865 is the start of the process of bringing foreign nations under our sway, and is a cause for joy. It is clear that to regard the lesser variety as the only variety is narrow-minded. Were one to adopt the lesser variety, it would be difficult, after all, to foresee the outcome of hostilities. You may think you are confronting five nations. But countries call on reinforcements, and one may end up having to face the equivalent of ten or even twelve nations. Were foreign powers to besiege our ports, and then in later years, perhaps, to attack us on all fronts, victory for Japan would be by no means certain. Advocates of the greater form of expelling the barbarian apply the logic of heaven and earth, and they confront first what the foreigners call international law; if they make a start now and wait for their time to come, they are unlikely to suffer defeat. When they are victorious, their victory will be so much the sweeter.

The persistent calls of the previous Emperor for expulsion of the lesser variety did, also, nonetheless, conform to the will of the gods. It was as a result of these calls that the entire nation kept up its morale and that men of courage and conviction sprung up all over the land. All this came to nothing perhaps, but their spirit will be told of in later ages, and will be broadcast throughout the world. [Owing to their efforts,] the world can no longer despise Japan. Their courage is Japan’s strength; who can say that their efforts were without profit or benefit?

A certain warrior queried my true international law. He had this to say: Chinese sages are truly deserving of reverence, and barbarians should be attacked. We are falling into the clutches of the barbarians, and we should be weeping and wailing. Instead
you are telling me we should be rejoicing. How can this be? To copy everything from China, and to say that a country like ours is superior to China, that it is the supreme nation on earth, has no basis in fact. Rather than flattering Japan, we should have a change of heart and recommend to the powers-that-be a policy of expelling the barbarians with force. Each person should sacrifice himself, and display unflinching loyalty to the nation.

My reply was this: My friend, you do not know the facts about ancient Japan; nor do you know the facts about the West. You have read into the books of the Chinese sages; you have inherited the corrupt views of Confucianists prevalent in recent years, and you believe that there is nothing in the world to compare with them. You should not speak up until you have learnt about the words and the deeds of the ancients of Japan; nor until you are more familiar with works from all over the world, including China. You must better acquaint yourself with the profound learning of the deities and the theories of the sages; you must read exhaustively in history too. When it comes to the present issue of expelling barbarians, even great leaders must not act upon their instinct. It is vital to realize just how difficult the barbarian expulsion of the lesser variety would be. In the world there are those things which are meant to be and those that are not. It is, of course, noble of a warrior to devote himself with total passion to a cause he knows is doomed. Kusunoki father and son are a case in point.18 But the issues of today are not like those of that age; nor are they comparable to the age of Yueh Fei in Sung China.19 You must know that the court, and heaven too, permitted trade as the first phase in barbarian expulsion of the greater variety. It would have been useless for someone of my lowly status to have addressed my superiors on this matter. It would have been pointless, too, for me to have sacrificed myself for this. The leader must first be enlightened, and distance himself from the Confucianist, for whom all foreign nations are inferior; he must thwart Western international law; he must take heed from the ancient tradition of this great nation of Japan, and lend his support to the great task of elevating our nation to a position above all others on earth.

18 Kusunoki Masashige (1294-1336) and his son, Masatsura (1326-48) both dedicated themselves to the lost cause of Emperor Go-daigo, who reigned 1318-39.

19 Yueh Fei (1103-1141) was a loyal vassal of Kao Tsung (1127-62), the Emperor who established the Southern Sung dynasty (1127-1279). Yueh Fei was long extolled as a paragon of loyalty and courage.
You are a bold warrior, and you should understand it is important for you to become a shield for the Emperor and his vassals. Be cautious always, look after yourself well and prepare for self-sacrifice in the event that foreign nations do launch an attack.

Again some scoundrel criticized me thus: The cost of living is high. Never has the price of rice been so exorbitant. This is all because of the worthless trade that the government has agreed to. Were the wise men of Edo to abandon self-interest and practice the expulsion of the barbarians, the cost of living would drop to what it was before, to the relief of everyone. I can not believe you when you say that we should rejoice about trade, and that the deities in heaven have actually approved it.

My reply to the man was this: It is the height of perversity to presume that the wise men of Edo engage in trade out of self-interest. Even if there were self-interest at work, things are as they are because of the will of heaven. You should know that the will of heaven is not to be defeated. When one looks at the exorbitant price of fresh fish and vegetables - which we rarely trade in with the Western powers - it is difficult to maintain that trade alone is responsible. Japanese should rejoice that Japan is superior to foreign nations. The course cloth they call grosgrein, the patterned materials known as sarasa, the thin tightly woven canequin cloth, all of which foreigners have carried over many leagues to Japan - all of these things are cheap. But the cloths that we make in Japan, and buy and sell here - the soft habutae silks, the silk crepe we call chirimen, kinu silk and cotton - all of these are very expensive. Surely this is evidence that Japanese fibers and materials are superior to those of other nations? Our gold, silver, bronze and iron, our rice and other grains, too, are all of superior value. Everyone in Japan today knows that our paper, lacquer and oils are superior. Consider the items that have entered Japan from China: they are for the most part inferior in terms of their practicality. China is better than us at making items of little practical use, though; it has produced many of considerable interest. As for imports from the West, they are, again, inferior to ours in terms of their practicality, and Western items of a frivolous nature are inferior, too, to similar ones from China. That we Japanese are in a position to know all this is due, of course, to trade. It is because other nations know the value of our goods that they have risen in price.

Hereafter, Japanese people should travel to Western countries and engage in trade there, and, when they do, they will
find that Japanese goods will be highly valued there too. The price of rice is high, yet there are none starving to death. The cost of living is high, but if the people continue to work hard and be abstemious, they will make ends meet. It is vital for the future that we plant mulberry, tea and paper mulberry to reap profit for the nation.

I convinced the man of the need to import much wood and fuel from foreign nations.

Confucianists have criticized me too: The way of Confucius, they say, is the ethical way; the ethical way is the way of Confucius; to cast aside Confucius is to cast aside all ethics. It is obvious to anyone just how preposterous and idiotic are Japanese theories about the Age of the Gods. They are all distortions of the truth; they portray the deeds of men as worthless, and they are designed to appeal to men of little intelligence. It is precisely the Chinese division between 'flowering center' and 'barbaric periphery' that is true 'international law'. Open your mind, and follow the orthodox teachings of Confucius.

To which my reply was this: I hear what you say about the way of Confucius being the ethical way. But it is difficult to accept that the ethical way is exclusively that of Confucius. If that were the case, there would have been no ethical way in China before the birth of Confucius. All countries of the earth, beginning with Japan, are endowed, from their beginnings, with an ethical way. The reason for this is that the Ruler of Heaven and the Creator have granted a human way to all human beings. However, there have always been, depending on the country, ways that were more or less profound and more or less correct. When I compare Japan's ancient period with that of China, my conclusion is that Japan's way was deep and orthodox and China's shallow and heterodox. Proof is to be found in the absence of reference to loyalty and filial piety in the classics of the Hsia, Yin and Chou eras.20 In the Han-fei-tzu, which appeared at the end of the Chou period, there is a section setting out the virtues of loyalty and filial piety, it is true, but the same text accuses the sages and Confucius himself of not understanding the truth about them.21

It was only with the Han period that loyalty and filial piety

20 These three early dynasties are dated tentatively as follows: Hsia, 2205-1766 BC; Yin, 1766-1122 BC; Chou, 1122-256 BC.
21 The Han-fei-tzu is a classic 20-volume legalist text of the third century BC. Volume 51 is called "Loyalty and Filiality".
was set out and their splendors truly acknowledged. However, it was precisely because people throughout Japan had shared in the virtues of love for one's parents and love for one's lord - because these virtues were both deep-rooted and correct in Japan - that the imperial line has been unchanging from the Age of the Gods till the present. It is the idea of loyalty, piety, generosity and justice that finds expression in the Chinese words chū, kō, jin and gi. But the single Japanese word 'truth' (makoto) was always sufficient to express the love of lord that is chū, the love of parents that is kō, the love of society that is jin, the knowledge of justice that is gi. Just because those words did not exist in Japan does not mean to say that the virtues themselves were absent. When I, Takamasa, ponder the ancient customs of Japan, the way of the gods and the heavenly truth which those ancient customs and ancient words reveal to us; and when I think, too, of the way which the Ruler in Heaven and the Creator have imparted to us by means of Shinto and the truth of heaven, it is clear to me that the gods have woven the creation of the human world out of the warp of 'loyalty to the center' and the woof of 'mutual help'. 'Loyalty to the center' is based on what the Chinese call loyalty, piety and chastity; 'mutual help' involves helping members of your family, the village, your work place, your country and, eventually too, people from foreign lands. It really is right that we help other nations conform to the original wishes of the Ruler in Heaven and the Creator, and have them regard Japan as central nation, and revere the Emperor as the great center of the human world. This is what I mean when I talk of true international law.

You say that the Age of the Gods chapters of the myths are preposterous, and you perhaps have some reason for doing so. All countries of the world conceive a material world, the human world, and a spiritual world, inhabited by sacred spirits. Japanese tradition is, however, extremely well informed about the spirit world, whilst foreign nations are not so well informed. That is why theirs are a veritable mixture of truth and falsehood; that is why, also, the Chinese speak of 'straight' and 'crooked' words, as you

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22 There was a former and a later Han dynasty. Their dates were respectively 206 BC-8 AD and 25-220 AD. Ōkuni's point presumably is that it was during the Han that the ideas of Confucius became the predominant philosophy of the Chinese court.
can see in the Lieh-tzu, for example. Since many of the things that Confucianists themselves say are truly 'crooked' words, it is not surprising that they regard as 'crooked' the ancient traditions of Japan. They are ignorant that Amaterasu is the deity which the Chinese themselves call Lord of Heaven; they think of her as an empress in the human world. The reason why the Japanese refer to the Emperor as 'son of heaven', 'descended from heaven' and 'heavenly ruler' is precisely because he is genuinely descended from the Ruler of Heaven. The Chinese kings are false kings, and a veritable example of what is 'crooked'. It is a mistake for them to think that Japan's true Emperor is 'crooked,' based, as those thoughts are, on nothing more than the crooked words used in that nation of false kings.

All people born in Japan, be they Confucianist, Buddhist or Western scholars, should know that the Emperor, being the descendant of the Ruler of Heaven rules the world for eternity; they must look forward to the time when the whole world is under his sway, and they should rejoice. When that time comes, there will be many surprised to discover belatedly that the words of me, Takamasa, were not incorrect.

In our ancient records, whenever there is a reference to a deity from heaven, there is a corresponding reference to a deity of the earth. There is, however, no earthly equivalent to Amenominakanushi no kami, 'the master deity residing in the heavens'. The reason why the gods never, from the Age of the Gods to the present day, created a corresponding 'master deity residing on earth' was because they were awaiting the day when all nations would come under the sway of our emperor, at which time they would praise him as that 'master deity residing on earth'.

There are those who wonder about Amaterasu's adopting the form of a woman. This requires some comment. This is, of course, a cause for wonderment for those who are ignorant of 'birth by fire'. You should know that fire is composed of hinoe and hinoto. Hinoe is the elder brother of fire, and Hinoto, the younger

23 The Lieh-tzu is a Taoist work usually attributed to the Chou period.

24 The idea of a correspondence between Amenominakanushi no kami and the Emperor is unique to Okuni's scholarship.

25 Okuni borrows here from the classic Chinese theory of the 'Five Elements' of wood, fire, earth, metal and water. The 'Five Elements' was one of two fundamental principles governing Chinese astrology, alchemy and other branches of learning. (The other, of course, was yin-yang.) Okuni maintains elsewhere, needless to say, that both these theories originated in Japan not in China.
sister. Kanayamabiko no kami, you know, is Kanoe, the elder brother of metal. Metal has a younger sister in the person of Kanayamahime or Kanoto. In like fashion, Kagutsuchi no kami is Hinoe, the elder brother of fire; Amaterasu is Hinoto, the younger sister of fire. I have written about all of this in greater detail in my Koden Tsukai. Hinoe controls fire that burns; Hinoto controls fire that shines. Amaterasu was born in the year of hinoto, and lay buried in the left eye of Izanagi. The truth is, though, that Amaterasu is a 'manifestation' of Ameno-minakanushi. She is the younger sister of fire; as ruler of heaven and earth, she devotes herself to edification; she is protected from acts of violence. Sometimes she adopts the form of a man, but her temperament is always moderate. [The virtue of] Kachihayahi no mikoto [was similar, and thus he] did not descend to earth, but gave way to his son, Ninigi no mikoto. The ni of Ninigi means 'to thread jewels on a string'; nigi means 'harmony', and refers to the harmony between those in the imperial court and those beyond; Ninigi's virtue was sufficient to gather all nations harmoniously under his sway. Kachihayahi no mikoto did not descend to earth, but rather Ninigi was commissioned instead to lay the foundations for Japan to extend its rule over the entire world. Amaterasu is ageless and immortal, and her concern is with edification; thus it is that she is a female deity. The 'master deity residing on earth' is, however, a human who dies, and a male responsible for transmitting the imperial line from one age to the next for all eternity. Sometimes there may be empresses in Japan, but it is for specific reasons only, and not the norm. The Emperor is male and yet does not commit violence; he does not lose sight of

26 For Kanayamabiko no kami and Kanayamahime no kami, both born of the vomit of Izanami as she lay in agony after giving birth to the Fire God (note 27, below), see Kojiki, p. 57.

27 Kagutsuchi no kami is the fire deity born of Izanami. It was in giving birth to Kagutsuchi that Izanami perished. Kagutsuchi was then cut into three pieces by Izanagi, before the latter pursued his deceased wife into the nether realm. (Nihongi, p. 23.)

28 The brother-sister relationship established here between Kagutsuchi and Amaterasu is one of several unique interpretations of the myths offered by Okuni.

29 Each of the 'Five Elements' was identified with temporal phases. Hence, Amaterasu, also known as Hinoto was born in the hinoto phase. The Nihongi (pp. 27-8) describes the birth of Amaterasu from the left eye of Izanagi.

30 See above note 6.

31 For Kachihayahi no mikoto, see Kojiki, p. 137.
the virtues of harmony; his relations with those within his court and beyond are harmonious, and this harmony will spread even to foreign nations. The Emperor leaves expeditions and military matters to the men-of-arms. Thus it is that the present age is replendent. It is precisely in this way that the Emperor may be at once true to the edifying virtues of Amaterasu, the Ruler of the Heaven, and faithful to the name of her grandson, Ninigi no mikoto.
Even if the body perishes in the fields of Musashi,
The spirit of Yamato is to endure eternally.
on 10/25, Twenty-One Times an Indomitable Warrior

The changes in my viewpoint since last year are so many
that I can hardly enumerate them. As all of you know, above all, I
deply admire Kuan Kao of Chao and I revere Ch'ü P'ing of Ch'u.
For this reason, Shien [Irie Sugizō] alluded to this in his farewell
verse: "Among the many warriors in Yen and Chao, none achieved
greater eminence than Kuan Kao; while all in the state of Ch'ü
were deeply apprehensive, Ch'ü P'ing alone distinguished himself."
Nevertheless, after I heard that I would be sent to Kantō on 5/11, I
too meditated on a single ideograph, makoto (sincerity). At that
time, Shien suggested to me the ideograph of shi (death), which I
refused to accept. Obtaining a piece of white cotton cloth, I jotted
down a quotation from Mencius, "Never has there been one of
perfect sincerity who does not move others." I sewed it onto my
handkerchief, carried it with me in coming to Edo, and placed it in
the Bakufu Judicial Office (hyōjōsho) to express my will. The
events since last year, I regret to say, have indicated that the
sincere intents of the Imperial Court and the Bakufu do not
always fit hand in glove. Were Heaven to acknowledge my
fragments of fidelity, I was firmly convinced that the Bakufu
officials would approve my proposal without fail. Yet, like the
proverbial mosquito that tries to carry a mountain, I have not
been able to accomplish my objective, and so the matter stands.
If, further, this is due to my insufficient virtue, whom shall I blame
or bear a grudge against now?

2 All dates are in the old lunar calendar, thus 10/25 does not translate into
October 25. The date has been rendered as 10/25 rather than "the twenty-fifth
day of the tenth month" in order to communicate the economy of the original
phrasing.
On 7/9 came the first summons to appear in court. The Three Magistrates sat and investigated two allegations. First, I allegedly met with Umeda Genjiro on the occasion of his visit to Nagato; what secret conversations did I have with him? Second, a leaked document was found at the Imperial Palace, and Genjiro and others claimed that its handwriting resembled mine; did I have something to do with it? There was nothing but these two allegations. From the outset I had noticed Umeda's cunning nature, and I had been reluctant to share my intentions with him. How would I have intended to hold a secret conference? By nature I favor fair and upright things. How would I devise such an obscure scheme as a leaked document? I described the pains I took during my six-year imprisonment. In the end, I made a confession of my plea for Councillor Ohara's move to the west, my plot to intercept Senior Council Sabae [Manabe Akikatsu], and so forth. It was because of the plot against Senior Council Sabae that I was finally sentenced to imprisonment.

I am intense by nature and can hardly tolerate abuse or condemnation. Striving to keep up with the times, I primarily concern myself with responding well to human sentiments. Because of this, I informed the officers that the Bakufu's signing of the treaty without court sanction was inevitable. Then I went on to refer to the appropriate measures to be taken at the present juncture. I had fashioned these theories through constant speculations and wrote on them at length in “Taisaku” (Taking Action). In response to this, although they were Bakufu officials, they were not much upset or enraged, but they immediately said, “Your suggestions do not seem to be quite adequate. Moreover, it is unpardonable for a man of low station [such as yourself] to discuss the serious affairs of the nation.” I did not fight back any further and simply replied, “Should I be adjudged guilty for this, I will offer no resistance.” The Bakufu’s law does not allow commoners to worry about the nation. I had never disputed whether this was right or wrong. I heard that Kusakabe Isōji from Satsuma, when interrogated by the officials, criticized the deficiency of current politics. His assertion that given these deficiencies, it would be difficult to secure safety even for thirty-five more years, infuriated the interrogating officers. He declared, “Even if I am punished by death for this, I will have no regrets.” This is far beyond my reach. Shien’s urge to make me accept death might also imply the same idea. Tuan Hsiu Shih of the Tang dynasty dealt with Kuo Hsi earnestly, while Chu Tz'u- dealt fiercely. Thus, the hero spontaneously employs what is right at
the time. The point is that, when you look back upon your conduct, there should be nothing of which to be ashamed. Furthermore, it is essential to know people and seek opportunities. To put it simply, you should wait until my coffin is covered to weigh my advantages and disadvantages.

The deposition of this time was extremely simple and crude. After I provided general accounts on 7/9, there was no substantial questioning for the interrogation either on 9/5 or 10/5. On 10/16, when the deposition was read to me, however, I was ordered to sign my name immediately. There was no mention of my painstaking negotiations with American ambassadors or my idea of overseas ventures. Several passages simply touched lightly upon the matter of opening the ports. An ineptly circuitous argument like "After the increase of national strength, it is proper to drive off the barbarians," though contrary to my opinion, constituted part of the deposition. Aware that it was useless to retort, I did not dare to utter a word. My discontent was enormous. Compared with the deposition solely describing my attempted voyage in the first year of Ansei, it differed immensely.

On 7/9, I gave a general account of Councillor Ohara, the Sabae palanquin plan, and so on. My initial thought was that, inasmuch as these facts might have been espied already by the Bakufu, it would be much better if I confessed them unequivocally. After having revealed each of these already, I sensed that the Bakufu was entirely ignorant. Accordingly, I thought that if I went out of my way to inform the Bakufu of what they did not know and implicated many of those involved in my plans, this would inflict not a little damage on righteous people: it would give the Bakufu a fine toothed comb with which to search. Thereupon, I substituted "admonition" for "ambush" in referring to Sabae. Also, whenever possible, I concealed and did not specify the names of all the allies frequenting Kyoto or the names of all those who took an oath [for the assassination of Manabe]. This I did out of my humble concern for those who would rise up later on. Truly it must be regarded as great fortune that the Bakufu decided to punish me alone without accusing anyone else in connection with me. You, the friends who share my aspirations, reflect deeply on this.

The official record of this plot to admonish is as follows: if the plan were to fail, Senior Council Sabae and I would die by falling upon each other's swords; if police were guarding him, we would cut them down. I never stated anything like the above. Nevertheless, the Three Magistrates willfully wrote them down and
pressed me to admit to these false accusations. How would I be willing to accept false accusations? Then, on the sixteenth, when I was ordered to sign the criminal record, I argued at length with the two magistrates, Ishitani and Ikeda. How should I regret this single death? It comes because I refused to yield to the treacherous intrigue of the two magistrates. Prior to this, there were two investigations on 9/5 and 10/5. Even those investigators had recorded in detail that I had made up my mind to die with the decision to admonish. There was no plan to stab each other or cut down a guard of police. Is it not chicanery that the investigators, despite fully acknowledging the facts, distorted them in their deposition? Nonetheless, now that things have come to this pass, if I refuse to admit the plots to stab each other or cut down any guards, then the intensity would dim, and my friends would be disappointed. I, too, would not escape disappointment. Upon reconsidering this again and again, however, I see that the petty details of each little word should not constrain the realization of benevolent humanity through one death. Today Shōin will be killed because of an arbitrary authority. The divine spirits of heaven and earth, like mirrors, illuminate me from above. What regrets could I have?

From the beginning, I did not struggle to hold on to life, nor did I set my course for death. Simply concerned with the question of sincerity, I left everything to the natural workings of the Mandate of Heaven. I almost expected to die on 7/9, when my poem read, "Like Chi Sheng, I would simply be content to be slain and exposed to public gaze. Like Ts'ang Kung, I would never hope to return alive again." Thereafter, on 9/5 and 10/5, deceived by the generosity of the interrogations, I firmly decided not to give up my life, and my heart found a certain exuberance and happiness. This feeling did not arise from any reluctance on my own behalf. Rather, the reason was external. On the last new year's eve, the imperial statement had already conceded to the Bakufu. On 3/5, our lord's palanquin departed from the Hagi castle. Thereupon, my efforts failed completely, so I immediately sought to die. At the end of the sixth month, when I arrived in Edo, I picked up some information about foreigners. Arriving in prison on 7/9, I considered conditions throughout the whole world. When I realized that there was still something to do for the Land of the Gods, it suddenly occurred to me for the first time that I would rather live. Were I not to die, the life burning in me would never be wasted. Nevertheless, since I came to know from the deposition of the sixteenth that the chicanery of the Three Magistrates would
send me into the jaws of death, I have ceased to hope for my life. This too derives from the strength I have acquired in the everyday pursuit of learning.

The tranquillity with which I decided to die today comes from the cyclical movement of the four seasons. After all, as mere observation of this cycle shows, those crops are sown in spring, grown in summer, reaped in fall, and stored in winter. With the coming of fall and winter, people all rejoice in the completion of their annual harvest, brew sake, and make sweet wine. Cheerful cries echo around the village fields. Never have I heard of people grieving over the conclusion of their yearly achievements in bringing in the autumnal harvest. I am thirty years of age. Were I to have died without accomplishing a thing, like a crop that had never flowered or had failed to produce any fruits, maybe I should feel regrets. From my standpoint, however, this should be taken as a moment of flowering and fruition. What should I require me to feel sad? The reason is that the human life, one of indeterminate length, is nothing like the crops' inevitable process of going through the four seasons. One who dies at the age of ten inescapably has four seasons during the ten years. One who dies at the age of twenty or thirty inescapably has four seasons during the twenty or thirty years. This is true also of fifty and one hundred. To regard the age of ten as too short is to desire that a cicada equal a divinely long-lived tree. To regard the age of one hundred as too long is to desire that a divinely long-lived tree equal a cicada. In neither case would the Mandate of Heaven be accomplished. At the age of thirty, having already been provided with four seasons, Shoin is flowering as well as producing fruit, though I have no knowledge of whether it is chaff or grain. Should there be anyone among our comrades who pities my slight sincerity and desires to sustain it, then clearly the seeds that follow upon me still have not perished. The harvest will stand unashamed, even next to the years of abundance. My comrades in purpose should contemplate this.

Although I have never met Horie Yoshinosuke, for this country samurai from Mito was kept in the outer east division of the house of detention, I have found a true friend in him. He said to me, "In the past, Yabe Sunshū began fasting upon the day he was left in Lord Kuwana's care. Laying a curse of revenge on his enemies, in the end he drove them back. Now so long as you are preparing yourself for a death, please make an earnest prayer for the expulsion of enemies within and without. Pray that you might leave behind a great heart." He politely exhorted me. These
words sincerely impressed me. On another occasion, Ayuzawa Idayu, a samurai from the Mito domain kept together with Horie, said to me, "Currently your destiny is still unknown. As for myself, I am to be exiled to a far-off island, so I simply leave everything under heaven for the Mandate of Heaven to decide. Still, I desire to entrust a legacy to my comrades and leave for later generations things which will benefit the country as a whole." This remark gave me a great sense of purpose. What I fervently pray for is my fellow patriots' heroic carrying out of my aspirations and their success in realizing the great duty of serving the Emperor and driving out the barbarian influence (sonjo). Even if I should die, or men like Horie and Ayuzawa should be in remote islands or in prison, I beg my comrades to associate with them. Furthermore, there is a physician called Yamaguchi San'yu in Honjo, Kamesawa Town. He seems to be a person devoted to righteousness, as he endeavored extensively to work for Horie and Ayuzawa from the outside. The most superlative thing about him is that, when the two asked him to take care of Kobayashi Minbu, a total stranger to him, he also rendered great service to Kobayashi. I feel that there is something out of the ordinary about him. Moreover, the communication with the three men will be made possible by this old man, San'yu.

Horie has an abiding faith in Shinto and reveres the Emperor. He hopes to expound the great way to the realm and eradicate fallacious and unorthodox theories. He asserts that there is no better way than to issue an instructional statement from the Imperial Court and promulgate it to the realm. In addition to the promulgation of an instructional statement, I assume that we ought to carry out additional action. It is necessary to build a university in Kyoto, exhibit the awe-inspiring academic approach of the Imperial Court to the realm, and gather scholars of rare talents and exceptional abilities in Kyoto. Afterwards, correct arguments and dependable discussions from all ages under heaven can be compiled in books. People's minds under heaven will naturally unite, once the overflow of instructions from the Imperial Court is propagated everywhere. Hence I proposed this to Horie along with the issue of the Sonjodô,\(^3\) about which I used to have secret talks with Shien. We decided to assign this duty to Shien. If he can devise plans with his comrades, reconcile the objectives of the inside and

\(^3\) The school's name acronymically implies "revering the Emperor (son) and repelling the barbarians (jô)."

outside, and initiate a small beginning for this project, then what I intend to attain will not be destroyed. Though the matter involving imperial envoys and orders stumbled last year, it is not that we should cease revering the Emperor and expelling the barbarians. Again, it is indispensable to devise good schemes and continue the previous designs. How can a proposal for the university in Kyoto be mistaken?

Kobayashi Minbu stated that at Gakushūin in Kyoto, on certain days, anyone, down to peasants or merchants, is allowed to attend and listen to lectures. During scheduled lectures, court nobles are present, and lecturers from the Sugawara and Kiyohara families as well as Confucian scholars of low rank mingle with each other. Then, with further consideration on the basis of this, we will come up with countless excellent plans. Besides, the Kaitokudō possesses an imperial tablet of the Emperor Reigen's own handwriting. As Kobayashi stated, it would be splendid to establish another academy on the basis of this. Kobayashi, a high officer of the Takatsukasa family was at this time sentenced to exile to a remote island. Of all those involved in events in Kyoto, he received the most severe punishment. He is a person of many talents and varied accomplishments, and yet he is not well versed in literature. I have found him to be good at managing things. He stayed with me in the inner west division of the house of detention, but later he was transferred to the outer east division. In Kyoto, he especially befriended Suzuka Sekishū and Chikushū from the Yoshida shrine. Because Yamaguchi San'yū rendered great assistance on behalf of Kobayashi, you too, my fellow patriots, should correspond with Kobayashi (even if he may be sent to a remote island) through the help of Suzuka or Yamaguchi. In time, you will certainly gain assistance from him for events in Kyoto.

A samurai from the Takamatsu domain of Sanuki, Hasegawa Sōemon, has been admonishing his lord for years, endeavoring painstakingly to maintain a friendly relationship with the domain's trunk house, the Mito. He stays in the inner east division of the house of detention. His son, Sokusui stays with me in the inner west division. I still do not know what crimes father and son have committed. Comrades, I sincerely hope that you will remember the following story. When I first glanced at the old man, Hasegawa, the prison officials were standing on both sides of him. The law does not allow prisoners to exchange a single word. The old man said, as if to speak to himself, "Shatter
as a jewel rather than remain whole as a tile!" I keenly appreciate what he meant to say. My friends, please understand this.

I did not write the above several passages idly. It is only when we share our visions with the world's gentlemen of high purpose that we can accomplish the affairs of the realm. Accordingly, you should introduce to our comrades the above several people whose acquaintance I have just made. Further, Katsuno Hosaburō has already been released from prison, and you should associate with him to ascertain the details. Katsuno's father, Toyosaku, though hiding himself at the present moment, is reputedly a gentleman of high purpose. Wait until things are settled some day, and search for him. As for today's matter, my comrades, you should make inquiries about me, a warrior lost in the battlefield, as if I were your injured but still living friend. How can a valiant samurai surrender in the face of alone defeat? Ardently, yearningly, I beseech you.

Hashimoto Sanai from Echizen was executed at the age of twenty-six, in fact the date was 10/7. Sanai was kept in the inner east division for only five or six days. He stayed together with Katsuno Hosaburō. Later Katsuno came to the inner west division where we stayed together. Hearing Katsuno's stories, I bewailed not even having made Sanai's acquaintance. During his house imprisonment, he read the Shi ji tsugan (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), made a commentary on it, and finished reading the Kanki (Han Annals). In prison, moreover, he often discussed such issues as school teaching and training exercises. Katsuno recounted all this for my sake. Sanai's contentions from prison greatly inspired me. More and more, I wish that I could raise him to have one discussion. Alas!

I would like to show my noble comrades of the realm Selkyō's discourse on national defense and his recitation draft, and Kuchibane's poetry draft. Thus I promised to present these to the Mito samurai, Ayuzawa Idayū. Should you keep this promise in my place, my friends, I would be most delighted.

To Ayuzawa, Horie, Hasegawa, Kobayashi, and Katsuno, I have spoken of the matters of Odamura, Nakatani, Kubo, Kusaka, and the Shien brothers among my fellows and followers. I have also spoken in detail about the Sonjuku as well as Susa and Atsuki. I have also talked in detail to all of them about Iida, Odera, Takasugi, and [Itō] Risuke. None of this have I done lightly.
Postscript

Having exhausted the myriad concerns of my mind, nothing remains to weigh down my heart.

Except for the call for my execution, Is there anything I should await in this world?

If you take pity on me and lament my death, revere the Emperor and drive off the barbarians.

To those who cherish the friendship of a fool like me, you must esteem highly ties with my friends, everyone.

Though I be reborn seven times, how should I ever forget my resolve to expel the barbarians?

written at dawn on 10/26,\(^4\) Twenty-One Times an Indomitable Warrior

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\(^4\) Shōin’s execution was carried out on the morning of 10/27.
Recently, the authorities circulated copies of an imperial rescript. [The bakufu] announced, "In accordance with this imperial rescript, we wish to hear the opinions of the major domains concerning a policy [for the expulsion of foreigners.] Accordingly, each domain is to draw up a detailed policy, and immediately submit it to us before proceeding to the capital in the second month of the coming year." In regard to this, I received a note announcing the aforesaid as well as a copy of the rescript. [These were delivered to me by] the messenger Yazawa Shōgen, who informed me that, as there will be deliberation before the daimyo makes his recommendations to the bakufu, I am to present my proposal to the daimyo with all due haste. Yet I am unable to formulate the requested policy.

Not only am I unable [to carry out this task], even Saemon no suke\(^2\) and Nankō\(^3\) would not have been able to [formulate an appropriate policy to expel the foreigners]. And this is true not only of Saemon no suke and Nankō, but even Kong Ming, Sun Zi, and the Grand Duke Wang would not have been able to put forth [an appropriate] policy. And this is true not only of Kong Ming, Sun Zi, and the Grand Duke Wang, for I humbly believe even Confucius and Mencius would have been unable to suggest an appropriate policy. Indeed, even Mencius when he conferred with the King of Qi said, "Naturally the small must not turn against the large, the few must not turn against the many, the weak must not turn against the strong. The state of Qi possessed one part of an inland territory [i.e. China] divided into nine parts of ten

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2 Sanada Yukimura. A warrior of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1600) known for military strategy.

3 Kusunoki Masashige. A skilled military tactician of the early fourteenth century, regarded as a paragon of imperial loyalty by later generations.
thousand square ri each. For this one state to attempt to conquer the other eight is no different from the small state of Zou attempting to seize the territory of the large state of Chu. In the end, we must return to these fundamentals.

Now, the circumference of the earth, according to German measurements, is more than 5,400 ri. Its surface area is 9,278,980 square ri. But, three quarters of the earth is ocean, and one quarter is land. At present, the study of surveying in foreign countries is very precise. Even the area of the five continents is meticulously calculated, and is determined to be 2,379,156 square ri. However, the area of our country, measured in the German system, is not even 10,000 square ri. This means it does not even come close to being one two-hundredth of the area of the Five Great Regions. Even supposing our country has only fertile land and more than half of the land of foreign countries is barren and unproductive, [they still have much more fertile land than we do on the order of] one hundred to one. The difference between the state of Zou and the state of Chu is nothing compared to this.

Further, the knowledge and skills of the foreign countries, especially from the time of the three great discoveries [of Copernicus, Columbus and Newton] of some time ago, have advanced day by day, month by month. Astronomy, geography, ship building, gunnery, fortifications and so on—not one of these is impractical. Building on the results from their study of the steam engine, they now navigate steam ships on the sea and operate steam locomotives on land. Recently (five years ago) I obtained a detailed map (published in Germany called __). It showed the amount of railroad track, which is necessary for operating steam locomotives, in each country—Russia, France,

4 One ri equals 2.44 miles.
5 In the Warring States period, the state of Zou was destroyed by Chu, the largest state at this time.
6 This passage is from Mencius, I.a.7.
7 The Five Great Regions (go dai shû) were: Asia, Europe, Africa, and North and South America.
8 This space is left blank in Shôzan's text.
England, Germany, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Hungary, Sweden, Holland, Spain, and America. [The countries with] lesser amounts had track totaling several tens of ri, while [those with] greater amounts had more than 1,000 ri of track (all according to our country's system of measurement).

From this alone one can infer how strong and wealthy these countries must be. But in our country, from the beginning the bakufu has not had a naval policy nor a gunnery policy, and it is the same for the various domains. Although the daimyo of two or three domains are well staffed and excel [in regard to such policies], from my perspective, [most domains] are remiss in such matters. In addition, as I said before, the realm's fortification system and current military skills do not measure up to expectations. As for the defense [network] against a foreign invasion, there is no coordination. (In the three major cities [of Edo, Kyōto, and Osaka] no outer wall at all has been set up.) A person in an analogous position would be completely naked and empty handed. In addition, the bakufu has not made efforts to know the enemy. Because it has lost the way to manage [conditions], and because of its lack of concern for military skills, the bakufu is beginning to listen to foreign countries' [requests] that they be allowed to lease Gotenyama, the Edo government's number one stronghold. Under such appearances, even if [the bakufu] resists the one small country of Holland, I think [our position] remains very uncertain. Although everyone takes Holland lightly as a small country, [we must recall that] this country was reduced in size due to Belgium's secession thirty years ago. If we are well informed of topography, [we know that] Holland possesses exceedingly vast amounts of territory in India and America, and the islands to the south of Japan are for the most part in its possession. Even these islands to the south of Japan alone are somewhat larger than our country, and the annual revenue [of this territory] must be larger than that of our own. Therefore, because Holland year by year earns the profits of its maritime trade, enhances its national strength, and carefully attends to the preparation of ships, cannon, and its navy, contending with even this one country is well-nigh hopeless under current conditions. And yet, somehow we are to formulate a policy to resist the other four great countries simultaneously?
Again, I humbly submit that, in the end, we must return to fundamentals.

First of all, the learning and superior skills of the five continents have gradually developed and the military posture of each country has come to the current state of affairs. This is in fact the will of Heaven. How shall our realm, on its own, respond to this will of Heaven? Because we lack the national strength and ability, measures devised to maintain isolation do not live up to expectations. In addition, because learning and superior skills refine one another and lead to mutual growth, our country's constant isolation [has only served to make] both our national strength and ability, in the end, inferior to that of foreign countries. Ultimately, [our country] has been unable to maintain isolation. This must be obvious, even if our country can control the present state of affairs. Thus, we must engage in communication with foreign countries with courtesy. During this time, we must try to establish a union of court and bakufu so as to work together in a diligent manner. We must extend to one another the illustrious virtues of the ancient sage Xun: "Follow he who discards himself and does good for others." In order to gather together those things which allow the nations of the world to excel, we must gradually open the territory of Japan to foreign countries. If we surpass the nations of the world in the vigor of our national strength, if we surpass the nations of the world in attention to gunnery and the techniques of ammunition, if we surpass the nations of the world in numbers of armies and warships, if we surpass the nations of the world in gathering together great numbers of men with uncommon abilities and the talent for leadership, if we surpass the nations of the world in the training of soldiers, and if we surpass the nations of the world in the strength of our fortifications—if this is done, and other nations entertain treachery [toward us], it is natural that they will respect us, and be unable to rival us. In addition, these other nations will admire our virtue and therefore will be obedient and pay us tribute. This too is an argument for a return to fundamentals. In the Shu Jing it is said "when there is a parity

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9 This is from Mencius.

10 Book of History
of strength [between forces], virtue is measured. When there is a parity of virtue [between forces], righteousness is measured." In the ancient text *Sima fa*,\(^{11}\) it is said "Look upon the object [of the enemy's strength] and imitate it; then there are two." But if we assume a posture of readiness for warfare even though our national strength is unequal to that of an enemy nation, even if our virtue and righteousness exceeds that of the other, it will certainly be impossible to attain our aim. This is nothing but the correct principle, the real principle, the clear and self-evident principle of the world. Therefore, for lack of an alternative, it is through this reasoning that I submit my expectations [concerning a policy for the expulsion of foreigners]. I urge the emperor and the shogun to return to these fundamentals. In these urgent times, I respectfully ask that they [heed my advice so as to] avoid making a terrible blunder.

\(^{11}\) One of seven Chinese classics on the military arts.
I have humbly drawn up the following [draft], and respectfully present it as a general outline of the imperial wishes.

Although the isolation policy was decided upon as an independent policy of the Tokugawa Bakufu, this decision was reached after requesting the understanding of the emperor at the time. In addition, for more than two hundred years since that time, [our country] did not once receive the contempt of foreign countries and has not been humiliated by the outside world. One must say this attests to the great effectiveness of this policy.

However, in my generation (Kaei 6) [1853], the bakufu lacked the power to refuse America's demands, and willfully revised this national policy which our ancestors, with the understanding of the emperor, had decided upon, and allowed their own wishes to prevail. This was reported to me afterwards and was a source of great inward indignation. Then, within the next two to three years, in response to America’s request for a place to keep coal for their steamships, the bakufu signed a treaty opening up two locations—Shimoda and Hakodate. Again, the bakufu reported this after the fact, and it was a source of further deep indignation for me. Before three years had passed, America demanded the opening of ports throughout our country and land for their [foreign affairs] minister residing here. [The bakufu] stated that [the provision] of land for the minister's residence is in accordance with American law but is outside the framework of our country's legal system. [The presence of] those who are not imperial subjects [living on] imperial land would in fact represent a dramatic and unprecedented change in our country. The bakufu, however, again gave their permission and only afterwards made a report of this to me. This elicited my deepest indignation. [In accordance with my wishes], Hotta [Masayoshi] was summoned

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and an imperial order prohibiting such a settlement was issued. However, while Hotta gave the appearance of following the imperial order [in Kyōto], he had secretly signed a treaty with America. Following this, within the bakufu the authority of corrupt officials was extended and virtuous officials were driven away. [The bakufu] acceded to the foreign countries' demands, and loaned them [the use of] the Edo government's number one stronghold Goten-yama. Could there be anything as disgraceful as this? Finding this intolerable, an imperial proclamation was issued to sympathetic daimyos requesting that we attack and expel the foreign countries immediately and return to the policy of isolation.

However, the current shogun, upon inheriting his office, deeply regrets the errors the bakufu has made hitherto. He takes seriously my opinions, drives off corrupt officials and makes use of virtuous men. He corrects abuses, removes evils, attends to the military preparations of the realm, and endeavors to fulfill the duties of his office as military officer. Because of this, my deep pain toward the bakufu hitherto is calmed and henceforth my additional wishes will be made known.

Considering current conditions, [it is clear that] there are many aspects of learning and skills that foreign countries have developed, but that our country has not yet grasped, and while foreign countries have amassed ships and weapons, our country has yet to make such preparations. Whereas foreign countries have extremely strong fortresses, our country does not yet know how to construct such strongholds. In response to this, upon deep reflection, [it is evident that] these failings must be corrected. Even in the ancient Sima Fa, it says to look at the condition of things and achieve parity among abilities. In Sun Zi's The Art of War, it is said that the well-planned strategy leads to victory, the poorly planned strategy leads to defeat. In the Book of Zhou as well, it is said that one must give as much weight to virtue as power, and as much weight to righteousness as virtue. Should we not admonish those who, like the Manchus, corruptly try to build our forces without knowing our relative strengths? In careful reflection of this, we must work for a prosperity in which we completely surpass those foreign countries in [Western] knowledge and national strength through military preparation.

One or two domains, giving no thought to advantages and disadvantages and [acting] entirely upon a conviction of righteousness, assert that we should unify public sentiment and start a war. They say that we should build weapons and ships
while we fight. It has come to my attention that there are many
groups of rōnin that are blindly following this way of thinking and
assembling into larger groups. There is something to be said for
the will that seeks to inspire the true spirit of Japan by being
resolved upon [fighting] a decisive battle. But war means the life or
death of a country. If we mobilized carelessly, without making the
necessary calculations [regarding the needs of the military to
ensure the survival of the realm], where would our homeland lie?
Why are such ill conceived plans advocated?

The hearts of the heavenly gods will be consulted about
these matters. This omen will be examined and, once this is
determined, a policy will be decided upon. In the meantime, from
groups of feudal lords to groups of rōnin, all must understand my
wishes and act calmly, not at all carelessly. This group of
compatriots must not be formed according to only one view. Those
who do not heed my wishes are criminals, and should be
punished to the greatest extent permitted under law. This decree
will be disseminated to the bakufu and to domains quickly, and
subsequent offenders shall be punished by death without fail.
This must be distributed widely, both near and far for all to hear.
TODA TAKETOSHI E NO KYÖKUN
[Teachings to Toda Taketoshi (1875)]
by Saigō Takamori (1827-1877)

Translated by Derek Wolff

— What is the goal [of disciplined learning]?

When with narrow-mindedness one only takes one's own viewpoint as being central and does not heed what others say, one inevitably commits errors. While the goal of the Way of disciplined learning is extremely great, in [focusing on] only expanding one's goal, the ordering of one's life may be neglected. Therefore one must first discipline one's own body, and because there is no place for others if one's scope is narrow, one's scope must be broad since it is necessary for men to accept others and be accepted.

— What is the meaning of the necessity of being accepted?

In our actions, one favors one's own kind of actions, while criticizing the actions of others. In each instance, one should be tolerant of oneself no more than one is also tolerant of others; one should criticize others no more than one is also critical of oneself. In short, toleration should be afforded others while criticism ought to come upon oneself. In this way, one must accept others and must be accepted by others.

— Again, what is the goal?

Although loyalty and filiality are fundamental, if one investigates the true meaning of what is being practiced, one sees that the primary goal is to revere Heaven and love the people. The Way is the universal natural principle, and reverence for Heaven is at its origin. If at all times one does not engage with others, but endeavors towards this goal according to Heaven, then one must never blame others, but always seek out the inadequacies of one's own sincerity.

— What is the essence of loving the people?

People should not look to others but to Heaven [for guidance]. Therefore when one sees things from the perspective of

1 In: Dai Saigō shōkan taisei, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1941).
Heaven, love of both the self and others should be the same. Therefore, to love oneself according to the Way is also to love others.

— Again, what is the scope?

For example, when one endeavors to be kind to another, but one's sentiment is not fully transmitted to this other person, one should not blame the other [for this failure], but take it upon oneself. Because many people insist upon their own kindness while finding fault with others, this kindness has no effect. If one harbors thoughts of criticizing another, even though one may not express it, such sentiments will still reach that other person.

Many people easily forgive their own actions, and are quick to blame the actions of others. In the Way of Learning, one must be tolerant of others' actions while being critical of one's own.

That many people love themselves is the worst possible thing. The hesitation to alter mistakes, as well as inaction and the inability to learn in a disciplined manner, are born from love of oneself. People must not love themselves.

— What about reading?

If one reads the Book of Sages without the spirit to try to become like the Sages, [such an effort] will be ineffective. If one does not think one is able to do what is seen in these old books, it is more cowardly than fleeing from an encounter with battle. Even Chu Hsi said that those who flee upon seeing a drawn sword are completely inept.

— What of the spirit of the Sages?

If when earnestly reading the Book of Sages, one does not learn by thinking about what kinds of actions [are advocated], but merely memorizes some sayings and some stories, then reading the Book of Sages will serve no purpose. Nowadays, in listening to people's debates, however eloquent they are, if [their words] are not satisfactorily carried through to action, but merely remain as rhetoric, it is not at all impressive. To see a true man of action is indeed impressive. If one reads the Book of Sages superficially, then it is just like in fencing, when one who does not have even a little self-confidence flees upon meeting an opponent. This follows the same logic.

Do not be strategic [during ordinary times]. What is achieved through strategy [in everyday life] will often produce only bad results and leave deep regret. However, one must have a
strategy when facing a battle. Yet if one resorts to strategic thinking in everyday life, one cannot use this strategy when facing battle. King Ming did not use any strategies during ordinary times, and thus devised extraordinary tactics for times of war.

When I returned from Tokyo last year, I told my younger brother (Tsugumichi) not to construct any strategy, and now there is not even the slightest trace of impurity. This much must be clear.

— Then where does the plan come from?

Those who do not follow the Way in everyday life panic when confronted by the need to create a plan, and are unable to act. It is the same as the example of a nearby fire where one who is inactive in everyday life becomes greatly confused and cannot manage. In all things it is the same: those who do not follow the Way in daily life are unable to create a plan [when confronting extraordinary events].

When I go into battle, I begin by looking to see whether or not preparations are adequate, but not by looking with the eyes of my allies. Assume the mind of the enemy and try probing [one's own defenses]. This is said to be the most important preparation.

— How does one correct one's errors?

In general, because people regard others as the focus of their concerns, they hesitate to correct their own errors. One must make Heaven one's concern. Each time one errs, one feels that one cannot show one's face to others. This is because one is concerned more with others and one's own level of achievement compared to theirs. All of those who commit these errors do so because they are concerned with others. If one focuses on Heaven, one will take Heaven's view and truly be at peace with oneself. Therefore one can forsake these errors and quickly correct them.

— What is the heart that observes the teachings?

When one only listens to the words of others without putting them into practice wholeheartedly, [the teachings] cannot be observed. As long as those actions permeate one's heart, [the teachings] will always be observed.
— What is the relevance of whether or not one holds an official position?

In practicing the Way, it makes no difference whether or not one holds an official position. Yao and Shun held official positions from which to govern the realm. Thus we can regard them as our teachers. At the same time, although Confucius was never appointed to an official position in the Lu State, or in any other state, his many followers all practiced the Way.

— What about when one encounters hardship?

Especially in pressing situations, one foot may appear to be only two inches. As long as people proceed upon the Way of the universal natural order, meeting hardship will have little relevance to success or failure and life or death. People exhaust their minds [determining] who is skilled and unskilled in work, and who can and cannot perform an action. However, as long as people proceed upon the Way, there is no skill or lack of skill, and there are none who are incapable. Hardships should be enjoyed.

— Surely there is no enjoyment in hardship.

In enacting the Way and enjoying the Way, inevitably one meets suffering. If one wishes to overcome that suffering, again one must practice the Way and enjoy the Way.

— Teachings outside of the questioning.

When reading books, it is most important to understand the spirit of the Sages' actions. If one already understand this spirit of action, one should concentrate on what kind of state of mind enabled the Sages to succeed in their actions. If [one does not concentrate on this], then despite reading all of these volumes, one can only be considered knowledgeable, but not effective.

In looking at wrong-doings, even a glance at the public perception [of these acts] reveals that responses to these evil deeds vary according to each individual. Without considering the entire action, one must not in any way begin [to act]. Thus, for example, without anticipating the whole, one sets out to act based on a part. When halfway through there are changes and one is faced with difficulties, one panics. Among figures we have seen thus far, the *ronin*'s discourse is rich, yet their actions are weak: out of ten, the actions of no more than five or six show the [equivalent] spirit. Retainers' discourse is vulgar, but in contrast, their actions
are always based on an understanding of the whole. This is due to their experience with practice.
JIHI MUJIN KÔ
[The “Cooperative of Unlimited Compassion” of the Village of Tominaga]¹
by Miura Baien (1723-1769)

Translated by Tetsuo Najita

I. Statement of Aims

When good things happen in a village everyone rejoices; and when misfortunes strike all are saddened. This is like living in the same household with brothers and sisters. When there is mutual caring for the ill, saving of the impoverished, soothing of quarrels and arguments, and counseling of those who do wrong deeds, then peace and intimacy come to prevail. Even during the ups and downs in one’s life, other people should not be neglected as if their problems were unrelated to oneself.

When one respects one’s parents, the children raised in such a home will observe and learn naturally to act with piety. If the relationship between husband and wife is unhappy, children will learn from this and the household will lose its intimacy. It is well to know that good as well as evil deeds replicate themselves, and thus to be gentle and honest and seek a good pathway. Avoid those who are untrustworthy, corrupt, enjoy falsehoods, disobey rules, and who are unable to maintain friendships. Just as birds build their nest and search for their own food, humans too must always attend to their households with care. Although all human beings are born alike, if they are always hungry in the morning and cold at night, they will stain their hands with evil deeds, and people will say of such deeds that they are “stealing out of hunger.” When the household is properly maintained such wickedness will disappear and a spirit of kindness will pervade. As the saying has it, “have things well in hand so as not to bequeath step-children.”

Yet there is much variety in matters of wealth and poverty. When limits are not set there is attraction to excessive spending: such as letting money run through one’s fingers as one would sand, behaving in a rude and immoral manner so as to be disliked, and finally falling into beggarly ruin. Some are content being lazy and live a useless life, picking their fingernails with a toothpick, plucking their eyebrows with a tweezer, becoming worthless human beings recognizable neither as farmers nor as

merchants, and then letting their households fall into ruin. Others indulge in saké and women and, unconcerned as to what the next day might bring, refuse to heed the advice of parents and relatives, destroying in the end their own lives. Drawn to luxury and gambling, there are those who expect quick profits and then become robbers, outcasts, and homeless vagrants. There are still others who fuel their evil minds to satisfy their selfish desires by stealing from other people and gaining wealth, thereby acting without any moral scruples. And there are those who ignore the sufferings of others and are obsessed with the accumulation of their own wealth. They are quick to make excuses and treat the members of the household without charity; to seek advantages that lead to disastrous and pitiless results; to engage in unreasonable struggles with others in the buying and selling of things; and they are boastful of good fortune for which they are not responsible and look down on others as being foolish and unworthy.

While these people may enjoy momentary glory, they are despised by people around them, for they act in ways that are contrary to the natural order of things. If they should burn incense before Buddha’s altar or place saké as an offering before the Shrine, praying thereby for longevity, wealth and good health, their prayers surely will not be heeded, for Bodhisattvas and gods do not aid the wicked. A poem at the shrine of Tenman says it this way:

When your spirit is in accord with the way of truthfulness
Even without prayers will the gods protect you.
[Kokoro da ni makoto no michi ni kanai naba;
Inorazu tote no kami ya mamoran.
(Sugawara no Michizane)]

Joy is simply the well-being that comes effortlessly from the careful attention that is given to the needs of the household, and in being thoughtful to others, respectful of the aged, loving of the young, and gentle and compassionate. Then again, what is truly sad and miserable is for human beings to suffer through life even though they attend to the household and exercise frugality. They encounter illness, robbery, fire, flooding; or, the household and its branches being numerous, they face misfortunes beyond calculation. Especially painful is childlessness, being alone in old age, ill and immobile, homeless and without food, famished in the spring and frozen in the winter.

Now would it not be tragic if misfortunes such as these were to strike those who had not been so afflicted before? Indeed,
would it not be truly tragic if these misfortunes were to happen to oneself? To one suffering in misery, a portion of a meal gives that person another half-a-day of life; a cup of warm water warms the body if only for the morning. Just as every human being would want to save a frog from being swallowed by a snake, so, even more so, human beings living together in the same place [should feel the same compassion]; for a human being who does not feel compassion for other humans as he might for the frog is no longer human. Our hearts break when we ponder the sight of people in misery. We see that they are victims of disastrous storms, of famine, and of cold, or have encountered unexpected illnesses and die as a result of this sudden curse. To not give aid would mean to despise those who ought not to be despised and to speak with hatred to those who should not be addressed in that manner. So those who are physicians should extend medical aid; faith healers should provide spiritual solace and not charge outlandish fees for their services; wealthy persons should contribute in appropriate ways to save other lives; merchants should resist taking excessive profits. Each in one way or another should do as much as can be done. Those who eat beyond being full and who overly bundle themselves in warm garments and simply look with indifference as others die before their very eyes will incur the wrath of heaven and, in the social world around them, will have divorced themselves from the ways of human ethics. No gods will give them comfort. As the saying puts it, "when one is guilty before heaven, there is nowhere to go to and pray."

When everyone works in concert, dirt can be mounded into a hill. When an entire village sets its mind to join together and collect small contributions from each person then the sufferings of those in misery can be alleviated, even if only in a small way. That small gift is to the suffering person a truly precious blessing. Life is mutable and brief. We know not what tomorrow may bring. Think of the misfortunes that happen to others around you as though they were your own. In the everyday course of events, live with care and attention, interact with others in the village as do the fish who swim in water. Each will then be said to receive the blessings of heaven.

II. Agreement

Those who are able to read will explain the above principles in detail to their wives and children, and to all others in their households.
The elderly and the weak, males and females, will all, without exception, bring forth their contributions in varying amounts of wheat in the summer, rice in the fall, and cash in the winter.

The sponsors will establish a collection-place for the cash and grain and without fail keep a detailed record of loans extended to village officials on an annual basis and the amount and interest incurred.

Loans will not be extended to those who do not deposit an appropriate item in security, even with the mediation of a sponsor.

For a five-year period, the cash fund will not be used for purposes of relief activities.

Those suffering from extreme hardship will not be compelled to make contributions.

All agree that this emergency fund exists for the entire village and is not under the direction of a single head.

Based on deliberations among village leaders and mediators, those determined to be in gravest distress will be aided first.

The fund must not be used to promote the personal interest of individuals.

Outstanding persons known for their filiality and loyalty, being close to hand, should be given assistance with special care.

Private aims and favoritism must not be allowed to intervene in council.

Those whose contributions accumulate to a sum in excess of 10 monme in cash, and of 10 shu in grain, will be designated benefactors; their names will be duly recorded in the benefactors' book of accounts; and their fund(s) will then extend indefinitely into the future to aid all those who encounter extreme and unexpected disasters.

In order that we carry out this agreement without fail, we call on each one of you for your watchful and diligent support.

Sponsoring group of Tominaga village (sewanin): Yazohachi; Buzaemon; Tadasuke.
THE TWELVE TENETS OF THE DUTCH STUDIES ACADEMY,
Tekijuku\textsuperscript{1}
Ogata Kōan (1810-1863)

Translated by Tetsuo Najita

1. The work of the physician is only to help other human beings and not to promote the self. This is the basic tenet of the profession. Not seeking idleness or thinking about fame, one must simply abandon the self and pledge to save humans. No other work is involved than protecting lives, restoring people from illness, and relieving their pain.

2. When encountering a patient, see only the patient. See not high or low, poor or wealthy. Consider the gain within yourself in comparing the tears of gratitude in the eyes of the poor with the handful of gold of the wealthy. Think deeply about this.

3. When applying your method address the afflicted person as the exclusive subject. Never rely on the hit or miss method. Do not cling to biases and rely on careless testing. Always be disciplined and detailed.

4. Besides perfecting medical skills, one must also strive to speak and act in ways that will encourage trust in the patient. However, to simply rely on the latest trends and present deceptive theories to become persuasive is truly shameful.

5. Every evening review once again the cases treated during the day, and document these in detail. As they accumulate toward a book, these may be of use to yourself and to the patients as well as to others more broadly.

6. In calling on a patient, it is best to concentrate on making a detailed diagnosis in a single visit rather than on making several visits. However, to be so overly self-confident as to deny the need for repeated examinations is detestable.

7. It is the calling of the physician to provide relief to the suffering of even the incurably ill. To turn away from this without reflection is contrary to the human way. Even though there is no

\textsuperscript{1} Taken from Momose Meiji, Tekijuku no Kenkyu (Kyoto: Php Bunko, 1989), 33-34.
hope of saving the patient, to provide relief is to practice the method of compassion—jinjutsu. Try to prolong that life even for a minute. Do not say that recovery is impossible and convey this in your language and manner.

8. Reflect on the lack of wealth of the patient. In seeking to extend life, should the capital that ties that life together be taken away, what sort of profit is there? Weigh this thoughtfully in treating the poor.

9. In dealing with the community, gaining the good wishes of the people is desired. Though excellent in medical skill and strict in language and manner, one's virtue cannot be put to use without having gained the trust of the people who are to be saved. There must be sensitivity with the world of everyday affairs. In particular physicians are entrusted with human lives, view the naked body, speak about deeply held secrets, and listen to humiliating confessions. Hold always a feeling of warmth and generosity within, and speak sparingly. Strive to be silent. It goes without much saying that gambling, wining, playing in the gay quarters, gaining a name in the world of luxury should all be avoided.

10. Toward fellow physicians be respectful and affectionate. Even if such might not seem possible, be restrained. Do not question another physician. To point out the weakness of another person is firmly contrary to sagely wisdom. To speak with exaggeration about others is the limiting virtue of a small person. A person may simply criticize the excesses done in a day while we may lose the virtue of a human life. What are the issues here? Each physician possesses the teachings handed down by his house and a methodology that is his own. These should not be recklessly criticized. Elderly physicians should be extended respect. Younger colleagues should be treated with affection. Those who wish to query the advantages and disadvantages of physicians from the past should base their decisions on actual effectiveness (toku); and their healing methods should also be gauged with reference to observable illness (genbyo).

11. In holding a conference to discuss medical treatment, the group should be as small as possible. At the most there should be no more than three persons. Special care should be given to selecting the right people. The sole purpose should be the health of the patient; no other matter should be under consideration, and disputes should absolutely be avoided.
12. When a patient discards a physician to whom trust had been placed and secretly seeks the counsel of another physician, do not carelessly take part in such a tactic. Unless the view of the previous physician is heard, do not go along. However, should a physician know there has in fact been an erroneous diagnosis and he still disregards it, this too is contrary to the responsibility of a physician. Indeed, when a dangerous illness is involved, do not be indecisive.
LETTER TO F.V. DICKINS
Ernest Satow (1843-1929)

This is an excerpt of a letter from Ernest Satow, at the time British minister in Tangier (Morocco) and soon to be appointed British minister in Tokyo (June 1, 1895), to his old friend F.V. Dickins, a Japan scholar who was at the time Vice-Registrar of the University of London.1

This letter is courtesy of Hagihara Nobutoshi, author of Toi gake: Anesuto Sato nikki sho (1980).

18 April 1895

My dear Dickins,

I have just been rereading your interesting letter of September 23, more than six months old, but your writing is not like that of most people, which fades with the occasion that gave it birth. Your foresight with respect to the results of the Chinese Japanese conflict has turned out entirely accurate, utter defeat of the former, annexation of Formosa, independence of Corea, alarm of the Spaniards for the Philippines (on which I see Oapuy deLome has been writing an article), and securing to Japan the hegemony of Eastern Asia. By the last telegrams that have reached me I learn that the southern part of Manchuria with Port Arthur, and an indemnity of 400 million yen are the further items. Germany must be proud of her pupil. The ideas that impelled Bismarck to expel Austria from the German confederation and to make war on France, and the methods of Moltke and the German staff have been thoroughly understood and acted upon. The question remains, is the Japanese nation able to carry out the whole of the magnificent programme, is there sufficient stock of physical strength in reserve to meet the huge demands that will be made upon it. Or are they like the Portuguese of the Early Discovery period, who undertook a gigantic enterprise under the special stimulus imparted to them by one man, and having met with one great disaster, the slaughter of the flower of their fighting caste at Alcacar-el-Quiver, fell at once into nothingness in which they

1 The reference for this letter is: Satow Papers, pro 30/33/11/6, Public Record Office, London.
have for ever after remained. During my residence in Japan I never had the belief that Japan would get beyond a third or fourth rate position; the people seemed to be too much mere imitators, and wanting in bottom. Of one thing however I have never had any doubt, the chivalrous courage of the samurai class. But I supposed it to be confined to them. The resources of Japan also seemed very small in comparison with those of a first rate power; she had no iron, or coal to speak of. To beat the Chinese is easy, it is just like cutting through a mouldy cheese; any one could do that. Neat organization is another thing one credited the Japanese with; they have patience and the bureaucratic spirit. They have had a great success where it was to be expected of them that they could not fail. But do not people like Brinkley and other newspapers correspondents take them a little too seriously? That is the question I want answered. And if the Russians object to the cession of Manchuria and the perpetual supremacy of the Japanese in Corea, will the latter be able to maintain their policy; in short, if Russia, which seems inclined to object, translates her objections into words, what will be the result? I cannot imagine our taking sides in such a quarrel. After all the Russians are Europeans, and au fond have the same ideals as ourselves. So why should we in such a case espouse the Japanese cause. On the other hand is there any reason to believe that Russia has begun to desist from her great ambition of forcing a way to the Sea at Constantinople or on the Indian Ocean, which should make us wish to further her in checking the Japanese tide of victory, and that too in order to bolster up the reign of corruption and obscurantisme that prevails in China.

It must be an anxious time for the people in Downing Street, and they must find it rather difficult to decide on a policy. The questions in dispute with France sink into insignificance in comparison with what is going on in Eastern Asia. I hope before long we may have some opportunity of discussing this and many other questions which interest us in common. In the meantime, regarding the Richardson episode, I can perhaps communicate to you my own impressions of what happened, as I reached Japan a few days before it happened, and kept a diary of what I saw and heard. It was undoubtedly a turning point in the history of Japan. On another point touched on in your letter, whether the events of 1868 constitute a Restoration or a Revolution, I am inclined to agree with your view that it is the latter that is most characteristic of the period, though the other was what the leading men of the time preferred to use as their watchword. But
when you think of the transfer of power from one class to another below it, and of property also, it is difficult to say that there was not a revolution. Who are the leading men now? They were simple ordinary *samurai*, without rank or income. However, I dare say you will agree with me that not much importance is to be attached to a name. Only this is certain, that to the lips of those of us who were eyewitnesses of what went on, the word "revolution" came spontaneously, never the other, till it was adopted out of courtesy to the Japanese, in the same way as Tokio has been substituted for Yedo and Emperor for Mikado in European mouths, because the Japanese liked that better. . .

With kind regard to Mrs. Dickins, believe me,

Yours ever,

Ernest Satow
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

(Those wishing somewhat more detailed biographies may consult the *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*; or for more background information on the period see the *Cambridge History of Japan*, v. 4, ch. 12 "History and Nature in Eighteenth-Century Tokugawa Thought.")

Born into a samurai family of physicians, Ogyū Sorai (1666-1728) gained fame as a teacher in Edo of ancient literary and historical texts. Among his better known students were Hattori Nankaku and Dazai Shundai (see translations). One of the most controversial and influential thinkers in his day, Ogyū Sorai irreversibly altered the terms of political discourse for the Tokugawa era. In the modern era, the scholar Masao Maruyama focused on Sorai as the seminal thinker behind Japan’s modernization, especially in his critique of Neo-Confucianism with the theory that history was not an extension of cosmology or of nature but created by human beings in time.

**Hattori Nankaku** (1683-1759) of Kyoto, went to Edo at an early age to serve under Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu, a senior councillor of the Tokugawa shogunate. In Edo he became a student of Ogyū Sorai.

A poet and distinguished painter, Nankaku devoted his life to the study of ancient poetics and philology under Sorai’s guidance. He opened his own school in 1716.

**Dazai Shundai** (1680-1747), of Iida in Shimano Province first studied with the Confucian scholar Nakano Iken in Izushi, continuing his studies in the Kyoto-Osaka area until eventually becoming a student of Ogyū Sorai in Edo.

Encouraged by Sorai to focus on the immediate world of political economy, Shundai’s *Keizai Roku* of 1729 (Thoughts On the Political Economy) became one of the most influential treatises on the subject. His conceptualization of politics in economic terms gave recognition for the first time to the political necessity of trade and the market economy. It was imperative, in Shundai’s view, that institutions adapt to the requirements of promoting peace and well-being in society.
Accordingly, moral ideas that extolled the primacy of rice agriculture as the basis for virtue were anachronistic to the sudden emergence of money and a market economy. Shundai warned that only a reformation of the existing bakuhan system including an appropriate appraisal of the role of trade, could save the system from inevitable collapse.

**Itō Jinsai** (1627-1705) of Horikawa district in Kyoto dedicated his life to the study and teaching of Confucian classics. After an initial concentration on Neo-Confucian doctrines derived from the Chu Hsi school of philosophy, and an exposition of his original ideas in works such as *Taikyokuron* (A Treatise on the Ultimate), *Seizenron* (On the Goodness of Human Nature), and *Shingaku genron* (Principles of the Study of Mind), Ito Jinsai came to emphasize the importance of the *Analects* and *Mencius* for the understanding of the path of the sages. Jinsai taught the study of ancient language and texts in his private school, the Kogidō (The Hall of Ancient Meaning) and remained independent of political patronage.

For Jinsai, the value of the ancient texts such as the *Mencius* lay in their universalistic conception of virtue regardless of status. Jinsai forwarded the idea that virtue was neither a static nor abstract absolute that could be recovered through meditation but that it existed at every level of the hierarchy and was acted out by ordinary individuals.

**Miyazaki Yasusada** (1623-1697), born in Aki domain, served the Fukuoka domain until resigning to become a farmer. He combined his knowledge of Chinese works on botany and agriculture with the techniques and experience of farmers of Western Japan to produce the accessible and enormously influential *Nōgyōzensho* (Compendium on Farming).

The proliferation of agricultural science made possible by the *Nōgyōzensho* offered commoners the means of alleviating their own condition through an understanding of natural reason and natural history.

**Kaibara Ekiken** [sometimes spelled Ekken] (1630-1714) of Fukuoka domain studied medicine and botany in Nagasaki and then became a scholar of *honzōgaku*, the study of medicinal herbs, in Kyoto. Aside from a monumental study of the natural history of the plants of Japan entitled *Yamato honzō*, his diverse scholarship includes writings on public health, the education of women and children, and ethics for commoners.
For Ekiken, nature, rather than an abstract moral norm, remained the ultimate source and object of knowledge. He rejected the then popular dualistic Neo-Confucian cosmology that sanctioned political rule based on the conception of an immutable moral norm found in nature. In *Taigioku* (Record of Major Doubts), he called instead for the active observation of nature that would lead to true moral action.

**Tominaga Nakamoto** (1715-1746) was trained at the Osaka merchant academy, the Kaitokudō, and set up his own school in Osaka. Despite his emphasis on the importance of the present, Nakamoto’s teachings on the uniqueness of cultural experience reinforced Tokugawa notions of indigenous history.

He argued that the historical and geographical specificity in which the cultural and intellectual systems of Buddhism and Confucianism evolved, forfeited their true development in Japan, rendering any adoption by Japan meaningless and distorted.

His studies on historical development led to the conclusion that all texts were manifestations of particular cultural contexts and therefore could offer no universal norm. History proved insufficient for the ethical guidance needed in the present. According to Nakamoto only *makoto no michi*, or “the way of truthfulness” as expressed in filial relations and trust could provide a practical ethics.

**Motoori Norinaga** (1730-1801), born in the province of Ise, received a broad education in Chinese classics and Japanese classical poetry. During his medical studies in Kyoto he furthered his study of the Chinese classics under Hori Keizan and was introduced to the works of Ogyū Sorai and Keichū’s philological study of literature. A meeting with Kamo no Mabuchi directed his interests to the pre-Heian period. Norinaga’s writings and pedagogy were influential in bringing *National Learning*, *kokugaku*, to its culmination.

Applying a systematic philological methodology to ancient classics ranging from the *Tale of Genji* to the *Kojiki*, Norinaga attempted to recover the identity of a sacred Japanese community before the advent of Confucianism. This ancient community devoid of Chinese artificial-ity was perceived by Norinaga as the genesis of national history, when words, things, and feelings were joined in a state of peace and harmony.

**Kamo no Mabuchi** (1697-1769) of Tōtōmi Province was the son of a Shinto priest. He excelled in waka composition, the Japanese classics, Confucianism and Chinese Learning. He developed a systematic
approach to ancient poetry based on the ethical system of his mentor Kada no Azumamaro and the philological research methods of Keichū.

Through literary and linguistic scholarship Mabuchi attempted to revive the uniqueness of Japanese aesthetics before the advent of Buddhism and Confucianism. His greatest contribution to National Learning (kokugaku) is an exhaustive interpretation of the Man'yōshū.

Hiraga Gennai (1728-1780) was born into a low-ranking samurai family of Takamatsu domain in Sanuki Province. He was sent by his domain for a year of study in Nagasaki where the exposure to new ideas led him to resign his official post and begin the study of herbal medicine in Osaka with Toda Kyokuzan. He continued his studies in Edo with the government physician and herbalist Tamura Gen'yū and became acquainted with the scholar of Western Learning, Sugita Gempaku. He severed ties with the domain and, after producing the Butsurui hinshitsu (Classification of Various Materials), launched himself into eclectic projects that were as far-ranging as a career as a successful writer of Kokkeibon (a genre of Edo comic literature), experimentation in the production of asbestos cloth, thermometers and Dutch-style pottery, wool manufacturing, ore surveys, Western oil painting and jōruri (puppet-play texts).

The pen name Fūrai Sanjūn, used for the satirical literary work Hōhiron, finished in 1777, is but one of many that attest to Gennai's versatility.

Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), born in Edo, was first trained in the Kanō school style of painting and the Bird and Flower style under Sō Shiseki before becoming one of the chief proponents of Western-style techniques. He created woodblock prints, Western-style oil paintings, copperplate etchings as well as producing major works on Dutch astronomy, geography, cartography, navigation, and Western painting.

Kōkan's ideas, especially on Copernican astronomy, were seen as antithetical to the Neo-Confucian ideals of the Tokugawa world view.

Oshio Heihachirō (1793-1837) worked as a hereditary court detective (yoriki) for the Osaka Magistrate and had made a name for himself as a court examiner (ginmiyaku). At first studying Neo-Confucianism under Hayashi Shussai, he later became a proponent of Oyōmei's chikō gōisetsu (theory of the simultaneous origination of knowledge and action). He quit his work for the government to focus on study and writing, and to open a private school, the Senshindō. The Tempo 7 Famine (1836) cause great suffering among the poor, and the following year he and a small band of armed followers began an
uprising known as Oshio Heihachiro no ran that would result in the destruction by fire of one eighth of Osaka. I failed, however, in its ultimate goal of rousing the common people to overthrow the bakufu authorities, and Oshio committed suicide. This event was the first open challenge to bakufu rule since the Yi Shōsetsu affair in 1651, and it may be considered to have set an example for further uprisings culminating in the Meiji Ishin.

Watanabe Kazan (1793-1841), born in Tawara domain (now part of Aichi Prefecture), was known as a scholar of Western learning and a painter. He served as a high-ranking official of Tawara domain, working to improve its economic conditions and coastal defense system. In his early 30s he became fascinated with Western Learning, and with other rangakusha (scholars of "Dutch Studies") in Edo, formed the study group Shōshikai. They studied and wrote essays on the geography, politics and history of the world. After having heard of "The Morrison incident", Kazan wrote Shinkiron which criticized the bakufu’s isolation policy. Kazan came under the suspicion of the Tokugawa government of advocating closer relations with the West and, along with other rangakusha (mainly the members of Shōshikai), was arrested in 1839 on a false charge of conspiracy. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, which he was later allowed to serve in his home domain. He lived there for two years, painting, reading, and writing until, fearing further charges of his associates, he committed suicide.

As a painter, Kazan also adapted Western skills to traditional Chinese and Japanese styles. He was fond of drawing people’s everyday life, capturing with quick, deft and soft lines the gestures and costumes of all types of people. In particular, his portrait paintings were distinct from traditional styles in their emphasis on the personality and physical particularity of his subjects.

Aizawa Seishisai (1782-1863) was born in Hitachi Province and studied under the noted Neo-Confucian scholar Fujita Yūkoku. As a prominent scholar of the Mito school, Seishisai served Tokugawa Nariaki, the lord of the domain of Mito (now part of Ibaraki Prefecture).

The Mito school was fundamental in shaping a critical discourse of institutional reform. Its critical stance and reformist prescriptions were not looked upon favorably by the Tokugawa bakufu. Based on a syncretic formulation of national learning (kokugaku) and ideas on the problem of governance, Mito scholars developed the notion that the inherent moral values of the sacred Japanese community were not, as
the bakufu claimed, inseparable from the present political structure. In order to preserve the system of noncentralized government while alleviating the ills of society at large, Mito scholars called for the return of the aristocracy to the land, the mobilization and training of the peasantry for the greater good of the domain, and above all, increased domainal authority that would allow for more efficient administrative and institutional reform.

Although reformist in tone, Seishisai's influential treatise of 1825, _Shinron_ (A New Thesis) later inspired many proimperial radicals to topple the Tokugawa order.

**Okuni Takamasa** (1792-1871), of Tsuwano attended the Tokugawa Confucian academy in Edo; he studied Chinese poetry with Kikuchi Gozan (1769-1853); Western studies with the Dutch interpreter, Yoshio Gonnosuke (1785-1831) in Nagasaki and Sanskrit there too; and later he learned Dutch medicine with Satō Taizen (1804-72). All of these different learnings he combined with highly critical readings of the _kokugaku_ texts of Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) to produce a uniquely eclectic system of learning which he called _hongaku_.

Okuni occasionally styled himself Hirata's successor to the _kokugaku_ lineage, but he never formally registered as a Hirata disciple, and was often scathing both of Hirata's scholarship and of the direction his interests appeared to take. Okuni's passionate concern for the future of Japan in a rapidly changing world, as opposed to the fortunes of village-life in an unchanging countryside, and his obsession with Amaterasu and the imperial line rather than with Amenominakanushi and 'creation', enable us to cast him as a thinker closer to the later Mito school than to 'mainstream' _kokugaku_. Okuni was intimate with Fujita Tōko, Mito domain's leading ideologue.

**Yoshida Shōin** (1830-1859), a low-ranking samurai from Choshu, was instructed to become an expert in the teachings of the Yamaga school, and at the age of eighteen he was appointed as an instructor at the domain academy. In the early 1850s he deserted the domain in order to broaden his knowledge of the country by taking on a series of journeys. He spent a month in Mito, where he called on Aizawa Seishisai and other political thinkers. In 1854, at the instigation of Sakuma Shōzan, he attempted to stow away on one of Commodore Perry's ships for the purpose of studying in the U.S. For this, Shoin was imprisoned in Choshu.
Released in 1856 and still under house arrest, Shōin taught privately in his own school, the Shōka Sonjuku. Among his students were such eventual leaders of the Meiji Ishin as Takasugi Shinsaku, Kusaka Genzui, Kido Kōin, Itō Hirobumi, and Yamagata Aritomo.

Sharply critical of the bakufu as too weak to protect the nation, Shōin crystallized his thinking with the phrase, sonjō (revere the emperor, expel the barbarians). To enable independent action, he developed a strategy of using patriots not locked into the feudal hierarchy. He referred to them as the sōmō no shishi. He opposed the signing of commercial treaties by the bakufu in 1858, and the authorities arrested him again in the Ansei Purge. For his plot to assassinate the high shogunal official Manabe Akikatsu, he was executed.

In response to the threat posed by Western encroachment, Sakuma Shōzan (1811-1864) advocated the rapid acquisition of Western knowledge and skills. For Shōzan, such knowledge was not "Western" per se, but universal and therefore compatible with "the ways of Japan." In 1850, he opened a school in Edo for the study of Western gunnery. His students included Yoshida Shōin, Sakamoto Ryoma, Kato Hiroyuki, and Nishimura Shigeki. Shōzan strongly criticized the bakufu's ignorance of the Western skills necessary for defense. He opposed the policy of isolation, arguing that it made knowledge of the outside world less accessible. Recognizing the importance of a collective response to the external threat, Shōzan supported the movement for the unification of the court and the bakufu. In June, 1864 he became an advisor to the shogunate on defense matters. Shōzan was assassinated two months later in Kyōto.

Saigō Takamori (1827-77), born in a low-level samurai family in Satsuma domain and educated there for the first half of his life, arrived in Edo to serve his lord Shimazu Nariakira in 1854. Alternating between Edo and Satsuma during the years leading up to and following the Meiji Ishin, Saigō played a prominent role in both regional and national affairs – as both the leader of the Satsuma troops during the Boshin War, and as a key negotiator for the Satsuma-Chōshū alliance and the transfer of power from the Shogun to the imperial court.

Frustrated by the direction of reforms in the new Meiji government and by his failure to gain approval for an aggressive response to Korea's diplomatic affronts (the seikanron), Saigō left the Meiji government in 1873. Upon returning to Kagoshima, he helped establish a network of schools (shigakkō) to train his men in military and
administrative capacities. This venue provided an opportunity for Saigō to lecture on his philosophy – an eclectic mix that incorporated both Zen and Oyōmei traditions into a program of tempered action according a universal principle of nature. Saigō died in 1877 during the Satsuma rebellion.

**Miura Baien** (1723-1789) trained in medicine, pursued his deep interests in philosophy, Neo-Confucianism, natural science, ethics, economics and Dutch, finally setting up a private school in his home province of Bungo. He and his disciples expanded Tokugawa Neo-Confucian thinking on nature, laying the foundations for the incorporation of Western science.

Baien skeptically regarded history, religion and language as purveyors of social prejudice and chose to promote nature as the primary focus of his study. In developing his approach to knowledge he rejected conventional reason which was conditioned by social habit and by the immediate senses. In its place he posited a dialectical conception of nature that moved beyond mere physical appearance. Human demarcations imposed upon nature were not to be used to guarantee moral concepts of goodness and hierarchy. In a similar fashion, his writings on political economy found in Kagen (1773) propose social utility, instead of scarcity, as the appropriate and natural source of economic value.

**Ogata Kōan** (1810-1863) founded the Dutch Studies Academy, Tekijuku, in Osaka in 1839. Of the 600 students from all parts of the country who studied there some went on to become political activists (Ōmura Masujirō and Hashimoto Sanai) and others leaders of the modern Enlightenment movement (Mitsukuri Shuhei, Sano Jomin, and Fukuzawa Yukichi). Besides training physicians, Kōan was a prominent leader in the fight against smallpox and cholera. He also left a profound legacy in the shaping of medical ethics. In 1862, he was appointed head of the bureau of Western medicine, which later became the medical school of Tokyo University.

**Ernest Satow** (1843-1929) served in the British embassy in Edo from 1862 until 1882, and was later appointed the British minister plenipotentiary to Japan (1895). The letter included in this volume is based on Satow’s recollections during his tenure as secretary to the Embassy during the *ishin*, and was written just before he returned to Tokyo as minister.
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