

A Translation-Study of the *Kana shōri*

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The *Kana shōri* 假名性理 (Neo-Confucian Terms for Japanese) is one of the most philosophically packed and yet historically puzzling texts of early seventeenth-century Tokugawa Japan (1600-1868). Philosophically, it is noteworthy for at least four reasons, all having to do with its advocacy of Neo-Confucian and Shinto views rather than those of Buddhism. First, the *Kana shōri*'s emphasis on the inversion of excess in history differed with understandings of time based on the Buddhist teachings of karma and reincarnation.¹ Second, the *Kana shōri*'s paternalistic political views, stressing the crucial nature of a ruler's parental concern for the people, contrasted with the predominantly medieval stress on propagating the Buddhist *dharma* for the sake of securing stable, religiously sanctioned rule defended by heavenly guardian kings.² Third, the *Kana shōri*'s syncretic accounts of Neo-Confucianism and Shinto, emphasizing the common relevance of notions such as the way of heaven (*tendō* 天道); reverence (*kei* 敬); the learning of the mind (*shingaku* 心學); the transmission of the way (*dōtō* 道統); the five relationships (*gorin* 五倫); and the "sixteen-word teaching" (*jūrokuji* 十六字), contrasted with earlier syncretic formulations favored by medieval Zen theorists.³ Finally, to the extent that the *Kana shōri* was syncretic, it was so in

¹ One of the classic statements of Buddhist historiography is Jien's 慈圓 *Gukanshō* 愚管抄 (1219), which periodizes Japanese history according to the supposed rise and fall of the Buddha's teachings. For a brief discussion of it, see John S. Brownlee, *Political Thought in Japanese Historical Writing: From Kojiki (712) to Tokushi Yoron (1712)* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), pp. 92-102. For a translation, see Delmer M. Brown and Ichirō Ishida, trans., *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). Medieval works of historical fiction, such as the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 (early thirteenth century), also endorsed Buddhist notions such as impermanence and karmic retribution. For a translation of the *Heike monogatari*, see Helen Craig McCullough, trans., *The Tale of Heike* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

² Eisai's 榮西 (1141-1215) *Kōzen gokoku ron* 興禪護國論 (Promotion of Zen for the protection of the nation) is one example of this literature. A modern, annotated edition of Eisai's work is in Ichikawa Hakugen 市川白弦 et al., eds. *Chūsei Zenke no shisō* 中世禪家の思想, *Nihon shisō taikai* (hereafter, NST), vol. 16 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1972), pp. 7-122. Similar texts were also written by Tendai, Shingon, and Nichiren scholars.

³ Wajima Yoshio's 和島芳男 *Nihon Sōgaku shi no kenkyū* 日本宋学史の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988 revised edition), pp. 1-284, discusses this syncretism in detail. Also see Martin Collcutt, "The Confucian Legacy in Japan," in *The East Asian Region: Confucian Heritage and Its Modern Adaptation*, ed. Gilbert Rozman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 124-28.

its accomodation of Shinto teachings, making it one of the first early-modern texts to contribute to what Kate Nakai has called the “naturalization” of Neo-Confucianism, a process advanced by exploring parallels between these purportedly disparate teachings. Or, if intellectual traditions in Japan are viewed somewhat differently, the *Kana shōri* can be seen as an exemplary expression of what Peter Nosco has described as the essentially singular nature of Confucian and nativist discourse evident in Japanese intellectual history.⁴

Despite the *Kana shōri*'s clear philosophical significance, analysis of it has been overshadowed by uncertainties related to its composition. Unsure as to who authored the text and when, modern scholars have been of mixed minds as to how it should be interpreted. Perhaps the easiest and most commonsensical approach—to set aside the question of who actually wrote the *Kana shōri*, and instead analyze it in terms of how it was received throughout the Tokugawa period, i.e., as a work attributed to Fujiwara Seika 藤原惺窩 (1561-1619)—has been bypassed by most recent scholars. Instead, the tendency has been to treat the *Kana shōri* not as it was understood by most contemporaries in Tokugawa Japan, but rather as a work of uncertain origins that might be best explored in relation to other texts of known and unknown provenance, on the basis of textual similarities and common themes. While the latter strategy is no doubt valuable, it severely discounts contemporary records attributing the *Kana shōri* to Seika and concomitant understandings of it among many Tokugawa Japanese in those terms.

A manuscript of the *Kana shōri*, dated 1669, attributes the text to Fujiwara Seika.⁵ The oldest extant woodblock edition of the *Kana shōri*, published in 1691 in Mito domain, also attributes the text to Seika.⁶ Throughout the Tokugawa period, the *Kana shōri* was

⁴ Kate Wildman Nakai, “The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sino-Centrism,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40.1 (1980), pp. 157-99. Nakai's essay, while insightful, overemphasizes the supposedly “alien” nature of Confucianism. More recently, Peter Nosco sees Confucianism and nativism as “components of an essentially singular discourse during most of the Tokugawa period.” See his “Confucianism and Nativism in Tokugawa Japan,” in *Meeting of Minds: Intellectual and Religious Interaction in East Asian Traditions of Thought: Essays in Honor of Wing-tsit Chan and William Theodore de Bary*, ed. Irene Bloom and Joshua A. Fogel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 278-96. Nosco's analyses, on the other hand, discount the real differences between Confucianism and Shinto. In the writings of Itō Jinsai and Ogyū Sorai, there was little accomodation of Shintō or nativist thought.

⁵ Ishige Tadashi 石毛忠, ed., *Kana shōri*, in Ishida Ichirō 石田一良 and Kanaya Osamu 金谷治, *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan* 藤原惺窩・林羅山, NST, vol. 28 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1975), p. 237. Ōta Hyōzaburō 太田兵三郎, ed., “Kaidai” 解題, *Fujiwara Seika shū* 藤原惺窩集 (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppansha, 1978 reprint of the 1941 edition), pp. 13-14, explains that this manuscript is owned by Matsumoto Genjirō 松本彦次郎. It includes the colophon, dated 1669, by Noma Sanchiku 野間三竹, attributing the text to Seika.

⁶ A copy of the 1691 edition, in the Seikadō bunko, Osaka Municipal University Library, is the *teihon* for the annotated edition published in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*. Ishige Tadashi prepared the text for publication. The present translation study of the *Kana shōri* is based on this modern edition. Another modern edition, unannotated, is in Ōta, ed., *Fujiwara Seika shū*, pp. 397-414. The latter is also based on the 1691 text in the Seikadō bunko. A third modern edition, including some annotations and a contemporary translation, is in Nishida Taiichirō 西田太一郎, ed., *Fujiwara Seika Nakae Tōju Kumazawa Banzan Yamazaki Ansai Yamaga Sokō Yamagata Daini shū* 藤原惺窩・中江藤樹・熊沢蕃山・山崎闇斎・山鹿素行・山形大弐集 [hereafter Nishida,

typically received as Seika's work, though it was never included in compilations such as *Fujiwara Seika shū* 藤原惺窩集 (The works of Fujiwara Seika), nor are there any references to it in Seika's other writings. That notwithstanding, the *Kana shōri* was a popular text, published repeatedly during the Tokugawa period, and invariably attributed to Seika.⁷

Recent discussions of the *Kana shōri* typically have either questioned or denied that Seika authored it. Even in the Tokugawa period, scholars such as Kinoshita Jun'an 木下順庵 (1621-98), Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1656-1725), and Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巢 (1658-1734) implicitly and perhaps unintentionally undermined attribution of the *Kana shōri* to Seika by declaring that a related text, the *Honsa roku* 本佐錄 (Philosophical reflections of Honda Masanobu, Lord of Sado),⁸ also attributed to Seika, was the product of the daimyō who commissioned it, Honda Masanobu 本田正信 (1539-1617).⁹ Although the *Kana shōri* was not mentioned as such, its integrity was questioned, via innuendo, as one of many supposed forgeries in circulation, and Seika, implicitly, as one of their spurious authors.

The views of Jun'an, Hakuseki, and Kyūsō could be discounted as sectarian critiques meant to disassociate a popular text, the *Honsa roku* (and perhaps the *Kana shōri*), from a competing philosophical lineage, that of Seika. Yet more problematic than their critiques is the fact that the *Kana shōri* is quite intimately related, and often virtually identical, to yet another text of uncertain origins, the *Shingaku gorin sho* 心學五倫書 (On the learning of the mind, the five relationships, and other topics), first published in 1650, nineteen years before the first extant manuscript of the *Kana shōri* claimed Seika as its

Fujiwara Seika shū], NST, vol. 17 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1970), pp. 29-60, and is based on the Ōta, ed., *Fujiwara Seika shū* edition.

⁷ The *Kana shōri* was republished in 1722, again in Mito domain. A copy is in Tokyo bunrika University Library. The 1722 edition follows the 1691. There are also several manuscript copies of the *Kana shōri*, apparently based on the 1691 and 1722 editions. Under a new title, *Chiyo motogusa* 千代茂登草, it appeared in 1788. A modern edition of the *Chiyo motogusa* is in Katō Totsudō 加藤咄堂, ed., *Kokumin shisō sōsho* 國民思想叢書, *Jukyō hen* 儒教篇 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1932), pp. 2-29. Two other editions appeared in the Meiji period, one in 1868, the other in 1874.

⁸ A modern, annotated edition of the *Honsa roku* can be found in Ishida and Kanaya, *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 260-302. The *teihon* for it is the woodblock edition housed in the Tōkyō shiryō section of the Tokyo Central Municipal Library. A variant text, entitled *Tenka kokka no yōroku* 天下国家之要錄 (Essentials for governing the realm below heaven) is in Ōta, ed., *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, pp. 415-26. It is not clear when the text was written or by whom. Ishige (p. 269) suggests that it was written in the early Tokugawa period by someone who understood the political situation fairly well. Ishige acknowledges that the content of the *Honsa roku* is not unrelated to that of the *Kana shōri* and the *Shingaku gorin sho*. The *Honsa roku* appears under the title *Tenka kokka no yōroku* in the *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, pp. 415-36.

⁹ For biographical details on Masanobu, see Arai Hakuseki, *Hankanfu* 藩翰譜, in *Arai Hakuseki shū* 新井白石集, ed. Kuwabara Takeo 桑原武夫, NST, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1970), pp. 132-41; and in *Arai Hakuseki zenshu* 新井白石全集 (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 498-506. W. J. Boot, "Hayashi Razan as a Confucian Philosopher," *European Studies on Japan*, Ian Nish and Charles Dunn, eds. (Kent: Paul Norbury, 1979), pp. 89-90, sides with Jun'an, Hakuseki, and Kyūsō in suggesting that Masanobu possessed the erudition necessary to author the *Honsa roku*.

author.¹⁰ Because these texts—the *Honsa roku*, the *Shingaku gorinsho*, and the *Kana shōri*—echo each other systematically, the problem of authorship for one, e.g., the *Kana shōri*, conceivably becomes a problem for all. This study will therefore consider hints, suggestions, clues, and attributions made in relation to each of the three texts as potentially applicable to the others. Rather than attempt to resolve the question of authorship definitively, which seems impossible given extant historical data, this essay will critique previous claims regarding the improbability of Seika’s authorship, and present textual evidence lending credibility (though hardly “proving” in any hard sense) to a new version of the Seika theory, one positing: (a) a proto-text, the forerunner of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, *Kana shōri*, and *Honsa roku*; and (b) Seika as one of its possible authors. Additionally, I shall attempt to explain why the relationship of the author(s)—Seika or otherwise—to the *Honsa roku*, *Shingaku gorinsho*, and *Kana shōri*, and the hypothetical proto-text would have become somewhat obscured.

Although many twentieth-century scholars have questioned Seika’s authorship of the text, there are good reasons for not rejecting this possibility entirely. First of all, accepted writings by Seika on “the way of heaven” and other topics announce themes similar to those articulated in the *Kana shōri* (and the *Shingaku gorin sho* and *Honsa roku*). Thus, the motifs characterizing these texts are not unprecedented in Seika’s established corpus. Second, the Seika thesis is compatible with one of the earliest alternative theories of authorship, adumbrated in relation to the *Honsa roku*, but not improbably applied to the *Kana shōri*, namely that a *Karabito* 唐人, or “foreigner” (Chinese or Korean) was behind the text. Third, the genre of the *Kana shōri*, distinguished by the systematic analysis of philosophical notions, is one that Seika knew and one that characterized the writings of his direct disciples, Matsunaga Sekigo 松永尺五 (1592-1657) and Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657). Fourth, the political stance of the *Kana shōri*, critical of samurai rule while nostalgic for austere, ethical governance by emperors, expresses the kind of outlook one might expect from a Neo-Confucian scholar, based in Kyoto, the imperial capital, with few

¹⁰ A modern edition of the *Shingaku gorin sho* is in Ishida and Kanaya, eds., *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 257-68. This paper bases its analyses on this modern edition. The *teihon* for this edition is a copy of the 1650 edition owned by Ishikawa Matsutarō 石川松太郎 of Tokyo. The *Shingaku gorin sho* was also a popular text, with subsequent editions appearing in 1656 and 1665; however, none of these indicated the author’s name. For an excellent textual study of the *Shingaku gorinsho*, see Yamamoto Shinkō 山本真功, *Shingaku gorin sho no kisoteki kenkyū* 心学五倫書の基礎的研究 (Tokyo: Gakushuin daigaku shuppansha, 1985). Rather than focusing on the problem of authorship, Yamamoto compares versions of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, and texts such as the *Kana shōri*, the *Chiyo no motogusa*, and the *Gorinsho*, in order to establish which derived from which. Simply put, Yamamoto’s hypothesis is that the *Shingaku gorin sho* was the primary text, completed around 1600, from which a series of “derivative” texts emerged, including the *Kana shōri*, which Yamamoto dates around 1667-69. He shows that a derivative version of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, the “Ishikawa text of the *Gorinsho*” impacted the articulation of the *Kana shōri*, making it a “derivative of a derivative” (p. 69). He credits Ishikawa Ken 石川謙, in his *Sekimon shingaku shi no kenkyū* 石門心学史研究 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1938), and Imanaka Kanji’s 今中寛司 *Kinsei Nihon seiji shisō no seiritsu: Seikagaku to Razangaku* 近世日本政治思想の成立: 惺窩学と羅山学 (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1972), with having clearly established that the *Kana shōri* was not Seika’s work. He admits, however, that even recently books and articles (unspecified) have appeared that treat the *Kana shōri* as a work by Seika (pp. 88-89).

personal reasons for sympathizing with the new Tokugawa regime. Finally, no other convincing explanation of authorship, based on seventeenth-century documents, exists. This is not to say that speculations have not been offered. However, alternative theories of authorship remain idiosyncratic, noteworthy as possibilities but affirmed by few other than their authors. Clearly the *Kana shōri* was written by a Neo-Confucian who had largely rejected Buddhism but respected Shinto. Moreover, the author seems to have been less than enthusiastic about the prospects of samurai rule, even while extolling the virtues of austere imperial government. The genre of the *Kana shōri* was of Neo-Confucian pedigree, involving systematic conceptual analysis and definition of terms such as human nature and principle. And if the *Honsa roku* is credible, it was written with the help of a *Karabito*. If these factors guide the consideration of possible authors, then it would seem that there were relatively few scholars in early Tokugawa Japan whose intellectual circumstances would make them credible suspects. However, Seika, the scholar to whom the text was invariably attributed in Tokugawa times, was a match on all counts.

History of the Seika Thesis (*Seika setsu* 惺窩說)

Noma Sanchiku's 野間三竹 (Ryūkokū 柳谷, 1608-76) postscript (dated 1669) to the first woodblock edition of the *Kana shōri*, published in 1691, attributes the text to Seika (Kitaniku 北肉), and is the foundation of its traditional association with him. Sanchiku, incidentally, was a latter-day follower of Seika, having studied under his disciples, Matsunaga Sekigo and Hayashi Razan. Though skilled in the composition of *haikai* and Chinese poetry, he later served the bakufu as a physician.¹¹ According to Ōta Hyōzaburō 太田兵三郎, Sanchiku was also a relative of Seika's who not only provided final editing for the *Kana shōri*, but also edited the *Kaitei Seika bunshū* 改訂惺窩文集 (Revised collected works of [Fujiwara] Seika), along with Seika's son Fujiwara Ikei 為經,¹² making him a highly informed authority on the Seika corpus. In his postscript, Sanchiku explains that Seika wrote the *Kana shōri* for his aged mother, a Buddhist, who had asked about the new philosophy. Subsequently, the text was stored away in "someone's home." Having learned of it, Hayashi Razan reportedly borrowed it and copied it. Sanchiku claimed that he later read the text and realized the fundamental source (*hongen* 本源) of Confucianism. Sanchiku praised the work, describing the lucidity and sincerity of its teachings as "the ultimate treasure (*shihō* 至寶) of recent learning."¹³

¹¹ For a bibliography of Sanchiku's works, see Ogawa Kandō 小川貫道, ed., *Kangakusha denki oyobi chojutsu shūran* 漢學者傳記及著述集覽 (Tokyo: Meicho kankōkai, 1977 reprint of the 1935 Sekishoin edition), p. 380.

¹² Ōta, "Kaidai," *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, p. 20. It is worth noting that critics of the Seika thesis call attention to the fact that the *Kana shōri* is not included in the *Seika bunshū*, ed. Kan Toku'an 菅德庵 and Hayashi Razan, or in the *Seika sensei bunshū*, edited by Seika's son Fujiwara Ikei and Mito Mitsukuni 水戸光圀. That Sanchiku edited the revised *Seika bunshū* and also claimed that Seika authored the *Kana shōri* imply that its omission from the *Seika bunshū* should not be considered as crucial counter-evidence vis-à-vis Seika's possible production of the text.

¹³ Noma Sanchiku, "Postscript," *Kana shōri*, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, p. 255.

Yamamoto Shinko 山本真功 relates that all Tokugawa editions of the *Kana shōri* emerged from a publisher in Mito domain. He adds that Mito's role in publishing the *Kana shōri* partly resulted from Tokugawa Mitsukuni's 徳川光圀 (1628-1700) interest in Seika's works. Along with Seika's son Ikei, Mitsukuni edited the *Seika sensei bunshū* 惺窩先生文集 (Collected works of teacher Seika), published in Mito in 1717. Yamamoto concludes that, following Sanchiku's death in 1676, the manuscript of the *Kana shōri*, along with Seika's other works, traveled to Mito domain, where they were subsequently published.¹⁴ On the authority of Sanchiku's postscript, the *Kana shōri* was received as Seika's work throughout the Tokugawa period. Its Mito publisher, along with the evident sanction of Mitsukuni, enhanced the notion of Seika's authorship. Consequently, bibliographies of Tokugawa prose typically attributed it to Seika. Early twentieth-century scholarship, beginning with Inoue Tetsujirō's 井上哲次郎 (1855-1944) study of the Japanese Zhu Xi School, also attributed the *Kana shōri* to Fujiwara Seika without reservation.¹⁵ The *Fujiwara Seika shū*, first published in 1941, offered a modified version of the traditional view, even while recognizing the emerging controversy over its authorship, resulting largely from the attacks of Ishikawa Ken 石川謙 (1891-1969, discussed later). Rather than a simple assertion of authorship, the *Fujiwara Seika shū* suggests that Seika was most probably at least one of the authors of the text.¹⁶ Reference works such as the *Nihon rekishi jinmei jiten* 日本歴史人名辞典 (Biographical dictionary of Japanese history), published in 1938, continued to attribute the *Kana shōri* to Seika,¹⁷ disregarding the unfolding controversy over its authorship. Maruyama Masao's (1914-96) 丸山真男 early studies of Tokugawa intellectual history published in his *Nihon seiji shisō shi kenkyū* 日本政治思想史研究, also affirmed that the *Kana shōri* was Seika's, as did the later scholarship of Wajima Yoshio (1905-83) 和島芳男.¹⁸ Most recently, Nishida Taichirō (1910-82) 西田

¹⁴ Yamamoto, *Shingaku gorin sho no kisoteki kenkyū*, p. 78. Again, that Mitsukuni, co-editor of the *Seika sensei bunshū*, allowed the *Kana shōri*, attributed to Seika, to be published in his domain, implies that its absence from the *Seika sensei bunshū* is not a critical problem for the Seika thesis.

¹⁵ Inoue Tetsujirō, *Nihon Shushigakuha no tetsugaku* 日本朱子學派の哲學 (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1905), pp. 24, 31-36; here Inoue refers to the text as the *Chiyo no motogusa*, but adds that it was known as the *Kana shōri*. Inoue's *Nihon rinri ihen* 日本倫理彙編 (Tokyo: Ikuseisha, 1901-03), vol. 7, includes the *Kana shōri*, under that title, and attributes it to Seika.

¹⁶ Ōta, "Kaidai," *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, p. 14. Ōta recognizes the problematic nature of the text, especially its similarities with the *Shingaku gorin sho* and the *Honsa roku* (*Tenka kokka no yōroku*). Without minimizing the controversy surrounding the work, and judiciously admitting that it is really impossible to come to a definite conclusion, Ōta sides with the study of Nakamura Katsumarō 中村勝麻呂, "Honsa roku kō" 本佐録考, *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 12.3 (1901), pp. 54-79, in concluding that the text was most likely the joint product of Fujiwara Seika and Honda Masanobu. This view is similar to that of Hayashi Gahō 林鷺峰 (1618-80, Shunsai 春齋) in his Postscript to the *Honsa roku*. For the latter, see *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 298-99.

¹⁷ Hioki Shōichi 日置昌一, *Nihon rekishi jinmei jiten* 日本歴史人名辞典 (Tokyo: Meicho kankōkai, 1973 reprint of the 1938 Kaizōsha edition), p. 783. Also, Ogawa, ed., *Kangakusha denki*, p. 443, lists the *Kana shōri* first in its inventory of Seika's works.

¹⁸ Maruyama Masao, *Nihon seiji shisō shi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppansha, 1952), pp. 34-35. Maruyama refers to the *Kana shōri* by the name used in the 1788 edition, *Chiyo*

太一郎, editor of the text in the *Nihon no shisō* 日本思想 series published in 1970, accepted the traditional attribution to Seika, even while recognizing some of the controversy surrounding the text.¹⁹ Similarly, Paolo Beonio-Brocchieri affirms the traditional association of Seika and the *Kana shōri*, despite on-going debates over its authorship.²⁰ Nevertheless, since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Seika thesis has increasingly fallen out of favor, and those intent on offering other theories, or simply referring to the text as an anonymous work, have come to predominate. Though unified in their skepticism and/or readiness to deny, blatantly, the Seika thesis, none of the challengers has presented a positive theory that has gained the backing of other scholars.

The Skeptical, Anti-Seika Line

Controversy surrounding works related to the *Kana shōri*, and the implications of that controversy for understandings of the text, have been an enduring and increasingly important aspect of its history. One year after the first edition of the *Kana shōri* appeared, a bibliography compiled by a Kyoto book store, the Rakuyō shorin 洛陽書林, attributed the *Shingaku gorin sho* to Kumazawa Banzan 熊澤蕃山 (1619-91). Over twenty years earlier, in 1667, the *Takigawa shingaku ron* 瀧川心學論 (Takigawa's treatise on the learning of the mind), published in Kyoto and purportedly written by Takigawa Josui 瀧川如水 (dates unknown),²¹ attributed the same text to Banzan and attacked it at length.²² As most studies of these works affirm, the *Shingaku gorin sho* is virtually identical to the *Kana shōri*, provided that one brackets out the preface to the *Kana shōri* and the postscript by Noma Sanchiku.²³ The first extant edition of the *Shingaku gorin sho* dates from 1650, as an

motogusa. Wajima Yoshio, *Nihon Sōgaku shi no kenkyū*, p. 289. Wajima also refers to the *Kana shōri* as the *Chiyo motogusa*. He suggests that the text was completed in 1594, the year after Seika returned from Edo where he had lectured Tokugawa Ieyasu on the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 真觀政要 (Essentials of government in the Zhenguan reign period). Wajima suggests that Seika returned to Kyoto the following year, in 1594, to care for his ailing mother.

¹⁹ Nishida, *Fujiwara Seika shū*, p. 30.

²⁰ Paolo Beonio-Brocchieri, "On the Historical Significance of Fujiwara Seika," *Modern Asian Studies* 18.4 (1984), pp. 609-18.

²¹ Josui was a Kyoto scholar of the Cheng-Zhu school who supposedly studied under Noma Sanchiku and Matsunaga Sekigo. Since both Sanchiku and Sekigo had studied under Seika, Josui's attack on the *Shingaku gorin sho*, as well as his attribution of it to Banzan, suggests that Seika was not the author. Had he been, Josui would likely have known as much. At the same time, Josui is a shadowy figure: little is known about him, including the date of his birth and death. A brief bibliography is in Ogawa, *Kangakusha denki oyobi chojutsu shūran*, p. 286, but it does not include the *Takigawa shingaku ron*. According to Yamamoto (pp. 85-86), extant copies of this text are in Tsukuba University Library and in Tokyo Central Municipal Library. Under another name, *Yamato girei* 大和義禮, it was published in 1707. A copy of the latter is housed in Kano bunko, Tōhoku University Library.

²² Ōta Hyōzaburō, "Kaidai," *Fujiwara Seika shū*, pp. 16-17.

²³ The *Kana shōri* most resembles the so-called "Ishikawa-bon" 石川本, or "Ishikawa version" of the *Shingaku gorin sho*. The "Ishikawa-bon" was first introduced to scholars in a modern edition by Ishige Tadashi, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*. Ishige named the text after Ishikawa Matsutarō of Tokyo, who owns it. The NST edition is found on pp. 257-67. Yamamoto sees the "Ishikawa-bon" as the basis of various "derivative texts" including the *Kana shōri*. W. J. Boot

anonymous text. A popular work, it was republished in 1656 and 1665, anonymously.²⁴ After Josui's attack, Banzan clarified matters by explaining, in his *Shūgi gaisho* 集義外書 (1679), that the *Gorinsho* had been published before he was born (1619). Banzan added that people in their seventies remembered seeing it “fifty years prior.”²⁵ The latter remark suggests the text was extant in the late 1620s, while his claim that it was published before his birth makes the *Gorinsho* even earlier, dating from the late Keichō (1596-1615) or early-Genna (1615-24) period. Banzan's statements are significant because they defused an early, spurious attribution of the text. This is relevant to the *Kana shōri* because the systematic similarities between the two, typically section by section, line for line, have led some to conclude that whoever wrote one was in effect the author of the other. Had Banzan not denied that he wrote the *Shingaku gorin sho*, he might still be credited with it, and the *Kana shōri* as well. Banzan's remarks are also significant because they suggest that the text, or some proto-version of it, had been in circulation as early as the late-1610s, and possibly earlier, long before the first edition.

Another text which must be factored into any analysis of the authorship of the *Kana shōri* is the *Honsa roku*, which frequently includes passages similar if not identical to ones in the *Kana shōri* and *Shingaku gorin sho*.²⁶ Hayashi Gahō's 林鷲峰 (1618-80) postscript to the *Honsa roku*, dated 1677, judiciously recognizes the controversial nature of the text, allowing for possible authorship by Seika even while giving credit to Honda Masanobu, the daimyō who commissioned it. Gahō acknowledges one “traditional account” that Masanobu had Seika draft the work for the young Tokugawa Hidetada 德川秀忠 (1579-1632), years before the Tokugawa shogunate and Hidetada's reign as its second shogun. In considering this claim, Gahō notes that Seika's travel to Kantō to lecture Ieyasu 家康 in 1593, coincided with Hidetada's childhood. Presumably it was then that Masanobu, mentor to Hidetada, would have commissioned Seika to draft a text for Hidetada. But Gahō adds

concurr with Yamamoto's views. See his “Tentō ou La Voie du Ciel,” in *Repenser L'Ordre, Repenser L'Héritage: Paysage Intellectuel du Japon*, ed. Frédéric Girard, Annick Horiuchi, and Mieko Macé (Paris: Droz, 2002), p. 93.

²⁴ Copies of the various editions of the *Shingaku gorin sho* can be found in many Japanese libraries and private collections. For a listing of holdings of dated editions, see Yamamoto, pp. 3-5. Many undated printed copies and manuscripts are in various collections. Under the name *Shingaku ashita o miyo* 心學明日を見よ, it was published again, with illustrations and a preface, in 1791.

²⁵ Kumazawa Banzan, *Shūgi gaisho*, in *Nakae Tojū Kumazawa Banzan* 中江藤樹・熊沢蕃山, ed. Itō Tasaburō 伊東多三郎, *Nihon no meicho*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1976) p. 364. It should be added that Banzan offers his thoughts in response to a question about an “unusual book written in *kana*, recently published, but seeming to be the product of an old and esteemed scholar.” The interlocutor adds that he suspects the work to be a “complete forgery” (*mattaku itsuwari* 全く偽り). He adds, without being specific, that he knows of other works similar to it.

²⁶ One weakness of Yamamoto Shinkō's meticulous study of the *Shingaku gorin sho* and related literature is that it does not consider the *Honsa roku* at all. *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan* includes the *Honsa roku* text, rightly juxtaposing it with the *Kana shōri* and the *Shingaku gorin sho*. This essay follows the NST in seeing these three texts as intrinsically related works. As stated earlier, because of their intimate textual relations, the problem of authorship for one is relevant to the others. This is especially true considering that the *Honsa roku* is possibly the oldest of the three.

that the *Honsa roku* mentions the death of Hideyoshi which occurred in 1598, making the text, at least in that portion, older. In conclusion, Gahō speculates that the work as he knew it dates from the time after the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), but before the siege of Osaka Castle (1614-15). He admits that its exposition of principle is clear and its prose lucid. While noting that the text has been attributed to Seika, he allows that it might be a forgery.²⁷

Gahō did not factor the *Shingaku gorin sho* into his analysis of the *Honsa roku*, nor did he mention the *Kana shōri*. After all, the latter was first published fourteen years later. His remarks nevertheless link Seika to the *Honsa roku*; by extension, given what we know about these texts today, they also tie him to the *Kana shōri*.

Gahō's postscript hints why Seika has not been more explicitly linked to any of the texts, and why Seika would never have claimed to have written them. Gahō suggests that Seika was commissioned to draft the text at the dawn of early-modern literary production when philosophical draftsmen were not held in high regard, and certainly were not considered more creditworthy than their patrons. Seika most likely understood this, and thus would not have claimed authorship for a text commissioned by a high-ranking samurai patron such as Masanobu. Whether the author was Seika or not, this would have remained true, leaving the author anonymous so as not to seem presumptuous in relation to his patron's scholarly initiative. Even Gahō seems to endorse this view of the production of the text in stating, as his first remark, that the text (*Honsa roku*) was "the product of the family of the late Honda Masatsura, Buzen no kami, but originally had neither a title nor an author's name on it."²⁸

The second preface to the *Honsa roku*, written in 1725, thirty-five years after the first edition of the *Kana shōri* had been published, is by Muro Kyūsō. It endorses the views of Kinoshita Jun'an and Arai Hakuseki,²⁹ namely, that the *Honsa roku* was authored by Honda Masanobu, Sado no kami, counselor to Tokugawa Ieyasu and Hidetada, and daimyō of Takatori domain. Kyūsō reveals his distance from Gahō, his scholarly lineage, and his views about the text by referring to Gahō's postscript as one by a "later [i.e., earlier] person" (*kōjin* 後人). Kyūsō explains that the *Honsa roku* was written as an account of Masanobu's thoughts on the way of governing (*chidō* 治道), probably during the Keichō period (1596-1615), when Masanobu was in Edo, serving the second shogun, Hidetada. By that time, Masanobu had been governor of Sadō for a decade; thus, in the *Honsa roku* he would have been recording his teachings on government, gleaned presumably from his own experiences, for submission to Hidetada.

²⁷ Hayashi Gahō, "Postscript," in Ishida and Kanaya, eds., *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 298-99. The postscript is also in the *Gahō Hayashi gakushi bunshū* 鷲峰林學士文集, ed. Hino Tatsuo 日野龍夫 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1997), *kan* 103.

²⁸ Hayashi Gahō, "Postscript," in *ibid.*, p. 299.

²⁹ Arai Hakuseki authored a brief text, the "*Honsa roku kō*" 本佐錄考 (A study of the *Honsa roku*), citing in part the views of Kinoshita Jun'an, which called attention to the assertion, made in the *Honsa roku*, that a *Karabito* had been the source of some of the teachings in the *Honsa roku*. Jun'an related that this mention prompted one colleague named Ikeda to suggest the role of Fujiwara Seika. Jun'an wondered, however, whether or not the ideas in the text were like those of Japanese scholars. In the end he decided to the contrary and suggested instead the possibility of transmission by someone like the astute Korean scholar, Yi Mun-jang 李文長. Arai Hakuseki, "*Honsa roku kō*," in *Arai Hakuseki zenshū*, vol. 6, pp. 547-48.

Referring to the *Kana shōri* and *Seika* via innuendo, Kyūsō admits that many forgeries have been marketed in recent years which falsely suggest that they were “the work of a famous worthy” (*meiken no saku* 名賢の作). For these reasons, the *Honsa roku* has become the subject of doubts and suspicions. Kyūsō affirms, however, that the text was transmitted in the Honda family, and that neither Kinoshita Jun’an nor Arai Hakuseki had any doubts as to whether Masanobu wrote it by his own hand.³⁰ The third preface, by an unknown figure, attributes the text to Honda Masanobu, stating unequivocally in its opening line that Masanobu wrote it.³¹

The first preface, by Shibano Ritsuzan 柴野栗山 (1748-1821), one of the leading figures in the Kansei purge, also stresses Masanobu’s role in authoring the *Honsa roku*. Emphasizing its importance, Ritsuzan notes how Kinoshita Jun’an characterized the work as an expression of the “highest centrality of the way of kings” (*ōdō no saichū* 王道の最中).³² Yet, most interestingly, Ritsuzan calls attention to a portion of the *Honsa roku* which adds a new dimension to the question of authorship: he notes that the text refers to a “foreigner” (*Karabito*) who was supposedly the source of some of its ideas. Explaining the *Honsa roku*’s references to a *Karabito*, Ritsuzan speculates that just as the martial arts have often been transmitted by anonymous masters, so might the same have occurred with the *Honsa roku* teachings. Ritsuzan asks rhetorically: “How do we know that the *Karabito* was not a reclusive scholar (*inshi* 隠士) who understood the way of true kings (*ōdō o shiru* 知王道), perhaps a latter-day follower of Yi Yin 伊尹, prime minister to King Tang 湯, founder of the Shang dynasty, or Tai Gong 太公, King Wen’s 文 teacher?” Perhaps due to the role of a *Karabito*, acknowledged by the *Honsa roku* itself, Ritsuzan adds that the teachings on “the way of heaven and the way of kings” could only have been received, and thus transmitted, by Fujiwara Seika or a couple of other early scholars.³³ Thus Ritsuzan implies that the participation of a foreigner in the production of the *Honsa roku* would not preclude Seika’s role: as is well known Seika’s understanding of Neo-Confucianism was mediated by Korean scholars taken to Japan as prisoners of war following Hideyoshi’s first invasion of the Korea in 1592-93. Furthermore, if a Korean and Seika were the co-producers (transmitter and receiver) of the commissioned text, their names might have been suppressed due to: (a) the foreign origins of the Korean; and (b) the lowly status of Seika in relation to Masanobu.

³⁰ Muro Kyūsō, “Honda Sado no kami Tō Masanobu chidō o ronzu kokuji no sho ni daisu” 本田佐渡守藤政信治道を論ずる國字の書に題す, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 272-74 (301). The *kanbun* version of this text appears in the *Kyūsō sensei bunshū* 鳩巢先生文集, ed. Sugishita Motoaki 杉下元明, *Kinsei Juka bunshū shūsei*, vol. 13 (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1991), pp. 466-67. In a letter dated 1714, Kyūsō expresses doubts regarding Masanobu’s authorship. Ishige’s annotations to the *Honsa roku* (p. 396) notes this shift in Kyūsō’s views.

³¹ Anonymous, “Preface,” *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, p. 275.

³² Hakuseki also thought highly of the *Honsa roku*. In his *Hankanfu*, he called it “the number one book of all-below-heaven” (*tenka daiichi no sho nari* 天下第一の書なり).

³³ Shibano Ritsuzan, “Preface,” in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 270-71, 277. Prior to being elevated to high office by King Tang, Yi Yin was supposedly a farmer who admired the way of Yao and Shun, the ancient sage rulers of Chinese historical legend. Tai Gong had gone into self-imposed exile during the final days of the Shang, but returned when he heard that King Wen and the Zhou were assuming power.

In the early twentieth century Nakamura Katsumaro's 中村勝麻呂 *Shigaku zasshi* article, "An Examination of the *Honsa roku*," established through compelling textual evidence that the *Honsa roku* and *Kana shōri* were closely related texts. The annotations to the *Kana shōri* translation offered below draw often on Nakamura's meticulous scholarship. Regarding the problem of authorship for the *Honsa roku*, Nakamura concludes along eclectic lines reminiscent of Hayashi Gahō's postscript, suggesting that Seika and Masanobu had a hand in the production of the work. Nakamura emphasizes that Masanobu commissioned Seika's work, making him, Masanobu, the director of the text, while relegating Seika to the role of ghost writer of a philosophical treatise. In arriving at this conclusion, Nakamura took seriously the traditional attribution of the *Kana shōri* to Fujiwara Seika.³⁴ He did not realize, however, that both the *Honsa roku* and the *Kana shōri* were closely related to yet another text, the *Shingaku gorin sho*. Discovery of these relations was made decades later by Ishikawa Ken, the noted historian of *shingaku* (learning of the mind-and-heart) thought.

In 1938, Ishikawa's *Sekimon shingaku shi no kenkyū* 石門心学史研究 (Studies of Sekimon school of the mind) launched the first sustained critique of the Seika thesis—namely, the claim that Seika authored the *Kana shōri*. Ishikawa's rejection of this thesis was based on his comparison of the *Shingaku gorinsho*, which he considered the earlier text, and the *Kana shōri* and *Honsa roku*, which he viewed as derivatives. He offered no speculations as to who authored the *Shingaku gorinsho*, preferring instead to state simply that "the author's [identity] is unclear." He did speculate that a proto-version of the *Shingaku gorinsho* first came into existence, without a specific title, between 1601 and 1614. This textual forerunner soon gave rise to the first edition of the *Shingaku gorinsho*, in 1650, the *Honsa roku* in 1677, which Ishikawa allowed might have been authored by Seika, and the first manuscript of the *Kana shōri* in 1669, attributed to Seika.³⁵

In criticizing the *Seika setsu*, Ishikawa noted that the preface to the *Kana shōri* differs stylistically from the text, which is true. But Ishikawa further declared that the content of the preface is "completely unrelated to the main text,"³⁶ which is not true: both the preface and the text adumbrate a dialectical understanding of time emphasizing inversion of excess, the preface doing so in terms of the four seasons, while the main text does so in terms of political ethics and historical case studies. These differences, though noteworthy, did not prompt readers prior to Ishikawa to question the attribution of the text to Seika. Indeed, on the basis of the evidence offered, Ishikawa's views about the preface to the *Kana shōri* and its relationship to the text, seem exaggerated.

Ishikawa also noted that the *Kana shōri* referred to the Battle of Sekigahara, of 1600. Thus, he reasons that Seika could not have written the text for his mother because she had died before that year.³⁷ The reference to Sekigahara, however, occurs only once,

³⁴ Nakamura Katsumarō, "Honsa roku kō," pp. 54-79. Nakamura also cites considerable portions of the *Shitsumon Honsa roku* 質問本佐録, by Aochi Reikan 青地禮幹, a follower of Muro Kyūsō. The *Shitsumon Honsa roku* states that during the time of Masanobu, there was a Korean (*Chōsen no hito*) named Yi Mun-jang in Japan who taught Neo-Confucianism. It speculates that Masanobu received his teachings from Yi Mun-jang. The *Shitsumon Honsa roku* adds that at that time Koreans were also called *Karabito*.

³⁵ Ishikawa Ken, *Sekimon shingaku shi no kenkyū*, p. 29.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

and could have been a later addition to the text, inserted long after Seika completed the work. Or, alternatively, it is possible that Seika began work on the *Kana shōri* for his mother, yet only finished it after the battle. Still another possibility is that Sanchiku asserted that Seika wrote the work for his mother to make the text, which could be viewed as “politically dangerous,”³⁸ seem innocuous. At any rate, the reference to Sekigahara proves little more than that the passage in which it occurs postdated 1600: alone, it does not prove that the text as a whole postdates 1600. Given that Ishikawa’s research sought to uncover the roots of *shingaku* in Japanese thought, his willingness to privilege the *Shingaku gorinsho*, and his readiness to take a more skeptical, iconoclastic stance vis-à-vis the *Kana shōri* and *Honsa roku*, are understandable.

Ōta Hyōzaburō’s 1941 “Kaidai” to the *Fujiwara Seika shū*, endorsed Nakamura’s view, allowing for the possibility of Seika’s authorship, while responding to some of the reservations that Nakamura and Ishikawa had expressed regarding the Seika thesis.³⁹ However, writing under the name of Ōta Seikyū 太田青丘, Ōta published, in 1985, a biography of Seika, *Fujiwara Seika*. In this work Ōta describes the *Kana shōri* as a work of questionable authenticity, though attributed to Seika. Later Ōta reasoned that since the *Kana shōri* is never mentioned in Seika’s writings, nor by his disciples, it is probable that a later scholar who admired Seika revised the text and attributed it to him. This “forgery” view (*gisaku setsu* 偽作説), Ōta stated, has become “the accepted theory of the academic world.”⁴⁰ Postwar scholarship has indeed made denial of the Seika thesis far more common than ever before. Despite Ōta’s cautious analyses of the problem of authorship early on, his shift to the “denial” camp illustrates the extent to which this position has gained currency.

In his history of Japanese ethical thought, Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 (1889-1960) examined the *Honsa roku* and in doing so allowed for the possibility of Seika’s authorship even while maintaining that ultimately the matter is beyond the realm of certainty. Watsuji considers any number of authorial possibilities. For example, he noted how the *Honsa roku*’s claim that “the way of heaven” is “the ruler of all between heaven and earth,” coupled with its emphasis on compassion, expresses the kind of outlook that might characterize belief in Amida Buddha or Christianity. Watsuji also pointed out that the discussion of “the way of heaven” is not dissimilar to that expressed in Seika’s writings on the same topic in his *Goji no nan* 五事の難 (Five problematic matters). Yet Watsuji saw Seika’s more typical identification of the way of heaven with “principle” (*kotowari* 理) as a crucial differentiating factor, one making Seika’s ideas distinct from those in the *Honsa roku* where “the way of heaven” is characteristically defined as the “ruler” (*aruji*) of heaven and earth.⁴¹

Watsuji’s allusion to the *Goji no nan* is insightful, for, as will be discussed later, there are other striking parallels between that text and the *Kana shōri* which make the Seika thesis credible. While the *Honsa roku* (and *Kana shōri* and *Shingaku gorin sho*)

³⁸ Boot, “Tentō ou La Voie du Ciel,” p. 99.

³⁹ Ōta Hyōzaburō, “Kaidai,” in *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, pp. 36-40.

⁴⁰ Ōta Seikyū (Hyōzaburō), *Fujiwara Seika* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1985), pp. 100, 121-22.

⁴¹ Watsuji Tetsurō, *Nihon rinri shisōshi* 日本倫理思想史 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952), vol. 2, pp. 374, 381.

equation of the way of heaven and the ruler is curious (it is without precedent in Neo-Confucianism), it is not impossible to explain: if Seika began work on the text at the request of a samurai lord, as Hayashi Gahō's postscript suggests, the identification of the way of heaven and the ruler might have been a modification of Seika's philosophical views, which more likely would have identified the way of heaven with principle rather than the ruler. If this was a modification of the original draft, it would have been one demanded by the daimyo and allowed by the draftsman, and apparently one that remained in later drafts of the text culminating in the later published versions of the *Honsa roku*, *Shingaku gorin sho*, and *Kana shōri*.

Echoing Ishikawa's views, Ishige Tadashi 石毛忠, a collator of the Nihon shisō taikai edition of the *Kana shōri*, sees the *Kana shōri* and *Honsa roku* as "derivative works" (*nijisho* 二次書) based on the *Shingaku gorin sho*. Unlike Ishikawa who preferred to view the *Gorin sho* as an anonymous work, Ishige attributes it to an obscure proponent of the Yoshida family's Yuitsu Shintō notions, Bonshun 梵舜 (1553-1632). Ishige questions Seika's authorship in part due to the fact that the *Kana shōri* is not found in two compilations of Seika's works, the *Seika bunshū* and the *Seika sensei bunshū*, edited by Seika's disciples.⁴² His speculation, while interesting, is not likely to convince many given the fact that throughout the last four centuries, Bonshun was never once associated with the text. Nor does the absence of the *Kana shōri* from compilations of Seika's works seem necessarily compelling evidence against his authorship: if Seika's work on the text was initiated by samurai commission, he may have felt obliged not to claim it as his own. Moreover, given its equation of the way of heaven with the ruler, Seika might have preferred not to have the text associated with his own writings.

Kanaya Osamu's 金谷治 study of Seika's thought suggests that Seika's authorship is "doubtful" largely because the *Kana shōri*'s account of Neo-Confucianism is closer to Zhu Xi's thought than Seika's own.⁴³ Although insightful, Kanaya's objection to the Seika thesis could be easily dissolved by positing an orthodox Korean co-author, working with Seika and instructing him, at that juncture, in a more standard version of Neo-Confucianism than Seika later came to endorse personally.

One of the less credible speculations is that of Imanaka Kanji 今中寛司 who suggests that Hayashi Razan authored the text.⁴⁴ Hori Isao's 堀勇雄 biography of Razan objects explicitly to Imanaka's view because: (1) the qualified tolerance towards Buddhism evident in the *Kana shōri* was not typical of Razan; and (2) the text is not listed in the bibliography of Razan's works compiled by his son, Hayashi Gahō. Hori suggests that Seika was commissioned to author a text, variously known as the *Chiyo motogusa* 千代茂登草, *Kana shōri*, and *Shingaku gorin sho*, which served as the basis

⁴² Ishige Tadashi, "Shingaku gorin sho no seiritsu jijō to sono shisōteki tokushitsu: *Kana shōri*, *Honsa roku rikai no zentei to shite*" 心学五倫書の成立事情とその思想的特質：仮名性理本佐録理解の前提として, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, p. 504.

⁴³ Kanaya Osamu, "Fujiwara Seika no Jugaku shisō" 藤原惺窩の儒学思想, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, p. 458.

⁴⁴ Imanaka Kanji, *Kinsei Nihon seiji shisō no seiritsu: Seikagaku to Razangaku*, pp. 38; 155-56; 187; 191.

for two subsequent “derivative texts,” the *Honsa roku* and the *Tenka kokka no yōroku* 天下國家之要錄 (Essentials for governing the realm below heaven).⁴⁵

Abe Yoshio’s 阿部吉雄 (1905-78) studies of Japanese Neo-Confucianism agree with the postwar consensus that Seika was not the author the *Kana shōri*.⁴⁶ At the same time, Abe emphasizes the extent to which Korean texts and Korean scholars influenced the Neo-Confucian thought of early Tokugawa thinkers, with Seika being one of the premier figures in the interchange. Drawing on remarks made in the *Honsa roku* about the contributions of a *Karabito*, as well as speculation that Seika authored that text, my essay extends Abe’s emphasis on the impact of Korean scholars, suggesting that Seika was possibly aided by a foreign philosophical source in drafting a proto-text that later spawned, with editing by various hands, *Honsa roku*, *Kana shōri* and *Shingaku gorin sho*.

Among Western scholars, Willem J. Boot concurs with the skeptical line, in a note, stating that “the *Kana shōri* (= *Chiyo motogusa*) and the *Tenka kokka no yōryaku* are not Seika’s. Together with the *Shingaku gorin-sho*, *Honsa roku*, *Tōshōgū go-yuigun*, etc., they must be regarded as representing a different strain of writings which reflect the *tentō shisō*.”⁴⁷ Similarly in *Tokugawa Ideology* Herman Ooms has rejected the notion that Seika authored the *Kana shōri*. Instead, Ooms, like Boot, explores the *Kana shōri* in relation to *tentō* texts, suggesting that they appear as a “patchwork of concepts without a center or as a maze of linkages lacking rigorous logic.” Ooms adds that these texts are “the textual equivalents of *emakimono*, picture scrolls where the scenes or units can be arbitrarily marked off from each other and where the only order is sequential. They are works that are the result of bricolage—to use Levi-Strauss’ celebrated term—where the odd shapes of the parts determine the unpredictable contours of the whole.”⁴⁸ I would take issue here with both positions, suggesting that Seika was possibly the author of the *Kana shōri*, and that the latter was, as a text, exceptionally systematic.

Salvaging the Seika Thesis

Crucial to any claims regarding who authored the *Kana shōri* is the remark by Kumazawa Banzan, made in his *Shūgi gaisho*, that the *Shingaku gorin sho*, which is highly similar to the *Kana shōri*, was written before he was born (1619). Since Seika died in 1619, he cannot be discounted, on the basis of Banzan’s testimony, as the author of the *Shingaku gorin sho* or the *Kana shōri*. As is well known, Seika’s move away from Buddhism and towards Neo-Confucianism was in process from the early 1590s through the remainder of his life. The author of the *Kana shōri* evidences an impressive understanding

⁴⁵ Hori Isao, *Hayashi Razan* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964), p. 374.

⁴⁶ Abe Yoshio, *Nihon Shushigaku to Chōsen* 日本朱子学と朝鮮 (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppansha, 1965), pp. 24, 111, 365.

⁴⁷ Willem Jan Boot, *The Adoption and Adaptation of Neo-Confucianism in Japan: The Role of Fujiwara Seika and Hayashi Razan* (Leiden: University of Leiden, 1982), p. 268. In an earlier essay, “Hayashi Razan as a Confucian Philosopher,” in *European Studies on Japan*, ed. Ian Nish and Charles Dunn (Tenterden, England: Paul Norbury, 1979), pp. 89-331, Boot dismissed the notion that either Seika or Razan produced the *Kana shōri*, the *Honsa roku*, or the *Shingaku gorinshō*. In “Tentō ou La Voie Du Ciel” (p. 92), Boot concurs with Yamamoto in describing the *Kana shōri* as a derivative text based on the *Shingaku gorin sho*.

⁴⁸ Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 93.

of the development of Buddhism historically and especially its unfolding in Japan. To the extent that there is sympathy for Buddhism, it is for the original teachings rather than later developments as came to predominate in Japan. Such residual respect for Buddhism derived, most likely, from the author's earlier acceptance of the teachings. Seika's overall intellectual development, known for its eclecticism, seems consistent with the dating (according to Banzan) of the earliest version of a text which, in one form at least, would be known as the *Kana shōri*, and the attitude toward Buddhism expressed in it.

Critics often note that for over a decade before the *Kana shōri* was first attributed to Seika, the *Shingaku gorin sho*, arguably a derivative from a proto-text which produced the *Kana shōri* and *Honsa roku*, circulated without having been attributed to anyone. The anonymity of this text can plausibly be explained by reference to Hayashi Gahō's suggestion in his postscript that Seika had been commissioned to compose a text for Honda Masanobu, then a tutor to the shogun. Since the relatively brief *Honsa roku* includes many passages, verbatim, that are otherwise in *Shingaku gorin sho* and *Kana shōri*, it might have been composed first. Seika would not have claimed the text, because his production of that work would have been in his capacity as a kind of "ghost philosopher," writing something which would be attributed to a grander figure, in this case Masanobu. Furthermore Seika would not have claimed authorship of any subsequent text, which might have developed later from the draft text and overall philosophical problematic that produced the *Honsa roku*. Nevertheless these later texts were possibly increasingly expanded versions of the early work Seika had done for Masanobu on the *Honsa roku*, in cooperation with his Neo-Confucian mentor, the erstwhile Korean prisoner of war, Kang Hang 姜沆 (1567-1618).⁴⁹

Kang Hang's input, or that of some other foreign scholar, is suggested in the *Honsa roku* itself, which in its opening section speaks of a "foreign scholar" (*Karabito no monochi* 唐人の物知) coming to Japan, and illuminating matters that had not previously been understood.⁵⁰ The collaborative work of Seika and Kang Hang on projects such as their punctuation of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* for Japanese is well known; they might also have worked together to produce a draft of the *Honsa roku*. No other early Tokugawa scholar, producing Neo-Confucian texts prior to 1619, is as well known for their collaborative work with Korean scholars as Seika. If a Korean did assist in the production of the *Honsa roku*, that would hardly preclude Seika's participation, since much of his Neo-Confucian work is known to have been produced under the tutelage of Kang Hang.

Following Kang Hang's departure from Japan, Seika possibly returned to the writing they had produced for Masanobu, expanding it into the text that came to be known as the *Shingaku gorin sho*, a lengthier, more philosophical version of the *Honsa roku*. Yet given the parallels between the *Honsa roku* and *Shingaku gorin sho*, Seika would not have claimed the latter as his own. Indeed, it is not likely that he would have had the work published in his own lifetime. Following his death, however, it could have been published, without attribution, by one of Seika's students who recognized its value, apart from its earlier function as a philosophico-political treatise for Masanobu. Such publication would account for the appearance of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, or some proto-version of the text, as

⁴⁹ For a study of Kang Hang, see Kim Ha-tai, "The Transmission of Neo-Confucianism to Japan by Kang Hang, A Prisoner of War," *Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 37 (1967), pp. 83-103.

⁵⁰ *Honsa roku*, p. 277.

of 1619, just before Banzan's birth. Seika might have even allowed a disciple to publish the text, provided it was not attributed to him. If so, the work would have circulated as it did, without either a title or author's name. Much later, following Banzan's denial that the text was his and his remark placing it at the dawn of Tokugawa philosophizing, later followers of Seika perhaps felt compelled to attribute the text to Seika. Possibly the association with Seika had circulated among followers of his teaching for generations, as an internal teaching; no doubt by the time that Hayashi Gahō mentioned Seika's possible authorship of the *Honsa roku*, that claim had already achieved a certain level of circulation.

If the text had been authored for a high ranking tutor to the future shogun, claiming personal credit for its creation would have been most imprudent. Given the fact that Seika's samurai patron, Akamatsu Hiromichi 赤松廣通 (1562-1600), had been forced to commit suicide following the Battle of Sekigahara due to his opposition to the Tokugawa, Seika's loyalty to the new samurai regime was not nearly as strong as that of the branch of his teachings which came to be associated with the bakufu, that of the Hayashi. Indeed Seika might have authored a fuller, more distinctly pro-imperial version of the proto-text produced for Masanobu, for his Kyoto-based following, one which eventually metamorphosed into the *Kana shōri*. Rather than link this politically dangerous text to a daimyo or the bakufu, Seika perhaps fostered the notion that he had composed the work for his aged mother. This would account for the claims made by Noma Sanchiku (see above).

One common criticism of the Seika thesis is that there is no mention of the *Kana shōri* in Seika's writings. Also noted frequently is that the *Kana shōri* was never included in *Fujiwara Seika shū*. Here again it might have been that Seika insisted, out of respect for Masanobu, that the text, or any later development of it, not be attributed to him. If the bakufu, in the form of Hidetada, took the work seriously, it might have been offended by its circulation under Seika's name. Thus, the exclusion of the work from Seika's corpus was possibly intentional, meant to protect Seika's followers, especially those in Kyoto.

It cannot be said, however, that Seika's Neo-Confucian writings include nothing comparable to the *Honsa roku*, *Shingaku gorin sho*, or *Kana shōri*. Indeed one of the most conspicuous threads linking these works is their emphasis on "the way of heaven," a theme developed by Seika in his *Goji no nan*.⁵¹ There Seika defined "the way of heaven" as rational principle (*kotowari*) residing in heaven, before it is endowed in things. The same principle, according to Seika, is replete within the human mind (*jinshin* 人心) and is referred to as human nature (*sei* 性) prior to the mind's response to phenomena. Seika claims that if people follow rational principles, they will accord with the centrality of heaven's way, making themselves one with heaven. If they indulge in selfish desires, then their virtuous nature will be overcome. Seika alludes to the *Doctrine of Mean* in suggesting that those who realize centrality and harmony stand by heaven and earth, assisting in the development of the myriad things. Seika affirms that our minds penetrate those of the myriad things, enabling humanity to impact decisively the development of all that exists. In offering this

⁵¹ Fujiwara Seika, *Goji no nan*, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 91-95 (107-08). Also, *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 1, pp. 131-34. Moreover in Seika's *Wakashū* 和歌集, in the essay "Inkyo no koto" 隱居之事 (Retirement), he briefly discusses "the rise and fall of the way, what is permissible and impermissible for humanity, and the overflowing, then emptying, of the way of heaven (*tendō*)." *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 1, p. 248. The latter theme, that of the overflowing and emptying of the way of heaven, is similar to the main theme of the *Kana shōri*.

brief account, Seika explains that his task was to clarify the subtle relationship between principle and the way of heaven that had been left unexplained by Confucius.⁵²

Seika's account of the way of heaven, as developed in the *Goji no nan*, was hardly identical to that found in the *Kana shōri*. At the same time, it would clearly be mistaken to suggest that Seika did not discuss the topic at all. Differences in his views might easily be explained in terms of the progressive unfolding of his own thinking, or in terms of the selection of authoritarian philosophical nuances, such as the identification of the way of heaven and the ruler, by his daimyo patron. Indeed, one flaw of skeptics who deny that Seika authored the *Kana shōri* is their assumption that Seika's thought took monolithic form, without developmental variation. While distinctive, indisputable parallels would be more compelling evidence, it is significant that Seika did address the way of heaven and did so in relation to the human mind, following principle, forsaking selfish desires, and the essential identity of principle and human nature. Each of these topics is central to the *Kana shōri*, making it as a text not unrelated to Seika's thinking in the *Goji no nan*.

One of the more conspicuous linkages of the *Kana shōri* is that of metaphysics, as developed in relation to the way of heaven, and politics, especially the political role and responsibilities of the ruler. Similar linkages appear in the *Goji no nan* where Seika discussed "disasters and calamities" (*sainan* 災難), suggesting that while they are the work of heaven, they are also the work of humanity insofar as the *Shujing* 書經 (Classic of history) indicates that "the way of heaven rewards the good, and visits misfortune on the evil, sending calamities down on rulers in order to make manifest their crimes." As evidence, Seika notes that during the times of Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, the Duke of Zhou, Confucius, Yan Hui, Zisi, and Mencius, there were no major disasters or calamities. He warns, however, that those who feign humaneness and rightness, preferring the approach of the overlord, invite disaster upon themselves.⁵³

The *Kana shōri* does not repeat this line verbatim, but it does, from a different angle, remind rulers of the fate facing those who go to excess, drawing poetically upon the image of an ancient vessel which supposedly spilled its contents when filled to the brim. The message of the *Kana shōri*, most generally, is that rulers bring destruction upon themselves; much the same can be said about the *Goji no nan*, where that theme is also closely linked to the way of heaven. Again while verbatim repetitions of the *Kana shōri* in the *Goji no nan*, or vice versa, would be more compelling evidence, the latter clearly addresses issues of a kind otherwise explored in the former, making Seika's authorship not improbable.

Another prominent theme in the *Kana shōri* is the dialectical nature of the processes of reality, especially as they are manifest in reversals that take the form of retribution and/or correction. This is especially clear in the *Kana shōri*'s examination of Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147-99) in Japanese history and the first Qin emperor in Chinese: both brought ruin upon themselves due to their misdeeds. Similar themes are explored in the *Goji no nan*, where Seika explains the meaning (*jigi* 字義) of *inga* 因果, a notion neutrally

⁵² Seika, "Tendō," *Goji no nan*, pp. 92 (107). In the *Analects* 5.13, Zigong states that he was never able to receive Confucius' teachings on human nature and the way of heaven, though he did receive those on culture and composition. This passage has often been interpreted as suggesting that Confucius rarely if ever discussed human nature and the way of heaven. Seika views the matter differently, implying that the topics were subtle and thus not often discussed.

⁵³ Seika, "Sainan," *Goji no nan*, pp. 93 (107).

translated as “cause and effect,” but often given a distinctly Buddhist nuance as “karma.” Seika’s understanding, while perhaps grounded in his early training as a Buddhist, is closer to “cause and effect.” In this context, Seika’s analysis suggests, drawing on the *Mencius* but sounding highly Buddhist, that what a person does comes back to them.⁵⁴

Along related lines, the fourth section of the *Goji no nan* explains how those who are just and honest often encounter poverty and low station, while the crooked and devious often achieve wealth and exalted position. In the final section of the *Goji no nan*, Seika explains how “evil people” (*akujin* 悪人) attain glory.⁵⁵ Strikingly, one of the final sections of the *Kana shōri* addresses the problem of why “evil people” sometimes attain wealth and respect, while such is rarely the case with good people (*zenjin* 善人).⁵⁶ Although the analyses differ, the *Goji no nan* and the *Kana shōri* cite Jie of the Xia dynasty and Zhou of the Yin (Shang), referred to in both texts jointly as *Ka Ketsu In Shū* 夏桀殷紂 (in the *Kana shōri*, 王 [king] is added to *Shū*), as exemplars of evil men who prospered.⁵⁷ Moreover, in the *Goji no nan*, Seika suggests that the flourishing of evil men is so excessive that it prompts their ruin. Without employing the formula that the *Kana shōri* does (“Heaven takes from the full”), it implies along lines essentially the same as the *Kana shōri* that excessive flourishing brings about reversal, even destruction, of the same.

The *Goji no nan* does not provide incontrovertible evidence that the *Kana shōri* was Seika’s. However, one major objection to the Seika thesis has been that, in addition to the fact that the *Kana shōri* is not referred to in Seika’s writings, its thought is not characteristic of Seika’s. Yet the ideas expounded in the *Kana shōri*, pertaining to the way of heaven, following principle, selfish desires, the flourishing of evil men, and the frequent poverty of those who are good, resonate with themes in the *Goji no nan*. Thus to say that the *Kana shōri* has no parallels in Seika’s thought, or that the *Kana shōri*’s philosophical statement is not characteristic of Seika’s Neo-Confucianism, ignores this evidence.

Also noteworthy is that the *Kana shōri* discussion of the five relationships is not without parallels in Seika’s writings. In his *Wakashū* 和歌集 (Waka collection), Seika examines in detail relations between rulers and ministers, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, elder and younger brothers, and friends: i.e., the five relations otherwise discussed briefly in the *Kana shōri*. And it is noteworthy that the opening line of the *Kana shōri*, discussing relations between husbands and wives, is virtually identical to an analogously situated line in the *Wakashū*: both declare that “husbands and wives are comparable to heaven and earth [in their relations with one another].”⁵⁸ Although the *Wakashū*’s treatment of the five relations is much more detailed than the *Kana shōri*’s, making the texts more different than alike, the fact that Seika’s accepted writings do treat the five relations, as does the *Kana shōri*, suggests again that his authorship of the latter is not impossible.

Contrary to Ooms’s view, mentioned earlier, that the *Kana shōri* is a patchwork text,⁵⁹ I would suggest that the text is conceptually systematic and thematically consistent.

⁵⁴ Seika, “Inga,” *Goji no nan*, pp. 93-94 (108). Seika alludes to the *Mencius* 1B.12, in giving the notion of *inga* a distinctly Confucian reading.

⁵⁵ Seika, “Akujin no ken’ei” 悪人の兼營, *Goji no nan*, p. 95 (108).

⁵⁶ “Akujin nare do mo” 悪人なれども, *Kana shōri*, pp. 252. See below.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ *Kana shōri*, p. 243; *Wakashū*, in *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 1, p. 243.

⁵⁹ Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, p. 93.

The preface announces the main theme running throughout the text by recounting the dynamic progression of the seasons in terms of the fullness of one leading to its decline and the emergence of another. Thus the preface also offers a poetic metaphor expressing hope for the realm as it moved away from the nightmare of incessant warfare. In effect, it also offers a philosophical meditation on time, its cyclical nature, and its dialectical dynamics. The preface amplifies the latter point by recalling a classical passage in which Confucius and his disciple Zilu discuss an “admonitory vessel” which rights itself when empty, spills when full, and then rights itself again for filling. The message here is that extremes lead to reversals, while the best course is that of the middle path, the mean. This message, the text implies, is pertinent to the human ethical realm and that of the cosmos. Human time in the form of history follows this same dialectical dynamic, correcting extremes and excesses by reversing them. Also suggested here, however, is that the radical vicissitudes of history can be avoided by refraining from excessive behavior.

This poetic and philosophical theme foreshadows the central theme of the *Kana shōri*, “the way of heaven.” Simply put, *tendō* refers to the dialectical dynamic of the macrocosm and microcosm insofar as excesses lead to reversals. One classical basis for *tendō* appears in the *Book of History*, which presents the sage Yu explaining that “only virtue (*de* 德) moves heaven; indeed, there is no distance to which it does not extend.” Then Yu declares: “Fullness (*man* 滿) invites loss (*sun* 損), while those who are humble (*qian* 謙) receive increases (*yi* 益).”⁶⁰ This passage is significant because in the same chapter, “The Counsels of Great Yu,” the classical basis of the Neo-Confucian distinction between the mind of the way (*daoxin*) and the mind of humanity (*renshin*) appears. The latter dichotomy is central to the *Kana shōri*, thus making its tie to the *Classic of History* passage explaining *tendō* most relevant. Given that Yu’s remarks were offered as counsel to the ruler Shun, there can be no doubt that the *Kana shōri*, expounding *tendō* in numerous contexts, was meant as a kind of political philosophy, most likely targeting rulers or those interested in ruling. Rather than a facile legitimization of a ruling elite, the text enunciates a warning to rulers regarding the consequences of egregious rule. Considered in this light, the *Kana shōri*’s signature identification of *tendō* and the ruler might be best understood not as a simple equation, but as an affirmation that the way of heaven should be an ultimate concern of any ruler, especially insofar as that way, rather than being “the ruler” as such, “rules” all that exists, including the ruler.

⁶⁰ *Classic of History (Shujing 書經)*, James Legge, trans., *The Shoo King, or, The Book of Historical Documents*, in *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1970), reprint of the 1960 edition, based on the Oxford University Press, 1865 edition, p. 65. It is worth noting that while the *Analects* states that Confucius’s teachings on “human nature and the way of heaven” could not be easily heard (i.e., were difficult to grasp and so not taught to those incapable of comprehending them), other Confucian texts such as the *Book of Changes* discuss the way of heaven. The latter states that the sages defined it in terms of *yin* and *yang*. *The Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong 中庸)* characterized it as “sincerity” (*cheng*). *Zuo’s Commentary* contrasted it with the way of humanity, suggesting that the latter was more proximate. Other philosophical texts of ancient China such as the *Guanzi 管子* suggested that when undertaking great matters, the way of heaven should be employed; the *Zhuangzi 莊子* includes a chapter named “The Way of Heaven” wherein it is described as the moving force of the universe, bringing all things to their completion.

Generically and in terms of its internal order, the *Kana shōri* is related to Chen Beixi's 陳北溪 (1159-1223) *Xingli ziyi* 性理字義 (The meanings of Neo-Confucian terms), a work which figured prominently in the writings of Seika's main disciples, Hayashi Razan⁶¹ and Matsunaga Sekigo.⁶² Much as Chen's text explicates a Neo-Confucian world view by explaining the meanings of a first-order set of philosophical terms such as "human nature," "principle," "the way," and the like, the *Kana shōri*'s organization, conceptual and topical in nature, is equally evident in its focus on such topics as "heaven's way," "luminous virtue," "sincerity," "reverence," "humaneness," "rightness," "propriety," "wisdom," "fidelity," "the five relationships," "the original mind of heaven," and "the family." Though hardly identical with Chen's text, much of the contents of the *Kana shōri* echoes the *Xingli ziyi*; in effect, the *Kana shōri* expounds, via a conceptual architectonic of Chinese (not Western) philosophy, a systematic world view. Even key terms in the title of the *Kana shōri*, in particular, the words *shōri*, allude to the title of the *Xingli ziyi*, where *xingli* 性理 is the Chinese, while *shōri* 性理 the Japanese reading of the same characters, those referring to "human nature" and "principle."

Without a doubt Seika knew of the Chen Beixi's writings: in his *Bunshō tatsutoku kōryō* 文章達德綱領 (Writings on establishing virtue), Seika quotes the *Xingli ziyi* verbatim, citing Chen by name.⁶³ Interestingly, Kang Hang authored a preface to the *Bunshō tatsutoku kōryō*, in 1599, the year before he was permitted to return to Korea, the Battle of Sekigahara, and the suicide of Seika's patron, Akamatsu Hiromichi. Given that the edition of the *Xingli ziyi* which most decisively influenced Japan was the 1553 Korean edition, published in Chinju, Kang Hang's hometown, it is possible that he was one of the carriers of that text into Japan, and that he alerted Seika to its significance. Possibly, Kang Hang also assisted Seika in authoring a similar text, the *Kana shōri*, modeled after Beixi's. While this remains speculation, given Seika's known connections to Kang Hang, it is not beyond the realm of credibility. If so, then much earlier speculations, found in the *Honsa roku*, that a Korean had a hand in the production of the text, would not only be correct, they would furthermore point to Seika as well.

While the term-by-term explication of Neo-Confucianism, in both texts can be viewed as the format of a primer, the lexicographical project has in Confucianism distinctly political nuances. Specifically, Confucius in the *Analects* is recorded as stating, upon being asked what he would do if given political authority, that he would "rectify terms" (*zheng ming* 正名), or make sure that words signify what they are supposed to. Without conceptual

⁶¹ Ishida Ichirō notes the *Ziyi*'s impact on Razan's conceptually-focused pamphlets, the *Shunkanshō* 春鑑抄 (Selections on the autumn mirror) and *Santokushō* 三徳抄 (Selections on the three virtues). See Ishida, "Annotations to the *Shunkanshō*," in Ishida and Kanaya Osamu, eds., *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 127, 132. And, Ishida, "Annotations to the *Santokushō*," in *ibid.*, pp. 162-65, 168-70, 174-75, 179, 181, 183-86. Most notably, Razan authored an extensive colloquial explication of Chen's text, entitled the *Seiri jigi genkai* 性理字義諺解, which was published after his death, in 1659. Though there is no modern edition of this text, it is widely available in major library and archival collections in Japan. For example, copies are in the Kyoto University Library and in the Faculty of Letters Library there.

⁶² Tamagake Hiroyuki 玉懸博之, "Matsunaga Sekigo no shisō" 松永尺五の思想, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 505-10.

⁶³ Seika, *Bunshō tatsutoku kōryō*, in *Fujiwara Seika shū*, vol. 2, p. 23.

order, Confucius reasoned, sociopolitical order was impossible. With it, the realm would be governable. Insofar as the *Kana shōri* participates, as a Neo-Confucian text, in lexicography, it is a politically charged work, defining the semantic grounds for the possibility of good government, Confucian style. Indeed, the semantic order in the *Kana shōri* seeks to explain via a conceptual system, the dynamic dialectic of the universe, humanity, and the realm. Though generally applicable to rulers, as contextualized in relation to Japanese history, the text more favors the imperial line than samurai regimes, thus evincing a political perspective more sympathetic to the Kyoto region than to that of Edo. Given Seika's residence in Kyoto after 1600, the political leanings of the *Kana shōri* again suggest the strong possibility of his authorship.

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Neo-Confucian Terms for Japanese (*Kana shōri*, ca. 1650)⁶⁴

Preface⁶⁵

With the calm of a new year's first dawn, things are indeed changing, day by day. Nightingales from the valleys now fly about, attracted by silent scents from plum trees near rooftops, amazing all with songs anew. People's minds-and-hearts grow more at ease: joining with friends and companions, they stroll to this mountain or that temple, singing songs and writing poems that express their longings and explore their interests. Others enjoy themselves with their wives and children, discussing both lofty and mundane matters. Picking young grasses and parsley fascinates others. Having forgotten life's hardships, people now indulge in such delights.

By the middle of the third lunar month when the cherry blossoms at the foot of Mt. Yoshino have scattered, those atop the mountain now bloom fully. But in the capital they no longer fall: they have long since ceased blooming there. People thus feel empty inside, in their hearts. Therefore they roam deep into the mountains or far into valleys, loath to part with the passing spring. Although a spring breeze is not cold, upon hearing one people wince more than with the sound of axes, because it is this spring breeze that blows away the blossoms. Until yesterday, the flowers were beautiful, their colors flourished, and their scents wafted in the air. Perhaps as retribution for bewitching everyone's hearts, nearly all of them are blown away in one night. While a few remain, I have no desire to gaze at them; by now they have lost their charm.

Around the first day of the fourth month, with the seasonal change of clothes, people seem refreshed in their minds and hearts. Inside and outside one's home, greenery paints everything. People go to work, neatly dressed in their seasonal clothes. With the festival of the fifth day of the fifth month, the transformation is amazing, with housetops decorated with irises and hollyhock.

⁶⁴ The present translation is of the annotated modern edition of the text, prepared by Ishige Tadashi, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*. The NST text is based on the oldest extant edition of the *Kana shōri*, published in 1691, held in the Seikadō bunko, Osaka Municipal University Library.

⁶⁵ The preface is one of the unique features of the *Kana shōri*. There is no preface to the *Shingaku gorin sho*. The *Honsa roku* includes several prefaces, but each is very different than the *Kana shōri*'s. These are discussed in the preceding essay.

Chinese have declared the peony to be the king of flowers, and they have grounds for doing so. In leap years, peonies are especially beautiful, blooming in a profusion of crimson, surrounded by the willow's greenery and the yellow of the mountain rose. The flowers decorate both rooftops and mountains. Yet it is the youthfulness, vitality, and freshness of the greenery, more than the flowers themselves, that makes the rooftops and mountain sides all the more splendid.

Around the beginning of the seventh lunar month, while the heat of summer continues, the feel of evening breezes changes. Before long, autumn leaves begin to fall, and mountains and fields will be tinged with various colors. Nothing can compare with the wondrous sight of autumn when the world becomes an expansive brocade of natural colors. Of course, the moon is always a prized sight, but neither the heart nor words can convey the beauty of moonlight shining through mountain forests on the fifteenth evening of this month. Even the ancients found it difficult to decide which was more wonderful, spring or autumn. Though the moon was full last night, this evening its shape has changed, as if it waned a bit.

Around the first of the tenth month, the wind that brings dew to autumn rice fields also pierces my body. Flowers from rough-woven bamboo fences wither and fall. Twigs and grasses are scattered about. Outside, insects' cries have nearly vanished. Even those who have abandoned worldly pursuits are heartbroken that autumn has passed. When the moon has waned halfway, snow falls on rural mountains. Soon hail blows down, bringing the pathos of winter to people's homes.

Although the mind of heaven and earth is invisible and difficult to fathom, when we contemplate the order of change in the four seasons, it appears that they follow natural principles (*shizen no ri* 自然の理), such that abundance inevitably leads to withering and waning, and fullness entails eventual deficiency. While people are hardly alone in living long and flourishing, in their lives sadness follows happiness. Moreover, the haughty do not last long. Natural principles make this so.

In his temple, Duke Huan 桓公 of Qi 齊 had an interesting object. Confucius saw it and said, "This is an admonitory vessel (*youzuo* 宥坐). When it is empty, it leans at an angle; when it is half full, it stands straight up; when it is completely full, it overturns. Let those worthy, luminous rulers and lords heed its counsel, and always keep it at their side."

Confucius' disciple, Zilu 子路, asked, "But is there not some way of filling it and preserving its fullness?"

Confucius replied, "Those who are talented and wise, as well as those who rule over others, should regard themselves with humility. Those who hope to realize great achievements in the world must defer to others, without boasting of their accomplishments. Those whose strength and bravery surpasses everyone ought to behave timidly when with others. Those whose wealth is so great that they might claim the world as their own should preserve a humble bearing."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Xunzi* 荀子, "Admonitory Vessel," ch. 28; Yinde bianzuan chu 引得編纂處, comp., *Xunzi yinde* 荀子引得 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), pp. 101-02. Also, *Han Shih Wai-chuan Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs*, trans. James Robert Hightower (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 111-13. While the *Kana shōri* version of this tale states that Duke Huan ruled Qi, the *Xunzi* and *Hanshi waizhuan* state that Duke Huan was the ruler of Lu.

Alas! It was such even with a sage. Thus, if everyone else takes this message to heart, even though they attain fullness, there should be no danger!

(1) The Way of Heaven (*tendō* 天道)⁶⁷

The way of heaven is the ruler [or master, *shujin* 主人] of heaven and earth. Due to its formlessness, the way of heaven is imperceptible.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, one sees the operations of the way of heaven in the succession of the four seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—without disorder; in the birthing of people into the world; in the blossoming of flowers and trees; and in the growth of the five grains. All of these are the workings of the way of heaven.

The human mind is also formless, yet it is the master of the body.⁶⁹ This mind extends throughout the body, without exception, even to our fingertips and the ends of each strand of hair. Although a division of the mind of heaven, the human mind functions as our minds. Originally, the human mind and heaven were one body. The womb of heaven and earth conceives all things in the world just as the ocean's womb conceives all fishes. Just as water pervades even the fishes' fins,⁷⁰ so does the mind of heaven thoroughly pervade the human mind. Thus, when one thinks compassionately, that thought penetrates heaven;

⁶⁷ The first section of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, explaining “The Way of Heaven,” corresponds, more or less line for line, to the first section of the *Kana shōri*. The *Shingaku gorin sho* often gives *kanji* rather than *hiragana* for many words, but otherwise the two texts are virtually identical. A major variation in the first section is explained in note 12. In its first section “Knowing the Way of Heaven” (*tendō o shiru koto*), the *Honsa roku* expresses a similar overall thesis: the way of heaven centers upon the master or ruler (*aruji*) of heaven and earth. The *Honsa roku* also emphasizes that governing the realm and all-below-heaven emerges from the human mind, which in turn is the master (*aruji*) of the body. However, the *Honsa roku* suggests that its teachings are not those of the Japanese author of the text, but instead were communicated to the author by a “foreigner” who understood the way of heaven, and had come to Japan. The *Honsa roku* suggests that in ancient times Japan understood the way of heaven, but had lost it in recent years, as regimes rose and fell within a generation or two. The *Honsa roku*'s reference to a “foreigner” who is credited as the source of its teachings, makes the text different than the *Kana shōri* and the *Shingaku gorin sho*. Also noteworthy is that the *Honsa roku* declares that the way of heaven “neither consists of *kami* nor the Buddha” (p. 277). The *Kana shōri* makes no such denials. Nevertheless, the *Honsa roku* and *Kana shōri* agree that the way of heaven pertains to the ruler of all-below-heaven.”

⁶⁸ Chen Beixi 陳北溪, “The Way,” *Xingli ziyi* 性理字義 (hereafter, *XLZY*), 1553 Korean ed., 2:9a-b; Wing-tsit Chan, trans., *Neo-Confucian Terms Explained* (hereafter, *NCTE*) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 106-07. “From the point of view of what transcends physical form, what is hidden and cannot be seen is called the way.” And: “Because the way has neither visible physical shape nor form.”

⁶⁹ Chen Beixi, “The Mind,” *XLZY*, 1553 Korean ed., 1:12b; Chan, *NCTE*, p. 56. “The mind is the master of the body.” This is the first remark Chen makes in his explication of the mind. Also, Zhu Xi, *Daxue zhangju* 大學章句, in *Shushigaku taikai* 朱子学体系 (hereafter *SGT*) (Tokyo: Meitoku shuppansha, 1982-83), vol. 7, pp. 352 (443): “The mind is the master of the body.”

⁷⁰ The *Shingaku gorin sho* includes the following sentence, which is not in the *Kana shōri*: “If fish are taken from water, and placed outside it, they will never again know how it is to swim about.” For the *Shingaku gorin sho* text, see *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 257-64.

when one conceives of evil, that too penetrates heaven. For this reason, the refined person (*kunshi* 君子) is cautious even when alone.⁷¹

(2) Luminous Virtue (*meitoku* 明德)⁷²

Luminous virtue comes from heaven, forming our hearts-and-minds.⁷³ Being luminous, it harbors no wickedness at all; rather it consists of what accords with the way of heaven. A person who can manifest it brilliantly, as if born from heaven itself, is called a sage.

Selfish human desires (*jinyoku* 人欲)⁷⁴ are born solely from within man. The selfish mind of desirousness (*yokushin* 欲心) refers to that which profoundly distorts what people see and hear. When selfish desires flourish, luminous virtue declines. Although a person given over to desirousness might be human in form, they are no different than the birds and beasts.⁷⁵ Luminous virtue is like the reflection of a bright mirror, while selfish desires are like a clouded reflection.⁷⁶ Unless a person polishes and brightens their luminous virtue day and night, the grime of their selfish desires will accumulate, causing their original ethical minds (*honshin* 本心) to be lost. Luminous virtue and selfish desires are adversaries. If one prevails, the other is necessarily defeated.

⁷¹ *Daxue* 大學, ch. 6; Shimada Kenji 島田虔治, ed., *Daigaku Chūyō* 大学中庸, Chūgoku koten sen, 6 (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1978), p. 114. The final section of the *Honsa roku*, “Foreign Countries and Japan” (*Ikoku to Nippon no koto* 異国と日本の事), includes an analogous set of remarks, noting how “one evil thought penetrates heaven, as does one good thought. Thus, the *Daxue* observes, “the refined person is cautious about his behavior even when alone” (p. 296).

⁷² The second sections of the *Kana shōri* and the *Shingaku gorin sho*, both of which explain “Luminous Virtue,” are nearly identical, line for line. At the end of the second section, the *Shingaku gorin sho* differs significantly in wording, though the sense of the passage remains largely that of the *Kana shōri*. For example the *Kana shōri* states that “luminous virtue is like the reflection (*kage* 影) of a bright mirror, while selfish desires are like a clouded reflection;” however, the *Shingaku gorin sho* states that “luminous virtue is like the body (*tai* 躰) of a bright mirror, while selfish desires are like clouds.” The second section of the *Honsa roku*, “Examining Oneself,” differs significantly from the *Kana shōri* and *Shingaku gorin sho*. Rather than “luminous virtue,” the *Honsa roku* discusses the importance of grasping the mean in governing.

⁷³ Zhu Xi, *Daxue zhangju*, SGT, vol. 7, pp. 351 (442): “Luminous virtue is what humanity receives from heaven. It is vacuous, intelligent, and unclouded. Moreover it is replete with all principles, and so responds to the myriad things.” See also Chen Beixi, “Virtue,” *XLZY*, 1553 Korean ed., 2:15a-16a; Chan, *NCTE*, p. 114. “Luminous virtue...is the originally brilliant principle inherent in the mind that humanity obtains from heaven.”

⁷⁴ Though literally “human desires,” by this term Neo-Confucians typically meant something more negative, such as uncontrolled, selfish human desires.

⁷⁵ Cf., Zhu Xi, *Mengzi jizhu* 孟子集注 (Collected commentaries on the Mencius), SGT, vol. 8, pp. 267-68 (510). Commenting on the *Mencius*, 4B.19, Zhu Xi states that if people abandon their original nature, which is morally good, then though “they may still be called people, they are no different than birds and beasts.”

⁷⁶ Neo-Confucians often referred to mirrors metaphorically to describe the mind’s original clarity rather than luminous virtue. Cf., Chen Beixi, “The Mind,” *XLZY*, Korean 1553 ed., 1:13b-14a; Chan, *NCTE*, p. 58. “When the mind is tranquil before the feelings are aroused, the total substance is empty like the mirror and level like the balance, being calm all the time.”

(3) Sincerity (*makoto* 誠)⁷⁷

Sincerity means no artificiality:⁷⁸ it is the original substance (*hontai* 本躰) of heaven⁷⁹ and is manifest in the progression of the seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter.⁸⁰ That people give birth to people, plum trees to plum trees, and cherry trees to cherry blossoms is due to sincerity.⁸¹ In heaven's doings there is no artifice at all. Therefore, sincerity is referred to as the original substance of heaven. Because our minds derive from heaven, if we can refrain from artifice we will naturally accord with heaven. However when we are deceptive, we turn our backs on heaven and bring about the destruction of our posterity. Loyally serving those who rule, filially serving our parents, and acting compassionately towards others constitutes the foundation of sincerity.

(4) Reverence (*tsutsushimi* 敬)⁸²

Whether in serving one's ruler or one's parents, reverence refers to quieting the mind⁸³ and cautiously reflecting on significant matters,⁸⁴ as if one were serving an

⁷⁷ The third sections of the *Kana shōri* and *Shingaku gorin sho*, explaining “Sincerity,” are virtually identical, with minor variations in wording and writing. Ishige Tadashi's notes to the *Shingaku gorin sho* detail minor differences between various privately held copies of the *Shingaku gorin sho* and the *Kana shōri*, though these minor variances do not make the ideas of the texts significantly different. For Ishige's notes, see *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, p. 265.

⁷⁸ Cf., Cheng Yi 程頤, *Yishu* 遺書 (Surviving works), in *Er Cheng quanshu* 二程全書 (Sibu beiyao ed), 6:8b. Also quoted by Chen Beixi, “Sincerity,” *XLZY*, 1553 Korean ed., 2:1a; Chan, *NCTE*, p. 97. “Sincerity means freedom from error.”

⁷⁹ Zhu Xi, *Zhongyong zhangju* 中庸章句, SGT, vol. 8, pp. 45 (457). Commenting on ch. 20, which states, “Sincerity is the way of heaven,” Zhu Xi states: “Sincerity is the original substance (*benti* 本體) of heaven.”

⁸⁰ Cf., Chen Beixi, “Sincerity,” *XLZY*, Korean 1553 ed., 2:1a-b; Chan, *NCTE*, pp. 97-98. “Sincerity has to do with the way of heaven.... After the summer, there comes winter, and after the sun, there comes the moon. When spring has finished producing, summer grows, and when autumn has finished destroying, winter preserves.... In all these there is the true and concrete principle as master.”

⁸¹ Cf., Chen Beixi, “Sincerity,” *XLZY*, Korean 1553 ed., 2:1b-2a; Chan, *NCTE*, p. 98. “In every flower or every leaf, the veins and grains have been the same for all time without the slightest error.”

⁸² The fourth sections of the *Kana shōri* and the *Shingaku gorin sho*, focusing on “Reverence,” are very similar. Minor differences are of this sort: while the *Kana shōri* text states, in its last sentence, “*mune ni okite*,” the *Shingaku gorin sho* passage reads, “*mune o sadamete*,” the first emphasizing the locus of reverence, i.e., the heart, and the second the role of reverence in relation to the heart. The overall, line by line, similarities between these two sections make such differences seem minor.

⁸³ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi quanshu* 朱子全書 (1714), 2:21b; Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 606. “If one succeeds in preserving seriousness, his mind will be tranquil and the principle of heaven will be perfectly clear to him.”

⁸⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi quanshu*, 2:22a; Chan, *A Source Book*, p. 607. “To be reverent does not mean to sit still like a blockhead.... It is merely to be apprehensive and careful [cautious] and dare not to give free rein to oneself.”

extremely important guest.⁸⁵ Whether in serving friends or inferiors, one ought to be cautious, without any wickedness in one's mind. In all affairs, reverence refers to doing what one is doing carefully, without negligence. When excessively cautious in serving one's ruler or parents, one becomes too modest and reserved. Yet if one can embody within one's heart-and-mind sincere reverence, without departing from it, one's countenance will be peaceful. Naturally, one will then be able to serve them faithfully.

The above discussion of luminous virtue, sincerity, and reverence pertains to cautiousness of mind-and-heart (*kokoro no tsutsushimi*).⁸⁶

**(5) Humaneness (*jin* 仁), Rightness (*gi* 義), Propriety (*rei* 禮),
Wisdom (*chi* 智), and Trustworthiness (*shin* 信)⁸⁷**

These are the virtues that people should practice day and night, morning and evening. Humaneness means treating others compassionately. Rightness means acting in accordance with the principles of the myriad things, without being unreasonable. Propriety means respecting your superiors and graciously receiving subordinates. Wisdom refers to one's compassionate understanding. While humaneness means treating others compassionately, humaneness does not involve unnecessary kindness or compassion. While it is a breach of etiquette to be stingy, going to excess is another breach. Compassionate understanding, or wisdom, refers to complying reasonably with principles. Trustworthiness refers to not being deceptive.⁸⁸ If a person is humane but not trustworthy, or if a person is righteous, polite, and wise but not trustworthy, then his goodness is in vain.⁸⁹ Sincerity is the body of heaven. Thus, humanity should make trustworthiness the marrow of its moral practice. If this is done, people will form one body with heaven.

⁸⁵ *Analects*, 12.2; *Lunyu yinde Mengzi yinde* 論語孟子引得, ed. Hong Ye 洪業 et al. (Shanghai rpt.: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), p. 22. "Ran Rong asked about humaneness. The Master replied, 'When away from home, behave as though you were hosting an important guest.'"

⁸⁶ The *Shingaku gorin sho* includes a similar, yet somewhat different note which states, "the above discussion of luminous virtue, reverence, and sincerity [note the reversal of sincerity and reverence] explains the heavenly virtues of mind-and-heart (*kokoro no tentoku* 心の天徳)."

⁸⁷ Though generally the same as the *Kana shōri* account of "Humaneness, Rightness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Trustworthiness," the *Shingaku gorin sho*'s explication of these notions includes, after its opening sentence, the line "Heaven's various works, such as the succession of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, are earthly functions which seem never to err." The *Kana shōri* does not include this remark. Also, as a final sentence, the *Shingaku gorin sho* states: "The principles of humaneness, rightness, propriety, wisdom, and trustworthiness are difficult to set forth with a writing brush." The *Kana shōri* does not include this line either. The two texts also differ in that the *Kana shōri* states that "wisdom (*chi* 智) refers to one's compassionate understanding (*chie* 智慧), while the *Shingaku gorin sho* states that "wisdom (*chi* 知) is separate from fundamental knowledge (*honchi no bunbetsu nari* 本知の分別なり)."

⁸⁸ Cf. Li Jingde 李靖德, ed., *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類, ch. 6, p. 198. Zhu Xi states that trustworthiness and loyalty mean genuine truthfulness without any deception.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, ch. 6, pp. 167-68. Here Zhu compares trustworthiness to a trunk, suggesting that it is necessary for the completion of the other virtues, just as humaneness is necessary for their origination. As the last of the five virtues, trustworthiness is accorded a somewhat special status as the factor contributing to the completion of the other virtues.

(6) The Five Relationships (*gorin* 五倫)⁹⁰

The five relationships refer to those relationships between a ruler and his minister, a father and his son, a husband and his wife, an elder brother and his younger brother, and friends. These relationships are intrinsic to people's daily moral behavior.

A minister who serves a ruler must not begrudge any orders. Rather, he should be totally conscientious. Likewise, a ruler should sympathize with his ministers as if he were they. If even the least bit of deceit dwells in one's mind, one has turned against heaven.

In serving their parents, children should be completely filial. In teaching their children the way, parents should treat them compassionately.

The relationship between husband and wife is comparable to that between heaven and earth: a husband should be kind to his wife, and a wife should respect her husband. There should be no ill will between them.

An elder brother should be kind to his younger sibling, while a younger sibling should respect his elder brothers.

When there is any deceit among friends, their hearts become estranged.

These five relationships as explained above are daily elements of one's moral behavior. Since heaven is aware of deceptiveness in behavior and mere formalism in actions, when one is deceptive or superficial, then all of one's doings are in vain. If, after the practice of the five constant virtues and the five relationships, one has free time, it should be devoted to learning. A person, however, who pursues learning yet does not strive to act morally has surrendered to his selfish desires.

When a person manifests luminous virtue, makes his mind sincere, is cautious in all actions, polishes his mind, and practices the five constant virtues and five relationships without deception, that person becomes a sage and forms one body with heaven's way. If a person proceeds in this way, he receives heaven's sympathies, his descendants are blessed, and after death he returns to the original land of heaven (*ten no hondō* 天の本土). However, those who turn their backs on heaven bring about the ruin of their descendants. After they die, rather than returning to heaven they become birds and beasts. Thus, the Confucian way considers fearing heaven and practicing the way to be matters of first importance.⁹¹

(7) The Original Mind of Heaven (*ten no honshin* 天の本心)⁹²

⁹⁰ The *Kana shōri* account of the "Five Relationships" and the analogous section in the *Shingaku gorin sho* are similar. Ishige notes several minor differences in these two accounts (p. 265). The most significant occurs with the line, "These five relationships as explained above are daily elements of one's moral behavior," which in the *Shingaku gorin sho* reads, "These five relationships as explained above encompass the mind of the way." The final section of the *Honsa roku*, "Foreign Countries and Japan" (pp. 295-96), includes discussions of the loyalty that ministers owe their rulers, and the filial behavior sons are expected to display towards their fathers, making it more "one-sided," according to Ishige (p. 295), in its approach to ethics.

⁹¹ Analogous remarks appear in the final section of the *Honsa roku*, "Foreign Countries and Japan" (p. 297). The *Shingaku gorin sho* section on the "Five Relationships" (p. 258) includes very similar remarks.

⁹² Apart from minor variations in wording, the *Shingaku gorin sho* account of "The Original Mind of Heaven" is largely the same as that in the *Kana shōri*. However, the *Shingaku gorin sho* account includes, before its final line, an additional remark which is not in the *Kana shōri*: "Heaven consists

The original mind of heaven compassionately responds to all things between heaven and earth with abundance. Therefore people ought to consider feeling compassion for others as essential. There is an order for displaying compassion. First, if there is no poverty within one's home or among one's relatives, one should seek out whatever problems might exist and act compassionately to relieve them. Afterwards, if there are those who have neither parents, nor children, nor relatives, one ought to extend charity to them according to one's resources.

Preserving the order of heaven's way ought also to be considered as essential. First, one should provide for one's family and one's retainers. Afterwards, one ought to tend to governing one's state (*kuni* 國) and extending compassion to the world (*tenka* 天下).⁹³ By doing this, one will not be despised by people. One who is despised by people will certainly face retribution, too. Conversely, one who acts compassionately towards others will reap good rewards. Yet practicing compassion with an eye for reaping good rewards is not true compassion. Neither compassion nor the way of heaven consists in giving gifts to those who are already wealthy and esteemed.⁹⁴

(8) The Family (*ie* 家)⁹⁵

Within families, whether composed of five, ten, or one hundred people, the way consists of managing affairs according to the household's station. Departing from one's station and making a gaudy display of oneself is not the way of the family. Neither does the family's way consist in hoarding gold and silver within one's home. If one governs the family with simplicity and acts compassionately towards relatives, then a person of wealth and honor will appear among one's descendants. Thus, we realize why Duke Yu 于公 had a tall gate built to accommodate his family's anticipated success.⁹⁶ With wealth, one's mind

of the processes of heaven and earth, without deviation, day and night, morning and evening. All creatures, from people to birds, beasts, plants, and trees, receive and are cultivated by the grace of heaven's rain and dew. Such is the decorum of heaven's activities. The function of humanity, as the recipient of these blessings, is to behave compassionately." See the *Shingaku gorin sho*, in *Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp. 258-59.

⁹³ *Daxue*, in Shimada Kenji, ed., *Daigaku Chūyō*, pp. 46-63. "Those who wished to bring order to their states first regulated their families." And, "When the family is regulated the state will be in order. When the state is in order, there will be peace throughout the world."

⁹⁴ Cf., *Analects*, 6.4; *Lunyu yinde Mengzi yinde*, p. 10. "The Master said, "... A refined person gives to the needy; he does not make the rich richer."

⁹⁵ The eighth section of the *Kana shōri*, "The Family," is largely similar, line for line, to the eighth section of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, with numerous but relatively minor verbal differences. For example, while the *Kana shōri*'s opening line progresses from five, ten, and then to one hundred people, the *Shingaku gorin sho* notes that families might be composed of five, even ten people. It does not mention families of "one hundred." More significantly, the *Kana shōri* includes the line, "Thus we realize why Duke Yu had a tall gate built to accommodate his family's anticipated success," which is not a part of the *Shingaku gorin sho*. Also significant is that the *Shingaku gorin sho* section concludes with the remark, "These are natural principles," which is not in the *Kana shōri*.

⁹⁶ Duke Yu lived in the Former Han. As an official, he was renowned for his fairness. When he built his home, he had a tall gate constructed, predicting that one of his descendants would become famous and that many carriages would pass through it. Eventually, one of his descendants did become famous. The final section of the *Honsa roku*, "Foreign Countries and China" (p. 297),

becomes stained. Riches are not nearly as important as is one's mind. Only fools blunder their way into the next life (*ato no yo* 後の世) for the sake of wealth. When offered the throne by Emperor Yao, Chao Fu 巢夫 refused it, thinking that having such a position would pollute his mind. Fan Li 范蠡 and Zhang Liang 張良 abandoned wealth and high positions within their country in order to polish their minds. According to ancient sages and worthies, anyone who wishes to maintain their realm for long should not employ anyone who covets riches. Furthermore, those who are obsessed with wealth, infatuated with beautiful women, and indulge in pleasures are destined for destruction, regardless of their social status, high or low.

(9) The Ruler of a Realm (*ikkoku no nushi* 一國の主)⁹⁷

Heaven's way determines who is the ruler of a realm, i.e., who serves as "the father and mother of his realm" (*ikkoku no fubo* 一國の父母).⁹⁸ If the father and mother cause the people of his realm to suffer, he will certainly receive heaven's punishments (*ten no batsu* 天の罰). When his crimes are vast, he will be destroyed in one generation. If his evil is exceptionally insidious, even his progeny will be destroyed.

The grain and rice produced by the realm is for the sake of nourishing the people of that realm. Heaven makes this so. Yet if one extorts the people of a realm, leaving them in tears for the sake of accumulating gold, silver, pearls, and jade, and stores those treasures away to celebrate one's glory, then one's glory is the product of robbing the way of heaven.⁹⁹ How can one flee from this crime?¹⁰⁰ While the pleasures of one generation might be immense, one's progeny will pay the price with suffering. If in the past five hundred years [since samurai rule began], one's family has realized no achievements other than to boast of wealth and rank, abuse power, and mistreat people, then one should consider the fate facing their descendants. Cases of people bringing down ruin upon their own families are all too obvious.

includes a lengthier discussion of Duke Yu, noting that he had a gate built large enough for a chariot pulled by a four-horse team to enter. When asked why he had done this, the Duke replied that his family had banished evil thoughts, and contemplated only good. Thus they were destined soon to commandeer four-horse chariots. Not long after, the passage relates, the Duke's family was traveling through the gate in four-horse chariots.

⁹⁷ This ninth section of the *Kana shōri*, "The Ruler of a Realm," is virtually identical with the ninth section of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, with one very important exception. Just before the *Kana shōri* line, "If in the past five hundred years [since samurai rule began], one's family has realized no achievements," the *Shingaku gorin sho* states, "We should consider examining the people involved in the recent Battle of Sekigahara." The following line, while making no reference to "the past five hundred years," does parallel the sense of those words by stating "since ancient times." What is significant, however, is that the *Shingaku gorin sho* reference to the "recent Battle of Sekigahara" establishes that the text, as extant with this line, was composed no earlier than 1600, the year in which Sekigahara occurred.

⁹⁸ "The Great Declaration," *Book of History*, in James Legge, trans., *The Shoo King*, p. 284.

⁹⁹ A similar set of statements appears in the *Honsa roku*, section six (p. 290), and in the *Shingaku gorin sho* section, "The Ruler of a Realm," (p. 259).

¹⁰⁰ *Analects*, 3.13; *Lunyu yinde Mengzi yinde*, p. 4. "The Master said, '... When one has offended heaven, to whom may one turn?'"

(10) One Who Understands All-Below-Heaven

(*tenka o shiru hito* 天下を知る人)¹⁰¹

One who understands all-below-heaven is called the son of heaven (*tenshi* 天子). He is called *tenshi* because he is the son of heaven. As the representative of heaven's way (*tendō no myōdai* 天道の名代), he goes out into the world, is compassionate with the people's concerns, and thus serves as the father and mother of the realm (*tenka no fubo* 天下の父母).

(11) The Sun Goddess (*Tenshō daijin* 天照大神)¹⁰²

The Sun Goddess¹⁰³ is the divine lord of Japan (*Nippon no aruji* 日本のあるじ), yet the imperial palace is thatched with miscanthus, and our emperor's food is unpolished rice. With neither an embellished residence nor sumptuous cuisine, the Sun Goddess is compassionate towards the myriad people of all-below-heaven (*tenka no banmin* 天下の萬民). Because Emperor Jinmu 神武¹⁰⁴ [trad., 660-585 B.C.E.] preserved these regulations, people deferred to the emperors for over a millennium,¹⁰⁵ down through the time of retired emperor Goshirakawa 後白河 [r. 1155-58].¹⁰⁶ Past emperors have repaid the people's hardships by taking hoes in hand and participating in the first plowing ceremonies. Regretting that his people were subjected to extreme cold, Emperor Daigo 醍醐 [r. 897-930], during a bitter night in the Engi period [901-23], refused to wear his winter gowns.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ This section is not in the *Shingaku gorin sho*.

¹⁰² The *Kana shōri* section discussing the "Sun Goddess" is generally similar to the analogous section in the *Shingaku gorin sho* examining the "Sun Goddess." However, while the *Kana shōri* includes within this section a discussion of the decline of the regulations of the Sun Goddess during the time of retired emperor Goshirakawa (d. 1192), and the rise of samurai rule with Yoritomo (1147-99), the first shogun, in the *Shingaku gorin sho* this material is treated as an independent section in the text.

¹⁰³ According to the *Nihon shoki* 日本書記, Amaterasu was one of the many offspring of Izanagi and Izanami, the mythic couple that gave birth to the islands of Japan. Amaterasu, along with her brother, Susanoō, are supposed to have produced the imperial line of Japan.

¹⁰⁴ Emperor Jinmu, according to the *Nihon shoki*, founded the imperial line descended from Amaterasu. The latter, and those gods who preceded her, were the original progenitors of the islands, the people, and the imperial family.

¹⁰⁵ The second section of the *Honsa roku* (p. 278) includes a similar remark, but links the regulation (*okite* 掟) which Emperor Jinmu preserved to Yao and Shun rather than Amaterasu. The final section of the *Honsa roku* (p. 292), however, refers to Emperor Jinmu as receiving the "regulations" of Amaterasu, and thus living a simple, austere life. The *Shingaku gorin sho*, (p. 259) and the *Kana shōri* are virtually identical at this point.

¹⁰⁶ Emperor Goshirakawa was the last notable emperor to reign (1156-58) prior to the rise of the Kamakura shogunate. With the latter, political power came to be exercised by shogunal regimes rather than the imperial household.

¹⁰⁷ The *Honsa roku*, section six (p. 291), includes a similar remark noting how the Japanese Emperor Daigo during the Engi period refused to wear his robes on a cold night, feeling compassion for his people and wishing to share their suffering with them. A very similar remark is also in the *Shingaku gorin sho*'s discussion of "Amaterasu" (p. 259).

Shinto considers honesty towards and compassion for the myriad people its ultimate concerns (*goku'i* 極意). If the “One Man” above [i.e., the ruler] is honest, then the myriad people below will be honest as well. If he is full of desires, the people will follow his example. If one follows the way of sincerity (*makoto no michi* 誠の道) in one’s mind-and-heart, the spirits (*kami* 神) will provide their protection, even if one does not invoke them. The way of sincerity is the sincerity of the way of heaven (*tendō no makoto* 天道の誠). Offering gold and silver to spirits and buddhas, and then praying for one’s selfish wishes is the first practice of fools.¹⁰⁸ If ordinary people, people with just a modicum of the mind of the way, are not subject to injustice, they will not come close to being evil. Yet if people are mistreated and reduced to suffering from hunger and thirst, then even if one prays to the spirits, will their blessings be received? If, however, one is honest and is compassionate to people, then regardless of whether one prays to the spirits, one will gain their protection. Matters which violate the way of heaven do not become right simply because one prays to the spirits about them.

Retired emperor Goshirakawa, however, broke with the regulations of the Sun Goddess,¹⁰⁹ and thus Minamoto no Yoritomo¹¹⁰ seized control of all-below-heaven. While superficially concerned with compassion for people and pretending to have complete virtue, he [Yoritomo] knew not where nor when he would die,¹¹¹ because he had seized control of all-below-heaven in order to indulge in personal pleasures. Yoritomo’s son, Yoriie 頼家 [1182-1204], was murdered by his younger brother, Sanetomo 實朝 [1192-1219],¹¹² who in turn was murdered by his nephew.¹¹³ Forty-two years after Yoritomo’s rise to power, his descendants had been destroyed, and his family had lost control of all-below-heaven. Such was the punishment of heaven for not having understood the way, trifled with the way of heaven, oppressed the people, and boasted of his own glory.

¹⁰⁸ Similar remarks are in the *Honsa roku*’s final section, “Foreign Countries and Japan” (p. 294) and in the *Shingaku gorin sho* discussion of “The Sun Goddess”(pp. 259-60).

¹⁰⁹ A comparable judgment is offered in the *Honsa roku*, section six (p. 291). Rather than “break with the regulations of the Sun Goddess,” the *Honsa roku* explains that Goshirakawa “was neither wise nor compassionate, and did not fathom the principles of heaven; thus he lost rule of the realm below heaven.” The *Shingaku gorin sho*, like the *Kana shōri*, states that Goshirakawa “broke with the regulations of the Sun Goddess” (p. 260).

¹¹⁰ Founder of the Kamakura bakufu, the first of a series of military governments which took political, economic, social, and military power out of imperial hands until the Meiji Restoration.

¹¹¹ Having won control of the realm via decisive military victories, Yoritomo died after falling from a horse at age fifty-three.

¹¹² Evidence suggests that the real force behind Yoriie’s murder was Hōjō Tokimasa, father of Hōjō Masako, Yoritomo’s widow. After Yoritomo’s death, the Hōjō assumed political control through their positions as shogunal regents. The nephew who murdered Sanetomo was Kugyō 公暁 (1200-19), a son of Yoriie. Sanetomo, the last of the Minamoto shoguns, was twenty-eight years old when he died. Kugyō was later murdered as well.

¹¹³ With analogous remarks the last section of the *Honsa roku*, “Foreign Countries and Japan” (p. 292), describes Yoritomo in a highly critical manner. Corresponding remarks are in the *Shingaku gorin sho*’s discussion of “Retired Emperor Goshirakawa” (p. 260).

(12) Hōjō Tokimasa 北條時政¹¹⁴

Hōjō Tokimasa [1138-1215] was Yoritomo's father-in-law. He naturally assumed control of all-below-heaven following Yoritomo's death. His descendants ruled for nine generations, spanning some 160 years. Tokimasa's grandson, Yasutoki 泰時 [1183-1242], was also known as Saimyōji 最明寺. These two men had some grasp of the way.¹¹⁵ Thus under their guidance Hōjō rule lasted for 160 years. Yasutoki preserved the model that the Sun Goddess established: he was compassionate towards the myriad people below heaven, did not seek personal glory, and lived simply.

When his earthen wall crumbled, Yasutoki allowed passersby to gaze inside. Great and minor lords remarked, "This is a bit bare. For safety's sake, allow us to fix your wall." Yasutoki replied, "I have had the same idea, but have worried about how much it would cost the people. As long as everyone is loyal, there is no need for concern. Even with an iron fence, if people's minds-and-hearts change so that they despise me, my family is surely doomed. Thus repairing the earthen wall makes no difference."

On another occasion, by adding one slit of wood Hōjō Tokiyori's 北條時頼 [1227-63] mother repaired a paper door he had torn. Someone remarked that this was stingy and made the door unsightly. The entire door should have been repaired. Tokiyori's mother replied, "No! It's best to teach young people frugality!"¹¹⁶

A mind that worries over minor expenses will surely help the myriad people to avoid suffering. Thus even some women in ancient times embodied this mind of the sages, one full of thanksgiving. It was this kind of mind which accumulated virtue, took compassion on people, and accorded with heaven's way for 160 years in governing.

However, the thinking of the ninth Hōjō regent, Takatoki 高時 [1303-33], governor of Sagami 相模,¹¹⁷ differed from that of Hōjō Tokiyori. Takatoki indulged in personal glory, was infatuated with beautiful women, was excessively fond of wine, and did not hesitate to tax the people even while he lived in luxury. He earned the punishment of heaven by betraying the achievements of his ancestors: he and his family were beheaded in Kamakura.

(13) Emperor Yao 堯¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ The *Kana shōri* section discussing "Hōjō Tokimasa" is basically the same, apart from a few minor variations, as the section discussing "Hōjō Tokimasa" in the *Shingaku gorin sho*.

¹¹⁵ The final section of the *Honsa roku*, "Foreign Countries and Japan," (pp. 292-93) likewise refers to the Hōjō regents as rulers "who had some grasp of the way." The *Shingaku gorin sho* (p. 246) similarly describes the Hōjō.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Yoshida no Kaneyoshi, *Essays in Idleness [Tsurezuregusa]*, trans. Donald Keene (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), section 184, pp. 157-58.

¹¹⁷ The last of the Hōjō regents. Along with all his kinsmen and retainers, Takatori committed suicide when it became apparent that his attempt to regain power in the wake of the Kenmu Restoration was doomed. The Ashikaga shogunate, established in Kyoto, thus followed.

¹¹⁸ The *Kana shōri* section discussing "Emperor Yao" is nearly identical to the comparable section in the *Shingaku gorin sho*. A noteworthy exception is that the *Kana shōri* refers to "luminous virtue, renewing the people, and resting in the highest good," i.e., the three main themes of the *Great Learning*, while the *Shingaku gorin sho* only mentions "luminous virtue and resting in the highest good." The term "renewing the people" is distinctive to Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian thought: the *Great Learning*, prior to Zhu Xi's *Daxue zhangju*, referred to "loving the

Yao was the sage-ruler of China's four hundred districts. Shun 舜 was also a sage, and the son of heaven. Confucius spread abroad the way of Yao and Shun. Thus, their way is also called the Confucian way (*Judō* 儒道). Those who study the Confucian way are called Confucian scholars (*Jusha* 儒者).

Although Yao was the son of heaven, emperor over the four hundred districts of China, his home was only three feet off the ground, and his ceilings were thatched with unevenly cut miscanthus. His porch, too, was uneven. He would not change his clothes until they were badly worn.¹¹⁹ He never ate exotic foods, but instead, insisted upon a fare of rough vegetables.¹²⁰ And he treated the myriad people of all-below-heaven as if they were his own. Through such virtue, Yao became the just precedent of proper imperial rule for countless thousands of years. Thus people have admired Yao and Shun's reigns.

Yao and Shun's way, however, is not a matter of incredible mysteries. Luminous virtue (*meitoku*), renewing the people (*shinmin* 新民), utmost goodness (*shizen* 至善), sincerity (*makoto*), reverence (*tsutsushimi*), the five constant virtues (*gojō* 五常), and the five relations (*gorin*) are the ultimate concerns, and loftiest notions, of their way. When one follows their way in rectifying the mind and in being compassionate with the myriad people, [governance of] all-below-heaven is long-lived. If one wields power through expedient means and crafty strategies, in one or two generations one will meet destruction. If one's rule lasts for five or six generations, it will inevitably end with war. Thus, rulers should never be advised to resort to these.

(14) China's Four Hundred or More Districts (*Morokoshi yonhyaku yo shū* もろこし四百餘州)¹²¹

people" (*qinmin* 親民) rather than "renewing the people" (*xinmin* 新民); following the suggestion of Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi explained "love" (*qin* 親) as "renew" (*xin* 新), and changed the text accordingly. Interestingly, in the *Daigaku yōryaku* 大學要略 (Essentials of the Great Learning), Fujiwara Seika does not endorse Zhu Xi's suggested reading of the text as "renewing the people," and instead accepts the older verbage, "loving the people" (*Fujiwara Seika Hayashi Razan*, pp.42-43; 51-52). In his *Santokusho* 三徳抄, Hayashi Razan does not endorse Zhu Xi's reading either (p. 177). However, the "Miscellaneous Writings" (*Zuihitsu* 隨筆, 11) section of the *Razan sensei bunshū* 羅山先生文集 (Collected works of teacher Razan) (Kyoto: Heian kōkogaku kai, 1918), ch. 75, p. 499, records an exchange between an anonymous questioner and Seika (referred to as Kitaniku), where the interlocutor asks if the notion of "renewing the people" is derived from that of "loving the people." Seika replies that "loving the people" embraces the nuance of "renewing the people." The presence of "renewing the people" in the *Kana shōri*, as opposed to the use of "loving the people" in the *Daigaku yōryaku*, need not imply that the text was not Seika's.

¹¹⁹ A similar remark appears in the *Honsa roku*, section six, "The Punishment of the Common People" (p. 290). A comparable statement is included in the *Shingaku gorin sho*'s discussion of "Emperor Yao" (p. 260).

¹²⁰ Sima Qian 司馬遷, "Preface," *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian); Noguchi Sadao 野口定男, trans., *Shiki* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1971), *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikai*, vol. 12, p. 346.

¹²¹ The *Kana shōri* section entitled "China's Four Hundred or More Districts" is essentially the same as the corresponding section in *Shingaku gorin sho*, apart from minor verbal differences such as the *Kana shōri*'s reference to China as *Morokoshi*, written in *kana*, as opposed to the

China's four hundred or more districts were once divided into seven small realms ruled by seven lords. The First Emperor (259-210 B.C.E.) of the Qin dynasty (221-206 B.C.E.) defeated the other six and became master of China's territories. While extremely skilled in the way of war (*budō* 武道), the First Emperor was ignorant of civil ways (*bundō* 文道). Thus, he had an enormous palace constructed, forty-miles square, surrounded with a tall fortress wall, inlaid his residence with gold, silver, pearls, and jade.¹²² Within his palace he amassed wealth, indulged himself with beautiful women, and boasted of his personal glory. Such was utterly unprecedented, before or since.

The First Emperor enacted harsh laws. For this reason, people of all-below-heaven held their breath in terror even as they were worked to the point of exhaustion. They thus longed for the destruction of the Qin empire. Their sufferings continued fifteen years until finally the Qin empire was obliterated.

Han Gaozu 漢高祖 [r. 206-194 B.C.E.] was an old man from a place in Sishang 泗上 which included sixty villages. He felt compassion for the people and had an expansive heart-and-mind which cared for others. He destroyed the Qin dynasty and took control of all-below-heaven. He established three laws: (1) the death penalty for murderers, (2) severe punishments for assault and robbery, and (3) the abolition of all other laws. Those who had suffered under the Qin dynasty's oppressive laws could again relax. More than anything, they yearned to follow Han Gaozu. Through his virtue, the Han dynasty governed China for four centuries.¹²³

Shingaku gorin sho reference to Tōdo 唐土. Also, the *Kana shōri* states, accurately, that the Qin dynasty lasted a mere fifteen years, while the *Shingaku gorin sho* claims, wrongly, that the Qin persisted for three generations, and forty years. Both texts attribute the downfall of the Qin to severe "laws" (*hatto* 法度). Ishige suggests that this critique of severe *hatto* was not consistent with the "spirit of Legalist government" characteristic of the Edo period. He notes that this theme is excluded from the *Honsa roku*, a work derived, partly, from the *Kana shōri* and *Shingaku gorin sho*.

¹²² In the *Shiji*, the "Shihuang benji" 始皇本紀 (Basic annals of the First Emperor) states: "Whenever Ch'in destroyed a feudal lord, an imitation of his residence would be built on the north slope of Hsien-yang, overlooking the Wei. From the Yung Gate eastward to the Ching and the Wei, halls and residences were connected by elevated collonades to the galleries surrounding them. The bells and drums and beautiful girls obtained from the feudal lords filled the halls." Presumably, it was to this dispersed compound of palatial trophies, commemorating the First Emperor's conquests, that the *Kana shōri* refers, in what would have to be considered, nevertheless, exaggerated terms. The translation is from William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume I: The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Tsai-fa Cheng, Zongli Lu*, trans. Nienhauser and Robert Reynolds (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 138. See also William Hung, "The Art and Architecture of the Warring States Period," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 651-744, which emphasizes that the urban and palatial architecture of the Warring States and Qin periods was magnificent to a degree hardly imagined during the early-Zhou.

¹²³ The final section of the *Honsa roku*, "Foreign Countries and Japan," also praises Han Gaozu, but for different reasons. It states (p. 292) that "through martial skill, bravery, and grand plans, and by heeding the remonstrations of his ministers so that his mind-and-heart flowed like water

The Qin dynasty lasted only fifteen years because: (1) the First Emperor's laws were harsh and tormented the minds-and-hearts of the myriad people, and (2) his oppressive demands exhausted them physically. The Han dynasty [206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.] protected the world for four centuries because: (1) its emperors were compassionate with the people and (2) its laws were lenient. I record this account to illuminate the foundations of things.

Japan's Shinto (*Nippon no Shintō* 日本の神道) also deems rectifying the mind and being compassionate toward the myriad people its ultimate concerns, just as does the way of Yao and Shun. In China, one calls this approach the Confucian way, while in Japan one calls it Shinto. Though their names differ, their spirits are identical. After Emperor Jinmu, around the time of Emperor Kinmei 欽明 [r. 539-71], Indian Buddhism (*Tenchiku no Buppō* 天竺の佛法) came to Japan (*Nippon* 日本). People heard their incredible, mysterious teachings and were allowed to believe them. Consequently, Shinto declined.

(15) Shakyamuni Buddha (*Shaka butsu* 釋迦佛)¹²⁴

Shakyamuni Buddha was an Indian. Indians are not gentle hearted people and their land is ungovernable. Shakyamuni was an ascetic for six years, then practiced self-mortification for another six years. For twelve years he confined himself to Mt. Dandoku formulating plans for governing India and explaining the tenets of Buddhism.¹²⁵ According to Shakyamuni, at first one thinks that the mind-and-heart really exists. In the second stage of realization, however, one perceives the mind as empty (*kū* 空). Finally, one understands that the mind neither exists nor does not exist. Thus, he explained the doctrine of the middle path of reality.

Pure Land Buddhism's claims about heaven and hell are meant to soothe people's mind-and-hearts; such claims draw on Shakyamuni's acknowledgment that the mind actually exists. Zen Buddhism claims that the mind does not exist, but is only a byproduct of the five forms of experience. This draws upon Shakyamuni's notion that the mind is empty. The Tendai Buddhist teaching that Shakyamuni neither existed nor did not exist draws on Shakyamuni's "doctrine of the middle path." That Shakyamuni came to be associated with so many teachings was due to attempts to relate his teachings to various

rushing downward, Gaozu instituted a rule of the realm below heaven that lasted for four hundred years."

¹²⁴ The *Kana shōri* section, "Shakyamuni Buddha," corresponds, more or less in line for line fashion, to the *Shingaku gorin sho* discussion of "Shakyamuni Buddha." However, the *Kana shōri* explicitly associates "Pure Land Buddhism" to notions of heaven and hell, "Zen Buddhism" to claims that the mind does not exist, and "Tendai Buddhism" to the view that Shakyamuni neither existed nor did not exist. The *Shingaku gorin sho* does not identify these forms of Buddhism specifically, though it does cite the doctrines otherwise associated with them. Also, in the concluding remarks to this section, the *Kana shōri* notes contemporary practices were contrary to the "intent" of the Buddha, and "inconsistent with the mind-and-heart of Shinto," while the *Shingaku gorin sho* simply states that these practices were contrary to the "mind-and-heart of the Buddha" without mentioning their relationship to Shinto. Also, the *Kana shōri* explicitly identifies "the way of monks" as being responsible for "disturbing the world," and the *Shingaku gorin sho* criticizes contemporary Buddhist practices as a "shameful state of affairs in the world."

¹²⁵ Analogous remarks about Shakyamuni Buddha appear in the final section of the *Honsa roku* (p. 293), as well as in the *Shingaku gorin sho* "Discussion of Shakyamuni Buddha" (p. 261).

people, to sooth people's minds-and-hearts, to govern the state, and to bring peace to myriad peoples. Many people have thus appreciated Shakyamuni's way of thinking.

These days, however, monks preach Buddhism in order to make a living and so often confuse people's minds. To keep their minds undefiled by selfish desires, the direct disciples of Shakyamuni, Nyōrai, Ananda, and Kashapa, did not allow themselves any possessions. Everyday they went out begging for their daily food. Today's monks accumulate wealth and jewels, cover their temples with gold and silver, wear damask and brocade robes, and offer to pray for others in the afterlife (*goshō* 後生). Such practices, which were not Shakyamuni's intent, badly mislead people. Furthermore, these practices are inconsistent with the mind-and-heart of Shinto. The world has been greatly disturbed by the way of contemporary Buddhist monks.

(16) Differences Between the Confucian and Buddhist Ways

(*Judō to Buppō no kawari* 儒道と佛法のかはり)¹²⁶

In the scriptures conveying Shakyamuni Buddha's teachings, many passages assert that the mind really exists, and that there is a heaven and a hell. Yet there are also many passages which claim that the mind does not exist, and that there is neither a heaven nor a hell. Because of the latter, Shakyamuni's conclusion was that the mind does not exist.¹²⁷ If he believed that the mind really existed, even if only provisionally, then he would not have asserted that the mind does not exist. Therefore, Shakyamuni also concluded that there is no afterlife (*goshō*). Reflect deeply on this so that you will understand it well!

The Confucian way holds that people receive their human nature from heaven's nature (*ten no sei* 天の性) at birth, and that it later returns to this original heavenly nature. If one's mind is deceitful, if one harms others, if one is jealous of others, if one's mind is wicked, or if one indulges in luxury, then one receives heaven's censure. Thus one will either meet personal destruction, or one's descendants will. Further, after death one's mind will wander about, unable to return to heaven. Because of this one should stand in awe of heaven, try to manifest luminous virtue, make one's mind sincere, practice the five constant virtues and the five relationships, manifest compassion, and rejoice in the prospect that human nature returns to its original heavenly ground at death. It does not return to heaven because of prayer.

(17) Teachings Transmitted for All-Below-Heaven

¹²⁶ The *Kana shōri* section entitled "Differences between the Confucian and Buddhist Ways" corresponds, for the most part, to two successive sections in the *Shingaku gorin sho*, the first on Buddhism, the next on Confucianism. The *Kana shōri* discussion is introduced by the title quoted above, but there is none for the *Shingaku gorin sho* sections. Also, the discussion of Buddhism in the latter text is several lines longer than is the *Kana shōri*. The *Kana shōri* concludes with the line: "It [our human nature] does not return to heaven because of prayer," which is not in the *Shingaku gorin sho*.

¹²⁷ The final section of the *Honsa roku* includes a comparable remark asserting: "despite the many pronouncements of the Buddha, his final conclusion was that there was no mind, none whatsoever" (p. 294). A similar statement appears in the *Shingaku gorin sho* discussion of "Shakyamuni Buddha" (p. 262).

(*tenka denju no kotoba* 天下傳授之辭)¹²⁸

Yao,¹²⁹ Shun,¹³⁰ and Yu 禹¹³¹ governed all-below-heaven with these sixteen words: “The human mind-and-heart (*hito no kokoro* 人心) is precarious (*ayau* 危); the mind of the way (*michi no kokoro* 道心) is subtle (*bi* 微). Be refined (*sei* 精), be unified (*itsu* 一) and hold fast to the mean (*chū* 中).”¹³² Yao, Shun, and Yu were great sages. In their minds, there was nothing more important than pacifying the realms (*kuni*) and governing all-below-heaven with great peace. The way of achieving this great task was transmitted with the word, “the mean.”¹³³ Yao, Shun, Yu, King Tang 湯,¹³⁴ Kings Wen and Wu 武,¹³⁵ Yi Yin,¹³⁶ Fu Yue 傅說,¹³⁷ the Duke of Zhou 周公,¹³⁸ Confucius 孔子, Yan Hui 顏回,¹³⁹ and

¹²⁸ The *Kana shōri* section entitled, “Teachings Transmitted for All-Below-Heaven” corresponds largely to the first portion of the *Shingaku gorin sho* section discussing the human mind and the mind of the way. The *Kana shōri* provides an overall title for this discussion, noted above, but none is given for the *Shingaku gorin sho* section.

¹²⁹ The legendary sage-emperor of ancient China. Accounts of Yao are found in the opening chapter of the *Classic of History*, “The Canon of Shun”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 15-27.

¹³⁰ The legendary figure to whom Yao, upon his abdication from the imperial throne, ceded sovereign power. Shun thereupon ruled China as the second major sage-emperor. See *Classic of History*, “The Canon of Shun”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 29-51.

¹³¹ The legendary figure to whom Shun ceded the imperial throne of ancient China. Accounts of Yu’s rise to power and of his reign are found in the *Classic of History*, “The Tribute of Yu”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 92-151. Unlike Yao and Shun, who ceded sovereignty to a worthy man rather than to their eldest son, Yu ceded power to his family, thus establishing the Xia dynasty.

¹³² *Classic of History*, “The Counsels of Great Yu”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, p. 61. In the original Chinese, these lines consist of sixteen characters. Within the Cheng-Zhu tradition, they are frequently referred to as the “sixteen words.”

¹³³ The second section of the *Honsa roku* highlights Yao’s abdication in favor of Shun and his instruction that Shun should “hold fast to the mean.” The section proceeds to extol the sagacity of Yao and Shun, and the “the mean” as the teaching transmitted by sages in yielding the throne to another sage ruler. The sense of this teaching, as conveyed by the way of heaven to a son of heaven upon receipt of all-below-heaven, is that if the principles of heaven are practiced, then the myriad people will be governed with peace and prosperity; if the people are oppressed and made to suffer, then all will be lost. *Honsa roku*, pp. 278-79.

¹³⁴ According to the *Classic of History*, Tang, after having overthrown the last, debauched ruler of the Xia dynasty, founded the Shang dynasty. Tang is presented there as acting in accord with the decree of heaven in founding the Shang dynasty. See *Classic of History*, “The Speech of T’ang”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 173-90.

¹³⁵ According to the *Classic of History*, Kings Wen and Wu were the founders of the Chou dynasty. King Wu is usually credited with having overthrown the last, debauched ruler of the Shang dynasty. See, *Classic of History*, “The Great Declaration”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 281-97.

¹³⁶ Yi Yin was a wise and worthy advisor to King Tang, according to the *Classic of History*. His role in advising the ruler as to the right path in governing stands as a model of the role of the virtuous minister in Confucian thought.

¹³⁷ See *Classic of History*, “The Instructions of Yi”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 191-98. Fu Yue was appointed prime minister by emperor Wuding (r. 1339-1281 B.C.E.) of the Shang dynasty. See *Classic of History*, “The Charge to Yueh”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 248-63.

¹³⁸ The Duke of Zhou (d. 1094 B.C.E.) was the younger brother of King Wen. After the death of King Wu, the Duke of Zhou acted as regent during the minority of King Cheng, King Wu’s son and

Zengzi 曾子¹⁴⁰ transmitted the tradition of the way (*dōtō no den* 道統の傳) through this word, “the mean.”

“The mean” expresses the way of the *Doctrine of the Mean*. “Sincerity” encapsulates the essence of the *Doctrine of the Mean*. “Sincerity” means not varying from heaven’s principles by even a bit. Mencius’s remark to “restrain selfish desires and preserve heaven’s principles”¹⁴¹ refers to “the mean.” These sixteen words have communicated the transmission of the sages’ learning of the mind-and-heart for myriad ages.

(18) The Meaning of the Sixteen Words

(*kono jūrokuji no kokoro wa* 此の十六字のころは)¹⁴²

The mind-and-heart of humanity refers to the mind that people have, while the mind of the way refers to the mind of heaven. Originally our mind-and-heart and heaven’s mind are one body. At birth, however, people’s minds-and-hearts crystalize. Even the wisest possess the mind of humanity, and even fools possess the mind of the way. These two minds intermingle within the human chest. Unless one understands how to manage these, the human mind comes to predominate, while the mind of the way is reduced to servitude and heaven’s principles are destroyed.¹⁴³ Thus, people should carefully reflect on the relationship of the human mind to the mind of the way. When one rectifies and unifies the original mind so that it is never absent, then the mind of the way becomes the mind’s master, the human mind serves it, heaven’s principles become daily manifest, and one accords with heaven’s mind.

Observing that the integrity of the Sun Goddess is not momentary, but instead provides compassion continually, expresses the mind of the way. On the other hand, noting that “schemes may produce momentary profits, but they inevitably prompt the punishments of the luminous spirits,” conveys the mind of humanity. Through integrity, one forgets matters of personal glory, dispenses with wealth and riches, is compassionate towards others, loves people, and acts in accordance with heaven’s mind. Upon death, one returns to

successor. By acting as regent rather than seizing the throne, the Duke of Zhou demonstrated a familial loyalty which later Confucians lauded.

¹³⁹ Yan Hui was Confucius’s favorite disciple. However, he died as a young man, much to Confucius’ disappointment. See *Analects*, 5.26; 7.11; 9.11; 9.21; 11.3; 11.8; 11.9; 11.10; 11.11; 11.23; 12.1; 15.11.

¹⁴⁰ Zengzi was supposedly the grandson of Confucius and, according to Cheng-Zhu Neo-Confucians, the author of the *Doctrine of the Mean*. See *Analects*, 1.4; 1.9; 4.15; 8.3; 8.4; 8.5; 8.6; 8.7; 12.24; 14.26; 19.16; 19.18; 19.19.

¹⁴¹ The *Mencius* does not make this remark. Commenting on *Mencius* 1B.5, Zhu Xi’s *Mengzi jizhu* 孟子集注 (Collected commentaries on the *Mencius*) makes this remark. See SGT, vol. 8, p. 111.

¹⁴² The *Shingaku gorin sho* analog of the *Kana shōri* section, “The Meaning of the Sixteen Words,” appears as a continuation of the section that opened with the material corresponding to the previous *Kana shōri* discussion of “The Teachings Transmitted for All-Below-Heaven.” The *Kana shōri* section, “The Meaning of the Sixteen Words,” also includes material found in a separate section of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, which begins with the words “*Yoku fukaku* 欲ふかく.”

¹⁴³ The final section of the *Honsa roku* (p. 296) presents roughly analogous remarks regarding the “human mind-and-heart” (*jinshin*) and the “mind of the way” (*dōshin*), or the “mind of heaven” (*tenshin* 天心) as it more commonly calls it.

the original ground in heaven, and one's descendants eternally prosper.¹⁴⁴ Such matters are subtle, mysterious, and very difficult to discern.

Deceiving one's ruler with cleverness and scheming, oppressing people, amassing riches, and taking pleasure in personal glory might bring short-term profit. Yet if one betrays the heavenly decree (*tenmei* 天命) in this life, then after death our minds-and-hearts will wander aimlessly, unable to return to heaven, and one's descendants will be destroyed quickly. Such consequences are difficult to fathom. For these reasons, the mind of humanity easily becomes dominant, and the mind of the way is easily obliterated. Much as thorny bushes and orange trees thrive easily, while peonies wither and die very easily, so are evil men abundant while truly good men are rare.

Although one may study the *Four Books*¹⁴⁵ and the *Five Classics*,¹⁴⁶ along with the myriad other texts, one does so in order to fathom the mind conveyed by the sixteen-word teaching. The sixteen words include esoteric mysteries that are difficult to convey, in either writing or in discourse. Yet by taking them as the foundation of one's practice, one can attain the bounds of sagehood.

At its extreme, the human mind submerges people in selfish desires, prompts them to oppress others, deceive others, and amass wealth. Further, priding oneself on knowledge and thinking simply in human terms also represents the human mind. One should pursue learning simply for the sake of polishing one's mind.

The human mind also prompts people to strive to excel in the arts in order to gain praise from others. According to the way, people should diligently strive to complete their work. Striving to practice martial arts so as to gain fame, again, expresses the human mind. Further, to think of receiving fiefdoms and such also exemplifies the human mind. We should understand the way as entailing a readiness to sacrifice one's life for one's ruler. Birds and beasts strive to fulfill their respective tasks. Should we be inferior in this regard?

We exemplify the human mind in being generous with others, before caring for family and assisting indigent relatives. Even within one's family, more should not be offered to the wealthy and high-ranking. Humaneness is manifest when we take compassion on others who are needy.

(19) Even an Evil Man (*Akujin naredomo* 悪人なれども)¹⁴⁷

Even an evil man might prosper with wealth and fame for one generation. And, a moral man might live in poverty. There are various explanations for such twists of fate. First, if someone's ancestors were morally good people, compassionate, and helped others, then their descendants would prosper even if they happened to be evil. Or, it may simply be

¹⁴⁴ The final section of the *Honsa roku*, "Foreign Countries and Japan," offers somewhat analogous remarks, pertaining to the five relationships, in stating: "If one exhaustively practices the way of these five, then after death one's mind-and-heart will return to its original heaven, one's descendants will be protected and live long lives" (p. 297).

¹⁴⁵ The *Four Books* usually refers to the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

¹⁴⁶ The *Classic of History*, the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of Changes*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and the *Classic of Rites*.

¹⁴⁷ The *Kana shōri* section, "Even an Evil Man," corresponds to the material in the opening lines of the final *Shingaku gorin sho* section. The latter, however, also includes material presented in the *Kana shōri* section entitled, "Heaven Takes from the Full."

that one was born on a lucky day and so later struck it rich. However, if such a person were evil, then perhaps within one generation, or perhaps with his descendants, destruction would come as retribution. King Jie of the Xia dynasty and King Zhou of the Yin dynasty,¹⁴⁸ and in Japanese history Minamoto Yoritomo and Akechi Mitushide 明智光秀 (1526-82), are cases of this fate. Or again, one might have been born on an unlucky day, fating one to live in poverty.

(20) Heaven Takes from the Full
(*Ten wa miteru o kaku* 天は盈をかく)¹⁴⁹

Heaven takes from the full.¹⁵⁰ Those who neither tyrannize nor covet others naturally amass wealth, but once they have become very wealthy they are bound to err. They might lose their reputation in one generation. Perhaps they will be shamed posthumously by descendants who fight over their wealth. Or, if they give one child much wealth, it might be extravagantly squandered on vanities. Thus ultimately the wealthy gain dishonor. Those who can successfully retain wealth over two or three generations are as rare as one person in a thousand.

It is a natural principle that what flourishes eventually declines. Once spring has flourished, summer arrives; once autumn has flourished, winter appears. Such is the way of heaven.¹⁵¹

King Tang took control of all-below-heaven, but would not accept gifts offered him by the people. Nor did he embellish his residence. King Wu also took control of all-below-heaven. After opening the vault where King Zhou hoarded the wealth of all-below-heaven, King Wu distributed the riches and grain among the people. When Han Gaozu took control of all-below-heaven, he travelled to Mt. Li to indulge his love of jewels and beautiful

¹⁴⁸ These kings are infamous in Chinese history as debauched rulers whose excesses brought about the overthrow of their dynastic lines. Jie was the last king of the Xia dynasty. According to the *Classic of History*, King Tang, founder of the Shang dynasty, overthrew him at the command of heaven. See *Classic of History*, “The Speech of T’ang”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 173-76. King Zhou was the last king of the Shang dynasty. He was overthrown by King Wu, one of the founders of the Zhou dynasty. See *Classic of History*, “The Great Declaration”; Legge, *The Shoo King*, pp. 281-97. The *Classic of History* suggests that the Shang dynasty lost the mandate of heaven to rule due to King Zhou’s extreme lack of virtue.

¹⁴⁹ The *Kana shōri* section, “Heaven Takes from the Full,” corresponds to the text found in the final section of the *Shingaku gorin sho*, beginning with the words “*ten no miteru o kaku* 天のみてるをかく.”

¹⁵⁰ *Yijing* 易經; see *Zhouyi yinde* 周易引得 (Index to the changes of Zhou), ed. Hong Ye et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 11; *Daodejing* 道德經, ch. 77.

¹⁵¹ Similar remarks appear in the *Honsa roku*, section four, “Understanding Good Times and Bad” (p. 283): “When the moon is completely full, it will inevitably wane. Transitions such as the succession of spring, summer, fall, and winter, and the flowering, blooming, and fruition of bushes and trees, are all expressions of the natural principles of the way of heaven.” The *Shingaku gorin sho* states (p. 263): “Things that flourish, decline. This is a natural principle. When spring flourishes, summer is coming; when fall is abundant, winter begins to arrive. The way of heaven is like this.”

women. Xiao He 蕭何 [d. 193]¹⁵² admonished him stating, “The Qin dynasty fell due to these jewels and beautiful women.” Heeding his words, Gaozu refrained from indulging in them.

Also during the Han dynasty, there was one Shu Guang 疏廣, tutor to the imperial prince. When he reached an advanced age, Shu Guang asked if he could return to his home place. The emperor and imperial prince provided him with much gold and silver for this purpose. Back home, Shu Guang received people day and night, distributing the wealth among them. Someone asked why he was not saving any for his offspring. “Wealth harms the intentions of worthy people,” Shu Guang replied, “and multiplies the mistakes that foolish people make. In my old age, I never cease thinking about my children. Thus I have given the gold and silver to people at large.”¹⁵³

Worthies and refined people (*kenjin kunshi* 賢人君子) respected this reply, and many other people praised it as well. Worthies and refined people practice the way by distributing wealth among the people. In doing so they manifest heaven’s virtue. Even those who are concerned about the way and being compassionate towards people should be deemed fools if they are fond of wealth. The sage Confucius declared that if a person is arrogant and miserly he should not be recognized, even if he is as talented as the Duke of Zhou.¹⁵⁴ One will never penetrate the mysteries of learning if one’s mind is even slightly given over to selfish desires. Also, it will be difficult to acquire remarkable wisdom and compassion. Even so, the way does not consist in discarding wealth and practicing self-mortification. Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 [Liang 亮, 181-234] requested that after his death, none of his wealth remain vaulted away. As requested, once he died, his wealth no longer remained. Nevertheless, his son won the world’s praises. People of this age, too, should seek sufficiency yet not excess. Even though one may consider the realm below heaven as one’s own, if one distributes wealth among the myriad people, then one will never attain the fullness which entails emptying.¹⁵⁵ Even if one claims nothing more than one’s own household, if this is more than enough then one should realize that this amounts to a fullness that entails emptying. Such abundance brings about the downfall of one’s descendants.¹⁵⁶ The parting of sages and fools begins from this point. People should be careful about this!

¹⁵² Xiao He was an advisor to Han Gaozu and became prime minister after the founding of the Han dynasty. He is famous for keeping Gaozu’s armies well stocked throughout the campaigns leading to victory over Xiang Yu 項羽. Xiao He is also famous for his integrity and frugality.

¹⁵³ “Biography of Shu Guang,” *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of the Han dynasty*).

¹⁵⁴ *Analects*, 8.11; *Lunyu yinde Mengzi yinde*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁵ The text literally states, “One will never attain fullness.” However, the theme of *Kana shōri* is that there is a natural principle which brings about the negation of a state even as that state reaches its fullness. As the preface related in its allusion to the “admonitory vessel,” fullness is not necessarily a desirable state. Rather, one should seek the mean.

¹⁵⁶ The *Shingaku gorin sho*’s final section corresponds, more or less, line for line, with the material in the *Kana shōri* discussion of “Heaven Takes from the Full” through this point. The *Shingaku gorin sho*, however, next states: “Where there is flourishing, there will inevitably be a downfall: this is a matter of principle (*ri*).” This line is not in the *Kana shōri*. The final two lines of the *Shingaku gorin sho* are similar to the final two of “Heaven Takes from the Full.” However, while the *Kana shōri* states, “The parting of sages and fools begins from this point,” the *Shingaku gorin sho* explains, “Although there is the distinction between refined people and commoners, the

(21) The Truth of the Confucian Way
(*Judō no shinri* 儒道の真理)¹⁵⁷

Although the truth of the Confucian way is difficult to express in Japanese, my mother,¹⁵⁸ who is over sixty, remarked:

Since childhood, I have pursued the way of Buddhism, without noticing the sunrise or the waning of the moon. Day and night without rest, my mind has diligently focused on deeds leading to the next world.

However, upon hearing the Confucian way which you recently received from a Korean (*Koma no hito* こまの人), my mind is now divided and I can no longer focus as diligently on the afterlife.

With age my memory has declined. Please record the truth of the Confucian way so that it is easily read.

Thus I had no choice but to explain the Confucian teachings in this manner.¹⁵⁹

Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-86) said,

A sage is one whose talents and moral virtues are manifest in equal proportions.

A worthy is one whose moral virtues exceed their talents.

An ordinary person is one whose talents exceed his moral virtues.¹⁶⁰

.....

Kanbun Postface¹⁶¹

difference between the two is a consequence of whether people forsake their selfish desires or not.

¹⁵⁷ This section, “The Truth of Confucianism,” does not appear in the *Shingaku gorin sho*. Nor does, of course, the postface to the *Kana shōri*.

¹⁵⁸ Seika’s mother died in 1594. Thus, if this text were actually written for her to read, it would have to have been written prior to that date. If it were written later, either this account is apocryphal, or Seika wrote it with his mother’s request in mind, for the sake of all of those who had studied Buddhism but wished to hear of Confucian learning.

¹⁵⁹ Ishikawa Ken’s *Sekimon shingaku shi no kenkyū* suggests that this portion of the text was a later addition to the *Shingaku gorin sho*. Ishikawa states that the main body of the text addressed the rulers of the day, not women. He emphasizes that since the text refers to the Battle of Sekigahara, which occurred after Seika’s mother’s death, that he could not have written it for her. Ishikawa also states that it is “laughable” to suggest that Seika would have presented the text to his mother, yet referred to himself by use of his literary name in doing so (p. 27). One could respond to Ishikawa’s critiques by simply noting that, while Seika began work on the text for his mother, it was only finished after her death and after the Battle of Sekigahara. In the end, when he referred to himself by his literary name, he did not mean to identify himself to his mother. The text also indicates in a note that “Koma no hito” was a Korean.

¹⁶⁰ Sima Guang (1019-86), *Zhouji* 周紀 (Records of the Chou dynasty), in *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (General mirror for aid in government); Rai Tsutomu 頼惟勤 and Ishikawa Tadahisa 石川忠久, eds., *Shiji tsūgan sen* 資治通鑑選 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970), *Chūgoku koten bungaku taikai*, vol. 14, p.14.

¹⁶¹ The postface is another distinctive feature of the *Kana shōri*. There is no postface to the *Shingaku gorinsho*. The *Honsa roku* concludes with a very different postface (dates 1675), written by Hayashi Gahō, discussed in the essay preceding the translation.

Kitaniku sensei 北肉先生 (Fujiwara Seika) was perfectly filial in serving his aged mother. She had studied Buddhism, but had never heard the Confucian teachings. Thus she asked her son to inform her of the essentials of our learning, Confucianism. Therefore, he wrote one brief volume in Japanese explaining Confucianism for her. This volume was stored in someone's home for a long time. Hayashi Razan borrowed it and copied it. One day I got a copy of the text and read it. Thereupon, the source of Confucianism and the profound subtleties of the Cheng-Zhu teachings became as obvious as the fingers on my hand. One must conclude that this text is one of the perfect gems of later Confucian learning. Consequently, I wrote this postface to it.

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9th lunar month, 9th day

Ryūkoku Sanjin 柳谷散人

Noma sanchiku sho 野間三竹書

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