

Talks about Teachings of the Past Translation of the Second Part of Kaiho Seiryô's *Keiko dan*

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Kaiho Seiryô 海保青陵 (1755–1817)¹ had concluded the first part of *Keiko dan* 稽古談 by remarking on his interest in the “principle of product distribution” 産物廻シヲスル理 (*sanbutsu mawashi o suru kotowari*) and promising to enlarge on this subject in the course of time.² The second part of KD is, to a considerable extent, an exemplification of this “principle”. Seiryô takes as an example several regional lordships of his day to explain that both a source of revenue and a means to enrich their domains lie in marketing unprocessed natural products and manufactured goods.³ In each of these cases, the text describes in detail some of the structural or organizational measures, whereby the surplus production of goods was delivered to one of the trade centers – mostly Ôsaka 大坂 and Edo 江戸 – and the problem of expenses for their transport solved.

However, the second part of KD is much more than an account of economic practices in Japan at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. It offers (1) insights into Seiryô's basic economic theory that is thrown into perspective by two further concepts: Seiryô's evaluation of (2) innovation and change on the one hand, and his grasp of the (3) psychology of men and of psychological manipulation on the other. The overall view as well as the two supportive concepts deserve extensive treatment, drawing on the whole corpus of KD. In this short preface, I will confine myself to a few general remarks.

1 For a general introduction to Seiryô's life and thought cf. KINSKI 1997: 115–42.

2 *Keiko dan*, Part One, *NST* 44: 241–42; KINSKI 1997: 195 [807–14]. In the following reference will be made to *KD* with page number for the text of the *NST* edition and to *K* with page and sentence number of the translation in KINSKI 1997.

3 E.g. rice in case of the lordship of Sendai, and ropes in case of the lordship of Shibamura. Cf. [71–6] and [255–89]. Numbers in square brackets without *K* refer to sentences in the translation.

Economic theory. Adam Smith (1723–90) envisioned a context where every nation mobilizes its talents and natural resources to produce specific artifacts and agricultural crops and so tap into the world’s riches and achieve prosperity. This notion, too, flows through KD as an undercurrent. Already in the first part Seiryô had stressed the congruence of economic activities and the pursuit of “profit” 利 (*ri*) with the “principle of Heaven” 天理 (*tenri*).⁴ In Part Two, this idea again underpins Seiryô’s conceptions.⁵ But whereas Smith’s economic theories operate on a global stage, the horizons of Seiryô’s world of economics are restricted to the domestic scene. He does not even take into account the dealings of the shôgunal government with Dutch or Chinese merchants, the trade between the lordship of Satsuma 薩摩 and the kingdom of Ryûkyû 琉球, or that between the lordship of Tsushima 津島 and Korea. For him, Japan is a cosmos all to itself, made up of regional lordships – “countries” or “states” 国 (*kuni*) ruled by warrior families – and a few economic centers like Ôsaka dominated by a stratum of merchants and their enterprising spirit. Economic activities for Seiryô are deployed within the bounds set by Tokugawa 徳川 rule. Bearing in mind these limitations, however, earning money – or, to use an expression from KD, “raising profit” 興利 (*kôri*)⁶ – is possible for all groups of society. At his time of writing, Seiryô finds the necessary mental disposition for an active and calculating engagement in economic activities only among members of the merchant and artisan stratum. In contrast, he characterizes the two other large social groups, warriors and farmers, as not disposed towards money making. Both, accordingly, are threatened by poverty and both more or less have fallen into a state of dependency on loans from merchants. But whereas with the farmers this is a result of their “laziness” ズルケ (*zuruke*) and not an expression of complete disinterest in money, with the warriors the problem goes deeper. They are firmly attracted to an antiquated set of ethical beliefs to such a degree that they “think that not even to utter the word for money [is what] distinguishes a true warrior” [250].

Seiryô’s treatment of the subject identifies two distinct sides to the phenomenon of the warriors’ ignorance in economic matters. One relates to the poverty of the warriors as individual members of one social group in their relation to members of other groups. The second concerns the financial dif-

4 KD 223; K 162 [212–14]. Cf. n. 79.

5 KD 247, 252, sentences [124], [256].

6 Cf. n. 35.

facilities of regional territories as political entities under warrior rule and the relations among them. Seiryô implicitly couches his remedy for these problems to the governments of these regional entities in terms of a mobilization of their economic resources.⁷ As he sees it, if only people were motivated, commodities of trade could be produced on the level of any regional lordship and marketed with “profit”. But to develop the natural resources of any one lordship, certain conditions have to be met with. One is mental insofar as the warriors as a whole have to set aside their outmoded disdain for economic activities. Another is legal or political: laws have to be adjusted to changing circumstances and constantly reformulated, if they are not to hamper economic success. [409–52] A third is technical: in an environment of competition for “profit”, information becomes a valuable asset. A lordship can never be sure of continued success, as others will emulate its methods and try to overtake it on the nationwide market. Therefore, one has to be on the alert when it comes to following up on developments in other “countries” and to keeping track of new technologies and successful business methods.

Seiryô draws the picture of a society made up of numerous regional entities competing among each other for economic success or taking advantage of the “laziness” of neighbours. The internal warfare among lordships in pre-Tokugawa times has been, as it were, replaced by economic competition. However, Seiryô does not hold that “profit” as such or resources for earning money are limited, nor that competition ought to end with the overall victory of any one party. Rather he seems to insinuate that all entities might be equally successful, if only they were circumspect and flexible enough to keep abreast of new developments and not to rest content with an erstwhile success.⁸

Thus, there is no “invisible hand”⁹ guaranteeing a harmonious ordering of overall economic relations.¹⁰ For Seiryô, success depends on the ingenuity

7 Seiryô embraced wholeheartedly the dynamics of cross-border trading to bring about the transformation of regional lordships into economically active factors because the interest in earning money promotes commerce even as it calls for an increase of work expended in farming and crafts. Cf. e.g. [255–83].

8 Seiryô does not give thought to the framework of a market society on a nationwide level. He does not pose the question what would happen if all regional lordships were to enter resolutely into all-out competition for “profit” and try to get the better of each other. What matters to him is to bring into line those lordships which are prone to fall behind.

9 Adam SMITH uses this expression once in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, IV.iii.9.

10 As environmental conditions are similar at least in adjacent territories, crops grown and

and hard work of the human actors¹¹ and their ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Such an attitude is necessarily in accord with the “principle of Heaven”.

Innovation and change. Seiryô draws a marked contrast between the past and present times. In the past it sufficed to use traditional knowledge and abide by old practices. Such an attitude will lead to decay and poverty for a whole “country” in “present times”, due to a new mobility of mind and the chances for technical innovation it opens.¹² [128] If one does not want to fall behind, one will inevitably have to adapt to the conditions of this “clever age”. [581] In times when people in other “countries” are constantly promoting their interests and inventing new business methods, poverty for one’s own “country” can only be eschewed by investigating the strategies of others, adopting what is useful [562–68, 581–88] and “starting something clever as fast as possible” [565]. Seiryô’s attitude towards these developments seems to have been one of approval. Although he admits that being all too knowledgeable about “profit” “does not indicate a noble personality” [563] he characterizes the activities of his merchant acquaintances with admiration.

Psychological manipulation. The key to overcoming the economic and financial deadlock in many regional lordships, for Seiryô, consists in psychological assessment and subsequent manipulation. Najita had already stressed Seiryô’s “deep immersion in the ethos and psychological reality of the merchant class and his denunciation, from within that context, of the mindless posturings of the samurai aristocracy”.¹³ Seiryô does not offer a coherent analysis of human nature or the mental setup of warriors, farmers, or merchants. Never-

goods manufactured in one territory could be produced in a competing “state” too. As Seiryô himself shows with the example of *coptis japonica*, there is no guarantee that a successful product will not be spied out by a competing territory and produced there to the original producer’s detriment. [569–80] The similarity of natural conditions and the limitedness of the stage set for economic activities does not allow Seiryô to envision a setting where every participant contributes something unique (because available only in his territory).

- 11 Throughout, Seiryô is scornful of “laziness” and clearly advocates an ethic of austerity and unremitting labour, stressing the maximization of “profit” and its reinvestment in business.
- 12 Some examples that Seiryô gives are a superior organization of salt production [479–82], improvements in the distillation process of rice wine [646–55], and the construction of brewery buildings [674–80]; but also the ideas a venturing spirit, one attuned to “profit” where no one expects it, may come up with, like turning rice left over from inspection into money [68–116].
- 13 NAJITA 1978: 23.

theless, his travels through Japan and his intimate contact with members from different social strata have furnished him with a bulk of observational data which he draws on to offer pertinent psychological characterizations of different social groups throughout KD.

One feature of the *warriors'* mental disposition is their ignorance in practical matters, mathematics, or business affairs. [39, 78, 82, 124] Related to this ignorance and exacerbating their economically degraded situation is the warriors' attachment to honour, which enjoins them even to take pride in the fact that they are ignorant about mathematics and making money [83, 107], while they squander their income on a life in luxury beyond their means, so much so that they are forced to borrow from merchant houses. [39–43, 106] This attitude is coupled with a stubborn belief in the excellence of their traditions and a refusal to embark on new enterprises. [124] As a result, their feelings are offended readily if one too directly advances a policy they are not used to. [66–7] *Farmers* resemble warriors in that they are content to live from year to year according to their old traditions, without giving any thought to “profit”. [241] As long as the items necessary for the barest level of subsistence are provided for they are content. [247, 353, 364] Still, farmers are not so backward as the warriors for they take some interest in money. [248, 252] However, because of their ignorance in business methods [242, 348–50] and their “lazy” attitude concerning the active pursuit of business opportunities [384], farmers easily fall prey to sharp-minded merchants in the cities. [348–50, 384] The *merchants'* psychology and mental attitude towards economic affairs play a major role in KD. However, Seiryô does not comment on them as explicitly as on the warriors' and farmers' frame of mind. He illustrates their economic mindset mostly through examples, although he states that merchants are knowledgeable about making money [183], that they easily grasp the essence of matters [183] and, therefore, know the feelings of e.g. the warriors even better than they themselves do. [136] Seiryô makes much of this perceptiveness, as it enables one party to steer the other toward its own aims without arousing opposition. In contacts with the warriors, it is necessary to proceed circumspectly by going along with their feelings. [67, 122, 158] Masuya Koemon's 升小右衛門¹⁴ dealings with the lordship of Sendai and his policies for reforming its financial situation offer the finest example for such

14 Cf. n. 65.

a perceptive strategy. [81, 86] People in general are difficult to deal with. [162] Therefore it is important to look through to their inner sentiments [157] and proceed on this insight to advance one's own policy in a "soft" way [117], without annoying others [121], or by winning over their feelings [69]. In the field of economics, this means teaching people to take an interest in earning money. [257] The greater part of this second part of KD is an exposition of successful examples of how farmers or warriors, by taking their frame of mind into account, can be induced to embark on new business strategies.¹⁵ Seiryô's key word in this context is "stimulation" 鼓舞 (*kobu*) – this by recognizing people's disposition and working on it to arouse their interest in the pursuit of "profit". [306–11]

Like Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733) and Adam Smith, Seiryô approves of independent and self-interested economic activities among the members of society.¹⁶ Although he states that being too clever in earning money is not the sign of a high moral personality (he does not speak of "vices" like Mandeville) he depicts the business strategies of merchant houses in Ôsaka and elsewhere in a positive light. However, unlike Mandeville and Smith he does not conceive of business activities oriented towards a constant increase of "profit" as constituting a natural propensity in all men (although such an activity is in accord with "principle"). At least in the case of farmers and warriors, this kind of self-interest first has to be awakened from without by methods of "stimulation". Only after people have acquired a taste for it, will earning money become self-evident. Unlike in Smith's view, self-interested business activities will not contribute to the general welfare of larger society of their own accord due to the workings of an "invisible hand". In Seiryô's vision, these activities have to be steered by the authorities of regional lordships, if they are to prove beneficial to all parts of society – farmers, merchants and ruling warriors alike. In this respect KD is nearer to Mandeville who also proposed that "Private vices by the dextrous Management of a skilful Politician may be turn'd into Publick Benefits".¹⁷ Seiryô is not the proponent of a liberal market society with a free play of forces. The point for him was to

15 E.g. ropes from Shibamura. [255–83]

16 By alluding to Mandeville and Smith I do not want to give off the impression that I deem a comparative approach easily achieved. The philosophical as well as historical context of the parties involved would first have to be accounted for as well as differences in the modes of conceptualization; only then could the grounds be established on which a comparative study might proceed.

17 MANDEVILLE 1989: 371.

rationalize the transformational processes which had gained force within the society of his day, and to make the warriors aware of their current status as the sole segment of society that is idle and exclusively consumptive living off what the other segments had produced. Seiryô's immediate concern, therefore, is to turn the samurai stratum into a productive factor. This he does by arguing in the interest of the rulers of regional lordships, who should transform themselves from landed proprietors into entrepreneurs actively involved in mobilizing the resources of their territories to raise the welfare of all (i.e. those living under their rule). This instigation to think in terms of "profit" will pave the way for moving from an encumbered to a 'decent' hierarchical society under "benevolent" government, one that pays due respect to entrenched feelings of superior status among the warriors.

*Talks about Teachings of the Past, Part Two*¹⁸

[1] That Master Meng 孟子 has at present in this country been adopted as the basis for teaching about peaceful rule is a greatly mistaken [choice of] measure 寸法チガイタルコト (*sunpô chigaitaru koto*).¹⁹ [2] In teaching the rulers of Qi 齊 and Liang²⁰ 梁, Master Meng already took King Wen's²¹ 文王 government

18 This translation is based on the edition of the KD in NST 44:215–346. Numbers in square parentheses indicate sentences in the original. When one sentence in the original could not be translated also in one, I have divided it into two or more parts indicating the parts with small letters.

19 Already at the beginning of the first part of KD Kaiho Seiryô argues forcefully that it is a wrong and futile attempt to adopt the political measures Mengzi (Chin. Mengzi / Jap. Mōshi) had expounded in front of the kings of Qi and Liang for the ruling of Tokugawa Japan. The reason Seiryô gives for this repudiation is that whereas Mengzi formulated his advice for an age of internal strife and obliteration of central rule, Tokugawa Japan was a flourishing country enjoying a long period of peace. Different times call for different measures, as Seiryô is wont to say. Cf. e.g. KD 216–17; K 144 [10–16] and 145 [22].

20 Two Chinese states whose rulers had invited Mengzi to lecture on government. The *Master Meng*, one of the classical writings of Confucianism, begins with a conversation between King Hui 惠 of Liang and Mengzi. Cf. SBBY 1A.1a–6b, L 2: 125–36. For the conversation with King Xuan 宣 of Qi cf. SBBY 1A.7a–12b, LEGGE, vol. 2:137–49.

21 King Wen was father of King Wu 武王, the first ruler of the Zhou 周 dynasty (about 11th century BCE to 256 BCE) is counted with his son among the sage rulers of Confucian tradition. Although two-thirds of the realm were under his sway, his virtue did not allow Wen to overthrow the corrupt ruler of the Yin 殷 dynasty (about 16th to 11th century BCE) to whom he owed allegiance. Cf. *Analects* 論語 (*Lunyu / Rongo*) 8.20, SPPY 4.13a, L 1:215.

of Qi²² 岐 as proof for his explanations. [3] King Wen was a great lord 大名 (*daimyô*)²³ [under the rule] of King Zhou 紂王 of Yin²⁴. [4a] While dividing up the realm 天下 (*tenka*) into three parts and himself holding two of them²⁵, Wen [still] was vassal to Yin. [4b] [Yet] he fervently thought to somehow seize this realm [in its entirety] for himself. [5a] This design to seize the realm of the Yin [dynasty] for Zhou had existed since [the time of] King Wen's grandfather, the Great King. [5b] His father, King Ji 季, too, had thought of nothing other than to attain this [end], and this was the heritage bequeathed to King Wen.²⁶ [6] King Wen, too, frequently devised plans [to this end], but as the time was not ripe, it was only during the reign of his son, King Wu, that the realm first fell into the hands of Zhou. [7] One should recognize clearly how well the measure that Master Meng's arguments 論 (*ron*) taught Qi and Liang fitted [in with the designs of both countries]. [8] Qi and Wei 魏²⁷ both were great lords of Zhou. [9] The realm being divided into nine parts, both were states in possession of one [part].²⁸ [10] Now, the measure [deriving] from a time when [Zhou] for several generations had

22 Another name for Zhou. Qi was the name of a mountain (supposed to have lain in today's province Shanxi 陝西) where Wen's grandfather, the "Old Duke" (Gugong) Danfu 古公亶父 (later also called "Great King" 大王 or Da Wang / Taiô, Daiô), built his capital after enemies had driven him from his original country of Bin. Danfu called his new-founded country Zhou, from which the dynasty took its name.

23 To bring the notion of King Wen owing allegiance to the rulers of the Yin dynasty closer to the concrete experience of his audience Seiryô likens Wen to one of the regional lords of his day called *daimyô* (literally "great name") who owed allegiance to the Tokugawa shôgun. Cf. n. 207.

24 Legendary last king of the Yin dynasty who was overwhelmed by King Wen's son Wu. Together with Jie, the last king of the Xia 夏 dynasty (trad. 2205 to 1766 BCE), the Confucian tradition depicts him as the archetype of a cruel and immoral ruler.

25 Expression from *Lunyu* 8.20, SPPY 4.13a, L 1:215.

26 King Ji abdicated in favour of his son so that the latter could accomplish the ambition he had himself not been able to fulfil.

27 The kingdom of Wei became known as Liang after King Hui (second half of 4th century BCE) had moved his capital to the city of Da Liang 大梁.

28 During the Period of "Warring States" 戦国 (*zhanguo / sengoku*) (403 to 221 BCE) numerous smaller states were annexed by their larger neighbours so that in the end only a small number of large territorial units remained with the powerless King of Zhou as their nominal overlord. Traditionally, nine states were given as possessing one part of the realm each – Qi, Chu 楚, Yan 燕, Zhao 趙, Han 韓, Wei 魏, Song 宋, Wei 衛, and Zhongshan 中山. In *Master Meng* the Master tells King Xuan of Qi, "The land within the [four] seas [embraces] nine parts each of a thousand li 里 square. All of Qi taken together is but one of them." 1A7.17; SBBY 1.11a; L 2: 146.

ferverly hoped to seize the realm exactly fitted [in with the designs of these states].

[11] Is it not unseemingly to choose Master Meng or the time when King Wen ruled Qi as the measure for [governing] this country at present? [12] King Wen's was a time when Yin was about to collapse. [13] Master Meng's was a time when Zhou was about to collapse. [14] To choose the conditions of two ages about to collapse as the model for the present age of peace 昇平ノ世 (*shōhei no yo*) is exceedingly ridiculous. [15] [That they nevertheless do so], shows the extent of the Confucian scholars' foolishness. [16a] The times of Yu²⁹ 禹 could well serve as a model for the present age. [16b] However, as the affairs [of that time] have not been transmitted in detail, it [all] comes down to the last years of King Wu [as the next fittest example]. [16c] These, however, correspond to conditions during the first years of the Lord Daitoku In's³⁰ 台徳院 [reign]. [16d] Therefore, the times of King Cheng 成王 and King Kang³¹ 康王 probably are the best suited. [17] Is not this the age for which the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*³² 周礼 fit exactly? [18] In the case of the Han dynasty³³ 漢 [the reigns] of Emperor Wen 文帝, Emperor Jing 景帝, and Emperor Wu³⁴ 武帝 would serve best.

[19a] People who raise profit 興利 (*kōri*)³⁵ have been held in contempt since ancient times.³⁶ [19b] Again, this is a strange opinion. [20] If one wants

29 One of the legendary sage-kings of Chinese antiquity and founder of the Xia dynasty.

30 Daitoku In 台徳院 or "Hall of My Virtue" was the posthumous name 諡 (*okurina*) of the second Tokugawa shōgun, Hidetada 秀忠 (ruled 1605–23).

31 Second and third kings of the Zhou dynasty respectively.

32 The *Zhouli* 周禮 (Jap. *Shurai*; also known as *Zhouguan* or *Offices of the Zhou Dynasty* 周官; Jap. *Shūkan*) together with the *Records of Rites* 禮記 (*Liji / Raiki*) and the *Ceremonies and Rites* 儀禮 (*Yili / Girei*) make up the *Three Rites* 三禮 (*Sanli / Sanrai*). Probably not compiled earlier than near the end of the Period of "Warring States", the *Zhouli* is ascribed by tradition to King Wu's brother, the Duke of Zhou, who supposedly framed the institutions of the Zhou dynasty, thereby creating the model institutions for an ideally ordered state. Seiryō had emphasized the importance of this classic as a model for government in well-ordered times in KD 218; K 150 [64–8].

33 Comprising the Former (206 BCE to 8 CE) and the Later Han dynasty (25 to 220 CE).

34 The fifth (ruled 180 to 157 BCE), sixth (r. 157 to 141 BCE), and seventh (r. 141 to 87 BCE) emperor of the Former Han dynasty.

35 As NAJITA 1978: 27 explains, for Seiryō *kōri* was "the active generation of wealth through carefully planned initiatives". The word is made up of the character 興 meaning "to give rise to", "to launch", "to start", or "to make s.th. prosper", and the character 利 meaning "advantage", "benefit", "gain", or "profit".

36 Seiryō had criticized the stance against profit taken by Confucian scholars in the first part

to ease the people's tax [burden] トリカ (*torika*) there is no other way but to raise profit. [21] When during the Han dynasty, Bi³⁷, the King of Wu 呉, planned an insurrection, he said that the people could keep all they had produced 作り取り (*tsukuritori*).³⁸ [22] When Tian Chengzi 田成子 sought to seize Qi 齊 he collected [debts] from the people with a small measure. [23] [However], it is said that he gave to them with a big measure.³⁹ [24a] The [ruling] style of King Wen as well as that of Bi, the King of Wu, and of Tian Chengzi all in the same way showed excessive love for the people. [24b] This [of course] was a strategy for seizing the thing that they wanted to get hold of for themselves. [25] In none of these cases would that have been possible if [these men] had not [somehow] prospered. [26] The [three] men [mentioned] above certainly will have used [some method for] raising profit. [27] If they did not use [some method to] raise profit they will probably have resorted to extreme frugality 大儉約 (*dai kenyaku*). [28] If one looks at the present age, [the people] below will be hard pressed if [the rulers] above adopt [a policy of] extreme frugality. [29a] To love the people without adopting [a policy of] extreme frugality is something Confucian scholars only talk of vainly. [29b] If one really were to try it, it stands to reason 理也 (*kotowari nari*) that one would fail. [30] It is something people would say who have never actually tried to take the [affairs of] state into their own hands.

of KD and traced it back to Master Kong 孔子 (Kongzi / Kôshi) or Confucius himself. Cf. KD 217; K 146 [32], 147 [46].

- 37 A nephew of the dynasty's founder, in 154 BCE Bi led an insurrection against the Emperor Jing. Cf. *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 (*Shiji / Shiki*), SBBY 106.1a–11b.
- 38 The yield of the copper mines in the district of Zhang enabled Bi to secretly coin copper money. In addition, he had salt produced from sea water. Owing to these resources he had no need to level taxes on the people and thus caused Wu to prosper greatly. *Ibid.*, 106.2a; 2b; 3b.
- 39 When the Duke of Qi wondered to whom his country would pass in the future, his prime minister, Master Yan 晏子 (Yanzi / Anshi; lived around 500 BCE), warned that it would fall into the hands of Tian Chengzi. The famous minister explained that Tian Chengzi was skilled at winning the hearts of the ministers by bestowing honours and rewards on them; also those of the common people by lending to them using a big measure and collecting the debt with a small measure, by living frugally and by helping those in need. To counter this threat, the duke should enlist able men in his service, alleviate the punishments, and assist the poor and helpless. Thus the people would be unswaying in their loyalty towards the duke. Cf. *Master Han Fei* 韓非子 (*Han Feizi / Kanpi shi*), SBBY 13.2ab.

[31] Well, it is not known how Tian Chengzi achieved prosperity.⁴⁰ [32] Bi, the King of Wu, raised profit after all. [33] From the sea he [got] salt by boiling [sea water], and from the mountains he [got] money 錢 (*zeni*) by minting [copper].⁴¹ [34] This was a good scheme 工夫 (*kufû*)⁴². [35a] Therefore, concerning the King of Wu's money 金錢 (*kinsen*) [he himself said], “[35b] Wherever in the realm you go, [Wu's money can be found]. [35c] Even without returning to Wu to fetch [more, there is no shortage]. [35d] Wherever you use Wu's money I do not mind. [35e] Therefore, [when dealing out] rewards on a campaign, you should do so using the money 金 (*kane*) from Wu [circulating] in the area where the campaign is taking place.⁴³ [36a] Even if the various lords allied with us were to deal out rewards day and night, there would be no need to worry that Wu's money will run out.”⁴⁴ [36b] If one looks at what the King of Wu said, [it is obvious that] he was very much a master of economy 經濟家 (*keizai ka*)⁴⁵. [37] Leaving the people all they had produced and making [Wu's] money known throughout the realm was a fine achievement.

40 MINAMOTO Ryôden 源了圓 links this sentence to the preceding discussion of the Confucian scholars' ignorance and interprets it as saying that Confucian scholars did not know how Tian Chengzi acquired wealth. MINAMOTO 1971: 372. If that is the intent of this sentence, it would imply that Seiryô himself knew the exact method. That this is not the case and that this sentence is a general statement is made obvious by the context. There clearly is a contrast between this sentence and the following ones where Seiryô states that Bi, the King of Wu, followed a policy of pursuing profit, and then describes the measures Bi took. The *Han Feizi* only relates how Tian Chengzi managed to incur the people's sympathy, not how he could afford to behave as magnanimously towards them as he did.

41 Cf. n. 38.

42 The word *kufû* has the meaning of thinking about something from several angles and coming up with a good method; alternatively it can mean the method one has come up with. Seiryô uses it in many places for well-devised policies, strategies, or economic measures of which he approves.

43 The structure of sentence [35] in the original is not consistent, as it starts with Seiryô's own words but in between changes to a citation of the King of Wu's words. The connection between the parts of sentence can be grasped readily by intuition, but to render it into English several expressions had to be inserted.

44 The whole passage is Seiryô's adaption of part of the letter Bi sent to his allies among China's regional rulers after he had risen in revolt, urging them to take up arms as well. *Shiji*, SBBY 106.6b.

45 The word *keizai* is a shortened form of *keisei zaimin* 經世濟民, meaning “to rule the world and help the people”. Thus, the expression has much broader connotations than “economy” alone. However, the use Seiryô makes of *keizai* here and elsewhere (cf. KD 219–20, K 153 [116]) seems near to its meaning in modern Japanese, which is “economy” or “economics”.

[38a] Even if the great lords of today wanted to practise extreme frugality, they have to acquit themselves of their duties in Edo, entertain [lords of] the same rank, go out [on visits], fulfil their military obligations of [supporting] sixteen warriors on horse for every tenthousand *koku* 石 of rice [in their domain]⁴⁶, and [pay] advance visits 予参 (*yosan*)⁴⁷ to the [Temple of Everlasting Magnanimity 寛永寺 (Kan'ei ji) in] Ueno 上野 and the Temple of Excellence 増上寺 (Zôjô ji) [in Shiba 芝 on days the shôgun 將軍 visits there] as well as [take part] in the entertainment of [official] guests before their visit to [the shôgun's] castle [in Edo], all in accordance with a lord's rank 格 (*kaku*).⁴⁸ [38b] Because of this, their financial condition has become difficult. [39] Raising profit is forbidden 法度ニテ (*hatto ni te*) [to them], and they busy [themselves] loving the people. [40] Raising profit is the same as what merchant houses 町家 (*chôka*) call earning money 金儲ケ (*kane môke*). [41] Loving the people is the same as what merchant houses call “[giving a] treat” オゴリ (*ogori*). [42] As it is equivalent to ungrudgingly ハツハツト (*hatsuhatsu to*) letting others carry off [one's] things, it means self-inflicted depravity ジダラク (*ji daraku*).⁴⁹ [43] To forbid merchant houses to raise profit, and [at the

46 *Koku* was a cubic volume used for measuring rice. One *koku* amounts to five bushels or 180.4 litres. Based on the *True Account of the Tokugawa [Family]* 徳川実記 (*Tokugawa jikki*) and other sources, KASAYA Kazuhiko 笠谷和比古 calculated that a regional lord of ten thousand *koku* had to support ten mounted warriors, twenty musketeers, ten bowmen, thirty lance bearers, and three banner bearers. With rising income, the number of warriors increased proportionally, the number of sixteen mounted samurai per ten thousand *koku* being reached for an income of roughly seventy thousand *koku* and upwards. KASAYA 1991: 57. These figures have only a general character. In practice, the number of mounted warriors per ten thousand *koku* a lord had to field should e.g. the shôgunal government order him to take command of a castle in an adjacent territory could well exceed the number stipulated under standard conditions. Cf. FUJII 1991: 117–19.

47 The Kan'ei ji in Edo's Ueno district as well as the Zôjô ji in Edo's Shiba district served as Tokugawa family temples. On days the shôgun visited either of these temples to pay respect to his forebears, some of the regional lords had to move to these temples prior to the shôgunal visit and perform guard duties.

48 In order to exert control over the regional lords, the shôgun's government in Edo had set up a number of obligations. For one thing, according to the location of their territories the regional lords had to spend half of the year or every second year in Edo and to maintain a residence there (with their wives, children, and part of their retainers living there permanently). Moreover, the nominal worth of their territories determined the number of armed retainers and the composition of the armed forces the regional lords had to maintain. Attendance in Edo brought further obligations – e.g. guard duties – as this sentence shows. Besides, life in Edo itself required social contact between the regional lords themselves and all that entailed.

49 The word *daraku* bears strong moral overtones. That is true for *hatsuhatsu to*, too, which

same time] willingly engage in treat-giving and self-inflicted depravity is contrary to reason 無理ナルコト (*muri naru koto*).

[44] Of raising profit there are two kinds. [45] The true raising of profit is the method of the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*.⁵⁰ [46] It is what Bi, the King of Wu, did. [47] A poor [kind of] raising profit is squeezing the people's throats and taking money from them by force. [48] This is really not raising profit but abusing the people 虐民 (*gyakumin*). [49] The King of Wu's [way] of leaving the people what they had produced and [still] amassing enough money, was a skilful [method] of raising profit 興利ノ上手 (*kôri no jôzu*). [50] The thoughtless jabbering of today's Confucian scholars is like the drowsy talk of old men in their dotage 老耄オヤヂノネボケ論 (*rômô oyaji no neboke ron*). [51a] It is like listening to the inane words ネゴト (*negoto*) of a madman. [51b] Not only is it completely useless, but it spreads venom throughout the realm. [52] Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, too, was skilled at raising profit.⁵¹ [53] But as he did not originally stem from the stratum of gentlemen 士流 (*shiryû*) people of later ages made light of him. [54] Wang Jinggong 王荊公⁵² came from an excellent lineage and he was an outstanding Confucian scholar 儒宗 (*jusô*) in his time. [55] As he possessed [prowess in] raising profit in addition

corresponds to modern *pappa to* and implies the reckless squandering away of one's fortune. Thus the behaviour of regional lords, which is compared to lavishly entertaining others, is being criticized as immoral.

- 50 One of the main tenets for making "profit", according to the method proposed by the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*, was in Seiryô's words "lending rice or money to the people and drawing interest 利息 (*risoku*) from them" in return. Cf. KD 218; K 151 [70].
- 51 Sang Hongyang (? to 80 BCE), a man of merchant origin, was entrusted with the reform of the imperial finances during Emperor Wu's reign. His policy of establishing state monopolies on salt and iron and regulating prices through control over the supply of commodities helped to increase state revenue. *Shiji*, SBBY 30.7a–10a; *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書 (*Documents of the Former Han Dynasty*), SBBY: 14b–16a. Seiryô's information on the financial and economical policies of Han period China (cf. [465] and n. 186) relies on the accounts given in two chapters, one from the *Records of the Grand Historian* and one from the *Documents of the Former Han Dynasty*: the "Document of the Regulation [of Economic Activities]" 平準書 (*Pingzhun shu* / *Heijun sho*) – *Shiji*, SBBY 30 – and the "Annals of Food and Money" 食貨志 (*Shihuo zhi* / *Shokka shi*) – *Qian Hanshu*, SBBY 24A, 24B –.
- 52 Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–86). A prime minister known for his "New Laws" 新法 (*xinfa* / *shinpô*). Wang tried to reform the social, economic and military structure of Song China in order to strengthen the country against the threatening power of Western Xia 西夏 to the north, a realm founded by nomadic people under the leadership of the Tanguts in the early 12th century. Wang's reforms were aimed at alleviating the burden on the small peasants, who had to bear the brunt of taxation. Thus he hoped to gain their support for the campaigns in the north. However, his vision of a just society met with the resistance of

to his formidable [scholarly] acumen it is no wonder that he was good at things. [56] However, being a man estranged from the feelings of the public, he had a disposition that could not handle [matters] leniently. [57] As it was his disposition to want to crush the Confucian scholars at one stroke, his enemies were numerous.⁵³

[58] If one wanted to practise the method of the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty* nowadays, one should very well take to heart what Wang Jinggong did and proceed leniently without [provoking] opposition from one's enemies. [59a] Fortunately, it is not the case that reading books is exceedingly popular in our country.⁵⁴ [59b] Generally, it is not the case that those above or below all read books. [59c] Confucian scholars find themselves in a very low position, and because they are not in charge of politics, difficulties like those in Wang Jinggong's times will not occur.⁵⁵ [60] In China 支那 (Shina) Confucian scholars possessed much higher rank, and as it was [common during] the Song dynasty⁵⁶ 宋 that the prime minister 宰相 (*zaixiang* / *saishô*) additionally held [the position of] Counsellor of Great Learning 大学士 (*daxue shi* / *daigaku shi*)⁵⁷, Wang had a tremendous number of enemies.⁵⁸ [61a] In our

the powerful landowners and merchants, who eventually brought about his fall. Wang took the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty* for a model and wrote a commentary on this work under the title *New Meaning of the Offices of the Zhou Dynasty* 周官新義 (*Zhouguan xinyi* / *Shûkan shingi*).

- 53 In the first part of KD Seiryô had dwelt in some length on the policies of Wang Anshi and their opposition from Confucian scholars. Cf. KD 219; K 152–53 [88–115].
- 54 In cases where the names of persons of high status or of institutions requiring a respectful treatment occurred, it was common practice to leave a blank space of one or two characters before the name 欠字 (*ketsuji*) or to terminate the line and continue the text on the next line at the point where the preceding line had left off 平出 (*heishutsu*). Here the original has a line break between “our” 吾 (*waga*) and “country”.
- 55 Seiryô's evaluation of the social and political role of Confucian scholars is much to the point. Except for Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725) it is difficult to find a Confucian scholar who had any influence on government. And even Hakuseki's involvement in politics during the reigns of Tokugawa Ienobu 徳川家宣 (r. 1709 to 1712) and Ietsugu 家継 (r. 1713 to 1716) was not supported by official endowment with a government post but by informal ties and personal patronage.
- 56 Northern Song dynasty (960–1126) and Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).
- 57 The incumbent of this position was head of the palace academy and served as the emperor's counsellor.
- 58 Wang Anshi was a contemporary of a number of Confucian scholars who are among the most prominent figures of the so-called Neo-Confucian movement that gained force during the Northern Song period. In the first part of KD, Seiryô had commented on the enmity between Wang Anshi on the one hand, and leading scholars like the brothers Cheng Hao

times, [however], Confucian scholars are nowhere in charge of politics. [61b] It is just their task to read difficult [Chinese] characters. [62] In Edo it suffices that the official Confucian scholars 御儒者 (*go jusha*) in their commentaries on the *Analects* again and again explain just this one classic.⁵⁹ [63] The Confucian scholars [serving] the council of deliberation 評定処 (*hyôjô jo*)⁶⁰ have only the task of reading the names of Brahma 梵天 (Bonten) and Indra 帝釈 (Taishaku) at the end of [documents containing] oaths 誓詞 (*seishi*).⁶¹ [64] As [the names of] “Brahma” and “Indra” are written in block style 楷書 (*kaisho*)⁶², it is not as if other people could not read them [as well]. [65]

程顥 (1032–85) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), the brothers Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101) and Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039–1112), and especially Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86) on the other. Cf. KD 219; K 151–53 [88–115].

- 59 Since the times of Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583–1657) it was the task of the members of the Hayashi family and their “Changping School” 昌平齋 (Shôhei Kô) (“Changping” or “Prospering Peace” being the name of the place where Confucius was born according to legend) to lecture the shôgun on Confucian subjects and give advice in intellectual matters. Razan entered the service of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 in 1605 (Keichô 慶長 10) and was called upon to draft diplomatic and legal documents until the times of the fourth shôgun, Ietsuna 家綱 (r. 1651 to 1680). It is this role of lecturer and secretary / archivist that Seiryô hints at.
- 60 This council functioned as supreme law court. It was made up of the commissioners for temples and shrines 寺社奉行 (*jisha bugyô*), for the exchequer 勘定奉行 (*kanjô bugyô*), and for city (Edo) administration 町奉行 (*machi bugyô*), and debated cases touching on the commissioners’ fields of responsibility as well as other areas of administration or politics. Besides the commissioners, one of the “senior counsellors” 老中 (*rôjû*) sat in on the deliberations. From time to time other officials took part as well. In its work the council was aided by Confucian scholars, who were called *hyôjô sho jusha* 評定処儒者 or “Confucian scholars of the council of deliberation”.
- 61 Brahma and Indra are both, of course, Hindu deities; in Buddhism they came to play the role of guarding deities. In pledges submitted to the shôgunal government their names were affixed to the end of the documents. Such pledges (also called *kishô* 起請) in written form had their origin in the Heian 平安 period (794–1185), where they were used in official reports or requests sent by lower ranking bureaucrats or monks to their superiors to secure their approval or endorsement and in making claims on the authority of the higher ranking institution for the fulfillment of the measure thus endorsed. These documents took on the character of oaths when no longer the authority of human institutions – not the prime minister’s nor even the emperor’s – were called upon but that of supernatural beings from the Shintôistic or Buddhistic pantheon. Later, from the 12th century onwards, these not only were invoked to bear witness but had to guarantee the import of the documents and, in case of infringement, to punish the defaulter. In the course of time, the number of gods and Buddhas called upon in these documents increased, in some cases numbering more than a hundred. A model example of a pledge calling on Brahma and Indra – among other deities – can be found in Kaibara Ekiken’s 貝原益軒 (1630–1714) *Secrets of the Rites for Writing Letters* 書札口訣 (*Shorei kuketsu*). EKIKEN KAI 1910: 294. For a translation cf. RÜTTERMANN 1999: 133–34.

However, as [ours] is a military country 武国 (*bukoku*), so that the fierceness 気ノツヨキコト (*ki no tsuyoki koto*) [of our people] is much greater than in China, this is a frightening situation.⁶³

[66] Whatever the country 国 (*kuni*)⁶⁴ may be, if the [ruling] house 家 (*ie*) and the people are opposed to it, [any policy] will go to pieces and be impossible to carry through. [67] To ensure that the warriors of the [ruling] house will not be opposed, [it is necessary] to make one's move by going along with the warriors' feelings 武士ノ情 (*bushi no nasake*). [68] Although not a firmly established [method], it was a clever plan that a man called Koemon 小右衛門, the head-clerk 番頭 (*bantô*) from a branch-family 別家 (*bekke*) of Ôsaka's Masuya Hei'emon 升屋平右衛門, asked for the stab-rice サシ米 (*sashimai*) [left over from inspection].⁶⁵ [69] It is just of utmost importance to win the feelings of the warriors. [70] The reason why Masu Ko thought to ask for the stab-rice was that Masu Hei acted as money-lender 銀主 (*ginshu*)⁶⁶ to the lord of Sendai 仙台. [71] Sendai's rice is being delivered

62 Many official documents and other texts were written in cursive style and required a certain expertise in reading (although Edo period readers were much more familiar with cursive script than are modern readers). Characters written in “block style”, however, were close to the standard form of characters as found in modern dictionaries and should thus have been easily recognizable.

63 The low esteem accorded Confucian scholars in Japan as well as the general disinterest in learning might, Seiryô suggests, work in favour of adopting a pragmatic policy similar to that of Wang Anshi. Nevertheless, one has to take care not to estrange others, as the fierce disposition of the Japanese would make them terrible opponents.

64 Seiryô probably means the territories of regional lords in Japan in his day. Hence, the “houses” mentioned in the following sentence certainly refer to *daimyô* families ruling the different “countries”.

65 Masuya (Yamagata 山片) Heiemon, the fourth of this name (1763–1838) – Seiryô later refers to him as Masu Hei 升平 – was a wealthy rice-merchant and money-lender in Ôsaka, catering to the financial needs of several regional lordships. His head-clerk Koemon (Masu Ko 升小), better known as the scholar Yamagata Bantô 山片蟠桃 (1748–1821), was granted in reward for his services his master's family name “Yamagata” and was allowed to set up a branch house with the company name “Masuya”. Seiryô often relates to “Masuya” as a typical example of Ôsaka's merchants displaying their economic acumen. He even left a work entitled *Talks about Masu Ko* 舛小談 (*Masu Ko dan*). For Yamagata Bantô as a representative of Ôsaka's “merchant academy” Kaitoku Dô 懷徳堂 (Hall of Love for Virtue) and as an independent-minded thinker who wrote about astronomy, geography, and other subjects related to natural sciences, as well as economics, cf. KRACHT 1986: 200–33, 359–85 (with a translation of parts of Bantô's *Yume no shiro* 夢之代 or *In Place of Dreams*).

66 *Ginshu* (literally “master of silver”) in the area of Ôsaka denoted a merchant who financially backed regional lords in need. In other parts of the country that reckoned in terms of gold

to Edo. [72a] Though the Eastern Sea delivery 東海廻シ (*Tôkai mawashi*)⁶⁷ is extremely convenient, there are many rocks in the Eastern Sea, so there were [ships] lost every time. [72b] [Thus, sea transport] used to be very risky. [72c] In former days, of ten ships sent out two or three would certainly be lost. [72d] In recent times, however, sailors have become more skilful, and [ships] arrive in Edo without a single loss. [73] In Edo [the cargo] is landed by sampan at Hon Funechô 本船町 and Isechô⁶⁸ 伊勢町. [74] The mooring place for the ships is Chôshi 銚子 in Shimôsa 下総⁶⁹. [75] Because tremendous [amounts] are involved when Masu Hei delivers the Sendai rice, offices [for inspection] have to be established beforehand in Sendai, in Chôshi, and in Edo. [76] As the expenses 物入 (*monoiri*) for the offices in all three places again amount to a tremendous [sum], this is the reason why one has to raise the means for these expenses from somewhere.

instead of silver, the expression *kinshu* (“master of gold”) was used. In 1783 (Tenmei 天明 3) Masuya acceded to a request by the lordship of Sendai (the present-day Miyagi 宮城 prefecture including the city of Sendai), ruled over by the Date 伊達 family, with a loan of fifteen thousand pieces of gold (*ryô* 両). Ever since, Koemon acted as counsellor for the reform of Sendai’s finances. Whereas the prior issuing of paper money had not alleviated the crisis, this reform after 1791 (Kansei 寛政 3) mainly consisted in buying up the rice left with the farmers (selling was made compulsory for them) after deducting the tax rice; in establishing a system for shipping part of the territory’s rice to Edo, and in selling it there. The proceeds were used as capital which could be loaned to Edo’s money-lenders. In this way, the territory’s income increased considerably. But although Masuya continued to take charge of the lordship’s finances, finally in 1834 (Tenpô 天保 5) the company decided to step down as the territory’s financial agent, with the lordship still running debts of 500,000 *ryô*.

- 67 “Eastern Sea” here relates to the sea along Japan’s Pacific shoreline. Transportation on the eastern sea route was called *higashi mawari kaiun* 東廻廻運 (“[sea] transport on the eastern route”) or *higashi mawari kôro* 東廻航路 (“eastern sea route”). Right from the beginning of the 17th century, lordships in the north-eastern parts of Japan had started to ship their product to Edo, even from as far as some of the north eastern ports on the Japan Sea 日本海 (*Nihon kai*) side. Ships docked in Chôshi 銚子 (in present day Chiba 千葉 prefecture). From there goods were taken by barge up the Tone River 利根川 to Edo. After the merchant Kawamura Zuiken 河村瑞賢 (1617–99) succeeded in devising a directer and safer shipping route, the freight volume on this route rose steadily.
- 68 Two of eight districts in Edo where goods brought by freight barge could be landed. To dispose of the landed rice immediately, Edo’s merchants had set up warehouses and offices there. Both districts lay along one of the water-courses running through Edo and both were close to *Nihon bashi* 日本橋 and *Edo bashi* 江戸橋, two of the city’s main bridges. They form part of the present-day Central Ward 中央区 (Chûô ku) of Tôkyô.
- 69 Present-day Chôshi in Chiba prefecture.

[77] However, in general in a regional lordship the provision of money by the [lord] above is a difficult [matter] not easily attained. [78] Because the military houses 武家 (*buke*) in short are extremely poor at arithmetic 不算用 (*fu sanyô*), they are completely at a loss when it comes to talks involving arithmetic. [79] If one were [to bring up] the question of how to cover the expense of setting up offices in three places for the delivery of Sendai's rice [to Edo], this would lead straight away to breaking off the rice deliveries. [80a] As the military houses are ignorant of arithmetic, it would lead to an instant break off, if one were to tell them what expenses are currently necessary. [80b] It has always been so since ancient times. [81a] [However], if one takes the [the necessary] money without letting them know when, one can do so without any problems at all. [81b] This is a usual situation with military houses. [82] To put it bluntly: the military houses are ignorant 不知 (*fuchi*). [83a] They [themselves] always think that it is typical of the military houses to be weak in arithmetic. [83b] However, this [attitude] only shows their ignorance. [84] Arithmetic is one of the basic elements 一ヶ条 (*ichi ka jô*) for ruling a state. [85] It is not something to be neglected. [86a] However, whichever military house one picks, they all just think that rice is something that should be received from [the lord] above. [86b] Taking a rough look [at this situation Masu Ko] took advantage of [the warriors' belief] that complicated arithmetic does not befit them and made his request for the stab-rice.

[87] The stab-rice-[method] means having a look at the rice in the bags 俵 (*tawara*) [used for transport] by thrusting a scoop サシ (*sashi*) into the bag at the time of inspection. [88] The scoop is a tool for thrusting into the bag, made from a bamboo pipe with its end cut off in such a manner that it can enter the bag easily. [89] Because the rice fills up the bamboo pipe when the scoop is thrust into the bag, this scoop [can be] withdrawn again and the rice poured into the [open] hand to have a look at. [90] When the scoop is thrust back into the bag again after inspection, the rice returns to the bag. [91] At that time some rice scatters around. [92] In Ôsaka [people] sweep up the scattered rice with a broom, put it in a sack and take it home. [93] These [persons] are somewhat like beggars 乞食 (*kojiki*) without really being beggars. [94] They are women [...] ⁷⁰ from poor families in the towns or from the villages 村方 (*murakata*). [95] For these [sweepings] in Ôsaka there are

70 Here, as in all following cases, empty square brackets indicate where one or two characters are missing in the original or are illegible.

shares 株 (*kabu*)⁷¹, and these are bought and sold ウリカイヲスル (*urikai o suru*). [96] Indeed, every morning [the women with a share] take home about four to five *shô* 升⁷² per person. [97] Now, in Ôsaka there are people called “in-betweens” 中仕 (*nakashi*). [98] They correspond to Edo’s landing hands 小揚 (*koage*). [99] They transport the bags from the ships to the storehouse. [100] These in-betweens spill some of the rice on purpose, so that those people already mentioned who sweep the rice up with a broom can collect it.

[101] Now, the reason why some rice gets scattered around is the practice of stab-rice. [102] Therefore, stab-rice cannot be practised without the rice diminishing a bit. [103] Now, Masu Ko’s request was for one *gô* 合⁷³ of stab-rice per bag of rice. [104] Because every bag of rice is stabbed and inspected at three places, stab-rice is the name for one *gô* of lost rice へり米 (*herimai*) [per bag] accumulating [through this procedure]. [105] For this one *gô* of lost rice per bag he requested that it be given to Masu Hei.⁷⁴ [106a] As indeed the military houses think that rice rains down [on them] as if from heaven 天⁷⁵ or somewhere else, they generally handle it with extreme carelessness 甚ソマツニスル (*hanahada somatsu ni suru*) which is outrageous 勿体ナキ (*mottai naki*). [107] Upon receiving rice from their lord, [the warriors] think it unnecessary to inspect it for themselves and believe that being completely ignorant of how much is inside a bag or whatever is tantamount to being a true warrior 真ノ武士 (*makoto no bushi*). [108] No wonder that they run up debts. [109] Masu Hei took advantage of this [attitude] by asking for one *gô* of stab-rice per bag. [110] As was only to be expected of [these] warriors who do not mind if things are used up or dwindle away, all the more so in the case of just one *gô* per bag, since Sendai [after all] is a particularly large territory⁷⁶, this request was granted at once. [111] Without any objection either from the other houses⁷⁷, things were settled.

71 “Shares” were widely used to specify membership and rights to usage accruing in certain social groups or organizations (e.g. the community of independent farmers or merchant organizations).

72 *Shô* or *masu* is a measure of capacity equal to about 1.8 litres.

73 One *gô* is a tenth of a *shô* and equals about 0.18 litre.

74 As Masu Hei was master of the company, naturally the request was for the rice to be given to him. Cf. sentence [109].

75 “Heaven” here indicates the territory’s lord, who pays rice stipends to his retainers according to their rank.

76 With a nominal worth of 620,000 *koku* of rice Sendai was one of the largest lordships.

77 “Houses” here refers to the leading families among the retainers of Sendai’s lord. In

[112] If one *gô* of stab-rice is got from every bag of rice that comes from Sendai, [when converted into money] this adds up to six thousand *ryô* 両 of gold⁷⁸ per year. [113] That the expenses for brushes, ink, and paper at the offices in those three places as well as the wages of the officials in these offices are covered by these six thousand *ryô*, [that is to say] with the stab-rice, is an interesting scheme. [114] Now, if the request had been “As we currently run up expenses to this amount, [His Lordship] should provide two hundred *ryô* of gold per year [to settle them]”, this would not have been granted. [115] It spells out a formidable wisdom 莫大ノ智 (*bakudai no chi*) to recognize from the outset that a request for one *gô* of stab-rice per bag will be granted, even though this amounts to six thousand *ryô* per year. [116] [Masu Ko] had guessed at the warriors’ inner sentiments 腹中 (*fukuchû*) very well. [117] Therefore, in handling things there is a soft way of treading. [118] To ask for a money grant [straightforwardly] is clumsy. [119] It speaks of sloppy investigation. [120] This is still [what] an amateur [would do]. [121] There are many ways to explain things softly without making people annoyed. [122] But if one acts clumsily, the people 民 (*tami*) will take offence and the warriors will be displeased so that things will come to nought. [123] The same affair, however, by the way of explanation [one has chosen], will proceed very nicely and smoothly. [124] Because the warriors all know little of profit and are not familiar with the principle of Heaven 天理 (*tenri*)⁷⁹, and

general, the affairs of a regional lordship were settled by consultation among the heads of those families in a lord’s entourage who had the strongest personal ties to the lord’s family and possessed the highest standing. These family heads, or “house elders” 家老 (*karô*) were not necessarily a homogeneous group. Thus they could be subject to rivalry for influence among themselves. Nor were their relations to the lower houses of a lord’s retinue always harmonious, as can be seen from the instances of internal house disputes 御家騒動 (*o ie sôdô*) in some lordships, with dissatisfied lower houses rising up against the policy of the most influential house elders and the methods with which a lordship was governed. A famous example of house strife is the “Kaga disturbance” 加賀騒動, which took place in the territory of Kaga (the southern part of modern Ishikawa 石川 prefecture) between 1746 (Enkyô 延享 3) and 1754 (Hôreki 宝暦 4) and had its origins in the confrontation between factions in the warrior retinue of the lordship’s ruling Maeda 前田 family vis-à-vis the financial situation of the territory as well as succession to the lordship in the wake of the death of the territory’s sixth (1745; Enkyô 2) and seventh (1746; Enkyô 3) lords. Cf. WAKABAYASHI 1979. For a more general treatment of strife in *daimyô* houses cf. KASAYA 1988.

78 The largest denomination of gold coins.

79 The “principle of Heaven”, for Seiryô, is an all-pervading concept that causes everything to come into being; at the same time it determines the nature of all existing things as they should be. However, unlike Song-era Confucianism Seiryô neither shows great interest in

because they therefore do not understand things well this is the reason why they [easily] reach the end of their wisdom and stubbornly believe that there is no other way [of doing things]. [125] If one wishes to put it briefly, this [disposition] has its origin in [the warriors'] lack of learning and resourcefulness 不学無術 (*fugaku mujutsu*).

[126] Learning 学問 (*gakumon*) does not only mean being well versed in the past. [127] In our times, learning that is well versed in the present is good learning. [128] It very often happens that wisdom 智慧 (*chie*) that did not exist in former times emerges from present-day people's [actual] practice. [129] In general, being ignorant about the present is useless learning. [130] Masu Ko is a scholar 学者.⁸⁰ [131] Masu Hei's [learning] is good learning too. [132] It is only to be expected that they [both] raise their fortunes. [133] That the warriors have fallen into poverty 困窮 (*konkyū*) is due to the fact that they are weak at learning. [134] It is due to the fact that they believe the words of Kong and Meng, but do not believe the intent 意 (*i*) [behind these words].⁸¹ [135] What is more, the warriors do not know their [own] feelings. [136] All told, it is the merchant houses who do know well the warriors' feelings.

[137] Among my (Tsuru) 鶴⁸² acquaintances is [a man] who devised a method 法 (*hō*) for lending money to warriors. [138a] Of his method the man had this to say, “[138b] Generally, warriors with [an income of] ten thousand *koku* [of rice] live on ten thousand *koku*. [139] Someone receiving one thousand *koku* lives on one thousand *koku*. [140a] And someone receiving one hundred

the metaphysical aspects of “principle”, nor does he define it as a principle determining the ethically correct behaviour of man. He conceives of it as a cause of never-ending change and flux; and he understands its character as a coordinating principle of action, in that it accounts for the exact standing of the members involved in human interaction. Thus, “principle” gives shape to the affairs of men and structures their relations. Cf. KINSKI 1997: 120–22. By showing the congruence of economic activities with the “principle of Heaven”, Seiryō in the first part of KD had tried to open the eyes of the warriors, and especially the lords of regional territories, to the pursuit of “profit” as the only way to overcome financial shortfalls and to lift their domain's prosperity. To make the country prosperous there is no way better than heeding “principle”, i.e. engaging in the pursuit of “profit” through trading activities and levying taxes or charging interest. KD 223; K 162 [212–14]. Thus, the emperor as well as the various regional lords should consider the territories under their control as resources from which gains must be made. *Ibid.*, [216–17].

80 Cf. n. 65.

81 As Seiryō had already explained in the first part, as well as at the beginning of this part, the teachings of Masters Kong and Meng were devised at a time of social unrest and aimed at winning the hearts of the people in order to ultimately gain control over the whole realm. KD 217: K 146–47 [32–4], [46].

bags [of rice] lives on one hundred bags.⁸³ [140b] If, therefore, they incur other expenses in addition, they have to borrow money. [141a] Although they have to return any money they borrow without fail, next year they again live on [the whole amount of] their rice allowance 取り米 (*torimai*). [141b] Therefore, they are unable to pay back the money and, because interest adds to interest, the result is a tremendous debt 大借 (*daishaku*) in the end which may [even] become an encumbrance to service. [142] However one may think of it, lending money to warriors on condition that it be repaid 返金ノアル金 (*henkin no aru kane o kasu*) shows a lack of method 無術ナルコト (*mujutsu naru koto*). [143] I thought that one should lend money which [the borrower] has no need to repay⁸⁴, and [accordingly] have devised [a way] to lend money that has not to be paid back. [144] This is money [lent] at fifteen percent 一割五朱 (*ichiwari goshu*)⁸⁵. [145] I lend it at fifteen percent over [a period of] twelve years. [146] Every month I collect the interest. [147] This involves a calculation according to which after twelve years [an interest of]

82 Seiryô talks of himself as “Tsuru”, meaning “crane”. “Tsuru” is the second part of Seiryô’s personal name, “Takatsuru” or “Kôkaku” 旱鶴. “Kôkaku” is the name of a crane living on the fringe of marshes, but is also used as a metaphor for someone whose name becomes widely known although he tries to live in concealment. Wherever Seiryô talks of himself as “Tsuru”, I will use personal or possessive pronouns in the translation and insert “Tsuru” in round brackets behind.

83 Whereas at the beginning of the Edo period there had still been quite a number of warriors in the service to the shôgun or the regional lords, who were allotted land worth a certain amount of *koku* of rice according to their rank and who drew their income directly from this land (*chigyô tori* 知行取 or “drawing [income] from land allotment”), their percentage, especially among those of lower rank, dropped rapidly. It became more and more common for the shôgun and the regional lords to pay their retainers a rice allowance out of the overall tax income of the territories under their respective rules (*kuramai tori* 蔵米取, or “drawing [income] out of the [lord’s] storehouse rice”). The allotment of “storehouse rice” could be expressed in several ways, the most common of which stated a retainer’s income in terms of the number of bags of rice he was entitled to (*kirimai tori* 切米取, or “drawing [income] in rice at fixed [periods, i.e. spring, summer, and winter]”). Even in cases where a warrior was still allotted a tract of land, in actual practice it often happened that he had no personal links to his domain and received his income out of the lordship’s storehouse. This rice allowance system was the result of a tendency which set in during the second half of the 16th century, when samurai started to turn from a landed warrior gentry into a military elite quartered in the developing castle towns.

84 As the following explanation makes clear, this money too will have to be paid back in the end, though not in one sum.

85 *Shu* could be used as a unit of money, with one *ryô* of gold being equivalent to sixteen *shu*. However, in connection with interest rates *shu* is the next unit below *wari* (ten percent). One *shu* corresponds to one percent. Cf. [205-6].

ten percent will have been fully realized and [thus] the original amount as well as the interest 元利トモニ (*ganri tomo ni*) will have been paid back if one takes interest at the above rate until the end of the period.” [148] What is implied when merchant houses lend money to warrior houses? [149] If one does [...] during the period, calculations will considerably go awry. [150] In the houses of great lords 大名家 (*daimyô ke*) the lord sometimes lends money to the poor among his retainers 家中 (*kachû*). [151] As these people can never repay the money, and as the money [they have to borrow] rises to an [even] larger amount in case the [amount due for repayment] is deducted from their allotment 知行 (*chigyô*), they become extremely destitute. [152] But if one lends money according to this method [just described], I think that those above and those below will both be on the safe side 無難 (*bunan*). [153] The argument that one should lend money to military houses that has not to be repaid is an argument much to the point.

[154] If [someone⁸⁶ of the military houses] goes to Ôsaka to borrow money⁸⁷, there is no hope whatever that it will be repaid. [155] The reason why things do not at all proceed as desired, although [the borrower] has explained eloquently that [the money] will be paid back in a certain way because the law 法 (*hō*) will be changed in such and such a way, is that [the warriors still] live to the limit of their fortunes.⁸⁸ [156] This is due to the fact that no method has been adopted according to which the people of the country 国人 (*kokujin*)⁸⁹ of this prime minister 冢宰 (*zhongzai / chōsai*) live off two-thirds [of their income] and set aside the [last] third.⁹⁰ [157] Considered [in this light], the man who thought of lending money that has not to be repaid is

86 Seiryô probably imagines someone of high status in the government of a regional lordship, since in the next-but-one sentence a “prime minister” is introduced as agent of a request for money, a position whose equivalent in a *daimyô*'s territory would be that of “house elder”.

87 Ôsaka had been the commercial centre of Japan for a considerable part of the Edo period, with many merchant houses and money-lending businesses having their main offices there.

88 This implies that the warriors make no provisions for the repayment of loans within the scope of their current income.

89 This word can relate to all inhabitants of a district, but since the 14th century it took on a more specific meaning. Read also *kokunin*, then it meant the most influential landowners of a certain region, some of whom in the course of time developed into regional lords while others formed the warrior entourage of such lords. Here, *kokujin* should be understood as the warriors in the service of a lord.

90 Seiryô had explained this policy in Part One. Cf. KD 224; K 166 [257]. It was modeled on a passage in the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*, SBBY 4: 7b–8a.

someone who saw through the inner sentiments of the warriors very well. [158] Therefore, there [always] is a method for the treatment of retainers that proceeds in an exceedingly soft way. [159] Since ancient times instances are extremely numerous where a ruling house 主家 (*shuke*) was brought to ruin because the retainers bore it a grudge and [the case] became [...] public.⁹¹ [160] Instances where ruling houses were brought down because the people banded together in grudge against it are not few either. [161] This is extremely frightening. [162a] If one proceeds according to the preferences 好み (*konomi*) of the other party サキ (*saki*)⁹² [one's own interests] will get the worst of it. [162b] But if one wants to alter [the other's preferences] by force, on the contrary the ruling house will be brought down. [162c] Retainers as well as the people are extremely difficult to treat. [163] In any event, if one does not proceed softly it cannot be said that one is skilful. [164] The reason why neither the people nor the retainers grumble in complaint, even though Masu Ko takes six thousand *ryô* from Sendai every year is, that his way of doing so is skilful. [165] If one asks after the cause why the fortunes of Sendai's lord, due to Masu Ko's design, progressively recovered, [one has to mention] the rice cheques 米ノ切手⁹³ (*kome no kitte*).

[166a] Now, in Ôsaka, besides there being a lot of money in general, the great lords of the various houses all write out so-called rice cheques 米切手 (*kome kitte*) and borrow money⁹⁴ against them. [166b] Therefore, in addition

91 It could well happen that, in case of a confrontation within a regional lordship, the shôgunal government punished the house as a whole severely. When e.g. in 1640 (Kan'ei 寛永 17) as a result of internal strife within the Ikoma 生駒 lordship (the territory of Takamatsu 高松 on the island of Shikoku 四国 worth 170,000 *koku*) one party appealed to the government in Edo, the lord, Ikoma Takatoshi 生駒高俊 was transferred to a small territory of 10,000 *koku* in north eastern Japan, while the members of the other party were sentenced to death.

92 Here the retainers as well as the people in general are referred to.

93 The regional lordships kept storehouses 暗 (*kura*) in large cities like Ôsaka, Edo, or Kyôto 京都 and sold a large part of a territory's tax rice to bidding merchants there. The successful bidders received "rice cheques" which they could later exchange for real rice. As becomes clear from the following discussion, Seiryô takes these "rice cheques" as well as other bills to be a kind of paper money. "Domain notes" 藩札 (*hansatsu*), a kind of paper money, were issued until the end of the Edo period by most regional lordships at one time or another to tide over periods of economic difficulties, the lordship of Fukui 福井 being the first example in 1661 (Kanbun 寛文 1). The issue of paper money was dependent on approval from the shôgunal government and their usage and validity varied.

94 This should be taken as meaning minted money – in the case of Ôsaka, silver money; whereas in the following Seiryô explains the workings of different forms of 'provisional money' (including the "rice cheques") – which are comparable to the bills of exchange

to real money 真ノ金 (*makoto no kane*) there exists another currency 財貨 (*zaika*) called rice cheques. [167] And there are [also] payment bills 振手形⁹⁵ (*furi tegata*). [168] They are a kind of bill of exchange 為替手形⁹⁶ (*kawase tegata*). [169] One receives money that should be received from the house of Kônoike 鴻池⁹⁷, but not [in the form of] money but of a bill. [170a] Or let us assume that [the bill] is issued on Meshi[ya] 飯⁹⁸ or on Kajimaya 加島屋⁹⁹. [170b] If one takes the afore-mentioned bill to Meshi[ya] or to Kajimaya, it will be exchanged for money. [170c] Therefore, the person who has received this bill does not exchange it for money immediately, but hands it over [in payment] when he has to pay money to someone. [171] This person, too, who should have received money, pays someone else with [the bill], because so long as one holds this bill mentioned above can it be turned into money at any time.¹⁰⁰ [172] This is called a payment bill. [173] Thus besides [real] money and rice cheques there exists another currency called a payment bill. [174] Apart from these, there is also another kind called a rice future draft 空米先納 (*kûmai sennô*). [175] This rice future draft is used to borrow money

and letters of credit as developed in the Islamic and Christian hemisphere during the Middle Ages.

95 This was a bill issued by a person who had deposited an amount of money with a money-lender, ordering the money-lender to pay the declared amount of money to the bringer of the bill, whose name was stated as well (with another type of bill, the *azukari tegata* 預り手形 or “deposit bill” no name was given). Before accepting the payment bill the money-lender checked the depositors ‘account’ and only paid out against the bill if it was covered. Bills had come into use during the third decade of the 17th century, first in Ôsaka then later in Edo.

96 “Exchange bills” were used to avoid the transfer of minted money between two places in Japan. There were official “exchange bills” issued by government authorities as well as private ones used for the settlement of credits / debts by merchants at different locations.

97 The house of Kônoike was said to be the wealthiest merchant house in Ôsaka. Starting at the end of the 16th century from Takarazuka 宝塚 near Ôsaka, its fortunes had rested on rice wine brewing at first; afterwards it had expanded into other areas, e.g. sea transport (until the beginning of the 18th century) and money-lending or banking services, catering to the needs of the shôgunal government as well as regional lordships.

98 Another wealthy merchant business with its main seat near Ôsaka, specializing in shipping and banking services.

99 With the houses of Kônoike and Mitsui, Kashimaya counted among the richest merchant houses of Ôsaka. Kashimaya, too, offered banking services to regional lordships; from the end of the 18th century, it was listed as even wealthier than the Kônoike family in the western part of Japan.

100 With the bill changing the hands of owners, Seiryô probably had in mind an (unnamed) “deposit bill” made out to the person presenting it.

by issuing a bill this year on the rice coming in [...] next year and handing it over to a money-lender. [176] Written on the upper edge of [this] bill is next year's zodiac sign 干支¹⁰¹ (*kanshi*). [177] To speak [plainly], this is a bad [custom]. [178] It means selling green fields 青田 (*aota*). [179] Yet, by this too, a considerable amount of money can be raised.

[180] Real money, rice cheques, payment bills, rice future drafts — all are valid currencies. [181] Because valid currencies are so numerous, it is to be expected that money will increase. [182] As currency begets currency, this is the reason why the people of Ōsaka who produce currency are so many, and as a result [the money there] increases even more. [183a] All of them well know [how to make] a profit. [183b] That is why their eyes are so discerning. [184] [By contrast], the warriors' eyesight¹⁰² reaches only a very short [distance]. [185a] It does not shed light on what is far away so that [the warriors] cannot perceive it. [185b] Besides, Edo is a very crude place. [186] It is a place where nothing can be pursued with minute exactitude. [187] Because everything is done crudely, the [warriors'] eyesight reaches even less.¹⁰³ [188] As everywhere to the Northeast of Edo is [dominated by the] Edo style, [things] tend to be crude. [189a] Sendai lies to the north-east of Edo, counts as a great military state, produces a lot of rice and cereals, and is a place knowing little of arithmetic. [189b] It therefore seems to have a disposition of doing things in a coarse and queer way, although it stands to reason that it would prosper in a short time if one wanted it to. [190] Because in Masu Hei and Masu Ko [two] men of great knowledge went there, it seems that they have made everything possible. [191a] What remained undeveloped in that state, can now be opened up. [191b] This is a most happy [turn of events].

[192] Because Masuya is currently a popular money-lender, the [number] of [lordly] residences that use its services¹⁰⁴ is enormous. [193] There are

101 Years were counted according to the Chinese sixty-year cycle. The number of sixty years per cycle was arrived at by combining the twelve zodiac signs 十二支 (*jūni shi*) with the “Five Elements” 五行 (*gogyō*) in their “older” and “younger” aspects 十干 (*jikkān*). Thus an individual year could be identified by its zodiac sign – e.g. “rat” 子 (*ne*) – and the aspect of one of the elements – e.g. “wood, older brother” 甲 (*ki no e*) –; “wood, older brother; rat” (*ki no e ne*) corresponded to the first year of a new sixty-year cycle.

102 Literally, it means “light of the eyes” 目光り (*mehikari*).

103 Already in Part One Seiryō had depicted Edo as a place of unrefined manners with quarrelsome inhabitants. At the same time, he commented positively on the atmosphere of Kyōto, which he himself chose to spend his last years in. Cf. KD 232; K 179–80 [512–32].

many from the eastern countries. [194] Sendai, Shirakawa 白川¹⁰⁵, Kawagoe 川越¹⁰⁶, and others all go in and out of there [frequently]. [195] The lord of Shirakawa¹⁰⁷ is a great master of economics 大ノ経済御名人 (*dai no keizai go meijin*). [196] Moreover, because Shirakawa is a still undeveloped place in the eastern countries¹⁰⁸, it was opened up to a large extent by the present lord, and its economy has recovered considerably. [197] Probably he watched closely over everything Masuya did [in Sendai], and compared it with [the policies of] other places [for use in his own territory].

[198a] Now, Masu Hei issued rice bills 米手形 (*kome tegata*) warranted by Sendai. [198b] Rice notes 米札 (*beisatsu*)¹⁰⁹ in the end are a kind of franchise

104 Seiryô's text literally speaks of "residences that go in and out" there 出入屋敷 (*de'iri yashiki*).

105 The modern city of Shirakawa near the southern border of Fukushima 福島 prefecture was a castle town during the Edo period and was the seat of changing lords. Between 1681 (Tenna 天和 1) and 1823 (Bunsei 文政 6) it was ruled by several branches of the Matsudaira 松平 family and had a nominal worth of 110,000 to 150,000 *koku*.

106 The modern city of Kawagoe in present-day Saitama 埼玉 prefecture was also a castle town during the Edo period, the seat of changing lords. In Seiryô's day, it was in the hands of a branch of the Matsudaira family (since 1767; Meiwa 明和 4) with a territory worth 150,000 *koku*.

107 When Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 (1758–1829), a grandson of the eighth shôgun Yoshimune 吉宗 (r. 1716 to 1745), became lord of the Shirakawa domain, he had to come to grips with a severe economic situation. This he managed by reducing his retainers' rice stipends, adopting a policy of frugality on the one hand and encouraging farming and commerce on the other. Later, in 1787 (Tenmei 7), Sadanobu became head of the "senior counsellors". He played a highly influential role during the so called "Reform of [the Era of] Tolerant Rule" 寛政改革 (*Kansei kaikaku*) which aimed at a strengthening of the control the shôgunal government exerted over economic activities and social development throughout the whole country. Cf. OOMS 1975.

108 As compared to the regions around Kyôto and Ôsaka in central Japan, the eastern parts of the country were far less developed in the agricultural sector as well as in the manufacturing and commercial ones.

109 "Rice notes" – or "rice bills" – were a kind of paper money issued by a number of regional lordships for use within their own territories. Whereas a part of the paper money issued by regional authorities during the Edo period used one of the metal currencies (gold, silver, copper) as a standard of value, with silver mostly being favoured, another part was pledged against valuable commodities like rice, paper, umbrellas, or silk thread. Of these, paper money pledged against metal money was the earlier type. At the beginning of the 18th century, the shôgunal government embarked on a new policy regarding this kind of paper money. In order to promote the flow of the official metal currency, in 1707 (Hôei 宝永 4) the wholesale prohibition of all paper money was decreed. This was subsequently relaxed in 1730 (Kyôhō 享保 15), with the use of paper money issued prior to 1730 being allowed (at least for a specified number of years) and a

bill 羽書 (*hagaki*)¹¹⁰. [199] They are a kind of silver note 銀札 (*ginsatsu*)¹¹¹. [200] However, in states that have long used silver notes, they are used according to ancient custom without any special request.¹¹² [201a] [But] soliciting the introduction of new silver notes is hopeless. [201b] [In fact] new silver notes are officially prohibited [at present]. [202a] For this reason, Masu Ko petitioned for [the introduction of] rice notes and issued them in enormous numbers.¹¹³ [202b] The money paid by Sendai's lord now all is paid in the form of rice notes. [203] Because rice is sold for money [in Edo] and, [at times payments have to be made, only] rice notes are handed over without paying with the money [earned through the rice sales], it stands to reason that money accumulates massively. [204] All of this money is delivered to Ôsaka. [205] If one hundred thousand *ryô* are transferred, even at an

ban on issuing new paper money enacted (though not all the regional lordships adhered to it). "Rice notes" developed as one means of circumventing this prohibition of paper money in gold, silver and copper denominations. They declared the quantity of rice that was pledged, and also stated the equivalent value in metal money (silver in most cases). After 1798 (Kansei 10), however, the shôgunal government forbade the issue of new "rice notes" too. Paper money had originally been introduced by regional lordships to remedy their financial shortfalls and overcome monetary crisis. However, as it was often issued indiscriminately, consumers lost confidence and its real worth fell far below its nominal one.

- 110 The "franchise bill" (literally "winged bill") is likewise a sort of paper money that first appeared in the province of Ise 伊勢 (most of the modern Mie 三重 prefecture) in the town of Yamada 山田, site of the Ise Shrine around the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, and is supposed to be Japan's earliest type of paper money. It probably developed out of deposit receipts and other business documents used by local merchants and was issued by the administration of the Outer Shrine of Ise. Modelled on these "Yamada franchise bills" 山田羽書 (*Yamada hagaki*), similar bills were issued by the merchants in the provinces around Ise at the beginning of the Edo period and circulated among them. Soon the exchange of these bills against silver money (later gold money) minted by the shôgunal government was guaranteed. The prohibition of new paper money at the beginning of the 18th century made an exception of the "franchise bills", the issuance of new bills being placed under the control of the government's "commissioner for Yamada" 山田奉行 (*Yamada bugyô*).
- 111 One of the most common types of paper money issued by regional authorities.
- 112 Seiryô alludes to the policy of the shôgunal government described in n. 109.
- 113 "Rice notes" were introduced to Sendai in 1794 (Kansei 6), the idea being to use them to buy up the farmers' rice. However, this project soon failed as the "rice notes" met with the farmers' resistance, and only the following year their promulgation had to be stopped. In 1808 (Bunka 文化 5) (despite the prohibition of new paper money) at Masuya Koemon's instigation Sendai issued new paper money based on gold and silver and backed up by Masuya's capital. This met with a better acceptance and the "Masu Hei bills" could be used to buy up the farmers' rice.

interest of five *shu* this brings five thousand *ryô* in one year. [206a] If one million *ryô* are transferred, this amount will increase by fifty thousand *ryô* every year. [206b] Thus, with this money old debts are gradually redeemed. [207] If one hundred thousand *ryô* are transferred per year, one million *ryô* will be transferred in ten years. [208] This is a large [amount of money]. [209] Although rice notes generate interest in Sendai, in other states Sendai's rice notes do not fetch interest. [210] Because real money generates interest everywhere, one lets rice notes that [nowhere else] would do so generate interest in Sendai; and one lets real money that [everywhere] does so generate interest in Ôsaka. [211] This has to be called an ingenious scheme. [212] This really is the beginning from which Sendai's fortunes will be made.¹¹⁴

[213a] As the product delivery 産物廻シ (*sanbutsu mawashi*) is a large-scale [business], one can make a lot of profit if [goods] only are delivered. [213b] However, if this money is not put to use, one cannot buy up [the people's] products. [214] If one cannot buy them up, one cannot let the people reap any profit either. [215a] If the people do not reap profit, their interest will not be aroused. [215b] If the people are not interested, not many things will be produced. [216] Not many things being produced means that things that should be produced are not. [217] This is not in the least different from rice being scarce. [218] It is only to be expected that [under these conditions] the state will not prosper. [219] A method [whereby a country can grow rich] is to attend to how other states become prosperous. [220] Then it will certainly become clear that one's own state is unduly poor in all respects.

[221] Now, a design for taking money from the people while going about it softly is [the establishment of] associations 講 (*kô*). [222] [By this I mean] the associations of inexhaustability 無尽コウ (*mujin kô*)¹¹⁵. [223] They are

114 Seiryô evaluates optimistically the measures of reform initiated by Masuya. In fact, by buying up the farmers' rice in 1791 (Kansei 3) and 1792 (Kansei 4) and selling it in Edo, Sendai earned 500,000 *ryô* and could thus pay off its debts at the time. In the long run, however, the general economic situation of the lordship did not take a turn for the better. Cf. n. 66.

115 An "association of inexhaustability" – like the "association of mutual trust" mentioned in the next sentence – is a kind of cooperative credit society. Both types of association are first mentioned in documents dating from the 13th century. During the Edo period they were widely practised for purposes of mutual loans and financing activities in farming and urban communities. However, whereas "associations of mutual trust" seem from the start to have evinced a character of cooperative mutual help, the "associations of inexhaustability" showed signs of being a profit-oriented money-lending activity. While there may have been regional differences in the use of the two names, during the Edo period both types of association were no longer differentiated. Seiryô too uses both

[also known as] associations of mutual trust タノモシ講 (*tanomoshi kô*)¹¹⁶. [224] In recent years, these associations of mutual trust have been extremely popular, and the custom [...] has arisen for great lords to take [the money of their territories] to Kyô[to] 京 and Ôsaka and to form associations with it. [225] In Ôsaka these are especially numerous. [226] Money-lenders, too, are not averse to entering such associations. [227] The reason is that associations are of mutual advantage in all kinds of situations. [228] As sixty to seventy people will enter if one establishes this association initially in Ôsaka, [it is customary] to bring in big money-lenders 大銀主 (*dai ginshu*). [229] For establishing associations, for urging money-lenders and inviting them in as partners, there exist ingenious people in Ôsaka who are knowledgeable about these things and extremely experienced. [230] Among my students 鶴方門人 (*Tsuru ga monjin*) are some too. [231] Even these ingenious people are men of great wealth (*ô kanemochi*). [232] Generally speaking, Ôsaka is a place

names synonymously. The association, set up on a contractual basis, convened on specified days and collected from each associate an identical sum as investment capital. In most cases this was money, but associations based on agricultural products like rice or even labour power also are known. Then “credits” were given out to individual members either by lot or by bidding. In some associations the “credit” had to be returned with an interest, in others no interest was required. In the end, each member should have received an equal share of credit or profit. During the Edo period, associations were formed for other purposes than mutual help. Temples and shrines might initiate associations to ensure the financial underwriting of their activities. Regional lords might make use of them to cover their expenses from the system of “alternate residence”. Seiryô in the following envisions associations under control of a regional lordship as a means to stimulate the economic activities in its territory and support its financial basis. However, he argues for making sure that enough “profit” remains with the members of the association itself to make associating attractive to them. A famous example of such an association is the “Society for Returning Virtue” 報徳社 (*Hôtoku sha*). Designed by a student of the farmer-scholar Ninomiya Sontoku 二宮尊徳 (1787–1856) and spread over large parts of Japan, it consisted of a central society around which branch societies were organized. The purpose of this association – which exhibited features of a banking and credit society – was to give aid to farmers in need of help, to support irrigation projects, to open up new lands, and so forth.

116 The translation of *tanomoshi kô* as “association of mutual trust” is only an expedient, one that takes its clue from the adjective *tanomoshi* 頼もし meaning “reliable”, “trust-worthy” which seemingly forms part of the expression. However, it may well be that *tanomoshi kô* has nothing to do with the word *tanomoshi*, which is written with the character 頼 that forms part of *tanomoshi kô* in one possible way of rendering the word. The NKD mentions another explanation, according to which the origin of *tanomoshi* in *tanomoshi kô* may well lie in *ta no mu* 田の実, which means “fruit of the fields”, thus perhaps suggesting that in the beginning agricultural products formed the “investment stock” of these associations. NKD 13: 148.

admirably knowledgeable about profit. [233] Now, this argumentation [for establishing associations] is an extremely interesting one. [234] Now, these ingenious men [first] run around and gather a number of people [for membership]. [235] After the association is established, the money-lenders brought in all get to know one another and become association partners 講仲間 (*kô nakama*). [236] At times when funds are required, it is easy [for them] to contribute money [without risk], as after all they form an association; so there is no reason why the money-lenders should lose money. [237] Moreover, as many other money-lenders, too, are on close terms [with this association], the internal and external financial circumstances 内外ノ勝手 (*naigai no katte*) are well known. [238a] Because one's own party lays its finances open for all to see, [other] money-lenders, too, can feel safe without fear of deceit. [238b] Therefore, the provisioning [of money] runs without difficulties.

[239] Well then, one makes the farmers 百姓 (*hyakushô*) of one's own territory establish such an association. [240] Its guarantor 受ケ人 (*ukenin*) is the territory's lord. [241a] However, the farmers are just like the warriors. [241b] Because they harvest the things that come forth from the ground every year and use them for clothing and food, they believe that clothing and food are something that comes out of the ground. [241c] [Therefore], they have no mind to earn [money] in some other way. [242] For this reason they, too, know little about profit and make a bare living throughout the whole year. [243a] They say, "Next year things will grow forth from the earth 地 (*chi*) again." [243b] Therefore, their lack of any mentality for saving is similar to that of the warriors. [244] Because of this they are very loath to establish something like an association. [245] An association is a method of saving and earning money. [246] People who have no mind for saving think it irksome and do not enter an association. [247] This is due to the fact that their way of living generally does not require them to make savings. [248] But seen from [the perspective of] the warriors, with the farmers there still is some, if only little, movement of money.¹¹⁷ [249] Even though [things] come forth from the ground 土地 (*tochi*) [of their own accord], because it does not suffice to lie around like the warriors and receive a rice allowance, [the farmers] still do show signs of some interest in money. [250] As the warriors

117 Even though practised on a small scale, as Seiryô suggests, farming communities could not manage without a certain amount of trade. Commercialization had developed to such a degree that farmers could market part of their produce and buy things in exchange like fertilizers, agricultural tools and items of luxury. The level of commercialization differed from region to region, with central Japan usually coming at the top.

think that not even uttering the word for money distinguishes a true warrior, they believe that [forming] an association is something that no human being should do. [251] This is tantamount to being fond of poverty. [252] The farmers are not as mortally sick 大病 (*daibyô*) as that. [253] If, therefore, they only have the means to form an association, they will be of a strong mind to enter one. [254] Hence, the trick 術 (*jutsu*) is to teach them how to raise the instalment money 掛銀 (*kakegin*) for an association.

[255a] Among my (Tsuru) acquaintances is a man who attends to the needs of Shibamura 芝村 in the province of Wa 和州.¹¹⁸ [255b] He is a person of great wisdom. [256] Because this man has no learning he does not know the great foundation of economics 經濟ノ大源 (*keizai no ômoto*).¹¹⁹ [257] Therefore, one cannot call him an economist, but he is extremely apt for employment as a minor officer for economic affairs 經濟ノ下役 (*keizai no shitayaku*). [258] His method of establishing an association in Shibamura is an ingenious method 妙術 (*myôjutsu*). [259] In general, with any method there are some aspects that can be put into practice as they are, while sometimes the method has to be changed and used with interesting alterations. [260] Even if the outward appearance is changed, its heartpiece and innermost workings 心肝機密 (*shinkan kimitsu*) accord with the same principle 道理 (*dôri*). [261] Therefore, one always has to listen to stories that seem interesting as much as possible. [262] This man's method for an association in Shibamura devised a "labour increase" カセギマシ (*kasegimashi*)¹²⁰ for the farmers, [or, in other words], a "request from above" 上ヨリノ御頼ミ (*kami yori no otanomi*).¹²¹

[263] Generally speaking, whether it be farmers or merchants, drawing money directly from those below to those above shows a lack of method.

118 "Province of Wa" means the old province of Yamato 大和, which corresponds to modern Nara 奈良 prefecture. Shibamura was a small lordship of ten thousand *koku* around the present-day city of Sakurai 桜井.

119 The "great foundation of economics", as Seiryô had explained in Part One, lies in discerning the workings of the "principle of Heaven" and in pursuing "profit" in accordance with it. Cf. n. 79.

120 The basic meaning of *kasegu* 稼ぐ is "to work for one's living" or "to work diligently" (the second part of the expression *kasegimashi* comes from the verb *masu* 増す, which means "to increase"), but the way Seiryô uses it here has other connotations like "to bring forth" or, as in modern Japanese, "to earn".

121 This example, too, shows that Seiryô envisions "associations" as a means for regional lordships to gain control over economic activities, systematizing them under regional governmental control and so promoting production and commerce on the scale of one territory.

[264] If one does not lift it up to the above in steps – maybe one step at a time, or maybe two or three steps – [the people] below will bear a grudge. [265] With respect to this “labour increase”, now the surroundings of Shibamura in the province of Wa are a place where the ears of the rice plants are very fine, and that is the reason why it is also an area with fine straw. [266] It is such a famous place 名処 (*meisho*) for straw ropes that in Kyô[to] and Ôsaka one speaks of “province of Wa ropes” 和州繩 (*Washû nawa*). [267] Straw ropes delivered from the province of Wa are particularly strong and beautiful. [268] This man [mentioned above] devised his method of “labour increase” with a view to these straw ropes. [269a] According to this method of “labour increase”, all full farmers 惣百姓 (*sô hyakushô*)¹²² in Shibamura’s [territory worth] ten thousand *koku* were asked [to participate]. [269b] Everyone was made to perform additional night work after the day’s labour was over. [270] Each person makes ropes worth six *mon* 文¹²³ [per day]. [271a] The population corresponding to [a territory worth] ten thousand *koku* probably numbers five to six thousand mouths. [271b] As ten persons make sixty *mon* [per day], one hundred persons will make six hundred [*mon*]; with one thousand persons [the figure is] six *kan*, and with five thousand persons thirty *kan*. [272] As this makes for nine hundred *kan* in one month, this is equivalent to nearly one hundred and forty *ryô* of gold. [273] This amounts to a sum of about one thousand five hundred *ryô* in one year.

[274] Now, this “labour increase” [worth] six *mon* per day is not lifted up to the [government] above.¹²⁴ [275] [Instead], it is used as instalment money

122 *Sô* or “generality” is the name for a type of organization among farmers which became conspicuous during the 14th century. It had its background in the rise of famers of smaller or middle holdings and consisted in the association of farmers on the village level for purposes of self-government, self defence, and joint work projects (alliances on the level of a whole district were known too). In the Edo period, *sô hyakushô* was used as an expression for the totality of all “original farmers” 本百姓 (*hon byakushô*) in one village, “original farmers” meaning those independent farmers who were registered in land survey records as owning a house, fields, rights to the use of irrigation facilities, and communal lands and who were obliged to pay the annual rice tax. There were other types of farmers too, who did not own their land, who in consequence did not bear direct tax duties, and who were known by such names as “water-drinking farmer” 水呑百姓 (*mizunomi byakushô*) or “farmer without [tax-relevant] produce” 無高百姓 (*mutaka byakushô*).

123 *Mon* is the expression used for pieces of copper money. One thousand *mon* or *monme* (written 文目) nominally make for one *kan* 貫.

124 Based on his insight that wealth has a natural tendency to descend to lower levels along the social echelon and accumulate there, throughout KD Seiryô makes use of the concept

for establishing an association. [276a] Now, although the farmers want to use plenty of fertilizer on their fields in spring¹²⁵, this is beyond the power of any single one of them. [276b] And because [the lord] above is likewise in narrow circumstances, even though he would like to lend [the farmers the necessary money], they have to borrow the silver 銀 (*gin*) from this association. [277] They have to borrow it at an interest. [278] This “labour increase” which causes [the farmers] to borrow silver and return it with an interest, is the reason why a large sum of money 大金 (*daikin*) builds up in the twinkling of an eye if only the farmers are not lazy. [279] They bring this [product of the “labour increase”] to the house of someone with an important office, e.g. the village headman 処ノ庄屋 (*tokoro no shôya*), on every tenth day. [280] This important man collects the village’s ropes [deriving from this] “labour increase” and sends them in bulk to Ôsaka. [281] The money earned from the sale he keeps in his office and lends it on request to the farmers. [282] The interest, too, he again collects in his office and holds a meeting once or twice a year, where it is decided to send [the money that accumulated so far] to the district headman’s 大庄屋 (*ôshôya*) office. [283] The income of [a territory] of ten thousand *koku* will amount to about four thousand four hundred *ryô* of gold, if one calculates one *ryô* [...] per *koku*. [284] As this money increases by the additional amount of one thousand five hundred *ryô*¹²⁶ in the first year, it is no small sum. [285] And because it bears interest from the second year, it grows into an enormous amount of money [in due time]. [286] As the money increases within the territory without paying any interest to other states or territories, [the lord] above can borrow this money, too. [287] This is different from borrowing money from a money-lender in so far as no expenses are required; and as the money is available within the territory, procurement is easily achieved. [288] However, Shibamura is a small country. [289a] As this man [mentioned above] possesses no learning, so that he [tackles] only the end points [of things] and does not grasp the root, nothing

of “hoisting up” マキアゲ (*makiage*) or “lifting up” 取揚 (*toriagu*) money from below to fill the coffers of the regional governments above and so guarantee the continuing circulation of money through all levels of society. Cf. KD: 318–19. However, in this case Seiryô advises against immediately “lifting up” money, i.e. raising taxes, as much more benefit will come from letting the people invest their money in the activities of an “association” supervised by the lordship.

125 Apart from home-made fertilizers (straw, manure) commercial ones like “dried sardines” 乾鰯 (*hoshika*) came into wide use during the Edo period.

126 This represents the earnings by the farmers’ working overtime by night.

all that conspicuous eventuates [from this strategy]. [289b] But even so, after the passage of some years it will certainly show off nicely.

[290] Because generally speaking an association [serves to] increase one's money, the farmers will swallow [membership in it] if one makes them swallow it skilfully. [291a] If in case of the warrior houses, too, the [ruling] house makes a law, which considers it a crime to squander away 喰ツブシ (*kuitsubushi*) one's fortune, the disposition 心 (*kokoro*) [of regarding] rice as falling from heaven will pass away. [291b] If [the warriors thus] recognize that [their] food depends on [their] earnings from labour カセギ (*kasegi*), this will be the reason that they will [come to] understand that an association is an advantage after all. [292] If they understand the usefulness of an association, their country will not fall into poverty. [293] Even though several thousand or ten thousand people live in a state, if the warriors and the farmers are blockheads ウツカリ物 (*ukkarimono*) they will just thoughtlessly feed themselves. [294] If, moreover, one asks after the origin of goods, [the answer is: these very] farmers and warriors. [295] The warriors take the rice that has been produced by the farmers and it is distributed throughout the country. [296] Therefore farmers and warriors are the origin of goods. [297] If [things] are not increased at this origin, this is the reason why they will not increase [at all]. [298] There are many ways 法 (*hō*) to keep the warriors from squandering away their fortune. [299] Concerning this, I will speak in the paragraph [...] about the “privy council award” 枢密賞 (*sūmitsu shō*)¹²⁷.

[300a] Now, thinking about this “labour increase” [it comes to mind that] on land [the produce of] paddy fields, dry fields, mountains, and woods, in

127 Cf. KD 283–94, 295ff. The “privy council award”, as Seiryō explains, is his original idea and has never yet been put into practice. *Ibid.*, 283. Its target are both warriors and farmers, and its purpose is to induce retainers and farmers alike to pursue economic activities that will assist their lord's or their community's finances. Seiryō observes that since the beginning of Tokugawa rule, tendencies towards luxury among the warriors have generally intensified from reign to reign, yet without the warriors' income rising in proportion. As a result, many lords are forced to depend on loans. Nevertheless, neither lords nor their retainers take this situation seriously. To turn events around, Seiryō advises lords to encourage, but not to command outright, their retainers to produce goods such as weapons, in their free time, starting with those in low positions who are young and promising but have not enough duties to keep them busy. If an inspector notices someone skilful, he should inform the privy council, who will then award this retainer a prize, as an incentive to others to emulate him. Thus, retainers who would otherwise be idle, will produce useful things, which the lordship does no longer need to buy from merchants. *Ibid.*, 283–94. Likewise in villages the headmen should use similar means to encourage farmers to produce things on the side. *Ibid.*, 296. Seiryō calls the “privy council award” a “method of stimulation” 鼓舞ノ術 (*kobu no jutsu*). *Ibid.*, 290.

seas and rivers fish and snapping turtles, all grow forth from the ground. [300b] If only the people's arms and legs move [and work], these [goods] will grow in any number; but if the people's arms and legs are lazy, they will not grow at all. [301] That they do not grow, does not mean that they do not exist. [302] [Rather] the reason is that one does not bring them forth. [303] An abundance of things coming forth from the ground is called "wealth" 富 (*tomi*). [304] [...] The word "wealth" is a word that depends on the people's arms and legs. [305] It is just that the people are of a mind not to work any further once their bellies are filled. [306] If one wants to make the people work, this very much requires an [appropriate] method. [307] The only way is to stimulate 鼓舞スル (*kobu suru*) the people. [308] To stimulate them means to arouse them to high spirits ウカス (*ukasu*). [309] If they are made to work by arousing their spirits, they will work. [310] If one tells them "Work!", they will [not only] not work, [but] bear a grudge against [the lord] above. [311] Making the people do so willingly and on their own initiative is the [best] method when it comes to making the people work.

[312a] If one looks at this "labour increase" [plan], an association is generally the most appropriate means. [312b] However, the people will not be enthusiastic 面白カラヌ (*omoshirokaranu*) about [the fact that at first] [...] instalment money has to be paid. [313] "Labour increase", too, is a fine thing [in itself], but the people probably will not be very pleased at the outset. [314a] If the other side sets up something in the beginning upon which the people will embark with pleasure, and introduces the "labour increase" after the people have embarked upon it, then the ["labour increase"] will be introduced only after the people have already reaped some profit ムマミヲシメテ (*mumami o shimete*) from the beginning. [314b] Therefore, the people will go ahead with it of their own accord. [315] For setting up something in the beginning, a boundless product [association] シロモノ無尽 (*shimono mujin*)¹²⁸ should be fine. [316] For example, the people along the shoreline make it their business to catch fish, but once they have caught enough to provide for clothing and food, they think "Well done!" and, therefore, they are of no mind to catch any more. [317] If one were to introduce a boundless product [association] now, the people would work over and beyond what they need to provide for clothing and food.

128 This stands for an "association of inexhaustability" based on its members contributing not money but a certain commodity. Seiryô gives an explanation of its workings in the following.

[318] A boundless product [association] means that in the case of the shoreline one uses fish as instalment money for the boundless [association]. [319] According to season, one lets [the people] use salted fish or fresh fish as instalments. [320] One collects the afore-mentioned instalment products 掛白物 (*kake shiromono*) together into one bulk, loads them on a ship and sends them to the nearest [market] place. [321] This in fact is a “labour increase”, but the expression “labour increase” is a name 名目 (*myômoku*) for exhausting the people with hard work. [322] Boundless product [association] [on the other hand] is the name for providing the people with a chance to increase their money. [323] In fact, if in the countryside near a flourishing locality, starting with Edo, Kyô[to], or Ôsaka, one lets [the people] use as instalments the things that are plentiful in the region – things like fresh fish, vegetables, bamboo and lumber, or firewood – and lets them obtain money through association lots 会ノ鬮 (*kai no kuji*)¹²⁹, this is the reason why the people will think they have picked up some [extra] money. [324] This will be to their liking ウマミアル (*umami aru*). [325] It is the reason for the people to become much more eager than through a “labour increase”.

[326] Concerning cargo 荷物 (*nimotsu*) in general, if the people themselves send their cargo on their own, one speaks of outhouse goods 納屋物 (*naya mono*)¹³⁰. [327] Rice, too, when sent by a territorial lord constitutes a big load 大荷 (*ôni*). [328] It is called honourable rice 御米 (*okome*) or honourable goods 御物 (*omono*); and in the case of Ôsaka, it is a cargo which is forwarded to the [territory’s] Ôsaka office.¹³¹ [329] [If farmers] send their rice on their own, even though it is rice it still [is treated as] outhouse goods.¹³² [330]

129 Cf. n. 115. One of the association’s methods of dealing out credits or the profits was by lot.

130 An expression used in Edo times for rice and other articles of trade marketed by private merchants, which had not passed through a regional lord’s storehouse but reached the merchant directly from the producer (*naya* or “outhouse”, was the name of the storehouse where these “inofficial” goods were handled). Commodities sold by the authorities of regional lordships were called “storehouse goods” 蔵物 (*kuramono*) or “honourable goods” (*omono*).

131 As Ôsaka was the center of commerce in Japan, many regional lordships maintained offices and storehouses there to sell the tax rice from their territories.

132 Rice was not just any commodity but a staple commodity on which much of the economic activity was centred. Because of its association with warrior rule and the taxation system (taxes were chiefly levied on rice; the nominal worth of a territory was expressed by the quantity of rice it produced according to the last land survey; warriors, especially of lower rank, were handed out rice stipends as salaries by their lords) it became the basic reference good and was therefore highly valued. Its character as a luxury article can be

Because [the products] do not deserve to be called “cargo” if sent as outhouse goods, the wholesale dealers (*ton'ya*), too, handle them with a lot of grumbling, their market price goes down and sales are made at cut prices ステウリ也 (*suteuri nari*). [331] As a big load, [however], is treated in a decent fashion, there is no reason why it should be sold at cut prices. [332] There is no reason for it to be kicked about. [333] Nor is there any reason why one should take out an advance loan 前借 (*zenshaku*) [on future products].

[334] This habit of advance loans is alarming. [335a] Whether silk or linen, an express courier 飛キヤク (*hikyaku*)¹³³ brings the outhouse goods to the wholesaler. [335b] If the market price turns out to be extremely low when the wholesalers' association 問屋仲ケ間 (*ton'ya nakama*)¹³⁴ meets and sets the price, the money will not suffice as proceeds to take back to [the courier's] country. [336] Even with outhouse goods, these are not the goods of only one or two [farmers]. [337a] As they are the goods of a number [of persons] and because [all of them] are waiting while thinking about how much money must accrue [from the sale] this time [for all to have sufficient], even a [mere] express courier will be in trouble if the proceeds are excessively low, as it will look like [he has rendered] his country a bad service 不働 (*fuhataraki*). [337b] The wholesalers [on the other hand] enjoy [this situation]. [338] They say, “In case it is a bad service to your country, we will lend you money, so that you can take it back to your country.” [339] Because an express courier is a person of exceedingly low [standing] 至テ軽キ人 (*itatte karoki hito*), there is no reason why he should be able to grasp the whole situation. [340] There is no reason why he should understand things. [341] As he thinks that it is incumbent on him to take as much [money] as possible back to his country, he borrows [from the wholesalers] before returning.

inferred from eating habits. Not all people, neither farmers nor warriors of low income, were able to eat rice in “undiluted” form. Most had to cook it mixed with cereals and / or vegetables. With sinking income the percentage of rice included in the daily diet diminished.

- 133 A postal system of official highways and post-stations with “express couriers” had already been provided for in the penal and administrative law codes modelled on the Chinese example at the beginning of the 8th century, the Taihō 大宝 (“Great Treasure”) Code of 701 (Taihō 1). In the Edo period, there were different types of “express couriers”: those employed by the shōgunal government and regional lordships for official business; and also those employed by private communities and associations for commercial and other purposes.
- 134 “Wholesale dealers” formed associations and, in their region of influence, tried to monopolize trade in the product they specialized in.

[342] And a contract 証文 (*shôbun*) is [drawn up] calculating [the borrowed money] against next year's products.

[343] Now, because [the people back in the courier's country] are rustics 田舎ノ人 (*inaka no hito*) [with no learning], and because they will think how nice it is for the money they get to increase by even a little bit, it lies in their disposition to be delighted [when the courier comes back with the borrowed money]. [344a] At the time next year's load arrives [in town], what with the market price being low again, the express courier has to pay back last year's [borrowed] money; he will be charged last year's interest and thus the market price [for his goods] will again sink this year. [344b] Again it will look like the courier has rendered his country a bad service, so again he borrows. [345] And the wholesalers lend him [money]. [346] As they lend him [money], they neatly calculate the interest. [347] If things come to this pass, because [the courier] has to sell to this wholesaler, even though it may be at an extremely low price, the market price [for his goods] decreases all the more; the debts will accumulate heavily and it is a foregone conclusion that even though he send [all] the products to the wholesaler in payment, it will not be enough. [348] To come from the countryside to the city and fall prey to the tricks of the city is the result of the countryside's laziness ズルケ (*zuruke*). [349] It results from the countryside knowing little about profit. [350] It results from the countryside's ignorance. [351] Therefore, it would be benevolence 仁心 (*jinsin*)¹³⁵ to send the goods as the lord's cargo wherever possible.

135 Literally the "heart of benevolence". Seiryô's use of the word "benevolence" 仁 (*ren / jin*) contrasts with that in Confucianism. In the *Analects* the expression is, on the one side, linked to a number of virtues and rules of conduct touching upon the preservation of harmonious relations among men. "Benevolence" fills the "rites" (as the proper rules for social intercourse) with inner life that makes them more than mere outward forms of behaviour. On the other hand, it is the manifestation of an inner ethical disposition that inspires the individual with a sense of moral autonomy. Cf. SCHWARTZ 1985: 77. In the Song-period formulation of Confucianism, this aspect of "benevolence" as the foundation of the ethical nature of man was further enhanced. The use of the word in the political context meant that the ruler lets the moral superiority of his character affect the people below, thus guiding them to a similar life in virtue. In Part One of KD, Seiryô had turned this conception upside down. KD 225, K 166–67 [275–79]. "Benevolence" is no longer the goal of personal cultivation, nor does its possession serve to elevate society as a whole towards an ideal level of morality. Whereas rule by virtue and rule by law embody opposites in Confucianism, Seiryô uses "benevolent rule" as an equivalent for rule by law; this does not better people morally but, through its severe discipline, teaches men respect and keeps them from committing crimes. In this sentence, however, "benevolence" is used in a very general sense, meaning "commiseration" or "charity".

[352a] Under these circumstances, the product association means boundless profit for the people. [352b] Without them having to work, those to whom the lot falls receive money. [353] If [the people] ever set out in their own ships, the profit would be all the bigger; but with their lazy attitude that makes them satisfied as long as clothing and food are provided for, not enough money accumulates for them ever to set out in [their own] ships. [354] If right now a product association were established and the people would participate in it with vigour, in the end they would own several ships. [355] If only a little money accumulates it will increase [by itself]. [356] To set out in their own ships is not really such an extraordinary thing, but with their lazy attitude they will never come by [ships] of their own.

[357a] According to rumours I heard about the fishermen along the shoreline of Kaga, Etchû 越中, and Echigo 越後¹³⁶, among the people on the shoreline are two or three houses of extremely wealthy persons 豪富 (*gôfu*) in every village without exception. [357b] These wealthy men 富人 (*fujin*) own ships and keep lots of nets as well as sculls. [357c] They have even got such things as rudders and poles, and lend them to the poor people who go to sea. [358] The people who borrow [these tools] borrow them at an expensive fee, and [therefore] most of the fishermen along the sea-shore are [poor] water-drinking-farmers 水呑百姓 (*mizunomi byakushô*)¹³⁷. [359] They are tenant farmers 小作百姓 (*kosaku hyakushô*)¹³⁸. [360] The profit is reaped by [those] extremely wealthy people. [361] However, if it were not for them, there would be no one to lend ships and nets. [362] If there were no one to lend ships and nets, it would not be possible even to fish. [363] That the extremely wealthy people lend tools, and with their hands in their pockets enjoy a full stomach and warm clothes, is again an object lesson in the roots of laziness. [364] That the tenant fishermen idle around once their clothing and food is provided for, is evidence of their lazy attitude. [365] If they were to start a product association now, then catch fifteen fish where ten were caught [before], and use [the surplus] as their instalment, eventually they would be able to make their own ships and nets. [366] [Then] those very wealthy men with

136 Etchû and Echigo relate to the present-day prefectures Toyama 富山 and Niigata 新潟 respectively.

137 Cf. n. 122.

138 The expression denotes farmers who do not own their own fields or have lost the property rights to the fields they till to a wealthy landlord. For the fields they cultivate they have to pay a rent to the landlord. For the distinction between independent and dependent farmers cf. n. 122.

their hands in their pockets would also have to make their bodies work [in order to] make a profit. [367] If it ever eventuates that a territory's people all put their hands and feet to work [in order to] earn their clothing and food, a country cannot but prosper considerably. [368] Therefore, one can recognize that there is no more pressing task 急務 (*kyûmu*) for enriching a country 富国 (*fukoku*) than to stimulate the people. [369] As the people generally have no wisdom whatsoever, they are thoughtless simpletons.

[370] [Once] I (Tsuru) made a long sojourn at a post-town 駅 (*eki*)¹³⁹ called Hara 原¹⁴⁰ in Sun Province 駿州¹⁴¹. [371] There one finds two houses by the name of Uematsu 植松. [372] In this post-town only these two houses prosper, all others are poor. [373] If one asks after the reason, [it turns out that] both houses of Uematsu own a lot of fields. [374a] However, as this is a completely open place at the foot of [Mount] Fuji 富士, only the [few] fields exist that are in plain view.¹⁴² [374b] Therefore, [it is obvious at a glance how] very destitute a place it is. [375] As for its administrator 御代官 (*odaikan*)¹⁴³, it is under the governance of the Egawa 江川 family of Nirayama 萑山 in Mishima 三嶋¹⁴⁴ [district]. [376] In contrast to the present, in former times the admin-

139 A system of post-stations along the official highways had already been instituted by the law codes of the early 8th century. During the Edo period, the stations along the five main highways 五街道 (*go kaidô*) were known as “resting-places” 宿場 (*shikuba* or *shukuba*) and took the form of townships that provided horses and labour services for official use but also catered to private needs.

140 The thirteenth (counting from Edo) of the fifty three “resting-places” along the “East Sea Highway” 東海道 (*Tôkai dô*) between Edo and Kyôto, the most celebrated of the country's five major overland highways. Hara is part of the modern city of Numazu 沼津. This station was known as the point where travellers had the closest look at Mount Fuji 富士山.

141 This is the province of Suruga 駿河, corresponding to the present-day Shizuoka 静岡 prefecture. The ancient province names could also be rendered by the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of the first character of their name together with the character 州 (*shû*) meaning “province”.

142 Because of the openness of the place the observer has an unobstructed view over all the fields and therefore notices immediately how few they are.

143 Name (literally “acting official”) for the representatives of the shôgunal government or regional lordships who governed a certain area under direct rule by the shôgun or by a territory's lord.

144 Mishima lies to the east of Hara. Nirayama is located somewhat to the south-east of present day Numazu, at the northern end of the Izu 伊豆 peninsula. The Egawa family had been a family of renown on the Izu peninsula since Kamakura times, and had served as administrators for the shôgunal government in that area since the days of Tokugawa Ieyasu.

istrator's assistants 手代 (*tedai*) all used to be corrupt officials 贓吏 (*zôri*), and [so] bribery was practised. [377] Both houses of Uematsu, too, could barely make a living then クラサレヌクラシカタ (*kurasarenu kurashikata*).¹⁴⁵ [378] The first [reason for the] gains 徳物 (*tokubutsu*) [they made] was lending things. [379] Both houses erected a huge storehouse, and because everything – bedding, mosquito nets, eating tables, bowls – that was necessary for running inns could be had from the houses of Uematsu, it was said that there were no other wealthy people in the post-town of Hara. [380] The reason for this is that all inn owners do not store the necessary utensils [for themselves] but borrow them from [both] Uematsus. [381] Thus, while there is one house of wealthy people, the atmosphere of the post-town is more or less one of poverty. [382] All this stems from laziness. [383] Half of the money earned by accomodating travelers is collected by the Uematsus. [384a] If they were to use their imagination a little bit, it stands to reason that [the people] could buy their own utensils, yet [everything is done] in an atmosphere of laziness. [384b] To borrow at a loss and be lazy while the profit is taken away by others is the bad habit 癖 (*kuse*)¹⁴⁶ of the countryside. [385] That the people are lazy is to the detriment of the territory's lord. [386] One should be of a mind to stimulate the people, so that somehow they put to work their hands and feet.

[387] I (Tsuru) stayed for a long time in Kawagoe, too, and I have many students [there]. [388] To one man from Kawagoe I communicated Masu Ko's stab-rice-[method] and developed it further. [389] In the first place Kawagoe, at a distance of [only] one *ri* 里, is close to Edo.¹⁴⁷ [390] A river called Arakawa 荒川 has its source near Chichibu 秩父¹⁴⁸ and flows into

145 The NST commentary interprets *kurasarenu kurashikata* differently. It opts for *kurasu* (literally “to darken”, “to obfuscate”) as synonymous with *kuramasu* meaning “to blind”, “to hide from sight”, holding that the expression is meant as “a way of living that could not escape people's eyes”. KD 256. This seems rather far-fetched as it does not fit the context and reads too much into *kurasarenu*. I read the word as having its root in *kurasu* meaning “to live”, “to lead a life”, which gives the whole expression the meaning of “a way of life that is not liveable”. Thus, the corrupt conditions of the past weighed as heavily on the Uemuras as on others and did not afford them better opportunities.

146 The notion of a “bad habit”, making for differences in the status of people and their views on life, is central to Seiryô's thought and will be pursued in the following parts.

147 One *ri* is near to four kilometres. The distance from Kawagoe to Edo is near to ten *ri*, so this certainly is mistaken.

148 The source of the Arakawa (169 km) lies to the west of the modern city of Chichibu 秩父, on the slopes of the Kobushi dake 甲武信岳 mountain (2.475 m).

Edo's Sumidagawa 隅田川. [391] Because this Arakawa passes Ôgigashi 扇河岸, only one *ri* to the east of Kawagoe¹⁴⁹, the shipping route [from Kawagoe] to Edo is extremely convenient. [392] Likening it to Kyô[to], this is a situation tantamount to shipping routes being good to Ôtsu 大津¹⁵⁰, as the whole country of Ômi 近江¹⁵¹ lies along the waters of Lake [Biwa]. [393] Jakushû 若州, and Echizen 越前¹⁵² lie [at a distance of] seven *ri* [from Lake Biwa] across the mountains [as measured] from Tsuruga 敦賀¹⁵³; but on the whole, transportation [from there] to Ôtsu is quite convenient. [394] One should try to start a product association in Kawagoe and then get the request for one *gô* of stab-rice per bag [of rice] granted; then, without keeping this money in one's hands, one should set out in ships and sail to Ôgigashi, let [the farmers] install everything that Kawagoe has in abundance – vegetable, radish, carrots, burdock, soy beans, *azuki* beans 小豆 – in the product association, ship these from Ôgigashi to Edo daily, impose a charge 口銭 (*kôsen*) [on the sale of] these products, and give the shipping fees [to the lord's government] above.

[395] Generally, if one does not stimulate farmers and warriors, they will not stir. [396] If one does not show them the advantage, they will not use it however excellent a wisdom one sells them. [397] But if shown the advantage they will be carried away without fail. [398] If only they are carried away, the state will surely prosper. [399] It has been said that if the stab-rice for one hundred and fifty thousand *koku* amounts to as much as three hundred [*koku*] per year, one can already start out with two ships in the first year. [400] However, depending on the lie of the land, there are also places where the vegetables will shrivel during transport. [401] There are also places where they will decay. [402] For the seaside there is salted fish. [403] Because salted fish will keep fine even though a few days have passed, [ruling] houses with their territory along the North Sea 北海 (Hokkai)¹⁵⁴ should at

149 Ôgigashi now is part of the modern town of Kawagoe. In the Edo period, it lay about four kilometres south of the castle town Kawagoe and prospered as one of the mooring-places for ships travelling to and from Kawagoe along the Arakawa. Several shipping companies had their seat there (seven in 1774, Anei 3).

150 The present day city of Ôtsu lies a short distance to the east of Kyôto on the southern tip of Lake Biwa 琵琶.

151 The modern Shiga 滋賀 prefecture.

152 The western and eastern parts of the modern prefecture Fukui 福井.

153 The city of Tsuruga in the modern Fukui prefecture was an important port on the Japan Sea, where goods from the whole western coastline were landed for transport by way of Lake Biwa and the Yodo 淀 river to Ôsaka. As Seiryô says, the distance between Tsuruga and the northernmost tip of Lake Biwa is approximately seven *ri*.

first put their own ships on the waters of Lake [Biwa] and start a product association as well as the stab-rice-[system].

[404] Now, salt is something that men cannot go without eating every day. [405] In Shinshû 信州, Jôshû 上州, Hishû 飛州, and Mino 美濃¹⁵⁵ [it is not possible to]¹⁵⁶ scoop up クム (*kumu*)¹⁵⁷ salt, while, as far as I (Tsuru) have seen, there is nowhere so convenient for scooping up salt as Bizen 備前, Sanuki 讃岐, and Shôdoshima 小豆島¹⁵⁸. [406] I (Tsuru) spent more than one year in Kashû 加州¹⁵⁹ and had a chance to observe the governance of that country. [407] Kashû is a place that [along with] Etchû and Nôshû 能州¹⁶⁰ is ruled by the lord of Ka[ga]¹⁶¹. [408] The part of it facing the sea is nearly two

154 Nowadays called the “Japan Sea”.

155 The provinces Shinshû, Jôshû, and Hishû – also known as Shinano 信濃, Kôzuke 上野, and Hida 飛騨 – coincide with the modern Nagano 長野 prefecture, Gunma 群馬 prefecture, and the northern part of Gifu 岐阜 prefecture respectively. The province of Mino covered the southern part of modern Gifu prefecture.

156 As the provinces mentioned have no access to the sea, the sentence makes no sense without adding a negation to it. Cf. KD 257, MN 23: 387.

157 Ever since prehistoric Jômon 縄文 times salt in Japan was extracted from sea water. For this purpose, “salt fields” 塩田 (*enden*) were laid out along the shoreline on sandy beaches, which became inundated either naturally or by artificial means. In the older method, the “salt fields” lay on ground higher than the high-tidemark, so that the water had to be taken up to the fields in buckets and sprinkled over the sand flats (*agehama* 揚浜 or “raised beach”) to dry in the sun. In a newer method, which first appeared around the 13th / 14th century and was refined during Edo times, when it became widely (though not exclusively) practised, the fields lay on the same level as, or below, the high-tidemark. The fields were protected by dykes, allowing inundation to be controlled with the help of conduit holes in the dykes and pipes bringing the water to the fields. After the water had evaporated and the salt had crystalized around the grains of sand (sea weed was used for this purpose too) the sand was collected and placed in basins. Water was poured on the sand to dissolve the salt. This water was collected and reduced by boiling, the salt thus recovered being parched in “salt kilns” 塩釜 (*shiogama*). During the Edo period, salt production concentrated in the provinces along the inland sea where it attained a considerable degree of systematicness and rationalization; however, it could look back on a long tradition in other parts of the country too, e.g. along the Japan Sea coast.

158 The old provinces of Bizen and Sanuki coincide with today’s prefectures Okayama 岡山 and Kagawa 香川. Shôdoshima is an island of the Inland Sea and forms part of Kagawa prefecture.

159 The province of Kaga. Seiryô stayed in Kaga from 1805 (Bunka 2) to 1806 (Bunka 3) when he was 51 years old.

160 The province Nôshû, or Noto 能登, consists of the northern part of modern Ishikawa prefecture (Noto peninsula).

161 The lordship of Kaga, ruled by the Maeda family since 1583 until the end of the Edo

hundred *ri* [long]. [409] However, it is forbidden by law under any circumstances to export salt to other countries. [410] This is a curious law. [411] Indeed it seems an inept law. [412] In fact, the politics of Kashû leaves the laws made when the country was founded as they are, without revising them. [413] For this reason, there is a multitude of inappropriate things at the present time.

[414] In general terms, the reason that export of the country's products to other states was prohibited was that the lord of Ka[ga]¹⁶² was extremely wealthy right from the start and owned nine hundred million and eight thousand *kanme* 貫目¹⁶³ of gold. [415] Now, this is a law that arranged politics in such a way that the gold would neither decrease nor increase beyond this amount, [anyway], so that there would be neither loss nor gain. [416] This is a decision to preserve the status quo, because [the gold might] actually grow less if one were to try to increase it beyond the [present] amount. [417] On the southern border of the country is the customs station at Daishôji 大聖寺¹⁶⁴ that checks persons leaving and entering [Kaga]. [418] This enables the cargo leaving and entering to be examined. [419a] In the north the customs station of Sakai 堺¹⁶⁵ was set up. [419b] It is extremely heavily guarded and examines both people and cargo leaving and entering. [420] Rice amounting to one hundred thousand *koku* at a time is delivered to Ôsaka by ship; [however], the money [obtained in exchange] is not sent back to the country

period, ranked as the largest territorial lordship with a nominal worth of 1,025,000 *koku*, surpassed only by the possessions under the direct rule of the shôgunal government.

- 162 The first Maeda lord of Kaga, known for his tremendous wealth, was Maeda Toshiie 前田利家 (1538–99). Toshiie had been a retainer of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–82) since 1551 (Tenbun 天文 20) and was assigned to take charge of the province of Noto in 1581. After Nobunaga's death he supported Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–98) and also became lord of Kanazawa 金沢 castle in Kaga province. While Toshiie's son Toshinaga 利長 (1562–1614) thus already had control over both the provinces of Kaga and Noto, he sided with Tokugawa Ieyasu in the battle of Sekigahara 関ヶ原 (1600; Keichô 5) against Hideyoshi's son and his allies and, as a reward, was awarded the province of Etchû in addition, too.
- 163 One *kan* or *kanme*, a measure of weight, equals about 3.75 kilograms.
- 164 A castle town located near the border between the provinces of Kaga and Echizen 越前 (Eastern Fukui prefecture). The "Northland Road" 北陸街道 (*Hokuriku kaidô*) passed right through its centre with the customs station in its south-western area. Daishôji (Temple of the Great Saint) had been the name of a temple that gave its name to the entire district and a river running through it, but it disappeared during the middle ages.
- 165 A place in the Niikawa 新川 district of Etchû (Toyama prefecture) on the banks of a river called Niikawa and adjoining the border with neighbouring Echigo province. Part of modern Asahi 朝日 town.

but instantly forwarded to [Kaga's] mansion in Edo, where it is used for expenses accruing from the one-year [term of] service 一年参勤 (*ichinen sankin*) [of the country's lord there]. [421] In this way one has made sure that everything [necessary] will be found in the country and that nothing is lacking. [422] Even indigo-balls 藍玉 (*aidama*)¹⁶⁶ and safflowers 紅花 (*beni-bana*)¹⁶⁷ are available. [423] And even the outer covers for *tatami* mats, sword pommels 縁頭 (*fuchigashira*), small hilts 小柄 (*kozuka*)¹⁶⁸, and craftsmen for pierced rivets 目貫 (*menuki*)¹⁶⁹ can be found. [424] There is nothing that is not available. [425] If in this manner one sets up stations at two places and forbids products of other states from entering and products of one's own country from leaving, the effect of this law will be to prevent money from increasing or decreasing at all.

[426] In the past the people of this country seem to have abided by this law. [427] Therefore, [those] nine hundred million and eight thousand *kanme* probably did not come to grief. [428] [But] as a result of times changing the customs in this country also changed and now even clothes and fans from Kyô[to] enter [Kaga]. [429] In every house are few things from its own country. [430a] [Looking at] the way people live, things from their own country that are used amount to only one or two items. [430b] The habit of former times of living only off things from one's own country has vanished somewhere. [431] Therefore, day and night, morning and evening, gold leaves the country for other states. [432] However, because one does not export the country's produce to other countries and only the one paragraph [forbidding export]¹⁷⁰ still stands the same as at the time the state was founded, gold that [should] enter from other countries does not enter [Kaga]. [433] Because one did not take in [gold] that [should] have been taken in, while [at the same time] allowing [gold] to leave that was destined for other countries, [Kaga's] financial situation turned bad in a straight line. [434] That the export of salt to other countries was forbidden in former times was very well and good. [435] [But] that the export of salt to other countries is forbidden in the

166 These were made from the leaves of the indigo plant 藍 (*ai*) by fermentation and by pressing it into the shape of a ball. "Indigo balls" were used for dyeing.

167 The safflower corollas were collected and used either for the production of cosmetics (rouge) or for dyeing.

168 Small knives attached to the sheath of short swords 脇差 (*wakizashi*).

169 These served to fix sword hilts to sword blades.

170 Whereas the law against importing from other countries can no longer be kept in force.

present age is a one-way [measure]. [436] One side [of the law] is violated, the other is not. [437] This means reducing the gold in violation of [the rule against] decreasing it, but refraining from taking in gold in keeping with [the rule] that it [should] not decrease. [438] If one spends without taking in gold, it stands to reason that however much gold one may have this cannot go on [forever]. [439] Conditions like this can be found in great numbers in the various countries. [440] This is something that should be investigated.

[441] If one does not adapt laws in line with the passage of time, laws that do not fit the age will [soon] prove to be unworkable. [442] What is more, as Kashû is a large country, salt and rice all have a market price that is only valid in this same country 自国ギリノ相場 (*jikoku giri no sôba*).¹⁷¹ [443] It is very different from that of other countries. [444] There is a market price for salt, and there is a tax 運上 (*unjô*) [on it]. [445] Because the tax income is small if the market price is extremely low, a seal is fixed to the salt boiler 塩ノ竈 (*shio no kama*) and the boiling 焼コト (*yaku koto*) of salt is forbidden.¹⁷² [446] This, too, is a curious law. [447] Salt is something that comes from the sea. [448] That something that comes from the sea is forbidden is tantamount to branding the character for “prosperity” 富 (*fu*) with a seal [that outlaws it]. [449] Well, in the way [described] above, the salt from the three countries [of Kaga, Noto, and Etchû] cannot be delivered to Hishû, Nôshû 濃州¹⁷³, and Shinshû. [450a] If one would only deliver the salt from Kashû to the three provinces of Hi, Shin, and Nô, this [alone] would probably bring an extraordinary profit. [450b] However, it is forbidden. [451] This is curious. [452] Therefore, the countries facing the North Sea should be of a mind to deliver their products to these countries without access to the sea.

171 While in smaller regional lordships the prices of commodities follow those set in trading centres like Ôsaka and Edo, on which they depend, Seiryô here seems to suggest that Kaga and the other territories ruled by the Maeda lords because of their size and the scale of their production form an independent economic unit with an internal price level. Later on Seiryô gives the price of wine produced in the Maeda territories as an example of this. Cf. sentences [510–21].

172 The Maeda family had imposed a monopoly on salt production at the beginning of the Edo period. Accordingly producers (mainly those of the salt fields on the Noto peninsula) were forced to deliver their produce to the government in exchange for rice. Producers were licensed and their number thus controlled. Importing from other lordships was forbidden, with consumers being forced to buy their salt from the territory's government through special merchants.

173 The province of Mino.

[453] As I (Tsuru) observed during my stay in Shinshû, salt loads are packed on cattle and delivered from Shinmachi 新町¹⁷⁴ in Jôshû to Shin[shû]. [454] In Jôshû there is a big river called Bandô Tarô 坂東太郎¹⁷⁵. [455] This is a river that has its source in the mountains on the border of Ôshû 奥州¹⁷⁶ and Echigo 越後¹⁷⁷ and flows [into the sea] at Chôshi in Shimôsa. [456a] Jôshû has got two other watercourses, the Karasugawa 烏川 and the Usuigawa 碓氷川¹⁷⁸, and these rivers flow into the Bandô Tarô from Shinmachi onwards. [457] Therefore, from the East Sea 東海 (*Tôkai*)¹⁷⁹ one follows this river against the current as far as Shinmachi. [458] From Shinmachi one passes through Kuragano 倉ヶ野, Takasaki 高崎, Itahana 板鼻, Annaka 安中, and Matsuida 松井田¹⁸⁰ and [from there] goes up to Usuine 碓氷嶺¹⁸¹. [459] This takes three or four days, [so that] selling salt to Shinshû packed on cattle is an arduous task. [460] It would be much easier if [the salt] were delivered from adjacent places. [461] In fact, salt is sent to Shinshû from the neighbourhood of Kashiwasaki 柏崎¹⁸² and Takada 高田¹⁸³ in Echigo, too. [462] From Tsuruga in Echigo¹⁸⁴ it probably takes one day to travel to Sekigahara in

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- 174 Shinmachi in the Tano 多野 district of modern Gunma prefecture, near the border with Saitama prefecture. The place was a post-town along the “Mid-mountain Highway” 中山道 (*Nakasen dô*), one of the “Five Highways”.
- 175 This is another name for the Tonegawa, which has its source in the mountains where the prefectures Niigata and Gunma meet, with smaller rivers also coming down from mountains along the border between Gunma and Nagano prefectures. It flows in a south-easterly direction into the Pacific Ocean at the city of Chôshi. The river is 322 km long.
- 176 The province of Mutsu 陸奥, corresponding to the modern prefectures Fukushima 福島, Miyagi, Iwate 岩手, and Aomori 青森.
- 177 This is a rough indication, considering that the Tonegawa’s northernmost contributory rivers have their sources in the mountains on the border between the prefectures Gunma (Jôshû), Niigata (Echigo), and Fukushima (part of Ôshû).
- 178 Both are short rivers with their sources on the western fringes of Gunma, running in an easterly direction.
- 179 The Pacific Ocean.
- 180 All of these places were post-towns along the “Mid-mountain Highway” and still exist under the same names.
- 181 A pass (Usui tôge 碓氷峠) on the border between the prefectures Gunma and Nagano. A customs station had already been established here during the Heian period.
- 182 An eponymous town along the Japan Sea coast in present day Niigata prefecture.
- 183 Part of modern Jôetsu 上越, a city in Niigata prefecture. Takada was a castle-town during the Edo period and gave its name to the Takada territory, ruled by the Sakakibara 榊原 family since 1741 (Kanpô 寛保 1).
- 184 In the original it reads “Echigo”. This certainly is a mistake, as Tsuruga lies in the

Nôshû¹⁸⁵. [463] Nôshû's salt should probably be send from around Tsuruga. [464] The profit for salt would be immense.

[465] During Han [dynasty] times there was something called “[product] monopoly” (*que / kaku*).¹⁸⁶ [466] This corresponds to today's guilds 座 (*za*).¹⁸⁷ [467] It works like [our] guilds for gold, silver¹⁸⁸, and cinnabar 朱

former Echizen province. Cf. n. 153.

- 185 Sekigahara in present day Gifu prefecture was an important traffic point, as the “Mid-mountain Highway” passed through it and met the “Northland Road” 北国路, 北国通 (*Hokkoku ji, Hokkoku tsû*) and the “Ise Road” (*Ise kaidô*) there.
- 186 As a result of its military and diplomatic involvements, the Chinese government under Emperor Wu was in constant need of money. Cf. KD 220, K 154–55 [130–38]. Besides other measures, in order to alleviate the burden on its finances the government imposed a state monopoly on salt and iron in 119 BCE, which was expanded to the whole of the realm in 117 BCE. A third monopoly, one on alcohol, was introduced in 98 BCE. Cf. *Shiji*, SBBY 30.7a–8a, 122.6a; *Qian Hanshu*, SBBY 24B 9ab. The character D for “monopoly” in connection with salt, iron and alcohol appears in *ibid.*, 24B.15b.
- 187 The original meaning of the character for *za* is “seat” or “sitting place”, but it can mean a “gathering” or a company of people too. From the end of the Heian period, the word was used to signify a guild-like association of people of the same profession – mostly merchants, artisans and artists – enjoying certain privileges. In return for services, they gained the protection of the imperial court, court nobles or religious institutions, receiving privileges like tax exemption and monopolistic rights to selling their products or offering their services. The period of internal strife in the 16th century saw an attempt to circumvent the power of these “guilds” through the establishment of free markets 楽市 (*rakuichi*) by regional lords. However, during the Edo period there still existed a considerable number of professional associations under the name of *za*, some of them under the direct management of the shōgunal government. Cf. next note. As Seiryō suggests in the following, merchant associations or guilds monopolized the market for certain articles of trade, so that anyone who wanted to trade in one of the monopolized articles had to become member of such an association or guild.
- 188 The minting business during the Edo period was organized as a contract business under the supervision of the “commissioner of the exchequer”. From the beginning of the Edo period to its end, the “gold guild” 金座 (*kinza*) was run by the Gotō family 後藤 (the heads of the family, originally gold-working artists, always bore the name Shōzaburō; the first Gotō Shōzaburō 後藤庄三郎 entered the service of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1595, Bunroku 文禄 4). At the beginning of the period there had been gold mints in Edo, Sunpu 駿府 (Shizuoka), Kyōto, and on the island of Sado 佐渡 (known for its gold and silver mines), but in the course of time the actual minting was only performed in Edo. Silver minting was organized along similar lines. The first silver mint in Fushimi 伏見 (1601; Keichō 6) was moved to Kyōto in 1603 (Keichō 8), with other mints opening in Edo, Ōsaka, and Nagasaki 長崎. Later (1800; Kansei 12) minting was concentrated in Edo only. In silver minting the counterpart to the Gotō family was the Daikoku 大黒 family (the head was called Daikoku Jōze 大黒常是 after the first Daikoku Jōze, who was entrusted with minting by Ieyasu in 1598; Keichō 3). Other than with gold and silver minting, no attempt at standardizing the copper money in circulation was made

(*shu*)¹⁸⁹. [468] [The character for] “[product] monopoly” originally meant “single log-bridge”. [469] If, for example, there is [only] one bridge over a river of ten *ri* [length], it is inevitable that one has to cross this bridge if one wants to go back and forth between both sides [of the river]. [470] If one blocks the way at this point, one can freely control the people going back and forth between both sides. [471] The [minting] guilds, too, adhere to this principle (*ri*). [472] People who do not pass the single log-bridge cannot go back and forth; products that do not pass the guilds cannot circulate. [473] Because in Kashû there is a law against exporting goods to other countries, goods of every kind are monopolized. [474] Although monopolized, money will enter one’s own country if wares that should be exported are exported. [475] The purpose of monopolizing [in Kaga] is not to export.¹⁹⁰ [476] [In fact], therefore, it is a law that works to keep money [from other countries] at a distance. [477] Generally, hearing about affairs in other countries is to the benefit of one’s own state. [478] Because these [affairs] can be found everywhere, I give an account of them here in detail.

[479] Now, [the fact] that in order to scoop up salt in Sanshû 讃州¹⁹¹ one first levels the ground and spreads sand over it to make salt fields does not differ from other countries. [480a] In other countries, salt water is scooped up with a portable tub and carried to the salt fields. [480b] Then the salt water is sprinkled on the salt fields. [480c] Thereupon one piles the sand

until 1636 (Kan’ei 13) when new copper coins (*Kanei tsûhō* 寛永通宝) were minted on a large scale. Also, the number of persons to whom the shōgunal government granted the right to mint copper varied through time, with mints increasing over the decades till they existed all over the country. The government tried to enforce its minting monopoly early on, forbidding minting by regional lordships in 1609 (Keichō 14). However, it took time for this policy to bear fruit. Gold as well as silver money was minted by a considerable number of lordships and stayed in use in these lordships for most of the 17th century.

189 Cinnabar was used for making red ink (either for painting or as seal ink) and medicine. For its production Japan traditionally relied on imports from China. In 1609 (Keichō 14) Tokugawa Ieyasu had granted one Oda Sukeshirō 小田助四郎, a samurai from Ieyasu’s home province Mikawa 三河 (eastern half of present-day Aichi 愛知 prefecture), a monopoly on producing and selling cinnabar in Sakai 堺 near Ōsaka. Thereafter, other “cinnabar guilds” 朱座 (*shuza*) were licensed in Edo and Kyōto too; however, when unlicensed production and trade did not stop, despite governmental attempts to curb them, a greater number of other merchants were granted the right at least to deal in cinnabar dye.

190 The monopolized goods, especially salt, were sold only within the territory. Cf. n. 172.

191 The province of Sanuki became famous during the Edo period for the “Three Whites from Sanuki” 讃岐三白 (*Sanuki sanpaku*), one of these being salt and the other two sugar and cotton.

mixed with salt into a heap, scoops it up and [...] [bakes it]. [481] In San[shû] one digs numerous ditches in the salt fields, ladles [the salt water] directly from these ditches with a scoop, and sprinkles it on the salt fields. [482] [For this], the hundredth part of the work in other countries [suffices]. [483] It is said, “Initial capital モトデ (*motode*) one hundred *ryô*, profit one hundred *ryô*, ship rental one hundred *ryô*.” [484] It is [also] said that the profit from a single delivery would be two hundred *ryô* were one to build the ships oneself.¹⁹² [485] I (Tsuru) [once] went on board such a salt ship and returned to Ôsaka [on it]. [486] As the captain told me, loading salt in this manner means that on the way to Ôsaka a lot of bittern 苦塩 (*nigashio*) collects in the ship’s hold. [487] This bittern the *tôfu* makers 豆腐屋 buy as it is required for the solidification of *tôfu*.¹⁹³ [488] So even bittern is something that can be sold.

[489] Now, it seems that salt from the North Sea does not possess much taste. [490] The South Sea 南海 (*Nankai*) salt would seem to have an extremely strong taste. [491] It is a feature of Kyô[to] that salted fish is sent there from all directions, but the one from the North Sea, up to Tango 丹後, Wakasa 若狭¹⁹⁴, Etchû, Kashû, Nôshû, and Echigo [indeed] all is very good. [492] The fish’s taste keeps fresh and is extremely delicious. [493] The salted fish from

192 Sentences [483] and [484] are both constructed as if Seiryô were recounting from hearsay (both end with *to ieri* ト云リ or “it is said”). It can be assumed, however, that the second sentence contains Seiryô’s evaluation of the situation described in the preceding one. It is one purpose of his exposition to call attention to the fact that producers could make a bigger profit if they were to acquire their own means of production, instead of relying on the services of others and paying undue fees in return. Cf. sentences [357–66], [370–84].

193 Bean curd is made from soy beans. These are placed in water until they have drawn full of water. What remains after draining the rest of the water, boiling the soybeans and filtering them, is a liquid called “bean milk” 豆乳 (*tô’nyû*). To this is added the bittern Seiryô mentions. The production process concludes with the protein contained in the “bean milk” congealing due to the bittern and the entire mass being pressed to expel the superfluous water. The origins of bean curd lie in China but the date of its appearance there and its introduction to Japan have not been firmly established. In Japan, the first mention in writing dates from the year 1183 (Juei 寿永 2). At first *tôfu* was made in Buddhist temples and formed part of the monks’ vegetarian diet. But from the Muromachi 室町 period (1338–1573) onwards bean curd appeared more and more frequently in documents concerning the diet of the common people. From the existence of e.g. itinerant *tôfu* sellers it can be surmised that by at least the 16th century *tôfu* had attained a fair degree of popularity. A first production center was Nara, but by Muromachi times *tôfu* was being made in temples in Kyôto too; indeed it became one of Kyôto’s specialties. In the Edo period, the region around Kyôto and Ôsaka was famous for its bean curd, and it seems to have become an item of common use at least there.

194 Tango coincides with the northern part of present-day Kyôto prefecture, and Wakasa with the western part of present-day Fukui prefecture.

the South Sea and the West Sea 西海 (*Saikai*) [highway districts]¹⁹⁵, [however], is very salty; that the fish's own taste has vanished is probably due to the strong salt taste. [494] That the taste of the North Sea [salt] is weak renders it highly suitable for preserving [fish]. [495] Considering this, the saltiness [of North Sea salt] is weak and the quality is probably not good. [496] When I (Tsuru) passed along the coast of Echigo and watched salt being scooped up, it was exceedingly tiresome work. [497] Besides, the salt's colour was grey and it differed greatly from the salt of Awa 阿波, Harima 播磨¹⁹⁶, and further west.

[498] Although in Kashû the various products 諸色 (*shoshiki*) are monopolized, contraband goods 抜ケ荷 (*nukeni*)¹⁹⁷ are extremely numerous. [499] Contraband goods are harmful to those above and below alike. [500] To those above they are harmful, because they [cannot] take taxes on them. [501] To those below, because being contraband goods, they [incur] many times more expenses from the time a ship is dispatched. [502] Now, even if in the market-place there is a delay [in payments] for [these] products, it is not possible to make this public because they are contraband; and because it is known in the market-place that they are contraband, they are bought at give-away prices 蹴チラカシテカフ (*kechirakashite kau*). [503] Once I (Tsuru) travelled to Niigata 新潟 in Koshi 越¹⁹⁸. [504] I put up at the abode of a certain person of the wealthy house of Tôginya 当銀屋 in Niigata. [505] My

195 Since the political and administrative reforms in the 8th century, Japan had been divided into several large geographical regions: the “five inner provinces” 五畿 (*goki*) around the seat of government, and the “seven highway [districts]” 七道 (*shichidô*) along the five major highways. The “South Sea Highway [District]” 南海道 (*Nankai dô*) corresponds to the Kii 紀伊 peninsula and the island of Shikoku 四国, while the “West Sea Highway [District]” 西海道 (*Saikai dô*) consists of Kyûshû 九州 and the islands Iki 壱岐 and Tsushima 津島.

196 The old province of Awa corresponds to present-day Tokushima 徳島 prefecture, and Harima to the south-western part of modern Hyôgo 兵庫 prefecture.

197 This word (literally “omitted goods”) denoted all goods sold privately or smuggled in defiance of officially specified modes of circulation as well as the actual selling activity. A conspicuous example is the smuggling that occurred around those places where trade with foreign countries was conducted in officially regulated form (Nagasaki, the island of Tsushima, the lordship of Satsuma in southern Kyûshû, and the territory of Matsumae 松前 in southern Hokkaidô 北海道). As Seiryô's text suggests, the word could also be used for inland goods that were marketed contravening proscriptions by regional authorities.

198 *Koshi* served as a general name for the provinces along the Japan Sea coast, from the province of Wakasa in the west to Echigo and the island of Sado in the east. As Seiryô talks here about Niigata (the present-day capital of Niigata prefecture), he is probably referring to the province of Echigo. Cf. sentence [509a].

host was fond of rice wine and held a drinking bout every day. [506] There were two delicious kinds of rice wine. [507] One was a wine from Ôyama 大山 in Dewa 出羽¹⁹⁹. [508] The second came from Nanao 七尾 in Noto²⁰⁰. [509a] Although Echigo is a place with quite good rice wine, too, the Nanao was a very distinguished [brew]. [509b] I appreciated it greatly, and drank this Nanao every day [I was there].

[510] When I came to Kashû and asked about rice wine, [I learned of] the official price fixed by the lord. [511] It was one *monme*²⁰¹ for one *shô* [of wine]. [512] When I asked if there was no more expensive wine, [I heard that] from summer onwards [the wine] is heated up from time to time²⁰², and that for each heating up the price is stepped up accordingly. [513] Because it is heated for as many as five times, in the end [the price] will be one *monme* and five *bu*, I was told. [514a] Now, when I went to the place of a person of high rank 大身ノ人 (*taishin no hito*) and was entertained with rice wine, I mentioned the delicious taste of that Nanao wine. [514b] Whereupon my host said, “It is not hard at all to get wine from Nanao; when we next meet I will treat you to a Nanao.” [515] And indeed, on the day of our next meeting a Nanao was served, but it was not good at all. [516] When I said, “This is not a real Nanao,” the steward stepped forward and asked, “It is a real Nanao. [517] Master, where did you drink a Nanao [before]?” [518] I replied, “I drank one in Niigata,” [but the steward explained], “As it is forbidden to export this wine to other countries, [the fact] that it was exported probably means it was contraband.” [519] When he asked, “Did you ask about its

199 The old province of Dewa corresponds, by and large, to the present-day prefectures Yamagata 山形 and Akita 秋田. Ôyama is now part of the modern city of Tsuruoka 鶴岡 in Yamagata prefecture. Ôyama developed into a centre of rice wine production during the Edo period, with fifteen breweries doing business in 1697 (Genroku 元禄 10). By 1721 (Kyôhō 6) the number had risen to 39 (in 1804, Bunka 1, it was 36).

200 The modern town of Nanao in Ishikawa prefecture on the eastern coast of the Noto peninsula. Nanao (after unification with Tokoroguchi 所口 in 1702, Genroku 15, it was also called by the latter name) was the largest town in the province of Noto and prospered as a harbour-town and place of commerce. Rice wine-production was one of its major industries, exporting as far as to Edo, with about a hundred breweries active during the Kan'ei period (1624 to 1644).

201 *Monme* written with the character 匁 is the denomination for a piece of silver money. Its worth is roughly the sixtieth part of one *ryô* of gold money. The next smaller denomination is *bu* 分, with ten *bu* making for one *monme*. Used as a weight measure, one *monme* is the thousandth part of one *kan* and weighs about 3.75g.

202 Heating up had been introduced into the process of rice wine production as a method of sterilization to keep the wine from turning sour. Cf. n. 222.

price?” and I answered, “About three *monme*,” this steward said, “Then it was contraband. [520] The wine [you are drinking now] is wine with an [officially] fixed price.” [521] It is only to be expected that a good wine is not sold for one *monme*.

[522] On the whole, an [officially] fixed price is something extremely difficult [to administer]. [523] Mengzi, too, said, “That among goods there are articles of high, medium and low [price] depends on the goods’ quality.”²⁰³ [524] There will only be one [kind of] article if the price [of all goods] is fixed in the same manner, the result being that what people above and below drink and eat will be rated the same. [525] That the wine a beggar drinks costs one *monme*, and that the wine a minister 大夫 (*taifu*) of fifty thousand *koku* drinks also costs one *monme*, is a law that goes against [people’s] feelings 物情 (*butsujō*). [526] Such a law invariably does not run smoothly. [527] It is to be expected that there will be contraband goods. [528] It would be better to make the taxes very light but take them without exception. [529] Because contraband goods are goods that infringe the law, they must be punished with certainty. [530] Of articles there should be those of high, medium and low [price]. [531] If there are laws that are unreasonable 無理ナル法 (*muri naru hō*) the laws will not take effect. [532] If the laws do not take effect, the country will not be governed in peace. [533] This is an important matter. [534] If the market price for rice and suchlike is entirely different from that of other [countries], rice from other countries [will enter] and rice from one’s own country will leave of its own accord. [535] They are all contraband goods. [536] This is proof that on the whole [the price] has to be fixed in accordance with the general market price 世上ノ相場 (*sejō no sōba*). [537] One has to arrange things in such a way that contraband goods cannot materialize.

[538] If one wants to make profit on rice, there is no better way than the method called “open harbour” 津開 (*tsukai*) [as practised] in Geishū 芸州²⁰⁴. [539] This is a method that was devised because around Bitchū 備中 and

203 Already in Part One Seiryō had referred to Master Meng’s advice that prices should be fixed according to the quality of articles, although the discrimination between goods of low, medium, and high quality is not so much a faithful citation as an interpolation by Seiryō. Cf. KD 222–23; K 160–61 [196–200]. *Mengzi* 3.A4: 17–18, SBBY 3: 11b; L 2: 255–6.

204 The province of Aki 安芸 (the western part of present-day Hiroshima 広島 prefecture). Seiryō here refers to the lordship of Hiroshima, worth 426,000 *koku* of rice and ruled by the Asano 浅野 family since 1619 (Genna 元和 5).

Bingo 備後²⁰⁵ both great lords and small lords 小名 (*shōmyō*) of lower rank 小身ノ大名小名 (*shōshin no daimyō shōmyō*)²⁰⁶ hold their domains in a confusingly mixed way.²⁰⁷ [540] “Open harbour” means that during harvest-time in autumn the rice collected from the territory of Gei[shū]’s lord is not stored in storehouses. [541] [Rather] it is placed [...] in front of the latter. [542] Now, the storehouses are left empty and rice from other countries is bought after its market price is fixed. [543] Rice from other countries means the rice of those great lords and small ones of lower rank [mentioned above]. [544] If each low-ranking lord 小身衆 (*shōshin shū*) sends a ship on his own, then stores [the rice] in Ōsaka and sells it there, it does not pay off at all. [545] However one may look at it, [one by one] these are unreasonable loads. [546] Therefore, if it were [only to] a harbour of neighbouring Geishū, it would be no problem to send a small transport on a small vessel. [547] For this reason the rice of the low-ranking lords in the neighbourhood is all sold to Geishū. [548] Because the lord of Gei[shū] rules a prosperous country,

205 Bitchū province comprises the western part of present-day Okayama prefecture and Bingo, the eastern part of Hiroshima prefecture.

206 In the Japanese original “lower rank” (*shōshin*) modifies both “great lords” as well as “small lords”, thus meaning regional lords of lower and lowest standing. Cf. the next note.

207 *Myō* 名 (“name”) in *daimyō* as well as in *shōmyō* originally referred to the rights of individuals to certain ricefields to which the proprietor / user had fixed his name. These fields were called “name-fields” 名田 (*myōden*), their owner being a *myōshu* 名主 or “owner of name-[fields]”. Someone who held rights to a great number of such fields was thus called a “great name-[field owner]” (*daimyō*), whereas men with a smaller amount of fields were called “small name-[field owners]” (*shōmyō*). From the Muromachi period onwards, the word *daimyō* took on a different meaning and was used at first to denote powerful regional lords who ruled a whole province under the nominal hegemony of the shōgun in Kyōto; later on, during the period of internal warfare, it was used to denote rulers of territories of varying size who vied with each other for possession or expansion of their territories. In the Edo period, to qualify as a regional lord or *daimyō*, possession of a territory with a nominal worth of at least 10,000 *koku* was necessary. The regional lords were not a homogeneous group, however, as differences in their territories’ income, kinship ties with the shōgunal family, and political posture (according to allegiance to the victorious Tokugawa party or to the Toyotomi party at the Battle of Sekigahara) accounted for status differences among them. With a view to their income, regional lords could be categorized roughly into those ruling a whole province, those of lower income but still allowed possession of a castle (for this at least a territory worth 30,000 *koku* was required, barring exceptions), and those of still lower income without a castle. The expression “small lords” used by Seiryō in this context refers to regional lords with an especially small territory. Seiryō’s characterization of the territories in the neighbourhood of Hiroshima is certainly true for Bitchū. There were at least ten lordships in this province of varying sizes between 10,000 and 60,000 *koku*.

and because [Geishû] fixes the market price and settles all accounts immediately, this “harbour opening” of Geishû is popular.

[549] Now, all the time [Geishû] buys up the small loads from its neighbourhood and stocks this rice in storehouses. [550] [Thus] it builds up a tremendous stockpile. [551] Now, [after] checking on the market price in Ôsaka, [the country] ships the whole Geishû rice in one consignment to Ôsaka [when the opportunity seems good]. [552] All the rice that is shared out to the house retainers comes from the rice bought [from the neighbouring small domains]. [553a] Merchant houses and country houses also buy and eat cheap rice, and those who want to sell their own rice at a high price all buy this open harbour rice, add their own rice to the lord’s rice and sell it to him. [553b] In this manner those low-ranking lords are well off. [554] The men from the countryside and the towns are well off likewise. [555] And the lord of Gei[shû], too, buys a lot of cheap rice, and sells [in return] a lot of expensive rice. [556] Generally, money and commodities gather where there are a lot [already]. [557] The reason why there is a lot of money in Ôsaka is that [this city] buys things cheaply and sells them dearly. [558] Zi Gong’s 子貢 method, too, is exactly the same.²⁰⁸ [559] Thus considered, the “open harbour” [method] can be practised everywhere. [560] And it is not restricted to rice alone. [561] If fish or anything else is bought cheaply and sold dearly, both those above and below in this country will make a profit.

[562a] The strategies 計策 (*keisaku*) [that I explained] above, are too knowing about profit. [562b] If Confucian scholars hear of them, they will be utterly disgusted. [563] Granted, to know too much about profit does not indicate a noble personality 人品ノヨキコト (*jinpin no yoki koto*). [564] However, this is an age, in which [people] in other countries immediately will start [making a profit] and [thus] cause a loss for one’s own country, if one were to behave modestly 人柄ヲツツシミテ (*hitogara o tsutsushimite*) in a noble way 上品ニ (*jôhin ni*). [565] By starting something clever just as soon as possible one escapes poverty. [566] If one does not care to escape poverty, it is fine to behave in a noble way without doing anything clever. [567] If one is loath to

208 Seiryô probably has in mind the following conversation between Confucius’ student Zi Gong and the Master: “Zi Gong said, ‘There is a beautiful [piece of] jade here. Should one put it in a box and keep it? Or should one seek a good price and sell it?’ The Master said: ‘One should sell it! One should sell it! I am waiting for [someone to offer a good] price.’” *Lunyu* 9.12. SBBY 5: 4a; L 1: 221. With the piece of jade Zi Gong metaphorically alludes to the Master’s talents and thus tries to make the Master explain why he had declined office so many times. But the passage could also be read as a discussing the right moment to sell an article of commerce as Seiryô seems to insinuate.

be poor, then the [correct] strategy is to practise something like “open harbour” or selling and buying. [568] If the whole realm 天下一統 (*tenka ittô*) were careless, it would be fine [to do nothing], but if the other countries more and more [go over to] doing clever things whereas oneself only observes the old practices (*korei*) in a noble way, it will be too late to do anything.

[569] Now, the *coptis japonica* 黄蓮 (*ôren*) which is grown at the foot of Mount Shiroyama 白山 in Kaga is considered a quality article 上品 (*jôhin*).²⁰⁹ [570] Therefore, it is known as “Kaga’s *coptis japonica*”. [571] In Kaga one is quite careless, and although [people there] are fully convinced that *coptis japonica* cannot be found anywhere else except in their locality, it has come about that the price decreases from day to day and that they have to sell at an absurdly low price. [572] They did not even know [the reason for] this. [573] When I (Tsuru) asked for the reason in Kyô[to]’s and Ôsaka’s apothecaries, the shopkeepers told me, “Although from ancient times one talked of ‘Kaga’s *coptis japonica*’ and although it was said that *coptis japonica* has to be from Kaga, in recent years *coptis japonica* has come from Tanba 丹波²¹⁰ in enormous quantities, so now *coptis japonica* from Tanba is sold as Kaga’s *coptis japonica*. [574] Originally, this was a *coptis japonica* that grew naturally at the foot of mount Shiroyama²¹¹ in Kaga. [575] However, *coptis japonica* [now] is cultivated in Tanba, and this cultivation is a recent event. [576] There was nothing of this in former times. [577] Nowadays, [what is sold as] ‘Kaga’s *coptis japonica*’ [in fact] all is *coptis japonica* from Tanba. [578] Therefore, recently the price for Kaga’s *coptis japonica* has been dropping all the time, and the reason why its market price has become so extremely low is that the cultivation of the Tanba *coptis japonica* really works out very well. [579] Truly, one cannot be negligent.” [580] I (Tsuru) explained this in Kaga, and one took measures to cultivate *coptis japonica* at the foot of Mount Shiroyama.

[581] As ours is such a clever age, while one may [still] be proud of a special product of one’s own country, one’s neighbour will at once produce this selfsame product. [582] As a consequence, the price for the original article drops and the income of this country sinks. [583] Because all are negligent and careless, they are forestalled by others. [584] If one does not

209 *Coptis japonica* is a perennial plant (maximum height 30cm) growing in mountain regions and used for medical purposes (strengthening digestive functions).

210 The greater part of the old province of Tanba lies in the present-day Kyôto prefecture, and the lesser part in Hyôgo prefecture.

211 A mountain of 2,702m on the border between the modern prefectures Ishikawa and Gifu.

want to be forestalled by others, one should listen to stories from other countries, devise a clever strategy, check up on things and apply oneself to [sharpening one's] wisdom. [585] If one only observes old practices 古例 (*korei*), everything will be seized by other people and one's own country will become poor. [586] If it were an age where the entire realm did not resort to such strategies, nothing could be better than to observe the old practices and behave in a noble way. [587] But in an age when the whole realm resorts to [clever] schemes without observing old practices, it would mean that one's own house alone would be fond of poverty were one not to resort to schemes likewise. [588] Therefore, one should find out about as many kinds of schemes as possible from the different countries and take care that one's own country is not negligent. [589] Negligence arises from oversight 拔目 (*nukeme*). [590] But oversight is more than being careless. [591] Even if one [tries] hard not to be careless, if one's attention is absorbed by one side only, one will overlook [...] the other side. [592] This is because oversights are extremely numerous even if one is not careless.

[593a] Master Zhuang 莊子 said, "Someone who is skilled at cultivating life is like someone tending sheep. [593b] He will have to urge on the stragglers with his stick."²¹² [594] The reason for this is that when one keeps many sheep and takes them to the fields to graze, only one man takes care of the whole group of thirty or forty animals. [595] Now, as the sheep do not make much headway, [the shepherd] drives them on; but if he looks after one animal, the other sheep will go astray. [596] The sheep in the herd number thirty or forty, but the person tending them is only one. [597] Because it does not do to watch over [only] one or two animals, if one wants to drive this large number of sheep on as one, it is best to walk behind the very last sheep and urge it on with one's stick. [598] If this sheep runs ahead, one urges on the sheep that will next be left at the rear. [599] If one always urges on the very last one, a large number of sheep will move on in good speed without any being left behind.

[600] Once there was a man who thought that sickness usually occurs because there is something one is worried about in one's heart. [601] If one falls ill one dies. [602a] He thought that the most important thing for cultivating life is not to make one's heart heavy with worry and he retired into the

212 Seiryô refers to a passage in the daoist classic *Master Zhuang (Zhuangzi / Sôji)*, which was attributed to the philosopher Zhuangzi (Jap. Sôshi), Cf. SBBY 7.3b. Seiryô's is not an exact rendering of the original into Japanese but comes near enough.

mountains. [602b] Therefore this man could cultivate his heart as much as he liked, but a tiger turned up and devoured him.²¹³ [603a] There was another man who said, “If I dress my body in warm clothes and fill my belly with delicious food, my insides will be well cared for, and therefore I will live a long life 長寿スル (*chôju suru*)”. [603b] Every day he applied his best efforts to this and that, and he travelled among the territorial lords. [604] Indeed, his insides were well cared for, but as he worried about [many things] he got ill and died.²¹⁴ [605] Because these men had an eye to one side [only] and did not notice there was another side which they were overlooking, they died. [606a] [The text] has it that [the narrator] said, “This happened because they did not urge on the sheep that were straggling behind.”²¹⁵ [606b] This is a point the wise man very much has to take to heart.

[607a] Therefore, among the words of the sages 聖人 (*shengren / seijin*)²¹⁶ one finds the [expression] “public and private” 公私 (*gongsi / kôshi*).²¹⁷ [607b]

213 SBBY 7.3b–4a.

214 SBBY 7.4a. Both cases are adaptations from *Master Zhuang*. However, in Seiryô’s choice of words, the difference between the two cases is somewhat blurred. In the original, the first man is introduced as someone who took care of his inner life and failed because his “outer side” (his body) was killed, the second man appears as someone who was attentive to his outward aspects but neglected the “inside” (his mental disposition). “In [the state of] Lu 魯 there lived a man called Dan Bao 單豹. He dwelled among the mountain cliffs, where he lived on water and kept away from people [and their worldly ways] as well as [striving for] profit. He had turned seventy years old but still had a child’s complexion. Unfortunately, he came upon a hungry tiger, and the hungry tiger killed and devoured him. There was another man called Zhang Yi 張毅. He moved among the houses of the famous [and rich] and the houses of the poor [and humble] without exception. He was forty years old when he fell victim to an inner fever and died. Bao had nursed his inner [disposition], but a tiger devoured his outside. Yi had nursed his outside, but a sickness attacked his inside. The two men both failed to urge on what had been straggling behind.” SBBY 7.3b–4a.

215 SBBY 7.4a.

216 Tradition ascribes to the “sages” the foundation of social or political order among humans as well as the concomitant cultural institutions. These exemplary rulers of Chinese antiquity consist of the first three mythical emperors Fu Xi 伏羲, Shennong 神農 (the “Divine Farmer”), and Huangdi 黃帝 (the “Yellow Emperor”); the legendary cultural heroes Yao 堯 and Shun 舜; Yu, Tang 湯, and Wu (the founders of the first three dynasties Xia, Shang 商 or Yin, and Zhou), as well as Wu’s father, King Wen, and his brother, the Duke of Zhou. Confucius, too, is counted among the “sages” because of his high moral character, which would have qualified him to become a ruler should “Heaven” (or actual circumstances) have willed it.

217 According to the NST commentary (KD 264), Seiryô is here perhaps alluding to the following passage in *Master Han Fei*: “The way of the wise ruler 明主之道 (*mingzhu zhi dao / meishu no michi*) never fails to make clear the distinction between public 公

With everything there is a public and a private [side]. [608] “Public” means “in full view of the world” 天下ハレタ (*tenka hareta*). [609] “Private” means “confidential whispering” 内シヨフササヤキ (*naishô sasayaki*). [610] Because the public [authority] looks at the realm in its entirety, it has a broad view on things. [611] It is the private [view] which has only an eye on a single sheep. [612] [And] it is the public [view] which keeps watch over many sheep. [613] It has a broad view on things. [614] Only a man who has a broad view on things can be called a wise man 智者 (*chisha*). [615] That [people] overlook one side always happens because they have no broad view on things.

[616] Because something like the economy²¹⁸ is a great undertaking, it will not be a true economy, [...] unless one is watchful without any oversight. [617] But having an eye only to old practices makes it likely that considerable oversights will occur. [618a] Knowing that oversights will occur if one’s eye attends to old practices [only], it is popular in these times to make present ends meet without caring about old practices at all. [618b] However, it often

(*gong / kô*) and private 私 (*si / shi*); it makes clear the [public] law system and refrains from private favours. That commands are carried out and that prohibitions are heeded is due to the public morality 公義 (*gongyi / kôgi*) of the ruler of men. That private [designs] are carried out without fail, that trustworthiness exists between friends [only], that [people] cannot be spurred on by rewards, or deterred by punishments is due to the private morality 私義 (*siyi / shigi*) of subjects. If the private morality is carried out, [the state] will fall into disorder. If the public morality is carried out, [the state] will be ruled in order.” *Han Feizi*, SBBY 5: 11a. As Seiryô in many places refers to *Han Feizi*, it may well be that he was aware of this passage. However, the dictum “among the words of the sages” rather implies that Seiryô saw the distinction between “public” and “private” as valid for the teachings of the “sages” in general, without him having a specific locus classicus in mind. A glance at MOROHASHI will reveal that while the passage from *Master Han Fei* may have been one of the earliest where “public” and “private” were treated together as opposing concepts, both the characters 公 and 私 appear in many other texts within the Confucian tradition. Thus e.g. Confucius spoke of “public business” in *Analects* 6.12 (SBBY 3.12a, L 1: 189), and of “private [conduct]” in *Analects* 2.9 (SBBY 1.9a, L 1: 149). Mencius cites an ode from the *Book of Songs* 詩經 (*Shijing / Shikyô*) with “public fields” 公田 (*gongtian / kôden*) and “private” ones being mentioned in 3A3.9 (SBBY 3.5a, L 2: 242); he also contrasts the “public field” used by eight families in common with the land each family holds in “private” in 3A3.19 (SBBY 3.6b, L 2: 245).

- 218 I have translated *keizai* as “economy” in this instance too, as the general context mostly hints at governmental measures that help to enrich a regional territory. But this is not to exclude the original meaning with its much broader connotations. Cf. n. 45. As Seiryô has identified the pursuit of profit as one of the moving forces of society, even as he has likened it to, and envisaged it as congruent with the “principle of Heaven”, “ruling the world and helping the people” could easily be seen as finding its most prominent expression in causing a country and its inhabitants to prosper economically.

happens, because [people] lack a broad view on things, that their [plans] meet with obstacles in unexpected ways and end in a shambles.

[619] For a wise man there are no unexpected things. [620] Since a wise man opens his far-seeing eye 大目 (*ôme*) and takes a look even into the farthest corners, there will be nothing unforeseen [by him]. [621] The reason why [someone] meets with the unforeseen is that he has failed to look into the farthest corners. [622] How much more obvious is it that [someone's country] will slide into poverty while he has an eye [only] on petty things and complains in silly fashion that this or that should not be done. [623a] If one wants to make a country prosperous, one must rid oneself of a heart sticking and clinging [to familiar things], raise one's eyes all the way up to heaven, and look down with one glance from high and far away. [623b] If one does not look [at things] with such a disposition, oversights will occur.²¹⁹ [624] If oversights occur, one will necessarily meet with unexpected things.

[625] If something unexpected occurs, one is bound to make errors in handling things. [626] Something is bound to go amiss. [627] One should be aware that making errors in handling things and things going amiss are all due to the sight of one's eyes being too short and not reaching everywhere. [628] That the sight of one's eyes is too short means that there is something one has fixed one's heart on and therefore does not see [anything] beyond that thing. [629] Because someone who is accomplished in an art fixes his heart on it, he does not see anything but that art. [630] Because someone who reads books fixes his heart on them, he does not see anything but books. [631] Because someone who has wisdom fixes his heart on it, he does not see anything but wisdom; and if he did not look at anything but wisdom, he would not deserve to be called wise after all. [632a] Because a man who observes the old ways fixes his heart on the old ways, he does not see anything but the old ways. [632b] Therefore he would be good at living in former times, but he is a man of no use living in the present. [633a] Because a stiff man fixes his heart on stiff things, he does not see anything but stiff things. [633b] In times when the world is ruled by stiffness he would be a good man. [634] In times [like our own] when the world [constantly] changes and schemes are fashionable, he is a man of no use.

219 This passage is reminiscent of Seiryô's theory of cognition as he exposes it in *Talks about Foreknowledge* 前識談 (*Zenshiki dan*). Cf. K 121. The gist of this theory is to free oneself of biased views and considerations of value and achieve a stance of objectivity from which the observer can look at himself from the outside.

[635] Of all these, the one whose feelings are the most obstinate and who is of least use, even if one beats him or holds him down, is the man who reads books. [636] Because the man who reads books likes to consider himself in possession of the [correct] measure 定木 (*jôgi*), he is not disposed to adopt other people's measures. [637] Only after having made a tremendous blunder and failing miserably will he notice for the first time [that something is amiss]. [638] Deplorable though this is, it is too late already. [639] Yet it is of the utmost importance to avoid being too late, to avoid regrets, and to avoid oversights.

[640] Whenever I (Tsuru) travelled to a place called Hata no wa 旗ノ輪 in Jôshû²²⁰, I lodged in a house at the invitation of a man who was a pawnbroker 質屋 (*shichiya*), ran a rice wine brewery 作り酒屋 (*tsukuri sakaya*)²²¹ and owned fields of about one thousand *koku*. [641] My host was something of a scholar チツクリ学者 (*chikkuri gakusha*), but indeed a very insensitive, boorish scholar 大ヤボ学者 (*dai yabo gakusha*). [642] However, this man [always] entertained me (Tsuru) with rice wine and questioned me on text composition 文法 (*bunpô*). [643] When I tasted the wine, it was a kind called “devil-killer” 鬼殺シ (*oni goroshi*) along the East Sea Highway 東海道 (*Tôkai dô*); it smelt of the lees 糟 (*kasu*) and was unrivalled [in its bad quality].²²² [644a] I 余

220 Minowa, written 箕輪 (cf. sentence [661]) is part of the modern township Misatomachi, in the centre of Gunma prefecture.

221 Commercial rice wine breweries producing for an expanding market and offering money-lending services appeared during the Kamakura period, especially from the 14th century. Whereas Kyôto had already been famous for its wine in the Kamakura period, in the course of time other regions like the area around Ôsaka, Kaga and its neighbouring provinces, or northern Kyûshû, became widely known too. During the Edo period, it was the area between modern Ôsaka and Kôbe which played a prominent role. Cf. n. 222.

222 While the inhabitants of the Japanese islands already had been depicted as fond of alcohol in the *Annals of Wei* 魏志 (*Weizhi / Gishi*) (cf. *Annals of the Three States* 三国志 – *Sanguo zhi / Sagoku shi* –, SBBY 30.21a) and a variety of alcoholic drinks based on rice are mentioned in Japanese records from the Nara period onwards, an elementary step towards the brewing technique for refined rice wine as it is practised today (at that time rice wine was still unrefined) was taken in the Muromachi period, when malted rice 麴 (*kôji*), steamed rice and water were added to unrefined wine 諸味 (*moromi*) before the lees were filtered out, and a method of sterilization was introduced by heating the wine. A further development of the process occurred at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries when the fine wine of Itami appeared (the modern city of Itami lies in Hyôgo prefecture near to Ôsaka). To produce refined rice wine free of the lees, polished rice was now used. A further degree of refinement was achieved around the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, when better methods of polishing the rice were introduced in the area around Nada (the region immediately west of Itami with parts of modern Kôbe city) as the technically most advanced centre of rice wine production.

(yo) asked, “Is there only this one kind of wine in your store? [644b] If there is only this one kind, it is a great carelessness [on your part]. [645] You had better change your style of wine. [646a] From Edo to the west as far as the outskirts of Bushû 武州²²³ such an old-style sake brewery [as yours] cannot be found anymore. [646b] [Today] all follow the Itami-style 伊丹ノ風 (*Itami no fû*). [647] To stock such a kind of wine these days is to lag behind the fashion. [648] Besides, the way [this wine] has been heated up is poor. [649] Heating up [the wine] is a tricky operation. [650] As to how [this] wine was heated up, it was probably boiled in a large kettle and afterwards poured into barrels. [651] That is the old style. [652] [But today the wine] should be heated in hot water 湯セシ (*yusen*). [653] Water is brought to boiling point in a large kettle; the wine is poured into an earthen vessel 瀬戸物 (*Seto mono*)²²⁴ [...] [and then placed in the boiling water]. [654] Or the earthen vessel is placed in the large kettle [from the beginning], and when [the water] boils, [the wine] is scooped up. [655] Anyway, if the wine is scooped up directly from the iron kettle, it will smell of fire and not become popular. [656a] You should go over to the water-heating method as fast as possible.” [656b] However, as this man was an insensitive, boorish scholar he replied, “My family has been selling this wine since ancient times and it has sold well, so there is no reason to change [anything].” [657] I (Tsuru) answered, “In ancient times this kind of wine was fashionable, so it was popular. [658] Because these days such a kind of wine no longer is fashionable, it only stands to reason that after all a different kind of wine is in demand. [659] Your ancestors made this wine according to [the fashion] of their times. [660a] So does it not stand to reason that your ancestors, were they alive today, would make a wine in line with today’s taste?” [660b] However, as he was an insensitive, boorish scholar, the man did not heed what I (Tsuru) said. [660c] Because he still thought that everything was fine with this wine and would not take [...] [my advice], I let him be.

[661] To the west of Minowa 箕輪, way up from Matsuida 松井田, there is a place by the name of Nagahama 永浜.²²⁵ [662] In this village lives a man

223 The province of Musashi 武蔵, comprising parts of present-day prefectures Tôkyô and Saitama, and a part of Kanagawa 神奈川.

224 The area around Seto in today’s Aichi prefecture had developed into a centre of earthenware manufacturing during the Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1192–1333) after new technologies had been introduced from China. “Seto ceramics” 瀬戸焼. 瀬戸物 (*Seto yaki*, *Seto mono*) became equivalent to ceramics as such.

225 Matsuida (the modern township Matsuida in Gunma prefecture) was the 16th station

whose family name is Kogure 木暮. [663] He does not particularly love books but is a man fond of wisdom and he invited me (Tsuru) and asked me to give a lecture on the Old Master 老子²²⁶. [664a] Now, this man, too, runs a rice wine brewery. [664b] When he entertained me with his self-brewed wine, it turned out to be a fine wine, very much in contrast to the one in Minowa. [665] When I praised him on the good quality of the wine, my host asked, “What wine does it resemble?” [666] I (Tsuru) answered, “It resembles the wine of Itami.” [667] [Thereupon] my host clapped his hands and admired [my perceptiveness] for some time, and then asked, “Now, [among the wines of] Itami, which particular one does it resemble?” [668] I (Tsuru) replied, “It is like the wine of Mikuniyama 三国山²²⁷.” [669a] My host was delighted very much; he immediately went to the brewery 酒蔵 (*sakagura*) and came back with the brewer 酒トフジ (*sakatôji*) whom he next introduced to me (Tsuru). [669b] Now, this man was a brewer who had been in a house making the Mikuniyama of Itami. [670] “Mikuniyama is a wine made by this very man,” my host said with great delight. [671] I (Tsuru) also praised the brewer and said in admiration, “You really made [this wine] very well without forsaking the [original] method.” [672] The brewer was highly delighted; he took me (Tsuru) to the brewery building and offered me some wine. [673] Therewhile he prided himself on the construction of the brewery, and said, “[674] As for the construction of the brewery building, we removed the earth

along the “Mid-mountain Highway” (counting from Edo). Nagahama I have been unable to trace.

- 226 Seiryô’s teacher, the Confucian scholar Usami Shinsui 宇佐美瀧水 (1710–76) had published a revised edition of the *Old Master* (*Laozi / Rôshi*) (based on the commentary of the Chinese scholar Wang Bi 王弼, 226 to 249) in 1770 (Meiwa 7), which still is used for modern Japanese editions of the text. Seiryô too took an interest in Daoist thought and wrote an important commentary on the *Old Master: An Explanation of the Old Master in Japanese* 老子国字解 (*Rôshi kokuji kai*). This account incidentally reflects the interest wealthy men from the countryside took in intellectual pursuits. Seiryô describes his host as not especially fond of books; but, as YOKOTA Fuyuhiko 横田冬彦 demonstrates for the works of the Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken, there lived men in the countryside who possessed quite extensive libraries. Cf. YOKOTA 1995: 315–53. Seiryô’s life is another proof of intellectual interest among country-dwellers who individually or in groups invited scholars to give lectures. For another example cf. KD 305–6. For a general appraisal of cultural activities during the Edo period cf. also RAI 1985.
- 227 Although the place-name “Mikuniyama” (literally “Three-Province Mountain”) is used for several places in Japan (in modern Ôsaka prefecture is e.g. a mountain by this name, where the three former provinces of Settsu 摂津, Kawachi 河内, and Izumi 和泉 met) no relation to rice wine from Itami could be documented.

just from the bottom part コシマキ (*koshimaki*)²²⁸ and covered [it] with wire netting. [675] This makes for ventilation. [676] [If the air in the brewery gets stuffy], it extremely often happens that the wine's taste changes. [677] As for heating up the wine, whereas other houses heat it up two or three times, [our wine] keeps well after heating it up one time only." [678] It is heated up, of course, by water heating. [679] As this man was born in Itami, there was nothing that he did not know about anything to do with wine. [680] He said, "The rice wine breweries of Itami all cover the bottom part with wire netting in this way only."

[681] Well, Kogure's wine in time became popular; and along the Nikkô Highway 日光街道 (*Nikkô kaidô*), the Kiso Highway 木曾街道 (*Kiso kaidô*)²²⁹

228 Brewery buildings then were clay-walled structures with a lath made from bamboo or wood serving as the wall's inside frame, which then was covered with clay and a special type of plaster 漆喰 (*shikkui*) on the outside. The walls of this kind of building (also called *dozô* 土蔵 or "earthen storehouse") were strengthened by a thicker layer of clay near the foundations of the building. With the development of rice wine production around Itami and Ikeda 池田, this construction was replaced by the one described here, where the bottom part of the walls was perforated to allow better ventilation. Brewery buildings constructed in this way still can be seen in many parts of the country.

229 The "Nikkô Highway" could relate to two different roads. In one case it meant the "Highway for Shôgunal] Visits to Nikkô" 日光御成街道 (*Nikkô onari kaidô*) which branched off the "Mid-mountain Highway" in Edo's Hongô 本郷 district and – passing five post-stations – led to Nikkô 日光 (in present day Tochigi 栃木 prefecture), the site of the tomb of Tokugawa Ieyasu and the shrine dedicated to him. Cf. KSD 11: 44. In the other, as the NST-commentary (KD 266) suggests, it meant (1) a short road – known as "Nikkô Passage" 日光道中 (*Nikkô dôchû*) – which branched off the "Farland Highway" 奥州街道 (*Ôshû kaidô*; also "Farland Passage" or *Ôshû dôchû* 奥州道中) near the city of Utsunomiya 宇都宮 in Tochigi prefecture and led to Nikkô; or it meant (2) this short road plus the entire stretch of the "Farland Highway" from Senjû 千住 in Edo to Utsunomiya. Cf. TAKAYANAGI et al. 1983: 733. For the "Kiso Highway" several explanations can be adduced: 1. "Kiso Highway" (or "Kiso Road", *Kiso ji* 木曾路) served as another name for the "Mid-mountain Highway" in its entirety. NDHZ 6: 528. 2. The expression denotes a part of the "Mid-mountain Highway" that ran through the region called Kiso 木曾, the eleven stations between Magome 馬籠 (on the border of the prefectures Nagano and Gifu) and Niekawa 贄川 (in the centre of Nagano prefecture). NDHZ 6: 528, 532. 3. According to the KSD, "Kiso Highway" was the name of a short highway that connected Nagoya 名古屋 with the provinces Shinano and Hida and passed through three stations before reaching the station Fushimi 伏見 (in the south of Gifu prefecture) on the "Mid-mountain Highway". KSD 4: 98. The NST commentary (KD 266) opts for the second variant although the stations it gives as endpoints of the "Kiso Highway" differ from those given in the NDHZ. In respect of both roads it cannot be said with certainty which variant Seiryô had in mind, but I would assume that in the first case he was speaking of the "Nikkô Passage", which overlapped for the most part with the "Farland Highway" and branched off at Utsunomiya, and in the case of the "Kiso

and in other far-off regions, everyone bought Kogure's wine. [682] Moreover, because the master of Kogure is a wise man, he had his barrels built in the same way as [those used] for transport from Itami to Edo, wrapping them up in Ryûkyû [straw mats] 琉球ツツミ (*Ryûkyû tsutsumi*)²³⁰, labelling them "Quiet Delight" 静楽 (*seiraku*), and delivering them to various places. [683] Today, even along the Kiso Highway and the Nikkô Highway [...] four-[*tomasu* 斗]²³¹ barrels] are used for [wine] kegs in the countryside; and [taverns there], sure enough, line up four-*tomasu*-barrels of Itami [wine], which they use as their regular drink. [684] This all derives from the master of Kogure's wisdom.

[685] Now, when later I came to Minowa again, the brewer had been dismissed and replaced by another. [686a] When I inquired after the reason, [I was told that] Minowa's wine was not selling at all well any longer. [686b] Only then did [the master] think about what I (Tsuru) had told him. [687] I (Tsuru) said, "That the wine does not sell is not the brewer's fault. [688] It is because you lag behind the fashion. [689] If you hire a brewer, you should hire one from Itami who has been dismissed [because of some blunder]. [690] Even if you were to hire a hundred rustic-style brewers, it would be to no avail." [691] [At that] the Minowa master for the first time heeded my (Tsuru) words and hired a brewer from Itami. [692] Upon for the first time hearing my (Tsuru) advice, my host had kept on asking himself in an idle way, "Why does it not sell? If only I knew!" [693] Be it to [...] [insensitive, boorish] scholars or stubborn old men, as a rule I offer advice concerning things I have noticed. [694] Whether the other makes use of it or not is something I do not mind at all. [695] If it is something known to me but not to the other one, it is good to tell him. [696] [We] ought to be of use to others if we possibly can. [697] Because my host from Minowa was a scholar of crude learning, I had known from the beginning that on no account would he accept my (Tsuru) advice. [698] To give advice although one knows [the other will not at first heed it] – this is a technique 術 (*jutsu*) [I have decided to practise]. [699] It serves as a warning beforehand ヤハリゴト (*yaharigoto*) of what one later invariably comes to notice.

Highway" he likely had the second variant in mind.

230 *Ryûkyû tsutsumi*, literally "Ryûkyû packing", is a generic term for a certain method of wrapping products, e.g. rice wine barrels, for which straw mats woven from a kind of water oat 真菰 (*makomo*) from the Ryûkyû islands were used.

231 One *tomasu* consists of ten (to) *masu*, which is about 18 litres.

[700] Generally, when offering someone advice, it is extremely bad to seek to make him follow it. [701] This is impossible [anyway]. [702] I (Tsuru) have decided on the following. [703] The human being 人ト云モノ (*hito to iu mono*) is a creature that does not take advice. [704] It is the general condition with men 人ノツネ (*hito no tsune*) not to take it. [705] I have decided that if they were to take advice, it would be a great rarity, something strange. [706] Still, not to finish [giving] advice would be deplorable. [707] If I cannot say everything that is on my mind, this is extremely vexing. [708] Moreover, there are also people who although delighted in their heart reject by word of mouth [all advice]. [709] These people I impart [my advice] to in a very patient manner again and again, even though it is rejected time after another. [710] People who reject it in their heart as well as by word of mouth I still give my advice to. [711] Because the words [of advice] will stay in some corner of their heart 腹 (*hara*) after passing their ears once, even though they reject them at that time, they will certainly [emerge to] become the knowledge 心得 (*kokoroe*) of these people.

[712] However, people who reject [advice] extremely [strongly] react in such a way that it is not possible anymore for oneself to tell them even a single word more. [713] If one ignores this and continues talking, they will quit their place and retire into the inner chambers 奥 (*oku*) [of the house]. [714] If they retire into the inner chambers, this means one could give them only half the advice and not the other half. [715] The other, too, only hears half, but thinking that it is of no value to listen to this [advice] is a careless mistake. [716] One should hear the other out, and what afterwards turns out to be of no use, truly is of no use. [717] But to listen to half [of it only] and to adjudge the goodness or badness of the whole [advice] is a bad habit. [718] However, this, too, is something that cannot be helped. [719] On this point, I (Tsuru) have decided from the start [on the following point of view]. [720] Human beings are beings that listen to half the advice offered but not to the whole. [721] If there is someone who hears it out to the end, this is somebody out of the ordinary. [722] This is indeed strange. [723] But even if one decides on such a [viewpoint], it may still happen that one feels bitter against the other. [724] It may happen that one feels offended 癪ニサワル (*shaku ni sawaru*). [725] Therefore, I again decided on the following. [726] As a rule, even though one gives advice to somebody else, it is better that the other does not take it. [727] I have even decided that should the other heed one's advice, it would be something frightening.

[728a] [To give] my reason for this [attitude]: in ancient times Bian Que 扁鵲²³² during an audience with Duke Huan 桓公 of Qi said, "There dwells a

sickness in Your Lordship's body. [728b] If you take a medicine quickly, the sickness can be expelled." [729] [But] Duke Huan said, "I have no sickness," and did not listen. [730] After five days had passed, [Bian Que] again said, "[731a] You have a sickness. [731b] You should take a medicine at once." [732] Duke Huan did not answer. [733] When [Bian Que] saw Duke Huan after another five days, he returned home immediately [without saying anything]. [734] Duke Huan said, "Doctors make [people] drink medicine although they are not sick in order to boost their reputation. [735a] This is a wicked ruse." [735b] [Thus the duke] slandered [Bian Que]. [736a] Thereafter, Duke Huan suddenly took seriously ill. [736b] But when he sent someone to look for Bian Que, [it was found that] Bian had fled to the country of Qin 秦. [737] Duke Huan [eventually] died.²³³ [738] In the end, Bian Que's merits 功

232 Bian Que was said to be a famous doctor during the Period of Warring States. *Shiji*, SBBY 105.1a–6a. According to his biography in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, he could boast of healing successes in many different sectors (gynaecology, pediatrics, otorhinology, ophthalmology). *Ibid.*, 105.6a Among his feats was bringing back to life the crown prince of Guo, who had been believed to be dead, with a therapy involving acupuncture, compresses, and medicine. *Ibid.*, 105.2b–5a. For diagnostic purposes, Bian Que is said to have relied on observing a patient's appearance together with feeling his pulse. *Ibid.*, 105.1b. As his biography explains, Bian Que's abilities were due to an encounter with a supernatural being who had equipped him with secret medical lore and made him drink a potion which enabled him to look through a man into his inner organs and the energies coursing through them. *Ibid.*, 105.1ab.

233 Cf. *ibid.*, 105.5b. "Bian Que was passing through Qin. Duke Huan of Qin entertained him as a guest. When [Bian Que] went to court and saw [the duke] he said, 'Your Lordship is sick. [The sickness] dwells in your skin. If it is not treated it will go deeper.' Duke Huan replied, 'I am not sick.' Bian Que left. Duke Huan told [his retainers] left and right, 'Doctors love profit so much that they [even] try to take prestige from those who are not sick [by raising the impression that they did not fall sick only because of their services].' After five days, Bian Que again went to see [the duke] and said, 'Your Lordship's sickness [now] dwells in the blood vessels. If it is not treated, I fear that it will go deeper.' Duke Huan replied, 'I have no sickness.' Bian Que left. Duke Huan was displeased. After [another] five days, Bian Que again went to see him and said, 'Your Lordship's sickness [now] dwells in the bowels and stomach. If it is not treated, it will go even deeper.' Duke Huan did not answer. Bian Que left. Duke Huan was displeased. After [still another] five days, Bian Que again went to see him. [But] when he saw Duke Huan from afar, he hurriedly retreated. Duke Huan sent people to ask for the reason. Bian Que explained, 'When the sickness dwells in the skin, hot compresses are sufficient. When it dwells in the blood vessels, stone needles are sufficient. When it dwells in the bowels and the stomach, refined and unrefined wine are sufficient. [But] when it dwells in the marrow of the bones, not even the Liferuler [Si Ming 司命, the god controlling human life and death], can do anything about it.' Hearing this, the [duke's] retainers had nothing to ask [of Bian Que] anymore. Five days later, Duke Huan's body fell sick. [The duke] sent people to call Bian Que, but he had already fled the country, and in the end

(*kô*) became evident because Duke Huan did not take his advice. [739] If Duke Huan from the beginning had taken medicine as Bian had told him, probably the sickness would not have occurred. [740] If no sickness had occurred, no one would have known if Bian perhaps had only given [the duke] medicine in order to become famous. [741] That Huan did not take the advice in other words had the effect that Bian gained in reputation. [742] Therefore, someone who does not take one's advice is someone who is so friendly as to enhance one's own reputation. [743] Besides, because it taints one's name considerably, if [the other] takes one's advice and if by any slight chance it does not work out as one had advised, it is anyway to one's advantage to give advice and also that the other does not take it. [744] However, because it is galling after giving [an advice] halfway through to be rejected, I decided to write it down and then show it to people.

[745] Now, that Confucian scholars generally answer questions by territorial lords or ministers instantly is true of them since [the times of Masters] Kong and Meng. [746] I (Tsuru) detest this very much. [747] What territorial lords and ministers ask is difficult to understand. [748] To answer instantly in this manner means to be a man of formidable talents. [749] I (Tsuru) am not capable [of it]. [750] Moreover, it is all right if one does not answer instantly. [751] It does not bring shame to say, "I will return to my lodgings, ponder on it thoroughly, and write an answer for you right away." [752] Besides, what one has said by word of mouth vanishes. [753] It would be good for the one asking, too, to list up his questions in writing. [754] The one answering by all means should write his answer down. [755] Even Kong's and Meng's instant answers I (Tsuru) do not appreciate very much. [756] All the less [those of] fools [with] a sponge gourd [for a head] へチマノ ヨフナアホフドモ (*hechima no yô na ahô domo*)²³⁴.

Duke Huan died."

234 This is an expression used to designate a complete fool.

Abbreviations

<i>KD</i>	<i>Keiko dan</i>
<i>KSD</i>	<i>Kokushi dai jiten</i>
<i>NDHZ</i>	<i>Nihon dai hyakka zensho</i>
<i>NKD</i>	<i>Nihon kokugo dai jiten</i>
<i>NM</i>	<i>Nihon no meicho</i>
<i>NST</i>	<i>Nihon shisô taikai</i>
<i>SBBY</i>	<i>Sibu beiyao</i>

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