

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

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As in the first two parts of *Keiko dan* 稽古談 Kaiho Seiryô 海保青陵 (1755–1817)¹ discusses a broad range of subjects thematically linked by the flow of narration. The opening issue is introduced by a situation of ‘social conflict’: the clash of interests between a warrior official sent to Osaka on a mission of money-raising, and a money-lender. Technically speaking, the third part of KD² divides into two sections shedding light from opposing perspectives on the positions of the parties involved who, despite conflicting motives, are mutually dependent. A short middle piece effects the transition between the two parts of argumentation.

Seiryô's text lacks articulate theorizing and elaborate philosophical conceptions, and even gives short shrift to Confucian philosophy and its key concepts. Still, it succeeds in tackling long-standing problems of political philosophy that also had their place in the European history of ideas.

A central concern is reflexivity. This is contrasted with impromptu intelligence serving only the moment, observable not only in actual life, as exemplified by the warrior official's dealings with his merchant counterpart, but also in Confucian classics where it is an outward sign for the interiorization of virtue and learning. Seiryô contends that one should investigate the inner sentiments of the other person before one can proceed to control social intercourse. At the same time, he professes that expertise or real knowledge can only be gained from a practical involvement in life. Reflexivity, perspectivity, and experimentation are some of the attitudes which have triggered developments in Europe since early modern times. In contrast, Confucianism,

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

2 In the following, reference will be made to KD with page number for the text of the NST edition and to K 1 or K 2 with page and sentence number of the translations in KINSKI 1997 and KINSKI 2000.

as Seiryô characterizes it, strives for a spontaneity of scholasticism: to show off one's virtue or one's education. Seiryô holds that a prompt answer to the questions posed by the interlocutor does not take seriously what the other has learned from his life experiences, since life is a flux of ever changing phenomena that cannot be found in books. The same applies to social intercourse when he stresses the need to investigate psychologies and ways of thinking before trying to manipulate people.

The society Seiryô encompasses in his discourse is characterized by the relationship between warriors and merchants. The antagonism of different outlooks on human relations inherent in this relationship as well as the mutual dependency of the participants make this society a dynamic one.

Seiryô juxtaposes a society of gift-reciprocity and patronage based on status against a society of practicality and profit-making³ based on merit.⁴ The use

3 The word Seiryô uses for “profit” is written with the character 利 (Chin. *li*, Jap. *ri*), made up of the components “blade” on the right side and “rice plant/cereals” on the left (suggesting the mowing of cereals or “harvest”), or, in an older form, “breaking up the earth with a spade” on the right, and “rice plant/cereal” on the left (suggesting the meaning “to till the ground”, and, by extension, “returns/harvest”). MOROHASHI 2: 2932 lists twenty-five meanings for 利, among them: 1. sharp, to sharpen, 2. to pass (along, through), 3. to make sth. match, 5. fine, favourable, fortunate, 6. convenient, 7. smooth, 9. to covet, 10. to obtain, to take, 11. to rejoice, 12. good fortune, 13. to benefit, to profit, 14. wealth, 15. profits, private gains/earning, 16. skill, 17. working/function, 18. stronghold, 19. force, vigour, 20. victory, 21. to support/sustain sb., 22. interest (e.g. on money). The idea of “gain, profit, advantage” that is prevalent among these meanings also determines the usage of the word *ri* in Japanese. The NKDJ 20: 305b–c has the following six entries: 1. profit, gain(s), returns; used in a mental, material, or financial sense (in this meaning the character 利 appears also in the word *rieki* 利益), 2. interest (e.g. on money) (in this meaning 利 is also part of the words *risoku* 利息 and *rishi* 利子), 3. being in a favourable/superior position, e.g. in a battle; to win, victor, 4. to be convenient, to be handy, 5. working, effect, 6. a knife cutting well, a human mind being sharp. The subject of “profit” first was acknowledged as a concern of philosophical discussion in Chinese antiquity, at a time when social development had become sufficiently complicated that material “profit” as well as the “advantages” of high social standing called for reflection during the 6th/5th century BCE. The *Analects* 論語 (*Lunyu* / *Rongo*) offer an approach to the question that served as one model answer in the Confucian tradition ever since. The opening passage of the ninth chapter reads, “The Master seldom spoke of profit, and also of the orders [of Heaven] and of benevolence.” SBBY 5.1a, L 1: 216. This aloofness from “profit” combines itself with more outspoken sayings about its incompatibility with morally correct behaviour to form a negative picture of “profit” for its own sake. “The Master said, ‘If one is guided by [considerations of] profit and acts accordingly, it will happen frequently that [others] hold a grudge [against oneself].’” SBBY 2.10a, L 1: 169. And in the same chapter the “Master said, ‘The superior man is well-versed in righteousness, the small man is well-versed in profit.’” SBBY 2.11a, L 1: 170 (for “superior man” and “small man” cf. n. 134 and 201). However, it can be argued that the imperative of morally exemplary conduct that is

of deception as a means of winning the merchant to the warrior's point of view, combined with the bestowal of gifts as a sign of lordly favour points out the fact, if only implicitly, that a gift-exchange society is on the whole as calculating as a money-based one. On the other hand, guard duty, that typical occupation of Edo-period warriors, is a task which is non-productive and

incompatible with an active pursuit of "profit" calls upon those who identify themselves with the ideal of the "superior man" (i.e. a small elite qualified by birth and/or their upbringing and learning), while the common people's concern with more mundane aims is viewed with tolerance. The following exchange can be read in this light. "Zizhang 子張 asked, 'What is meant by being generous without spending [anything]?' The Master said, 'When [the superior man] goes along and lets the people take profit from the things from which they [are accustomed to] take profit – is that not being generous without spending [anything]?'” SBBY 10.6b, L 1: 352–53. A more elaborate view that exerted influence beyond the scope of Confucianism can be found in the thought of Xunzi 荀子 (4th/3rd century BCE). For him the pursuit of "profit" is an integral part of "human nature" 性 (*xing / sei*). "Now, as for man's nature, from birth he is fond of profit." *Master Xun (Xunzi / Junshi)*, SBBY 17.1a. Unfettered, this and other inborn tendencies would issue in strife, disorder, and destruction. For men to live in peace and order, the influence of good teachers and of laws, the guidance through rules of propriety and "righteousness" is needed. This leads Xunzi to the conclusion that "human nature" originally is bad and that man's goodness is the result of his education and his deeds. But insofar as the energies of "human nature" (those related to the pursuit of "profit" among them) can be instrumentalized for the realization of an ordered society, he does not condemn them straight away. It is a mark of both the "superior man" and the "small man" to love "honour/fame" 榮 (*rong / ei*) and to detest "shame" 辱 (*ru / joku*) and "loss" 害 (*hai / gai*). Only their approach is different, the one esteeming virtue and the other using deception. SBBY 2.10a. In the same context it says, "Someone who places righteousness first and profit after will have honour/fame; someone who places profit first and righteousness after will have shame." SBBY 2.9a. Although the *Analects*' clear distinction between "righteousness" and "profit" remained influential, Xunzi's stance laid one of the foundations (others can be found in the thought of the Mohist school and that of the so-called "Legalists" who were influenced by Xunzi) for the tolerant view of the pursuit of "profit" in later ages and the development of such concepts as the "profit" of the whole polity (which was contrasted with private "profit" and ranked above it). It has to be noted that in all instances quoted above "profit" is used in an undifferentiated way, having connotations of "material gain", "benefit", "(abstract) advantage", as well as the "excess of returns over outlay". No theory existed yet to distinguish "profit" in its common-place meaning from a more specialized usage in economic thought. And this is true of Seiryō, too, who in his evaluation of "profit" is clearly in accord with Xunzi and the "Legalists" and even goes so far as to take for granted its congruence with the "principle of Heaven". KINSKI 2000: 78–79, n. 79. Seiryō uses 利, signifying the "margin" or "profit" earned by merchants who engage in trade as well as by money-lenders who specialize in loans to warrior houses, and he uses *risoku* 利息 to distinguish the "interest" or the "interest rate" from "profit" or "margin" in general. However, he is not consistent in this respect. In a number of sentences (e.g. [149], [155], [159], [168], or [172]) Seiryō writes 利 obviously in the sense of "interest" on money.

4 That both the strategies of gift-exchange and the mechanics of a market-oriented economy

thus a metaphor for the immobility of the ‘old’ society, while profit-making serves as a synonym for the work-ethic.

Because the merchants of Osaka have to strive hard to make profit to secure the future or to save up by rationalizing their working processes, the metaphor of profit-making is Seiryô’s way of showing how his age can cope with the vital problem of impoverishment – or better yet, of differential speeds in economic development – thereby avoiding conflicts. Even so, for both ‘ideological’ stances Seiryô delineates the risks incumbent in both pathologies: warriors fall back on deception in an attempt to impose upon merchants on the basis of status power, while money-lenders with their superior knowledge of trade and the market are prone to emerge as villains by exacting harsh terms.

The dealings between warriors and merchants highlight the problematic nature of the relationship between rulers and ruled. Seiryô shows clearly that as one of the ruled, the money-lender has to master a two-way knowledge: an understanding of his own stance and that of his social superior, the warrior, who, by contrast, can only employ the limited and parochial knowledge of a member of the ruling strata. By acting on this insight into the master-standpoint, the inferior can hold his own and manipulate his superior. The ‘trick’ brought into play by the inferior, as Seiryô repeatedly emphasizes, is the accounting of performance in terms of money-value. Profit is the incentive of performance and makes for the stability of social intercourse and continuous interdependency of society.⁵

Merchants of Osaka and Their Disposition of Mind

Up to [334] Seiryô deals with the warrior official setting out to Osaka in order to raise a loan. In this context he explains the mind-set of Osaka’s money-lenders, stressing again their economic acumen and their ascetic single-mindedness of purpose. The exposition of the method of accounting and reinvesting used by the merchants – whom Seiryô obviously admired – is highly suggestive when read against the background of Max Weber’s delinea-

could exist side by side in other societies, too, is shown by Natalie Zemon Davis’ study on 16th century France. DAVIS 2000.

5 It is not possible to reconstruct the techniques of accounting (which differed among merchant houses) from Seiryô’s remarks. These had reached a high degree of complexity, with various types of account books for general or more specialized purposes in the care of distinct account sections 帳合方 (*chôai kata*). The reader wonders how much Seiryô understood of the technicalities involved.

tion of the ‘spirit of capitalism’ as a joining together of ascetism and instrumental rationality, with the craving for success and recognition in terms of profit-maximizing. If not in all aspects, at least with regard to their ascetic single-mindedness of purpose – which deliberately conceives of profit not as an additional boon to be consumed in self-gratification but as a result of efficient management to be reinvested for further maximization – the KD’s characterization of the merchant stratum’s disposition shows strong analogies to Weber.

Specializing in monetary loans to warrior houses, as many merchants in Osaka and in Edo did, was risky business. Warriors tended to feel that their obligation was cancelled once repayments had met the sum of the original loan, disregarding the terms of interest initially agreed to.⁶ To countervail this constant threat, the merchants of Osaka had devised a way of minimizing losses. Whereas other social groups – above all the warriors but Edo’s businessmen as well – would consider any perquisites as an extra boon to be used for personal indulgence⁷, the industrious men of Osaka calculated gifts and everything else a lord offered them in appreciation for services rendered, at their money value and then deducted this amount from the original loan [131–42]. With every bit of money reinvested, the money-lender is able to meet his own obligations towards other investors in his business [88–97]. The lengths to which such parsimony could go is vividly illustrated by a number of anecdotes, for example merchant houses conducting ceremonies to expel the “gods of poverty” 貧乏神 (*binbô gami*) from the house. As Seiryô explains, even if the master might not himself embrace the superstitious beliefs implied by such conduct, it left the household members and employees in no doubt whatsoever as to his loathing for poverty and, by extension, unnecessary expenses [269–83]. This antipathy might go so far that the master would devise ingenious methods for cutting back expenditure on lamp wicks by handing out new wicks to maid servants only in exchange for a certain quantity of pot soot scoured from cooking pots (thereby effecting a reduction in the fire wood used in the kitchen as well) [313–24].⁸ Thus an ascetic style

6 Seiryô draws attention to complaints of this kind among the money-lenders in Edo. Cf. [242–43]. For the money-lending business in general cf. n. 62.

7 Warriors on guard duty in Kyoto or Osaka receive double income for the term away from Edo, but instead of saving it they start to live in luxury already during the year preceding the period of distant service. Cf. [116–30]. And merchants in Edo, Seiryô suggests, are of a similar mind. Cf. [136–37].

8 Two other anecdotes in the same vein can be found in [284–99] (preventing maids from

of life is not only the mark of the master himself, but the members of his household, too, are imbued with the need for frugality – if only to curry favour with the master, for whom parsimony was an elemental attitude towards life if his business were to survive.

These remarks might justify to speak of a proto-capitalist attitude towards profit. This disposition, as Seiryô describes it, owes neither its existence nor its provenance to religious thought. And although Masuya Koemon 升屋小右衛門 (1748–1821), who figured so prominently in KD 2, is well known as a scholar under the name Yamagata Bantô 山片蟠桃, the attitude towards the workings of money he and his peers exemplify in Seiryô's account does not appear to be indebted to any Buddhist or Confucian tenets, but is based solely on the exigencies of money circulation. And these, as the reader has already learned in KD 1, are an expression of the “principle of Heaven” 天理 (*tenri*)⁹ as the guiding factor Seiryô sees at work behind the forces shaping the natural as well as the social world. If, then, there is a motivating disposition behind the attitude towards economic affairs in Osaka it is – either deliberately or due to circumstance – in accord with ‘rational’¹⁰ inner workings or laws of human as well as natural doings.

In some respects *Talks about Teachings of the Past* bears similarities to Bernard Mandeville's (1670–1733) *Fable of the Bees* (1724). Both advocate independent and self-interested economic activities among the members of society as being beneficial to a country's economy. There is a marked difference, however, when it comes to the evaluation of morally questionable habits. As the subtitle to Mandeville's work, *Private Vices, or Publick Benefits*, suggests, the author intended “to shew the Impossibility of enjoying all the most elegant Comforts of Life that are to be met with in an industrious, wealthy and powerful Nation, and at the same time to be bless'd with all the Virtue and Innocence that can be wish'd for in a Golden Age”.¹¹ For a state to achieve wealth and power the “private vices” of its inhabitants are not to be curbed but to be managed by the government in such a way that they are “turn'd into Publick Benefits”.¹²

squandering time and damaging brooms by shortening the handle of brooms) and [325–34] (devising weather resistant constructions for drying clothes).

9 Cf. KINSKI 2000: 78–79, n. 79.

10 In the sense of believing in and resorting to intelligible constants of a higher order for explaining observable and perhaps seemingly contingent facts and processes.

11 MANDEVILLE 1989: 54–55.

12 Ibid. 371.

Seiryô does not speak of “vices”, but he writes about “luxury” 奢侈 (*shashi*). This he does not outrightly condemn, but already in the context of warriors, who waste additional income for a life devoted to “luxury”, the author’s disapproval is palpable.¹³ And although strong critical words are avoided, the growth of “luxury” since the beginning of the Edo-period can be read as a process of degeneration.¹⁴ In the end, Seiryô concedes that at least impoverishment is no inevitable outcome so long as a luxurious way of life – even if it is unbecoming a person’s status – is balanced by a corresponding income [466–69]. But his sympathies unmistakably lie with the merchants of Osaka who, as it were, turn even pot soot into money by cultivating thriftiness in their household members.¹⁵

Interlude

The two paragraphs between [335] and [357] constitute a break. Up to this point, Seiryô has been unsparing in his criticism of the self-conceitedness and arrogance of the warrior officials who look down on the merchants of Osaka with a feeling of superiority and disdain. Full of confidence in their role as leaders of society and in their ability to steer persons of other status groups to their ends, a far from gullible merchant is beyond their imagining. Seiryô draws a picture of two uneven partners: the warrior official, with faith in his own resourcefulness, but who in fact knows nothing of the prevailing economic forces and who has not even made the slightest attempt to familiarize himself with the ways and means of Osaka’s business community¹⁶; and the

13 Lords, too, should show more concern for the tendencies of “luxury” among their retainers. Cf. [419].

14 Seiryô restricts himself to stating an imbalance between income and expenses. [442] More outspoken he could not have been, as, after all, he was talking about the “luxury” of the shogun himself, and direct critique of the government above was not viewed favourably (“luxury”, where it refers to the shogun, therefore, becomes “honourable/lordly luxury”).

15 Ramseyer drew attention to four main subjects that were heavily emphasized in the “house codes” 家訓 (*kakun*) of the Edo-period merchant families he studied: (1) diligence at work, (2) frugality of lifestyle, (3) obedience towards government, and (4) keeping ill-repute from their houses by stressing courtesy and honesty towards customers. RAMSEYER 1979: 210. On the whole, “house codes” betray a preoccupation with making sure of continued economic stability (later generations squandering the wealth painstakingly accumulated by their forbears being an established topos of Edo-period literature) instead of urging for an aggressive entrepreneurial ethic willing to take risks for the sake of rapid business expansion. Ibid. 214. This cautious approach fits in well with Seiryô’s representation of Osaka’s merchants as shrewd businessmen who pay meticulous attention to detail and build up wealth from even the most marginal earnings.

merchant, a master when it comes to the workings of money and who, wise to the ways of the world, is not taken in by clumsy attempts at manipulation.

Now, from [335] onwards, the clash between warrior and money-lender is depicted in terms of war, with the money-lender cast in the role of villain (albeit perhaps rhetorically, to show the social aspect from the perspective of the samurai) and the emphasis placed on knowing the mind of one's enemy. However, this exposition is only a prelude to the second half of KD 3, in which Seiryô (not for the first time) deals with the restricted mental framework to be encountered among the warriors, and proposes a strategem for overcoming this disposition and making samurai work for their upkeep.

Warriors: The Shortcomings of Appointment by Status

The warriors take it for granted, Seiryô repeatedly states, that they receive due income in rice on a yearly basis [398, 418]. The issue of hereditary privilege lies at the heart of the critique in the latter half of KD 3. This institution has led to a situation, in which warriors rest assured of their income without caring to earn it, thus living “at others’ expense” [582]. Instead they idle away their time in boredom and take issue with the long days of summer, when the hours of sleep stretch further apart than in winter [580–81]. Even on days of guard duty warriors have next to nothing to do, and when off-shift squander away time with silly games [669].¹⁷ How can it be that income is paid without the receiver doing anything to earn it? In most cases warriors do not inquire into the reasons for their hereditary stipends [399–400, 409]. But they alone are not at fault. After all, they are of low rank and lack insight [623]. The lords are much to blame. Although their high position entails that they should be wise [621], they too take it for granted that rice be paid their retainers [403]. Afraid of their entourage’s rancour should they seek to change the situation, lords let matters rest [627], and thus are responsible for turning good men into foolish simpletons [618] who do nothing but “thoughtlessly munch the rice they receive from above” [617].¹⁸

16 Clearly, this part is meant as an exposition of the inner workings of the money-lender’s mind, making up for the failure on part of the warriors to learn more about their counterparts.

17 Gambling games, most likely, for money is involved, as Seiryô says. [670–71]

18 With dire consequences, for “Heaven” punishes those who do not make use of their talents with the loss of these gifts. Dexterity of hand, sturdiness of leg, and sharpness of mind will invariably wither away when not put to good use. [596–616]

The reason as to why retainers receive their stipend had already been given in KD 1, and in most trenchant fashion: “[The lord] gives a [rice] allotment to his retainer and lets him work [in return for it]. The retainer sells his [bodily] strength to his lord and takes rice [in exchange]” [186ab]. How then can the warriors of today be roused from their slothful state and made to apply their bodily strength to the service of their lords? Seiryô warns against outright orders, as this would only alienate the retainers [496–99, 631–34]. Instead he advises a policy which stimulates people to work of their own accord: the “privy council award” as he calls his scheme [427–39, 510–34]. By this measure, younger sons and brothers of trusted retainers who are not yet in direct service and receive no income of their own, are secretly set to work on weapons or harnesses and recompensed accordingly. The expectation of a reward will incite competition among retainers on the whole, and in the end even the off-shift guards will give up their games in favour of making weapons [672], with the result that these no longer need to be bought from artisans.¹⁹

If nothing else, this scheme bespeaks Seiryô’s belief in the manipulability of human beings by playing on their elementary (and not the least, material) desires. This approach to politics and people is the important lesson learned from the “privy council award”, and it is moot to speculate on the effectiveness of such a strategy.²⁰ Besides, Seiryô goes one step further, digging to the very foundations on which the system of warrior hierarchy rested, without, however, unsettling them.²¹

The *Various Ordinances for the Military Houses* 武家諸法度 (*Buke sho hatto*)²² of 1615 (Keichô 慶長 20) had emphasized the importance of winning

19 As a reward, Seiryô suggests a sum of money below the current market price for the articles in question. [527]

20 It is difficult to share Seiryô’s optimism in the efficacy of his scheme as a solution to the strained circumstances in which the shogunal and the regional governments found themselves.

21 I am aware of the problem of “historical referentiality”. Suffice it to say that whatever the gap between the reality Seiryô thought to perceive and the manner in which he portrayed it, a number of scholars besides Seiryô recognized the topic of talent, merit, status, and appointment to office as worthy of discussion and addressed it within a comparable frame of reference: strained financial circumstances of the shogunal and regional governments, financial burdens of many warriors, status considerations versus personal talent, reform strategies for ensuring the prosperity of the state (including the warriors).

22 These “ordinances” were reissued several times during the first one hundred years of the Edo-period and formulated the basic tenets of warrior rule, specifying the relationship of regional lords to the shogunal government as well as to each other, covering the responsi-

“good men” 善人 (*zenjin*, *zennin*) for ruling the separate “states” 国 (*kuni*) – referring to the regional lordships.²³ In the following decades, however, neither the regional lordships nor the shogunal government itself seemed to heed this admonition. Instead, a close correspondence between a person’s status within the warrior hierarchy – most obviously expressed by the income measured in rice owed to a family – and the offices to which he could aspire was gradually taken for granted. This made it virtually impossible to promote talented men from low income groups to administrative positions of consequence.²⁴ So stifling had the trappings of status become by the end of the 17th century that the heavy reliance shown by the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (r. 1680–1709) and his successor Ienobu 家宣 (r. 1709–12) on trusted personal retainers – men who had not risen through the administrative ranks due to their family’s status, but who came from low-ranking levels and were dependent on their personal relationship to the shogun for the influence they wielded – can be interpreted as an attempt to promote talent from below by circumventing the hierarchy of status.

The qualification for administrative positions through a system of examinations was not adopted in Japan, although the Chinese example was known there. Not even influential Confucian scholars called for its institution, although the need to promote able men was felt and expressed by them.²⁵ Kate Wildman Nakai draws attention to the fact that early in his career Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725), who served as Confucian lecturer to Tokugawa Ienobu and had influence as an unofficial advisor on politics during his reign and that of his son, had criticized the government for limiting the opportunities of employment for masterless samurai.²⁶ And although there are other instances

bilities of lords with regard to the government of their territories, and drawing up general rules of behaviour based on considerations of propriety or status.

- 23 “The lords of states should choose [men with such] talents [as necessary] for performing [the tasks of] government. Generally, the way of ruling lies in getting [the right] men. [...] If the state has good men, it will flourish all the more. If it has no good men, it will perish without fail. This is the illustrious admonition [bequeathed to us] by the wise men of old.” NST 27: 455.
- 24 Generally, service in an official position was considered to be reciprocal to rice allotments. According to this thinking, an office incumbent was expected to defray all expenses accruing from his service through his allotment. Offices with heavy expenses, therefore, lay out of reach for low income groups. There had been three attempts between 1665 and 1689 to make possible appointments of talented men to positions above their income qualifications by instituting a system of additional income allowance, but these measures were not as successful as the system which was practised since 1723 (Kyôhō 享保 8).
- 25 Even though it may have been themselves whom they thought to be qualified for appointment.

that can be interpreted as support for opening government to broader participation from below,²⁷ Hakuseki, in Nakai's words, "made little effort to develop means of recruiting and promoting talent". One might ask, of course, if this comment has not to be recast, since Hakuseki, in spite of his ambition, did not even succeed in making his own position an official one.²⁸ But it has to be noted, too, that when Muro Kyûsô 室鳩巢 (1658–1734), a Confucian scholar and friend of Hakuseki, suggested undertaking a wide search for talented men from the lower ranks among the shogunal governments retainers, the latter dismissed the idea since he considered these men to be ignorant and uninterested in learning.²⁹

A similar picture can be drawn of Ogyû Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728), Hakuseki's contemporary among Confucian scholars and one critical of the policy being shaped under the latter's influence. Basing his analysis of the political situation on the insight that the "way" 道 (*dô*, *michi*) is the "way for keeping the realm in peace"³⁰ and that it is best exemplified in the institutions designed for government by the "former kings" 先王 (*sennô*) of Chinese antiquity, namely "rites" 礼 (*rei*), "music" 樂 (*gaku*), "punishments" 刑 (*kei*), and "political measures" 政 (*sei*),³¹ Sorai offered concrete proposals for reform,

26 NAKAI 1988: 160.

27 The problem many warrior families faced in Seiryô's times – financial difficulties often caused by too extravagant a lifestyle – could already be discerned at the beginning of the 18th century. Hakuseki had proposed to ask the shogun's direct retainers for suggestions on how to ameliorate the situation and ease their burdens. Ibid. 159–60. This was an unsuccessful move to find a way of reflecting the opinion of lower levels of rank in the sphere of general policies, but at least it makes clear Hakuseki's dissatisfaction with the prevailing system of rank. He deplored how considerations of status that went with an office caused an untoward strain on individual resources. The prestige of many offices often called for a level of ostentation unwarranted by the actual income of the incumbent. Thus heads of guard units were expected to mount larger retinues than retainers of the same income group who did not hold an office. According to Hakuseki's proposal, such burdens should be reduced. Ibid. 160–61. Nakai is justified in concluding that Hakuseki "was more interested in challenging the *kakaku* [family status] structure as such than in finding ways to promote talent". Ibid. 161.

28 The bitterness he expressed in the autobiographical account *Told Round a Brushwood Fire* 折りたく柴の記 (*Oritaku shiba no ki*) surely must be seen in light of Hakuseki's disappointment that even though Ienobu left no doubt about his favour, he did not see fit to appoint the scholar to a position of consequence – with the result that his influence waned quickly during the short reign of Ienobu's infant son Ietsugu 家継 (1709–16).

29 Ibid. 162.

30 *Distinguishing the Way* 弁道 (*Bendô*), NST 36: 12.

31 Ibid. 13.

emphasizing “system” 制度 (*seido*) and pertinent “laws” or “methods” 法 (*hō*). However, for him government does not only imply ‘cold’ institutions and norms. In *Teacher Sorai’s Questions and Answers Correspondence* 徂徠先生答問書 (*Sorai sensei tômon sho*) he states that more important than “laws” is the choice of the “right men” for official positions.³² But as in Hakuseki’s case, the positive attitude to the appointment of able men does not imply that Sorai would have endorsed a system of appointment based on formalized examinations. There is no indication that he regarded the Chinese example with reservations and thought it – as Nishio Kanji claims – the inevitable outcome of an examination system that petty men are successful while the best-qualified all too often fail, with the concomitant result that officials chosen in this manner prove to be morally deficient and irresponsible in their performance.³³ However, the absence of any reference to formalized examinations as a prerequisite for appointments is all the more conspicuous, as Sorai expressed the need for education as a means for developing talents. He explains the scarcity of able officials by citing deficiencies in the system of education and appointments. Nowadays, he says, the ruler himself makes use of people that are to his liking without leaving the making of appointments to subordinates. As a result, the latter have no means of drawing talented men into service. As this has been the situation for a long time, talented new men are no longer being produced. Even if someone with talent were to come along, he himself would be little aware of the fact, for there is scarce opportunity to apply that talent. Men of ability can only develop if they are furthered. Therefore, the ruler should leave the making of appointments to his subordinates who are in a position to recognize and promote talent. Sorai explicitly takes issue with favouritism on the part of the lords, but also with the teachers of his day who “saw the cattle’s horns and clip the birds’ wings”.³⁴

Even if an outspoken defense of meritocracy cannot be found, the latter days of Hakuseki and Sorai record some improvement during the reign of

32 OSZ 6: 184–87, YAMASHITA 1994: 55–63. Sorai discusses the question of talent at some length but he does not say anything about procedures of appointment nor the relationship between talent/merit and considerations of status.

33 NISHIO Kanji 西尾幹二 refers to the *Essays from the Reef-Garden* 園隨筆 (*Ken'en zuihitsu*) as the source where Sorai repeatedly took issue with the Chinese examinary system. “Seiô no saki o mita kyôiku kaikaku” 西歐の先を見た教育改革 (The Educational Reform that Passed Beyond the Occident), Part Five, *Sankei shinbun* 25–11–1998. However, I could not verify any case in point. Cf. OSZ 1: 129–212, 461–94.

34 *Ten Scribbings from the Reef-Garden* 園十筆 (*Ken'en jippitsu*), OSZ 1: 340.

Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (r. 1716–45). In 1723 (Kyôhō 8), earlier attempts were resumed³⁵ and a system of additional income 足高 (*tashidaka*) introduced. The required income for all offices in the shogunal administration was fixed, and appointees who fell below the minimum were paid the difference in full,³⁶ regardless of their original income, for the whole term of service out of the coffers of the government.³⁷

But even then the question of “good men” did not lose its urgency. That not all were satisfied with the opportunities for service in responsible positions, despite the system of additional income, is shown by the example of another Confucian scholar, Katayama Kenzan 片山兼山 (1730–82). Kenzan did not enlarge on the political conditions of his age. But the disappointment that his hopes for service with the Hosokawa 細川 family in Kyûshû had been dashed may have been a motivating force in his treatment of the subject of “good men”. The last chapter of Part Two of *Master San’s Beginning of a Work* 山子垂統 (*Sanshi suitô*) opens with a long exposition on “good men”.³⁸ Here as in other cases, Kenzan assumes a view contrary to Sorai’s. Whereas the latter had seen “political measures” as lying at the heart of the “way”, offering advice for reform in such writings as *Talks about Political Measures* 政談 (*Seidan*)³⁹, Kenzan implicitly dismisses the preoccupation with administrative minutiae. “If a lord only possesses good retainers 善キ臣 (*yoki kerai*) precious commodities will arise of their own accord; the enterprise of enriching the state and strengthening its army, he can undertake as his heart desires and the meritorious [deeds] of a king or a hegemon will be realized as he wishes. But he may accumulate as many precious commodities as he will, if he does not

35 Cf. n. 24.

36 In earlier versions of this system, the additional income amount had been fixed for each office so that in case the difference between stipulated income and original revenue plus additional income was too great, persons of low rank could not be appointed.

37 Similar examples can be observed in the regional lordships. According to one theory, the afore-mentioned Muro Kyûsô had a hand in the shaping of the additional income system. Providing a model for the course adopted in 1723 was an explanation of the practice of remuneration during the Zhou-period 周 (11th century BCE to 221 BCE) in Chinese antiquity that he had been ordered to write by Yoshimune.

38 NRI 9: 313–22. *Sanshi suitô* is not a coherent exposition of Kenzan’s philosophy, but a collection of longer and shorter discussions of sayings and phrases from different Chinese classical writings that have been – in Kenzan’s view – misinterpreted. Thus the subject of “able men” is not presented in a consistent manner with regard to the practices in the latter half of the 18th century.

39 For a translation into English, cf. LIDIN 1999.

possess good retainers and if he does not cultivate his virtue, calamities and damage will come forth [...], and they will be the root of [his] downfall.”⁴⁰ And as the lord must cultivate virtue, the mark of “good retainers”, too, is their morally distinguished character, not the possession of useful practical traits. Kenzan’s stance could not be further from Seiryô’s, with whom he shared the same teacher,⁴¹ Usami Shinsui 宇佐美瀧水 (1710–76), a former student of Ogyû Sorai.

Seiryô sees the “privy council award” as a means to incite the warriors as a whole. Under present conditions men’s hearts are turned into “dead hearts” [642]. This concerns not only payment of income irrespective of the services rendered but also the system of appointment to office by hierarchy of rank. If appointments are expected to be made according to a preordained order based on rank, people will consider it their just due to be raised to office when their turn comes. Lacking incentive for personal effort, the retainers will rest contented in their dull rice-munching lives [640–42]. A more scathing critique is hardly imaginable. This situation can be overcome by circumventing the established order of appointments with help of the “privy council award”. Already the possibility of being rewarded has stirred retainers out of their apathy and kindled the desire to make weapons in hope of personal gain [638]. If now the “award” were used to grant appointments to office without regard to the established order [638], it would be evident to all that individual efforts and merits will be honoured and promotion does not hinge on favouritism [656–58, 661–63]. It is a mark of “human feelings”, Seiryô knows, to strive for merits if endeavours pay off [664].

This insight is paired with another one, namely that personal strengths or talents – either those one displays from birth or those one has cultivated through extensive training – should be reflected in the kind of appointment one receives. Adopting an argument already found in Wang Anshi’s 王安石 (1021–86) memorial to Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023–63),⁴² Seiryô criticizes the contemporary practice of promotions. Due to the habitual linking of status to office, promotions are made from among the positions fitting for a

40 NRI 9: 320.

41 Seiryô was still a child when he entered Shinsui’s school in 1774 (Hôreki 宝曆 14, Meiwa 明和 1). It probably was some years later that Kenzan was adopted by Shinsui, and it is uncertain whether he came to know Seiryô during the period up until the break with his adoptive father.

42 Cf. n. 241. Already in KD 1 Seiryô had written at length about Wang’s reform policies under the Chinese Northern Song 宋 dynasty (960–1126).

member of a certain status group [734–38]. Thus, someone who has distinguished himself in one area is transferred to a completely different domain for which he has no prior qualifications. “To rob him of this place where he fitted well and move him to a place he is not at all used to, is a bungling [method]” of personnel management [741]. Instead, Seiryô pleads for promotions along the lines of one’s prior occupation. A retainer who shows a gift for the management of finances or who has gathered vast experience in this profession should be raised to a higher position in the same field [733]. This, however, might conflict with considerations of status. Even the highest position in the finance management ranked low and was not considered suitable for the son of a “house elder” [745].⁴³ The answer Seiryô offers to this problem is simple: Appoint this son to a task in keeping with his talent and grant him the same status as more prestigious positions for which he would have been better qualified not by talent but by rank [746–49].

Seiryô retains the vestiges of an established system of warrior hierarchy and argues in terms of rank and status. But what he proposes, in fact, is something of an upheaval. Clearcut status divisions between offices are stripped away, and all tasks are placed on the same footing insofar as they should be assigned to retainers qualified either in terms of personal talent or experience – irrespective of the incumbent’s respective status. This leads to a disponibility of all offices on criteria of merit and talent alone, with the result that the lord can “appoint someone of very high rank to a lowly office, or someone of very low rank to an important office” as he sees fit [750].

The same conclusion offers itself as in the introduction to KD 2. Seiryô finds severe words of critique for the ingrained mindset of the warriors as well as for the governmental structures and the rules of conventions upon which they are based. He offers far-reaching proposals for reform, as in the case of introducing a system of appointment by merit. But at the same time the ramifications of warrior rule as such are not refuted, even though he calls for adaptation to prevailing trends by (1) developing a work ethic, (2) investigating the order of things, (3) examining the mindframe and conduct of people to know what lies at the core of social relations, and (4) economizing and rationalizing processes so that superciliousness will not be encouraged. Still, Seiryô argues within the limits set by present institutions and pays due respect to entrenched perceptions of status among the warriors.⁴⁴

43 Cf. n. 49.

44 The strongest argument countering a system of hereditary status and calling for appointment

*Talks about Teachings of the Past, Part Three*⁴⁵

[1] Now, to engage in a conversation with a money-lender 銀主 (*ginshu*)⁴⁶ from Osaka without having the slightest inkling of his inner sentiments 腹中 (*fukuchû*) – this is bound to go extremely bad. [2] [Engaging in a conversation without knowing the other’s intentions] is called “impromptu wisdom” 即答智慧 (*sokutô jie*).⁴⁷ [3] [Some people] answer the great lords’ 大名 (*daimyô*)⁴⁸ and the ministers’ 大夫 (*taifu*)⁴⁹ questions on the spot. [4] This is a behaviour that makes light of great lords and ministers. [5] It is a behaviour that belittles great lords and ministers as if they were big fools 大アホフ (*dai ahô*). [6] That Confucian scholars 儒者 (*jusha*) are unmindful of their own foolishness and belittle great lords and ministers [by giving ready-made answers] is despicable in the extreme. [7] If one were not to make light of others, one would not answer immediately. [8] One should work through one’s thoughts thoroughly and then answer. [9] It seems that [Confucian scholars] answer

by merit can be found in Chinese antiquity. It was long hallowed by the traditions of Confucianism, and so Seiryô could make use of it expecting that it would be recognized as valid by his readers: According to tradition the legendary emperor Yao 堯 turned over his throne not to his son but to the man who had proved himself the most able and virtuous in the realm, Shun 舜. And likewise, Shun chose Yu 禹 as his successor instead of his incapable son. Cf. n. 145, 146. As Seiryô contends, in these early times, at the beginning of human history, when the institutions of society still had to be modelled and refined by sagely rulers, the principle of appointment by merit was practised. It was only when Yu named his son to succeed him that reservations about inheritance through blood or status (according to tradition, Shun came from a family of low standing) began to fade [411–17].

- 45 This translation is based on the edition of the *Keiko dan* in NST 44: 215–346. Numbers in square parentheses indicate sentences in the original. When a sentence in the original could not be equally rendered in one, I divided it into two or more parts, indicating the parts with small letters.
- 46 Literally “master of silver”. Cf. KINSKI 2000: 74, n. 66.
- 47 Literally “the wisdom of answers given on the spot”. This topic provides a link with the final passage of KD 2. There, Seiryô had criticized giving answers immediately when asked by regional lords or high-ranking officials on serious subjects. He suggested that after receiving such a question one should return to one’s lodgings and put down one’s reply in writing after having considered it thoroughly.
- 48 Literally “great name”. Cf. KINSKI 2000: 113, n. 207.
- 49 The Chinese expression *daifu* (literally “great man”) during Zhou times signified nobles or officials ranking above the larger group of “gentlemen” 士 (*shi*) but below the *qing* 卿 who held ministerial positions. Later, the word was used as an honorific expression for officials in general. In Japan, during the Edo period, *taifu* could mean the “house elders” 家老 (*karô*), the highest ranking retainers of a regional lord. Seiryô uses the word in this sense.

on the spur of the moment in imitation of Master Kong 孔子 (Chin. Kongzi / Jap. Kôshi; Confucius), because Master Kong always answered impromptu, as in his reply to Duke Jing 景 of Qi 齊 when the latter asked him about politics.⁵⁰ [10] [Master Meng 孟子 (Mengzi / Môshi; Mencius), too], always answered immediately, as in his reply to King Xuan 宣 of Qi's questions.⁵¹ [11] Probably only those conversations have been recorded when Kong and Meng answered on the spot. [12] [However], even Kong and Meng will have thought thoroughly, and pondered [matters] on return to their lodgings before giving the answer.⁵²

[13] Officials going down to Osaka to raise [money]⁵³ embark [on their assignment] immediately on receiving the order to raise funds. [14] This is [the same as] answering on the spot without having undertaken any [prior] investigations. [15] It is again strange that these lords and these ministers are comfortable in sending an impromptu-man 即答男 (*sokutô otoko*) to Osaka.

50 *Analects* 12.11, SBBY 6.12b–13a, L 1: 256. “Duke Jing of Qi asked Master Kong about politics. Master Kong answered, ‘[It means that] the lord is lord, the retainer is retainer, the father is father, and the son is son.’ The Duke said, ‘That is good! Truly, if the lord were not lord, the retainer not retainer, the father not father, and the son not son, then even if there were grain, would I get to eat it?’”

51 Master Meng 孟子 (*Mengzi / Môshi*) 1A7.1–24, SBBY 1.7a–12b, L 2: 137–49. This conversation contains Master Meng's answer to the king's question on the kind of virtue a man must possess in order to become a true king and if he himself would qualify to attain this standard.

52 At the end of KD 2 Seiryô stated his distaste for those instances where Master Kong and Master Meng appeared to have answered their hosts right away. KD 268; K 2: 127 [755].

53 There were a number of merchant houses in large cities such as Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto catering to the financial needs particularly of regional lords, practising what is known as *daimyô gashi* 大名貸 or “borrowing to great lords”. After Osaka had established itself as the hub of a developing trade network during the 17th century, it was here that the banking and credit system concentrated. A large number of regional lordships shipped their rice to Osaka, sold it there and had the proceeds sent to their residences in Edo. However, discrepancies could occur between the exact timing when a lordship would require money and the arrival of its rice in Osaka. The same holds true for the amount of money needed and the amount of income from the rice sales. Whereas crop failures and a generally falling rice price led to a decrease in earnings, rising prices for other articles of daily life, growing expenses for construction projects that regional lordships had to participate in at the behest of the shogunal government, as well as an increasingly luxurious lifestyle caused an ever rising demand for money. As he made abundantly clear in KD 1 and KD 2, Seiryô found the explanation for this turn of events in the warriors' mental disposition: a stubborn belief in the excellence of their traditions and a refusal to embark on new enterprises coupled with an ignorance in practical matters (i.e. mathematics and business affairs) and an indulgent lifestyle which they could ill afford.

[16] Procurement of money 銀子 (*ginsu*)⁵⁴ in Osaka is something extremely difficult. [17] Difficult does not mean that it is impossible. [18] There are any number of good methods that do not even entail expenses, but to embark [on the task] recklessly and go to Osaka – this is [as heedless as] impromptu-answering. [19] It means to make light of Osaka. [20] This is a behaviour that considers Osaka to be foolish and oneself wise. [21] To set out on a lecturing trip 遊説 (*yûzei*)⁵⁵ without even knowing the inner sentiments of Osaka’s money-lenders – this is ridiculous in the extreme.

[22] Generally, impromptu wisdom may cause harm, but it does not bring any benefits. [23] That is because it makes light of the other 先 (*saki*). [24] The mind of the money-raising official works in the following way: [25] “The money-lenders of Osaka are of the general populace 民 (*tami*). [26] As [they belong to] the general populace they are foolish 愚 (*oroka*). [27] Oneself is a warrior 士 (*shi*).⁵⁶ [28] As [one belongs to] the warriors, one is wise. [29] For a wise warrior there is nothing difficult at all in dealing with [one of] the foolish people 愚民 (*gumin*).⁵⁷ [30] One will eloquently explain [matters to him], reason him into compliance and [thus] make him give the money. [31]

54 Literally “silver pieces”. Like *kinsu* 金子 (“gold pieces”), the word also signifies ‘money in general’. The choice of the character for “silver” reflects the fact that in western Japan, including Osaka and Kyoto, where Seiryô lived during the latter part of his life, silver money was the prevalent currency, with copper for small denominations, whereas in eastern Japan gold money reckoning was established.

55 The word, as it was used in China, at first described the practice of scholars during the Period of “Warring States” 戦国 (*Zhanguo* / *Sengoku*) (403–221 BCE), who visited with the princely courts and lectured their hosts on their teachings. Later, the expression came to mean travelling around the country and explaining one’s views. Seiryô’s use of the word will become clear in the following paragraph.

56 In early Chinese usage the word denoted a person with the ability or talent to take care of things. Thus, a *shi* can be understood as an “able person”. The word meant the group of lower noblemen or “gentlemen” (cf. n. 49) who manned the chariots that formed the main body of ancient Chinese armies, and performed various administrative tasks. *Shi* thus could also mean “warrior” or “official” respectively. In Japan the word came to be used as an expression for the members of the warrior status group (as for example in “gentlemen/warriors, peasants, artisans, and merchants” 士農工商, *shi nô kô shô*). Besides *shi*, Seiryô uses *bushi* 武士 (“gentleman in arms”) or *buke* 武家 (“military house”) when he speaks of the warrior status group.

57 The word already appears as a fixed expression in ancient Chinese literature. MOROHASHI 4: 4524 cites two instances from pre-Han 漢 times (Former Han dynasty 206 BCE to 8 CE; Later Han dynasty 25–220 CE): *Master Mo* 墨子 (*Mozi* / *Bokushi*), SBBY 9.15a, and *Master Han Fei* 韓非子 (*Han Feizi* / *Kan Pishi*), SBBY 6.11b. In both instances the word is used without discussing its meaning, but the context implies that it is a major feature of the “foolish people” to be easily swayed by bad influences.

No difficulty at all. [32] In case one explains what is at stake but he does not comply, then one will make him give [the money] by deceiving⁵⁸ him with one's wisdom. [33a] It is not at all difficult for a wise warrior to deceive [someone of] the foolish people." [33b] In such a way he has decided [on things] in advance. [34] This argumentation, however, is the [same as the] argumentation [criticized] by Master Meng when he said, "Only compare the top parts [of things] without making their roots equal."⁵⁹ [35] To be sure, the money-raising official is probably wise. [36] [But] his wisdom likely lies in the learning of letters and arms 文武ノ学問 (*bunbu no gakumon*).⁶⁰ [37] The

58 The verb *damasu*, as such, which Seiryô uses in this context does not only imply persuading someone with clever words but outright deception.

59 Seiryô alludes to *Master Meng* 6B1.5, SBBY 6.13b, L 2: 423: "If one brings the top parts [of things] to the same level without measuring their roots, a piece of wood an inch square can be made to reach a greater height than a steep hill [or the pointed peak of a tall building, according to Zhu Xi's 朱熹, 1130–1200, interpretation in *ibid.*]."

60 Both literary and military training belonged to the accomplishments expected of a "gentleman" in ancient China (it has to be noted, that "letters" or "literary training" covers only one aspect of *wen / bun* 文; in a broader sense it means the degree of a person's "cultivation / refinement"). These were subsumed under the heading "six arts" 六芸 (*liuyi / rikugei*): "rites" 礼 (*li / rei*), "music" 乐 (*yue / gaku*), "archery" 射 (*she / sha*), "charioteering" 御 (*yu / gyo*), "writing" 书 (*shu / sho*), and "numbers" 数 (*shu / sū*). Cf. e.g. *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty* 周礼 (*Zhouli / Shurai*), SBBY 10.7b. Thus it does not surprise that the *Book of Poetry* 詩經 (*Shijing / Shikyô*) praises Ji Fu 吉甫 as a model for all countries because of his prowess in "letters/civil cultivation and arms" 文武 (*wenwu*). SBBY 10.7a, L 4: 283. In Japan, the tradition of literary and military accomplishments as requisites of a "gentleman" received new emphasis starting in the 17th century, when the concept was incorporated into what eventually became known as the "way of the warrior" 武士道 (*bushidô*). In order to rationalize the role of the warrior elite under conditions of lasting peace, Yamaga Sokô 山鹿素行 (1622–85) explained the eminent position of warriors in society not only by way of their military function but through their role as models and leaders of the other status groups, qualified for this task by both their military training and their literary as well as moral cultivation. "The gentleman must be endowed with the virtues and the knowledge of letters and the military [arts]. Therefore, outwardly he brings the functions of sword, halberd, bow, and horse [to perfection], inwardly he strives [to fulfil] the way 道 (*michi*) of lord and retainer, friend and friend, father and son, older and younger brother, and husband and wife; and if thus keeping the way of letters/civil cultivation in his heart and holding his weapons in readiness on the outside, the three people 三民 (*sanmin*) [i.e. peasants, artisans, and merchants] will of their own accord make [the gentleman] their teacher, respect him, follow his teaching, and thereby will come to understand the root and the end [i.e. the order of things]." Yamaga's Words Grouped [by Subject] 山鹿語類 (*Yamaga gorui*), FURUKAWA Kôichi 古川黄一 (ed.), vol. 2, 1910: 352. It might be questioned to what extent warriors in general identified with this ideal. To be borne in mind is Watanabe Hiroshi's 渡辺浩 evidence of the contemptuous manner in which warriors sometimes treated Confucian scholars. WATANABE 1985: 12. However, Seiryô himself cannot be wide of the mark when he refers to other members of this status

borrowing and lending of money 金銀カリカシ (*kingin karikashi*) is something warriors are not familiar with. [38] It is something warriors do not know at all. [39] It is something incomprehensible [to them].

[40] The people of Osaka, insofar as they are of the people, are indeed probably foolish. [41] Their foolishness has likely to do with the learning of letters and arms. [42] [But] what concerns the borrowing and lending of money, their forebears have been [engaged in] the lending of money for generations. [43] They are men who make the lending of money their profession. [44] They are men who have devoted themselves solely to the borrowing and lending of money since birth. [45a] As from morning to evening they handle the inner sentiments of the warriors from all over Japan, they are well used to [doing business with the warriors]. [45b] It is not even to be dreamed of that they are deceived into lending money by the likes of the warriors, or that they are [that much] taken in by the warriors' eloquence as to connive at a loss. [45c] They are [too] familiar with the manners and customs of this country [and its ruling warriors]. [46] Because talks will not go well if [the money-lenders] do not make a face as if they were deceived although they know [the warriors] through and through, they handle [the warriors] by making a face as if they had been deceived and by [apparently] going along [as hoped for]. [47] The impromptu-man is someone who all his life has never known anything about the workings of money. [48] That he sets out thoughtlessly ヤミクモニ (*yamikumo ni*) without having the faintest idea whether or not the money-lenders of Osaka can be deceived at all by a warrior, is absurd.

[49] This present argument that Osaka is foolish and oneself wise, is an argument that has compared [warriors and money-lenders on grounds of] the learning of letters and arms. [50] The business at hand [entrusted by] one's lord concerns the errand to raise money. [51] It concerns the workings of money. [52] This is a matter at which Osaka excels and of which oneself knows nothing. [53] It is a business at which oneself is exceedingly foolish and Osaka exceedingly wise. [54] This is a scheme where the exceedingly foolish one means to deceive the exceedingly wise one. [55] It is a situation where someone who knows absolutely nothing and someone who knows everything to the deepest depths measure their wisdom or foolishness against each other.

group, who "were loath of military arts and fond of letters". Cf. [686]. He, himself, is a case in point: a warrior who gave up a promising career as the high-ranking retainer of a regional lord and spent the better part of his life in literary pursuits and lecturing activities.

[56] Now, someone who raises money by making the request for [such and such] an amount [of money] while claiming that he does not know anything, and who does everything according to the rules of Osaka without showing his wisdom at all, [really] is a skilful man. [57] Although a man who brandishes his wisdom and thinks to bring his business to conclusion by deceiving [the other party], follows a doubly time-consuming and very circuitous route that makes for a lot of expenses, as many as nine out of ten belong to this [type of] impromptu-wisdom man. [58] And in [a lord's] residence, too, these men of impromptu-wisdom who brandish their wisdom are chosen and sent to Osaka⁶¹ as choice men. [59] They all neglect to investigate the inner sentiments of Osaka's [money-lenders], they recklessly jabber, and although intent on emerging victorious, they are on dangerous [ground]. [60] [Besides, their way of doing business] makes for a lot of expenses and causes great damage. [61] Therefore, when [such an impromptu-man] goes to Osaka and tries to raise money, everything goes against expectations. [62] When the official deceives, the money-lender is duped. [63] Duped does not mean that he really is deceived; it is only that the negotiations take a long time if he does not put on a face [as if duped]. [64] Although [the official] already thinks "It's done, it's done!", [talks] turn back again and again and do not come to a close. [65] [The reason why] at first he thinks "It is done!" is that he gets this impression because the money-lender puts on a face as if deceived. [66] However, because with this way of proceeding it does not pay off for the money-lender to give money, he turns back the talks again. [67] If he does not return to the start three or five times and build up [the conversation] again and again, it will not reach the point where interests meet. [68a] At first the talks go as the official had expected. [68b] Going as the official expected means that everything is exceedingly favourable to the [lord's] residence but unfavourable to the money-lender. [69] It is impossible that [the negotiations] come to a conclusion in this manner. [70a] When the official feels convinced that his eloquence has deceived the money-lender and when [he congratulates himself on] deceiving [the money-lender] at long last, [negotiations] again turn back and no settlement is reached. [70b] [The official] may think "Oh what a pity", but as a matter of fact [the money-lender] had not been duped [at all]. [70c] [Such] a man who feels convinced that he

61 Seiryô uses the expression *shuppan sasu* 出坂サス (to let someone set out for Osaka), which contains the second of the characters used for writing "Osaka" in pre-modern times, 坂, in its Sino-Japanese reading.

has deceived [the money-lender] is called an impromptu-official. [71] This is [what is meant by] hasty conclusion. [72] This is jumping to a conclusion. [73] This is priding oneself on one's wisdom. [74] It is a miscalculation. [75] The gist is that one does not know anything about the inner sentiments of the other party. [76] This is thoughtlessness.

[77] [I] will now give a written exposition in general of the inner sentiments of a money-lender. [78] First of all, a money-lender is someone who makes his living by lending money and taking interest [on it]. [79] The reason is that the money-lender would starve to death if he were not to lend money. [80] Therefore he wants to lend money. [81] He wants to lend money, but if the interest were too low it would not be worth it for the money-lender. [82] Now, if he lends [money] to an untrustworthy place it will not return. [83] The original money may as well not return. [84] If it always remains at the residence it is even better. [85] As long as the interest is paid according to the law all is well.⁶² [86] As the original money is lent with the intention to

62 Perhaps this sentence refers to governmental proclamations concerning the treatment of lawsuits over debts. Starting in the middle of the 17th century, a number of "ordinances [calling for] settlements by mutual consent" 相对済し令 (*aitai sumashi rei*) are known. These were issued for several reasons, not least the conspicuous increase in disputes concerning the inability or unwillingness of warriors to pay back the debts they had incurred with merchant houses. The government ordinances distinguished between several groups of cases that either would or would not be received in government courts. Not in all cases were suits for debts dismissed from the courts and the litigants called upon to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement. But the 1719 (Kyôhō 4) "ordinance [calling for] settlements by mutual consent" decreed that the courts would receive no disputes over debts incurred in the past nor those over new debts. This could be interpreted as an attempt to make it easier for warriors to dismiss outstanding obligations. However, as the ordinance itself stated, the refusal to adjudicate any suits for debts did not mean that the debtor was thus exonerated and his obligation cancelled. The latter still remained, only the right of appeal to the courts being denied. After this ruling was revoked ten years later in order to facilitate the procuring of money, in the following years new "ordinances [calling for] settlements by mutual consent" had to be issued in order to curb the growing number of litigations, indicating cases that would be left to the goodwill of the disputants and fixing certain days on which only suits concerning recently incurred debts would be received. Still, these examples, too, did not deny the obligation of the debtor to come to terms with the creditor. In contrast, the "renouncement ordinance" 棄捐令 (*kien rei*) of 1789 (Kansei 寛政 1), even though it did not concern all debts, ordered a partial cancellation of debts that direct retainers of the Tokugawa house in Edo had incurred with the agents (called "[rice receipt] tally inserters" 札差, *fudasashi*) who – in place of warriors using their services – received these warriors' rice allowances out of the government's storehouse, sold it to merchants, and issued loans (at an interest rate of more than fifteen percent). In the case of recent debts (those incurred after 1785, Tenmei 天明 5), the interest rate was fixed at six or twelve percent and the rate for future loans was officially settled at twelve

take interest on it, [the money-lender] after all wants it to be kept [at the residence] as long as the interest is paid. [87] As regards the interest, it cannot be taken continuously at the same rate as when [the loan] was first made. [88] The money handed out to a great lord, however, does not entirely consist of money that the money-lender has saved up [himself]. [89] A lot of it is transfer-money 振込金 (*furikomi kin*). [90] Now, concerning this transfer-money, in Osaka [money-lending houses] mutually deposit money with each other. [91] Money that has come in from another house is called transfer. [92] If oneself deposits money with another house this is also called transfer. [93] But it is not only money-lenders who make transfers. [94] Confucian scholars, doctors, painters, and even grandpa and grandma ジジババ (*jiji baba*) from the rear tenement or the backyard house ウラヤセドヤ (*uraya sedoya*)⁶³ in the neighbourhood bring their idle money and deposit it [with a money-lender]. [95] All this is called transfer. [96] As [the money-lender] in this way receives other people's money on deposit and lends it to a [lord's] residence, he could not lend it if the interest were so very low. [97] That is because he needs must make sure about the interest [to be paid back to] those people who have transferred [money to him].

[98] Now, someone who does not know Osaka at all thinks that Osaka can take in money as if it rained down [from the skies]. [99] This again is a big misunderstanding. [100] The interest [margin] is extremely slim. [101] Generally, money added up from many small amounts of money makes a big amount of money. [102] Money that one can grasp of a sudden at one stroke will not turn into a big amount of money. [103] People say that a draper 呉服

percent (an attempt to curb interest rates, without lasting success, had already been made in 1736 – Genbun 元文 1 –, when an edict ordered the reduction of existing high rates and fixed the interest on new loans at fifteen percent.

63 Especially the poorer segments among the population of densely settled cities like Edo and Osaka lived in so-called “long houses” 長屋 (*nagaya*), wood-frame and plaster-wall single-storey row houses, decked with wooden shingles, which were compartmentalized in several smaller lodging units all with separate entrances. Wells, privies, and dumping grounds were used by the inhabitants of several such buildings in common. “Long houses” that faced public roads were also called “front-facing long houses” 表長屋, 表店 (*omote nagaya, omotedana*) in order to distinguish them from those facing private back alleys/yards. These were known as “rear tenements” (*uraya* or *uradana* 裏店), inhabited by poorer people. Here the living space was even smaller (units measured between 2.7 and 3.6 metres at the front and 3.6 to 4.5 metres in depth) and living conditions even worse. The “backyard house” (literally “rear-entrance house”) Seiryō mentions, was another type of small house built on the grounds of front-facing wealthier city-houses and located to their rear.

屋 (*gofuku ya*)⁶⁴ makes a profit 利 (*ri*) of one percent. [104] And they say that a greengrocer [realizes] a tenfold profit. [105] Dealers in tea-utensils 茶道具屋 (*cha dôgu ya*)⁶⁵ and merchants of Chinese articles 唐物屋 (*tôbutsu ya*)⁶⁶ do not possess big fortunes. [106] That is because their profit is big. [107] Among rice merchants and drapers there are none of [only] a small fortune. [108] That is because their profit is slim. [109] In [the book] *Master*

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- 64 The main item of the drapery business as it developed in the 17th century and later was silk cloth. Whereas the silk trade at the beginning of the Edo period still relied on imports from the continent, the production and processing of silk in and around Kyoto made rapid advances. Until the middle of the Edo-period, Kyoto's Nishijin 西陣 district was the centre of the silk industry and trade, the place whence drapers in other centres of consumption like Edo and Osaka received their deliveries. Starting in this period, a dissemination of Nishijin's techniques led to a growing silk industry in other parts of the country. As a result, in addition to the well-established drapers in Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo a larger number of middle and small drapers started up businesses. While the silk merchants in Kyoto had specialised in answering to the needs of the leading warrior strata, greater wealth among other social groups and changing trends in fashion led to an ever increasing demand.
- 65 There was a distinction made between utensils used in front of the guest or guests during a formal tea event (literally "hot water for tea" 茶の湯, *cha no yu*) and those used during the stage of preparations in the "kitchen". Whereas the latter did not have to be extraordinarily refined and "new things" 新物 (*aramono*) could be used, it had become fashionable to employ exquisite "antiques" 古物 (*kobutsu / furumono*) for the formal part. This practice was reflected in the specialization of dealers in tea utensils. Of these, merchants selling antique articles for the preparation and drinking of tea enjoyed the highest prestige (there were others who specialized in other antique paraphernalia required for a formal tea event and used for decorative purposes, as well as merchants dealing in "new things").
- 66 Articles of foreign manufacture had been held in high esteem since the beginning of recorded time. Although the word *tôbutsu ya* contains the character for "Tang dynasty", *tô* – or *kara*, as it can also be read – does not necessarily mean only China but includes other East Asian countries as well. One of the etymological explanations for *kara* holds that it has its root in the name for the Korean principalities (*Kara* 伽羅 in Japanese), which maintained strong ties with the Japanese rulers during the sixth century and which served as one of the channels through which elements of continental (Chinese and Korean) culture entered Japan. Thus, *karamono* (or *tômotsu* as the corresponding characters could be read in the Edo-period – in contrast to *tôbutsu ya* as the name for dealers in such goods) could be foreign goods in general, and Chinese articles in particular. Records from the Heian-period show that items were inventoried according to their origin in Korea (or one of the Korean kingdoms) or in China (the appellation *tô* was kept even after the demise of the Tang dynasty). Chinese goods entered the country in considerable numbers during periods of intense trade relations, ranging from articles of everyday use to luxury items (a peak in this respect was the Muromachi-period). In Edo times, Chinese articles were in vogue, as were imported curiosities from other, even European countries, and so-called "merchants of Chinese articles" satisfied the demand for Chinese articles at first, and other foreign items later.

Han Fei it is recorded how Bo Le 伯樂 taught his apprentices to judge horses.⁶⁷ [110] Apprentices whom he loved Bo Le taught the method 法 (*hō*) of judging [horses good as] pack horses, and apprentices whom he disliked he taught the method of judging fast racing horses 千里ノ馬 (*senri no uma*).⁶⁸ [111] Of hacks one judges ten or twenty day in day out and therefore earns a lot in remuneration 謝物 (*shamotsu*); [but] as it is not sure whether one racer will appear in ten or [even] in a hundred years, [Master Han Fei] said that one may not receive any remuneration at all. [112] Trades at which a big profit is realized at a single stroke are in general [trades] where not much is to be earned. [113] [But] it is said that trades with a slim profit will carry on under any circumstances,⁶⁹ and therefore in many cases profit will accumulate. [114] The profit the money-lenders in Osaka [realize] from handling money is exceedingly narrow. [115] The one who has accumulated a lot of this slender profit is a big money-lender.

[116] Now, the disposition [of Osaka's money-lenders] in handing out money to great lords differs completely from the mental framework of those warriors. [117] It differs also from the mental framework of the merchants in Edo. [118] That the warriors and the merchants of Edo have no money is more than everything else proof [of this difference in attitude]. [119] That is the reason why warriors and merchants from the countryside cannot gain money even though they go to Osaka in order to make money. [120] First of all, if the warriors receive some money in reward, they consider it as something separate [from their regular income]. [121] They think, "This is [additional income] apart from my [regular] allotment 知行 (*chigyō*),⁷⁰" and they [immediately] use it up in buying fish or rice wine, for going to the theatre or for visiting a pleasure house.⁷¹ [122] Since they consider it money apart from

67 SBBY 8.1b.

68 Literally the text speaks of "one-thousand-mile horses" (one Chinese *li* / *ri* 里 in antiquity equals about 405 metres, in Edo Japan nearly four kilometres). Ibid. "Bo Le taught someone whom he disliked how to judge fast-racing horses, and someone whom he loved he taught how to judge pack-horses. Fast-racing horses [appear] only once in a while and [thus] the profit is slow, [but] hacks sell every day and [thus] the profit is fast."

69 Literally "whether [the sun] shines or [rain] falls" テリテモフリテモ (*terite mo furite mo*).

70 Literally "knowing/administrating and acting". Cf. KINSKI 2000: 80, n. 83.

71 Literally "climbing up a green/blue tower" 青楼 (*seirō nado e noborite*). Originally this was another name for the "wood log tower" 井幹楼 (*jinggan lou / seikanrō*) built by Emperor Wu 武帝 (156–87 BCE) during Han times that had been painted green/blue. After the palace compound that Emperor Wu had built some years earlier – called the

their usual [income] they use it up [at once]. [123] It is common practice 例 (*rei*) that [warriors from] the Great Honourable Guard 大御番 (*ô goban*)⁷² who have been stationed away from Edo in Kyo[to] or Osaka receive double their [regular] amount [of income]. [124] A man with two hundred bags [of rice]⁷³ gets four hundred bags when he is stationed in Osaka for one year. [125] A man with four hundred bags receives eight hundred. [126] An Honourable Guard captain 御番頭 (*goban gashira*) [usually] has five thousand *koku*, [but] because this will be doubled, he is stationed [in Osaka] with ten thousand *koku*.⁷⁴ [127] As even the Honourable Guard members 御番衆 (*goban*

“pedestal of a hundred beams / oak beam pedestal” 柏梁台 (*bailiang tai / hakuryô dai*) – had been destroyed in a fire, the emperor followed the advice of his retainer and had a larger compound erected. Part of this was the “wood log tower” with a height of more than 120 metres, according to Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 (145?–85? BCE) account in the *Records of the Court Historian* 史記 (*Shiji / Shiki*). SBBY 12.18b–19b. In the course of time the expression came to mean pleasure houses. In Edo-period Japan, the word was used to distinguish licensed brothels in the Yoshiwara 吉原 district from unlicensed establishments.

72 Also known as “great guard” 大番 (*ôban*). The honorific prefix *go* 御 indicates that this guard served the shogun (in the following, words referring to the shogun and prefixed by 御, either read *go / on / o* and meaning “honourable” or “pertaining to the lord”, will be numerous, and I refrained from a translation, instead indicating its occurrence by an asterisk * – except where 御 forms part of an expression as in *ô goban*). The shogunal government kept a number of guard units in addition to the “great guard”: the “study/living-room guard” 書院番 (*shoin ban*), the “unit of pages/companions” 小性組 (*koshô gumi*, cf. n. 212), the “new guard” 新番 (*shinban*), the “retainer unit” 扈從人組 / 小十人組 (*ko jûnin gumi*), and others. Of these the “great guard” was the oldest, and its members were chosen from families of high rank who were among the direct retainers of the shogun. Since 1632 (Kan’ei 寛永 9) it was made up of twelve units, each headed by a “captain of the great guard” 大番頭 (*ôban gashira*) under whom served four “unit heads” 組頭 (*kumigashira*) and eighty warriors of different status. These units were charged with guard duties in the shogunal castle in Edo as well as in the city. According to a rotation system, two units each were stationed in Kyoto and Osaka for periods of one year (changing in the fourth month in the case of Kyoto and the eighth month in the case of Osaka). As the Kyoto-Osaka area was also known as “capital area” 上方 (Kamigata) – because of Kyoto’s status as seat of the emperor – these guard units were called “guard on station in the capital area” 上方在番 (*Kamigata zaiban*). For their service away from Edo, the members of these units received double their annual stipend.

73 Cf. KINSKI 2000: 80, n. 83.

74 At first, men of “great lord” status had been chosen for this position, but later “guard captains” were nominated from among the “bannermen” 旗元 (*hatamoto*), who received an additional revenue of two thousand bags of rice beginning in 1665 (Kanbun 寛文 5) and five thousand bags in 1692 (Genroku 元禄 5). In 1723 (Kyôhō 8), the system was changed again. Henceforth, the incumbents were “bannermen” with a nominal income of five thousand *koku* and if their hereditary revenue did not attain this amount they received an increase that brought their income up to the required five thousand *koku* for their period of service.

shû) view [this pay rise] as something apart from their [regular] allotment, they indulge themselves without restraint. [128] Saying that next year will be their year in the Capital Area 上方年 (*Kamigata toshi*) eight or nine men out of ten will [even start to] indulge themselves early on from the previous year. [129] They all view [the extra income] as something apart [from the regular one]. [130] Viewing this as something apart is [a habit] that in Osaka could not be found at all.

[131] First of all, because Osaka lends money and makes a living upon the profit [gained thereby], it is its trade that interest comes in. [132a] Now, from a [lord's] residence which [the money-lender] has given money to, a rice allowance 扶持米 (*fuchimai*)⁷⁵ is sent over. [132b] Even [on such trifling occasions as] when a pair of chopsticks has been dropped [in the money-lenders house, the lord's residence] sends a gift 目六 (*mokuroku*).⁷⁶ [132c] [The money-lender] goes for an audience [with the lord] to Fushimi 伏見;⁷⁷ [again]

75 A rice allowance that took the form of *fuchimai* (literally “support rice”) was usually paid to retainers of very low status or to members of specialized professional groups, such as physicians or Confucian scholars. In contrast to other rice stipends that specified the amount to be paid either in *koku* or in “bags”, in the case of *fuchimai* the number of people that could be supported with the allowance was stated. *Fuchimai* could also be granted (permanently or temporarily) to members of other status groups as a reward for certain services.

76 *Mokuroku* (generally written 目録) means the table of contents of a book or a written inventory of things. The word can also denote a written notice of gifts that are forwarded, a written notice of the name of a present or presents which is sent instead of the real items, but also a real present (in the form of money) itself. Here Seiryô uses the word to mean a real gift.

77 Modern Fushimi is part of Kyoto and makes up its most southern district. In 1592 (Bunroku 文禄 1), Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–98) had chosen the place as the location for his retreat at the end of his life, and in 1594, work on the construction of a castle and an accompanying castle town had commenced. The highway system was refurbished in order to strengthen Fushimi's position as a political center. After Tokugawa Ieyasu's 徳川家康 (1542–1616) rise to dominance, the place at first maintained its role. However, its status changed after its political function had been taken over by Edo and Sunpu 駿府 (modern Shizuoka 静岡). In 1633, the castle was demolished. However, although Fushimi no longer figured as a castle town, it prospered as a place of commerce connecting the economic centres of Kyoto and Osaka. Lying along the newly refurbished track of the East Sea Highway 東海道 (*Tôkai dô*), which linked Osaka with Ôtsu (on the main route between Kyoto and Edo), Fushimi established itself as a major post station town 宿場 (*shukuba*) where regional lords took lodging on their regular trips to and from Edo (in the middle of the Edo-period the town had 30,000 inhabitants). Seiryô's allusion to money-lenders from Osaka being called to Fushimi may hint at these circumstances, as it was convenient for lords from western parts of the country to meet with merchants from Osaka in their quarters in Fushimi.

he receives a gift. [133] Well, [on one occasion] it is a ceremonial dress 上下 (*kamishimo*)⁷⁸ with a family crest fixed to it 紋付 (*montsuki*),⁷⁹ or it might be a dress appropriate to the season⁸⁰, [again] it might be a roll of cloth 端物 (*tanmono*), or [the residence sends special] products from the [lord's] state, or seasonal [thanks-giving] gifts 四時ノ付届 (*shiji no tsuketodoke*), or presents of well-wishing in the cold and hot seasons 寒暑ノ見舞 (*kansho no mimai*).⁸¹ [134] These [the money-lender receives] apart from the [regular] interest. [135] In case of a warrior, he would consider these as something [received] on the side and this would be reason for him to use them up freely. [136] A merchant from Edo would not be different from a warrior [in this respect]. [137] He would say, “[The things] received apart from the interest are something extra”, and he would squander them freely. [138] That is because they all know little of profit. [139] The inner sentiments of a well-calculating money-lender from Osaka have nothing in common with this at all. [140] [The money-lender from Osaka] considers all these [gifts] as [part of] the original money. [141] The interest, too, he considers as [part of] the original money. [142] All the money he takes in from this residence, all the articles he receives from there he considers as repayment of part of the original money. [143] In general, lending money to a great lord is risky. [144] First of all, one never knows if one will not be deprived [of the money by the lord]. [145] Therefore one has to devise a method so that one will not be deprived of it. [146] As for having to come up with a method that one will not be

78 Literally *kamishimo* means “top and bottom” and in connection with clothing refers to the combination of a sleeveless broad-shouldered vest 肩衣 (*kataginu*) and skirt-trousers 袴 (*hakama*). The *kamishimo* was worn over a small-sleeve kimono 小袖 (*kosode*) and became part of the formal attire beginning toward the end of the Muromachi-period.

79 It was a privilege to bear a family name and a family crest, since these were usually restricted to members of the warrior strata. However, members of other status groups could be granted this right as a reward. Due to the deteriorating financial situation of many lordships it became common to sell the privilege to use status symbols, even the wearing of a set of swords.

80 Sets of clothes were bestowed by lords on their retainers and others whom they wished to reward at the change of seasons in appreciation for their service. The Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki records that his lord, the future shogun Tokugawa Ienobu, presented him with two sets of seasonal clothes at the beginning of every year. *Told Round a Brushwood Fire*. Tr. by Joyce ACKROYD 1979: 77.

81 The sending of gifts in accord with the yearly cycle of seasons and on other such occasions was a valued social ritual in which gratitude was shown to persons to whom one felt an obligation. It still persists in contemporary Japan in the form of greeting cards exchanged during the first days of the year and in summer, as well as mid-year and end-of-year gifts.

deprived of the money even in case one is deprived of it, there is no better method than the one [described above]. [147] One considers everything [received as a gift] as if [part of] the original money had returned and therefore it does not happen that this repayment on the original money [which in fact was an additional boon] will be used [thoughtlessly]. [148] It is not something [received as] extra income, it is [part of] the original money. [149] The interest, too, is seen as [part of] the original money and added to the original money. [150] The rice allowance, too, is [part of] the original money. [151] The roll of cloth and [the dress with] family crest are all [part of] the original money. [152] Or if this money-lender is fond of tea, tea bowls of renown like Karatsu- 唐津, Ido- 井戸, Totoya- トトヤ, Hansu- ハンス, or Irabo- イラボ [bowls]⁸² will be sent from the residence. [153] These renowned bowls [the money-lender] will consider as [part of] the original money. [154] Upon appraising them rather cheaply he will fix them with a price, and then deduct [this price] from the original money.

[155] Generally speaking, nowadays the interest on money in Osaka has risen extraordinarily and differs much from [what it used to be in] former times.⁸³ [156] New loans are [given out at rates of] twelve or thirteen percent 一割二、三朱 (*ichiwari ni san shu*).⁸⁴ [157] Large states borrow large amounts of money. [158] The period [for repayment] extends over ten or twelve years. [159] And the interest, too, will be seven or eight percent. [160] During this period the interest of seven or eight percent is, without fail, paid

82 Karatsu is the name of a town in northern Kyūshū (Saga 佐賀 prefecture) known for its production of chinaware ever since the end of the 16th century (owing to the contributions by Korean potters who had been taken to Japan in the course of Hideyoshi's campaigns on the Korean peninsula) and gained high esteem among tea connoisseurs. "Ido" and "Irabo" 伊良保 / 伊羅保 (explanations for the origin of these names differ) and "Totoya" 魚屋 (supposedly this appellation draws on the name of a merchant house in the city of Sakai near Osaka) were the names for types of highly valued tea bowls of Korean manufacture known since the 16th century. "Hansu" 判司 / 判事 / 半使 tea bowls, too, came from Korea and were used in Japan as of the 17th century.

83 Unfortunately, Seiryō does not give any data concerning lower interest rates in "former times". According to the figures given in NSD 6: 1112, rates could have been much higher in the past – there was an attempt in the middle of the 15th century to fix the interest at five percent per month – than they were in Seiryō's day. A yearly interest rate of twelve percent seems to have been common since the beginning of the Edo-period. However, as the expression "one *bu* 分 [interest] on five *ryō* 兩" (one *ryō*, the highest denomination of gold money, consisted of four *bu*) indicates, a rate of five percent per month – that is sixty percent per year – could be found in Edo times.

84 The unit *shu* can either be the sixteenth part of one *ryō* of gold or, in the case of interest, the equivalent of one percent.

in three or four installments per year. [161] [The money-lender] would not give out money at [such a cheap interest of] seven or eight percent were it not a house that had borrowed [from him] over several generations. [162] [What is more], he gets a very large rice allowance. [163] He receives many [thanks-giving] gifts. [164] Unless it were such an intimate relationship [between a lordly house and the money-lender] that [the lord] would [even] make him a gift of timber in case of a fire in [the money-lender's] second mansion 扣へ屋敷 (*hikae yashiki*),⁸⁵ [a loan of] money at seven or eight percent would not be possible. [165] For the money-lender's part, there is no particular difference [in how he treats what he receives from the lord's residence]. [166] Because he counts everything against the original money, he does not have to wait [the full] ten years before the whole [amount of the] original money has returned. [167] In the case of money that he lends anew, he collects the original money in as few as six years [due to the high interest rate]. [168] Thereafter the residence that has borrowed [from the money-lender] will consult [with him] about lowering the interest [rate].

[169] Now, although [the money-lender] has taken [back] the original money, the residence [in fact] is still bearing the loan. [170] [And] although it would seem justified if [the money-lender] considered [everything coming in] later as extra earnings after the original money had been completely cancelled out, he still will not use [this income freely]. [171] He lays this [money] in stock as original money in preparation for the next loan to a [lord's] residence. [172] And as moreover there is also [the matter of] the transfer-money, it is not as if he could take this interest money as his own. [173] And the original money also had not been all his own money. [174] [The money-lender] hands out a bit of his own money, and if he gives it to a residence that is lavish in the [rice] allowance and in the gifts [that it grants], this is the reason why his original money returns in a short time. [175] As this, after all, is something of mutual concern, it is the way things must be.

[176] There is no better method than this one of deducting [everything received] from the original money. [177] It is a method by which the original money is fully recovered before one realizes it, and [it ensures] that there will be no money for using up freely. [178] It is a method against money that is considered as an extra boon. [179a] If the warriors, too, would count unexpectedly received money or money granted as an extra boon – as if they had received next year's [rice] allotment earlier [than usual] –, or if they

85 Literally “a mansion that one holds in reserve [in case of an emergency]”.

would consider it as advanced money and treat it accordingly, it should then [be possible] to save up the rice allotment for about one whole year. [179b] But as the warriors do not know Osaka's method of deducting [all receipts] from the original money, they treat things casually and do not show good sense.⁸⁶ [179c] As [a member of] the Great Honourable Guard receives double [income], he should be able to save the [rice] allotment for one whole year from being on guard duty two times.⁸⁷ [180] [But] because they consider this all as an extra boon, they can[not adopt] this technique 術 (*jutsu*).⁸⁸ [181] Osaka is a place wise in matters of profit. [182] The way [people there] make use of their good sense is different.

[183] In general, the warriors do not only know little of profit, they also know little of the principle 理 (*ri*)⁸⁹ [behind things]. [184] For a start, no one knows the method by which [the shogunal government in] Edo handles the various great lords. [185] Generally speaking, the method by which Edo handles the various great lords, *bannermen 御旗元 (*go hatamoto*) and *house retainers 御家人 (*go kenin*)⁹⁰ is the method of a ten percent interest 一割利息 (*ichiwari risoku*) already explained in the first part [of this book].⁹¹ [186] One might think it difficult to recognize this method by which an interest of ten percent is taken, but in [fact] it is well known. [187] It is [well] known, but since the warriors know little about profit, in general they are absent-minded

86 Literally the text says “they do not put to use their heart” 心ヲ用ヒズ (*kokoro o mochiizu*), “heart” being also the place of mental faculties.

87 This statement makes sense if one takes the sentence to mean that the first of two active years of guard duty spent in Edo is on a regular income and the second in the Kamigata area on a double rice stipend.

88 The original says “can [adopt] this technique” コノ術出来ル也 (*kono jutsu dekiru nari*). This appears to be a mistake, as it contradicts the intent of the text.

89 Cf. KINSKI 2000: 78–79, n. 79.

90 Both “bannermen” and “house retainers” were direct retainers of the Tokugawa family. Many of them had been in its service for several generations. The difference between the two groups consisted in income as well as in the right to be admitted to the presence of the shogun. “Bannermen” were a category of retainers that stood directly below the “great lords” in terms of income, i.e. below 10,000 *koku* of rice (down to 100 *koku*), but with the privilege to be received in audience. The “house retainers” could aspire to incomes of up to 260 *koku* and did not enjoy the right of audience. The status of the two groups and the positions to which they could be appointed, were accordingly different.

91 There, Seiryō had explained that taking “ten percent interest” (this was not restricted to “interest” only but applied to the annual land tax as well) conformed to “principle” (KD 228, K 1: 171 [375]) and was formulated in the teachings of Chinese antiquity (e.g. KD 222, K 1: 159–60 [177–83]; KD 224, K 1: 165 [251]).

when it comes to arithmetic. [188] The way the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty* 周礼⁹² were devised differs greatly [from this careless attitude].

[189] [I said] that it is exceedingly easy to understand, but the fact that for everyone the money [contribution] for small-scale construction work 小普請金 (*ko bushin kin*) amounts to three *ryô* [of gold] per hundred *koku* [of income in rice]⁹³ is unknown to people from the countryside.⁹⁴ [190] Someone born in Edo, however, cannot but know about it. [191] Three *ryô* per hundred *koku* means that because every person who does not actively serve in an official function eats for free, he should be required to assist in construction work on the [shogunal] castle. [192] The *assistance money 御手伝金 (*o tetsudai kin*) [exactd in this case] is nothing but a ten percent interest. [193] A hundred [rice] bags of three *to* 斗 and five *shô* 升⁹⁵ each correspond to thirty-five *koku* of real rice 現米 (*genmai*),⁹⁶ and if one calculates one *koku* in *ryô* of gold this makes for thirty-five *ryô*. [194] Because [now we speak of]

92 Cf. KINSKI 1997: 148, n. 124. Seiryô had emphasized the importance of this classic as a model for government in well-ordered times in KD 218; K 1: 150 [64–8].

93 “Bannermen” and “house retainers” that did not hold any office (because of age, illness or as a consequence of punishment) were assigned to two different groups: “bannermen” with an income of more than 3000 *koku* were called “[bannermen] assembly [members]” 寄合 (*yoriai*), those below and the “house retainers” were allocated to a changing number of “small scale construction work [groups]” (*ko bushin*). At first, the shogunal government exacted levies of workmen needed for construction projects from both divisions depending on individual allotments, but from 1675 (Enpô 延宝 3) onwards this was changed to money contributions. (*Ko bushin* can mean “small scale construction work” as such, but it is also the name of a position in the administrative body of the shogunal government.)

94 Seiryô addressed himself to an audience away from Edo: those who attended his lectures in Kyoto (although he probably did not think of the imperial capital when he used the word “countryside”) and readers in regional lordships such as Kaga 加賀 (this territory comprised the modern prefectures Ishikawa 石川 and Toyama 富山) where Seiryô had a number of contacts. The intention to inform people in the “countryside” about the customs and institutions of Edo can be ascertained in his *Parting Gift [Before Travelling to the East]* 東驢 (*Azuma no hanamuke*), which he wrote as a kind of manual for a warrior from Kaga scheduled for service in the lordship’s residence in Edo.

95 The unit of one *to* corresponds roughly to eighteen litres, one *shô* to 1.8 litres. A nominal rice allowance of, say, one hundred *koku* is measured in rice and refers to the total harvest amount of a certain area. Of this amount only part is paid by the farmers as annual rice tax to the authorities (Seiryô’s example – three and a half out of ten parts – certainly fits the general situation). Thus, a retainer of one hundred *koku* will actually only receive thirty-five *koku* of already processed rice from the storehouse, paid in one hundred bags of 0.35 *koku* each, as Seiryô explains in the following.

96 This is the actual quantity of rice distributed among retainers out of the government’s storehouse.

an interest of ten percent on thirty-five *ryô*, one arrives at three *ryô*. [195a] Is not then a money [contribution] for small-scale construction work of three *ryô* tantamount to an interest of ten percent? [195b] Whether *koku* [of rice] or bags [of rice], it is the same thing. [196] *Koku* refers to the gross harvest amount 草高 (*kusadaka*).⁹⁷ [197] “Bags” is the name subsequent to getting the [real] rice by removing the husks. [198] What is meant by this is that where one *koku* could be harvested, one leaves it with the farmers and gets only three-and-a-half [parts] out of it. [199] Those with an allotment of more than three thousand *koku* and the descendants of men who served in official functions [that entitled them to wearing a courtly] dress of [plain] cloth 布衣 (*hoi*) or even better, do not enter the small scale construction work [group] but become [members of] the [bannermen] assembly.⁹⁸ [200] [Members of] the [bannermen] assembly contribute money. [201] The money [exactd from] the [bannermen] assembly again amounts to three *ryô* per one hundred bags. [202] Up to [an allotment of] 9900 bags one belongs to the [bannermen] assembly.⁹⁹

[203] It is strange [indeed] that the people who exceed 10,000 *koku* are under the impression, “As I neither belong to the small-scale construction work [group] nor to the [bannermen] assembly, I [have no need to] contribute money”. [204] There should be out of the question that those below 10,000 *koku* are not allowed to idle away their fortune [without any responsibilities], while for those above 10,000 *koku* it is all right to do so. [205] Except for the *Three Nobles 御三卿様 (*Go Sankyô sama*) and the *Three Houses 御三家様

97 *Kusadaka* literally means the “amount of grass”. However, *kusa* (“grass”) in this case is used for “[unhulled] rice” 稲 (*ine*). The expression refers to the sum total of rice produce of a certain territory according to the governmental land survey.

98 The hierarchically layered system of status distinctions among the warriors found expression in several ways. Two of these were the level of (imperial) court rank that a person could be awarded in keeping with the respective status level of his family, another concomitant sign was the type of dress he was allowed to wear on formal occasions. *Hoi*, i.e. “dress of [plain] cloth”, was another name for *kariginu* or “hunting dress” and had its origin in the fact that common cloth had been used for the latter’s manufacture in earlier times. The name was kept, however, even after more expensive material was used. It had developed out of the dress used on hunts, but since Heian times it had become common as everyday garb among members of the court nobility. Warriors since the Kamakura-period adopted it for formal occasions. In the Edo-period a line was drawn between warriors granted the courtly rank of the fifth degree or higher who were entitled to a “hunting dress” with decorative patterns, and those of the sixth rank and lower who had to rest content with the single-coloured “dress of [plain] cloth”.

99 Above this line (with 10,000 *koku* or more) one would already qualify as a “great lord”.

(*Go Sanke sama*),¹⁰⁰ it will not do if [the great lords] do not also pay an interest of ten percent. [206] Men of 100,000 *koku* and more receive a fortune of 100,000 *koku*; this has to be called a fortune of the highest order. [207] There is nothing wrong being [among those with a] fortune of the highest order, but that someone of 100,000 *koku* lives on the [the whole amount of] 100,000 *koku* is the same as if a man who has borrowed 100,000 *ryô* has only these 100,000 *ryô* at his disposal. [208] He only has the original money, but is short of [the means to pay] the interest. [209] That is the reason why a man who has borrowed 100,000 *ryô* of gold cannot cover his living [expenses] if he does not have 110,000 *ryô* at his disposal.¹⁰¹ [210] Someone with 3000 *koku* sets aside ten percent as the “[bannermen] assembly money”. [211] Someone with three hundred bags [of rice] sets aside nine *ryô* as a money [contribution] for construction work. [212] Therefore, this is the reason why someone with 100,000 *koku* has to set aside 10,000 *koku* as money for official service. [213] In case he does not set aside this [sum] he would behave in the same manner as someone who has borrowed money free of interest. [214] To borrow money at an interest of ten percent and behave in a manner as if one had borrowed money free of interest, – this is the reason why debts will accumulate. [215] From the great lords [the government] does not collect [their due] in money but in the form of service. [216] It does not collect on a yearly basis; instead it collects [a great lord’s due] all at once after it has accumulated over three or [even] five years.¹⁰² [217a] If one

100 In order to prevent future extinction of the Tokugawa family and as a means to broaden its power base, Tokugawa Ieyasu had established three of his younger sons as heads of collateral houses with substantial lordships of their own, i.e. the domains of Owari 尾張 (western half of modern Aichi 愛知 prefecture, 619,500 *koku*), Kii 紀伊 (present-day Wakayama 和歌山 prefecture and part of Mie 三重 prefecture, 550,000 *koku*), and Mito 水戸 (part of modern Ibaraki 茨城 prefecture, 350,000 *koku*). Because of their blood ties to the main line, they enjoyed an especially high status and were known as the “*Three Houses”. In the course of the 18th century, another three houses were set up with two younger sons of the eighth shogun Yoshimune (1684–1751) and the second son of the ninth shogun Ieshige 家重 (1711–1761) as their heads: the houses Tayasu 田安 (established in 1730), Hitotsubashi 一橋 (1741), and Shimizu 清水 (1759). Known as the “*Three Nobles”, these families were endowed with allotments of 100,000 *koku* each, but were not established as independent branch families (they were still reckoned as part of the main shogunal house) and did not have their own territorial power bases.

101 The additional money is necessary for paying back the interest of ten percent.

102 Regional lordships were obliged to take part in a variety of construction projects by contributing financial funds or labour force, e.g. for the building of bridges and roads, irrigation work, or repairs on dykes and castles. A famous example concerns the territory of Satsuma 薩摩. In 1753 (Hôreki 宝曆 3), the shogunal government had commissioned

habitually were to set aside ten percent [of the income], there would be no cause to get into an uproar. [217b] But as one's usual style [of living] differs [from such a circumspect attitude], one becomes very agitated if [asked] to *help with [repairs] on river [embankments and dykes] 川々御手伝 (*kawagawa o tetsudai*)¹⁰³ or with cleaning out the *[castle] moats 御堀サラへ (*o hori sarae*); which [indeed] is strange. [218] The wardens of the *gates [of Edo castle] 御門番 (*go monban*) are on half duty 半役 (*hanyaku*).¹⁰⁴ [219] Therefore, the *announcers 御奏者 (*go sôsha*) serve [in this position], too.¹⁰⁵ [220] As for the gate wardens, on the Front 大手 (Ôte) [Gate] and the Bellflower 桔梗 (Kikyô) [Gate]¹⁰⁶ in the west men serve from houses that stand particularly close to the present [ruling] house; except for this, [guard duty at] the Cherryfield 桜田 (Sakurada) [Gate]¹⁰⁷ is [for families] next [in rank]. [221] All [these guards] require five *ryô* per shift 一ト番手 (*hito bante*) per day.¹⁰⁸

this lordship located in southern Kyûshû with construction work on the Kiso 木曾, Nagara 長良, and Ibi 揖斐 rivers in central Japan. For this work, which took two whole years, Satsuma had to send about 1000 men to the sites in question. This resulted not only in enormous expenses, but also in the death of more than eighty retainers who fell victim to the hard labour or committed suicide.

103 Literally the text speaks of “*help [with] the rivers”.

104 Gates in the outer circumference of Edo castle lay within the responsibility of the “[bannermen] assembly”, whereas guards for those within the castle precincts were posted by regional lords who traditionally had close relations with the Tokugawa family. Guard duties alternated according to a ten-day shift, which is why being on guard duty at the castle gates was not considered a full-time duty.

105 Officials in this function performed a variety of tasks on formal occasions like the New Year reception or other ceremonial events during the yearly cycle (e.g. at the turn of the seasons) when regional lords and “bannermen” paid their respects in the presence of the shogun. On such occasions the “announcers” would call out the names and titles of the visitors, display the presents that had been brought before the shogun, and carry back the return-gifts of those honoured in this way. Incumbents came from among the most trusted houses, for whom this position served as a stepping stone in their career leading to the highest echelons of the administrative hierarchy. The number varied between twenty and thirty lords who served together with a number of their retainers. As Seiryô indicates, the tasks of the “announcers” left time to perform guard duties in addition.

106 Both were prestigious gates, as regional lords and high officials of the shogunal government would pass through them. Both were situated along the inner circumference of Edo castle. Another name for the Kikyô Gate is “Inner Cherryfield Gate” 内桜田門 (*Uchi Sakurada mon*). Seiryô's directions are misleading, as both gates are located east to the castle's main building.

107 This gate, also called “Outer Cherryfield Gate” 桜田門 (*Soto Sakurada mon*), was on the southern side of the inner circumference of Edo castle and served as one of its most important gates. According to a count at the end of the Edo-period, the castle had ninety-two larger and smaller gates.

[222] This runs to seven or eight hundred *ryô* per year. [223] As someone with 50,000 *koku* probably needs 5000 bags for expenses, by all means he ought to set aside this ten percent interest.¹⁰⁹ [224a] Someone with 100,000 *koku* lives on 90,000 *koku*. [224b] If one considers this in the light of the method [explained] in the *System of Kingly Rule* 王制 (*Wangzhi / Ôsei*), [of this amount] he should lay aside 30,000 *koku* and live on [only] 60,000 *koku*.¹¹⁰ [225] Considered in the light of present [modes of living], such seems very painful, but to do it [nevertheless] is [like] being of a mind to drink a good [if bitter] medicine. [226] Dizziness precedes resolution.¹¹¹ [227] If one were to reduce [expenses] in this way, extend [the scope of one's reserve money], and in exchange [for cutting down the money at one's immediate disposal] deposit in Osaka the ten percent of money one has put aside, this would be an ingenious [scheme] for increasing [one's fortune].

[228] Nowadays Lord Shirakawa¹¹² and others have *money deposited 御預ケ金 (*o azukekin*) with Masu Hei 升平,¹¹³ and [in the past] had *loan

108 The word *bante* can mean an individual soldier on a guard unit. It is improbable, however, that Seiryô uses the word in this sense, as it is quite inconceivable that a single warrior on guard would earn a daily wage as high as five *ryô* of gold. MINAMOTO translates the verb *iru* 入ル in this sentence as meaning “to have an income” 収入がある (*shûnyû ga aru*). NM 23: 410. This, I think, is misleading. In this case the verb is probably being used in the meaning “to require”. Cf. NKD 1: 1079. Interpreted in this way, the following two sentences, which deal with the expenses regional lords have to expect while serving as “announcer” – as well as gate wardens –, become plausible too.

109 Seiryô does not explain how this money is used. But it has to be considered that a lord serving as “announcer” and as guard officer provides a number of his retainers in order to fulfil his duty. Incidentally, if Seiryô follows the same computations as in [193], 5000 bags of rice should be roughly equivalent to 1750 *ryô*.

110 In KD 224, K 1: 166 [257] Seiryô explained that, according to the chapter *System of Kingly Rule in the Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*, it was the task of the “prime minister” 冢宰 (*zhongzai / chôzai*) to “calculate the budget of the state, to allow for the state expenditure two-thirds of the whole revenue, and to keep one-third for savings” against times of dearth. This is implied in a passage in the chapter Seiryô refers to where it says that the state should lay in stock enough food for its people for one year out of the harvest of three years, for three years out of the harvest of nine years, and for nine years out of the harvest of thirty years. SBBY 4: 7b–8a.

111 Kuranami (KD 276) suggests that Seiryô alludes to the following sentence in the *Book of Documents* 書經 (*Shujing / Shokyô*): “If [on drinking] medicine one does not feel dizziness, the illness will not heal.” SBBY 5.8b.

112 Cf. KINSKI 2000: 85, n. 105, 107.

113 Cf. KINSKI 2000: 74, n. 65. Seiryô often mentions Masu[ya] Hei[emon] 升屋平右衛門 (1763–1838) and his head clerk Koemon, better known as the scholar Yamagata Bantô, as typical examples of Osaka's merchants displaying their economic acumen.

money 御借入金 (*go shakuyō kin*) [from him] too. [229] In any case, it is a [good] strategem to deposit money in Osaka as well as to borrow [from there]. [230] If one deposits [money with the money-lenders in Osaka] and then borrows [from them], they will lend at a much cheaper interest [rate]. [231] One deposits [money] at three percent and borrows at five percent, or one makes a deposit at five percent and borrows at six percent. [232] [In this manner] all [loans] come off at low interest. [233a] For example, one deposits 10,000 *ryō* and one borrows 20,000 *ryō*. [233b] Because one has a deposit money of 10,000 *ryō*, one [can] cheaply borrow the 20,000 *ryō*. [234] Therefore, once a great lord's economy recovers [even] a little bit, it will recover [entirely] in short time. [235] And if one makes designs for one's fortune [even] a bit, it will recover shortly. [236] But [for this purpose] one has to thoroughly observe the methods of Osaka.

[237] Now, one should listen carefully regarding the customs of Osaka. [238] This is something that the warriors do not know at all. [239] One has to know that one will suffer a great loss if one goes [to Osaka] to raise money without even knowing these customs. [240] Generally speaking, to know about the method of deducting [everything received] from the original money and to take care as much as possible not to cause the money-lender any loss, – this is the [correct] technique [for raising money]. [241] If one advises the warriors not to cause any loss [for the money-lender] they will deem this to mean properly returning [in full] both the original money and the interest alike, but again this is not the case at all. [242] It seems that in Edo, [in case of a sum of] money which by paying the interest has arrived at [the same amount as] the original money, money-lenders will clamour that they suffer a loss. [243] If one hands over an interest of ten percent without delay for a period of ten years, [repayment of the] original money will have been settled.¹¹⁴ [244] Therefore, in Edo [the method of] deducting [all receipts] from the original money is adopted in the case of money [loans] from more than twenty-five years previous. [245] All these are methods for checking up the interest money with the original money. [246] Is not then Osaka's [method]

114 What Seiryō seems to suggest is that money-lenders in Edo, as would seem natural, expect money that they have advanced on a loan to regional lordships to be paid back in full and that they consider the interest on this money as the profit realized by the transaction. Therefore they feel deceived if the lordship considers the loan to be settled once the interest paid runs up to the amount of the original loan. That warrior houses actually did take such a stance and were engaged in lawsuits as a result, can be observed throughout the Edo-period. Cf. n. 62.

of deduction from the original money reasonable, too? [247] After all, pursuing a lawsuit will lead to nothing once [the money] taken in as interest has arrived at the amount of the original money. [248] Hence [money-lenders in Osaka] do not view the interest as an extra boon.

[249] If one interprets [the advice] not to cause the money-lender any losses in a strange manner [and tries to act accordingly], this will not be possible in our present age. [250] To ask for a reduction of the interest after all would cause him losses. [251] And to have [the money-lender] grant [repayment through] yearly installments would also cause losses [for him]. [252a] What is meant by [the advice] not to cause [the money-lender] any losses is [seen in the following]: [252b] One tries to reduce the [amount of the] original money [that one owes], calculates also the necessary expenses accruing in the course of time, and calculates how not to embarrass the money-lender. [253] The money-lender is not likely to incur any losses easily. [254] It may look as if one were unduly causing him losses if oneself were to meddle with the abacus without [having made exact] calculations 無算用ニ (*mu zanyô ni*), but the money-lender is not someone to stagger that easily. [255] Therefore, there is no need to worry that [the money-lender] might have been deceived in the beginning. [256] Neither being deceived in the beginning, nor suffering any losses later on: that is Osaka. [257] That [the money-lender] puts on a face in the beginning as if being deceived and later on as if he had made a loss is all due [to the fact that] he is a refined [expert] at lending and borrowing and works well for the good of the great lords and the money-lender. [258] It is not that he cheats the warriors; but because the warriors' expectations are improper, it is the common style of Osaka to handle things in this manner. [259] Therefore, it is necessary to understand the style of Osaka very well.

[260] In the *Master Guan* 管子 (*Guanzi / Kanshi*) it says, "Think about it, and think about it [again]. If you have thought about it and still cannot understand it, the ghosts 鬼神 (*kishin*) will make you understand it."¹¹⁵ [261] That [the people from] Osaka hate poverty and love wealth is [their] heavenly nature 天性 (*tensei*).¹¹⁶ [262] That [the people from Osaka] are well-versed in

115 *Guanzi*, SBBY 16.5a. *Master Guan* is a work ascribed to Guan Zhong 管仲 (trad. 7th century BCE), the famous minister of the state of Qi who helped his duke to a position of hegemony. In fact, the book probably was written during Han times and is based on the teachings of the so-called "Legalistic School" 法家 (*fajia / hōka*), counseling the reader how to make a state prosperous and strong in military terms.

116 Song-period (Northern Song 960–1127, Southern Song 1127–1279) Confucianism had

the method of becoming wealthy, indeed this does not seem to be the feat of men; but because from the first they had a disposition to detest poverty single-mindedly, the ghosts probably have helped [them]. [263] Because [the people of Osaka] hate poverty, they count the interest as well as gifts and rice allowances as [part of] the original money. [264] A decrease of the original money would mean [to fall into] poverty. [265a] Therefore they take care that the original money does not decrease. [265b] To this purpose they return five *mon* 文¹¹⁷ or even three *mon* to the original money of tens of thousands of *ryô*; which [really] is a clever [thing to do].¹¹⁸ [266] The warriors do not [only] dislike poverty, they [even] choose methods that are [tantamount to] loving poverty. [267] That they invite the god of poverty 貧乏神 (*binbô gami*)¹¹⁹ into their own houses is still but a slight offense. [268] But that they

distinguished between an “original nature” 本然之性 (*benran zhi xing / honnen no sei*) and a “material endowment” (*qizhi / kishitsu*). In its interpretation, the former consists of the “principle” 理 (*li / ri*), that universal force which determines how this world and everything inside it should be. In the human context it takes the form of moral qualities that every human being ideally should recognize within himself so as to actualize them and thus attain the same degree of perfection as the “sages” 聖人 (*shengren / seijin*) of antiquity. The “material endowment”, on the other hand, is seen as an outflow of the second universal force, “matter/energy” 氣 (*qi / ki*). Not only a person’s bodily aspects but also his or her “feelings” 情 (*qing / jô*) and “desires” 欲 (*yu / yoku*) are owing to it. Seiryô does not discuss the philosophical aspects of human nature. But it can be surmised that when he spoke of “heavenly nature” he did not have in mind a distinction between two more or less independent components, one moral and the other physical. His view lay on the same line as that of Ogyû Sorai and others who had criticized Song-era Confucianism for just such a division; asserting instead the unity of human nature, which everyone receives at the moment of conception. *Distinguishing of Names* 弁名 (*Benmei*), NST 36: 136. This “endowment” and the “feelings” that naturally arise from it are different from person to person and cannot be altered. Both are neither good nor bad. However, they are not fixed either, but can go in different directions according to the influence exerted on them. *Ibid.* Seiryô’s sentence suggests that he saw “heavenly nature” as a kind of disposition with individual differences but the possibility of manifesting similar characteristics acquired by habituation or practice of the same occupation.

- 117 *Mon* (a copper coin with a hole in the middle so that a string could be passed through) is the lowest denomination of copper money with 1000 (or, in fact, 960) *mon* making up one *kan* 貫. Four *kan* were equal to one *ryô* of gold.
- 118 Since the money-lenders consider everything they receive from the debtor as repayment of the debt, “return to the original money” 元金ノ中ヘカヘシテオク (*motokin no naka e kaeshite oku*) should be understood as “count as repayment of the original money”.
- 119 Belief in the “god/gods of poverty” seems to have been common during the Edo-period, mostly in urban settlements. The house in which the “god/gods” took lodging was said to fall into poverty. In appearance, this character looked like an emaciated beggar in shabby clothes, with sallow face and deeply sunken eyes. In the following, Seiryô describes a rite for expelling the “god/gods of poverty” that was practised among merchants.

do not mind the god of poverty [abiding] in their lord's house and that they do not drive him out is contrary to loyalty indeed.

[269] The dislike for the god of poverty in Osaka is extreme. [270] First of all, in a money-lender's house on the last day of every month an exorcism of the gods of poverty 貧乏神ハラヒ (*binbô gami harai*) is performed. [271] For this purpose the head clerk 番頭 (*bantô*) of the house first prepares a large quantity of baked bean paste (*yaki miso*)¹²⁰ and then bakes it. [272a] The idea is [as follows]: [272b] Because the gods of poverty are extremely fond of baked bean paste, [the head-clerk] prepares and bakes it, and he lets its smell pervade the whole house. [272c] [In this way he] gathers all the poverty gods without exception to the afore-mentioned baked bean paste, into which they will then [all] pass. [273a] Now, the instant he thinks that the gods of poverty without exception have passed into it, [the head clerk] will take up this afore-mentioned baked bean paste and again break it open. [273b] [By breaking it apart] he forms a quite large opening and makes it bigger yet [by widening the fissure], and as he runs from the master's living room 旦那ノ居間 (*danna no ima*) through the inner rooms 奥向座敷 (*okumuki zashiki*), the small sitting room 小座敷 (*ko zashiki*), the office room 見世 (*mise*), and the kitchen 台処 (*daidokoro*),¹²¹ this is a method by which the poverty gods [hiding] thereabouts will pass into the baked bean paste. [274] After he has run through all parts of the house he closes shut the opening in the baked bean paste firmly and lets a river carry it away. [275] Although this is very much like children's play, it is a method letting every member of the house [down] to the apprentices and manservants know unmistakably that [this] house is extremely loath of the gods of poverty.

[276] If [as a result] all family members and even the maids and manservants realize unmistakably that this house truly loathes the gods of poverty, this [seemingly childish method] appears a very [clever] stratagem. [277] In the first place it is the disposition of all servants that in one way or another they wish to please the master, as it is the master who promotes employees 家来 (*kerai*).¹²² [278] If they thus [come to] think that the master hates the gods of

120 As the word suggests, this is *miso* or soy-bean paste, that has been baked or roasted.

121 *Ima* ("the room for being present") is the place where the most important person of the household spends his day, whereas *okumuki zashiki* serves for the more private aspects of life or as living quarters for other family members. *Ko zashiki* is a smaller sitting-room that is used for drinking tea when, for example, receiving a visitor, whereas *mise* is the room where business is done or, in the case of a merchant house, merchandise displayed and sold.

poverty and likes gold and silver to increase, it will happen of its own accord that [the servants] acquire a disposition to reduce the master's expenses in all ways possible. [279] Even if they lack the disposition to behave out of loyalty, they will not lack a disposition to establish themselves 立身 (*risshin*).¹²³ [280] But in order to establish themselves they must please the master. [281] [Once] they are conscious that the master loves nothing more than gold and silver and hates nothing more than the gods of poverty, they will keep this fact in their hearts [at all times], whether by day or night, by morning or evening, [and in all situations, even] when taking up their chopsticks or putting them down.¹²⁴ [282] As matters of arithmetic or of loss and gain, and questions of how to increase the income and how to curb expenses are constantly on their mind, this will become a household where all its members hate poverty. [283] If one guides the house members in this manner, and moreover [adroitly] handles control over one's house as well as contact with officials from the [lordly] residences that use its services, nothing careless will happen [that could be detrimental to this house].

[284] [In Osaka] where the Dobuike 井池 [street crosses] Imabashi 今橋 [street],¹²⁵ there lives a certain man of [the house of] Izutsuya 井筒屋.¹²⁶

122 The word usually means the retainers in a warrior lord's household. But it could also be used for those dependent on men of high status in other social groups, e.g. a village headman or a landlord.

123 Literally "to set oneself up". This expression has its root in the *Book of Filial Piety* 孝經 (*Xiaojing / Kōkyō*) where it says that "filial piety" 孝 (*xiao / kō*) is realized by "basing oneself [on virtue] and following the way 道 (*dao / dō, michi*)". Thus, one leaves one's name behind for later ages and garners renown for the name of one's parents. *Shinshaku Kanbun taiki* 35: 81. While there are moral overtones to the expression in the *Book of Filial Piety*, it seems obvious that Seiryō uses *risshin* in a way similar to its modern meaning of "advancement / success in life". This idea is especially strong in the expression *risshin shusse* 立身出世 ("to set oneself up and go out into the world"), which played a major role in Meiji times. Schoolbooks of this period (e.g. those used for moral instruction) not only stressed a number of virtues that had their place in service to emperor and nation, but also instigated the desire for learning as a means for success and advancement in society.

124 Taking up or putting down the chopsticks is used as an example of a very trifling act of everyday life.

125 Both streets are located in central Osaka. Imabashi runs from east to west and was known for the wealthy money-lender houses lining it. Dobuike extends from north to south, and it was here that until the Second World War wholesalers of furniture plied their trade.

126 There is a department store by this name in modern Osaka, not far from the place Seiryō describes. However, it was founded in the first year of the Meiji era and there is no

[285] This man is an altogether extraordinary man 豪傑 (*gôketsu*). [286] He thought, “From ancient times there was in Osaka a [certain] popular saying. [287] It had been handed down by tradition [as follows], ‘If one shortens the broom’s handle by one *sun* 寸¹²⁷ and sells lamp wicks [in exchange] for pot soot 鍋炭 (*nabezumi*), one’s fortune’s will recover.’ [288] This is indeed an interesting [saying]. [289] It is interesting, but one has never heard of someone who nowadays would try and put it into practice. [291] This is something one should like to put to the test. [292] If one were to put it into practice, all household members would surely think, ‘Our master indeed is a thrifty man.’ [293a] If [everyone in the house] down to the lowest were to think in this way, [all household members] down to the lowest would of their own accord become thrifty.” [293b] Thus he spoke and put it into practice. [294] First of all, in the case that a new broom was bought, he indeed cut the handle short by one *sun*. [295] After all, that hemp-palm 棕櫚 (*shuro*) brooms are damaged [is due to the fact that] the maids talk [with each other] while using the broom as a stick [to lean on], and because of this they spend a lot of time on the sweeping, too. [296] And the broom’s head is damaged in no time. [297] [But] as [the broom] will become extremely short if one cuts off one *sun*, [the maid] cannot [any longer] use it as a stick [to lean on]¹²⁸; as a consequence one has to carry it either by the middle or drag it along and thus lose [the leisure] for talking [with the other maids]. [298] As she now will think how to finish the sweeping quickly in order to rest her hands, the sweeping [of the house] will be finished [much] faster [than before]. [299] [At the same time] this is a scheme for preventing the broom being damaged.

[300] Because Osaka’s hate for poverty is extreme, [people] rack their brains and search their minds [for ways to escape it]. [301] Concerning the

indication that it may have had its roots in an earlier Edo-period merchant house. Also, I found no connection between Seiryô’s account and a famous merchant house named Izutsuya, which had its main seat in Kyoto and was engaged in the textile trade.

127 One *sun* is about 3.03 cm in length.

128 Pre-modern illustrations show brooms with long wooden handles of considerable length. Shortening these by one *sun* would not make much difference. Another type, however, did not have a separate stick fixed to it at all, but consisted only of twigs or leaves bound together at one end in order to form a handle. Brooms of this type could only be used by stooping, and the shorter the broom the more tiring it might be to keep a stooped position for a long time. According to the only useful written explanation I have found, the “hemp palm broom” could be made in both ways, either with a bamboo handle fixed to it, or, a more recent variant, the leaves simply bound together. Cf. a quotation from the *Records from the Office of the Protective Province* [Yamashiro 山城] 雍州府志 (*Yôshû fushi*, 1684, Jôkyô 貞享 1) in KR 45.1: 720.

search of one's mind and the discovery [of appropriate methods] in it, there is no difference between the worthy men of old wishing to rule [well] and arriving at [the methods for peaceful] rule, and the people of Osaka wishing [to gain] wealth and arriving at [methods of attaining] it. [302] During the time of King Zhuang 莊 of Chu 楚 [a man called] Sun Shuao 孫叔敖 was prime minister.¹²⁹ [303a] Now, among the people of Chu it was popular to ride in wagons [with the chassis lying very] low and the wagons throughout Chu had become low [after this fashion]. [303b] At that time, King Zhuang thought that the horses must suffer with the wagons being [constructed] so low and that they would be injured. [303c] Therefore, he thought to somehow induce the people to build the wagons higher, and he wanted to issue an official note and prohibit low wagons. [303d] Thereupon, Sun Shuao told [the king], "In general, for ruling the state [in peace] it does not serve to frequently issue official notes [with prohibitions]. [304] If one frequently issues official notes the people will be thrown into confusion and create an uproar; this would be an awkward [way of] ruling. [305] If you should deign to make the wagons higher, it would be best if you would give the order to make the gate sills of the villages higher. [306a] By ordering to make the gate sills higher, this will cause no confusion and uproar among the people." [306b] Thus speaking, Sun Shuao had the village gate sills made higher.

129 The following episode is based on a similar account in the *Records of the Court Historian*: "It was the custom of the people of Chu that they liked low wagons. The king considered this inconvenient for the horses of [these] low wagons, and he wanted to issue an ordinance and have the wagons made higher. The Prime Minister [Sun Shuao] said, 'If one often issues ordinances, the people do not know what to follow; this is not good. If Your Majesty, by any means, wishes to make the wagons higher, your servant begs you, instruct the villages and let them make the gate sills higher. Those who ride the wagons are all superior men 君子 (*junzi / kunshi*) and superior men are not able [= not willed] to descend frequently from their wagons.' The king granted this [proposal]. After half a year had passed, the people all made their wagons higher of their own accord. This is [an example of] the people following the influence [from above] without instructing them [directly]." SBBY 119.1b–2a. Territorially, Chu was the largest and southernmost of the Chinese states during the Zhou-period. It was considered semi-barbarian by its northern neighbours, since its culture drew much on the traditions that had developed along the Yangtze river and that bore marked differences to northern cultures of the Yellow river area, traditionally considered the core of Chinese civilization. The protagonists of the episode quoted here were active during the Spring and Autumn Period 春秋 (*Chunqiu / Shunji*; 722–481 BCE), with Sun Shuao helping King Zhuang (trad. r. 613–591 BCE) attain to a position of hegemony. Sun Shao is introduced as the type of official who reveres the law and follows the principle of things, who is not proud of his achievements and boastful of his talents, who is not overly praised by the people but who, on the other hand, does not commit mistakes. SBBY 119.1ab.

[307] Now, it is said that all the people riding wagons abandoned the small wagons and [henceforth] rode high and big wagons, as they could not cross over the village gate sills with the [former] wagons being too small. [308] This is [an example of] an idea gained by searching one's mind and racking [one's brains]. [309] An order to do the sweeping faster and to prevent the broom from being damaged would be an irksome order. [310] [But] in cutting the broom's handle short by one *sun*, there is no difficulty [at all], and the maidservants, too, will finish the sweeping quickly without noticing anything amiss. [311] The people of Chu, too, inadvertently made the wagons higher. [312] All these are [examples of] the technique for controlling those below.

[313] Now, the method of exchanging pot soot for lamp wicks [has its basis in the fact] that the maidservants are in charge of the paper lamps 行燈 (*andon*).¹³⁰ [314] However, the maids do not come by the lamp wicks at will. [315] The head clerk of the shop sells them. [316] [But] when selling the lamp wicks to the maids he does so for pot soot. [317] He weighs the pot soot and sells a certain number of wicks for a certain amount [of pot soot] in *monme* 匁.¹³¹ [318] Lamp wicks are necessary every night. [319] If one does not scrape off the pot soot three times, one will not get a lamp wick. [320] [As this is hard work] the maidservants [now] will blow out every lamp that is idly [burning]. [321] This will make a great difference in the use of oil. [322] Now, as the charcoal [soot] will not [any longer] gather on the pot's bottom, things to be boiled will boil at once with only a little firewood. [323] [Thus] this is a scheme through which the consumption of firewood, [too], will differ greatly. [324] In Osaka these two examples from olden times have been said to be methods by which money grows; but I heard from someone that Izutsuya was the only one to try and really put them into practice.

[325] Among the men who attend my (Tsuru) 鶴¹³² [lecture] meetings is a master carpenter. [326] This carpenter said, "If nowadays there is someone

130 In its most basic shape this is a lamp made from a wooden frame covered with paper and with a vessel inside containing oil. Of Chinese origin, it spread in portable form during Muromachi times. In the Edo-period, lamps of this type developed into the most commonly used source of illumination for interiors and were mostly placed on the floor.

131 One *monme* weighs about 3.75g.

132 Seiryô talks of himself as "Tsuru", meaning "crane". "Tsuru" is the second part of Seiryô's personal name, "Takatsuru" or "Kôkaku" 皀鶴. "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 despite his attempts 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 parenthesis behind.

who excels at reckoning [loss and gain] 勘弁 (*kanben*) this will be the master of Izutsuya. [327] I (*soregashi*) 某¹³³ executed the recent construction work [at Izutsuya's house]. [328] The drying platform on top of the roof is open to the rain as it lacks a roof [of its own]. [329] Out of whatever kind of incorruptible wood one may construct it, [the platform] will not last long. [330] If [the wood] rots [even] a little bit, it will be dangerous if one does not rebuild it at once. [331] Therefore it is difficult to calculate [the cost in advance]. [332] [But the master of] Izutsuya suggested that [the wood] probably will not undergo rotting if one were to wind copper around all the places where [the wood used for assembling] the drying platform had been cut and joined together. [333] The above-mentioned copper [has to be bought only] once and will be of use [thereafter, too]. [334a] Regardless of how often one reassembles the drying platform, the copper [has to be bought only] once. [334b] If one therefore looks at it on the average, I thought that it will greatly affect the calculation [of loss and gain]; and when I checked [figures] on the abacus it was [indeed the case] that not even half of the expenses hitherto would be needed." [334c] Thus spoke the [master carpenter] and was full of praise for [the master of] Izutsuya.

[335] In general, Osaka's versatility in [raising] profit, is not [such] a shallow thing [that it looks only for obvious earnings easily gained]. [336] It is common [for merchants there] to look [at periods of] ten or twenty years on the average. [337] Warrior houses 武家 (*buke*) on the other hand have a yearly income at their disposal, and therefore, to be sure, have no need to be well-versed in [raising] profit. [338] But now, if they are on an errand to Osaka to negotiate with someone well-versed in [raising] profit, they needs must know well the inner sentiments of a such a man. [339] Although it is not necessary for the superior man 君子 (*kunshi*)¹³⁴ to know the bad customs 悪風俗 (*aku fūzoku*) of those below, from the moment that he wishes to govern the bad customs of the people below, he could not succeed in doing so without after all being well acquainted with them. [340] Even though there might be no need at all for the superior man to know about thieves,

133 *Soregashi* ("a certain person") at first served as a personal pronoun to denote the third person, someone whose name was not known. Then it was appropriated to refer to oneself among male speakers, with connotations of modesty/self-demeaning.

134 In a Confucian context the "superior man" denotes the ideal of a man, someone with high moral faculties who strives for learning and perfection of his behaviour based on ethical principles. In Japan this ideal of the "superior man" was identified with the warriors as leaders of society.

swindlers 山師 (*yamashi*), liars, or [other] frivolous people 輕薄モノ (*keihaku mono*),¹³⁵ if he does not know [about them] in the first place, he will commit oversights 抜目 (*nukeme*). [341] He will be prone to carelessness 油断 (*yudan*).¹³⁶ [342] Thieves are his enemies. [342] Swindlers are his enemies. [343] Liars are his enemies. [344] Frivolous people are his enemies. [345] If he intends to make these enemies surrender to him and to make them reform their hearts, it stands to reason that first he has to know the inner sentiments of his enemies. [346] To govern the bad customs of those below [means] intending to put an end to them. [347] It is nothing else, after all, but trying to make the enemies change their hearts and surrender to [one's own] side. [348] The vicious 惡風 (*akufū*) [people] below look out for chinks in [the wariness of] those above and aim to deceive them. [349] If one does not want to be deceived, this is [tantamount to] war 戦ヒ (*tataikai*). [350] This is the reason why people are hurt, reputations are damaged, and things are not achieved.

[351a] The official who sets out for Osaka, thinks that he will borrow money by easily cajoling Osaka's [merchants] into compliance, concocts a scheme [to this end] and intends to make [the merchants] do as he tells them. [351b] In the end this is no different at all from trying to make one's enemies surrender. [352] Enemy means [that there is an] opposite party 相手 (*aite*). [353] It says nothing else but to confront someone and try with words to make him adopt what one tells him. [354] However, it is unreasonable that the official who sets out for Osaka recklessly unleashes attack after attack and wants to make the enemy surrender to him without knowing his battle formation at all. [355] In the *Old Master* 老子 (*Laozi / Rōshi*), too, it says, "There is no greater foolishness than making light of the enemy. [356] Accordingly, making light of the enemy is [very] near to losing my treasure."¹³⁷ [357] It is still more thoughtless to set out heedlessly without [even] sizing up the enemy.

[358] What is more, Confucian scholars do not understand the principle of things 事ノ理 (*koto no kotowari*).¹³⁸ [359] That they forbid insight into the

135 A more literal translation would be "superficial/shallow person", implying someone with no moral standards and ties to the life of a social group and its rules of conduct.

136 Making "oversights" and "carelessness" are recurrent subjects in Seiryō's account. Cf. e.g. KD 263–65, K 2: 115–20 [581–639].

137 Seiryō cites from § 69 in the *Old Master* or *Book of Way and Virtue* 道德經 (*Daode jing / Dōtoku kyō*), "There is no greater disaster than making light of the enemy. Making light of the enemy is [very] near to losing my treasure." SBBY 2: 19b.

feelings 情 (*jô / nasake*) of villains 悪人 (*akunin*) is completely incomprehensible. [360] But what is even more extreme is that they prohibit insight into the feelings of the people.¹³⁹ [361] If one knows the feelings of vulgar people 下賤ノ人 (*gesen no hito*) one will turn vulgar [oneself]. [362] Knowing the feelings of villains, one will become a villain, too; thus they seem to think. [363] This is utterly foolish 大キニタワケナル (*ôki ni tawake naru*). [364] Good people do not cause harm for oneself. [365] To know the feelings of people who do not cause harm to oneself is well, but not knowing them is of no harm [either]. [366] What one needs to know most of all are the feelings of villains. [367] If by chance one fails to size [them up correctly], if by chance one commits an oversight, it is possible that [the villains] will use this opportunity and cause harm to oneself. [368] This is proof that one needs to know [the feelings of villains] most of all.

[369] Now, as the superior man is someone who well appreciates 嘯ミワケテオル (*kamiwakete oru*)¹⁴⁰ principle, if one tells him [something that accords

138 Cf. KINSKI 2000: 78–79, n. 79.

139 It is not altogether clear what Seiryô is alluding to in this and the preceding sentence. In Song-period Confucianism the human feelings, differences among them, and the phenomenon of morally bad people had been explained by reference to the material side of human nature. Cf. n. 116. Differences in the purity of the “matter/energy” a person is equipped with make for stronger or weaker “feelings” and “desires”. If they go unrestrained, in some cases the latter might be so strong as to eclipse the moral qualities originally inherent in every human being. This might be an all too general explanation of differences among human beings that does not take into account concrete characters and aspects of their socialization, but at least it offers a rough method for understanding the phenomenon of differing human “feelings”. Arguing from this kind of ontological standpoint supersedes a more empirical look at human “feelings”. But I am aware of no outright “prohibition” of such a view. However, Seiryô’s critique might be justified insofar as the Song-Confucian conception of human nature called for recognizing the “original nature” – not the “feelings” arising out of the physical side of “nature” – human beings are endowed with and causing the “virtues” placed there to flourish. A possible explanation of what Seiryô meant with his comment might be found in a passage in his *Talks about the Great Rule* 洪範談 (*Kôhan dan*, cf. n. 210), where he criticizes Song-period Confucian scholars for only turning to the study of books instead of delving into actual “affairs and things” 事物 (*jibutsu*). “Now, most important for learning is to know the feelings of the Ten Thousand Things 万物 (*banbutsu*) between Heaven and Earth 天地 (*tenchi*). The learning of China in later ages, [however], thought that [learning] amounts to reading books, and it just consisted of investigating [written] characters. People who read ancient books turned to reading [these] books because they wanted to know them fully, as [in their opinion] it was in books that the feelings of the Ten Thousand Things between Heaven and Earth were recorded; out of this the Chinese school of character/letter [investigation] arose, but because it does not search for the feelings of affairs and things, it troubles itself with useless matters [...]” Ibid., KURANAMI 1976: 585–86.

with] reason, he will understand. [370] [However], because principle is not the business of the vulgar people, they do not bother with it. [371] One cannot know what act of absurdity they will commit. [372] As for ruling the superior man, one does so on grounds of principle, there is nothing especially difficult about it. [373] For ruling the vulgar people, [on the other hand], one has to size up their feelings. [374] What must be known in the first place are the feelings of the vulgar [people]. [375] If one looks at what later Confucian scholars say in the context of war, [it amounts] to putting a ban on knowing the enemy's strategy. [376] "When it comes to the enemy, not to know about him in the least respect, that is a [worthy] lord"; "knowing [about him] is nothing a superior man would do"; these are utterly foolish arguments. [377] If the vulgar people were as exceedingly foolish as the people of Ge Tian 葛天 and Wu Huai 無懷,¹⁴¹ if they were people like trees and stones, then it might be that there is no need indeed to know [their feelings]. [378] [But] to put a ban on knowing the sentiments of the cunning 奸猾 (*kankatsu*) people of later ages, of those who aim for chinks [in the wariness] of those above and think of nothing but to deceive them, that surely invites to be deceived to the full of one's desire and to carelessly proceed into peril.

[379] In the *Master Meng* it says, "To gauge one's own feelings first and know them is the beginning. [380] Knowing one's own feelings, one also knows those of other people. [381] Knowing the feelings of others, one knows the feelings of things. [382] Knowing the feelings of things, one knows the principle of Heaven."¹⁴² [383] For this reason the sages and worthy

140 Literally "tell apart by chewing".

141 Ge Tian and Wu Huai both were legendary rulers of Chinese antiquity. Without deliberately instructing the people, they instilled trust in them and ruled in peace while the people were trusting and enjoyed a carefree life.

142 Kuranami (KD 281) points out that Seiryô in this passage mixes two separate sayings in the *Master Meng*. One is to be found in 7A1.1: "Master Meng said, 'Someone who exhausts his heart knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven.'" SBBY 7.1a, L 2: 448. The other in 5B1.2 reads: "It was as if he himself [Yi Yin 伊尹, one of the worthies of antiquity] pushed them [the common people] into a ditch." SBBY 5.13a, L 2: 370. It might be that Seiryô thought of the first of the two passages Kuranami quotes, but the second does not meet either in wording or in context with Seiryô's allusion (besides, 已推 in the original should not read 己レヲ推シテ / *onore o oshite* – "to investigate / know oneself" – as Kuranami interprets, but 己レガ推シテ / *onore ga oshite* – "to push [the people] by one's [own hand]"). I assume that Seiryô had a passage in mind and quoted from memory. This makes it difficult to ascertain the original passage, as Seiryô's memory does not seem to have been infallible. Cf. e.g. KD 1: 224, K 1: 164 [243], or KD 1: 237, K 1: 188 [657–59].

men 聖賢 (*seiken*)¹⁴³ of antiquity considered only knowing the feelings as learning. [384] That later Confucian scholars forbade the knowledge of feelings was the seed for the loss of peaceful government 治平ニナラヌ種 (*chihei ni naranu tane*). [385] Although [these scholars] said that superior men are easily made to grasp reason 諭シヨイ (*satoshiyoi*), as reason¹⁴⁴ is their inborn strength 持チマヘ (*mochimae*), this is [wholly] dependent on the superior man himself. [386] It does not necessarily follow that superior men without fail are men with whom reason is an inborn strength. [387] What is more, although the more familiar someone is with reason the less need there is to make him see reason 諭ス (*satosu*), [the expression] “make someone see reason” implies that one has to make the other side see reason because he is wrong about something. [388] Being wrong about something, [however, means, that] he is either a liar, someone frivolous, a villain, or a fool. [389] When making this man see reason, one will not succeed without knowing his heart. [390] Knowing the heart of villains and fools, therefore, is the most urgent need. [391] As in the saying, “When the madman runs east the pursuer, too, runs east”, one first has to run in the same direction as the madman when trying to catch someone who is mad. [392] At present, when one tries to take the madman west, he runs east. [393] Although one has nothing to do in the east, as the madman runs east now, first one has to run east too, after all, catch him and then take him west. [394] Thinking to turn the villain and the fool into good men, [the one] will run in the direction of evil. [395] [The other] will run in the direction of foolishness. [396] Therefore, although oneself has nothing to do with evil or foolishness, first one has to run in the direction of evil and foolishness, [too], catch the villain and the fool, and take them in the direction of goodness. [397] Thus, if one does not know the foolishness and evil of warriors, one cannot make them see reason.

[398] First of all, each and every warrior takes it for granted that because ever since [the time of their] ancestors from generation to generation they received rice from their lord 旦那 (*danna*) year after year, they are men who by definition ought to get rice. [399] On what grounds do they receive rice from their lord? [400a] On what grounds does a retainer get rice? [400b] There are many [warriors] who do not know the source of this. [401] Many

143 For “sages” cf. KINSKI 2000: 117, n. 216. “Worthy men” ranked below “sages”, and like Yi Yin include persons of wisdom and high moral character who served the “sages”.

144 Here I translated 理 (*ri, kotowari*) with “reason” instead of “principle”, as this seemed closer to what Seiryô is alluding to.

of them have a frame of mind that makes them a burden to [their] lord. [402] Without the reason being too clear, lords for some reason [put up with] losses in their rice [revenue] in order to sustain their followers; [self-complacently] they make do with some such haphazard 中ズマシ (*chûzumashi*) [manner of explanation]. [403] Therefore, lords, too, are under the impression that [being a lord means] simply sustaining retainers, without trying to guess at the reason [for such]. [404] “Sustaining” is the expression for allowing [the retainers] to lead their lives without letting them meet with hunger and cold. [405] Sustaining them without there being a reason for it – this is something quite impossible.

[406] The principle of Heaven implies that the arithmetics always meet. [407] As to the question why [someone] gives [something] and why [someone] receives [something], such will not come to pass without there being a reason. [408] It would be better if one gave [something] after knowing the reason [for giving] and if one received [something] after knowing the reason [why it was given]. [409] In general, those with hereditary allowances 世祿 (*seiroku*) are people who do not inquire into the reason [behind this]. [410] This [attitude] goes extremely against the principle of Heaven, and incurs the scorn of Heaven. [411a] And if one should explain how this ignorance about the reason [for giving and taking] came about, [one finds that up] until [the time that] Yao relinquished [the throne] in favour of Shun, and Shun relinquished [power] in favour of Yu, this reason was understood.¹⁴⁵ [411b] However, the origin [of this ignorance] is that starting [from the moment] when Yu turned [the throne] over to his son Qi 啓, it came about that [people] from generation to generation turned [power] over to their sons. [412] When Yao turned [the throne] over to Shun, there was a reason why he did so. [413] Yao was the wisest man in the whole realm. [414] That the wisest man in the realm should also be the wealthiest and noblest is in strict accordance with the principle of Heaven. [415] Looking at the [whole] realm, Yao turned [his position] over to Shun because the latter was the wisest man in the realm. [416] There is a reason as well for Shun’s receiving [the throne]. [417] That Shun turned [his power] over to Yu, and that Yu received [it] from Shun, all

145 The account of how the legendary emperor Yao left his throne to Shun, who in his turn chose Yu as his successor instead of his own son, can be found in the *Book of Documents*. SBBY 1.4a–5b, L 3: 25–32, KARLGREN 1950: 3–4; SBBY 2.2b, L 3: 57; SBBY 2.3a–4b, L 3: 60–64. Leaving the throne to someone worthy of it was idealized in the Confucian tradition as “[virtuous] transmission” 禪讓 (*shanrang* / *zenjô*).

this did not happen without there being [sufficient] reason for receiving [the throne].¹⁴⁶

[418] Generally put, that retainers are under the impression they [should] take what is for the taking without close investigation [of the reasons] is due to a similar disposition [of giving without asking why] on the part of the lord. [419] Therefore, if he who is to be lord were to know this reason, the [indulgence in] luxury going on day and night would weigh on his mind somewhat. [420] If the lord were concerned about the ongoing [indulgence in] luxury, the retainers, too, would be forced to be concerned about the reason for this. [421] Now, because there will be no carelessness if one opens one's mind to these arithmetics, even if the arithmetics of lord and retainers will not meet exactly, for a start [retainers] will be of a mind not to treat recklessly what they have received. [422] Now, at least they will be of a mind to work [vigorously] until the bones crack 骨キリ (*honekiri*) in their wish to make the arithmetics meet. [423] However, it would be clumsy, if this [making the] arithmetics [meet] were to be ordered [directly] by [the authorities] above. [424] [The best] method is to make [the retainers] notice [things] on their own 自然ニ (*shizen ni*). [425] This is precisely the way Heaven makes plants and trees blossom. [426] It is a way that stimulates 鼓舞スル (*kobu suru*)¹⁴⁷ the other side to become aware and to be of a mind [to behave as expected] on its own. [427] There is no better technique for this than the “privy council award” 枢密賞 (*sûmitsu shô*).¹⁴⁸

[428] The “privy council award” did not exist in ancient times either. [429] The name, too, has been invented by me (Tsuru). [430] [And] a “privy council award” does not exist [at the moment], either. [431] Even though the name may not exist, it [still] would be well if by this [measure] the behaviour of those below were reformed. [432] As [our] age is different from antiquity, so too the way to govern would be insufficient, if left as in antiquity. [433] As for governing customs that did not exist in ancient times, it stands to

146 The *Book of Documents* relates the merits Yu had acquired in service to the emperor, the most outstanding among them being his irrigation work. SBBY 2.3a–4b, L 3: 60–64; SBBY 3.1a–8a, L 3: 92–126, KARLGREN 1950: 12–18.

147 “Stimulation” by recognizing people’s disposition and working on it to arouse their interest in the pursuit of “profit” is a central concern throughout KD.

148 The “privy council” 枢密院 (*shumi yuan / sûmitsu in*) was an institution known in China since the Tang dynasty (618–907), and was responsible for handling important and secret military and political affairs until it was abolished by the Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644). It was from here, probably, that Seiryô adopted the appellation.

reason that these cannot be governed if it is not with methods that were not [yet] known in ancient times. [434] The treadmill 踏車 (*fumiguruma*) of our days, the reel 糸クリ (*itokuri*), or the threshing machine 稲コキ (*inekoki*) are contraptions that did not exist in antiquity.¹⁴⁹ [435] That things that cannot be found in ancient times are all evil methods 邪法 (*jahô*) or are perverted teachings 邪道 (*jadô*) is something that Confucian scholars say. [436] This is something to be said if someone were to suggest doing away with benevolence 仁 (*jin*), righteousness 義 (*gi*), rites 礼 (*rei*), and wisdom 智 (*chi*) and put something else in their place, or to do away with [social differentiation according to a distinction between] lord and retainer 君臣 (*kunshin*), father and child 父子 (*fushi*), older brother and younger brother 兄弟 (*keitei*) and choose another order [instead]. [437] As the Five Constants 五常 (*gojô*) and the Five Relations 五倫 (*gorin*)¹⁵⁰ after all have been established by the sages in accordance with the principle of Heaven, they cannot be changed. [438] But as for converting allocated territories 封建 (*hôken*) into provinces and districts 郡県 (*gunken*), from the Qin 秦 [dynasty] onwards the change to [a system of] provinces and districts in any case was brought about in violation of antiquity.¹⁵¹ [439] To take care that the Five Constants and the Five

149 The devices mentioned in this sentence are examples of advancement in the mechanization of agricultural work during the Edo-period. The first was used for drawing up water and had its place in irrigation work. The second served to reel silk off cocoons and to spin cotton into yarn. The third was fashioned like a comb or a saw with teeth through which bundles of rice stalks were pulled in order to free the rice from the ears. I assume that Seiryô is thinking of the device called a “multi-gripping thrasher” 千把扱 (*senba koki*). This contraption, as well as the treadmill, made their appearance during the second half of the 17th century. The first spread throughout the country after the middle of the Edo-period, the second had reached many parts of Japan by the middle of the 18th century. The reeling device on the other hand saw essential improvements in its design during the first half of the 19th century.

150 Both terms are essential to the moral and social thinking of, in particular, Song-period Confucianism. The “Five Constants” consist of the four “virtues” mentioned in the previous sentence plus the “virtue” of “trustworthiness” 信 (*shin*). It is the “Five Constants” which lie at the heart of the “original nature” as envisioned by Song-Confucianism, and although the individual “virtues” had been central to Confucian ethics before, during the Song-period they were taken together under one heading. The expression “Five Relations”, too, was coined in later ages, but the five basic relationships that are signified by the word had already been distinguished in *Master Meng* 3A4.8. SBBY 3.9b, L 2: 251–52. In addition to the three relationships mentioned in the sentence before, the relations between “elder and younger” 長幼 (*chôyô*) and between “friends” 朋友 (*hôyû*) also belong to them. (“Five Constants” can also be used as another word for “Five Relations”, thus denoting the five central “ways” or social relationships that every human being must inevitably uphold).

Relations are practised, [while at the same time] thinking up methods that did not [yet] exist in ancient times – there is no harm in it at all.¹⁵²

[440] This “privy council award” can be used with the retainers 家中 (*kachû*) [as its object] as well as the villages 村方 (*murakata*).¹⁵³ [441] It is also convenient for making pupils 寺子 (*terako*)¹⁵⁴ in temple schools 寺子屋 (*terakoya*)¹⁵⁵ proceed [quickly] with their [learning] tasks. [442] This strategem

151 The word *hōken*, or *fengjian* in Chinese, was used to describe the system of government during the Zhou-period, when after the establishment of Zhou rule the king had entrusted important retainers and relatives with the military and political affairs of individual territorial units. Rule over these units became hereditary, so that local magnates developed into more or less independent rulers who nominally stood under the titular overlordship of the Zhou kings. The expression in modern historiographical parlance is used as an equivalent/translation for “feudalism”/“feudal”, but it would be misleading to consider Zhou-period institutions as closely corresponding to those of “feudal” Europe. I therefore speak of “allocated territories” instead of “fiefs” as the literal meaning of *fengjian* / *hōken* is “[drawing boundary lines by] throwing up earth walls (*feng*) and setting [someone] up (*jian*) [as lord thereover]”. The system of “provinces and districts”, Chinese *junxian*, can be seen as a countermeasure against the independence of Zhou-period principalities. After the first emperor of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BCE) had brought the rival states under his sway, thereby uniting “China” under one rule, the division of the country in the principalities of old was abolished and the realm divided into new units administered by officials appointed by the evolving central government, a system which served as model for later dynasties.

152 The logic of this sentence in the original is not altogether clear. What Seiryō seems to suggest is that some things from antiquity like the constants of social order and ethics, are valid at all times while others – on a lower level perhaps – such as a change in the administrative organization of the territories under rule, can also be newly instituted parallel to what must unquestionably be preserved from antiquity.

153 But not the castle towns, it seems. Does this sentence perhaps presuppose that the group of retainers and the villages in the countryside are most readily accessible for control through a territorial lordship, whereas the cities and their merchant communities are somewhat removed from direct intervention? On the other hand, the merchant population in urban settlements present Seiryō time and again with a model for the required economical disposition. In their case, therefore, the need for stimulating them to raise “profit” is not so great as the need to bring their earnings back into circulation. Based on his insight that wealth has a natural tendency to descend to lower social echelons and to accumulate there, throughout KD Seiryō makes use of the concept 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. How the “privy council award” can be applied in the countryside will be the subject of Part Four.

154 Literally “temple children”.

155 Literally “house of temple children”. This expression was used for a type of school during the Edo-period where the children of non-samurai families were taught reading, writing, and (at least in the economically most developed areas with a large merchant

is a method that originally had its roots in the [rice] income from a lord's allotted estates and the luxury of our age not striking a balance. [443] During the *time 御時代 (*on jidai*) of □ His Eminence the Buddha Incarnation 権現様 (*Gongen sama*)¹⁵⁶ [this balance still] would have been in place. [444] And as not much time had elapsed since □ His Eminence the Hall of My Virtue's 台徳院 (*Taitoku In sama*)¹⁵⁷ *entering of the country [of the eight provinces] 御入国 (*go nyūkoku*),¹⁵⁸ it is not surprising that [things were balanced] in a similar way. [445a] From the time of □ His Eminence the Hall of the Great

population) mathematical skills like the use of the abacus. Such schools were not necessarily affiliated with a temple (the name may have its origins in the education offered at Buddhist temples for members of the laity during the Middle Ages) but could be independently managed by (masterless) warriors, physicians, but also Buddhist monks or Shintō priests. Such schools rapidly spread starting around 1700 (some earlier examples are known from the first half of the 16th century), predominantly in the cities but also in villages. At the height of this development, between the beginning and the middle of the 19th century, there were said to have been some thirty to forty thousand schools in the whole of Japan varying in size mostly between twenty and sixty pupils (but some with several hundred). Pupils were mostly boys, but in the large cities of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto there were also considerable numbers of female “temple children” (there being female teachers as well).

- 156 This is the name by which the founder of Tokugawa rule was called posthumously and revered in the shrine dedicated to him in Nikkō 日光. A fuller version of this name is the “Great Buddha Incarnation Shining in the East” 東照大権現 (*Tōshō Dai Gongen*). In those cases where there were names of persons of high status or of institutions requiring a respectful treatment, 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*). For this phenomenon cf. Markus RÜTTERMANN 2001. Here, the NST edition of KD inserted a symbol to indicate that either a blank space or line break occurred. Unfortunately, for lack of an Edo-period edition of KD, I could not ascertain if Seiryō chose either the one or the other. Following the rules found in RÜTTERMANN 2001 a line break should have been appropriate. This is true for the following cases as well. Here and in all other places such an occurrence will be marked by the symbol □.
- 157 Taitoku In is the posthumous name of the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada 秀忠 (r. 1605–23).
- 158 It is not entirely clear to which event Seiryō is referring. Tokugawa Ieyasu had been entrusted with the eight provinces of the Kantō 関東 area in 1590 (Tenshō 天正 18) by Toyotomi Hideyoshi. After he became shogun in 1603 (Keichō 8) construction on Edo castle and the surrounding settlement began. At that time both Ieyasu and his son Hidetada resided in Edo. In 1605 (Keichō 10) the former passed on the office of shogun to the latter and moved to the newly-built castle at Suruga two years later, Hidetada remaining in Edo. He took part in the campaigns against Osaka and the supporters of the Toyotomi family in the winter of 1614 (Keichō 19) and the summer of 1615 (Keichō 20). Perhaps Seiryō thinks of Hidetada's return to Edo after these campaigns and the situation during the last years of Hidetada's rule as shogun.

Plan 大猷院 (*Taiyû In sama*)¹⁵⁹ [the situation] changed completely. [445b] First the [system] of appointing [warriors] to imperial offices 公卿補任 (*kugyô funin*) was *deigned to be detached and was altered [to its present form]; [then] the various great lords were deigned to be made into *retainers 御家来 (*go keraï*) and were promoted from the fourth rank 四位 (*shii*) [onwards].¹⁶⁰ [446] From then on the warriors' [lifestyle] became affluent 立派 (*rippa*), and as no restraint was exerted [on it] from anywhere, before long it turned

159 Taiyû In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (r. 1623–51).

160 The system of hierarchically-graded court ranks, which had been established during the reforms of the 7th and 8th century after the model of the Tang dynasty, had been extended to include the warriors insofar as even before the Kamakura-period court rank had been bestowed on leading members of the warrior aristocracy. For those thus honoured this meant an increase in prestige, whereas seen from the perspective of the emperor the warriors were brought into the fold of the imperial system of government by this act and thus, at least nominally, into positions subservient to the emperor. The right to grant court rank was one of the last, albeit symbolic, vestiges of power left to the imperial institution, and even this remnant of power was largely remodeled during the first decades of Tokugawa rule. Leading members of the warrior aristocracy still received court rank but the initiative for the bestowal passed increasingly from the emperor to the shogunal government. Originally, the emperor granted rank to certain persons as a prerogative. But already in 1604 (Keichô 9) Ieyasu had claimed the right to recommend someone for court rank for the shogunal government. In the seventh article of the *Rules for the Imperial Court as well as the Court Nobles* 禁中並公家諸法度 (*Kinchû narabi ni kuge sho hatto*) it said that henceforth court rank and offices bestowed on warriors were to be treated separately from the fixed number of ranks and respective offices in the structures of imperial government. During Iemitsu's rule this was taken one step further when warrior ranks were no longer listed in the imperial court rank register (the word Seiryô uses, *Kugyô bunin*, actually is the name of the register where nobles were annually listed with their names and their office career until 1868). At the same time it became more or less fixed which court rank a warrior or regional lord could aspire to (this was definitely fixed during the reign of the next shogun). Grades of rank corresponded intimately with a house's status within the warrior hierarchy. For a majority of regional lords this meant that they could be promoted up to "junior fifth grade" 從五位 (*jû goi*), whereas the fourth rank Seiryô mentions was reserved for a small number of lords possessing exceptionally large territories or close links with the shogunal house. Promotion beyond the fourth rank – excepting members of the shogunal family – was only possible in case of the "Three Houses" and the "Three Nobles" (cf. n. 100) as well as the *daimyô* family with the largest territory, the house of Maeda 前田. To bring this process to a conclusion, under the reign of the fifth shogun at the end of the 17th century the shogunal government did away with the last remnants of imperial independence by making the appointments itself and then informing the imperial institution. Thus, the system of court rank developed into another means to bind the regional lords completely to the shogunal authority (thereby severing the links between them and the emperor as the only competing source of superior authority) and turn them into "semi-public servants", as OOMS 1985: 169 says, or as Seiryô remarks, into "*retainers".

luxurious. [447] What counted as luxurious then, [however], has to be deemed very frugal when compared to present times. [448] From then on, □ *reign 御代 (*on dai*) after *reign, the [prevailing] habits advanced swiftly [in the direction of more and more luxury]. [449] Clothing, housing, food, and pastime activities became ten times, even twenty times [more luxurious] than in the past. [450] Already hearing about the times of □ His Eminence the Hall of the Great Plan today, one cannot help but think it a complete fabrication [in its simplicity]. [451] Even [hearing about the days of] □ His Eminence the Hall of Dignity Kept 嚴有院様 (*Genyû In sama*)¹⁶¹ it seems like a lie. [452] As the age of □ His Eminence the Hall of Constant Rules 常憲院様 (*Jôken In sama*)¹⁶² is a [...] ¹⁶³ period, it is quite recent, but nevertheless, when looking at it from [the standpoint of] today, [the state of affairs then] seems completely unbelievable. [453] [The reigns] of □ His Eminence the Hall of Brilliant Letters 文昭院様 (*Bunshô In sama*)¹⁶⁴ and □ His Eminence the Hall of Being Refined 有章院様 (*Yûshô In sama*)¹⁶⁵ lasted only a short time, and during the times of □ His Eminence the Hall of Being Virtuous 有徳院様 (*Yûtoku In sama*)¹⁶⁶ the *luxury 御奢侈 (*go shashi*)¹⁶⁷ of [the reign of] His Eminence the Hall of Brilliant Letters was [discarded and] frugality restored.¹⁶⁸ [454] If then, one were to state the extent of luxury¹⁶⁹ during [the days of] □ His Eminence the Hall of Brilliant Letters, [one has to admit that] when seen from the standpoint of this age, there was no luxury worth mentioning at all. [455] Besides, as the people down below were well-mannered [and lived frugally], the realm on the whole was not given to luxury. [456] There only was the luxury of □ His Eminence in the *Main Tower [of Edo castle] 御本丸様 (*Go Honmaru sama*).¹⁷⁰ [457] Through [the days of] □ His Eminence

161 Genyû In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Ietsuna 徳川家綱 (r. 1651–80).

162 Jôken In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi.

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

164 Bunshô In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Ienobu (r. 1709–12).

165 Yûshô In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Ietsugu (r. 1712–16).

166 Yûtoku In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Yoshimune.

167 Note that “luxury” here is prefixed with an honorific *go* as well, since it refers to the person of the shogun.

168 Yoshimune is known for the frugality of his personal lifestyle as well for his reform policy which attempted to tackle the financial difficulties of the shogunal government by bringing expenses and revenues once more into balance.

169 Here the absence of the honorific prefix can be noted. Seiryô’s use is not consistent.

the Hall of Unswerving Trustworthiness 惇信院様 (*Junshin In sama*)¹⁷¹ up until [the reign of] □ His Eminence the Hall of Deep Clarity 浚明院様 (*Shunmei In sama*)¹⁷² the manner of the *luxury of □ the [lord] above 上 (*ue*) changed as generally speaking it merely became extravagant without deserving to be called *luxury. [458] □ His Eminence the Hall of Brilliant Letters exhibited *luxury. [459] But since the habits [of the people below] did not turn to luxury, [the state of affairs] could be reformed when □ His Eminence the Hall of Being Virtuous *deigned to do so. [460] As this was a case of the *luxury of □ the one honourable person above 上御一人 (*kami go ichinin*),¹⁷³ when [another] □ honourable person above reformed manners, [the state of affairs still could be] fixed. [461] Because since [the time of] □ His Eminence the Hall of Deep Clarity the realm in its entirety was ruled by the habit of luxury, and because the luxury of those below is extreme, even though there is no *luxury to be found with the [lord] above, it is exceedingly difficult to reform [the present situation].

[462] It is an unchanging [feature] of all ages that when luxury is in vogue people will compete with each other in sagacity, fight a battle of ingenuity, and become cunning. [463] That is because without acquiring cunning they cannot afford luxury. [464] It is the artisans and merchants who become cunning and live in luxury. [465a] As these artisans and merchants turn to cunning without restraint, [this attitude] will infect the peasants before long, and they will plant and grow a [greater] number of different crops, sow seeds up to the peaks of the mountains, and then conceal this from the eyes of the officials in order to increase their income. [465b] For this reason the affluence of towns and the affluence of villages increases from month to month and from day to day without sign of surcease. [466] But because they have larger incomes than in the past and can afford luxury, they are able to live in an imposing manner that does not befit their status 自分不相応ニ立派ヲシテ (*jibun fu sôô ni rippa o shite*). [467] Now, they may live in an imposing manner [not befitting their status], but since they live in [such] luxury because they have taken care that their incomes will increase, it [only] accords with the principle of Heaven that they can afford luxury.

170 *Honmaru* or, literally, the “main round [building]” means the main keep of a castle complex. *Go Honmaru sama* refers to the shogun residing in the main keep.

171 Junshin In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Ieharu 徳川家治 (r. 1760–86).

172 Shunmei In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Ieshige 徳川家重 (r. 1745–60).

173 *Kami go ichinin* refers to the shogun.

[468] Luxury means heavy expenditure. [469] If the amount of money spent and the amount of income meet, one will eschew punishment 刑罰 (*keibatsu*). [470] However, present-day warrior houses are still on the same [rice] allotment as they received during the times of □ His Eminence the Buddha Incarnation and □ His Eminence the Hall of My Virtue, and their receipts did not increase in pace with the trend of times 世ノ流行 (*yo no ryūkō*). [471] As the receipts of peasants, artisans, and merchants increased in accordance with the trend of times, their income is large. [472] Since their income is large, they make ends meet even though they should incur heavy expenses. [473] The warrior houses have the same receipts at their disposal as in the past, but along with the trend of times their expenses grow, and therefore they do not make ends meet. [474] That is the reason why the debts of great lords grow. [475] It is the reason why the retainers bear their lord a grudge. [476] There is no better scheme now for helping the retainers than the privy council award. [477] And as matters will not go [as successfully for the] peasant houses [as for] artisans and merchants, it would be sound also, to use this privy council award with them as well.

[478] Now, if one states the reason why artisans and merchants are able to keep pace with the trend of times and why peasants and warriors cannot go with the trend of times, this is because [the latter] do not know how to work. [479] It would be bad to [simply] command them “Work!” in order to teach peasants and warriors the [proper way] to work. [480] Generally put, as the warriors receive rice from their lords every year, they cannot afford luxury, but they do not starve either. [481] And as the peasants eat what grows in their fields, they, too, do not starve. [482] Because there is no [danger of] starving, they think it burdensome to work assiduously. [483] The same also is said in the *Master Han Fei*.¹⁷⁴ [484] [Assuming] that now one wants to

174 As Kuranami (KD 285) explains, Seiryō is probably alluding to a passage in the chapter *Inner Collection of Admonitions, Part One* 内儲説上 (*Nei chushuo shang / Nai chozei jō*), in which Master Han Fei explains “seven techniques” or strategies a ruler should follow, among them the use of awards. One episode deals with King Goujian 勾踐 (trad. r. 496–465 BCE) of Yue 越 and his preparations for taking revenge on his rival, the kingdom of Wu 吳. After the king had made it clear that he valued vigour and courage, his retainers strove to meet his expectations and before long Goujian deemed the time right to attack Wu. “When setting fire to the palace hall and beating the drum [as signal for attack], what let people advance into the fire is [the fact] that there was an award for [moving into] fire. When facing the [Long] River and beating the drum [as a signal for attack], what let people advance into the water is [the fact] that there was an award for [moving into] water. When being on the verge of battle and beating the drum [as a signal for attack], what let people have their heads sliced off and their bowels scooped out

make [people] jump over a ravine that is only one *ken* 間¹⁷⁵ broad but which promises immediate death if one falls into it, among one thousand men there will not be one who jumps if one just orders them to do so without offering anything [in return]. [485] But if one tells them that one will present those who have jumped with one hundred *ryô* in gold, out of one thousand fifty or sixty men are likely to jump. [486] If from behind a wolf with its mouth wide open or an angry boar approaches, all one thousand will jump without giving them anything [for a reward]. [487] It is [a mark of] human feelings 人情 (*ninjô*) that under lenient circumstances [people] do not muster up all their vigour. [488] And it accords with human feelings also that they become vigorous if they find themselves in severe circumstances. [489] If they are not hungry they will not become vigorous. [490] If artisans and merchants, too, were to be lazy, they soon would starve. [491] Starving is [like the] wolf. [492] It is [like the] boar. [493] One will die shortly. [494] Because the word¹⁷⁶ “death” follows right on their heels, [people] jump even over a ravine of one *ken*. [495] It is [a mark of] human feelings that [people] will be loath even to jump over a ditch of [only] three *shaku* 尺¹⁷⁷ if the word “death” does not follow right on their heels.

[496] Therefore, if one wants to make lazy people [work] vigorously, there is nothing better than punishments. [497] Awards are the next [best method]. [498] To make use neither of punishments nor awards and just keep silent [will mean] that [people] do not feel any obligation 恩義ノナイ (*ongi no nai*). [499] As ours is an age in which [people] detest punishments extremely and feel an aversion [to them], it would be bad and in defiance of the times if one were to make use of punishments against the customs of this age. [500] Especially the general opinion 世ノ評 (*yo no hyô*) is something extremely important. [501] In general it should be the case that one uses punishments and awards in equal measure, but since there is general opinion [to take into consideration], one would do well to punish with the help of awards. [502] Meting out punishments with the help of awards, and making awards with the help of punishments is the same. [503] Making awards with the help of punishments means that one punishes the one who is guilty but does not

without having an urge to look back [for a way of retreat] is [the fact] that there was an award for [moving into] battle.” SBBY 9.12a.

175 One *ken* equals 1.818 metres in length.

176 Literally the original says “character” 字 (*ji*).

177 One *shaku* measures about one foot. Six *shaku* make up one *ken*.

punish the one who is innocent. [504] Not to punish the one who is innocent, in other words, is the award. [505] By meting out punishments with the help of awards is meant that one rewards someone who has gathered merits, and does not reward someone without merits. [506] Not to reward the one without merits, in other words, is punishment. [507] In the *Master Han Fei*, making awards with the help of punishments is written in the episode when Master Kong saved [the state of] Lu 魯 from fire.¹⁷⁸ [508] If one takes this as a hint for further deliberations, [I] think one would do well to mete out punishments with the help of awards. [509] The privy council award is [such] a method to punish by granting awards.

[510] Now, if one wants to practise the privy council award among retainers, at first one starts with the youngest sons of chamberlains 側用人 (*soba yōnin*)¹⁷⁹ and the youngest brothers of attendants 近習 (*kinju*).¹⁸⁰ [511] As both the

178 The episode Seiryō refers to can be found in the same chapter as the one in n. 173: “The people of Lu set the marsh of Jize 積沢 on fire. From Heaven [in this case “Heaven” stands for climatic conditions] a northerly wind blew, the fire turned south and threatened to burn the capital. Duke Ai 哀公 was filled with alarm, took people with him in person and urged them to quell the fire. But on all sides no one remained [near him]; everyone chased the game and the fire was not quelled. Therefore he called Zhongni 仲尼 [Master Kong] and asked [for his opinion]. Zhongni answered, ‘Chasing game is delightful and there is no punishment for it; quelling the fire [on the other hand] is trying [work] with no award [for it]. This is the reason why the fire goes unquelled.’ Duke Ai said, ‘I see.’ Zhongni went on, ‘The situation is urgent. There is no leeway for making use of awards. If one were to reward all those who quelled the fire, [the means of this] country would not suffice to reward [all the] people. I beg you, [therefore], only to mete out punishments [in the original it says, mistakenly (?), “awards”].’ Duke Ai replied, ‘I agree.’ Thereupon Zhongni gave out the following order, ‘Those who do not [help] in quelling the fire will be treated as if they had committed the crimes of capitulation and desertion. Those who [go on] chasing game will be treated as if they had committed the crime of trespassing on forbidden [grounds].’ After this order had been given, the fire was put out even before the order had spread widely.” SBBY 9.9ab.

179 The hierarchy of offices in the Edo-period not only consisted of those responsible for various administrative tasks but also those that had their function in seeing to the immediate personal needs of the shogun (or the members of his family) and who – in a system where direct access to a person of high standing was a highly-regulated privilege – were in charge of the communications between the shogun and the higher ranks of the government in day-to-day affairs. One of these was the office of “chamberlain”. Although the word *soba yōnin* (literally “someone who stays close by to be of use/service”) was used in a specialized sense since the time of Tsunayoshi to denote a close personal favourite of the shogun who – without having served in an administrative position – had risen from small beginnings from among the shogunal attendants to a position of trust and who virtually monopolized access to the person of his lord, Seiryō probably uses the word in the more general sense of a high-ranking group among those serving near the shogun.

positions of chamberlains and attendants all belong to the positions of innermost service 奥勤 (*okuzutome*),¹⁸¹ it is possible to pursue confidential talks. [512] As this is the business of the privy council award, it will not be possible to arrive at the right composition [of members on this council] if they are not men with whom confidential talks can be held. [513] If the composition is not right, [this scheme] cannot be put into practice. [514] Now, among those who are either the youngest sons of chamberlains or the youngest brothers of attendants and who have not yet been allowed an audience 目見モセズ (*memie mo sezu*) [with the lord], who do not receive anything,¹⁸² and who do not serve on any assistantship 助役 (*joyaku*), there will be someone who is dexterous [with his hands]. [515a] According to the privy council award [scheme] one sets this dexterous person to secretly making arms or harnesses, one lets him fletch arrows,¹⁸³ or bend bows into shape,¹⁸⁴ or make bowstrings. [515b] Now, among the inspectors 目付 (*metsuke*)¹⁸⁵ there will be someone who serves as a member of the privy council 枢密方 (*sûmitsu kata*). [516] Since chamberlains, attendants, and inspectors can generally hold confidential talks right in front of the lord, one entrusts them with the business of the privy council. [517] Now, the inspector [serving on] the privy council should discover the arms and harnesses mentioned above, show immense appreciation, and report [his discovery] to the lord. [518] Once the lord learns of this, he should have those arms and harnesses brought to him and inspect them. [519a] On inspection, he will be full of praise: [519b] “That warriors make [their own] weapons is extremely reasonable to the highest degree 至極尤千万ノコト (*shigoku mottomo senban no koto*). [520] During a siege, or when

180 *Kinju* or *kinjû* (literally “[those] having grown familiar”) is a name for a group of personal attendants that could already be found in the Heian-period at the imperial court and which later was incorporated into the hierarchy of offices of shogunal governments.

181 This refers to those officials performing tasks in the inner parts of the shogunal castle reserved for the lord’s private life.

182 This means young warriors who have not (yet) been granted a rice stipend of their own.

183 The verb *hagu* for “fletching/making arrows” has its roots in old layers of Japanese. Among the “groups of [different] article [producers]” 品部 (*shinabe*) known from pre-Nara times there already was one called “arrow-fletchers” 矢矧部 (*yahagi be*). *Hagu*, written with the character 矧, means to fix feathers to a bamboo stalk.

184 The verb *utsu* 打つ meaning “to beat”, is used in connection with making bows.

185 Literally “[someone who] fixes his eyes [on someone else]”. “Inspectors” were charged with surveilling the behaviour and service performance of the direct retainers of the Tokugawa family. Higher-ranking “great inspectors” 大目付 (*ô metsuke*) fulfilled the same function with respect to the regional lords.

frequently setting out on campaigns, it is not possible to order the artisans in each and every case [that something is needed]. [521] Besides, the warriors of old mostly fashioned arms and harnesses themselves. [522] Warriors [should] make arms and harnesses themselves and perform things like grooming the legs of [their] horses 馬スソ (*umasuso*)¹⁸⁶ on their own. [523] Nowadays, one orders artisans with the making of each and all, and there is nothing that one makes on one's own. [524a] This is something unbecoming 不嗜ノコト (*futashinami no koto*) [to warriors].” [524b] [The lord] should attach a document [of this sort] and without fail give an award to the man who made the above-mentioned arms and harnesses. [525] This is the privy council award.

[526] Well now, thereafter those of the above-mentioned articles that have been well crafted should be rewarded and presented [to the lord]. [527] In this way, according to the quality of these articles, one lets [the maker] have a reward that is [somewhat] cheaper than [the market price] had one bought them [from the artisans]. [528] The inspectors should also pay close attention, report to the lord all the arms to be found among the handiwork of foot soldiers 足輕 (*ashigaru*)¹⁸⁷ and petty officials 小役人 (*ko yakunin*),¹⁸⁸ and have them presented to him. [529] In the *Master Meng* it says, too, “If those above are fond of something, [love for it] among those below will be extreme.”¹⁸⁹ [530] If four or five men are awarded this privy council award, it will become popular among all household retainers. [531] In fact, this is the way it should be with warrior houses. [532] Having the artisans make [what

186 *Suso* 裾 itself, generally meaning the skirt or train of dresses, can signify horse legs and also the cleaning of a horse's legs/shoes.

187 *Ashigaru* or, literally, the “lightfooted” were of the lowest rank in the warrior hierarchy, considered more like employees than warriors of true “gentleman” status. In times of war “foot soldiers” served in units armed with firearms, bows, or pikes, while in peacetime they took part in construction work and other menial tasks of low profile. The distinction between full warrior and *ashigaru* was apparent in the fact that a full warrior was entitled to a fixed number of retainers accompanying him on excursions (even if only one), while the “lightfooted” themselves counted among those who only accompanied but were not entitled to a retinue of their own. The difference in status found expression, too, after the Meiji restoration 1868 when persons of true samurai status were classed as “gentlemen” (*shi*) while former *ashigaru* were known as “troopers” 卒 (*sotsu*, an expression implying people of servant or at least undistinguished status).

188 Besides “foot soldiers”, there were other groups of low status on the bottom rung of the warrior hierarchy (“small persons” 小人 / 小者, *kobito / komono*, and others) performing menial types of work.

189 *Master Meng* 3A2.4; SBBY 3.3a; L 2: 238: “If those above are fond of something, [love for it] among those below will, without fail, be even more extreme.”

is necessary] in each and every case and having them deliver [these goods] is irresponsible. [533] During a campaign [all wear] straw sandals ワランヅ. [534] Therefore, warriors have to learn how to make straw sandals, [too].

[535] Present-day warriors are just warriors of [peacefully-]governed times 治世 (*chisei*); they are not warriors [living] in an age of disorder 乱世 (*ransei*). [536] In [peacefully-]governed times warriors are not needed. [537] Warriors from an age of disorder are useful in an age of disorder. [538] Warriors of [peacefully-]governed times are [like] decorative bows 破魔弓 (*hama yumi*).¹⁹⁰ [539] Decorative bows are weapons [appropriate to peacefully-]governed times. [540] The arms of [peacefully-]governed times are of no use in an age of disorder. [541] One just hangs up decorative bows in [decorative] niches 床ノ間 (*toko no ma*)¹⁹¹ merely to offer prayers 御祈祷 (*go kitô*). [542] If a thief were to intrude into the [decorative] niche or enemies were to raid it, decorative bows fit for praying would be useless. [543] Present-day warriors, too, are just [like] prayers put up for show 見セカケノ御祈祷 (*misekake no go kitô*). [544] In general, decorative bow warriors 破魔弓武士 (*hama yumi bushi*) are not warriors of any real use.

190 Literally the word means “bow for destroying evil (ghosts)” (*hama* is a word with Buddhist background meaning the “destruction of evil” or the “vanquishing of worldly passions”). Originally, this bow had its role in ritual, but later it became more stylized, shrinking in size and losing its practical functions, as Seiryô suggests, or further evolving (as it still can be found today) into a decorative article or toy given to boys when it was fixed to a piece of wood together with the figure of a warrior (thereby hoping that the child would grow into a strong healthy man). The ritualistic function of the “bow for destroying evil” is still retained in the ceremony held on completion of the wooden framework of a house, when two such bows – together with arrows – are placed on the rooftop.

191 The “decorative niche” took shape together with developments in residential architecture since Muromachi times. Built into the wall, the niche’s floor lies a little higher than that of the room and reaches almost to the ceiling (other types of *toko no ma* appeared later that deviate from this pattern of construction). Its origin lies in an earlier type of wall decoration consisting of a painting with a Buddhist motif hanging on the wall and a low table placed beneath it on which either three items (incense burner, flower vase, candleholder) or five (one incense burner, two flower vases and two candleholders each) were displayed. The items on display later changed to hanging scrolls of a secular nature and more complicated flower arrangements. As a place for decorative purposes, the niche became an integral part of that room of a house or residence used for receiving and entertaining guests. Whereas during the Muromachi-period host and guest apparently sat on both sides of the niche facing each other so that both could look at the decoration, in the subsequent period the place directly in front of the *toko no ma* became the place of honour reserved for the lord or the most esteemed guest – as is still the case in modern Japan.

[545] In Sorai's *Records on Halberd Shafts* 鈐録 (*Kenroku*)¹⁹² it is written, "Included in the art of war 軍術 (*gunjutsu*) [as taught] by the Yamagata school 山県流 (*Yamagata ryû*)¹⁹³ are men known as bearers of container boxes 挾箱持 (*hasamibako mochi*) and sandal-bearers 草履取 (*zôri tori*).¹⁹⁴ [546] This is stupid. [547] As one wears straw sandals on campaigns, sandal-bearers should have no place [on campaigns]. [548a] Container boxes have appeared recently. [548b] When a great lord pays his visit to the castle 登城 (*tojô*),¹⁹⁵ it is out of the question to have the lord's raincoat 合羽 (*kappa*)¹⁹⁶

192 Of a number of works on military affairs by Ogyû Sorai, this work of twenty volumes is the most important and well-known. Sorai did not intend it for publication. Therefore it did not become widely known before it was put into print at the end of the Edo-period, in 1855 (Ansei 安政 2). Thus, it is interesting to note that Seiryô already had intimate knowledge of this work, which comments on military organization, equipment, and tactics among other things, and draws on Chinese military learning as well as the traditions of the period of internal warfare in 16th-century Japan.

193 That schools of military arts were numerous throughout the Edo-period is apparent in a perusal of KR 23. However, reference to a "Yamagata school" could not be found. Actually, Sorai did not talk of the "Yamagata" but of the "Yamaga" 山鹿 school. OSZ 6: 262. This, of course, represented one of the best-known traditions of military learning in Edo Japan. It had been founded by Yamaga Sokô, also known as a Confucian scholar, and together with Sorai counted among those who called for studying the texts of Chinese antiquity instead of relying on the commentaries written during the Song-period. One explanation for Seiryô's mistake could be that he miswrote "Yamaga" for "Yamagata", but I do not think so. This is indicated by reference to the "real Yamagata" in [551] and an expression of doubt whether the "Yamagata school" really was fashioned by the historical figure "Yamagata". A corresponding sentence, however, cannot be found in Sorai's text. Sorai even refers to a specific work on military affairs, *Excerpts on Victorious [Military] Preparedness* 雄備抄 (*Yûbi shô*), which could be Sokô's *Collection of Military Theory [Since the Times of Emperor] Divine Warrior for Victorious [Military] Preparedness* 兵法神武雄備集 (*Heihô Jinmu yûbi shû*) written in 1642 (Kanei 寛永 19). The whole passage gives the impression that Seiryô may have been thinking of a concrete person whose name took root in "Yamagata school" but whose age was remote from the peaceful times in which Sorai wrote. Perhaps Seiryô connected the school name to Yamagata Masakage 山県昌景 (?-1575) as the best-known bearer of the name Yamagata prior to Sorai's times. (Masakage was one of the leading retainers of the Takeda 武田 family of central Japan, which played an important role in the period of internal warfare and unification during the 16th century.) This instance might be an indicator of the degree to which Seiryô had the opportunity to become familiar with Sorai's still unpublished work. However, the mistake could also be a further example of Seiryô's lack of faithfulness to the works from which he quoted.

194 "Sandal-bearer" counted among the lowest positions within the warrior hierarchy in the broader sense. *Zôri*, literally "footwear [made from] weed", could be fashioned from straw, like "straw sandals", but other materials were used as well.

195 The literal translation would be "goes up to the castle". This probably refers to occasions

carried [openly], and therefore the raincoat is folded together and the [container] for which bamboo is split [in order to construct it] and into which [the coat] is inserted for transporting is called ‘bamboo container’ 挟竹 (*hasamitake*). [549] As these later became [shaped like] boxes they are called ‘container boxes’ 挟箱 (*hasamibako*). [550] On a campaign, container boxes should have no place either. [551] Therefore, it is doubtful that the Yamagata school was fashioned by the real Yamagata.”¹⁹⁷ [552] This has to be considered military learning 軍学 (*gungaku*) [as found] in [peacefully-]governed times. [553] One cannot but say that the military learning of [peacefully-]governed times is not military learning of any real use. [554] As more or less one hundred years have passed since Sorai’s death, [his work] conforms to a time when not yet one hundred years had elapsed since the [last] war¹⁹⁸ [...] had ended. [555a] Even then¹⁹⁹ the world had entered a stage, when in this way the matters of warfare already had been forgotten. [555b] Therefore, it is only to be expected that still another one hundred years hence the behaviour 行儀 (*gyôgi*) of warriors has even less in common with the behaviour of [true] warriors.

[556] One wants to assure that war preparedness 武備 (*bubi*) does not deteriorate. [557] Warriors without readiness for war are the same as a knife without an edge. [558] It only bears the name “knife”, but is a utensil of no use. [559] What is more, [these people] say, “I am a warrior” and [therefore] do not exert themselves in the field of letters 文学 (*bungaku*) nor are they trained in [the other] skills [useful in peacefully-]governed times. [560] Untrained in the skills of [peacefully-]governed times and unfamiliar with times of disorder [and their exigencies] – this is a good-for-nothing 無用ノ物 (*muuyô*)

when regional lords visited Edo castle in order to pay their respects.

196 Said to be an imitation of mantles worn by the Portuguese and other European visitors who came to Japan during the 16th century – cf. Sorai’s explanation in *Kenroku*, OSZ 6: 263 – such “raincoats” could be made from woolen cloth, cotton or oil paper. Bearers of boxes with a lord’s raincoats were a usual feature of the procession accompanying a regional lord on his way to or from Edo.

197 This quotation paraphrases Sorai’s words and preserves their intention. Sorai, too, had stated, “As this [container box] is an item of recent times, it did not yet exist [in the age of] Warring States [= period of internecine warfare during the 16th century]. Especially container-box bearers and sandal bearers should have no place on a battlefield.” OSZ 6: 262–63.

198 Seiryô probably refers to the Battle of Sekigahara when Tokugawa Ieyasu defeated his opponents, and the two campaigns against Osaka in 1614 and 1615 (cf. n. 158).

199 The author’s foreword to *Records on Halberd Shafts* dates from 1727 (Kyôhō 12).

no mono). [561] If one puts the award of the privy council [scheme] into practice now, little by little one will probably get true warriors.

[562] Now, once [those] weapons presented [to the lord] have accumulated, one should undertake a restocking of the arsenal. [563] In every [lordly] residence rattan-bound 重籐 (*shigetô*) bows of lacquered wood that are known as “field bows” 陣弓 (*jinkyû*)²⁰⁰ can be found. [564] There are also arrows. [565] But they are there only in name, as residences are numerous that have never put [bows and arrows] to any use at all. [566] Because armour for lending 借シ具足 (*kashi gusoku*), harnesses for lending 借シ馬具 (*kashi bagu*), long-shafted spears and so forth all are old, there are many residences that do not [even] know if [these items] really are still good for something or not. [567] One should restock the arsenals now, and by turns sell the weapons that had hitherto been stockpiled. [568] Items that no one buys are things that could not have been used even if one had kept them. [569] [Those] items that can still be used people will certainly buy without hesitation. [570] Since in this manner arms will be made by the retainers without any need to buy them from craftsmen, [a sum of] money amounting more or less to [the sum] that would have gone to the craftsmen will remain among the retainers. [571] The retainers, too, do not have to carelessly go idle [as before]. [572] At least one will have done justice to the principle of Heaven.

[573] In general, it is bad that people have nothing to do ヒマデオル (*hima de oru*).²⁰¹ [574] This is living at others' expense 食ヒツブシ (*kuitsubushi*). [575] It is said, “The small man 小人 (*xiaoren / shôjin*) leading a quiet life 閑居 (*xianju / kankyo*) [without purpose] will do mischief.”²⁰² [576] As the

200 Such bows belonged to the equipment of army commanders and served more symbolic than practical purposes. They were made of wood lacquered in black, and in places they were wound with rattan. The number of these bindings became formalized. In the lower half of the bow there were twenty-eight, symbolizing the “twenty-eight stations” 二十八宿 (*nijûhachi shuku*) of the ecliptic, in the upper half there were thirty six representing the “thirty-six animals” 三十六禽 (*sanjûroku kin*), which consisted of the twelve zodiac animals allocated to the twelve hours of the day (the day was divided into twelve hours in the Chinese system of timekeeping) and their companions. Both “stations” and “animals” had a place in Chinese astronomy and were important for purposes of divination.

201 The expression implies that people have time to spare, *hima* meaning the time that is not filled with work.

202 *Great Learning* 大学 (*Daxue / Daigaku*) 6.2, SBBY 5b, L 1: 366. The “small man” is the opposite of the “superior man” (note that the designation *kobito* for one of the lowest groups of the warrior hierarchy is written with the same characters) and can be understood in the sense of “morally imperfect person”. Legge translates *xiaoren* as “mean man”. Ibid. *Xianju / kankyo* can be understood in two ways, meaning either “leading a tranquil

superior man does not lead a quiet life, one does not speak of “the quiet life of a superior man”. [577] The warriors nowadays have nothing to do except standing guard 番ヲスル (*ban o suru*).²⁰³ [578] They lead quiet lives [without purpose]. [579] They do not think of anything serious. [580] When days in summer are long they feel bored and wait until it gets dark, which is something irreverent to Heaven as well. [581] The reason why they lament days being long is that they think that there is nothing for them to do. [582] Living with nothing to do means to live at others’ expense. [583] If in a country there are many living at others’ expense, it is only to be expected that the country will fall into poverty. [584] There is an old saying, “That a treasure 宝 (*takara*) is thrown into a pond should be detested.” [585] This means: Is it not deplorable – even if not for one’s own sake [than at least for the sake of others] – that a treasure is just thrown away? [586] [Let us assume the following]: On noticing a one *sen* 銭 piece [of money]²⁰⁴ lying on the road, one picks it up and gives it to a beggar 乞食 (*kojiki*). [587] This is [an example of] detesting a treasure being thrown away and – without benefit to oneself – [taking care that it] is not thrown away. [588] This is something everyone does. [589] One hates not being able to exert the strength カラ (*chikara*) in [one’s] body. [590] Strength is the treasure that lies in oneself. [591] One ought to exert it and put it to use. [592] To let it rest without exerting it, this is [the same as] throwing the treasure away. [593] This means: Is it not deplorable – even if not for one’s own sake [than at least for the sake of others] – that a treasure is just thrown away? [594] To strain one’s wisdom for other people, to think things over, and come up with some idea – again, this is something that everyone does. [595] “If only one’s wisdom is good for something without throwing it away”; [this thought rests on] the intention to polish one’s wisdom – even if it is not for one’s own sake – and leave the execution [of what one has come up with] to coming generations.

[596] Generally put, whether it is hands, feet, or wisdom, whether it is the sea or the mountains, these are things made in such a way that treasures will

life in retirement” or “having time to spare [and therefore nothing to do]”.

203 Warriors, if they did not perform specific duties in administrative positions, were allocated to diverse guard units. Moreover, regional lords (as well as the shogunal government) had to be able to field their warrior retainers at any time. Thus, although many warriors at any one time performed functions in the administration, they remained a standing army (at least in theory) that could be mobilized in emergency throughout the Edo-period. The centerpiece of the shogunal fighting force were units called *ban* or “guard”, as for example the “Great Honourable Guard” previously mentioned.

204 *Sen*, like *mon*, is the name for a piece of copper money. Cf. n. 117.

issue forth. [597] It only stands to reason that treasures will issue forth [from them]. [598] [In this respect] they are of the same kind as water [flowing] from a well. [599] If one does not use them, this is equal to throwing the jewel away, and therefore, if one does not use them, nothing will issue forth. [600] They will [just] go bad 腐ル (*kusaru*). [601] The hand will lose its strength. [602] As something that ought to be used is not used, there is no difference to someone with a withered hand. [603] Therefore, Heaven will afflict [this person] with atrophy 萎病 (*ibyô*). [604] The same holds true for the legs. [605] For this reason, someone who does not walk and comes and goes only by riding in a palanquin 駕籠 (*kago*) when on business away [from home] will tire quickly and be unable to walk [any further] if he has to walk a distance of three *ri*.²⁰⁵ [606] That he tires [quickly] and cannot walk any longer means that [his legs] have lost their strength. [607] There ought to be no doubt that he has been struck with atrophy by Heaven. [608a] If one does not use [one's] wisdom either, [one's] intelligence will dry up and [one's] mind will become like that of someone dead. [608b] Therefore, Heaven will visit death [upon such a person]. [609] The sea and the mountains, too, are supposed to bring forth [many] things. [610] If one throws away both the mountains and the sea, nothing will issue forth [from them]. [611] It is the same as in the case of a well not giving water [any longer] if one does not [constantly] draw water from it. [612] Even a well giving exceedingly good water will turn bad if one does not draw [water] from it. [613] Therefore, a man, too, who is endowed by birth with considerable wisdom will turn into a simpleton アホフ (*ahô*) if he does not make use of it. [614] This is the will of Heaven. [615] Someone exceedingly dexterous, too, will become clumsy if he does not use his hands. [616] Even a fool knows that someone with

205 At the beginning of the 8th century, one Japanese *ri* had been fixed at roughly 540 metres. Some years later, in 713 (Wadô 和銅 6), this was altered to roughly 650 metres. Thereafter, variants abounded. Since the Middle Ages it became common to reckon one *ri* as equivalent to a distance of about 3,927 metres, but although Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1604 (Keichô 9) ordered markers to be set on highways in intervals of this length, standardization was still not achieved. This took place in 1869 (Meiji 明治 2), when the measure equal to about 3,927 metres was made official. This situation does not make it easy to give an equivalent in metres to the “three *ri*” that Seiryô mentions. If one were to follow the common practice of calculating one *ri* at roughly four kilometres one would arrive at a distance of twelve kilometres. Despite what Seiryô says, this does not seem unconsiderable, but perhaps one has to take into account that people in the Edo-period commonly travelled long distances by foot. For example, the distance from Edo to Kyoto along the “East Sea Highway” measured a little over 126 *ri* (about 500 kilometres) and usually took about fifteen days to cover.

exceedingly sturdy legs will become like a cripple [unable to stand on his legs] コシヌケ (*koshinuke*),²⁰⁶ if he does not walk.

[617] That warriors nowadays thoughtlessly munch the rice they receive from above and lead [lives] without doing anything – this is the reason why they become stupid and clumsy. [618] And this lord, too, in full knowledge [of the situation], turns wise and worthy 智賢 (*chiken*) retainers into foolish and incompetent 愚不肖 (*gu fushô*) ones and uses these [in his service]. [619] Is this after all not the same as throwing away a treasure? [620] This means that the lord throws away a treasure. [621] It is deplorable. [622] As the lord is someone of high standing 大身 (*taishin*), he should be wise. [623] As the retainers are of low standing 小身 (*shôshin*), it is only to be expected that they are foolish. [624] It ought to be the case that the wise person extends his succour to the foolish ones. [625] As for the retainers just munching [their rice] and whiling away the whole long day in boredom: because they are foolish they do not know [any better]. [626] That one turns one's back²⁰⁷ on those who do not know [any better] and does not enlighten them [is a sign of the lord's] caring falling short [of what is required]. [627] Now, the reason why [the lord] leaves [them be] without enlightening them is that otherwise the retainers would bear a grudge against [the lord] above. [628] If they were to bear a grudge against [the lord] above, again this would understandably be something to fear. [629] From times past there are numerous [instances of] people whose houses were crushed because the retainers held a grudge against the lord, banded together and asserted fiercely [their claims against him].²⁰⁸ [630] Therefore, because [the lord] is afraid, he turns his back [on the retainers' ignorance], which is a case of artlessness 術ナキコト (*jutsu naki koto*). [631]

206 Literally “[someone who has] lost [the strength of] his hips” and therefore is unable to stand on his legs, i.e. someone with crippled legs.

207 Literally the text speaks of “throwing away” ステテオキテ (*sutete okite*), as in case of the “treasure”.

208 Cf. Kinski 2000: 77–78, n. 77. An instance of a regional lordship being “crushed” because of internal “*house dispute” 御家騒動 (*o ie sôdô*) is the case of house Ikoma 生駒, the lords of Takamatsu 高松 in northern Shikoku 四国 (173,000 *koku*), which concerned the suitability of Ikoma Takatoshi 生駒高俊 for rule. The strife ended in 1640 (Kanei 17) with both parties punished, one with death the other only lightly, and the lord being relocated to a small territory of 10,000 *koku* in northeastern Japan. The Mogami 最上 family (570,000 *koku*) from northern Japan had lost its status as *daimyô* under similar circumstances (1622, Genna 元和 8). In 1634 (Kanei 11) the shogunal government even disbanded the house Gamô 蒲生 from Matsuyama 松山 in Shikoku (240,000 *koku*), after internal discord had led to a situation whereby a successor could not be found after Gamô Tadatomo 蒲生忠知 had died.

It means artlessness to turn one's back because the retainers will bear a grudge if one were to reprimand them and try to see to the fulfilment of ordinances. [632] Just to fear the retainers without issuing any ordinances, without reprimanding [the retainers], without devising a scheme for making their hands and legs stir – if such were the case, learning would be of no use.

[633] To stimulate – that is the way by which ordinances are carried out, even though the former kings and sages did not reprimand the people and did not try by force to see to the fulfilment of the ordinances. [634] If one wants to hoist up money to [the government] above²⁰⁹ and thinks that there is no other way than to issue ordinances to those below ordering them to offer up money to [the government] above by force – this is a case of artlessness. [635] As for the method of hoisting up money from below to those above, I will make this clear in detail in the paragraph on [the passage] “Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend”.²¹⁰ [636] This is the matter of the privy council. [637] The privy council award in fact is a method of stimulating [the people].

[638] Now, on days on which [the lord] cultivates the retainers in this fashion,²¹¹ it stands to reason that the retainers cannot help but think, “I

209 Cf. n. 153.

210 This is a passage in the *Book of Documents*, SBBY 7.2a, KARLGREN 1950: 30. My translation follows Karlgren's. The citation can be found in the chapter *Great Rule* 洪範 (*Hongfan / Kôhan*). Seiryô accorded this text great importance. Thus his explanation in his commentary on the text, that the “great rule amounts to compass and square [= measuring tools for gauging] the Ten Thousand Things 万物 (*banbutsu*) and Ten Thousand Affairs 万事 (*banji*) between Heaven and Earth”. *Kôhan dan*, KURANAMI 1976: 585. For the passage Seiryô refers to cf. *ibid.* 618–23. However, despite the promise to explain the method for “hoisting up” money, neither in this passage nor in other parts of the work is such an explanation forwarded. The commentary proceeds from a naturalistic view of the universe, with the forces of Yin and Yang and the “Five Phases” 五行 (*wuxing / gogyô*) at its center, and does not contain an application of the insights gained from the ancient text into the sphere of Edo-period society and politics. It is more likely that Seiryô here refers to a passage in KD 4 where he explicitly deals with “hoisting up” in the context of the same passage from the *Great Rule*. He explains that “water” stands in for all things which have form and therefore sink downward, while insubstantial things are represented by “fire” and rise up. KD 4: 314. Since “gold” and “silver” have form, they continuously move downward, where they would never stop accumulating if they were not lifted up again. *Ibid.*, 315. Again, Seiryô draws a parallel with the movements of nature. Water, when boiled, rises up as vapour and falls down as rain. *Ibid.*, 316. In like manner, “gold” and “silver”, too, should circulate. If their circulation were not ensured, the balance of human society would be shaken, with only one pole of society – the ruled or the rulers – benefitting to the detriment of the other. *Ibid.*, 316–17.

211 This probably refers to days on which the industrious retainers are rewarded with the

would like to make weapons and be rewarded [as well]”. [639] On this occasion one should pass over the [exact promotion] order, call forth [some people] from among the youngest sons of chamberlains and the youngest brothers of attendants, and make them into middle-[section] pages 中小姓 (*chû goshô*).²¹² [640] “Now it is this one’s turn, and next it is that one’s turn” – if one calls forth [people into service] in [regular] order, [people] think that they are called forth since it is their due to be called forth [according to this order], and therefore they will not become aware of their just munching [rice without earning it]. [641] They are entirely thoughtless. [642] This means to turn men’s hearts into dead hearts 死心 (*shinigokoro*). [643] One has to cultivate [the retainers] in such a way that they have lively hearts 活心 (*ikigokoro*) and [consequently] are of a properly attentive disposition 心ヲチャント持ツ (*kokoro o chanto motsu*). [644] This, precisely, is what is meant by the lord showing caring for those below. [645] It is a big mistake to think that showing caring is tantamount to letting the retainers idle about with no need to stir their hands and legs and to exert their minds. [646] In such a way

“privy council award”.

212 *Koshô*, the word I translated as “page”, literally meant a retainer accompanying his lord on excursions and attending to his personal needs. The characters originally used – 扈從 (*koshô, kojû*), i.e. “someone who accompanies” – convey this idea. The position of *koshô* had existed in the warrior hierarchy of offices already during the later days of the Muromachi-period. At the end of the 16th century, these “pages” were organized into “pages unit” 小姓組 (*koshô gumi*) and numbered among the “guard” units into which samurai forces were grouped. When accompanying their lord, some of these were on horse (“mounted pages” 騎馬小姓, i.e. *kiba goshô*, or just “pages unit”), some on foot (“pages on foot” 徒行小姓, i.e. *kachi goshô*, or “middle pages”, i.e. *chû goshô*). By the Edo-period, the shogunal government knew two types of “pages”: those serving in the inner or private parts of the castle (“pages” or “inner pages” 奥小姓, i.e. *oku goshô*), and those in the front parts (“middle inner pages” 中奥小姓, i.e. *nakaoku koshô*, or “front pages” 表小姓, i.e. *omote goshô*). The first tended to the daily needs of the shogun, while the second performed tasks during official events such as serving eating tables. Apart from these “pages”, in a more or less true sense of the word, there were guard units, as before, called “pages units” (*koshô gumi*), which guarded various places inside Edo castle and accompanied the shogun on excursions as bodyguard. In the regional lordships similar distinctions between “pages” and “middle pages” – the word Seiryô uses – were current. The characters later adopted, 小姓 or 小性, imply someone of low standing (literally “small/low-office title/name”) but in fact in Edo times, at least in the shogunal household, members of the “bannermen” group served as “pages” inside the castle as well as members of the “page” guard units. In some regional lordships the position of “middle page” appears to have been quite low (reminiscent of the “pages on foot”), ranging above “foot soldiers” but below that of full warrior. However, the way Seiryô comments on this position seems to imply that he had an office of some prestige in mind, like that of “middle inner page” in the shogunal service.

one would let those below meet with a cruel fate. [647] This would be inhumanity 不仁 (*fujin*).²¹³ [648] In the *Master Meng* it says, “To say, ‘I am not able to abide by benevolence and to follow righteousness’ – this is what is meant by violating oneself.”²¹⁴ [649] [The character for] “violating” [originally] means to expose fresh fish in a sunny place and make them suffer.²¹⁵ [650] It has the meaning “to let someone meet with a cruel fate”. [651] Not to treat others with benevolence and righteousness, is consequently benevolence.²¹⁶ [652] Not to let [others] practise benevolence and righteousness, although there is a way of allowing them do so if only one wished to make them do so, is consequently inhumanity.²¹⁷ [653] It means to expose 暴ス (*sarasu*) people [to a cruel fate]. [654] To turn one’s back on the retainers and raise them to be foolish and incompetent is the act of someone inhuman who turns his back on his own children, raises them to be foolish and incompetent, and in the end lets them starve and freeze to death. [655] This could not be anything else but inhumanity on the lord’s part.

[656] Now, if one sets up a method as described above, the result will be that [people] will gain positions quickly, dependent [solely] on their work. [657] This is, in other words, a method to turn men’s hearts into lively hearts. [658] What is more, it will be clearly known that [offices] are not dependent on favouritism 依怙ヒイキ (*eko hiiki*). [659] Warriors make weapons, these weapons are of use to [the government] above, and therefore it

213 Cf. KINSKI 1997: 164–65, n. 209; KINSKI 2000: 97, n. 135. As in KD 1: 224, K 1: 164–165 [243–44], here, too, “benevolence” in the ruler appears as a quality that has the good of people at heart and for this purpose does not shirk unpopular measures to further it.

214 Seiryô uses the character 暴 (*bao, pu / bô, baku*), meaning “to violate” and “to expose [to the sun or other climatic factors]”, among others. The original text of the *Master Meng*, however, in this place uses the character 棄 (*qi / ki*), i.e. “to throw away”. 暴 appears in the preceding sentence: “To act contrary to rites [= propriety] and righteousness in one’s conversation is what is meant by violating oneself. To say, ‘I am not able to abide by benevolence and to follow righteousness’ – this is what is meant by throwing oneself away.” *Master Meng* 4A.10.1; SBBY 4.7a; L 2: 302.

215 Older forms of the character suggest that it was in fact rice that was placed in the sun for drying. However, another version – is considered the fuller form of the one used today – shows an animal that has been cut open and exposed to the sun.

216 Seiryô clearly denies a commonplace understanding of “benevolence” as a form of ill-conceived kindness that shies away from conflicts. Here “benevolence” is found in forcing others to make the best of their inherent abilities and thus not to lose themselves.

217 This depends on Master Meng’s word that it means throwing oneself away if one were not able to practise “benevolence” and “righteousness”.

grants offices first of all to persons who are useful to [the government] above. [660] This is an open 公然タル (*kôzen taru*) [way of doing things]. [661] “Because this is the son of a house elder,²¹⁸ and since this is the son of a chamberlain 用人 (*yônin*),²¹⁹ [they will get this and this office]” – [deciding] on such grounds means that one grants offices without [respective] merits [on the part of the recipients]. [662] If offices are granted without merits, it means that even though someone had merits, these would be of no benefit to him. [663] If offices are granted on merit, then merits will consequently be of benefit to oneself. [664] It is [a mark of] human feelings to be of a mind to acquire merits, if merits are of benefit to oneself. [665] To let those below acquire merits is [a sign of] the lord’s benevolence and caring 仁恩 (*jin’on*). [666] It benefits those below. [667] It is good for those above as well as those below.

[668] Now, the front guards of the reception room 広間面番 (*hiroma omoteban*)²²⁰ are people whose hands, legs, and minds 心意 (*shin’i*)²²¹ are entirely at leisure. [669] It applies to all guards alike that even on guard-duty days they devise ways to while away the days with silly games タワヒモナキアソビ (*tawai mo naki asobi*), as they have nothing else to do. [670] As for games, if one does not little by little stake [copper] money 銭 (*zeni*) in them, one cannot play. [671] Whatever [games] one plays, one cannot play for free. [672] For this reason, [people in] offices that have nothing to do should be allowed to make weapons while it is their turn of duty. [673a] The front reception room of Edo [castle] is very formal, since [it is where] the arrival of visitors 客来 (*kyakurai*) and [others] paying their respects 参上 (*sanjô*) takes place. [673b] However, in the case of a formal occasion like [the arrival of] a visitor [or someone else] paying his respects, even though [the guards] quickly conceal [what they have been doing], there is nothing to be ashamed of at all if it is weapons [they have been making]. [674] On the contrary, the visitors who came or [the lord who arrived to] pay his respects

218 Cf. n. 49.

219 The *soba yônin* or “chamberlains” are an example of this office, which could also be found in regional lordships and whose incumbents were generally in a position to exert strong influence on politics – supported by their lord’s favour.

220 *Hiroma* is a room in the front part of a house or castle where visitors/guests could be received and official business conducted. As the name implies the *hiroma omoteban* were positioned in this front part open, so to speak, to the “public” (as opposed to the *oku* or inner/hidden part).

221 Literally “heart and will”.

will probably be impressed. [675] Besides, of the ten men [on guard], not all ten will really be sitting there [at the same time]. [676] If there are ten men [on guard], only five of them will line up [at any given time], which applies to all guards alike. [677] Half of them stay in the outfit room belonging to the reception room and play. [678] They have a lot of free time in which to make weapons. [679] In contrast to Edo in the [regional] states 国 (*kuni*),²²² there are no visitors.²²³ [680] Even if there were, one would know about them some hundred days in advance. [681] There are no visitors, and [thus warriors in the countryside] just have nothing to do. [682] Except for the retainers [accompanying their lord to Edo], there are none among them travelling [between Edo and the domain]. [683] That reception room [guards] [...], the various living room 諸書院 (*sho shoin*)²²⁴ [guards], front guard captains 面番頭 (*omoteban kashira*), [footmen] captains 物頭 (*monogashira*),²²⁵ body servants 小納戸 (*ko nando*),²²⁶ pages and attendants on service during absentee years 留守年 (*rusu doshi*)²²⁷ usually are poor, is due to their staking [copper] money in games. [684] That [men in] offices with nothing to do 閑官 (*kankan*) are generally poor, and [those occupying] busy posts 劇職 (*gekishoku*) are not poor, finds its explanation here.

222 Seiryô refers to the domains of regional lords.

223 Due to the system of alternate residence, regional lords spent half of the year or every other year in Edo (and even then periods away in their respective domains varied for different lords). Thus contact between *daimyô* houses took place predominantly in Edo (the *Diverse Ordinances for Military Houses* 武家諸法度 or *Buke sho hatto* starting in 1615, Keichô 20, had obliged regional lords to report on their neighbours “banding together” 結徒党, *totô o musubu*, if they should become aware of such movements in adjacent territories; cf. NST 27: 454).

224 A more literal translation of *shoin* would be “writing/study room”. The style of architecture that had been perfected around the 10th century for building the residences of the court nobility did not know the partitioning off of different rooms (even if different parts of, for example, the main hall were reserved for functionally different usages). Although screens came into use during the Heian-period, they served at first to partition the living space off from the veranda/corridor. This changed with the “study room” style of architecture becoming prominent as of the 15th century. Functionally different areas were now partitioned off from each other by making use of sliding doors. Thus fixed spaces took shape that could be further elaborated decoratively. For “guards” cf. n. 72.

225 This was the title of a captain leading units armed with bows or firearms and made up of “lightfooted” soldiers.

226 Literally “small back room/closet”. These were retainers that, like “pages”, served near a lord’s person, performing such tasks as doing his hair, serving food, looking after the gardens, the lord’s horse, and so forth.

227 This means years of the lord’s sojourn in Edo.

[685] Now, the outline for [the privy council award] concerning the men at arms 武人 (*bujin*)²²⁸ goes more or less as [explicated above]. [686] [But] if the method is set up in this manner, again those who are loath of military arts 武芸 (*bugei*) and fond of letters 文事 (*bunji*)²²⁹ will hold a grudge. [687] Methods for preventing those fond of letters from bearing a grudge are exceedingly [numerous]. [688] In general, the military houses consist entirely of men-at-arms. [689] The three dynasties 三代 (*sandai*)²³⁰ were [also characterized by] this atmosphere 気味 (*kimi*). [690] Rites and music, archery and wagonry, letters and numbers²³¹ [were arts that] men – whether a lettered official 文官 (*bunkan*) or military official 武官 (*bukan*)²³² – without exception practised during their childhood. [691] Men-at-arms practise archery and wagonry. [692] [But] this does not mean that men of letters have no need to practise archery and wagonry. [693] As our □ state 吾国家 (*waga kokka*) is entirely made up of military houses, [archery and wagonry] is something they have to do all the time throughout their whole life. [694] However, starting with house elders, chamberlains, inspectors, body servants, and bursars 元々 (*motojime*),²³³ all of them are lettered officials. [695] Therefore, people loath of military arts and fond of letters are much in demand as well. [696] Since in the entire realm there are ten times as many lettered officials as military ones, in the regional territories 諸藩 (*shohan*), too, lettered officials are numerous. [697] However, it is a mistake to think that “letters” means [only] reading block-type characters 四角十字 (*shikakuna ji*).²³⁴ [698] One

228 In the following, Seiryō distinguishes between warriors with literary proclivities and those of a more military orientation.

229 *Bunji* concerns matters of learning and the arts and is the opposite of *buji* 武事 or “matters of arms”.

230 These are the first three dynasties of Chinese history, the legendary Xia 夏 dynasty (trad. 2205–1766 BCE), the Yin 殷 dynasty (about 16th–11th century BCE, also called Shang 商), and the Zhou dynasty, idealized for the degree to which they were believed to have implemented the ideal institutions of social and political organization.

231 Cf. n. 60.

232 This distinction matches that between warriors fond of “letters” and those preferring “arms”, as discussed by Seiryō. Whereas military men tended to be held in slight esteem in imperial China, it can be argued at least for antiquity, as Seiryō obviously does, that men of literary and military orientation shared the same ideals and subjects of education, with military and literary training both belonging to the required background of the “superior man”.

233 This is one of several offices responsible for supervising the strong-room of the shogunal government.

234 Learned treatises, e.g. on Confucian subjects, were printed in “square” type as they can

does not have to read block type characters at all. [699] Reforming one's lord's finances, drawing up the laws of the lord's household 旦那ノ家法 (*danna no kahô*), [taking care that] products issue from the ground, supervising the retainers, methods of frugality, the curtailing of expenses in general, [prompting] money from other countries to enter one's own country, reforming the manners of the castle [town's] 城下 (*jôka*) people, the fostering of the morale of the countryside and the peasants, understanding the money-lenders of Osaka – a broad outline [of the tasks pertaining to lettered officials] is like this, but to go into greater detail, exceedingly trifling things like the buying and selling of horses and the building of a new hearth 竈ノ立方 (*kamado no tatekata*)²³⁵ number among the lettered officials' responsibilities.

[700] Generally put, those who are loath of military arts and fond of letters should be allowed to present [the lord] above with closed [letters of advice] 封事 (*fûji*). [701] “Closed [letter]” means that one offers it up after closing the paper and setting one's seal to it so that no one else can take a look at it. [702] As it is the office of the inspectors to report [to the lord] any wrongdoings 悪事 (*akuji*) of people, it will cause a fuss if one does not forbid informing on the vices 悪 (*aku*) of others [in these closed letters]. [703] Just the number of tasks enumerated above is enough [for them]. [704] Someone who wants to report the wrongdoing of someone else is a loyal retainer, of course. [705] To be sure, as things will go wrong if villains are at large, the misconduct of people is what one is most interested in hearing about, but if wrongdoing is reported in closed [letters] this will lead to an extremely tumultuous situation and turn into an obstacle to stimulating [the people]. [706] Therefore, one should severely forbid [informing on] the misdemeanors of others in closed [letters]. [707] However, knowing about the wrongdoing of others while not letting those above hear about it is disloyalty 不忠 (*fuchû*). [708] The blame [for this] is equal to that of the one who did something wrong. [709] Therefore, one should tender a closed [letter] on someone's misdemeanor to the inspectors. [710] Since it is the inspectors' office to report misdeeds to [the lord] above, people will hold no grudge if the inspecting officials 目付役人 (*metsuke*

be found in modern dictionaries. Reading books in this style was the mark of a lettered man. Other publications of more popular appeal (fiction and non-fiction alike) were printed in a cursive style reminiscent of or in fact modeled on handwriting. It appears that the majority found such cursive texts easier to read than those in “square” type.

235 *Kamado* is a hearth, and building a new hearth a metaphor for setting up a new household. However, I am not sure if Seiryô uses the expression in this metaphorical sense, since he speaks of “trifling things”. I have therefore chosen a literal translation.

yakunin) report [such] misdeeds [to the lord]. [711] Things will not become tumultuous. [712] Therefore, it is strictly ruled out that in closed [letters] to [the lord] above the misdeeds of other people be mentioned. [713a] If one does not state that one should tell the inspectors if one wants to say [something about others' wrongdoing], closed [letters] will give an offensive impression and become something disreputable. [713b] Because of this, [the rule against informing on others] is a way to set the people [of one's household] at ease and prevent things from becoming tumultuous.

[714] Now, people who want to write their memorial 上書 (*jōsho*) in Chinese syntax 漢文 (*kanbun*),²³⁶ should be allowed to do so. [715] In general, [however], it should be written in Japanese syntax 和文 (*wabun*). [716] On the other hand, in the case of a Confucian scholar or someone proud of his stylistic prowess 文章ジマン (*bunshō jiman*), it causes no trouble at all to let them write in Chinese syntax. [717] This not only serves to put [people's] wisdom to the test, but they should [also] be raised [to office] on grounds of stylistic prowess. [718] Literary art 文筆 (*bunpitsu*) in our 吾国 (*waga kuni*) is not something that common, but if one wants to know something about the facts of former times, [someone versed in literary arts] would be a good choice as archivist of cases of precedence 掌故 (*reikuri*)²³⁷. [719] This is another form of art, too. [720] A man who writes his closed [letter] in Chinese syntax is a man extremely fond of perusing books. [721] Although the Confucian scholars of the three dynasties all possessed wisdom, those of later times cannot be counted on in this respect at all. [722] Generally, they have none. [723] If they possess wisdom as well as broad knowledge 博識 (*hakushiki*), [they have a double advantage, as in the] saying “an ogre with an iron rod” 鬼ニ金棒 (*oni ni kanabō*).²³⁸ [724] There is nothing better than

236 Writing in Chinese syntax was the mark of the learned, especially among Confucian scholars.

237 The characters 掌故 are usually read as *shōko*. This word in Chinese (read *zhanggu*) means “customary/conventional practice” or “precedence”. It is also the name of an office in the Han-period that was responsible for managing “rites and music” (i.e. ceremonial, rules of etiquette, and musical performances on official occasions). Following the Chinese model, “cases of precedence” 古実 (*kojitsu*) concerning clothing, rules of behaviour, and the necessary paraphernalia for public events came to play not only an important role at the imperial court in Kyoto but among the warriors as well, where codification set in during the Muromachi-period. An office named *reikuri kata*, but written with the characters 例線方 (Seiryō borrowed the reading for this word but used the characters for *shōko*) existed in the administrative setup of the Edo-period, where it formed a sub-section in the office of the “city commissioners” 町奉行 (*machi bugyō*) and was responsible for the keeping of records on lawsuits.

this. [725] Such a man cannot [even] be found once in a hundred. [726] Writing in Chinese syntax and, what is more, the contents of his closed [letter] being extremely interesting, this is a man to be used as a house elder or a chamberlain. [727] He is a man of talent whom one should promote and make use of in the highest manner. [728] Even though someone writes in an excellent style, if the contents of his closed [letter] are foolish, this is a man lacking wisdom. [729] Although someone lacks wisdom, but if one thinks that he will make do to be appointed as archivist of cases of precedence, then such a person can well be employed as a Confucian scholar.

[730] Generally speaking, be it in Japan or in China, it is a bad [habit] to [make distinctions of] high or low [rank] 貴賤 (*kisen*) between offices.²³⁹ [731] Wang Jinggong's 王荊公²⁴⁰ memorial says something about this.²⁴¹ [732] But the same holds true in this [country]. [733a] As the connection between *offices 御役筋 (*o yakusuji*) is obvious, if the controlling finance clerk 支配勘定 (*shihai kanjô*)²⁴² rises to *finance clerk [franchised for] audiences 御目見勘定 (*o memie kanjô*), then becomes *section head finance clerk 御勘定組頭 (*go kanjô kumigashira*), and from there rises to *surveyor of finances 御勘定吟味役 (*go kanjô ginmi yaku*), [finally] becoming *finance commissioner, he gradually rises to higher rank. [733b] Since he rises to higher rank within the same profession 芸 (*gei*), within the same bureau 局 (*tsubone*), this is fine. [734] [But] if he becomes a great inspector because of his distinguished service as finance commissioner, he then goes to a very different place of [occupation]. [735] If someone rises from *captain of the *vanguard archers 御先手御弓頭 (*o sakite o yumigashira*)²⁴³ to *inspector 御

238 This is a metaphor for a double advantage by which someone already strong will become even more formidable.

239 Seiryô is critical of the correspondence between a person's family status – most clearly expressed in the amount of rice granted – and the position in the hierarchy of offices he could aspire to.

240 Wang Anshi.

241 Here Seiryô refers to Wang's memorial addressed to Emperor Renzong, in which status distinctions between offices were criticized by pointing back to antiquity when such distinctions were still unknown and ability was decisive.

242 The "office of finances" 勘定所 (*kanjô sho*) was responsible for the collection of tax revenue from the territories under the direct control of the shogunal government, as well as the administration of finances and the adjudication of lawsuits arising from the shogun's territories. There were two such offices headed by four "finance commissioners" 勘定奉行 (*kanjô bugyô*) under whom a number of officials of different rank served. Below the "controlling finance clerk" stood the "controlling finance clerk apprentice" 支配勘定見習 (*shihai kanjô minarai*), above him came the offices Seiryô next enumerates.

目付 (*o metsuke*), becomes Nikkô commissioner 日光奉行 (*Nikkô bugyô*),²⁴⁴ moves on to *[commissioner of] constructions 御作事 (*o sakuji*)²⁴⁵ and then to Honourable Guard captain²⁴⁶ he will make a tour of places of entirely different colours and without [prior] experiences – setting out from a black place, on to a blue one, a white one, and a yellow one – only to return to the original black one.²⁴⁷ [736] In Wang Jinggong’s opinion, going to another office once one has grown familiar with a [prior] office, and to change to still another one after acquiring a grasp of what the [second] office is about means that one never will become an expert [in any one office]. [737] If someone did very well [as captain of] the *vanguard and one wants to promote him to *inspector, one should [instead] accord him the same status as an *inspector 御目付格 (*o metsuke kaku*) but leave him on the *vanguard, granting him an *additional income allowance 御足高 (*o tashidaka*)²⁴⁸ on a par with that of an *inspector. [738a] If one wants to move him on to Nikkô commissioner, one [instead] grants him the status of a Nikkô commissioner, [but] leaves him with the *vanguard; and in case one wants to raise him to *commissioner of constructions, one increases his income with an additional allowance to two thousand *koku*²⁴⁹ and grants him the status of a *commissioner of constructions. [738b] If in this way he rises all the time [in the same line of occupation] and becomes Honourable Guard captain [in the end], he will be extremely well-versed in his profession, since he became Honourable Guard

243 The “vanguard archers” (including not only bow units but also firearm units) performed guard duties on the entrances of the main keep in Edo castle as well as police functions in the city and accompanied the shogun on excursions for his protection.

244 The two “Nikkô commissioners” were responsible for protecting the shrine dedicated to Tokugawa Ieyasu in Nikkô, the supervision of ceremonies performed there, the administration of Nikkô town and the adjudication of lawsuits in the vicinity.

245 As the name indicates, two or three commissioners in this position were in charge of all the construction work undertaken by the shogunal government.

246 Cf. n. 72.

247 The first and the last are both military offices, whereas the others have administrative functions. All were positions usually reserved for high-ranking “bannermen”, with that of “Honourable Guard captain” being the most prestigious.

248 Such a system had already been instituted during the reign of Tokugawa Yoshimune. In order to raise able men from lower income groups (and therefore lower status) into responsible positions for which a higher income (and therefore higher status) was nominally stipulated, the prospective incumbent was endowed with an additional revenue for the term of his appointment in order to fulfil the norm of status/income qualification.

249 In order to fill this position an income of at least two thousand *koku* of rice was required. The same is true for “Nikkô commissioner”.

captain after long years [of experience in] the handling of the guard troopers 組子 (*kumiko*), in strategy 戦法 (*senpô*), military law 軍法 (*gunpô*), and troop formation training 団連 (*danren*) – thus runs Wang Jinggong’s argument.

[739] It is indeed regrettable that the various regional territories move people – who have distinguished themselves in their office – on to the most unexpected offices, a kitchen commissioner 台処奉行 (*daidokoro bugyô*)²⁵⁰ becoming an intermediary 取次 (*toritsugi*),²⁵¹ or a stable steward 馬屋別当 (*umaya bettô*) moving on to the office of keeper 納戸役 (*nando yaku*).²⁵²

[740] That someone has distinguished himself in a certain office means that this office suited his personality and wisdom well. [741] To rob him of this place where he fitted in well and move him to a place he is not at all used to, is a bungling [way of doing things]. [742] One would do well to raise his status as well as his income but then leave him in his office, said [Wang Jinggong]. [743] Expert learning on China 漢ノ専門ノ学 (*Kan no senmon no gaku*) conforms to this. [744] As one reads one thing several thousand, or tens of thousands of times, one penetrates [its meaning].²⁵³ [745] It happens that although someone has the talent for [becoming a] finance commissioner, one cannot appoint him to this office because he is the son of a house elder.²⁵⁴ [746] If one thinks that in case of a chamberlainship he could be appointed, [then he should become a] finance commissioner with the rank of a chamberlain. [747] If again he does well, then finance commissioner with the rank of a great inspector. [748] Has he acquired merits again, then finance commissioner with the rank of guard captain. [749a] If upon this he does very well, one appoints him to an elder position 年寄役 (*toshiyori yaku*)²⁵⁵ of

250 Someone who supervises a lord’s kitchen.

251 It was the task of such men to see to the contact between the inner chambers of the lord on the one hand and the more public administrative offices on the other hand, in addition to making appointments for visitors and such.

252 *Nando* took care of a lord’s personal money, his clothes, and other items of his personal belongings as well as the handling of presents received or to be given.

253 A common way of mastering Chinese classics was to read and reread them until one knew them by heart and, hopefully, gained an understanding of their import. Confucian classics, for example, were used as reading primers. Written in Chinese, beginners had to read them and learn them by heart without receiving any elucidations of their meaning. This only came in the course of time, mostly for those who decided to concentrate on learning and who were chosen by a teacher for personal instruction.

254 As such, the position of “finance commissioner” would be too low in status for him.

255 Before the Edo-period “elders” were trusted retainers of long standing who were in control of groups of retainers of lower status. In the Edo-period, the name can still be

the exchequer 勝手方 (*kattegata*). [749b] Thus, he will polish [his expertise] all along the same line, and therefore become an expert finance commissioner. [750] In this manner, whomever one wants to make into a Confucian scholar; or if one wants to appoint someone of very high rank to a lowly office; or someone of very low rank to an important office – this becomes a matter of one’s preferences スキシダイニナル (*suki shidai ni naru*). [751] This is an outline of the privy council award for retainers.²⁵⁶

Abbreviations

<i>KD</i>	<i>Keiko dan</i>
<i>KR</i>	<i>Koji ruien</i>
<i>L</i>	LEGGÉ, JAMES (transl.): <i>The Chinese Classics</i>
<i>NDHZ</i>	<i>Nihon dai hyakka zensho</i>
<i>NKDJ</i>	<i>Nihon kokugo dai jiten</i>
<i>NM</i>	<i>Nihon no meicho</i>
<i>NSD</i>	<i>Nihon shi dai jiten</i>
<i>NST</i>	<i>Nihon shisô taikai</i>
<i>OSZ</i>	<i>Ogyû Sorai zenshû</i>
<i>SBBY</i>	<i>Sibu beiyao</i>

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found in the office of *waka toshiyori* 若年寄 (“junior elder”) who together with the “seniors” 老中 (*rôjû*) oversaw all other retainers. Similar offices (“house elder” and the *toshiyori* Seiryô mentions here) existed in the regional lordships.

256 In the following part, Seiryô will introduce a similar scheme with the farming villages as its object.

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