

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

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At the beginning of his *Outline of a Theory of Civilization* 文明論之概略 (*Bunmei ron no gairyaku*, 1875), one of the leading figures of Japanese enlightenment, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), explains that human beings, ruled by the needs and worries of everyday life, do not arrive at clear notions concerning the foundations of communal life. Confronted with the apparent age of many conventional practices or habits, they are not able to distinguish between what is “ordained by Heaven” and what is “created by men”. Much of what seems to be caused by nature is in fact merely habit.<sup>1</sup> Fukuzawa’s observation may appear modern, but probably it is not – or not only – ascribable to his study of European enlightenment philosophy and positivism. Rather it had its precursors in the scholarship immersed in the views of Confucianism of the period that Fukuzawa was at pains to distance himself from, i.e. the Edo period.

I.

The question of human nature lies at the heart of most discourse, not least that of politics and the orderly government of society. The Confucian tradition knows two approaches of paradigmatic dimension that shaped the direction taken by all later propositions concerning anthropology. They are connected with the names of Master Meng 孟子 (Chin. Mengzi, Jap. Mōshi; trad. 372–289 BCE) and Master Xun 荀子 (Xunzi / Junshi; trad. 298–238 BCE) and found fundamental if simplistic expression in the statements “human nature is good” 性善 (*xing shan*) versus “human nature is bad” 性惡 (*xing e*). Ogyû

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1 *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshû*4, 1959: 3.

Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728) ascribed both philosophers' speculation on this subject to the personal ambition to found their own schools.<sup>2</sup> However, it seems that – as Gerhard Leinss argues – already in the times of Mencius a lively discussion concerning “human nature” took place in which the Master became involved in response to his supporters' questions.<sup>3</sup> The statement that “nature is good” can be found in the discussions with the philosopher Gaozi 高子<sup>4</sup> revolving around this subject and the subsequent talks with his students.<sup>5</sup>

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- 2 *Distinguishing Names* 弁名 (*Benmei*), NST 36: 139. Both Meng's and Xun's approaches only offer partial explanations. Ibid. Sorai was especially critical of Master Meng because he provided the fundament on which erroneous views were erected in later ages. This dictum concerns Song period 宋 (Northern Song 960–1127, Southern Song 1127–1279) Confucianism, which had distinguished between a “good” “original nature” 本然之性 (*benran zhi xing / honnen no sei*) and a “material endowment” 氣質 (*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 / jō*) and “desires” 欲 (*yu / yoku*) owe their existence to it. Sorai was opposed to the view held by Song Confucian scholars that by cultivating his own personality man can free himself of bad influences and become a “sage” himself. The attempt “to mend one's own heart with the help of one's heart,” reminded him of the efforts of someone mentally ill, “to heal his own madness”. *Distinguishing the Way* 弁道 (*Bendō*), NST 36: 27–28. While thus Sorai held the “material endowment” to be fundamental and unalterable – *Benmei*, NST 36: 137 – he believed in the possibility to “nourish” it and to realize the potential 成就いたし候 (*jōju itashi sōrō*) of its individually varying configuration that one has received at birth by the means of learning. *Master Sorai's Responsals* 徂徠先生答問書 (*Sorai sensei tômon sho*), OSZ 6: 194. In last resort, Sorai's position – as he himself suggests – is near to Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE to 18 CE) who held that in “human nature” “good” and “bad” are mixed and can be brought to the fore by cultivating the one or the other side. For this point and a discussion of “human nature” theories in Edo period Japan cf. LEINSS 1995, particularly pp. 154–63.
- 3 LEINSS 1995: 48. Different positions are cited in *Mengzi* 6A.6; SBBY 6.4a; L 2: 401; LAU 1970: 162–63.
- 4 *Mengzi* 6A.1–4; SBBY 6.1a–3a; L 2: 394–99; LAU 1970: 160–61. Cf. *Mengzi* 6A.2; SBBY 6.1b; L 2: 395–96; LAU 1970: 160. However, Legge argues that in this place 善 should be understood as the “tendency to good”. L 2: 396. The sentence in question reads: “[The tendency of] man's nature to good is like [the tendency of] water to flow downwards.”
- 5 *Mengzi* 6A.1–4; SBBY 6.1a–3a; L 2: 394–99; LAU 1970: 160–61. There is an earlier example of the famous statement, where it says that Master Meng held forth about “nature” being “good” when Duke Wen 文 of Teng 滕 visited him. *Mengzi* 3A.1; SBBY 3.1a; L 2: 234; LAU 1970: 95.

This is linked with the observation that the feeling of “compassion and commiseration” 惻隱 (*ceyin / sokuin*) belongs to all men, as do “shame and dislike” 羞惡 (*xiuwu / shûo*), “reverence and respect” 慕敬 (*mujing / bokei*), and the “[understanding of] right and wrong” 是非 (*shifei / zehi*).<sup>6</sup> These are expressions of the basic virtues “benevolence” 仁 (*ren / jin*), “righteousness” 義 (*yi / gi*), “[ability to act in conformity with] rites” 禮 (*li / rei*), and “wisdom” 智 (*zhi / chi*) which do not enter men from the outside but lie embedded in them from the beginning.<sup>7</sup> The whole discussion serves to illustrate the innate goodness of human beings. The blame for men behaving in a bad way, therefore, is not due to their endowment.<sup>8</sup>

Master Xun takes the opposite view. For him the pursuit of “profit” 利 (*li / ri*) is an integral part of “human nature”.<sup>9</sup> Unfettered, this and other inborn tendencies would issue in strife, disorder, and destruction.<sup>10</sup> For men to live in peace and order, the influence of good teachers and of laws, the guidance through rules of propriety and “righteousness” are required. This leads Xunzi to the conclusion that “human nature” originally is “bad” and that man’s goodness is the result of his education and righteous acts.<sup>11</sup> But insofar as the energies of “human nature” can be instrumentalized for the realization of an ordered society, he does not condemn them straight away. The “sages” of antiquity recognized the deficiencies of “nature”, and they instituted the “rites” 禮 of proper conduct and “righteousness”; and together with these as well as laws and ordinances they endeavoured to “beautify” the natural feelings and give them the right shape.<sup>12</sup> It is a mark of both the “superior man” 君子 (*junzi / kunshi*) and the “small man” 小人 (*xiaoren / shôjin*) 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

6 *Mengzi* 6A.6; SBBY 6.4b; L 2: 402; LAU 1970: 163.

7 *Mengzi* 6A.6; SBBY 6.4b; L 2: 402–403; LAU 1970: 163. A similar passage can be found in *Mengzi* 2A.6; SBBY 2.11b–12a; L 2: 202–203; LAU 1970: 82–83.

8 *Mengzi* 6A.6; SBBY 6.4a; L 2: 402; LAU 1970: 163.

9 “Now, as for man’s nature, from birth he is fond of profit.” *Xunzi*, SBBY 17.1a; DUBS: 301.

10 SBBY 17.1a; DUBS: 301.

11 The first sentence of Chapter 23 says: “The nature of man is bad; his goodness is [due to his] activities.” 人之性惡其善者偽也. SBBY 17.1a; DUBS: 301. Consequently, he rejects Meng’s claim regarding the original goodness of “human nature”. Cf. SBBY 17.1b; DUBS: 302–303.

12 SBBY 17.1b; DUBS: 302.

using deception,<sup>13</sup> and it is through the workings of teachers and “laws”, the practice of “rites” and “righteousness” that men can be led to become “superior men”.<sup>14</sup> The conception of “nature” is, therefore, intimately linked with the idea of human malleability and improvability: Every man is endowed with the ability to recognize the “virtues”, he can practise “benevolence” and thus become a Yu 禹, one of the ancient sage rulers.<sup>15</sup> Attaining this stage is not a question of capability but only of using one’s abilities to rectify oneself.<sup>16</sup>

## II.

This stance is already adumbrated by one of the sayings attributed to Confucius: “In [their] nature [men] stand near each other; through habits 習 (*xi / shû*) they grow far from each other.”<sup>17</sup> The position of Kaiho Seiryô 海保青陵 (1755–1817)<sup>18</sup> is in line with at least the second part of this utterance. He does not speak of “nature” but nevertheless offers an original theory of mankind – not ontological but based on social and psychological premises.

In the above quotation from the *Analects*, 習 was translated as “habits”.<sup>19</sup> When used as a verb, *xi / shû* can mean to “learn” or “acquire” (an ability) through constant practice. But the character also bears the connotation of getting used to something by repetition. Thus, as a noun, it can also be rendered as “custom”.<sup>20</sup> The idea of “custom” or “habit” is central to Seiryô’s

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13 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.

14 SBBY 17.1b; DUBS: 302.

15 SBBY 17.6a; DUBS: 312.

16 SBBY 17.6b; DUBS: 313.

17 *Analects of Confucius* or *Lunyu* 論語 17.2; SBBY 9.1b; L 1: 318.

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

19 Legge, however, renders the character as “practice”, just as in the opening sentence of the *Analects* he had translated it as “application”. L 1: 318, 137. Similarly, Arthur Waley and Robert Dawson, too, write “practice”. WALEY 1938: 209; DAWSON 1993: 69. Correspondingly, one finds “Übung” in WILHELM 1921: 191. LEINSS 1995: 46, however, chose “Gewohnheit”, and I follow his lead, as both ideas of practising and habitually doing something are present in the character.

20 The first entry of MOROHASHI 28672 refers to a fledgling training the use of its wings by continuously beating them. This is followed by the idea to perform or practise something

theory of mankind. However, he expresses this idea by another word, *kuse* 癖, which implies (1) a deviating or eccentric preference or proclivity that has turned into a habit (namely a “bad habit”), (2) the regularity with which a certain behaviour takes place, and – in a neutral sense – (3) a habit or customary practice.<sup>21</sup> In his attention to *kuse* Seiryô was not alone. Ogyû Sorai uses the word in several places in *Talks About Government* 政談 (*Seidan*). The most comprehensive treatment occurs in Book Three. Obviously Sorai uses the word to refer to something out of the ordinary, something that sets the owner apart from others with regard to a special feature or strongly developed trait in his character.<sup>22</sup> Olof Lidin, therefore, translates *kuse* as “special qualities”.<sup>23</sup> Sorai explains the word also as “deviating peculiarities/habits” 偏癖 (*henpeki*) which make a person useful for certain tasks. Thus, he either identifies *kuse* directly with “talent/capacity” 器 (*utsuwa*, 其癖ト言物ガ則器也), or at least regards the latter as the consequence of the former – “Therefore, if it is not something with special qualities/habits, one cannot speak of talent/capacity.”<sup>24</sup> But while Sorai refers to individual features and strengths that can be put to good use, the word *kuse* in Seiryô’s discussion has the much broader sense of distinct manners of behaving and reacting that characterize certain groups of people: It sets out with the observation that the “customs” 風俗 (*fûzoku*) of the Ainu people<sup>25</sup> living on the northern island of Ezo (=Hokkaido) are incomprehensible to the inhabitants of Kyoto ([357]). They neither manifest social differentiation nor an economical organization based on the division of labour. Everyone earns his living after his own fashion; failing to shoot a bird in the mountains the “barbarians” will go down to the sea and catch fish. Baring success in this, too, they just go without eating ([358]–[362]). For “[civilized] men” 人間 (*ningen*) this is just beyond their grasp ([363]).

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repeatedly. The following entries contain the connotation “to learn” and “to grow accustomed to sth.”

21 NKDJ 4: 865.

22 NST 36: 384.

23 LIDIN 1999: 239.

24 NST 36: 384; cf. LIDIN 1999: 239. In a similar passage in *Master Sorai’s Responsals*, Sorai says that “without eccentricity there is no human talent” 癖物にならでハ人材ハなき物, “eccentricity” being Samuel Yamashita’s rendering of *kizu* 疵, the word used by Sorai here instead of *kuse*. OSZ 6: 186; YAMASHITA 1994: 58.

25 Seiryô speaks of “Ezo” 蝦夷. Cf. n. 181.

This statement is reminiscent of Sorai's view of "barbarian" people in relation to the incumbants of (Chinese) civilization. While the inhabitants of the "Middle Country" 中国 (Chûgoku) are "men-men" 人の人 (*hito no hito*), the "barbarians" 夷狄 (*iteki*)<sup>26</sup> are "men-things" 人の物 (*hito no mono*). The difference between the two lies in their respective mental faculties. "Things" are not able to "think" 思ふ (*omou*). This capacity is only found among "men".<sup>27</sup> By contrast, "wild birds and animals" 禽獸 (*kinjû*) only possess "one-sided wisdom/knowledge" 偏智 (*henchi*), and the same is true of "barbarians" as "man-things" – thus obviously closer to "animals" than "men" –. The teachings of the Buddha and the mathematics found in "Western learning" 西学 (*seigaku*) are given as examples.<sup>28</sup> But the gap between "men" and "barbarians" goes even deeper, as Sorai explains elsewhere: The people in Holland 荷蘭陀 (Oranda) and other ("barbarian") countries differ from those in China and Japan in their "nature-endowment" 性稟 (*seihin*). This shows itself in their language, which is "difficult to understand"; in fact – being similar to "the chirping of birds and the howling of wild animals" 鳥鳴獸叫 (*chômei jûkyô*) – it is far removed from "human feelings" 人情 (*ninjô*) which are shared by people in China and Japan.<sup>29</sup> That Seiryô held a similar view of

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26 The word literally means the "uncivilized" people of the East and the North, but it also serves to encompass all "barbarians".

27 It is for this reason that the people of China could conceive of "rites and righteousness" 礼儀 (*reigi*) as the basis of civilization.

28 *Essays from the Reed-Garden* 護園随筆 (*Kenen zuihitsu*), OSZ 1: 185.

29 *The Fishing and Hunting Traps or Compendium of Translations* 訳文罝蹄 (*Yakubun sente*), OSZ 5: 17, 25. For this discussion cf. LEINSS 1995: 133. There seems to have been a widespread notion in Edo Japan that the Dutch as "barbarians" differed in some fundamental respects from "men" such as the Japanese. Their depiction as close to animals can be ascertained in Terajima Ryôan's 寺島良安 famous encyclopedia *Three Agencies of Japan and China with Illustrations* 和漢三才図会 (*Wakan sansai zue*; foreword 1712). Not only does it say that the people of Holland are of pale complexion with red hair, "high/long" noses and round eyes but that "they usually raise one leg while passing urine. The pose resembles [that of] dogs." TERAJIMA 1980: 292. Honda Toshiaki 本多利明 (1744–1821) gainsaid the belief that Holland was an "animal country" 畜生国 (*chikushô koku*) and that its inhabitants were short-lived, growing into adulthood at around twelve or thirteen and dying at about forty years of age. *Tales from the Western Regions* 西域物語 ④ (*Seiki monogatari*, NST 44: 89. Ôtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757–1827), too, refuted the belief that Dutch people die at an early age (life expectancy, he says, is something determined by "Heaven" and the same throughout the whole world), in their being born without heels and possessing the eyes of animals and he calls the assumption that the Dutch urinate with one leg raised and similar notions "delusive talks not worthy of consideration". *Distinguishing Confounded Views Concerning Holland* 蘭説弁惑 (*Ransetsu*

the differences between “men” and “barbarians” is suggested by the following exposition – but with an important difference: For Seiryô, the distance between “[civilized] men” and “barbarians” does not lie on an ontological level concerning their natural endowment or mental capacities. To think that human beings, animals, and plants, or – regarding men only – that nobles, merchants, and beggars were of different nature does not lead to understanding and “wisdom” ([366]–[367]). Rather, if such a characterization may be conceded, Seiryô considers them as links in the continuous “chain of being”, and he suggests to “grasp them in one” since on the grounds of their basic endowment with “vital energy” 氣 (*qi / ki*)<sup>30</sup> they can be observed from the same point of view ([369]). With, so to speak, the ontological fundament laid and the criteria for comparison set up on an equal level, the markers of differentiation between all living beings are only the external characteristics of their modes of life, their “habits”, exemplified by their distinctive forms of food consumption ([371]–[409]). All “things possessing vital energy” are dependent on the intake of nourishment, but with regard to their nutritional “habits”, humans are the most frail; among men social differentiation again causes degrees of frailty with no one as delicate as those highest in the social hierarchy who also practise the most refined way of life ([380]–[382]). All beings delight in being able to nourish themselves, and all are worried when they have to go hungry ([384]). But the more humble the life style the easier it is to draw delight from even simple forms of satisfaction and the lesser the degree of distress in case needs cannot be met in the accustomed manner ([385]–[407]). Thus, trees are the ones whose delights are the most numerous while their grievances are few, as their mode of life and their method of procuring nourishment are the most simple. For them it suffices to get rain or dew every ten or twenty days, and therefore they are the strongest among all living beings ([385]–[389]). In a lineup that entails (1) an increase in sophisticated methods of nourishment with a growing dependency on corresponding ways of life, a (2) reciprocally inverted ratio of meeting with delight or distress (the more refined the more difficult it gets to be delighted and the greater the probability of “grief” as a result of unfulfilled expectancies or needs), and consequently (3) a decrease in strength or resistance to the vagaries of life, trees are followed by birds and animals, “barbarians” who are “closer to the wild animals than men”, beggars and other stigmatized groups on the

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*benwaku*), Edo period woodblock print edition in possession of Waseda University.

30 Cf. n. 183.

fringes of society, peasants, artisans, merchants, and lastly the highest echelons on the social rung, i.e. court nobles and high officials ([379], [390]–[401]). Such is the latter’s frailty that they cannot walk even a short distance on foot without their feet bloating, or eat coarse food without “immediately falling seriously ill” ([402]–[407]).

The point Seiryô wants to bring home – and he does this with an eye to human society – is that differences between the various forms of life are not so much preexisting. Instead, they are accounted for by “habits” or mental and physical conditioning as the result of certain ways of life ([409]). This argument, however, is not made for its own sake, but has to be viewed as the prerequisite for target-oriented political activity. If there is nothing natural, if everything “is [due to] having acquired habits” and the result of conventional learning, then things can be unlearned as well. What Seiryô is ultimately interested in is this malleability of human beings.<sup>31</sup>

### III.

However, in order for the ruling to shape the ruled according to their own design a shift in perspective is required. In a somewhat cryptic passage Seiryô seems to argue that generally speaking, all beings develop their “habits” in correspondence to the respective circumstances that fashion their lives, their modes of being, their functions or “tasks”. Thus, in as much as “habits” reflect existential conditions, there is nothing whimsical about them ([412]). Also, since they are the direct expressions of that which every being desires for itself in order to forgo distress their force is such, that – granted that they can be indulged freely – they give a fixed shape to one’s own existence and

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31 This interest has to be seen in the context of his analysis of contemporary society and the methods he recommends for solving its problems. Seiryô identifies the ever-increasing tendencies of “luxury” on all levels of society – but conspicuously among the common people – as a sure indication of a prevailing imbalance. In a society conforming to the “principle of Heaven” (cf. n. 50) money or wealth is in constant circulation. But in his own times the ruling did not implement the means to raise the money that accumulated among the ruled back to the government. Thus the people “below” grew more and more affluent and they became accustomed to a life in “luxury”. Only by instituting a system of taxation that causes wealth to circulate continuously – Seiryô explains this by drawing on the picture of the smoke of fire rising upwards and water falling down as rain or dew ([593]–[703]) – can balance be recovered. But as the people will not give up their luxury freely and revert to a simple life of their own accord, they have to be brought to a “frugal” way of life by “manipulating” them without making them aware of this.

provide the frame of reference through which everything else is perceived, a structure of the mind from which it is difficult to deviate.<sup>32</sup> Men's views are entirely fixated by their conditioning, so that they take things for granted that from another (unprejudiced) point of view should cause surprise ([414b]–[415]). Only if the ruling gain an understanding of the workings of “habit” can they mold the people's perceptions and behaviour according to their own purposes ([414a]). To achieve this it is a precondition to “detach one's eyes” from the habitual ways of looking and judging ([420]).<sup>33</sup>

“Manipulating” lies much at the heart of Seiryô's concern. In Part Four of *Talks about Teachings of the Past* he set out to explain his ideas for a “privy council award”, which – in correspondence to a similar award for warriors<sup>34</sup> – aims at encouraging farmers and promoting agricultural production within a given regional lordship. From the beginning, Seiryô does not leave anything to chance as the awarding system is clearly designed as a means of “manipulation”. The first winner is not decided upon after a round of open competition; rather a likely candidate is chosen in advance from among the farming communities whose representatives sit on the “privy council award” committee, and he is encouraged to accomplish something useful besides his ordinary work – be it the cultivation of new plants, or the planning of efficient irrigation ditches. After completion of the expected work the authorities are notified through the official channels, and the winner receives his prize ([66]–[72]).

The awarding, too, takes advantage of the intimacy with the feelings of “simple and honest” rustics and can be considered an instance of “manipulating” as well. If they are presented with chopsticks that their lord had already

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32 At least I take this to be the intent – when read in the context of the subsequent argumentation – of the not very intelligible sentence [413] where Seiryô explains that by indulging in those things that one's “heart” wishes to indulge in, matters turn out as desired. 心ヲ遊バシムル処ハ、ドコデ遊バシメヨフトモ、スキニナルコト也。Cf. especially [418b].

33 Seiryô does not go into detail here, but the idea of “detaching one's eyes” is reminiscent of the theory of cognition he expounded in *Talks about Foreknowledge* 前識談 (*Zenshiki dan*). The first step in grasping an object as it is requires dissociating oneself from the object. For this purpose the observer has to rid himself of all one-sided views and value judgments – a state Seiryô calls “position of emptiness” 空位 (*kûi*). *Zenshiki dan*, NKT 27: 126. However, in order to achieve total detachment a position is called for where conventional standpoints as well as the unfettered “position of emptiness” can be apprehended (the “real position of emptiness” 真の空位 or *makoto no kûi*). *Ibid.*: 129. At this stage the observer has acquired the ability to look at himself not only from the inside but also to cast himself into other persons or things in order to regard himself from the perspective of the other.

34 Cf. KD 3.

personally used, they will be overwhelmed with gratitude to such a degree that the immanent aura of this award will immediately cure even bad diseases they might be suffering from when they use the gift for eating ([81]). The anecdote about King Goujian of Yue ([83]–[92]) and Seiryô's answer to the problem of peasants absconding themselves to undertake a pilgrimage to the Ise Shrine ([273]–[305]) are other examples of how people can be manipulated in order to stimulate them and draw on their enthusiasm either for military, political, or economic purposes. However, this is much easier once it is recognized how much the people are creatures of their "habits".

To return to the context of "human nature" and its malleability: The whole argumentation serves to show that a "clever people" can be turned into a "gentle/obedient" one, and a "luxury-prone people" into a "frugal" one ([419a]). The lever to make this possible is to be found in a difference of perspective. While the "people cannot shift their views, since they all have acquired habits and their eyes are firmly fixed to just one place" ([418b]), the ruling should endeavour to attain the freedom of undetached observation described above ([419b]). Then they will be able to mold the people in whatever way they intend ([427]).<sup>35</sup>

#### IV.

In *Il principe*, Niccolò Machiavelli, too, is much concerned with the question how a prince can make his rule stable and durable.<sup>36</sup> A recurrent theme,

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35 In order to prove that a people totally immersed in their luxurious lifestyle can be turned into the exact opposite, Seiryô tries to show that even in his luxury-prone times elements of extreme frugality can be made out that are accepted as self-evident without causing the slightest bewilderment. Thus, the high retainers and officials accompanying the shogun on outings to the hawking grounds are garbed in extremely simple cotton clothes such as one generally only finds among warriors of the lowest status or the "vulgar people". Yet no one is surprised by this; instead on the return of the entourage everyone upwards to regional lords on guard duty at the gates of Edo Castle make their obeisance to these men clad in such lowly attire. Seiryô concludes that the clothes cause neither wonder nor are considered out of the ordinary or a sign of "frugality" because people are used to seeing high ranking persons on such occasions garbed in this manner ([428]–[451]).

36 Seiryô himself would have argued against a comparison with Machiavelli on methodological grounds. While his own discussions concern an age of continuous peaceful government, *The Prince* is set in a time and a country characterized by political deterioration and internal strife, resembling in this respect the age of Confucius and Mencius. And about the two Masters Seiryô had said at the beginning of KD 1 that the methods they professed for

therefore, despite the different circumstances under which a ruler may come to power and the vicissitudes that may befall his reign, are the means for winning the support of his noble and common subjects.<sup>37</sup> Much of what Machiavelli has to say is expressed in his characterization of Cesare Borgia as a model for anyone “who thinks it necessary to secure himself against his enemies, win friends, conquer either by force or by stratagem, make himself both loved and feared by his subjects, followed and respected by his soldiers, [...] to [...] be severe yet loved, magnanimous and generous.” (Ch. 7, pp. 27–28) In short, “if a prince wants to maintain his rule he must be prepared not to be virtuous” (Ch. 15, p. 50) and apply both fox-like shrewdness and lion-like force. (Ch. 18, p. 56) In case circumstances force him to choose, it might be “far better to be feared than loved”, and he should not be concerned about “reproach for his cruelty so long as he keeps his subjects united and loyal” (Ch. 17, pp. 53–54). But even though Machiavelli elsewhere, too, mentions disguise and deception (Ch. 18, p. 57), or engendering “belief” by “force” (Ch. 6, p. 21), these have not necessarily been his preferred means. In many places he speaks of the prince ingratiating himself. People will “in an instant become more amicably disposed” towards a new potentate, because men are always “under a greater obligation to their benefactor” (Ch. 9, p. 34). The gaining of popular “favour” is an oft-repeated principle (e.g., Ch. 8, p. 32; Ch 9, p. 34) and to realize it, the prince has to confer “benefits” (Ch. 8, p. 32), or “entertain the people with shows and festivities” “at suitable times of the year” (Ch. 21, p. 74). But whether he assures himself of support by force and fraud, or by favours and benefactions – these are invariantly, so to say, external and straightforward means by which the other side is won over. Machiavelli’s arguments unfold on a level of personal relations between independent and autonomous agents (princes, nobles, common people) who take direct actions that will profit them. The prince may resort to promises and oaths in order to garner support without the intention of keeping his word (cf. Ch. 18, p. 57). But in this manner the people are deceived only temporarily for realizing an immediate purpose; it leaves them ultimately unchanged, however, in their outlook, feelings, and behavioural patterns when they take account of their situation in the struggle for power. There may be

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winning the support of the people and for governing a country do not fit in with well-ordered times like his own. By way of analogy the same has to be said about Machiavelli’s argumentation.

37 Machiavelli of course makes differences between the common people and nobles, but this is of no concern here.

differences between the parties involved with regard to their military or financial might, their mental capacities or cunning. In the last consequence, however, they meet on an equal footing of direct give and take without one side unknowingly being at the mercy of the other in possession of superior insight which allows it to completely see through its victim.

It is here that Machiavelli and Seiryô differ completely. “Manipulation” for the latter is a political technique which the rulers should employ to influence and guide the people in such a way that they do not even notice that their ways of behaviour are gradually modified in conformity to the government’s vision ([452]). It is the opposite to giving orders or even using force. While Machiavelli emphasizes that the “common people are always impressed by appearances and results” only (Ch. 18, p. 58), such a concept in the end has no bearing in the model of government envisaged by Seiryô, while the notion of winning “favours” through “benefactions” is outrightly discarded.<sup>38</sup> Rulers and ruled stand on different levels. A government endowed with insight into the “habits” of the people and the power of “manipulating” them has no need to worry about how it appears in the eyes of its subjects as it can directly shape their perception. It only has to apply the proper method of “manipulation”. Outright orders and exerting pressure do not serve the desired ends ([355]). And, as Seiryô stresses throughout KD, the shrewd people of his days will soon see through all too obvious strategies. Only by working on its “habits” and by letting it grow unconsciously accustomed to new perceptions and forms of acting and responding “everything becomes possible” – even “frugality” ([353]–[356], [452]).

## V.

The existence of those (among the ruling) who are able to free themselves of ingrained “habits” and arrive at a detached point of view perhaps should warrant some comments. They are not mentioned in Seiryô’s enumeration of life-forms reaching from trees as the simplest and strongest beings up to “court nobles, ministers, and men of ability” as the most refined and delicate. This shows that they do not constitute a category of their own. As those with

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38 As Seiryô had explained at the beginning of KD 1, winning the people’s support through gifts and a lenient attitude was the method propagated by Mencius for a time of civil war; it cannot apply to the well-ordered conditions of his own times. Cf. n. 52, 234.

political responsibilities they are certainly members of the social group mentioned last in the hierarchy, and there is no explanation why it should be possible for them to escape the force of entrenched views and internalized behavioural traits. It is just stated that by exchanging the general perspective for an unfettered one it is possible to step out of the chain. Perhaps it should be stressed that the exposition of “habits” and gradings among the “things possessing vital energy” does not represent an ontological or social theory solely for its own sake but serves as the argumentative fundament for the claim that it is possible for the rulers to shape the people into a form more conducive to a government striving for social balance. Therefore, the question of the self-referentiality of those capable of a detached external perspective should not be considered from the point of view of the remarks on “nature” and “habits”; rather the rulers stand outside this “theory” which just serves as a discursive instrument in Seiryō’s political reasoning.<sup>39</sup> But even if one accepts its heuristic character, some conclusions might be drawn from his view of “nature”.

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39 The existence of unbiased and “manipulating” rulers might be felt to be at variance with Seiryō’s depiction of the relationship between the warriors as rulers and the merchants. After all, the first three parts of KD abound with remarks about the shrewdness of merchants and the lack of political and economical acumen among warriors self-assured in their feeling of power despite their ignorance and lack of practical wisdom. Especially where the two are directly confronted it is the latter who are at a disadvantage. But the apparent contradiction might be solved if one considers the confrontations or comparisons described in the preceding parts as taking place on the same level between people equally governed by their “habits” and entrenched views. In the arena of beings equally conditioned by the behavioural traits of their respective social groups the warriors might stand no chance against the clever merchants on their home turf. But matters change once the rulers – certainly not each and every warrior (the common samurai are objects of “manipulation” too, as described in KD 3) but the leaders among them, those responsible for decision-making in the regional lordships and the shogunal government – achieve the detached perspective and gain the insight of how to “manipulate” the people by working on their “habits”. It might be argued that the merchants, too, could free themselves from their “habit”-conditioned behaviour, but as with the rulers this will only concern individuals and change nothing about the majority of the people and their vulnerability to “manipulation” from “above”.

## VI.

In 20th century philosophical anthropology, at least as it developed in Germany, two variants became dominant and exerted wide influence. The one, represented by Max Scheler and his *Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos* (1928) is reminiscent of earlier approaches of the body-consciousness dichotomy. Scheler arrives at an understanding of “man” by drawing a contrast between human being and “animal”. What distinguishes “man” is not the possession of intelligence, fantasy, or memory – with regard to these there is only a gradual but no principal difference to the most developed animals – but the existence or lack of “spirit” (“Geist”).<sup>40</sup> Only “man” is endowed with “spirit”, and “spirit” or the “principle of spirit” in Scheler’s interpretation is that which enables “man” to differentiate himself from “nature” and what constitutes “nature” in his own existence – namely his body and its appetites. While “animal” is identical with its body and cannot set itself apart from it, “spirit” makes it possible for “man” to reflect on his bodily needs, consciously accept them or curb them. In last consequence, “man” is able to free himself from the biological side of his existence, from life – as Arnold Gehlen says – itself.<sup>41</sup>

Now, it is the latter who represents the second approach to human nature. As Gehlen states himself, he retained Scheler’s approach of comparing “man” and “animal” as a point of departure for his discussion. However, in order to overcome the traditional dualistic conception, the ability to act as the essence of the *conditio humana* – “action” (“Handlung”) or “acting” (“Handeln”) meaning the “activity aimed at altering nature for man’s purposes” (“auf Veränderung der Natur zum Zwecke des Menschen gerichtete Tätigkeit”) – is introduced.<sup>42</sup> Borrowing Herder’s view of “man” as a “deficient being” (“Mängelwesen”)<sup>43</sup> that does not possess the necessary repertoire of inborn instincts to adapt to and survive in its distinct environment, “man’s” ability to dissociate himself from his surroundings, to reflect and to act on them and on himself makes it possible to compensate for innate deficiencies: “Man” is able “under all imaginable external circumstances – whether in tropical forest, swampland, desert or wherever, in the arctic zones, or beneath the equator –

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40 What had been the “soul” in earlier dualistic conceptions, now is a self-reflective “spirit”.

41 GEHLEN 1961: 15.

42 Ibid.: 17.

43 Ibid.: 18.

to intelligently shape the given natural constellations so that he can sustain himself".<sup>44</sup> Gehlen speaks of "man's" "plasticity" ("Plasticität") and "mouldability", but this – it has to be stressed – is not something he passively suffers as victim to external circumstances, but the precondition that lets "man" "carve out of nature what he lacks in inborn security provided by [naturally] fitting in with reality [as animals are wont to do]".<sup>45</sup> Thus it is not a dualism of body and soul (or "spirit") but the lack of inborn responses to environmental challenges and the necessity to make the surroundings fit that sets human beings apart from other forms of life and constitutes their "quality" as "man".<sup>46</sup>

As stated above, Seiryô did not profess to offer a theory of human nature nor did he speculate about it in a coherent form. It therefore might not be legitimate to draw on 20th century philosophy for comparative purposes – especially in a contextless void. However, I will venture to do so without discussing the respective circumstances of their origins just for the benefit of setting off the characteristics of Seiryô's view. Characteristic for both Scheler's and Gehlen's approach is the hypostasis of the multitude of human beings as one abstract "man". The same kind of idealism also informs Max Weber's conception of culture when he calls "us" "cultural beings" ("Kulturmenschen") who are "endowed with the capacity and the will to take a deliberate attitude toward the world and lend it significance".<sup>47</sup> The abstraction entails a self-reflexivity that poses "man" as the active shaper of his own fortunes, always conscious of the natural conditions which he finds in his surroundings and adapting them according to his needs. But are human beings indeed able to set themselves apart from all factors of life – those of "nature" as well as of "culture" – and reflect on them from a superior (if not to say omniscient) insight into the actual needs in any given situation? If one accepts this as one fact of the *conditio humana* (and not everyone might do so) that not "man" *in abstracto* but human beings are conceivable only shaped by and in their point of view dependent on the cultural and historical environment that has engendered them the idea of "man" endowed with a universal and permanent "nature" has to be disavowed. Seiryô – at least in the passages introduced

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44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.: 20.

46 Needless to say, here lies the origin of human culture which Gehlen calls the "nature altered by man through acting". He also speaks of the "nest built by man into nature". Ibid.: 21.

47 WEBER 1988: 180; WEBER 1949: 81.

above – does so. For him, human beings are the product of changing circumstances, and in their feelings and behavioural traits they are ever open to being fashioned according to the aims of rulers who possess the necessary insight in the working of “habits” that constitute men and all other beings. “If one gradually lets [the people] acquire a [corresponding] habit, everything becomes possible” ([356]). What moral consequences this might have in the hands of unprincipled rulers Seiryô does not account for.<sup>48</sup> He only addresses those who act in the best interest of their states and a balanced working of their economic structure – one that is in accord with the “principle of Heaven”.

*Talks about Teachings of the Past, Part Four*<sup>49</sup>

[1] Now, concerning the privy council award 枢密賞 (*sûmitsu shô*) for agriculture, this is also a method by which the state may become wealthy. [2] Generally, [regarding] a state’s wealth, the yield of the ground being numerous is tantamount to this country’s wealth. [3] The wealth of this state is the wealth of all under Heaven 天下 (*tenka*) [= the realm]. [4] In contrast to drawing the commodities from neighbouring states to this country, or soaking

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48 As in modern times Benedetto Croce and others after him have done with Machiavelli in the European context, Ogyû Sorai, too, has been credited with separating politics as a distinct area of knowledge from its subsumption under Confucian ethics – especially in the Song-period version with its focus on “principle” as that which, in the words of Klaus Kracht, not only explains why the world is as it is but also determines how it should be. KRACHT 1986: 41 and n. 50. For the evaluation of Machiavelli and Sorai respectively cf. CROCE 1925: 60; MARUYAMA 1974: 82–83; MARUYAMA 1996: 203–205. If this interpretation of Sorai’s thought is conceded, Seiryô, having studied under one of the latter’s leading students, Usami Shinsui 宇佐美瀧水 (1710–1776), can be shown to stand in the same tradition. However, Isaiah Berlin’s argument that Machiavelli did not so much break with morality but proposed a “rival morality” – not Christian but based on the “Roman or classical” example – better adjusted to a prince’s efforts for political success and the “welfare of the *patria*” can also be applied to Sorai and Seiryô. BERLIN 1989: 54, 57. In the latter’s case this is best exemplified by his understanding of “benevolent” rule. Cf. n. 63. This may sound like a truism, but insofar as politics concerns the interplay of human relations, there always will be an underlying morale concomitant with it. What can be stated – both for Machiavelli on the one hand, Sorai and Seiryô on the other – is that a hitherto prevailing or at least (in case of Song Confucianism) intellectually influential system of ethics lost its exclusive power over the direction of human action.

49 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.

up the commodities of other states in one's own country, it means to make come forth from the ground the things that should come forth from it anyhow, and therefore it probably accords with the intentions/will of Heaven 天ノ意 (*ten no i*).<sup>50</sup> [5] To soak up the commodities of other states in one's own country, too, corresponds to the Way of the Hegemon 霸道 (*hadô*) and is the shareholding of wisdom 智ノ株シキ (*chi no kabushiki*)<sup>51</sup>. [6] That the generation of things from the ground of one's own state grows plentiful corresponds to the Way of the King 王道 (*ôdô*)<sup>52</sup> and is the shareholding of benevolence 仁ノ株シキ (*jin no kabushiki*).

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- 50 Seiryô advances the “principle of Heaven” 天理 (*tenri*) as one of his key concepts. Although both appear separately in his writings, he does not consider them two entirely distinct concepts. “Heaven, principle, the gods and Buddha, all are the same.” *Talks about Harmonization* 燮理談 (*Shôri dan*), NKT 27: 581. “Heaven is principle, the gods are principle.” *Talks about Cultivating the Heart* 養心談 (*Yôshin dan*), NKT 27: 107. Consequently, “Heaven” or the “Lord of Heaven” 天帝 is no anthropomorphic figure of belief. “The Lord of Heaven is [identical with] the principle of Heaven. Heaven is an empty place. There is no reason to suppose that something like a Lord of Heaven exists.” *Talks about the Great Rule* 洪範談 (*Kôhan dan*), NKT 27: 402. The “principle of Heaven” for Seiryô – and this holds true for “Heaven” alone, too – is an all-pervading force that causes everything to come into being and at the same time determines the nature of all existing things as they should be. However, unlike Song period Confucianism Seiryô neither shows great interest in the metaphysical aspects of “principle” nor does he define it as a category that determines the ethically correct behaviour of man. He conceives of it as a cause of permanent change and flux and understands its character as a coordinating principle of action insofar as it accounts for the exact standing of the members involved in human interaction. Thus “principle” gives shape to the affairs of men and structures their relations. Cf. KINSKI 1997: 120–22. By showing the congruence of economic activities with the “principle of Heaven”, in the first part of KD Seiryô had tried to open the eyes of the warriors and especially the lords of regional territories to the pursuit of “profit” as the only way for overcoming financial dead-ends and for raising the domain's prosperity. To make the country prosperous there is no better way than heeding “principle”, i.e. engaging in the pursuit of “profit” through economic activities and the exacting of taxes or interest. KD 1: [212]–[214]. Thus, the emperor as well as the regional lords should consider the territories under their control as resources from which gains must be made. *Ibid.*, [216]–[217].
- 51 The word *kabu* means the stump of trees or other plants. In the Edo period it was generally used to denote the “shares” that were widely used to specify membership and rights to usage accruing in certain social groups or organizations (e.g. the community of independent farmers or merchant organizations). This notion developed into the modern concept of “share” or “stockholding” 株式 (*kabushiki*). The idea of membership and reaping the benefits thereof is present in Seiryô's use of the word.
- 52 The “Way of the Hegemon” and the “Way of the King” are concepts expressed in the *Master Meng*, used with respect to the unification of the realm. Whereas the “King” achieves this by relying on his “virtue” 德 (*de / toku*), the “Hegemon” depends on raw power. *Mengzi* 2A.3, SBBY 2.9a; L 2: 196–97; LAU 1970: 80.

[7] The present age is a time where one cannot be negligent of the neighbouring states 隣国 (*rinkoku*)<sup>53</sup> and where one has to nourish one's own country without neglect. [8] Not being negligent of the neighbouring states does not point to something like attack and conquest in an age of disorder but means selling and buying, loss and gain. [9] It speaks of not being negligent because in neighbouring states [people] will devise strategies to soak up one's own commodities over there, if one does not pay them attention and is careless/heedless. [10] Having to nourish one's own country without neglect [means] that the neighbouring states will prosper and one's own country will become poor if one does not make schemes/designs 工夫 (*kufû*)<sup>54</sup> in one's own country while [people] in neighbouring states take care to make the yield of the ground abundant. [11] In case the neighbouring states prosper while oneself is poor: if it is not to the prosperous place gold and silver will not flow [at all]. [12] For this reason wealth flows to other states if one does not let one's own country grow wealthy. [13a] Would that not be outrageous? [13b] This is not at all a time where one can be careless. [14] However, as this is an age of such a kind, if one's own country is prosperous, the gold and silver of the neighbouring states by day and night will flow to one's own place as well.

[15] That presently the wealth of Osaka doubles daily and monthly is because in Osaka gold and silver abound. [16] It is because Osaka is wealthy. [17] In the *Master Guan* 管子 (*Guanzi / Kanshi*) it also says: "The storehouse is full and [consequently the people] know rites and the [appropriate] measure".<sup>55</sup> [18] If one wants to correct the behaviour of the people of [one's] state, there is nothing better than to first of all make [them] wealthy. [19] It

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53 The word does not mean countries outside of Japan. As Seiryô's deliberations are settled completely within the bounds of Japan alone, "states" refers exclusively to the diverse regional lordships.

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

55 SBBY 1.1a. *Master Guan* is a work ascribed to Guan Zhong 管仲 (trad. 7th century BCE), the famous minister of the state of Qi 齊, 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 / hôka*), counseling the reader how to make a state prosperous and strong in military terms. Seiryô alludes to the *Master Guan* again towards the end of this part and classifies it as a work probably written during the period of "Warring States" 戦国 (*Zhanguo / Sengoku*) (403 to 221 BCE). Cf. [772] to [774] and [790] to [797].

says: “Clothes and food are sufficient and [consequently the people] know honour and shame”.<sup>56</sup> [20] If one wants to take care that no villains appear and that there are no criminals, there is nothing better than to first of all make [the people] wealthy. [21] To prosper is by all means the beginning. [22a] Confucian scholars of later [ages] misread [his words] when Yang Hu 陽虎 in the *Master Meng* 孟子 (*Mengzi / Mōshi*) said: “If one makes wealth, one is not benevolent”.<sup>57</sup> [22b] That they said, “To be wealthy is bad” was the beginning [of all to come], and in any case they go astray right from saying that wealth is something the small man 小人 (*shōjin*) bothers about and that the superior man 君子 (*kunshi*) detests wealth. [22c] And [thus] in present times it has come about that the superior man deliberately becomes poor, prides himself in his poverty, and detests wealth. [23] Since mistaking things and giving rise to distortions are all of this kind, there is nothing more fearsome than misreading the old writings.

[24] As for Master Meng citing Yang Hu’s words, [he said]: “What comes forth from the mouth of a villain all are bad things; and because [his] heart is the opposite of a superior man’s, [his] words are completely the opposite of a superior man’s. [25a] This [I will] say first of all.” [25b] [Yang Hu’s] are words he cited [after] thus speaking.<sup>58</sup> [26] “If one makes wealth, one is not benevolent” is the opposite of reason. [27] “If one practises benevolence, one does not prosper”, too, is the opposite. [28] “Benevolence” is the name for the virtue of making wealth. [29] Therefore, Master Meng’s words mean “Benevolence is the way of wealth”, and Yang Hu’s words say “Benevolence does not lead to wealth”. [30] This is the opposite of Master Meng. [31] This is proof that Yang Hu was a villain and a fool. [32] To cite the words of the great villain Yang Hu, the words of a man who said the opposite of Master Meng and to cleave to them, this is tantamount to learning from a villain. [33] Moreover, to detest wealth and to be fond of poverty does not accord with human feelings 人情 (*ninjō*). [34] The foolishness of later Confucian scholars is of such a kind. [35] That there are two phrases of “Yang Hu said” in this chapter of the *Master Meng* constitutes [a case of] text disorder 錯簡 (*sakkan*). [36] Words that should not have been put in here were [erroneously]

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56 This, too, is based on the *Master Guan*. SBBY 1.1a.

57 *Mengzi* 3A3; SBBY 3.4a; L 2: 240; LAU 1970: 97.

58 These words have no parallel in the *Master Meng*. Seiryō puts them in the Master’s mouth in order to make clearer his own interpretation that in fact the Yang Hu quotation occurs out of joint here.

put in. [37] The proof for this is that having these words by Yang Hu in this place the main text does not continue [consistently]. [38] If 1, 2, 3, 4, 0.5, 5, 6 were standing in a row, everybody probably will say that the character for 0.5 is a character that should not be inserted in this place and remove it.

[39] That this “Yang Hu said” entered into this chapter does not differ from the character for “0.5”. [40] It entered a place where it should not be. [41] Therefore, [the passage in the *Master Meng’s* original text says]: “Worthy rulers are respectful and economical and treat [those] below according to the rites. [42] For taking from the people there is a fixed limit. [43a] The Ruler of the Xia Dynasty 夏后氏<sup>59</sup> allotted fifty [*mu* 畝 of land] and practised the *gong* 貢 [taxation method].”<sup>60</sup> [43b] [Thus runs] the continuous [text]. [44] In the worthy ruler’s taking from the people there is a proper measure. [45] As for this appropriate measure, the narration continues saying that the Xia [rulers] allotted fifty *mu* [of land] and [...].<sup>61</sup> [46] [The passage with] “Yang Hu said” should not by any means enter in between. [47] However, if asked where “Yang Hu said” should be placed, this should have its place in the context where [it says that] villains utter villainous words. [48] “That in present times [princes] detest disgrace and rest in not being benevolent – this is just like detesting being drunk and yet being strong [enough to drink] wine.”<sup>62</sup> [49] If [this passage] were to continue with “Yang Hu said”, it would make sense. [50] If one drinks wine excessively while saying “I do not like to get drunk, I do not like to get drunk”, one gets drunk all the same.

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59 In his translation of *Lunyu* 3.21, Legge offered “Hsiâ sovereign” as a rendering for 夏后氏. In the explanatory notes he identifies this personality with the Great Yu 禹 as the founder of the Xia dynasty. SBBY 2.6a; L 1: 162.

60 *Mengzi* 3A3; SBBY 3.4a; L 2: 240; LAU 1970: 97. The taxation rate corresponds to what Seiryô had recommended already in the first part of *Teachings of the Past*: among the fifty *mu* (in Zhou times, one *mu* equaled about 1.8 *a*) the produce of five had to be paid as tax. Cf. L 2: 240. For Seiryô’s opinion that a taxation rate of ten percent should be practised view, e.g. KD 1: [25] to [30].

61 Due to unreadable characters, the next part of the sentence is corrupted to such a degree that its meaning cannot be extrapolated from the context.

62 Seiryô refers to *Mengzi* 2A.4; SBBY 2.9b; L 2: 197; LAU 1970: 81, but erroneously merges it with *Mengzi* 4A.3; SBBY 4.3b; L 2: 294; LAU 1970: 119. The first passage reads: “That in present times [men / princes] detest disgrace and rest in not being benevolent – this is just like detesting dampness and yet living in a low-lying [place].” 今惡辱而居不仁，是猶惡濕而居下也。 In *Mengzi* 4A.3 one finds: “That in present times they detest death and ruin and delight in not being benevolent – this is just like detesting to be drunk and yet drinking wine beyond one’s capacity.” 今惡死亡而樂不仁，是猶惡醉而強酒。 This is another instance of Seiryô’s carefree citation technique.

[51] “Better not to practise benevolence. [52] It [only] gets in the way of wealth” – speaking in this way one acts contrary to benevolence and therefore does not become wealthy. [53] Matters do not stop at not becoming wealthy, one will be killed and one’s house, too, will be destroyed. [54] While clamouring that one does not like one’s house to be destroyed, one says that it is better not to practise benevolence. [55] [This passage in the *Master Meng*] says that in this manner the feelings of a fool, the feelings of an unbenevolent person are ridiculous. [56] It does not in the least suggest that wealth is bad.<sup>63</sup>

[57] The genealogy of the character for “wealth” is related to the character for “benevolence”. [58] Therefore, it should say: “If one practises benevolence, there is peacefulness/safety, one is wealthy and [earns] respect and honour. [59] If one behaves unbenevolently, there is danger, one is poor and [earns] ignominy and shame.” [60] [The above utterance by Yang Hu] is a word that [Master Meng] cited in order to say that villains like Yang Hu remembered this turned upside down. [61] As for the misreadings by later Confucian scholars, [instances of] this kind are numerous. [62] If one discusses [what] the sages [have taught], one comes to conclude that however one looks at it wealth will gain the realm. [63] Master Kong 孔子 (Kongzi / Kôshi), too, deigned to say: “Wealth and honour is what men covet.”<sup>64</sup> [64] Why then should one detest wealth? [65] The meaning<sup>65</sup> of [what has been discussed]

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63 Seiryô’s understanding of “benevolence” is best expressed in a passage which he dedicates to the subject in the first part of KD ([271]–[281]). There it says: “The people below are foolish people who have no wisdom. To let the convenience of the people below not prevail is benevolence. [And] that the government above does not [only] mind its own convenience is benevolence, [too]. To pursue the middle way is the principle of Heaven. When today one [means] to love the people one only thinks of allowing them to do as they please. [However], this is lesser benevolence only. To forgive crimes is lesser benevolence. This is harmful to the greater benevolence. It is lesser benevolence to be content with an interest of five *shu* where an interest of ten percent should be taken. This, [too], is harmful to the greater benevolence. Anyway, it is good that the people work. If one is lenient in exacting [taxes], the people will [be able to] lay that much [more] aside. This may meet [the government’s] calculations. However, because the people are foolish they will squander away recklessly what is left over on idle pleasures, if one exacts only low [taxes].” That leniency towards the people does not account for “benevolence” is also exemplified by Seiryô’s comments on incalcitrant officials. Office holders should be well versed in the “laws” and never show forgiveness (KD 1: [436]). Viewed in this way, ruling by severe “laws” and unforgiveness is “benevolent rule” 仁政 (*jinsei*) (KD 1: [483]), and “severe officials” 酷吏 (*kokuri*) who execute lawbreakers as soon as they are apprehended have to be ultimately considered men of “benevolence” (KD 1: [484–85]).

64 *Lunyu* 4.5; *SBBY* 2.8b; *L* 1: 166.

65 Seiryô talks of himself as “Tsuru”, meaning “crane”. “Tsuru” is the second part of Seiryô’s

here [I] have laid out in detail in my (Tsuru) work *Techniques of Composition Covered in Clouds* 文法被雲 (*Bunpô hiun*).<sup>66</sup>

[66] Now, generally speaking, if one wants to practise the privy council award one should let officials of the exchequer 勝手方 (*kattegata*) hold [a position] on the privy council simultaneously. [67] Arranging it in this manner there will be one from among the house elders 家老 (*karô*)<sup>67</sup> and one from among the chamberlains 用人 (*yônin*)<sup>68</sup> [on the council]. [68] And [likewise] there ought to be one from among the inspectors 目付 (*metsuke*)<sup>69</sup> and one from among the commissioners of finances 勘定奉行 (*kanjô bugyô*).<sup>70</sup> [69] The villages are under the administration of the external magistrates 外官 (*gaikan*). [70] The external magistrates are external magistrates, and one should charge someone [from among them to participate on] the privy council.<sup>71</sup>

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

- 66 Based on the lectures Seiryô had held in 1792 at a temple in Osaka, this work was published in 1798 by Seiryô’s student Mitani Kôki 三谷公器 (1775–1823) and deals with the principles of text composition. Cf. YAGI 1979, HIRAISHI 1980, TOKUMORI 2006. The analysis of the “Yang Hu said” passage can be found in *Bunpô hiun*, KURANAMI 1976: 732–33.
- 67 “House elders” in regional lordships came from among families related to the ruling house and trusted retainers of high standing. During the Edo period they numbered from two or three up to several in most houses. They exercised control over the lord’s retinue and took charge of administrative and judicial affairs.
- 68 The *soba yônin* or “chamberlains” are an example of this office that also could be found in regional lordships and whose incumbents generally were in a position to exert a strong influence on politics – supported by their lord’s favour.
- 69 Literally “[someone who] fixes his eyes [on someone else]”. “Inspectors” were charged with surveilling the behaviour and service acquittal of the direct retainers of the Tokugawa family. Higher ranking “great inspectors” 大目付 (*ôketsuke*) performed the same function with respect to the regional lords. The regional lordships maintained similar officials for surveillance in their territories.
- 70 In the shogunal government the “office of finances” 勘定所 (*kanjôsho*) was responsible for the collection of tax revenue from the territories under its direct control and the administration of finances as well as the adjudication of lawsuits arising from the shogunal territories. There were two such offices headed by four “commissioners of finances” 勘定奉行 (*kanjô bugyô*) under whom a number of officials of different rank served. In the regional territories, of whom Seiryô generally speaks, similar arrangements could be found.
- 71 This translation follows the wording in the original. Only the subsequent context gives a

[71] If on the privy council there is not one from among the district headmen 大庄屋 (*ôshôya*) and one from among the village headmen 庄屋 (*shôya*) with the district magistrate 代官 (*daikan*) at the center, the plan cannot be executed. [72a] As for the award of the privy council for agriculture, the village headmen pick out from among the peasants under their control a man who is fond of the tasks a peasant should perform – [i.e.], fond of all [the works] in the paddy fields and the dry fields –, they let him plant something, or let him reclaim [fields at] the foot of a mountain, or let him devise [new] ditches [bringing] useful water [= water for irrigation] 用水 (*yôsui*) or [draining] bad water [= waste water] 悪水 (*akusui*).<sup>72</sup> [72b] This they let know the district headman, the district headman publicly notifies the district magistrate, and rewards the above-mentioned peasant with the award.

[73] In general, one rewards someone who does work besides his [allotted] work, someone for example who works assiduously and opens up many fields all by himself, or someone who for a side job 内職 (*naishoku*)<sup>73</sup> makes ropes at night. [74] It would be best after all in this case as well to stir up a man who likes to work, to let him work tremendously, and [then] give him the award. [75] One awards [him] in a manner that is conspicuous. [76] One ought to make the man who has planted something offer the newly planted articles to the [lord] above. [77] When the new ditch has been dug and a convenient place for [disposing of] the water for irrigation or for waste water has been finished, the district commissioner 郡奉行 (*kôri bugyô*)<sup>74</sup> should inspect it in person and award [the prize]. [78] Since it is a means to encourage others, it is appropriate to award [the nominee] generously. [79] In case that,

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hint that this sentences refers to nominating members for the “privy council” from among the village headmen. Minamoto Ryôen 源了圓 in his rendering substitutes *daikan* 代官, or district magistrate, for the second “external magistrate” thus arriving at the interpretation “external magistrate refers to the district magistrate” for the first part of the sentence. NM 434. The *daikan* (literally “acting magistrate”) – and by extension Seiryô’s “external magistrate” – was the representative of the shogunal government or regional lordships who administrated a certain area under direct rule by the shogun or a territory’s lord instead of shogun or lord.

72 Why this is called “bad water” will be explained in sentence [105].

73 Literally this means “home work”.

74 This office was found both in the shogunal government and in the regional lordships. A “district” was a unit made up of several village communities, and its “commissioner” exerted diverse administrative functions (promulgating ordinances and deciding on the rate of taxation among them) as well as judicial ones. Whereas the shogunate abolished the system of “district commissioners” in 1668, in other parts of the country it stayed in force, with incumbents being positioned between “house elders” and “acting magistrates”.

for example, in a place where up until now tobacco 多葉粉 (*tabako*) had not been cultivated from now on it is newly cultivated, one lets [the people] offer [up their produce to the lord]. [80] In general, as the peasants, whatever one may say, are simple and honest more than anything else, if they eat something with chopsticks that the territory's lord had deigned to consume [his food] with, malaria 瘧疾 (*gyakushitsu*)<sup>75</sup> and other [maladies they might suffer from] will heal immediately. [81] Since the mysterious authority/charisma 靈威 (*reii*) of the territory's lord is of such a degree, if one submits the articles that had been planted to the territory's lord for inspection they shed tears of gratefulness even when [the lord] deigns only to decree that their names should be written down. [82] If all the more it should even happen that one bestows [something] out of one's own hands, then they will be of a mind to stake their lives on it and work assiduously – such is the wont of peasants.

[83a] The King of Yue 越, Goujian 勾踐,<sup>76</sup> thought to somehow or other attack [the kingdom of] Wu 吳 and wished for determined men.<sup>77</sup> [83b] Whenever he, therefore, deigned to drive out in his wagon, he immediately deigned to pay his respects from up on his wagon when he noticed a toad. [84] The men who accompanied him beside the wagon asked: “To whom does His Highness deign to pay his respects?” [85] The King of Yue said: “[86] I pay my respects to an angry toad. [87a] The toad does not mind at all that it pays with its life when it feels angry and becomes excited in its heart. [87b] This [really] is something terrific. [88] I am not that fortunate. [89a] How sweet indeed the angry toad is! [89b] Now what a terrific anger this is! [89c] Stout-[hearted] men should exactly be like this! [90a] Now this is valour!” [90b] As [the king] at all events deigned to pay his respects [to the toads], valour was in vogue through the whole state, and during this year there were [even] men who cut off their own heads and presented them to the King of Yue. [91a] Since [Yue] thereafter attacked Wu, the soldiers of Yue thought somehow or other to gloriously die in battle and [thereby] to please the king. [91b] Therefore, one [of them] took on a hundred men [of the

75 *Gyakushitsu*, or *okori* 瘧, referred to a malady characterized by recurrent attacks of chill and fever, and therefore is usually identified with malaria.

76 Trad. r. 496 to 465 BCE.

77 At the end of the sixth century BCE the state of Wu with its center in the area of the lower Yangzi river extended its sphere of influence towards the middle Yangzi and rose to a position of prominence among the Chinese states of that time. However, its old rivalry with its southern neighbour Yue – located along the coast of modern Zhejiang Province 浙江 – ended in 473 BCE in defeat and Wu's demise.

enemy] and for this reason they destroyed Wu without difficulty. [92] This is an example of how to stimulate the courage of those below.<sup>78</sup>

[93] If one does not stimulate them [the people] below will not be carried away [by high spirits]. [94] Those [open to] stimulation and those [on whom such] a technique will have the best effect – these are the young ones. [95] These are the children. [96] As [among] the peasants even the children go out into the fields and paddy fields to work, it is [the best] technique to award a child or someone of up to about twenty [years of age]. [97] They do not get tired at how much they may work, and besides, their being carried away [by high spirits] is something extreme. [98] Therefore, those up to twenty [years of age] will serve well. [99] When it comes to receiving an award for [well-contrived] designs the aged are appropriate. [100] Generally, a ditch for leading water to the paddy fields is called “useful water”. [101] It means good water. [102] Now, it also happens that water streams forcefully into a paddy field and causes the rice plants to wither. [103] In this case one has to drain the useful water and to lead it aside. [104] The drained off water is called bad [= useless] water. [105] This means water that harms the rice plants. [106] There are also ditches that serve for [carrying] both useful water and bad water. [107] Depending upon the manner a ditch is dug extreme disadvantages and benefits occur. [108] While it is of benefit to the village on the left it also happens that for the village on the right it becomes a great disadvantage. [109] Extreme wisdom is called for. [110] Whether “useful water” or “bad water” – in the water [itself] there is no difference. [111] If one drains water from a paddy field where there is too much of it to a paddy field without water, bad water thus turns into useful water. [112] Because this depends to a great deal on careful planning, wise fellows deliberate together at all times that it will be good to lead a certain ditch this way and to conduct another one that way. [113] Once they hear that [someone] opened a ditch and got an award, it will become popular here and there to think about profit and harm 利害 (*rigai*).<sup>79</sup> [114] One should not forget the King of Yue’s angry toad.

[115] Now, it is extremely bad that in the middle of a river refuse gathers, becomes an island and turns into fields. [116] Generally, once one’s eye has fallen upon the character for “luck” 福 (*fuku*), the technique consists in

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78 This episode is recounted in the *Master Han Fei* 韓非子 (*Han Feizi / Kanpishi*), SBBY 9.12a.

79 For the idea of “profit” cf. KD 3, n. 3.

gently holding on to the character for “luck” with the left hand, and firmly grasping the character for “calamity” 禍 (*wazawai*) with the right hand. [117] And at a time when the character for “calamity” approaches, one accepts it gently and firmly grasps the character for “luck”. [118] If one proceeds in this manner, one does not seize it helter-skelter even though one notices luck [drawing near], and one’s heart/mind 心 (*kokoro*) will not be terribly distressed in the case that calamity befalls. [119] Because one seizes it helter-skelter when one notices luck, one turns it into new paddy fields when in the middle of the river refuse gathers and an island forms. [120] In case the word “luck” in the form of a new island approaches hither, one thinks “But somewhere there has to be the word ‘calamity’”, and one searches for it. [121] In general, it is an inescapable rule that if in the middle of a river an island forms, flood damage befalls its<sup>80</sup> upper [reaches]. [122] If the benefit of new fields is greater than the damage from flood damage, this means that in the weighting of the the character for “luck” its weight wins. [123] If the weight of the character for “calamity” wins over the word “luck” [accruing from] the new fields, this means that one does not do it. [124] If one fixes an eye on the character for “calamity” [following from] the flood damage, one will examine the side of the word “luck” [closely] and therefore one’s heart/mind will not become [heedlessly] excited. [125a] Because the people below are indiscriminate just in seeing the island they will be delighted without further consideration and think as if they had won new fields. [125b] The lack of wisdom makes them behave [in this way]. [126] Even practising the privy council award, if one does not bestow the award after diligently making sure of luck and calamity, it [only] means that one has given the award in vain. [127] This is an important matter.

[128] Now, one constructs dikes on both sides of a river – if one makes designs for this [properly], there should be interesting methods 法 (*hō*) [for building them]. [129] Placing earth on top of a dike is called *kasaoki* かさおき. [130] [I] do not know if perhaps it means “hat-placing” 笠置 (*kasaoki*). [131] Or perhaps it means to place [earth] in a large bulk かさ高ニ (*kasadaka ni*) on top [of the dike]. [132] In extending the breadth of the dike one heaps earth on the sides of the dike – this is called *hara tsuke* 腹付. [133] That is to say, it perhaps means “adding to the belly”. [134] Since one does this so that the belly of the dike grows fatter, it probably is called by this word. [135] Planting bamboo on the dike serves to make it strong. [136] Bamboo also

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80 This probably refers to the upper reaches of the river.

sends forth bamboo shoots, and [thus] it is said that it brings a larger profit. [137] As the dike grows stronger and a profit is engendered, both sides [to planting bamboo] are good. [138] Someone said, “There are also bad [effects] to the dike becoming too strong.” [139] [And] there are [also] people who say that even though [the dike] breaks, it happens sometimes that the flood damage is small.

[140] I 余 (*yo*) have walked around a number of places in the Kanbara 蒲原 district in Echigo 越後 and seen [them for myself].<sup>81</sup> [142] In Kanbara, in a place called Ichinokido 一ノ木戸 there is [a territory of] 20,000 *koku*<sup>82</sup> [received by] Lord Takasaki 高崎侯 of Kôzuke Province 上州 (Jôshû)<sup>83</sup> as a \*revenue enlargement 御加増高 (*go kazô taka*).<sup>84</sup> [143] As this Lord Takasaki is the child of the quick-witted Lord of [I]zu Province 豆州<sup>85</sup> and a man who rose

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81 Kanbara in the central parts of Echigo – corresponding roughly to modern Niigata Prefecture – was the name of one of the seven districts making up this province as early as Heian times.

82 *Koku* was a cubic volume used for measuring rice. One *koku* amounts to five bushels or 180.4 litres.

83 The village of Ichinokido, nowadays part of the administrative unit of the city Sanjô 三条 in Niigata Prefecture, was a newly founded village in the Edo period first mentioned in 1657, falling under the authority of changing lordships. While standing under shogunal jurisdiction at first, it fell to the Murakami 村上 lordship in 1649. Since 1717 it was part of the Takasaki 高崎 domain in Kôzuke (the modern prefecture of Gunma 群馬), but came back under shogunal jurisdiction in 1752. From 1763 onwards it belonged to the Takasaki domain again. Ownership changed once more in 1800 – the village reverted to the shogunate – only to return to the Takasaki lordship in 1801. – “Lord Takasaki” here probably refers to Matsudaira Terusada 松平輝貞 (1665–1747), who moved in from Mibu 壬生 (Shimotsuke Province 下野, present day Tochigi Prefecture 栃木) as the lord of Takasaki with an income of 52,000 *koku* (1695). As one of his trusted advisors – together with the famous Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳沢吉保 (1658–1714) – Terusada enjoyed the favour of the fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646–1709, r. 1680–1709) and was granted further territories in various parts of the country until he stood at 72,000 *koku*. But with Tsunayoshi’s death Terusada fell out of favour and at an income of 70,000 *koku* was moved to the Murakami domain in northern Echigo in 1710 until he again returned to Takasaki in 1717. However, at that time the territory of Ichinoki remained in the possession of the Matsudaira family.

84 In the following, words referring to the shogun or the authorities and prefixed by 御, either read *go / on / o* and meaning “honourable” or “pertaining to the lord”, will be numerous. I usually refrained from a translation, instead indicating its occurrence by an asterisk \*.

85 This is the epithet under which Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596–1662) – one of the leading historical figures of the 17th century – was remembered. Born in the province of Musashi 武蔵 (the modern administrative units Tokyo, Saitama, and the eastern part of Kanagawa) as the eldest son of Ôkouchi Hisatsuna 大河内久綱 (1570–1646), he was

from 3,000 *koku*, his land allotment does not lie in one place [only].<sup>86</sup> [144] This Ichinokido leads on to a place called Sanjô.<sup>87</sup> [145] Sanjô is the place where the headquarter 陣屋 (*jinya*)<sup>88</sup> of Lord Murakami 村上侯<sup>89</sup> is located. [146] A river called Igarashi River 五十嵐川<sup>90</sup> comes from the east, passes the front of Ichinokido and plunges into the Chikuma River 千曲川.<sup>91</sup> [147] The Chikuma River is a river that passes the front of Sanjô. [148] The

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adopted by his uncle Matsudaira (Ôkouchi) Masatsuna 松平正綱 (1576–1648), a close retainer of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1601. When the later shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604–51, r. 1623–51) was born in 1604, Nobutsuna was assigned to his entourage (with a stipend nominally sufficient to support five retainers of his own) and rose continuously in his lord's service. In 1623 he was granted the (honorific) title "Governor of Izu [Province]" 伊豆守 (Izu no kami), and in 1626 he achieved the rank of territorial lord with 10,000 *koku*. High-ranking positions – eventually Nobutsuna was raised to the rank of "Senior" 老中 (*rôjû*) in 1633 – followed. His fame is linked to the pacification of the Shimabara 島原 rising in 1638. For this he was rewarded with the lordship of the Kawagoe 川越 domain near Edo – at first with an income of 60,000 *koku*, later 75,000 *koku* (1647).

- 86 Seiryô calls "Lord Takasaki" the "child/son" of the "quick-witted Lord of [I]zu Province". However, until Matsudaira Terusada was moved to Takasaki in 1695, the domain had been in the possession of the Andô 安藤 family for 76 years. As Terusada was the first of Nobutsuna's descendents to become lord of Takasaki, Seiryô perhaps did not mean "child" but "grandchild". Terusada was the sixth son of Matsudaira Terutsuna 松平輝綱 (1620–71) who had followed Nobutsuna as lord of Kawagoe. When Terutsuna died, Terusada was granted 5,000 *koku* (this is close enough to the 3,000 *koku* mentioned by Seiryô). Thereafter, he rose in the service of Tsunayoshi and was adopted by his father's younger brother Matsudaira Nobuoki 松平信興 (1630–1691; Nobutsuna's fifth son and lord of Tsuchiura 土浦). – Seiryô's last remark refers to the practice of continuously raising the income of trusted retainers. This usually did not take the form of increasing the original domain by adding adjacent lands. An increase could either result in a move to a larger territory in a completely different locality or in allotments of further lands in a patchwork manner in different places all over the country.
- 87 At the beginning of the Edo period, Sanjô still had its own castle and was the central seat of a domain until its lord Inagaki Shigetsuna 稲垣重綱 (1583–1654) became governor of Osaka Castle in 1623. Thereafter, the territory entered direct supervision by the shogunal government and its castle was eventually destroyed (1642). In 1649 the area became part of the Murakami lordship in northern Echigo.
- 88 "Headquarter" or *jinya* is the name for administrative seats in territories or dependencies that did not have their own castles.
- 89 During the first half of the Edo period, the Murakami domain had seen many changing lords, but since Kyôhō 5 it was continuously in the hands of the Naitô 内藤 family (with a little over 50,000 *koku*).
- 90 The Igarashi River with a length of 36,6 km is one of the contributory rivers of the Shinanogawa 信濃川, Japan's longest river.
- 91 By this name – it means "meandering river" or "river of a thousand turns" – Japan's longest river, the Shinano River (367 km), was known in the area of Nagano 長野, the

Igarashi River comes vigorously from the east and is about to plunge into the Chikuma River, but because the Chikuma River is a big river and its water volume is large, the Igarashi and the Chikuma fight mightily at the place of confluence and they raise each other's [water levels]. [149] Therefore, at times when at Ichinokido the waters are one *jô* 丈 and five *shaku* 尺<sup>92</sup> higher than average, the waters rise up to the top of the dike, and because they swell they gain such force that the dike grows soft and threatens to break at any time. [150] At such a moment, the dike leaks water and on the inner side of the dike [the water] makes rushing noises and becomes just like a river. [151] Concerning the dike's leaking water, [the water] runs [from it] just like it runs from the gaps between the boards [forming] the body of a bucket. [152] This is something formidable [to behold]. [153] The level of the water is seven or eight feet higher than the ground. [154] If the dike breaks the villagers will all be buried in the bellies of the fish.<sup>93</sup> [155] The tumult in the village is not at all such a meek thing like in the case of fire in the neighbourhood. [156] [People] scratch together every last *tatami* mat, bind them together with ropes just like a pair of scales and let them sit astride [both sides of] the dike. [157] [Then they] fix stones or [pieces of] wood to the *tatami* mats to weigh them down and [thus] prevent the water from coming in.

[158] At that time, I (Tsuru) said, "That you construct it so that the water leaks out to the dike's foundation [spells] a lack of circumspection in ordinary [matters]. [159] Usually, you should have made the dike harder and taken care that the water could not leak." [160] A local man told me, "That is a thing someone would say who does not know the least about dikes. [161] The reason for the dike not breaking is that the water leaks and [thus] the energy 氣 (*ki*) behind the water's vigour drains away. [162] It is [only] good that the water leaks." [163] There are things surpassing expectation of this kind. [164] Therefore, to size [things] up completely from one's own standpoint [alone] and to decide that this is luck and that this is calamity [shows] that after all [one's] wisdom still does not suffice. [165] If [one] does not ask the well-versed people among the locals [one] cannot know. [166] This is of a completely different kind than a house elder handling things concerning [his lord's] retainership/household 家中 (*kachû*).<sup>94</sup> [167] What is more, depending

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ancient province of Shinano.

92 One *shaku* measures about one foot. Ten *shaku* make up one *jô*.

93 This expression is an euphemism for "to drown" and has its locus classicus in the *Songs of Chu* 楚辭 (*Chuci* / *Soji*; 2nd century CE). SBBY 7.2a.

on the locality there probably will also be places where it is better to take care that the water will not leak. [168] Among [the sorts of] earth there are those of a sticky quality and there are also [those] that are desiccated.

[169] I (*yo*) once walked from Osaka to Hyôgo 兵庫<sup>95</sup>. [170] That was two days after [the dike along] the Minato River 湊川<sup>96</sup> had broken. [171] The Minato River comes out from Yuzuruha 弓弦羽<sup>97</sup> and [thus] its spring is extremely near. [172] Therefore, it is [a river with] water that rises and falls suddenly. [173] Because the dike had broken, [the river] had swelled into such a big water [body] that the pine trees [growing] on top of the dike together with the dike [itself] slid down the embankment, and tumbled over.<sup>98</sup> [174] A local man said, “The dike’s breaking is a strange thing, [for] the water rises on the dike, and it is seven or eight *shaku* that it is higher than the

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94 Probably this sentence hints at Seiryô’s family background as house elders in the Aoyama lordship and the experiences from his early years.

95 This place corresponds to modern Kôbe. One of its quarters still bears the name “Hyôgo”.

96 The Minato River is only 4.5 km long. After the confluence of its two even shorter tributaries – the Tennôdani 天皇谷 and the Ishii 石井 – it runs from Kôbe’s Hyôgo quarter to the Nagata 長田 quarter where it flows into the Inner Sea. Its mouth originally lay near modern Kôbe Station, but in 1901 it was diverted and its mouth now lies further west.

97 Kuranami identifies this with the one of the northeastern peaks of the Rokkô 六甲 elevation (at its highest it rises up to 931.3 m) and gives its modern name as 讓葉山 (Yuzuruhayama). NST 44: 300. I did not find reference to a peak of this name in the Rokkô area in the NRCT 29 and the KNCD 28 (the name is only mentioned for the island of Awaji 淡路). In any case, the northeastern parts of the elevation are removed several dozen kilometers from the springs of even the Minato river’s tributaries. Seiryô could, of course, be mistaken about the origins of the river, but I find this unlikely. He went to the place for himself and gathered information from local people; and it fits facts when he says that the river’s spring is near. I think rather that he used “Yuzuruha” as a name for the Rokkô mountains (which run parallel to the coast) themselves. These were formerly known as the Muko 武庫 Mountains and even earlier as Yuzuruha.

98 It is not easy to make sense of this sentence. For one there is the problem of relating its first part (“because the dike had broken...”) to the second part (“it was such a big water that even...”). Second, the expression *dote o suriorite* 土手ヲスリヲリテ is subject to interpretation. Minamoto suggests the reading “the trees on top of the dike together with the dike rubbed against and broke the embankment,” taking *orite* as the conjunctive form of *oru* 折る (“to break”). NM 23: 437. This seems somewhat construed, however. In my opinion it is much easier to imagine the trees together with the earth of the dike sliding down the flooded embankment. Therefore, *suriorite* probably should be understood as consisting of the parts *suri* (*suru* 擦る, “to rub against”; as in modern *surinukeru* 擦り抜ける “to pass/slide through”) and *oru* 下る (“to come down”); perhaps Seiryô even uses it as an equivalent of *zurioru* (“to slide down”).

dike.<sup>99</sup> [175] But [still] the dike does not break. [176a] But in case the water crosses over the dike and flows over it, the dike will break right away.” [176b] [Thus] he spoke. [177] Generally, the designs for a dike not to break depend also on [the quality of] the earth, but there will also be all different kinds of construction. [178] As Echigo is a country that extends along the Chikuma River, it is a region where flood damage occurs on an annual basis, and the locals, too, are extremely well-versed in all matters of water. [179] Anyhow, the highest textile quality 上練 (*jôren*) of wisdom consists in asking.<sup>100</sup> [180] To ask is not shameful. [181] To be ignorant is shameful. [182] If one asks among the people of Echigo about the matter of dikes, there will surely be [some] well-versed people.

[183] Therefore, people who often travel through other countries, merchants like the sellers of resurrecting pills 反魂丹 (*hangon tan*)<sup>101</sup> from Toyama 富山 in Etchû 越中 or the mirror polishers from Himi 氷見 in Etchû,<sup>102</sup> [such] are to be found in many countries. [184] That they are just heedlessly coming and going to foreign countries is a [waste of] expenses. [185] It is something a man of wisdom would not do. [186] That the regional lord, too, lets people from his territory course around other countries and does not have them ask [for new knowledge] is negligence on the part of that lord. [187] Regarding this he should usually write down – as generally [illustrated by] the example of a country’s dikes – in a list of what [in his territory] causes difficulties concerning broadly speaking paddy fields, dry fields and crops and hand [this list] over to the village headmen and aldermen 年寄 (*toshiyori*) and tell

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99 Unfortunately the text gives no hint what could be meant by the water being seven or eight feet higher than the dike itself.

100 Seiryô compares wisdom to different qualities of cloth and likens the highest degree of wisdom to cloth of the best quality.

101 *Hangon tan* 反魂丹 or “pills for calling back the souls of the dead” contained rhubarb, *coptis japonica*, bear’s gall, the dried peel of a type of orange (*chinpi* 陳皮) and other materials. This medicine was supposed to help against all kinds of disease and especially was applied in case of cholera nostra, belly aches and digestive disturbances. While the roots of this remedy and its name lie in China, it was made of different ingredients in Japan where it can be ascertained already in the 16th century. However, the times of its popularity came during the Edo period, when the Toyama 富山 domain in Etchû Province 越中 (modern Toyama Prefecture) established itself as the center of its production (*coptis japonica* and bear’s gall were known as special products of this region) and itinerant merchants from this area established a trade system that spread the remedy countrywide.

102 The town of Himi and its surroundings were known in Edo times for polished metal mirrors which, like *hangon tan* pills, were sold by itinerant merchants.

them to go out and inquire about the useful things of other countries in all matters possible. [188] That one scoops paper with the three-forked plant 三又草 (*mitsumata gusa*)<sup>103</sup> from Mount Ryûsô 竜爪山 in Suruga 駿河<sup>104</sup> – this is exactly as told. [189] [But] one has [never] heard of any one person passing through Suruga who had inquired about the three-forked plant, planted it in his own country, scooped paper [with it] and benefited [his country]. [190] The vulgar people of low [standing] just pass heedlessly through [places] without noticing [anything].

[191a] From now on, if one were to practise the privy council award, let it be reported that when someone passed through any one country he did inquire about this or that matter in a place of this or that name and returned [with this information]. [191b] And if [further] one were to give him an award depending on how large or small the benefit from this affair had been for the country, [people] more and more will vie with each other to inquire [after useful things]. [192] This will greatly be to the benefit of the country. [193] It is not only a matter of not squandering one's own wisdom. [194] It is a skilful man [even] among men of wisdom who sees to it that people will not waste [other] people's wisdom. [195] These [measures] more or less make up the method for the privy council award of agriculture. [196] Generally, the light-footed 足輕 (*ashigaru*)<sup>105</sup> are people who annually alternate [between their lord's territory and] Edo.<sup>106</sup> [197] It is a pity that on the way they [just] idly

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103 *Edgeworthia papyrifera*. The qualities of its bark, the fibers of which are soft, thin, and lustrous, made this shrub, which grows up to a height of two metres, ideal for the production of high quality paper.

104 The old province of Suruga comprised the central region of modern Shizuoka Prefecture. Mount Ryûsô (with two peaks 1,041 and 1,051 m high) lies mostly in the northern part of the city of Shizuoka.

105 *Ashigaru* or foot soldiers 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 made up the train but were not entitled to a retinue of their own. The difference in status found expression, too, after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 when persons of true samurai status were classified as “gentlemen” (*shi*) while former *ashigaru* were known as “troopers” 卒 (*sotsu*, an expression implying people of servant or at least undistinguished status).

106 Since 1635 regional lords, according to the location of their territory, had to spend either half the year or every second year in Edo and to maintain a residence for their families

shuffle along without any purpose. [198] It would be [a good] method that their captains 物頭 (*monogashira*)<sup>107</sup> order the lightfooted firmly, that [the captains] tell [their men] to inquire among the foreign countries about anything to the benefit of [their own] country, and that one gives them an award immediately and without fail [if they comply] and further that if [someone among them] is a wise person one raises him to [the position of] a minor official. [199] In general, it concerns again all territories together that not only the lightfooted but the rear vassals 又者 (*matamono*) of the household retainers 家中 (*kachû*)<sup>108</sup> behave themselves badly when they come to [the town] below [their lord's] castle. [200] This is something extremely bad, and [because of it the town] below the castle falls into decline. [201] The declining of [the town] below the castle is the country's poverty. [202] One orders them to the best of one's abilities [to refrain] and prohibits untoward behaviour, but [in view of the fact] that they do not stop anyhow, it would be the [correct] method [to ask oneself] "Why do they not cease" and to search for the reasons why they do not refrain.

[203] If one states why they are bad-mannered, the reason is that they are at leisure. [204] Because they receive food from their lord, they are not assailed by hunger, and therefore they are lazy and idle around. [205a] Because they have no copper coins although they would like to go out to the town below the castle 城下ノ町 (*jôka no machi*) and to drink and eat [something], they behave badly, and while drinking and eating they pick quarrels, they do things like blackmailing ヌスリカタル [the proprietors],<sup>109</sup> and they pride themselves on drinking and eating for free. [205b] This is an extremely bad habit. [206] Therefore, to steer them so that they have no leisure is the technique for stimulating them. [207] For this reason one should let them make not only weaponry<sup>110</sup> but anything in home production 内職 (*naishoku*),

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and half of their retinue living there constantly (*sankin kôtai* 参勤交代, i.e. "alternate residence"). On the way to and from Edo they travelled with a large entourage made up of their retainers – including, of course, "lightfooted" soldiers.

107 This was the title of a captain leading units armed with bows or firearms and made up of *ashigaru*.

108 *Kachû* designates the direct retainers of a regional lord who in their own stead again led a number of dependants according to their status and income.

109 *Yusurikataru* 強請騙る means to intimidate and to deceive people in order to obtain possession of their goods. I take it to mean the same as *yusuru*.

110 Instigating idle retainers to contribute to the financial well-being of territorial lordships was the subject of Part Three.

have [their] captains report [this to the lord] and practise the award-[system]. [208] It is a [good] method to buy up the articles [coming out] of the home production to the [lord] above. [209] Since things that one has to purchase anyway have to be bought [in any case], to buy up the articles made by the lightfooted or the rear vassals [only] means that one [can] purchase them cheaply. [210] Likewise, for those doing the home production this is much better than selling dirt cheap to the towns. [211] By this, both those above and those below make a profit. [212] Giving out awards is the technique for stimulating [people].

[213] At present, by far the largest [article out of] home production is Kawagoe plain [cloth] 川越平 (*Kawagoe hira*).<sup>111</sup> [214] [In] the whole realm one and all summer skirt-trousers 夏袴 (*natsu hakama*)<sup>112</sup> are [made out of] Kawagoe plain [cloth]. [215] In fact, regarding the origin of Kawagoe plain [cloth], it was not the household retainers of the present Lord Kawagoe<sup>113</sup> who started to make it. [216] The household retainers of Lord Akimoto 秋元公, the present Lord Yamagata 山形侯,<sup>114</sup> first started it. [217] The present Lord Yamagata had moved from Kawagoe to Yamagata. [218] Before being moved to Kawagoe, his castle seat had been in Yamura 谷村 in Kô Province 甲州.<sup>115</sup> [219] Since nowadays only the town of Yamura survives and the

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111 *Hira* denotes a type of silk fabric without pattern or relief structure. As is made clear in the following it was used for the manufacture of “skirt-trousers”. Cf. n. 112.

112 *Hakama* is the name for a garment of trouser-like conception and skirt-like appearance. During the Edo period in the form of trailing pleated leggings (“long skirt-trousers” 長袴 *nagabakama*) it was part of the most formal outfit of the higher ranks of warrior society. A simpler form only reaching to the ankles (“small skirt-trousers” 小袴 *kobakama*, or “half skirt-trousers” 半袴 *hanbakama*) it could be worn by male members of the warrior and merchant status groups as formal wear. Fitting for the hot season “summer skirt-trousers” were made from thin types of silk fabric.

113 In 1767 the Echizen 越前 branch of the Matsudaira family (descended from Tokugawa Ieyasu’s second son, Yûki Hideyasu 結城秀康, 1574–1607) with 150,000 *koku* had moved in from Maebashi 前橋 in Kôzuke Province when the former lords of Kawagoe, the Akimoto 秋元 family, had been transferred to the Yamagata 山形 domain in northeastern Japan. Seiryô might refer to Matsudaira Naonobu 松平直温 (1795–1816) who was lord of Kawagoe between 1810 and 1816.

114 The Akimoto family were rulers of Kawagoe from 1704 (following the fall of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu) with 50,000 *koku*, but in 1767, the fourth lord, Akimoto Suketomo 秋元涼朝 (1717–75) was ordered to move to the Yamagata domain.

115 Kôshû or the province of Kai 甲斐 corresponds to modern Yamanashi Prefecture 山梨. Akimoto rule over Yamura (present city of Tsuru 都留) had lasted since 1633, when Akimoto Yasutomo 秋元泰朝 (1580–1642), a close retainer of Ieyasu was granted its lordship with 18,000 *koku*. During the rule of Akimoto Takatomo 秋元喬知 (1649–1714),

castle has become a ruin,<sup>116</sup> there are only the remains of the castle and no people left. [220] When in the past I (Tsuru) traveled in Kô Province, [I] was kept about two months in Yamura and lectured on [ancient] writings. [221] Yamura lies halfway up the side of Mount Fuji. [222] [This area] is what commonly is called “Gunnai” 郡内.<sup>117</sup> [223] Even up to these parts not many trees grow. [224] Paddy fields and dry fields are not numerous either, and although it is not a bare mountain, plain-like areas exist in many places. [225] Now, these open areas [are to be found] in the outskirts to the north and south of Yamura, and they are completely [covered with] mulberry trees 桑 (*kuwa*). [226] Cold places are well-suited [for mulberry trees]. [227] [These] are tremendous mulberry fields. [228] Now, walking gradually down Mount Fuji [passing along] Araya 荒屋,<sup>118</sup> Kohari 小治,<sup>119</sup> and Yamura,<sup>120</sup> the lowest place is called Yamura. [228] Since in this way mulberry trees are numerous, all three villages raise silkworms. [229] That silkworms abound in cold regions is due to mulberry trees being well-suited for cold places. [230] For this reason silkworms are often found in cold places. [231] On [Mount] Fuji, there is a valley called Mugen no tani 無関ノ谷.<sup>121</sup> [232] It is a large valley. [233] This water<sup>122</sup> flows forth<sup>123</sup> in all four directions and makes it

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the family was rewarded with another 32,000 *koku*, until it was transferred to Kawagoe (another 10,000 *koku* were granted in 1711). During the 17th century the region became famous for its silk production.

- 116 After the Akimoto lordship moved to Kawagoe, the castle of Yamura was destroyed in 1705, the lordship was abolished and its territory was incorporated into the domains of the shogunal government.
- 117 “Gunnai” (literally “within the district”; as against the other three districts that made up Kai) was another name for the territory of Yamura in the southeastern parts of the province.
- 118 Araya, written with the characters 新屋, is now part of the city of Fuji Yoshida 富士吉田 at the northern foot of Mount Fuji. In Edo times it is documented as a village belonging to the Yamura domain.
- 119 I did not find a reference to this locality in either NRCT or KNJD.
- 120 NST 44: 302 gives the reading “Tanimura” in this place. This probably is a mistake, as the locality is known as Yamura and the editor himself, in the *Complete Works of Kaiho Seiryô* writes “Yamura”. Cf. KURANAMI 1976: 75.
- 121 Literally this means “Valley without checkpoint”. I did not find a reference to a locality of this name near Mount Fuji in either NRCT or KNJD.
- 122 It seems obvious that Seiryô refers to water originating in this valley, but he does not go into more detail. In [235] he speaks of snow as the origin of this water. Perhaps he means the springs of the Oshino 忍野 valley that contribute to the Katsura River 桂川 which flows into what is now Fuji Yoshida and then Yamura?

possible for people to live [there]. [234] Among these streams one arm flows along the middle of the road. [235] Because it is the water of [melted] snow it is as pure as possible. [236] With this water one boils the silkworm [cocoon].<sup>124</sup> [237] In general, the water [used for this] is only this water. [238] For this reason the silk from Gunnai has a gloss to it, and the quality of the cloth is very different from the silk of other countries. [239] When Lord Akimoto had his castle seat in Yamura, what the household retainers weaved for summer skirt-trousers in home production had been “Gunnai plain [cloth]”. [240] Thereafter, [the lord] was moved to Kawagoe, and the household retainers once again weaved summer skirt-trousers in home production. [241] This is the Kawagoe plain [cloth]. [242] Now [the lord] was moved to Yamagata. [243] The household retainers again weave the cloth for skirt-trousers. [244] This [is known as] Sendai plain [cloth].<sup>125</sup> [245] It is certainly the crown among the home production [articles] of household retainers. [246] During the Yamura time, as well as during the Kawagoe time, and [then] in Yamagata the household retainers’ home production spread into the local towns 在町 (*zaimachi*),<sup>126</sup> and now in all three places it has become a [special] local product. [247] When I (Tsuru) traveled again to Kawagoe and had a look, not only summer skirt-trousers but a whole variety of fabrics were made, and nowadays they weave extremely splendid things. [248a] Because Kawagoe is a cold place as well, to the north of it Umayabashi 厩橋, Tatebayashi 館林, and Kiryû 桐生<sup>127</sup> all lie at the foot of Mount Akagi 赤城山<sup>128</sup> and these are

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123 The text speaks of *ukarenagaru* ウカレ流ル which could be a mistake of *wakarenagaru*. This would mean “to split apart and flow” and fits the context better than trying to read some sense into the first half of the expression (*ukaru* means “to float by itself”; “to be merry / in high spirits”).

124 In order to extract the thread which the silkworm has produced to spin itself in, the cocoon has to be boiled.

125 This is a silk fabric famous for its use in the manufacture of skirt-trousers.

126 In contrast to urban centers such as castle towns, *zai* 在 referred to the countryside. The word *zaimachi* (in different parts of the country, varying names were known) was used for townships in the regions that did not serve as castle towns or administrative seats and that were – regarding their administrative status – on a par with villages. However, they could be of considerable size (often of 1,000 to 5,000, in some instances even of 10,000 inhabitants) with a diversified economical setup far surpassing merely agricultural communities.

127 These localities correspond to the modern cities of Maebashi 前橋, Tatebayashi, and Kiryû in the prefecture of Gunma 群馬.

128 This is a mountain (1,828 m) in the eastern parts of present-day Gunma Prefecture.

places where mulberry trees grow well. [248b] And therefore in Kawagoe, too, there are people who raise silkworms. [249] It is a place to which from the northern parts many [people] come to sell the silkworms' raw silk<sup>129</sup>. [250] That Kawagoe plain [cloth] became prevalent is due to Lord Akimoto having 70,000 *koku* [only], while Lord Kawagoe has 150,000 *koku*.<sup>130</sup> [251] Because thus depending on the number of household retainers there is a more or a less in [the number of] products, one finds houses that are ashamed to let their household retainers engage in home production. [252] This is a foolish thing. [253] Because, when they have home production people are occupied, do not go out on their own accord, and since they get money and [their] manners are agreeable, too, one should stimulate the lightfooted and the rear vassals by all means with the method of the privy council award and let them begin home production.

[254] In general, it is bad, if awards as well as punishments are conspicuous. [255] To practise them under the pretext of another matter is the [proper] technique. [256] [In case of] punishments, too, it is appropriate to punish by means of the privy council as well. [257] In general, for heaving up the money [of those] below to [those] above there is a technique. [258] If this is visible, the people will dislike it. [259] It should be done so that it is not visible. [260] This principle [I] will explain in detail in the paragraph [on] "Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend".<sup>131</sup> [261]

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129 The text says *wata* ワタ, which is a word for the yet unprocessed raw matter of cotton and silk.

130 Higher income corresponds to a larger number of retainers as well, and thus gives the cloth production in Kawagoe the edge over that in the Akimoto lordship.

131 This is a passage – Seiryō had already quoted it in Part Three; cf. KD 3: [636] – from the *Book of Documents*, SBBY 7.2a; KARLGREN 1950: 30; L 3: 325. My translation follows Karlgren's. The citation can be found in the chapter *Great Rule* 洪範 (*Hongfan / Kōhan*). Seiryō 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 and Ten Thousand Affairs 万事 (*banji*) between Heaven and Earth". *Kōhan dan*, KURANAMI 1976: 585. For the passage Seiryō refers to cf. *ibid.* 618–23. Later on in KD 4 Seiryō explains his interpretation of the quotation in detail. Cf. [594] to [731]. The commentary in the *Kōhan dan* proceeds from a naturalistic view of nature, with the forces of Yin and Yang and the "Five Phases" 五行 (*wuxing / gogyō*) at its center, and does not contain an application of the insights gained from the ancient text to Edo period society and politics. In KD 4, however, Seiryō explicitly deals with "hoisting up" money. He explains that "water" stands for all things which have form and therefore sink downward, while insubstantial things represented by "fire" rise up. Since "gold" and "silver" have form, they steadily move downward, where they would continuously accumulate if they were not lifted up again. Here, too, Seiryō draws

Now, on the whole, in our □<sup>132</sup> country there is a custom of considering profit as polluted ケガラワシ. [262] Therefore, there is no [system of] expiating punishment [with money] 贖刑 (*shokukei*).<sup>133</sup> [263] Although this is something beautiful, for hoisting up マキ上ル (*makiaguru*) the money [of those] below to [those] above this is extremely inconvenient. [264] This is the principle of Heaven and Earth 天地ノ理 (*tenchi no kotowari*),<sup>134</sup> and it is a matter of reason/principle that one has to hoist up the money [of those] below to [those] above by all means. [265] If one deviates from reason/principle, somewhere [things] will prove inconvenient, and even though an immeasurable amount of money 万々鉅々ノ金 (*banban kyokyo no kane*) accumulates, it is an inevitable matter of reason/principle that if the hoisting up does not work [those] below will indulge in luxury while [those] above will grow poor. [266] However, for hoisting up there is a [proper] method. [267] Expiating punishment [with money] is such an instance [in case]. [268] In our □ country there is no expiating punishment [with money], no selling of noble ranks 売爵 (*baishaku*), [instead] one has the method of \*buying up each and every [article] for [the government] above, and [thus] the money does nothing but sink from [those] above to [those] below. [269] There is only the penalty fee 過料 (*karyô*).<sup>135</sup> [270] However, this is only an extremely slight thing,

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a parallel to the movements of nature. Water, when boiling, rises up as vapour and falls down as rain. In a 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.

132 In cases where the names of persons of high status or of institutions requiring a respectful treatment occurred, it was common practice to leave a blank space of one or two characters before the name 欠字 (*ketsuji*) or to terminate the line and continue the text on the next line at the point where the preceding line had left off 平出 (*heishutsu*). For this phenomenon cf. RÜTTERMANN 2001. Here, the NST edition of KD inserted a symbol to indicate that either a blank space or a line break occurred. Unfortunately, for lack of a copy of the original KD, I could not ascertain if Seiryô chose either the one or the other. This is true for the following cases as well. Here and in all other places such an occurrence will be marked by the symbol □.

133 Cf. [269]. See also n. 284.

134 Concomitant with the idea of profit is Seiryô’s insight that money has to circulate, never to remain in any one place for long, just as water, too, finds itself in constant circulation. This is what Seiryô means by the “principle of Heaven and Earth” in this place. For the congruence of economic activities with the “principle of Heaven” cf. n. 50.

135 Monetary fines had already been instituted in the Heian period, but they were much more widely practised from the beginning of the Edo period (especially for minor law infringements as, for example, gambling). It also became possible – particularly for commoners – to have the original punishment commuted into a monetary fine.

and for hoisting up [the money] to [those] above it is not even of infinitesimal use. [271] Since in the houses of the great lords one has to follow the system of the state, it is not possible to establish another method for hoisting up [the money] to [those] above, [so that] there is nothing but the penalty fee. [272] If one were to apply it in various manners, it would [however] be like [the institution of] expiating punishment [with money].

[273] When told that in my (Tsuru) old [native] country [the authorities] were perplexed by the popularity of the abscondence pilgrimage *ヌケマイリ* (*nukemairi*) [form] of the Ise pilgrimage 伊勢参 (*Ise mairi*),<sup>136</sup> [I] gave [the following] answer to what I (Tsuru) had been told: [274] Since Ise is our □ Great Shrine 大廟 (*taibyō*)<sup>137</sup> to forbid praying [at] the □ Great Shrine would mean to lose the heart of the people to a great extent. [275] In my (Tsuru) opinion, one [has] to proceed from the exact opposite of the word ‘prohibition’ 禁 (*kin*). [276a] The gist [of my plan is as follows]. [276b] On the whole, [the lord] above carries himself with the wish to let the peasants throughout the \*territory go and to lend them help so that they can make the pilgrimage to the shrine in the Province of [I]se 勢州 (*Seishū*),<sup>138</sup> but as for the \*territory, to grant travel money to the peasants in each and every case would be difficult to manage. [276c] However, since our □ Great Shrine is at issue, [the lord] carries himself with the thought that one way or other the peasants without exception [should] undertake the shrine pilgrimage. [277] However,

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136 The Shrine of Ise became the destination of pilgrimages by commoners since the Kamakura period. In the course of time, “Ise associations” 伊勢講 (*Ise kō*) developed, organized with the aim of supporting each other financially by those intending to make the trip, and itinerant preachers (“honourable teachers” 御師, *oshi*) promoted the veneration for the shrine throughout the country. The popularity of pilgrimages to Ise reached a peak in the Edo period when several factors – greater material wealth and an increase in leisure time among them – facilitated travel activities. These outward conditions met with the religious trends of the times and resulted in several large waves of “Ise pilgrimages”. In an ecstatic mood several million participants were said to have been on the move simultaneously. Especially the four waves of “Thanks[giving] pilgrimage” お蔭参り (*okage mairi*) of 1650, 1705, 1771, and 1830 (the last recorded more than four million participants), which were triggered by tales that paper talismans (protective charms) had rained out of the open skies, are noteworthy. During this time, “abscondence pilgrimage” occurred when many people, especially adolescents, servants and apprentices, set out for Ise without permission from their families or masters. Cf. e.g. BOHNER 1941.

137 In China, this was the name for the shrine where the ruler’s ancestors were venerated. In Japan, the expression served to denote the shrine of Ise (of course, the imperial family was believed to be descended from the Sun Goddess).

138 The province of Ise comprised the greater part of modern Mie Prefecture 三重.

if from all villages [people] would undertake the shrine pilgrimage at the same time, in the first instance the country would become empty and this would be something careless. [278] Therefore, one should send one person at a time from [every] one village every year.<sup>139</sup> [279] Because [even] this means a very large number [of people], to grant travel money generously again is something difficult to manage. [280] From [the lord] above one grants one *kanmon* 貫文 of [copper] money<sup>140</sup> each. [281] Now, among [those] below one should do extra work, establish an association 講 (*kô*), contribute instalment money 掛銀 (*kakegin*)<sup>141</sup> bit by bit, decide on [the members'] turn by lot or such, [so that] from each village one person can make the pilgrimage every year. [282] One will grant each village one *kanmon* each year by year, and in this way in the beginning one hands out one *kanmon* at first. [283] Now, [for the next step], according to reports one as heard that [some persons] disappear and undertake the pilgrimage without even notifying the head of the village, what [in other words] is called abscondence pilgrimage. [284] This, too, is a praiseworthy thing, and since it concerns our □ Great Shrine, to disappear and make an abscondence pilgrimage is a laudable deed. [285] However, to set out without notifying the head of the village is something that infringes upon the law of the state. [286] Well, in the first place, as for the Province of [I]se, if one goes there from the Kantô [area], one by all means has to pass through the \*territories of the Provinces of O[wari] 尾州 (Bishû)<sup>142</sup> and the Province of Ki[i] 紀州 (Kishû).<sup>143</sup> [287] If, in case that

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139 From the following sentence it becomes clear that part of the expenses are to be covered by the regional lordship.

140 Copper money was most commonly used in day-to-day affairs. *Mon* 文 (a copper coin with a hole in the middle so that a string could be passed through) is the lowest denomination with 1,000 (or, in fact, 960) *mon* making up one *kan* 貫 or *kanmon*. Four *kan* were equal to one *ryô* of gold. The latter was equal to about one *koku* of rice, the amount nominally deemed necessary to feed one person a whole year long. According to one calculation, one *ryô* of gold roughly amounts to the purchasing power of 150,000 Yen. Cf. TAKEUCHI, ICHIKAWA 2004: 18.

141 Seiryô had dealt with the subject of “associations” as cooperative credit societies in the second part of KD. Cf. KD 2: [221]–[289]. The “instalment money” is a kind of investment money collected from each new associate. Then “credits” were given out to individual members either by lot or by bidding. In some associations the “credit” had to be returned with an interest, in others no interest was required. In the end, each member should have received an equal share of credit or profit. Clearly Seiryô envisions a similar organization for the “association” founded to enable participation in the Ise pilgrimages – with two side effects, as will become clear shortly: gaining control over who sets out on a such a trip, and being able to collect penalty fees.

something inevitably should happen, the names of these territorial lords will come up. [288] Because the \*two houses of O[wari] and Ki[i] are exceptional \*houses,<sup>144</sup> it might well happen that he will be executed or that he will be \*kept and not \*returned [to his home country] if there should be someone misbehaving 不埒ノモノ (*furachi no mono*).<sup>145</sup> [289] Even although the peasant from this lord's \*territory in fact might be gentle and not engage in quarrels, disputes or such, it might happen that he finds himself in a place of a quarrel and gets embroiled in it. [290] If he gets caught by the raiding constables although he [only] watched the quarrel, there is nothing to be done. [291a] If even one of the peasants from [this] \*territory were to meet difficulties, it would be against the wishes of the [lord] above. [291] Given that even one of the peasants from [this] \*territory were to meet difficulties – if one were to say that henceforth a definite termination of cases of abscondence pilgrimage is ordered because [this practice from the outset] is against the wishes of the [lord] above, [this is again set off by] the fact that this concerns our □ Great Shrine. [292] Therefore again there will be fellows who abscond themselves on a pilgrimage. [293] However, since this differs from the wishes of the [lord] above, it infringes upon the law statutes 法令 (*hōrei*). [294] That someone who infringes upon the law statutes commits a crime is an invariable rule 常法 (*jōhō*) since ancient times. [295] However, to let [such a one] meet with severe \*punishment, this again goes against the wishes of the [lord] above. [296] Therefore one deigns to order a penalty fee. [297] As a penalty fee one *kanmon* should be given. [298a] Since a travel money of one *kanmon* is granted by the [lord] above, the penalty fee, too, should amount to one

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142 The territory of this province comprises the western part of the modern prefecture of Aichi 愛知.

143 The Kii Province corresponds to the modern prefecture of Wakayama 和歌山 and part of Mie.

144 “Exceptional” is one of the correspondences of *kakubetsu* 格別 in modern Japanese. In this case it would not be out of order to translate the expression more literally as “\*houses of special status” as the element *kaku* in *kakubetsu no o ie* 格別の御家 also appears in such compounds as *kakaku* 家格 “status of a [warrior] house/family”. 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 (619,500 *koku*), Kii (550,000 *koku*), and Mito 水戸 (part of modern Ibaraki Prefecture 茨城, 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”.

145 The expression could merit a stronger translation such as “villain” or “scoundrel”.

*kanmon*. [298b] [Thus] says [the lord's] announcement. [299] Now, [some people] abscond themselves on a pilgrimage, and immediately one lets the village chiefs and headmen 名主庄屋 (*nanushi shôya*)<sup>146</sup> pay the penalty fee. [300] That abscondence pilgrimage occurs although it has been prohibited — this is due to the headmen's control not extending wide enough. [301] If one therefore decides that the village headmen have to pay, this is the reason/principle [why] they will prevent it and not let [people] make abscondence pilgrimages. [302] Thereby on the whole the travel money granted by the [lord] above should be covered more than enough by the penalty fee; [this was what] I thought. [303] Thereafter, [the authorities] expectedly promulgated this ordinance, abscondence pilgrimages diminished and became rare. [304] Since on the side of [the government] above, revenue 運上 (*unjô*)<sup>147</sup> rose considerably and in excess [and since] it amassed this money and prepared the travel money for shrine pilgrimages [with it], afterwards it became the instalment money [granted] to the villages for the shrine pilgrimage associations 参宮講 (*sangû kô*) and the extra work associations 働キ増シノ講 (*hataraki-mashi no kô*)<sup>148</sup> and it turned out that [in fact the whole] worked out without the [lord] above spending any money. [305] These matters could also be called the “privy council punishments” 枢密刑 (*sûmitsu kei*).

[306] Making the reason/principle of what the [lord's government] above announces extremely easy to understand and letting those below not in the least understand what the [lord's government] above [actually] does — [this] is a skilful [manner] of [putting into effect] political economy 経済 (*keizai*).<sup>149</sup> [307] Once the people have acquired a [corresponding] habit クセ (*kuse*)<sup>150</sup>,

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146 Headmen were known as *shôya* in the Kansai area and western Japan, while *nanushi* (“owner of a name / name [rights]”) was more common in eastern Japan.

147 Literally *unjô* means “transporting above” and has its roots in the Middle Ages when the produce owed to the lords of landed estates (*shôen* 莊園) were transported to them. In Edo times, the word denoted a tax levied on all producers and merchants not engaged in agriculture.

148 Seiryô had described an example of such an “association” in Part Two of KD, where the people in Shibamura 芝村, a small lordship of 10,000 *koku* around the present-day city of Sakurai 桜井 in Nara Prefecture, invested extra work during the evening hours for making ropes and reinvested the proceeds from the rope trade in a mutual help “association”. Cf. KD 2: [255]–[289].

149 The word *keizai* is a shortened form of *keisei saimin* 經世濟民, meaning “to rule the world and help the people”. Thus, the expression has much broader connotations than “economy” alone. However, the use Seiryô makes of *keizai* in many cases seems close to its meaning in modern Japanese as “economy” or “economics”.

they understand even difficult matters. [308] If they do not acquire [this] habit, the people will not discern even simple matters. [309] To acquire a habit means [for example] to eat three times [a day] – [namely] breakfast, lunch, and dinner.<sup>151</sup> [310] In ancient times it seems that [people] have eaten two times [only], and today one still speaks [of a meal as] “morning” 朝 (*asa*).<sup>152</sup> [311] At present, lunch has become the main [meal], and from the lords of the \*great houses 御大家 (*go taika*)<sup>153</sup> [downwards] the noontime \*eating table 昼御膳 (*hiru gozen*) is central. [312] In the Province of O[wari] and others one finds thrice [a day] two soups and five side dishes 二汁五菜 (*nijû gosai*).<sup>154</sup> [313] With houses of less than 100,000 *koku* it is one soup and five side dishes at noontime and one soup with three side dishes in the morning and evening. [314] To excessively eat delicious things 膏粱 (*kôryô*)<sup>155</sup>

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150 The notion of “habit” or “bad habit”, making for differences in the standing of people and their views on life, is central to Seiryô’s thought and will be pursued in the following. Here, the expression implies that the people grow used to the workings of government.

151 Literally the corresponding Japanese expressions mean “morning rice / food”, “noontime rice / food”, and “evening rice / food”.

152 Perhaps “daylight [meal]” would be a closer expression as the word in the past had been used not only to specifically signify “morning” but daylight time until noon.

153 *Taika* generally refers to prosperous houses or those of high social standing.

154 The description of food consumption has to be seen against the background constituted by the rules of a formal meal known as “meal with a main eating table” 本膳料理 (*honzen ryôri*). According to the social status of the participants a meal consisted of a certain number of eating tables which were placed in front of each diner all at once. The social status of the diners also determined the number of dishes on each table and their composition. The standard pattern of a formal meal knew a “second eating table” 二の膳 (*ni no zen*) and a “third eating table” 三の膳 (*san no zen*) besides the main one (*honzen* 本膳). The highest number of eating tables was seven; however a meal of seven tables was reserved for the shogun (some of which served only decorative purposes, with the food to be eaten placed on the first three tables). A regional lord was allowed five and so on. Another way of expressing the scale of a meal was by referring to a combination of numbers. The highest form possible was “seven-five-three” 七五三 (*shichi go san*). This combination probably related to the number of dishes – rice, soup, and side dishes – served on the first three and most formal eating tables. With a decrease in status the numerical combination could change. Thus “five-five-three” or “five-three-three” are recorded, too. Warriors of lower rank were allowed to entertain guests with one soup and five side dishes (besides rice) as HARADA 1989: 7 states. But in the regulations of the regional lord Ikeda Mitsumasa 池田光政 (1609-82) for his retainers the number of side dishes allowed for warriors of the lowest status is as low as one soup and one side dish. *Ibid.*: 8. The general trend of times entailed a simplification of the meal and a reduction of soups and side dishes between the late Muromachi period and early Edo times.

155 The compound consists of *kô* meaning “fatty meat”, and *ryô* denoting “delicious millet”.

in the morning and evening is something bad. [315] In the morning, it is [in accordance with] nourishing life 養生 (*yôjô*)<sup>156</sup> to eat rice gruel 粥 (*kayu*)<sup>157</sup> rather than rice 飯 (*meshi*).<sup>158</sup> [316] At noontime, one should eat either two soups and five side dishes or one soup and three side dishes depending on [the rank of one's] house. [317] As for the evening meal 夜食 (*yashoku*),<sup>159</sup> one should eat something substantially lighter.

[318] In the countryside the rules/methods [for doing things] are quite different. [319] [Once] it happened that I was made to stay in a place called Imaizumi 今泉<sup>160</sup> at the foot of [Mount] Fuji and gave lectures on writings.<sup>161</sup>

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The expression is already used in the *Master Meng* 6A17.3; SBBY 6.12b; L 2: 420; LAU 1970: 169.

- 156 “Caring for/nourishing/nursing life” (*yangsheng* / *yôjô*) already occurs in literary documents prior to the earliest known medical texts proper from the 2nd century BCE. Master Meng employs the expression in one of two basic meanings: “taking care of the living”, especially one’s parents. SBBY 1.3b; L 2: 131; LAU 1970: 51. The second connotation can be ascertained in the *Master Zhuang* 莊子 (*Zhuangzi* / *Sôji*). The third chapter of this book attributed to the Daoist philosopher Zhuang Zhou 莊周 (traditionally believed to be a contemporary of Master Meng), bears the expression in its title. Here, the word takes on a self-referential note: “nourishing [one’s own] life”. The first paragraph of the text provides a short explanation of how this is to be achieved: “Make following the middle way 緣督 (*yuandu* / *entoku*) your leading thread. By this you will preserve [your] body, maintain [your] life, nourish your parents, and live [your allotted number of] years to the fullest.” SBBY 2.1ab. This abstract prescription could take the form of various techniques, among them the methods of those who employed a combination of breathing techniques with physical exercises in order to preserve the powers of the body and ensure longevity. The ideal of infusing oneself with breath and feeding one’s body thereon was carried over into medical literature. In the dietetic advice books of the Edo period, “nourishing life” took on more and more a practical bent, recommending a dietetic regimen as lying within the capability of all people to achieve a healthy and long life.
- 157 This is prepared by the same method of boiling as rice; only the amount of water used is larger.
- 158 Historically, the consumption of rice unmixed with other cereals was a prerogative confined to social groups of high status. Throughout Japanese history until modern times rice served as the main article of taxation. It is doubtful whether farmers until the Edo period frequently had the opportunity to eat rice. Even in Edo times when the production of rice increased substantially most people could not afford to eat pure rice. That holds true for farmers as well as city dwellers, including the lower or middle echelons of the ruling warriors. Rice mixed with wheat or millet, also known as “wheat rice” 麦飯 (*mugimeshi*) probably was the common kind of staple food and stayed so for many people until the middle of the 20th century. This should be borne in mind, although I have translated *meshi* with “rice” for convenience’s sake.
- 159 *Yashoku* can also refer to a meal eaten later in the evening after dinner. But here Seiryô uses the word to denote dinner itself.
- 160 The Edo period village of Imaizumi is now part of modern Fuji City 富士 in Shizuoka

[320] Imaizumi lies on the ancient Kamakura Highway 鎌倉街道 (Kamakura Kaidô),<sup>162</sup> running along both sides [of the road] there are rows of pine trees,<sup>163</sup> and up to Kamakura [this] is [part of] the course of the East Sea Highway 東海道 (Tôkai Dô).<sup>164</sup> [321] From Kyô[to] one travels until Yoshiwara 吉原,<sup>165</sup> and from Yoshiwara one heads up to Ômiya 大宮.<sup>166</sup> [322] From Ômiya [this] is a road that runs through Imaizumi, Ôsaka 呼阪, Jûrigi 十輪木, Gumizawa 茱萸沢, Takenoshita 竹ノ下,<sup>167</sup> and Odawara 小田原.<sup>168</sup> [322] It is

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Prefecture.

- 161 Seiryô's writings transmit a vivid impression of their author, both as a travelling scholar giving lectures on Chinese classics and counsellor to prosperous merchants and farmers who consulted him on business affairs.
- 162 This refers to the system of roads established during the Kamakura period (1192–1333), radiating out from Kamakura as the seat of shogunal power like the rays of the sun. Seiryô here has in mind the “Kyô[to] Kamakura To and Fro [Highway]” 京鎌倉往還 (Kyô Kamakura Ôkan) that ran along the Pacific coast for most of the way.
- 163 A first governmental order to plant trees along roads is already known from the year 759. That pine tree rows ran along both sides of highways can be ascertained from Edo period illustrations as well as official documents concerning the care for the trees. Engelbert Kaempfer, too, mentions trees along the roads that offer the traveller shadow and pleasure. KAEMPFER 2001, Vol. 1: 317.
- 164 The “East Sea Highway” between Edo and Kyoto was the most celebrated of the country's five major overland highways.
- 165 Yoshiwara was the 14th official “resting-place” 宿場 (*shikuba* or *shukuba*) (counting from the starting point Nihonbashi 日本橋 in Edo) along the “East Sea Highway”. It is part of the modern city of Fuji.
- 166 Documented as a village since the Kamakura period, Ômiya was also a way station along the road that led from the “East Sea Highway” north to the province of Kai. Today it is part of Fujinomiya City 富士宮 in Shizuoka Prefecture.
- 167 Not all of these localities could be ascertained with surety, but it seems that Seiryô speaks about places that lay along the old Ashigara Highway 足柄街道. This had been part of the official road connecting the Kansai and Kantô regions during the Heian period. It lost its status during the Kamakura period, when the official route of the “East Sea Highway” was moved nearer to the sea. However, it still functioned as a side track of this major overland route during the Edo period. Takenoshita is now part of modern Oyama 小山 Town, while Gumizawa was incorporated into Gotenba City 御殿場 (both in Shizuoka Prefecture). The other two places written with the characters Seiryô gives cannot even be found in the comprehensive KANAI 1993 (although there is an entry for 呼坂 with the reading Yobisaka in modern Yamaguchi Prefecture 山口). Kuranami surmises that Seiryô could have meant the village of Ôsaka 大阪 which now is part of Gotenba City. Instead of 十輪木 one finds a place called Jûrigi 十里木. This was the name of a village in the Edo period which now is part of Susono City 裾野 (Shizuoka Prefecture). It was also the name of another side track of the “East Sea Highway” which connected with the Ashigara Highway.

an ancient highway and magnificent. [323] The place where I stayed was a doctor's [home]. [324] There was also a detached reception room 離レ座敷 (*hanare zashiki*),<sup>169</sup> and it was an extremely large house. [325] The village has one thousand households. [326] In other words, [it] was the place known as the so-called one-thousand-beater-houses セコ千軒 (*seko senken*).<sup>170</sup> [327] [The inhabitants] had a family background [among those who] served as beaters at the times of Lord Yoritomo's 頼朝<sup>171</sup> hunts [near Mount] Fuji.<sup>172</sup> [328] Now, getting up in the morning, rice was served. [329] Since I (Tsuru) am someone from Edo 江戸者 (*Edomono*) having just risen [I] cannot eat rice. [330] However, starting after breakfast [I] lecture on books and since this lasts until noon, by all means [I] ought to eat a lot especially for breakfast. [331] Therefore I ate to the fill. [332] This breakfast consisted of tea-doused [rice] 茶ヅケ (*chazuke*),<sup>173</sup> there were only pickles 香ノモノ (*kô no mono*)<sup>174</sup>

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168 The modern city of Odawara was an important castle town and the ninth official station along the "East Sea Highway".

169 I have translated *zashiki* (the literal meaning "laying out seats", refers to the custom of distributing cushions for sitting on the wooden, or in later times, tatami-covered floor) as "reception room" since it is that part of the house where guests were entertained. Here, an outlying building detached from the main building is meant.

170 The word for "beaters" can be written with the characters 勢子, but also as 責子, 列子, or 狩子. A reference to the "thousand houses" was not found. Cf. also the following note.

171 Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–99), founder of the Kamakura shogunate, was famous for the "hunting competitions" 狩競 (*karikura*) which he held in the provinces of Shimotsuke and Shinano 信濃 (modern Nagano Prefecture), but also in Suruga, at the foot of Mount Fuji in 1193 – mentioned in the *Mirror of the East* 吾妻鏡 (*Azuma kagami*) and vividly described in the *Soga [Brothers'] Tale* 曾我物語, *Soga monogatari*. Cf. KT 32: 487–89; COGAN 1987: 202–19. For these occasions the population of the surrounding villages was mobilized as beaters. A reference to numbers is found in the *Azuma kagami* for the hunt on the plain of Nasu 那須 in Shimotsuke, where the text says that three lords provided a thousand beaters each. KT 32: 487.

172 I took the last two sentences as referring to the whole village and its households. As there is no grammatical subject, they could also be read as explanations for the background of Seiryô's host family.

173 Since Muromachi times the habit is known to eat rice after pouring hot water over it. In the Edo period, hot tea, too, was used for this purpose, a practice which is still common in modern Japan.

174 The practice to pickle vegetables and fruits in salt or the seasoning substance *hishio* 醬, a precursor of soy sauce and *miso* paste, is already documented for the Nara period. Later, other ingredients served the same purpose, *miso* paste and rice wine lees 糟 (*kasu*) among them. The last two were widely used in the Edo period.

[as a side dish], and it had no sorts of additional food 加飯 (*kahan*) [items].<sup>175</sup> [333] Now, as soon as [I] placed the chopsticks on the eating table 膳 (*zen*)<sup>176</sup> rice/food was served again. [334] This time it was magnificent rice/food, there was soup as well as a flat-[vessel dish] 平 (*hira*), a jar-shaped vessel [dish] 坪 (*tsubo*),<sup>177</sup> and a grilled dish 焼物 (*yakimono*).<sup>178</sup> [335] [I] asked myself what on earth this had to mean, but [my] stomach was completely full and [I] could not eat. [336] Therefore, [I] ate [only] a little. [337] After [I] finished lecturing on books there again was rice/food. [338] It was again tea-doused [rice]. [339] I (Tsuru) thought that [people here] made breakfast magnificent [but] simplified lunch. [340] Since upon eating lunch [I] again lecture on books and this lasts until dusk, [I] ought to eat [enough] to avoid becoming faint from hunger. [341] [Thus] I again ate to the fill, [but] as soon as [I] placed the chopsticks on the eating table: again a main eating table, and this time it was an eating table arrangement 膳部 (*zenbu*)<sup>179</sup> even more magnificent than breakfast. [342] I (Tsuru) again had a full stomach and could not eat much – [which] was a really vexing/regrettable thing. [343] When later [I] asked the host, he said that [the meal served] upon rising was called “small tea [dish]” 茶ノコ (*cha no ko*) while [the one] before lunch was known as “small lunch” 小昼飯 (*ko hirumeshi*). [344] Altogether [people there] eat rice/food five times [a day]. [345] In the evening, too, when it gets a little later, one eats rice/food again. [346] When [I] told him that in Edo and elsewhere people – however much they might work – do not eat more than three times [my] host was very surprised and said, “That cannot be.”

[347] Imaizumi’s eating five times or six times is [an instance] of having acquired a habit. [348] That Kyō[to], Osaka, Edo and other [places] do not eat more than three times, [too], is [a case] of having acquired a habit. [349]

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175 A full meal was made up of “rice” and “soup” as basic components and a number of “side dishes”. Here, *kahan* perhaps refers to these “side dishes”.

176 Made from lacquered wood the “eating table” either was shaped like a serving tray on four feet or took the form of a box-like construction, with decorative openings on the sides or with drawers according to various types. Eating tables were placed individually before each participant who sat on the tatami floor.

177 The kind of vessel hints at the food served. *Hira*, for example, contains different ingredients (mostly vegetables) boiled together, while a *tsubo* was used for different vegetables – fresh or shortly stirred in boiling water – dressed with, e.g., white *miso* paste.

178 This expression generally refers to fish which is grilled over an open fire and served without addition of a sauce.

179 This means the kinds of food (“side dishes”) served on the “eating table”.

[Among] these [common] people each man for himself is careless and he has no insight [into the manner of things]. [350] For the people of the three capital cities 三都 (*santo*)<sup>180</sup> to eat five times [a day] would be a distressing thing. [351] [And] for the people of Imaizumi eating [only] three times would likewise be something distressing. [352] It is not a matter of this being a boon and the other a misery. [353] It has become a habit, and [people] are heedless [of it]. [354] As everything becomes possible depending on how they acquire habits, the way of nourishing/shaping 養ナヒヨウ (*yashinai yô*) the people is something interesting. [355] To suddenly say, “You have to do it this way!” and to exert pressure is bad; it does not work. [356] If one gradually lets [the people] acquire a [corresponding] habit, everything becomes possible.

[357] The customs of the people of Ezo 蝦夷,<sup>181</sup> when considered from [the perspective of] Kyô[to], are something completely incomprehensible. [358] The barbarians/Ezo have no [differentiation between] warriors, peasants, artisans, and merchants. [359] They earn a living each after his own fancy. [360] When getting up in the morning they take bow and arrows, go into the mountains, shoot a bird, and eat [it]. [361] If they cannot get a bird, they go to the sea, and shoot a fish. [362] If they cannot get a fish either, they go without eating. [363] Considered from [the viewpoint] of [civilized] men 人間 (*ningen*) this is something completely incomprehensible. [364] Someone asked me (Tsuru) for the reasons. [365] In reply I (Tsuru) said: [366] “If one thinks that in general men, wild birds and animals, as well as herbs and trees are entirely different, no wisdom can be squeezed [from such a view]. [367] To think that court nobles and ministers 公卿大夫 (*kugyô taifu*),<sup>182</sup> merchants

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180 The most important cities of Edo Japan: Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka.

181 Originally, in Japanese antiquity the word *ezo* (consisting of the characters 蝦 – *xia / ka*, *ebi*, meaning “shrimp”, “lobster” – and 夷 – *yi / i*, *ebisu*, the Chinese word for the barbarians living in the East) referred to the inhabitants of northeastern Japan, that kept their independence from the imperial court in central Japan. While since the middle of the 7th century the characters 蝦夷 had been used frequently, between the 9th and 15th centuries the character 夷 alone with the readings *emishi*, *ebisu*, and *ezo* appears more often. At the same time, the word often seems to have referred to the Andô 安東 family in the Northeast of Japan’s main island, but it also was used for the inhabitants of this region and Hokkaidô, as well as these territories themselves. However, during the Middle Ages an identification of *ezo* with the Ainu population of Hokkaidô proceeded, too, and in Edo times the word generally was used to denote the Ainu while it (or the slight modification “place of the Ezo” 蝦夷地, *Ezo chi*) also was the name for the island of Hokkaido.

182 The Chinese expression *dafu* (literally “great man”) during Zhou times signified nobles

商賈 (*shôko*), and beggars 乞食 (*kojiki*) are entirely different is bad [thinking]. [368] [Rather], one [should] grasp them in one, with all being men – from court nobles through to beggars. [369] Things possessing vital energy 氣 (*qi / ki*),<sup>183</sup> from human beings to herbs and trees, one again [should] grasp in one bundle. [370] Let us reckon 算用 (*sanyô*) them in one bundle. [371] First, when the wild birds get up in the morning what should they eat? [372] If, for example, snow is falling they have to do without eating for two or three days. [373] They are accustomed to this by habit. [374] Among wild birds there are no grounds for regularly fixed matters like breakfast, lunch, and dinner to exist. [375] When the barbarians / Ezo go to a far place, it is the case that they set out after sticking two or three dried salmons into their belts.<sup>184</sup> [376] With [nothing but] this they go wherever it may be. [377] If they are tired they sleep among the tree roots. [378] [Afterwards] they get up and go on. [379a] [I] think they are closer to wild animals than to men.” [379b] [This is the way I] explained [these matters to him].

[380] Generally, things possessing vital energy are all the same [in that] they are beings that have to drink and eat. [381] [Among them] the one whose nature is most frail, the most delicate [concerning] drinking and eating, and the most precarious is man.<sup>185</sup> [382] Among men, the most extreme ones [in these respects] are court nobles, ministers, and men of ability 士 (*shi*).<sup>186</sup>

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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”, the highest ranking retainers of a regional lord.

183 Nathan Sivin calls *qi* an “untranslatable term” and enumerates a “multitude of phenomena” for which the word was used before 300 BCE: “air, breath, smoke, mist, fog, the shades of the dead, cloud forms, more or less everything that is perceptible but intangible; the physical vitalities, whether inborn or derived from food and breath; cosmic forces and climatic influences that affect health; and groupings of seasons, flavors, colors, musical modes, and much else.” LLOYD, SIVIN 2002: 196. Here, it refers to that which animates living beings. Therefore I chose the translation “vital energy”.

184 Literally it says “they insert two or three dried salmons in their hips”.

185 A more faithful translation for *hito to tateru* 人ト立ル would perhaps be “... is constituted / represented by man”.

186 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 a “talented person”. The word meant the group of lower noblemen or “gentlemen” 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*

[383] After them [follow] merchants, artisans and peasants, beggars and non-men 非人 (*hinin*),<sup>187</sup> [while] below the non-men there are dogs, there are birds, there are herbs, and there are trees. [384] Grouped in this way they are all beings that live by drinking and eating, and they are alike in that they all delight in eating their fill, and grieve/worry when going hungry. [385] To be precise, the ones who get their drink and food the easiest are the trees. [386] If only rain and dew fall down from Heaven, then it suffices [for them]. [387] They are the strongest. [388] Even when rain and dew do not fall for ten days or twenty, they are not distressed. [389] Therefore, they are beings for whom griefs/worries are few, and beings for whom delights are numerous. [390] Second are wild birds and wild animals 禽獸 (*kinjū*). [391] For them, too, even though they have to do without drink and food for one or two days, this is nothing serious. [392] Next [in line] are non-men and beggars. [393] Even though they do not eat for about a day at a time they too are of an easy/undisturbed mind. [394] They might also end up eating breakfast toward evening. [395] Again, it may also occur that they eat breakfast three times in a row.<sup>188</sup> [396] That they do not fall sick even then [shows that] they are strong. [397] They do not have any griefs/worries. [398] Next come peasants, artisans, and merchants. [399] They are considerably weak beings. [400] If they sleep for one night among tree roots, they immediately catch a cold, colic 疝氣 (*senki*)<sup>189</sup> occurs, [for] they are beings with whom griefs/worries

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uses *bushi* 武士 (“gentleman in arms”) or *buke* 武家 (“military house”) when he speaks of the warriors.

187 Among the different kinds on “ignominious people” 賤民 (*senmin*) that underwent a tighter process of organization and control during the Edo period, the “non-men” constituted one group. The expression *hinin* already appeared in the 9th century, and members of this group included beggars, entertainers, and criminals – although it is not easy to clearly demarcate the various groups of stigmatized people. Thus, *hinin* in a broader sense could comprise the group known as *kojiki* or beggars, while in a more narrow sense the “beggars” were distinguished from the “non-men” (who besides other walks of life could be seen begging, too). Some people were *hinin* by birth while others were classified as such (sometimes only temporarily) as the result of punishments or through the loss of home and the means of life.

188 The text seems to suggest eating the same meal as in the morning three times a day.

189 The names *sen* 疝 and *shaku* 癩 often appear in Edo period documents. Generally, they refer to ailments accompanied by strong pain in the areas of breast, belly, and abdomen. TACHIKAWA 1998: 55; NAKAJIMA 2005: 161. A description in a European language can already be found in KAEMPFER 1982: 423–24. Nearly all diseases affecting the organs according to the popular medical knowledge were diagnosed as 疝, 癩, or as *shakuju* 積聚, a variant of the latter. TACHIKAWA 1998: 57. It is nearly impossible to say with certainty which modern disease name corresponded to the group of symptoms identified

are numerous and pains クルシミ (*kurushimi*)<sup>190</sup> few. [401] Next [in line] come men of ability, ministers and nobles. [402] Court nobles cannot even walk for one *ri* 里.<sup>191</sup> [403] If they were to wear straw sandals their feet would bloat and hurt at once. [404] Pouring tea over cold rice and eating it together with parched salt ヤキシホ (*yakishio*)<sup>192</sup> is beyond them, and [let us suppose that] they eat dry-cooked タキホシ (*takihoshi*)<sup>193</sup> new rice 新米 (*shin-mai*).<sup>194</sup> [405] They would immediately fall seriously ill. [406] Their frailty cannot be expressed in words.<sup>195</sup> [407] If circumstances 肌加減 (*hada kagen*) differ only a little [from what they are used to], it will hit them immediately. [408] It has to be said that with them griefs/worries are numerous while joys are few. [409] All this is [due to] having acquired [certain] habits.

[410] With respect to acquiring habits, one has to think/consider that the lower one goes griefs/worries become less and joys grow more numerous. [411] Regarding the growing used to the procedures of conducting [life] 行儀 (*gyôgi*)<sup>196</sup> the nearer one draws to wild birds and animals the less griefs/worries

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by these words. The same expressions can also be ascertained in the medical literature from the *Ishinpô* in the 10th to the *Byômei ikai* in the 17th century, but the views of the learned cannot necessarily be set in one with the common usage found in the records left by the common observer without medical training. Ibid. Still, the *Ishinpô* and others explained *sen* as a malady characterized by abdominal pains, in case of the former caused by “cold wind” entering the belly. NAKAJIMA 2005: 109, 124. One of the phenomena known as *sen* consisted of pain due to tapeworms and other parasites. TACHIKAWA 1998: 58–59. Pains of the waist, too, went by this name. Ibid.: 59. The combination of *sen* with a cold climate appears in the *Ishinpô* as one of the “seven *sen*”. Ibid.: 60–61. Problems with the liver or the kidneys as well were known as *sen*. Ibid.: 62. The same is true for diseases of the urinary passages, hernia, and testicles. NAKAJIMA 2005: 161.

190 Judging from the context of this passage *kurushimi* is certainly a mistake for “joys” *tanoshimi*.

191 At the beginning of the 8th century, one Japanese *ri* had been fixed at roughly 540 metres. Some years later, in 713, 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 ordered markers to be set on highways at intervals of this length, standardization was still not achieved. This took place in 1869, when the measure equal to about 3,927 metres was made official.

192 White salt that has been roasted or parched in an earthen vessel.

193 This refers to the method of preparing rice by boiling it in water until it becomes soft and the water has completely vaporized.

194 The word means this year’s newly harvested rice.

195 The text says *iu bekarazu*. Minamoto suggests *hanashi ni naranai* as a modern correspondence which would translate is “to be beneath mention”. NM 23: 446.

become. [412] Therefore, because forms 形 (*katachi*)<sup>197</sup> have their respective tasks 業 (*waza*), there is nothing to be done about it. [413] Wherever one indulges in those things that one lets one's heart indulge in, it turns out as one likes [in the end]. [414a] Therefore, when [those] above manipulate<sup>198</sup> the hearts of the people, is not an extremely [good] understanding 心得 (*kokoroe*) necessary as to how the people let their hearts indulge? [414b] [After all] once the people's hearts have grown used [to something] they will be surprised even by things that should cause no surprise. [415] [But] it [also] happens that they are not surprised at all by things that should come as a surprise. [416] All this is [due to] having acquired habits. [417] When a noble person does [something] in the same manner as a vulgar person, is this not something out of the ordinary? [418a] However, if one were now to say, "As for aiming at [conditions] where one has nothing that causes oneself grief/worry and where delights are numerous that means that one has to become near unto beggars and non-men", all people would be surprised. [418b] However, this is [only] because people cannot shift their views, since they all have acquired habits and their eyes are firmly fixed to just one place.

[419a] Because nourishing/shaping the people means to reflect on the people and [entails] a design/stratagem for turning a clever people into a gentle/obedient オトナシヒ one and a luxury-prone people into a frugal people, one will not understand them if one does not completely make one's eyes into something different and look [at matters] after detaching them [first]. [419b] For this reason one has to look without fixing the eyes firmly [on one angle of view only]. [420] If one completely detaches one's eyes and [then] looks [afresh at things], the court nobles are distressed/suffering beings, precarious and frail, while one can consider non-men and beggars as carefree beings, strong and at ease ヤスンジタル.<sup>199</sup> [421] With accustomed eyes one is not surprised by things that should [otherwise] cause surprise, [while] in case of words to which the ears are not used one is surprised even though one is told [something]

196 In modern Japanese, *gyōgi* is used in the meaning of "behaviour", "manners". The word is part of *gyōgi no nareko* 行儀ノナレコ and cannot be rendered by these modern correspondences. I therefore chose a literal translation while Kuranami glosses the expression as "habits of life" 生活習慣 (*seikatsu shūkan*). NST 44: 308.

197 The word here seems to refer to the different categories of existence enumerated before, from plants to nobles.

198 Seiryō uses the word *ayatsuru* which translates as "handle", "maneuver", "manage", or "manipulate".

199 *Yasunjiru* means "to be peaceful", "to be at ease", or "to make peaceful".

conforming to reason/principle. [422] However, in this lies something extremely good. [423] Because one is surprised by things that one is not used to this is interesting. [424] At present, the people consider frugality as something unusual/strange/rare and because they are not used to it they feel suspicion/wonder. [425a] Since luxury is something they are used to they do not consider it unusual/strange/rare and are not surprised [by it]. [425b] [But] if one, therefore, encourages this people, urges them on to frugality, and frugality becomes ordinary, they will undoubtedly consider luxury as something disgusting and be surprised/dumbfounded by it. [426] The behaviour 行ぎ (*gyōgi*) of the people depends on its manipulation by [those] above. [427] The heart of the people depends on encouragement by [those] above.

[428] One should provide some proof [that people] become used to frugality and are not surprised/dumbfounded [by it]. [429] Because the present is a world of such luxury, everything one sees has become luxurious, but above all things are numerous that are frugal and that one would expect the people to view suspiciously yet do not view with suspicion at all. [430] [One example] is □ the Great Administration's 大府 (*taifu*)<sup>200</sup> \*hawking grounds 御鷹野 (*on takano*).<sup>201</sup> [431] In younger years, I (Tsuru) rendered service as a Confucian scholar to the lords of the Wild Goose Reception Room 雁ノ間 (*Kari no ma*),<sup>202</sup> and because [these lords] are on the Front \*Gate Guard 大手ノ御門番

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200 In the Edo period, the word was an honorific expression referring, as in this case, to the shogunal government (or the regional lords' administrations), but it had its roots in Chinese antiquity where it meant the governmental office responsible for financial affairs (*dafu* or "Great Storehouse").

201 As could already be noticed in the case of Minamoto no Yoritomo, hunting was a favourite pastime of the warrior elite. This is also true for the Edo period. Hunting grounds were established in diverse localities – the shogunal hunting grounds, however, tended to lie in the vicinity of Edo to make a quick return to the castle possible – and were clearly marked on the outskirts; they were supervised by officials and protected by rules against trespassing, poaching, and disturbing animals through loud noises in the neighbourhood (such as those produced by house building or the firing of rifles for driving away, e.g., wild boars from the fields). Hunting with hawks enjoyed the highest prestige, and hunting grounds were also known as "hawking places" 鷹場 (*takaba*).

202 On days of audience with the shogun or when they attended on him, regional lords and high retainers were placed in different reception rooms according to their family standings, income, and office. The names of these rooms often derived from their decoration. The "Wild Goose Reception Room" – decorated with paintings of these birds – was reserved for close allies of the shogunal house among the regional lords with territories of 30,000 to 150,000 *koku* who did not serve in an office at present. Lords of this group, among whom the candidates for high-ranking positions such as the "seniors", or the governors of Kyoto and Osaka were recruited, held themselves ready for duty in this room on a

(*Ôte no go monban*) of the □ Western Donjon 西ノ丸 (Nishinomaru)<sup>203</sup> on days of \*excursions [of the shogun] 御成 (*onari*) to far away places,<sup>204</sup> [my] old lord<sup>205</sup> served in person at the gate all day long. [432] At the time of [the shôgun's] entry into the castle with the Lord Councillors 相公 (*shôkô*)<sup>206</sup> of his entourage in the van, as soon as the paraphernalia/insignia 道具 (*dôgu*) of the Lord Councillors came into view one announced [the approach] from \*gate to \*gate, calling “Bow down, bow down!”, and calling “Hold your places!”, and inside as well as outside the gates everything was tranquil and solemn, everyone was respectful and did not seem to draw a breath. [433] It was something magnificent [to behold]. [434] Now, when the Lord Councillors and the host of attendants in a dignified and grave manner deigned to step out of their palanquins, they were [clad in] cotton half-coats 羽織 (*haori*),<sup>207</sup>

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daily system of rotation, and were also known as *tsumeshû* 詰衆 or – literally – the “stuffed-in group” (but should be understood as “on-duty group” in opposition to other regional lords without office who visited the castle only on special days). Cf. also n. 203.

- 203 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. As its name implies, the “Western Donjon” lay on the western side of the “Main Donjon” 本丸 (Honmaru). It was the place where the shogunal heir lived and where many officials were stationed. The “Western Donjon Front Gate” (to be distinguished from the “Front Gate” 大手門 or *Ôtemon* of the “Main Donjon”, another prestigious entrance along the inner circumference) was one of the castle’s 32 gates and counted among its major ones.
- 204 *Onari* or “honourable event” refers to the excursion of a high ranking person such as a member of the imperial family or the shogun and/or his visit at the castle or mansion of one of his retainers. The shogun’s trip to Ieyasu’s shrine in Nikkô or an excursion on a hunt, too, are examples of *onari*.
- 205 Seiryô’s remark probably refers to the time when he served the Aoyama family as Confucian scholar for seven years from 1782. While at Seiryô’s birth they had been lords of the Miyazu 宮津 domain (in modern Kyoto Prefecture) with 48,000 koku, they had been transferred to Gujô 郡上 (in modern Gifu Prefecture 岐阜) in 1758. Seiryô’s period of service falls in the time of Aoyama Yoshisada (Yukisada) 青山幸完 (1752–1808) who had succeeded to the lordship after his father Yoshimichi 幸道 (1725–79) had retired in 1775.
- 206 In ancient China, the word served as an honorific name for “Minister” / “Prime Minister” 宰相 (*zaixiang* / *saishô*). In Heian period Japan, it was also used as the corresponding “Chinese name” 唐名 (*karana*) for “counsellors” 参議 (*sangi*) – which was not a distinct office in the true sense – sitting on the deliberating committee. Here, as Minamoto suggests, *shôkô* refers to the “seniors”. NM 23: 447.
- 207 As the name implies, this is an outer garment similar to a coat of knee-length worn over

cotton short-coats ハンテン,<sup>208</sup> and cotton leggings モヽヒキ.<sup>209</sup> [435] Although from gate to gate [people] squatted tightly [to the ground] and crouched [low] in obeisance, daring to say so, it was on the whole something peculiar. [436] An attire of cotton half-coats, short-coats, and leggings corresponds among human beings to the clothing of the most vulgar men. [437] It is the apparel of the intermediary [servants] 中間 (*chûgen*)<sup>210</sup> and the lightfooted. [438] Although this should be something likely to greatly surprise/amaze the people, they are not surprised in the least. [439] That the men, too, who squatted down and crouched [low] in obeisance, crouched [low] in obeisance to persons in the apparel of intermediary [servants] and the lightfooted and thought nothing of it, [shows that] there was not even one who considered it frugal although there is nothing as extremely frugal as this. [440] The reason is that they are used to it. [441] Now, if one talks about everyday [occurrences], the \*excursion of the Lord Councillors for \*road company 相公御同道御下り (*shôkô on dôdô on kudari*)<sup>211</sup> is a splendid affair. [442] The \*castle is [totally] quiet, and [everything] is in such good order that it is already fearsome. [443] However, the Lord Councillors all are [clad in] a \*top and bottom [dress] 上下 (*kamishimo*)<sup>212</sup> [made] of China São Thomé 唐棧留 (*tô zantome*).<sup>213</sup>

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a *kimono*. One of its characteristics is that its collar is folded outside.

208 This, too, is a shorter outer garment worn over a *kimono*.

209 “Leggings” were worn as a trouser-like under garment below the kimono and reached to the ankles.

210 In the warrior hierarchy, *chûgen* held the lowest rank, positioned between the “lightfooted” above them and the “small men” 小人 (*kobito*) below, who performed menial tasks and did not participate in battle. The “intermediaries” were only allowed to wear a short sword, they carried the weapons and the equipment of their lords, performed guard duties and duties as servants.

211 On his excursions, the shogun was accompanied by an entourage composed of high ranking personalities – “seniors” and other high office holders, but in correspondence to the occasion by regional lords of the highest group (such as the heads of the collateral houses) as well, as for example on the procession to Nikkô.

212 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 (cf. n. 112). The *kamishimo* was worn over a small-sleeve kimono 小袖 (*kosode*) and became part of the formal attire from the end of the Muromachi period.

213 *Tô* in this context does not only mean China but could refer to other East Asian countries as well and denote everything of foreign origin. The example of *tô zantome* makes this clear as *zantome* corresponds to the Portuguese port of São Tomé (modern Chennai; former Madras) on the Eastern coast of India from where striped cotton cloth had come to Japan since the Muromachi period. Later, cloth of similar design was woven in Japan

[444] São Thomé is cotton. [445] It is a top and bottom [dress made] of cotton. [446] A top and bottom [dress] is a straight hanging [formal attire] 直垂 (*hitatare*).<sup>214</sup> [447] It is an outer garment. [448] A cotton outer garment is typical of the vulgar people. [449] Among the clothes of intermediary [servants] and the lightfooted it corresponds to the clothes of the intermediaries. [450] Because again one is accustomed that no one looks up at the honourable persons costumed in the clothes of intermediaries and that [instead] all crouch [low] in obeisance and bask in the \*awe-inspiring spirit 威靈 (*irei*) [of the Councillors],<sup>215</sup> it is not [considered] strange. [451] Generally spoken, although thus it is not [ordinarily] an \*apparel to which ten thousand people altogether crouch [low] in obeisance, because one is used to it, there is not even one person who feels suspicion [about it].

[452] This is proof that if one encourages the people to frugality the people for their part carelessly/heedlessly are encouraged and do not [even] know it. [453] It is proof that even if one encourages a lazy people to turn into a [hard]-working people, they are carelessly/heedlessly encouraged and do not [even] know it. [454] There are still more extreme cases. [455] I (Tsuru) have a student from Kawachi 河内<sup>216</sup> and frequently went to Kawachi. [456] This means passing through the castle town of Yodo 淀.<sup>217</sup> [457] In Yodo, in the quarter north of the great bridge there are the company mansions 組屋敷 (*kumi yashiki*).<sup>218</sup> [458] During the summer, they engage in the training of musket shooting.<sup>219</sup> [459] Behind the longhouses 長屋 (*nagaya*)<sup>220</sup> of the

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as well and circulated under the same name. To distinguish the imported product from the domestic cloth it was affixed with *tô* to make its foreign origin clear.

- 214 The *hitatare* was a robe-like garment with broad sleeves worn along with skirt-trousers. While in the Heian period it had served as working clothes, it developed into a formal attire during Muromachi times especially for warriors of high rank.
- 215 High office goes together with special charisma, too, and the higher the incumbent stands within the hierarchy of warrior houses the greater it is, with the shogun and the “seniors” at the top. How this charisma was considered is aptly characterized by Seiryô’s (of course fictitious) example of the personal chopsticks of a regional lord and their effect on the peasants presented with them. Cf. [80].
- 216 The old province of Kawachi corresponds to the eastern parts of modern Osaka Prefecture.
- 217 Yodo was an important castle town and riverport during the Edo period situated at the confluence of the Uji 宇治, Katsura 桂, and Kizu 木津 rivers. Now it is part of the Fushimi 伏見 district of modern Kyoto. Since 1723 until the end of the Edo period, the Yodo domain was ruled by the Inaba 稲葉 family (102,000 *koku*).
- 218 Cf. n. 221.
- 219 Part of the shogun’s retainers were trained in musket shooting. The regional lords, too, in

company like-hearted [warriors] 同心 (*dōshin*)<sup>221</sup> all is shooting ground. [460] Although [people] shoot their muskets with reverberations as if thunder was falling/roaring, while the babies of [these] company like-hearted [warriors] are taking their afternoon nap, these babies sleep peacefully without being startled. [461] Even though this is something completely beyond understanding, they are used to it. [462] The human heart/mind growing used [to things] is something strange. [463] It accords with the feelings of men that the day one grows used to it one does not think strange anymore what is really strange, one does not consider big anymore what is really big, not painful/distressing anymore what is really painful/distressing. [464] Therefore it also accords with human feelings that one does not regard anymore comfortable/easy what is really comfortable/easy, not anymore thankworthy/fortunate what really is thankworthy/fortunate.

[465a] At present, the people are used to peaceful [government] 昇平 (*shōhei*),<sup>222</sup> and they have forgotten how fortunate this is [465b] Although they enjoy warm clothes and plenty to eat 煖衣飽食 (*dani hōshoku*)<sup>223</sup> they do

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correspondence to their income had to upkeep a certain number of retainers and in times of war had to field them organized in diverse military units – musketeers among them.

220 These characterized Japanese urban areas since the time a central government developed and survived right into the 20th century. They can best be explained as one-storey, compartmentalized communal, wood-frame rowhouses. The typical layout in the Edo period especially in quarters where merchants lived consisted of a front “longhouse” of larger proportions facing a public road and a poorer back “longhouse” facing a private back alley with shared sanitary (toilet) facilities. The typical living compartment measured about 2.7 m at the front and ca. 3.6 m in depth and consisted of two rooms at the most with a small cooking unit at the entrance.

221 *Dōshin* were warriors of relative low rank who – if one takes the example of the shogunal government – served various “magistrates” 奉行 (*bugyō*) or in guard units and performed administrative as well as police functions. Their income mostly amounted to thirty sacks of hulled rice, a “two-person-ration” (for two retainers/servants equaling another ten sacks), and they were given quarter in the so-called “company mansions”. It was a common practice of the shogunal as well as the regional administration to provide lodgings for retainers belonging to the same military or administrative unit in one and the same place. In case of the shogunal retainers such “mansions” could vary in size but mostly they lay around 330 m<sup>2</sup>. It is not unheard of that some of the “like-hearted” rented part of their houses to relatives or even merchants to increase their income. “Like-hearted” retainers in the service of regional lordships, as Seiryō’s account suggests, also could be lodged in “longhouses” build within the precincts of the lord’s mansion in Edo or in his castle town.

222 *Shōhei* means that the state prospers and society is at peace.

223 The locus classicus for this expression can be found in *Master Xun* 荀子 (*Xunzi* / *Junshi*), chapter “Honour and Shame” 榮辱 (*Rongru* / *Eijoku*). SBBY 2.9b.

not consider it comfortable – this is [because] they are used to it and have become inured [to this state of affairs]. [466] Thus, the people complain even about [such trifling things as] raising and lowering [their] chopsticks. [467] They bewail shortages. [468] Bearing grudges is a common occurrence [with them]. [469] The manner of [those] above used to manipulate [the people] is important in this respect. [470] The affairs of the realm 天下 (*tenka*)<sup>224</sup> are something I (Tsuru) do not know. [471] That the people in the castle towns utter complaints, bewail shortages, and bear grudges is due to the castle lords' manipulation being wrong. [472] Since they think that if the people utter complaints it would be well to take pains so that the people will not complain, this is a calculation which loosens/unfeters the people.<sup>225</sup> [473] This is a big mistake. [474] If one loosens [things], loose [conditions] will again become common. [475] If [loose conditions] become common, the people will again utter complaints. [476] This means to let the people advance [in strength / on the path of luxury]. [477] They advance from today to tomorrow. [478] One thinks that they probably will not utter complaints [anymore] if one lets [the people] wear silk cloth – [after all] they wore clothes from cotton up until now – and [therefore] lets them wear silk cloth. [479] They grow used to silk cloth, and again the people complain. [480] To take pains that the people do not utter complaints [anymore] – this is completely impossible. [481] If asked for the reason it is because one lets them advance. [482] Since one lets them advance further and further beyond, the people at all times will have the feeling of insufficiency.

[483] It would be good instead to take pains to let the people retreat backwards. [484] If one makes [them retreat] back and further back, the people will grow used to the backward direction. [485] Once [the people] have grown used to it, again there will not be anything distressing. [486] However, this does not mean to say “Retreat backwards!” with the help of ordinances. [487] It means that the people are going backwards without

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224 The Chinese concept of “realm” or “[all] under Heaven” (*tianxia*) was adopted in Japan and used to refer to the country in its entirety. As discussing the politics of the whole realm could be seen as meddling in (or even criticism of) the dealings of the shogunal government and lead to repression and punishment, Seiryō takes care to aver continuously that he is ignorant of nationwide politics and only wants to comment on affairs on a regional level.

225 “Loosens the people” is a literal translation for *tami o yurumeru* 民ヲユルメル. In Seiryō's opinion, dealing with the people too leniently and listening to their complaints only will make matters worse and governing more difficult as the people do not know any limits to their clamouring.

knowing it. [488] Because up until now the people have carelessly/heedlessly advanced, it will not go well if the people do not carelessly/heedlessly retreat. [489] By thinking it pitiable<sup>226</sup> that the people utter complaints they gradually have further and further advanced. [490] Having gradually further and further advanced they again will advance further and further. [491] One should look at how far they have come. [492] They probably will go until [reaching] the place of the court nobles. [493] Again with gradually retreating one should also look at how far they will go by further and further retreating. [494] Probably they will go until [they reach] the place of herbs and trees. [495] As for the goal, one decides to keep going until [the people reach] the place of herbs and trees.

[496] Since herbs and trees are beings of great comfort and no griefs/worries one decides on their place as the aim [for pushing back the people]. [497] This is the opposite of the aim up until now. [498] As for the aim up until now, since the people complain even though they gradually advanced further and further – much more magnificent, much more delicious drink and food, much more beautiful garments – there is no doubt that they would still complain even though the people all become court nobles, the intermediary [servants] ride in palanquins and the carpenters receive [territories worth] 100,000 *koku*. [499a] Moreover, when these intermediary [servants] ride in palanquins, who will shoulder these palanquins! [499b] The people who shoulder them again will utter complaints. [500] In this manner [social standards] ascend and ascend, and it will never happen that the bearing of grudges ceases. [501] Therefore, when it comes to the question whether the people will stop complaining, however wealthy and noble one may make them, because wealth and noble rank will become common, they again will utter complaints, and therefore it is beyond doubt that they always will bear grudges against oneself. [502] For this reason, if at such a time one were to ask how to habituate them so that they are open to encouragement, to ask what to do in order to habituate them and what to do so that they retreat, then one should look at men who made peaceful [government] last.

[503] There is no difference to the present [conditions] that the Supreme Ancestor 高祖 (Gaozu) of the Han [dynasty]<sup>227</sup> took the realm and Xiao He

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226 In the text it says シヨウシ (*shōshi*). Written with Chinese characters this would be 笑止, meaning something out of the ordinary, “to be distressing” or “pitiable”.

227 “Supreme Ancestor” is the posthumous title the founder of a new dynasty was given. Here Liu Bang 劉邦 (256? to 195 BCE) is meant.

蕭何<sup>228</sup> [thereupon] established the devices for governing and established them in completeness. [504] Xiao He had bad relations with Cao Shen 曹參,<sup>229</sup> and they rubbed each other the wrong way. [505] However, when Xiao He was dying, and Emperor Hui 惠帝<sup>230</sup> asked him, “What do you think about Cao Shen as your successor?”, [Xiao He] answered, “[Luckily] Your Majesty owns [a splendid man such as] him.”<sup>231</sup> [506] That Xiao He recommended Cao Shen and died being at ease [with regard to his succession], too, bespeaks a formidable farsightedness. [507] Now, when Cao Shen took over the government, first of all, starting with the officials of low rank, he removed all officials who possessed wisdom without exception. [508] [Then] he chose people who were lazy and useless and appointed them as officials, he did everything just as Xiao He had done, and did not take care of the government at all, not even one edict did he promulgate, [but] without letting himself be heard he idled [away]. [509] He did not busy himself about anything. [510] When Emperor Hui viewed this with suspicion, briefed Cao Shen’s son carefully and had him remonstrate with Cao Shen, the latter got mighty angry and whipped his son. [511] “The affairs of the realm are nothing the likes of you know anything about,” commented he, just held a drinking bout and did not say anything [further] at all.<sup>232</sup> [512] [However] the realm was quiet and peaceful, and during Cao Shen’s lifetime nothing happened. [513] This had to do with Cao Shen’s governing the people. [514] He encouraged the people to quiet down, so that they became calm and their hearts were no longer agitated. [515] If Cao Shen had lived a long life and Emperor Hui had not died young one of the most notable governments of former and present times would have risen.

[516] Cao Shen was a scholar belonging to the school of the Old Master 老子 (Laozi / Rôshi).<sup>233</sup> He had a liking for the writings of the Old Master and

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228 Xiao He (? to 193 BCE) together with Zhang Liang 張良 (? to 189 BCE) and Han Xin 韓信 (? to 196 BCE) is one of the “Three Heroes” 三傑 (*sanjie / sanketsu*) who helped Liu Bang in founding the Han dynasty and implementing its institutions. Cf. *Records of the Court Historian* 史記 (*Shiji / Shiki*), SBBY 8.23a.

229 Cao Shen (? to 190 BCE) was another of the “Supreme Ancestor’s” trusted ministers and followed Xiao He as prime minister.

230 Emperor Hui (210 to 188 BCE) was the second ruler of the Former Han Dynasty and reigned from 195 to 188 BCE.

231 This episode is recounted in the *Records of the Court Historian*. *Shiji*, SBBY 53.5a.

232 *Ibid.*, SBBY 54.5b–6a.

233 “School of the Old Master” refers to the teachings of (philosophical) Daoism.

governed depending on him. [517] He intended to take the people back towards earliest antiquity. [518] Later conducts of government all tried to take the people towards splendidness/affluence 立派 (*rippa*).<sup>234</sup> [519] Cao Shen's style was a style to put the people in the place of herbs and trees. [520] Because later conducts of government advanced the people towards the place of court nobles, the people eventually came to begrudge [things]. [521] They have the feeling of deficiency. [522] [And] they complain. [523] Cao Shen's style had a flavour of letting the people be careless/heedless and forget to utter complaints. [524] It had the flavour of [letting the people] forget to bear grudges. [525] Cao Shen in his heart probably was agitated and thought all sort of things. [526] He [certainly] had misgivings [too]. [527] [But] although there will have been things that gave him a shudder, it looks like he endured things over there [while] remaining silent and bore with things over here, too, staying his hand but only contrived how to make the people careless/heedless.

[528] The peak of luxury lies in ponds of wine and groves of meat 酒池肉林.<sup>235</sup> [529] It is beyond doubt that the people all will complain even if one confronts them with ponds of wine and groves of meat. [530] It is impossible that the people stop complaining. [531] Instead of bringing them not to utter complaints one should make them forget complaints. [532] As for proof that the people even complain at ponds of wine and groves of meat [at their disposal], the people in the times of □ His Eminence the Hall of My Virtue 台徳院 (*Taitoku In sama*)<sup>236</sup> and His Eminence the Hall of the Great Plan 大猷院 (*Taiyû In sama*)<sup>237</sup> seemed to be very old-fashioned.<sup>238</sup> [533] [Those] below were for the most part probably [used to eating] millet dumplings ヒエ

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234 This comment has to be seen in the same context as [472]. Already at the beginning of KD 1 Seiryô had criticized later ages for following Master Meng's venue for ruling – gaining the trust of the people and treating them leniently – too strictly and he does not tire to draw attention to its detrimental effects on the financial circumstances of the government.

235 This expression is based on a passage where the *Records of the Court Historian* describe the debauchery and moral degeneration of the last Yin ruler, King Zhou 紂, and his court. SBBY 3.9a.

236 Taitoku In is the posthumous name of the second Tokugawa shogun, Hidetada 秀忠 (r. 1605–23).

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

238 Seiryô had commented on the progression of luxury already in the third part. Cf. KD 3: [442] to [461].

団子 (*hie dango*)<sup>239</sup> [as their general fare]. [534] This is known through the popular habits in the times of □ His Eminence the Hall of Dignity Kept 嚴有院様 (*Genyū In sama*)<sup>240</sup> and His Eminence the Hall of Constant Rules 常憲院様 (*Jōken In sama*).<sup>241</sup> [535] In Sorai's *Talks About Government* 政談 (*Seidan*)<sup>242</sup> one finds, “Aloeswood oil 伽羅ノ油 (*kyara no abura*) appeared in recent years.”<sup>243</sup> [536] It seems that at a time when the oil had not yet been invented one gathered and tied up one's hair with a twisted-paper string コヨリ. [537] [And] it appears<sup>244</sup> that what is called “hair-tying cord” 元結 (*motoyui*), too, Sorai remembered as showing up [in his days].<sup>245</sup> [538] It happened that when Sorai was a child his mother dressed his hair with *Kadsura japonica* hairwater カツラピン水 (*katsura binsui*).<sup>246</sup> [539] From the days of my (Tsuru) childhood onwards, it was already the \*reign of □ His Eminence the Hall of Deep Clarity 浚明院様 (*Shunmei In sama*).<sup>247</sup> [540] However, in the time of my (Tsuru) childhood, too, my mother was so kind to apply *Kadsura japonica*

239 Ogyū Sorai, for example, writes that people from the countryside who flock to the cities are used to eating wheat and millet. *Seidan*, NST 36: 328.

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

241 Jōken In is the posthumous name of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (r. 1680–1709).

242 Ogyū Sorai analyzed his times and made suggestions of reform in *Talks About Government* (probably mainly written between 1726 and 1727) and *Strategies for the Highest Peace* 太平策 (*Taihei saku*). For a translation into English cf. LIDIN 1999.

243 Sorai says: “Fifty or sixty years ago there was no habit of applying aloeswood oil.” NST 36: 331. *Kyara* is the name for an aromatic wood (the name is a shortened form of Skt. *tagara* 平伽羅; *aquilaria agallocha*) from India and Southeast Asia highly priced in Japan. In fact, the hairoil in question was made by mixing pine resin with melted wax.

244 Here and in the preceding sentence it says at the end *koto no yoshi* コトノヨシ / 由. *Yoshi* (“origin”, “contents”, “circumstances”) indicates that the author recounts what he has read or heard.

245 The hairbands are mentioned by Sorai in the sentence following the oil: “As for hair-tying cords, [people] twined these with their own hands, or used what was handed down from their masters.” NST 36: 331.

246 Hair oil could be made from many substances, camellia, walnut, and sesame among them. Especially famous was the type based on the liquid pressed from the stems of *Kadsura japonica* 真葛 (*sanekazura*). This oil (as well as the plant) was also known as “handsome man's vine” 美男鬘 (*binan kazura*). Sorai did not say so in his *Seidan* nor could I find verification in the essayistic works written in the sphere of Sorai's school. One possible source for this and the following information on Sorai's childhood could be a personal communication from Seiryō's teacher Usami Shinsui who was one of Sorai's leading students.

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

to the hair after all for dressing my (Tsuru) hair. [541] This was a mere fifty years ago. [542] As Sorai's childhood falls in a time when there was no aloeswood oil and no hair-tying cord, this probably means that in the days of □ His Eminence the Hall of Dignity Kept neither [this] oil nor the hair-tying cord existed. [543] Therefore, clothes and drink and food, too, were surely of a simple kind, and since they were even more unsophisticated than in the villages of the countryside in present times, they probably were on a par with today's mountain people. [544] One does not hear that in those days the people uttered complaints as they do today, and although in the times of my (Tsuru) childhood [the minting of] new coppers<sup>248</sup> had begun,<sup>249</sup> it was not something like today's pig iron coppers ツク銭 (*zukusen*).<sup>250</sup> [545] Viewed from the present [conditions] it was a splendid affair. [546] Also, the people did not complain much. [547] Although later the four *mon* coppers 四文銭 (*shimon sen*)<sup>251</sup> and the two *shu* silvers 二朱銀 (*nishu gin*)<sup>252</sup> came about, they did not know to utter complaints as the people of today.<sup>253</sup> [548] If one takes clothes and drink and food, when regarded from today's people they were simple things very much indeed.

[549] If one conjectures on these grounds, it probably did not yet occur to the people in Sorai's times to utter complaints. [550] [On the other hand], even though the people of today go to a restaurant with its own fish preserve

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248 As there were coins made of other metals in circulation, *sen* 銭 does not exactly mean copper money but as copper mint was the most common, I decided to translate *sen* as "coppers".

249 This refers to the minting of "brass four *mon* coppers" 真鍮四文銭 (*shinchû shimon sen*) in 1768, which was rated at four of the one-*mon* copper-coins in use at the time.

250 From time to time – to save on copper – coins of bad quality such as those minted from low quality iron used for making kettles were brought into circulation by the authorities.

251 Cf. n. 249.

252 Partly in an attempt at unifying the monetary system – the economy in western Japan with Osaka as its commercial center was based on silver, while the East with Edo at the hub favoured gold – the shogunal government had issued this new type of money in 1772. Whereas in the past silver – other than gold and copper – had circulated in lumps that had to be weighed in order to establish their value, the new currency was cast in standardized form and contained extremely pure silver, bearing an inscription that eight pieces would change for one *ryô* of gold. One *ryô* consisted of sixteen *shu*, with one *shu* in gold equaling 3,75 silver *monme* 匁 (ca. 3.75 g) The new currency weighed 10,19 g.

253 It seems that the new copper coins were readily accepted, especially in Edo and its surroundings. The same can be said for silver money. In fact, because of the high silver quality its reputation was such that the money exchange between western and eastern Japan stagnated and prices in Edo which depended on goods delivered via Osaka soared.

生洲料理茶屋 (*ikesu ryôri chaya*),<sup>254</sup> order their food, and eat expensive dishes, they are prone to feel dissatisfied. [551] This eel was an absolutely bad eel 鰻鱺 (*unagi*).<sup>255</sup> [552] [Or] they say, “Because the flavouring of this soup was so bad and I have poured it into the Takasegawa 高瀬川,<sup>256</sup> next time I want to leave after drinking at least one bowl [of soup] with much better flavouring.” [553] There are no words to match their distress. [554] Even though they spend a lot of money to buy eel it is not delicious. [555] Even though they buy soup, they pour it away. [556] There are no words to express their distress. [557] Although they just wanted somehow to pleasantly drink a bowl of soup, to be unable to do so is a hardship beyond measure. [558a] At a time when [people] did not apply oil [to their hair] and bound it without a hair-tying cord [only] with a twisted-paper string, why should there have been fish preserves, why should there have been [extravagant] cuisine, why should one have spent a lot of money and ordered [expensive] drink and food?! [558b] Such things were not [yet] known. [559] As for soups or broiled eel ウナギカバヤキ, among [those] below it is a question whether there were any who knew [about such things] or not, but it was rather likely that they did not know. [560] If one were to show this people today’s restaurants with fish preserves, it certainly would be [like] ponds of wine and groves of meat [for them].

[561] Therefore, regarding the ponds of wine and groves of meat of the people of the Hôei 宝永 [era]<sup>257</sup> the people of Kyôwa 享和 and Bunka 文化 [times]<sup>258</sup> would say that they cannot eat [such things] and utter complaints.

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254 The Edo period saw the development of a refined culinary culture with more and more sophisticated restaurants catering to diverse tastes. The enjoyment of fresh food was held in particular esteem. The type of restaurant mentioned by Seiryô specialized in preparing living fish from their own preserves.

255 As [559] speaks of “broiled eel”, *unagi* in this sentence, too, may be read as referring to *kabayaki* 蒲焼き (literally “grilled like a bulrush”). This dish became very popular during the Edo period, particularly in the shogunal capital. Eel was split, placed on skewers and then broiled, while frequently dipping it in a thick sauce based on soy sauce. The name is reminiscent of the origins of this dish in the Muromachi period. Then, pieces of unsplit eel were put on bamboo skewers, thus looking like a bulrush 蒲 (*gama*) or *typha latifolia*.

256 This is a small river (about 10 km) flowing through Kyoto, a side arm of the Kamogawa, with numerous restaurants alongside it. It was originally built as a channel for transportation by river boat in the early 17th century.

257 1704–11. This comprises the last years of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi’s and the larger part of Ienobu’s 家宣 (1709–12) rule.

[562] If, therefore, a real wine pond and meat grove were to exist, the people of that time would complain about [this] wine pond and meat grove without a doubt. [563] The uttering of complaints gradually increases, and drink, food and clothes gradually become [more] splendid. [564] [But even] if they become splendid, when [the people] complain about this splendiddness, then there is no splendour [any longer] at all. [565] There is no delicious food. [566] If one were to offer a treat of Bunka [times] to the people of the Hôei [period] it would be a great treat. [567] If one offers a Bunka treat to the Bunka people, they complain. [568] If [still] later one gave them the very best drink and food of that time, there is no doubt that [the people] again will complain [even] about this unsurpassed drink and food. [569] This is a calculation 算用 (*sanyô*) where the flavouring of the complaints again has increased in comparison with today. [570] This is because all have grown used to it and [things] have become commonplace. [571] Since with the people of Hôei [times] drink or food of that era were common, drink and food from the Bunka [period] are a treat. [572] Giving the Hôei people Hôei drink and food, and giving the Bunka people Bunka food of their [respective] age is the same. [573] Only, they differ in that the people of the Hôei [period] did not know about uttering complaints, [whereas] the Bunka people complains vociferously. [574] Therefore, from now onwards, the more [time] advances [the more the people] will probably complain. [575] The more splendid things become [the more the people] will probably complain.

[576] In the *Master Zhuang* it says, “That one forgets one’s feet is due to the shoes fitting [exactly]. [577] That one forgets one’s hip is due to the belt fitting [exactly].”<sup>259</sup> [578] To let [the people] forget [both] to praise as well as to slander and to make them careless/heedless is truly the proper flavouring. [579] At any rate, to make the people forget [about being ruled] and to set his aim on forgetting was the technique of Cao Shen’s ruling the people. [580] I (Tsuru) do not know anything about the dynamics of today’s realm. [581] If I were to talk about the method of Cao Shen’s ruling the people, it would be like this. [582] I take the present times/world 世 (*yo*)<sup>260</sup> as proof and discuss the past. [583] Since I (Tsuru) am a Confucian scholar, I usually explain

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258 The Kyôwa (1804–1804) and Bunka (1804–18) periods fall in the shogunate of Tokugawa Ienari 徳川家斉 (1787–1837).

259 *Zhuangzi*, SBBY 7.7b.

260 *Yo* means a certain period of time or an age, the rule of a certain family or individual, and was also used to denote the state and society in its entirety.

about [orderly] government and disorder in antiquity. [584] Only, concerning the people [whom I address] – since I explain [these matters] to present-day people, I take today’s affairs as proof. [585] It is not in the least that I discuss the world of today. [586] As for the [governmental] setup of the castle towns of the various regional lords, I (Tsuru) talk about this a lot. [587] [But] I have not talked about the circumstances of the realm. [588] If [ever] I refer to it, I refer to it [only] to take [something] for a proof.<sup>261</sup>

[589] Now, that in successive ages, beginning with the Han [dynasty] and the Tang [dynasty] when the world got prosperous, the customs of the people turned luxurious, this is a universal feature since olden times. [590] Well, one should guess [the reasons] why the customs of the people turn luxurious. [591] That they turn luxurious is because [among those] below there is a lot of money. [592] I (Tsuru) do not know about present affairs, [but] the luxury of successive ages was due to gold and silver sinking down to [those] below in huge quantities. [593] To raise this money to [those] above is an interesting thing. [594] It can be found in the *Great Rule* 洪範 (*Hongfan / Kôhan*). [595] There it says, “Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend.”<sup>262</sup> [596] This is the method for raising money to [those] above. [597] Although the wisdom of the sages appears to be formidable, the sages only talked about principle 理 (*li / ri*).<sup>263</sup> [598] Since principle can be used to suit any purpose, it is considered dreadful. [599] It is tantamount to principle that money has to be raised to [those] above. [600] Because one deviates from the principle of Heaven<sup>264</sup> if one does take care that [money] rises to [those] above, [things] are arranged in such a way so as to hoist up [money] to [those] above.

[601] Now, “Water is said to soak and descend” means that in general, things between Heaven and Earth 天地 (*tenchi*)<sup>265</sup> with a [rigid] form all sink downwards. [602] “Water” does not just mean water. [603] It is a symbol 符牒 (*fuchô*) for things with a [fixed] form in general. [604] “Fire is said to

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261 It seems that Seiryô feels obliged to make it clear in the strongest way possible that he had no intent at all to criticize or even to comment on the shogunal government – without official invitation – as such was not well-received among the authorities and could entail punishment.

262 Cf. *Book of Documents*, SBBY 7.2a; KARLGRÉN 1950: 30; L 3: 325; also above [260].

263 Cf. n. 50.

264 Cf. n. 50.

265 “Heaven” and “Earth” are basic concepts of the holistic world view that developed since Chinese antiquity. Here, the expression encompasses the whole universe and its order.

blaze and ascend” refers to things that have no [fixed] form and [consist] only of air/matter-energy 氣 (*qi / ki*).<sup>266</sup> [605] These are things like the flames of fire. [606] They are of the same sort as clouds and smoke. [607] Clouds, smoke, and flames are things that have no form and [consist] only of air/matter-energy. [608] Air/matter-energy belongs to Heaven. [609] Things that belong to Heaven all rise upwards. [610] Form belongs to Earth. [611] That things belonging to Earth all sink downwards is the principle of nature 自然 (*shizen*).<sup>267</sup> [612] One acts in accord with this principle. [613] To push principle aside and act is something impossible. [614] It means to fail. [615] It is something that cannot be done. [616] If it is not in accordance with principle it does not work.

[617] Gold and silver are things that have form. [618] Because they are things possessing form, they sink downwards. [619] It accords to principle that day and night they sink downwards. [620] This, with the help of principle, one has to hoist up to [those] above. [621] Leaving them be without hoisting them up, there is no doubt that they will sink even further downwards. [622] Because Confucian scholars push aside the *Great Rule* as well as the *Rites of Zhou*, and just take the methods of Kong and Meng for succouring a world in turmoil as a guide for well-governed times, they think that it would be bad to hoist up the gold and silver of [those] below to [those] above, they misread the word “benevolence” and thoughtlessly say that it is a ruler of benevolence who lowers gold and silver to [those] below. [623] If one benevolent ruler after another made an \*appearance, there is no doubt that [those] above would become destitute. [624] [And] without fail [those] below would become luxuriantly affluent. [625] Kong and Meng succouring a time of turmoil has been detailed in a preceding volume.<sup>268</sup> [626] Today is an age when well-governed times go on to continue and gold and silver only sink down and down to [those] below.

[627] That the mechanism went wrong and the hoisting-up did not work anymore, although the [wealth from] becoming luxuriantly affluent of [those] below in successive ages should have been hoisted up to [those] above,

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266 Cf. n. 183.

267 The translation of *shizen* with “nature” may be considered anachronistic since a concept bearing the associations of “nature” had not developed in Edo Japan. *Shizen* has its place in the Confucian parlance and designates circumstances that “exist by themselves” without being caused by human intervention. In the context Seiryô uses the expression, “nature” (without European philosophical connotations) seems fitting.

268 This has been the subject of the beginning of Part One. Cf. KD I [10]–[42].

probably occurred in the times of Jie 桀 and Zhou.<sup>269</sup> [628] It seems that wine ponds and meat groves were the peak of luxury in these times. [629] Since [those] above in this manner created [a world of] wine ponds and meat groves, [the conditions] below likewise will have become luxurious. [630] That Jie and Zhou perished was probably due to their being bad. [631] That the peak of luxury was reached is due to the officials being bad. [632] It is due to the hoisting up not working. [633] If the manner of hoisting up works, luxury should not come about. [634] If luxury does not come about, among [those] below grudges are bound not to be borne against [those] above. [635] If among [those] below no grudges are borne against [those] above, Tang and Wu are bound not to appear.<sup>270</sup> [636] To look back at the appearance of Tang and Wu [shows that those] below bore grudges against [those] above. [637] Looking at [those] below bearing grudges against [those] above [shows that those] below had become luxuriously affluent. [638] Looking at [those] below becoming luxuriously affluent [shows that] gold and silver had descended to [those] below and that the hoisting up did not work.

[639] Now, what causes admiration is that during Xia, Yin, as well as Zhou [times] good officials continued to appear. [640] If good officials do not continue to appear and practise the method of hoisting up without negligence, this is the reason/principle that [dynasties] do not continue for six hundred, seven hundred, or eight hundred years.<sup>271</sup> [641] That one hoists and hoists up gold and silver although it continued to descend for seven or eight hundred years bespeaks a skilful handling. [642] Although with regard to the method for hoisting up during Xia and Yin [times] it is not known today how they hoisted up [gold and silver], the method of the Zhou [dynasty] survived

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269 King Jie was the last king of the Xia 夏 dynasty who together with Zhou, the last king of the following Yin dynasty, is the epitome of a cruel and tyrannical ruler.

270 Tang was a legendary “sage” king in antiquity. By deposing King Jie, the last ruler of the Xia dynasty, he earned the kingship for himself and became founder of the Yin dynasty. In the same vein, Wu and his father King Wen 文 put an end to Yin rule and became the first ruler of the new Zhou dynasty. Master Meng had cast both not as committing regicide but as delivering punishment to a villain. SBBY 1.20b; L 2: 167; LAU 1970: 68.

271 The first three dynasties of Chinese antiquity each lasted a long time because they were governed in conformity with the tenets established by the early sage rulers (who in part also were their founders). Later dynasties that were near to ancient times but diverged at least partly from the model set by the “former kings” still lasted for about three hundred years, while governments – as Sorai explains in *Seidan* – like those of Kamakura and Muromachi in Japan that did not establish a “system” based on the ancient institutions perished after a mere century. Cf. NST 36: 304–305.

in the *Rites of Zhou*, and therefore regarding the method of the *Rites of Zhou* its mechanism of hoisting up still survives lucidly today.

[643] Now, because the principle of hoisting up is contained completely in the *Great Rule*, it is conceived in conformity with this word “Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend.” [644] If one for a try takes the *Rites of Zhou* as a ladder and climbs up to the *Great Rule*, there is no reason/principle why [things/money] somehow or other should not be able to rise up. [645] This means that because it reads “Water is said to soak and descend”, things that have a form sink down, while on the other hand – because it reads “Fire is said to blaze and ascend” – there is no reason/principle that one hoists up those [things that have descended] and they do not rise. [646] First, I will approach this from [the side of] water. [647] As for the things that exist between Heaven and Earth, it corresponds to principle that they neither increase nor decrease. [648] To believe that if water meets with flames it is boiled down and decreases is a notion not congruent with principle. [649] It is principle that the things between Heaven and Earth do not decrease and do not increase. [650] Wherever they go, they are still without fail [somewhere] between Heaven and Earth. [651] It is not that they vanish. [652] That water boils down [means] that water together with air/matter-energy returns to Heaven. [653] As for the decreasing of hot water, it rises upwards, this turns into clouds and again descends downwards, this again is steamed / vaporated by the Yang energy 陽氣 (*yôki*) of the sun<sup>272</sup> and once more together with air/matter-energy rises towards Heaven, again turns into clouds, becomes rain and descends down, where in the end it falls [down] on the mountains. [654] Rain flows towards the rivers, and these flow towards the sea, [the water] seeps into the earth, and again gradually rises to the mountains. [655] From the mountains it once more turns into clouds and rises upwards. [656] Again it becomes rain and descends. [657] It is just that upon rising it falls, and upon falling [once more] rises, and that there is no principle at all for [the water] to vanish is expressed as “Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend.”

[658] In this manner, things that have form are things bound to sink down. [659] It corresponds with principle that if together with air/matter-energy they are raised upwards they rise. [660] Heaven and Earth are Heaven and

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272 As in the system of sympathetic correspondences informing the ancient Chinese world view Yang corresponds with “Heaven”, warmth and so forth, the sun, too, is classed as “belonging” to Yang. In fact, one of the names for it is *taiyô* 太陽 or “Great Yang”.

Earth that have continued for several tens of thousands of years. [661] If it has rained since long ago and this has lasted for a long time, [then] in the [regions] above the rain should run out. [662] If it sinks downwards and this lasts for a long time, in the [regions] below water should overflow. [663] [The reason why] below it does not overflow and above it does not run out is because although things descend air/matter-energy hoists [them] up. [664] [Thus] above and below always run on a par. [665] That the officials of the Three Epochs 三代 (*sandai*)<sup>273</sup> performed this secret 機密 (*kimitsu*)<sup>274</sup> well and were not carried out of tune [suggests that] there most certainly were good books [available]. [666a] Originally, the *Great Rule* only reads “Water is said to soak and descend; fire is said to blaze and ascend”. [666b] [The conclusion] that things that have form all are things that ascend if they are hoisted up by air/matter-energy is something not easily recognized. [667] However, if one deliberates on principle, regarding the scale of water rising to Heaven it accords with principle that this is hoisted up by air/matter-energy. [668] Again it corresponds to principle that if it is not hoisted up it will lean [only] in one direction. [669] That it does not accord to the principle of Heaven to lean [only] in one direction also is found in the *Great Rule*. [670] “If [only one] is replete to the utmost, this is evil. [671] If [only one] is depleted to the utmost, this is evil.”<sup>275</sup> [672] Indeed, the *Great Rule* is a precious work. [673] If water descends and descends, the [region] above becomes depleted to the utmost, and the [region] below will be replete to the utmost. [674] That in this manner [things] lean [only] in one direction is evil. [675] If water only rises upwards and does not sink below, the [region] below will be depleted to the utmost, while the [region] above will be replete to the utmost. [676] This is evil. [677] By running on a par [Heaven and Earth] keep up. [678] That air/matter-energy always wants to hoist up is not different from form always wanting to descend. [679] The power of air/matter-energy and the power of form again are on a par. [680] They do not in the least lean in one direction [only]. [681] To lean in [only] one direction is not

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273 These are the first three dynasties of Chinese history, the legendary Xia dynasty (trad. 2205 to 1766 BCE), the Yin 殷 dynasty (about 16th to 11th century BCE, also called Shang 商), and the Zhou 周 dynasty (about 11th century to 221 BCE).

274 *Seiryō* probably means a policy of hoisting up money from below – and thus keeping it in circulation – that was in accord with the universal principle of ascending and descending.

275 *Book of Documents*, SBBY 7.5a; KARLGREN 1950: 33; L 3: 340. Karlgren translates: “If one (of them) is complete to the extreme, it is baleful; if one is lacking to the extreme, it is baleful.”

the principle of Heaven. [682] Thus gold and silver, too, should move on a par. [683] If one hoists them up too much, [those] below will be depleted to the utmost. [684] This is evil. [685] If the hoisting up does not work, [those] above will be depleted to the utmost. [686] [Again] this is evil. [687] It is only to be expected to be evil. [688] For proof that this is evil one should look at small things. [689] As for drought damage in summer, water is hoisted up too much and [as a result] the [region] below is depleted to the utmost. [690] As for water damage in spring and autumn, the [region] below is replete to the utmost [with water] and it [thus] leans [only] in one direction.<sup>276</sup> [691] Thus, even in the one instance of water it accords with the principle of Heaven that above and below run on a par [with each other].

[692] Now, to hoist up the water of below one and all to the [region] above does not comply with the principle of Heaven. [693] In good order together with air/matter-energy it ascends. [694] Again, to lower the water of above one and all only to the [region] below does not meet with the principle of Heaven. [695] In good order it [too] descends to the [region] below. [696] The so-called benevolent ruler of Confucian scholars does not in the least meet with the *Great Rule*. [697] A [truly] benevolent ruler is someone who puts above and below on a par. [698] As previously explained, benevolence speaks of a man who among men meets with the principle of Heaven. [699] To indiscriminately bestow [things] from above on [those] below is the art of Tang and Wu; it is not an art to be performed in well-governed times. [700] To give from above [to those below] is something like descending a mountain. [701] It is something done extremely easily. [702] It is an art that anyone can perform. [703] To hoist up from below to above is something extremely difficult. [704] It is something that imprudent people cannot accomplish. [705] [But] although it is something hard to accomplish it has to be done. [706] If it is not done, it does not accord with the principle of Heaven.

[707] Confucian scholars recommend things that everyone can accomplish, but because they do not know the way to do what is difficult, they do not teach people [these matters]. [708] It is not [only] that they do not teach

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276 Kuranami in his commentary reads the character 夏 (*xia / ka, natsu*) as referring to the Xia dynasty instead of summer and the compound 春秋 (*chunqiu / shunjū*) to the Spring and Autumn period (*Chunqiu / Shunjū*; 722 to 481 BCE) instead of the two respective seasons and explains the social conditions that led to downfall in the one case and deterioration in the other. This interpretation is not supported by the context. Seiryō himself stated that he wants to corroborate his argument by offering everyday examples, and for this purpose he chose the balance of water supply in different seasons of the year.

them; even if they wanted to teach, they do not know how. [709] They do not know about teaching [these matters]. [710] They do not notice that [these matters] should be taught. [711] Under such conditions it is in vain to have read the *Great Rule*. [712] They indiscriminately say, “Bestow and bestow on [those] below!” [714] This is the same as to recommend to Heaven and indiscriminately say, “Let it rain and rain!” [715] This is the beginning of water damage. [716] Besides, it is principle that [things] have to descend to the [region] below in good order. [717] Things descending unobtrusively is the method of the *Great Rule*. [718] It is the transmitted [teaching] of the sages. [719] It is the nature of the principle of Heaven. [710] In hoisting up from the [region] below, again it is the way of teaching in the *Great Rule* to raise [things] unobtrusively. [720] That in the *Master Meng* it says, “Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 were just as their nature [disposed them to be]. Tang and Wu returned to it”<sup>277</sup> [shows] that [Master Meng] indeed was a man whose wisdom [extended to even small] details. [721] Yao and Shun gave in accordance with the principle of Heaven, and they hoisted up in accordance with the principle of Heaven. [722] Tang and Wu represent the design to destroy Jie and Zhou and to seize the realm. [723] Therefore, [things] were indiscriminately bestowed [on those below]. [724] To do things so that it is conspicuous does not accord with the principle of Heaven. [725] Generally one should give just like rain falling from Heaven. [726] One should give so that it is not conspicuous. [727] One should hoist up just like air/matter-energy rises from the Earth. [728] One should hoist up so that it is not conspicuous. [729] To be conspicuous in giving [means that] the manner of giving is clumsy. [730] To do so in a conspicuous way when hoisting up [shows that] the hoisting up is clumsy. [731] One should give and raise up [unobtrusively] just like Heaven and Earth.

[732] Heaven and Earth are the father and mother of men. [733] They are the teacher of men. [734] One should [first] learn from Heaven and Earth and [then] take care of one’s state. [735] There is no need to search for a teacher elsewhere. [736] The way for observing the principle of Heaven is to be found in the *Great Rule*. [737] Master Meng said, “There will be an abundance of teachers.”<sup>278</sup> [738] Man constitutes a small Heaven and Earth. [739] Man’s

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277 *Mengzi* 7B.33; SBBY 7.22b; L 2: 495; LAU 1970: 201. Legge interprets the Master’s diction as referring to “natural virtue”, while Lau suggests “benevolence”.

278 *Mengzi* 6B.2; SBBY 6.15a; L 2: 426; LAU 1970: 172. When asked by his interlocutor to accept him as a student, Master Meng replied that there is no need for becoming his student since the “Way” 道 (*dao / dō, michi*) is like a great road and, therefore, not

body is, namely, Heaven and Earth. [740] One should take man's body as a teacher. [741] The so-called "benevolent ruler" of later ages is like someone who only eats sweet things. [742] [But the latter] are a great poison for the body.<sup>279</sup> [743] To eat beyond the [proper] measure is bad. [744] It corresponds to being replete to the utmost. [745] Being deficient, [too], is bad. [746] It corresponds to being depleted to the utmost. [747] [But] by all means, concerning the one called "benevolent ruler" in later ages, his mechanism functions differently.

[748] As for King Tang of the Yin [dynasty] bestowing a sacrificial bull on the Earl of Ge 葛伯 (*Geba / Kappaku*) [I] do not know whether he gave it out of love for the Earl of Ge or whether he gave it [because] he wanted to gather a pledge [from the Earl]. [749] That he gave his own people/peasants<sup>280</sup> [to the Earl], had them cultivate [the fields], and let children transport the food<sup>281</sup> – was it his intention to make the Earl of Ge kill them, or was it his intention not to make [the Earl] kill them? [750] If it was his intention not to make [the Earl] kill them, then King Tang was a man of no wisdom in the extreme. [751] If it was his intention to make [the Earl] kill them, then [Tang] was a man of no benevolence in the extreme. [752] If for succouring his age he had a merit of one hundred [*mon*]*me*, the lack of benevolence/inhumanity [shown by] killing children would perhaps amount to about one *monme* or five *bu* 分.<sup>282</sup> [753] The argument that in Tang and Wu there was no lack of benevolence/inhumanity is an argument leaning in [only] one direction. [754] It does not matter if they had a [certain] lack of benevolence/inhumanity. [755] If one accomplishes the greater benevolence of succouring one's age, it does not matter that one does not have lesser benevolence 小仁 (*shôjin*).<sup>283</sup> [756] If one lets [all] the people of one's age live, it does not matter that one kills one child or so. [757] To think a man of benevolence does not kill people at all is mistaken. [758] If one were to imitate in present times what Tang and Wu

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difficult to recognize. One only has to look for it, and there will be teachers in abundance.

279 This again is a criticism aimed at a mistaken understanding of "benevolence". Cf. n. 63.

280 Seiryô uses the word 百姓 (*hyakusei, yakushô*) which in Edo period usage specifically meant "farmer/peasant". Literally, however, it means the "one hundred family names" and in the Chinese classics refers to the common people in general.

281 This episode is recounted in *Mencius* 3B.5; SBBY 3.17b–18a; L 2: 271–72; LAU 1970: 109–10. Reference to it can also be found in the *Book of Documents*. SBBY 4.3a; L 3: 180.

282 One *monme* is made up of ten *bu* (ca. 0.375 g).

283 Cf. n. 63.

did, this would be an outrageous mistake. [759] To say nowadays what Kong and Meng said, [too], is a mistake. [760] One should act in accordance with Heaven. [761] One should act in accordance with Heaven [under the condition] of ordinary times. [762] Drought damage is a world in disorder on a small scale. [763] Water damage, too, is a world in disorder on a small scale. [764] A time when Heaven is peaceful without inundation and drought is [an age of] peaceful [government] on a small scale. [765] To hoist up in the right measure and to give in the right measure probably correspond to Heaven when it is at its ordinary.

[766] In that case if asked how best to proceed in hoisting up, it seems that this lies in lending wet and dry fields, mountains, and the sea at an interest of ten percent and to collect the interest without delay – [at least] the *Rites of Zhou* are like this. [767] But since in later ages [those] above indulge in luxury, either an interest of ten percent will not suffice or the interest on wet and dry fields, mountains, and the sea will not reach ten percent. [768] There are methods for directly sucking up [profit] from the people – [namely] these are the two [methods] of expiating punishment [with money] 贖刑 (*shokkei*) and the selling of noble rank 売爵 (*baishaku*).<sup>284</sup> [769] Except for these two kinds all other [methods] consist of the interest of ten percent as the esteemed decree of Heaven. [770a] It looks like being adjusted in such a way that if one lends wet and dry fields, mountains and the sea, [ground in the] cities

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284 Both, the conversion of punishments into (monetary) fines and the selling of ranks, were methods of procuring revenue adopted under the Former Han Dynasty. However, the first expression already appears in the *Book of Documents* where the politics of the legendary emperor Shun 舜 are recounted. Cf. SBBY 1.7a. Karlgren translates the respective sentence as “[...] (metal=) fines are the punishment for redeemable crimes” 金作贖刑. KARLGREN 1950: 5. Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 (145?–85? BCE) account of Shun’s reign in the *Records of the Court Historian*, too, relates this passage. SBBY 1.15a. OTAKE, OTAKE 1995: 18 gives a rendering into modern Japanese which explains the sentence in question as “[...] he established the expiation punishment by which the common people recompensed small offences with gold”. Ban Gu 班固 (32 to 92 CE) in his *Documents of the Han [Dynasty]* 漢書 (*Hanshu / Kanjo*) mentions the mitigating of capital punishment by paying money for the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141 to 87 BCE; seventh ruler of the Former Han Dynasty). SBBY 6.24b–25a. It seems that the selling of ranks became a means of politics since the rule of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180 to 157 BCE). Sima Qian mentions it in his account of the dynasty’s fifth ruler’s reign. SBBY 10.13a. Cf. also *Hanshu*, SBBY 4.14b. Ban Gu has a more embellished version in the *Annals of Food and Money* 食貨志 (*Shihuo zhi / Shokuka shi*), where an adviser recommends to confer rank on commoners who deposit millet in the government’s storehouses or pardoning crimes in exchange for the payment of millet. SBBY 24A.10ab. A little later an edict for the sale of rank is mentioned. SBBY 24A.10b.

and roads to the people and collects a ten percent interest without delay, gold and silver will go round and round and circulate without slack or strain. [770b] That with regard to water one speaks of the principle of soaking and descending and with regard to fire of the principle of blazing and ascending teaches that like a circle 循環 (*junkan*) having no end money 貨利 (*kari*)<sup>285</sup> will circulate.

[771] Now, as the times when the Three Dynasties prospered are not found in the documents and records, one cannot know things in detail, but one does not hear that the people of trading and selling were rich and the people engaged in the fundamental work 本業 (*hongyô*) were poor.<sup>286</sup> [772] However, in the *Master Guan* 管子 (*Guanzi / Kanshi*) one finds [just] this statement.<sup>287</sup> [773] The *Master Guan* is probably a forged work.<sup>288</sup> [774] It surely is not be the work of Guan Yiwu 管夷吾,<sup>289</sup> but probably originated in the Warring States [period]. [775] At that time, it seems, at any rate the merchants were rich and [those of] the fundamental work were poor. [776] Therefore, that [people in] the trifling work 末業 (*matsugyô*)<sup>290</sup> are rich and [people in] the fundamental work poor is something true, it seems, since antiquity. [777] This probably is due to the method of the *Rites of Zhou* being completely

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285 The expression literally means “commodities [gained] as profit” but could also be used to refer to “money”.

286 The idea that agriculture is the essential form of production, providing the basis of state and society lies at the heart of economical thought within the Confucian tradition. By contrast, the pursuit of ‘easy profit’ by merchants tended to be looked upon critically. Even in case it was admitted that they fulfil a necessary task and have their place in society, as in Dazai Shundai’s 太宰春台 (1680–1747) *Supplement to Records of Political Economy* 經濟録拾遺 (*Keizai roku shûi*), it is stressed that the government’s foundation should rest on the protection and promotion of agriculture. *Keizai roku shûi*, NKT 9: 491. If it does not take care, peasants will abandon their hard work in the fields and seek easy profit as artisans or merchants. Thus, society will drift towards a life in luxury while its true foundation, the agricultural sector, dwindles away. *Ibid.*: 491–92.

287 In the *Master Guan*, Duke Huan 桓公 of Qi (trad. r. 685–43 BCE) complained that the people of the countryside were poor, while those engaged in trade prospered. SBBY 24.13a. Later on, Seiryô relates Master Guan’s answer to his lord’s wish to reverse this state of affairs. Cf [790] to [802].

288 Cf. n. 55.

289 This refers to Master Guan, Yi Wu being his personal name.

290 While 本 (*hon, moto*) is the root (of a tree, e.g.) and thus points to something fundamental or basic, 末 (*matsu, sue*) means the end point (of a tree’s twigs, e.g.) and denotes something of no importance or supplementary function. With agriculture considered as the basis of human society, only an inferior role was accorded to trade.

obliterated. [778] The arrangement of the *Rites of Zhou* in general is the arrangement to gather from all the various people without exception an interest of ten percent. [779] The contribution levy 運上 (*unjō*)<sup>291</sup> of the *Rites of Zhou* [comprises] “city house money” 紵布 (*cibu / shifu*), “bulk money” 綵布 (*zongbu / sōfu*), “pledge money” 質布 (*zhibu / shichifu*), “penalty money” 罰布 (*fabu / bappu*), and “shop money” 塵布 (*chanbu / tenpu*),<sup>292</sup> and all these were [kinds of] tithe other than the tithe on agriculture. [780] The “city house money” is the contribution levy of the hundred artisans 百工 (*hyakkō*).<sup>293</sup> [781] Since today [the book dealing with] the clerks 属 (*sakan*)<sup>294</sup> of the Ministry of Works 司空 (*sikong / shikū*)<sup>295</sup> is missing, it is not known how it was exacted. [782] The “bulk money” is [the levy of] the measuring cup guild 升座 (*masuza*) and the scales guild 秤座 (*hakariza*).<sup>296</sup> [783] The “pledge money” is the contribution levy of those who were remiss on the time limit

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291 Cf. n. 147.

292 SBBY 15.1b. According to Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127–200) commentary, the different taxes are explained as being a tax levied on shops in market places in the first case; on weights and scales in the second; a fine or tax on those who did not keep the specifications of a bill or written pledge in the third; a fine or tax on those who violated the rules of the market in the fourth; and a tax levied in case of depositing wares in an official storehouse. SBBY 15.1b–2a. Seiryō’s explanation is slightly different, as will be made clear in the next sentences. My translation of the different tax names tries to convey Seiryō’s interpretation of their meaning.

293 The number “hundred” should be read as an expression for “many”.

294 Based on the Chinese model, the Taihō Code of 701 contained both penal 律 (*ritsu*) and administrative 令 (*ryō*) law and laid down the institutions of government according to the model of Tang China. Each government office had four grades of officials: chief 長官 (*kami*), vice-chief 次官 (*suke*), discipline officers 判官 (*jō*), and clerks 主典 (*sakan*). It obliged the *jō* to see to the internal regulation and organization within the office, whereas the *sakan* were responsible for the examination of documents and the keeping of records.

295 As Seiryō states, the “Ministry of Works” and its offices are not listed in the *Rites of Zhou* where they should have been explained among the “Offices of Winter” 冬官 (*dongguan / tōkan*) responsible for earth works. The loss of the passage is mentioned in Zheng Xuan’s commentary. SBBY 39.1a.

296 The two names Seiryō has taken from the context of his own days. In an attempt at standardization, in 1653 the shogunal government had licensed the Shuzui 守隨 family in Edo for eastern Japan and the Jin 神 family in Kyoto for western Japan with manufacturing, selling and repairing scales. Similarly, in 1669 the government put a ban on using the Edo and other regional measures and authorized the Kyoto measure for Japan throughout. At the same time Fukui Sakuzaemon 福井作左衛門 in Kyoto and Taruya Tōzaemon 樽屋藤左衛門 in Edo were licensed for manufacturing and selling measures.

of drafts and pledges 手形証文 (*tegata shōmon*). [784] The “penalty money” is the contribution levy of those who infringed upon the township quarter laws in the cities. [785] The “shop money” is the contribution levy on all the different trade articles. [786] [The word] 布 *fu* [for money] means “currency”. [787] It refers to money 錢 (*zeni*). [788] [Ways for] exacting contribution levy money existed to this extent. [789] These are methods for hoisting up money all of its own to [those] above.

[790] Had this system perished by the time of Guan Zhong?<sup>297</sup> [791] One does not know whether it had still existed in the age of Guan Zhong but had perished by the times of the one who forged the *Master Guan*. [792] Besides, in the *Master Guan* – [while] there is no talk to establish this method – another [method] was devised. [793] [Master Guan] said, “If you deign to think of making the peasants rich and the merchants poor, you only have to destroy the dykes along the rivers Huo 濩 and Luo 洛.”<sup>298</sup> [794] When thereupon Duke Huan cut [the dykes on] the rivers Huo and Luo the peasants immediately became rich and the merchants poor. [795] When Duke Huan inquired after the reason, Guan Zhong said, “If one cuts [the dykes on] the rivers Huo and Luo, the surroundings are submerged under water, and if they are submerged under water, wild geese and ducks will land [on them]. [796] If wild geese and ducks land [on them], the rich merchants will take up bows and arrows and set out to shoot the birds. [797] If this happens in the surroundings/vicinity, [people] from the peasant houses will provide drink and food and sell them, and therefore [the men in] the trifling work will become poor and [those engaged in] the fundamental work will grow rich.”<sup>299</sup> [798] This is extremely

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297 Cf. n. 55.

298 These are two rivers in northern central China, both of which eventually flow into the Yellow River (there is another river called Luo – written with the same character – running somewhat more to the south, passing by Luoyang 洛陽, seat of the Zhou kings, and flowing into the Yellow River as well). Duke Huan’s state of Qi lies much further to the east, mainly on the Shandong 山東 peninsula; so it is not clear what repercussions the destruction of dykes along the Huo and Luo could have had for the people of Qi (if indeed the allusion is to these two rivers). Or could it have meant that Huan took the concerns of all the people of the realm seriously once he had established himself as leader and “hegemon” 霸 (*ba / ha*) of an alliance of several states?

299 Seiryō’s abbreviated and somewhat altered account is based on the version found in the *Master Guan*. There the Master explains that after cutting the dikes the spreading waters will take the waste waters of butcheries and taverns with them. This will cause diverse insects to proliferate in the dirty water which in their own stead serve as food for small birds such as kingfishers and swallows. As a next step, the merchants in the surroundings are drawn by the beautiful birds. In a rush to hurry quickly to the waterside they either

circuitous wisdom. [799] Besides, for the state it is poison. [800] The basis and the end point both waste time. [801] Moreover, it is something that should be carried out in only a small context, but it is not a design that should be put into practice in a large context. [802] What is more, it is a wisdom so unlike Guan Zhong.

[803] If the *Rites of Zhou* had existed, they should have been revived, but because they did not exist at all, [the *Master Guan*] probably thought up such a circuitous design. [804] In the times of Master Meng it seems that here and there they were left over a little bit. [805] [Master Meng] said that at a time when “one does not exact [sales] taxes 征 (*zheng / sei*) from market-places and shops, makes/enforces laws [but] does not exact [ground] dues 廛 (*chan / ten*)”<sup>300</sup> it might as well do, but because nowadays both are taxed, taxed even too heavily, things will not work out as with King Tang beating the Earl of Ge. [806] [According to him], even though it might differ somewhat from reason/principle, to scatter a lot [of money] among the people freely is the [proper] method to obtain the realm. [807] Zhu’s 朱 commentary glosses [as follows]: “[Ground] due’ is a contribution levy on dwellings, ‘[sales] tax’ a contribution levy on commodities, and ‘[making/enforcing] laws’ means to correct the laws of the market-place without any contribution levy.”<sup>301</sup> [808] In this respect, too, the *Master Meng* does not accord with the *Rites of Zhou*.

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sell their merchandise cheaply or pay high prizes for the incoming goods with which they stock their shops without haggling. Together with their sons they set out for the flooded area where they throw insects in the air to call the birds while the children shoot arrows at them. Thus engrossed with their new pastime the merchants do not mind to sell at a loss and to buy at high prizes and in the end grow poor while the peasants avail themselves of the chance to buy all necessary things cheaply and grow rich. Cf. SBBY 24.13ab.

300 *Mengzi* 2A.5; SBBY 2.10b; L 2: 199; LAU 1970: 82. Seiryō’s rendering of this sentence differs from the interpretation which is faithful to the parallel construction of its first and second half and reads 廛 as a verb meaning “to exact [ground] dues from a shop”. James Legge, for example, writes: “If, in the market-place of his capital, he levy a ground-rent on the shops but do not tax the goods, or enforce the proper regulations without levying a ground-rent; – then all the traders of the kingdom will be pleased, and wish to store their goods in his market-place.” L 2: 199. While there is also the view to regard the phrase 法而不廛 as an erroneous addition, Lau tries to make a different kind of sense of it and suggests the following translation: “In the market-place, if goods are exempted when premises are taxed, and premises exempted when the ground is taxed, the traders throughout the Empire will be only too pleased to store their goods in your market-place.” LAU 1970: 82.

301 This is the gist of Zhu Xi’s remarks in his *Collected Commentaries on the Four Books* 四書集注 (*Sishu jizhu / Shisho shūchū*). *Mengzi* 2A.5; SBBY 2.10b.

[809] It also says that it is appropriate to investigate [persons] at the frontier-passes 関 (*seki*) [but] not to exact taxes [from commodities],<sup>302</sup> but in the *Rites of Zhou* contribution levies are exacted from frontier-passes as well.<sup>303</sup> [810] [In the *Master Meng*] it also says that it is appropriate in the market-places not to exact money 布 (*bu / fu*) from the [idle] men 夫 (*fu / fu*)<sup>304</sup> but in the *Rites of Zhou* it says to take from the people who do not plant mulberry and flax a [whole] village 閭 (*lü / ryo*) contribution levy for villages of twenty-five families.<sup>305</sup> [811] Now, the *Rites of Zhou* – besides the city house-, bulk-, pledge-, penalty-, and shop-contribution levies – [also] has the exacting of contribution levies from [...].<sup>306</sup> [812] Hides, horns, sinews, and bones are charged. [813] Moreover, [the text] states that things which turn into shelf warmers in the market-places and remain unsold are bought up cheaply.<sup>307</sup> [814] One has to take [from the people] to such a degree [in order to maintain a balanced circulation].

[815] That nowadays a ten percent interest is only taken from the peasants for lending them fields, but all the different commodities are sold and bought without interest differs from the ancient method. [816] That there are people who live on the land without [paying] interest, means that thus gold and silver that one should hoist up do not rise, and therefore [this money] does not run round and round as in a circuit. [817] Thus, because Master Meng pampered the people with a sweet purring voice like a cat's when caressed and [in this manner] wanted to draw all [of them] to his own side, it happened that he was prone to give the people too much. [818] “Even if I give them too much, it is only for a little while; once I have only taken the realm, [everything] will somehow work out [afterwards]. [819a] At present, without further consideration it is just fine to make the people happy and draw the people throughout the realm to one's own country.” [819b] Because [Master

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302 *Mengzi* 2A.5; SBBY 2.10b; L 2: 200; LAU 1970: 82.

303 *Zhouli*, SBBY 15.5b–6a; BIOT 1: 330–31.

304 *Mengzi* 2A.5; SBBY 2.10b; L 2: 200; LAU 1970: 82. The *Rites of Zhou* explain this tax as a levy charged on those who “do not have work/employment”.

305 *Zhouli*, SBBY 13.6a.

306 Here, some characters are missing. Seiryô certainly refers to the next entry in the *Rites of Zhou*, where it says that butchers contribute the articles that he lists in the next sentence. Cf. *Zhouli*, SBBY 15.2a.

307 This refers to *Zhouli*, SBBY 15.2a.

Meng's thought] went in this way, it differed from the method of peaceful [government] in the *Rites of Zhou*.

[820] However, Master Meng's method is a method that does not fit [times of] peaceful [government]. [821] Moreover, what Master Meng said has possibly some aspects that do not meet with reason/principle. [822] Although the Son of Heaven has ten thousand chariots with [a territory of] one thousand *li* 里<sup>308</sup> square, and the various lords have one thousand chariots with [a territory of] one hundred *li* square,<sup>309</sup> if it is ten thousand chariots with [a territory of] one thousand *li* square the arithmetics do not meet unless one has one thousand chariots with [a territory of] three hundred and some ten *li* square. [823] One thousand *li* square is a number which comprises one hundred times a hundred *li* square. [824] [By contrast], one thousand is a number [arrived at by] dividing ten thousand with ten. [825] "To take one hundred in a thousand and to take one thousand in ten thousand – [this] allotment, generally speaking, is large. [826] That it is not only large but that [people] commit [the crime of] killing their lords and intend to grasp even more is foolish," said [Master Meng].<sup>310</sup> [827] [However], if it is one thousand *li* square versus one hundred *li* square, [the relation] is one part of a hundred. [828] This is not numerous. [829] It is small.<sup>311</sup>

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308 In Zhou times, one *li* was made up of 1,800 feet (300 paces) and measured about 405 m.

309 The size of territories is mentioned in *Mengzi* 5B.2; SBBY 5.14b–15a; L 2: 374; LAU 1970: 151. The number of chariots can be inferred from *Mengzi* 1A.1; SBBY 1.1a; L 2: 126; LAU 1970: 49.

310 This passage refers to *Mengzi* 1A.1.4; SBBY 1.1ab; L 2: 126; LAU 1970: 49. There, the Master berates King Hui 惠 of Liang 梁 for thinking of profit. If the king only cares about what profits his state, then people from the various ranks of officials down to the commoners, too, will only think of personal profit and try to snatch it from each other, thus endangering the whole state. "In a state of ten thousand chariots the one who murdered its ruler shall be [head of] a family of one thousand chariots. In a state of one thousand chariots the one who murdered its ruler shall be [the head of] a family of one hundred chariots. To take one thousand in ten thousand, and to take one hundred in one thousand cannot be considered not to be numerous. If righteousness 義 (*yi / gi*) is put last and profit first, they will not be satisfied without snatching [all]."

311 While Master Meng only mentions the number of chariots and does not detail the corresponding size of territory, Seiryô faults him for this. Since ten thousand chariots are attendant upon "one thousand *li* square" and one thousand chariots on only "one hundred *li* square", the proportion in terms of territory would be only one to a hundred, which cannot be considered large, as he says.

*Abbreviations*

<i>KD</i>	<i>Keiko dan</i>
<i>KNCD</i>	<i>Kadokawa Nihon chimei dai jiten</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>NRCT</i>	<i>Nihon rekishi chimei taikai</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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