installed him in his temple in Nikkō. From this temple, the Tōshōgū, Ieyasu continued to watch over the fortunes of the dynasty he had established.

CODE FOR THE WARRIOR HOUSEHOLDS (BUKE SHOHATTO)

The regulations for warrior households are concerned mainly with military security, the maintenance of a hierarchical order, and the avoidance of material display. Most administration is left to internal, personal "household" management. Note that article 3 asserts that law is not subject to principle, contrary to Neo-Confucian teaching.

1. One must wholly devote oneself to the civil and the military arts and to the Way of the bow and the horse.

To have the civil on the left and the military on the right is the ancient practice. One must be equipped with both. The bow and horse are the most important things for warriors. Weapons are called dismal instruments, but [sometimes] one cannot avoid using them. "In times of order, do not forget turmoil." How could one not exert oneself in training and perfecting oneself [in the use of arms]?

2. Drinking parties and idle, wanton amusements should be restricted.

The rigorous restrictions that codes of law placed [on this behavior] are especially strict. States have been lost because their rulers were infatuated with sex or made gambling their chief occupation.

3. Those who have defied the laws shall not be given sanctuary in any of the provinces.

Law is the root of ritual and decorum. Principle can be violated in the name of the law, but the law cannot be violated in the name of principle. Those who defy the laws will not be punished lightly.

4. The greater and lesser lords of all the provinces and all their stipended officials must speedily expel any soldiers in their service who have been accused of rebellion or murder.

Those who harbor untoward ambitions are the sharp instruments that overturn the state, the dart and sword that cut off people [from their livelihood]. How could one condone them?

5. From now on, no one who is not from that province shall be allowed to live there [freely] among [the inhabitants of that province].

Generally speaking, each province has its own, different customs. If someone either reported abroad the secrets of his own province or reported in his own province the secrets of other provinces, it would be the beginning of fawning and flattering.

6. Any repairs of the castles in the provinces must certainly be reported [to the *bakufu*]—as well as new construction, which is strictly forbidden!

Walls extending more than one hundred *chi* [a measure for city walls: thirty feet long by ten feet high] are a peril to the state. High fortresses and well-dredged moats are the origin of great turmoil.

7. If new [construction] is planned or bands are formed in a neighboring province, you must speedily inform [the *bakufu*].

"All men are given to factionalism, and wise men are few. For this reason they sometimes do not obey their lords or fathers, or they feud with neighboring villages."[1] Why do they plan new things instead of abiding by the old institutions?

8. One must not contract marriages privately.

The bonds of marriage are the way of yin and yang's mutual harmony. One should not enter them lightly. [The explanation of the diagram] *kui* [in the *Yijing*] says: "Marriage should not be contracted out of enmity [against others]. Marriages intended to effect an alliance with enemies [of the state] will turn out badly." The ode "Peach Blossoms" [in the *Shijing*] says: "When men and women behave correctly and marriages are arranged in the proper season, then throughout the land there will be no unmarried men."[2] To use one's marriage relations in order to establish factions is at the root of evil schemes.

9. How the daimyo should report for duty.

Chronicles of Japan, Continued[3] contains a regulation saying: "If one is not engaged in official duties, one should not at will assemble one's clansmen. One cannot move through the capital with a retinue of more than twenty horsemen." Therefore, one should not bring with oneself great masses of soldiers. Daimyo with an estate of 1 million to 200,000 *koku* should not be escorted by more than twenty mounted warriors; those with an estate of less than [1?]100,000 [*sic*] *koku* should reduce their escort proportionally. However, when a daimyo is performing his official tasks, he may be followed by as many men as his rank entitles him to.

10. Restrictions on the type and quality of clothing should not be transgressed.

One should be able to distinguish between lord and retainer, high and low. Ordinary people who have not been authorized to wear them cannot wear white robes with narrow sleeves (*kosode*) of white damask, *kosode* made of glossed unpatterned silk and dyed purple inside, or purple-lined robes (*awase*). It is against all ancient law that nowadays vassals and soldiers are wearing gaudy clothes of damask, gauze, or embroidered silk. This must be strictly regulated.

11. Ordinary people should not ride indiscriminately in palanquins.

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1. See de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, p. 51, article I.
2. Neither the *Yijng* nor the *Shijing* is quoted or interpreted correctly here.
3. *Shoku Nihongi* is the second of the Six National Histories (Rikkokushi). It was finished in 797 and covers the years from 697 to 791.

In the past, depending on the person, some families rode in palanquins without [the need to obtain a special] permission, and some did so after they had obtained permission. Recently, however, even vassals and soldiers ride in palanquins. This is really the extreme of presumption. Henceforth, a lord of a province and the senior members of his house may ride [in palanquins] without first needing to ask for permission. In addition to them, attendants of nobles, members of the two professions of physicians and astrologers, people sixty years and older, and sick people will be allowed to ride [in a palanquin] after they have applied for permission. The master of vassals and soldiers who willfully ride [in palanquins] should be held to blame.

12. Warriors in the provinces should practice frugality.

The rich will flaunt their wealth more and more, and the poor will be ashamed because they cannot measure up to the average. Nothing is more demoralizing than this. It is something that should be strictly regulated.

13. The lord of a province should select those who have talent and abilities for the tasks of government.

Generally speaking, the way of ruling a state is a matter of getting the [right] men. Merit and faults should be clearly examined, and rewards and punishments should always be appropriate. When a state has good men, that state will flourish more and more; when a state does not, it will certainly perish. This is the clear admonition of the wise men of old.

The preceding [code] must be complied with.

Dated: 7th month of Keichō 20 [1615]

[*Dai Nihon shiryō*, vol. 12, pt. 22, pp. 19–22; WB]

CODE FOR THE IMPERIAL COURT AND COURT NOBILITY (KINCHŪ NARABI NI KUGE SHOHATTO)

This code does not hesitate to prescribe proper conduct for the emperor and court nobility, and it even censures the emperor's failure to observe court precedents. In addition, the official Buddhist hierarchy is treated as subordinate to the court and is seen as corrupted by it.[4]

1. Of all the emperor's various accomplishments, learning is the most important. If an emperor does not study, he will not clearly know the ancient way; [never yet has such an emperor] been able to establish great peace through his

4. Lee A. Butler, "Tokugawa Ieyasu's Regulation for the Court: A Reappraisal," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies* 54 (1994): 532–36.

rule. *Jōgan seiyō*[5] is a clear text, and although *Kanpyō yuikai*[6] does not plumb the full depth of the classics and histories, it [should be read and memorized, as should] *Gunsho chiyō*.[7] Ever since Emperor Kōkō, [our country has known] a continuous tradition of *waka* (thirty-one-syllable verse) [composition]. Although *waka* are a matter of fine words,[8] composing them is a custom of our country that should not be abandoned. As it says in *Kinpi-shō*,[9] [the emperor] should exclusively concentrate on learning.

2. The three dukes (*sankō*)[10] take precedence over the imperial princes (*shinnō*). The reason is that the great minister of the right, Fujiwara no Fuhito, was ranked above Prince Toneri.[11] Specifically, Prince Toneri and Prince Nakano[12] were posthumously appointed prime minister, and Prince Hozumi[13] was given the same privileges (*jun*) as those of a great minister of the right. All of them already were princes of the first rank and were appointed great minister only afterward. Is this not indisputable [proof] that [imperial princes] rank below the three dukes? After the imperial princes come the former great ministers. The three dukes who are in office rank above the imperial princes, but

5. *Jōgan seiyō* (Ch. *Zhenguan zhengyao*), 10 *kan*, was composed during the Tang dynasty by Wu Jing. It purports to contain the discussions that the second emperor of the Tang, Taizong, had with his ministers. These discussions are arranged in forty different categories.

6. *Kanpyō yuikai* is a set of instructions and admonitions written by Emperor Uda for his successor, Emperor Go-Daigo, and given by him to the latter when he abdicated in his favor. The text is in *Gunsho ruijū* 475.

7. *Gunsho chiyō* (Ch. *Chunshu zhiyao*), 50 *kan*, was composed during the Tang dynasty by Wei Zheng and others, on imperial command. It consists of excerpts from the classics and works on government of later writers.

8. Fine, beautiful words but also, in a Buddhist context, "lying words"!

9. *Kinpi-shō*, 3 *kan*, was composed by Emperor Juntoku. The book treats all aspects of the life at court: buildings, utensils, rituals and ceremonies, styles of letter writing, subjects of study, and the like. The text is in *Gunsho ruijū, zatsubu*, and in *Ressei zenshū, Gosenshū* 6.

10. The term *sankō* (Ch. *sangong*) dates back to the kingdom of Zhou and denotes the three highest dignitaries at the royal, later the imperial, court. In Japan, this word denotes the prime minister (*dajō daijin*), the great minister of the left (*sadaijin*), and the great minister of the right (*udaijin*).

11. Toneri-shinnō (675–735), the third son of Emperor Tenmu and a daughter of Emperor Tenji, and the father of Emperor Junnin. He was appointed to oversee the compilation of *Nihon shoki* and, after Fujiwara no Fuhito died (720), was named acting prime minister (*chidajōkanji*). He was appointed as prime minister posthumously (735).

12. Nakano-shinnō (792–867), the twelfth son of Emperor Kanmu. He was appointed as the governor of Dazaifu (Kyushu) in 830. Both his promotion to the first princely rank (*ippon*) and his appointment as prime minister were posthumous, based on the fact that through his daughter he had become the grandfather of Emperor Uda.

13. Hozumi-shinnō (d. 715), the fifth son of Emperor Tenmu. He became acting prime minister (*chidajō kanji*) in 705. He was promoted to the first princely rank (*ippon*) in the first month of 715, half a year before his death.

In the Han and the Tang dynasties, many Chinese women chose death for the sake of rightness in defending their duties. Likewise in Japan the wives and daughters of samurai have not let considerations of success or failure alter their sense of rightness, nor have they allowed matters of life and death to change their minds about what is right. Thus some sacrificed themselves [while] fighting rebels, and others died [while] combating enemy warriors. What can femininity and softness have to do with defending propriety or standing for what is right? In women the yin forces predominate; their bodies are naturally weaker and they are more submissive in mind and heart. Therefore yielding and compliance characterize their activities, but these are to be governed by resoluteness. Lewdness should never, not even at play or in jokes, be part of one's relations with women. Taught by the moral Way of rightness and duty, shown in what is essential to the Way of the samurai, the Way of husband and wife will then be correct, and the great Confucian Way of human moral relations will be illumined [made manifest in action].

[Adapted from *Yamaga Sokō zenshū: Shisōhen*, vol. 1, pp. 481–82, 485–86, 495–97; JAT]

THE WAY OF THE SAMURAI (*SHIDŌ*)

The opening passage of *The Way of the Samurai*, which follows, lays the groundwork for Sokō's exhaustive discussion of this subject as recorded by his disciples. Reflecting the general Neo-Confucian approach to ethics (compare, for example, Yamazaki Ansai's discussion of the guiding principles of Zhu Xi's school), it is entitled "Establishing One's Fundamental Aim: Knowledge of One's Own Function." Here Sokō stresses the correct understanding of one's place and function in a feudal society and its application to Confucian ethics based on personal relationships.

The master once said: The generation of all men and of all things in the universe is accomplished by means of the marvelous interaction of the two forces [yin and yang]. Man is the most highly endowed of all creatures, and all things culminate in man. For generation after generation, men have taken their livelihood from tilling the soil, or devised and manufactured tools, or produced profit from mutual trade, so that peoples' needs were satisfied. Thus the occupations of farmer, artisan, and merchant necessarily grew up as complementary to one another. But the samurai eats food without growing it, uses utensils without manufacturing them, and profits without buying or selling. What is the justification for this? When I reflect today on my pursuit in life, [I realize that] I was born into a family whose ancestors for generations have been warriors and whose pursuit is service at court. The samurai is one who does not cultivate, does not manufacture, and does not engage in trade, but it cannot be that he has no function at all as a samurai. He who satisfies his needs without performing any function at all would more properly be called an idler. Therefore one must devote all one's mind to the detailed examination of one's calling.

Human beings aside, does any creature in the land—bird or animal, lowly fish or insect, or inanimate plant or tree—fulfill its nature by being idle? Birds and beasts fly and run to find their own food; fish and insects seek their food as they go about with one another; plants and trees put their roots ever deeper into the earth. None of them has any respite from seeking food, and none neglects for a day or an instant in a year its flying, running, or going about [for food]. All things are thus. Among men, the farmers, artisans, and merchants also do the same. He who lives his whole life without working should be called a rebel against Heaven. Hence we ask ourselves how it can be that the samurai should have no occupation, and it is only then when we ask about the function of the samurai that [the nature of] his calling becomes apparent. If one does not apprehend this by oneself, one will depend on what others say or [will understand] only what is shown in books. Since one will not then truly comprehend it with one's heart, one's purpose will not be firmly grounded. When one's purpose is not firmly grounded, owing to one's long ingrained bad habits of lethargy and vacillation, one will be inconstant and shallow. [In this condition] can the samurai's purpose by any means mature? For this reason, one must first establish the basic principle of the samurai. If one follows the suggestion of someone else or leaves matters to the shifting dictates of one's own heart, even though one may, for example, achieve what one wants in a given instance, it will be difficult for one to fulfill one's purpose in any true sense.

If he deeply fixes his attention on what I have said and examines closely his own function, it will become clear what the business of the samurai is. The business of the samurai is to reflect on his own station in life, to give loyal service to his master if he has one, to strengthen his fidelity in associations with friends, and, with due consideration of his own position, to devote himself to duty above all. However, in his own life, he will unavoidably become involved in obligations between father and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Although these are also the fundamental moral obligations of everyone in the land, the farmers, artisans, and merchants have no leisure from their occupations, and so they cannot constantly act in accordance with them and fully exemplify the Way. Because the samurai has dispensed with the business of the farmer, artisan, and merchant and confined himself to practicing this Way, if there is someone in the three classes of the common people who violates these moral principles, the samurai should punish him summarily and thus uphold the proper moral principles in the land. It would not do for the samurai to know martial and civil virtues without manifesting them. Since this is the case, outwardly he stands in physical readiness for any call to service, and inwardly he strives to fulfill the Way of the lord and subject, friend and friend, parent and child, older and younger brother, and husband and wife. Within

his heart he keeps to the ways of peace, but without, he keeps his weapons ready for use. The three classes of the common people make him their teacher and respect him. By following his teachings, they are able to understand what is fundamental and what is secondary.

Herein lies the Way of the samurai, the means by which he earns his clothing, food, and shelter and by which his heart is put at ease; and he is able to pay back at length his obligation to his lord and the kindness of his parents. If he did not have this duty, it would be as though he were to steal the kindness of his parents, greedily devour the income of his master, and make his whole life a career of robbery and banditry. This would be very unfortunate. Thus I say that he first must study carefully the duties of his own station in life. Those who have no such understanding should immediately join one of the three classes of the common people. Some should make their living by cultivating the fields; some should pass their lives as artisans; and some should devote themselves to buying and selling. Then the retribution of Heaven will be light. But if by chance he wished to perform public service and to remain a samurai, he should commit himself to performing even menial functions; he should accept a small income; he should reduce his indebtedness to his master; and he should be ready to do simple tasks [such as] gatekeeping and nightwatch duty. This then is [the samurai's] calling. The man who takes or seeks the pay of a samurai and wants a stipend without understanding his function at all must feel shame in his heart. Therefore I say that what the samurai should take as his fundamental aim is to know his own function.

[*Yamaga Sokō bunshū*, pp. 45–48; RT, WTdB]

SHORT PREFACE TO THE *ESSENTIAL TEACHINGS OF THE SAGES* (*SEIKYŌ YŌROKU*)

In this preface to the *Essential Teachings of the Sages* (1665), Sokō's pupils explain the risks of publishing this work and the reasons why Sokō nevertheless insisted on going ahead with it. Indeed, the year after its publication, Sokō was sent into exile.

The sages lived long ago in the past, and their precise teachings have gradually been lost. The scholars of the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties have misled the world, piling confusion upon confusion. And if this has been true in China, how much the more has it been true in Japan.

Our teacher appeared in this country two thousand years after the time of the sages. He has held to the Way of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius and was the first to address their essential teachings. Whatever the problem—of the individual, of the family, the state, or the world—and whether it has concerned the arts of peace or the arts of war, his teaching has never failed to solve it and

deal with it effectively. Truly the presence of such a teacher among us is a sign of the beneficial influences emanating from our good government.

In order to preserve his teachings for posterity but not knowing whether the general public should be allowed to share in its benefits, we, his disciples, collected his sayings and then made this request of our master: "These writings should be kept secret and sacred to us; they should not be spread abroad among men. Your criticisms of Confucian scholarship in the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming dynasties contradict the prevailing view among scholars. Some readers might complain to the authorities about it."

The master answered, "Ah, you young men should know better. The Way is the Way of all-under-Heaven; it cannot be kept to oneself. Instead, it should be made to permeate all-under-Heaven and be practiced in all ages. If this book can help even a single man stand on his own convictions, that will be a contribution to the moral uplift of our times. The noble man must sometimes give his life in the fulfillment of his humanity. Why should my writings be kept secret?

"Moreover, to talk about the Way and mislead people concerning it is the greatest crime in the world. The textual exegesis of the Han and the Tang, the Song and Ming school of principle, so clever in speech and full of talk, wanted to clear up the confusion but ended up only making it worse. The sages were left sitting in filth and mud—a dreadful spectacle!

"The sages' scriptures are self-evident to all-under-Heaven; there is no need for lengthy comment. And I, deficient in scholarship and no master of letters—how could I aspire to write a new commentary on these sacred texts or engage in controversy with other scholars about them? And yet unless this is done, the filth and defilement of these other scholars cannot be cleansed away and the texts restored to their original purity.

"I am 'mindful of future generations' and aware of my own shortcomings. Once my sayings are out in public, all the world will publicize them, condemn them, and criticize them. Should these reports, accusations, and criticisms help correct my mistakes, it will be a great blessing to the Way. They say, 'A pig of a barbarian invites ridicule; the boastful ass is apt to fall on his own knee.' The weakness of us all lies in seeing only our own side and not seeing that of others, in the lack of open-mindedness.

"I look up to the Duke of Zhou and Confucius for guidance, but not to the Confucians of the Han, Tang, Song, or Ming. What I aim to master is the teaching of the sages, not the aberrant views of deviationists; in my work I occupy myself with everyday affairs, not with a transcendental feeling of being 'unconstrained.'[8] . . . The Way of the sages is not one person's private possession.

8. Reference to the serenity of mind that Zhu Xi attributed to his teacher Li Tong, attained through quiet sitting.