

丸山文庫所蔵未発表資料翻刻

“Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness in Japan” (倫理意識の「古層」) 原稿

丸山 眞男

解 題

山辺春彦・金子元・播磨崇晃

本稿は、丸山眞男の未発表英文原稿‘Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness in Japan’(丸山眞男文庫所蔵草稿類資料276)を翻刻したものである。この原稿が収められていた封筒には、上記のタイトルとともに、丸山の自筆で以下のように記されている。

Manuscript of a talk given to a Seminar on East Asian Studies Program at Princeton University April 7. 1976.

Also to the East Asian Research Center at Harvard University, Common Room of the Yenching Inst. May 11. 1976.

1975年10月にプリンストン高等学術研究所の所員となって渡米した丸山は、「日本思想史の根底に存するいくつかの継続的な要素、特に歴史・倫理・政治意識の研究」(‘a study of some continuous factors underlying Japanese intellectual history, particularly in terms of historical, moral and political consciousness’) (丸山文庫草稿類資料883-24-9)を課題の一つに定め、その成果をさまざまな研究会で報告した。「歴史・倫理・政治意識」のいわゆる3つの「古層」論である。本稿は、この研究のなかの「倫理意識の「古層」」(『丸山眞男集』第11巻182頁)、あるいは倫理意識の領域における「バツソ・オステイナー」を扱った部分(『丸山眞男集』第12巻155頁)に該当する。丸山文庫には、「倫理意識の「古層」」の原稿が複数所蔵されているが、ここに翻刻した資料276は、その中の最終版と推定できるものである。原稿は全部で、「特殊性という問題」という標題が付された方法論に関する短い前置きと、「A」から「E」までの5部構成の本論から成る。各部分ごとに残されている諸原稿を時系列で整理すると、以下のようになる。

「特殊性という問題」

自筆稿(資料276)

A4判二穴ルーズリーフ3枚。資料276では冒頭、すなわちAの自筆稿Ⅱの前に位置し

ている。

A

①自筆稿Ⅰ（資料238-1）

A4判三穴ルーズリーフ用紙4枚およびレターサイズのリーガルパッド2枚。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。

②タイプ稿Ⅰ（資料1080-8-22）

自筆稿Ⅰをタイプ入力したもののコピー。A4判用紙4枚。最初の頁の左上に「A」の記入なし。右上に頁番号が振られている。自筆稿Ⅰの欄外にある日本語の注記は入力されていない。他筆による書き入れあり。

③タイプ稿Ⅱ（資料220-2および276）

タイプ稿Ⅰをもとに、他筆による書き入れもタイプ入力したもの。レターサイズ用紙4枚。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。丸山による書き入れあり。自筆稿Ⅰの欄外にある注記が他筆で記入されている。

④自筆稿Ⅱ（資料276）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド5枚。原稿の右上に「Introduction-1」から「Int-2-4」まで頁番号が振られている。資料276でタイプ稿Ⅱの3頁目の前に位置していたことから、タイプ稿Ⅱの1～2頁目（資料220-2）に対する差し替え原稿と推定される。

最終版：自筆稿Ⅱ全部およびタイプ稿Ⅱの3～4頁。

B

①自筆稿（資料238-1）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド9枚。右下に1から頁番号が振られている（振られていない頁もある）。

②タイプ稿Ⅰ（資料1080-8-22）

自筆稿をタイプ入力したもののコピー。A4判用紙6枚。最初の頁の左上に「B」の記入なし。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。自筆稿本文の漢字・仮名部分および欄外の注記は入力されていない。添削の書き入れあり。

③タイプ稿Ⅱ（資料276）

タイプ稿Ⅰをもとに、他筆による書き入れもタイプ入力したもの。レターサイズ用紙6枚。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。丸山による書き入れあり。自筆稿本文の漢字・仮名部分および欄外の注記が他筆で記入されている。5頁目と6頁目の間に、自筆原稿1枚（レターサイズのリーガルパッド、右上に「5の2」とあり）が挿入されている。自筆稿本文の漢字・仮名部分および欄外の注記が他筆で記入されている。

最終版：タイプ稿Ⅱ（挿入された自筆原稿1枚を含む）。

C

①自筆稿Ⅰ（資料番号238-1）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド15枚。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。

②タイプ稿Ⅰ（資料1080-8-22）

自筆稿Ⅰをタイプ入力したもののコピー。A4判用紙10枚。最初の頁の左上に「C」の記入なし。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。自筆稿Ⅰ本文の漢字・仮名部分および欄外の注記は入力されていない。添削の書き入れあり。

③タイプ稿Ⅱ（資料220-2および276）

タイプ稿Ⅰをもとに、他筆書き入れもタイプ入力したもの。レターサイズ用紙10枚。右上に1から頁番号が振られている。丸山による書き入れと原稿の追加あり。自筆稿Ⅰ本文の漢字・仮名部分および欄外の注記が他筆で記入されている。資料276では8頁目と9頁目の間に自筆原稿2枚（レターサイズのリーガルパッド）があり、8頁目の丸山による書き入れの最後に「次頁」という指示がなされていることから、この自筆原稿2枚はこの部分に挿入されたものと推定される。

④自筆稿Ⅱ（資料276）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド2枚。右上に「1」、「1-2」と頁番号が振られている。資料276でタイプ稿Ⅱの2頁目の前に置かれていたことから、タイプ稿Ⅱの1頁目（資料220-2）に対する差し替え原稿と推定される。

最終版：自筆稿Ⅱの全部およびタイプ稿Ⅱの2頁目以降（挿入自筆原稿含む）。

D

①自筆稿Ⅰ（資料276および220-5-1）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド8枚。1頁目の左上に、「B」の下部を二重線で抹消して「D」とある。左下に1からの頁番号、右上に「Bノ1」から「Bノ8」まで頁番号が振られている。資料276には、「B-7-2」と「Bノ8」の間に自筆原稿6枚（レターサイズのリーガルパッド、左下に1から頁番号が振られている）があり、後から挿入された追加原稿と推定される。資料238-1に草稿3枚（レターサイズのリーガルパッド）が含まれている。

②自筆稿Ⅱ（資料276）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド3枚。右上に「Bの4」から「B-4-3」まで頁番号が振られている。自筆稿Ⅰの「Bノ4」頁（資料220-5-1）に対する差し替え原稿と推定される。

最終版：自筆稿Ⅰ。ただし「Bノ4」頁は自筆稿Ⅱに差し替え。

E

自筆稿（資料276）

レターサイズのリーガルパッド12枚。1頁目の左上に「C C」とあり、その左側に、抹消部分があり判読し難いが「E」と記入されているように読める。左下に頁番号（記入のない頁あり）、右上に「Cノ1」から「Cノ12」まで頁番号が振られている。

本稿の本論は、まずAからCにあたる部分（資料238-1）が執筆され（自筆稿Ⅰ）、タイプ入力に回された（タイプ稿Ⅰ）。これに対して他者の手による添削があり、それを反映した新たなタイプ稿が作成された（タイプ稿Ⅱ）。タイプ稿Ⅱに、おそらく先の添削者とは異なる者が自筆稿Ⅰの漢字・仮名部分および欄外の注記を記入した。その上で丸山がタイプ稿Ⅱの推敲や原稿の追加・差し替えを行い（自筆稿Ⅱ）、最終的に資料276にまとめられた。

DとEの部分は元来、それぞれBとCとして執筆されている。ところが、それに先立つ部分がAからCまでに分節されたため、BがDに、CがEに変更されたのであろう。DとEのタイプ稿が作成されなかった理由は不明である。また、1976年4月7日および5月11日の報告の時点で、最終版まで原稿が完成していたかどうかは確かめることができない。

最終版である資料276の作成過程で差し替えの対象となり、最終版の一つ手前の版となった自筆稿とタイプ稿は、まとめて資料220-1の封筒に収められていた（資料220-2および220-5-1）。したがって、この封筒に同封されていた220-2から220-6までの諸資料は、最終版に至る過程で削られた草稿であると考えられる。

資料276の末尾に、メモ1枚（六切サイズの二穴ルーズリーフ）と史料の抜書1枚（レターサイズのリーガルパッド）が付されているが、これは翻刻しなかった。

次に、本稿の表題について一言しておきたい。先述したように、本稿は従来「歴史意識の「古層」」という標題で、一般にはその存在のみが知られていた。しかし遺された実際の原稿の英文タイトルは‘Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness in Japan’となっている。いわば「倫理意識の（古層ではなく）諸相」とでも本来訳されるべきものであろう。本稿も含めた一連のいわゆる「古層」論の標題は、邦文・英文含めて表記に揺れが見られる。これは単に題名を変更したというだけでなく、丸山の「古層」論のアイディアの変遷に関わるものだと考えられる。

丸山は「原型・古層・執拗低音」（1984年）において、1972年の「歴史意識の「古層」」において用いていた「古層」（ancient layers）に代わることばとして、1975年のアメリカ

滞在中に、basso ostinato（「執拗に繰り返される低音」）という音楽用語を使いはじめたと述べている。その理由は、「土台」としての「古層」によって、もろもろのイデオロギーが、「基本的に」あるいは「究極的に」制約される——と私が考えているかのよう「うけとられたため、それは「具体的には断片としてしかとり出せないし、歴史的には外来の体系化された世界像と結合して現出するもの」であることを強調するためであったからだという（『丸山眞男集』第12巻152頁）。

こうした丸山の意図は、「古層」論の各報告および論文のタイトルの変遷からもうかがうことができる。

「政治意識の「古層」」の最初の原稿（資料215）は、1975年5月16日および23日に丸山がセント・アントニーズ・カレッジで行った報告‘The Structure of Matsurigoto (Matters Governmental)’のために用意されたものである（同じ原稿が1975年11月21日のニューヨークでの報告においても用いられている）。ところが、1976年3月31日にイェール大学 Hume Lectureで行った講演の原稿（資料216）は、封筒表に上記と同じタイトルが記されているものの、本文冒頭に書き入れられているタイトルには、‘—Some Aspects of Its Continued Presence—’という副題が付されている。

1976年4月21日のプリンストン高等学術研究所 Social Science Luncheon Seminarでは、丸山は当初の予定を変更し、「政治意識の「古層」」を報告しているが、4月15日付の同セミナーの告知に記載されているタイトルは、‘The Structure of Matsurigoto (Matters Governmental) in Ancient Japan: Some Aspects of Its Continued Presence’であった（ただし、同報告の原稿（資料244）のタイトルは前記 Hume Lecture 講演と同じ）。翌22日にも丸山は、コロンビア大学の Seminar on Studies in Political and Social Thought で「政治意識の「古層」」を報告しているが、このセミナーの告知（4月14日付）では、表題が‘Some Aspects of ‘Matters Governmental’ in Ancient Japan and Its Continued Presence’ とされている（原稿は21日と同じ）。

つまり、1976年前半頃、丸山の「古層」論には‘Some Aspects of」という限定がなされるようになっていたのであり、それは当初、副題にあらわれたものが、やがて主題に付されるに至っている。

本稿は、こうした変化の中で執筆されたものである。‘Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness in Japan’ というタイトルは、「政治意識の「古層」」報告のタイトルの変遷と平仄を合わせたものと考えられる（ただし、「倫理意識の「古層」」の場合にも、当初は‘Some Aspects of」という限定が意識されていなかった可能性がある。前述した1976年4月21日のプリンストン高等学術研究所 Social Science Luncheon Seminarでは、当初丸山は「倫理意識の「古層」」を報告する予定であった。このセミナーの4月8日付の告知に記載されたタイトルは、‘Moral Consciousness in Ancient Japan and Its Continued

Presence'であり、'Some Aspects of'という文言は入っていない。同じタイトルが、本稿Aの部分のタイプ稿Ⅱ、1頁目裏に自筆で記されている。また、本稿Aの末尾に'to-day's main subject—some of the basso ostinato of moral consciousness in Japan'とあるが、このうち'some of'という部分は自筆稿Ⅰ・タイプ稿Ⅰには存在せず、タイプ稿Ⅱに丸山の自筆で書き入れられている。

こうした限定はもちろん、本稿中で'though partially'という断りを入れているように(141頁)、本稿が構想の一部を成すにすぎないという丸山の認識を示してもいよう。しかしそれにとどまらず、「日本思想の「日本的なもの」は実体的な形としては、取り出せ」ず、「basso ostinatoをさぐり出していく素材」は、「ものの考え方とか感じ方とか、そういうフラグメントにとどま」る、という丸山の考えを表現する意味も含まれていると考えられる(『丸山眞男集』第11巻190頁)。本稿のタイトルの日本語訳として、便宜的に「倫理意識の「古層」」という通常知られているものを用いたが、丸山が「古層」ということばが一般に与える印象を避けようとしており、タイトルにも既述したような揺れが見られることは、本稿を読む上で留意されるべきであろう。

なおその後、Sue Henry & Jean-Pierre Lehmann (eds.), *Themes and theories in modern Japanese history: essays in memory of Richard Storry*, Athlone Press, 1988. への寄稿のため、1981年に執筆された「政治意識の「古層」」最終稿(資料247)は、'The Structure of Matsurigoto—The Basso Ostinato of Japanese Political Life'と題されている。このタイトルは、「basso ostinato」ということばを副題に用いることで、上述した丸山の意図を、さらに直截に表現しようとしたものといえよう。

凡 例

- ・本稿は丸山文庫所蔵草稿類資料276 'Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness in Japan'を翻刻したものである。翻刻にあたり、本稿の草稿の一つである資料238-1と校合を行った。
- ・原稿の明らかな誤りは断りなく訂正したことがある。
- ・原稿のアンダーラインはそのまま翻刻した。
- ・発音やアクセントを示す記号等は削除した(アンダーラインを除く)。
- ・文章の挿入やつながりを示す指示や記号は、対応関係が明らかな場合は削除した。
- ・[] (ブラケット) で表示したものは、丸山が原稿の欄外に記入した注記や補足等である。
- ・漢字は原則として新字体・通用している字体で統一した。
- ・拗促音は小書きで統一した。
- ・判読できない箇所は□で示した。

Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness in Japan

‘特殊性’ という問題

Making a few remarks on peculiar features or characteristics, my views are as follows;

If you pick up any part of Japanese myth, each narrative and legend, separately, you will come across similar, if not quite the same, tales somewhere or in various areas in the world. Thus students of comparative mythology are interested in making up a map of the world showing how such and such tales are distributed in such and such a way. For example, a legend that gods (in case of Japan, Izanagi & Izanami) stir the sea with something like a long stick and thereby drips coagulate to form an island (in case of Japan, Onogoro-jima)—legends of similar sort are mainly distributed among alta[e]ic nomadic peoples living in inland Asia. Even a tale of Sun Goddess hiding inside a rock-cave, thus causing disasters in the world, which is bound to be saved by her reappearance—a tale apparently forming one of the main themes in the “Age of Gods” treated in Japanese myth—is not so peculiar as was once supposed to be. The similar motif can be found very widely along the coast of Pacific Ocean, ranging from South-east Asia to the American Continent. Therefore, you can, if you wish to do so, dissolve Japanese myth entirely into the myth in general by comparing this part and that part with various legends in the world hitherto investigated by mythologists and social anthropologists. What I am concerned with, however, is how these parts are related with each other to form a whole structure. When you look various legends in terms of such a structure, then you can speak, in one way or another, features characterizing Japanese myth. I believe it is quite the same with the study of political vocabulary in Ancient Japan. But here I do not want to step into such methodological problems any further.

A

Some Aspects of Moral Consciousness—and their continued presence—in Japan

These years I have been working on the problem of continuity and change in Japanese intellectual history. This undertaking is divided into three parts: the first is an essay on the historical consciousness which was published in Japanese four years ago

under the title 「歴史意識の古層」(Ancient layers of historical cons. in Japan). The second part is devoted to the moral consciousness that runs throughout Japanese history. And the third part of my project will treat the problem of political consciousness by analysing the structure of Maturigoto (Matters governmental). And it is the second part, i.e. the moral consciousness that I will speak about, though partially, this afternoon.

One can discuss the problem of continuity and change in history as a general theory, taking cultures anywhere in the world as illustrations. However, my problematik does not lie in formulating such a general theory and then applying it to the case of Japan. As you all know well, Japan is characterized by its extraordinary homogeneity, which is very unusual among the highly industrialized nations in the world. This homogeneity has profoundly affected the ways in which continuity is related to change in the course of Japanese history. It is often emphasized how much Japan has changed despite its continuities, but I would prefer to ask whether historical change occurred, not in spite of, but precisely because of some basic continuous factors that underlie the Japanese experiences. And it is in this context that I believe the exceptional homogeneity of Japan is especially relevant, since it allowed those continuities to persist over long period of time through extremely diverse kinds of historical change.

Let me take an example from the field of language. In such oldest extant documents as 古事記・日本書紀・宣命 in 続日本紀・風土記・祝詞 in 延喜式 and 万葉集, there appear a lot of nouns, verbs and adjectives which are still now current as they were. In the famous narrative on the birth of Japan in 記・紀, both compiled at the beginning of the 8th century, names of some islands and countries are told just the same as they are called to-day—for example, 愛媛・隠岐・壱岐・対島・佐渡, etc. But, on the other hand, every student of Japanese is familiar with drastic changes the Japanese language has undergone so far. Thus, we find less similarity between the puppet plays of Chikamatsu and contemporary Japanese than between Shakespearean and present-day English. This is true not only of language but of nearly every aspect of Japanese society and culture.

In grappling with the inquiry I mentioned above, i.e. how the continuities are related with the historical changes Japan has experienced so far, it is my hope to elucidate what I call the basso ostinato of Japanese intellectual history. Please allow me to use such a musicological term as a metaphor, for no other expression adequate to convey my ideas comes to my mind. (I might be excused by reminding you of Karl Marx who

used expressions such as Basis und Überbau—terms borrowed from architecture—in formulating his crucial ideas.) Anyway, the basso ostinato, as distinguished from the basso continuo, is a recurrent pattern of bass notes, an underlying motif that gives color to, but does not usually constitute main themes. As far as main themes of Japanese intellectual history are concerned, most of them have been imports from abroad since Ancient times; beginning from Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, down to the modern ideologies such as liberalism, constitutionalism, democracy and socialism.

Any attempt, repeated time again in the past, to construct, or rather to reconstruct a coherent system of philosophy deserving to be called “Japanism” i.e. the Japanese Way written large—was bound to fail.

However, if we examine closely historical courses in which those ideologies mentioned above suffered modifications just after they were imported either from the Asian Continent or from the West, I believe there exist certain patterns of thinking similar in each case, to a striking extent, and these patterns have been responsible for giving subtle changes to the original. This recurrent pattern is what I call the basso ostinato of Japanese intellectual history. I don’t think such an approach is possible without presupposing the homogeneity in the sense I referred to earlier.

I am afraid I have spent too much time for explaining to you a motif of my recent studies. I hurry now to say something about to-day’s main subject—some of the basso ostinato of moral consciousness in Japan.

B

Now, let me trace the mythical narrative of Kojiki, the oldest extant document in Japan, and that right from the beginning i.e. from the age of Gods, the main purpose of which, as I am sure you have read or heard many times, was to explain and justify how Japan’s sovereign, land and people were supposed to have been born.

Note: To speak strictly, I have to say something about the documentation on such materials as 古事記, 日本書紀, 風土記, 宣命(続日本紀), 祝詞(延喜式), etc. from which I selected certain pivotal words—concerning historical, moral, and political consciousness respectively. However, I am sorry my time is so limited that I have to omit this documentation.

We observe the first scene in which the name of Gods is referred to clearly in terms of good and evil in the mythical narrative of Kojiki, when Izanaki [伊邪那岐命 = 「書紀」]

では伊弉諾尊] returned from the land of Yomi 黄泉 (i.e. the land of the dead) after divorcing his wife, Izanami 伊邪那美命 [=「書紀」では伊弉冉尊]. [(「天つ神諸の命もちて」以後、二神の「神」は命にかわる。)]

Izanaki said [書紀ではこの個所は一書第六 (myths & legends) / (Euripides)]:

“I have just been to an extremely dirty and ugly land (N: of course, here is meant the Yomi no Kuni, the land of the dead). Therefore I would like to purify my body with water 御身の禊為む.”

Thus he reached Ahakihara 阿波岐原 in Himuka 日向 of Tsukushi 筑紫 and practiced the Misogi Harai 禊祓.

A number of deities were generated by this process of Misogi Harai. Each deity has his name. However, the narrator gives a special comment to a couple of Kami (deities) when they came into being. They are the deities named Yaso-Magatsuhi no Kami 八十禍津日神 and Ōmagatsuhinokami 大禍津日神, the comment of which is as follows:

“These two deities came into being (成れる神) 所成神 [deities Not of bisexual birth Nor “parthenogenesis”. The Misogi-Harai was an occasional cause of the emergence of these Gods.] because of [Incidentally these deities are all 「化生神」] the pollutions Izanaki had contracted when he went to that dirty and ugly land.”

此二神者、所_レ到_リしときの其穢繁国 (= 黄泉国) 之時の

因_レ汚垢 [filth] 而所_レ成 (けがれによりてなれる) 之神也 [因りて from]

Then, we read the following description on the emergence of another couple of Gods.

“Next, in order to correct Evils and cure ill omens, a deity named Kamunaobinokami 神直毘神 came into existence, followed by Ōnaobi-no-kami 大直毘神.”

次に為_レ直_ニとして其禍を而所_レ成_ル神の名_ハ神直毘の神…次に大直毘の神 (毘字、以_レ音、以下倣_レ之)

Now the emergence of these pairs of deities is significant in several sense.

Firstly, it occupies an intermediate position in the whole process of the Misogi-Harai, by which quite a number of deities were generated.

All deities preceding these two came into being by a series of action of Izanaki, putting off one by one the clothes he had worn when he came back from the Land of Yomi. Thus two pairs of deities [two 禍津日神, two 直毘神] mentioned above are actually the first, that appeared after the Misogi-Harai in the strict sense of the word began, i.e. after bathing in the water and cleaning his naked body actually began. And the whole process ends by the generation of “three noble children” (三貴子), i.e. Amaterasu [天照大御神], Tsukuyomi [月読命] and Susanoo [建速須佐之男命].

What is noteworthy, secondly, is that a pair of deities [(八十)禍津日神, (大)禍津日神] that represent evils and disasters 禍 (Maga) came prior to the emergence of another pair [(神)直毘神, (大)直毘神], both of whom have Naobi as part of their names. Incidentally the fact that each deities constitute a pair is not a matter of great importance. It is simply a kind of 対句 rhetorical antithesis.

This is quite natural as an order of narration, because, the first matter that Izanaki should practice was to wash away filth and other dirt which had attached to him while he had been staying in the Land of Yomi. And (two) Naobi-no-kami emerged precisely “in order to correct evils and cure ill omens” (その禍を直さんとして).

Stated simply, the deity of Evil precedes the deity of Good. [Magatsuhi-no-kami (禍津日神) actually appears, also, in Mikado-matsuri no Norito [御門祭祝詞] in which he is introduced as “Kami who brings disasters from every corner of the world, and who is called Magatsuhi”.] Thus such a scholar as Motoori-norinaga, who read ancient documents most carefully, regarded him as representing evil spirits [悪神]. However, are [two] Magatsuhi really representatives of evil in the history of Gods? Certainly not.

Not only there are many evil deities and spirits in Ashiharano-nakatsu-kuni [葦原中国] (Ancient name of Japan), evil deities that are likened to flies in May (Sabae [なす] = 五月蠅).

But also Magatsuhi-no-kami are not even main actors in the age of Gods. It is noteworthy that crimes enumerated in the Yengishiki [延喜式] as “Heavenly crimes” (Amatsu-tsumi [天津罪]) are committed by none other than Susanoō-no-mikoto when he was living with Ameterasu in the Takama-no-hara.

Then, what is the meaning of the emergence of two 禍津日? A pair of Magatsu-hino-kami do come into existence in the process of Misogi-harai, on the assumption that it would be followed immediately by the appearance of another pair of Naobi-no-kami, whose raison d'être were precisely to correct evils. The noun Maga 禍 is used here only in relation to the causative verb Naosu 直, the personification of which was Naobi.

The original meaning of maga is something bent, which in later days is expressed in the Chinese ideograph 曲, thus read, magaru, magareru, etc. It is on this reason that the compiler of Kojiki added a gloss just after the character 禍: “whenever this ideograph is used below, it should be read maga.” [訓、禍云、^{マカ}摩賀、下效^{マカ}之]

The compiler had known the substantive meaning of the Chinese language 禍, but wanted to emphasize the implication of “bent” or “curved” by adding this gloss—the

implication of motion from the curved to the straight or vice versa.

Thus Motoori was completely correct when he gave the following explanation to the above-mentioned paragraph: (in his “Kojiki-den”, vol. 6)

“Therefore these two deities are deities that emerged during the transition from the Dirty to the Clean. Naobi signifies “spirits” (Mitama 御霊 [mana ‘ミタマ”spirits”]) which corrects [Naosu: redeem, put upright, cure] anything “bent”—i.e. evil and disaster.”

「さればこの二柱は、穢きより清きにうつる間に成坐る神にして、直毘ナホビとは、禍マガを直したまふ御霊の謂なり」

Now it is clear that Magatsu-hi-no-kami appear prior to Naobi-no-kami, not simply because of the natural order of narration as I referred to earlier. Nor does this mean that the existence of evils and disasters in this world is here more emphasized than the existence of the Good.

If the Good is defined in terms of its functional activities rather than its substantive nature, then it is only too natural that the Good should presuppose the Evil.

Naobino-kami are not deities in which the Good intrinsically resides. It is their deeds that prove to be good. This is true with any deity appearing in the age of Gods. Again to cite from Motoori’s 古事記伝;

“It is wrong to assume that there is no room for a good deity to behave in a bad way. Even a good deity sometimes commit crimes, while on the other hand, even an evil deity does good things once in a great while.”

Thus it is not surprising that Susanoo, whose wicked deeds in the land of Heaven (高天原) correspond precisely with what was listed as Heavenly Crimes 天つ罪 in the 延喜式 (905~927. the codes of Ancient Japan),—this same Susanoo should appear on the stage of Izumo as a hero god who saves a daughter and her parents by killing a huge serpent having eight heads (八またの大蛇).—certainly a Japanese version of Siegfried.

In short, underlying the paragraph of the Kojiki in which deities concerning good and bad are introduced is a way of thinking that stresses not so much the absolute opposition between good and bad as functional relationship between the two, and the transition from one to another [dirty = bad].

It is, against such a background, that a problem “whether human nature is essentially good or bad?”—the problem that caused the famous controversy between Mencius and 荀子 (Hsüntze)—has never attracted serious considerations in the history of Japanese moral ideas since ancient times.

C

Here I don't want to delve into the problem of analysing the structure of Misogi-harai in terms of religious symbolism. I would rather discuss the moral ideas so far as the above-mentioned expressions in 古事記 is related with one set of pivotal words, frequently referred to by Shintoists in later ages as representing the “Japanese Spirit”. This is a pair of Kiyoki [= clean, pure]-kokoro vs. Kitanaki [= dirty, foul]-kokoro.

The interpretations later Shintoists and Japanists have given to these words are often terribly distorted, from the original implication, particularly when they consciously or unconsciously try to rationalize these concepts with Confucian or Buddhist philosophy. However, the emphasis these Shintoists wanted to put on this expression is, I believe, not entirely out of point. This pair constitutes if not “the Japanese Spirit”, at least some of the basso ostinato in the sense I referred to earlier.

(This is a pair:)

* Kiyoki [= clean, pure]-kokoro vs. Kitanaki [= dirty, foul, (mixed)]-kokoro

Sometimes Kiyoki-kokoro vs. Kitanaki-kokoro is replaced with another pair Akaki [= bright]-kokoro vs. Kuroki [= dark]-kokoro.

* And in other cases each adjective is connected to form a contrast Kiyoku-akaki-kokoro vs. kuroki-kitanaki-kokoro.

The Chinese characters applied to these words in Ancient documents were usually 清心・浄心・明心・清明心・清浄心・(赤 [= 丹]心. These usage are supposed to be derived from (Chinese)) versus 穢心・不浄心・黒心.

And, even when such Chinese ideographs as (perverted) 邪心 were used, it was common for the Ancient Japanese to read them Kitanaki-kokoro, and we rarely encounter in Ancient documents the case in which the Chinese characters ideographs 正心 were used, in spite of the fact that the antithesis of 邪 is 正.

These adjectives are all related with the motivation of an actor. Thus it is a trite proposition that the tradition of Japanese moral judgement has been to put more emphasis on the motivation of an actor rather than the responsibility for what he has done. Also, the Japanese love of, and respect for, purity and cleanliness as symbolized in the fondness for bathing in daily-life are very well known.

I am not merely repeating such views that have been accepted widely since long ago, when I referred to Kiyoki-kokoro versus Kitanaki-kokoro. What matters here is rather the structure of this love of, and respect for, purity of Kokoro—how it is related with

the functional rather than substantive definition of good and evil I introduced to you earlier.

Let me follow the description of Kojiki a little further up to the passage in which the mythology tells of the encounter of Amaterasu with Susanoo [Incidentally 高天の原 {アヌ(ソラ) / クニ / ネノクニ}]—one of the climaxes of narratives in the history of Gods.

Susanoo, before proceeding to take up the charge allotted to him by Izanagi as a ruler of the oceans [according to 古事記’s narrative. Several versions text in the 書紀, he was to be expelled to 根, 国.], ascended to Takamanohara (Plain of High Heaven where Amaterasu was the Sovereign). He ascended to the Heavens merely to take leave of Amaterasu. However, probably by reason of his fierce nature, mountains rivers, roared, and all lands shook. Amaterasu, was startled and, armed herself perfectly, confronted Susanoo. Then Susanoo tried to assure Amaterasu of the purity of his intentions. Thus, both agreed to perform Ukehi and each produces Children.

Incidentally, Ukehi is usually translated “oaths” or “swearing an oath”, and written in Chinese Character such as 誓 or (in case of 書紀) 誓約. But it is different from oath. Actually it is performed in this way.

The partners predict two situations opposite each other A and B. If A actually happens, then A is regarded as the revelation of divine will. (a kind of sacred gambling).

The result proved the victory of Susanoo, so that he was permitted to stay in Takamanohara. Actually the very victory of Susanoo was the cause of his rude behavior later.

What is relevant here is the conversation between the two deities when they stood face to face with each other.

Amaterasu asked Susanoo: “Why have you come?” Susanoo replies “I have no dirty Kokoro [“intentions”—heart, feeling]... etc.” Although the original sentence is written 「僕者無邪心」, the oldest reading 訓 so far known to us is: “A wa kitanaki kokoro nashi.” To this, Amaterasu asks again: “If that is so, how am I to know that your Kokoro is pure and bright?” The original sentence is: 然者 ^{いましがころの}汝 心之清く明き ^{いかにしてしらむ}, 何以知, the reading of which is, of course, “Shikaraba imashi no Kokoro no kiyoku akaki wa ikanishite shiramu?”

Immediately when the Ukehi ends with the victory of Susanoo, he says to Amaterasu. “It was because my Kokoro was pure and bright that I begot graceful maidens.”

(The original: 我心清く明^{かれ}し、故、我所生子^{たわやめをえつ}は得手弱女)

[cf. in 書紀 the reason is just the contrary. Begetting male is the proof of victory.]

What seems to me noteworthy is the context in which repeatedly the purity or brightness of Kokoro was referred to.

When Amaterasu was alarmed by Susanoo ascending to Takamanohara, the first words that came to her lips were:

“It is certainly not with good intentions that my brother-deity is coming up. I am sure he wishes to usurp my country”

吾が那勢いも〔妹の対。女から見た男の兄弟〕の命之上ゆえは来由者、必よきところならじ不善心。欲奪うばはむとおもふにこそあれ吾国耳。

In this sentence, the Chinese ideographs 善心 are used. However it is clear that 善心 has exactly the same meaning as 清明心 mentioned above. (And so far as frequency in ancient Japanese documents is concerned, the Chinese ideographs such as 清・明・浄 outnumber such colorless ideograph as 善.) This corresponds to the fact that the oldest reading of 邪心 above cited was kitanaki (= dirty) kokoro. I would rather want you to pay attention to the reason why Amaterasu suspected Susanoo of having bad-(or if you want to choose more adequate expression, dirty) Kokoro. It is because Susanoo wishes to usurp my country. The corresponding passages in the Nihon-shoki are almost the same, despite several versions introduced in the latter.

The text of Shoki:

吾弟之来、豈以善意乎(よきところをもってせむや)。謂当ありて有奪はむとする国之志こころし歟

……

素戔鳴尊対曰、吾元無黒心(やつがれば、はじめより、きたなきこころなし)

One version:

弟所以来者、非是善意、必当奪はむとならむ我天原

……

若汝いましが心明浄きよくして、不有凌奪之意者(しのぎうばはむといふこころあらぬものならば
……)、汝所生児……

In each description, dirty Kokoro—whatever ideographs may be used (穢心, 不浄心, 黒心, 邪心)—is invariably related with, or rather identified with “the wish to usurp my country” i.e. “my” Kuni or “My Amanohara”.

And if you look at some of the printed editions of the Kojiki or Nihonshoki, you will find the gloss or the footnote given by Japanese contemporary specialists to this sentence, simply says: dirty Kokoro means Kokoro intending rebellion to the Imperial Court, while clean and bright Kokoro means the contrary, i.e. Kokoro loyal to the Imperial Court (朝廷).

Such a gloss is not mistaken at all. In Semmyo [宣命] included in Shokunihongi there are a lot of examples in which the expression dirty Kokoro is used in relation to a conspiracy of coup d'état or of rebellion, while on the other hand 'pure and clean' Kokoro is identified with faithful loyalty. Thus it is no wonder that specialists well versed with in archaic Japanese, should give a brief gloss to the above-mentioned passage without any detailed explanation.

But why don't we put this identification under different light? Someone wishing to usurp "my country" is surely something very bad "to myself". It is only natural that Amaterasu should have suspected bad or dirty motivations in the Kokoro of Susanoo from her standpoint, i.e. as the sovereign of Takamanohara. However, is it not surprising that Susanoo should have used the same expression "I have no dirty Kokoro" in his reply? As I mentioned earlier, Susanoo had been assigned to be the sovereign of the ocean [in a different version of Shoki, the sovereign of Nenokuni (Underworld)] by the order of Izanaki. The following sentence of Shoki makes this Point clearer.

"Changing her face with anger, Amaterasu said: I am sure my brother has intentions of usurping my country. Our parents have already assigned to each of their children his or her own territory and let him remain within his border.

Why should he dare to intrude on this place, leaving the country which he was assigned to rule?"

In short, it is only because the narrators either of the 古事記 or of the 日本書紀 wrote from the standpoint of Amaterasu, the sovereign of Takamanohara, that they used the same criterion in explaining the Kokoro of Susanoo in terms of purity and dirt. In this connection, it seems to me interesting to glance at a passage in 日本書紀 in which the Emperor Jimmu's (the legendary first human Emperor) conquest of Yamato district was described. Nagasunehiko, the last and strongest enemy of Jimmu was informed that the army of Jimmu was just near at hand. At that time Nagasunehiko says:

"The sons of Heavenly Deities are approaching. I am sure that they are intending to usurp our country." 必ず将奪はむとならむ我国

The expression used here is exactly the same as when Amaterasu confronted Susanoo ascending to Takamanohara, except that 'dirty' Kokoro is not referred to. I don't think this is only a matter of coincidence. And that there was no mention of 'dirty' or 'evil' intentions is not at all surprising, because in this case the narrator's standpoint is even more evident than in the earlier one. I guess the narrator would have imagined that what Nagasunehiko told really might have been: "I am sure our enemy led by

Jimmu has kitanaki kokoro of usurping our country.”

Let me introduce another example in order to show you that my argument is not arbitrary.

In the 3 part of the 古事記, an incident of 眉輪王 taking vengeance for his father's death and killing 安康天皇, the 20th Emperor. 眉輪(目弱)王(Mayowa-no-miko)が安康天皇を父の仇として[7才のとき]殺した事件。

“The Emperor (Ankō), unaware that the young prince (= Mayowano-miko) was playing underneath the hall, said to the Empress (= whose former husband [= 大日下王 おほくさかのみこ]) was the father of Mayowa): “I have something which worries me constantly. That is: when your son Mayowa-no-miko grows up, and should be learn that I killed the prince his father, will he not have a dirty heart (toward me)?” 還りて為有邪心乎 (きたなきこころあらむとするか) (原文)

Commenting this paragraph, Motoori gives very noteworthy explanations as follows: Quote:

“From the standpoint of Mayowa-no-kimi, it may not necessarily be said that Mayowa has a dirty heart, because what Mayowa wished was to avenge his father. However, for the Emperor himself, the same wish means Mayowa having a dirty heart. Thus such an expression.” [[古事記伝] vol. 40]

Motoori was well aware that, in Archaic Japanese used in the 古事記, the criterion of pure and dirt with regard to one's Kokoro was not at all universalistic, but depended upon which antagonistic side the judgment was on.

In short whether you have clean and pure Kokoro or dirty and filthy Kokoro is defined in terms of a particular community to which you identify yourself. The criterion is highly political and particularistic.

I would like to call this criterion tentatively: “collective utilitarianism”. [calculation of pleasure & pain / Hitler “Was dem deutschen Volk nützlich ist, ist gut. Was dem deutschen Volk Nachteil bringt, ist schlecht.”] What is good is something which is useful to a particular community. What is bad is something which brings disaster to that community. With regard to the basso ostinato of Japanese moral consciousness, I don't think it is enough to emphasis only the love of purity or respect for sincerity because such a motivational aspect is closely related with another criterion, i.e. collective utilitarianism, which is highly particularistic in nature.

There are many events in the narrative of the 古事記 and 日本書紀, in which trickery, cheating, and surprise attack are involved. (Thus 松本信広 a distinguished

scholar specializing in Japanese myths and legends, goes so far as sparing one chapter for たばかり (wiles or tricks) in his small book: 日本神話の話.]

[日本武尊 / 楠正成] Look at the behavior of Yamatotakeru-no-mikoto a legendary hero a son of Keiko who was supposed to be the 12th Emperor of Japan.

When Yamato-takeru went to the western districts to conquer the Clan of Kumaso-takeru (in 書紀 Kawakami-no-takeru), Yamato-takeru disguised himself completely as a young girl and succeeded in infiltrating the palace of Kumaso to join the waitresses. The two brothers of Kumaso, being moved by the graceful figure of this maiden, (Ousunomikoto[小碓尊]), let (him) her sit between them when they held a wine party. When the feast was at its height, Ousu suddenly took his sword from his bosom, stabbed the elder Kumaso to death. This was the way he vanquished the Kumaso Clan. Ousu also used a different sort of trickery in killing the head of another Clan, named Izumo-takeru. Ousu, known as Yamato-takeru has been one of the most famous heroes in the legend of Japan. And he was treated as representing the Spirit of Makoto (sincerity) in the recent Book of Professor Ivan Morris. I am not saying that Morris chose a wrong example. Only that Yamato using trickery did not prevent him from being worshipped as a legendary hero, with his personality attracting deep affection and sympathy in the succeeding generations.

Thus it is not necessarily because of the low degree of development of moral consciousness nor of the lack of moral norms in Ancient Japan, that such tales of trickery were introduced without any implication of regret, not to say condemnation, in the tones of the narrators.

[(14th C.) 楠正成, famous for his witty use of trickeries, when he fought with the Hojo Shogunate's army in the service of the Emperor Godaigo.]

Pure Kokoro is not something which contradicts with using deceptive means when these were directed to the enemy—or even to the outsiders of a community to which one belongs.

「権」

D

Speaking about Kiyoki-kokoro[清(浄)心] and kitanaki-kokoro[穢心], I have so far refrained from explaining the word Kokoro, thus leaving in most citations as it is without translating it. However, it seems to me unavoidable to go into the structure of

Kokoro at a minimum, in order to make clear the Basso Ostinato of Japanese moral consciousness.

In the mind of the Ancient Japanese, (I used the word “mind” here, but the mind is itself a component of “Kokoro”, so that a kind of tautology is involved here) Kokoro is a Tama 霊 (or Hi) inhabiting in a human body [cf. 高産霊神 ‘産霊(日)’ ≠ 結び]. Now 霊 (Hi) (Tama) is something omnipresent in our cosmos. It is somewhat different either from its Chinese ideograph 魂, 靈 or from what is called “soul”. May be the word “spirits” are closer than soul. But probably what the Polynesians call Mana is most fitted for the word. Be that as it may, Tama is characterized by its constant activities. Thus, Tama-furi or Mitama-furi one of the most famous rituals in Ancient Japan (November [宮中(内省)で11月の寅の日に行く。cf. (みたまのふゆ, 思頼, たまよばひ)]), was designed for giving an accelerated motion to the Tama in a declining human body [cf. It is Interesting. たましづめのまつり「鎮魂祭」(曲、Requiemの訳 / magical religion = dämon) も同義!].

In this connection, it is only natural that the Ancient Japanese should have conceived Kokoro also in terms of its incessant activities. And once Kokoro tends to be defined not so much in its contemplative as its operative and dynamic aspect, then emotions and intentions represent the nature of Kokoro rather than intellectual and normative judgements, even though Kokoro includes all these functions [mind / will / heart].

I believe this is significant for understanding the implications of Kiyoki-kokoro[清心] and kitanaki-kokoro[汚心・濁心] I have discussed above.

Even when such Chinese ideographs as 善心・悪心・正心・邪心 are used, and even when such ideographs are read yoki-kokoro and ashiki-kokoro, instead of kiyoki[清]-kokoro and kitanaki[穢]-kokoro, even then we must not overlook the subtle difference of meanings that existed between Ancient Japanese and Classic Chinese, although the cultural impact of Imperial China was such that by the early 平安 period (at the latest), it had become almost impossible to draw a clear line between the two.

Thus, pure Kokoro meant originally a spontaneous emotion from within, expressed outward genuinely, i.e. without being mixed up with, any knowing, shrewd considerations, nor being disturbed by hesitations.

In contrast to this, the classical Chinese way of defining the similar word, say, 誠 “sincerity” is much more normative in nature [cf. 誠意, まごころ, まことのころ, 誠実]. It is something which embodies the Way of Heaven as is typically shown in the “Golden Mean” (中庸) [「誠者天之道也。誠之者人之道也」]. However 朱子 may have

been influenced by the Buddhist philosophy, he did not get out of the Classic idea on the “Way of Heaven”, when he identified the ultimate being (太極) in the diagram made by 周濂溪 with 誠, and defined it as something fundamentally quiet and unmovable.

「寂然不動」

誠者物之終始。不誠無物。

感而遂通者。誠之通也。寂然不動者。誠之復也（朱子、太極図説解）

“Sincerity makes one move, thus it penetrates into one’s mind and heart. But once sincerity comes back into where it originally is located, it is fundamentally quiet and immovable.”

Needless to say, makoto or magokoro in Japanese has also a normative character, particularly after the Chinese ideographs 誠・誠意 have come to prevail and to be identified with magokoro. However, the original implication of kiyoki-kokoro, which was located at the level of emotions rather than human reason, has never been lost sight of even during the Tokugawa period, when the intellectual climate was overwhelmingly dominated by Confucianism. In his 玉銜百首 (“One hundred 和歌 poems of Jewels and Halberds”), Motoori ridiculed the Confucian mind by defining what he thought “the true nature” of human “Kokoro”. The Waka is as follows.

うごくこそ人の真心 うごかずといひてほこらふ人は岩木か。

“The very nature of human Kokoro consists in that it constantly moves. Some people are proud of their Kokoro not being, by anything. I suspect they are made either of rocks or of dead trees.”

What a striking contrast with the idea of 誠 characterized by 寂然不動!

Let me cite another example how the traditional evaluation of human emotions in Japan was different from that of Chinese Classics.

In the 礼記 Li-ki there is a saying:

有直情而径行者、夷狄之道也。

“Behaving with straightforward emotions and going shortcut are the ways of barbarians.”

What does it mean? Needless to say, one has to abide by such Cardinal virtues as Benevolence, Righteousness, propriety, wisdom, faithfulness in one’s behavior [‘五常’ 仁義礼智信], thus putting one’s emotions and desires under the control of reason. Otherwise one may go astray into the world of Barbarians. (rough meaning of the saying)

The idiom 直情径行 has been very popular since long ago also in Japan. However, the

traditional implications of the word are quite different. Surely 直情径行 may not be necessarily something praiseworthy. A man of 直情径行 may sometimes be a trouble-maker. But he is likely to be regarded in Japan as a man of amiable, even attractive, personality.

You can imagine how the original implications of Kokoro are underlying such a peculiar evaluation of 直情.

[[Conclusion:]] I mentioned earlier that pure Kokoro [清心] and kitanaki [穢 (dirty)]-kokoro were related in the 記紀 and the 続日本紀 with the political community of the Yamato Dynasty, so far as the description in the 記紀 and the 続日本紀 are concerned.

Regarding this problem, I must hurry to add two remarks.

Firstly, if pure kokoro is defined in terms of spontaneous flow of emotions, then it is only natural that the emotional and straightforward dedications to a community or to a group to which one belongs [cf. (be it a nation, a domain, a company, or a religious sect, whatever it may be,)] should have received and are still now receiving highest evaluations inside the community, because such activities would fulfill the two—internal and external—criterion above-mentioned at the same time, i.e. the respect for purity and the collective utilitarianism.

Secondly, it must be noted that pure Kokoro is not necessarily linked with a political or social community. It is because the 古事記・日本書紀・続日本紀, etc. are all official histories more or less designed for justifying the rule of the Yamato Dynasty.

On the other hand, given the structure of Kokoro mentioned above, you cannot limit the sphere of activities of Kokoro only to such public affairs. As long as kokoro tends to be defined in aesthetic terms such as pure, clean versus dirty, and ugly rather than in ethical terms, and so long as the incessant motion and energetic stream play a crucial part rather than normative judgement, it is precisely in the sphere of love, particularly sexual love that the eruption of pure Kokoro is most likely to be revealed.

In this sense, the respect for 清き心 is certainly universalistic. [Example 恋] As lovers stir each other's emotions in crescendo, their mutual feelings flare up into a quenchless flame, which defies even political and social obligations which have bound up their daily life.

The following 和歌 in the 万葉集 is only an illustration from similar love poems.

人もなき国もあらむか吾妹子とたずさへ行きてたぐひてをらむ (728 卷4)

Is there not any land where not a single human being inhabits? If by any chance

there were, I would be instantly taking away my sweet heart to live nestling close to each other.

During the war-time, politicians, the military leaders and educators used to cite a poem from the 万葉集, whenever they made a speech to a meeting of youths, or to soldiers going to the front:

今日よりは顧みなくて大君の醜の御楯といで立つわれは (万. 4373)

“From to-day on, I will not care at all about everything I leave behind, since I am going to the battlefield as a strong shield to defend our great lord (= Emperor).”

Quite ironically, this is one of a few patriotic poem found in the 万葉集, while there are a lot of poems expressing the feeling of a soldier about to be starting for war in a tone quite different from the above-mentioned.

The following is an example.

大君の命かしこみ^{かな}愛し妹が手枕離れ夜立ち来のかも 万 3480

“Respectfully obeying the order of our great lord(Emperor), I am departing for war in midnight, shaking myself, alas, free of arms of my dear sweet-heart—arms extended by her as my pillow (= during the night).

Again allow me to jump into the Tokugawa Period. As everyone of you knows well, it is extraordinary that in this period of Confucian indoctrinations penetrating into the mind and heart of the lowest status of the society, that puppet plays describing a double suicide as the zenith of sexual love should have commanded such a popularity among urban common people without being inflicted with censorship or any legal restrictions. The closing phrase of “心中天網島” one of the most famous plays of 近松 is symbolic:

「未来成仏疑ひなき、恋の手本となりにけり」

“Thus the two (who committed double suicide) was found to set an example of love—so good an example that there remained no doubt of their souls (becoming Buddha) [enjoying bliss] in the next world.”

A writer and composer of “Tristan und Isolde” might have been upset by 近松 preceding him more than 150 years in glorifying the ultimate unity of sensual love and death!

It is the more remarkable because, according to the Buddhist philosophy sensual love is typical of the so-called “attachments” without removing which one is hardly expected to reach “Nirvana”, while here in the case of 近松 the double suicide as a culmination of love is interpreted as a conclusive evidence of the salvation after death.

Here we observe a cosmos—rather a microcosmos—quite independent and completely isolated from the world of collective utilitarianism.

Treating this cosmos in itself is far beyond the scope of the problem I have been concerned with. I have cited a few examples, here only to illuminate where the respect for unmixed and spontaneous purity at the level of emotions would lead.

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Because of the limit of time I confine my discussion only to the period of Tokugawa to glancing □ problem how the Basso Continuo of moral consciousness were underlying the way in which Tokugawa Confucianists preached their theory. [Incidentally, it is far easier to show the same evidence in the political ideology of Tokugawa in the Tokugawa period.]

Let me take only case of the school of Yamazaki Ansai (the so-called 崎門学派). I believe this is not necessarily an arbitrary choice. Not only the Kimon[崎門] remained one of the largest school of Neo-confucianism until the end of the Tokugwa period. (It is told that even the contemporary disciples of Ansai[闇齋], the Founder, numbered roughly 8000 persons throughout Japan, although I guess the number 8000 might have merely symbolized the bigness of the number.) But also the Ansai school was renowned for the extremely rigorous and orthodox attitude with which they treated their sacred canons of Ancient Sages and the writings of Neo-Confucianists in China (correctly, speaking not only in China, such a great Korean Neo-Con as 李退溪 was known widely by the efforts of the school).

佐藤先生学話 [尊経閣本・無窮会本→韞蔵録拾遺第十卷] or 直方学話 [狩野文庫本] (“Naokata’s Conversations on Learning” with his disciples)

[{ / 浅見綱齋 / 三宅尚齋 were 三傑, three distinguished scholars in the school. (Most of the documents written colloquial Japanese, it is almost impossible to convey the subtle meaning of the original sentence in any Western language.)] Quote:

“It is because Confucius taught Jin(仁 [benevolence]) that he is said to be more profound in his thought than even Yao堯[Gyō] and Chun舜 ... ◎Then what is Jin? ... If you can’t help shedding tears blurting out “how dear he (or she) is!”, that is exactly what Jin means.

[アノ人ハイトシヤト云ニ、ハラリト涙ガコボレルガ仁也]

“Suppose you are the head of a family. Whenever you feel sympathized with your

servant, and tell him (or her) almost instinctively: why don't you take a rest a while?", then you are entirely united with Heaven and Earth. If, however, the same utterance of yours should be made on the consideration that you had better say so, then you would find yourself alienated from the spirit of Heaven and Earth, although it may be a little bit better than merely scolding him (or her).

〔只カウ云ガヨイト思テ云ハ、叱ルヨリハマシナレドモ、夫ハ天地トヘダヘダ也〕

(He continues:) Why has the famous remonstrance of Hakui 伯夷 and Shukusei 叔齊 been called until to-day one of the best examples of Jin 仁?—their remonstrance vis-à-vis the Bu Lord (武王) when he wanted to overthrow Chū (紂), the tyrant King, by military means.

If they had remonstrated with 武王, their Lord on the consideration that this should be a case of remonstrance, then their behavior would hardly have deserved to be called Jin 仁. The instant they heard the information that their Lord would be marching to overthrow the Emperor 紂 (Chū), the idea that something was fundamentally wrong with the behavior of their lord, might have flashed across their mind, so that, without any hesitation, they remonstrated with their lord immediately. Their behavior was not even based on such a determination as this: "I am prepared to have my body cut into piece ... so and so."

「是ハ諫ル筈ジャト思テ諫レバ、仁デハナシ。紂ヲ伐トキク、コレハドウシタコトジャト、ハアト思テツツト諫ラル。身ハ粉ニナルトモ、扨ト、切コミタル事ニアラズ。」
(Quote ends here)

What is remarkable here is not only that Naokata 直方 tried to define 仁 Jin solely in terms of the actor's motivation but also this, in the narrowest way possible.

To Naokata, the very deliberation on how to carry out 仁 Jin in the right way implies something impure, because in such a case Jin 仁 would be a matter of choice. There is not even room for any kind of strong will and determination to be evoked.

The remonstrance of Hakui and Shukusei was not in the least brought about by any normative thinking—「是ハ諫ル筈ジャナドト思フテ諫レバ仁デハナシ」—. It was, and it should be, something which flowed immediately and in a most natural way, out of the Kokoro filled with Jin 仁.

This explanation is extraordinary, the more so because 直方 is usually regarded as representing a rationalist aspect of Confucianism among the disciples of the Yamazaki-Ansai school [崎門学派 / 山崎闇齋学派].

However heretical such an interpretation of Jin 仁 may look from the standpoint of

Neo-confucianism, not to say from early Confucianism, it did have its root in Naokata's authoritarian teacher, 山崎闇斎 Yamazaki Ansai himself.

Thus, in other part of his dialogues, Naokata cites what Ansai told to him; By contrasting 仁 Jin with 義 Gi, Ansai went so far as to say that while 義 Gi was something magnificent (“Rippa-na-mono” 立派なもの), 仁 (Jin) was not at all magnificent and that Jin was even closer to personal matters (watakushi 私 ni nita mono nari). And here again Naokata gives comments to his teacher's theory: Quote:

“His way of contrasting Jin and Gi in terms of Furippa 不立派 versus Rippa 立派 seems to me extremely interesting. ... The ultimate truth with regard to Jin 仁 is revealed in a popular proverb: tears ever in the eyes of a fiend. 「鬼の目にも涙」 [magnificent versus non-magnificent]

Suppose you are a courageous warrior 勇士.

If you should merely flex your muscles ひじをはるばかりにて, without having any sensibility to things around you, then you would remain a fiend without tears, i.e. inferior even to an ordinary fiend, however courageous you may be.”

In this sentence Naokata wants to characterize the nature of 仁 Jin by using the expression Mono-no-aware o shiru, the very expression which was bound to become a key-concept of Motoori Norinaga half a century later. The original:

「勇士なればとて、はりひじばかりで、物のあはれを知らぬは鬼ばかりで、涙なし」

Of course Naokata did not fail to add to the above-mentioned sentence the following comments. Quote:

“On the other hand, it is quite mean (姑息) that such people as an old maid or a mother should shed tears when only petty matters are involved.”

This is surely where Naokata's idea clearly diverges from that of Norinaga, and it is not surprising at all. What is really shocking to anyone who knows something about the significance of Yamazaki Ansai school—something about their allegedly orthodox attitude toward Confucian learnings—is that, some aspect of their Confucianism stood so close to the National Learning, i.e. to the bitterest enemy of Confucianism in general.

Now, let me take the case of Asami Keisai 浅見綱斎 who was another representative figure in the school of Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎, and who, together with Sato Naokata 佐藤直方, was excommunicated from the Kimon 崎門 school, because he also rejected his teacher's inclination toward the contemporary Shintoist doctrine.

Keisai has been particularly famous for his emphasis on the idea of loyalty 忠 to one's

lord, which made him one of the ideological forerunners of the Bakumatsu Sonnō movement. Here I shall introduce only a short sentence from his voluminous preachings on the virtue of loyalty as an example his way of thinking.

Keisai gives his commentary to 朱子's "Theory on Jin" 「仁説」. Quote:

"Speaking about what Heaven and Earth do, it may be enough to say that they bring forth everything in the world.

However, it is the very Kokoro [心] of Heaven and Earth that it has no terminal in its activities of reproduction, wishing to give birth further at every moment. The same is true with the human Kokoro. It corresponds to Giri 義理 in its proper place that a human being should think dear of what he ought to think so, and think unjust that which is unjust. However, Jin is something more natural and more heartly (Shimijimi). We cannot but feel dear. We cannot but feel ashamed of unrighteousness. This natural and genuine inclination with which we cannot do otherwise is what constitutes the essence of Jin 仁." 「アノ、イトヲシフテヤマレズ、不義ガハヅカシクテヤマレヌ身トトモニシミジミト生付テ、自然ト忍ビラレヌ真味ガ仁ゾ」

Since loyalty is a manifestation of Jin in a particular situation, Keisai goes on preaching: Quote:

"Putting aside those who flatter their lord for the sake of their personal gains, or those who flee from their post in the case of emergencies, we cannot speak of the true loyalty unless it comes out of genuine feeling of affection toward one's lord—an affection to the extent that one can hardly bear." (Kōyūsō Shisetsu 「拘幽操師説」)

「真実君ガイトシウテ忍ビラレヌトイフ、至誠惻怛ノ本心」

I don't think it is difficult to perceive the striking similarities between Naokata and Keisai in their way of defining key concepts, and this in spite of the fact that they clashed with each other vehemently on their arguments concerning the political legitimacy of Japan, or on contemporary issues such as the incident of 47 Akao Ronin.

It is no wonder that Wakabayashi Kyosai [若林強齋], one of the most distinguished disciples of Keisai, should have developed his teacher's theory of shimijimi ['hearty affection'] in terms of the relation between lord and subject, thus reaching the point of embracing the five cardinal virtues of human relationship entirely in the category of "love" Koi. Quote:

"What is called Koi 恋 (love) is none other than the feeling of Shimijimi. It is not

only between husband and wife, male and female that Koi should emerge. Parents and children, Lord and subjects, brothers as well as friends—all love each other dearly. However, only when the feeling of dear love reaches its climax, it deserves the name: Koi. ... Thus it is based on this fundamental reason that in every anthology of Waka poems a special section entitled “love” is provided.” (“Kyōsai Sensei Zatsuwa Hikki,” vol. 9.)

The author of Hagakure, who said that neither Confucius nor Buddha would have anything to do with himself, so long as they were not serving the domain of Nabeshima—This exponent of extreme particularism had already identified the true loyalty with love feeling a little earlier than Kyosai.

Anyway, it is, I believe, hardly deniable that, even among the most devoted Neo-confucianist school in Tokugawa period, the normative character is diluted and complemented, so to speak, by the stress on the natural and pure flow of Kokoro in defining pivotal concepts of Confucianism.