

NAKAE TŌJU'S OKINA MONDŌ AND JITSUGAKU

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1. The Establishment of *Okina mondō*^{aw}

Nakae Tōju, following the usual course of studies in his time, first read the *Great Learning*, and then attended lectures on the *Analects* given by a priest of the Zen school. He then purchased a copy of the *Ssu-shu ta-ch'üan*^a, in which he read through the *Ta-hsüeh ta-ch'üan*^b, hundreds of times. Having mastered this material, he went on to read the *Lun-yü ta-ch'üan*^c and the *Meng-tzu ta-ch'üan*^d, gaining a thorough understanding of these works as well. These were the works, according to the *Tōju sensei nempu*^e, studied by Tōju up through his seventeenth year.¹

The *Ssu-shu ta-ch'üan* had been completed by imperial order in the first part of the Ming; it was based on the commentaries of Chu Hsi, and was a compilation of the theories of the Chu Hsi school that had been expounded by other Sung Confucianists. In China, moreover, the work became necessary reading for passing the civil examinations. Chu Hsi had accorded the *Great Learning* the first place among the *Four Books*, and in the Ming as well the *Ssu-shu ta-ch'üan* played a prestigious role. Consequently, Tōju as a youth was completely steeped in the study of Chu Hsi philosophy.

The *Nempu* for Tōju's twentieth year states: "Master Tōju was generally preoccupied with the study of Chu Hsi's teaching, and he intensely observed and practiced the formal modes of conduct (*ke t'ao*; Jap. *kakutō*^f) of the Chu Hsi school.² In this year he began to discuss the *Great Learning* with many colleagues, and gained the aspiration to take the learning of the "Way of the Sages" as his own task. Again at the age of twenty-one, according to the *Nempu*, he wrote his *Daigaku keimō*^g. This work was a simplified version of the *Ssu-shu ta-ch'üan*; Tōju destroyed it later.

For Tōju's twenty-second year the *Nempu* records that "there was a certain man named Araki who, once seeing Master Tōju approaching him, remarked: Confucius himself is approaching me. In his heart Araki was critical of Master Tōju's way of learning." Tōju, it seems, had adapted an extremely solemn and strict attitude and had come to espouse the rigorism of the Ghu Hsi school.

At the age of twenty-seven Tōju renounced his samurai status, left his lord's domain, and returned to his native village of Ōmi. From around this time he began to ponder teachings other than those of the Chu Hsi school.

At twenty-eight Tōju "became proficient in the methods of divination found in the *Book of Changes*". In this year he thoroughly digested Chu Hsi's *I-hsüeh ch'i-meng*^h. For his thirtieth year the *Nempu* records: "This year he married the daughter of a certain Takahashi. Master Tōju was still at this time under the influence of the formal prescriptions of conduct in the Chu Hsi school. Therefore he observed the principle of 'marrying when one becomes thirty', as originally prescribed in the *Book of Rites*, namely, 'At thirty one takes a wife.'" While Tōju harbored doubts about the Chu Hsi school, he was still unable to completely break with it.

At thirty-one, "in the summer, he wrote two works, *Jikei zusetsu*ⁱ and *Genjin*^j. Prior to this he had been mostly preoccupied with reading the *Four Books* and in rigidly adhering to the formal code of conduct. Tōju thought that he had to observe each and every one of the regulations and ritual practices established by the sage. However, these prescribed modes of conduct were often out of harmony with the times and circumstances, and there were obstacles to their observance. He thus thought: 'If the Way of the Sages is as difficult as this, it will be entirely unattainable by us in the present age.' And so after he took up the *Five Classics* and studied them diligently, he was enlightened and deeply affected."

There is great significance in Tōju's conversion from the *Four Books* to the *Five Classics*. As can be seen from the compilation of the *Wu-ching cheng-i*^k by imperial order in the T'ang, the Confucian classics revered during the Han and T'ang were the *Five Classics* (the *Changes*, *Odes*, *Documents*, *Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*). The *Four Books* (*Great Learning*, *Mean*, *Analects*, and *Mencius*) became authoritative only in the Sung, and this authority was established by Chu Hsi. That Tōju revered not the *Four Books*, the essential classics of the Chu Hsi school, but the *Five Books*, may be called his restorationism. Just as Wang Yang-ming had taken up the *Ta-hsüeh ku-pen*^l and attacked the *Ta-hsüeh chang-chü*^m which had been revised and supplemented by Chu Hsi, Tōju's restorationism revealed a sentiment of negative criticism against the Chu Hsi school.

As the *Four Books*, in point of origin, were newer than the *Five Classics*, they are comparatively more deficient in the mystical coloration of the *Five Classics*.

Moreover, reading the *Four Books* through Chu Hsi's commentaries, their contents become even more rational. For example, let me cite Chu Hsi's interpretation of the passage in the *Analects*, "respect the ghosts and spirits, and keep them at a distance" (while honoring the gods of heaven and earth, of the mountains and rivers, and the ancestral gods, keep them at a distance). Chu Hsi was apprehensive that men would be deluded by believing in the ghosts and spirits, and he thus interpreted the text as follows: "the ghosts and spirits are to be respected, but one should keep one's distance from them without believing in them too much. This is called wisdom." In other words, Chu Hsi opposed recognition of and deep belief in a personal gods. In respect to the "ghosts and spirits" in the *Mean*, Chu Hsi made the interpretation that "the ghosts and spirits are the *yin* and *yang*, the two functions of *ch'i*"; he did not conceive them as gods, but as physical laws. Chu Hsi interpreted the *Analects* and the *Mean* from an atheistic standpoint. The Han and T'ang commentaries, however, differed from Chu Hsi. Pao Hsienⁿ of latter Han interpreted the passage to mean "one must respect the gods without profanation; one must keep one's distance so as not commit a profanation by approaching the gods." In other words, since Confucius truly respected the gods, he taught not to approach them while defiled in body and mind. Huang-K'an^o of the Liang, Hsing-ping^p of the Sung, and Liu Pao-nan^a of the Ch'ing all followed the interpretation of Pao Hsien, recognizing the existence of ghosts and spirits as personal gods and regarding them as worthy of true belief and respect. In sum, Chu Hsi³ atheistically reinterpreted Confucius' words that were based on the theism of antiquity. Chu was an atheistic rationalist. Among the *Four Books*, the *Great Learning* is articulated in a more logical manner than the *Analects* and the *Mencius*. The *Great Learning* strongly links personal virtue and ruling the nation, and unifies the individual, family, nation, and world by the one principle of "sincerity." This logical style accorded with Chu Hsi's rationalistic mode of thinking. That is why he emphasized the *Great Learning* among the *Four Books*.

In contrast to this, there are many passage in two of the *Five Classics*, the *Odes* and *Documents*, which recognize the existence of and express belief in a "Lord of Heaven." (*t'ien-ti*^r), or "Supreme Lord" (*shang ti*^s), or "one God of Heaven." The sage kings Wen and Wu administered government while believing in this God, depending on it, and following his will. Evidence of this can be found in the *Odes* and *Docu-*

ments. The *Five Classics* have this deeper mystical nuance than the *Four Books* and they require a more reverential attitude on the part of man for God. The *Book of Changes* is based on divination, and divination is the process of inquiring after the will of the unseen God. Chu Hsi attempted to investigate the laws of *yin* and *yang* through the *Book of Changes*. The *Book of Changes*, however, is a mystical, and essentially theistic work.

Tōju's study of the *Book of Changes* and his absorption in the *Five Classics* reflects his recognition of the existence of God and the deepening of his interest in the mystical and the irrational. In his *Genjin*, which he wrote after studying the *Five Classics*, he wrote as follows: "The August Supreme Lord is the Great Non-Ultimate and yet the Great Ultimate, perfect sincerity and the perfect Mystery. The Material Force (*ch'i*) of the *yin* and *yang* and the Five Elements is the medium through which the August Supreme Lord appears, and the Principle (*li*) of the Great Non-Ultimate is the mind of the August Supreme Lord." The phrases, "Great Non-Ultimate and yet the Great Ultimate," and "the Material Force of the *yin* and *yang* and the Five Elements," derive from Chou Tun-i's *T'ai-chi t'u-shuo* (Diagram of the Great Ultimate). But the phrase "August Supreme Lord" does not appear Chou Tun-i's work. Tōju directly linked the Chu Hsi school's doctrine of the "great Non-Ultimate and yet the Great Ultimate"—which Chu Hsi had interpreted as Principle (*li*)—and the *yin* and *yang* and Five Elements—interpreted by Chu Hsi as Material Force (*ch'i*)—with God. In the Sung Learning from Chou Tun-i through Chu Hsi *li* and *ch'i* were interpreted as the two principles of the formation of the universe. The universe is created by these two principles. Accordingly in the Sung Learning there was no theory of the creation of the universe by the August Supreme Lord (God), and conception of rule over the world by God are extremely rare in comparison with the classical period of antiquity. From the atheism of the Chu Hsi school Tōju again returned to the theism of classical antiquity. In the *Genjin* he cites the verses of the *Book of Odes*, "the distant and vast heaven is the father and mother of the people" and "the broad and great Supreme Lord is the ruler over the people below"; these citations reflect Tōju's belief in the August Supreme Lord. And in his *Jikei zusetu* he wrote: "Reverence (*ching*) means to fear the mandate of heaven (*t'ien-ming*) and to honor the virtuous nature (*te-hsing*)." Ch'eng I teaches that reverence means to concentrate one's mind without

deviation (*chu-i wu-shih*).^y In the Chu Hsi school, *ching* meant controlling the mind; it did not connote paying homage to the gods or to great men. Tōju, however, wrote of “fearing the mandate of heaven” (that is, fearfully and reverentially to receive the command of the August Supreme Lord of Heaven). Ogyū Sorai later wrote: “Reverence takes respecting heaven and respecting the ghost and spirits as the foundation. There can be no reverence without an object of reverence. Chu Hsi originated the codes for cultivating reverence, but his was a reverence without an object to be revered” (*Rongo chō, gakuji hen*,^z ch.5). Sorai also taught deep faith in the gods, and his interpretation of Confucius’ words, “respect the ghosts and spirits and keep them at a distance,” differed from Chu Hsi and coincided with the commentaries of the Han and T’ang. It is noteworthy that both the *Yōmeigaku* and *Kobunjigaku* schools of the Tokugawa period held theistic positions in contradistinction to Chu Hsi.

Tōju wrote; “If one fears the mandate of heaven and honors the virtuous nature, he will naturally concentrate his mind without deviation, he will naturally be careful and serious...His mind will naturally be serene and no evil from any exterior source will enter his mind.” As seen in this passage, Tōju regarded the August Supreme Lord as the one God, he regarded following God’s commands as the highest significance, and he therefore separated himself from the atheism of the Chu Hsi school. Since the Chu Hsi school’s teaching of reverence without its proper object and of mere cultivation to quiet the mind (*ch’ih ching*)^{na} to maintain seriousness was indeed formalistic, it was a reasonable step for Tōju to have doubts about the Chu Hsi teaching.

Let us here compare the course of development of Wang Yang-ming’s thought. Wang Yang-ming also had Chu Hsi’s thought as the point of departure of his learning. After passing the civil examinations and becoming an official, he was exiled to Lung-chang by the eunuch Liu Chin. At Lung-chang Yang-ming awoke to the realization that “the Way of the Sages already fully exists within our original nature. My former search for Principle (*li*) within things in accord with Chu Hsi’s teaching was erroneous,” and he wrote his *Wu-ching i-shuo*^{ab} to demonstrate this in the phrases of the *Five Classics*. Since the Chu Hsi school was a style of learning centering on the *Four Books*, Yang-ming transcended Chu Hsi’s thought by especially taking up the *Five Classics*.

Tōju wrote his *Tōju ki*^{ac} at the age of thirty-two. It was modelled on Chu Hsi's *Pai-lu-tuug-shu-yüan chieh-shih*^{ar1}. He followed Chu Hsi in articulating the teaching of the Mean concerning "broad learning" (*po hsüeh*^{ae}), "investigation" (*shen wen*^{ae}), "careful thought" (*shen ssü*^{ae}) "clear discernment" (*ming-pien*^{ae}), and "sincere practice" (*tu-hsing*^{ae}), and of the *Analects* concerning *Yen chung hsin, hsing tu ching*^{ar} ("Let his words be sincere and truthfull, and his actions honourable and carefull.") In this work, however, Tōju spoke of "fearing the mandate of heaven and honoring the virtuous nature," saying that this phrase is the foundation for making progress in one's cultivation. While absorbing Chu Hsi's thought, Tōju grounded it on the concept of "fearing the mandate of heaven." Like Wang Yang-ming, he also strongly advocated honoring one's own virtuous nature,

Since it is recorded that "from the summer to the winter of the following year he lectured on the *Hsiao Hsüeh*^{ag}, and his disciples generally practiced the formal modes of conduct," we can surmise that Tōju had not entirely transcended the formalism of the Chu Hsi school at this time. In the fall of his thirty-second year, he read the *Hsing-tang pien*^{ah} section of the *Analects*, and was greatly enlightened and affected. This passage is not a record of Confucius' words, but of his actions. There is a detailed description of Confucius' daily activities. According to it, Confucius observed the funeral ceremonies with great dignity, and also conducted himself with great dignity at the ancestral temple. In other terms, in this passage Confucius' religious behaviour is recorded very clearly. What so greatly affected Tōju was this kind of attitude of Confucius towards his daily activities. In reference to the passage in the *Hsing tang pien* of the *Analects*, "His countenance was always transformed in violent thunder and storm winds," Tōju wrote in his *Rongo Kyōtō keimō yokuden*^{ai}: "In this passage it is recorded how Confucius respected Heaven and how he conducted himself; according to it, Heaven is the great sage, and the sage is the small heaven... The violent thunder and storm winds signify the mystical functions of heaven and earth, and of the ghosts and spirits; they are the physical transformations of the 'Great Vacuity' (*t'ai hsü*^{aj}). Therefore the sage who becomes one with heaven and earth, and with the ghosts and the spirits, without conscious realization follows the norms which the August Supreme Lord reveals; his countenance naturally is transformed, becoming one with the physical transformation of the Great Vacuity. Transformation signifies that the reverential mind is expressed on

the countenance." From this passage it is clear that Tōju was greatly affected by the description of the behaviour of Confucius who possessed this kind of reverential mind toward Heaven and the August Supreme Lord.

At the age of thirty-three, "in the summer, he read the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and increasingly came to feel that its meaning was truly profound. From this time he bowed before and recites the *Classic of Filial Piety* every morning. During this year he also read the *Hsing-li hui-t'ung*.^{ak} He was moved by this work's new views, and on the first day of every month he purified his body and worshipped the *Tai itsu shin*^{al} (the great original God who created the myriad things). In ancient times the son of heaven worshipped Heaven and there were no ceremonies of worshipping Heaven for the literati and the common people. But Tōju regarded this ceremony as the way the literati and common people could worship Heaven."

The *Hsing-li hui-tung*, the work of Chung Jen-chieh of the latter part of the Ming, was published in 1634. This work added the teachings of the Ming scholars to the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*.^{am} The views of such thinkers as Wang Yang-ming, Wang Ch'i and Chou Ju-teng of the Yang-ming school, and of such philosophers as Lo Ch'in-shun and Wang T'ing-hsiang were compiled in it. Through this work Tōju became acquainted with the modes of thought developed from the mid to late Ming, and was profoundly influenced. The scholars of the late Ming were drawn to the ideas of Buddhism (Ch'an) and Taoism. The Left Wing of the Wang Yang-ming school—for example, Wang Ch'i (Lung-hsi), Lo Ju-fang (Chin-hsi) and Li Chih (Chowu)—regarded the "three teachings" (Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism) as one in essence. The Kung-an literary school centering around Yüan Hung-tao clearly exemplifies this tendency. These Kung-an writers repudiated Chu Hsi's philosophy of Principle (*li*). Yüan Hung-tao's brother Yüan Chung-tao affirmed the existence of the ghosts and spirits. According to his *Ching-hsi-lei shuo*,^{an} he regarded the thunder as the mystical function of the ghosts and spirits. In this attitude there was the same faith as Confucius who displayed a reverential attitude upon seeing the thunder as a function of the God and Heaven. This kind of religious philosophy existed on a fairly broad front in the late Ming, as a theistic mysticism (irrationalism), which opposed the rationalism of the Chu Hsi school. For Tōju, the *Hsing-li hui-tung* can be thought to have been useful in supporting his critique of the Chu Hsi school. Not only was Tōju's thought profoundly related to Wang Yang-ming, his

belief in God and recognition of mystical powers were rather deeply influenced by the doctrine of the Unity of the Three Teachings developed in the late Ming.⁴

In antiquity, only the son of heaven had the authority to worship Heaven. The literati and common people were only allowed to worship their own ancestral gods. In the Chu Hsi school as well, there was no teaching that the literati and common people could worship Heaven. Chu Hsi merely held that Heaven gave the moral, "original nature" to the people, and that the people should follow that "nature" (*hsing*^a). This teaching derived from the theory of the original good nature of the Mencius, and from the doctrine of the "mandate of heaven and the obeying nature" (*t'ien-ming, shuai-hsing*^{ap}) found in the *Mean*. "Heaven" (*t'ien*)^{aa} of the Mencius invests the son of heaven. Mencius taught that the will of Heaven appears in the will of the people, but Heaven's function ends with investing the son of heaven; there was no conspicuous relation between Heaven and the common people. The son of heaven, by worshipping Heaven, was related to Heaven, but the literati and common people in general could not directly worship Heaven. The Chu Hsi school theoretically recognized a symmetrical relationship between Heaven and man; but this did not mean it recognized the right of the people in general to worship Heaven as a religious activity.

It is noteworthy that Tōju went beyond this limitation of the Chu Hsi school, allowing that all the literati and common people could directly worship Heaven and moving this concept to the domain of practice in his own case. In other words, Tōju universalized the belief in Heaven: regardless of status, anyone could have direct relationship with Heaven, and all men were equal before God. This was a concept similar to Wang Yang-ming's teaching that "every man on the street is a sage," and to his strong insistence that, transcending all forms of social stratification, every person possesses the same "innate knowledge" (*liang chih*)^a. Wang Yang-ming opposed the view that learning was the exclusive function of the literati class, and liberated learning for persons lower social rank as well. Tōju was able to liberate "Heaven", the "August Supreme Lord", and the *Tai itsu shin* creative God to all the people.

At the end of this thirty-third year Tōju came in possession of the *Wang Lung-hsi yü-lu*,^{as} and was greatly impressed with it. He came to think that the Way of the "Great Vacuity" permeates this world, and that awakening to that Way of the

Great Vacuity constitutes the true learning. The "Great Vacuity" is the fountain-head of this universe, it produces the vital force (*ch'i*) of the *yin* and *yang*, it creates the myriad things; the ruler of this Great Vacuity is the August Supreme Lord. Chu Hsi had interpreted the "Great Ultimate" as Principle. Accordingly a stern law became the foundation of everything. The one who advocated the "Great Vacuity" was Chang Tsai of the Northern Sung, and the Great Vacuity was the Material Force (*ch'i*). *Ch'i* produces the myriad things. *Ch'i* produces the "mind" (*hsin*^{at}) of man as well, and in the mind are included the emotions and desires. Tōju rejected Chu Hsi's teaching of the "unity of principle and the nature" (*hsing chi li*^{au}) (that is, regarding the moral original nature of man as principle, and subordinating the emotions and desires as belonging to *ch'i*). The philosophy of the Great Vacuity had been revived by Lo Ch'in-shun of the mid-Ming as the "philosophy of *ch'i*" (*ki no tetsugaku*)^{av}. Wang Ch'i was also involved in the transmission of this "philosophy of *ch'i*". Tōju became aware of the "philosophy of innate knowledge" and the "philosophy of *ch'i*" first through the *Hsing-li hui-t'ung* and then through the *Wang Lung-hsi yü-lu*. He wrote his *Okina mondō* the following year, at age thirty-four.

2. Wang Ch'i and Tōju's *Okina mondō*^{aw}

(1)

To transcend the formalism of the Chu Hsi school was Tōju's great aim; the philosophy which exerted a strong stimulus in this direction was that of Wang Ch'i. Passages frequently appear in the *Wan Lung-hsi yü-lu* which repudiate and eliminate the formalism (*ke t'ao*) taught by the Chu Hsi school. For example in Wang Ch'i's *Wei-yang wu-yü*^{ax} (*Wang Lung-hsi ch'üan-chi*, vol. 1.): "To deal with affairs according to detailed norms, without regard for whether they well accord with the time and circumstances is to have one's mind adulterated by formalism (*ke t'ao*) and is not the true innate knowledge." And again, in his *Fu-chou Ni-hsien-t'ai hui-yü*^{ay}, (*ch'üan-chi*, vol. 1.), Wang Ch'i wrote: "When there is any thought, even to the slightest extent, of forming a clique and preserving it, this is a thought which has arisen from formalism (*ke t'ao*) and is not the true learning which learns for its own sake." The term *k'o-t'ao*^{az} (with the nuance of "outer shell" or "husk") is also employed with the same meaning as *ke t'ao*, and this too is repudiated. Tōju wrote:

“Not understanding that the Way exists in their own minds, men recognize as the “Way” only the laws laid down by the sage kings of old, or modes of conduct practiced by the sages and excellent individuals; and they define as the good the *ke-t'ao* (conventions) frequently observed in society, and affirm as true principle the reasoning of society. And since men exert themselves to correct their minds and cultivate their bodies according these codes and conventions and reasonings, the intrinsic mind, that is the mind which can respond spontaneously to circumstances, on the contrary diminishes” (*Okina mondō kai sei hen*).⁵

Tōju did not regard the codes and conventions of society as passed down from antiquity to be directly the good. Just as Wang Ch'i conceived the intrinsic mind as “being in harmony with the times and circumstances,” Tōju also stressed “acting in accord with the times, places, and one's status.” The “times” refer to the actions of a man being congruent with the trend of the times and with the historical age; the “places” signify his actions being appropriate under the circumstances; “status” refers to his acting in a manner befitting his social rank and position. Tōju also wrote: “To follow the true principle in agreement with the times, places, and one's position is the good” (*Okina mondō*, vol. 1.). and again “Those modes of proper conduct which are applicable in every age are very few. Since these modes change with the times, the circumstances, and with men, even the Buddhists have repudiated the observance of fixed codes of behavior” (*Okina mondō*, vol. 2). At the base of this rejection of behaviorial formalism (*ke-t'ao*) was the philosophy, shared by both Wang Ch'i and Tōju, that all laws and customs change with the historical times. Wang Ch'i was the greatest disciple of Wang Yang-ming. Yang-ming had said: “The methods by which the sages taught the people were analogous to prescribing medicines in response to the conditions of their illnesses. There is no one fixed method for curing all forms of illness” (*Ch'üan-hsi-lu*, Preface). Wang Yang-ming did not hold that the good consisted in practicing the modes of proper conduct just as they are described in the ancient Classics. The good necessarily involves an individual acting on the basis of the judgments of his own intrinsic “innate knowledge” (*liang chih*). Therefore while Wang Yang-ming did not employ the term *ke-t'ao*, his teaching that one must never lose the dynamic, spontaneous mind was the same in emphasis as in Wang Ch'i and Tōju. The manifestation of the “innate knowlwdge” means to respond in accord with the times and places—this is the spirit of Practical Learning (*jitsugaku*).^{ba} *Jitsugaku*

refers to "pragmatic learning" (*jitsuyō no gaku*), "learning useful in actual affairs" (*jissai no gaku*);^{bc} again, it is the "learning that issues in positive achievement" (*jissen no gaku*),^{b1} "the learning that results in action" (*kōdō no gaku*).^{be} Because of this pragmatic, positive character, it is requisite that one's response be fully efficacious; one must immediately react to the permutations of circumstance. "*Jitsugaku*" is lacking if one cannot so respond because he adheres rigidly to a fixed pattern of thought. Tōju calls this practical learning the *ken no michi*^{bf} (Way of the delicately balanced scale). He wrote: "The metaphor of a scale (*ken*) refers to delicately balanced weights... The sage is one with Heaven... he acts self-reliantly and is spontaneous. Since the actions of the sage are always in perfect alignment with the Heavenly Way, the metaphor of a scale which freely moves [in response to the weights placed on it] well symbolizes the activity of the sage" (*Okina mondō*, vol. 2). Tōju wrote that, as only the sage attains this kind of freedom, ordinary men must observe the codes of conduct established by them. But since he took free activity to be the ideal, ordinary men could also to some extent become free of fixed modes of conduct—in other words, free from rigid psychological bonds.

Wang Ch'i had lived a free, and somewhat dissolute life as a youth. The formalism of the Chu Hsi school ran contrary to his character. Thus, after he became a disciple of Wang Yang-ming, he stressed Wang's teaching that "the learning of the sages is never rigid, never binds men" (*Ch'üan-hsi-lu*). He took Confucius' disciple Tseng-tien as his model. Tseng-tien, it is said, would take his place before Confucius, and while playing his lute, would listen to the discussion between Confucius and older colleagues. Wang Ch'i took this kind of leisurely and free mind as his ideal. Tseng-tien's ideal was not to become a prime minister or a great general. He is described in the following manner in the *Analects* (*Hsien chin pien*): He said "Among the rain altars (designating a quiet grove at the place where ceremonial dances were performed in dry weather) I would enjoy the cool breezes and return home singing." Tseng-tien was a person completely free of the bonds of *ke-t'ao*. Also his free mind was something attained in a holy place such as "among the rain altars." He was at home in the holy places. We can even call this the serenity of mind of one who is in the hands of God. It can be called a religious mentality. Both Wang Ch'i, who took this kind of mind exemplified in Tseng-tien as his ideal, and Tōju who was influenced by Wang Ch'i, repudiated

“formalism” (*ke-t'ao*). Their freedom from it was, so to speak, liberation from the “law” of the Old Testament. Liberation from the law means the attaining of a serenity of mind not by abandoning God, by being held in God's embrace.

In the summer of his thirty-fourth year, the year after he came into possession of Wang Ch'i's *Yü-lu*, Tōju made a pilgrimage to Ise. According to the *Nemphu*, prior to this time Tōju had held the view that “God is the being of the highest dignity. A samurai of low status cannot approach a person of high status, and he fears to insult a noble man. How much less can he approach God.” Just as Chu Hsi had held that the ghosts and spirits should be respected at a distance, so too Tōju had kept his distance from the Ise Shrine. But from this time forward his thought underwent a transformation. The *Nemphu* records that in the autumn of this same year: “In this year he realized for the first time that it is not correct to observe a formal code of conduct (*ke-t'ao*). Prior to this, he had lectured daily while adhering in the main to the commentaries of Chu Hsi, and teaching the rules of the *Hsiao-hsüeh* to his disciples. Therefore his disciples were sinking into such formalism, their rigid adherence to which was becoming even more deleterious, their spirits becoming more and more oppressed. The personalities of some became so harsh that the bonds of good fellowship were broken even among their friends. Master Tōju then instructed them: ‘For a long time I have acted according to the formal modes of conduct (*ke-t'ao*). I have recently come to understand that such a code is wrong. Although it cannot be said that the motive of such behavior is the same as the desire for fame and profit, they are similar on the point of causing one to lose one's spontaneous original nature (living force). Abandon the form of desire which adheres to formal mannerisms, have faith in your own essential mind, do not be attached to mere convention!’ His disciples were deeply moved, and their dispositions became healthy and bright again.”

(2)

Wang Ch'i wrote: “Persons of the kind described as ‘your good, careful people of the villages’ [following Legg's translation of term *hsiang-yüan*^{bg}, which Wang Ch'i took from the *Analects*] are neither ardent (*k'uang*^{bh}) nor cautiously-decided (*chüan*^{bi}). They at first strive to become sages, but vainly they learn only the outer forms of sagehood and finally end up adhering to formal modes of conduct” (*Wang Lung-hsi*

ch'üan-chi, vol. 1, *Yü Mei-ch'un-fu wen-ta*^{bi}). Since Wang Ch'i, like Tseng-tien, had an "ardent" personality, he often praised the "man of ardor." Tōju also wrote on the same theme in a long passage found in the second volume of *Okina mondō*. There is first the sage, then "the man who acts according to the mean" (*chung-hsing*)^{bk}, then the "man of ardor," then the man who is "cautiously-decided." And Tōju wrote: "As both the Buddha and Bodhidharma were excellent persons of ardent disposition, if they met a sage, they would certainly have awakened to the Way of the delicate mean and have attained to the level of the man who acts according to the mean." Also, Tōju called Chuang Tzu a "man of ardor." While severely criticizing the philosophies of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and Buddhists, he recognized that even the proponents of heterodox teachings had attained to the level of the "man of ardor."

Tōju had no intention of setting up a school called Confucianism in opposition to Buddhism and other schools. Rather he endeavored to see all religions as one. His view was that the whole world under the August Supreme Lord of the Great Vacuity is one. "The August Supreme Lord of the Great Vacuity is the great ancestor of the human race. Seen from the heavenly principle of this truth, all men who dwell in the world—the sages and wise men, Sakyamuni and Bodhidharma, Confucianists and Buddhists, myself and other men—are the descendants of the August Supreme Lord (*Okina mondō*, vol. 2). His teaching of the one world coincided with that of Wang Yang-ming, who written: "The great man sees heaven, earth, and the myriad things as one substance. He regards the world as one family, and China as one man" (*Ta-hsüeh-wen*)^{bl}. Uchimura Kanzō, the founder of the No-Church (*mukyō-kai*)^{bm} Christian movement in Meiji Japan, has a chapter on Nakae Tōju in his *Representative Men of Japan*.⁶ In another work, *Chijnron*,^{bn} Uchimura cited the above words of Wang Yang-ming, and went on to write: "I must be not only a Japanese, but a World-man (Weltmann)."⁷ The religions view of the unity of the world—namely, that the world under the one God is one—was a mode of thought which linked Uchimura Kanzō and Nakae Tōju. Wang Yang-ming regarded the world as one, not through a philosophy postulating one God, but through his conception that all men possess "innate knowledge."

Since the world is one, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism must not be many. That the theory of the unity of the Three Religions flourished in the late Ming after Wang Ch'i can be regarded as a development of Wang Yang-ming's doctrine

of innate knowledge.

Tōju wrote that since Sakyamuni, Bodhidharma, and Chuang Tzu were all “men of ardor,” they could become sages. To effect a unification of the three religions—and Shintō as well—Tōju expounded his teaching of the August Supreme Lord of the Great Vacuity. Concerning “your good, careful people of the villages,” Wang Ch’i had said: “Looking at their outward appearances and activities, they resemble the sages in trustworthiness, honesty, and integrity...But these people only strive to be thought well of by others, and so feverishly devote themselves to putting on clever outward appearances.” (*Yü Mei-ch’un-fu wen-t’a*). Compare this with Tōju, who wrote: “Your good, careful people of the villages are very calculating, their knowledge superior to most; they are adept at dealing with any situation. While they seem to strive to be filial to their parents, respectful to their older brothers, loyal to their superiors, and trustworthy to their friends, and while they appear to be honest, without gross desires and blameless in every respect, their intention is to gain the reputation of being praised by their contemporaries and the profit of advancing their careers as they gain the commendations of their lords...Their honesty and lack of gross desires are mere appearance and not genuine” (*Okina mondō*, vol. 2). The resemblance between these passages is remarkable.

(3)

Tōju often used the phrases “The August Supreme Lord of the Great Vacuity” and the “Far-ranging Vastness of the Great Vacuity” (*Fai-hsü liao-kuo*)^{ba}. The myriad things proceed from this vast Great Vacuity. He also wrote: “The Great Vacuity embraces every phenomenon” (*T’ien-shan wen-ta, Lung-hsi hui-yü*, 6)^{bp}, and he extolled the fact that no sooner do the winds, rains, and clouds, and thunder appear than they disappear, while the “Great Vacuity” itself does not change in the least. He wrote: “There is no better method of cultivation than to stand the whole day through in the presence of the Supreme Lord” (*Fu-chou Ni-hsien-t’ai hui-yü, Wang Lung-hsi ch’üan-chi*, vol. 1). And again: “Always standing in the presence of the Supreme Lord, if there is no time to be idle, there is also no need to read books” (*op. cit.*).

Wang Ch’i conceived the “innate knowledge” as the Supreme Lord. Consequently, Tōju’s religious philosophy of the “August Supreme Lord of the Great Vacuity”

was influenced by this aspect of Wang Ch'i's thought. That he was acquainted with Wang Ch'i's philosophy of the "Supreme Lord" even prior to knowing Wang Yang-ming's teaching of the "extension of innate knowledge" was the reason that Tōju's own thought took on this religious, or theistic, dimension. But while I say "theistic," he did not abandon worship of the ancestral Japanese *kami*.^{bq} The August Supreme Lord was both the ancestral *kami* and the God who creates the universe, and the many Japanese *kami* were gods subordinate to the August Supreme Lord. His position can be called a synthesis of theism and polytheism.

As noted above, the philosophy of the Great Vacuity began with Chang Tsai. Chang Tsai held that the material force (*ch'i*) of the *yin* and *yang* are born from the Great Vacuity, and as they function they produce the myriad things. And the myriad things again become *ch'i* and return to the Great Vacuity. This theory explains the mechanism of the creation of the universe. Tōju conceived the essence of the Great Vacuity as the *life force* of the universe. Therefore he understood it as analogous to the process whereby human beings inherit the life force from their ancestors. To truly live, without losing the life force of the Great Vacuity, he regarded as filial piety (*hsiao*).^{br} He broadened the comprehension of the concept from that of serving one's parents to preserving the life force of the Great Vacuity. And to worship the August High Lord which rules the Great Vacuity was also filial piety.

Tōju then identified this "filial piety" with the concept of "enlightened virtue" of the *Great Learning*, and both with "innate knowledge." As "innate knowledge" permeates the Great Vacuity, so too does "filial piety". Wang Ch'i had written: "That which permeates heaven and earth and the myriad things is *ch'i*, and innate knowledge is the soul of *ch'i*" (*Ou-yang Nan-yeh wen-hsüan-hsü*,^{bs} *Wang Lung-hsi ch'üan chi*, vol. 13). Wang Ch'i and Tōju shared the same mode of thought that enlightened virtue, innate knowledge, and filial piety were innate in the mind, yet transcend the mind and permeate the Great Vacuity and heaven and earth. Thus concepts originally intensing moral virtues were transformed into religious meanings.

(4)

Among the Confucian classics, Wang Ch'i especially esteemed the *Book of Changes*. He cited it often, and wrote a commentary on it entitled *Ta-hsiang yi-shu*.^{bt} Tōju also regarded the *Book of Changes* as the work that expressed the deepest

truth among thirteen Confucian classics. In fact, both Wang Ch'i and Tōju especially took up and explained the *ken*^{b1} sign of divination (the seventh of the Eight Diagrams) in the *Book of Changes*.

(5)

Tōju interpreted the phrase "maintaining carefulness when alone" (*shen tu*)^{bv} as meaning "when the Great Sun comes forth, even the ghosts disappear and hide" (*t'ai-yang i-ch'u, wang-liang tzu-hsiao*)^{bw}. This latter phrase was cited from Wang Yang-ming's *Shih-ti li-chih shuo* (*Wang-wen-ch'eng-kung-ch'üan-shu*)^{bx}, vol. 7). The phrase is also cited in Wang Ch'i's *Yü Yang-ho Chang-tzu wen-ta* (*Wang Lung-hsi ch'üan chi*, vol. 5) and *Wen-chiang shu-yüan hui-yü* (*ch'üan chi*, vol. 1). Tōju probably got it not directly from Wang Yang-ming but from Wang Ch'i. In this instance, too, it is of interest that Wang Ch'i and Tōju shared a fondness for the same phrase.

From the above we can see how great an influence Wang Ch'i's *Yü-lu* exerted on Nakae Tōju. Of course, Wang Yang-ming's influence on Tōju was also considerable, but during the time Tōju was writing his *Okina mondō*, it was Wang Ch'i who exerted the greater influence. And the Tōju school which later formed a religious organization called the *Tōju kyō*^{ca}, received its greater influence not from Wang Yang-ming, but from the religious thought of the late Ming.

NOTES

- 1 *Tōju sensei nempu*^{cb} (*Tōju sensei zenshū*)^{cc}, 5 vol., Iwanami Shoten, 1940) All citation will be from this *zenshū*.
- 2 *Ke t'ao* refer to such practices as methods of regarding, detailed ritual prescription, codes of ethical judgment, and methods of cultivation advocated by the Chu Hsi school. They were the standards, and signified formally exact customs and rules of conduct. Their observance resulted in producing rigid persons, out of harmony with the times, circumstances, and human nature, and were oppressive of one's spontaneous humanity.
- 3 Yamashita Ryūji, *Yōmeigaku no kenkyū*, vol. 1, ch. 2, "Jukyō no shūkyōteki seikaku" (The religious character of Confucianism).
- 4 The *Hsing-li hui-t'ung* contained the works of Lin Ch'ao-en^{ca} who taught the doctrine of the unity of the three religions, and of T'ang Shu who believed in the *Taiitsu shin*^{ca}.
- 5 *Okina mondō kaisei hen*, a revision of the *Okina mondō* of the third year of Keian (1650).
- 6 Uchimura Kanzō (1861-1930), the religious leader and social critic, graduated from the Sapporo Agricultural School, and studied in America. He developed his teaching of No-

Church Christianity in opposition to institutional Christianity. Through his independent teaching that harmonized with the spirit of Japanese *Bushidô*, he broadened the appeal of Christianity among the intelligentsia. Among his followers were such names as Kunikida Doppo, the novelist, Osanai Kaoru, founder of the New Theatre movement, Nanbara Shigeru, former president of Tôkyô University, and Yanaibara Tadao, former president of Tôkyô University. *Representative Men of Japan* (1908) was a revision of *Japan and the Japanese* (1894), written in English. It contains appreciations of Saigô Takamori, Uesugi Yôzan, Ninomiya Sontoku, Nakae Tôju, and Nichiren. Uchimura most praised Wang Yang-ming among the Chinese philosophers. He emphasized the theistic and religious character of Nakae Tôju's thought, and pointed to many similarities with Christianity. In this way he clashed with Inoue Tetsujirô, who stressed the ethical, rather than religious, character of Tôju's thought.

- 7 Uchimura's *chijinron* (1894), published by Iwanami Shoten in 1942, first appeared under the title of *Chirigaku kô* (Geographical Studies), but this was changed to *Chijinron* in 1897. Uchimura gave it the English titles of "Spirit of Geography" and "Religion of Geography."

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GLOSSARY

a 四書大全	o 皇侃「論語義疏」
b 大学大全	p 邢昺「論語注疏」
c 論語大全	q 劉宝楠「論語正義」
d 孟子大全	r 天帝
e 藤樹先生年譜	s 上帝
f 格套	t 理
g 大学啓蒙	u 氣
h 易学啓蒙	v 敬
i 持敬図説	w 天命
j 原人	x 德性
k 五經正義	y 主一無適
l 大学古本	z 徂徠「論語微」, 学而篇
m 大学章句	aa 持敬
n 包咸	ab 五經臆説

ac	藤樹規	bf	権の道
ad	白鹿洞書院揭示	bg	郷原
ae	博学, 審問, 慎思, 明弁, 篤行	bh	狂
af	言忠信, 行篤敬	bi	狷
ag	小学	bj	与梅純甫問答
ah	郷党篇	bk	中行
ai	論語郷党啓蒙翼伝	bl	大学問
aj	太虚	bm	無教会
ak	性理会通	bn	地人論
al	太一神	bo	太虚廖廓
am	性理大全	bp	天山問答, 竜溪会語
an	青溪雷説	bq	神
ao	性	br	孝
ap	天命, 率性	bs	欧陽南野文選序
aq	天	bt	大象義述
ar	良知	bu	艮卦
as	王竜溪語録	bv	慎独
at	心	bw	太陽一出, 翹翹自消
au	性即理	bx	示弟立志説, 王文成公全書
av	気の哲学	by	与陽和張子問答
aw	翁問答	bz	聞講書院会語
ax	維陽晤語	ca	藤樹教
ay	撫州擬峴台会語	cb	藤樹先生年譜
az	殻套	cc	藤樹先生全集
ba	実学	cd	林兆恩
bb	実用の学	ce	唐枢
bc	実際の学	cf	翁問答改正篇
bd	実践の学	cg	地理学考
be	行動の学		

〔附記〕

この論文は、Neo-Confucian Sources of "Practical Learning" in the Ming and Early Tokugawa Periods という主題の下に開催された学会(1974年6月2日～7日、ハワイ大学東西センター)で発表したものである。この学会は、コロンビア大学の副学長 Dr. Wm. Theodore de Bary の主宰する Regional Seminar in Neo-Confucian Studies によって企画運営され、渡航費・滞在費は American Council of Learned Societies から支給された。論文発表者は、Wm. Theodore de Bary (Columbia University), Chung-ying Cheng (University of Hawaii), Irene Bloom (Columbia University), 阿部吉雄(東大名誉教授), David Dilworth (State University of New York), 山下竜二(名古屋大学), I. J. McMullen (Oxford University), 岡田武彦(九大名誉教授), Julia Ch'ing (Australian National University), Samuel Yamashita (University of Michigan), 源了円(日本女子大学)の諸氏、討論参加者は、Wing-tsit Chan (Chatham College), Wei-ming Tu (University of California), Carol Gluck (Columbia University), Robert Wargo (University of Hawaii), V.H. Viglielmo (University of

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