

THE ESSENCE OF HAGAKURE

by

HOWARD KEVIN ALEXANDER

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Department of Asian Studies

The University of British Columbia  
2075 Wesbrook Place  
Vancouver, Canada  
V6T 1W5

Date

April 30, 1976

ABSTRACT

In 1700 Yamamoto Tsunetomo, a samurai of the province of Saga in northern Kyushu, retired from active duty in order to spend his remaining years praying for his lord, who had died that year. In collaboration with a younger associate, Tashiro Tsuramoto, who recorded his lectures and conversations, Tsunetomo authored a book entitled Hagakure. Finished in 1716, the work had taken six years, and upon completion it consisted of eleven volumes of short passages, mainly of a moral or anecdotal nature. Through didactic illustrations Tsunetomo delineated behaviour proper to the samurai class.

Realizing that the extended age of peace of the Tokugawa period was having a debilitating effect on the morals of the warrior class, Tsunetomo attempted in Hagakure to reverse this trend. Aware of the changing circumstances, in which the samurai were increasingly assuming the role of administrators rather than warriors, Tsunetomo emphasized the development of mental attitudes appropriate to the battlefield. Self discipline and unquestioning loyalty, such as might be expected of an ideal warrior, even to the extent of being resigned to death at any time, was, he believed, a prerequisite to service of any kind. By developing such moral virtues as rectitude, courage, honour, decorum, compassion, unselfishness, frugality, and, most importantly, loyalty, Tsunetomo expected a samurai to prepare himself to serve his lord in any capacity. On the other hand, he derided samurai who were obsessed with intellectual or artistic pursuits, stating that they often became excessively

proud and lost their ability to carry out their duties effectively.

Because of Tsunetomo's emphasis on regional history and on loyalty to his provincial lord, Hagakure, would most certainly have displeased the authorities in Edo had it been widely circulated. Therefore, following the author's orders, it remained secret among the leading samurai of Saga until the middle of the nineteenth century. Then the rigorous loyalty found in Hagakure was redirected away from the regional lord to the emperor, in keeping with the rising sense of nationalism which accompanied the imperial restoration. Hagakure thus took on a new function. During the period of militarism leading to the Pacific War, Tsunetomo's declaration that a warrior must be resigned to death in the cause of loyalty brought widespread recognition to Hagakure. In fact, the book came to be equated with a determination to die for the sake of the emperor.

To give a manageable structure to the hundreds of loosely associated passages of which Hagakure is composed, a modified framework of Confucian mores has been employed in this essay. Since the most prevalent philosophy of the book, and indeed of the whole Edo period, was Neo-Confucianism, this framework, however artificial, seems appropriate. Other approaches may also have been possible for Hagakure contains much more than only Neo-Confucian philosophy. The emphasis on simplicity and the reliance on one's own efforts, concepts which form integral parts of Zen Buddhism, also held great appeal to Tsunetomo. He did not clearly conceptualize his beliefs as being Confucian, Buddhist, or native Japanese components. Rather all his ideas



were amalgamated into a syncretism which he expresses in Hagakure as the way of the warrior.

PREFACE

I first became aware of the existence of Hagakure a decade ago, yet I remember the circumstances well. At that time I had been in Japan training in martial arts for almost two years and felt that I was finally making progress. My misplaced pride was soon dislodged, however, by a respected instructor who said that although physically I was starting to learn the techniques, my mind had not yet begun to control my body. Unless, he advised, I studied the contents of books such as Hagakure I would never be able to comprehend the true spirit of the Japanese martial arts. In the following years, as I became more interested in the historical and spiritual aspects of Japanese budo, I heard repeated references to Hagakure, particularly by those practitioners of the more traditional forms of martial arts. I came to realize that Hagakure is indeed a seminal work in the ethics of the samurai class during the Edo period.

Because of this interest it was natural that I would select Hagakure as the topic of my Master's thesis. Unfortunately, due to the book's great length, I have found it practical to limit my studies for this thesis to the first chapter, which I believe to be representative of the whole. Close examination of the remaining portion of Hagakure may indicate a need for a slight shift in emphasis and provide more exacting examples. However, I believe that further research would almost certainly support the conclusions reached in this paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

## Chapter I.

- |  |       |
|--|-------|
| 1. Introduction                        | p. 1  |
| 2. Historical Background               | p. 8  |
| 3. Yamamoto Tsunetomo                  | p. 17 |
| 4. Compilation and Textual Information | p. 26 |

## Chapter II.

- |                          |       |
|--------------------------|-------|
| 1. Internal Aspects      | p. 34 |
| 2. Training              | p. 44 |
| 3. Loyalty               | p. 51 |
| 4. Attitude Toward Death | p. 55 |
| 5. Personal Appearance   | p. 63 |

## Chapter III.

- |                       |       |
|-----------------------|-------|
| 1. Conduct in Society | p. 66 |
| 2. Rectitude          | p. 71 |
| 3. Compassion         | p. 76 |
| 4. Courage and Honour | p. 78 |
| 5. Etiquette          | p. 82 |

## Chapter IV.

- |               |       |
|---------------|-------|
| 1. Conclusion | p. 85 |
|---------------|-------|

## Chapter I.

1. Introduction

By the turn of the eighteenth century the Tokugawa bakufu 徳川幕府<sup>1</sup> had, after a hundred years of rule, firmly secured its position of supremacy in Japan. A stable relationship had been struck between the central regime in Edo江戸, the present Tokyo, and the daimyō 大名<sup>2</sup> of the various han 藩.<sup>3</sup> The resultant baku-han 幕藩<sup>4</sup> system had proven itself as an entity sufficiently viable to have realized a period of extended peace. The absence of war eroded the need for, and therefore the quality of, the military techniques of the samurai. In their place specialized administrative and bureaucratic skills became more highly valued as the demand for such talent increased. As the position of the samurai at the top of the four class social system<sup>5</sup> had not yet been threatened by the rising merchant class<sup>6</sup> and the surge of production and prosperity during the latter part of the seventeenth century had benefited the samurai as well as others, it was only natural that a relaxation of the moral fibre of the code of bushi 武士<sup>7</sup> ethics should result.

Hagakure 葉隠,<sup>8</sup> known also as Hagakure rongo 葉隠論語, Nabeshima rongo 鍋島論語, or Hizen rongo 肥前論語, exemplifies excellently one attempt to counteract the movement toward the impotency of bushi conduct and to restore the qualities which had enabled the samurai to rise to the pinnacle of society. Encompassing well over a thousand passages or paragraphs of varying length, each more or less a complete unit in itself, Hagakure was not intended to constitute material for casual reading nor entertainment but was rather composed as a book of moral and

social injunctions. As such, structural qualities and literary smoothness were forced into a position subservient to such things as iteration of the samurai code of ethics. In spite of certain literary deficiencies suffered because of this requirement, the manner of presentation, mainly through the incorporation of various forms of didactic, permits Hagakure to be designated one of the important books of Japanese civilization.<sup>9</sup> Yet the essential value of Hagakure is not primarily as a work of literature.

The importance of this book may be found partly in the great amount of historical information which may be gleaned from it. The varied passages, through the provision of diverse exemplary descriptions, include much of the history of the Nabeshima<sup>10</sup> han 鍋島藩 and thus offer innumerable facts concerning the development of Saga 佐賀 prefecture.<sup>11</sup> To scholars of local history intent on carefully detailing the past of that particular part of Kyushu, Hagakure has long been a source of valuable details.<sup>12</sup> Social historians, too, have discovered a great deal of material regarding marital and family conditions.<sup>13</sup> References to official documents, deliberative meetings, duties required of particular offices, and expected behavior regarding intercourse between various ranks of samurai exist as concrete examples. For instance, the notification of a raise in stipend arrived by means of an official letter from the lord.<sup>14</sup> Another paragraph deals with methods by which a new group member was selected.<sup>15</sup> The responsibility attached to duty is clearly depicted in a statement explaining the precautions required when delivering a message<sup>16</sup> and in the allusion to the role of an official witness at the ritual of seppuku 切腹.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, historians inter-

ested in the institutional development of administrative apparatus will find many passages of specific interest.<sup>18</sup>

The real significance of Hagakure, though, lies beyond a superficial examination of the text in search of specific accounts depicting certain aspects of historical study. Rather it exists as an outstanding record of the code of conduct of the idealized samurai in the province of Saga. The fact that it indeed represents but a small portion of the whole country does not detract from its creditability because its author, Yamamoto Tsunetomo 山本常朝 (1659-1719), while drawing on local events for illustration, propounds what may be regarded as the culmination of the set of ethics which later came to be known as bushidō 武士道.<sup>19</sup> Tsunetomo was influenced by various sources and the bushi which he so conscientiously portrays were ideal models who, in actuality, did not exist at any time in Japanese history. This fabrication is openly admitted.

At present, models of great retainers have disappeared. Therefore it is probably best to make one's own model and imitate that. The way to create this model is to take the decorum of one person, the courage of another and a third's way of using words. Add someone's proper behavior and the firm obligation of someone else. Study yet another man's way of quickly and firmly making good decisions. If from among people one selects men who each have an outstanding quality, and selects only the best of these qualities, he can make a model.<sup>20</sup>

The utopian qualities depicted in Hagakure nevertheless coincided almost exactly with the established criteria of the standard bushi in other parts of Japan. The point of difference, then, lies not so much in the content as it does in degree. For Tsunetomo pictured his model in succinct and forceful terms and,

because of this emphasis which bordered on the illusionary, Hagakure provides an excellent example of the basic precepts which the bushi of the middle Edo period were expected to emulate.

While it is possible and exciting to select specific sentences or paragraphs and attempt to relate them to situations of the present age, caution on this point is imperative. However much certain passages lend themselves to this practice, it does not serve the purpose of finding the true essence of the book. For, as it will be seen, Hagakure was produced with a certain intention and subsequently the passages, albeit varied and colorful, constantly return to the exposition of principles meant to strengthen that original intent. Naturally the words themselves have an important role to play and each must be considered carefully. The use of these words by the author, however, sometimes playing on their shock value, sometimes on their emotional value, and other times upon their ability to impart logic, constantly reconfirms and solidifies Tsunetomo's point of view.

Common sense was, in his day, based on fundamentals of reasoning different from the present age. With the modern emphasis upon the feelings and rights of the individual, it is not expected that an employee will have the degree of commitment which was demanded of the retainers of the Nabeshima han.<sup>21</sup> By present standards that dedication to service would appear to be fanaticism bordering on insanity. Indeed, even Tsunetomo frequently mentions the need for a blind and unreasonable devotion which he calls shinigurui 死狂い, "death madness."<sup>22</sup> In apparent opposition to this he also states the need for logic and self control.<sup>23</sup> To Tsunetomo adherence to two such contradictory

viewpoints presented no problem because inconsistencies could be caused only by deviation from the main duty of a bushi which was to fulfill his role in life.

Tsunetomo believed that the Nabeshima House was among the foremost in Japan. "Among the generations of lords of our House there have been no bad men and no stupid men. Nor have there been any who have dropped to second or third among the daimyō of Japan. This marvelous House must have been divinely protected by the piety of our ancestors." He further believed that the entire life of a bushi, particularly one who was a retainer of such an unequalled House, could center around only one thought, the utter and complete devotion to the service of one's lord.

...having been born by happy chance into a House where the vows between lord and follower are strong, the retainers, and even the peasants and townsmen, have such deep indebtedness, the inheritance of successive generations, that words are inadequate to express it fully. When one thinks of this with the resolution fixed in his heart that in the repayment of this indebtedness he has to somehow be employed, he serves even more selflessly. Even if ordered to become a masterless samurai or to commit seppuku, he knows these to be duties. From the depths of the mountains and from under the earth, from life to life and age to age, determining to serve is the fundamental stage of the resolution of the samurai of the Nabeshima. This is our heart and soul. Although it does not suit my present self, [withdrawn as I am from the world as a monk,] I never pray for such things as attaining Buddhahood. Being born as a Nabeshima samurai for seven lives, and the determination to serve the fief, is stained on my very liver as long as I live. Ability is not needed. All that is necessary is the determination to bear the House by myself.<sup>24</sup>

No action could be considered insane or illogical if it were sincerely intended to further the cause of the lord. Conversely, any effort which was made in an attempt to better one's personal



lot in life was regarded as wicked. Therefore, the use of examples, stories, incidents taken from history familiar to the bushi of the time, quotations from other books, admonitions, accusations employing harsh and cruel words for the purpose of shocking the reader, the use of humour, the stimulation of the emotions of love and compassion and of hatred for cowardice, and even the appeal to the vengeance of the gods, are all employed when needed to convince the young samurai in one way or another that the practise of chū 忠, "loyalty," constituted the main factor in their way of life.

There are indications that the author was clearly aware that the age in which the major service of the retainer was to fight for his lord on the battlefield had passed. Tsunetomo himself had had no battle experience and the incidents dealing with war which are sprinkled throughout Hagakure are all drawn from earlier periods as examples of accepted behaviour in the contingency of war. More often the passages of Hagakure attempt to deal with the problem of how to maintain the proper attitude of complete loyalty in a period of peace. The young samurai of the mid-Edo period were destined to become officials and administrators rather than warriors, but in the discharge of their duties they were expected to fulfill the requirements of loyalty and devotion to their lord. Thus, Hagakure deals directly with the delicate problem of achieving a mental attitude of preparedness or resolution (kakugo, 覚悟) and sustaining this concentration of purpose throughout a lifetime in which there may have been no concrete opportunity to consummately demonstrate it.

Taken as a whole, the concentration of effort must be directed toward the cultivation and development of an awareness

of the discipline which is necessary to properly serve one's lord. It is in this respect that Hagakure differs from the great classics of war in two main but related respects. The Sun Tzu 孫子,<sup>25</sup> Machiavelli's The Art of War,<sup>26</sup> and On War by Clausewitz,<sup>27</sup> all but ignore the mental attributes of soldiers as individuals, emphasizing instead instructions to the commander of the army and the actual strategy to be employed by that commander in leading his army to victory. Hagakure, on the other hand, is a book which revolves around the individuals who make up the army, not around the leader. These individuals exist only in response to the needs of their lord. Hagakure provides them with directions on how to become commendable retainers and incites them to do their utmost to attain a degree of mental discipline which would enable them to achieve the most favorable results.

Hagakure's concept of devotion to service incorporates an amalgamation of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist ideas together with expressions reminiscent of native Japanese modes of thought. The doctrines of "reason" or "rationalism" (ri, 理) and "humanism" (jin, 仁) are central to orthodox Confucianism<sup>28</sup> and are supported by such Confucian virtues as "loyalty" (chū), "filial piety" (kō, 孝) and "ritual" or "decorum" (gi, 儀). The reiteration of these elements in the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung dynasty in the philosophical teachings of Chu Hsi 朱子, (1130-1200, Japanese name Shushi)<sup>29</sup> and the official adoption of this school by the Tokugawa bakufu<sup>30</sup> gave further strength to the influence of Chinese thought. The emphasis on moderation, conservatism and the maintenance of relationships between individ-

uals and among groups exemplifies the direct effect of orthodox Neo-Confucianism on Hagakure. Inclinations toward ethnocentrism and historical studies also indicate an indebtedness to Confucianism.<sup>31</sup> Apparent, too, is the harmonizing effect of the ancient yin-yang (in-yō, 陰陽) philosophy of China.<sup>32</sup> The legacy from Buddhism is also present, and the expressed necessity to gain release from worldly desires and the acknowledgment of the transitory nature of the world<sup>33</sup> plays an obvious role in Hagakure. Esoteric patterns, in the methods of transmitting knowledge for example, are also closely associated with the practises of Buddhist sects.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Zen Buddhism added the recognition for self-understanding and self-reliance to Tsunetomo's ideal bushi.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, Tsunetomo's support of the very rigid hierarchical system, while influenced by Confucianism, is a social phenomenon which appeared in Japan even in very early times.<sup>36</sup> Some of the elements regarding ritual and etiquette can also be traced to very early native traditions.<sup>37</sup> Since all of these components are diffused throughout Hagakure and have become intrinsic parts of the text, further attention will be given them as they relate to the contents of this paper.

## 2. Historical Background

During the ninth century provincial governors began to surround themselves with armed men. By the eleventh century the bushi had emerged with enough power to become a source of anxiety to the government in Kyoto, and before the twelfth century had come to a close they had established a bakufu in Kamakura, which held a wide range of administrative power.<sup>38</sup> Thereafter, the samurai class continued to be a tremendously powerful force

in Japanese history. Beginning with the Ōnin<sub>応仁</sub>-War (1467-1477),<sup>39</sup> armed conflict ravaged Japan almost constantly for nearly a century and a half. Hostilities continued until they culminated in the unification of the country in 1600 by Tokugawa Ieyasu.<sup>40</sup> After he had solidified his grip on the nation through the elimination of the Toyotomi faction at Ōsaka in 1615,<sup>41</sup> any military actions which occurred, such as the suppression of localized uprisings, constituted only minor skirmishes, with the exception of the Christian uprising at Shimabara<sub>島原</sub> in 1638.<sup>42</sup> Ieyasu established a period of peace which was to last for more than two hundred and fifty years until the Meiji Restoration of 1868. The military skills of the bushi declined through the protracted period of inactivity and the function of the samurai evolved from one of physical combat into one of administrative responsibilities. Among those who were concerned with the status of the samurai during the prolonged peace was Yamaga Sokō who attempted to justify the continued importance of the bushi. He believed that samurai, who received sustenance as a result of the efforts of the other social classes, must earn their yearly stipend, not only by maintaining proper military preparedness, but by disciplining themselves in arts and virtues which would equip them as proper models and leaders for others to follow.<sup>43</sup>

Yamaga was not alone in his concern for the future of the samurai. One hundred years after the battle of Ōsaka and eighty after Shimabara, at a time when the nation was engrossed in enjoying the benefits of peace, Hagakure was written (1716). Condemning the lack of military virtues in terms which were often

extremely harsh and brutal, such as, "All the work of men used to have the stench of blood about it. In the present age this is said to be foolish. Through cleverness in the use of words people tidy up their appearance, and if there happens to be a slightly difficult task, they avoid it. I would like the young people to reflect carefully on this,"<sup>44</sup> Tsunetomo appealed for a return to the stricter mental and physical discipline of earlier times.

Why, it may be asked, did Tsunetomo feel the need to revert to what appears to be a more primitive life style? The author himself describes graphically the circumstances which induced him to write. In the thirty years prior to the compilation of Hagakure,

...the character of the world changed. When the young samurai get together, their conversation consists entirely of such things as chatter about money, accounts of profit and loss, talk of the private affairs of families, styles of clothing, and gossip related to lust. If the conversation does not turn to this kind of thing, they are all bored. This truly has become a custom devoid of a sense of right and wrong. In the old days, until the age of twenty or thirty young men did not talk of such things because they did not have such despicable things in their minds in the first place. The older men, too, if they said something inadvertently, recognized it as an error. It must be because the world has become garish and only the way to get richer is seen to be important.<sup>45</sup>

Instead of devoting themselves completely to preparation for proper service,<sup>46</sup> they show much more interest in the material goods which may be found on the shelves of merchant's stores<sup>47</sup> and try to avoid any duty which may be at all difficult.<sup>48</sup>

The anxiety expressed in Hagakure regarding the ill effects of the process of moral degeneration which was taking

place is mirrored in other works as well. Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂来 (1666-1728), in Seidan 政談 hints that the lack of discipline was the result of poor government control.<sup>49</sup> In Sundai zatsuwa 駿台雑話, written in 1732 and published in 1750, Muro Kyūsō 室鳩巢 (1658-1734) indicates his grief for the dismal state of society.<sup>50</sup> A few years earlier Kaibara Ekken 貝原益軒 (1630-1714) had stressed the need for proper ethical conduct in his Yamatozokukun 大和俗訓,<sup>51</sup> and Kumazawa Banzan 熊沢蕃山 (1619-1691) was being ostracized by the bakufu for suggesting action which might be taken to remedy political and economic deficiencies.<sup>52</sup> The Imagawa letter,<sup>53</sup> attributed to Imagawa Ryōshun 今川了俊 (1325-1420), governor of Suruga 駿河, expounds the fundamental principles of morality. Although written about 200 years before Hagakure, its clarity and structure allowed it to attain and sustain a high degree of popularity. During the Muromachi period the practise of writing such letters of instruction to incoming heads of military houses was quite common and this custom was revived in the Edo era.<sup>54</sup> The Imagawa letter, for instance, was republished at least 220 times during the Tokugawa period.<sup>55</sup> The memorandum of Tokugawa Mitsukuni 德川光圀 (1628-1700) of Mito 水戸 illustrates a similar method by which moral advice was given to retainers at a time nearly contemporary to Hagakure.<sup>56</sup> Only slightly later Daidōji Yūzan 大道寺友山 (1639-1730) wrote Budō shoshin shū 武道初心集.<sup>57</sup> On the major points of loyalty and views regarding death, this text coincides closely with Hagakure.<sup>58</sup> On minor points also, such as the avoidance of friends who seek only pleasure, Daidōji's ideas overlap with Tsunetomo's.

A response to moral degeneration made itself visible in popular literature as well. The forty seven rōnin浪人<sup>59</sup> of Akō 赤穂 had gained their revenge in 1703 and during the years immediately following their mass suicide, various stage versions of this story, culminating in the mid. eighteenth century drama called Chūshingura忠臣蔵 appeared. The first successful play, appeared in 1706. It was written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon 近松門左衛門 (1653-1724) and entitled Goban taiheiki碁盤太平記.<sup>60</sup> The plays produced for bunraku文楽<sup>61</sup> and kabuki歌舞伎<sup>62</sup> by Chikamatsu, often praised as Japan's greatest playwright, are inculcated with the Confucian themes of loyalty and filial piety and generally depict the conflict between feudal obligations, giri義理, and human emotions, ninjō人情.<sup>63</sup> While the novelist Ihara Saikaku 井原西鶴 (1642-1693)<sup>64</sup> is celebrated mainly for his prose fiction concerning townsmen and erotic adventures, he also wrote didactic material featuring the incompatibility of giri and ninjō. The most important of his works in this field are Buke giri monogatari武家義理物語<sup>65</sup> and Budō denraiki武道伝来記<sup>66</sup>. These men, Chikamatsu and Ihara, as the leading authors of popular literature, indicate through their works the value placed on moral behavior in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By illustrating that dedication to the advocated code of ethics was not always as it should be, they validate the contention that Hagakure was compiled as a measure to counteract, particularly among the samurai of the Nabeshima han, the decline of morality which was obvious throughout Japan.

Hagakure, then, may be regarded not only as a protest against the degeneration and ostentation of the age but also as

positive action toward correcting those evils. Tsunetomo, acutely aware of the continuing vulgarization of society, states that the beginning of a reversal must emanate from sound knowledge of the history of the han.<sup>67</sup> He felt that the value of the traditional mores could be seen by the young retainers only if they were first enlightened about the deeds and personalities in the history of the Nabeshima han.<sup>68</sup> In earlier years, he declares, "... the retainers all worked diligently at their family occupations. The lords searched for persons who would serve well, and the subordinates were eager to comply. The hearts of the upper and lower classes met, and the House prospered."<sup>69</sup> That is, through the honest endeavor of both leaders and followers, cooperation was possible with the result that there was peace and success within the fief.

Tsunetomo, in referring to the men of old, understandably ignores the numerous instances of insincerity, treachery, and deceit which abound throughout Japanese history. By emphasizing the commendable traits only, admittedly a biased use of only some of the facts, he fails in the cause of presenting a true history. However, to do so was not his intention. With a single-mindedness bordering on the fanatic he drew illustrations from local history only to encourage their emulation by the youths of the han.

It is necessary at this point to describe briefly the social and economic situation of the country in general and of Saga han in particular. The response of the society to the great peace that accompanied Tokugawa rule was profound. Increases in the quantity and variety of agricultural products and freedom of



movement on the transportation routes prompted economic expansion,<sup>70</sup> initially in the larger centers of population, and later, through the process of diffusion, to the castle cities of regional capitals. In addition to increased material goods, prosperity brought a great cultural surge which originated in the major cities of Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka and which is epitomized in the flowering, especially during the Genroku<sup>元禄</sup> era (1688-1703), of bunraku and kabuki theater, the art style known as ukiyoe<sup>浮世絵</sup>,<sup>71</sup> and various forms of literature and poetry. The entertainment quarters of every city and town carried on an increasingly lively business. Forms of this cultural activity spread to even the most remote provinces. One main carrier of this culture was the institution of sankin kōtai<sup>参勤交代</sup><sup>72</sup> with its requirement that the daimyō, with a number of their retainers, make frequent trips between their provincial capitals and Edo. Yet there were other means, too, by which the provinces came into contact with the cultural activities of the large cities. Contained in Hagakure, for example, is the story of a man who had been stationed in Osaka for a number of years. When he returned to Saga he was ridiculed because of his new accent and affected manner. In this connection Tsunetomo said, "In our province, simplicity in the country style is best. It may be said that imitation of the manners of other provinces is fallacious."<sup>73</sup>

While much of the benefit from the new prosperity found its way into the purses of the rising merchant class, the samurai class, too, was able, through stipends, special taxes and loans, forced or otherwise, to procure enough funds to take part in the general cultural expansion. Even the selection of marriage part-

ners began to take on some of the aspects of an open market, as each family placed an increasing emphasis on wealth rather than upon social standing, much to the dismay of Tsunetomo, who called this "outrageous and inexcusable."<sup>74</sup>

In view of the above-described social and economic state of affairs, it is not startling to see the appearance of a reactionary movement. Conservative men were concerned that the samurai class, which in practise supplied virtually all of the administrative officials to the governments, both national and local, would jeopardize its ability to rule effectively. Tsunetomo laments, "When there is peace the world gradually becomes a gaudy show-place; people become extravagant and indifferent to the ways of war. They have many failures. Persons of both high and low ranks are sorely troubled and people, both inside and outside of the fief, are ashamed. The fief may even fall into ruin."<sup>75</sup> In other words Tsunetomo felt that war may be necessary to maintain the moral rigor of the samurai. Without war to ensure dedication to matters of moral conduct attention may be diverted away from the fulfillment of duties. Through neglect of this sort the very fate of the clan could be in jeopardy. Thus, through proper morality one's personal fate and the destiny of the han could be influenced. Tsunetomo's line of reasoning in this regard was closer to the Confucian concept of rectitude than to Buddhist theories of an inalterable fate. One hundred years later Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴 (1767-1848), one of the most popular writers of didactic fiction of the Edo period, expressed a similar view. "Fate is indeed capricious, but morality can sway it. Morality is more crucial than fate."<sup>76</sup>

The Nabeshima han, in spite of its remoteness, was not free

from the degenerative influences of the age. According to Tsunetomo, the prohibition of junshi 殉死,<sup>77</sup> infant succession to family headship, and the cessation of the custom of child pages, all newly introduced measures, were not good for society in general, and the young samurai of Saga han in particular, because each of these new elements was detrimental to the training of good retainers. Instead of learning things which would help to serve the lord and the House, he says, they become addicted to mischief during their spare time. Because they are treated as adults at the age of fifteen or sixteen and as yet have no taste, they spend all their time eating, drinking and telling obscene stories.<sup>78</sup> In his opinion they would do better to ignore all outside influences and apply themselves only to the study of kokugaku 国学, the history and accepted traditions of the Nabeshima fief.<sup>79</sup> Early in Hagakure Tsunetomo makes a statement which, at first glance, seems to be at odds with his reactionary views. He declares that since Buddha, Confucius, Kusunoki,<sup>80</sup> and Shingen 信玄,<sup>81</sup> had never served within the Nabeshima han, and so had not experienced the circumstances of that fief, their teachings are of no relevance to Nabeshima retainers.<sup>82</sup> After having gained the attention of his readers by means of this startling statement, however, Tsunetomo proceeds to use the instructions and principles of these men throughout Hagakure. The essential purpose in introducing such a provocative declaration was, no doubt, to emphasize his contention that all learning is valid only if it directly assists the samurai of the Nabeshima han in serving their lord.

### 3. Yamamoto Tsunetomo

Although Yamamoto Jinuemon Tsunetomo 山本神右衛門常朝,<sup>83</sup> was himself a product of the age of peace, his instinct was to react against what he considered to be the degenerate trend of the times. Born in the Katataekoji 片田江小路 section of Saga castle town in 1659,<sup>84</sup> twenty years after the Shimabara revolt, he had no battle experience. As no war took place during his lifetime, his contact with actual combat existed only through the stories of the older bushi of Saga han, those who had taken part in the battle of Shimabara. The tales of such men dot the pages of Hagakure, either as direct quotations or as specific illustrations of Tsunetomo's standards.<sup>85</sup>

Tsunetomo's own paternal grandfather, Nakano Jinuemon Kiyoaki 中野神右衛門清明 (1555-1620), was the ninth generation descended from Nakano Gotō Yoriaki 中野後藤頼明, who had founded a branch of the mighty Gotō 後藤 clan. Kiyoaki had, in true bushi fashion, gained recognition for military exploits while serving under Nabeshima Naoshige. Tsunetomo's father, Yamamoto Jinuemon Shigezumi 山本神右衛門重澄 (1590-1669), the third son of Kiyoaki, became the adopted heir of Yamamoto Sukebei Muneharu 山本助兵衛宗春 and so assumed the family name of Yamamoto. He participated both in the Osaka campaigns and in the Shimabara incident, and was renowned for his military valor.<sup>86</sup> He was seventy years old at the time of Tsunetomo's birth but even at this advanced age he was an active man who, according to Tsunetomo, retained his health and energy by using moxa cautery and being prudent in sexual intercourse.<sup>87</sup> He remained vigorous until his death in the year that Tsunetomo turned eleven. Thereafter Tsunetomo

received much of his training from Yamamoto Gorōzaemon Tsuneharu 山本五郎左衛門常治 (1639-1687), whose blood relationship to Tsunetomo was that of a nephew although he was twenty years older.<sup>88</sup> Both Shigezumi and Tsuneharu were among those who resisted the wave of deterioration which was beginning to appear even in the remote Nabeshima han.

While Shigezumi remained "as a shadowy figure" (kageboshi no yō 影法師),<sup>89</sup> he strongly influenced Tsunetomo's thinking during his early years. Shigezumi had earned a commendable reputation within the fief, and the first han leader, Nabeshima Katsushige 鍋島勝茂 (1580-1657), had said that the men under Shigezumi were the most trustworthy in the province.<sup>90</sup> He instilled this strong sense of loyalty not only in the minds of his men but also in the mind of his young son by whispering, "You must become a strong man and serve the lord," into the ears of Tsunetomo, even while he was an infant too young to understand.<sup>91</sup> Tsunetomo lists<sup>92</sup> some of the other remarks which his father was fond of saying.

If one comprehends one thing he comes to understand many things. It is best to think that people who laugh at the wrong times are, in the case of men, fellows with no sense of dignity, and in the case women, shameless.

When talking, either on formal occasions or in normal circumstances, it is best to speak while looking into the other person's eyes.

It is sufficient to bow with one's head lowered only when greeting someone. To talk while looking downward is inattention. To put one's hands inside one's clothing is inattention. After reading a letter or document, it is to be burned immediately. Looking at documents is the job of officials, and the duty of the Nakano family is to grasp swords of oak and be diligent in the martial way.

An eccentric man [who is not concerned with making an impression] is a man to be trusted.

Rise at four in the morning, have a bath and arrange

the hair every day, eat with the rising sun, and retire when the sun sets. Although he may not have eaten, a bushi uses a toothpick. Exhibit the fur of a tiger on the outside even though the inside may be the fur of a dog.

Most of these injunctions are straightforward and need no explanation but the last is the source of some puzzlement. The point of focus here is that while a bushi may, in the manner of a dog, feel personal fear, he must show the world an exterior of courage, confidence, and composure.<sup>93</sup>

Tsuneharu, too, continued as an important influence in Tsunetomo's life, by sending him, for instance, a gift of encouragement when he had done a fine job of kaishaku 介錯.<sup>94</sup> In addition to moral support, Tsuneharu related stories of great military heroes and provided illustrations of proper bushi conduct<sup>95</sup> until 1687 when, assuming responsibility for a fire, he committed suicide in atonement.<sup>96</sup>

In addition to these familial influences, Tsunetomo's character was molded by three other forces, each in a diverse way. When he was nine years old, Tsunetomo was given the name Fukei 不携 and assigned the position of personal page to and playmate<sup>97</sup> of Tsunashige 綱茂 (1652-1706), the son of the second head of the Nabeshima House, Mitsushige. Although it must be granted that Mitsushige was a strong leader, he was of the belief that the sphere of the lord of a han encompassed more than military exploits. At an early age he developed a deep interest in poetry, much to the chagrin of his father, Katsushige, who, at one stage when his son was still young, even burned his collection of poetry books.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, Mitsushige maintained his active involvement in poetry and Tsunetomo, through contact with his

lord, developed an interest in poetry. His talent was soon recognized, and he was offered the opportunity to become a pupil of Kuranaga Rihei 倉永利矢衛, the official in charge of poetry under Mitsushige. Tsunetomo declined this offer on the grounds that it would interfere with the carrying out of his primary duty as a companion to Tsunashige.<sup>99</sup>

When he was in his twelfth or thirteenth year,<sup>100</sup> Tsunetomo was allowed to withdraw temporarily from service in order to let his hair grow out of the partially shaved style of a child. This period of inactivity was expected to be about one year but it grew longer. During this time Tsunetomo was constantly filled with the desire to serve his lord and his determination to do so is demonstrated by his actions. Having been told that his face exhibited intelligence, and that the lord disliked such faces, Tsunetomo studied his facial expression in a mirror with the intention of altering its appearance. He was successful in this regard, for at the end of the period his countenance had changed, it is said, from one of intelligence to one of sleepiness, which, apparently, was preferable.<sup>101</sup> He relates the intensity of his feelings by saying that during this period he had seen the procession of his lords pass by and was so driven by his anxiety to serve that he went to a certain shrine and made a petition to the gods. Because his true feelings were thus known to the gods, his prayers were not denied and within a short time he was once again serving his lord.<sup>102</sup>

In 1672 his name was changed to Ichijūrō 市十郎 and seven years later, at the age of twenty, he experienced the ceremony of manhood, genpuku 元服. At this time he assumed the name

Gonnosuke 權之允.<sup>103</sup> During these teen-age years another major force entered Tsunetomo's life and helped to mold his character. He met the Zen monk Tannen Ryōjū Oshō 湛然梁重和尚 (died 1680)<sup>104</sup> whom he praised as the most learned and understanding of all the monks in Japan.<sup>105</sup> A man of firm moral convictions, Tannen had resigned his post as the head monk of Kōdenji 高伝寺<sup>106</sup> in protest of a decision to punish a fellow monk.<sup>107</sup> He retired to the small village of Matsuze 松瀬 in Saga Gun and it was there that Tsunetomo came to him for instruction in Zen Buddhism. At the age of twenty-one Tsunetomo had the Buddhist name Kyokuzan Jōchō 旭山常朝 conferred upon him.<sup>108</sup> The compassion and sensitivity for human emotion which may be found in Hagakure no doubt reflects the training which Tsunetomo received under Tannen. One prominent example of the incorporation of Tannen's benevolence into Tsunetomo's thought is its appearance as one of the Four Vows<sup>109</sup> which Tsunetomo established as the foundation upon which a good bushi should base his life. Other examples of ideas which obviously derive from his Buddhist background are found in various passages throughout Hagakure.<sup>110</sup> These injunctions to love, especially as expressed in the fourth vow, are apparently in direct contrast to the Sun Tzu which states explicitly that compassion is a fault if found in a general.<sup>111</sup>

The fourth great influence, one which permeated all aspects of his upbringing and later life, was Neo-Confucianism. This modified form of Confucianism had the support of the Tokugawa bakufu because its precepts upheld the continuation of the social order instituted by Tokugawa Ieyasu. It is unclear as to whether Tsunetomo had direct access to the writings of such noted Con-



fucian scholars as Ogyū Sorai, Muro Kyūsō, Kaibara Ekken, Kumazawa Banzan, Yamaga Sokō, Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657), Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎 (1618-1682), or Itō Jinsai 伊藤仁斎 (1627-1705). As much of his training had been in literature, it is not inconceivable that he had read at least some of their works. The fact that no mention is made of them in Hagakure may indicate nothing more than his devotion to his own teacher of Confucian ethics.

This was Ishida Ittei 石田一鼎 (1628-1693), who had once occupied the position of top Confucian scholar in the Nabeshima han.<sup>112</sup> He had been a close and respected advisor to Katsushige but found, upon Katsushige's death, that his views clashed with those of the new han chief, Mitsushige. His belief that nothing is more important than working diligently to fulfill one's station in life was not favourably accepted by Mitsushige, who had, from an early date, showed his preference for poetry. Remaining steadfast to his convictions, Ittei refused to compromise his views and consequently was banished from the lord's castle. After eight years of exile in Yamashirogō 山代郷 in Matsuura Gun 松浦郡, he was allowed to live in retirement at Shimoda 下田 in the village of Matsumemura 松梅村, Saga Gun. He retained the respect of the senior retainers of the han and, even during this sojourn, he was often invited to their homes, where he gave lectures and advice.<sup>113</sup> Among those who visited his place of retirement was Tsunetomo, who not only learned from him the basic tenets of Neo-Confucianism but also developed a determination to faithfully follow these precepts. Such phrases as, "No matter what, if one concentrates one's mind, there is nothing which

cannot be done,"<sup>114</sup> were to remain intense in Tsunetomo's consciousness for the rest of his life. Another recorded thought illustrates Ittei's daily resolution to service. To Naoshige's maxim, "Important thoughts must be taken lightly," he added, "Unimportant thoughts must be taken seriously."<sup>115</sup> By this he meant that as there are only a few thoughts which are very serious, they can be considered in advance and one will be prepared to deal with them as the occasion demands. On the other hand, because there are so many unimportant thoughts, one has the tendency to overlook them and therefore does not administer to them competently. For that reason one must be particularly careful to give appropriate attention to all things, no matter how trivial they may appear.

Yamamoto's character, then, was built upon the strong foundation of Confucian ethics which had been instilled by his father and nephew. When added to this basis, the Neo-Confucian teachings of Ishida Ittei formed an extremely solid understanding of the precepts of moral and social obligations of his class, the samurai. The harshness of these convictions was, at certain times and in particular areas, softened by the more humanitarian and compassionate tones of Buddhism. A third element of his personal disposition, that centered around his training in literature, provided the tools and perhaps part of the incentive for the composition of the book, Hagakure.

Hagakure primarily expresses views demonstrative of the Confucian principles harboured nationally, and as clearly expressed by Yamaga Sokō, Kumazawa Banzan, and Ogyū Sorai.<sup>116</sup> The influence of Zen Buddhism tends, however, to moderate the cold-

ness of Confucianism with the warmth of Buddhism. Thus there is a sharp contrast between the harsh and radical words used to emphasize the duties of the warrior and the almost gentle effect of the passages advocating love. The combination of these contrasting styles into a unity shows the literary aspect of Tsunetomo's training. But the ability to combine Confucianism and Buddhism was not merely indicative of literary talent, for the two were inseparable in his mind. For him to believe that either of the two was different from the way which the warrior must follow was wrong, for they were one and the same.<sup>117</sup> In what appears to be a conscious effort to show that the two were, in fact, identical, Tsunetomo quotes Ittei as saying that he had felt at an early age that he must devote his life to study and did not first accumulate knowledge and then become a sage. Immediately following this, Tsunetomo repeats the same concept in a Buddhist sense by stating that at the time of religious awakening one already has religion in one's heart.<sup>118</sup>

Literary ability, although vital for the administrative duties of the samurai, was not a particularly commendable skill, according to Tsunetomo, for a devoted bushi. Indeed, it will be seen that there are numerous places in Hagakure where such accomplishments are berated as being obstacles to the true duty of a bushi, namely service to the lord. Nevertheless, Tsunetomo's literary interests were instrumental in the writing of Hagakure. Furthermore, it was his capability in literature which provided him with the opportunity to serve his lord. In 1682 he was given the duties of Okakimono Yaku 御書物役, "Officer of Books," and in 1686 he was appointed to the post of Shoshamono Goyō 書字物

御用, "Copier of Books," in Edo. Twice he served Kyoto Zume  
京都詰, "Duty at Kyoto," first in 1687 and again in 1696.

From this diverse background of training and service, Tsunetomo evolved what he considered to be the key to the continuation of an ardent desire to serve. Each bushi should intone the Four Vows<sup>120</sup> every morning so that he will come to possess the strength of two men and the will to apply this power in the prescribed way. Here, he believed, was the magic formula which, if pursued seriously, would make even a weak person into a commendable bushi. The Four Vows are:

1. 武道に於て後れ取り申すまじき事

Bushidō ni oite okure tori mōsu majiki koto.

One must not be behind in taking up the way of the warrior.

2. 主君の御用に立つべき事

Shukun no goyō ni tatsu beki koto.

One must be of service to the lord.

3. 親に孝行するべき事

Oya ni kōkō tsukamatsuru beki koto.

One must serve one's parents with filial piety.

4. 大慈悲を起し人の為になるべき事

Daijihi o okoshi hito no tame ni naru beki koto.

One must give rise to great good will and compassion and thus serve others.

As the first three vows are obviously founded on Confucian principles, it is not surprising to discover that they, together with the idea of presenting one's central beliefs in the form of an oath, were derived from the works of his Confucian teacher,

Ishida Ittei. In 1672 Ittei had written a document entitled Bushidō yōkanshō 武士道要鑑抄 in which he delineated the following three vows:<sup>121</sup>

1. 武士道に於て、未練を取らざるべし。

Bushido ni oite miren o toru bekarazu.

One must not be unskillful in the way of the warrior.

2. 先祖の名字を断絶せざるべし。

Senzo no myoji o danzetsu subekarazu.

One must not discontinue the family name of one's ancestors.

3. 畢竟、主君の御用に立つべし。

Hikkyō, shukun no goyō ni tatsu beshi.

Ultimately, one must stand in the lord's service.

The fourth and last vow differs from the other three in that it is imbued with Buddhist thought rather than Confucianist. That its content was extracted from the teachings of Tsunetomo's Zen teacher is clearly expressed within Hagakure itself. Tsunetomo attributes the following statement to Tannen Oshō:<sup>122</sup>

武士は勇気を表はして、内心には腹の破るほどの  
大慈悲心を持たねば、家業は立たざるなり。

Bushi wa yūki o omote ni shite naishin ni wa hara no  
waruru hodo daijihishin o motazareba, kagyō wa tatazaru  
mono nari.

Unless a bushi does not have within him deep compassion while exhibiting outward courage, he will not be successful in his occupation.

#### 4. Compilation and Textual Information

In 1694 Mitsushige transferred the headship of the Nabeshima

House to his son, Tsunashige.<sup>123</sup> Although Tsunetomo had been a close companion to Tsunashige since childhood and may have had a chance to attain a position of higher prestige under the new administration, he believed that his loyalty must remain with his lord, Mitsushige. In speaking of this decision he exhibits a certain amount of pride and shows his disdain for other retainers who had been very loyal in their words but who quickly changed their allegiance to the new leader when the time was most advantageous to themselves.<sup>124</sup> In order to serve Mitsushige, Tsunetomo had himself appointed to a minor post in Kyoto and devoted himself to the procurement of a book of poetry, the Kokin denju 古今伝授,<sup>125</sup> which Mitsushige had desired for many years. Finally, with this book on his back, he returned to Saga on the first day of the fifth month of the thirteenth year of Genroku (1700).<sup>126</sup> On the sixteenth day of that month Mitsushige died, leaving Tsunetomo with a sense of gratitude that he had been able to complete his task in time. Yet, he also felt a strong conviction that his duty to his lord remained unfulfilled. He says that in order to be able to accomplish his long-cherished ambition of service he would have to be born into the House of Nabeshima seven times over.<sup>127</sup>

Mitsushige's demise and the feeling of unfulfilled obligations led Tsunetomo to the conclusion that the most appropriate course of action would be to commit junshi so that he might continue to serve his lord in the next world. This was rendered infeasible, however, by the ban on such action. He lamented this situation with the statement, "It is truly a lonesome thing that not even one person accompanies a daimyō at the time of his

death."<sup>128</sup> Because officials who had been important men under Mitsushige merely turned their backs upon their lord's death,<sup>129</sup> Tsunetomo considered himself to be the only honourable retainer.<sup>130</sup> Such honour had been acquired through his decision that the next best thing to junshi was retirement from this mundane world and assumption of the life of a monk so that he would be better able to devote his life to prayers for his departed lord.

At the age of forty two<sup>131</sup> he took his wife<sup>132</sup> and settled in a secluded spot called Kurotsuchibara 黒土原 in a forested area near Kinryū 金立 mountain in the northern part of Saga.<sup>133</sup> Here he passed his remaining years, although he often left for memorial services<sup>134</sup> and personal visits.<sup>135</sup> Nor was his spot of retirement so isolated that he had no visitors. In fact, he felt somewhat guilty about the many friends who came to call on him and about the kindness they showed him. He said, "The kind treatment given to me by various people is more than I deserve and surely I will be punished for it."<sup>136</sup>

One of those visitors, Tashiro Matazaemon Tsuramoto 田代 又左衛門陣基 (1678-1748), came to Kurotsuchibara on the fifth day of the third month in the seventh year of Hōei 宝永 (1710). On the occasion of his first meeting with Tsunetomo, they exchanged the following haiku 俳句.<sup>137</sup>

浮世から何里あうか 山桜.

Ukiyo kara ikuri arō ka yamazakura.

From the mundane world, how many miles might it be?

-- mountain cherry blossoms.

Kogan 古丸 (Tsunetomo)

白雲や 只今花に尋ね合ふ。  
Shirakumo ya tadaima hana ni tazune ai.

Among the silver clouds -- now together we ask the  
 cherry blossoms.

Kizui 期醉 (Tsuramoto)

The question being asked by Kogan, the name Tsunetomo used when writing poetry, in the first haiku is not the physical distance travelled but rather the degree to which Tsuramoto has made the transition from the secular diversions of the mundane world to an awareness of a more spiritual existence. That is, in addition to setting the season and the mood, the cherry blossoms metaphorically signify the purity of a mental or spiritual enlightenment. Thus, behind the obvious, there appears a query of deeper significance. In response to the question of whether he knows his direction and destination, Tsuramoto, under his pen name, Kizui, admits his uncertainty. For the word shira 白, "white," because of its oral similarity to shiranai 知らない, "not knowing," is a kakekotoba 掛け詞, a play on words. As such, the silver or white clouds provide not only a metaphor for confusion or uncertainty but also a negative answer to Tsunetomo's question. Yet he expresses his desire to search, together with Tsunetomo, for an enlightening escape from the perplexity of the mundane world.

Tsuramoto took up residence nearby and called regularly on Tsunetomo, making conversation and listening to advice. All this he recorded and compiled into a collection which came to be known as Hagakure. Tsuramoto was well qualified for this task of preserving Tsunetomo's ideas for, until being relieved of his duties



in 1709, he had spent thirteen years as amanuensis to the third and fourth lords of the Nabeshima han.<sup>138</sup>

Tsunetomo and Tsuramoto continued to work together until 1716 when they completed Hagakure. It had come to consist of eleven volumes containing about 1,350 sections or articles, each of which delineated a specific thought or injunction. Of varying lengths, from one sentence to several paragraphs, and diverse style, these passages were more or less verbatim accounts of Tsunetomo's discourses. In addition, extensive use was made of documents which had been written by Tsunetomo himself in earlier years. Those known to have been used are Gukenshū 愚見集 (1708), Tsunetomo kakioki 常朝書置 (1714), Juryōan Chūza no nikki 寿量庵中屋の日記 (1711), Sembetsu 餞別 or Tsunetomo sembetsu sho 常朝餞別書 (1715), Yamamoto Jinuemon Kiyoaki nempu 山本神右衛門清明年譜, and Yamamoto Jinuemon Shigezumi nempu 山本神右衛門重澄年譜.<sup>139</sup> Works of former han leaders, such as Naoshige's Nao-shigedono gohekisho 直茂公御壁書,<sup>140</sup> were also carefully studied. Furthermore, almost constant reference is made throughout Hagakure to things said by other han leaders, by famous persons in Japanese history, and by the teachers, relatives, and acquaintances of Tsunetomo himself. It was his style to use such phrases as "a certain person" or "a certain retainer" without mentioning names. He also had a penchant for old expressions the sources of which cannot be identified, and these appear at various places in the text. Consequently, while Hagakure is outwardly a compilation mirroring the ideas of Tsunetomo, it more realistically reflects the thoughts and concepts which he believed to be the most important elements in the literature with which he was

familiar and the society in which he lived.

Unlike the authors of most of the other books of moral instructions mentioned earlier, Tsunetomo's personal qualifications are unimpressive. At the time of his retirement from active service, he was but a lowly-ranked samurai within the Nabeshima House. He received a modest rice allowance of about one hundred twenty five koku.<sup>141</sup> Although he had shown intelligence and literary talent during his youth, much of his adult life was spent in performing relatively minor clerical duties, and he never fulfilled his dream of achieving a position of importance in the han. He himself regretfully admits that, due to certain obstacles which he was unable to overcome, he could not succeed as well as he had hoped.<sup>142</sup>

Because I have been the insignificant fellow you see before you since I was young, I have not done any exceptional service. Whenever I saw persons who asserted themselves, I felt envious. But I knew in my heart that probably there was no one who compared with me in tendering concern for the lord. This one thing is enough to soothe my feelings. I served in total disregard of my low status and lack of talent.

Tsunetomo's purpose in writing Hagakure may be traced to the desire to implant such an attitude in other retainers of the han. He did not, however, favour a program of mass indoctrination as the method for achieving his aim. Some editions<sup>143</sup> of Hagakure include a preface which indicates that Tsunetomo certainly did not intend this document to be read widely, even within Saga han. He doubtlessly realized that its preoccupation with han affairs and the repeated demands for undivided loyalty to the Nabeshima House, rather than to the Tokugawa bakufu, would have placed it and the han in an unfavourable position with re-

gard to the Edo regime.<sup>144</sup> He instructed Tsuramoto that, as Hagakure was written for the personal use of selected samurai of Saga, it was meant to be burned after having been read.<sup>145</sup> Throughout the remaining century and a half of Tokugawa rule, Hagakure retained its status as a shielded book, passing only into trusted hands to be copied clandestinely. No doubt this secrecy was due at least in part to fear of bakufu retribution, but there can also be sensed an aspect of the esoteric element found in many areas of Japanese life, including religion and the military sciences. Yet, although Hagakure was not published and widely read, it was familiar enough that a commentary entitled Hagakure kikigaki kōhō 葉隠聞書校補 was written near the end of the Edo period.<sup>146</sup>

Perhaps because of Tsunetomo's explicitly stated desire, the original manuscript, gempon 原本, is no longer in existence. This regrettable deficiency is, in part, compensated for by a number of copied manuscripts, shahon 写本. Those which are known to be extant are the Kōhaku hon 考白本, the Nakano hon 中野本, the Yamamoto hon 山本本, the Furukawa hon 古川本, the Gojō hon 五常本, and the Matsumoto hon 松本本.<sup>147</sup> As the possibility no longer exists to make a comparison between these copies and the original manuscript, there is no way of ascertaining which of them follow the record of Tsuramoto most closely. During transcription, the copier of any shahon was bound to commit certain errors of omission and edition, with the result that no two copies are identical. A careful study of the extant manuscripts has led the foremost scholar of Hagakure to select the Kōhaku hon as the most accurate and reliable,<sup>148</sup> partly because it was

copied by a contemporary of Tsuramoto, Kabahara Kōhaku 蒲原考白.

The extensive research and revitalization which led to the publication of Hagakure in the twentieth century was carried out almost exclusively by one man, Kurihara Arano (or Kōya) 栗原荒野 who devoted almost his entire adult life to the study of Hagakure.<sup>149</sup> His carefully organized, fully researched, and complete work, kōchū hagakure 校註葉院 has provided the basic text, sokuhon 底本, for most modern publications, as it has for this paper.<sup>150</sup> Through his efforts of arrangement, Hagakure has taken its present form. The general information presented in the introductory section, which is called Yain no kandan 夜陰の閑談, is followed by eleven chapters. In general, the first two chapters list moral instructions. Chapter three deals with the deeds of Naoshige, the founder of the Nabeshima line of han leaders. The feats of the first head of the House, Katsushige, are depicted in the fourth section, and the fifth depicts Mitsushige and his son Tsunashige. Chapters six through eleven give concrete examples of the historical incidents and traditions of Saga han, and record the outstanding actions of the samurai of that province.

## Chapter II.

1. Internal Aspects

As previously mentioned, Hagakure was not written as a manual for generals to guide their armies to victory as were Sun Tzu and Machiavelli's The Art of War. As a book of conduct, its design is clearly to instruct the warriors, who in the Japan of the Edo period were virtually all members of the samurai class, in the proper attitude befitting men of their position. There is almost no mention of the actual physical techniques of battle, and military strategy, if referred to at all, is dealt with only in conjunction with some other matter.<sup>151</sup> In place of the element of physical prowess, Hagakure concerns itself more with the mental discipline which a samurai must undergo in order to become a man worthy of the designation bushi.

All people are human and therefore it is only natural that they have shortcomings. The emotions of greed, selfishness, pride, lust, cowardice, and hatred, however natural they may be, are all indicative of the worst aspects of human nature. They are also most commonly manifested among people who think of their own individual being as the most vital element in the world. Therefore, the existence of individuality among members of the samurai class of the Edo period was not a respected virtue. The individual was consequently expected, indeed required, to forfeit his personal goals and adopt those which would benefit the group.<sup>152</sup> Such conformation ensured that he would have no enemies among his associates.<sup>153</sup> From the viewpoint of the present day western world, which places so much emphasis on the rights of the indi-

vidual, this appears to be an extremely confining fate, but to the samurai, who had never experienced anything similar to the freedom of our age, it was a traditional aspect of the society and had proven itself a most effective force for maintaining the system. It was, actually, within this framework that the samurai found his reason for existence.

The statements, "Nothing should please one more than to pass on to others that which ones possesses, if it is in the best interests of the lord,"<sup>154</sup> and, "All people must act for the benefit of others,"<sup>155</sup> are simplistic in their meaning but are not easily carried into practise. Human nature dictates that when a person is developing a course of action, he may think that he is being impartial, but in reality his plans all revolve around himself. The end result of any selfish action cannot be anything but failure. "People who aim at certain duties, which they fancy to be better, and who work for the sake of personal gain and selfishness by gauging the moods of their lord and group leaders, may be successful in ten cases but when they fail in one everything is ruined, and they are disgraced."<sup>156</sup> To become completely unselfish is a difficult task. The Buddhist belief that the hard road to Nirvana could be covered only in many lives of virtue and self sacrifice<sup>157</sup> can be seen here in adaptation to the system of feudal loyalties. Tsunetomo believed that only through utter devotion to the lord and continuous dedication to the Four Vows<sup>158</sup> could such selflessness be achieved.

Accounts of deeds which were considered to be selfish and unselfish abound in Hagakure. The two following examples indicate a subtle awareness of the slight shades of difference bet-

ween the acceptable and the unacceptable. The first of these<sup>159</sup> deals with a man who had been promoted to a position of prominence and in that post was sent gifts by a number of people. He declined these gifts, ostensibly because he was neither greedy nor partial, but, to Tsunetomo, this refusal was done in a manner so as to attract notice to the righteousness of the man himself, and so was not truly without selfish motive. He says, "To remove selfishness from the bottom of your heart without drawing attention is difficult." There is also an account<sup>160</sup> of a man who had been in service for many years and was expecting a substantial reward for his efforts. He became angry when instead he received only a small increase in his stipend and threatened to retire from service. His conduct is ridiculed by Tsunetomo for, "...the resolution to service is forgotten completely, because he is thinking only of personal pride."

Self-sacrifice underwent a qualitative change during the years of peace. The decreasing need for men with military skills<sup>161</sup> and the increasing trend toward activities of pleasure near the end of the seventeenth century weakened strict observance of the practise of offering oneself for the sake of others. There was less of a necessity and little desire to follow the example of men like Yamasaki Kurando 山崎蔵人 who disdained material goods.<sup>162</sup> It had become far more enjoyable to spend time looking at the goods displayed on the shelves of the shops.<sup>163</sup>

It is impossible for any ethic such as loyalty or courage to exist within the mind of one person. Mores are recognizable only when they are the accepted norm. Because orientation is with the ideal of group unity, the presence of such ethics can

be valid only within the larger circle of social organization. Nevertheless, values must be internalized by each individual for it is from within the mind of each person that the underlying strength of the concept is created. In this respect moral principles may be regarded as internal entities which must be supported by a great majority of the members of society before they become viable mores. For this reason, Tsunetomo, although he realized that it was the society which was degenerating, appealed to the individuals to intensify their inner determination. Each man must, within himself, come to recognize the proper way.

To shun unrighteousness and persist in righteousness is a difficult thing.... Over and above loyalty to principle there is a Way. But to find it is difficult. Those who can do it are the possessors of superior wisdom. When one thinks about it from this standpoint, even principle and things of that sort are rather small matters. Unless one has experienced this by himself, he probably cannot understand. But even if one cannot experience this alone, there is a method by which he can achieve the Way. That is to have dialogue with others.<sup>164</sup>

The Tokugawa bakufu instituted various legal controls such as the Buke shohatto 武家諸法度, the Shoshi hatto 諸士法度, and the Tokugawa seiken hyakkajo 徳川成寛百箇条<sup>165</sup> in an attempt to sustain the rigorous mental discipline of the samurai class and to direct that discipline toward the continuation of the regime in Edo.<sup>166</sup> Additionally there were numerous methods of social control, both formal and informal, by which the samurai were constantly observing each other to maintain, through various degrees of social pressure, including systems of inspectors<sup>167</sup> and spies,<sup>168</sup> ridicule, and ostracism, a state of affairs favourable to the bakufu. In the last analysis, however, it, too, was dependent upon the determination of each individual to reinforce



moral standards through internalization.

Tsunetomo obviously believed that the moral pressure being applied by the samurai as a group upon its wayward members had become, in reality, ineffective because of the generally widespread divergence from strict observance of proper morals. Indicating that men no longer had the courage nor desire to make use of their weapons, the symbol of the samurai class, he says, "Proof that manly courage has failed is shown in the fact that there are few persons who have even cut off the heads of condemned criminals, let alone any who have assisted at seppuku. It has become an age in which people who skillfully decline are considered clever persons or accomplished people."<sup>169</sup>

Phrases such as "be resolved," "be determined," "make up one's mind," "set one's heart," "settle one's belly,"<sup>170</sup> and "decide," prevail in almost every portion of Hagakure. Tsunetomo is evidently aware of the necessity to support the mental determination of the individual and throughout the book directs a repetitious campaign toward that end. In doing so he demands,<sup>171</sup> cajols,<sup>172</sup> teases,<sup>173</sup> reasons,<sup>174</sup> appeals to emotions and instinct,<sup>175</sup> calls on the reputations of ancestors,<sup>176</sup> and threatens with the curse of the gods.<sup>177</sup> He delineates the proper attitude and the best way of attaining the determination to achieve that attitude by describing improper conduct of certain people and explaining why it is considered to be improper. In other illuminating stories and incidents he praises the proper elements of behaviour. He states repeatedly such things as,

Upon looking at the retainers of the present time, one notices that their aspirations are low. The way they use their eyes reminds one of pickpockets.

Generally this may be attributed to personal selfishness. By giving airs of cleverness, they appear to be at ease with themselves, but this is nothing more than a bluff in front of people. When one does not fasten one's eyes upon the strengthening of the foundations of the province, attend to one's duties and report to the lord, consider the lord's welfare seriously all day and night, and offer oneself to the lord, while being resigned to death, one cannot be said to be a real retainer.<sup>178</sup>

Mistakes are to be expected and are not condemned. "When one knows his mistakes and corrects them, they are instantly erased. When one tries to gloss over those errors, they become all the more disgraceful and one comes to suffer for it."<sup>179</sup>

Perhaps the most essential requisite in a bushi is a complete devotion to service in which he advances blindly with no thought of anything but the execution of what he knows to be his duty. In bushidō, forward progression with a recklessness bordering on rashness is indispensable.<sup>180</sup>

If service is striven for without regard to reason or substance, and if everything is forgotten and only the lord is thought to be important, that is all that is needed. Such is a good retainer. By being too fond of serving and being too concerned about the lord, it is possible to fall into error, but that is what a retainer's basic wish should be."<sup>181</sup>

Therefore, while it may sometimes be better to advance cautiously, in many cases it is best to proceed wholeheartedly.<sup>182</sup> Tsunetomo reinforces<sup>183</sup> this concept by reiterating the ancient expression, "Seven breaths make a plan," by quoting Ryūzōji Takanobu, "Even a good plan becomes rotten if left too long," and Naoshige, "If one takes too much time in everything, seven times out of ten it will turn out bad. In any situation a bushi must be quick to act." The space of seven breaths gives sufficient time for a bushi to gain composure and determine to do what must be done.

This is true of all aspects of life, even the writing of Chinese characters. "A warrior need only write from his heart and not consider the quality of his work. Deciding good or bad is the job of a professional. A bushi does things in an unwavering manner."<sup>184</sup>

Advocacy of impetuous action is one point in which the thought of Hagakure stands diametrically opposed to the classic military manual of China, the Sun Tzu. Granting that the words of the Sun Tzu were meant directly for the commander of the army and conceding that he must be more conservative in his actions than the average soldier, nowhere is there an expression to the effect that the warrior must forsake logic. Instead, one of the most dangerous qualities that a general might possess is said to be recklessness, for a commander who is courageous but stupid is a calamity.<sup>185</sup> "It is the business of a general to be serene and inscrutable, impartial and self controlled."<sup>186</sup> This view of expectations was valid also for the lower ranks of the Chinese armies. In a discussion between Confucius and one of his disciples, the following exchange is said to have taken place.

Tzu-lu said, Supposing you had command of the Three Hosts, whom would you take to help you?  
The Master said, The man who was ready to beard a tiger or rush a river without caring whether he lived or died - that sort of man I should not take. I should certainly take someone who approaches difficulties with due caution and who preferred to succeed by strategy.<sup>187</sup>

When it is recalled that Hagakure was written during a period of peace and that the emphasis was upon the upgrading of mental discipline, the obsession with recklessness and rashness can be brought more clearly into focus. By means of such a doctrine

Tsunetomo is attempting to reduce the indecision and procrastination which he observed in the young samurai around him. In this Hagakure is weakened, in comparison with Sun Tzu, as a text to be followed in winning wars. Yet it is strengthened in its purpose of alleviating the evils of society as seen by Tsunetomo.

A strongly stated disregard for intelligence and logic, an often repeated theme in Hagakure, may be attributed to the Zen preference for intuition over intellect.<sup>188</sup> Utter devotion to one's duty requires that one "...relinquish one's mind and body and come to think only of the lord."<sup>189</sup> If, in addition to this frame of mind, one also has intelligence and talent, one is able to give even better service.<sup>190</sup> But there is also a very real danger that mistakes may be committed because of an excessive devotion to learning.<sup>191</sup> That is, duties may be neglected if a person comes to value his accomplishments more than his reason for attaining them.<sup>192</sup> If he develops a feeling of immoderate pride, he becomes useless in his work. "No matter how superior one's talents, a person with a disposition which is not liked by people is useless. A person who humbles himself and who feels happy at being in a lower position than his companions cannot be disliked."<sup>193</sup>

Therefore, people who are outstanding in their accomplishments may be regarded as fools, because in order to achieve such outstanding skills, they have exhausted much time and effort. If what they have learned is not useful, it has been a complete waste of time.<sup>194</sup> A samurai who has artistic accomplishments, then, has his status as a bushi ruined. He begins to serve as an entertainer, and this is not the occupation of a bushi.<sup>195</sup>

While, as mentioned earlier, Tsunetomo held the belief that a bushi must pay careful attention to details of conduct in his daily life, he did not feel that such issues should become the end in themselves. He says, "People who are bright in logic are, in most cases, overly particular about minute details, and spend their whole lives wastefully. This is regrettable."<sup>196</sup> His view on this point appears to be in direct contrast to Kaibara Ekken's belief that the study of the classics is a universal duty.<sup>197</sup> Yet it was not learning itself which Tsunetomo frowned upon, for he himself had a relatively sound background in the Chinese classics and in Buddhist doctrines. His concern was that an over-emphasis on knowledge for knowledge's sake had begun to obliterate the bushi's conception of his true duty, service to the lord. A number of military men are remembered for their literary ability, particularly in the composition of waka 和歌<sup>198</sup> poetry, and indeed Tsunetomo himself was accomplished in this field. But surely this trend away from military matters and toward literary skill is the very reason why disdain for intellectual and artistic activities was not limited to Hagakure alone, but was a common element in bushidō throughout the country.<sup>199</sup>

Because the main occupation of the samurai was to serve, logic was unnecessary. "In whatever logic is applied, real reason is lost."<sup>200</sup> "To become confused with excess ideas cannot be said to be the Way."<sup>201</sup> A bushi is able to serve much better, therefore, if he avoids thinking about too many irrelevant things. "It is not good to be confused over one thing and another. It is best if one discards everything and sets his mind only on service."<sup>202</sup> This is applicable whether one is a bushi of a

low or a high rank.<sup>203</sup> When one is a country bushi, for example, he imagines that the officials who are in high places must necessarily have special abilities, but this, according to Tsunetomo, is not true. "When one becomes intimate with the House elders and senior advisors and exchanges casual conversation, one sees that they never forget that they are in service and worry about various things in politics, but apart from that, are no different from oneself."<sup>204</sup> The head monk of Sōryūji 宗竜寺<sup>205</sup> temple, Kōnan Oshō 江南和尚<sup>206</sup> explains why knowledge may be a detriment to proper service by saying, "The more one knows about concrete things, the farther one is removed from the Way. The reason is that by having read or heard about the words and actions of other people, one acquires knowledge, comes to believe himself equal to the Sages, and therefore looks down upon the common people as though they were insects."<sup>207</sup> Furthermore, Tsunetomo says,

A calculating person is a cowardly person. Because he always thinks about the calculation of loss and gain, the idea of profit and loss is constantly on his mind. Because death is a loss and life is a gain, he will not like death. That is why he is a coward. Again, a learned person hides congenital cowardice and greed with cleverness and eloquence. This is something by which people are fooled.<sup>208</sup>

Of course, without a certain degree of intelligence a bushi will be unable to carry out even the most basic duties. If it can be said that a cunning man does not succeed in life, it can also be said that a foolish man does not succeed either.<sup>209</sup>

It is particularly important to have strength of self will and to act without obtrusively using one's intelligence and discernment until the age of forty. After that, if in a position

of leading others, intelligence and discernment play a more vital role in prompting response from one's charges. Slightly paraphrasing the words of Confucius, Tsunetomo states, "In the first forty years of one's life it is best to be bold in everything. From the age of fifty it is more suitable to be reserved."<sup>210</sup> At a later point in the text he adds, "Whether one is wise or foolish, when one reaches the age of forty he achieves the degree of maturity appropriate to himself, and is no longer in doubt as to his course of action."<sup>211</sup> Tsunetomo's view that a bushi must forsake learning and the arts only to rush blindly forward in service takes on a much more flexible appearance with these statements. Devotion to service must evolve from experience and experience can be gained only by following the way of the true bushi with all one's heart. The use of logic and intellect to question the validity of commands forms a diversion from the way in the same manner as the satisfaction of selfish desires. In either case, the youthful bushi would be directed away from the path of bushidō. To ensure that, upon reaching middle age, he would have gained sufficient experience to qualify as a leader of men, Tsunetomo felt, samurai should undergo a strict regime of training.

## 2. Training

Even though there were no wars after 1638, the physical training of the Japanese bushi could not be separated from the values of the samurai class. The combination of scholarly learning, bun 文, on one hand and military skill, bu 武, on the other had a tradition of some length in Japan.<sup>212</sup> The placement of

the concept of bun-bu in the first article of the Buke shohatto indicates the importance initially accorded it by the Tokugawa authorities. Yet each time the code was reissued, the emphasis shifted slightly in the direction of the civil and away from the martial.<sup>213</sup> Nevertheless, training in the physical use of weapons continued to be an important aspect of samurai education until the end of the Edo period.

Kaibara Ekken once expressed the belief that a bushi needed only moral training and military skills.<sup>214</sup> When the need for the latter decreased during the period of peace, more attention was given the former. Thus the distinction between bujutsu 武術, military skills used in combat, and budō 武道, martial arts practised as a means of self cultivation and moral discipline, is a valid one.<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, as success in military operations had come to depend almost solely on firearms and group tactics, the older arts of archery, swordsmanship, and riding became primarily methods of spiritual training. Teachers of the martial arts were expected not only to instruct the students in the physical aspects of a technique, but also to guide them in the proper mental attitude and instill in them the will for perpetual self improvement. The ethics of rectitude, loyalty, courage, honour, etiquette, respect for superiors, compassion, and resolution to service, were constantly being substantiated within the framework of the training session.<sup>216</sup> Because Yamaga Sokō recorded his thoughts on the role of moral self-cultivation through physical training,<sup>217</sup> he is perhaps the best-known early proponent of the unity of mental and physical discipline in the martial arts. Yet most of the concepts which he taught were



also being drilled in one form or another in various dōjō道場<sup>218</sup> throughout the country. The physical techniques became a form of self cultivation similar to Zen-oriented practises such as the tea ceremony.<sup>219</sup> In Hagakure the arts of yari槍, yumi弓, and jujutsu柔術, as well as the practise of renga連歌 poetry are introduced,<sup>219</sup> not in the detail of their physical appearance, but in relation to how they may be employed to improve one's ability to serve one's lord.

While internalization of the mores of the society rested within the individual, methods of teaching them relied more heavily upon group training. Instruction generally took place with a number of students at the same time and, as was the case even in private lessons, there was bound to be a certain amount of intercourse, spoken or unspoken, between teacher and student. Because of this human element, the learning process of the physical arts occurred in a setting strongly influenced by the accepted morality of the locality and the instructor. Tsunetomo says that, for him, training was a full-time affair which never gave him a chance to bend his knees and rest.<sup>221</sup> He felt that such extended efforts were required so the discipline attained through guided physical training would provide the samurai with the resolution that, if, on a battlefied,

...one leads the charge and is determined to destroy the enemy ranks, he will not fall behind others, his heart will become brave, and he will be able to make a glorious display of martial courage. One must have, as a usual practise, the resolution that when he dies in a battle, he will fall facing in the direction of the enemy.<sup>222</sup>

Furthermore, he must not regard superior people as being invin-

cible, for they, too, are human. "If one makes up his mind that he is inferior to no one, everything will soon turn out fine."<sup>223</sup> Of course, this does not mean that a samurai should be content with what he has.

Exert your mind to the utmost. First of all, grasp the seeds firmly and cultivate your conduct, all your life, in such a way that these seeds ripen. Whatever you may have found, do not think it is sufficient. Think only that it is wrong and that it is not enough. In a lifelong quest one must search for the way in which the truth can be followed. Herein lies the real Way.<sup>224</sup>

Naturally, during the great peace, skill in combat was of less importance to the samurai than it had been in time of war. Nevertheless, training in the classical methods of combat was carried on to impart to the practitioners the mental discipline which was required of them in their roles as samurai and as administrators.<sup>225</sup> The significance of physical training was recognized clearly by the samurai of the Edo period. Kumazawa Banzan and Yamaga Sokō are but two men who expressed their opinions on this matter.<sup>226</sup> Yagyū Munenori 柳生宗矩 (1571-1646), the founder of the official fencing school of the bakufu, is quoted in Hagakure as having said, "I don't know how to win against others; I only know how to control myself."<sup>227</sup> Although he was a master swordsman and could handle the weapon extremely well, he considered its main function to be an instrument of training.

The fact that Tsunetomo quotes Yagyū shows that he, too, was aware of the importance of proficiency in the martial arts as a prerequisite to mental control, and hence to confidence. He also recognized that this training was not an easy nor a superficial task. He exploits the words of an unidentified old

master of swordsmanship who says that people in the lower levels of the samurai class are not useful even if they train. Those in the middle levels also fail to serve but at least are aware of their shortcomings. People in the upper ranks are capable of being beneficial because they have a fuller understanding. But with this understanding comes a feeling of pride, and they begin to believe that they are superior to others. Such an attitude is detrimental. Men of real service are found only above this level, but it is not easy to attain such heights. When one becomes deeply involved in such advanced training, "...one finally discovers that there is no limit. One never thinks that he has completed it. Realizing that he has shortcomings, all of his life he never fancies himself to have succeeded, he doesn't preen himself, and he doesn't belittle others. He improves day by day and there is no limit to his improvement. This is the way one advances."<sup>228</sup> It is truly lamentable, says Tsunetomo, that there are so few such persons. "There are no great men. There are not even any who will listen to advice which would benefit them, let alone train to become great men."<sup>229</sup>

Attainment of the proper attitude of determination to serve without flinching is something which must be accomplished through many years of practise.<sup>230</sup> According to the old saying, "Great genius comes slowly,"<sup>231</sup> proficiency in service cannot be gained rapidly. If a young person tries to progress too quickly, he becomes rude and overconfident, and develops an air of insincerity. He is then scorned by others and may be considered a failure. To prevent this one must suffer hardships in training and adopt the attitude that, "...nothing is impossible..."

moving the universe without using any strength is but a question of determination."<sup>232</sup> The doctrine of Zen Buddhism pervades this statement, for Zen, with its emphasis on simplicity, directness, and self-reliance, may be regarded as a religion of will power.<sup>233</sup>

Shitsuke 躰, "proper upbringing,"<sup>234</sup> should begin at a very early age. According to Tsunetomo, a boy must be taught to fear nothing, for if he is a coward as a baby, it will become a lifetime habit. He should not, therefore, be scolded strongly lest he come to have a timid nature. Gradually he should be made to pay attention to the ways of speaking and to courtesy. Selfishness must not be permitted. If he is normal he will develop well. If the parents do not get along there can be no filial piety because children imitate their parents. "Even birds and animals, after they are born, always do what they see and hear and thus determine their characters." The mother should not always defend the child from the father because if she does, discord will develop between father and son.<sup>235</sup>

From about the age of fifteen, a youth must start training in earnest to make a solid foundation so that he may be prepared to deal with any contingency. If he has a strong base he may persevere through any setbacks caused by errors.<sup>236</sup> People who have served as pages during their youth are especially useful, because they are familiar with performing various duties.<sup>237</sup>

Training was also carried out through admonitions by seniors. Tsunetomo cites one lecture which he himself delivered to a young man who was having a problem pleasing a very difficult father-in-law.

To begin with, it must be realized that being born as a human being is a totally unexpected stroke of good fortune. Besides that, being able to serve as one of the retainers of this Nabeshima House is a lifelong desire. If one looks at the peasants or townsmen one will understand this. Being born the eldest son and inheriting the estate of one's true father is indeed a very blessed thing but all the more so for you, born the youngest child, to inherit another household and clearly become one of the retainers of our lord is a rare blessing. To fail in this and become a bushi who has no stipend is disloyalty and displeasing one's father is unfilial. A person who has strayed from the way of loyalty and filial piety has no place in this world. Return to the proper path and consider this very carefully.

Now, the loyalty and filial piety which concern you is only to please your father-in-law. You have to take into account the possibility that, no matter how hard you try to please him, he might not accept you. So I will teach you a way to alter his mood. You should pray to the family god, crying tears of blood, that your facial expression, in whatever you do, may please him. This is not for private interest, but a matter of principle. The mere thought will strike a responsive chord in your father-in-law's heart. Go home and try it. Before you know it your father-in-law's mind will be changed. This phenomenon of heaven, earth, and man on the same wave length is an expression of the mysterious incomprehensible truth. What I've just said to you is particularly true in this case because your father has long been ill. He can't last long. Being filial for a short time is easy, even standing on your head.<sup>238</sup>

Advice of this type was essential for a young samurai to develop the strength of character which would be required at a later time. He must learn to honour his duties and respect his superiors. For example, upon his first audience before the lord, a certain young samurai was instructed, "At the time that you bow and lower your head, swear to yourself, 'This is a fortunate thing indeed! Not having received an interview until now, I have lived in obscurity. I am as happy as one can possibly be. From now on I must discard my own life and serve my lord.' This

thought will be transmitted to the lord and you will be able to serve."<sup>239</sup>

Rewards were given for work well done and punishments for behaviour other than the expected norm. But of more consequence was the fact that a bushi was trained to respect propriety. He was taught to be careful in everything he did and to do it well. Even when writing, for example, each letter was to be written as though it were for a picture scroll.<sup>240</sup> Through lifelong indoctrination, the bushi was taught to be self confident yet humble, compatible yet reserved, brave yet cautious, compassionate yet stern, polite yet prudent, and above all, loyal.

### 3. Loyalty

Loyal and devoted service to one's lord is central to the maintenance of any feudal society. Tokugawa Japan was no exception, and bushidō, which developed as the code of the samurai did, in fact, consist essentially of diligence in the duty of service, even to the extent that it may have had religious overtones. Adherence to the principles of bushidō required a loyalty which would override other religious commitments<sup>241</sup> and by doing this, bushidō became what might be called a religion of loyalty. According to Tsunetomo, the bushi must preoccupy himself with bushidō, and the major duty of bushidō being devotion to the lord, he must dwell on loyalty. These bare facts, he says, describe the ambitions of a perfect retainer.<sup>242</sup> Support for the lord was in reality support for the group of which the lord was but a figurehead, but this fact is either deliberately neglected by Tsunetomo or not comprehended. The duties performed for the

lord and the return of certain benefits provided the group with solidarity which allowed it to overcome obstacles and to retain its position of power. The paternalistic form of this arrangement, in which the lord may be seen as a father figure to his retainers, is common to Japanese society, even in the present day. Within the organizations under various daimyō, such forms were also present, notably in the relationships between the groups and their leaders.<sup>243</sup> On a broader scale, the bakufu may be seen as an extension of the paternalistic phenomenon.<sup>244</sup> Nor is such a concept limited to Japan. The Sun Tzu says, "Because ...a general regards his men as infants they will march with him into the deepest valleys. He treats them as his own beloved sons and they will die with him."<sup>245</sup>

The obligation of loyalty to a superior is a basic tenet in the teachings of Confucius<sup>246</sup> and is particularly obvious in Japanese feudalism. The ethic of devotion to a sovereign may be found throughout Japanese history.<sup>247</sup> Nitobe says that the virtues of homage and fealty to a superior is a distinctive feature of feudal morality.<sup>248</sup> The duty of loyalty stood at the axis of bushidō, and such sentences as, "We bushi know nothing but to think of our lord,"<sup>249</sup> are found in abundance in Hagakure. By actual count one hundred twenty six of the two hundred three articles comprising the first chapter mention at least some aspect of loyalty, and of these, sixty five are primarily concerned with devotion to service.

Because loyalty could not be ensured by a written contract alone, stress was placed, in a manner distinctive of Japanese bushidō, upon internalization of the concept of loyalty within

the minds of individual bushi. While there were innumerable instances of disloyalty throughout the history of Japan, most notably in the Sengoku period but also in the battle of Sekigahara, the concept of loyalty remained a viable ethic in the code of bushidō. Indications are that this was not the case in the armies of China and Europe. There the practises of corvée and conscription placed a limit on the amount of loyalty which might be expected.<sup>250</sup> Although the samurai received stipends for their services, and so may be considered, in a sense, mercenaries, in actual practise by the Edo period their efforts were almost solely administrative. Furthermore, from about the middle of this period onward, when the economic situation of the bakufu was becoming progressively worse, the stipends of many retainers were curtailed for indefinite periods of time.<sup>251</sup> In spite of this, outward symptoms of disloyalty did not appear until near the end of the Edo period. Additionally, the receipt of an allowance and the relation of the soldiers to the commanders was not of the same nature as that in China. In Japan, after all, the soldiers and the officers were, in the Tokugawa period of peace, drawn solely from the samurai class, and thus the "...payment of a large bounty to assure the loyalty of the army..."<sup>252</sup> was not as necessary as it was with the conscript armies of China.

Of the relationship between loyalty and punishment, Sun Tzu states, "If troops are punished before their loyalty is secured they will be disobedient. If not obedient, it is difficult to employ them. If troops are loyal, but punishments are not enforced, you cannot employ them."<sup>253</sup> Of course, punishment for lack of dedication and for disobedience functioned in Japan



also,<sup>254</sup> and there is no doubt that it had a great deal of influence in preserving loyal inclinations. There remain, however, many cases, such as the retirement of Tsunetomo himself, in which uncalled-for acts of loyalty were exhibited. Tsunetomo would undoubtedly have been in a better position had he continued to serve in the Nabeshima House under Tsunashige after the death of Mitsushige, but he felt that to turn his back on the lord was not in keeping with his beliefs.<sup>255</sup>

It was Tsunetomo's contention that persons who make a fuss of serving, and outwardly appear to be very loyal in their actions, may in reality not have the same depth of character as lowly-ranked persons who are devoted in their hearts.<sup>256</sup> Naturally it is hard to maintain an intense degree of loyalty. Still, if one remembers that the oaths between retainer and lord are not something remote from reality, but rather are something very near at hand, and if one reinforces his resolution to them daily by repeating the Four Oaths over and over, one will fulfill the requirements of a retainer admirably.

The loyalty so often mentioned by Tsunetomo is limited almost exclusively to that of a retainer for his lord and does not carry with it the seeds of greater loyalty, to the emperor, as it did in the writings of Yamaga Sokō and Motoori Norinaga.<sup>257</sup> On the other hand, he gives some flexibility to his concept of loyalty by stating that since the relationship between a lord and his retainer resembles that between father and son, the loyalty which a samurai has for his master is not different in essence from the piety he has for his parents. Some authors, Chikamatsu in his Tamba Yosaku 丹波与作,<sup>258</sup> for example, centered their stories

around a conflict between loyalty to the lord and familial love. While recognizing loyalty as an extremely important virtue, Takizawa Bakin was inclined to place filial piety in an even more exalted position.<sup>259</sup> Tsunetomo's approach differed somewhat in that he believed that no such conflict could exist, because loyalty and filial piety constituted the same basic element. Both show intrinsic involvement with helping others by giving of oneself unselfishly.<sup>260</sup> In the morning, when one addresses the gods, the lord should receive attention first, then one's parents, and finally the gods and buddhas. If prayers are carried out in this manner all will be well because, "If the lord is served seriously, parents will also rejoice, and the gods and buddhas will be satisfied."<sup>261</sup> Following this Confucian line of reasoning Tsunetomo repeats the old saying, "Look for a loyal retainer, in the home of a filial son."<sup>262</sup> For it is only after one has learned how to serve one's parents that one can fulfill one's duty to the sovereign.<sup>263</sup> Under normal circumstances this devotion either to the lord or to the parents is not readily observed; the strength of faithfulness is exhibited most clearly when there is an emergency or hardship. Yet a samurai must be singlemindedly devoted every minute for, "This, in relation to one's lord is loyalty, to one's parents, filial piety, to military matters, bravery, and is something which can be used in all things."<sup>264</sup>

#### 4. Attitude Toward Death

Soldiers who realize that there is no escape from the battlefield will fight much more intensely. This fact has long

been recognized as the natural instinct of any man or animal who is cornered. Use of this desire to fight to the death was recorded as part of the strategy of the Sun Tzu. To defeat a surrounded enemy more easily, a commander must always leave an avenue of escape,<sup>265</sup> and he must not press an enemy at bay.<sup>266</sup> Thorough comprehension of this fact will also allow it to be applied in a reverse fashion, that is, toward the management of one's own army. Make it "...evident that there is no chance of survival. For it is the nature of soldiers to resist when surrounded; to fight to the death when there is no alternative, and when desperate to follow commands implicitly."<sup>267</sup> "Throw the troops into a position from which there is no escape and even when faced with death they will not flee. For if they are prepared to die, what can they not achieve? Then officers and men together put forth their best efforts. In a desperate situation they fear nothing; when there is no way out they stand firm."<sup>268</sup>

Certainly Hagakure was greatly influenced by the thought of Sun Tzu, which had been first introduced into Japan as early as the eighth century.<sup>269</sup> Many leading writers of the Edo period wrote commentaries on the Sun Tzu in Japanese.<sup>270</sup> Hayashi Razan, for instance, wrote Sonshi genkai 孫子諱解 in 1626. Yamaga Sokō wrote at least three essays, Sonshi gengi 孫子諱義, Sonshi kutō 孫子句詠, and Sonshi kōgi 孫子口義. Both Sonshi kokujikai 孫子國字解 and Sonshi kai 孫子解 were produced by Ogyū Sorai, and Muro Kyūsō was responsible for Sonshi kibun 孫子記聞. Whether or not Tsunetomo had direct access to all or any of these secondary works is uncertain,

but it is highly likely that, due to his interest in literature, he was familiar with the ideas contained in Sun Tzu.

However, because Hagakure is not directed toward military commanders, Tsunetomo views the fighting attitude of cornered men from a decidedly different perspective than Sun Tzu. He feels that the individual bushi must train to be loyal even in his daily actions and devotion as though he were in a position of having no escape. The extreme expression of loyalty is manifested in the willingness to sacrifice everything, even one's life, for the sake of the lord and the good of the House. The general estimation in which Hagakure is held by the public in present day Japan rests mainly upon its views concerning the expressed necessity for a retainer to give up his life in service. The most famous words in Hagakure, and those most often quoted, appear very early in the book. They are,

武士道というのは、死ぬ事と見付けたり。二つ二つの場にて、早く死ぬ方片付くはめなり。別に子細なし。腹すわって進むなり。圓に当らぬは大死なびという事は、上方風の打よりたる武通なるべし。二つ二つの場にて、圓に当るやうにするは及ばぬ事なり。我人、生くる方が好まなり。多分好まの方に理か付くべし、若し圓にはづれて生きたらば腰抜けなり。この境危きなり。圓にはづれて死にたりは、大死気遣なり。恥にけらし。これが武道に丈夫なり。毎朝毎夕、改めては死に死に、常住死身になりて居る時は、武道に自由を得、一生落度なく、家職を仕果すべきなり。

Bushidō to iu wa, shinu koto to mitsuke tari.  
Futatsu futatsu no ba ni te, hayaku shinu hō  
ni katazuku bakari nari. Betsu ni shisai  
nashi. Mune suwatte susumu nari. Zu ni ataranu  
wa inujini nado iu koto wa, kamigatafu no uchi-  
agari taru budō naru beshi. Futatsu futatsu no  
ba ni te, zu ni ataru yō ni suru wa oyobanu koto  
nari. Warehito, ikuru hō ga suki nari. Tabun  
suki no hō ni ri ga tsuku beshi, moshi zu ni  
hazurete iki taraba koshi nuke nari. Kono sakai  
ayauki nari. Haji ni wa narazu. Kore ga budō  
ni jōbu nari. Mai asa mai yū, aratamete wa  
shini shini, jōjū shinimi ni marite oru toki wa,  
budō ni jiyū o e, isshe ochido naku, kashoku o  
shiosu beki nari.

The way of the warrior amounts to being resigned to death. In a situation of two choices, life or death, there is nothing but to decide upon death immediately. It is as simple as that. It is to make up one's mind and proceed. The statement, 'To die without attaining one's goal is a useless death,' must surely be the conceited Kyoto version of bushidō. In a situation of two choices it is not necessary to act so as to always achieve one's goal. We all prefer to live. Our preference would seem to prevail. It is cowardice if one lives without attaining one's goal. This point is critical. If one misses the goal and dies, it simply proves that he was fanatically determined to die in vain. But this is no disgrace. On the contrary, this is heroic behaviour. Every morning and every evening, when one repeatedly thinks of dying and dying, and is always as a dead body, he should be able to acquire mastery in the martial way, live a life free of faults, and fulfill his occupation in life.<sup>271</sup>

At first glance these words can be, and often are, mistaken to mean that a warrior must desire death. This is definitely not the inference here. On the contrary, this paragraph means that the bushi must recognize the inevitability of death, and upon having done so, must be determined that when the time comes to die, he will be prepared to give his life in a way befitting one of his class. Sun Tzu states, in a similar vein, that good officers have no expectation of long life, but this is not because they have disdain for life.<sup>272</sup>

If a bushi confronts a predicament in which there are

but two choices, life or death, he should without hesitation choose death.<sup>273</sup> That is, he must be resolved beforehand that, if a life-or-death situation arose, he would not waver. For in his mind, as a loyal retainer, there would be but one thought: service to his lord. Even though part of that service be death, there is no choice. Pessimistic as this may initially appear, in actuality, for a military man this practical form of reasoning was perhaps even a somewhat optimistic way of regarding the situation. "When as a usual practise one has carefully accustomed one's mind to the fact of death, it is possible to die with peace of mind."<sup>274</sup> Admitting the instinctive human desire to remain alive, and further granting that all people naturally fear death, Tsunetomo reasons that in this desire to stay alive a warrior may hesitate in the execution of his duty by attempting to find a way in which to avoid death. Although one may fail in the endeavour, he must not consider taking a roundabout route but must advance directly.<sup>275</sup> A second of indecision could prove fatal, in that it might allow the enemy to strike a lethal blow. Thus by predetermining that he may die, and preparing himself mentally for that death, the bushi demarcated the path which he was obliged to follow while eliminating all other courses. A Chinese commentator on the Sun Tzu says that the general who esteems life above all else will be overcome with hesitancy, and this, in a commander is a calamity.<sup>276</sup> Hagakure, too, states repeatedly that in order to serve his lord and avoid shame, there is only one path for a bushi to follow. The required resolution to accept reality is illustrated also in the following account. At the time

of a certain festival, "...there was a sudden shower. In order not to get wet some people ran quickly down the road and others walked along under the eaves, yet this did not stop them from getting wet. Had they been resolved to get wet from the beginning, they would not have had unpleasant thoughts. For they would have gotten wet no matter what they did. This is an understanding which permeates everything."<sup>277</sup>

The fundamental statement being made here, then, is simply that death is life, a concept very reminiscent of Zen thought. For by recognizing death as the only viable choice, a bushi, when confronted by the enemy, is not at all encumbered by any indecision as to the course of action which he must take. Freedom from diversionary notions allows him to concentrate fully upon the immediate problem at hand, namely, the dispatching of the enemy, or, in the time of the Edo peace, the fulfillment of duty. Thus, his chances of leading a commendable life are improved. Here the simplistic appeal of Zen, with its belief that destiny is determined by fate,<sup>278</sup> tended to help erase the fear of death. Suzuki Daisetz expresses the Zen attitude toward death in the following way, "When one is resolved to die, that is, when the thought of death is wiped off the field of consciousness, there arises something in it, or, rather, apparently from the outside, the presence of which one has never been aware of, and when this strange presence begins to direct one's activities in an instinctual manner wonders are achieved."<sup>279</sup>

In emphasizing the extreme form of service, the sacrifice of one's life, Tsunetomo attempts to shock<sup>280</sup> the young samurai

out of their lackadaisical attitude toward service. He realized, of course, that in a time of peace there would be very little call for a bushi to sacrifice his life in battle. Still he was trying to illustrate that the same attitude was applicable, not only on the battlefield, but to any of a samurai's various duties. Making reference to the ancient example of Satō Tsugunobu 佐藤経信 (1158-1185), who gave his life in the service of his lord, Yoshitsune,<sup>281</sup> Tsunetomo says, "More than the killing of an enemy, the distinction of a warrior is dying for the sake of the lord."<sup>282</sup> This superior quality should be carried over into one's daily life. Reflecting an attitude toward life and death similar to that of Taoism,<sup>283</sup> Tsunetomo asserts that one must go about his duties with the thought that the physical body is not his own but is rather that of a ghostly being acting in service to the lord. When he says that one should always be as a dead body,<sup>284</sup> he means that one's body is not one's own but, in fact, belongs to the lord. Nitobe clarifies such thinking even further with the statement, "Him who has once died in the bottom of his breast, no spears of Sanada nor all the arrows of Tametomo can pierce."<sup>285</sup> Placing one's own best interests foremost and thinking that because one may make a mistake in an important position, it is better to retire from that position is the same as showing one's back to the enemy on the battlefield. It is cowardly and unworthy of a bushi.<sup>286</sup>

While the Tokugawa bakufu had banned the tradition of junshi, the institution of seppuku came to be established on a formal basis. Although there are indications that it was



used less as the years passed, there is little doubt that it was an ever-present feature of the samurai class during the Edo period. The act of self disembowling as a form of honourable death for a samurai developed from a spontaneous commitment in the late Heian period<sup>287</sup> into a regulated and very stylized ceremony in the Edo period.<sup>288</sup> Basically there were but a few accepted and sanctioned reasons for performing seppuku, and illustrations of each are found in Hagakure. The three main motives were to atone for a crime or fault,<sup>289</sup> to demonstrate one's sincerity,<sup>290</sup> and to draw attention to one's cause.<sup>291</sup>

A decision to commit suicide was not irrevocable, whether that decision was the result of the principal's own resolution or of a directive from the lord. One account in Hagakure deals with an official who used the threat of suicide as a lever to manipulate the lord. Tsunetomo condemns such action as a depreciation of the true meaning of the institution for the reason that it was not behaviour rooted in service.<sup>292</sup> On the other hand, a request by Nakano Kazuma 中野教馬 (1627-1699),<sup>293</sup> repeated seven times, for the pardon of five convicted men, gains his sympathy.<sup>294</sup> The case of Sagara Kyūba 相良求馬 (1619-1670)<sup>295</sup> is somewhat of an oddity in that he was once sentenced and forgiven, but later committed seppuku to save his lord from embarrassment. Tsunetomo also relates advice put forth when a certain person was confronted with the possibility of being charged with an error of serious consequences. In the first place, even though the incident has occurred, it is possible that it will be overlooked. If there is an investigation, lies must not be told. Relying on the good reputation of your

ancestors, plead your case, and if you are not forgiven even after this, be resolved to die.<sup>296</sup>

The duty of kaishaku, assisting at seppuku, is clearly considered by Tsunetomo to be an appointment of honour, and proper execution of this task indicated ability and integrity in a bushi.<sup>297</sup> Many of the young samurai felt a definite aversion to the work of beheading, and thereby became the objects of Tsunetomo's scorn.

##### 5. Personal Appearance

The degree to which each bushi accepted and internalized the values of the society as a part of his own existence was generally visible only through the manner in which he carried out his daily duties. His conduct in emergencies, or in the execution of matters of great importance, clearly indicated his degree of inner conviction. The most perceptible manifestation of the internal determination, as expressed on a daily basis, was the meticulous care a samurai paid to his personal appearance.

The bushi of until about fifty or sixty year ago took baths, shaved their heads, scented their hair, cut the nails of their hands and feet, filed them with pumice and polished them beautifully with golden grass, and without fail, arranged their appearance every morning. Of course, no tarnish became attached to their weapons, dust was wiped away, and they were polished and stored away. The great attention paid to appearance, although it was somewhat gaudy, was not for false elegance. Every day they resigned themselves to inevitable death. In the event that they died in battle with an unsightly physical appearance, the degree of their previous lack of determination would be revealed, they would be scorned by their enemies, and would be disgraced. Therefore both old and

young men did their grooming carefully. Although it is troublesome and takes a lot of time, a bushi has no other business. Nor is there any-thing else which can intrude on his time.<sup>299</sup>

A secondary consideration in the matter of attention to physical appearance is the fact that the habits instilled in the individual through the custom of personal cleanliness could be extended to other segments of life. A samurai who, by habit or design, was solicitous in the care of his weapons, his clothing, and his body, would be far more likely to develop commendable customs regarding the manners, learning, and behaviour expected of a man in his position. One must have a "modest and sternly handsome" countenance and "be calm in deportment and behaviour." "If a man has no substantial dignity and majesty, his appearance, posture, and bearing will not look good."<sup>300</sup> As in writing Chinese logographs, one must be distinctive in his actions and yet true to the accepted form.<sup>301</sup>

Speech, too, is very essential to the presentation of a proper impression for, as Kaibara Ekken says, words are the clothing of one's body and show the feeling of a person on the inside.<sup>302</sup> One must always be careful in choosing one's words as they indicate one's mental determination.<sup>303</sup> A bushi must pay attention not to say anything lightly in daily life, even as a joke, because this exposes his true heart. Tsunetomo himself determined when he was young that he would use only one word in the place of ten.<sup>304</sup> "It is best to appear quiet on the surface but to contain strength underneath."<sup>305</sup> But to remain completely silent shows confusion and this too is undesirable.<sup>306</sup>

Because the external appearance is but a reflection of internal thoughts, a bushi must strive to purify his mind.

When given a post, be glad of the assignment. When there is a feeling of excessive pride, it appears on one's face. I have seen several such people and they are disgraceful. 'As a useless person assigned to this post, how can I carry it out. This is really an anxious and distressing thing.' People who think in this way are aware of their own weakness and, even if they do not express it in words, show this humility on their faces, and appear modest.<sup>307</sup>

## Chapter III

1. Conduct in Society

While concentrating on the importance of self discipline, Tsunetomo does not lose sight of the fact that the whole must be considered along with the parts. The development of properly trained and loyal retainers was, he believed, for the purpose of generating a harmonious society within Saga han. The ideal of harmony can, as has been mentioned, be traced back to the duality of the ancient yin-yang philosophy of China. Supplementary to this, Buddhist, Confucian, and Neo-Confucian ideas stressed the maintenance of an orderly society.<sup>308</sup> Through the adherence of each person to his particular station in life, harmony could be achieved and continued indefinitely. To Tsunetomo, harmony also meant cooperation with one's fellow bushi in serving the lord. He says, "If all people are in harmony and trust in the way of the gods, they will have peace of mind." Acknowledgment that the essential nature of mutual endeavour had considerable importance is apparent in Tsunetomo's work. In ancient times, he states, the intimacy between group leader and the members of his group left no room for other matters.<sup>309</sup> "Bad feelings between the retired and the present heads of the family, between father and son, and between elder and younger brothers arise from base selfishness."<sup>310</sup> When relations deteriorate to the point where attendance at meetings and discussions begins to fail, consequences of a serious nature may occur. For if people are not used to working together they will be useless in a time of emergency.<sup>311</sup> It is imperative,

then, for samurai not only to maintain cordial friendships but to try to develop these into intimate and meaningful relationships. Lord Naoshige believed that a determined samurai was one who associated with many friends.<sup>312</sup> In order to become and remain friendly with many people, each must be addressed in the proper way.

So the correct use of words is essential. Many are the people who talk boastfully as a habit but who, in a crisis, are generally speechless.<sup>313</sup> "People who are discreet with their mouths are well employed in periods of good government and in times of bad government are not punished."<sup>314</sup> A bushi should not open up his heart completely to strangers but rather should express his feelings through his daily conduct and speech.<sup>315</sup> When talking to friends in daily conversation, care must be taken not to lose concentration on what they are saying. If one agrees with them on every matter, duty is being neglected. Pay attention and discuss anything which does not coincide with one's own opinion, because small oversights may grow into large errors.<sup>316</sup> When things are going well, one must be doubly careful to guard against pride and extravagance, for a person who becomes happy easily can just as easily become discouraged.<sup>317</sup>

A well-trained bushi uses his friends and associates in the proper way. Friends who are close to the lord are of special value when a samurai needs to communicate an idea to the lord. But unless they are completely loyal to the lord, they may misrepresent one's intentions to promote their own cause.<sup>318</sup> In any case, although it may be necessary at times to request aid from others, this should be avoided as far as

possible lest it appear to be begging.<sup>319</sup> Furthermore, the use of friends can only be condoned if the effort is made, not for a selfish purpose, but for the sake of the lord.<sup>320</sup>

Another element which Tsunetomo considered critical regarding friends must be presented. In the course of doing things one easily makes mistakes and, even more seriously, there is a tendency to become selfish. Through consultation with others, one's actions can be tempered and solidified, and one can become as stable as a great tree with many roots rather than like a twig which just has been stuck in the ground.<sup>321</sup> There is no one from a lowly foot soldier to a lord who would not benefit from the advice of others. "A person who contemplates his own mistakes as a usual routine and searches for the Way during his whole life, is a treasure to the han."<sup>322</sup> Various methods of obtaining knowledge are open to those who search. The maxims of previous generations can be good models for the men of the present<sup>323</sup> but may be hard to understand. In fact, that which is understood may be only superficial knowledge.<sup>324</sup> Therefore, do not be afraid that by seeking advice from others you will be showing ignorance for, "...to request the advice of others is to surpass them."<sup>325</sup> The way of righteousness is very difficult to understand by oneself and may be followed more easily by consulting others.<sup>326</sup> On the other hand, in certain circumstances consultation may be disadvantageous, and at those times one must be prepared to use one's own judgment.<sup>327</sup> In such instances, "...in order to make a proper decision, study the Four Oaths and the solution will appear naturally."<sup>328</sup> In all cases it is best to

accept any advice gladly and later decide whether or not to adopt it. For if one refuses advice it may be that that person will never again offer it.<sup>329</sup>

It is also the duty of a bushi to advise others. In this there must be no intention of ridiculing or shaming the other party. The sole purpose lies in better preparing him for service.<sup>330</sup> "In the world there are many people who give moral instructions. However, there are few people who listen gladly to instructions. And people who obey them are even fewer."<sup>331</sup> It is a prerequisite that the person whom one wishes to advise be brought to the proper frame of mind so that he is like "a thirsty man drinking water." This may be done by carefully studying the receptive capacity of the person and becoming intimate with him. Use words in a way so as to give them credibility. Talk first about things which he likes and think about how to speak. Choosing the proper opportunity, talk about one's own faults in such a way as to make him understand. Be sure to praise his good points and speak to him from your heart.<sup>332</sup> Only in this way will your advice be believed and trusted. Although it is generally thought to be kindness only to point out the faults in other people, this does no good unless suggestions are thoroughly discussed in a peaceful manner so that they will be accepted.<sup>333</sup> Once good advice is adopted by the other party, he will be better equipped to serve his lord.

An even more difficult task is the admonishment of one's superiors. If one's position is not of sufficient status to advise that senior directly, it is best to do so through the medium of a friend who is close to him.<sup>334</sup> If one's actions



are motivated by loyalty, it is not necessary that the recipient know the source of the advice.<sup>335</sup> A serious fault that obviously requires correction must be pointed out immediately, for if one waits for a better opportunity, there is the chance that further damage will accrue.<sup>336</sup> Fear that the lord might retaliate if given advice when he is in an unfavourable mood should not deter your decision to correct him. If one is sincere in his determination to state his point of view, the lord will listen.<sup>337</sup> On the other hand, if he is a lord who is excellent in all things, advice on very petty matters can do naught but harm.<sup>338</sup> All advice and admonition must be meted out for the sole end of loyalty. When this is not the case, and it is done only to exhibit one's own power, it is selfish and shameful.<sup>339</sup>

One further type of social relationship is dealt with in Hagakure. Although few in number, there are some allusions to homosexuality. This is not a particularly surprising revelation when one realizes the low social position of women and the disdain which samurai had for passionate love between man and woman. In fact, homosexuality had a long tradition in Japan, being recorded in literature as early as the eighth century in the Manyōshū 万葉集.<sup>340</sup> The prohibition of women from monasteries resulted in close physical relationships between the monks. The tradition of homosexuality thus established in the Buddhist orders continued to thrive through subsequent centuries.<sup>341</sup> A similar set of circumstances in the armies of the samurai led to a corresponding popularity of homosexuality among bushi. Tsunetomo, therefore, does not introduce

any new elements, but rather tenders advice on how to select male companions properly.<sup>342</sup> He stresses the fact that a friendship must be a lasting one in order to be acceptable.<sup>343</sup> The story of a close relationship between two men gives the details of their first meeting and tells of the deep sincerity of their mutual affection.<sup>344</sup> Information is also related on how the man Tsunetomo considers to be the founder of homosexuality in Saga han, Hoshino Ryōtetsu 星野了哲 (1607-1680), esoterically passed secret instruction in the practise to others.<sup>345</sup> Thus Tsunetomo deals with the matter of homosexuality with no hint of sensationalism. Instead he indicates only that, as in all other conduct, a bushi must behave as required by propriety.

## 2. Rectitude

The teachings of the Sung scholar, Chu Hsi, provided the foundations for orthodox Neo-Confucianism which, under the auspices of Hayashi Razan, became the official philosophy of the Edo regime. Chu Hsi<sup>346</sup> held that the "great ultimate" (t'ai-chi 太極, taikyoku 大極 in Japanese) consists of principle in its totality but takes no physical form. The manifestation of the great ultimate involves both "principle" (li 理, ri in Japanese) and "material force" (ch'i 氣, ki in Japanese). Principle explains the reality and universality of things while material force epitomizes the physical form. The apparently dualistic nature is counteracted by the fact that neither li nor ch'i can exist without the other. The principle, li, of a thing or a man is his very nature and, in its original state, it is perfect goodness. Physical nature is principle mixed

with material force and involves both good and evil. The result of this mixture is expressed in feelings. It is the mind which unites human nature and human feelings, and so it is the mind which must be cultivated in morality. This cultivation simply serves to bring human feelings back into harmony with li. Combined with the concept of jen (= (jin in Japanese), "humanity," the rationalism of Chu Hsi's philosophy dominated all official scholarship during the Tokugawa period in Japan.

To Tsunetomo such scholarly debate was, as has been mentioned, not the concern of the bushi. In the portion of Hagakure studied for this paper, Tsunetomo makes no direct reference to Neo-Confucian theory. On the other hand, most of the first chapter of Hagakure is devoted to the practical application of Neo-Confucian precepts to the lifestyle of the samurai. Tsunetomo felt that all the effort of a bushi, if not put forth in the way of the warrior, bushidō, was meritless. Actions of samurai, if they do not follow reason and moral righteousness, were regarded as shallow and useless.<sup>347</sup> The bushi's concept of righteousness centered around responsibility to one's position in life, that is, to duty performed for the cause of his lord.<sup>348</sup>

The term giri 義理, introduced previously as obligation, at this point needs to be explained in terms of its relationship with rectitude. In its original sense giri meant duty, duty performed only because to do so was the way of ri, "right reason" or "principle." The meaning changed, as time passed, to encompass obligatory relationships between social classes, parents and children, and master and follower. It became the

authority used to compel the performance of duties which were then done as moral requirements and not necessarily spontaneous acts of love.<sup>349</sup> In this context the obligations of giri may be seen as the enforcer of the true principle, ri. The samurai was kept on the path of righteousness by the more clearly recognizable manifestations of giri.

Adherence to the way of righteousness, or proper conduct, was expected of all bushi regardless of their rank or age. Tsunetomo commands them to conduct themselves in accordance with their status at all times.<sup>350</sup> Naturally, the higher one's position and the closer one becomes to the lord, the more carefully one must abide by reason and justice.<sup>351</sup> In addition to reprimanding those under him, a senior statesman must administer the province justly.<sup>352</sup> He must be firm, but if he is too strict things cannot prosper. Just as fish grow better in the shade of duckweed than they do in clear water, the people flourish when controls are loosened slightly.<sup>353</sup> "By punishing with a heart of benevolence and working with a heart of compassion, there is no limit to strength and righteousness."<sup>354</sup> Furthermore, compassion dictates that reason may sometimes be found outside of justice.<sup>355</sup> Therefore, if the proper way of government is pursued, there will be peace and harmony.<sup>356</sup> If the people are living in tranquility and the retainers feel happy in giving service, the government of the province goes well.<sup>357</sup> However, if the way of rectitude is not followed, the rulers may expect divine retribution.<sup>358</sup>

Revenge, too, had long been a traditional method of righting an injustice. The case of the rōnin of Akō, which

has already been introduced, illustrates the degree to which revenge, carried out in the name of righteousness, was accepted and praised.<sup>359</sup> In Hagakure, Tsunetomo, while condoning and actually advocating the desirability of revenge for any obvious injustice, expresses some reservations as to the manner in which it should be achieved. Attention to the criteria of honour and rectitude is essential. In keeping with the element of loyalty, he indicates that a vendetta should be undertaken only as a part of the duty to one's lord.

In addition, revenge is not something which should be carefully planned. By cautiously deliberating the methods to be used, the odds may appear overwhelming, and logic may dictate that the whole affair be forgotten. Such a result would be disgraceful.

The way of revenge is to fly into action immediately, until one is cut and killed. If one does this there will be no shame. When one thinks that he must defeat the enemy, he misses his chance.... Even if the enemy is several thousand, if one proceeds with the enthusiasm that he will kill many with each sweep of his sword, all he has to do to succeed is stand up and face them.... Neither wisdom nor art is necessary. Those people who are strong men do not think about victory or defeat; without second thoughts they are madly intent upon death.<sup>360</sup>

While recognizing the popularity of the two most famous cases of revenge, Tsunetomo criticizes the vendettas of the rōnin of Akō and of the Soga 曾我 brothers.<sup>361</sup>

That the men of Akō did not disembowel themselves at Sengakuji 泉岳寺 must be regarded as a fault. In addition, the time from the death of their lord until the killing of the enemy was too long. If during that time Lord Kira 吉良 had died of sickness, it would have been most deplorable.... The vendetta of the Soga brothers, too, took a very long time.... I do not, in general, make criticism of this sort, but since this is a close

examination of budō, I am mentioning it.<sup>362</sup>

Many years of experience and training were required before the average samurai was able to discern clearly the difference between good and evil. Some factors, such as the abhorrence of "underhanded dealings and crooked undertakings,"<sup>363</sup> were obvious, but in more subtle instances problems occurred. Ittei provided a rule of thumb for samurai to follow when in doubt. He said that any behaviour was good if it was accompanied by suffering, and evil if there was no such suffering.<sup>364</sup> In this statement he appears to be formulating a practical guide which he has derived from the Neo-Confucian view of human nature. The resolving of the conflict between principle, ri, and selfish human desires is a matter only of clearing away these desires so that the inherent goodness of human nature will prevail.<sup>365</sup> Ittei seems to be saying that a samurai must suffer in the attempt to purify himself of selfishness and follow the way of righteousness. He must not succumb to the temptation to lead an undisciplined life. A bushi, furthermore, should maintain unslackening efforts to serve with utmost rectitude. To break one's concentration at any time reveals one's weakness, but this is even more applicable to a person serving in an official post. By acting in a relaxed manner when not performing official functions, he reveals the exact amount of effort which he expends on his duties.<sup>366</sup>

Leadership gave a samurai an opportunity to incorporate the precepts of righteousness into his duties. Years of experience plus a conscientious effort gave him the ability to observe signs of any secrets in the faces of his subordinates.<sup>367</sup>

Of the many examples of leadership qualities described in Hagakure, two are typical. One, in which a certain official offers to sponsor a bushi who has once been convicted of drunken disorderly conduct, illustrates insight and understanding. In this instance the official had said, "To abandon a person who has erred only once does not educate others. A person who has committed an indiscretion only once is one who has repented that error. He behaves himself well, and is useful."<sup>368</sup> The second story depicts the opposite qualities in a leader. While travelling on a boat, a young page became rowdy and began an argument with the ship's captain. He took out his sword, and the captain hit him on the head with a pole. The leader of the group of samurai travellers did nothing, not even apologize. Tsunetomo feels that the proper action for the leader in this instance would have been to cut down both the captain and the page with his sword.<sup>369</sup>

### 3. Compassion

The already mentioned virtue of jen 仁 (jin in Japanese), "humanity" or "benevolence," was a key concept to the Confucianism of Confucius himself, of Mencius, and of Chu Hsi.<sup>370</sup> The scope of its meaning was extremely wide, ranging from the basic goodness of man to the suggestion of a cosmic force, depending on the context and the interpretation. However, as with the theories of ri and ki, Tsunetomo does not concern himself with explanations of the meaning of the term jin. Instead he amalgamates it with the somewhat similar term jihi 慈悲, a concept of Buddhism. In his mind the two schools of thought,

Confucianism and Buddhism, did not differ on the point of love for one's fellow man. Therefore, he uses both the word jin and the word jihi, often interchangeably. In emphasizing benevolence and compassion for others, Tsunetomo follows a tendency which was apparent throughout Japan.<sup>371</sup> He says, "We must think and act in all things for the sake of our lord and parents, for the sake of other people, and for the sake of our descendants. This is great compassion. The wisdom and courage which come from compassion are fundamental elements."<sup>372</sup>

When in a position of superiority, a person must conduct himself carefully for his actions are easily seen by others. Yet people in high posts often forget to carry out their duties with compassion. Tsunetomo states repeatedly that for a superior to be kind to an inferior is an act worthy of praise. Nakano Kazuma, even though very busy, always found time to stop, on his way home from service at the castle, at the homes of those of his group who were sick or who had a problem. He was greatly loved for this.<sup>373</sup> Tsunetomo's father, Shigezumi, once said, "Where holding men is concerned, one cannot eat by oneself alone. If one shares his meal with his men, they can be held."<sup>374</sup> A group leader who praises his men lavishly whenever they do something commendable will find that they will thereafter commit their lives to him without regret.<sup>375</sup> In spite of the need for this sort of kindness, it is dangerous to be less than firm in managing men. Even though Shigezumi was a compassionate group leader, on one occasion one of his men made a mistake. Shigezumi did not mention anything about it until the end of the year, and then he discharged the man.<sup>376</sup>



Compassion should be held for all other people regardless of rank. One should convey sympathy to a bushi who is having hardships or misfortunes and thus help him in becoming courageous enough to overcome his difficulties. Once he does this, he will be able to serve the han.<sup>377</sup> In this way, one also serves the lord. If, for the sake of one's own pride, one embarrasses others instead of helping them, it is not only unkind but also does not serve to help the lord.<sup>378</sup> When five men were sentenced to punishment, Nakano Kazuma, at the risk of incurring anger upon himself, begged seven times for their pardon until it was finally granted.<sup>379</sup> He also had the reputation of a man who gave lighter sentences than offenses called for.<sup>380</sup> He exemplifies the fact that there is no limit to the amount of love and affection which can be distributed.<sup>381</sup> It is therefore not good to speak badly of anyone, even a criminal. Instead, help people who are in dire straits.<sup>382</sup> To receive help when one is having trouble is wonderful, but one must not neglect to be compassionate when times are good.<sup>383</sup>

#### 4. Courage and Honour

In contrast to the general attitude toward military action in China, where there was a tendency "...to disesteem heroism and violence, not to glorify it,"<sup>384</sup> valour was definitely a cherished virtue in Japan. Bravery for the sole sake of personal gain, however, was considered meritless and disgraceful. Courageous spirit must be cultivated for the purpose of serving the lord or the House.<sup>385</sup> Naturally, life or death struggles on the battlefield provided the best opportu-

nity for retainers to demonstrate physical courage. "An old bushi once said words to the following effect. If at the time of a real battle, determined that he will outdo even famous bushi, a man continuously thinks, morning and night, that he wants to somehow kill a strong enemy, his heart will become brave, he will not become tired, and he will be able to display courage."<sup>386</sup> Bravery on the battlefield may be regarded as control of the fear of death and disinterest in worldly concerns. For that purpose Zen Buddhism was particularly useful as a guiding doctrine.<sup>387</sup>

But the Edo period was a time of peace, and courage had to be exhibited in ways other than battle. "In a period of peace the way to display bravery is by words."<sup>388</sup> "This is the way one wants to be, not only at the time of a real battle, but also in normal times."<sup>389</sup> Sentences such as these indicate that Tsunetomo was attempting to transfer the courage required in battle to the daily duties of a samurai. Yet, while showing a heroic frame of mind to the whole world, a bushi must not become conceited.<sup>390</sup> At no time, even as a joke or during one's sleep may a bushi say such words as, "It is frightening," or, "Ouch," for these may indicate a subconscious weakness, or may be misunderstood by others.<sup>391</sup> Instead, one should have the determination to perform as Mitsushige did when he was required to read a sutra in front of a monk. At that time he said, "Everybody come and listen to me for it is difficult to read when there are only a few listeners."<sup>392</sup>

It is inner confidence in one's own ability which provides a man with courage. "For both service and courage one

must be determined to become completely singleminded."<sup>393</sup>

As a daily practise one must polish and expand confidence and conviction. "Courage must be fostered by always being determined to surpass brave men and by thinking that one will not be beaten by others."<sup>394</sup> It is important, naturally, that determination does not become obstinateness. However, a bushi must not retreat from the way of righteousness. As mentioned earlier, a bushi must try to correct the errors of others, even the lord. If by doing so he incurred the wrath of his lord and was sentenced to commit seppuku, it was a fate he had to accept bravely. A second form of castigation which a bushi might be forced to undergo consisted of being ordered to forfeit his stipend and become a rōnin. Becoming a rōnin was not necessarily final, and Tsunetomo expressed the opinion that life as a rōnin was not as uncomfortable as usually portrayed.<sup>395</sup> Repeated sojourns, he says, are perhaps necessary to make a samurai strong and courageous. In this connection Katsushige said, "Someone who has not become a rōnin seven times cannot be said to be a real servant. Fall down seven times and get up eight."<sup>396</sup> In fact, all bushi "...must be resolved from the beginning that the ultimate end of service is either to become a rōnin or to commit seppuku."<sup>397</sup> Thus a true bushi shows his courage and determination to serve the House, and fears nothing in the effort to do so. "One who is afraid of failure in assigned duties is a coward."<sup>398</sup> That is, one must not worry about making a mistake in his duty, but must advance with complete devotion. As there were no wars at the time in which Hagakure was written, mental courage in one's daily life was far more practical than

physical courage shown on the battlefield.

Honour, too, could best be gained in the traditional manner of displaying bravery on the battlefield, but war was not an indispensable requirement. To a properly trained bushi, honour originated in the judgment of one's actions by one's peers and superiors. Accomplishments deemed honourable were diversified, but praise normally came from others for action in accordance with the accepted conduct for specific circumstances, whether the situation entailed physical battle or the proper greeting of an acquaintance. Generally speaking, it was possible to earn honour in two broad ways, by doing heroic or meritorious deeds and by avoiding mistakes while serving unselfishly.<sup>399</sup> In keeping with Confucian principles, poverty and distress did not deprive a man of honour. Confucius himself is reported to have said, "Having only coarse food to eat, plain water to drink, and a bent arm for a pillow, one can still find happiness therein. Riches and honour acquired by unrighteous means are to me as drifting clouds."<sup>400</sup> Thus, any action done for the purpose of gaining wealth or fame, even death in battle or seppuku, was not considered proper nor honourable.<sup>401</sup>

When a bushi has honour in his heart, it will certainly appear in a time of emergency.<sup>402</sup> Yet it is something which is also expressed in daily behaviour and speech. One example of the way in which honour can be expressed verbally is by not speaking ill of a man after his death.<sup>403</sup> Another lies in adherence to truth, so that a man may be trusted at all times. "The word of a samurai is firmer than metal. Because I have decided, not the Buddha, the gods, nor anything else

will move me."<sup>404</sup>

## 5. Etiquette

Harmonious interaction between members of any society dictates that an accepted set of rules of etiquette be instituted and followed. This was particularly vital in a feudal society, deeply infused as it was with a hierarchy in which even the slightest difference of social position necessitated familiarity with the proper social response.

Following the example set by the Chinese classic, The Book of Rites (Li Chi 礼記, Japanese Raiki),<sup>405</sup> and such early Japanese documents as Shōtoku Taishi's seventeen article constitution of 604,<sup>406</sup> much of Hagakure is devoted to indicating, either through direct instructions or by citing examples, the proper conduct applicable to a certain circumstance. Knowledge of the course of action to be taken on a specific occasion was not only commendable, but the lack of such preparation was considered disgraceful.

Therefore, one must prepare in advance what one would do and say in a given situation. When invited somewhere, a bushi should plan from the previous night and make notes so that he could act smoothly.<sup>407</sup> "Nothing is as important as one's first words."<sup>408</sup> When speaking, speak only after considering who is present<sup>409</sup> and then do not say anything that might shame others.<sup>410</sup> Verbosity in a bushi was disrespectful. Tsunetomo decided while young to use less words than expected.<sup>411</sup> People in high positions made a habit of not using many words,<sup>412</sup> and for a person of lower rank to say too much when facing supe-

riors was "discourteous and bad mannered."<sup>413</sup> Even more care in one's daily speech was required when one was very busy in one's post, for to become excited and speak harshly was the way of lowly servants and was not befitting a samurai.<sup>414</sup>

A minor contradiction appears regarding the proper etiquette for bowing. Tsunetomo quotes his father Shigezumi, as saying, "It is best to bow respectfully to everyone without distinction. People of recent times have no courtesy and have become impetuous."<sup>415</sup> Shigezumi maintained that no one ever broke his back from bowing. But Tsunetomo also praises the conviction of another bushi who says that because his hips hurt at the New Year from excessive bowing, he has decided that he will not bow unless he is the recipient of a bow first.<sup>416</sup>

This same person had furthermore stated that during the New Year celebrations he would completely refuse to drink liquor.<sup>417</sup> Tsunetomo certainly agrees that liquor should not be drunk in great volume, because when one becomes drunk one will not be able to act without mistakes.<sup>418</sup> Besides, one's true mental convictions may be seen by all.<sup>419</sup> On the other hand he states that it is also poor manners to repeatedly refuse to drink.<sup>420</sup>

People who rely on natural intelligence will make many mistakes in etiquette.<sup>421</sup> Surely, at times a quick wit is very important to save a potentially disastrous situation, as in the case of a samurai who was searching for a criminal. When a palanquin passed, he thought the criminal was inside and prevented its passage, but it turned out to be someone completely different. He saved the situation by saying that

he thought it was a friend whom he had long been waiting for, and begged forgiveness.<sup>422</sup> Tsunetomo himself saw that the best way to correct this type of mistake was to remember not to repeat the same error. When he was young he began to compile a diary containing the mistakes that he had made each day. He soon gave it up because there were just too many. Still, even as an adult he took a few moments while he was lying in bed every night to think over the mistakes of the day, and no day passed when there were none.<sup>423</sup>

One must also be careful of appearances. Extravagance is to be avoided except perhaps for fans, tissue paper, writing paper, and bedding, which may be of slightly better quality.<sup>424</sup> When reading aloud, be certain to read using the diaphragm, and the results will be much more effective.<sup>425</sup> Do not yawn or sneeze in public.<sup>426</sup> Such guidelines on small matters of etiquette, found throughout Hagakure, show the degree of attention which any samurai must give toward proper manners. In a strict and closed feudal society, dependent upon obedience and respect, adherence to accepted norms of politeness was essential for its continuation.

## Chapter IV

1. Conclusion

Tsunetomo intended that Hagakure be read only by a few selected retainers of Saga han. Reproductions were, however, copied by hand and Hagakure, while not a book for popular consumption, certainly was not completely inaccessible. Because this book was oriented toward han affairs and loyalty to the provincial lord, it could not be expected that the regime in Edo would approve of it. Therefore, when in 1781 Nabeshima Harushige 鍋島治茂 (1745-1805) built the fief school which he called the Kōdōkan 弘道館, fear of offending the Edo government prevented Hagakure from being included as part of the curriculum.<sup>427</sup> In spite of this Hagakure, or at least the essence of the thought stated therein, served as a constant guideline in the instruction of the young samurai of Saga.

In a number of places in the text statements, if studied as individual units, appear to be contradictory to other passages. Yet when taken as interrelated elements all directed toward the same end, the differences resolve into a unity. For Tsunetomo, the major aim in writing Hagakure was to instill in the samurai of Saga han an intense loyalty toward their lord. He believed that the effort put forth in the pursuit of devotion to one's lord and one's duty would act as a catalyst for other revered ideals such as filial piety, rectitude, courage, honour and etiquette.

Apart from the purpose for which it was written, namely to assist the samurai of Saga in attaining a higher level of



moral existence, Hagakure provides an additional benefit. By criticizing the actions of the samurai of his day and suggesting methods of improving behaviour, Tsunetomo indicates, and perhaps exaggerates, the moral degeneration of the times. Clear and emphatic statements call for a return to the Way. Pointing out the Way through advice, examples, and admonitions, Tsunetomo gives a certain degree of insight into the psychological composition of rural samurai in the early eighteenth century. Scorn for intellectual reasoning and logic, as well as for excessive emphasis on artistic pursuits, is often voiced. The fundamental appeal of Hagakure is to the emotions, and there is little doubt that Tsunetomo is attempting to elicit an emotional response from his readers. Such an appeal reflects the intuitive elements expressed in the Zen sect of Buddhism and the Ōyōmei 王陽明 (Wang Yang-ming in Chinese)<sup>428</sup> school of Neo-Confucianism.

The concepts depicted in Hagakure typify the principles which the samurai of the Edo period held to be those deserving of emulation. The ending of the feudal age with the return to imperial government in 1868 did not eliminate feudal values with one clean sweep. Virtually all of the active leaders of the Restoration movement, and of the administration upon the initiation of the new government, were samurai. Most belonged to the lower strata of the samurai class of the rural han of Satsuma, Chōshū 長州, Tosa 土佐, and Hizen (Saga) itself. Actually, four of the primary leaders of the Restoration were from Hizen. These were Etō Shimpei 江藤新平 (1834-1874), Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 (1838-1922), Soejima Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828-

1905), and Ōki Takatō 大木喬任 (1832-1899).<sup>429</sup> Abolishment of the four-class system cleared away the official status of the samurai but it did not change the fact that the Meiji leaders had been educated in the manner of samurai. The influence of Hagakure and similar works is apparent in the words and deeds of many statesmen of the period, but is most visible in the Satsuma general Saigō Takamori. Following very closely the line of thought stated in Hagakure he stressed, "...that one must free himself from all fear of death and be constantly prepared for its advent as an indispensable condition for .... selflessness."<sup>430</sup> Although he uses the word makoto 誠, "sincerity," as his key term, it bears many similarities to Tsunetomo's concept of devout loyalty. In his attitude regarding moral training, compassion, frugality, and excessive pride, Saigō shared an almost identical viewpoint with Tsunetomo.<sup>431</sup> To the end he remained a follower of the ethos of the rural samurai as portrayed in Hagakure.

As close as Saigō's beliefs were to those expressed in Hagakure, there is no proof that he had firsthand knowledge of the book. That it was available and being read by other national leaders, however, is a fact. Ōkuma Shigenobu, who later founded Waseda 早稲田 University, may be taken as an illustration. He strongly felt that the scope of loyalty as stressed in Hagakure, being solely directed as it was to the local lord, was far too restricted. In his view, the world extended far beyond Tsunetomo's regional limitations. Yet, in spite of his depreciatory view of Hagakure,<sup>432</sup> he had been schooled in its tradition. The progressive nature of the

institutional changes wrought by the Meiji leaders is well documented, and the tremendous influence of western ideas and technology cannot be doubted. Yet the advances of the Meiji period were fashioned upon a base of traditional ethics. Hagakure, and other such works, played a definitive role in providing the foundation of morality upon which reforms could be moulded.<sup>433</sup>

The words bushidō and Yamato damashii 大和魂, "the Japanese spirit," came into widespread use as Japan asserted herself militarily with victories over China and Russia. The two words were commonly employed to signify identical meanings although, technically speaking, they were different. Yamato damashii was a term which had been used a thousand years earlier to designate a spirit of loyalty to the emperor and country.<sup>434</sup> Bushidō, on the other hand, only became more or less standardized during the feudal organization of the Edo period. In it, as so emphatically shown in Hagakure, loyalty was directed to the regional lord. Such subtle nuances soon lost their significance as the Meiji administration attempted to redirect the loyalty of bushidō away from provincial leaders and toward the emperor.<sup>435</sup> In this they were successful for by 1907 Haga Yaichi 芳賀矢一 was able to say, "The spirit of bushidō which has been developed by the warrior class over a long time now has come to be directed solely toward the imperial throne."<sup>436</sup>

During the intensifying militarism of the period leading to the Pacific War, the precepts of bushidō played an ever-increasing part in encouraging Japanese soldiers to maximum efforts.<sup>437</sup> By this time no doubt remained as to the object

of loyalty. One study of Hagakure, typical of the many published during the decade up to and including the Second World War,<sup>438</sup> declares that if Tsunetomo had been born in the world of that time, the second of his Four Vows would certainly have demanded loyalty to the emperor rather than to the lord.<sup>439</sup> The contents of this book are further distorted by the statement that the spirit of Hagakure dictates that all people, including farmers, teachers, students, workers, merchants, officers, and soldiers should live with determination to serve the emperor.<sup>440</sup> Thus moral instructions originally meant solely for the samurai class were extended to cover all segments of society, and loyalty was redirected to the head of the nation.

In this converted version, Hagakure formed one of the basic elements of the bushidō of the Pacific War. Recently, Hagakure has been called, "...the most influential of all samurai treatises written."<sup>441</sup> Indeed, it is unlikely that there was any Japanese soldier who did not know at least the title of Hagakure, and in fact most were able to quote some lines which had been learned by heart. Perhaps the single most important aspect of Hagakure's contents, with respect to World War II, can be singled out in the attitude toward death. Magnified far beyond Tsunetomo's intention, Hagakure became almost synonymous with the will to die.<sup>442</sup> Toward the end of the war especially, as it became apparent that there were serious deficiencies in the supply of war materials, the Japanese believed even more deeply that their ultimate strength lie in their moral supremacy.<sup>443</sup> At the same time, attitudes regarding the purity and sincerity of death in service to the emperor

became more explicitly expressed, both in word and deed. The kamikaze or shimpu 神風 squadrons<sup>444</sup> were taught how to courageously face death. One young man, the pilot of a suicide torpedo, quotes, in a farewell letter, the words of one of his instructors. "Never shirk facing death. If in doubt whether to live or die, it is always better to die...."<sup>445</sup> These words are taken almost verbatim from Hagakure, and serve as an indication of its influence.

After Japan's crushing defeat, all military training was naturally banned. Even sports such as judō and kendō were prohibited because they had developed from traditional martial arts and stressed a rigid discipline. Hagakure, too, suffered a setback. Due to its feudalistic ideology<sup>446</sup> it no longer had a place in the individualism and personal independence of the western value system which characterized postwar Japan. But the pervasive pattern of intense westernization which Japan experienced during the two decades following the Pacific War has, in recent years, come to be counterbalanced somewhat by the development of a growing respect for the traditions of Japan's own history. Indications of this are apparent in the increased enrollment in national history courses at the universities and in the popularity of new books dealing with the archaeological, historical, and cultural aspects of Japan. Thus, while the importation of diverse cultural and technical elements from outside countries continues unabated, the establishment of an as yet subtly manifested chauvinism is becoming more and more visible. Though only clearly perceptible in a small segment of the population, signs reveal that

the number of individuals assuming a reactionary viewpoint is expanding. One of the earliest and perhaps most easily seen delineators of this trend is the appearance and public acceptance of a number of authors whose works result either directly from a study of the history and customs of Japan or indirectly from the basic precepts and themes inherent in the traditional characteristics of Japan. The depth of research and the quality of the result ranges from superficiality to exhaustive accuracy.

Mishima Yukio provides one obvious example of a modern novelist who believed in and expressed the opinion that reversion to traditional values with a minimum concession to the requirements of the age constitutes the only valid cure for the despicable condition into which he thought Japan had degenerated. His book Hagakure nyūmon is especially illustrative of this line of thought. The popularity of its recent publication serves to show the degree to which such a work can find acceptability in present day Japan.<sup>447</sup> In many of Mishima's other works,<sup>448</sup> also, the reader can sense the same sort of spirit that moved Tsunetomo to write Hagakure. Both men attempted in their works to deflect the society away from a course of self destruction and moral degeneration. The two men also shared a respect for the ideals of the past and called for a study of history. Mishima recognizes the great importance of Hagakure in the Pacific War,<sup>449</sup> but differs with its premises on one main point. As illustrated in "Erei no koe," he believes that all devotion must be to the emperor as a deity and as a national leader. In a short article entitled "Hagakure to watashi," Mishima states that since the war he kept Hagakure

near at hand, and each time he referred to it he was emotionally moved in a way no other book could move him.<sup>450</sup> He furthermore declares that Hagakure was not only a great influence on his life, it was indeed the womb of his literature and the source of his energy.<sup>451</sup> Thus, through the words of Mishima and other modern writers, Hagakure has once more been revived.

In Japanese there are a number of excellent books available on the subject of bushidō in general and Hagakure in particular. Yet almost no extensive work has been done in English. There have been only two efforts to translate Hagakure,<sup>452</sup> and both of these have limited themselves to selected passages only. Beyond the barest essentials neither work provides information regarding the historical background of the period, the personalities of the men involved in its composition, textual information, or an interpretation of its contents. Daisetz Suzuki, Robert Bellah, and more recently, Ivan Morris have recognized and quoted Hagakure, but unfortunately have confined their extracts to Hagakure's views on death. Surely a text of Hagakure's importance has merited more extensive research.

FOOTNOTES

1

The bakufu was the headquarters of the military government under the shōgun, "commander in chief." The word originally designated the commander's tent, from which orders emanated during field operations. Kōjien 広辞苑, ed. Shinmura Izuru 新村出 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1969), pp. 1776-77.

2

Although they had earlier origins, during the Tokugawa period (1600-1868), daimyō, "regional lords," were direct retainers of the shōgun who controlled territory which produced more than 10,000 koku 石 of rice. (1 koku = 4.96 bushels). Kōjien, p. 1831.

3

The general term applied to the territory, the administration, and the administrative officials under the control of a daimyō during the Tokugawa period. Kōjien, p. 1831.

4

The feudal political system of the Tokugawa in which the central bakufu existed as the supreme authority and delegated daimyō to collect taxes from the peasants in return for military obedience. Kōjien, p. 1776.

5

The four major divisions of society under the Tokugawa regime were samurai 侍 (shi 士), peasants (nō 農), artisans (kō 工), and merchants (shō 商).

6

G.B. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History (London: The Cresset Press, 1931), pp. 511-12.



7

Although the term bushi may at times be synonymous with samurai, the connotation of warrior or military personnel remained while the meaning of samurai became broader as the samurai expanded into the field of administration. See Kōjien, p. 1935.

8

The characters of Hagakure mean "hidden" 隠 and "leaves" 葉 or, "hidden in the leaves." The title was most likely designated in recognition of the forested area of Yamamoto Tsunetomo's place of retirement, where the book was written. It may also indicate, as Suzuki suggests, that it was a virtue for a samurai to be reserved in his demeanor. See Suzuki Daisetz, Zen and Japanese Culture (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1959), p. 70. Yet again, Iwadō states that the title came from a poem by the monk Saigyō 西行 (1118-1190). See Iwadō Tamotsu 岩堂保, "Hagakure Bushidō," Cultural Nippon, VII, 3 (1939), p. 34.

9

An edition in the modern Japanese language has been included in a series of the fifty great books of Japan. Naramoto Tatsuya 奈良本辰也, Hagakure 葉隠, Nihon no meicho 日本の名著, Vol. 17 (Tokyo: Chuō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1967).

10

The Nabeshima or Saga han, also known as Hizen 肥前 province, was located in the northwest part of Kyushu. During the late stages of the Sengoku 戦国 period the area was governed by the Ryūzōji 竜造寺 clan. Nabeshima Naoshige 鍋島直茂 (1538-1618) served under Ryūzōji Takanobu 竜造寺隆信 (1529-1584), and assumed control of the han upon his lord's death. The han was formally

placed in his charge by Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616) in 1601 with a rice production value of 357,000 koku. See Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 447.

11

The modern prefecture in Kyushu occupying the same general region as the feudal Nabeshima han.

12

One example deals with the Benzaigatake 弁財岳 border dispute between Hizen and Chikuzen 筑前 in 1692. See Kurihara Arano (Kōya) 栗原 菟野, Kōchū hagakure 校註葉隠 (Tokyo: Naigai Shobō 内外書房, 1940), p. 81 (# 99) and p. 571 (# 685). See also Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 452. Throughout this paper, whenever direct reference is being made to the text of Hagakure, the source used will be Kurihara's Kōchū hagakure. In this thorough commentary on Hagakure, Kurihara has numbered the passages consecutively from 1 to 1353. These same numbers are often employed by later scholars when referring to the corresponding passages although in some books no numbers are used at all, and in others the passages are arranged in slightly different order. Therefore, all textual notes in this paper will cite the page number followed by the designated passage number in parenthesis for the sake of convenience in locating the passage in question. Commentaries other than Kurihara's work will be used as sources of secondary material only.

13

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 73-74 (# 86), for instance, describes the proper methods for training a child and so provides a glimpse into household activity. The problems of deal-

ing with a difficult father-in-law are also recorded. Ibid., pp. 57-58 (# 59).

14

Ibid., p. 75 (#88).

15

Ibid., pp. 62-63 (#63).

16

Ibid., p. 66 (#66).

17

Ibid., p. 82 (# 100). Seppuku or hara kiri, suicide through self disembowment, will be dealt with more thoroughly later in this paper. See Kōjien, p. 1251.

18

For example, the duties of a metsuke 目付, "inspector," are clearly delineated. Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 85-86 (# 110). See also *ibid.*, pp. 70-71 (#78) and pp. 62-63 (# 63) for other examples of the duties of officials.

19

Bushidō, "the way of the warrior," refers to a code of ethics which developed within the bushi class. It began to evolve during the middle ages and was firmly established by the Edo period. Confucianism played a strong role in influencing its ideals of loyalty, self sacrifice, fidelity, integrity, courtesy, modesty, frugality, honour, and love. Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622-1685) was one of the first scholars to expound on bushidō at length. See "Shidō 士道" in Yamaga Sokō bunshū 山鹿素行文集, ed. Tsukamoto Tetsuzō 塚本哲三 (Tokyo: Yūhōdō Bunko 有朋堂文庫, 1930), pp. 45-207. Sansom says that the term bushidō is comparatively recent and was not in wide use even in the eighteenth century. See Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History, p. 487. Most modern historians, how-

ever, make no mention of this point at all. The prevalent use of the term in Hagakure indicates that it was, in fact, in existence and use in the early part of the eighteenth century. As yet the best work on the subject of bushidō in English is Nitobe Inazō 新渡戸稲造, Bushidō: The Soul of Japan (1905; rpt. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha 研究社, 1935). For two excellent works in Japanese, see Morikawa Tetsurō 森川哲三, Nihon bushidō shi 日本武士通史 (Tokyo: Nihon Bungei sha 日本文芸社 1972), and Fuji Naomoto 藤直幹, Buke jidai no shakai seishin 武家時代の社会精神 (Tokyo: Sōgensha 創元社, 1967), pp. 3-316.

20

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 65-66 (# 65).

21

According to the author of Hagakure, all other regions of Japan were at that time inferior to the Nabeshima han in the service and attitude of its retainers. Ibid., pp. 75-76 (# 89) and p. 86 (# 111).

22

Ibid., p. 88 (# 114). See also Suzuki, p. 70.

23

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 83-84 (#105).

24

Ibid., pp. 4-5 (# 1). The wish to be reborn seven times in order to serve the fief is very reminiscent of a statement generally attributed to Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成 (1294-1336), but actually made by his brother, Kusunoki Masasue 楠木正季 (died 1336) in 1336. Ivan Morris, The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan (New York: Holt Reinhart and Winston, 1975), p. 133. The original statement can be found in the Taiheiki 太平記, Nihon koten bungaku tai-

kei 日本古典文学大系, ed. Gotō Tanji 後藤丹治 and Kamada Kishaburō 釜田 喜三郎 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1960), II, 159.

The phrase shichishō hōkoku 七生報国, "to serve the Emperor for seven lives," later became a famous patriotic slogan.

See Morris, p. 386.

25

Samuel B. Griffith, trans., Sun Tzu: The Art of War (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1963).

26

Niccolo Michiavelli, The Art of War, trans. Ellis Farnsworth (New York: Bobbs Merrill Company, 1965).

27

Karl von Clausewitz, On War, trans. J.J. Graham (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1968).

28

Wm. Theodore de Bary, Wing-tsit Chan, and Burton Watson, Sources of Chinese Tradition, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1970), I, 16-17.

29

Ibid., I, 455-57.

30

Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History, pp. 493-96.

31

Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary, and Donald Keene, Sources of Japanese Tradition, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969), I, 342-43.

32

The Chinese principles of the cosmic forces, yin and yang, are apparent even in the earliest Japanese records. Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 56-59. The pre-faces of both the Kojiki 古事記 (712) and the Nihon shoki 日本

書紀 (or Nihongi 日本紀, 720) introduce these principles.

See Basil Hall Chamberlain, Kojiki or Records of Ancient Matters (Kobe: J.L. Thompson and Co., 1932), p. 37; Donald L. Phillippi, Kojiki (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1968), p. 37; and W.G. Aston, Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan From The Earliest Times To A.D. 697 (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1956), p. 1.

33

De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 268.

34

Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I. 135.

35

Ibid., I, 226.

36

This aspect is attested to even by the origin myths in which the gods have a definite order of hierarchy. Ibid., I, 14-15.

37

For example, kneeling with both hands on the ground was a sign of respect to a superior even in the third century. Reported in an official history of Han China in 297 A.D. Ibid., I, 5.

38

For accounts of this rise to power see George Sansom, A History Of Japan (1958; rpt. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1974), I, 234-38 and 312-18; John Whitney Hall, Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971), pp. 78-79; and H. Paul Varley, Samurai (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 47-68. For a more complete account see Takeuchi Rizo 竹内理三, Bushi no tōjō 武士の登場, Nihon no rekishi 日本ノ歴史, Vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1965).

39

H. Paul Varley, The Ōnin War (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

40

Following the pattern of expansion set by his predecessors, Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534-1583) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536-1598), Ieyasu extended his influence over the greater part of Japan with a victory in the battle of Sekigahara 関ヶ原 in 1600. The events leading to this decisive battle are covered in detail in Hayashiya Tatsusaburō 林屋辰三郎 Tenka ittō 天下一統, Nihon no rekishi, Vol. 12 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1966).

41

In the Genna Embu 元和偃武, the summer and winter campaigns against Osaka Castle, a coalition of supporters of Hideyoshi's heir, Hideyori 秀頼, was decisively beaten and Hideyori was killed. Tsuji Tatsuya 辻達也, Edo kaifu 江戸開府, Nihon no rekishi, Vol. 13 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1973), pp. 311-12.

42

Tsuji, Edo kaifu, pp. 392-418.

43

Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 385-86.

44

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 41 (#37).

45

Ibid., pp. 64-65 (# 64).

46

Ibid., p. 17 (# 2)

47

Ibid., p. 24 (# 11).

48

Ibid., p. 40 (# 36).

49

"Seidan," in Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂来, *Nihon no shisō taikēi* 日本の思想大系, ed. Tsuji Tatsuya (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973), pp. 444-45. This passage is translated in Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 420-21.

50

"Sundai zatsuwa" in Meika zuihitsu shū 名家随筆集, ed. Tsukamoto Tetsuzō (Tokyo: Yūhōdō Bunko, 1930), I, 109-26. For an English translation see George Wm. Knox, "A Japanese Philosopher," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, XX (1893), 1-133. Pages 81-91 deal with Muro's views regarding the extravagance of society. For a reprint of part of this particular section see Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 431-33.

51

"Yamatozokukun" in Ekken jūkun 益軒十訓, ed. Tsukamoto Tetsuzō (Tokyo: Yūhōdō Bunko, 1930), or in Ekken zenshū 益軒全集, ed. Ekken Kai 益軒会 (Tokyo: Ekken Zenshū Kankō 益軒全集刊行, 1881), III, 44-164. For an edition in modern Japanese, see Matsuda Michio 松田道雄, Kaibara Ekken, *Nihon no meicho*, Vol. 14 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1969). For a discussion of Ekken's works in relation to bushi ethics see Sakurai Shōtarō 桜井庄太郎, Meiyo to chijoku 名誉と恥辱 (Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppan Kyoku 法政大学出版局, 1971), pp. 104-30.

52

Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 377. During the Kyōhō 享保 era (1716-1736), Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751) instituted reforms, known as the Kyōhō Reforms, in an attempt to overcome the financial and social problems of the country. These were only partially successful. See Sansom,



A History of Japan, III, 155-66.

53

A detailed analysis and translation of this document is Carl Steenstrup, "The Imagawa Letter," Monumenta Nipponica, XXVIII, 3 (1973), 295-316. See examples of this and other such documents in Yoshida Yutaka 吉田豊, Buke no kakun 武家の家訓 (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten 徳間書店, 1972).

54

Ishikawa Ken, "On Kaibara's Thought and Reasoning as Expressed in His Yamatozokukun," Cultural Nippon, VII, 1 (1939), 24.

55

Steenstrup, p. 296.

56

Entitled Gikō meirei 義公命令. See Ernest W. Clement, "Instructions of a Mito Prince to His Retainers," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, XXVI (1898), 115-53.

57

Daidōji Yūzan, Budō shoshin shū in Yamaga Sokō shū - Daidōji Yūzan shū, Dai Nihon shisō zenshū 大日本思想全集, ed. Uemura Katsuya 上村 勝彌 (Tokyo: Senshinsha 先進社, 1932), pp. 231-334. For a modern commentary on this book see Daidōji Yūzan, Budō shoshin shū, ed. Yoshida Yutaka (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1971).

58

A comparison of the attitude toward death in these two books is summarized in Suzuki, pp. 71-72.

59

The death or disinheritation of a lord, punishment, or personal choice could leave a samurai in a position in which he owed allegiance to no particular lord. In such a case he

was a rōnin or masterless samurai. See Kōjien, p. 2355. The account of the vendetta of the forty seven rōnin of Akō is well known, and may be found in a number of English versions. See, for example, Shioya Sakae, Chūshingura: An Exposition (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1949). For a more recent translation see Donald Keene, trans., Chūshingura: Treasury of Loyal Retainers (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1971).

60

"Goban taiheiki," in Chikamatsu jōruri shū 近松浄瑠璃集, ed. Tsukamoto Tetsuzō (Tokyo: Yūhōdō Bunko, 1930), II, 85-109.

61

A form of drama performed by puppets and accompanied by ballad music. Kōjien, p. 1982. See Donald Keene, Bunraku, The Puppet Theatre of Japan (Tokyo and Palo Alto: Kōdansha International, 1965).

62

A dramatic performance which became popular with the common people at the end of the seventeenth century. The play usually involved historical events or social situations which happened before or during the Edo period. Stage sets are used, and performances are always accompanied by Japanese music. There is also an element of dancing. See Kōjien, p. 445. See also Toita Yasuji, Kabuki: The Popular Theater, trans., Don Kenny (New York and Tokyo: Walker/Weatherhill, 1970), and Zoe Kincaid, Kabuki: The Popular Stage of Japan (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1965).

63

Donald Keene, trans., Major Plays of Chikamatsu (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 33-35.

See also Sansom, Japan. A Short Cultural History, pp. 476-80, and Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 436. For a discussion on his conflict between giri and ninjō see Minamoto Ryōen 源了円, Giri to ninjō 義利と人情 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1969), pp. 98-153.

64

H. Paul Varley, Japanese Culture: A Short History (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 123-26.

65

Ihara Saikaku, "Buke giri monogatari," in Saikaku zenshū 西鶴全集, ed. Ōhashi Tarō 大橋太郎 (Tokyo: Teikoku Bunko 帝国文庫, 1894), pp. 361-454. See Minamoto, pp. 70-97 for a discussion of the giri in this story, and for a short comparison to Hagakure see Iwadō, p. 91.

66

Ihara Saikaku, "Budō denraiki," in Saikaku zenshū, ed. Ōhashi Tarō (Tokyo: Teikoku Bunko, 1894), pp. 729-910. For a discussion of bushi propriety in Saikaku's works see Sakurai, Meiyo to chijoku, pp. 333-36.

67

An emphasis on history is a mark of orthodox Neo-Confucianism. Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese History, I, 384. It is also a common element in other Chinese philosophies. See Hajime Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan, ed. Philip P. Wiener (Honolulu: East West Center Press, 1964), pp. 204-16.

68

For examples see Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 1 (# 1), p. 39 (# 35), p. 51 (# 52), and pp. 65-66 (# 65).

69

Ibid., p. 2 (# 1).

70

Thomas C. Smith, The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 204 and Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History, p. 505.

71

Literally the "floating world," this style of art depicted the mundane or genre aspects of life. The best known medium for expression was the woodblock print. See Kōjien, p. 178; Frank A. Turk, The Prints of Japan (Worcester and London: Arco Publications, 1966); and Takahashi Seiichiro, Traditional Woodblock Prints of Japan, trans. Richard Stanley-Baker (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1972).

72

Sankin kōtai was the bakufu regulation which required that each daimyō spend part of each year serving the shōgun in Edo. It was enforced by the retention of hostages in Edo. Kōjien, p. 916. See Toshio George Tsukahira, "The Sankin Kōtai System of Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868," Diss. Harvard 1951, or Toshio G. Tsukahira, Feudal Control in Tokugawa Japan, The Sankin Kōtai System (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

73

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 50 (# 50).

74

Ibid., p. 125 (# 198).

75

Ibid., p. 3 (# 1)

76

Leon M. Zolbrod, Takizawa Bakin (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), p. 120.

77

Junshi, also known as oibara 追腹 or tsuifuku 追腹, was the custom of following one's lord in death by committing

suicide. Kōjien, p. 1075. As it was wasteful of trained men and disruptive to the continuity of administration, it was forbidden by an edict of the bakufu in 1663. It had been prohibited even earlier in Saga han by Nabeshima Mitsushige 鍋島光茂 (1632-1700) in 1661. See Sagara Tōru 相良亨, Kōyō gunkan: gorinsho: hagakure shū 甲陽軍鑑・五輪書・葉隠集 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1969), p. 286. For more detailed information on junshi, see Furukawa Tesshi 古川哲史, Junshi: Higeiki no iseki 殉死・悲劇の遺蹟 (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Ōraisha 人物往来社, 1967); Furukawa Tesshi, Nihon rinri shisō no dentō 日本倫理思想の伝統 (Tokyo: Sōgensha, 1965), pp. 86-154; and Furukawa Tesshi, "Junshi," in Edo jidai bushi no seikatsu 江戸時代武士の生活, ed. Shinji Yoshimoto 進士慶幹 (Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan 雄山閣出版, 1966), pp. 249-58. Junshi is also the theme of Mori Ōgai 森鷗外, Abe ichizoku 阿部一族 in Mori Ōgai zenshū 森鷗外全集, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1959), pp. 111-34.

78

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 87 (# 113).

79

Tsunetomo uses the term kokugaku to indicate a study of the history of Saga han. It is not to be mistaken, therefore, for the kokugaku 国学 which was described by such nationalistic thinkers as Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801). The latter centered around the study of early Japanese literature and developed into a consciousness of national polity. See Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, II, 1-35; Masaharu Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1963), p. 308; and Motoori Norinaga zenshū

本居宣長全集 ed. Ōno Susumu 大野 晋 and Ōkubo Tadashi 久久保 正  
(Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968).

80

Kusunoki Masashige. A powerful general from Kāwachi 河内, who loyally supported Emperor Godaigo 後醍醐 (r. 1318-1336) in the Kemmu 建武 Restoration of 1334. He died in the defense of the Court against Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305-1358). See Morris, pp. 106-42.

81

Takeda Shingen 武田 信玄 (1521-1573). Became lord of Kai 甲斐 province in 1541 and through military ability expanded his territory. Considered one of the great generals of Japanese history, he died while besieging the forces of Oda Nobunaga.

82

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 2 (# 1).

83

May also be pronounced Yamamoto Jinuemon Jōchō.

84

Saga ken shi 佐賀県史, ed. Saga Ken Shi Hensan Iinkai 佐賀県史編纂委員会 (Saga: Saga ken, 1968), II, 185.

85

Examples of such stories may be found in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 72 (# 84), pp. 80-81 (# 98), p. 106 (# 163), and pp. 119-20 (# 189).

86

This biographical information was taken from Saga ken shi, II, 185; Naramoto, Hagakure, pp. 19-25; Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 30-33; and Kurihara Arano (Kōya), Hagakure no shinzui 葉隠の神髓 (Saga: Hagakure Seishin Fukyū Kai 葉隠精神普及会, 1935), pp. 66-72.

87

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 93 (# 129).

88 Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 20.

89 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 93 (# 129).

90 Ibid., p. 95 (# 132).

91 Ibid., p. 541 (# 742).

92 Ibid., pp. 59-60 (# 61).

93 Ibid., p. 101 (# 146).

94 Ibid., pp. 28-29 (# 17). The duty of a kaishaku was to assist in the ritual of seppuku by beheading the samurai committing suicide. It demanded complete composure as well as excellent swordsmanship.

95 The manner in which he handled himself in the investigation of a certain fire, for example. Ibid., p. 35 (# 29).

96 Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 20.

97 Saga ken shi, II, 187, and Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 21.

98 Ibid., p. 21.

99 Ibid., p. 22.

100 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 85 (# 108) and p. 123 (# 195).

101 Ibid., p. 85 (# 108).

102 Ibid., p. 123 (# 195).

103 Saga ken shi, II, 187.

104 Tannen Oshō was the eleventh head priest of the Nabeshima family temple, Kōdenji. See a more complete biography of Tannen in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 36-37; Kurihara, Hagakure no shinzu, pp. 73-74; Saga ken shi, II, 187; and Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 450.

105 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 107 (# 166).

106 Located in Honjōmachi 本庄町, Saga City 佐賀市, Kōdenji has been the family temple (bodaiji 菩提寺) of the Nabeshima House since the seventeenth century. It was founded in 1552 and in 1655 was extended considerably by Nabeshima Katsushige. See Saga ken shi, II, 187; Saga gun shi 佐賀郡誌, ed. Shiritsu Saga Gun Kyōiku Kai 私立佐賀郡教育会 (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan 名著出版, 1973), pp. 430-31; and Hori Yoshizō 堀由蔵, ed., Dai Nihon jinin sōran 大日本寺院総覧 (Tokyo: Meicho Kan'kō Kai 名著刊行会, 1916), pp. 2648-49.

107 Specifically Sonryō Oshō 村了和尚, who had been chief monk at the small temple called Enzōin 円蔵院. See Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 22. Unfortunately, the details of the original disagreement are obscure, but Tsunetomo tells his version in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 468-70 (# 653).

108 Saga ken shi, II, 187.

109 These Four Vows will be discussed in more depth at a later point in this paper.



110 These passages will be presented later in this paper.

111 See Griffith, p. 115.

112 More information on Ishida Ittei may be found in Saga gun shi, pp. 469-71; Dai Nihon jimmei jisho 大日本人名辞書, ed. Dai Nihon Jimmei Jisho Kankō Kai 大日本人名辞書刊行会 (Tokyo: Naigai Shoseki, 1937), p. 195; Saga ken shi, II, 187; Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 23; Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 34-36; and Kurihara, Hagakure no shinzu, pp. 64-66.

113 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 108 (# 168).

114 Ibid., p. 83 (# 103). See also *ibid.*, p. 100 (# 144).

115 Ibid., p. 47 (# 47). For the original statement see *ibid.*, p. 1023.

116 Partial translations of the works of these men may be found in Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 385-401, 378-83, and 413-24 respectively.

117 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 99 (# 140).

118 Ibid., p. 89 (# 117).

119 See Saga ken shi, II, 187, and Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 24.

120 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 5-6 (# 1). Further references are found in other places in the text. See *ibid.*, p. 18 (# 5), p. 31 (# 20), p. 36 (# 31), and p. 95 (# 109).

These vows are translated in Iwadō, p. 37 as:

1. We will be second to none in performance of our duty:
2. We will make ourselves useful to our lord:
3. We will be dutiful to our parents:
4. We will attain greatness in charity.

A more recent translation is as follows:

1. Never lag behind in the practise of Bushidō.
2. Always be loyal and devoted in the service to your lord.
3. Do your duty to your parents.
4. Stir up your compassion for all sentient beings in order to devote yourself to the service of others.

See Tanaka Minoru, Bushidō, Way of the Samurai (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Sun Books, 1975), p. 21.

121

See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 1034-35, and Saga ken shi, II, 188. This book has also been known as Bushidō yōkanshō 武士道用鑑抄, or simply as Yōkanshō. It provides proof that the word bushidō was in use even in the seventeenth century. A complete edition of this text may be found in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 1033-57.

122

Ibid., p. 474 (# 654).

123

Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 24.

124

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 26 (# 13).

125

This book, one of many of the same title, had been passed down in the Sanjōnishi 三條西 family of Kyoto. See Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 24. Tsunetomo's request for the Kyoto appointment may be found in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 84 (# 107).

126

Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 24.

127

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 93 (# 129).

128

Ibid., p. 24 (# 13). See also ibid., p. 87 (# 113).

129

Ibid., p. 23 (# 10).

130

Ibid., p. 24 (# 13), and p. 123 (# 195).

131

Ibid., p. 41 (# 38).

132

Strictly speaking, the term shukke 出家 applies to the practise of cutting off ties with the common world and assuming a life of training in Buddhism. Technically this meant that a man should leave his wife behind. However, the existence of a special tax, shukke saitai yaku 出家妻帯役, levied against certain married monks in the sixteenth century, shows that the practise of taking one's wife was not unknown. See Nihon kokugo daijiten 日本国語大辞典, ed. Nihon Daijiten Kankō Kai 日本大辞典刊行会 (Tokyo: Shōgakkan 小学館, 1974), X, 371. Furthermore, it is not completely clear whether Tsunetomo actually took the tonsure or whether he merely assumed the role of a lay monk. The latter case seems more probable.

133

A description of this area, as it is today, is given in Naramoto Tatsuya, Nihon rekishi no suigenchi 日本歴史の水源池 (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū 文芸春秋, 1972), pp. 9-29.

134

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 108 (# 168).

135

Ibid., p. 122 (# 195).

136

Ibid., p. 41 (# 38).

137

Ibid., p. 1. Originally a haiku 俳句 was the first portion of linked verse, renga 連歌 but later, through popularization by the poet Basho Matsuo 芭蕉 松尾 (1644-1694), it came to stand as a type of poetry by itself. It consists of a total of seventeen syllables which are clearly divided into three sections of five, seven, and five syllables each. A word which signifies the season of the year is required.

138

For biographical information see Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 33-34; Kurihara, Hagakure no shinzui, pp. 72-73; and Kamiko Tadashi 神子侃, ed., Hagakure (Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten, 1973), p. 23.

139

See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 1059-1108 for transcripts of Gukenshū, Sembetsu, Tsunetomo kakioki, and Juryōan Chūza no nikki. See also Saga ken shi, II, p. 180.

140

See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 1009-31; Kamiko Tadashi, Bushō goroku, 武將語録 (Tokyo: Hyakusen Shobō 百泉書房, 1969), pp. 121-26; and Yoshida, Buke no kakun, pp. 261-72.

141

Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 29. This compares with amounts of from three to six thousand oku which were paid to the karō 家老, "house elders," of about the same period. See Saga ken shi, II, 110. Toshiyori 年寄, "Councillors," such as Sagara Kyūba 相良求馬 (1618-1696), received one thousand two hundred oku. See Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 449. In 1767 a certain karō, Nabeshima Kojiro 鍋島 神代, received 6,262 oku, which he divided among 237 retainers. Their allowances ranged from one oku for the lowest foot soldier to fifty four oku for the senior advisor. See Kimura Motoi 木村 礎, Kakyū bushi ron 下級武士論 (Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, 1967), pp. 165-66.

142

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 123 (# 195).

143

See Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎 and Furukawa Tesshi, ed., Hagakure (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), I, 16; and Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 3.

144

Furukawa, Kinsei Nihon shisō no kenkyū, pp. 255-57.

145

Saga ken shi, II, 190-91.

146

Ibid., II, 191. This may be the same preface which was written in 1852. See Samura Hachirō 佐村八郎, ed., Kokusho kaidai 国書解題 (Tokyo: Rokugokan 六合館, 1926), p. 1625.

147

These shahon are mentioned in Saga ken shi, II, 181; Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 19-24; Watsuji and Furukawa, Hagakure, I, 12; Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 51; Kamiko, Hagakure, p. 8; and Sagara, Kōyō gunkan: gorinsho: hagakure shū, p. 206.

148

The reasons for this selection may be found in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 19-24. For another discussion of the shahon see Watsuji and Furukawa, Hagakure, pp. 12-14.

149

Naramoto, Nihon rekishi no suigenchi, pp. 19-21; and Saga ken shi, II, 180-81.

150

The following books all use Kurihara's Kōchū hagakure as their source: Kamiko, Hagakure; Naramoto, Hagakure; Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 Hagakure nyūmon 葉隠入門 (Tokyo: Kōbunsha 光文社, 1967); and Shiroshima Seishō 城島正祥 Hagakure (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Ōraisha, 1968).

151

For example, the receipt of instructions by Minamoto Yoshitsune 源義経 (1159-1189) from Tengu 天狗 was only for the purpose of establishing a different style of military tactics. Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 84 (# 106). The story regarding Yoshitsune and the Tengu is recounted in English. See Helen Craig McCullough, Yoshitsune: A Fifteenth Century Japanese Chronicle (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1966), pp. 37-38.

152

Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, p. 409.

153

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 34 (# 27).

154

Ibid., p. 92 (# 125).

155

Ibid., p. 31 (# 20).

156

Ibid., pp. 105-06 (# 161).

157

De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 271.

158

It will be recalled that three of the Four Vows contain the idea of unselfishness.

159

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 121-22 (# 193).

160

Ibid., p. 75 (# 88).

161

Previously, military service in the han had been from the age of thirteen to sixty, and the older men had lied about their age to stay in longer. See Sagara, Kōyō gunkan: gorinsho: hagakure shū, p. 320.

162

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 25 (# 12). Yamasaki Kurando, mentioned a number of times in the text, served as a senior retainer under Nabeshima Mitsushige. Except for information provided in Hagakure, little is known about this man.

163

Ibid., p. 25 (# 12).

164

Ibid., pp. 45-46 (# 45). The Way referred to in this passage is the way of bushidō.

165

These laws were reissued periodically during the Edo period. Transcripts of the editions of various years may be found in Ishii Shirō 石井紫郎, Kinsei buke shisō 近世武家思想, Nihon shisō taikō 日本思想大系, Vol. 27 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), pp. 454-75. A discussion may be found in Tsuji, Edo kaifu, pp. 313-16. English translations of the Buke shohatto may be found in Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 326-29; and Sansom, A History of Japan, III, 7-8.

166

For example through the system of sankin kōtai which has already been defined.

167

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 85-86 (# 110) mentions the metsuke system of inspection with reference to its operation in Saga.

168

Each daimyō, as well as the bakufu itself, retained a number of spies called ninja 忍者 or shinobimono 忍び物 to follow the actions of neighbours.

169

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 40-41 (# 37).

170

"Settle one's belly," is only an approximate translation of the phrases hara o ochitsukeru 腹を落ち着ける and hara o shizumeru 腹を静める. Both phrases mean to gather composure or get control of oneself. The hara 腹, "belly," or, "abdomen," indicates, to the Japanese, the seat of the human soul and the source of human energy. See Karlfried Graf von Durckheim, Hara: The Vital Center of Man (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962).

171

As in delineating drinking habits. See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 33 (# 24).

172

By saying not to imitate the poor example of people from other provinces. See *ibid.*, p. 105 (# 158).

173

He says, for example, that men have become similar to women. See *ibid.*, p. 40 (# 37).



174

He gives medical proof that the bodies of men have declined physically. Ibid., p. 40 (# 37).

175

He calls for a return of the tradition of bravery. Ibid., p. 72 (# 84).

176

Ibid., p. 125 (# 197).

177

He tells how the poor planning of a festival caused heavenly retribution. Ibid., p. 37 (# 34). He also says that persons with excessive pride will be struck down. See *ibid.*, p. 91 (# 133).

178

Ibid., pp. 39-40 (# 36). The phrase translated in this passage as, "their aspirations are low," is ikō hikui me no tsuke tokoro nari いこう低く眼の着く所なり. It may be more literally translated as, "Their eyes are fixed on a very low place." The word rihatsu 利発, which appears later in the passage, is a contraction of riko hatsumei 利口発明 and has been rendered into English as "cleverness."

179

Ibid., p. 78 (# 91).

180

Ibid., p. 120 (# 190).

181

Ibid., pp. 124-25 (# 196).

182

Ibid., p. 67 (# 68).

183

Ibid., p. 91 (# 122). The expression, shichisoku shian 七息思案, of undetermined origin, may be understood to mean either that one should take one's time in reaching a decision

or that one should not wait too long to make a decision. It is obvious in the present passage that Tsunetomo took it to mean the latter. The text of Ryūzōji Takanobu's statement may be found in Kamiko, Bushō goroku, p. 123; Yoshida, Buke no kakun, p. 272; and Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 1027.

184

Ibid., p. 36 (# 30).

185

Griffith, p. 114.

186

Ibid., p. 136.

187

Ibid., p. 41.

188

Suzuki, p. 61.

189

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 18 (# 4).

190

Ibid., p. 18 (# 4).

191

Ibid., p. 69 (# 73).

192

Ibid., p. 71 (# 81).

193

Ibid., pp. 91-92 (# 123).

194

Ibid., pp. 124-25 (# 196).

195

Ibid., pp. 75-76 (# 89).

196

Ibid., p. 125 (# 196).

197

See Tsukamoto, ed., Ekken jūkun, I, 67. These ideas are summarized in R.P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press,

1969), p. 35.

198

Waka is the generic term used to designate Japanese forms of poetry as opposed to Chinese. Included among waka, therefore, are chōka 長歌, long poems with a repetition of 5 - 7 syllables and usually ending with 7 - 7; tanka 短歌, short poems consisting of 5 - 7 - 5 - 7 - 7 syllables; sedōka 旋頭歌, poetry in which the first half and the last half contain the same number of syllables such as 5 - 7 - 5 -- 5 - 7 - 5; and katauta 片歌, poetry of 5 - 7 - 7 or 5 - 7 - 5 syllables and used mainly in the form of a question during the Nara period. See Kōjien, p. 2368.

199

Nitobe, pp. 17-18. Takeda Shingen, also, said that those retainers who were only slightly intelligent were not useful. See Kamiko, Bushō goroku, p. 29.

200

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 125 (# 198).

201

Ibid., p. 99 (# 140).

202

Ibid., p. 125 (# 196).

203

Ibid., p. 40 (# 36).

204

Ibid., p. 201 (# 200).

205

A temple in Saga City, built in 1588 by Nabeshima Naoshige to honour the memory of Ryūzōji Takenobu. See *ibid.*, p. 48.

206

Almost nothing is known about this monk other than

what is found in this passage. Ibid., p. 48.

207

Ibid., p. 47 (# 48).

208

Ibid., p. 87 (# 112).

209

Ibid., p. 113 (# 180).

210

Ibid., p. 102 (# 149). The words of Confucius were, "At fifteen, I set my heart on learning. At thirty, I was firmly established. At forty, I had no more doubts. At fifty, I knew the will of Heaven. At sixty, I was ready to listen to it. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desire without transgressing what was right." This English translation is found in De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 22. See also Kimura Eiichi 木村英一 and Suzuki Kiichi 鈴木喜一, ed., Rongo 論語 Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei 中国古典文学大系, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1970), p. 9. A slight variation of this theme, and one which more closely fits Tsunetomo's statement, may be found in Takeuchi Teruo 竹内照夫, Raiki 礼記, Chūgoku koten bungaku taikei, Vol. 3 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970), p. 435. Takeda Shingen also incorporated this concept into his writings. See Kamiko, Bushō goroku, p. 32.

211

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 109-110 (# 171).

212

See Dore, pp. 16-17.

213

See Ishii, pp. 454-62; Dore, p. 151; Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1965), p. 13; and Donn F. Draeger,

Classical Budō, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, Vol. II (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1973), pp. 20-21.

214

Tsukamoto, ed., Ekken jūkun, I, 8-12.

215

Draeger, Classical Budō, pp. 33-36.

216

Ibid., pp. 24-30, and 41-65.

217

His discourse entitled Shindō has been previously noted.

218

Although a dōjō may be a school or a place where Buddhist services are held, in this context it refers to a place where martial arts are taught and practised. A further meaning designates a place where a group of people train and live for the achievement of a common objective such as self discipline. See Kōjien, p. 1570.

219

For discussions of the interrelationship between budō, Zen, and chadō 茶道, "tea ceremony," see Fuji, pp. 317-516; and Suzuki, pp. 269-314. Dōgen 道元 (1200-1253), a Zen monk, had earlier advocated Zen enlightenment through discipline of the body. See Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, pp. 366-67.

220

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 72 (# 83). Yari designates a form of martial art which uses the spear as a weapon. It came into popularity from the end of the Kamakura period. See Kōjien, p. 2154; Donn F. Draeger, Classical Bujutsu, The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan, Vol. I (New York and Tokyo: Weatherhill, 1973), pp. 71-72; and Imamura Yoshio 今村喜雄, ed., Nihon budō

zenshū 日本武道全集 (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Ōraisha, 1967), VII, 193-252, and VI, 11-372. Yumi is the martial art of archery. See Kōjien, p. 2178; Draeger, Classical Bujutsu, pp. 81-83; and Inamura, III, 13-27, and 43-458. An empty handed form of combat, jujutsu is an older form of judō. It uses the opponent's strength and motion to overcome him. See Draeger, Classical Budō, pp. 106-22. During the Edo period all of these forms lost much of their combat effectiveness and became instead methods of achieving a high level of mental discipline. Renga designates a form of Japanese poetry in which poems are linked together. One person reads the first stanza and a second caps this with a stanza of his own. It is possible for such poetry to become very long. See Kōjien, p. 2261.

221

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 90 (# 120).

222

Ibid., p. 106 (# 163).

223

Ibid., p. 89 (# 117).

224

Ibid., p. 59 (# 60).

225

Dore says, "The samurai's vocation was government and ... good government was largely a matter of correct moral dispositions on the part of the governors. Hence moral training was the fundamental element of the samurai's vocational education ...." See Dore, pp. 41-42.

226

Yamaga Sokō believed that a major obligation of the samurai was the proper preparation to serve as good examples of conduct for the lower classes. See "Shidō" in Yamaga Sokō

bunshū, pp. 45-48. For a vivid description of how at least one bushi trained, see the account of Kumazawa Banzan. The English translation is found in Galen Fisher, "Kumazawa Banzan, His Life and Ideals," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, second series, XVI (1938), 230-31. This passage has been reproduced in Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 378-79.

227

Part of this text has apparently been omitted in Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 46 (# 46). The phrase is complete, however, in two other texts. See Watsuji and Furukawa, Hagakure, I, 41; and Sagara, Kōyō gunkan: gorinsho: hagakure shū, p. 295. For a comprehensive account of the Yagyū school of swordsmanship see Murayama Tomoyoshi 村山知義, Mutō no den: Yagyū shinkage ryū gokui 無刀の伝、柳生新陰流極意 (Tokyo: Shin Nihon Shuppansha 新日本出版社, 1972). English translations of many of Yagyū's ideas may be found in Suzuki, pp. 95-113, and 147-68.

228

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 46 (# 46).

229

Ibid., pp. 107-08 (# 167).

230

Ibid., p. 75 (# 87).

231

Ibid., p. 104 (# 156). This saying was originally used in the forty first chapter of the Chinese classic, Lao Tzu 老子. See Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋 轍次, Dai kanwa jiten 大漢和辞典 (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店, 1955), III, 384.

232

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 100 (# 144).

233

Suzuki, pp. 62-63.

234

The term shitsuke designates both instruction in the accepted decorum and the manners possessed by a person. Kōjien, p. 989. One of the most famous discourses on training was Kaibara Ekken's Shogakukun 小学訓. See Ekken zenshū, III, 1-43. Regarding training, Passin says, "Samurai children took their first steps in education in their own homes, acquiring not only some rudimentary, ritual military skills but, more importantly, the elements of a self-image proper to their class and family status. The upbringing was severe, emphasizing the development of character traits considered appropriate to potential ruler's proper manners, proper language to superiors and inferiors, self respect, frugality, toughness, and moderation in food and drink." Passin, p. 22. The great Nō master, Zeami 世阿弥 (1363-1443), wrote a treatise on training for Nō performance. While the technical aspects of his training have no similarity to the training of a bushi, the emphasis on improving mental discipline is quite similar. See Zeami, Kadensho 花伝書, trans. Sakurai Chūichi 桜井忠一 (Tokyo: Sumiya-Shinobe Shuppan Kai 住谷・篠部出版会, 1968), pp. 17-24.

235

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 74 (# 86).

236

Ibid., p. 93 (# 127).

237

Ibid., p. 87 (# 113).

238

Ibid., pp. 57-58 (# 59). The phrase udonge no shiawase

優曇花の仁合世 has been translated as, "a rare blessing." The



udonge was a flower of India sacred to Buddhism, and was said to bloom only once in three thousand years. Thus I have rendered its meaning in this context as "rare." See Kōjien, p. 203.

239

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 96 (# 135).

240

Ibid., p. 76 (# 90).

241

Bellah, p. 81.

242

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 18 (# 4).

243

See, for example, ibid., p. 119 (# 187).

244

Tsunetomo quotes Tokugawa Ieyasu as saying, "If all people thought like children, they would think of me as their father." Ibid., p. 113 (# 179).

245

Griffith, p. 128.

246

De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 25.

247

Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, p. 429.

248

Nitobe, p. 86.

249

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 36 (# 32).

250

The situation in China is described in Herbert Franke, "Siege and Defence of Towns in Medieval China," Chinese Ways in Warfare, ed. Frank A. Keirman, Jr. and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 156. For the European experience see Machiavelli, p. 26.

251

See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 122-23 (# 195).

Tsunetomo calls this curtailment demai kyūsoku 出米休息.. The exact meaning is not clear, however. In Osaka during the Edo period, demai was rice received in exchange for special rice coupons. See Nihon kokugo dai jiten, XIV, 275. According to Kurihara, during a period of demai kyūsoku a samurai was given a temporary leave of absence from his duties. He continued to receive a stipend but this was reduced in size. See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 124. See also Naramoto, Hagakure, p. 454.

252

Charles Peterson, "Regional Defense Against the Central Power, The Huai-hsi Campaign 815-817," Chinese Ways in Warfare, ed. Frank A. Kierman, Jr. and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 129. Peterson also mentions recurring schemes to prevent the army from taking over more control than the central government wanted to give it.

253

Griffith, p. 122.

254

Most notably being ordered to become a rōnin or to commit seppuku. Both of these punishments will be discussed at a later point. If demoted to rōnin status or forced to commit seppuku, a good retainer was expected to exhibit great courage, even when guilty of no crime. See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 75 (# 88).

255

Tsunetomo does not see any conflict between this action and his statement that those who refused an appointment or resigned from a post because of something they did not like

were acting in treason. See *ibid.*, p. 105 (# 158).

256

*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24 (# 10).

257

A discussion of Yamaga's views on loyalty may be found in Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 388. A sample of Motoori's works in translation are found in *ibid.*, II, 1-35.

258

"Tamba Yosaku," in Chikamatsu jōruri shū 近松浄瑠璃集, ed. Tsukamoto Tetsuzō (Tokyo: Yūhōdō Bunko, 1930), II, 223-62. An English translation may be found in Donald Keene, trans., Major Plays of Chikamatsu (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961).

259

See Zolbrod, p. 65.

260

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 31 (# 20). See also Bellah, p. 93.

261

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 36 (# 32).

262

*Ibid.*, p. 111 (# 176). Although there are numerous idioms of a similar nature, this phrase is almost identical to one found in the latter Han dynasty document, the Gokanjo 後漢書. See Morohashi, IV, 971.

263

De Bary, Sources in Chinese Tradition, p. 169.

264

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 61 (# 62).

265

Griffith, p. 109.

266

*Ibid.*, p. 110.

267

Ibid., p. 133.

268

Ibid., p. 134. For a very similar point of view see Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 17-18 (# 3).

269

Griffith, p. 169.

270

The Kokusho sōmokuroku lists ninety one commentaries on the Sun Tzu, all of which begin with the word Sonshi. See Kokusho sōmokuroku 國書統目録 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1970), V, 349-51. A fourth essay by Yamaga, entitled Sonshi Kyōkai 孫子教戒, may be found in Tsukamoto, ed., Yamaga Sokō bunshū, pp. 39-43.

271

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 17-18 (# 3). The first sentence of this passage has been translated into English by four authors. These are as follows:

"I have seen it eye to eye: Bushidō, the way of the warrior, means death." Iwadō, p. 38.

"I have found the essence of Bushidō: to die!"  
Tanaka, p. 22.

"Bushidō means the determined will to die." Suzuki, pp. 72-73.

"The way of the warrior is [finally] revealed in the act of dying." Morris, p. 15.

272

Griffith, p. 135.

273

Tsunetomo reiterates this statement in other places also. See Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 49 (# 49), and p. 88

(# 115). Muro Kyūsō, in Sundai zatsuwa, says almost the same thing.

Nothing is more important to the samurai than duty. Second in importance comes life, and then money. Since both money and life are also of value, a man is likely when confronted by a life-or-death situation or when faced with money matters to depreciate the precious thing called duty. Hence, only if the samurai is careful not to speak of greed for life or greed for money can he remove himself entirely from avaricious desires. What I call avaricious desires is not limited to love of money, for concern with one's own life is also avarice. Is one's life not more precious than money? When faced with however unpleasant a duty, the way of the samurai consists in regarding his own wishes - even life itself - as of less value than rubbish."

Tsukamoto, ed., Meika zuihitsu shū, I, 293. This English translation was taken from Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 428.

274

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 79 (# 93). This attitude was also observed in Mito and reported in Clement, p. 153. See also Furukawa, Nihon rinri shisō no dentō, p. 79.

275

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 120 (# 190).

276

Griffith, p. 114.

277

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 71 (# 80).

278

Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, p. 494.

279

Suzuki, p. 197.

280

As well as to encourage, for he also says, "In a great emergency one must advance with joy and be in high spirits." Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 89 (# 116).

281 Ibid., p. 110 (# 172). See also McCullough, p. 20.

282 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 110 (# 172). He also says that service can be performed even after one's head has been cut off. See Ibid., p. 90 (# 121).

283 De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 246.

284 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 18 (# 3).

285 Nitobe, p. 132. Nitobe also says, "Talk as he may, a samurai who ne'er has died is apt in decisive moments to flee or hide." Ibid., pp. 131-32.

286 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 105 (# 160).

287 The account of the suicide of Satō Tadanobu 佐藤忠信 (1161-1186) is given in McCullough, pp. 201-06.

288 The term seppuku has been defined earlier. The classical western account of seppuku is by Mitford. See A.B. Mitford, Tales of Old Japan (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), pp. 329-63. See also Nitobe, pp. 117-33. A less scholarly but more recent work is Jack Seward, Harakiri: Japanese Ritual Suicide (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1968).

289 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 82 (# 101).

290 Ibid., p. 84 (# 107).

291 Ibid., p. 86 (# 111).

292 Ibid., p. 86 (# 111).

293

Kazuma was a house elder during the time that Nabeshima Mitsushige was lord. See a short biography in *ibid.*, p. 29.

294

*Ibid.*, pp. 97-98 (# 137).

295

Kyūba was the childhood playmate of Mitsushige and later became a House elder. See a biography in *ibid.*, p. 21. For references to his suicide see *ibid.*, p. 20 (# 8), pp. 22-23 (# 9), and pp. 97-98 (# 137).

296

*Ibid.*, pp. 80-81 (# 98).

297

*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29 (# 17).

298

Mitford also makes the point that people who could do a commendable job as kaishaku were so rare that certain daimyō were often forced to borrow someone to perform the task when they were responsible for the fulfillment of a sentence. See Mitford, p. 330.

299

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 64 (# 64). During the Edo period it was the custom for adult men to shave the top front part of their heads. This custom and the hair style itself were referred to as sakayaki 月代. See Nihon kokugo dai jiten, VIII, 646.

300

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 85 (# 108).

301

*Ibid.*, p. 79 (# 92).

302

See Tsukamoto, ed., Ekken jūkun, I, 178.

303

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 100 (# 142).

304 Ibid., p. 90 (# 120).

305 Ibid., p. 76 (# 90).

306 Ibid., p. 68 (# 72).

307 Ibid., p. 68 (# 72).

308 The five human relationships of Confucianism (Between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and between friends) emphasize rules which are congenial to feudal society as it existed during the Edo period. See Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 342. The constitution of Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (573-621), also, had the concept of harmony as its first article. See Ibid., I, 48 for an English translation. See also Shōtoku Taishi jūshichijō kempō 聖徳太子十七条憲法, ed., Mombushō Shakai Kyōiku Kyoku 文部省社会教育局 (Tokyo: Shakai Kyoiku Kyokai 社会教育協会, 1936), p. 24.

309 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 62 (# 63).

310 Ibid., p. 92 (# 126).

311 Ibid., pp. 106-07 (# 164).

312 Ibid., p. 94 (# 130).

313 Tsunetomo relates the story of a person in China who liked dragons very much. He had pictures and images of dragons throughout his house, and talked of dragons continually. One



day a real dragon appeared in his garden. This surprised him so much that he fainted. Ibid., p. 72 (# 82). The phrase Yeh Gong hao lung 葉公好龍 refers to Yeh Gong, a man who loved dragons. It was originally used in the Chuang Tzu 莊子. See Huang Yen-kai, A Dictionary of Chinese Idiomatic Phrases (Hong Kong: The Eton Press, 1964), p. 1176. The complete story is found in Ch'iu T'ing 丘亭, Li-shih ch'eng-yu ku-shih 歷史成語故事 (Hong Kong: Ch'iao Kuang Shu-chu 僑光書, 1968), pp. 106-07.

314

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 96 (# 135).

315

Ibid., p. 90 (# 119).

316

Ibid., pp. 73-74 (# 86).

317

Ibid., p. 111 (# 175).

318

Ibid., p. 102 (# 151).

319

Ibid., p. 71 (# 79).

320

Ibid., p. 92 (# 124). Naoshige had once said that a bushi must associate even with distasteful persons in the course of duty. See Kamiko, Bushō goroku, p. 126.

321

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 19 (# 6).

322

Ibid., p. 102 (# 148).

323

Ibid., pp. 19-20 (# 7).

324

Ibid., pp. 129-30 (# 203).

325

Ibid., p. 99 (# 138).

326

Ibid., pp. 45-46. Naoshige said that a superior man learns from watching and listening to others, and that even the most lowly ranked person may have a good idea. See Kamiko, Bushō goroku, p. 126.

327

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 122 (# 194).

328

Ibid., p. 85 (# 109).

329

Ibid., p. 103 (# 152).

330

Ibid., p. 27 (# 15).

331

Ibid., p. 103 (# 154).

332

Ibid., p. 27 (# 15).

333

Ibid., p. 103 (# 154).

334

Ibid., p. 92 (# 124).

335

Ibid., pp. 44-45 (# 44).

336

Ibid., pp. 44-45 (# 44), and p. 92 (# 124).

337

Ibid., pp. 97-98 (# 137). Tsunetomo himself turned down a post in Nagasaki so that he could remain with his lord. His request was granted. See *ibid.*, p. 84 (# 107).

338

Ibid., p. 103 (# 153).

339

Ibid., p. 86 (# 111).

340

The Manyōshū is the oldest and perhaps the greatest collections of Japanese poetry. Indications of its reference to homosexuality is given in Ichiko Teiji 市古貞次, Chūsei shōsetsu no kenkyū 中世小説の研究 (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan Kai 東京大学出版会, 1962), p. 131.

341

See "Chigo monogatari 鯉物語" in Ichiko, pp. 130-42.

342

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, pp. 113-14 (# 181).

343

Ibid., p. 114 (# 181).

344

Ibid., pp. 116-17 (# 183).

345

Ibid., p. 115 (# 182).

346

A summary of the philosophy of Chu Hsi may be found in Wing-tsit Chan, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 588-93; and in Maruyama Masao, Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan, Mikiso Hane, trans. (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1974), pp. 20-24.

347

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 19 (# 6).

348

Ibid., p. 18 (# 4).

349

See Nitobe, pp. 25-26; Nihon kokugo dai jiten, VI, 268; and Kōjien, p. 589.

350

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 68 (# 70).

351

Ibid., p. 121 (# 192).

352

Ibid., p. 31 (# 20). The idea that a statesman was bound to rule justly also derives from Confucism thought. The views of Mencius on this subject may be found in De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 92-93.

353

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 33 (# 25).

354

Ibid., pp. 112-13 (# 179).

355

Ibid., pp. 112-13 (# 179).

356

For example, the head monk of a certain temple was a very able administrator because he realized that he could not do everything himself and employed deputies effectively. See *ibid.*, p. 39 (# 35).

357

Ibid., p. 103 (# 153).

358

This statement strongly reflects the influence of the ancient Chinese concept of the mandate of heaven. See Chan, pp. 6-8. One concrete example given in Hagakure relates the events which occurred at the annual festival of Kinryū Shrine 金竜山 in 1713. Preparations for the festivities had not been carried out properly with the result that a disturbance broke out over the proper way to beat the drums. A fight ensued and some people were killed. It was said that due to divine retribution, many of the elders who had participated in the planning of the event fell upon bad times, and some died by accident or by execution. See *ibid.*, p. 37 (# 34).

359

Although the forty seven ronin were ordered to commit

seppuku, this was not because of their act of revenge but rather it was because they had broken a bakufu law by disturbing the peace and breaking into a nobleman's house. Before they were sentenced, there was a great deal of debate as to whether they should be pardoned. See Naramoto Tatsuya, Bushidō no keifu 武士道の系譜 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1971), p. 92.

360

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 54 (# 56).

361

Soga Sukenari Jūrō 曾我祐成十郎 (1172-1193) and his brother, Soga Tokimune Gorō 曾我時致五郎 (1174-1193) succeeded in avenging their father's death by killing Kudō Suketsune 工藤祐経 only after a period of eighteen years. See Soga monogatari 曾我物語, ed. Ōshima Tatehiko 大島建彦 and Ichiko Teiji (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1966).

362

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 54 (# 56).

363

Nitobe, p. 23.

364

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 118 (# 184).

365

See Maruyama, pp. 35-36.

366

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 66 (# 67).

367

Ibid., p. 83 (# 104).

368

Ibid., p. 51 (# 51).

369

Ibid., p. 120 (# 190).

370

English translations of the views of Confucius regard-

ing jen are found in De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 26-27. See also Chan, pp. 16-17. Comments on the attitude of Mencius toward jen are given in Chan, p. 50, and pp. 788-89; and in De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 86-92. Chu Hsi's ideas are recorded in *ibid.*, I, 501-02; and Chan, pp. 593-97.

371

Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, pp.

381-83.

372

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 112 (# 179).

373

*Ibid.*, p. 119 (# 187).

374

*Ibid.*, p. 95 (# 132).

375

*Ibid.*, p. 95 (# 132).

376

*Ibid.*, p. 80 (# 97).

377

*Ibid.*, p. 69 (# 74).

378

*Ibid.*, pp. 31-32 (# 21).

379

*Ibid.*, pp. 97-98 (# 137).

380

*Ibid.*, p. 51 (# 52).

381

*Ibid.*, p. 112 (# 179).

382

*Ibid.*, p. 121 (# 192). See also *ibid.*, p. 112 (# 179).

383

*Ibid.*, p. 80 (# 95).

384

John K. Fairbank, "Introduction: Varieties of the

Chinese Military Experience," in Chinese Ways in Warfare, ed. Frank A. Kierman, Jr. and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 25.

385

"Courage was scarcely deemed worthy to be counted among virtues, unless it was exercised in the cause of Righteousness." Nitobe, p. 29.

386

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 72 (# 84).

387

Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, p. 492.

388

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 100 (# 142).

389

Ibid., p. 72 (# 84).

390

Ibid., p. 31 (# 20).

391

Ibid., pp. 89-90 (# 118).

392

Ibid., p. 36 (# 31).

393

Ibid., p. 99 (#139).

394

Ibid., p. 106 (# 162).

395

Ibid., p. 79 (# 93).

396

Ibid., p. 93 (# 128). A search has failed to unearth any document in which this is stated by Katsushige. As Tsunetomo states that it was a favourite expression of Katsushige, it may have been transmitted orally.

397

Ibid., p. 79 (# 93). This attitude is very similar to

that reflected by Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛 (1827-1877), of the nearby Satsuma 薩摩 han, when in 1862 he was exiled to a small island near Okinawa. Told that he need not remain in the small cage which had been built for him once the ship had left port, he answered, "Thank you, but whatever happens I must obey the lord [of Satsuma]. I am a convict and must be where a convict should be...." Morris, p. 362 quoting the translation of Sakamoto Moriaki, The Great Saigō: The Life of Takamori Saigō (Tokyo: 1942).

398

Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 79 (# 94).

399

Ibid., pp. 18-19 (# 5).

400

De Bary, Sources of Chinese Tradition, I, 20. See also ibid., I, 16-17, and 27.

401

See Morikawa, pp. 82-83; Nitobe, pp. 102-04; and Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 56 (# 57).

402

Ibid., p. 90 (# 119).

403

Ibid., p. 126 (# 199).

404

Ibid., p. 81 (# 99).

405

A Japanese edition of this book is edited by Takeuchi. It has been noted earlier. An English translation has been made by James Legge, Li Chi, Book of Rites (1885; rpt. New York: New Hyde Park, 1967).

406

Article Four of this document incites officials to



behave with decorum. An English translation may be found in  
 Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 48. See also  
Shōtoku Taishi jūshichi-jō kempō, pp. 25-26.

- 407 Kurihara, Kōchū hagakure, p. 30 (# 19).
- 408 Ibid., p. 42 (# 39).
- 409 Ibid., p. 78 (# 91).
- 410 Ibid., p. 32 (# 21), and p. 34 (# 26).
- 411 Ibid., p. 90 (# 120).
- 412 Ibid., p. 118 (# 185).
- 413 Ibid., p. 34 (# 27).
- 414 Ibid., pp. 70-71 (# 78).
- 415 Ibid., p. 100 (# 145).
- 416 Ibid., p. 42 (# 38).
- 417 Ibid., p. 42 (# 38).
- 418 Ibid., p. 67 (# 69).
- 419 Ibid., p. 33 (# 24).
- 420 Ibid., p. 30 (# 19).
- 421 Ibid., p. 110 (# 173).
- 422 Ibid., p. 70 (# 76).
- 423 Ibid., p. 110 (# 173).

424 Ibid., p. 57 (# 58).

425 Ibid., p. 111 (# 174).

426 Ibid., pp. 29-30 (# 18).

427 Saga ken shi, II, 191.

428 See Tsunoda, Sources of Japanese Tradition, I, 369-83; Maruyama, pp. 31-32; and Morris, pp. 181-83.

429 Hall, p. 268.

430 Morris, p. 235.

431 Ibid., pp. 243-47.

432 See Ōkuma haku sekijitsudan 大隈伯昔日談, ed. Enjōji Kiyoshi 円城寺清 (Tokyo: Rikken Kaishutō Tōhō Kyoku 立憲改進黨 党報局, 1895), pp. 3-4.

433 See Sagara Tōrū, Nihonjin no dentōteki rinri kan 日本人の 伝統的倫理観 (Tokyo: Risōsha 理想社, 1964), pp. 85-100.

434 Saitō Shōji 斎藤正二, "Yamato damashii" no bunka shi 「やまとだまし」の文化史 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1972), p. 102

435 Fuji, p. 246-47.

436 Haga Yaichi, Kokuminsei jūron 国民性十論 (Tokyo: Fusanbō 富山房, 1907), pp. 31-32 as quoted in Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples, p. 467.

437 Fuji, p. 221.

438

Some of the books published during this period were:

Ogasawara Akira 小笠原明, "Hagakure" ni miru jinsei no kangae-kata 「葉かくれ」にみる人生の考え方 (Tokyo: Shinsei Shuppansha 新星出版社, 1934); Nakamura Yūichi 中村有一, Nabeshima rongo hagakure zenshū 鍋島論語葉隠全集 (Tokyo: 1936); Ōki Yōdō 大木陽堂, Hagakure zensho 葉隠全書 (Tokyo: Kyōzaisha 教材社, 1936); Ōki Yōdō, Hagakure kōwa: Nabeshima rongo 葉隠講話, 鍋島論語 (Tokyo: Mikasa Shobō 三笠書房, 1938); Hamano Sujirō 浜野素次郎, Hagakure seishin to kyōiku 葉隠精神と教育 (Tokyo: Daiichi Shuppan Kyōkai 第一出版協会, 1939); Nakamura Tsuneichirō 中村常一郎, Hagakure bushidō seigi 葉隠武士道精義 (Tokyo: Takunansha 拓南社, 1942); Ōki Shunkurō 大木俊九郎, Hagakure no seisui 葉隠の精粹 (Fukuoka: Junshindō 惇信堂, 1942); Yamagami Sōgen 山上曾源, Hagakure bushi no seishin 葉隠武士の精神 (Tokyo: Sanyūsha 三友社, 1942); and Ōki Yōdō, Chūshaku hagakure 註釈葉隠 (Tokyo: Kyōzaisha, 1943).

439

Yamagami, p. 6.

440

Ibid., p. 8.

441

Morris, p. 315.

442

See, for example, Fuji, p. 246; and Morris, pp. 315-16.

443

Morris, p. 285.

444

An excellent account of these suicide squadrons may be found in Morris, pp. 276-334.

445

Morris, p. 320. The original text of these words may

found on pages 57 and 58 of this paper.

446

Furukawa Tesshi, Kinsei Nihon shisō no kenkyū 近世  
日本思想の研究 (Tokyo: Koyama Shoten 小山書店, 1948), p. 255.

447

By October, 1975, Hagakure nyūmon had been reprinted  
62 times.

448

Some of these are "Eirei no koe 英霊の声," in Mishima  
Yukio zenshū 三島由紀夫全集, Vol. 17 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha  
新潮社, 1973), pp. 511-65; "'Hagakure' to watashi 葉隠とわたし,"  
in Mishima Yukio bungakuron shū 三島由紀夫文学論集 (Tokyo:  
Kōdansha, 1970), pp. 435-39; Ken 剣 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1971); and  
"Yūkoku 憂国," in Mishima Yukio zenshū, Vol. 13, pp. 221-241.  
This last story has been translated into English. See Geoffrey  
W. Sargent, "Patriotism," in Death in Midsummer and Other  
Stories (New York: New Directions, 1966), pp. 93-118.

449

In "Eirei no koe" the ghosts of the kamikaze fighters  
tell of their favourite passages from Hagakure. See Mishima,  
"Eirei no koe," pp. 551-52.

450

Mishima "'Hagakure' to watashi," p. 436.

451

Ibid., p. 439.

452

by Iwadō in 1939 and Tanaka in 1975.

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