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The Forgery of Books in Tokugawa Japan

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Book forgery was a common cultural phenomenon in premodern East Asia. China was the middle kingdom of forgery; its history there was the longest, its scope the widest, and its methods the most sophisticated in East Asia. Forgery in China can be traced back to the Eastern Zhou period (771–221 BCE). It reached its peak during the Six-Dynasties period (221–589), but it has survived into the modern period. The scope of forgery covers every literary genre, from official documents and historical records to Confucian commentaries, Buddhist sutras, and Taoist treatises, as well as works in literature and the arts. Many forgeries were so well made that they were accepted as authentic texts for centuries, until the Qing (1644–1911) or even into the modern period. The forgery of books in China has drawn a lot of scholarly attention.¹

In Japan, book forgery also has a long history. It started around the sixth or seventh century, and reached its heyday in the late medieval (1186–1603) and early Tokugawa (1603–1868) periods. Most forgeries made in Tokugawa Japan were of historical writings or Shinto texts. The techniques were not very skillful, and many forgeries were detected by Tokugawa intellectuals. Forgeries did not exert a strong impact on politics and thought in the Tokugawa and modern periods, and many

Tokugawa forgeries did not survive their age. Modern Japanese scholars are well trained in textual study, and forgery has become extremely difficult. Obviously, the differences between China and Japan are huge and significant. An examination of their differences can deepen our understanding of the intellectual and political development of these two countries.

The history of book forgery in Japan, however, has been little studied and is largely unknown. There are books and articles on the authenticity of particular Shinto, Buddhist, or historical texts; a systematic study of this important topic has, however, yet to be done. This paper represents a preliminary study of book forgery in Tokugawa Japan from a historical and comparative perspective.² It aims to provide a historical overview of this cultural phenomenon and to discuss its political and intellectual implications. It does not look into particular texts in detail.

The paper consists of six sections. Section one traces the development of the culture of forgery in Japan and explains why it reached its peak in the early Tokugawa period. Sections two and three examine the forgery of historical writings and Shinto texts in the early Tokugawa period, introducing representative works and discussing the attitudes of the bakufu, the daimyo (domainal lords), and the people toward forged texts. Section four deals with other types of forgeries. Section five discusses forgery in the late Tokugawa period. The concluding section summarizes the characteristics of book forgery in Tokugawa Japan from a comparative perspective.

TOKUGAWA AS THE GOLDEN AGE OF FORGERY

In Japan, the history of forgery is almost as long as the history of books. Many ancient texts are problematic in authorship, dating, or content. In ancient times, forgeries were made mainly for political purposes. Both the imperial court and powerful families were enthusiastic about compiling history in such a way as to enhance their authority, and they sometimes went so far as to forge texts. For instance, most texts ascribed to Prince Shōtoku (574–622) are unreliable. They include the *Sangyō gisho* (The commentary on the three Buddhist sutras), *Sendai kuji hongī* (Records of ancient matters in former times, 10 *kan* [sections]), and *Yamato hongī*

(Records of the Yamato dynasty, 2 *kan*). By the eighth century the forgery of official documents and historical records became a serious enough problem for the court to pass laws to prohibit it.³ Following the rise of Buddhism among the upper class in the Nara (712–793) and Heian (794–1186) periods, Buddhist writings were also subject to forgery.⁴

In the medieval period, book forgery became more prevalent.⁵ The Kamakura bakufu (1186–1336) and the Muromachi bakufu (1336–1573) decreed harsh punishments for forgers. For example, if the daimyo and *shōen* (private estate) proprietors fabricated documents to claim ownership over land or property, their domains and estates would be confiscated.

Unlike those in the ancient period, forgeries in the medieval period were mostly of private writings, including Shinto classics, Buddhist texts, literature, and historical writings. The forgery of Shinto texts can be traced to the early decades of the Kamakura period. In the medieval period, many Shinto shrines or schools, in order to establish their doctrines and legitimacy, fabricated their own histories. They traced the founding of their shrines and teachings to the ancient period and attributed their writings to prominent historical figures, such as Prince Shōtoku.

The most famous and large-scale forgery of Shinto texts was the *Shintō gobusho* (Five Shinto classics) invented by the Watarai family, who served as the priests of the Outer Shrine in Ise, in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Attributed to the seventh century, these medieval texts were used to argue that the Outer Shrine should enjoy equal status with the Inner Shrine.⁶ These works were later used by Yoshida Kanetomo (1435–1511) to develop the doctrines of Yoshida Shinto. Another noteworthy forgery was the *Sekijō sho* (Letters from Seki Castle), made in the late medieval period as letters attributed to Kitabatake Chikafusa (1293–1354) to promote Shinto and nationalist ideas.⁷

Surprisingly, there seem not to have been many forgeries of Buddhist texts, even though the medieval period was the golden age of Buddhism in Japan. An example of forgery was the *Senjūshō* (A selective collection of Buddhist writings, 9 *kan*), a collection of the sayings of Nara and Heian Buddhist monks. Though attributed to the Heian poet Saigyō (1118–1190), it was a product of the thirteenth century.⁸ In addition, many scroll paintings (*emaki-mono*) contain elements of fabrications or

myths about the founders of the monastery. They are unreliable, but they are not forgeries in the strict sense.

In medieval literature, the number of forgeries was considerable. For example, the *Shiki monogatari* (The tale of the four seasons, 4 *kan*), which was attributed to Kamo no Chōmei (1153–1216), was a forgery made after Kamo no Chōmei's death.⁹ The *Sumiyoshi monogatari* (The tale of Sumiyoshi, 2 *kan*) is another example of a medieval forgery.¹⁰

The forgery of historical records was also quite common. For example, the *Honchō kotohajime* (The origins of events in our country, 2 *kan*), which was attributed to the late Heian courtier Fujiwara no Michinori (1106–1159), was a forgery made in the medieval period. Many military records (*gunki*) were forgeries. In the sixteenth century, many forgeries were made about the battles during the *sengoku* (warring states, 1467–1600) period. This grew into the largest genre of forgery in the Tokugawa period.

Book forgery became very popular in the late medieval period and reached its peak in the early Tokugawa period. The seventeenth century was the “golden age of forgery” in Japanese history. Hundreds of forgeries were made, and more than a hundred titles have already been identified by Tokugawa and modern scholars. There were several reasons for the popularity of forgery in the early Tokugawa period.

First, the intellectual atmosphere was very active during the seventeenth century. The Tokugawa bakufu was still at the early stage of constructing an official ideology. Many ideas, whether political, social, or religious, had not yet been put in order. Different schools of thought and religion and cultural activities were allowed to flourish as long as they did not advocate anything antibakufu or pro-Christian. In such an intellectual climate, book forgery found much space to grow.

The forgery of Shinto texts and historical writings was more than a cultural activity; it also served political purposes. It became a means to claim authority and legitimacy from history, which was why the bakufu, daimyo, retainers, Shinto sects, and schools of art and culture all fabricated histories or constructed fake documents. Book forgery mushroomed in this unique historical setting.

Second, the bakufu indirectly encouraged forgery. Its policies toward forgery were ambivalent and inconsistent. Although the bakufu

made the forgery of official and private documents a heavy offense and banned many forgeries, it set a bad example in distorting and fabricating histories for its own legitimation.¹¹ The bakufu made the writing of family history into a national movement when it asked the daimyo and retainers to prepare their family histories and genealogical charts for its reference. Without checking their credibility seriously, the bakufu had Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) edit the family records and charts submitted by the daimyo and retainers and published them as the *Kan'ei shoka keizuden* (History and charts of warrior families in the Kan'ei era, 1641, 186 kan).

Writing family histories was an extremely important matter to the domains, because the early Edo bakufu used the lack of legitimate successors and other excuses to abolish domains. Compiling a “politically correct” family history could strengthen a clan’s political position, which was why military history and warrior-family histories topped the number of forgeries.

Third, many in early Tokugawa society were willing to forge books or documents for profit. Before the Tokugawa, most forgers were from the upper social class — courtiers, elite monks, and high-ranking warriors. In the Tokugawa period, however, the main force of forgery was from the lower social strata — unemployed *rōnin* (masterless samurai), poor monks, Confucians, and even commoners. Knowledge was no longer monopolized by the upper class. Book forgery provided a way for frustrated social elements to focus their energy and earn a living. For the first time in Japanese history, some people made names for themselves as forgers.

In the early Tokugawa period, some professional storytellers told military tales in the streets of Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto to earn a living. They were called *Taiheiki yomi* (Narrators of military tales). Most of them were unemployed *rōnin* or monks. Some of these *Taiheiki yomi* also forged books or documents for warrior families or Shinto shrines. It seemed that demand was much larger than supply, and forgers enjoyed a good business.

Fourth, the flourishing and highly competitive publishing industry stimulated book forgery. Publishing forgeries was a fairly profitable and relatively safe business in the early Tokugawa period. Some publishers

in Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto published problematic texts to boost sales. General readers were interested in war tales because they provided sensational narratives and versions of history that were different from official history. Book dealers and scholars hunted for ancient or medieval texts, but not all were careful enough to detect forgeries. Some even made or commissioned fake texts for intellectual or business reasons. Many readers believed in their authenticity and used them in their writings and teaching. Until the eighteenth century, the bakufu usually did not check or ban forgeries published by book dealers, unless it suspected that the forgeries were politically motivated.

Fifth, the extensive search for rare books by the court, bakufu, domains, and private collectors made forgery a very profitable business. Many books were lost during the turbulent late-medieval and *sengoku* periods. The Edo bakufu, in order to promote scholarship and learning, set up an official library or archives, *Momijiyama bunko* (Red Leaf Mountain library collection) to gather books and documents. The Kyoto court, noble and warrior families, public and private academies, well-to-do merchants, and prominent scholars were also interested in expanding their book collections. They were not always careful about detecting forgeries.

For the above-mentioned reasons, forgery became an active cultural activity and phenomenon in the Tokugawa period. According to one Tokugawa scholar,

There are many forgeries in this world. Many of them look like ancient texts. If we are not knowledgeable and cautious enough, we will be cheated. Many books about the history of the noble and warrior families belong to this category. We should also be careful of military works because they contain many fabrications.¹²

THE FORGERY OF HISTORICAL WRITINGS

The majority of forgeries were historical writings. Many were the family histories and the lineage charts of the daimyo or top retainers, intended to glorify their ancestors and to emphasize their historical relationship

with the Tokugawa house. The Tokugawa house fabricated its own history in order to establish its links with the Minamoto and the Nitta and to cultivate the Ieyasu cult. Many daimyo and retainers were not slow to follow suit. The forgery of historical writings was well developed and diversified in the early Tokugawa period. It can be divided into five major categories: the history of the Tokugawa house, family histories of daimyo and major warriors, ancient and medieval texts, war tales, and general history.

The first category was the early history of the Tokugawa house. A large number of forgeries were made in the seventeenth century to glorify the ancestors of the Tokugawa family. They include the *Mikawa go-fudoki* (Topography of Mikawa, sequel), *Tokugawa rekidai* (The successive generations of the Tokugawa house), and *Matsudaira kaiunroku* (The beginnings of the Matsudaira house). These three works focus on the early life of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) before he founded the bakufu in Edo. The first two works were attributed to two of Ieyasu's generals, Chikayoshi and Yasutaka, respectively. It is highly unlikely that they wrote the books, however, because these men did not receive much education and did not have time to write books. For the majority of forgeries, the real authors are not usually known. Some may have been written by scholars in Tokugawa service, commissioned by the Tokugawa bakufu to legitimize the new regime.

The life of Ieyasu as the first Edo shogun also became a subject for forgery. The representative and the most influential work in this respect is the *Toshogū goikun* (The testament of the great avatar shining over the east). This anonymous text was published during the reign of the third Edo shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604–1651, r. 1623–1651).¹³ It could not have been as popular as it was without the blessing of the bakufu. It uses Confucian, Shinto, and Buddhist ideas to legitimize the Tokugawa bakufu and to glorify Ieyasu. For instance, it emphasizes that the court lost the heavenly mandate to Ieyasu.¹⁴

Other forgeries in this category include the *Tokugawa onyuraiki* (The origins of the Tokugawa house), *Jūhachikō ki* (Records of eighteen Tokugawa ancestors), *Tōeikan* (History of the eastern prosperity), *Shinpen tōgoku taiheiki* (The military history of the eastern provinces, new edition), and *Matsudaira keizu* (The lineage of the Matsudaira house).

Most of the above-mentioned books on Ieyasu and his ancestors were banned in the eighteenth century, not because they were found to be forgeries, but because the bakufu decided to discourage people from talking freely about its founders.¹⁵

The second category was family histories of daimyo or warriors. Many daimyo and high-ranking warriors wrote or commissioned others to compile their own family histories, including both facts and fabrications. This genre was called *bukan* (military histories). Military histories written by the warrior families were not forgeries, although they were not always reliable. Military histories by private writers were more problematic, and some were forgeries. These forgeries include the *Nihon shōgunden* (A biography of generals in Japan), *Buke hyōrin* (An evaluation of military houses), *Akamatsu gunki* (Military records of the Akamatsu house), and *Kyūshū shoshōgunden* (A biography of Kyushu generals).

Even some low-ranking warriors and commoners fabricated their family histories in order to gain respect and create opportunity. A notorious case was that of a peasant named Sawada Gennai (1659–1716), who fabricated history shamelessly in order to link himself with the main line of the Sasaki clan, a prominent warrior family since the Kamakura period. In several forgeries he wrote, Sawada, calling himself Sasaki Ujisato, invented the history of five generations preceding him from the Muromachi to the Tokugawa. Titles of his “historical fictions” include the *Taikeizu* (Comprehensive lineage charts, 30 *kan*), *Ashikaga chiranki* (A political history of the Ashikaga), *Asai nikki* (The diary of Asai Nagamasa), *Kōgen bukan* (Military history of the Minamoto in Edo, 1656, 20 *kan*), *Sekigahara gunki* (Military history of the Sekigahara, 6 *kan*), and *Seishū gunki* (Military history of Ise, 2 *kan*). The *Kōgen bukan* was an ambitious work forged as a collection of family diaries written between 1537 and 1621, which attributed to Sawada ancestors who did not really exist. It was published and became a popular text in the seventeenth century. Sawada’s fabricated ancestors appeared frequently in all of his works and played a significant role in helping the Tokugawa house. In the *Taikeizu*, a collection of charts on the lineages of warrior families, he presented his ancestors as prominent warriors.¹⁶

Sawada wanted to take advantage of his fake identity. He went to see the Mito daimyo and presented him with the *Taikeizu*, hoping that

the daimyo would give him a post. The daimyo asked Sasaki Yoshitada, a member of the main line of the Sasaki family, to verify Sawada's identity and found out that everything about Sawada's ancestors in his writings was sheer fabrication.¹⁷ The daimyo therefore decided to punish Sawada. Sawada fled and changed his name. His father disowned him out of anger and shame. Sawada later went to Kyoto and continued to deceive people by fabricating histories. Although some scholars, such as Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725) and Ise Sadatake (1715–1784), condemned Sawada, most of Sawada's writings were not banned, and some even had a wide circulation.

The third category was ancient and medieval texts. Some Tokugawa authors profited by selling their forgeries to book dealers or collectors as rare books. For example, in the early-eighteenth century, a *rōnin* writer, Suma Fuon, forged medieval texts for profit. The most noteworthy one was the *Fusō kenbun shiki* (Private records of the things I saw and heard in Japan, 80 *kan*). Written as a diary of Ōe Hiromoto (1148–1225), a prominent official of the Kamakura bakufu, it was sold to a book dealer as a medieval record. It was later published by the book dealer. It was said that he became rich because of this book. This was such a skillful work that many Tokugawa officials and scholars believed in its authenticity. Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751), the eighth shogun, asked Narushima Dōchiku to verify its authenticity. Narushima pointed out numerous mistakes and textual problems (such as the use of terms and systems that did not exist in the Kamakura period) in the text and concluded that it was a forgery. It was finally banned by the bakufu.¹⁸ Another of Suma's forgeries was the *Adachi Fujikurō shiki* (Private records of Adachi Fujikuro), which was written as the diary of a member of the Adachi family, a prominent military house in the Kamakura period.¹⁹

Usually, most of these fake documents or books were attributed to famous medieval warriors, and the identity of the forgers was not known. The most popular target for forgery was Kusunoki Masashige (?–1336), the famous loyalist in the Nambokuchō (Northern and Southern Courts) period (1336–1392). Since he was worshipped as a national hero in the Tokugawa period, readers were interested in reading touching stories about him. As many as a dozen forgeries were written about him or attributed to him. They include the *San-Nan jitsuroku* (True records

of the three generations of the Kusunoki family), *Nankaden* (Records of the Kusunoki family, 7 *kan*), *Nan ikkan sho* (Book on Kusunoki Masashige in one scroll), *Nan chimeishō* (Kusunoki Masashige knowing his fate), and *Nanhōreikan* (Laws by Kusunoki Masashige). Another work in this category was the *Ōtomo Masatori jikki* (Records of Ōtomo Masatori), a fabricated record of the Ōtomo, a prominent *sengoku daimyō* (feudal lord of the warring states period) family from Northern Kyushu.

There were also some fake ancient texts made in the Tokugawa period, although their number was fewer than fake medieval texts. The following three are examples.

The *Yamato hongī* (Records of the Yamato court, 2 *kan*), which appeared in the late medieval or early Tokugawa period, was actually “a forgery of a forgery.” The original *Yamato hongī* was a mid-Heian forgery, which was attributed to Prince Shōtoku. Its content was close to that of the *Kojiki* (Records of ancient matters, 712) and the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, 720). This mid-Heian forgery was later lost, and the Tokugawa edition was a new forgery.

Nan'en sho (The writing of Minamibuchi Shōan) was attributed to the famous seventh-century monk Minamibuchi Shōan and his disciples. It only appeared in the 1660s and was a forgery made in the medieval or Tokugawa period.²⁰

Tajima kokushi monjo (Documents of the provincial governor of Tajima) was a fake early-Heian official document that records the events in Tajima from 814 to 974. It was “discovered” in 1810, and its content does not match the early Heian system of official ranks. It can only be a medieval or Tokugawa forgery.

The fourth category was war tales. In the early decades of the Tokugawa period, memories of the wars were still fresh, stimulating many exciting and sensational but unreliable narratives of famous battles in the medieval and *sengoku* periods. These accounts claimed that the authors actually participated in or witnessed the war, but most were indeed fabricated by late-medieval or early-Tokugawa authors.

Many fabricated war tales used the *Taiheiki* (Chronicle of great peace, ca. 1372), a famous account of the civil war during the Nambokuchō period, as the model. A large number of forgeries of historical books with the *Taiheiki* in their title appeared in the seventeenth century. They

include the *Nanchō taiheiki* (Military history of the southern court), *Zen taiheiki* (Prelude to the *Taiheiki*), *Shikai taiheiki* (Military history of the four seas), *Zan taiheiki* (An incomplete record of the *Taiheiki*), *Chūgoku taiheiki* (Military history of the Chūgoku region), *Hojo taiheiki* (Military history of the Hōjō), *Saigoku taiheiki* (Military history of the western provinces), *Hōkkoku taiheiki* (Military history of the northern provinces), *Shinpen tōgoku taiheiki*, *Genpei taiheiki* (Military history of the Minamoto and Taira), *Zoku taiheiki* (The *Taiheiki*, sequel), and *Chōsen taiheiki* (Military history of the Korean campaign).

Most of this *Taiheiki* literature was written by unknown authors but attributed to famous warriors or writers. For example, the *Saigoku taiheiki* records the history of the Chūgoku region during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. It was attributed to Mōri Hidemoto (1579–1650) of Chōshū domain.²¹ Sometimes such works were written by scholars who wanted to hide their identity. For instance, the *Zen taiheiki* was written by Hirayama Sokan (1630–1712), a scholar of the Hayashi school, under the alias Fujimoto Gen.²² Hirayama was a famous forger. In his popular war tale *Ishida gunki* (Military records of Ishida Mitsunari, 1698, 15 *kan*), he fabricated stories about Ishida Mitsunari (1560–1600), the archrival of Tokugawa Ieyasu.²³ After he published it in Kyoto, it caught the attention of the bakufu, which banned the book and tried to summon him. Hirayama fled and went into hiding.²⁴

The fifth category was general history. Some people rewrote the general history of medieval Japan out of their imagination or on the basis of rumors or unreliable sources. These works were quite popular among general readers who read them as novels more than histories. Representative works include the *Kamakura kyūdaiki* (Nine generations of the Kamakura period), *Hōjō kyūdaiki* (Nine generations of the Hōjō family), *Chūko kokka chiranki* (The administration of the nation in the medieval period), *Nanchō jiseki* (Records of the southern court), *Yoshino shūi* (Unknown stories about the southern court in Yoshino), and *On'uniki* (Accounts of the cherry blossom and cloud, 3 *kan*).²⁵ Although most were made in the early Tokugawa period, many were presented as medieval writings. For instance, the *Yoshino shūi* claimed that it was a work of the fourteenth century. It was based partly on the records in the *Taiheiki* and *Shin'yōshū* (A new collection of Japanese poems written in the *Man'yōshū*

tradition, 1381) and partly out of the author's imagination. The *On'unki* is a record of the Southern Court, focusing on its last days. Although it was said to be a medieval work, it was indeed written in the early Tokugawa period. Neither the *Yoshino shūi* nor the *On'unki* was banned, and they were widely read in the Tokugawa period. Some accepted them as reliable sources, whereas serious scholars such as Arai Hakuseki criticized them as forgeries.

The emergence of numerous fake historical writings indicates that the early Tokugawa period was truly an age of historiography in which not only official or semi-official historical works such as the *Honchō tsūgan* (The comprehensive mirrors of our dynasty, by Hayashi Razan) and *Tokushi yoron* (Some personal views on my reading of history, by Arai Hakuseki), but also a large number of unofficial and unreliable historical writings were produced.²⁶

THE FORGERY OF SHINTO TEXTS

In terms of the number of forgeries made in the early-Tokugawa period, Shinto texts were second only to historical writings. Fake Shinto texts in this period include literature and historical writings.

Different Shinto schools wanted to enhance their authority through history. Most, however, lacked a long history or a classic. Hence, they fabricated both in the late-medieval and early-Tokugawa periods.

Yoshida Shinto was the most ambitious among all Shinto sects in this respect, producing the majority of fake Shinto texts in the medieval period. The five sets of fake ancient Shinto texts, *Gobushō*, became influential in the early-Tokugawa period. Although their authenticity was questioned by some Confucian and *kokugaku* (national-learning) scholars, some Tokugawa Shintoists still used them as a support for their beliefs.

Yoshida Shinto continued to produce and inspire forgeries in the Tokugawa period. The most influential one was perhaps the *Wa-Rongo* (Analects in Japan, 1669, 10 *kan*) by Sawada Gennai (see "The Forgery of Historical Writings," above).²⁷ Though he had received no formal Shinto training, Sawada was influenced by Yoshida Shinto. The *Wa-Rongo* is a collection of 882 sayings by Shinto deities, emperors, court-

iers, warrior leaders, Buddhist monks, and scholars. Sawada used these sayings to advocate Yoshida Shinto, to glorify his own ancestors and birthplace, and to promote political and personal ethics. He made use of the *Gobushō* to write some oracles and of some ancient historical texts to record the sayings of historical figures. The majority of the sayings were, however, sheer fabrication. The sayings stress the importance of the purity of the heart and the uprightness of the mind, a central Shinto doctrine. The text also promoted the Sumiyoshi (or Hiyoshi) faith. According to this faith, the general Sumiyoshi, who helped the legendary Queen Jingū conquer Korea, became a deity, Sumiyoshi daimyōjin, after his death in order to protect Japan. His spirit gave strength to warrior leaders who received a heavenly mandate to rule. As the Tokugawa was a legitimate regime, it received the blessing of this deity. This faith also glorified Sawada's birthplace, Ōmi, where the Hiyoshi Shrine was located.²⁸ His fabricated ancestors also appeared in the *Wa-Rongo* to provide support for his claim that he came from a family of noble origins.

Although some Tokugawa scholars like Ise Sadatake questioned its authenticity, the *Wa-Rongo* was not banned and was widely read by Tokugawa intellectuals. Its impact was particularly strong among scholars of *shingaku* (mind learning). The two *shingaku* masters, Ishida Baigan (1685–1744) and Teshima Toan (1718–1786), quoted it frequently in their works to suggest ethical or Shinto ideas.²⁹

The most ambitious fake Shinto treatise made in the Tokugawa period was the *Kuji taiseikyō* (A complete account of ancient matters, 1679, 72 *kan*). Ascribed to Prince Shotoku, it was actually written by a Zen Buddhist monk named Chōon (1628–1696) and a *rōnin* named Mizuno Uneme (1616–1687). As the book was commissioned by the Izawanomiya Shrine in Shima, one of the ten detached shrines dedicated to the Sun Goddess, to establish its supremacy over the Ise Shrine, these two authors were able to use the Izawanomiya collection as references. Many books in the collection were indeed medieval forgeries. The *Kuji taiseikyō* was perhaps the largest forgery project in the Tokugawa period.³⁰ By rewriting the history of Shinto in ancient Japan, the authors argued that the Izawanomiya Shrine was chosen as the main shrine for worshipping the Sun Goddess. Prince Shotoku, a major figure in the text, was portrayed as an advocate of the unity of the three teachings —

Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism — a central doctrine of the Izawanomiya faith. The text alleged that Prince Shotoku promulgated five sets of “constitutions” on morality, politics, Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism.

Priests from the Ise Shrine protested to the bakufu and the court, decrying the text as a forgery. In 1680, the bakufu punished the two authors and the publisher, and two years later banned the book.³¹ Nevertheless, it continued to be a popular text. Even after the ban, people copied it by hand, and a private edition was secretly made.

Many *kokugaku* and Confucian scholars argued that the *Kuji taiseikyō* was a forgery. Ise Sadatake even wrote a book, *Kuji hongī mukugi* (Uncovering the forged nature of the *Kuji taiseikyō*), to discredit the text. These critics pointed out that the text contains many false records and uses modern terms. Nevertheless, the *Kuji taiseikyō* was widely read and influential among Buddhist and Shinto circles. It was used to advocate the doctrine of the unity of the three teachings. For example, Ida Sadakane, a Shintoist, wrote a commentary on it in 130 *kan*. The so-called *Five Constitutions of Prince Shōtoku* was published as a single book by several publishers. Kuroda Masakuni, a retainer of Numata domain, wrote a commentary on it and published it as the *Waji go-kempō* (An explanation of the five constitutions in Japanese, 1734).³² The five constitutions became even more popular than the *Kuji taiseikyō* itself.

OTHER TYPES OF FORGERY

Besides historical writings and Shinto texts, forgeries also existed in other Tokugawa literary traditions such as geographical writings, Confucian commentaries, Buddhist texts, and literature. They were, however, fewer in number and less influential.

A large number of fake geographical writings and maps appeared in the Tokugawa period. During the seventeenth century, about thirty *fudoki* (topographies) of different provinces in ancient Japan were “discovered.” Together they were entitled *Sōkoku fudoki* (Topographies of different provinces of ancient Japan). Most claimed that they had ancient origins, but they were actually written in the late-medieval or early-Tokugawa period.³³ Some *kokugaku* and Confucian scholars questioned the authenticity of the *Sōkoku fudoki*, because its content does not always

match the ancient system. However, Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) believed in the authenticity of the *Sōkoku fudoki*, collecting and editing these fragmentary materials.³⁴

Late-medieval and early-Tokugawa Japanese also forged the *Minbushō zuchō* (Maps and records by the Ministry of Popular Affairs), a collection of maps and records of different provinces in ancient Japan. The original collection was burned in the late Heian period (794–1185).³⁵ Some Tokugawa scholars already knew that the extant maps and records were forgeries.

Some Confucian and Buddhist texts have problems in authorship, because disciples and admirers sometimes attributed their own works to their masters. For instance, it was said that there were several forgeries made after the death of Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), a great master of *kogaku* (ancient learning). There were three kinds of forgers — Sorai's students and admirers who wanted to develop Sorai's ideas, professional forgers who aimed for profit, and Sorai's enemies who defamed Sorai. Hence one of Sorai's disciples, Hattori Nankaku (1683–1759), made a list of Sorai's works and warned that any item that was not on the list was a forgery. Some modern scholars believe that the *Taiheisaku* (A policy for great peace) was a forgery.³⁶ The *Sorai sensei kaseidan* (Discussions of Master Sorai, 3 *kan*) was identified as a forgery and was banned by the bakufu.³⁷

Forgeries were also found among paintings, works of calligraphy, tea utensils, and literature, but the problem was not very serious if compared with China. For example, some works of the great *haiku* poet Matsuo Bashō (1644–1694) might indeed be forgeries.³⁸ In the early Tokugawa period, a forgery called *Hachijō kadensho* (Teachings on the style and the flower in eight parts) was attributed to the Nō master Zeami Motokiyo (1363–1443). This work was quite popular in the Tokugawa period and exerted a considerable impact on Tokugawa art and aesthetics.

Many works on the military and martial arts are also unreliable. Though attributed to medieval or *sengoku* authors, most were written in the early-Tokugawa period. An example was *Nan nanakansho* (The [martial arts of the] Kusunoki school in seven scrolls), a military book that was ascribed to Kusunoki Masashige, but was a forgery made and published in the Tokugawa period.³⁹

A different kind of forgery was the making of fake ancient editions. Some book dealers “converted” Tokugawa editions into medieval editions for huge profit. To make the Tokugawa editions look old, various methods such as dyeing the paper, stamping the seals of medieval editions or scholars on the text, and adding a preface or afterword to fake authorship and the date of completion, were employed by Tokugawa publishers. For example, the *Kobun Kōkyō* (Book of filial piety in old-script texts), *Soga monogatari* (The tale of the Soga brothers), *Monzen* (The *Wenxuan* or A selection of literature), and *Rongo shūkai* (A collective explanation of the *Lunyu*) all had fake medieval editions.⁴⁰ This kind of forgery had little intellectual significance because the content of different editions of the text was more or less identical.

FORGERY IN THE LATE TOKUGAWA PERIOD

The seventeenth century, as we have seen, was the golden age of forgery in Japanese history. The forgery of books, particularly historical writings, declined in the second half of the Tokugawa period. There were two major reasons. First, the intellectual climate became increasingly rigid. The bakufu had established a sort of official ideology or orthodoxy and was less tolerant of forgeries that could create controversies. The Ieyasu cult had been successfully institutionalized, and private discussions of Ieyasu became inappropriate and undesirable. The bakufu put many forgeries, in particular those related to the history of Ieyasu and military history, on the list of banned books.

Second, intellectuals became more skillful at detecting forgeries, thanks to the prevalence of more sophisticated research methods shared by scholars of *kogaku*, *kokugaku*, and *kōshōgaku* (evidential-research school). Thus, the making and publication of forgeries became more difficult. For example, Ise Sadatake, a retainer of Tokugawa Yoshimune, detected eighty-three forgeries in his *Ansai zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous writings of Ise Sadatake, 30 *kan*).⁴¹ He wrote several books to discredit particular forgeries. Arai Hakuseki, Tada Nanryō (1696–1750), Yoshimi Kōwa (1673–1761), and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) also made contributions to the detection of forgeries.

Late Tokugawa intellectuals made contributions in textual studies,

and many problematic texts produced in different ages were identified. For instance, until the mid-Tokugawa period, people had believed for centuries that the *Sendai kuji hongei* (Records of ancient matters in former times, 10 *kan*) was the work of Prince Shōtoku, although it was actually forged by the Mononobe in the ninth century.⁴² In the eighteenth century, the work was challenged by a large number of scholars from different backgrounds, including Dazai Shundai (1680–1747), Ise Sadatake, Tada Nanryō, Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane. There were two different attitudes toward the text among critics. Most (such as Ise) regarded it as a worthless fabrication, whereas others (such as Hirata) believed that it still had historical value.⁴³

Forgery declined but did not disappear in the late Tokugawa period. The bulk of late Tokugawa forgeries were Shinto texts. They were mostly kept in local Shinto shrines, and their circulation was small. Shintoists created stories of prehistoric and ancient Japan in fake ancient historical writings. These texts share some similarities. First, they alleged that Japan had a long and glorious history before the importation of Chinese culture. Second, Japan had its own writing system, the so-called *jindai moji* (writing system in the Age of the Gods). Two examples of fake ancient texts about prehistoric or legendary Japan (pre-539) follow.

The *Hotsuma tsutae* (History of Japan in the Hotsuma script, 10 *kan*), is an epic of prehistoric Japan written in the Hotsuma script, a kind of alleged *jindai moji*, by the famous forger Iho Yūnoshin in the mid-eighteenth century. He claimed that the text was written by an ancestor of his in the late Nara period. Having failed to submit it to a noble family for reward, Iho offered it to the Miya Shrine in 1775. The Shintoist Ogasawara Michate wrote a commentary on it called *Jindai maki hotsuma seiden* (Politics in the Age of the Gods in the Hotsuma script, 1842, 10 *kan*). The *Hotsuma tsutae* had an impact on Fukko Shintō, Taihonkyō, and the Hirata (Atsutane) School.⁴⁴ However, its authenticity was questioned by Tokugawa scholars.⁴⁵

The *Uetsufumi* (Records of the ancient past, 40 *kan*) was another fake ancient book on prehistoric Japan with a content somewhat similar to the *Hotsuma tsutae*. It records Japanese history from the prehistoric era to the second century. It was attributed to Ōtomo Yoshinao (1172–1223), a son of Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147–1199). Its portion on

prehistoric Japan was written in the Toyokuni script, a kind of *jindai moji*. It only surfaced in the early-nineteenth century and was unknown until the *kokugaku* scholar Yoshimatsu Haesaka introduced it during the Tempō era (1830–1844). This was a forgery made in the Tokugawa period.

The most interesting development in the history of forgery during the late Tokugawa period was the “discovery” of many varieties of *jindai moji*. Most of them were made in the Tokugawa period. Some Shintoists and *kokugaku* scholars used them to suggest that Japan had its own writing systems before the importation of Chinese culture. It created a debate among Tokugawa intellectuals over the issue of authenticity of the *jindai moji*. Most did not take it seriously or denied its existence, whereas some used it to advocate their Shinto or nationalist ideas.

Early Tokugawa intellectuals did not believe in *jindai moji*. Following Motoori Norinaga and other early *kokugaku* scholars, Hirata Atsutane at first was critical of the idea of *jindai moji*. Later, he changed his position and conducted research on it, asking his students to gather samples of *jindai moji* at shrines or temples all over Japan. He found more than a dozen *jindai moji*, but emphasized that only two of these, *Ahiru* and *Ahirukusa*, were authentic. In his *Kamuna hifumi no tsutae* (Records of the writing system in the Age of the Gods, 1824), he even suggested that the Korean script was derived from the *Ahiru* script.⁴⁶ His student Ōkuni Takamasa (1791–1871) even believed that *jindai moji* was the mother of all languages, including Chinese, Sanskrit, and Dutch.⁴⁷ However, some late *kokugaku* scholars disagreed with Hirata. For instance, Ban Nobutomo (1773–1846) argued in his *Kaji honmatsu* (The origins of fake scripts) that all *jindai moji* were fabrications.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BOOK FORGERY

Book forgery in Tokugawa Japan had the following characteristics. First, the scope was relatively narrow. In Qing China, forgery existed in a large quantity in various genres, including Confucian commentaries, Taoist treatises, Buddhist sutras, historical works, official documents, poems, prose writings, paintings, and works of calligraphy. Forgeries in medieval Japan included history, Buddhist and Shinto texts, official documents,

maps, and literature, but the majority of Tokugawa forgeries were historical writings or Shinto texts made in the seventeenth century. Forgeries in other literary genres were rare.

If we call the Qing period the age of detecting forgeries, then the Tokugawa period was the age of making forgeries. A large number were made in the Tokugawa period, particularly in the seventeenth century. Qing scholars made important contributions in identifying forgeries made in all periods of Chinese history. Qing China itself produced very few forgeries.

Second, the techniques used in Japan were not very sophisticated. In both making and detecting forgeries, the Chinese were more advanced than the Japanese. Many Tokugawa forgeries were poorly made. From the paper, calligraphy, style, and content, even nonspecialists could usually tell they were fake. In Tokugawa Japan the detection of forgeries was only a personal academic interest of individual scholars. It was not a continuation of a tradition from pre-Tokugawa times and was only a weak undercurrent in Tokugawa intellectual culture. In contrast, forgeries made in China were extremely skillful and could deceive even specialists. The detection of forgeries and the dating of texts became an important part of *kaozheng* scholarship in Qing China.⁴⁸

Qing scholars made use of philology, phonetics, textual criticism, textual comparison, and many other techniques to examine the credibility of texts. The research methods that Tokugawa scholars employed were simpler and less systematic. Sometimes, Tokugawa scholars made their judgments by looking only into the content and the writing style, which could lead to less satisfactory results. For instance, Tada Nanryō did some excellent research in his *Kujiki gisho meishō kō* (Hard evidence that the *Kuji hongji* was a forgery, 1734), but his doubts about the *Jinnō shōtōki* (Records of the legitimate succession of the divine sovereigns, rev. 1343) and the *Yōfukki* (Return of Yang, 1650) were less convincing.

Third, the impact was limited. In China, forgeries have been an inseparable part of scholarship in classical studies, geography, historiography, Buddhism, Taoism, art, and literature. In Confucianism, the debate over classics in pre-Han Chinese (*guwen*, old-script texts) and Former Han Chinese (*jinwen*, new-script texts) was a focus of scholarly attention from the Six Dynasties (220–589) to the modern period, and

exerted a tremendous impact on politics and thought. Many old-script text Confucian classics were forgeries. This issue was used as a political tool by officials and scholars of different periods. Rival political camps used the classics, either old-script texts or new-script texts, to claim authority, to advocate reforms, or to attack enemies. In art, a large number of paintings and works of calligraphy were forgeries. The detection of forgeries has also become a major field in Chinese art.⁴⁹

The impact of forgeries in Japan was not great. Most of them were not very popular and had little influence on politics, thought, or religion. They had little historical or literary value. They played some role in legitimizing the bakufu and in promoting the Ieyasu cult in the early decades of the Tokugawa period, and they exerted some impact on Shinto and new religions, but basically they had little to do with the development of neo-Confucianism, Buddhism, literature, art, and popular culture in the Tokugawa period. By the mid-Tokugawa period the number of forgeries decreased, and the bakufu and scholars became more critical and cautious. Many late-Qing intellectuals used forged classics to advocate reforms. However, forgeries played no perceptible role in the Meiji Restoration and the post-Restoration reforms.

In China, many ancient forgeries such as the *Zhouli* (Rites of the Chou dynasty), *Laozi* (Sayings of Laozi), *Liezi* (Sayings of Liezi), and *Shanhaijing* (Book of mountain and sea) became classics and were widely read by people of all ages. These works had value in themselves. Thus, even after being detected as forgeries, they were not abandoned. In Japan, Tokugawa forgers did not produce any work that had a strong and long-lasting impact. Most had a small circulation. A few were popular, but their popularity did not last. The heyday of forgery was too short, and the quality of forgeries was not good enough to make a larger and longer impact. When they were found to be forgeries, people lost interest in them.

NOTES

I would like to thank Barry Steben and Kurozumi Makoto for their useful comments on this paper.

1. The study of book forgery has a long history in China. In particular, Qing *kaozheng* ("evidential research") scholarship made important contributions in

the detection of hundreds of forgeries. For a historical overview of book forgery in China, see Liang Qichao, *Gushu zhenwei ji qi niandai* (Authenticity and dating of ancient books) (Taibei: Zhonghua shuju, 1973) and Gu Jiegang et al., *Gushi bian* (Debates on the authenticity of ancient history), 7 vols. (Beijing and Shanghai: Zhicheng yinshuguan, 1926–1941).

2. In many Japanese books, there are problems concerning their history, content, authorship, or time of publication. This paper uses a strict definition of forgery — books written with the aim of deceiving people by fabricating the stories and attributing them to ancient authors.
3. Chapter nine of the Yōrō Code of 718, entitled “Laws on Fraud and Forgery (Sagiritsu),” lists the punishments for officials found guilty of forging official documents. For instance, those who forged imperial memorials would be exiled. See Inoue Mitsusada, ed., *Nihon shisō taikai* (Compendium of Japanese thought), vol. 3, *Ritsuryō* (Codes and laws) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970). The punishments were considered lenient by Chinese standards. In China, the writing of fake imperial memorials was punishable by death.
4. The most influential forgery was the *Mappō tōmyōki* (The record of the lamp during the latter days of the Buddhist law, 1 *kan*) which was attributed to Saichō (767–822), the founder of Tendai Buddhism in Japan. This was indeed a forgery of the late Heian period that exerted a tremendous impact on Kamakura Buddhism by popularizing the idea of *mappō*. See Matsuhara Yūzen, ed., *Mappō tōmyōki* (Kyoto: Yasui Jimusho, 1966).
5. For an overview of the forgery of books, documents, and lineage charts in medieval Japan, see Amino Yoshihiko, *Nihon chūsei shiryōgaku no kadai: Keizu, gimonjo, monjo* (Issues regarding historical documents of medieval Japan: Lineage charts, fake documents, and documents) (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1996).
6. See *Shintō gobusho* (Tokyo: Kōgakukan daigaku shuppanbu, 1984).
7. See Hakusan Yoshitarō, ed., Kitabatake Chikafusa, *Shintō taikai* (Compendium of Shinto), *ronsetsuhen* (Discourses), vol. 18 (Tokyo: Shintō taikai hensankai, 1991).
8. See Nishio Kōichi, ed., *Senjūsho* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1970).
9. My assertion is based on that fact that the *Shiki monogatari* records some events that happened after the death of Kamo no Chōmei.
10. Ichiko Sadatsugu, ed., *Kamakura jidai monogatari shūsei* (A collection of Kamakura novels), vol. 4 (Tokyo: Kasama shobō, 1988). The original *Sumiyoshi monogatari* was a mid-Heian book, which was quoted by other Heian works, such as the *Genji monogatari* (The tale of Genji) and *Makura no sōshi* (The pillow book). The original text was later lost, and a forgery appeared in the Kamakura period.
11. According to Tokugawa laws, those who forged official documents would be caned a hundred times, and the forgery of private writings for profit would be treated as committing thievery. See Ise Sadatake, *Anzai zuihitsu* (Miscellaneous writings of Ise Sadatake) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1927), chap. 11, p. 79.
12. Ise Sadatake, *Sadatake zakkī* (Miscellaneous writings of Sadatake) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1928), p. 624.

13. Ooms believes that the author may have been a scholar in Tokugawa service and even speculates that Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) was the author, because he was close to Ieyasu, and the ideas in the text were similar to Hayashi's. See Herman Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 82–96.
14. See *Tōshōgū goikun*, in *Nihon kyōiku bunko* (A library of Japanese education), “*kakunhen*” (Section on family precepts) (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1910), pp. 252–342. For an analysis of the text, see Hirano Toshinori, “*Tōshōgū goikun to Inoue mondo gashira oboegaki ni tsuite*,” (A study of *Tōshōgū goikun* and *Inoue mondo gashira oboegaki*) in Herman Ooms and Ōkuwa Hitoshi, eds., *Tokugawa ideorigii shinpojiumu* (Symposium on Tokugawa ideology) (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1996), pp. 103–135.
15. Konda Yōzō, *Edo no kinsho* (Banned books of the Edo period) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981), pp. 196–200.
16. Ise, *Anzai zuihitsu*, chap. 5, p. 112 and chap. 28, pp. 233–234.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 184–191.
18. *Ibid.*, chap. 18, p. 16 and chap. 19, pp. 38–39; Ise, *Sadatake zakki*, chap. 16, p. 624.
19. See Ise, *Sadatake zakki*, chap. 16, p. 624. Suma also fabricated family charts such as the *Kyōho kaisen keizu* (Lineage charts made in the Kyōhō era).
20. Nakajima Toshiichirō, “*Nan'ensho wa gisho nari*” (*Nan'ensho* is a forgery) in *Rekishi kōron* (Public forum on history), vol. 2, no. 5, 1933.
21. See Kurokawa Masamichi, ed., *Saigoku taiheiki* (Tokyo: Kokushi kenkyūkai, 1915).
22. See Itagaki Shun'ichi, ed., *Zen taiheiki* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1988).
23. See Kurokawa Masamichi, ed., *Ishida gunki* (Tokyo: Kokushi kenkyūkai, 1914).
24. Ise, *Anzai zuihitsu*, chap. 18, p. 16.
25. The *Yoshino shūi* and *On'unki* are included in Ikebe Yoshikata, ed., *Kōchū kokubun sōsho* (Book series in Japanese with annotations), vol. 18 (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1915).
26. For a discussion of historiography in the early Tokugawa period, see Kate W. Nakai, “Tokugawa Confucian Historiography: The Hayashi, Early Mito School and Arai Hakuseki,” in Peter Nosco, ed., *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 62–91.
27. See Katsube Masanaga, *Warongo no kenkyū* (A study of the *Warongo*) (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1970).
28. See Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, pp. 99–105.
29. See Robert Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (New York: Free Press, 1957), pp. 66, 79, 143, 176.
30. The text can be found in Iida Sueharu, ed., *Hyōchū sendai kuji hongī* (Annotated *Sendai kuji hongī*) (Tokyo: Meibunsha, 1971). For a critique of the text as a forgery, see Kawano Shōzo, *Kinsei Shintō kyōka no kenkyū* (A study of Shinto education in early modern Japan) (Tokyo: Shūkyō kenkyūshitsu, 1955) and Konda Yōzō, *Edo no kinsho*, pp. 158–179.

31. Ise, *Anzai zuihitsu*, chap. 18, p. 16.
32. See Nozawa Masanao, *Kinsho Shōtoku Taishi go-kempō* (Prince Shōtoku's five constitutions, the banned text) (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1990).
33. See Wada Hidematsu, *Honchō shoseki mokuroku kōshō* (An investigation of book catalogues in Japan) (Tokyo: Meiji shoin, 1936), pp. 340–345, and Hirata Atsutane, *Koshichō kaidaiiki* (An introduction to the *Koshichō*), ed. Yamada Yoshio (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1932), pp. 271–272.
34. See Hirata, *Koshichō kaidaiiki*, pp. 248–272. The text can be found in Kariya Mochiyuki, *Saishū Shokoku fudoki* (A collection of the topographies of different provinces) (Tokyo: Nihon kodan zensho, 1928).
35. See Wada, *Honchō shoseki mokuroku kōshō*, pp. 346–348.
36. For a review of this controversy, see Maruyama Masao, “*Taiheisaku kō*” (An investigation of the *Taiheisaku*), in Maruyama, ed., *Ogyū Sorai, Nihon shisō taikai*, vol. 36 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973), pp. 797–829.
37. Konda, *Edo no kinsho*, p. 18.
38. See Yamamoto Yūichi, *Bashō no bunboku so no shingi* (The writings of Bashō: Issues in authenticity) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1997).
39. The text mentions gunnery which did not exist in the time of Kusunoki. See Ise, *Sadatake zakki*, chap. 16, pp. 625–626.
40. Kawase Kazuma, *Nihon shoshigaku no kenkyū* (A study of bibliographies in Japan) (Tokyo: Nippon ōbenkai kōdansha, 1933), pp. 1813–1820. See also Nagasawa Kikuya, ed., *Toshogaku sankō zuroku* (Illustrative references for the study of books), vols. 1 and 2 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1973 and 1976).
41. Included in Kojitsu sōsho hensankai, ed., *Kojitsu sōshi* (Book series on ancient matters), vol. 8 (Tokyo: Meiji tōsho, 1952).
42. Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–1690) wrote a commentary on it to advocate New Ise Shinto. Tokugawa Mitsukuni (1628–1700), the Mito daimyo, wrote an afterword for a Tokugawa edition.
43. On the basis of ancient records Hirata argued that the *Kuji hongī* was written by the Mononobe in 808. See Hirata, *Koshichō kaidaiiki*, pp. 273–274. For a review of Tokugawa works on the text, see Wada, *Honchō shoseki mokuroku kōshō*, pp. 15–17.
44. Nomura Toshiharu, ed., *Koshi koden no nazo* (Secrets of ancient history in ancient records) (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1996), p. 12.
45. Commissioned by Shinto shrines, Iho also forged other Shinto texts such as the *Ōta daimyōjin honjiki* (The manifestation of Daimyōjin in the Ōta shrine) and *Kamo daimyōjin honjiki* (The manifestation of Daimyōjin in the Kamō shrine) to spread the doctrine of *honji suijaku* (Shinto deities as manifestations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas) and to glorify the history of the shrines.
46. For a discussion of Hirata's views of *jindai moji*, see Saiji Yoshihiko, *Nazo no jindai moji* (Secrets of the writing system in the Age of the Gods) (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1979), pp. 140–144.
47. See Wai-ming Ng, “The *I Ching* in the Shinto Thought of Tokugawa Japan,” *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1998, p. 581.
48. See Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social*

Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 68–70.

49. Qing merchants exported many fake Chinese calligraphy works to Japan through Nagasaki trade. See Ōba Osamu, *Edo jidai ni okeru Chūgoku bunka juyō no kenkyū* (A study of the adoption of Chinese culture in the Tokugawa period) (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1984), pp. 412–420.

GLOSSARY

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| Adachi 安達 | Fujiwara no Michinori 藤原通憲 |
| <i>Adachi Fujikurō shiki</i> 安達藤九郎私記 | Fukko Shintō 復古神道 |
| Ahiru 阿比留 | <i>Fusō kenbun shiki</i> 扶桑見聞私記 |
| Ahirukusa アヒルクサ | <i>Genji monogatari</i> 源氏物語 |
| <i>Akamatsu gunki</i> 赤松軍記 | <i>Genpei taiheiki</i> 源平太平記 |
| <i>Anzai zuihitsu</i> 安齋隨筆 | Gobusho 五部書 |
| Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 | Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 |
| <i>Asai nikki</i> 淺井日記 | <i>gunki</i> 軍記 |
| <i>Ashikaga chiranki</i> 足利治乱記 | <i>guwen</i> 古文 |
| bakufu 幕府 | <i>Hachijō kadensho</i> 八帖花伝書 |
| Ban Nobutomo 伴信友 | Hattori Nankaku 服部南郭 |
| bukan 武鑑 | Hayashi 林 |
| <i>Buke hyōrin</i> 武家評林 | Hayashi Razan 林羅山 |
| Chikayoshi 親吉 | Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 |
| Chōon 潮音 | Hirayama Sokan 平山素閑 |
| <i>Chōsen taiheiki</i> 朝鮮太平記 | Hiyoshi 日吉 |
| Chōshū 長州 | <i>Hōjō kyūdaiki</i> 北条九代記 |
| Chūgoku 中国 | <i>Hōjō taiheiki</i> 北条太平記 |
| <i>Chūgoku taiheiki</i> 中国太平記 | <i>Hōkkoku taiheiki</i> 北国太平記 |
| <i>Chūko kokka chiranki</i> 中古国家治乱記 | <i>Honchō kotohajime</i> 本朝事始 |
| daimyō 大名 | <i>Honchō tsūgan</i> 本朝通鑑 |
| Dazai Shundai 太宰春台 | honji suijaku 本地垂迹 |
| emaki-mono 繪卷物 | <i>Hotsuma tsutae</i> 秀真伝 |
| fudoki 風土記 | Ida Sadakane 伊田眞鎮 |
| Fujimoto Gen 藤元元 | Ieyase 家康 |

- Iho Yūnoshin 井保勇之進
 Ise Sadatake 伊勢貞丈
 Ishida Baigan 石田梅岩
 Ishida gunki 石田軍記
 Ishida Mitsunari 石田三成
 Izawanomiya 伊雜宮
 Jindai maki hotsuma seiden 神代卷秀眞
 政伝
 jindai moji 神代文字
 Jingū 神宮
 Jinnō shōtōki 神皇正統記
 jinwen 今文
 Jūhachikō ki 十八公記
 Kaji honmatsu 仮字本末
 kakunhen 家訓篇
 Kamakura 鎌倉
 Kamakura kyūdaiki 鎌倉九代記
 Kamo daimyōjin honjiki 嘉茂大明神本
 地記
 Kamo no Chōmei 鴨長明
 Kamuna hifumi no tsutae 神字日文伝
 kan 卷
 Kan'ei 寛永
 Kan'ei shoka keizuden 寛永諸家系図伝
 kaozheng 考証
 Kobun Kōkyō 古文孝經
 kogaku 古学
 Kōgen bukan 江源武鑑
 Kojiki 古事記
 kokugaku 国学
 kōshōgaku 考証学
 Kuji hongī 旧事本記
 Kuji hongī mukugi 旧事本記剥偽
 Kujiki gisho meishō kō 旧事記偽書明証
 考
 Kuji taiseikyō 旧事大成
 Kuroda Masakuni 黒田眞邦
 Kusunoki Masashige 楠木正成
 Kyōho kaisen keizu 享保改撰系図
 Kyūshū shoshōgunden 九州諸將軍伝
 Laozi 老子
 Liang Qichao 梁啓超
 Liezi 列子
 Lunyu 論語
 Makura no sōshi 枕草子
 Man'yōshū 万葉集
 mappō 末法
 Mappō tōmyōki 末法灯明記
 Matsudaira kaiunroku 松平開運録
 Matsudaira keizu 松平系図
 Matsuo Bashō 松尾芭蕉
 Mikawa go-fudoki 三河後風土記
 Minamibuchi Shōan 南淵請安
 Minamoto 源
 Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝
 Minbushō zuchō 民部省図帳
 Mito 水戸
 Miya 三屋
 Mizuno Uneme 水野采女
 Momijiyama bunko 紅葉山文庫
 Mononobe 物部
 Monzen 文選
 Mōri Hidemoto 毛利秀元
 Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長
 Muromachi 室町
 Nanbokuchō 南北朝

- Nan chimeishō* 楠知命抄
Nanchō jiseki 南朝事蹟
Nanchō taiheiki 南朝太平記
Nan'en sho 南淵事
Nanhōreikan 南法令卷
Nan ikkan sho 楠一卷書
Nankaden 楠家伝
Nan nanakansho 楠七卷書
Narushima Dōchiku 成島道筑
Nihon shōgunden 日本將軍伝
Nihon Shoki 日本書記
Nitta 新田
Numata 沼田
Ōe Hiromoto 大江広元
Ogasawara Michate 小笠原道当
Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠
Ōkuni Takamasa 大國隆正
Ōmi 近江
On'uniki 桜雲記
Ōta daimyōjin honjiki 太田大明神本地記
Ōtomo Masatori jikki 大友眞鳥実記
Ōtomo Yoshinao 大友能直
Rongo shūkai 論語集解
rōnin 浪人
Sagiritzu 詐偽律
Saichō 最澄
Saigoku taiheiki 西國太平記
Saigyō 西行
Sangyō gisho 三經義疏
San-Nan jitsuroku 三楠実録
Sasaki Ujisato 佐佐木氏郷
Sasaki Yoshitada 佐佐木義忠
Sawada Gennai 沢田源内
Seishū gunki 勢州軍記
Sekigahara gunki 関原軍記
Sekijō sho 関城書
Sendai kuji hongi 先代旧事本記
sengoku 戦国
sengoku daimyō 戦国大名
Senjūshō 撰集抄
Shanhaijing 山海經
Shiki monogatari 四季物語
Shikai taiheiki 四海太平記
Shima 志摩
shingaku 心学
Shinpen tōgoku taiheiki 新編東國太平記
Shintō gobusho 神道五部書
Shin'yōshū 新葉集
shōen 莊園
Shōtoku 聖德
Soga monogatari 曾我物語
Sōkoku fudoki 繪國風土記
Sorai sensei kaseidan 徂徠先生可成談
Suma Fuon 須磨不音
Sumiyoshi 住吉
Sumiyoshi daimyōjin 住吉大名神
Sumiyoshi monogatari 住吉物語
Tada Nanryō 多田南嶺
Taiheiki 太平記
Taiheiki yomi 太平記読
Taiheisaku 太平策
Taihonkyō 大本教
Taikeizu 大系図
Taira 平
Tajima kokushi monjo 但馬国司文書

- Tendai 天台
 Teshima Toan 手島堵庵
 Tōeikan 東榮鑑
 Tokugawa Iemitsu 德川家光
 Tokugawa Ieyasu 德川家康
 Tokugawa Mitsukuni 德川光圀
 Tokugawa onyuraiki 德川御由来記
 Tokugawa rekidai 德川歷代
 Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗
 Tokushi yoron 讀史余論
 Tōshōgū goikun 東照宮御遺訓
 Toyokuni 豊国
 Uetsufumi 上記
 Waji go-kempō 和字五憲法
 Wa-Rongo 和論語
 Watarai 度会
 Watarai Nobuyoshi 度会延佳
- Wenxuan 文選
 Yamada Yoshio 山田孝雄
 Yamato hongī 大和本記
 Yasutaka 康高
 Yōfukki 陽復記
 Yōrō 養老
 Yoshida Kanetomo 吉田兼俱
 Yoshida Shintō 吉田神道
 Yoshimatsu Haesaka 幸松葉枝尺
 Yoshimi Kōwa 吉見幸和
 Yoshino 吉野
 Yoshino shūi 吉野拾遺
 Zan taiheiki 殘太平記
 Zeami Motokiyo 世阿弥元清
 Zen taiheiki 前太平記
 Zhouli 周禮
 Zoku taiheiki 続太平記