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Traditional Chinese Social Ethics in Japan, 1721–1943

DE-MIN TAO

Japanese culture was greatly influenced by Chinese civilization during the Tokugawa period (1603–1867). That is well known. But the continuation of that influence into the pre–World War II period, and the means employed to maintain that current of normative values, are less well studied. From the beginning, the Chinese influence depended on the sustained importation of Chinese books, and the adaptation of some of these books to make them suitable for state-sponsored moral instruction. According to statistics compiled by Professor Ōba Osamu of Kansai University, a large percentage of the books published in China during the Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911) were exported to Japan, part of the thriving book trade that was a mainstay of Sino-Japanese commerce. Professor Ōba has estimated that during this period Japan imported over eight thousand such titles.[1]

Two officially sponsored Chinese texts for the moral instruction of China's people, the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* (*Liu-yü yen-i*; Japanese: *Rikuyu engi*) and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* (*Sheng-yü kuang-hsün*; Japanese: *Seiyu kōkun*), are of special importance to our subject; a brief study of these will illustrate the point at hand. Widely disseminated in Ch'ing China, these texts were also welcomed in certain circles in Japan at that time.

Both the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* consist of texts of imperial edicts on education, with elaborations and commentaries; in this context "education" means general instruction of the common people by various means of popular teaching. The earlier of the two works is an extended version of the *Six Instructions* (*Liu-*

yü, sometimes called the "Six Maxims") issued in 1398 by T'ai-tsu (r. 1368–1398), the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty.

The six simple instructions are as follows:

1. Perform filial duties to your parents.
2. Honor and respect your elders and superiors.
3. Maintain harmonious relationships with your neighbors.
4. Instruct and discipline your sons and grandsons.
5. Let each work peacefully for his own livelihood.
6. Do not commit wrongful acts.[2]

The *Six Instructions* were propagated throughout the entire Ming period, by various means. Placards on which the six simple sentences were written or inscribed were placed prominently in villages. They were also propagated by means of the *mu-t'o*, a kind of copper bell with a wooden clapper, kept by official command in each village. Six times each month a handicapped or an aged man, led by a child, made the rounds of the village, ringing the clapper while he called out the six maxims. Near the end of the Ming dynasty, a humble village teacher by the name of Fan Hung developed an original interpretation of the *Six Instructions*. He expounded the maxims in the common speech of the uneducated people and appended to each suitable stories, poems, and relevant legal references. This broadened version was called the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*. It soon appeared as a published text, and was frequently reprinted.

In 1652, the Shun-chih emperor (r. 1644–1661), the first Manchu ruler under the newly established Ch'ing dynasty, lent his government's support to the use of the *Six Instructions* to prevent crime and promote moral education. Fan Hung's expanded version for a time had great popularity, but the Shun-chih emperor's successor, the great K'ang-hsi emperor, who reigned from 1662 to 1722, was not satisfied with simply adopting the previous dynasty's edict. In 1670 he promulgated his own *Sacred Edict* (*Sheng-yü*). It consisted of the following sixteen maxims, as translated by F. W. Baller, a missionary to China during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

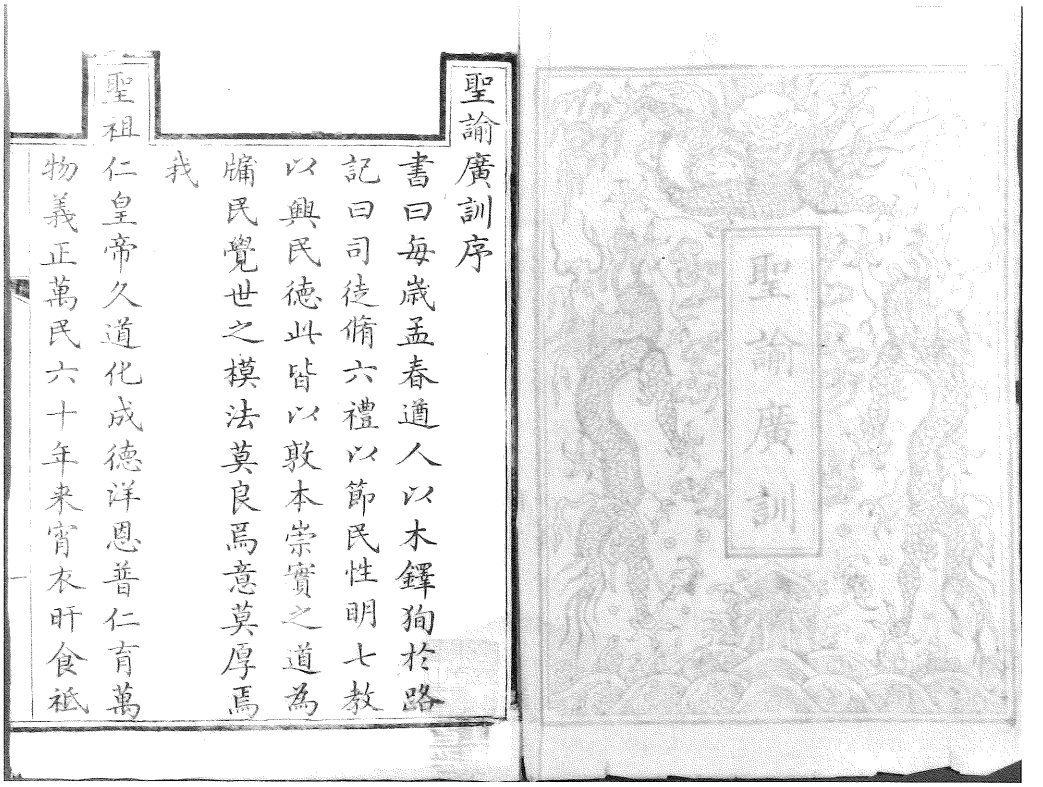
1. Enforce duteousness and subordination, so as to emphasize social obligations.
2. Give due weight to kinship, with a view to the display of concord.

3. Pacify the local communities in order to put an end to litigation.
4. Attach importance to farming and mulberry culture, that there may be sufficient food and clothing.
5. Set store by economy, as a means to the careful use of property.
6. Attach importance to academies, in order to improve the habits of scholars.
7. Extirpate heresy and so exalt orthodoxy.
8. Explain the law, to warn the foolish and wayward.
9. Elucidate courteousness, with a view to improving the manners and customs.
10. Let the people attend to their proper callings, that they may have settled determination.
11. Instruct the rising generation, with a view to prevent evil-doing.
12. Prevent false accusations, and so shield the law-abiding.
13. Prohibit giving shelter to deserters, in order to prevent others from sharing their fate.
14. Pay taxes, and so prevent being pressed for payment.
15. Unite the tithings in order to suppress crime.
16. Make up quarrels, and so respect the person and life.[3]

Compared with the Ming emperor's *Six Instructions*, the K'ang-hsi emperor's *Sacred Edict* is more specific about normative and coercive features of governing; its more concrete instructions were useful for establishing public morals and maintaining social order. It was not only an edict on education but at the same time provided general principles of administrative policy for the guidance of local governments.

Continuing the efforts to educate local officials by moral principles, the Yung-cheng emperor (r. 1723–1735) in 1724 had compiled and issued an expanded version, *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict*. In this, each of the sixteen maxims is explained in a short essay of about six hundred characters. This longer version therefore also came to be called the *Ten-thousand Word Exposition of the Sacred Edict* (*Sheng-yü wan-yen hsün*). Widely disseminated during the Ch'ing dynasty, its text was also used for low-level civil service examinations. (See illustration 1.)

Early in the eighteenth century both the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* came to Japan by various routes. Japan, however, was not a tributary of the Ch'ing dynasty, so the


聖諭廣訓序
書曰每歲孟春遒人以木鐸徇於路
記曰司徒脩六禮以節民性明七教
以興民德此皆以敦本崇實之道為
牖民覺世之模法莫良焉意莫厚焉
我
聖祖仁皇帝久道化成德洋恩普仁育萬
物義正萬民六十年來宵衣旰食祗

1. Preface of the *Sheng-yü kuang-hsün* with a supplemental explanation for popular reading edited by Chi Ch'ang, the surveillance commissioner of Shensi Province, published in 1815 by Chu Hsün, the governor of the province. Eight cols. of 14 chars.; block 17.7 x 26.8 cm. Collection of the Gest Oriental Library.

adoption of Chinese imperial edicts on education as moral teachings suitable for the Japanese presented sensitive problems to some Japanese Confucian scholars. The replacement of the Ming by the Ch'ing in 1644 had shocked Japan, and the Japanese feared that the barbarian Manchus' expansionism would lead them to invade Japan, as had been the case with the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Moreover, the Japanese accepted Confucianism as a universal set of values, not as evidence for the superiority of China per se. Yamazaki Ansai (1618–1682) invoked Confucian language to advocate patriotism as follows: "Were China to attempt to subjugate Japan, should it be with an army led by [the ancient Sage-Kings] Yao and Shun and Wen and Wu as generals, the essence of morality would be to repel

them even with cannon"; "If the Chinese mounted an attack on Japan with Confucius as general and Mencius as his adjutant, . . . one should arm oneself with armor and sword and take Confucius and Mencius captive"; "such is the Way of Confucius, my Way of heaven and earth."[4] Later, Goi Ranju (1697–1762) even employed Western astronomical knowledge to reject the claims of Sinocentrism. Because the earth is spherical, he said, every place can be considered its central place. In terms of receiving sunshine, only the equator, or the South and North poles, are situated in the center of the earth; no other places can be considered the center. Consequently, the notion that China is located in the center of the earth was absolutely wrong.[5]

The *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* was originally brought from China to Liu-ch'iu (Japanese: Ryūkyū) by Ch'eng Shun-tse (1663–1734). Liu-ch'iu was at that time a tributary of the Ch'ing state, but it was also a dependency of the Satsuma domain in southern Japan, which had seized it in 1609. Ch'eng, a representative scholar and official in Liu-ch'iu, was five times appointed to serve as the tributary envoy to the Ch'ing court. Interested in improving the quality of Chinese language instruction in Liu-ch'iu, he had the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* reprinted in 1708, at his own expense, in Foochow on the southeast China coast. He wanted his disciples to master the Chinese vernacular language by using this as their model text, hoping they would then be able to communicate with the Chinese officials when they were appointed to serve as envoys or interpreters. When he visited Japan in 1714, Ch'eng also presented a copy of his reprint edition to Shimazu Yoshitaka, the lord of the Satsuma domain.

Satsuma, because of its link to Liu-ch'iu, served as one of the Tokugawa government's windows on China. In 1719, the shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751), who ruled from 1716 to 1745, inquired of Yoshitaka about the governmental ordinances, manners, and customs of the Ch'ing dynasty. In response, Yoshitaka forwarded the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*. Yoshimune was then carrying out reforms which included promoting social education and strengthening rural control, and he decided to have the book translated and reprinted. But the great Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), who in 1721 was ordered to punctuate and edit the vernacular text to prepare it for republication in Japan, argued that the book should not be reprinted under the official auspices of the *bakufu*. His reasoning ran as follows: "Liu-ch'iu is a tributary of the Ch'ing dynasty, so it properly uses the K'ang-hsi reign title. . . . If the K'ang-hsi emperor were

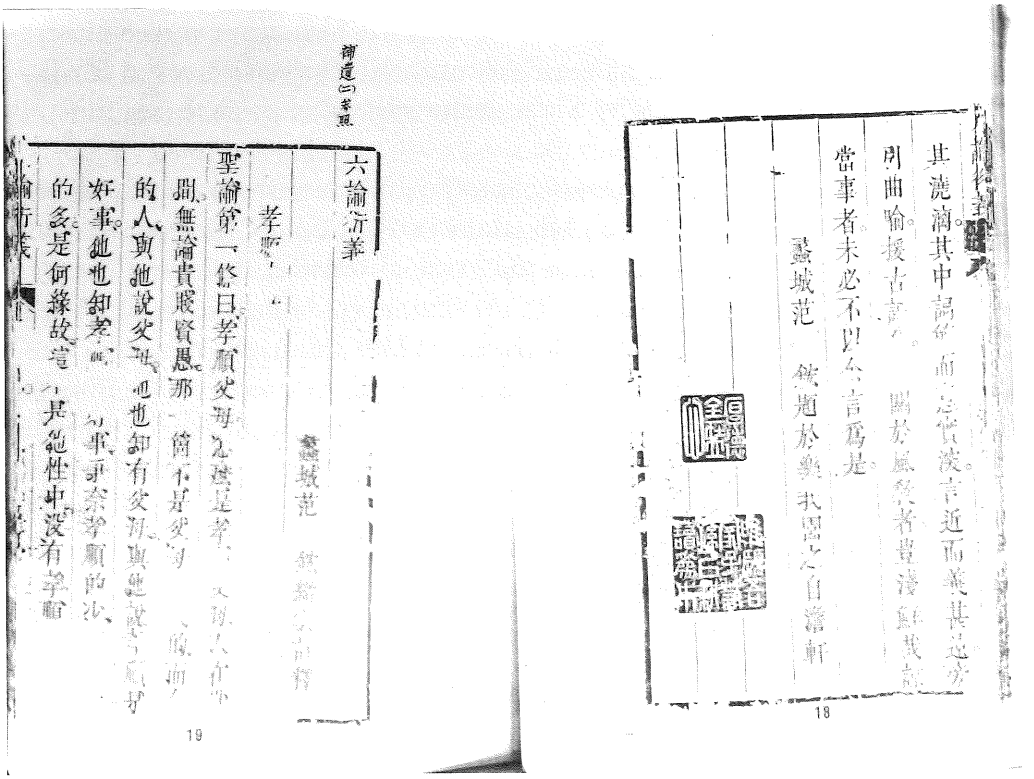
to learn that his edict is also respected in Japan," he would consider Japan "a country just like Ryūkyū (which pays tribute to China)." The first draft of his preface to the reprint included the following sentence: "Although the barbarian Ch'ing is not an orthodox dynasty, it follows the Way of the Three Dynasties [Hsia, Shang, and Chou] of ancient China." Thus Sorai not only denigrated the Ch'ing, but also justified Japan's adoption of the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*.[6]

That cautious suggestion was not fully accepted by the *bakufu*, which had the reprint published as an official edition in 1721. Sorai was nevertheless in some measure still able to achieve his aim of emphasizing Japan's national identity by making some changes in the format of Ch'eng Shun-tse's edition. For example, Ch'eng followed the Chinese practice called *t'ai-t'ou*, showing reverence for throne and dynasty by leaving blank spaces at the top of each column of text so that only the emperor's name and references to the emperor could be placed there. (See illustration 2.) This format was abandoned in the Japanese edition of the original Chinese text (see illustration 3). In accordance with Japanese custom, *t'ai-t'ou* was reserved for Japanese shogun and the *bakufu* by Sorai in the appended preface (see illustration 4).

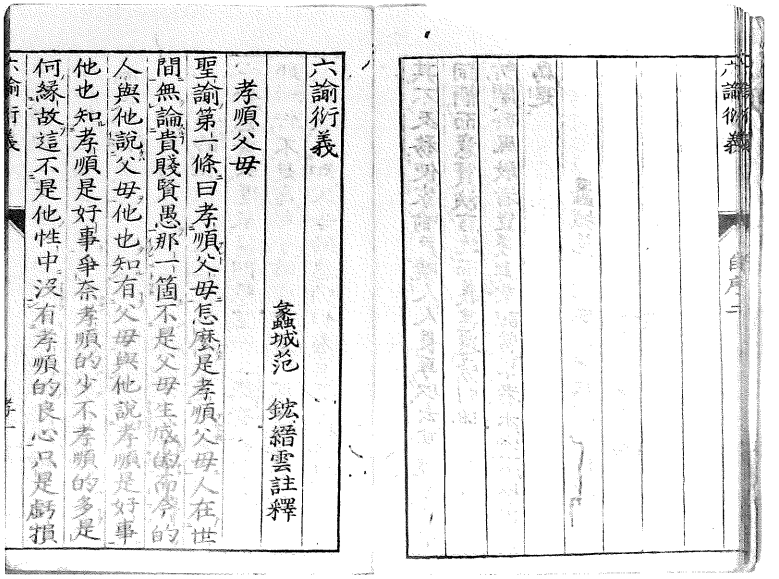
The Exposition of the Sacred Edict got to Japan by a different route; it was brought directly from China to Nagasaki in 1726 on a Chinese merchant ship, and was reprinted in 1789 in the original format, including the *t'ai-t'ou* stylization, by a group of Osaka merchants (see illustration 5). At the request of the merchants, Nakai Chikuzan (1730–1804), the director of the Kaitokudō academy of Osaka, wrote a preface for this reprint (see illustration 6). He eulogized the shogun Yoshimune's decision to reprint the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, and praised the merchants for their sponsorship of the Japanese reprint of *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict*. He expressed his view of the Japanese nationality issue as follows: "Originally the Manchus were not a civilized people, and our Japan also was not a part of China proper. But both [China and Japan] have now entered into a time of peace and prosperity, and one might find that some customs of the Three Dynasties of ancient China still survive in their ways of ruling."[7]

Chikuzan's preface, however, drew criticism from Igai Keisho (1761–1845), a young Confucian scholar who lived in Kyoto. In a letter to Chikuzan, Keisho argued: "It has been a universal principle in every age that there are not two suns in the sky and neither are there two kings in the land. If,

therefore, one regards K'ang-hsi's maxims as a 'Sacred Edict,' as the title of the book implies, this will injure the just cause." He advised Chikuzan: "You should add the name of the country ['Shin,' i.e., Ch'ing] and the emperor's posthumous honorific before the original book title, so as to draw a distinction between the Ch'ing and our emperors' edicts." Here Keisho showed his reverence for the Tennō, the contemporary Japanese emperors. However the Tennō were not real rulers, as their powers had long before been usurped by the *bakufu*. From the case of the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* we might conceive that the *bakufu* would rather adopt the Chinese emperor's edict than one from Kyoto as a text for the common people's moral education. Shoguns had no interest in seeing a revival of crown political authority. Nor did they want to see a rise in the political influence of "outside lords" (*tozama daimyō*) like Shimazu of Satsuma. In an



2. The preface and text of the *Liu-yü yen-i* by Fan Hung. Published by Ch'eng Shun-tse in 1708 in Foochow. Eight cols. of 19 chars; block 23.5 x 15.5 cm. From a reprint published by the Okinawa Prefectural Library in 1980.



六諭衍義

孝順父母

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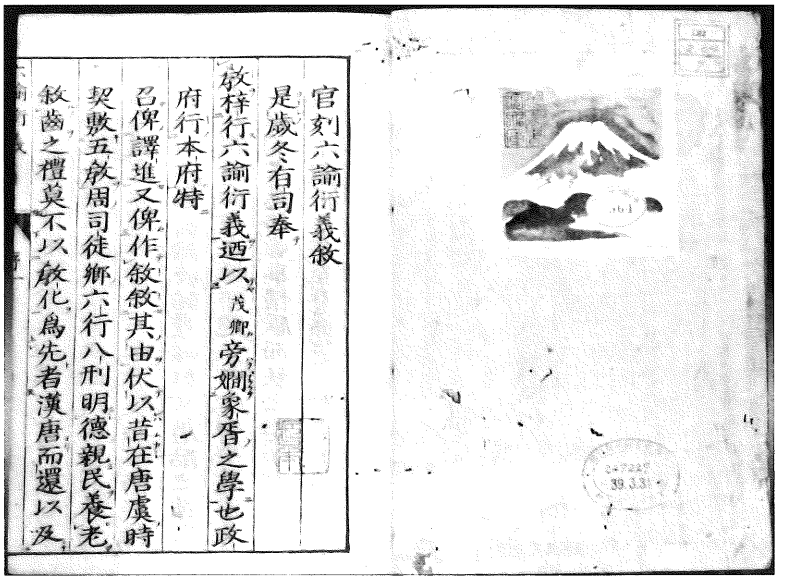
鑫城范　鉉縉雲註釋



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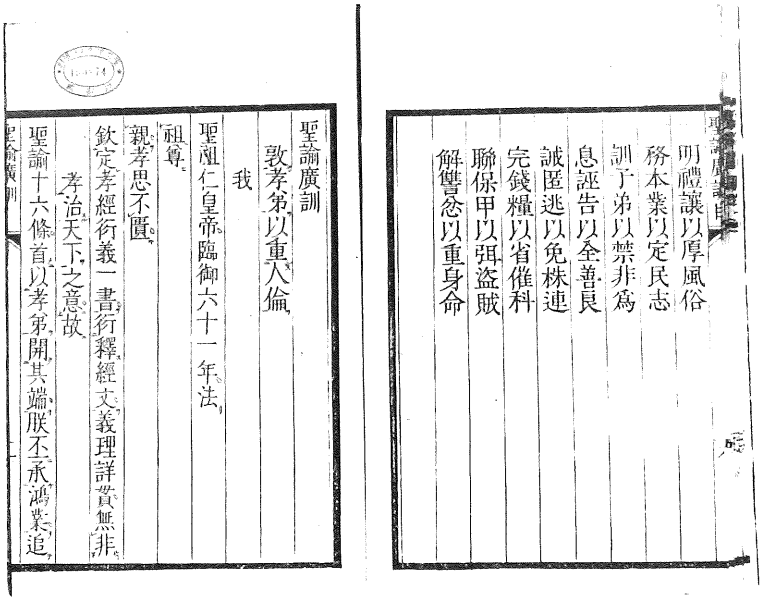
4. The preface to the *Rikuyu engi* by Ogyū Sorai. The edition is the same as that in illustration 3.

3. Text of the *Rikuyu engi*, which was published in 1721 by Izumoji, Nishimura, Noda, Ogawa, Suhara, and Yamatoya, the publishers of Edo, using the officially sponsored cut printing blocks. Eight cols. of 20 chars.; block 26.5 x 18.5 cm. From the Hakuen bunko collection, Kansai University Library, Osaka.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訓子弟以禁非爲
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誡匿逃以免株連
完錢糧以省催科
聯保甲以弭盜賊
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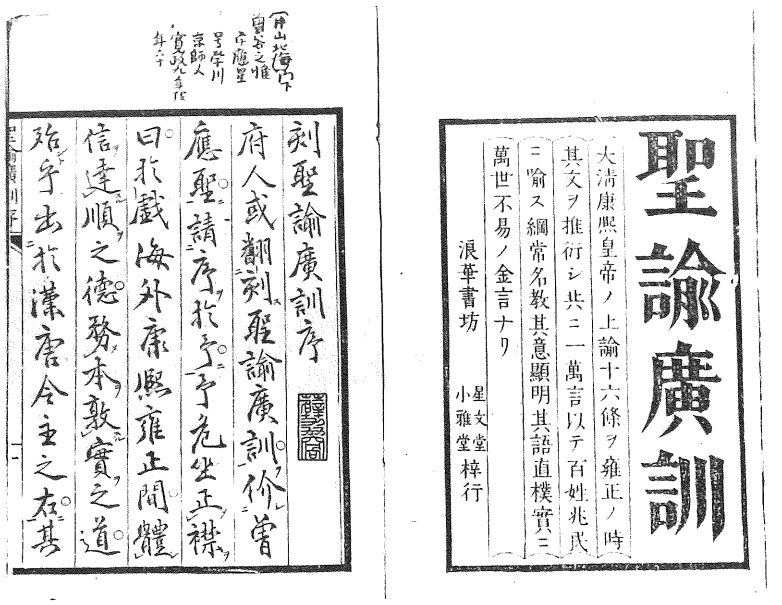
5. Text of the *Seiyü kōkun*, edited by Sotani Ōsei, published by Seibundō, Shōgadō in 1789 in Osaka. Nine cols. of 18 chars; block 16.7 x 11.5 cm. From the Tōyō bunko Library, Tokyo.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6. The title page of the *Rikuyu engi*, with the preface by Nakai Chikuzan. The edition is the same as that in illustration 3.

early draft of his preface to the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, Ogyū Sorai made mention of the contribution of Shimazu Yoshitaka, but he was ordered to delete the reference. It should also be noted that both the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* made no mention of loyalty to the emperor, and may thereby have commended themselves to Tokugawa rulers who favored general moral indoctrination but might have been uneasy with instructions to revere the throne.

Chikuzan replied as follows:

> As a rule, the original text and the book title should be retained, and should not be changed in a reprinting. The phrase about "two suns and two kings" is not applicable in this case at all, since here "the land" means a single country, not all the countries. . . . If one followed your instruction to add the relevant names to the original book title, the title would become "*Shin* [Ch'ing] *Seisō* [Shih-tsung, i.e., the posthumous honorific title of the Yung-cheng emperor] *Seiyu kōkun*." But the edict was promulgated by Seiso [Sheng-tsu, the K'ang-hsi emperor's posthumous title], and only the "exposition" was by Seisō. So it might be more precise to change the title into "*Shin Seiso seiyu Seisō kōkun*." But that probably would be too long and wordy for a book title."[8]

Although several sensitive scholars like Sorai and Keisho considered the treatment of the format and the forms of address used for the Chinese emperors' edicts an extremely important matter in relation to Japanese identity, it seems that most Japanese did not care much about the problem and simply adopted a pragmatic attitude toward it. In fact, besides ordering Sorai to punctuate the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, the shogun Yoshimune instructed Muro Kyusō (1658–1734), an official Confucian scholar, to translate and simplify its contents. The completed translation was entitled *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* (*Rikuyu engi taii*). Yoshimune gave several copies to the teachers of the temple schools (*terakoya*) of Edo and encouraged them to use the book as a model text. From this point to the end of the Tokugawa regime (1867), and even on into the early Meiji period, the book was reprinted many times and in many different forms.

In 1845, when Satō Issai (1772–1859), a famous official Confucian

scholar, was writing an epilogue for Katsuta Tomosato, a person of Kyoto who had published an enlarged and illustrated edition of *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions*, he mentioned the influence of a nonillustrated edition of the book published in his own native place, the Iwamura district of Mino Province.

> Not long before, the lord had reprinted *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and distributed copies within his fief. And he ordered the elders to meet the villagers and explain the book on the first day of every month. He also ordered that the teachers of every village should copy the book to teach the children. After three years, the children in his fief were able to read a certain number of words, to understand the outlines of the book, and to recite the text as though they were singing songs.

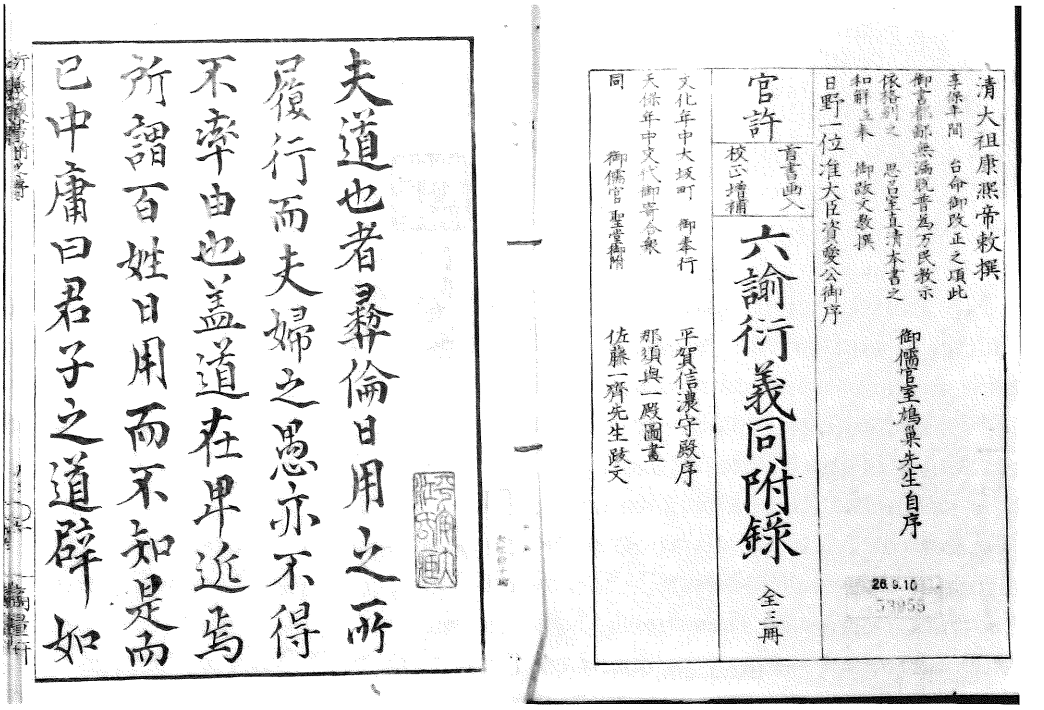
He believed that the illustrated book would be still more effective in promoting children's understanding of the Six Instructions.[9] (See illustration 7.)

It is no exaggeration to say that *The Substance of Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* was the most widely read and used moral textbook throughout the Tokugawa period. By contrast, *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* had no such nationwide influence. Needless to say, one of the reasons for this was that it had not been promulgated by the *bakufu*. Indeed, as soon as it was published in Osaka in 1789, Nakai Chikuzan presented a copy to Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829), the chief minister of the *bakufu*.[10] Little documentation survives to inform us about the latter's response. But from the policies of the magistrates (*daikan*) who were under the direct control of Sadanobu, we can infer something about the effect of *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* on local administration and moral education. Hayakawa Masatoshi (1739–1808), who held office from 1787 to 1795 in the Kuze district in Okayama, provides a good example of such a magistrate. Immediately after he was appointed in Kuze, he began to inspect the district. He found public morals were lax, and wrote that it was not at all uncommon for the poor and for adulterers to kill their newborn babies. So he set up the Tengakukan, a kind of adult school for regular moral instruction, and composed the "Teachings for the Kuze People" (*Kuze jōkyō*). This consisted of six maxims, of which five were directly quoted from the *Sacred Edict*. The maxims were:

1. Encourage farming and mulberry culture.
2. Enforce duteousness and subordination.
3. Put an end to litigation.
4. Set store by economy.
5. Prohibit illegitimacy.
6. Improve manners and customs.[11]

The "Teachings" was reprinted several times, and a copy was distributed to every village and family of the Kuze district. It was also reprinted by the magistrates of some other districts, such as Hitachi.

In the late Tokugawa period, the Fukui domain adopted fourteen of the sixteen maxims of the *Sacred Edict* (omitting numbers six and seven) as its "Rules for the Countryside" (*Gōyaku*) and as the educational principles to be observed in the rural schools (*gōkō*). In January 1857, Hashimoto Sanai



7. The title page of the *Rikuyu engi*, with the preface by Hino Sukenaru, the associate major counsellor (*Ken Dainagon*), in the first volume of the enlarged and illustrated *Rikuyu engi taii*. Published by Katsuta Tomosato in 1847 in Kyoto. Block 26.5 x 18.9 cm. From the Kaitokudō bunko collection, Osaka University Library, Osaka.

(1834–1859) began his tenure as the manager of the Meidōkan, the domain academy. In the next month he received from the commissioner of the domain the following instruction:

> Education at the rural schools should emphasize the maxims: "Enforce duteousness and subordination" and "Encourage farming and mulberry culture," as shown in the "Rules." The "Rules" has instructed the elders and brothers [i.e., the senior local males] to gather at the rural schools on the first day of each month to discuss in detail the maxims, so as to observe them to the letter and to keep them in mind forever. If, by any chance, education were to be lost in empty theories and pomposity, and the people should forget their main occupation and regular business, there would be deep-rooted abuses in the future.[12]

As a close friend of Fujita Tōko (1806–1855) and Saigō Takamori (1827–1877), Sanai at that time also worried about Japan's opening to the West and was planning to establish an Institute of Western Books (Yōsho shūgakusho) in the Meidōkan. He also attempted to reform the educational systems of his domain. Perhaps he was trying to exert too strong an influence on the academy too quickly, for the conservative commissioner apparently was concerned that Sanai's modernizing influence would permeate the rural schools and cautioned him not to abandon the traditional orientation of the schools.

Not only officially established rural schools like those of Fukui, but some chartered and private academies as well used *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* as their moral education textbook. For example, Nakai Riken (1732–1817), the younger brother of Chikuzan, taught the book in the Kaitokudō academy. Lecture notes of a student who attended his lectures there are now held at the National Diet Library in Tokyo.[13]

After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the shogunate was overthrown and imperial rule was reinstated. In 1890 the Emperor Meiji promulgated the *Imperial Rescript on Education* (*Kyōiku chokugo*). It emphasized that loyalty and patriotism — now oriented toward the throne — were the most important moral values, and established the fundamental principles of Japanese national education until Japan's defeat in 1945. (The *Rescript* was finally dropped by action of the Diet in 1948.) In Japanese sinological circles, moreover, interest in the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The*

Exposition of the Sacred Edict also survived. In 1943, Ogaeri Yoshio (1910–1966), a leading scholar of Chinese linguistics, even had the texts published under the title *The Late K'ang-hsi Emperor's Teachings* (*Kōki kōtei ikun*). Since the authorities at that time were tightening ideological control, and there was a paper shortage, it may seem surprising that such a book was published. There were, of course, some academic reasons justifying its publication, but from its preface and postscript, we know that the book was also expected to serve a political purpose.

In the preface Ogaeri says that "in this third year of the Greater East Asian War, the editor reprints one of his favorite books and offers it to those who want to play an active part in Greater East Asia. It is his hope that his true motive will be understood." In his postscript he explains that the book's title, *The Late K'ang-hsi Emperor's Teachings*, does not mean that the K'ang-hsi emperor's testament is contained in this book, but rather that the book transmits to later generations the K'ang-hsi emperor's spirit in ruling China. He points out that

> the K'ang-hsi emperor must have known well the merits and shortcomings of the different nations which fell under his and his nation's rule. The merits should be greatly fostered, so as to promote mutual welfare. And the shortcomings should be rectified so as to eliminate the root of calamity in the future. This intention was given a concrete form in the *Sacred Edict*, and the *Sacred Edict* consists of extremely sensible general principles for ruling China.[14]

We do not know whether contemporary Japanese authorities adopted his suggestion. But it is interesting to associate his suggestion with those of Sorai and Keisho mentioned earlier: in the early modern period, these scholars were afraid that if the *Extended Explanations of the Six Instructions* and *The Exposition of the Sacred Edict* were not properly handled and adopted for use as moral texts, Japan would be considered a dependency of China. In modern times, on the other hand, scholars like Ogaeri Yoshio advocated the use of the two books as establishing general principles to be followed in Japan's rule over China and other countries in so-called Greater East Asia. In their view, the history of Manchu rule over China (at a time when the Japanese had, nominally at least, reestablished Manchu rule through their puppet in what they called "Man-chou kuo," China's North-

east Provinces) might provide the Japanese useful lessons on how to control a huge country or a wide region inhabited by non-Japanese populations.

NOTES

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1. Ōba Osamu, *Edo jidai ni okeru tōsen mochiwatarisho no kenkyu* (Osaka: Kansai daigaku tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūsho, 1967), p. 210. Yue-Him Tam, *Studies in Modern Sino-Japanese Cultural Relations* (Hong Kong: Japan Research Institute of Hong Kong, 1988), p. 14.
2. George Jer-lang Chang, "Local Control in the Early Ming (1368–1398)," Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1978, p. 166. It is said that the *Liu-yü* was copied from the maxims to the people Chu Hsi issued when he took office in Chang-chou in Fukien Province.
3. F. W. Baller, trans., *The Sacred Edict*, 6th ed. (Shanghai: China Inland Mission, 1924), pp. 1, 19, 29, 42, 51, 62, 72, 88, 99, 110, 119, 134, 143, 149, 156, 169. The first edition of the translation was published in 1892 in Shanghai by the American Presbyterian Mission Press.
4. Kate W. Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sinocentrism," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40:1 (1980), p. 164.
5. Goi Ranju, *Sago*, in *Nihon jurin sōsho*, ed. Seki Giichirō (Tokyo: Toyo Tosho Kankōkai, 1927), vol. 1, p. 1.
6. Nakamura Tadayuki, "Jusha no shisei," *Tenri Daigaku gakuhō* 78 (1972), pp. 232–233. D. F. Henderson, "Chinese Legal Studies in Early 18th Century Japan: Scholars and Sources," *Journal of Asian Studies* 30:1 (1970), pp. 21–56. It should be noted that contemporary Japanese, including Sorai, could not have known that the *Six Instructions* was not composed and promulgated by the K'ang-hsi emperor. The phrase "Compilation by Imperial Command of the Great Emperor K'ang-hsi" (Shin daiso Kōkitei chokusen) on the title page of the *Rikuyu engi taii* of Katsuta Tomosato's edition of 1847 (see illustration 7) indicates this fact.
7. See Nakai Chikuzan's "Preface to the Reprint of *Seiyu kōkun*," in *Seiyu kōkun* (Osaka: Seibundō, Shōgadō, 1789).
8. Nakai Chikuzan, *Chikuzan kokujitoku* (Osaka: Matsumura Bunkaidō, 1911), vol. 2, pp. 3–4. See also De-min Tao, "Wakokubun *Seiyu kōkun* no saikō," *Kaitoku* 57 (1988), pp. 62–71.
9. See Satō Issai's "Epilogue," in *Rikuyu engi taii*, ed. Katsuta Tomosato (Kyoto: Shōryōken, 1847).
10. Nakai Chikuzan, "Gakkō kōmu

kiroku," in *Kaitokudō kyūki, Kaitoku* 13 (1935), p. 39.

11. Ishikawa Ken, *Kinsei Nihon shakai kyōikushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōyō Tosho Kankōkai, 1938), pp. 15–45.
12. Monbushō, ed., *Nihon kyōikushi shiryō* (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1890), vol. 2, p. 36. See also *Fukui kenshi* (Tokyo: Sanshūsha, 1921), vol. 2, pp. 369–370.
13. Nakai Riken, *Seiyu kōkun kikigaki*, preserved in Kokuritsu kokkai toshokan.
14. Ogaeri Yoshio, ed., *Kōki kōtei ikun* (Osaka: Ōsakayagō Shoten, 1943).

Glossary

bakufu 幕府
Ch'eng Shun-tse 程順則
Ch'ing 清
Chou 周
daikan 代官
Edo 江戸
Fan Hung 範鉉
Fujita Tōko 藤田東湖
Fukien 福建
Fukui 福井
Goi Ranju 五井蘭洲
gōkō 郷校
Gōyaku 郷約
Hashimoto Sanai 橋本左内
Hayakawa Masatoshi 早川正紀
Hitachi 常陸
Hsia 夏
Igai Keisho 猪飼敬所
Iwamura 巖村
Izumoji 出雲寺
Kaitokudō 懐徳堂
K'ang-hsi 康熙
Kansai 関西
Katsuta Tomosato 勝田知郷
Kōki kōtei ikun 康熙皇帝遺訓
Kuze 久世
Kuze jōkyō 久世侍教
Kyōiku chokugo 教育勅語
Liu-ch'iu (Ryūkyū) 琉球
Liu-yü 六諭
Liu-yü yen-i 六諭衍義
Man-chou kuo 満洲國
Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信
Meidōkan 明道館
Meiji 明治
Mino 美濃
Muro Kyusō 室鳩巣
mu-t'o 木鐸
Nakai Chikuzan 中井竹山
Nakai Riken 中井履軒
Ōba Osamu 大庭脩
Ogaeri Yoshio 魚返善雄
Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠
Okayama 岡山
Rikuyu 六諭
Rikuyu engi 六諭衍義
Rikuyu engi taii 六諭衍義大意
Saigō Takamori 西郷隆盛
Satō Issai 佐藤一斎
Satsuma 薩摩

Seiso 聖祖
Seisō 世宗
Seiyu kōkun 聖諭廣訓
Seiyu kōkun kikigaki 聖諭廣訓聞書
Shang 商
Sheng-tsu 聖祖
Sheng-yü 聖諭
Sheng-yü kuang-hsün 聖諭廣訓
Sheng-yü wan-yen hsün 聖諭萬言訓
Shih-tsung 世宗
Shimazu Yoshitaka 島津吉貴
Shin 清
Shin daiso Kōkitei chokusen 清太祖康熙帝敕撰
Shin Seiso seiyu Seisō kōkun 清聖祖聖諭世宗廣訓
Shun 舜
Shun-chih 順治
t'ai-t'ou 擡頭
T'ai-tsu 太祖
Tengakukan 典學館
Tennō 天皇
terakoya 寺子屋
Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗
tozama daimyō 外様大名
Yamazaki Ansai 山崎闇斎
Yao 堯
Yōsho shūgakusho 洋書習學所
Yung-cheng 雍正
Wen 文
Wu 武